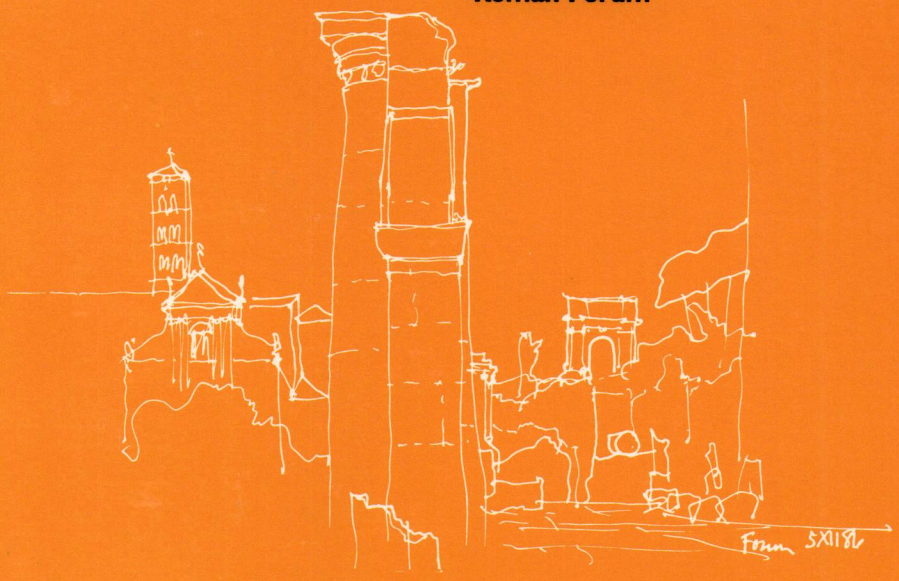
Places

$7.50

A Quarterly Journal
of Environmental Design

Excavations in the Roman Forum



Published by The MIT Press

for the College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley

and the

School of Architecture and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Etching
Richard Kenney

Reflections on Political Space
Steven Brint and Michele Renee Salzman

Sketches
Michael Graves

The Roman Forum and Roman Memory
Diane Favro

The Forum Transformed
Heinrich Hermann

Excavations in the Roman Status Quo
Roberto Einaudi

The Loyola Forum—Frank Gehry

Constructions from the Roman Forum
Frederick Biehle

Trajan's Market
Kathryn Dean and Charles Wolf

Surrogate Landscape
Antoine Predock

Gianicolo Busts
Allan B. Jacobs

Archaeology and the Roman Forum
R. T. Scott

Esther Van Deman and the Roman Forum
Karin Einaudi

The Marble Wilderness Book Review
Henry Millon

Beyond Roman Gates: Photographs
Lawrence B. Anderson

ISSN 0731–0455

Volume 5, Number 1

Places: A Quarterly Journal of Environmental Design is published Summer, Fall, Winter, and Spring by The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England.

Subscription Rates
$25.00 for individuals and $50.00 for institutions. Subscribers outside the United States and Canada add $9.00 for surface postage, $17.00 for air mail. Single copies of current issues: $7.50. To be honored free, claims for missing issues must be made immediately upon receipt of the next published issue. Circulation: (617) 253-2889.

Business Office
Subscriptions, address changes, and mailing list correspondence should be addressed to Journals Department, The MIT Press, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02142.

Postmaster
Send address changes to *Places: A Quarterly Journal of Environmental Design*, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02142.

Advertising
Advertising Manager, The MIT Press Journals Department, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02142. (617) 253-2866.

Editorial Office
Center for Environmental Design Research
373 Wurster Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720.

Places is distributed in the United States by B. DeBoer, Inc., 113 East Centre Street, Nutley, New Jersey 07110.

Places

A Quarterly Journal of Environmental Design

Excavations in the Roman Forum

The Timeliness of Marble *2*
Alice Wingwall

Etching *3*
Richard Kenney

Reflections on Political Space: The Roman Forum and Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C. *4*
Steven Brint and Michele Renee Salzman

Sketches *12*
Michael Graves

The Roman Forum and Roman Memory *17*
Diane Favro

The Forum Transformed *25*
Heinrich Hermann

Excavations in the Roman Status Quo *28*
Roberto Einaudi

The Loyola Forum—Frank Gehry *42*

Constructions from the Roman Forum *46*
Frederick Biehle

Trajan's Market *50*
Kathryn Dean and Charles Wolf

Surrogate Landscape *54*
Antoine Predock

Gianicolo Busts *57*
Allan B. Jacobs

Archaeology and the Roman Forum *60*
R. T. Scott

Esther Van Deman and the Roman Forum *62*
Karin Einaudi

The Marble Wilderness Book Review *71*
Henry Millon

Beyond Roman Gates: Photographs *73*
Lawrence B. Anderson

Contributors *79*

Publication of Places *Volume 5 has been aided by a grant from the Design Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts.*

Volume 5, Number 1

The Timeliness of Marble

Time itself may be difficult to perceive, elusive to our memory. We want to capture it, make a place of it. Photographs, musical recordings, stories and computer disks make us think we might do so. These illusions stir our imaginations.

The Roman Forum is another of these illusions. Histories of the Forum's venerable stones are stories built on the visible remnants of elaborate Roman masonry and landscape formation. These histories, these interpretations of use and structure, are reconsidered in each generation of viewers. The stones' significance is altered by ideas current at any time, just as they are by natural decay and repositioning.

The power of the Roman Forum comes from the existence of stones which have been built up, torn down, cast aside, buried for many years, and then excavated. Some stones were carried away to rebuild ancient structures, others to lend material and cultural authority to altogether different structures of another time and place.

This movement of the stone to recapture the look of time can, in turn, cause radical interpretations as we try to analyze the meaning of the stone itself, and its placement, its political presence. "Citizen objects in nature," so Richard Sennett called the Roman monuments in his book *Palais Royal*. His phrase aptly describes the political impact of the stones and buildings we deem artistic, or formally significant.

Some visitors to the Forum may only be interested in becoming, for a sensed moment, part of the "historical" process, walking where so many have walked, passing along the paths of legendary villains and heroes. Some see the stones only as art. They spend hours drawing, fabricating some relationships, copying others, ignoring the political struggles that may have caused the stones to be there at all.

Most urgently, the stones cause us to rethink present relationships. This habit of mind may be the most critical influence we sense as we wander and work in the Forum. What new designs might we imagine as we see two massive stones juxtaposed? How will our sense of occasion be expanded or changed? Will an expressive sense of political tensions, and of how such tensions may be actively influential in our cities, be appreciated? These questions will not be found carved on the sides of the stones. They are the inferences, the interpretations, the imaginings, that this ancient site, with its displaced stones, can excite in us.

The Forum allows these luxuries of imagination because it is both "historical," containing layers of time encrusted, and ahistorical, outside of time in its present position in Rome. Certainly, sections of the Forum are the subject of intense planning battles, but much of the land is protected from the incessant clamoring growth within the city. We have the time, and the place, to consider the several pasts, to compare the plural presents. In this stone and landscape haven of time, we may design a future of evocative places.

Alice Wingwall

With this issue we begin a four part series subsidized by the Design Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. In this series we will examine sources of imagery for the design of cities and for the shaping of places that are rich in human significance.

Rome has been, for many centuries, the quintessential idea of city in western culture. It has permeated our thinking in innumerable ways. In this issue we pursue a series of mental excavations, examining the roots of the Roman Forum itself, reviewing the activities of some of those who shaped its present archaeological condition, reviewing its position in the present planning debates in Rome and looking to its visible form as a stimulus for further formal explorations. In sum these articles probe the intricate webs that link political intention, creative renewal, and both private and public reflection. Together, these are the strands from which the fabric of new places will be woven.

We are grateful to the NEA for their continued support. —*D.L.*

Etching

Richard Kenney

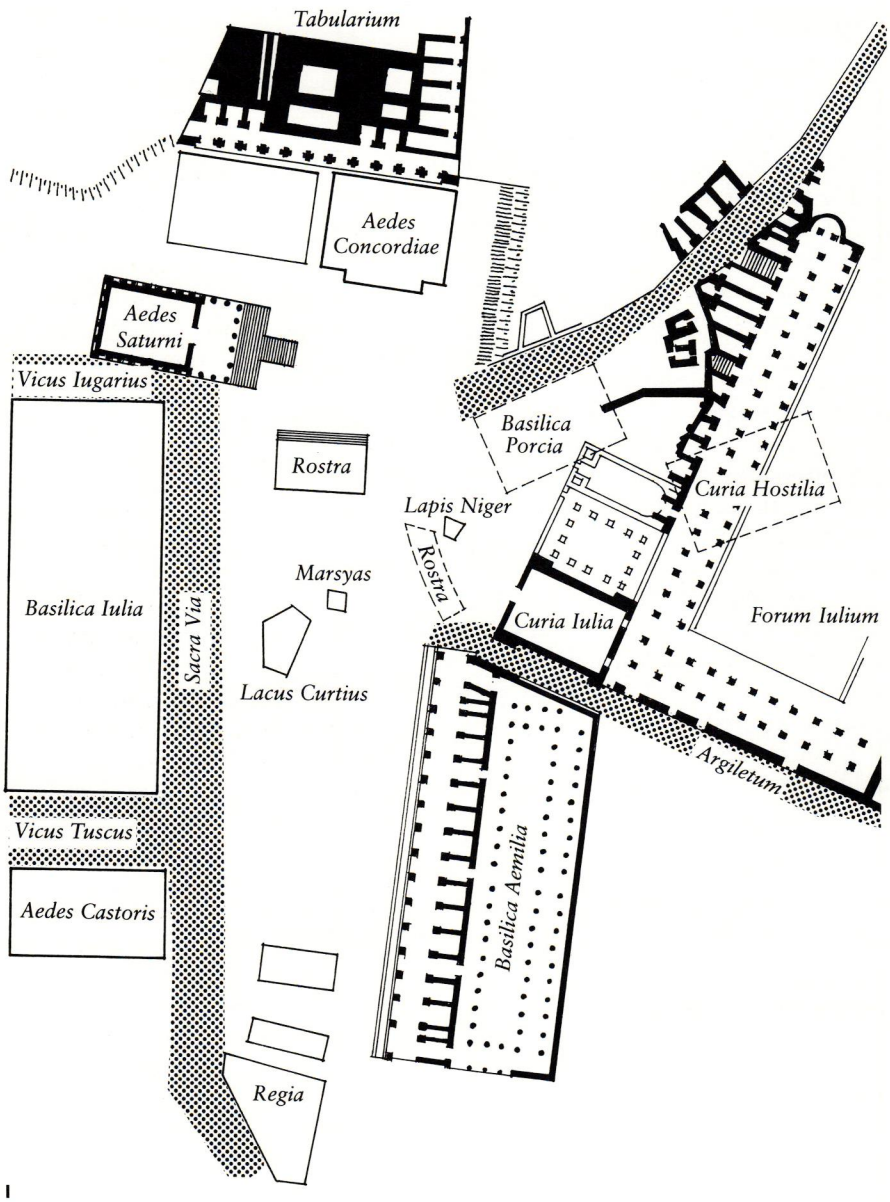
Now, cast corrosive thought across the ruined Forum:
illuminate; impress the retina; lift; frame—

Caesar appears, on his knees, climbing a long flight. Rumor
hisses around him; his face, daubed crimson, god's mask, offers
no expression. The Capitoline stairs are steep; forty
elephants, holding torches, light the way. Aromatic
smoke fills their huge brain cases with the careful grass-fires
set in Africa, to drive all animals toward Rome.
All Rome looks on, nervous, considering. Above the Forum,
at the top of Caesar's stairs, a tusked pig drums
its trotters on travertine, and bristles, and shifts with fear,
and shits, knowing, as the white ox and the white ram
may not, what's coming. In the Mamertine Prison below the Forum,
the foreign king Vercingetorix knows, too; they'll murder him
here, at the moment of the sacrifice. He thinks of his far
fame, pacing through excrement and torchlight caroming
the close walls, the flicking grillework on the tufa floor.
He hears trumpeting. His feet have carried him from
Celtic Gaul, chained behind a cart whose blue wheel rim
his iris is, now, encircling the dark oak forests
and alder marshes of Gaul, where he and Caesar dreamed
each other, circling. Who returns, Triumphator?
The axletree sheared on the car carrying Caesar to the Forum
today, an omen so terrible, so fraught with future, Rome
holds still. Caesar atones, ascends now on his knees before
the gods and the citizens of Rome. There is no room
for maneuver, now—

Nor ever, but this straight form,
this snail-track, etching the light or the plate or the pure sphere
of the eye, where there are no such things now, in the Roman Forum.

Reflections on Political Space: The Roman Forum and Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C.

Steven Brint and
Michele Renee Salzman



1 Roman Forum about 42 B.C.
Drawing by Kyle Thayer
Adapted from drawing by Paul Zanker, *Forum Romanum* (Tubingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1972)

From Citizens' Forum to Museum of the Emperors

Among the many products sold by vendors outside the Forum are transparency overlays showing what the Forum looked like at different times in the Roman era. The overlays make clear how much of the story of the Forum's transformation entails the contraction of usable space, the creation of monumental forms, and the appearance of connections to new institutions.

In the republican period, legal institutions were, even in a visual sense, the organizing center. The Senate, the Comitium (the chief place of assembly of the Roman people) and the Rostra were the central organizing elements. The Comitium, in the northeast corner of the Forum, consisted of a circular piazza with a stepped incline, on which the people's representatives met to debate and vote. Located to the north were the Curia Hostilia and the Senaculum, meeting houses of the Roman Senate. The platform from which the magistrates addressed the people—the Rostra—was located just to the south.[1] The large space opening out from this area—what we usually think of as The Forum—was the stage for legal trials, electoral campaigns, sacrifices, important funerals, and served also as a meeting place where all varieties of personal business were conducted.

Places of civic and religious significance surrounded this center. From the beginning, the sacred spaces included symbols of the early history of Rome. Among the venerated symbols placed there were a mysterious black stone,

the *Lapis Niger,* marking a place of ill omen, and a fig tree commemorating Romulus, Rome's mythical founder. The Regia, where a "king of Sacred Rites" served the Roman State cult, was another important space dating from this early period when Rome was ruled by kings.[2] The Vestal Virgins also lived in the Forum beginning in these earliest times. The Vestals, who still intrigue the modern imagination, had responsibility for guarding the eternal flame, symbol of the Roman hearth and state.

In the Republican period that followed the overthrowing of the kings, the Romans established new places of civic worship: a temple to Castor and Pollux, twin deities associated with the founding of the Republic; a temple to Saturn, where the state funds were kept; and the Sacred Way, on which so many triumphant generals entered as gods—painted even in godlike purple—and left as servants of Jupiter and the State, ritually humbled on the steps of Jupiter's temple on the Capitoline Hill.

The collapse of the Republic was prefigured in the growing power of military men in the first century B.C. The military dynasts—Marius, Sulla, Pompey the Great—refused to accept the traditional subservience to the Senate and accumulated great personal wealth and power at the expense of the state. Cato the Younger was one of the heroic figures of this last period of the Republic. In a stream of speeches and letters, which are preserved only in fragments now, he set forth views on public responsibility and institutional renewal aimed at securing the Republic's survival.[3] Cato's words proved useless, however: the century-long weakening of the republican institutions finally culminated in the dictatorship of the greatest of the military dynasts, Julius Caesar.

Caesar's reorganization of the Forum marked the beginning of its transformation from citizens' meeting place to imperial museum. His expressed motives were to create more space in the Forum and to improve the existing structures, but his work resulted in the substantial reduction both of civic spaces and of the role of representative institutions. He reoriented the Forum space slightly toward the northwest and began building the Basilica Iulia in which to house the formerly open-air law courts. He destroyed the republican Rostra. As its foundations disappeared under new pavement, so did the political importance of the magistrates, the people's elected representatives. On the old site of the Rostra, the pavement was prepared for a new and smaller Comitium, an action made possible by the removal of the legislative assembly from the Forum to a location in the Campus Martius across town. Not even the Senate House was sacrosanct; Caesar also started the construction of a new Curia.

Caesar's assassination put a temporary halt to the reshaping of the Forum. After the turmoil of the civil wars had subsided, a new leader and a new form of government emerged. These changes were expressed spatially in the Roman Forum. Augustus, the adopted heir of Caesar, completed many of his stepfather's programs. He completed the new Curia, and the rostra he erected is the one whose remains we see today. Augustus also erected a memorial column on the spot where Caesar's body was burned by his assassins. Later the column was replaced by a temple to the by then-deified Julius Caesar. This allocation of public space to a temple for a mortal man was an outward sign of a profound political change.

The concern for maintaining an attitude of exalted veneration toward Caesar and other heroes of the Roman past explains much of Augustus' work on the monuments of the Forum. A telling instance is his rebuilding of the Column of Gaius Duilius. The column had been erected originally to commemorate Gaius' great naval victory over the Carthaginians in the third century B.C. The inscription it bore described the circumstances of the victory. Augustus rebuilt the monument and had the inscription recarved. In doing so, he was careful to maintain the archaic third-century spelling, but he substituted rich luna marble for the less expensive stone of the original. Here he revealed what would become the characteristic imperial concern: that the Forum have appropriate monuments and that they be visually magnificent.

Under Augustus, as under Caesar, the usable space in the Forum shrank, a physical change reflecting

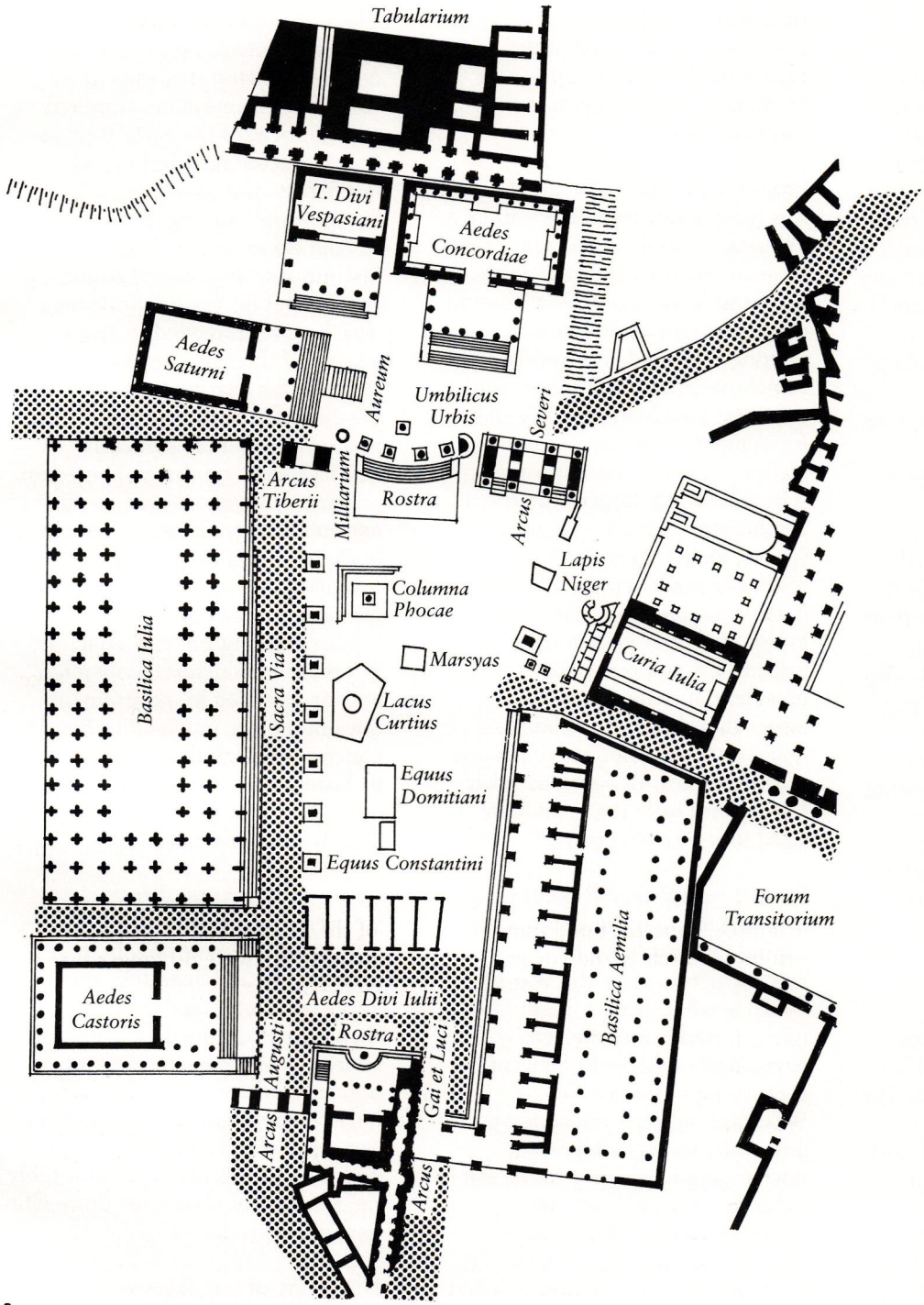
the shrinking political role of the people and the Senate. The Senate continued to meet in the Curia, but its role was increasingly symbolic and its endorsement of imperial decisions increasingly *pro forma*. The voting and legislative assemblies of the people gradually lost even their symbolic role in supporting the emperor. Under Augustus' successors, they were effectively abolished. The new Rostra was a spectacular, richly marbled monument, but its role in political life became increasingly marginal.[4]

As civic activity declined in the Forum, the number of commemorative monuments continued to increase. In the later years of Augustus' long reign, the central area of the Forum acquired a new triumphal arch in honor of the emperor, another triumphal arch dedicated to the military heros Gaius and Lucius, and a Golden Milestone to symbolize the point of convergence of the great roads of Rome.

Later emperors imitated Augustus' example. Tiberius built another triumphal arch in the Forum. Domitian erected an equestrian statue of himself. Septimius Severus erected the grandest arch of all between the Curia and the Rostra. Diocletian had seven honorary columns dedicated to private citizens. In the fourth century Constantine was honored by an equestrian statue, and later in the century Stilicho received a monument now represented only by its inscription. Emperors continued to leave their marks on the Forum as late as the sixth century. The Column of Phocas, the last known addition, still stands like an arrow in the breast of the surrounding ruins. All through these centuries, while the Forum acquired new imperial monuments, the archaic Roman civic symbols—the *Lapis Niger,* the *Lacus Curtius,* the Fountain of Iuturna, and the statue of Marsyas—were kept up, looking very much as they had in the centuries before Christ. In this way, the Roman Forum was maintained at imperial expense and filled with imperial monuments; essentially, it served as a museum of the Empire.

A visitor to the Roman Forum today finds the ancient space dotted with tourists who saunter among the monuments and wander down the stone streets. Most of these modern visitors are there to "take in" the remains of the Roman past just as they would go to any museum to see the show on Van Gogh or the exhibit on King Tut. In this role, the modern tourist comes close to the experience of the visitor to the Roman Forum during the period of the Empire. The citizens of the Empire had rights, but their magistrates were no longer the deciding force in government. Instead, citizens went to the Forum to see the sites just as any tourist on holiday might today. Indeed, the Forum was an even greater tourist attraction in the imperial period than it is today. Visitors to the capital came to admire the Phrygian marble columns of the Basilica Aemilia, to gaze at the *Lacus Curtius,* or to make a small offering for the welfare of the revered Augustus.

2 Roman Forum between A.D. 203 and 608.
Drawing by Kyle Thayer
Adapted from drawing by Paul Zanker, *Forum Romanum* (Tubingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1972)


Tabularium
T. Divi Vespasiani
Aedes Concordiae
Aedes Saturni
Aureum
Umbilicus Urbis
Severi
Arcus Tiberii
Milliarium
Rostra
Arcus
Lapis Niger
Columna Phocae
Marsyas
Curia Iulia
Basilica Iulia
Sacra Via
Lacus Curtius
Equus Domitiani
Equus Constantini
Forum Transitorium
Basilica Aemilia
Aedes Castoris
Aedes Divi Iulii
Rostra
Augusti
Gai et Luci
Arcus
Arcus

The Forum as a Window on the Modern World

The emperors' museum is an evocative metaphor for many Americans, because we have come to feel some apprehension about the vitality of our own popular institutions and civic connections. Books appear about the "imperial presidency" and the "managerial state," and these make us wonder whether the trajectory of American political life has been (or will in the end be) analogous to that of the Romans: a story of crumbling civic connections, increasing executive power, declining popular institutions, and the gradual transformation of citizens into passive spectators.

Often these fears are overstated. Our voluntary organizations and legislative bodies are far more than popular shells; and our voting, campaigning, and protesting hardly constitute passivity. Yet if we give our American Forum a sharp appraisal, with the skeptical eyes of a modern Cato, these reassuring signs of republican vitality are not all we see. Let us compare Washington and Rome as a latter-day Cato might compare them.

Platonic Forms

As we walk through the Roman Forum, we are impressed by the sense of intimacy it conveys. There is a human scale to the Forum. The forms are densely packed, cast together in an amiable jumble and far from overwhelming in their proportions. For a citizen of republican Rome, the Forum must have had something of the messy familiarity of a well-lived-in home. It is what heaven might look like if designed by E. M. Forster or some other novelist devoted to the meaningfulness of accumulated traditions and the rich texture of familiar detail.

From the perspective of the Forum, it is remarkable that so few links to unifying symbols, important events, or great deeds exist in the public spaces of Washington. Washington is a curiously barren place. It is a pristine city, made for governing, somehow aloof from history and any civic imagination that looks for concrete symbols of cultural identity. It is also an imposing city, self-consciously larger than life. In Washington, we see vast green spaces, long walkways, and reflecting pools setting off a few massive monuments. The great buildings of our governing institutions and our great presidential monuments have a larger-than-life and unchanging quality about them. There is none of the fussiness of a citizen-made history and little that is human-sized in the environment.

From a purely spatial point of view, it is striking that our democratic capital (at least since its reconstruction after the War of 1812) is what heaven might look like if it had been designed by a particularly dignified nineteenth-century monarch. Public Washington, in its unchanging grandeur, seems to represent unchanging ideals of government separate from the particular manifestations of the nation's history and the wills of men. It is, in short, a Platonic space: an ideal sphere of timeless forms.

There are important implications in this difference between Rome and Washington. It seems likely to us that the intimate, cluttered environment of the early Roman Forum encouraged feelings of familiarity and psychological "ownership" among citizens in relation to their political institutions.[5] In contrast to the Forum, public Washington was clearly never intended to spark a sense of direct possession or intimate familiarity. In Platonic Washington, our experience of the political order is as something abstract, with no direct connection to our own lives, or even to our nation's history. There is a potential both for moral inspiration and profound alienation from such an abstract and distant government. Public Washington, consequently, is a place in which to be inspired and/or humbled by government, but not a place in which to feel a concrete and familiar connection to history, deeds, and purposes.

The Television Rostra

As we walk past the Rostra area, we are struck by how little importance crowds now play in political life and how, too, the importance of crowd-stirring rhetoric has declined. The great addresses and passion plays of political life are now reserved for televised performances. Television can reach the largest numbers of people, and it is therefore inevitably the medium of choice for those who have access to it.

Not many of our sages would wish to reinstate the public rostrum

as the primary base of contact between leaders and citizens. At least since the days of the French Revolution, the public rostrum has had a bad reputation as the cradle of demagoguery. Books on crowd psychology dating from that era describe the violent emotions and loss of judgment to which normal men and women were vulnerable when they stood armpit to armpit in the hot sun, electrically engaged by one another's enthusiasm and the coursing rhetoric of a skillful demagogue.

