

III.—Processions in the *Acta Ludorum Saecularium*

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This study is in two parts, each of which deals with a procession described in the surviving epigraphical records of the *ludi saeculares*. Evidence from the new fragments of the Severan *acta* supplements evidence of the Augustan *acta*, and *vice versa*, providing a fuller understanding of the nature of these processions than restorations of the documents up to this time have indicated. In each part brief new restorations are proposed.¹

I

The new fragments of the Severan *Acta Ludorum Saecularium* found a decade ago provide considerable information about the rites on the third day of the *ludi saeculares*, when the *carmen saeculare* was sung. Conspicuous among these rites is the procession which forms the general setting for the singing of the hymn. In the first part of this paper we shall deal with this procession, which begins during the closing rites of the *ludi saeculares* proper, and ends with the initiation of *ludi circenses*. The procession began on the Palatine after sacrifices to Apollo and Diana, the performance of *ludi Augg.*, and the singing of the hymn in the pronaos of the temple of Apollo (lines 53–8); and it came to a climax during a station on the Capitol, where the hymn was repeated (line 75). Thence it proceeded to the original region of the secular rites along the Tiber, and terminated at two structures built especially for the festival: a wooden theatre and a temporary circus (lines 77–8). We are here concerned with the final stages of the procession and its connection with the *theatrum ligneum* and *circus temporalis*. Since the problems concerning us are to be found in lines 76–8 of the Severan *acta*, we shall quote these lines. The text given here is Huelsen's, for which I shall indicate modifications, however, in two places, based on my examination of the stones.²

¹ The inscriptions treated in this paper are *CIL* 6.32323; 32329–32331; P. Romanelli, "Nuovi frammenti degli Atti dei ludi secolari di Settimio Severo (a. 204)," *NS* 1931.341–5; Huelsen, "Neue Fragmente der Acta Ludorum Saecularium von 204 nach Chr.," *RhM* 81 (1932) 388–94. See also E. Diehl, "Zu den neuen Acta Ludorum Saecularium Septimorum des Jahres 204 n. Chr.," *SPAW* 1932, 765ff.

² The arabic figures indicating the number of letters required to fill a lacuna are those given by Huelsen (see his note, *op. cit.* 370) and based on Romanelli (see note 1),

- 76/ I]nde Severus et Antoni[nus Augg 9
 77/ 7 cum] pr. p[r. e]t c[eteris process]erunt ad ludos saeculares
 consummando[s] in thea[tr.] leo pompa [8 sac]rificalis in
 tri[bunal in cir]co temporal[i] circu[m. . . .]ia est ludisque saecu-
 laribus 9
 78/ 20] in [7 p]almatis sump[t]is et scipionibus aebornei[s]
 ad circum [temp]oralem 34 c]arceres se m. consedit
 Imp. Antoninus Aug. 10

I shall indicate at once the following modifications of the text, both in line 77:

thea[tro ligne]o
 circu[mdu]cta

I present these modifications now since they are without a doubt correct and are essential to an understanding of the problems to be treated.³ Later I shall give a fuller restoration of the passage.

The situation described in the lines quoted above is briefly this:

First, the emperors go to the theatre for the purpose of closing the *ludi saeculares*.

who stated that his figures were necessarily approximate. The method of measuring I have used (the measurement of all letters and groups of letters includes the space as far as the beginning of the following letter) produces in at least one case results differing from those of Romanelli. This case is treated in detail in this paper. The authorities of the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome kindly permitted me to examine and measure old and new fragments of the Severan *acta*. For this permission, granted at a time when museums were closed to the general public, I am deeply grateful.

³ There is no reason to doubt that the letters TROLIGNE may be read following INTHEA in line 77. The lowest bar of the E is visible, and the letters fit the lacuna. The space from the end of A in THEA to the beginning of O measures 5.5 cm., which usually is filled by 8 letters, sometimes by 9 smaller letters. In TROLIGNE we have 8 letters. We know that the E is there from the trace of the lowest cross-bar, but for purposes of measurement (since we are measuring the space as far as O), it must be counted in the lacuna.

