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HELLENISTIC INFLUENCES ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE AUGUSTAN PRINCIPATE

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The continuity between the civilizations of Greece and Rome cannot be denied.[1] But it is too often slighted in modern studies both because frequently each is treated by itself and also because of a reaction from the opinion that Rome was only an unimportant step-child of Greece. This reaction has justly emphasized the importance of Italic elements in Roman culture but it has tried to reduce the Hellenic element to a superficial coating which cannot obscure the originality of a strong native civilization.[2] In particular, recent discussions of the Augustan principate have belittled the contributions made thereto by Greek political thought, especially as interpreted by Cicero. Augustus has been portrayed either as a practical politician, who solved his problems according to the needs of the immediate situation and without the guidance of any general philosophy, or at best as the heir of a strictly Roman tradition which stood in strong contrast to the political doctrines and experience of Greece.[3]

The question of the degree to which Greek thought shaped the form which Augustus gave to the principate has been so thoroughly canvassed that fresh arguments can hardly be devised. Each student must form his own opinion of the validity of the evidence adduced on either side.[4] But the most ardent advocates for a purely Roman inspiration in the theory of the principate would hardly deny that its practices were in considerable measure modeled on those of the Hellenistic monarchies, though they may maintain that these derivative elements were transmuted into something new and grand by the Roman genius.[5] Yet Augustus could hardly have been familiar with the practical aspects of Hellenistic monarchy without knowing something of Greek political theory, granted, of course, that he had any interest in speculation. A Roman who grew up in the society which Cicero portrays must have learned something about Greek thought either in his education or in the talk which he heard going on around him.[6] But it may serve to support the thesis that Augustus drew his political inspiration as much from Greek as from Roman sources if the evidences for Hellenistic influence on the structure of the principate can be presented.

This presentation cannot pretend to contribute much fresh material. But only one partial collection has heretofore been made, Kornemann's article on "Ägyptische Einflüsse im römischen Kaiserreich," which, though some of its arguments are perhaps somewhat far-fetched, has served as the basis for the present treatment. Experts on the Hellenistic period

[1] At the end of the article will be found a bibliography of works frequently cited. These are referred to in the notes either by the authors' names alone or by the authors and abbreviated titles. This article, like all the publications of the American Academy in Rome, has profited greatly from the generous suggestions and the careful editorial revision of Prof. A. W. Van Buren. For the continuity of Graeco-Roman culture, see A. GRENIER *Le Génie romain* (Paris 1925), especially BERR'S introduction; E. A. STRONG *Apotheosis and After Life* (London 1915) 17—25; *CAH* XI 435—441; and any history of Latin literature.

[2] This is in general the tenor of the articles in the first volume of the *Atti del IV Congresso nazionale di Studi Romani* (Roma 1935, publ. 1938), which dealt with the theme "I rapporti intercorsi nei secoli tra Roma e l'Oriente". The papers cover many aspects of the influence both of the Orient on Rome and of Rome on the Orient.

[3] For example, J. BUCHAN *Augustus* (London 1937, American ed. Boston, with different pagination); A. VON PREMERSTEIN *Vom Werden* (cf. bibliography); K. JÄNTERE *Die römische Weltreichsidee usw.* (Turku 1937) 1—15.

[4] For a bibliography of the discussion, see HAMMOND 206 n. 46; VON PREMERSTEIN nn. on 3—7, where the title of V. PÖSCHL *Römische Staat und griechisches Staatsdenken bei Cicero* (Berlin 1936) has been omitted; T. VAUBEL *Untersuchungen zu Augustus' Politik usw.* (diss. Giessen, publ. Düsseldorf 1934) 62—64. For a brief defense of the Greek and Ciceronian influences, see HAMMOND'S review of von Premerstein, *American Journal of Philology* LIX(1938) 481—487.

[5] BUCHAN *Augustus* 219; STEVENSON, *CAH* X 183, admitted that "the time had come for Roman statesmen to look for guidance not to Athens or Sparta but to the Persian Empire and the Hellenistic monarchies which succeeded it".