Television is, as is well-known, a "cool medium." Crowd-stirring rhetoric works about as well on television as it does at a family barbecue. The man who can look us square in the eye and address us frankly, yet in a genial manner, that is the man we trust at the barbecue. And he is also the man we tend to trust on television. Because television is a cool medium, the political dangers of the medium come from being overly sedated rather than from becoming overly excited. Whereas in Roman times the main danger was demagoguery, in modern times lullagoguery is the primary problem posed by the TV rostrum.

This problem arises not simply from the earnest yet genial tone of voice of the effective television communicator. It also reflects the several layers of filtering that political communications on television receive. First, we hear it. Then the reporters tell us what it means. Then the commentators analyze it in a measured way. Then the editorialists gravely applaud or criticize it. Then the pollsters conduct a poll on it and show us the average response, the amount of skepticism, and the scientific margins of error in their estimates.

One almost needs to be a firebrand on the order of Stokely Carmichael to emerge from these successive cooling chambers with any political passion remaining. Some do, of course, but not many. If everything goes well, the system of communication based on the television rostrum is a wonderful mechanism for maintaining moderation (and even somnambulism) in the citizenry.

However, the cooperation of the media is necessary for the system to work in this way. The most important crowd—and perhaps the only important crowd now—is the media crowd. Consequently, for a politician, poor command of the media or poor relations with journalists (the latter a fairly cynical breed) assures controversy and passionate discontent, however virtuous the reign. By contrast, the political leader who can manage good relations with the media crowd can get away with extraordinary blunders, misjudgments, backtrackings, mendacity, irresponsibility, and disorder—as the examples of Kennedy and Reagan seem variously to demonstrate.

The television rostrum promises cool and rational discourse, a major improvement in the nature of our contact with political leaders. But this promise has been only partially fulfilled. We may have diminished demagoguery, but we have yet to find a safeguard against passivity. And we often give presidents who work well with the media almost a blank check on public regard.

Executive Spaces

If we had a book of overlays for modern Washington similar to the one we can purchase at the Roman Forum, we would see an equally impressive record of change, but one that is more mixed in its implications. We would see a modest growth in congressional space, a sharp growth in presidential space, and a tremendous growth in both executive department space and space occupied by lobbyists and representatives of interest groups. Executive office buildings, in particular, would begin to roll like rippling muscles down Independence Avenue and into the Maryland and Virginia suburbs. If we could also look at traffic patterns on the overlays, we would see the main arteries swollen with the traffic of government officials and occasionally occupied in a dramatic way by demonstrators. In the summer months, these arteries would be clogged with people on their way to take pictures of their government's monuments.

The analogy with Rome is easily overstated. The swelling of executive power in the United States has not been accompanied by the same decline in representative institutions that we see in imperial Rome. Organizations like the Sierra Club, the National Rifle Association, the NAACP, and the Business Roundtable represent the

economic interests and ideals of specific segments of the American public, and they have grown nearly as fast as the executive departments.

At the same time, the spatial record speaks eloquently about the dilemmas of the legislative branch. The current Washington overlay would be generously splashed with executive blue and interest group red, but only lightly sprinkled with congressional white. Among its other functions, Congress is expected to monitor the executive branch and to respond judiciously to the interests groups. On the basis of the spatial record alone, we would have reason to wonder whether Congress still has the resources to do either job well.

If we look beyond the spatial record, we can see just how much decision-making power and governing functions have swung to the executive since the 1960s. The executive is capable of organization in a way that Congress is not. Moreover, on issues that require quick responses or constancy in policy, there is a natural tendency for the executive to dominate. At the end of a long period of decline, Congress is still something more than a shell of representative government. But it long ago ceded leadership to the executive, and it now seems weaker in its oversight functions as well. Because of this, America leans progressively toward a still more completely executive-centered system.

Presidents have argued that Congress lacks the unity, the breadth of vision, and (often) the seriousness of purpose to provide effective leadership. The vanity and parochialism of many individual Congressmen seem to confirm these opinions on too many occasions. Yet an effective legislative branch is essential as a check on presidential power and as a strong center in its own right.

The question is whether Congress can ever again provide the kind of leadership it was intended to provide when faced with doubtful executives. In his letters, Cato once argued that to end the erosion in the powers and functions of the Roman Senate would require a return to the traditional Roman values—virtue, constancy, seriousness, and restraint. If balanced by a proper appreciation of what most Congressmen still do well, which is to represent the interests of their regions and major supporters, his recommendations seem appropriate to the United States as well.

False Analogies and Legitimate Concerns

Do our concerns about the trajectory of American politics, symbolized by the metaphor of the emperors' museum, have substance? Again, we would emphasize that they can be overstated. Our executive system is, after all, a popular system. Presidents do not operate in a vacuum. When the media is alert, debate on policy is relatively serious and unrestrained. And while few of us feel a comfortable sense of "being at home" in Washington, our views are avidly followed by our approval-conscious politicians.

Still, there are significant points of concern. Our most important forums are not designed to develop a sense of psychological "ownership" of the civic order, but rather to inspire or to humble us. There is a special vulnerability in our dependence on a media "crowd" that tends to be overly submissive and overly pettish by turns. Moreover, there is a worrisome correspondence between the increasing marginality of the American Congress and the decline of the Roman legislative bodies.

And there is another, even more direct way in which the imperial museum metaphor is relevant to modern Washington. Like so many other places in the country, Washington is becoming a treasure trove of the creative arts and a great conservator of the creative acts of the past. Our greatest national library and our greatest national history museum are located in Washington, and the Hirschorn and the National Gallery have grown to become important collections in the

visual arts as well. Other important institutions devoted to studies of the past now also exist in Washington. The critic George Steiner has gone so far as to suggest that the United States may be destined to become the great "museum culture" on the planet. Steiner worries about the possible substitution of preeminence in preservation for preeminence in creation. He also notes, with irony, that the United States, so long the symbol of the new and the progressive, is now becoming the most "active watchman of the classic past."[6]

The concern is still more relevant to the political sphere, however. Beginning with the Kennedy Administration, a cult of executive control has flourished in the United States. For the first time since the Federalist era, leading advisers to American presidents no longer feel compelled to state a basic faith in democratic participation via representative government. It is out of this atmosphere that candidates for high appointive office can speak publicly and without embarrassment of an over-abundance of democracy—of a "democratic distemper," which tends to weaken the capacity of government executive to achieve its goals.[7] There is something odd, and indeed chilling, about these expressions of distrust in the creative acts of today's citizens, if they are looked at in juxtaposition with our increasingly avid collection and appreciation of the creative acts of the past. With regard to these points of concern, the history of the imperial museum remains a cautionary tale worthy of reflection and the figure of Cato, the proponent of civic responsibility, a relevant exemplar.

Notes

1 The Rostra was given its name in 338 B.C. when beaks of ships—in Latin, *rostra*—were attached to the front of the speaker's bridge as a symbol of a recent naval victory.

2 Other symbols of Rome were in the open meeting space of the Forum: the olive, fig, and grape vine, which were native plants important to Roman agriculture; a statue of the mythical figure Marsyas who was suspended from a tree, awaiting punishment for having challenged Apollo to a musical contest (often seen as a symbolic warning against presumption); and the *lacus Curtius,* which was a sacred swamp or pit associated with several legends of civic heroics.

3 The public Cato addressed were members of his own class—the hereditary nobility—who represented the people as magistrates and senators.

4 When Augustus died in A.D. 14, Tiberius gave his funeral oration from a rostrum in front of the Temple of Caesar, a clear statement of dynastic continuity. Augustus claimed to have reinstituted the Republic on more secure foundations. Later emperors dropped that pretense.

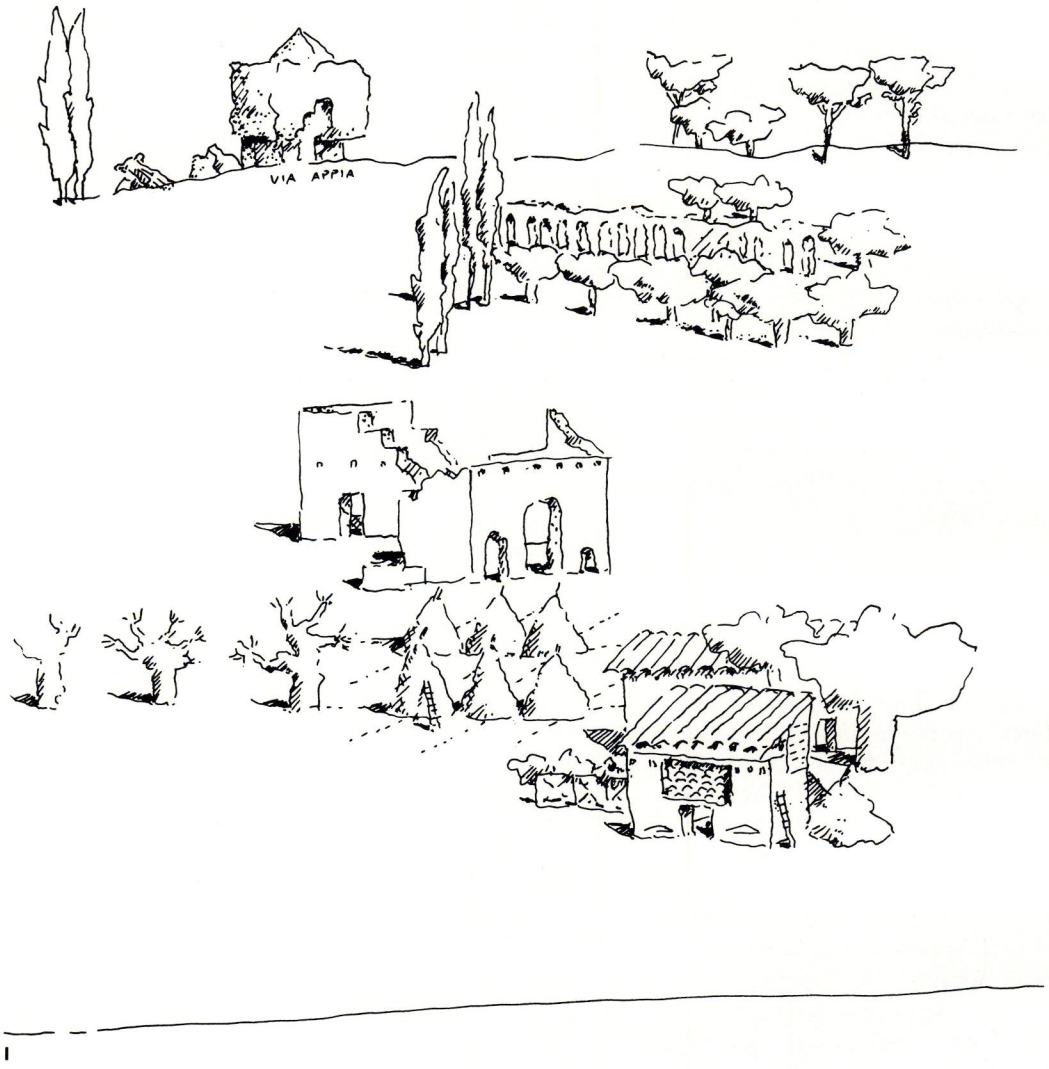
5 Of course, the physical environment is but one influence on perceptions. The same environment can evoke very different feelings, depending on its connection with the larger social setting. The Forum is a good example of this principle. In the imperial period, the Forum was even more cluttered and "intimate"; but, with the withering of popular institutions, the effect was to develop a sense, not of possession, but of continuous marvel—a sentiment appropriate to a tourist attraction.

6 George Steiner, *A Reader* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1984), pp. 429–430.

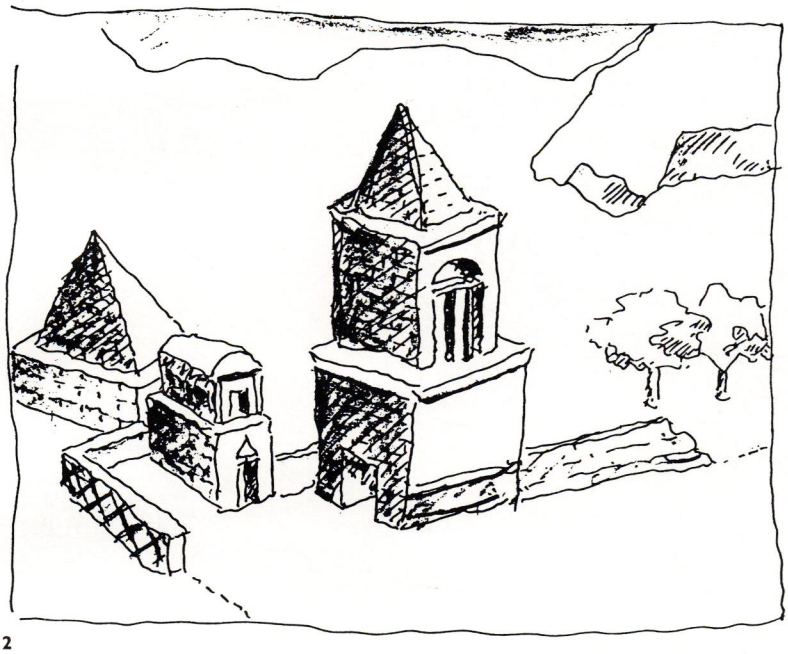
7 Samuel Huntington, "The Democratic Distemper," *The Public Interest* 41 (1975), p. 30. Huntington softened his views somewhat in his later book on the same topic, *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981). Many other examples of similar statements exist in the writings of presidential advisers, especially since 1970.

Sketches

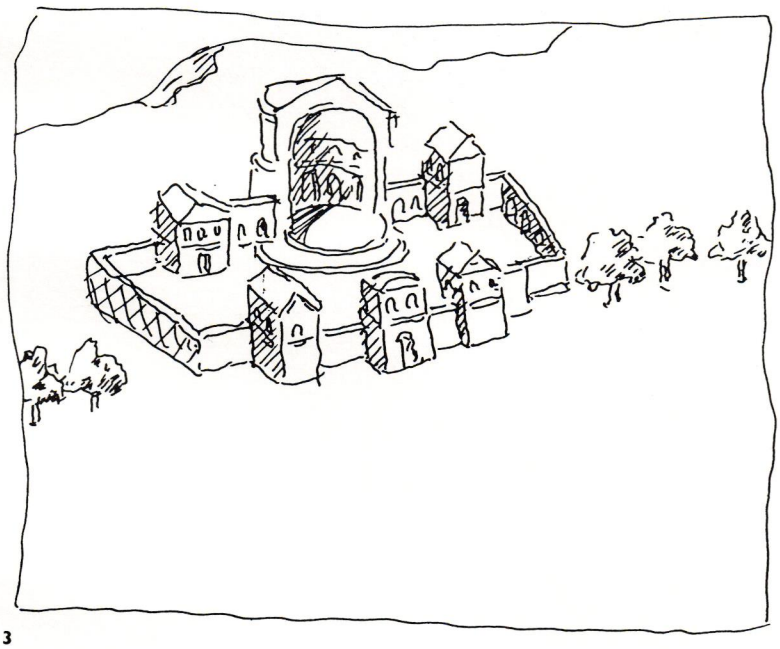
Michael Graves



1 Composite Landscape of Appia Antica



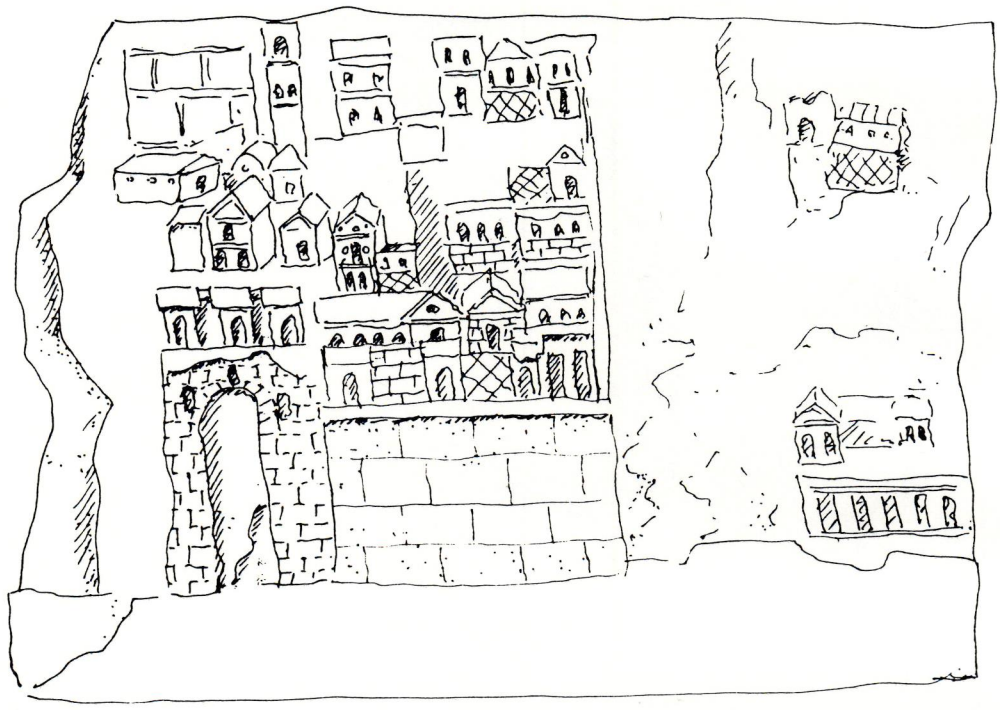
2



3

2 Sketch of Roma Antica after Pirro Ligorio 1561 (found in Edita Scudellari, 1820–30)

3 Sketch of Roma Antica after Stefano du Pérac, 1574

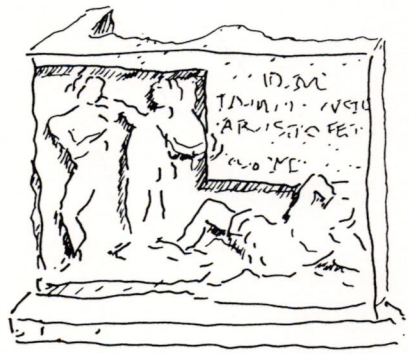


4

4 Marble relief of walled Italian hill town showing country houses outside the walls, AD 65±

5

6



7

5 Shop fronts in Trajan's Market, Rome

6 Herm of Janus in the Vatican Museum

7 Fragment of sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum

8

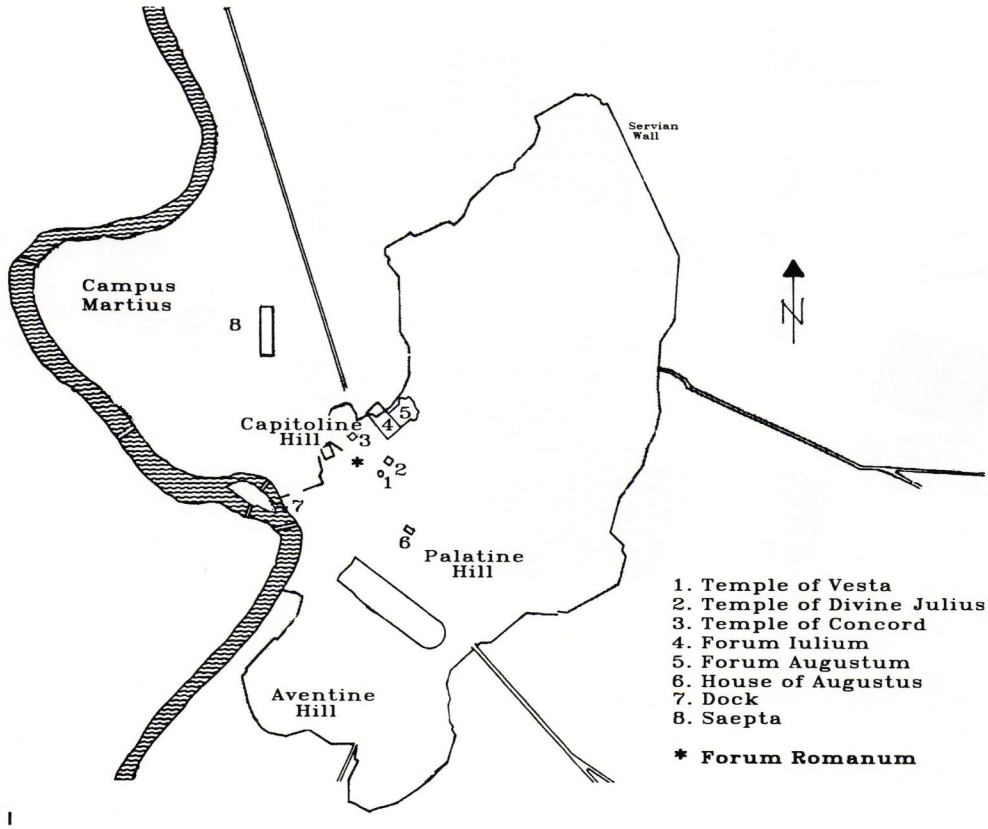
8 Crypt of San Clemente in Rome

The Roman Forum and Roman Memory

Diane Favro

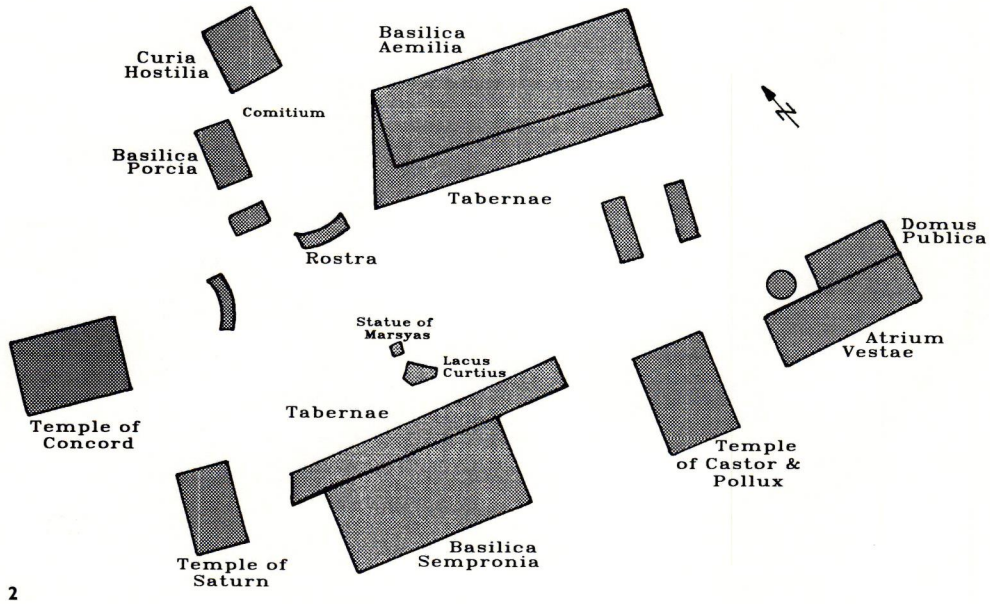
In the first century B.C., Cicero and Marcus Piso concurred on the irrevocable link between place and memory. Remembering the Forum Romanum, Piso remarked, "One's emotions are more strongly aroused by seeing the places that tradition records to have been the favorite resort of men of note in former days, than by hearing about their deeds or reading their writings."[1] For the Romans of the Republic, every physical location had a unique *genius loci*. This "spirit of place" drew power from the site's inherent forces and from the cumulative input of human interaction. As a focal point for communal energy, the Roman Forum was not just an open space in urban Rome, it was a container of collective consciousness. The genius of the Forum was the genius of the state.

During the Republic, every Roman's life revolved around the Forum. In this central urban space citizens received schooling, worshipped, conducted business, attended ceremonies, gathered news, and took part in history.[2] The very notion of the Forum reflected the needs of a state based on group rule by a small number. A magistrate walking through the republican Forum was expected to recognize the individuals he met, their rank, affiliations, and family history. In virtually every case, he could spark his



1 City of Rome during the early Empire.

Plans of the Forum are adapted from drawings in a book by Erika Simon, *Augustus, Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zietwende* (Munchen: Hirmer Verlag, 1986)



2

2 Forum Romanum in the Republic.

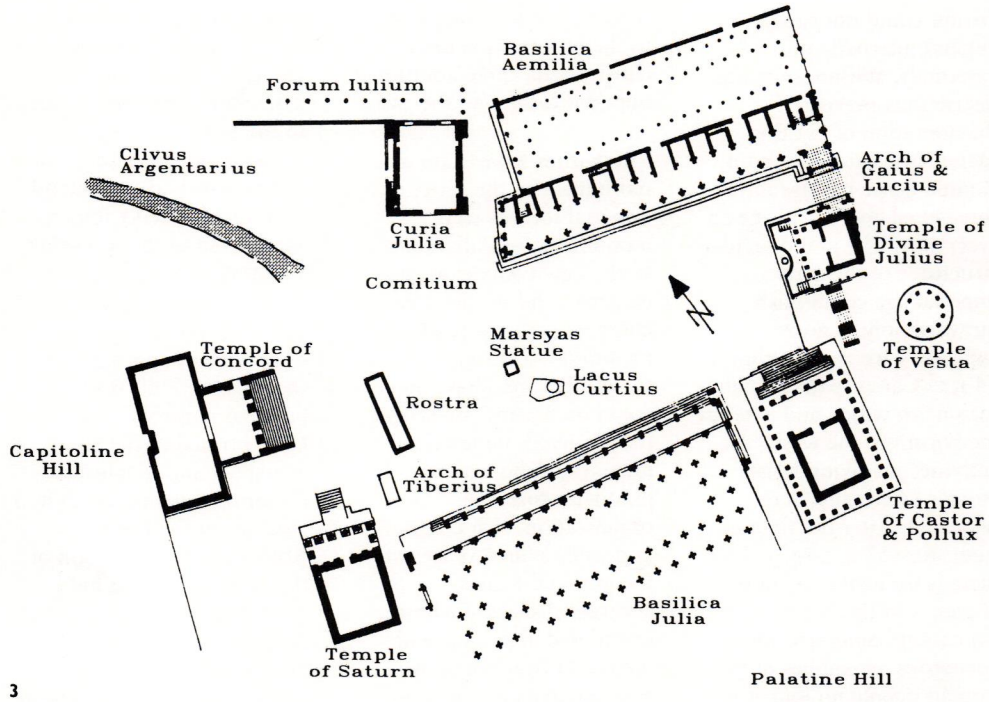
memory by referencing a particular building or locale. A glance at the Curia Cornelia called to mind the deeds of Lucius Cornelius Sulla; a stroll by the Basilica Aemilia recalled the deeds of all the Aemilii, and so on. In fact, a trip to the Forum was a lesson in republican history. Every building, every space, every stone had a story and a moral; every individual named or depicted stood as an exemplar. So powerful were the associations of place and memory, the genius loci actively affected current events. Alarmed that the dictator Caesar was exalting himself above the government, Marc Antony staged a public rebuke in early 44 B.C. Cassius Dio records that Antony "selected the Forum and the Rostra (speakers' platform) that Caesar might be made ashamed by the very places."[3]

By the first century B.C., the Roman Forum embodied over 500 years of memorable republican actions. As the century waned, tremendous changes occurred. Slowly, the aristocratic Republic was transformed into an absolutist imperial state with political control concentrated in the hands of one man.[4] The spirit of the Forum Romanum had been nurtured on republican ways, ideals, and goals. The new rulers recognized, however, that this genius had to be weakened, or redirected, if the Empire

were to succeed. Although the Forum continued to be a popular gathering point and the site of traditional ceremonies, displays, and portents and although magnificent new structures were erected and earlier buildings embellished, Rome's first emperors simultaneously drained the Roman Forum of contemporary import.