Diehl saw that the advance into the theatre did not require an accusative (*in theatrum*), as Romanelli thought; cf. *in pronao aedis Apollinis adscenderunt* (line 58); verbs of motion with *in theatro ligneo*, *in odio*, etc. (line 91). Diehl, however, refused to allow the wooden theatre to be read into this line, since he believed that the procession was soon bound for the Circus Maximus (*op. cit.* 773), and if this was the case, it could not previously be so far away as the wooden theatre. The Circus Maximus, however, is not involved here (see J. Gagé in his note to p. 68 on p. 115 of his volume of collected essays on the *ludi saeculares*, *Recherches sur les jeux seculaires*, Paris, 1934). The *metae Murciae* mentioned in line 79 of the Severan *acta* must refer to *metae* in the Circus Temporalis which occupied a position corresponding to the position of the *metae* of the same name in the Circus Maximus.

circu[mdu]cta: The letter T is to be read, and not I, as Romanelli had it. Diehl read T but put a dot under it. T is preceded by a curving letter, O or C. The letters CIRCUC preceding the lacuna, and the letters TA following it, make the reading C preferable to O. Both Romanelli and Diehl read C.

Second, at once a *pompa* is led around the circus (there is a short lacuna of about 6.00 cm. in the text between *pompa* and *rificalis*). Here there is an abrupt transition from theatre to circus. This requires explanation. Since *pompa* clearly goes with *sac[r]ificalis*, it will be necessary to discover a word which might appropriately come between them.⁴

Third, at the beginning of another action the *ludi saeculares* are mentioned a second time; the reason for this we shall have to consider. The new action following the mention of the *ludi saeculares* is the assumption by more than one person of dress and symbols peculiar to the circus games. The persons must be identified.

Fourth, there is mention of the *carceres*, the starting point of the races. Here the dropping of the *mappa* for the beginning of the races is certainly the event described, for in line 79 Severus starts off the *quadrigae*.

It should be clear from this summary that our problems—there are two of them—lie in the middle items on the list, namely, the second and third. The first item is the closing of the *ludi saeculares* in the theatre. The fourth is the opening of the *circenses*. What happened between these events? One problem, as I have suggested, is to discover the reason for the abrupt transition from theatre to circus in line 77. No restoration up to this time has resolved this difficulty, and in fact it seems to have been ignored. Another problem is to discover the reason for the second mention of the *ludi saeculares*. An attempt to cover this point was made by Diehl. For the moment we shall postpone the first problem, since its solution, as we shall see, will follow the solution of the second problem, i.e., the second mention of the *ludi saeculares*, for which Diehl offered an explanation.

Diehl looked upon the phrase *ludisque saecularibus* as a purpose construction (gerundive to be supplied) parallel with *ad ludos saeculares consummando[s]* in the same line, and he accordingly restored the phrase to read *ludisque saecularibus consummandis*.⁵ He therefore had two closings for the *ludi saeculares*, one in the theatre, another in the circus. But it hardly seems likely that there were two

⁴ The lacuna to be filled is *circ.* 6 cm. This will take no more than 9 letters, and 8 will fit the space better than 9, unless the letters are small.

⁵ Diehl, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 774: *ludis saecularibus [consumman | dis (?) impp. Severus et Anton]in[us] togis p[al]matis sump[t]is et scipionibus aeornei[s] ad circum [temp] oralem [venerunt*