[6] See HAMMOND'S review cited in n. 4. L. A. STELLA, "Augusto e la cultura ellenica" *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della R. Università di Cagliari* IX(1939) 72—86, thought that since Augustus had not, like most Romans, had a year in Athens "at the university", he was not so familiar with Greek, and particularly Hellenistic, culture as were most Romans of the period. For this reason, he was more Roman in his outlook and, when he did turn to Greece, he turned to the "classical" fifth century B. C. Stella regarded Virgil as the only Roman writer who worthily transmuted the Greek classics into Latin literature. The whole argument is too severe. Augustus could easily have studied Alexandrianism at Rome, witness Catullus and his contemporaries as well as the young Virgil. Moreover, he had Greek tutors, SUET. *Aug.* 89.1, and Caesar, six months before his own death, had sent him to study at the important city of Apollonia in southern Illyria (in the province of Macedonia, however) near Epidamnus, SUET. *Aug.* 8.2; PW II(3) 113, giving further references.

may detect uncertainties and even errors herein but the field of Hellenistic administration is still full of problems which have only begun to be solved by such works as Wilcken's *Grundzüge* for Egypt and Bikerman's *Institutions des Séleucides*. The Roman imperial administration also has its obscure corners, though it has been better illuminated by Mommsen, Marquardt, Hirschfeld, and their successors. Despite these great difficulties inherent in the subject, it does seem worth while to attempt it. Of necessity, much has been drawn from modern discussions, without a thorough reëxamination of the ancient sources. If the bibliographical references in the notes seem excessive, they may at least serve as guides to the sources and enable others to fill out and correct what is here presented in outline. Many of the details in the comparisons are perhaps accidental and therefore not significant. And inevitably the field of search has been extended to cover both the republic and the empire, partly to supplement the gaps in what is known about the organization under Augustus himself and partly to show how continuous was the influence of Greece upon Roman politics. Naturally, the argument does not depend upon the validity of each single instance but upon the cumulative effect of the whole. Though in any given branch of the subject, it may be felt that despite the similarities there are also many differences between the Hellenistic administrations and Rome, yet when the resemblances are found to exist throughout the structure of the principate, the conclusion that they represent conscious borrowing cannot readily be dismissed.[7]

The field of Roman law is at once too wide and too specialized to be entered into deeply here. Moreover, the bulk of the materials for its study date from the second century of the empire and later, when the influence of Hellenistic philosophies and practices might be assumed to have been strong.[8] Something, however, can be said. Certain scholars feel that from the early beginnings, from the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, Roman law drew directly on Greek sources and, though both the date and content of the *Laws* are disputed, the close resemblance of certain of their reported provisions to laws attributed to Solon supports the Roman tradition of deliberate borrowing even though it be questioned whether this occurred as early as the fifth century B. C.[9] During the last two centuries B. C., Roman law was subject to strong influence from Greece through a variety of channels.[10] The development of the *ius gentium*, rules of law applied to foreigners in Rome by the *praetor peregrinus*, could not fail to react upon the *ius civile* as expounded by his brother *praetor urbanus*.[11] The discussions of political theory which took place under the leadership of such visiting Greek philosophers as Panaetius must have affected the interpretations of the law given by the jurisconsults.[12] There had been jurisconsults at least since the end of the fourth century, but their importance really began with the younger Scaevola at the beginning of the first.[13] Finally, as the Romans extended their power over the Hellenistic states, they not only permitted the natives to continue to use their native codes but adopted many general regulations for their own use and even, as is becoming clearer, allowed natives who acquired Roman citizenship to continue to be subject to the local law. The chief evidence for the survival of the native law codes comes from a Syro-Roman code of the fourth century of our era, but Mitteis and other scholars have argued that its provisions represent the survival under Roman

[7] Cf. REINACH in *L'Hellénisation etc.* 258.

[8] BUCKLAND, *CAH* XI 807, 181, tended to minimize the Greek influence; cf. also DE FRANCISCI III 1 35. F. ALTHEIM, *Epochen der römischen Geschichte* (*Frankfurter Studien zur Rel. u. Kul. d. Antike* IX, Frankfurt am Main 1934) I 110—119, regarded Greek influence as the leaven in all Rome's history, though Rome's was, in de Francisci's phrase, a "recezione creatrice". The increased Greek influence after Constantine lies outside the scope of this article, cf. JOLOWICZ 518—534; CUMONT *Rel. Or.* 5, 209 n. 9; DE FRANCISCI III 1 227—230.