Activities in the Forum gradually became more and more debased. Decisions made in the Senate House (Curia) did not carry real weight unless endorsed by the emperor. The tribunals in the Forum's basilicas served more as entertainments than vital, official courts. Rome's residents frequently met in the Roman Forum to recall Rome's glorious past, gossip, examine artwork, and carouse. In effect, the Forum became a museum of history and art, not a stage for contemporary action.[5]

As activities in the Roman Forum decreased in contemporary significance, the power of the Forum's genius loci was siphoned off to other locales in the capital. In part, such transferral was necessitated by the new scale of the Roman world. The capital's population now numbered close to a million. Measuring approximately 200 × 70 yards, the Forum's central open space was too small for gatherings of the entire citizenry. Furthermore, the



3

3 Forum Romanum in the early Empire (ca. A.D. 20).

Forum could not easily expand internally or externally. Within, religious restrictions prevented the alteration of existing sacred structures. Without, Rome's dense urban fabric threatened encroachment on every side. The grand secular structures of the early imperial age could push outward only at great expense. Cicero notes that in 54 B.C. Caesar paid a small fortune to widen and extend the Forum to the west.[6] All activities involving large crowds eventually were relocated. After the time of Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14), there is no further mention of games in the Forum Romanum. Similarly, the boisterous assemblies of the Roman people no longer met in the open-air Comitium before the Senate House. Parades continued to pass through the old republican center, but they culminated in ceremonies located in more spacious, more imperial environs.

At first, the early emperors carefully justified alternative urban centers on the basis of need. Caesar argued that he constructed the grand Forum Iulium (ca. 52 B.C.) to accommodate public business.[7] Tangent to Caesar's enclosure, Augustus added his own imperial forum, claiming that "the increase in the number of people and lawsuits . . . seemed to call for still a third Forum."[8] Subsequent emperors no longer referenced their complexes to the Forum Romanum, constructing three additional imperial forums to the east.

The Forum Romanum was a monument to the state; the imperial forums were monuments to individuals. In the new complexes, the emperors did not have to compete with the republican memories so strongly felt in the old Forum. Here, they could orchestrate their own manipulated, imperial memories. The material grandeur, formal organization, rich colors, and well-defined spaces of the imperial forums contrasted sharply with the disordered appearance of the old Forum. These new environments provided the appropriate backdrop for imperial actions.

Programmatically, as well as visually, the magnificent imperial forums drew power away from the Forum Romanum. Both Caesar and Augustus vitalized their complexes by transferring activities from the old republican center. In addition, the Forum Augustum usurped the Forum Romanum as the capital's most prominent place for the display of commemoratives. Other imperial centers in Rome also detracted from the Forum Romanum. Augustus drained the Campus Martius north of the city center and transformed this undeveloped plain into a grand, orthogonal zone. Here Romans attended games and political assemblies formerly located in the Forum Romanum. These events of republican origin now had to contend with the decidedly imperial genius loci of the Augustan Campus.

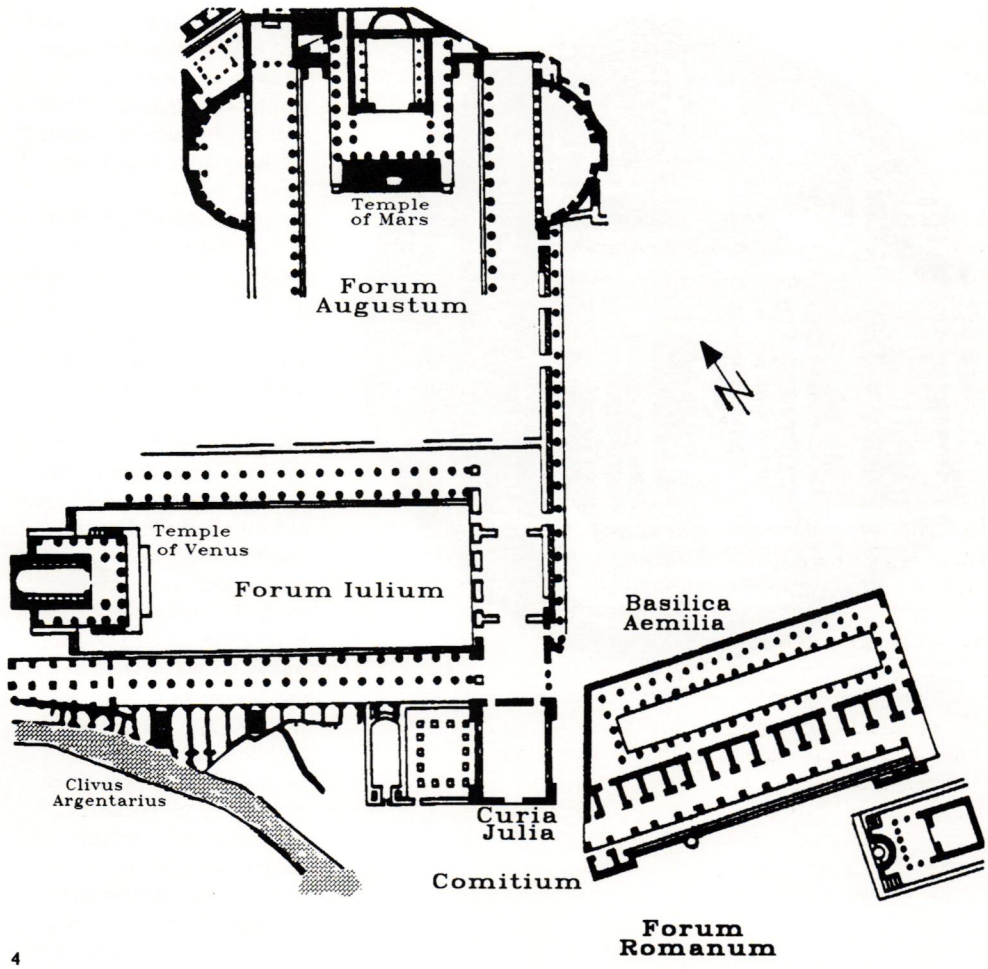
Yet another imperial development appeared on the Palatine Hill. With political control concentrated in the hands of a single man, the physical center of government shifted away from the Forum Romanum to the person of the emperor and to his residence. Although initially Augustus lived close to the Forum, he soon distanced himself from this republican center by moving up to the fashionable Palatine Hill. Gradually, more and more power migrated up the hill, away from the egalitarian Forum Romanum.[9] When Augustus became high priest, or Pontifex Maximus, in 12 B.C., tradition dictated that he reside in the Domus Publica at the southeastern end of the Forum Romanum. However, by that date, the emperor and his bureaucracy were well established on the Palatine. Wishing to keep both his hilltop residence and the title of Pontifex Maximus, Augustus devised a skillful solution. He donated part of his house to the state to ensure that he, as high priest, resided on public land. Subsequent emperors continued to aggrandize the Palatine, until it became the premier focus of imperial action.

Overshadowed by Rome's new imperial centers, the Forum Romanum became an area of secondary importance. Significantly, the Forum reverted to its original function as a transition space. Ambassadors crossed the Forum as they prepared to greet the emperor on the Palatine. Businessmen docking on the Tiber River traversed the area as they moved to the offices in the Forum Iulium. Plebians from the Aventine Hill to the south passed through the old Forum as they hurried to the baths in the Campus Martius. With major imperial centers on several sides, the Forum became merely a vestibule. In fact, two structures served as literal foyers. Caesar oriented the Curia Iulia (ca. 50 B.C.) to open directly into the Forum Iulium. The emperor Caligula (A.D. 37–41) sacrilegiously transformed the Temple of Castor and Pollux into the entryway to his Palatine residence.[10] He demonstrated further disdain for the old republican center by building a bridge from the Palatine to the opposing Capitoline Hill, bypassing the Forum altogether.[11]

The early emperors also made major alterations to the physical form of the Forum Romanum. During

the Republic, the Forum was an arena for public debate. In keeping with an egalitarian state, its large open area was loosely defined and accessible. The Forum had no confining physical boundaries and lay open to the city on every side. Within, each structure was distinct and autonomous, just as each republican citizen was free and self-determined. During the late first century B.C., the state began to negate group decisions and individual autonomy. No longer was there a reason to preserve an unencumbered open space for lobbying and voting. Many debates and trials moved indoors. Outdoors, the dictator Caesar reconstructed the Curia building and Rostra, blithely siting them to encroach upon the sacred open space of the Comitium. Augustus continued to build in the Forum's limited open space, completing Caesar's projects and adding a new temple, arches, and pavements and enlarging several existing structures.

Slowly the building projects of the late first century B.C. transformed the Forum Romanum into an imperial environment. The Fora Iulium and Augustum served as models. Each consisted of a well-defined rectangular space with flanking colonnades on the long sides and a towering temple on one short side.[12] To create a similar effect in the old



4

4 The first two imperial fora were located to the northeast of the Forum Romanum. Julius Caesar sited the Curia building so that it would stand as a vestibule to his new Forum Iulium.

5

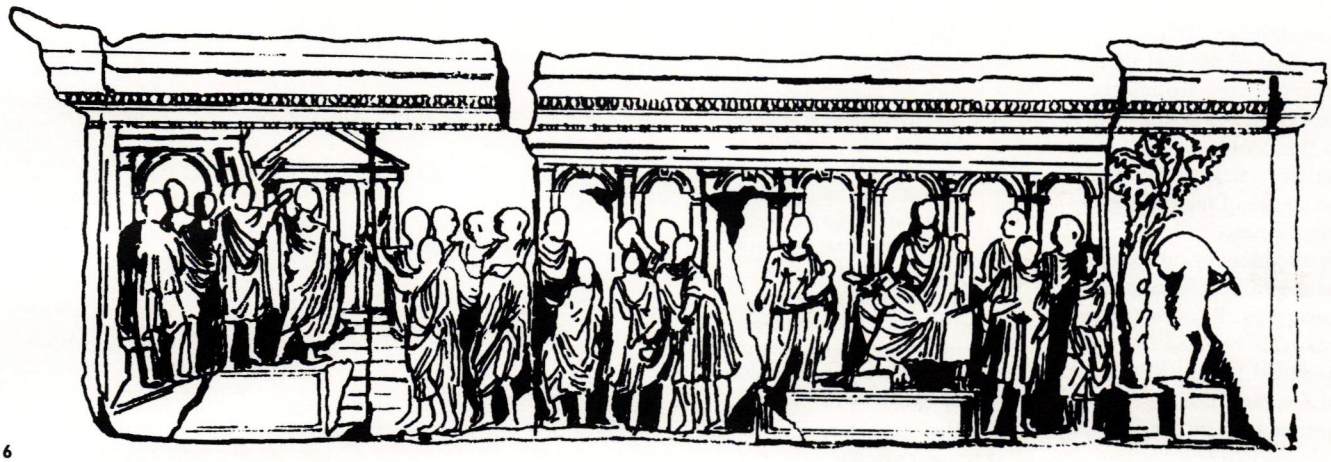
5 The Temple of Concord stood at the foot of the Capitoline hill on the Forum's northwestern edge. Shown on a Tiberian coin, the temple has unusually large windows to allow visitors in the Forum to see the artwork on display inside.

By Diane Favro

Forum, Augustus reworked and enlarged the Basilicae Aemilia and Iulia. The frontal colonnades of these two huge structures defined the long sides of a trapezoid, leaving only minor gaps for roads and glimpses of the city beyond. To the southeast, Augustus' temple to the Divine Julius (29 B.C.) fixed the trapezoid's short side. This structure rose on a high podium and was connected to the flanking structures by arches on both sides. As a result, it blocked the view toward the Temple of Vesta and the Domus Publica, two buildings whose power had been transferred to the Palatine Hill. At the Forum's opposite end, the trapezoid was terminated by the Temple of Concordia Augusta and the Capitoline Hill beyond. Only in the northern corner was there a break in the Forum's enclosing wall. A steep street—the Clivus Argentarius—encouraged movement outward, toward the adjoining Forum Iulium and beyond to the imperial attractions of the Campus Martius.

These alterations changed the northwestern Forum Romanum into a contained, ordered, and directed complex, in effect another inperial forum. The area's buildings no longer stood as independent units; like Rome's occupants, they succumbed to the greater power of the imperial state. Visitors to the Forum in the Augustan age found their every view and thought carefully manipulated. For example, Romans approaching from the northern Campus Martius first saw the Temple of the Divine Julius, a structure proudly proclaiming the Emperor's divine lineage. In contrast, their gaze rapidly passed over both the Senate House standing parallel to the line of vision and the long, uniform facades of the flanking basilicas.[13] Instead, attention was drawn to the Lacus Curtius and the Marsyas statue in the Forum's center. These freestanding monuments encouraged circumambulation. As they turned, visitors saw other commemoratives, including a sparkling equestrian statue of Augustus on the Rostra. Beyond, they glimpsed the Temple of Concordia Augusta, which celebrated the blessings of civil harmony brought to Rome by the first emperor.

The manipulated form of the imperial Forum Romanum recalls ancient stage sets. The individual structures created a roughly continuous, multistoried backdrop, complete with well-defined entries and easily identified associations, much like the front wall of a stage building (*scaenae frons*).[14] The theater analogy is apt. Wishing to deplete the Forum's republican power, the emperors transformed this once vital environment into a stage set for carefully regulated imperial performances. Augustus



went so far as to dictate the costumes of the actors on the stage. He ordered all citizens entering the sparkling environment of the imperial Forum Romanum to discard their dull gray cloaks and don more dramatic white togas.[15]

Imperial ceremonies also showed an increased preoccupation with theatricality at the expense of content. In fact, written descriptions of events in the Forum read like stage directions. In a lengthy passage, Tacitus describes the pageantry of A.D. 66, when the Parthian king Tiridates visited Rome to accept Nero's terms of peace:

> Before dawn the center of the Forum was filled with delegations of the Roman people, in white garments and with laurel wreaths on their heads; on the sides and at the entrances the soldiers, with gleaming weapons and standards, were drawn up; countless spectators occupied every available inch of ground, even the very roofs of the buildings. At the rising of the sun Nero appeared in the Forum clad in the garb of triumph . . . When the public saw [Tiridates] . . . bowing humbly before their emperor, they raised . . . shouts of enthusiasm.[16]

The description implies that the action of political importance—the negotiation of a bloodless peace—was eclipsed by the elaborate pomp of the performance. Nero staged this event to affirm his power and, simultaneously, to entertain Rome's idle residents. Familiar with such events, they played their part well, booing and applauding at the appropriate moments.

By the first century, the substance of events in the Forum Romanum clearly had changed. In this time-honored locale, Romans of the Empire enacted pallid recreations of full-bodied republican performances. Distanced from real power, the Forum became a stage for animated, yet eviscerated performances. Appearance, not substance, mattered. The Forum Romanum of the early Empire was more ordered, magnificent, and contained than in republican times. Here, citizens did not have to worry about actions and achievements. They were too preoccupied marveling at the Forum's opulent buildings, splashy ceremonies, and wondrous artworks. In effect, the Forum Romanum itself became a great monument, a well-carved piece of sculpture admired by residents and tourists alike. Two centuries before, the censor Cato had laughed at the portraits by bronze workers and painters,

6 A hadrianic relief depicts the Roman Forum as a theatrical backdrop for imperial ceremony, in this instance the celebrations at the institution of the *alimenta* to support poor children.
By Diane Favro

complaining, "They overlooked the fact that citizens carry around the best portraits of themselves in their souls . . . I should rather be asked why there is no statue of me than why there is one."[17] Seduced by the blessings of peace, relieved of the burden of governing, Rome's citizens passively enjoyed the well-designed Forum Romanum of the early Empire. They did not want to be asked why.

Notes

1 Cic.*de fin.*V.2.

2 Cicero's orations and letters provide ample examples of activities in the Forum Romanum; on crowding see *Planc.*7.; on financial transactions see *Leg. Man.*VII.19, on judicial action see *Cat.*1.3–4.

3 XLVI.19.

4 The traditional date for the start of the Roman Republic is 509 B.C. Various dates are given for the Empire's beginning: 44 B.C., the date of the death of the dictator Caesar; 31 B.C., the year of the victory of Caesar's heir Octavian at Actium; or 27 B.C., the year of Octavian's assumption of the title "Augustus."

5 Losing effectual power in the governing of the state, Rome's citizens focused their attention on architectural and artistic materials and artistic styles rather than on politics. J. J. Pollitt provides an interesting overview of connoisseurship during the late first century B.C., in *The Art of Rome* (Prentice-Hall, Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1966), pp. 74–81.

6 *ad Att.*IV.17.

7 App.*BC.*II.102.

8 Suet.*Aug.*29.

9 Augustus kept a low profile on the Palatine, living in a modest structure and reworking the interiors of surrounding houses for his staff. Subsequent emperors erected ostentatious residences that also served as governmental centers. The word *palace* derives from these magnificent residential/governmental buildings on the Palatine.

10 DioCass.LIX.28.5.

11 Suet.*Calig.*22.

12 Because extensive excavations still have not been conducted in the forums of Caesar and Augustus, the configuration of the sides opposite the main temples remains uncertain.

13 Admittedly, the visual rhythm of the two basilica facades was different. The Basilica Aemilia, restored by the first emperor (14 B.C.), had a trabeated front elevation. The Basilica Iulia, begun by Caesar and reworked by Augustus twice (dedicated A.D. 12), had a visually faster arcuated facade.

14 Vitr.V.6.6–9.

15 Suet.*Aug.*40 Augustus also promoted the white toga because of its historical associations. Virgil describes the earliest Romans, "Behold them, conquerors of the world, the nation clad in the toga" (Virgil.*Aen.*1.282).

16 *Ann.*XVI.3.

17 Plut.*Cato.*19.

The Forum Transformed

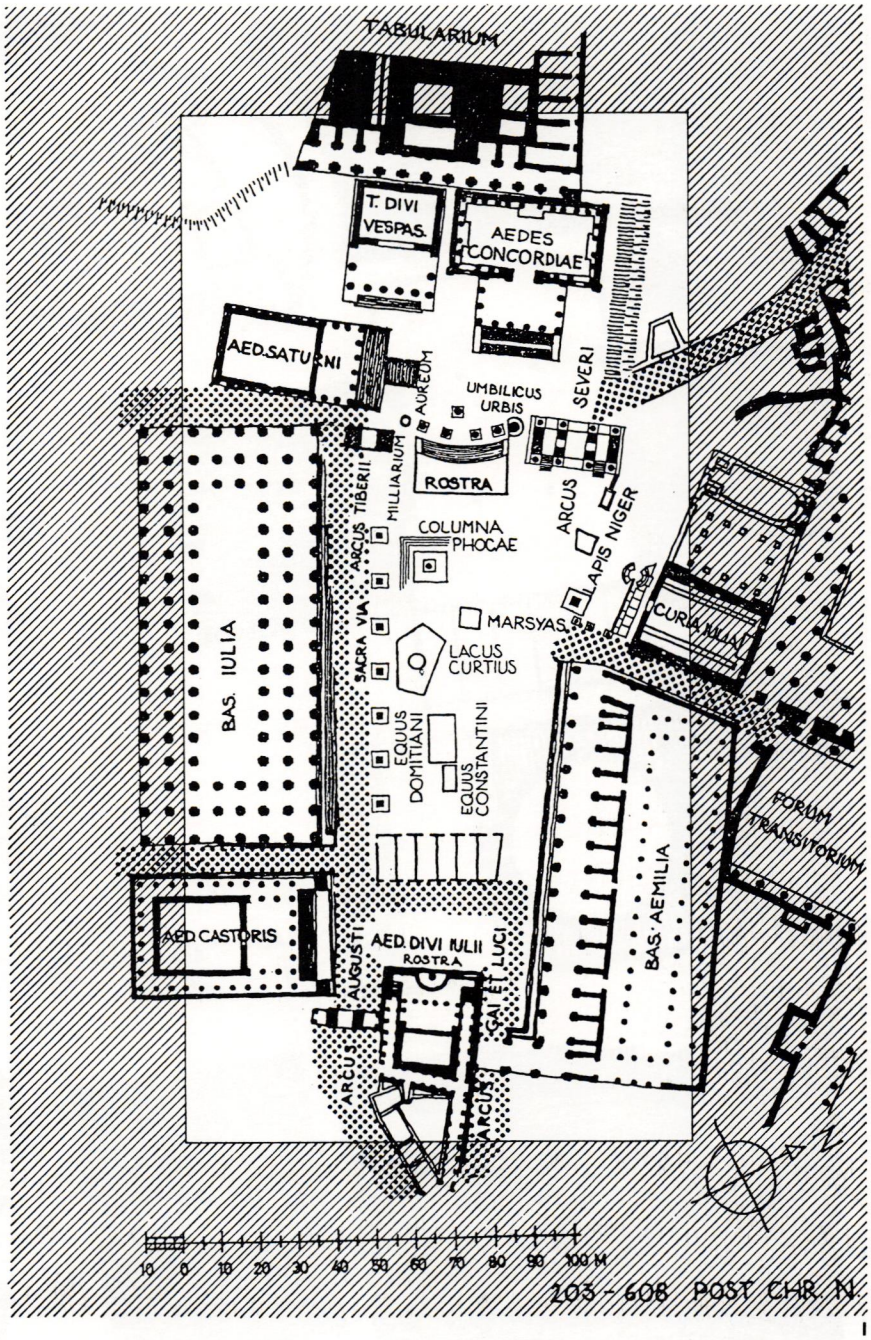
Heinrich Hermann

This project served to investigate the possibility of transforming the ancient Roman Forum into an urban setpiece of our time.

For the process of transformation, the footprint of the physical condition of the Forum in the period between A.D. 203 and 608 was chosen. In this footprint all of the edge-defining elements have been maintained, with the exception of the Arch of Septimius Severus, the Tetrarchic Monument, and several smaller monuments within the main open space.

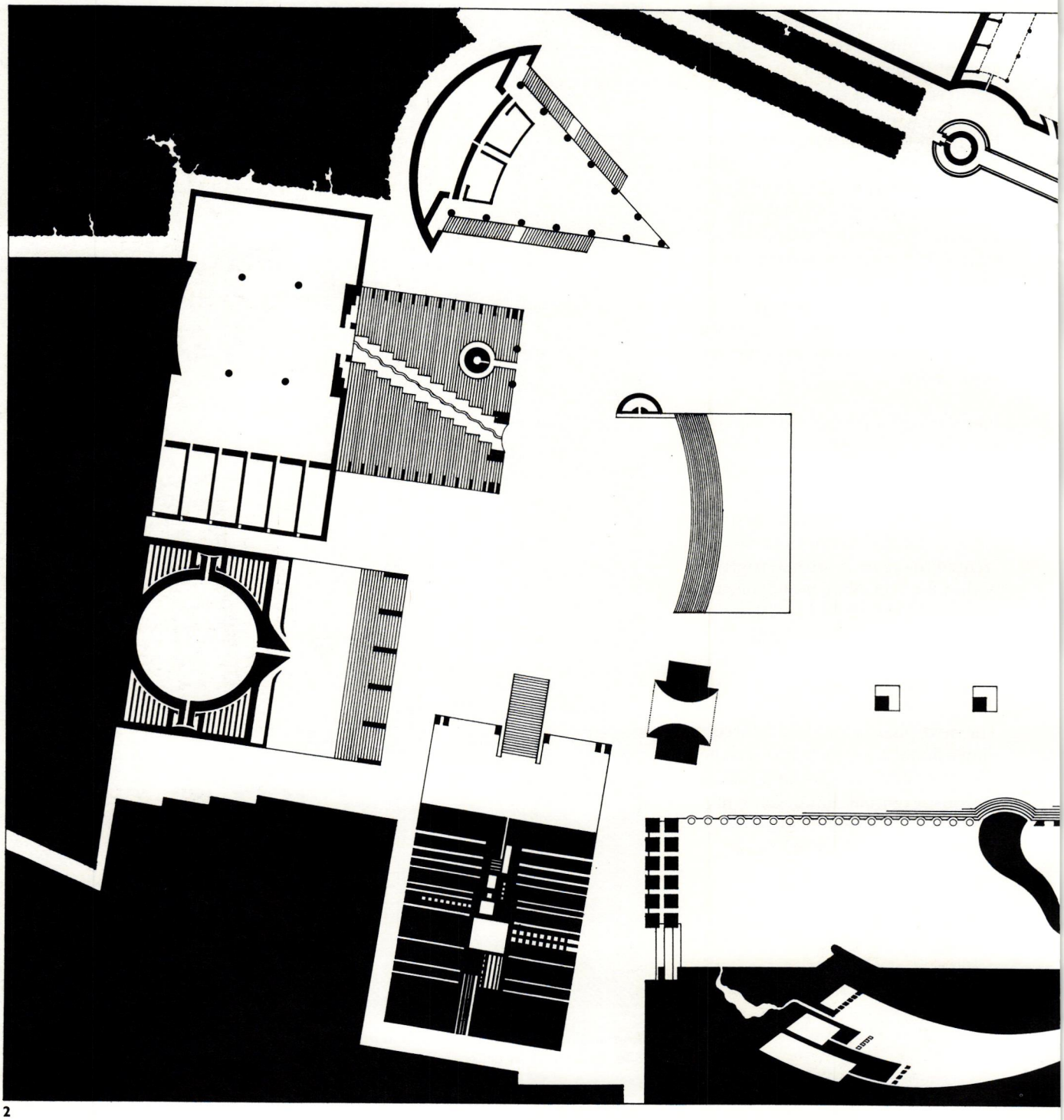
Figure 2 represents the first phase of the project, a transformed plan of the ancient Forum. The definitions of public and private space have been made more complex, and the typological variety has been increased to create more heterogeneity within the prevailing homogeneity. In functional terms, this "New Forum" is still understood to be serving both "utilitarian" and "nonutilitarian" needs.

The next phase would be a three-dimensional transformation of the plan through drawings and models, with the eventual aim of applying the lessons thus found to actual, contemporary urban conditions.