closings for the games, one in the theatre and a second in the circus. And it seems especially unlikely when we take into consideration the fact that no part of the ludi saeculares had occurred in the circus. The ludi saeculares proper were *scaenici*. They were performed in the theatre. How then could they have been closed in the circus? Ritualistically, the ludi circenses which followed the ludi scaenici were not part of the ludi saeculares. This can be demonstrated by pointing out the relation between the *ludi honorarii* (*scaenici*) given later in the festival and the *circenses* which followed them, and by drawing an analogy. In both the Augustan and Severan *acta* the games in the circus following the ludi scaenici called *honorarii* are not regarded as part of the *honorarii*. Under Augustus seven days of *honorarii* were provided for by edict (line 156). Only after these were finished (the dates are very specifically given) did the *venatio* and the *circenses* begin. The evidence for the *venatio* is an edict in line 163 of the *acta*; *circenses* are suggested by the mention of a *pompa* close to the point where the stone breaks off (line 164, June 12) and the starting of the *quadrigae* by Agrippa in line 165. The Severan edict provided for *three* days of *honorarii*, again wholly theatrical (lines 36-7; cf. 43-6). After the *honorarii* the circus games were to take place and were *definitely not part of the honorarii* (lines 38, 41). The analogy to be drawn for the ludi saeculares and the *circenses* following them seems obvious. The races in the *circus temporalis* were not part of the ludi saeculares, from a strictly ritualistic point of view. The *circenses* following both the *saeculares* and the *honorarii* were extras, outside the ritual limits of the *saeculares* and the *honorarii*, and were very likely added to each set of ludi by analogy with the great Roman games which consisted of several days of *scaenici* and one or more days of *circenses*.⁶

It is clear, therefore, that the ludi saeculares could not have been concluded in the *circus temporalis*, since they were quite distinct from the *circenses*, which were the beginning of a new phase in the

⁶ Here we have the reverse of what happened in the development of the earliest festival ludi, which were *circenses*. Ludi scaenici were added after 364, the date of the earliest *scaenici*. L. R. Taylor, "New Light on the History of the Secular Games," *AJPh* 55 (1934) 107, has pointed out the importance of the predominantly scenic character of the secular games for the date of their origin as a festival.

Mommsen (*Eph. Epig.* 8.270-1) apparently found it difficult to ascribe any definite status to the performances following the scenic *saeculares*. Diehl (*op. cit.* 774) mistakenly treated the ludi circenses following the *ludi honorarii* as part of the *honorarii*.

festival, not the end of what had been going on. Diehl's reading for the second occurrence of the *ludi saeculares* in line 77 must therefore be rejected. There is an obvious alternative to Diehl's text, and that is to restore the whole phrase as an ablative absolute rather than a dative of purpose, i.e., *ludis saecularibus [consummatis]*,⁷ which leaves the theatre behind and points forward to the commencement of the *ludi circenses*. Now we have a new action following the conclusion of the *ludi saeculares* in the theatre. Agents are needed to carry out the new action, the assumption of ritual paraphernalia preliminary to the opening of the races. Since the emperors were concerned in the theatre, which the phrase *ludis saecularibus [consummatis]* leaves behind, they are very likely also concerned in the subsequent action. The beginning of line 78 was probably occupied by the names of Severus and Caracalla. In line 78 Diehl appropriately used the surviving IN as part of Caracalla's name:

[impp. Severus et Anton]in[us togis p]almatis sump[t]is et scipionibus aebornei[s] ad circum [temp]oralem [venerunt]

We shall read the names in a slightly different form which is more consistent with the forms used throughout the *acta*:

Impp. Severus et Anton]in[us Augg. p]almatis sumptis, etc.⁸

The emperors are now in the circus and are the ones who assume the garb of the presiding officials in preparation for the dropping of the *mappa* and the first race. It remains to resolve the first difficulty presented by line 77, namely, the abrupt shift in point of

⁷ The discussion of measurements will be found in note 8.

⁸ At the beginning of line 78 a lacuna of *circ.* 18.7 cm. is to be filled. This figure is obtained by subtracting from 22.8 cm. (the length of line 78 from the beginning of the margin to IN) 4.1 cm. (the approximate length of the left-hand margin on the stone; where the margin can be measured, lines 10-14, it is 3.9 to 4.1 cm.; each of these lines begins a little farther to the right than the preceding line).