[9] E. PAIS, *Ricerche sulla Storia etc.* serie I (Roma 1915) 147—179, gave a good analysis of the similarities, on the basis of which he brought the *Laws* down into the fourth century. Both MITTEIS, *P-recht* 14—16, and LAST, *CAH* VII 463, accepted the traditional date and the Greek influence, which Last, 466—467, showed to have been felt also in Roman religion during the early republic. DE FRANCISCI, I 193—207, compromised on the date, by assuming a fifth-century nucleus expanded by Sex. Aelius Paetus at the beginning of the second.

[10] For a summary of the Greek influences on Roman life during the early republic, MITTEIS *P-recht* 12—14. For the general thesis of the dependence of Roman law on preceding legal systems, L. WENGER "Ancient Legal History" *Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing* (*Harvard Tercentenary Publications* III, Cambridge, Mass. 1937) 71—79.

[11] JOLOWICZ 100—105, cf. 428—429; MITTEIS *P-recht* 62—72. Jolowicz remarked that the application of the name *ius gentium* to the rules of the *pr. per.* is dubious and that *i. g.* should rather be regarded as practically the same as the philosophical *ius naturale*, but the phrase has become traditional for the peregrine law. BUCKLAND, *CAH* IX 866, emphasized the Latin character of the *ius gentium*, cf. his refs. He admitted, 865—866, the assumption of Greek law in matters of detail into the edict of the *pr. urb.* but concluded, 872: "in contrast to the all-pervading influence of Greek speculation, the adoption of practical Greek law, where it took place, was an act of choice, not one of obedience to an irresistible tendency".

[12] For a very brief survey of "i rapporti filosofici fra Roma e l'Oriente dalle guerre Macedoniche all' impero d'Augusto", cf. G. DELLA VALLE *Atti del IV Congresso nazionale di Studi Romani* I (Roma 1935, publ. 1938) 542—544.

[13] For the jurisconsults, JOLOWICZ 85—95; for the effect on Scaevola of Greek philosophy, BUCKLAND *CAH* IX 851; in general, 868—873, where, as usual, he discounted the Greek influence; cf. also the bibliography, 968. MITTEIS, *P-recht* 16—17, rightly remarked that a distinction should be drawn between the direct borrowing of precise rules and the general effect of ideas.

domination of the provisions of Greek or Hellenistic law.[14] An instance of the use of Hellenistic regulations by the Romans was the *lex Hieronica*, the regulations for the taxing of Sicily which were laid down by Hiero and were still in use in Cicero's time.[15] Moreover, though the "Rhodian sea-law" first appears in the Roman legal texts of the time of Antoninus Pius it must have been in use continuously from the time of Rhodian independence to have survived.[16] A grant of citizenship to an easterner by Octavian as triumvir allowed him the choice of going to court under either Roman or local law and does not indicate that the privilege was at all exceptional.[17] This confirms what the *Edicts from Cyrene* and other documents, especially from Egypt, had suggested, namely that the Romans did not apply the principle of the "personality of the law" as rigidly as had formerly been maintained.[18]

Clearly, therefore, by the beginning of the empire Roman law had been subject in a considerable degree both to the general influence of Greek legal and philosophic concepts and also to direct borrowing of specific rules. Cicero acknowledged that this indebtedness reached back even to the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, a view that must have been familiar to Augustus.[19] How far the legislation which Augustus himself enacted was affected by Greek influences is hard to determine from what little survives. Ulpian cited a parallel from Solon and Draco for the provision of the *lex Iulia de adulteriis* that the father might kill his daughter if he caught her in the act.[20] Mitteis suggested further that Augustus' toleration of concubinage derived from Greek precedent.[21] The imperial edicts, though patterned on those of republican magistrates, approximated in tone the proclamations of Hellenistic monarchs. The opening phrase, *imperator dixit*, has been regarded by some as based on the Hellenistic *ὧδε λέγει*, though others consider it purely Roman.[22] The question whether the *acta*, and particularly the *beneficia*, of an emperor had in theory to be confirmed by his successor has been disputed.[23] It is possible that technically all *acta* should have lapsed with the cessation of his *imperium* by death but in general they seem to have continued tacitly in force even if they had emanated from emperors who suffered the so-called *damnatio memoriae* and were not mentioned in the oath which was taken by the magistrates and people to support the imperial *acta*.[24] On the other hand, where specific renewals are mentioned, they concern *beneficia* and recall similar confirmations of the gifts of predecessors by Hellenistic kings.[25] The passages collected by Mommsen indicate that the recipients feared not so much that the grants had ceased to be valid as lest the new emperor would demand that his predecessor's gifts be restored on the ground that they were originally invalid. These slight indications suggest, though they do not prove, Greek influence not only on the general development and ideas of Roman law under the empire but on its specific form and content.