1 Roman Forum between A.D. 203 and 608. The area of the project is not hatched.
Drawing from Paul Zanker, *Forum Romanum* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1972)

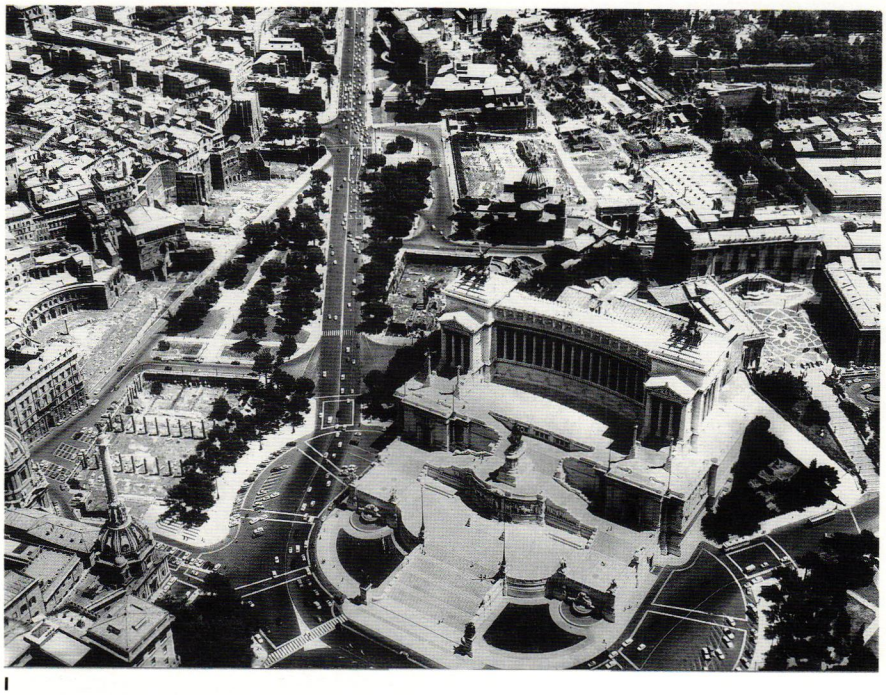
2 Transformed plan of the ancient Forum. (Pages 26 and 27)
Drawing by Heinrich Hermann



2

Excavations in the Roman Status Quo

Roberto Einaudi



1

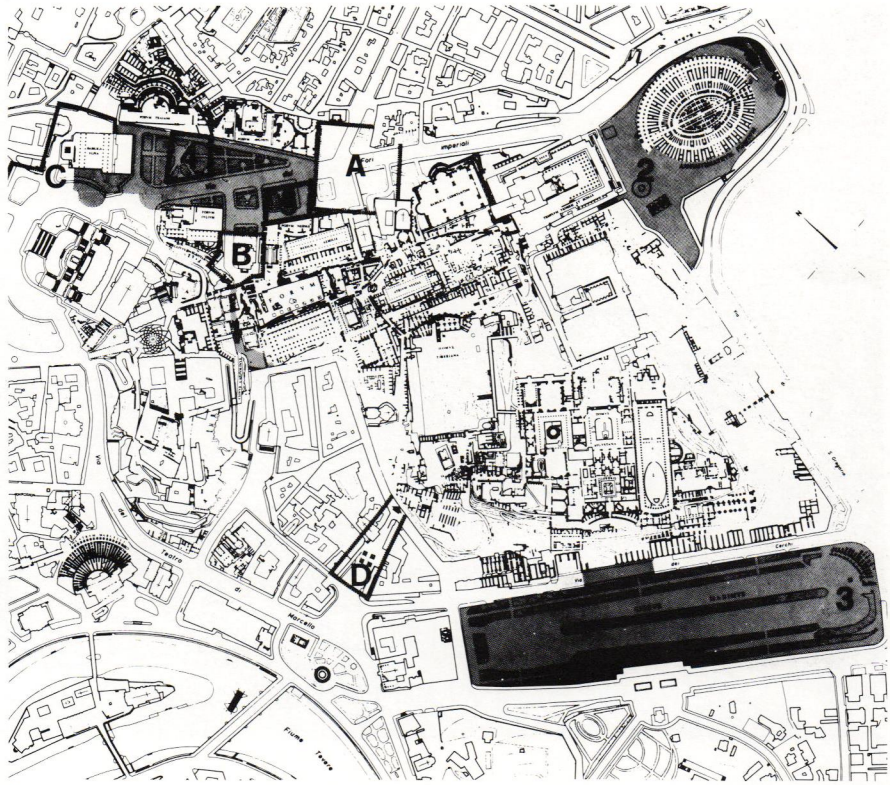
1 Aerial view of Via dei Fori Imperiali, showing the Monument of Vittorio Emanuele and Piazza Venezia (*foreground*), the forums of Trajan, Augustus, and Nerva (*left*), and the Roman Forum (*right*).
Photograph by Fotocielo.

After the December 1978 earthquake, Archaeological Superintendent of Rome Adriano La Regina raised a cry of alarm against the progressive destruction of the Roman monuments and the loss of the marble decoration left exposed to the elements. The vibrations caused by the endless traffic and the pollution resulting from the exhausts of cars and heating plants were combining with the natural elements to destroy our architectural and artistic heritage. The state superintendency succeeded in obtaining the support of the city government and a wide sector of the public, an action leading to the closure in 1981 of Via della Consolazione between the Roman Forum and the Capitoline Hill and to the passage of a special law in parliament to allow extra-ordinary research and restoration in the archaeological area. A joint city–state committee in 1983 proposed the gradual closure of the main thoroughfare, Via dei Fori Imperiali (which divided the area of the forums), and the start of systematic archaeological research on and excavation of the area.

The project to transform the area of the forums, although born from archaeological conservation needs, clearly posed even greater problems at urban, architectural, historic, and social levels. Plans for phased excavations allowed maximum public use of the area during the dig. Excavations were to start in 1983 in Trajan's Forum in the gardens of Via Alessandrina and in 1984 in the Forum of Nerva. During the next 15 years,

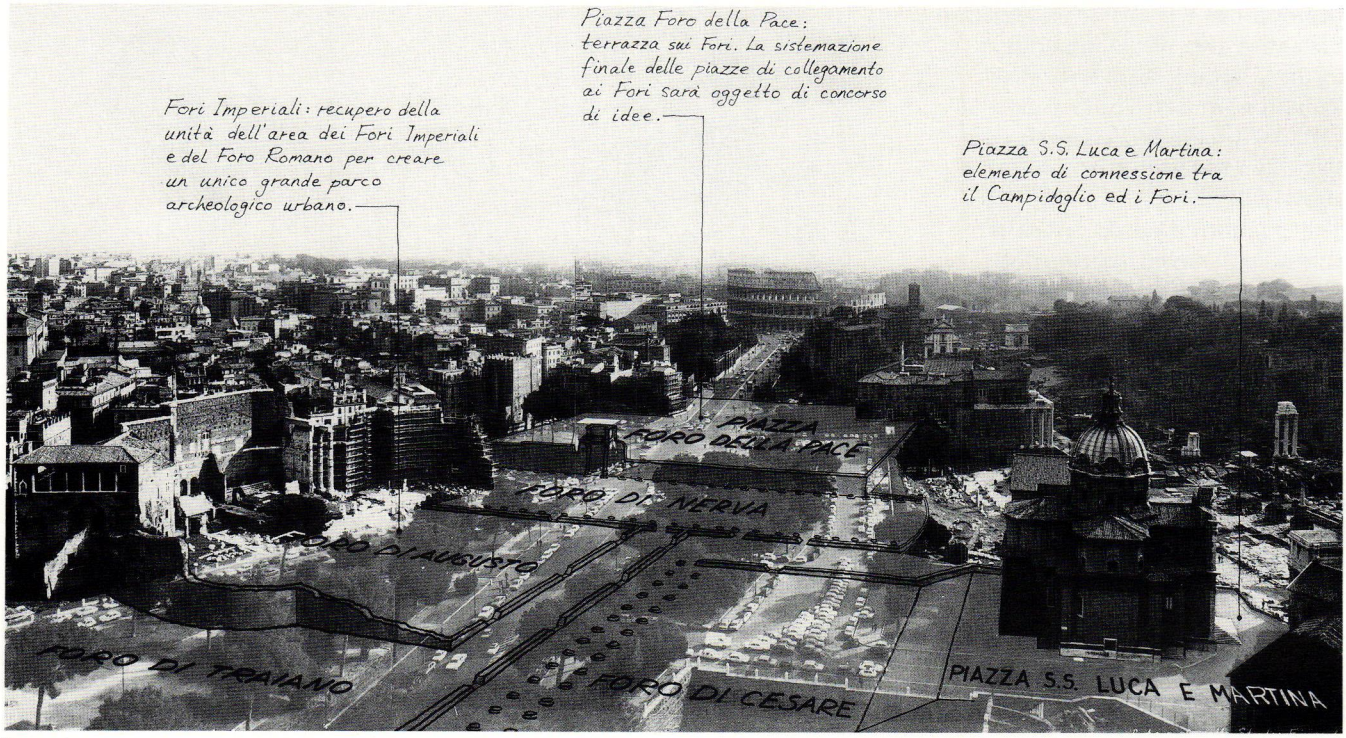
explorations were to be extended to the entire area of the imperial forums, linking them with the Roman Forum by eliminating Via dei Fori Imperiali between Piazza Venezia and Largo Corrado Ricci above the ancient Forum of Peace. The creation of raised pedestrian pathways—reconstructions of several of the Renaissance streets that criss-crossed the area before it was demolished in the 1930s—would allow the public to penetrate and cross the area and to follow the digs without interfering with them. At the same time, an international competition was to be held to define the configuration of the three piazzas that formed important nodes between the city and the archaeological area: Piazza Venezia–Piazza Colonna Traiana, Piazza S. S. Luca e Martina, and Largo Corrado Ricci.

Great anticipation was felt around the world as the time for the initiation of the project approached. But, slowly opposition was mounting. The national Ministry of Culture, after a change of ministers, reversed its previous stance and made it clear that no funds provided by the special law were to be used for any new excavations. However, the left-wing city government allocated money to start the excavations, even without funding from the central government, and a large area over the Forum of Nerva adjacent to the entry of the Roman Forum was fenced in. But the elections of 1985 brought a change in the city government, which continues to pay lip service to the project but appears to have shelved it.



2

2 Archaeological plan of 1983, indicating the areas to be excavated (*shaded*) and the urban piazzas to be restudied to provide access to the archaeological park (*A–D*). Drawing by Studio Einaudi



3

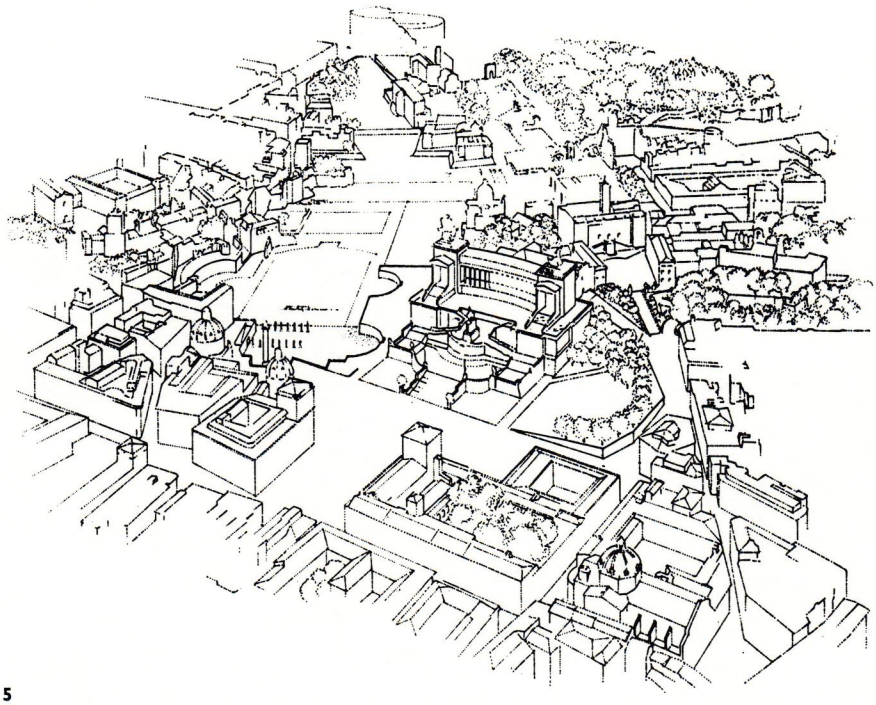
3 Panoramic view of the present-day Via dei Fori Imperiali, and a superimposed diagram of the excavated forums proposed in the 1983 plan.
Photograph from Studio Einaudi

The opponents of the project say it is insane to remove a major traffic artery such as Via dei Fori Imperiali without first resolving the traffic problems of the city. The proponents answer that the majority of the cars using the street is through traffic that should be diverted to tangential roads around the city center and that the road only brings congestion in an area where it is essential that traffic be regulated. The opponents say the project costs too much and that there are many other more important things to do in Rome, that the Medieval Renaissance, and baroque art and architecture is also in severe decay and that the limited funds available would best be spent there. The proponents answer that the remains of the capital of the ancient world are unique and must be saved, as must all the unique artifacts of other eras. The cost of the project, they say, is the equivalent of the cost of building a few meters of subway, which no one would think of denying. The opponents say the proposed plan would open a large gaping hole—a cemetery—in the heart of a modern city. The proponents answer that large areas of the archaeological zone would be opened up as public piazzas, as places of assembly like those the forums were built to be. Pedestrian movement through the area would be stimulated rather than cut off by traffic and physical barriers as it is today. The opponents say that Via dei Fori Imperiali is as much a part of history as are the imperial forums below and those who wish to remove it are primarily interested in eliminating the traces of the fascist

4

4 Plan of the central archaeological area proposed by the state superintendency in 1986.

Drawing from "Roma, Studio per la Sistemazione dell'Area Archaeological Centrale," coordinated by Leonardo Benevolo



5

5 Perspective sketch of the area of the Roman forums after the execution of the proposed 1986 plan.

Drawing from "Roma, Studio per la Sistemazione dell'Area Archaeological Centrale," coordinated by Leonardo Benevolo

6 Two perspective sketches of the proposed museum, which would block the axis of Via dei Fori Imperiali, and photographs of the existing situation.

Drawings and photographs from "Roma, Studio per la Sistemazione dell'Area Archaeological Centrale," coordinated by Leonardo Benevolo

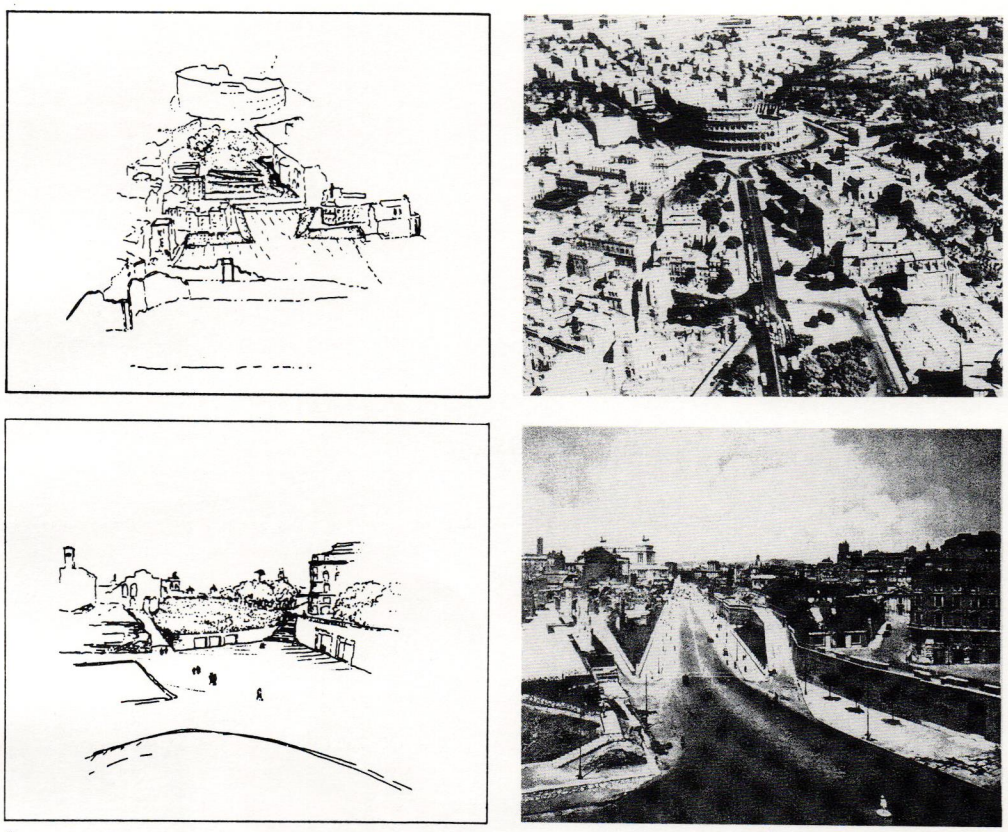
7 Perspective view of the termination of Via Cavour at the excavated Forum of Peace.

Drawing from "Roma, Studio per la Sistemazione dell'Area Archaeological Centrale," coordinated by Leonardo Benevolo

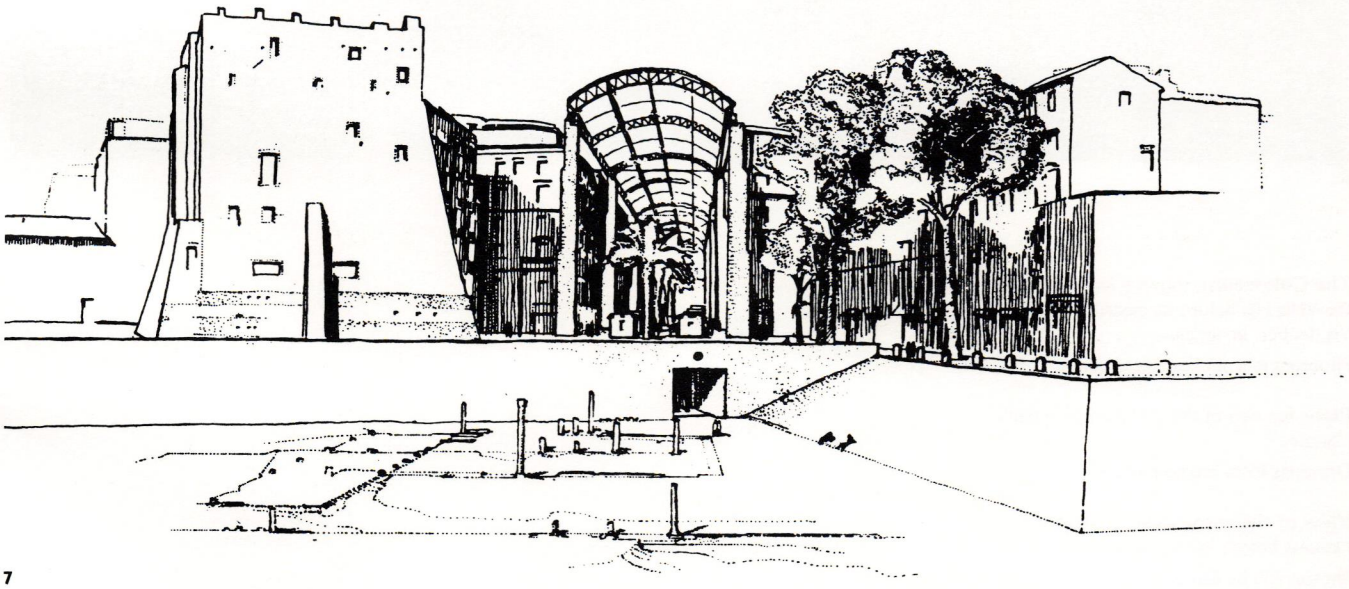
regime. The proponents say that surely a layer of asphalt cannot be compared with the multiple layers of history to be uncovered, layers that are not limited to the imperial Roman level, and that all historical eras including the fascist one will be thoroughly documented and, where appropriate, left in place. Although the debate has produced a stalemate at the present time, the differing points of view have led to a widening of the overall perspective, introducing many new ideas to the discussion.

In the meantime, even though no new excavation could be started outside the defined archaeological area, intensive research and digs were started within the area. The state superintendency, with the help of the Italian universities such as those of Rome and Pisa, the superintendency of the city of Rome, and foreign institutions, such as the American Academy in Rome, the Finnish Institute, the Swiss Academy, the French School, and the Scandinavian Institutes, explored an area that had previously been excavated only superficially. This work led to the discovery and definition of many strata, some extending as far back as the tenth century B.C.

The state superintendency has sponsored a new plan of the archaeological area. Leonardo Benevolo has coordinated this work, which includes input from urban planners, architects, archaeologists, traffic specialists, and landscape architects. Their proposal covers the entire central archaeological area, from Piazza



6



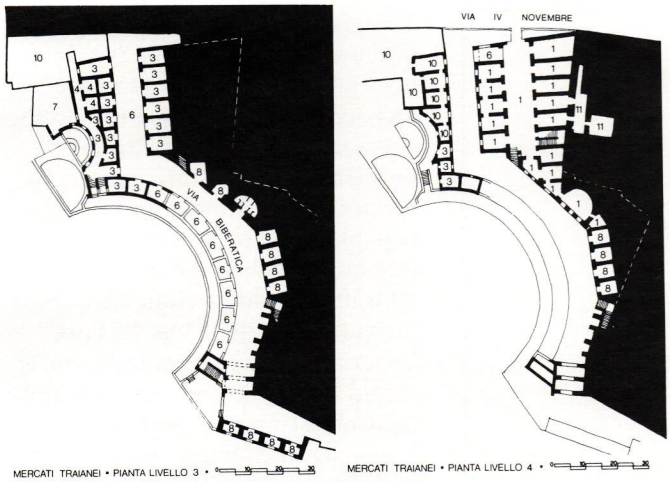
7

8

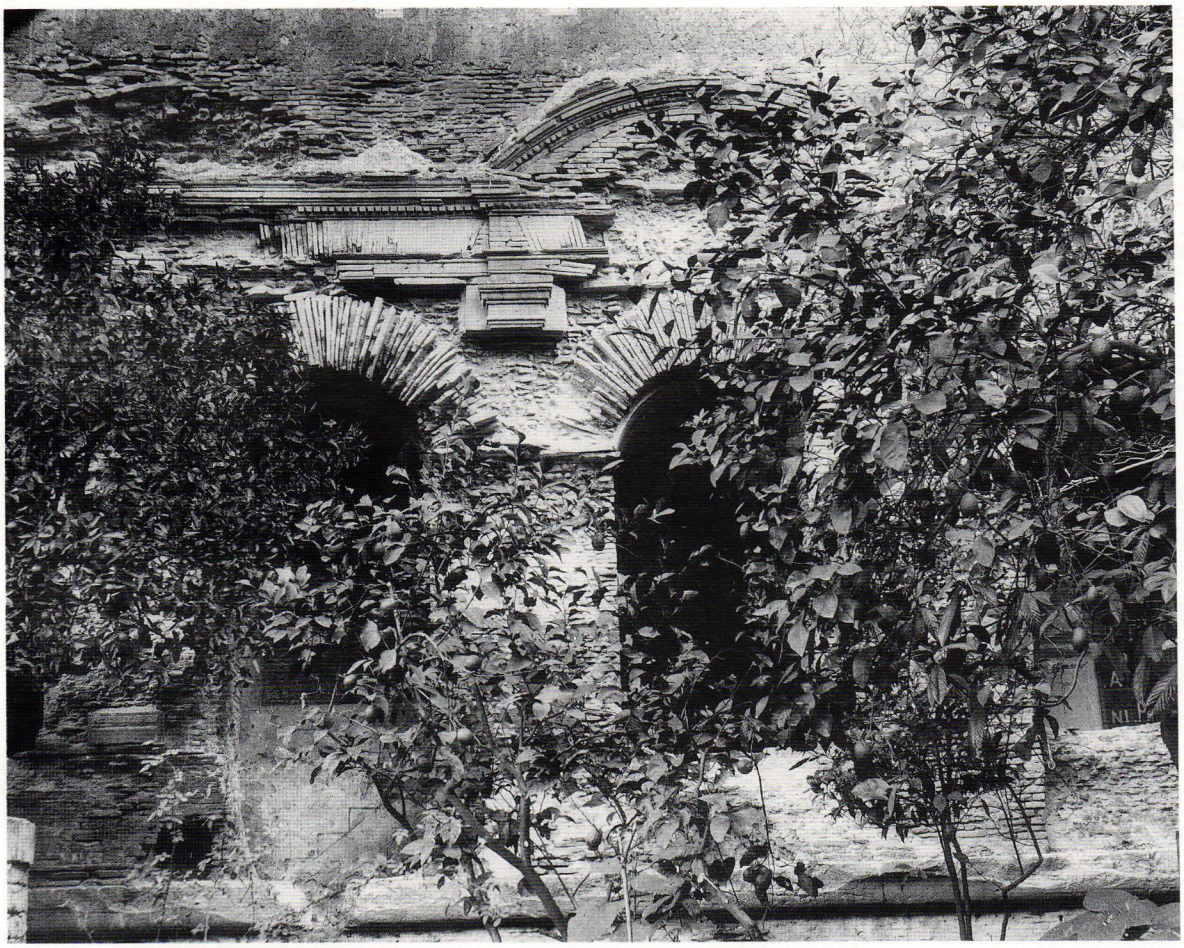
8 The Colosseum, showing in the foreground the Velia Hill before its destruction to form Via dei Fori Imperiali.
Photograph from Fototeca Unione

9 Plans for two of the six levels of Trajan's Markets.
Drawings from Studio Einaudi

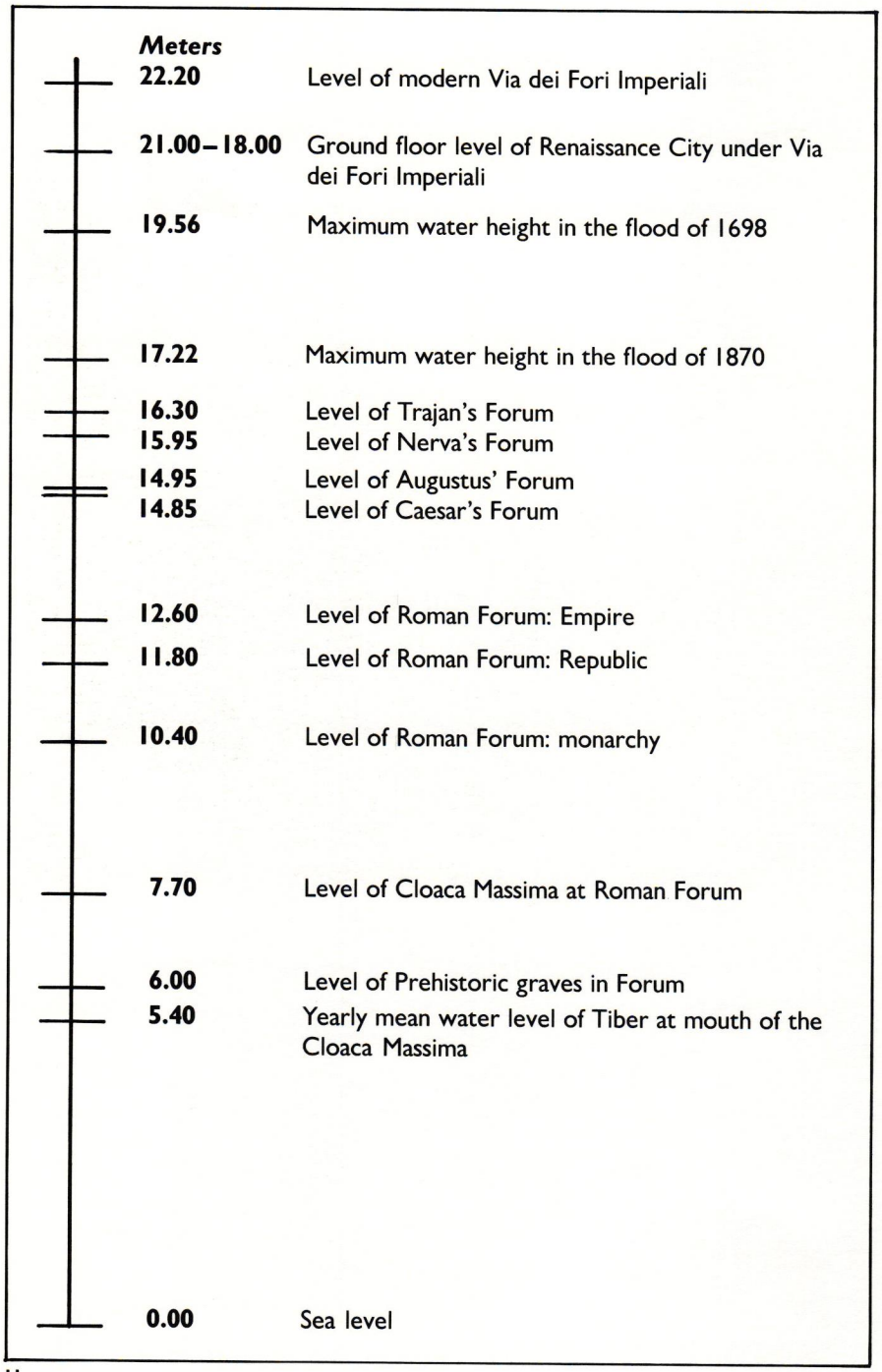
10 View of the semicircle of Trajan's Markets before its excavation.
Photograph by Esther Van Deman


VIA IV NOVEMBRE
VIA BIBERATICA
MERCATI TRAIANEI • PIANTA LIVELLO 3 •
MERCATI TRAIANEI • PIANTA LIVELLO 4 •

9



10



11

Venezia to the Appia Antica. One of the virtues of this plan is that it does not limit its analysis to the archaeological area but looks to the entire city to resolve the traffic problems of the historic center. For the area of the Roman forums, the new plan proposes a solution even more radical than the initial plan; all traffic would be eliminated from the entire length of Via dei Fori Imperiali and underground tunnels would be introduced in the area of the Colosseum and the Bath of Caracalla to eliminate surface traffic in the archaeological area within the Aurelian walls. To avoid a criticism of insufficient planning for traffic, the project includes proposals for new subways, the transformation of existing railway lines in support of a city rapid transit system, and the addition of new tangential highways to bypass the historic center. The new plan recommends that even the Foro della Pace (Largo Corrado Ricci) be excavated and that the Velia Hill, which divided the Colosseum from the forums before Mussolini cut through it to link Palazzo Venezia with the Colosseum, be totally reconstructed. The new Velia Hill would enclose within its volume a museum dedicated to the central archaeological area.