The space to be filled with a restoration at the end of line 77, on the other hand, is not exactly determinable, since the margin on the right is not fixed, the lines being of unequal lengths; but this space is at least 4.5 cm. A comparison with other lines shows that the total space to the edge of the stone was 14.6 cm., and that at least 4.5 cm. of this space was filled. Huelsen allowed for nine letters at the end of line 77 and 20 letters at the beginning of line 78. The restoration here proposed has 29 letters but, as we shall see, their distribution between the two lines is different from Huelsen's; instead of his 9 plus 20, we have 6 plus 23. Our restoration (*consummatis Impp. Severus et Anton*) occupies a maximum total space of 25.9 cm. or a minimum total space of 18.8 cm. Many sample measurements of letters were taken from the inscrip-

view from theatre to circus. If we run quickly through the passage as we now have it, we shall see that the point of view in lines 77-8 shifts several times: 1. theatre; 2. circus; 3. theatre (to which the

tion. The following figures represent the maximum and minimum measurements of the individual letters in our restoration.

	Maximum	Minimum
C	.9	.5
O	.8	.7
N	1.1	.9
S	.7	.5
U	1.0	.6
M	1.3	1.1
M	1.3	1.1
A	.9	.6
T	.9	.6
I	.6	.4
S	.7	.5
I	.6	.4
M	1.3	1.1
P	.8	.5
P	.8	.5
S	.7	.5
E	.7	.5
V	1.0	.6
E	.7	.5
R	1.0	.8
U	1.0	.6
S	.7	.5
E	.7	.5
T	.9	.6
A	.9	.6
N	1.1	.9
T	.9	.6
O	.8	.7
N	1.1	.9
Totals	25.9	18.8

It is obvious that the minimum (18.8 cm.) is impractical here, since in line 78 alone there is a space of 18.7 cm. to be filled. An average figure (about 22 cm.) is probably near the truth. To test this, letter-groups (CONSUMMA, line 77; SEVERUS ET ANTON, line 80; MAN, lines 73, 75, 77; etc.) as well as single letters were measured, giving a total length for the restoration as 21.9 cm., which falls close to the average of the above maximum and minimum figures $\left(\frac{25.9 + 18.8}{2} = 22.2 \right)$.

CONSUMMATIS must be divided between the two lines, and the most reasonable

phrase *ludis saecularibus consummatis* looks back); 4. circus. These shifts are not accidental and can only be explained as the result of a splitting of the original procession into two groups, each of which proceeded to carry out a separate ritual act. While the emperors were closing the games in the theatre, the general *pompa*, with its players, dancers, and musicians (lines 71–72), performers who had through the centuries graced the ancient *pompa circensis* of the permanent circuses, marched into the improvised circus and around it (*circumducta*) and were joined later (*ludis saecularibus consummatis*) by the imperial party, whose arrival and assumption of circus dress signalled the time for the opening of the races. The suggestion of this division of activities presupposes that it was ritualistically possible for such a separation to take place, and in fact we find a similar procedure at the very end of the new fragments of the Severan *acta*. There, at the inauguration of the *ludi honorarii*, the *Quindecimviri* proceed to a tribunal in the theatre where they have their *praesessio* (see lines 30 and 92), while the imperial party goes its own way to witness the *ludi*: *Augg. nn. et cet[er]i 11]bus suis [ibi]que ludos pers[pect]averunt; XVvir(i) autem tribunali praet[9]*. The text is Huelsen's, and the passage shows the possibility of simultaneous action in different places on the part of two important groups in the festival. The above passage not only suggests the possibility of such a separation but actually gives a hint as to the word to be supplied in line 77 between *pompa* and *sac[r]ificalis*, in order to bridge the apparently abrupt transition in language and sense. I refer to the word *autem*. Epigraphically it is perfect for the lacuna between *pompa* and *sac[r]ificalis*. Read *autem* here, and the difficulties of language and sense

division seems to be CONSUM-MATIS. The average of the maximum and minimum total measurements of C-O-N-S-U-M $\frac{5.8 + 4.3}{2}$ is 5.5. Subtract 5.5 from 22.2, and we have an average figure for the space the letters allotted to line 78 will occupy. The number of cm. occupied by MATIS IMPP SEVERUS ET ANTON will then be 16.7, or close to 17. The differences between 4.5 cm. (the minimum space to be filled at the end of line 77) and 5.5, on the one hand, and 18.7 (the space available in line 78) and 16.7, on the other, will not affect the distribution of letters between lines 77 and 78. Line 77 (end) will be filled to 1.0 cm. in excess of the minimum space available; and 2.0 cm. appear to be left over in line 78. But these two cm. may be filled with large letters, or letters somewhat spread out, since most of the restoration is taken up by the names of the emperors. Finally, the number of letters in this restoration is in conformity with the fact that in this inscription there are generally 30–31 letters in 23 cm.