Emperor-worship, like law, constitutes too broad and too specialized a subject to receive more than a cursory treatment in this discussion.[26] The most that those who emphasize things Roman can claim is that

[14] MITTEIS *R-u-V-recht* throughout, especially 30—33, 537—542; ROSTOVTZEFF *SEH* 173—174; JOLOWICZ 415. A law dealing with inheritance found at Doura resembles the provisions of the Syrian code, *CAH* VII 168; CUMONT *Rel. Or.* 209 n. 8 with further refs. Cf. *CAH* XI 832 for law on land tenure in the provinces. For a general and somewhat nationalistic critique of the methods of Mitteis and others in the comparative study of Roman and eastern law, cf. E. CARUSI "Diritto romano e diritti orientali" *Atti del IV Congresso nazionale di Studi Romani* I (Rome 1935, publ. 1938) 63—98. It has references to recent literature.

[15] MITTEIS *P-recht* 19—21; WEISS PW XII(24) 2361 under *lex Hieronica*; J. CARCOPINO *La loi de Hiéron et les Romains* (Paris 1914); cf. below n. 231.

[16] MITTEIS *P-recht* 18, where other cases of borrowing are given; PW IX(17) 546, 550 under *iactus*(2), XII(24) 2405 under *lex Rhodia*; ROSTOVTZEFF *SEH* 543 end of n. 53. This *lex* should be distinguished from the Byzantine handbook, *Νόμος Ῥοδίων Ναυτικός*, cf. W. ASHBURNER *The Rhodian Sea Law* (Oxford 1909). JOLOWICZ, 415, suggested that the commercial provisions of the aedilician edict were Greek in origin.

[17] M. E. DE VISSCHER "La condition juridique des nouveaux citoyens romains d'Orient" *Comptes rendues de l'Acad. des Inscrr. et Belles-Lettres*, Jan.-Fév. 1938, 24—39, citing for the general thesis SCHÖNBAUER *Z-schr. der Sav.-Stift.* röm. Abt. LI (1930) 277 ff., LVII (1936) 309 ff. and TAUBENSCHLAG "Gesch. der Rezeption des röm. Privatrechts in Aegypten" *Studi in onore di P. Bonfante* I (Milan 1930) 369—440.

[18] For the concept that Roman citizens were always subject to the *ius civile*, wherever they might be, cf. MITTEIS *P-recht* 62, 68—69.

[19] For Cicero, PAIS *Ricerche sulla storia etc.* I 149—153.

[20] *Dig.* XLVIII 5 24 (23) pr., cited by MITTEIS *P-recht* 18 n. 53.

[21] *P-recht* 19 n. 55.

[22] J. STROUX and L. WENGER *Die Augustus-Inschrift auf dem Marktplatz von Kyrene* (*Abh. der Bay. Akad. der Wiss. in München* p.-p.-h. Kl. XXXIV 2 [1928]) 66—68, with refs. Wenger accepted Wilcken's view that the phrase was Roman. Wilcken himself, *Z-schr. der Sav.-Stift.* röm. Abt. XLII (1921) 128—133, showed that the Greek names for the various forms of imperial *constitutiones* had Ptolemaic antecedents.

[23] MOMMSEN, II 2 1130—1132, distinguished the *rescissio actorum* as a step distinct from the *damnatio memoriae*, cf. SCHULZ *Das Wesen* 42; SEECK PW I(1) 297—298 under *acta* (6).

[24] HAMMOND 297 n. 30; MOMMSEN II 2 910—911, 1126—1132, the notes to the second series of pages give instances of the renewal or cancellation of *beneficia*.

[25] TARN 54 with ref. to ROSTOVTZEFF *Kolonat* 252; BIKERMAN 137—138 (Seleucids). Tarn pointed out the inconsistency of regarding as void the acts of a god, once the Hellenistic monarchs accepted deification during their lifetimes. He suggests that the reason for invalidating the grants was to collect a tax for their renewal.