The virtues of this scheme are threefold: It completely eliminates traffic from the archaeological area; it provides a much-needed archaeological museum in direct contact with the area it serves; and it reconstitutes the original ancient Roman topography.

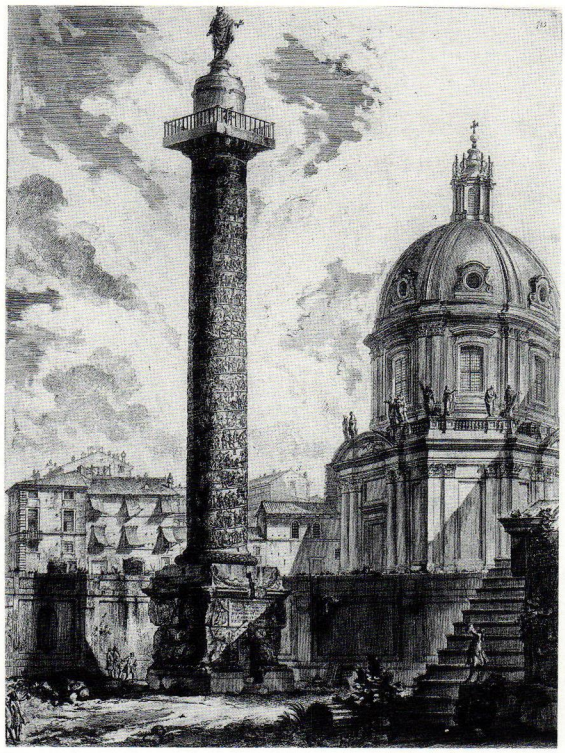
12

11 Heights of the layers at the Roman Forum site. The numbers represent meters above sea level.

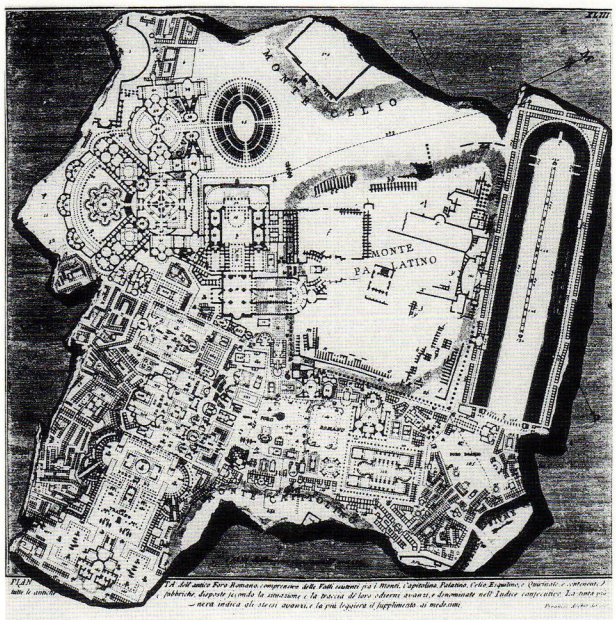
Diagram prepared by Studio Einaudi

12 Elevated street passing at the turn of the century through the Roman Forum between the Temple of Saturn (*left*) and the Temple of Vespasian (*right*), which lies below the Capitoline Hill.

Photograph from Vatican Museums



13



14

The proposal, however, seems to be too tied to a desire to recreate a situation of the past. The cut of the Velia is as much a part of the present as the cut that the emperor Trajan did of the hill connecting the Capitoline with the Quirinal in order to build his forum. And the visual axis from Piazza Venezia to the Colosseum is as much a part of Rome as, for example, those opened by Giulius II for Via Giulia and Sixtus V to connect S. Maria Maggiore with Trinità dei Monti.

Of the many projects being developed today in the universities, both in Italy and abroad, most try to recognize in some manner the axis of Via dei Fori Imperiali, even if its function as a thoroughfare is eliminated and excavations are carried out in the whole archaeological area. The axis could be maintained, although much reduced in width, to provide a public promenade with an ideal view of the forums below. Public transportation could also use the axis linking the metro stop at the Colosseum with Largo Corrado Ricci and with Piazza Venezia. In other words, to the east of the axis the relatively uncomplex nature of Trajan's and Augustus's forums would allow continuous access both in space and in time, giving a more public nature to the forums, and on the west side of the axis, where the complexity and richness of the Roman Forum and Caesar's Forum requires more control, access would be regulated. Connection of the forums beneath the axis would be through Nerva's Forum, which was known in antiquity as the Forum

Transitorium, because it was used as a link between different parts of the city and the other forums. Connections beneath the axis could also be made by utilizing the Renaissance structures still existing under the asphalt and gardens of Via dei Fori Imperiali, structures recently revealed by test pit digs.

Alternative locations for the much-needed museum(s) of the central archaeological area include (1) under Largo Corrado Ricci, (2) in the restored Trajan's Markets, and (3) in structures on the Capitoline Hill, which would be freed of its present bureaucratic functions. Under Largo Corrado Ricci, in the six- to seven-meter fill above the Forum of Peace, one or two museum levels could be placed. This museum would incorporate the Roman remains within its structure, while its roof would form a plaza relating directly to the modern level above. The new museum could provide a gateway to the excavated area in the same location traditionally used to enter the Roman Forum and could deal with the general urban and architectural documentation of the area, including the magnificent large-scale model of the ancient city of Rome currently housed in EUR and other reconstructed models of the single building complexes forming the central archaeological area. More specialized archaeological collections could be housed in Trajan's Markets and on the Capitoline Hill, where plans are already underway to house the antiquarian collection. Both of these locations are traditional vantage points for viewing the archaeological area and could also become new entry locations.

One of the major problems to be resolved is how to preserve the multiple layers of history without doing injustice to any of them. The figure indicating the layering of the forums in Rome gives an idea of how complex and how rich the situation is. Goethe observed in his "Travels in Italy" in 1786 how "at the beginning it is difficult for the observer to understand how Rome succeeded Rome, and not only the new on top of the ancient, but the various epochs of the new and of the ancient one on top of the other."

The progressive increase in height of the land is due to many factors. The many sackings of Rome after the fall of the empire caused the accumulation of debris. Earthquakes and fires, common even in antiquity, were doubly damaging when structures were in a general state of disrepair and added to the rising accumulation of debris. Further consolidation of the debris occurred as a result of the almost yearly floods, which deposited layers of silt and left large areas of the city swampy. Garbage accumulated in areas no longer in use. Landfill was then purposely added by the popes to make previously unsanitary areas fit for new construction.

The urge to rediscover what was buried underneath was first felt by the Renaissance artists and architects who during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries avidly

13 Trajan's Column; engraving by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1741).

14 Plan of the central archaeological area; engraving by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1756).

15

15 View from the Roman Forum in the late nineteenth century, showing in the background the Renaissance city later destroyed by the excavations of the 1930s.
Photograph from Fototeca Unione

explored and documented the ancient remains.

But their interest was not so much to preserve the Roman monuments as to learn from the uncovered material and, on occasion, to reutilize single decorative or architectural elements within their own work. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Piranesi, together with countless other European artists, exalted the virtues of the romantic ruins; and, in fact, the first timid excavations to free Roman monuments date from that time when the base of Trajan's Column was liberated. During Napoleon's brief reign, the French, under the direction of Valladier, started major excavations in the early nineteenth century; excavation of parts of the Basilica Ulpia next to Trajan's Column and many areas of the Roman Forum were started; and the Colosseum was restored and consolidated. But it was not until the turn of the century that full-scale excavations of the entire area of the forums were initiated.

Under the direction of Giacomo Boni, the entire Roman Forum and Palatine Hill were excavated, an enterprise entailing many difficult decisions as to what to demolish and what to leave standing. But, until the arrival of Mussolini, no one had the temerity to destroy a whole city that had grown up during the Renaissance on top of the imperial forums. No one today would have either the power or the desire to initiate such widespread destruction as was executed in a few short years in the 1930s. Yet we should conclude the cycle started several centuries ago of rethinking and redefining the edges of the archaeologial area (left interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War) and of completing and rationalizing the excavations within the area.

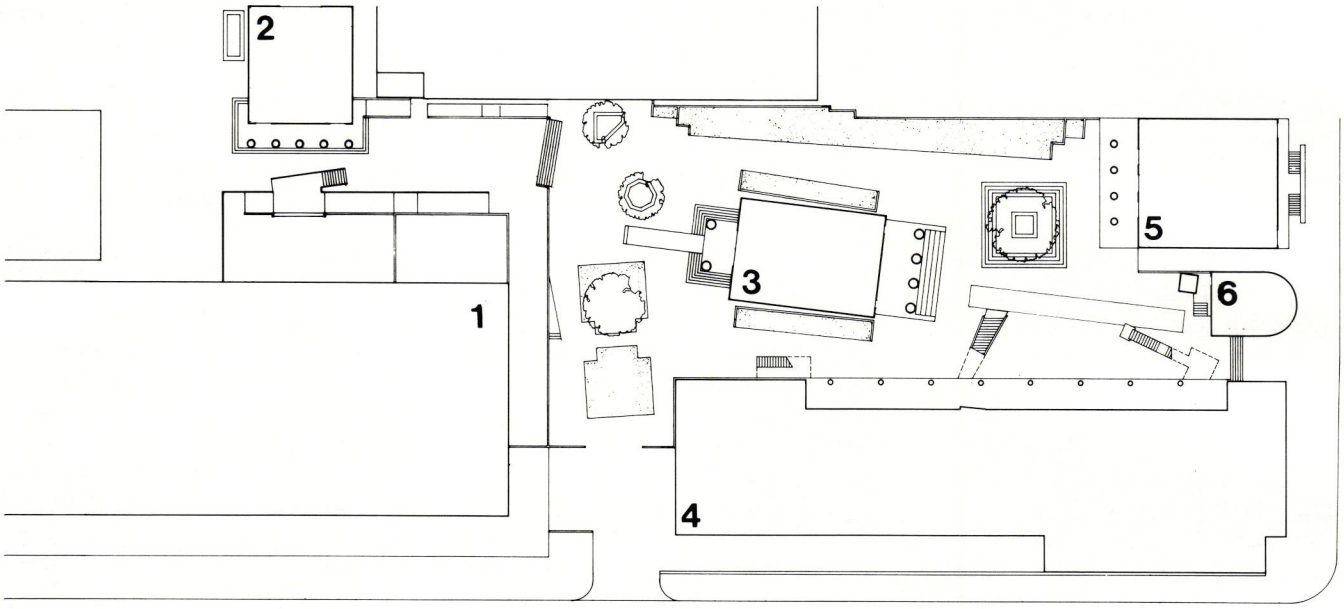
The existing structures or those restored during the excavations, whether they be ancient Roman or Renaissance, baroque or modern, could be used as museums, exhibition centers, or public facilities, to make the archaeological area alive and active. As an example, the apsidal halls on the level of Trajan's Forum could house conferences and conventions, the "tabernae" along the Via Biberatica could be information and library centers, and the shops in Caesar's Forum could be used again as shops.

There is much debate today in Italy as to what constitutes the legitimate use of an ancient structure or space. In 1985 the Colosseum was used as a container for a large and highly publicized exhibition on the economy of Italy during the two world wars. A cross section of the Colosseum was rebuilt; part of the arena seating and floor was installed. At about the same time, the Circus Maximus was used to house a summer film festival, attracting many thousands of spectators each night. In both cases, a judge later ruled that the use made of the ancient ruins was inappropriate and that in the future no such activities should take place. For the Colosseum, the use of the structure as a container for exhibitions was not questioned, but its use for an exhibition that had nothing to do with the history or location of the monument was questioned. Had the exhibition been on archaeology, Christianity, or planning in historic areas, it would have been considered legitimate. For the Circus Maximus, it was not the subject matter that was objected to (after all, the spectacle of film is not far from the spectacle of chariot racing) but the fact that the location and size of the giant screens hindered the traditional view of the Palatine Hill that rises from the base of the Circus Maximus. Again, there is no veto against the reuse of the space, but an implicit definition of how it can be used.

The archaeological area therefore must draw its vitality and significance from its interaction with the city. It should be closely integrated with the life of the city's residents rather than serve merely as a ghetto reserved for tourists. It must become a gathering place for discussion or relaxation, just as it was at the dawn of our civilization in the valleys between the hills of ancient Rome.

The project of redefining the area of the forums will certainly go ahead, but it must be seen in its historical context. The project will not be enacted this year or the next; we must think of it in terms of decades, or even centuries. Nevertheless, we must continue our present planning and discussion to make it happen as soon as possible.

The Loyola Forum—Frank Gehry



SITE PLAN

British law, Roman law, precedent. The Roman Forum entered into Frank Gehry's thinking about the Loyola Law School in the midst of his discussions with the faculty and students of the school. They wanted the new buildings for the school to serve as a symbolic center for study of the law. Their present buildings and their location did not.

While visiting the Roman Forum on the way back from a trip to Damascus, Gehry had been moved by its experiential power. Seen in the light of his charge to make a place that would support the symbolic importance that Loyola sought, the architectural forms of the Forum aroused a new curiosity. Much of the power of the Forum seemed to derive from its deconstructed state, from the fallen fragments and dislocated parts. Sketching brought Gehry into the problem. It revealed the power of forms that could be read in multiple ways, independently and as segments of a larger whole.

1 Loyola Law School, site plan. 1, Library; 2, North Instructional Hall; 3, Morrisfield Hall; 4, Burns Building; 5, South Instructional Hall; 6, Chapel.

In the Loyola project, for instance, the tall, free-standing, cylindrical columns are arranged to produce different readings as you approach them in different ways; aspects of a pediment when seen frontally, independent cylinders as presences to pass among when approached from the side. For Gehry, the elements then become discrete pieces, as in the Morandi still-life paintings that he admires. Dislocating elements such as the stairs from their accustomed, internalized position brings them forth for attention as elements in their own right. At the same time, these angled paths create varied orientations for outlook and prompt fresh perceptions of the objects and buildings disposed about the site.

The adjustments and emphases that Gehry makes at Loyola extract from the Forum not the romance of ruins or the false authority of classical detail but the liveliness and evocative power of placement and the force of clear, purposeful forms, sized for people to move among.

From a conversation between Frank Gehry and Donlyn Lyndon.

2

2 Loyola Law School, Los Angeles.
Photograph by Michael Moran

3

3 Loyola Law School, Los Angeles.
Photograph by Michael Moran

4 Loyola Law School, Los Angeles.
Photograph by Michael Moran

5 Loyola Law School, Los Angeles.
Photograph by Frank Gehry Associates

4

5

Constructions from the Roman Forum

Frederick Biehle

A

A Sketches
Drawings by Frederick Biehle

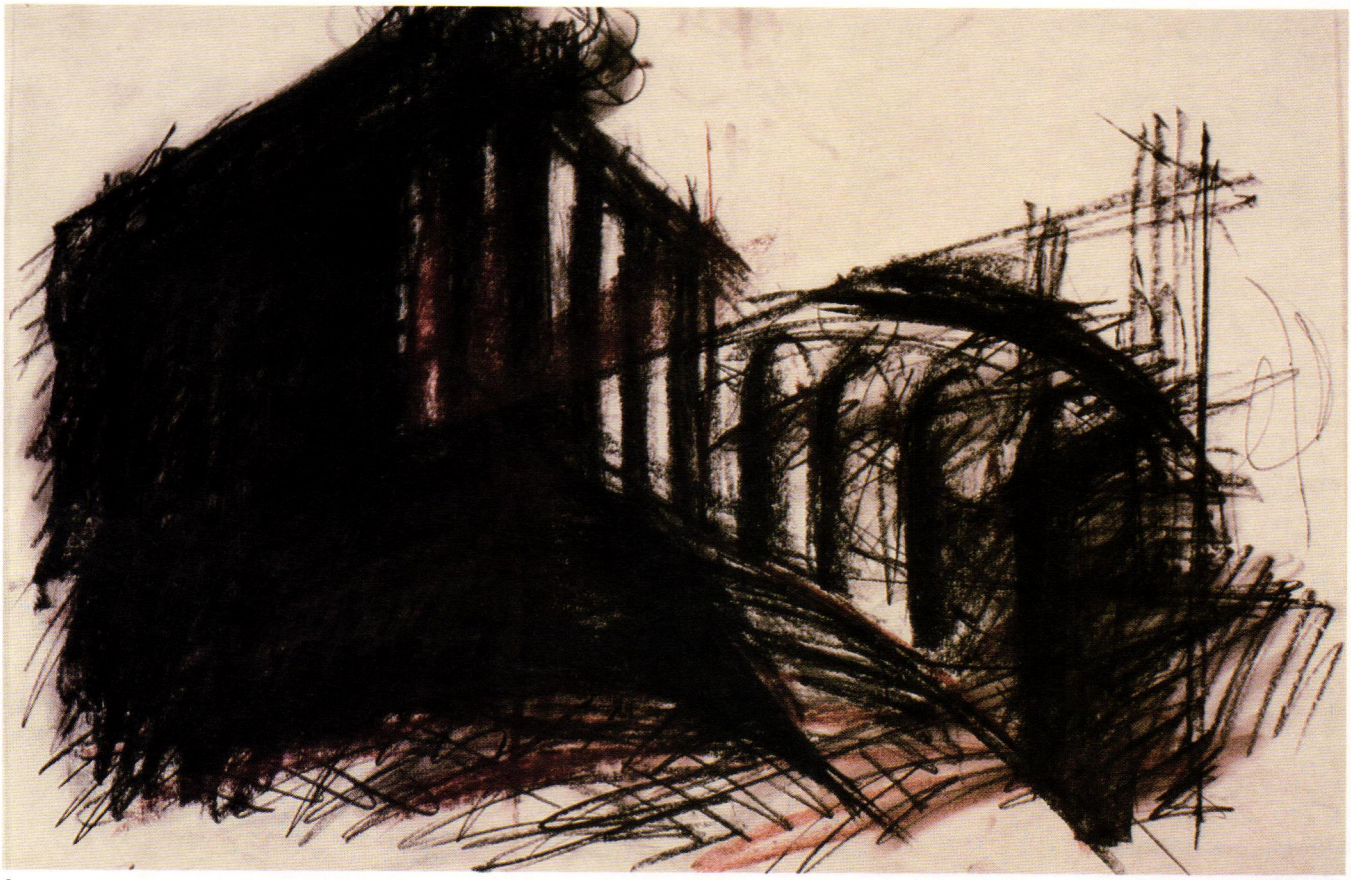
The physical evidence of the Roman Forum exists in confrontation with the idea of its representation. Its definition is instead that of the archetypal site—the unbroken horizon, the meeting of earth and sky. Its floor is more a fallen wall, the horizontal plane that anticipates the intervention of the architectural act—to build up into the sky or to build down into the earth. It is the wall of an embankment, restraining against the eruption of the material of its presence, the figure of its memory.

The suggestive potential of such a dialectic is presented as an armature for an investigation into architectural form. There are two intentions: the making of object simultaneous with the figure in space, and abstraction as a process of drawing. The subject is the Roman Forum, the frame is the limit to its perception from within. The translation as drawing and the process of drawing are intended to provide the physical material for construction (or reconstruction). There is no intended program except as may be suggested by the result.

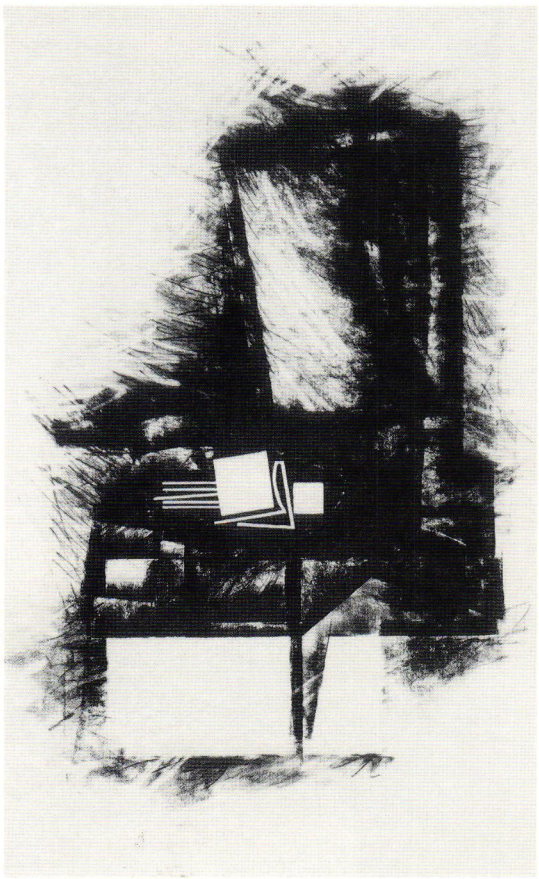
My intention in looking at the Roman Forum was to resolve a contradictory memory of the place and in the process to extract something, to identify and investigate the relationship between the making of object simultaneous with figural edge.

A

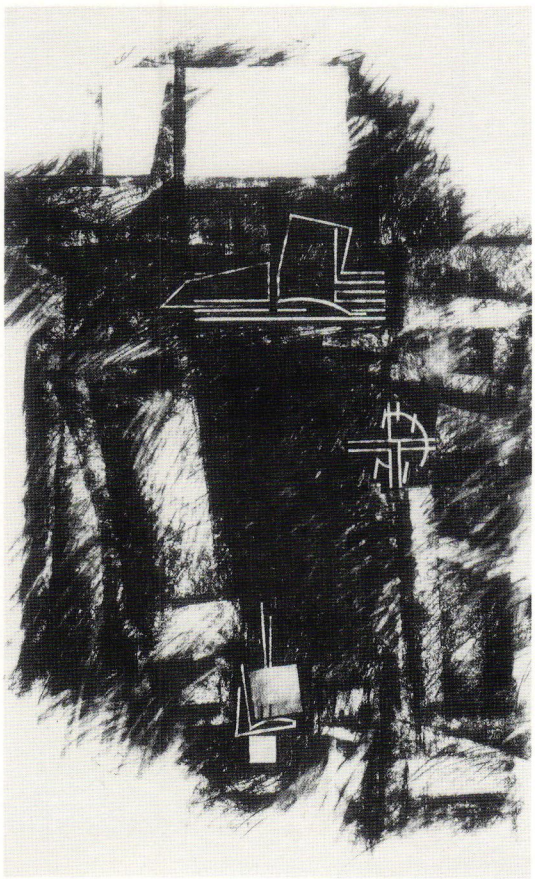
A



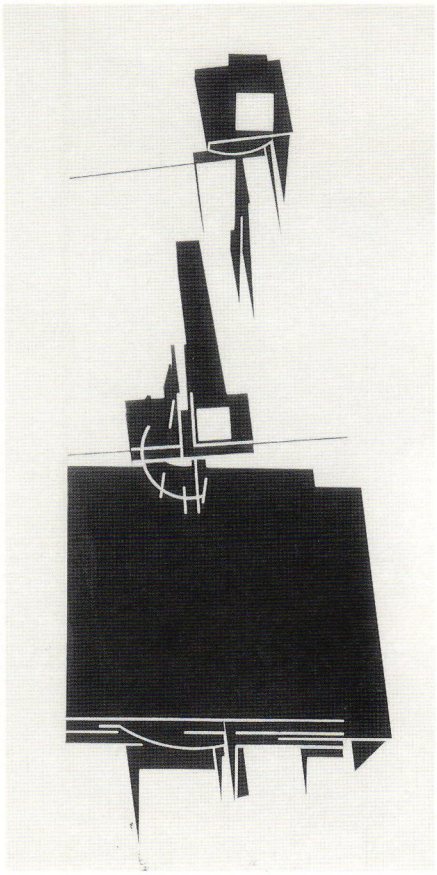
A



B

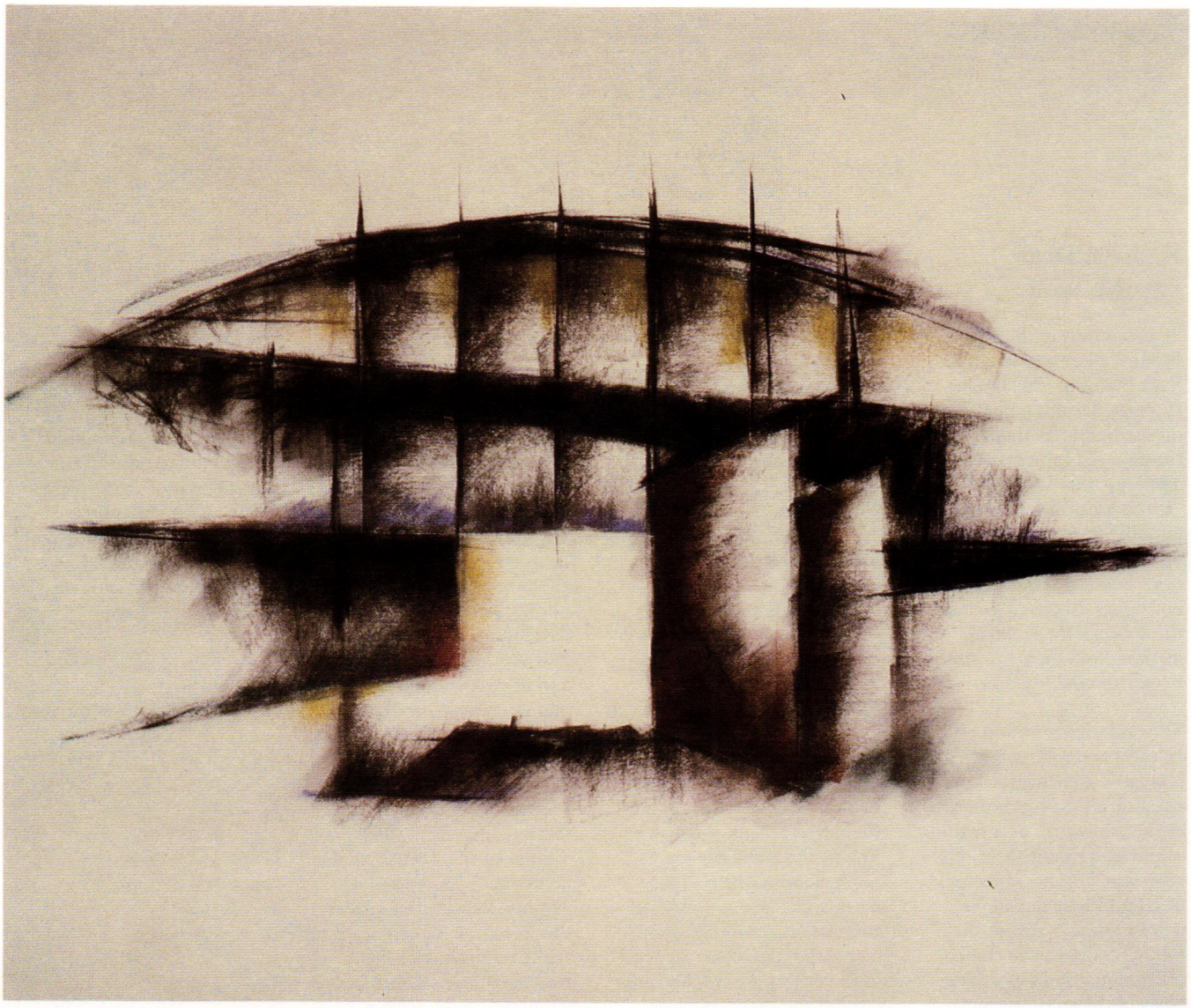


B



B

B Elements reconstructed
Drawings by Frederick Biehle



The Roman Forum is the idea of essential place, yet it exists without tangible form, without a body that can be called to memory.