disappear.⁹ While the imperial party enters the theatre to close the ludi saeculares, the larger *pompa*, on the other hand (*autem*), advances into the circus and marches around it in preparation for the new show.

Lines 76–78 I would therefore read as follows:

76/ I]nde Severus et Antoni[nus Augg. 9
77/ 7 cum] pr. p[r. e]t c[eteris process]erunt ad ludos saeculares
 consummando[s] in thea[tro ligne]o pompa [autem sac]rificalis in
 tri[bunal in cir]co temporal[i] circu[m]duc]ta est ludisque saecularibus [consum-
78/ matis Impp. Severus et Antonin[us Augg. p]almatis sump[t]is et
 scipionibus aebornei[s] ad circum [temp]oralem [venerunt

II

A series of theatrical games called *ludi honorarii* followed the ludi saeculares and circenses of the third day, beginning after an interval of a day in the Augustan rites of 17 B.C., and on the day immediately following in the Severan rites of 204 A.D. The Augustan *honorarii* lasted seven days (*CIL* 6.32323, line 156), while the Severan ludi were shorter, lasting only three days (new fragments, lines 36–7 and 43–6).¹⁰ In each set of games (Augustan and Severan) the ludi were performed in three theatres. In this part of my paper I propose to describe how the *ludi honorarii* were opened on the first day with a procession moving from theatre to theatre according to a definitely timed schedule, and to show what can be learned about the procession from the lists of the theatres in the Augustan and Severan *acta*.

The theatres used for the Augustan games were the wooden theatre (*theatrum ligneum*), which had been one of the places where plays had been given during the three days of ludi saeculares;¹¹

⁹ AUTEM fits the lacuna, after space has been allowed for SAC. The total lacuna is *circ.* 6.00 cm., which will allow for 8 or 9 (small, as CUIUS PRON in line 76) letters, not 11 letters (Romanelli, *NS* 1931.344; Diehl, *op. cit.* 773–4). Diehl's *pompa* [*praelata sac*] is too long. To test the restoration AUTEM SAC, we may compare the measurements of AUTEM in line 92 (3.8 cm.) and SAC in line 75 (1.8 cm.). These measurements, which extend right up to the following letters, SAC to the following R, and AUTEM to the following T, total 5.6 cm., which is close to the maximum length of the space available in line 77.

¹⁰ As vs. Diehl, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 786–7, who speaks of the *ludi honorarii* as lasting 7 days, the same length of time given to them at the Augustan games.

¹¹ *CIL* 6.32323, lines 100, 108, 109 must mean that the ludi were performed in two structures: those beginning at night on a *scaena*, with no seats for the spectators (*ludi Latini saeculares*), games which were never interrupted (lines 109–10); and those

the theatre of Pompey; and the theatre of Marcellus, not yet dedicated or called by that name, but referred to in the Augustan records only as *theatrum in circo Flaminio* (lines 156–8; 161).¹² For the Severan games the theatres employed were the *lignum*, the *odeum*, and the theatre of Pompey. The order of the theatres named is the order in which they appear in the *acta*, and we shall discuss this order later. For the moment it is of no importance.