This contradiction, this idea without model, seemed to offer the framework for an investigation of form, the result of which might be one definition of that place.

The discovery is that its value lies in the very uncertainty of the memory, the strength of its contradiction.

As a place I am now more conscious of its landscape, of the magnetic pull of its presence, but it remains without model.

It is a vast upturned cathedral—both the object that one must maneuver around and the space around which the city is layered.

Its perimeter, its definable edge remains elusive.

It is the city of Rome that offers the Forum as model.

Temple of Vesta
Drawing by Frederick Biehle

Trajan's Markets

Kathryn Dean
Charles Wolf

"Excavations in the Roman Forum" became for us perhaps building translations from the Forum with a focus on the buildings surrounding the imperial forums. Through a process that we called "translation" from Roman building forms to expressions of twentieth-century technology, the project attempts to unify two divergent goals: the concern for cultural memory and the concern for a logic of construction.

The underlying notion about cultural memory was not to represent a particular kind of cultural institution but to evoke a memory or a reading of the idea that institutions represent notions of cultural order and that this order is recognizable within the fabric of a city. The choice of Roman buildings as the basis of the study springs from our belief that Roman architecture represents the earliest development of interior spaces in Western architecture. The site of Trajan's Markets was chosen specifically because of its applicability to modern building types such as market places, mixed-use office places, and urban space development and its characteristic development of Roman vaulting forms.

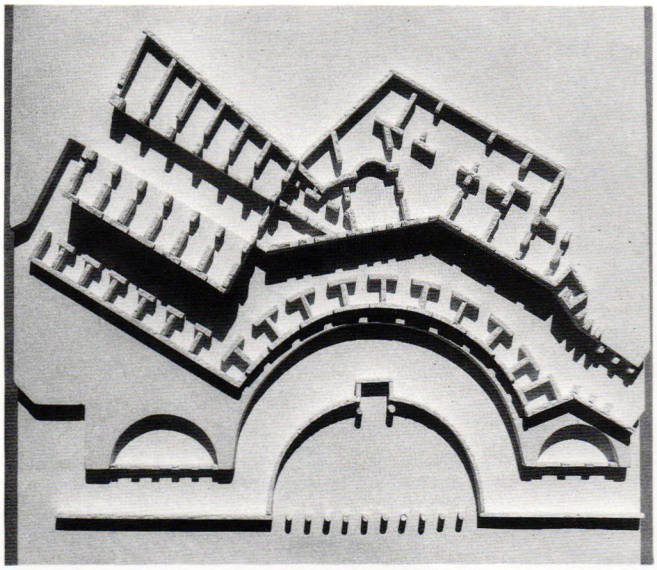
The second concern—that construction informs formal gesture—springs from ideas of the modern movement, although it is informed by structures built throughout history, from Greek temples to Gothic cathedrals. The intention is not the development of a universal constructional language but of a necessary understanding specific to the discipline of architecture. Constructional logic increases the possibilities, impact, and longevity of architectural form.

The ideas that emerged from the project form three general categories: urban considerations, structural considerations, and considerations for the development of light. The urban context of the markets demonstrates lessons on both the development of urban spaces and the tools for implementing them. The market site is a complex of streets that comprises shop fronts that rise from the level of the Forum of Trajan to the level of the main basilica, which was the focus of most of the investigation.

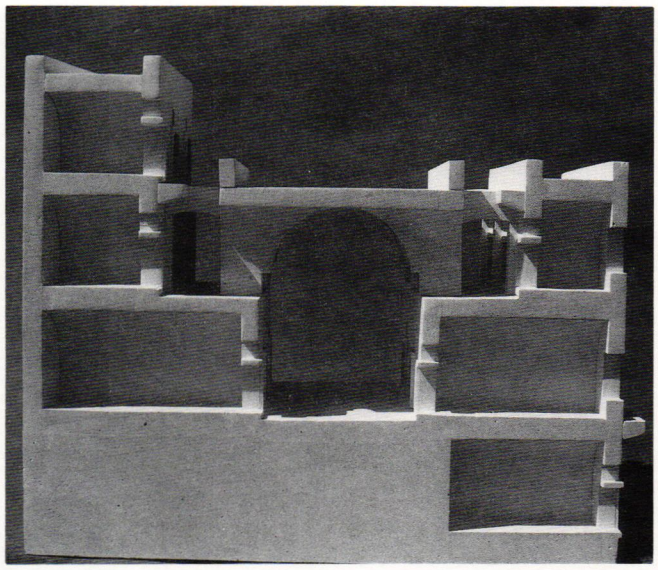
When looking at the overall site, it is important to note the repetition of a single spatial and structural unit in the Roman plan (see Model A). This ingenious idea makes the rich patterning of streets both possible and economical. The idea is carried into the translated building by the use of a repeating two-bay unit that has the same capacity to form urban spaces. This is an interesting contrast to many contemporary notions of economy, which tend toward building as continuous grid of space.

This two-bay unit forms the basis of the structural considerations as well. A comparison of these two site models reflects the increased capacity as well as the separation of the structural components, which form the imprint here, from the space-defining infill systems characteristic of contemporary technology. The development of the double unit with a central support and double cantilevers allows greatest economy in repetition. The line of the curve, which results from the decreasing need for support at the ends of the "tee" recalls the curve of the ceilings of the Roman vaults in a structurally rational manner. The central vault is supported by piers that occur at the midpoints of the structural "tee" system, maintaining the six-bay reading of the original basilica.

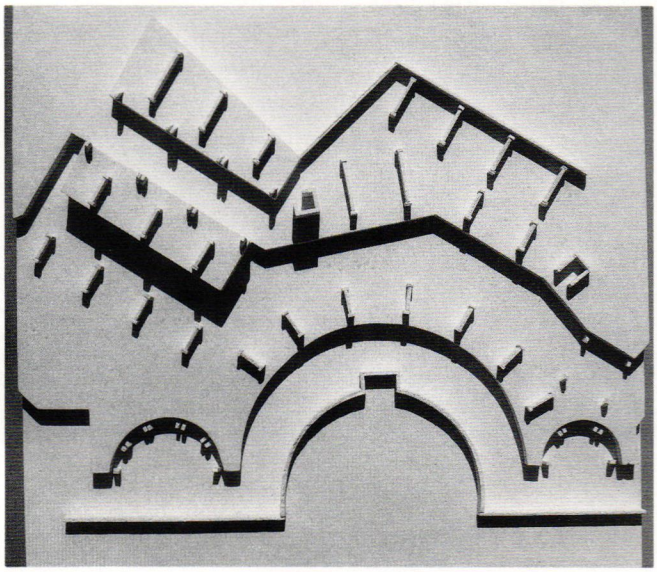
The basilica section of the existing building reflects the concern for the development of light through structural mass and curved surface. The thin shell vaults of the translated section recall the original curve, while their slipped section retains the idea of depth. It is again the consideration of layered planes that develops the exterior skin, allowing the windows to maintain their capacity to be occupied. This idea is further developed by the light monitors that spring from the roof and penetrate through building between the structural "tees," admitting light and defining space by void that replaces the original mass. The theme of light is one that unites and animates all the considerations of the project: light as the symbol of memory, light as consistent with constructional logic, and light as the animation of architectural form.



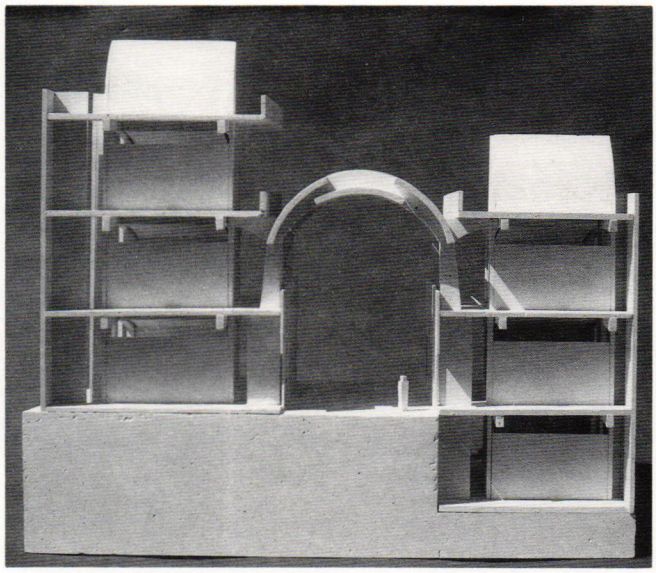
1



3



2



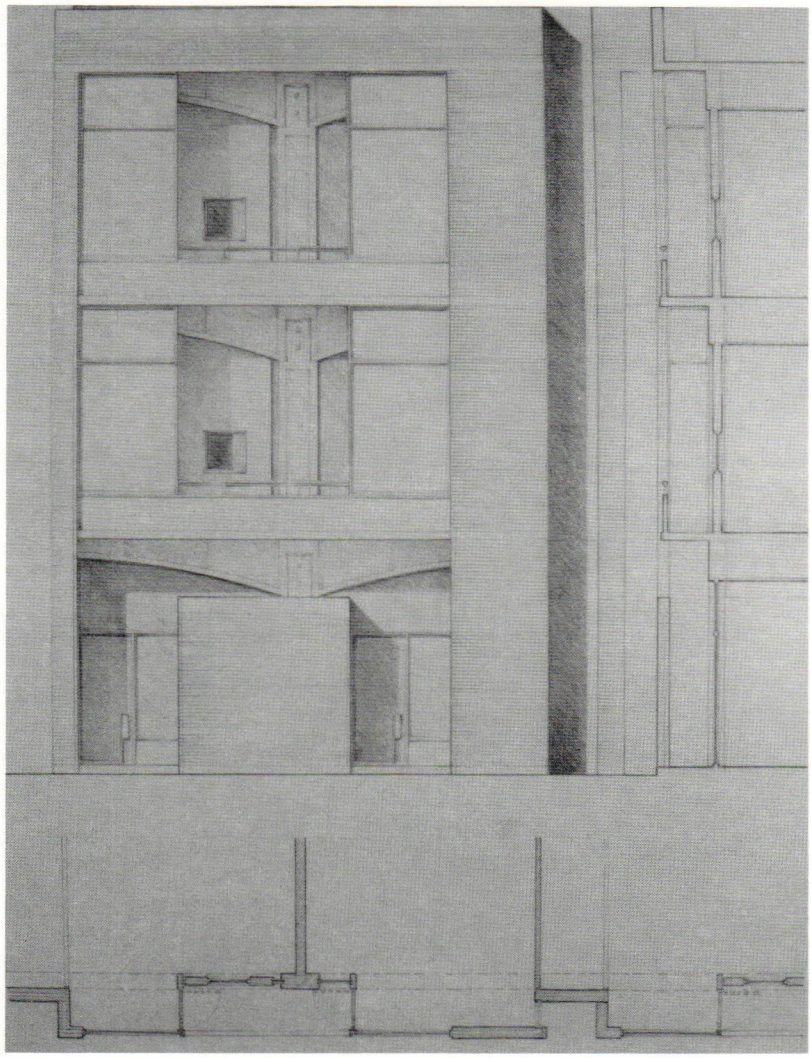
4

1 Model A

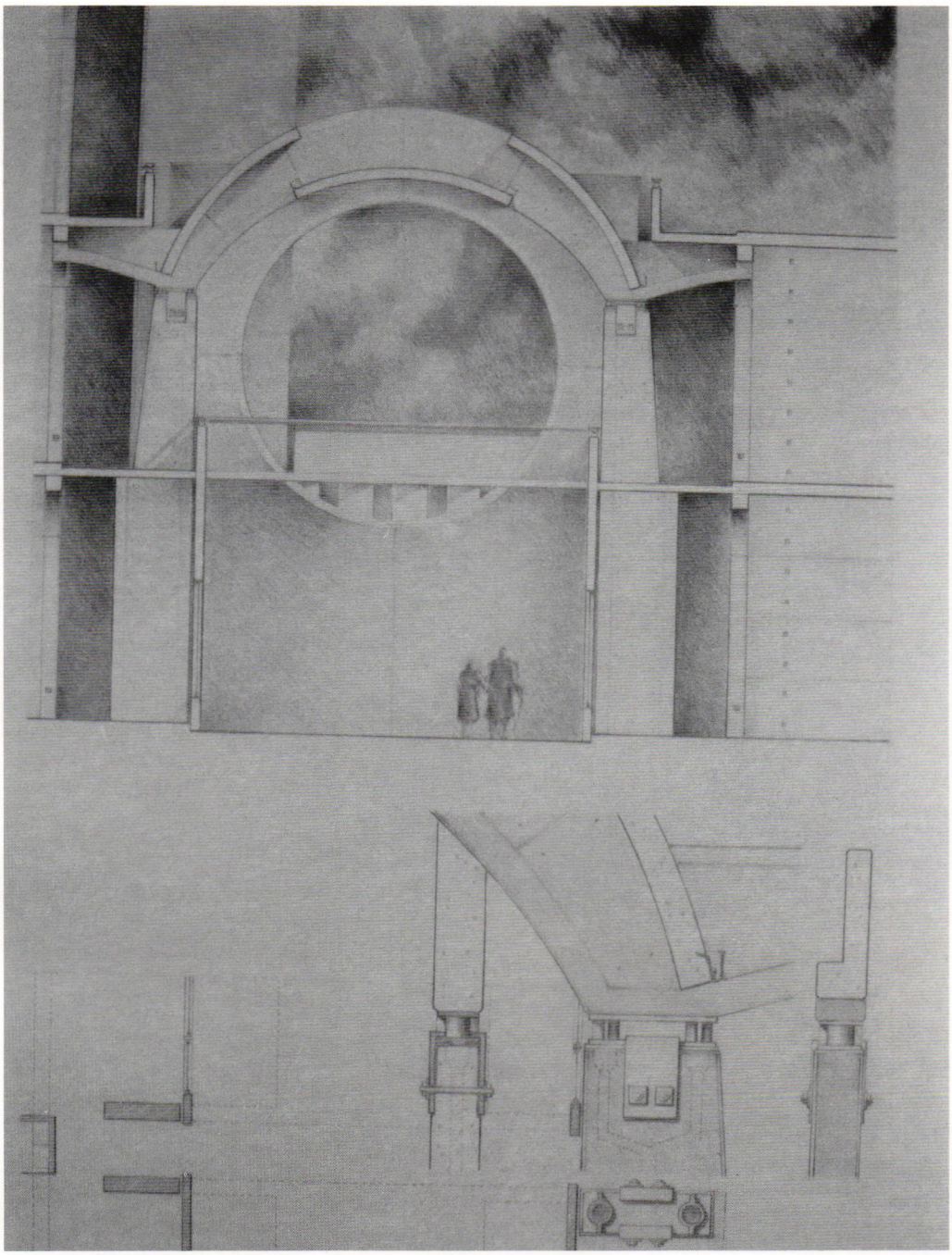
2 Model B

3 Model C

4 Model D



5

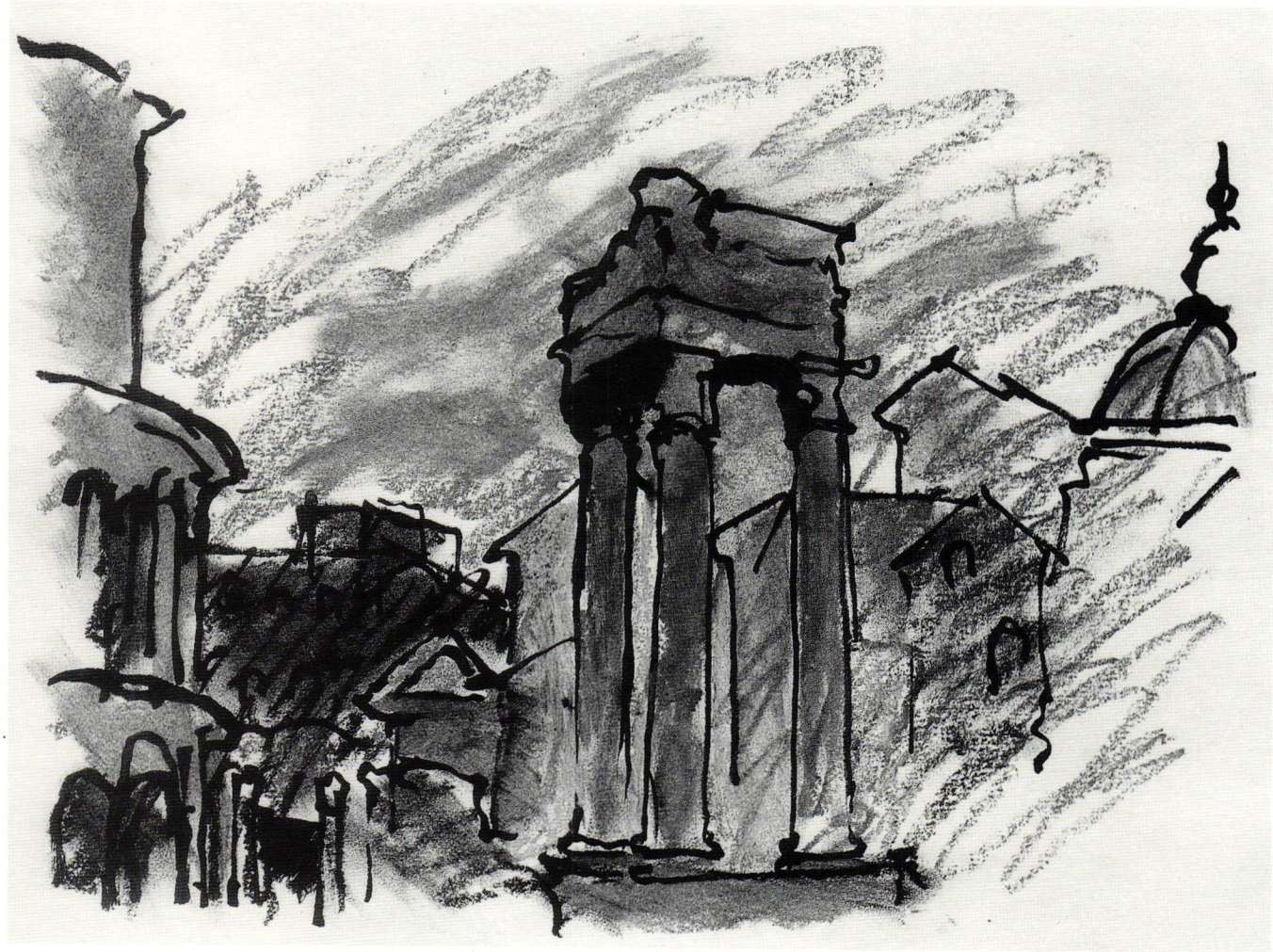


6

6 Drawing 2

Surrogate Landscape

Antoine Predock

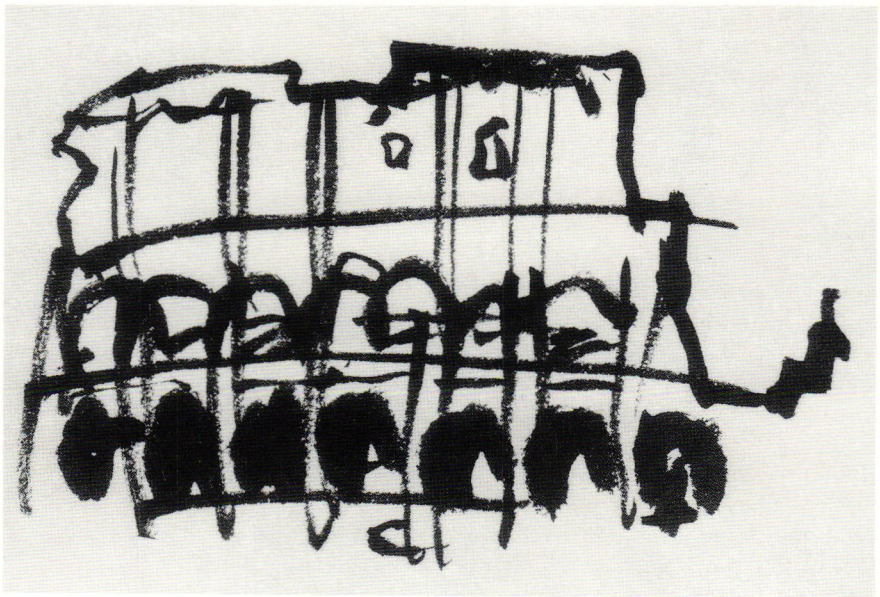


1 **Tempio di Apollo** **Tectonic collision:** the theater of Marcellus, the portico of Octavius and the Temple of Apollo exist in controlled disarray. Engine noises and dead Vespas add to the accreting landscape.

2 **Basilica di Massenzio** **The feeling of occupying** a designated vantage point from which to draw the diorama of an inner surrogate landscape.

2

3



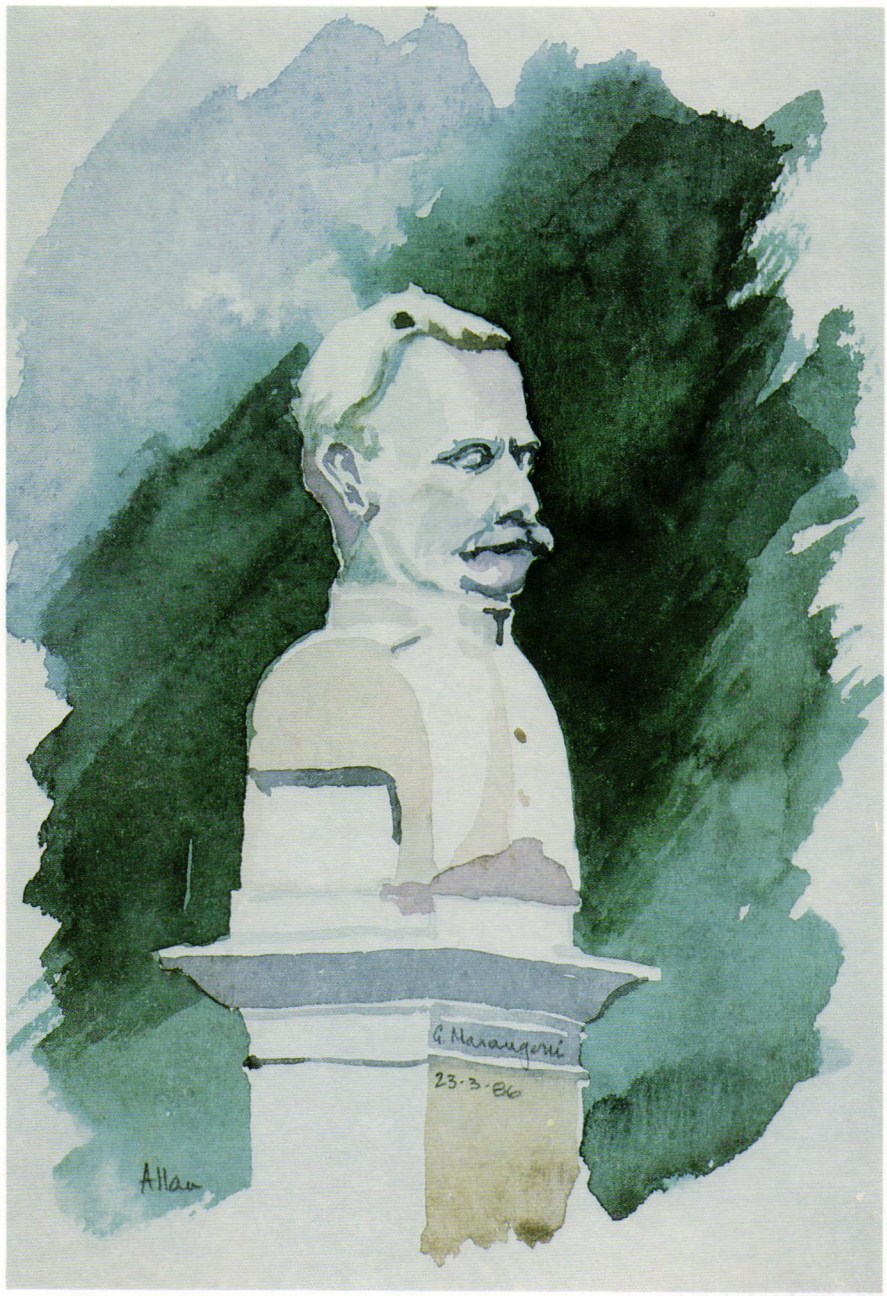
4

3 Foro Romano The architectural topography blurs the sense of original geologic datum, and is no longer viewed with the impulse toward mental reconstruction.

4 Colosseo, Roma Colosseum as urban time machine, its eroding silhouette in dialog with Celimontana.

Gianicolo Busts

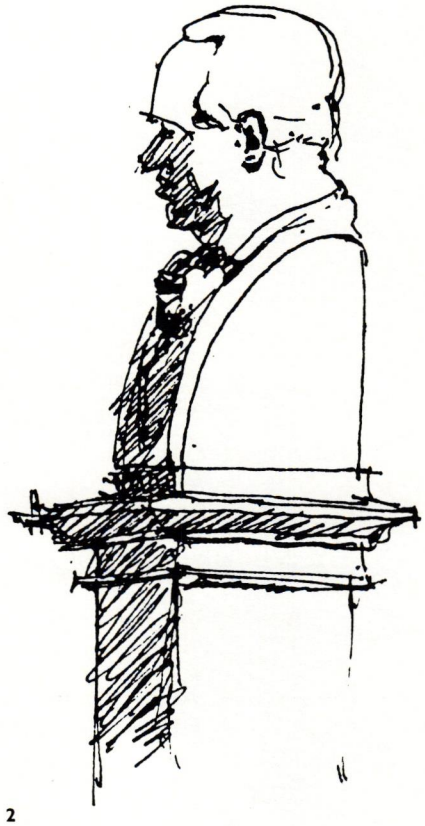
Allan B. Jacobs



I had never seen anyone stop in front of one of those busts that accompany Garibaldi, away up there on his horse, in the Gianicolo. They surround him and they sit on their pedestals along the grand, sycamore-lined streets that lead to him: Luigi Bartolucci, Ugo Bassi, Gustavo Modena, Angelo Tittori, Tomasso Salvini, Mattia Montecchi, Riciotti, Bruno and Costante Garibaldi, Maurizio Quadrio, Achille Sachi, Quirico Filopanti, and maybe 50 or 60 more fighters for freedom and independence. There are busts, too, that line walks and roads in the Villa Borghese: national heroes, painters, musicians, scientists, aviators, poets, sculptors and architects, athletes. No one stops in front of them, either, except for a second or two. At least, I had never seen anyone stop. Then one Saturday morning, early, before the bus loads of tourists arrived, a lady stopped in front of General Avezzana. She was slight, erect, well-dressed, mostly in blacks with an expensive-looking tailored coat, and she had with her a small terrier on a leash. She stood in front of the bust, looked at it two or three times, looked down and then back up into his face, crossed herself, and walked away in the direction of Porto San Pancrazio.