In the Augustan records the *ludi honorarii* are scheduled to be opened on June 5 in the three theatres at different hours, namely, in the *lignum* at the second hour (h. II), in the theatre of Pompey at the third hour (h. III), and in the theatre of Marcellus at the fourth hour (h. I[V]).¹³ One observing this schedule naturally wonders what was the reason for the opening of the *ludi* at three successive hours, rather than simultaneously. No explanation is forthcoming in the Augustan *acta*, and there is no such reference to hours of opening in the Severan *acta*. The Severan *acta*, generally fuller in ritualistic detail than the Augustan, do, however, supply a clue to the reason for this schedule. In lines 91–2 of the fragments found a decade ago and fitted into the already existing stones in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme at Rome, there is an account in outline of the opening of the *ludi honorarii*. Here the part played by the imperial party headed by Septimius Severus and Caracalla on the opening day of the *ludi honorarii* is recorded. The party is described in line 91 as moving from the first theatre to the second, and then to the third, in order to open the *ludi*, each set of which was to begin with a new act by *pantomimi* whose names are given elsewhere in the *acta* (lines 44–6). Lines 90–91 are quoted from Huelsen's text:¹⁴

beginning on the first day in a *theatrum lignum*. The language of lines 153–4 (iuxta eum locum ubi sacrificium erat factum superioribus noctibus et | theatrum positum et sc[ae]na metae positae quadrigaeq. sunt missae et desultores misit Potitus Messalla) does not conflict with this inevitable interpretation, but rather supports it (cf. Zos. 2.5, and A. Piganiol, *Recherches sur les jeux romains* [Strasbourg, 1923] 113–14).

¹² Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Rome* (Oxford, 1927) 513.

¹³ In *CIL* 6.32323, line 158, V is not restored after h(ora) I| but this restoration can be taken for certain. Since the plays in the *lignum* and the *Pompeianum* opened at hours II and III respectively, it would be most strange if the third set of plays did not open at the third successive hour, namely, h(ora) IV. For other announcements of hours of the commencement of *ludi*, cf. line 84 (the *ludi* of the first night, which began at h(ora) II), and line 153 (the *circenses* on the third day of the festival).

¹⁴ "Neue Fragmente der Acta Ludorum Saecularium von 204 nach Chr.," *RhM* 81 (1932) 394. The italicized words represent fragments already published in *CIL* 6.32329–32331.

- 90/ [Pr.] non. Iun. Impp. [Se]verus et Antoninus Augg. [cum Geta
Caes. et] p.p. et ceter. [X]V v. pr. 30
- 91/ 11]runt in theatro ligneo, lu[dis] latin[is comm]issis, in odio
se tra[ns]tulerunt, ibique [lu]dis graecis commissis in theatro Pom-
peian[o veneru]nt, ibiq[ue] 33
- 92/ 17 Augg. nn. et cet[er]i 11]bus suis [ibi]que ludos
pers[pect]averunt; XV vir(i) autem tribunali praet[er] 9]
urst 34

This text is very suggestive to one who recalls the schedule observed for the opening performances of the Augustan *ludi honorarii*.¹⁵ Initial performances in the theatres, each one hour later than the other, would be necessary if there were a procession similar to the Severan procession, moving from theatre to theatre, to open each set of *ludi* in turn. Conversely, the procession described in the Severan *acta* would have followed a schedule similar to the one for the opening of the Augustan *ludi*, whether the hours of opening were identical with those at the Augustan *ludi* or not. It is certain that the performances lasted longer than one hour, the length of the interval between openings. The imperial party could not therefore have remained to see a complete performance until all the theatres had been officially opened.¹⁶ For within one hour the members of this group had to open a performance and proceed to the next theatre. The probability that the imperial party did not remain to watch a performance through to the end is made a certainty by the text in line 92 of the passage quoted above. In this line of the text, after the three theatres have been visited, it is stated that the emperors saw the *ludi* to completion in one of them. The phrase giving this information is *ludos pers[pect]averunt*. This phrase is clearly in contrast with the previous visits to the theatres; at some final point after the opening ceremonies the emperors witnessed a performance to its completion. Huelsen believed that

¹⁵ Diehl's interpretation of this passage as referring to the closing of the *ludi honorarii* (*op. cit.* 775: *ad ludos honorarios consummandos*) and the opening of the *circenses* cannot possibly be correct. There are other fragments of the *acta* which continue with the description of the *ludi honorarii* (esp. *CIL* 6.32332), and these fragments followed closely upon the passage here discussed.