I had never seen anything like that happen. Those busts are wonderful. Somewhat larger than life size, you have to look up at them, but not much. Each is on a pedestal. Some have wonderful hats, others uniforms cut off abruptly at the breast, still others are unadorned, seemingly in Roman style. They line

1



2

1 Bust of G. To Bruzzesi
Drawing by Allan B. Jacobs

2 Bust of Gustavo Modena
Drawing by Allan B. Jacobs

the streets or walks. They have a rhythm to them as do the trees, but the busts are white, and they contrast with the greens and browns—white marble exclamation points against green, every 20 feet or so. These were real people. Very few have been toppled. Oh, sure, Rossini's nose, like some others, has been broken. But no one has fooled around with Verdi. Just being there ties you to a past, to whatever they were or represented, even if you don't recognize the names. They catch the light and are very much present, though no one seems to look at them. Sitting among them, I had often wondered whether they were remembered as individuals. Was there a special day when the city put flowers or wreaths at their pedestals? A national heroes day, perhaps. Were their birthdays ever remembered? Was there anyone left to remember? I was certain that no one paid the statues any special attention. And then, that one day, there was that moment with the lady.

I wondered who she was. A daughter or granddaughter, or great-granddaughter? A grand niece? I could only imagine family. I wished it had been a lover, or long-lost friend, or the daughter of a lover, or something like that. Did she care whether she was seen? Avezzana looked very stern. I went back the next day, and every day for more than a week, at the same time as I had seen her. She never returned. I never saw her again.

The lady was an inspiration to me and my friends. Now, on most

Sunday mornings, we meet in front of one of those busts, at about 11:30 or noon, when there are a lot of people strolling before lunch. We always go to one of the statues near where there are likely to be people. We pay homage to one of them. We find out about our hero and we give grand memorial speeches. We try to do it near his birthday. We bring flowers and wreaths. People come to see what is going on, then they gather round and listen, respectfully. Sometimes one of the women dresses up in black and wears a veil and stands next to one of us. I always wear a black arm band and black felt hat. I put my arms around her. She cries, with passion and force. Once or twice a year, when we can afford it, we hire a uniformed band—black and red, and white leather belts and gold buttons—and it plays rousing music. On those days, we go to two or three different busts, a bit distant from one another, and we pay homage all over again. Sometimes one of us, dressed differently, interrupts a speech to let everyone know that our hero was not a hero at all but a fascist bastard, or a wife-beater who left untold illegitimate children, or a communist pig, or lots of other things, and that we must therefore be fascist pigs, too. Sometimes a bastard great-grandchild, who just happens to be passing, denounces us. On some days there are fights and torn banners, and then we go have lunch and think about next week.

San Francisco should have a street lined with busts. They could be in Golden Gate Park, but a street would be better. Market Street! Market Street should have busts, about every 30 feet, on both sides, facing toward the sidewalks, from the Ferry Building up to City Hall. That would be terrific! They would be in white marble and be about seven feet high. On one side of the street there would be mayors and official heroes of the city. There could be a special commission to decide on the heroes. It might get very political, but that would be all right. Over the years, it would even out as to who would be a hero worthy of a bust. The city would pay for the busts of some of the heroes, certainly for the mayors, but maybe it wouldn't have the money, at least not all at once, for all the heroes. It might take a while. The other side of the street would be for anyone. If I wanted to have a bust of myself, I could have one, as long as I paid for it and as long as I paid for one of the official city heroes on the other side. That way the whole idea wouldn't cost the city very much. I'd do it. I'd love to have the chance to have a statue of myself on Market Street. Walter Shorenstein could have a statue, too, if he wanted one. He could pay for Mayor Feinstein's bust and for Willie Mays. If I had enough money I'd buy one for my mother. She never lived in San Francisco, but without a bust, I think she'll be forgotten, and I don't want that. And I'd get one of my father. And if I had enough money, I'd get one of Ugo Bassi, not because I knew him or was related to him or anything like that, but because of the name: Ugo Bassi is a terrific name and there should be a bust of Ugo Bassi in every city. And there should be one of Etore and one of Massimo. Fabulous names, famous names, worthy names.

After all the years of trying to make Market Street a great street and after all the money spent trying to do that, the busts might just do the trick; all those statues marching up Market Street. It's the kind of idea that a national government should do, in Washington, to line streets with heroes and presidents. People don't think like that anymore, least of all in Washington. They think, there, in small ways, of national security and centralized power and big business, not big ideas. Which is all the more reason for San Francisco to do it, alone; a celebration of history and future and of belonging to the community. In no time, other cities would take the idea and do it better, or not as well. There is enough space, on all the streets of San Francisco, to have busts of every person who ever was or ever will be a citizen. Now *there's* an idea.

Archaeology and the Roman Forum

R. T. Scott

The excavation of the Roman Forum at the turn of the last century and during the early decades of the current one is inseparably linked with the name of Giacomo Boni (1859–1925). From the area of his monument in the restored Farnese Gardens atop the Palatine Hill, a visitor to the city in the 1980s may conveniently view new work going on in places Boni had disinterred—sometimes with remarkable speed—from 1899 to 1905.

It is important to distinguish the archaeological current from others that operated in the city in Boni's day. These can all be summed up by the same title, *Roma Capitale,* under which the current debate over the future of the modern city and the monuments of its extraordinary past continues. Boni cannot be dismissed simply as a precursor of the archaeologists and planners of the fascist era. Their goal was to set new (and ephemeral) imperial Rome side by side with the old, while at the same time dispersing politically undesirable concentrations of the populace from the historic center.

The results of these later enterprises are still evident. The ambitious project begun by the archaeological superintendency of Rome in 1981 to reimplement the century-old design for the city's archaeological park may be read both as an act of exorcism of this aspect of fascist activity and as a determined challenge to the latest in the series of assaults that have been made on the fabric of Rome since Italian unification.

Boni's work, intentions, and results should be viewed in the context of the development of Umbertine Rome. At this time there was much debate regarding what was necessary to make Rome a proper capital city of a modern European country and what place the architectural and artistic patrimony from the city's previous centuries would have in the new design. The parties to the debate were many, famous, and energetic. Capital was sought in these same years for the industrial base that would in turn support and to some extent condition the development of the new capital city. Unfortunately, it came from speculation in urban real estate—which rapidly became the only game in town, at great cost to the aforesaid patrimony.

In 1885 the great historian of ancient Rome, Theodore Mommsen, openly rebuked Prince Ludovisi Boncompagni for acquiescing to the abusive development of the area from Porta Pinciana to Porta Salaria. Development there meant the destruction, not only of Villa Ludovisi with its magnificent gardens, but also of inestimable archaeological materials. Ten years later, D'Annunzio, in *Le Vergini delle Rocce,* gave a vivid description of the old city enveloped by the malignant tumor of unregulated development. But, even though land speculation led to the destruction of many historic areas, in Rome of the 1880s and 1890s, debate about development was sharp and intelligent as it never was in the fascist period; nor was Boni indifferent to it when he set to work in the Forum. The legislation relating to the definition and financing of the archaeological park of Rome—the Baccelli "package" of 1887, 1897, and 1907—gave him his great opportunity, for he was after all an architect by training.

Boni was director of excavations in the Forum from 1899 until 1922 and was responsible for its present shape, except for some significant losses that occurred in the fascist period. His intent seems to have been to give the visitor a historical profile (the archaeologist might favor "horizontal stratigraphy") in three dimensions of the Forum and Palatine from the most remote antiquity onward. The Forum and its monuments were set against a Medieval frame to the north and east, a combined Ancient-through-Renaissance prospect toward the Capitoline on the west. On the Palatine to the south, there was a combined prospect based on elements of the imperial palaces and memories of the Farnese Gardens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which had effectively been removed by the archaeologists immediately preceding Boni—Pietro Rosa and Rodolfo Lanciani.

Movement through the historical sequence always started on the streets and levels of the Augustan period. The records of earlier or later remains were plotted, respectively, above or below this reference point. For example, the archaic monuments under the *lapis niger* and the *sepulcretum* were shown below the Augustan reference, and the House of the Vestals and the

Temple of Antoninus and Faustina were shown above it. The choice of an Augustan bench mark was not casual: the general sense of renewal associated with Augustus seemed appropriate, if obvious, for the time. And it also had a particular urban reference, for it was Augustus who began the practice of supplementing the old Forum with newly created grand forums regularly disposed along the streets converging on it.

Exploration of the grand forums and the large bath complexes, which by their location eventually served to make imperial Rome a city of quarters, was also part of the Baccelli plan. It is easy to see in Boni's overall scheme a clear reference to the contemporary urban debate and perhaps even a model in miniature for planners' consideration. But his incomplete and, where extant, often obtuse written record (in striking contrast to the clarity of the renderings from the excavations) permits no firm conclusions and has left him open to present day criticism as an unscientific archaeologist, at the least and at the worst as too close in time to the fascists.

Thus, his legacy in Italy has been controversial. The physical recovery and presentation of the Roman Forum and Palatine is an impressive achievement that anticipates the rise of urban archaeology. But his field work remains essentially unpublished. Even though few would now reject his presentation, the study and analysis of the development of the heart of ancient Rome is far from complete. The Boni model must be considered both the chief incentive and not infrequently a major obstacle to the process.

Recently, with the encouragement of the archaeological superintendent for Rome, Professor Adriano La Regina, Italian and foreign archaeologists have returned to areas where Boni worked in search of evidence of the changing shape of the city and its institutions in the period of the kings and the transition from them to the early Republic, the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.: Professor Andrea Carandini of the University of Pisa is working on the northeastern slopes of the Palatine, Professor Margareta Steinby of the Finnish Institute in Rome on the *lacus Iuturnae,* and the American Academy on the Regia and the old precinct of Vesta. There are a number of reasons for these choices, such as the current strong scholarly interest in the early history of Rome and the continuing strength of Italian topographical studies. But it will be obvious from my preceding discussion that the most important goal is to resolve discrepancies between the relatively abundant ancient literary *testimonia,* which locate in these areas important early buildings and cult places that had long-lasting effects on the organization of the Forum, and the inadequate archaeological records of them left by Boni.

The difficulties of going back over ground already broken by another are considerable and the risk of disappointment high, even when one is armed with an adequate map. They are the more so when, as in these instances, so little documentation survives from the earlier work. But one has still to reckon with the fact that Giacomo Boni produced a remarkable evocation of the evolution of the heart of ancient Rome through a multitude of centuries that the archaeologists of today must seek to challenge, interpret, and expand according to their best lights.

Nec omnia apud priores meliora: sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit. verum haec nobis in maiores certamina ex honesto maneant (Tacitus, *Ann.*3.55).

[Nor was everything better in the past, but our own age too has produced many specimens of excellence and culture for posterity to imitate. May we still keep up with our ancestors a rivalry in all that is honourable!]

The Annals of Tacitus
(Church and Brodribb, trans.)
MacMillan & Co., London, 1888

Esther Van Deman and the Roman Forum

Karin Einaudi

1 The flooded valley of the Roman Forum, 1902.
All photographs by E. Van Deman, courtesy of Fototeca Unione

The American archaeologist Esther Van Deman spent the greater part of her life in Rome, studying the topography of the Roman Forum, Roman aqueducts, and Roman building techniques. She developed many ideas and methods of research in the field of classical archaeology and actively participated—the first and only woman to do so—in the archaeological debate at the beginning of the century. Van Deman has left an extraordinary documentation, in writing and in photography, of the period in which archaeology moved away from antiquarian practices toward more scientific approaches.

When Esther Boise Van Deman first arrived in Rome in 1901, excavation had been going on in the Forum for exactly 30 years. The work was still under the direction of the Venetian architect Giacomo Boni, director of the excavations since 1898. The decision to initiate archaeological exploration in the Cow-Field—Campo Vaccino was the denomination of the Forum in the nineteenth century—had been made by the young Italian government in 1871, a decision whose political and symbolic significance had not escaped its makers. With the exception of smaller digs in the mid-nineteenth century, excavation had not taken place in the center of Rome since the beginning of the

century. Between 1809 and 1814, the French Napoleonic government of Rome, and later its papal successors, had given new birth to the old idea of the Roman past. They had begun the exploration of the city's monumental center, thus materializing an idea that was to become a remarkable project of "urban renewal," the so-called Embellissement de la Ville de Rome, a forerunner of Hausmann and others. The result of their initiative was visible to everyone: the Colosseum had been partially restored, the Arch of Titus had been "liberated" from Medieval and more recent superstructures, the Column of Trajan had been isolated, and part of the adjacent Basilica Ulpia had been laid bare. All these buildings were connected to memories of millenniums that reminded the impoverished and rather run-down Rome of an idealized past.

During the period that preceded the unification of Italy, however, all urban programs came to a standstill. In 1860 the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed, and in 1870 Latium also became part of it, with Rome as the capital of the young nation. The extraordinariness of this event may be understood best when one considers the fact that the country had not enjoyed national unity since the invasions of Italy in the sixth century A.D.

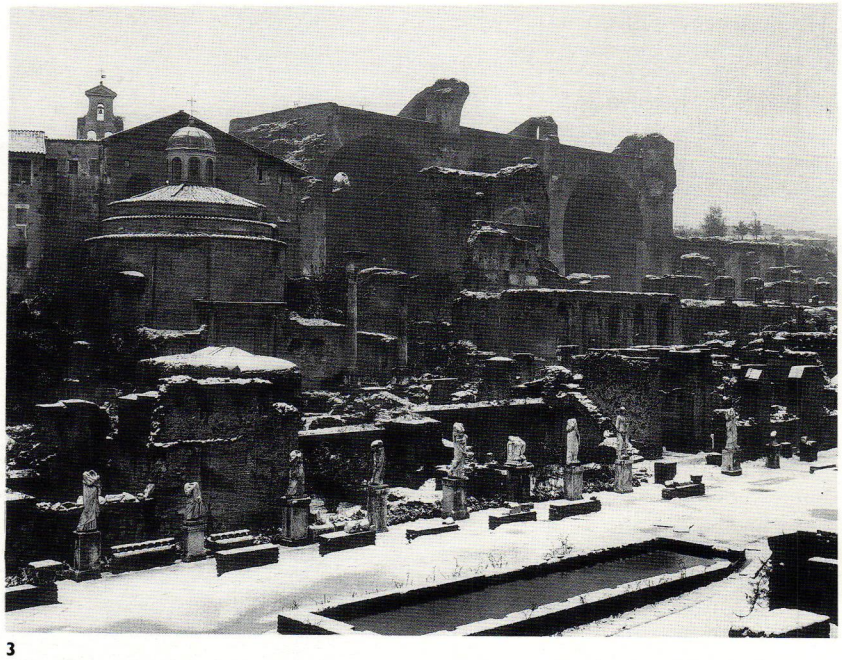
The Roman Forum became the showcase of the new capital: What stronger argument for the idea of a capital could there be, than the physical discovery of a place with a millenary role of "Caput Mundi"—the Center of the World? Of course, this argument was the same one put forward by the Napoleonic government, but now the purpose was different. In the Napoleonic imperial ambitions, there had been a clearly expressed idea of European identity, but the concept of national unity had become the ultimate goal of the Italian government just 50 years later. In another 50 years, the fascist vulgarization of the same argument was to have disastrous consequences for the country.

In the period from 1871 to 1901, thousands of tons of earth were removed to lay bare the Roman Forum, the Basilica Aemilia, the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and the Temple of the Divine Caesar. "The Forum appears to the casual observer a tangled mass of walls superimposed one upon another without ryme and reason." These are the opening words of Esther Van Deman's article, "The Sullan Forum." The Forum's appearance, flooded after a heavy rainstorm in 1902, is shown in one of her photographs.

What made the archaeologist Esther Van Deman from

2

2 Esther Boise Van Deman: self-portrait taken on the steamer *Frankfurt,* 1901.



3

4

Ohio, (born in South Salem in 1862) become involved in the Roman archaeological world? Her self-portrait, taken on the steamer *Frankfurt*, shows a woman of strong determination, dressed in an unusually masculine manner with heavy boots and a marine cap. She came to Rome in 1901 to study at the American School of Classical Studies and was soon introduced to leading archaeologists like Giacomo Boni and Christian Huelsen. At the time she held an assistant professorship in Latin and classical archaeology at Goucher College; she had received her doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1898 and her master's degree from the University of Michigan six years earlier. In between, she had taught Latin at Wellesley and Mount Holyoke colleges.

Van Deman's interest soon fell on the building that had housed the Vestal Virgins and was situated just east of the Forum, at the foot of the Palatine. Part of the building had been uncovered in 1883; and, more recently, in 1901, demolition of the church S. Maria Liberatrice had revealed its western parts. The history of the building complex dated back to archaic Rome; the precinct of Vesta contained the temple, the house and forecourt—atrium—of the Vestales, the sacred growth—"Lucus Vestae," and later the house of the

5

3 Atrium Vestae in the snow. In the background, the round "temple of Romuls" and the Basilica of Maxentius.

4 Excavation in the court of the Atrium Vestae around the third-century water basin that had replaced two smaller basins from the time of the early empire. In the background, the Medieval/Renaissance buildings of the Capitol turn their backs to the Forum and hide the facade of the republican Tabularium, on top of which they are built.

5 Palatine Hill and the structures of the imperial palaces. The Atrium Vestae is situated at the foot of the hill, behind the arches in the foreground, which supported a ramp giving access to the palace.

6

6 Covered ramp inside the building connecting the upper stories of the imperial palaces with the Forum level.

7 Statue of a Vestal Virgin.

7

8

8 Arches spanning the street running between the Palatine and the Atrium Vestae, both of which they support.

Pontifex Maximus. The complex burned down and was rebuilt many times; it is one of the many achievements of Esther Van Deman to have identified the many and complex phases of its history in her book *The Atrium Vestae,* (Washington, 1909).

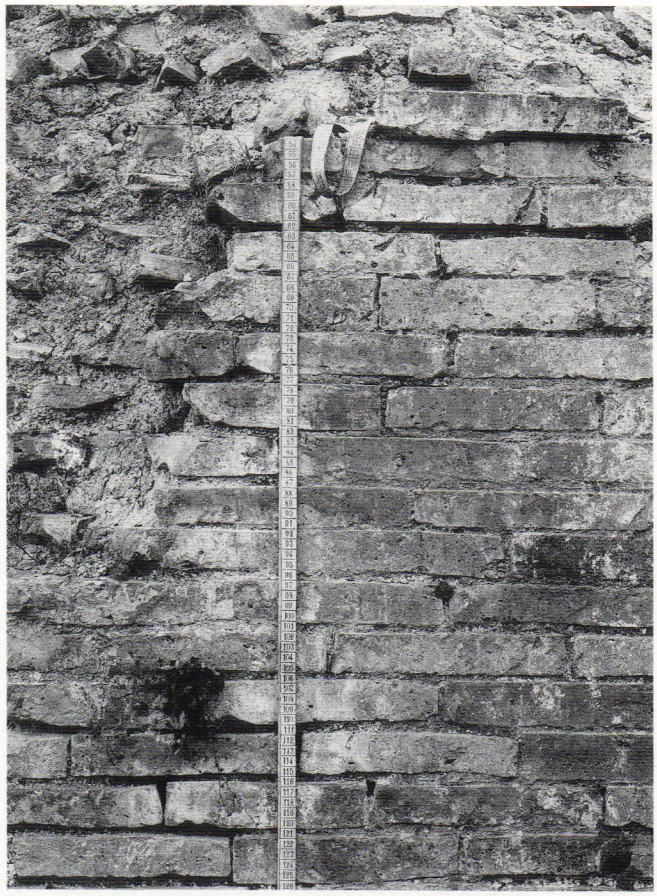
Although the physical aspect of the complex changed, the rules of worship changed little during the nearly 900 years it housed the Vestales; and the temple of Vesta was one of the last pagan temples to be closed in the fourth century A.D. The cult of Vesta was domestic, related to the hearth of the house and to family life. But it was also intimately connected to the mythic origins of the city and the state. Aeneas was believed to have brought the eternal fire of Hestia-Vesta from Troy to Lavinium, together with the Penates (household gods) and the Palladium, the image of Pallas Athena, which together came to represent the *sacra principia* of the Roman state (its most sacred memories). Thus, the importance of the sanctuary—the shrine of the very idea of the State—and of the Vestales—the custodians of its symbols. Each and every Roman magistrate had to sacrifice to Vesta at Lavinium before he entered his office.

In the little temple next to the house of the Vestales, the sacred fire was kept constantly burning, guarded by the six Vestales. These six

women were appointed sometime between the ages of 6 and 10 and maintained their demanding office for at least 30 years. They were to live in chastity, with the atrocious penalty of being buried alive in the *campus sceleratus* if found guilty of breaking the law. On the other hand, they enjoyed extraordinary social and juridical privileges; and in times when Rome was densely populated, they shared with the empress the privilege of riding in a carriage inside the city limits.

Statues of the Vestales had been found in 1883, piled up in a corner of the Atrium ready to be reduced to lime in a nearby, probably sixteenth-century kiln. Originally the statues may have been placed along the sides of the court, in front of the portico which in its later stage was two-storied. After the restoration of the Atrium that was promoted by the empress Iulia Domna (A.D. 193–217), the building had at least three stories, lavishly outfitted and provided with a heating system. At the same time, the Nova Via, the street running between the Atrium Vestae and the Palatine, was spanned by arches that supported both the Atrium and the structures on the slopes of the Palatine. Esther Van Deman's careful investigation included all phases of the building; and from "the scanty remains of the original republican Atrium" she determined that after a major fire—identified as the Neronian fire of A.D. 64—the reconstructed building followed the new orientation of the Forum, abandoning the archaic north–south orientation that had dictated the orientation of all the important republican buildings around the Comitium and the Regia. Van Deman provided a lucid analysis of the conditions that determined the new levels and changes in orientation of the Forum.

To interpret and date the various phases in a Roman building, Van Deman strove to establish a "canon" or "norm" for building techniques applied to each chronological period, basing her work on comparative studies of all dated buildings available to her. Her two articles, "Methods of determining the date of Roman concrete monuments," in the *American Journal of Archaeology,* Vol. XVI (1912) are the works of a true pioneer: for the first time this complicated subject is treated systematically and with a precise terminology based mainly on that of Vitruvius. In elaborating her data, she proceeded much as one would when constructing a modern data base. In her card catalogue, which contained several thousand cards, she gathered information regarding the materials (measurements, compositions, colors, and so on), techniques of facing, building types, and building parts. These elements were evaluated following four



9

9 Measurements of bricks and mortar beds and the relationship between them are criteria for dating the brick-faced, concrete wall.

10 The late imperial Senate building has doors that are still on the Medieval level corresponding to the period of its transformation into a church. Between the columns of the Temple of Saturn appears the baroque dome of Pietro da Cortona's church SS. Luca and Martina. This photograph, taken from the slope of the Capitol, offers a visual synthesis of Rome's urban history.

"points" regarding the architectural, structural, and environmental conditions. In addition to the technical data, she included what she called external and variable evidence, that is, information extracted from literary sources, inscriptions, decorative elements, and brick stamps. In contrast to her sophisticated theoretical methods was her permanent working tool—a simple seamstress's measuring tape.

Another remarkable tool was her camera, well equipped with a wooden tripod and handled with both professional competence and a true feeling for composition.

Esther Van Deman has been both admired and criticized by her later, specialized followers in archaeology. The results of her research are, however, still valid. The articulation in her system of classification allows for variations that were not considered important by her followers but that permitted her to approach the questions more realistically. Her legacy of over 2,000 photos is now preserved in the archives of the Fototeca Unione at the American Academy in Rome. They convey vividly the character of the Roman Forum in excavation.

Book Review

The Marble Wilderness

Henry Millon

Carolyn Springer, *The Marble Wilderness: Ruins and Representation in Italian Romanticism, 1775–1850* (Cambridge/New York/New Rochelle: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 198 pp., 20 ills. $34.50

A British visitor to Rome in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century would most likely have been fascinated by the ruins of ancient Rome as monuments of picturesque decay, evidence of man's inability to transcend time. A French, German, or Italian contemporary might, equally likely, have seen the ruins as manifestations of an ancient order and grandeur, an example that could guide the present, an achievement contemporary society should seek to emulate. Among themselves, the continentals might seek disparate archaeological evidence in the ruins to uphold differing views, as material either to support arguments for a revival of a republican form of government or to bolster notions of an inherited ecclesiastical or temporal empire. Imagine the discussions, sometimes heated, that probably took place in the Caffè Greco on the Via Condotti, as republicans argued with supporters of the papal states, with adherents of a unified Italy under a single sovereign, and with those who had experienced the Cisalpine state of the French Empire. To an Anglo–Saxon overhearing the debate, accustomed to viewing Rome as a pitifully decayed site best seen at night to heighten its effect on romantic sensibilities and the city as peopled by a decadent, mercurial, and ineffectual populace, the issues might well have seemed incomprehensible or too impassioned to be taken seriously.

It is the merit of Carolyn Springer's *The Marble Wilderness* that she addresses these various views—the ways Italian and other continental intellectuals, politicians, and writers used the Roman ruins, artifacts, archaeology, and contemporary art and architecture in Rome to further political goals in the papal states and Italy in the period between the death of Winckelmann in 1768 and the European revolutions of 1848. This short book, a literary and cultural history, considers the works of Roman painters, sculptors, and architects in the service of political goals: Raphael Mengs, Felice Giani, Antonio Canova, Michelangelo Simonetti, Paolo Bargigli, Raffaele Stern. It also discusses the relation of archaeology and political philosophy in the works of Italian *letterati* and social thinkers: Vincenzo Monti, Pietro Ercole Visconti, Angelo Mai, Gioacchino Belli, Ugo Foscolo, Giacomo Leopardi, Ippolito Pindemonte, Giuseppe Mazzini, Massimo D'Azeglio, Vincenzo Gioberti, Giuseppe Garibaldi.