¹⁶ *Ludos committere* in these lines means "open the plays" (cf. *proelium committere*). This is made clear by the use of *ludos pers[pect]averunt* in line 92, for the use of *perspectaverunt* rather than *spectaverunt* has significance only by contrast with a short stay on the part of the emperors in the other theatres. It is unthinkable, moreover, that the *ludi* in each of these theatres on the opening day should have lasted less than an hour (as would be the case if *ludos committere* meant "give the games to completion"), when three whole days were set aside for the performance of *ludi honorarii*.

they returned from the third theatre, the *Pompeianum*, to a theatre previously visited. He did not suggest whether he thought it the *lignum* or the *odeum*, or offer any suggestion for a restoration of the text at this point. Nor can we be more precise. The name of either theatre could be restored in lines 91–92: *ibiq[ue ludis commissis in ligneo / odio redierunt Severus et Antoninus]* Augg. nn. One thing is certain, however; there is no possibility that the circus was involved in these rites, as Diehl supposed.¹⁷

For a moment let us leave the Severan procession, in order to indicate the procedure of the Augustan procession which we have reconstructed on a hint from the Severan records. The imperial party, whose chief members were Augustus and Agrippa, opened the ludi in the *theatrum lignum* at the second hour, then proceeded to the theatre of Pompey, where the ludi were opened at the third hour, and next advanced to the unfinished theatre in the circus Flaminius to open the plays there at the fourth hour. After the third opening they probably returned to one of the other theatres to see the plays to completion on that day.

The Augustan and Severan processions were different, owing to a change in one of the theatres used, as we have noted, and in the order of their use. We shall now compare the lists of theatres involved in the two sets of records and make some observations on the order in which the theatres are listed. We have said before that the performances of the *ludi honorarii* at the Augustan celebration were opened successively in the following theatres: *lignum*, theatre of Pompey, theatre of Marcellus. In the Severan *acta* the theatres listed are first, *lignum*; second, *odeum*; third, theatre of Pompey. Two changes in the Severan records are at once apparent. The theatre of Marcellus has been dropped from the list, and the theatre of Pompey has been taken from second place and has been given third or last place in the list. Whatever the cause for the change its effect was almost certainly to shorten the procession. The theatres of Marcellus and Pompey are the only theatres mentioned here whose exact locations have long been known because of their survival in one form or another. But something now can be said of the location of the other two theatres—the *lignum* and the *odeum*. The *lignum* we know was near the Tiber,¹⁸ probably not

¹⁷ See note 15. As for the theatre involved here, the *lignum* would have had the claim of tradition and the ritual importance that would attach to a return to the starting point; the *odeum*, on the other hand, would have had the claim of imperial magnificence and probably of greater proximity to the theatre of Pompey.

¹⁸ *CIL* 6.32323, line 108; cf. line 153, and note 19 of this paper.

far from the present Ponte Vittorio Emanuele, close to the most likely site of the Tarentum (Terentum), the ancient shrine associated with the secular games.¹⁹ If the *theatrum ligneum* is to be placed in the vicinity of the Ponte Vittorio Emanuele, the Augustan procession, in so far as we can follow it, moved in a more or less straight line from that theatre to the theatre of Marcellus, going from the Tiber's bank near the great bend in the river to the theatre of Pompey in the Campus Martius, and the theatre of Marcellus near the Forum Holitorium.²⁰ Where it went from that point we can only speculate. The route was different for the Severan *pompa*. The third theatre to be visited in the course of this procession was the theatre of Pompey. Since the *odeum* was chosen as the second station in preference to the theatre of Pompey, the reason must have been that it was the logical second stop on the route, i.e., that it was nearer than the theatre of Pompey to the *theatrum ligneum*.²⁰ The *odeum* was almost certainly in the Campus Martius and in fact a stage has been found close to the Stadium of Domitian, who originally built it.²¹ Lugli has located it on the site of the Palazzo Massimo, a location to which he holds in the Supplement to his *Monumenti Antichi di Roma e Suburbio*, published in 1940.²² If he is correct, it was indeed close to the theatre of Pompey; and the procession from theatre to theatre was considerably shorter than the Augustan procession. The location of all three theatres in the Campus Martius, irrespective of the exact placing of the *odeum*, meant a shorter procession.

Of course it is not beyond possibility that the *odeum* was substituted for the theatre of Marcellus, and given the position in the list formerly held by the theatre of Pompey, earlier than the Severan festival, that is, at the time of Domitian's *ludi saeculares*.²³ When

¹⁹ See J. Gagé, "Recherches sur les jeux seculaires," *REL* 10 (1932) 441-57, on the location of the Tarentum (Terentum), near which was located the *theatrum ligneum*. Gagé's studies on the *ludi saeculares* were published together in a separate volume edited by J. Marouzeau, Paris, 1934.

²⁰ Gagé, commenting on Romanelli, *NS* 1931, 325, says (*REL* 10 [1932] 450, note 3): "le chemin parcouru est logique."

²¹ Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.* (see note 12) 371 for the references, none of which gives an indication of the location of the *odeum*. Cf. Huelsen, *op. cit.* (see note 14), 374: "statt dessen (th. Marcellus) erscheint das von Domitian erbaute, gleichfalls in der Nähe des Tarentum gelegene Odeum."

²² G. Lugli, *I Mon. Ant. di Roma e Suburbio*, 3 (Rome, 1938) 225, and Suppl. (Rome, 1940) 3.17-8.

²³ For references to Domitian's *ludi saeculares* see *RE s.v.* "Saeculares ludi" 1718, and Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 2.xcv-xcvi, 392-397.

Augustus held his *ludi honorarii* in the theatre of Marcellus, that theatre was new. In the same way, Domitian may have honored his new *odeum* by giving it a part in the *ludi honorarii*. The time and reason for the change in theatres, however, cannot now be decided, and there are still other factors, such as the nature of the *ludi* or the condition of the theatres, which may have entered into the decision to make a change. At the time of Severus' *ludi* the theatre of Marcellus was probably not in condition for the celebration of a great festival. For there is evidence that Alexander Severus wished to restore this theatre.²⁴ In any case there can be little doubt that the *odeum* as a newer theatre than the theatre of Marcellus was better adapted for the third century celebration, and it was certainly nearer to the theatre of Pompey. A shorter Severan *pompa* is interesting in connection with the fact that to Severus' celebration of the *ludi honorarii* was devoted less than half the time of the Augustan performances. Perhaps the curtailing of the procession was part of a general plan to concentrate in less time and space this portion of a festival, the more important parts of which were the *ludi saeculares* proper and the *ludi circenses*, the former from a ritualistic point of view, the latter, from their universal popularity.

In concluding this paper I shall make a suggestion as to the relation of this procession to the Roman theatre in general. At various festivals in Rome, celebrations were held, like the *ludi honorarii*, in a group of three theatres. This is apparent, for instance, in the records of Trajan's festivals in the *Fasti Ostienses*,²⁵ and perhaps in the fact that *three* thrones were required for theatrical ritual in honor of the deified Pertinax.²⁶ May not then the theatrical *pompa* of the *ludi honorarii* be only one example of a type of procession which regularly made a circuit of various theatres at the opening of grand scenic festivals? That the theatres could not or need not be the same ones in all cases does not affect the question. For there is no reason why the procession of the *ludi honorarii*, which were simply scenic games added to the peculiar festival of the *ludi saeculares*, should not reflect a general form of theatrical ritual under the Empire.

²⁴ *Lampr. Alex.* 44.7; cf. 24.3.

²⁵ Cf. line 35 of the *Fasti Ostienses* (G. Calza, "Un nuovo frammento di Fasti Annali (anni 108-113)," *NS* 1932; Ch. Huelsen, "Neue Fragmente der Fasti Ostienses," *RhM* 82 (1933) facsimile facing page 362.

²⁶ D.C. 75 (Epit.) 4.1.