Professor Springer has organized the material in two parts of four and three chapters, respectively. The first includes two chapters that show the attempts of Clement XIV and Pius VI Braschi to use the new Vatican archaeological museum to legitimate their rule as Christian successors to the imperial Caesars (continuing thereby a long tradition of such claims) and the panegyrics that extolled the contemporary achievement of the papacy and, somewhat optimistically, heralded a new golden age. A further pithy chapter in the first part delineates the changed situation after Napoleon's defeat of papal forces in 1796 (with an armistice that stipulated the transport of 100 major works of art from Rome to Paris); the archaeological excavations initiated by Camille de Tournon for France; the exile of Pius VI in 1798; the brief existence of the Roman Republic in 1798–99 (echoes of Cola di Rienzo), complete with liberty trees and with its own exaltation of the rites and remains of republican Rome, ephemeral republican festival monuments designed by Bargigli; the confiscation and sale of works of art from church and private collections that constituted a new sack of Rome; the restoration of the papacy by Ferdinand IV, King of the Two Sicilies, in the person of Pius VII Chiaramonti (elected in Venice after the death of Pius VI in exile); the new archaeological projects of Pius VII in the Forum and on the slopes of the Capitoline to replace the works appropriated by Napoleon and to populate the new Chiaramonti sculpture gallery; the appointment of Antonio Canova as Inspector of the Fine Arts (including control of the market in antiquities); the restoration of the Column of Trajan, the Colosseum, the arches of Constantine, Septimius Severus, and Titus; the repatriation of the remains of Pius VI who died in exile; the preparation of the Braschi tomb in the Confessio at St. Peter's by Canova with a statue of Pius VI kneeling in prayer placed immediately above the tomb of St. Peter (the statue has recently been moved to a new, less prominent location); the reoccupation of Rome by Napoleon in 1809 as one of the French Imperial cities; the exile of Pius VII; the renewed and accelerated excavations by de Tournon in the Forum; the restoration of the papacy after the fall of Napoleon; the rechristianizing of the archaeological sites by Pius VII; the return of the art works from Paris; the construction of the Braccio Nuovo by Pius VII for the rapidly expanding decorative programs for the Chiaramonti Galleries (by Francesco Hayez, Vincenzo Ferri, Philippe Veit, Luigi Durantini, Giuseppe Caponeri, Filippo Agricola, Domenico De Angelis); the panegyrics of Canova, Angelo Mai; and, finally,

the ridicule of the *mania antiquaria* by Massimo D'Azeglio, who first came to Rome in 1814. The fourth and final chapter of the first part is devoted to the private poetry of Gioacchino Belli. Professor Springer has extracted from Belli's sonnets those that reveal his candid and often caustic reactions to the claims of archaeology and the papacy (even though he was for most of his life employed by the Vatican). She provides an exemplary analysis of these pieces—often in difficult *romanaccio*—that expose the Roman popular reaction to the successive waves of interest in Roman archaeology by the papacy, the French, and the Roman Republic.

Part Two examines the uses of archaeology among those who sought Italian unity in the years following Napoleon. The first of three chapters contains a detailed analysis of Ugo Foscolo's *Dei Sepolcri* as a response to Napoleon's Edict of St.-Cloud of 1804 that prohibited burial within cities, and its arousal of patriotic, nationalistic, Italic sentiments. Conceiving the prohibition as an intentional divorcing of the present from the inspirational models of the past, Foscolo invites meditation on tombs of exemplars in Milan, Florence, and the ancient Mediterranean world. Professor Springer states that "probably no single text did more to adapt the archaeological metaphor to the service of Italian nationalism than Foscolo's *Dei Sepolcri.*" In 1871, after the unification of Italy, Giuseppe Mazzini recalled that "Foscolo was one of my first enthusiasms in life."

A succeeding chapter looks at Mazzini's dream of a new Italy "buried beneath the edifice of the ancien régime" that would supplant the papacy and other realms in Italy with a new democratic tradition. For Mazzini, the ruins of Rome were "invoked as a setting for revolutionary action." Vincenzo Gioberti, on the other hand, saw the ruins and artifacts as evidence of a prime position once enjoyed by Romans and Italians but lost through foreign domination. Mazzini worked for a democratic, unified Italy, Gioberti for a unified Italian nation with Rome and the Pope at the head of a federation of regional states. The chapter examines Gioberti's *Primato morale e civile degli Italiani,* Mazzini's responses to Gioberti and to Charles Didier's *Rome souterraine,* in his *Giovane Italia,* and concludes with a brief but valuable look at Giuseppe Garibaldi's novel *Clelia,* in which Rome and the Colosseum are seen as the site of a popular revolution.

The final chapter chronicles the election in 1846 of Pius IX, a known liberal cardinal, his amnesty of political prisoners shortly after his election, the granting of a constitution in 1848, the new papal images, the collapse of the government of Pius IX and his flight to Gaeta, the second Roman Republic of five months with Mazzini as one of the triumvirs (together with Carlo Armellini and Aurelio Saffi), the French occupation of Rome after the battle of Porta San Pancrazio, the restoration of Pius IX, the new republican images and inspiration from the defense of Rome, the interruption of archaeological exploration of the Forum and ancient Roman sites and a shift of attention to the catacombs and early Christian sites, the inauguration of the Museo Pio Cristiano at the Lateran (transferred now to the Vatican), the erection of the Column of the Immaculate Conception in the Piazza di Spagna (in 1856) to commemorate the promulgation of that Dogma and, as French support eroded after the defeat of Napoleon III by Germany in 1870, the occupation of all papal territories including Rome by troops of the King of Savoy with the subsequent unification of Italy (though Professor Springer thinks Italy still to be "resolutely fragmentary").

This rich and extensive material has been compiled and thoughtfully discussed by Professor Springer. The volume will be valuable for any who wish to know more about the interrelation of art, archaeology, and politics in a particularly chaotic period in the history of Rome.

The introduction discusses models of archaeological representation in the period and provides an illuminating examination of the use of Rome, ruins, and archaeology by Byron in his *Childe Harold.* A brief chronology accompanies the text as well as eighteen pages of notes that testify to a command of a wide range of literature surrounding the subject. However, there is no bibliography, and the index of names is unaccountably incomplete.

Beyond Roman Gates

Roman buildings were erected in the Empire far beyond Rome. Their presence in northern countries, coupled with the revered images carried back from Rome by Christian pilgrims, influenced medieval church buildings. This architecture, counting on the authority of Rome, bred the Romanesque.

In the following pages, Lawrence Anderson's beautiful photographs bring this transformed vision a step closer, into our own present.

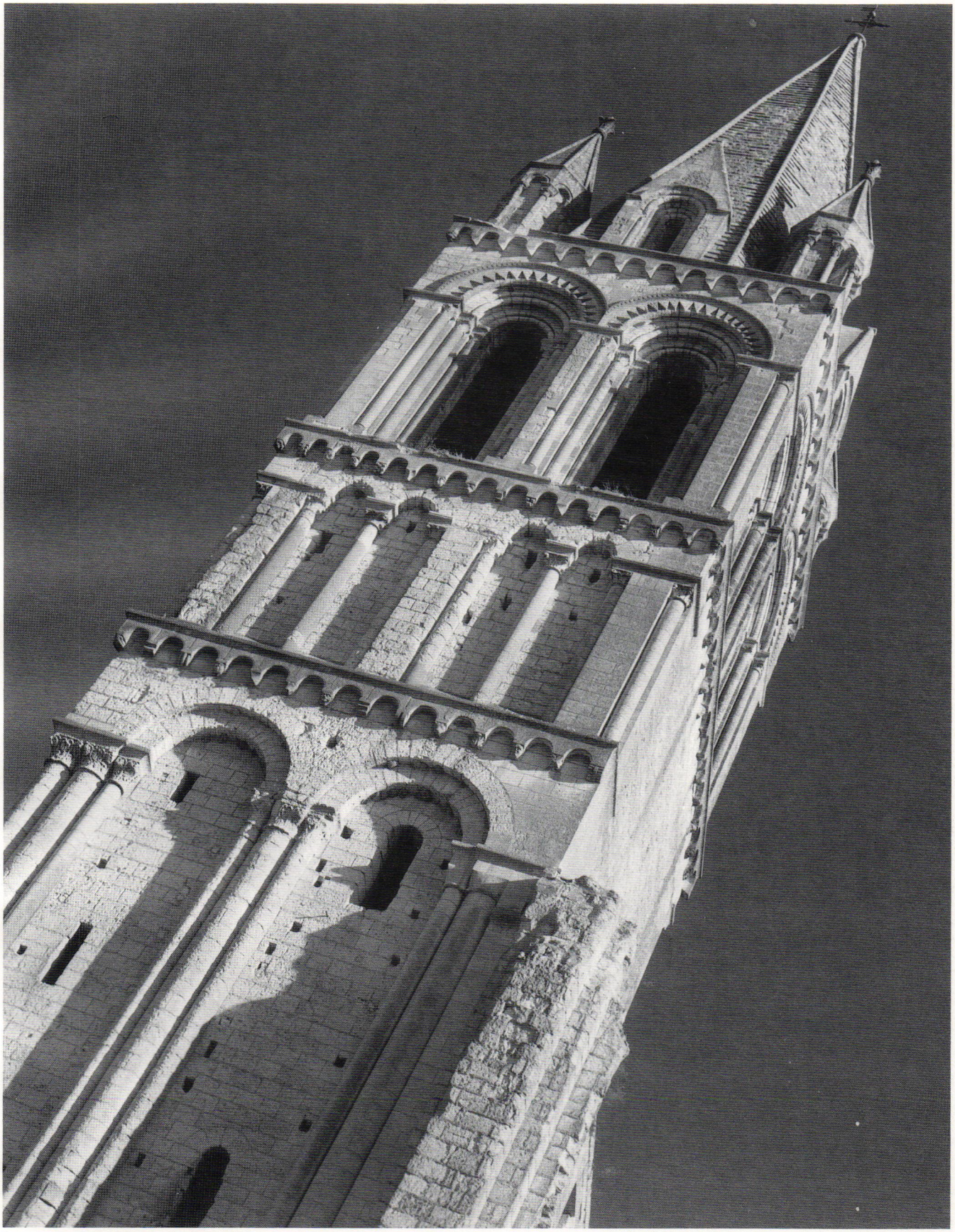
1 Roman Gate, presently called Porte St.-Andre Autun (Saöne-et-Loire), France
Photograph by Alice Wingwall

Photographs by
Lawrence B. Anderson

2

2 Nave of abbey at Fontevraud
Fontevraud (Maine-et-Loire), France

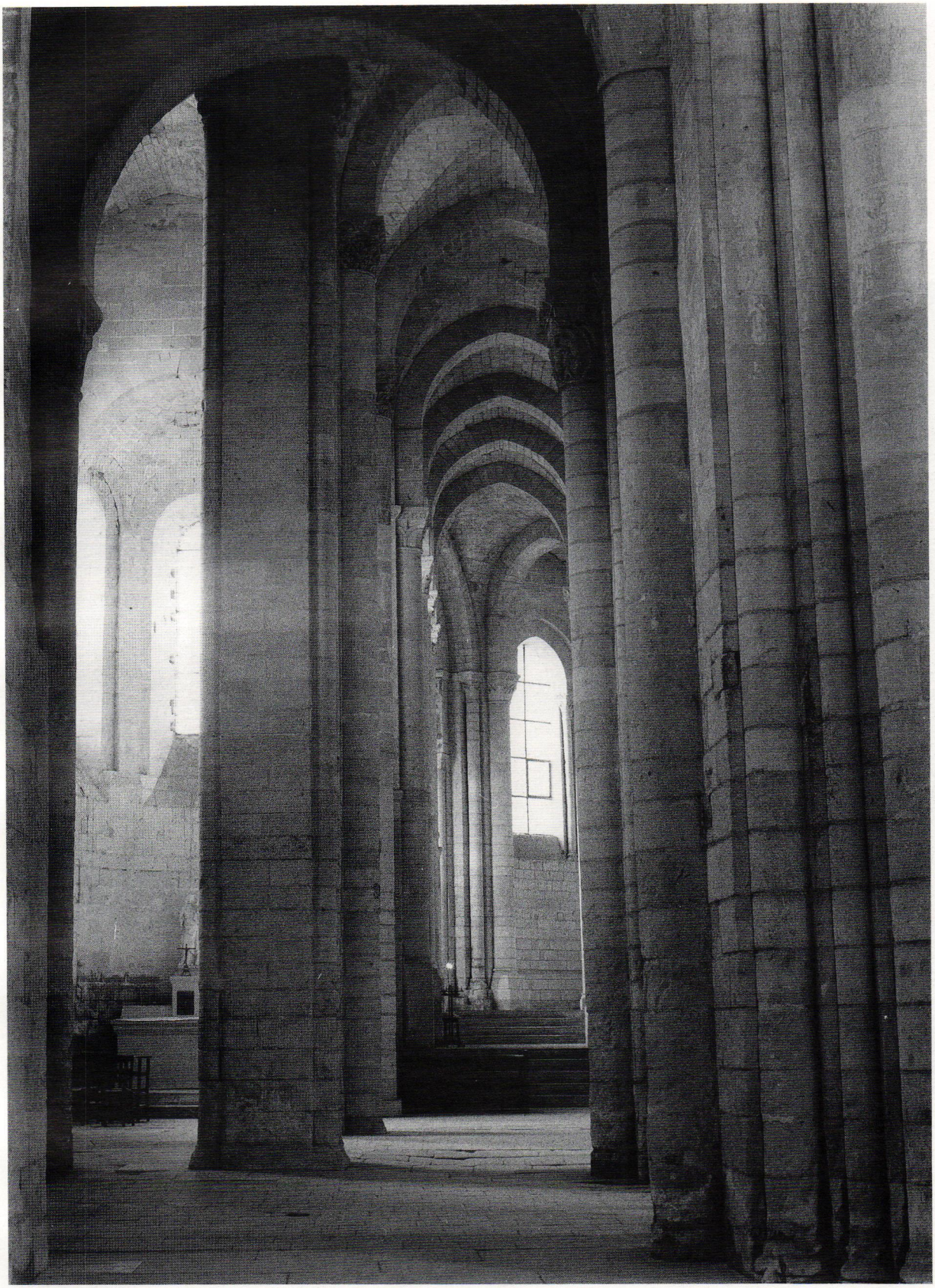
3 Tower
Beaulieu-les-Loches (Indre-et-Loire), France



3

4

4 Choir, Ste. Foy at Conques
Conques (Aveyron), France



5

5 Aisle
Cunault (Maine-et-Loire), France

6

6 Nave, St. Martin at Chapaîze
Chapaîze (Saöne-et-Loire), France

Contributors

The photographs and watercolors of **Lawrence B. Anderson,** Dean Emeritus of the School of Architecture and Urban Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, are a much beloved adjunct of his long and distinguished career as an architect and educator.

Frederick Biehle was born in Cleveland, Ohio. He received a Bachelor of Science in Architecture from the University of Virginia in 1977 and a Master of Architecture from Harvard University in 1982. Until this past year he resided in New York City working initially with Tod Williams and Associates, Architects. In 1986 he was awarded the Rome Prize Fellowship in Architecture and is currently practicing and teaching in Rome.

Steven Brint has written books in the areas of political sociology and the sociology of education. He has written one book on the transformation of the two year colleges (with Jerome Karabel). He is currently working on another book on the changing political views of the professional middle class in America.

Kathryn Dean and **Charles Wolf** have collaborated on projects since 1983. Kathryn Dean was the recipient of the 1986–87 Rome Prize. She graduated from North Dakota State University in 1981 and received her graduate degree from the University of Oregon in 1983. Charles Wolf was awarded the N.I.A.E. Traveling Fellowship in Architecture in 1986. He is a 1979 graduate of Washington University in St. Louis and in 1983 received his graduate degree from the University of Oregon. This project is one of two studies of Roman ruin sites executed while both authors were residing at the American Academy in Rome.

Karin (Bull Simonsen) Einaudi, graduated in Art History from University of Stockholm, Sweden; she is currently Director of Fototeca Unione, Rome, a position she has held since 1974. Ms. Einaudi was Editor of microfiche publication of Fototeca Unione archive: *Ancient Roman Architecture-Photographic Archive on Microfiche,* Vols. I and II, 1977, 1982. Her other publications include *La pieve di S. Michele in Acervulis in Santarangelo in Romagna,* from "Alto Medievo 1" (1967); *The Fototeca Unione Archive and Archaeological Photography* and *Photographic Documentation of Pompeii* in *Visual Resources,* Vol. II, Nos. 1–3 (1981–82); *Photographic Archives of art and archaeology in Italy* in *Visual Resources,* Vol. III, No. 3 (1986); *Esther B. Van Deman: Un' Archeologa Americana* in: *Archeologia in ROMA Capitale* (Roma, 1983).

Roberto Einaudi is Director of Cornell's College of Architecture, Art & Planning which is located in the Palazzo Massimo Alle Colonne in Rome. He is a graduate of Cornell's Professional Program in Architecture and for a number of years has directed his own practice in Rome. His wide-ranging professional involvement includes planning, restoration, museum projects and exhibitions.

Diane Favro is an architectural historian specializing in Roman architecture and urbanism. She has published on Roman gardens and ancient solar laws and is currently completing a book on Augustan Rome. Ms. Favro received a Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley and currently teaches Architectural History in the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Design at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Frank Gehry's innovative architectural work has provoked international attention and acclaim. He has held visiting appointments at Harvard and Yale Universities and is a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects.

Michael Graves received his architectural training at the University of Cincinnati and Harvard University and is currently a Professor of Architecture at Princeton University. In 1960 Graves won the Prix de Rome and studied at the American Academy in Rome, of which he is now Trustee and member of the Society of Fellows. In the development of his formal vocabulary, the recording and transformation of perceptions through drawings has played a very influential role. Michael Graves has become widely known because of the intensity of the personal vision he has brought to architecture and design, ranging from drawings to buildings to teakettles.

Heinrich Hermann was born in Austria and studied architecture at the Academy of Applied Art in Vienna and as a Fulbright Fellow at Cornell University. He has practiced architecture in Austria, Germany and the United States and has held teaching appointments at Washington University, St. Louis and Harvard University. He spent the academic year 1986–87 in Rome.

Allan Jacobs is Professor of City and Regional Planning at the University of California, Berkeley. In 1986 he was at the American Academy in Rome as a recipient of a Senior Fellowship in Design Arts, and in 1985 he received the Distinguished Leadership Award from the American Planning Association. His most recent book, *Looking at Cities*, was published in 1985 by Harvard University Press.

Richard Kenney has published two books of poems, *The Evolution of the Flightless Bird* and *Orrery*. He spent 1986–87 as a Rome Prize Fellow at the American Academy in Rome. Named a MacArthur Fellow in 1987, he is currently teaching in the writing program at the University of Washington.

Henry Millon is Dean of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art. He is the author of *Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (1964), *Filippo Juvarra, Drawings from the Roman Period* (1984), as well as articles and reviews. He is a member of the faculty of the M.I.T. Department of Architecture and former Director of the American Academy in Rome.

Antoine Predock is a practicing architect in Albuquerque, New Mexico. His regionally based designs have won numerous awards and competitions, and international critical acclaim. In 1985 he was a Fellow at the American Academy in Rome and published this Italian Sketchbook.

Michelle Renee Salzman has written works in the areas of Roman religion and society. She has written one book on the manuscript, *Calendar of 54 A.D.* and is currently working on another book on the conversion of the Roman aristocracy in the years after Constantine.

R. T. Scott, current Andrew W. Mellon Professor in Charge of the School of Classical Studies, the American Academy in Rome, is a classical scholar with major interests in Roman history and historiography and Italian archaeology. He has worked extensively at the mid-republican colony of Cosa in southwestern Tuscany and in the Roman Forum.

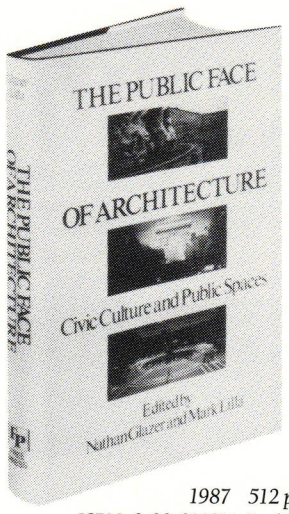
"No subject is more urgent than architecture's impact on the city and its responsibility for creating a better urban life. This anthology is a virtual bible of memorable essays on the meaning of architecture's 'publicness,' from shaping streets, plazas, and parks, to enclosing civic functions, to symbolizing the state of contemporary culture. Its diverse contributors... widen the angle of vision through which urban architecture is normally perceived. Every professional should have this book not just in his library but on his desk as a constant reminder."

– Benjamin C. Thompson, F.A.I.A., President, Benjamin Thompson & Associates

"A landmark compilation of recent writing on the public responsibilities of architecture and urbanism. The book is an essential text and deserves the widest possible readership." **– Robert A.M. Stern, F.A.I.A., Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation, Columbia University**

"Architecture is singularly a public art and inescapably a measure of a people's endowment. It provides scant proof of any presumed law of progress. Just now, it is critics who embody the greatest hope; none more than Glazer and Lilla. If we can come up with a decent public square in the next generation, let it be named for them and this book."

– Daniel Patrick Moynihan



THE PUBLIC FACE OF ARCHITECTURE

Civic Culture and Public Spaces

Edited by NATHAN GLAZER and MARK LILLA

1987 512 pages
ISBN: 0-02-911811-5 $35.00

Contemporary public architecture – the buildings, plazas, and streets that constitute the city and embody our civic ideals – is in a state of disarray. It is marred by the disappearance of firmly accepted theoretical precepts, by a declining capacity to build lively, functional shared space, and by the failure of both citizens and architects to understand just what public space *is* – and the important civic consequences of the building projects and urban plans meant to fill it.

To highlight these problems and to encourage a critical, responsible appraisal of them, Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla have brought together 28 thoughtful essays in *The Public Face of Architecture: Civic Culture and Public Spaces.* The essays explore what a vital public architecture has meant in the past, and what it should mean now and for the future. Glazer and Lilla have carefully organized the selections to illuminate five distinct, though interrelated areas of architecture and planning:

- the philosophical, historical, and practical principles of public spaces
- civic architecture and its relation to the political order
- the nature of outdoor and indoor open spaces – including public parks, city streets, plazas, lobbies and shopping malls
- the current conflict over the funding and placement of public art
- the prospects for planning and creating American public spaces – notably in urban areas

"However one struggles with the problem of public architecture," write Glazer and Lilla, "it is hard to escape the conclusion that the answer to improving it is in the raising of public and professional taste." By assembling the best recent writings in the field along with hard-to-find classics, this work may encourage the urgently needed debate – among architects, students, critics, and concerned citizens – that can do just that.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Hannah Arendt	Charles W. Moore
Walter Benjamin	Lewis Mumford
Nathan Glazer	Frederick Law Olmsted
Clark Glymour	Jaquelin Robertson
Charles T. Goodsell	Joseph B. Rose
Allan Greenberg	Moshe Safdie
Robert Gutman	Roger Scruton
Neil Harris	Michael A. Scully
William Hubbard	Richard Sennett
Jane Jacobs	Camillo Sitte
J.B. Jackson	Douglas Stalker
Mark Lilla	Roger Starr
Donlyn Lyndon	William H. Whyte

THE FREE PRESS
A Division of Macmillan Inc.
866 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022

For VISA or MasterCard orders, call toll-free 1-800-257-5755
(In NJ, AK, or HI, dial direct 1-609-461-6500.)

Everyone needs a place of one's own. So stop looking over someone else's shoulder at PLACES and order your own subscription today. Discover more than just projects, theories, and history—explore contemporary problems, reactions, and solutions, and observe the interdependence of people and places.

So don't crowd yourself out. Order your own subscription to PLACES and find out how people and PLACES influence the shape of things to come.

Perfect for gifts, essential for design professionals, and fascinating for everyone.
PLACES, A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN.

SUBSCRIBE!

Places

Please

☐ begin my subscription ☐ individual $25.00
☐ renew ☐ institution $50.00

Outside USA and Canada add ☐ surface mail $9.00
☐ air mail $17.00

Prepayment required
☐ payment enclosed
☐ charge to my
☐ MasterCard
☐ VISA

card # expiration date

signature

BC 88

Name

Address Zip

RENEW!

Places

Please

☐ begin my subscription ☐ individual $25.00
☐ renew ☐ institution $50.00

Outside USA and Canada add ☐ surface mail $9.00
☐ air mail $17.00

Prepayment required
☐ payment enclosed
☐ charge to my
☐ MasterCard
☐ VISA

card # expiration date

signature

Name

Address Zip

GIVE A GIFT!

Places

Please give a gift subscription to:

Name

Address

Zip

☐ individual $25.00 Outside USA and Canada add ☐ surface mail $9.00
☐ institution $50.00 ☐ air mail $17.00

Prepayment required ☐ payment enclosed ☐ charge to my ☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA

card number expiration date signature

As a gift from:

BC 88

Name

Address Zip

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 309 BOSTON, MA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

MIT Press Journals
55 Hayward Street
Cambridge, MA 02142-9902

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

SUBSCRIBE!

Places
A Quarterly Journal
of Environmental Design

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 309 BOSTON, MA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

MIT Press Journals
55 Hayward Street
Cambridge, MA 02142-9902

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

RENEW!

Places
A Quarterly Journal
of Environmental Design

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 309 BOSTON, MA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

MIT Press Journals
55 Hayward Street
Cambridge, MA 02142-9902

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

GIVE A GIFT!

Places
A Quarterly Journal
of Environmental Design

Notes to Contributors

Places: A Quarterly Journal of Environmental Design is published by The MIT Press. All material is subject to editorial review. To facilitate the consideration process, please make sure your manuscript is carefully prepared.

Submissions
Submit three copies of the material complete with illustrations; the maximum length is 4000 words with preference for shorter articles.

Give the address, telephone number, and affiliation for each author. In the case of multiple authors, indicate who receives correspondence.

Inform the editor if the manuscript has been presented, published or submitted for publication elsewhere. Our goal is to publish original material not otherwise available, but we will consider outstanding papers that have appeared or will appear elsewhere, as well as excerpts from forthcoming books.

Manuscript Style
Use *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 13th edition. In documenting the text, follow the system for notes at the end of the article (15.36–15.67). Double-space typewritten manuscripts; triple-space word processor manuscripts. Use this spacing for text, figure captions, acknowledgments, illustrations, and notes. Use one side of sheet only.

Submit lists of captions that include credits on separate sheets.

Include the following information in notes:

Books: Authors' first and last names, title (city, state: publisher, year), page numbers.

Chapters in books: Authors' first and last names, title of chapter, title of book, editors' initials and last names (city, state: publisher, year), page numbers.

Journal articles: Authors' first and last names, title of article, *name of journal*, volume number, issue number, page numbers.

Copyediting Procedures
To facilitate the editorial and production process, copyedited manuscripts will be sent to the authors for a final review before being typeset. Galleys will not be sent except in cases where articles contain technical information which must be verified. The journal will be proofread twice before going to press.

Note on Contributors
Along with your final manuscript, please submit a professional description of fifty words or less which will appear at the back of the journal.

Style for Illustrations
Provide one set of camera-ready illustrations. A sharp image and good contrast are essential for quality reproductions. Keep in mind that most illustrations will be reproduced in a narrow column width, generally a considerable reduction of the original size. Keep originals clean and legible. Use a protective wrapper.

Prepare line drawings in black ink on stiff paper with generous margins on all sides.

Show only essential information on charts and graphs, i.e., coordinate axes, major grid lines, and lines on points of interest.

Submit photographs as black and white glossy prints whenever possible, with good contrast and tonal range.

Provide captions for all illustrations. The caption copy will be typeset and appear by the figure. Include credits with the captions.

Type all information including the figure number on an adhesive sticker and attach it to the back of the photograph. Do not write directly on the back of photographs.

Permissions
Authors are responsible for obtaining permission to use drawings, photographs, tables, and any other previously published material, including permission to use excerpts from forthcoming books. All documentation of granted permissions must be submitted with the manuscript.

Copyright
It is the policy of The MIT Press to own the copyright to the contributions it publishes. This policy most effectively protects the Author and the Press from the consequences of copyright infringement, and facilitates the appropriate reuse of contributions by others. Therefore, to comply with the U.S. Copyright Law, we request that authors submit a signed Copyright Transfer Form before production begins.

Where to send
Mail three copies of all manuscripts to:

Donlyn Lyndon
Center for Environmental Design Research
373 Wurster Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

Places
MIT Press Journals
55 Hayward Street
Cambridge, MA 02142

Nonprofit Organization
U.S. Postage
Paid
Permit No. 4
Hanover, PA