[26] TAYLOR'S *Divinity of the Roman Emperor* covers the

the deification of humans after death was a practice not alien to Roman religious tradition.[27] Even this is, however, hard to demonstrate conclusively. The primitive Romans had vague beliefs about some sort of non-personal emanation which survived after death and in close association with the grave. These beliefs caused them to make propitiatory offerings to the *Manes*.[28] At an early date, Etruscan and Greek influences gave an anthropomorphic form to the previously undefined *numina* of Roman religion.[29] But the *Manes* remained untouched by this tendency and the conception of a personal spirit, which might in the case of exceptional men become a demi-god, cannot be proved to have appeared at Rome before the advent of Greek philosophy.[30] The story of Romulus, and in particular of his apotheosis, apparently took form during the third century B. C., at the time of Rome's entry into Mediterranean politics.[31] Either the Greeks or the Romans themselves then invented a founder hero to make Rome's story as respectable as those of other important cities; or at least they endowed some shadowy divinity with all the familiar trappings of Greek foundation legends.[32] Not until the first century, until Cicero wrote his *Somnium Scipionis* and erected a temple to his daughter Tullia, does the deification of persons recently deceased find clear expression, and then in terms of Stoic philosophy.[33] The whole atmosphere of the deification of Caesar and, later, of Augustus reflected Hellenistic, not Roman, mentality.[34]

The Greeks had inherited from their protohistoric forbears hero-cults which may have been in origin directed to living or recently deceased persons.[35] But in the historical period these heroes had receded so far into antiquity that they acquired a semi-divine status which, it might be imagined, would have made the institution of similar cult for contemporary mortals incompatible with real religious feeling. Many scholars, nevertheless, argue that the decay of belief which took place in the late fifth and early fourth centuries B. C. made possible the transference to living persons of the cult formerly reserved for the heroes.[36] This transference would have been aided by the natural tendency to regard the great general or ruler as somehow superhuman, especially when such personages became more removed from contact with ordinary men than they had been in the small city-states of the earlier periods. Moreover, the Greeks had an aptitude for exaggerated flattery which flowered more luxuriantly as society grew complex and its leaders acquired prominence and power. Nevertheless, despite these arguments, Taylor and Cumont have shown how closely the institution of ruler-cult in the Hellenistic monarchies followed the pattern of that in the Persian Empire and in Egypt.[37] And McEwan has traced its ideas and formulas even further back in the history of the Near East.[38] In fact,

subject admirably through the Julio-Claudian period. It has recently been supplemented by K. SCOTT'S *The imperial cult under the Flavians* (Stuttgart/Berlin 1936). Despite Taylor's scorn, 58 n. 1, HERZOG-HAUSER'S "Kaiserkult", PW suppl. IV (1924) 806—853, affords a useful survey of the whole field of ruler-worship as well as a good bibliography. Cf. also DREXLER'S "Kaiserkultus", Roscher II 1 (1890—1894) 901—919. Herzog-Hauser and Taylor both emphasize the Hellenistic precedents for Roman worship. Cf. recently ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* L 68—139 on religious symbolism in the costume and insignia; VON PREMERSTEIN *Vom Werden* 168—169 on Augustus the founder; WEBER 86—101 on his deification after death.

[27] E. BICKERMANN, "Die römische Kaiserapotheose" *Archiv für Relig-wiss.* XXVII (1929) 1—34, has most recently maintained that the apotheosis of the emperors was Roman, not Greek, in origin and character. He should, incidentally, be distinguished from E. Bikerman, whose *Institutions des Séleucides* is frequently cited in this article. For the Roman origin of emperor-worship cf. also VAUBEL *op. cit.* (above n. 4), 27. TAYLOR, 243 n. 6, disputed Bickermann's view, cf. in general 244—246. WEBER, 86* n. 399, also disputed it.

[28] W. W. FOWLER *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London 1911, repr. 1922) 84—85; *CAH* VIII 434—435; C. BAILEY *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1932) 98—102.

[29] For the anthropomorphization of Roman gods, *CAH* VII 383—384, VIII 449—454; FOWLER *Rel. Exp.* 145—158; C. BAILEY *op. cit.* (above n. 28) 109—143; cf. TAYLOR 44 n. 30, 54. For the antiquity of the Greek influence in Roman religion, see F. ALTHEIM *A History of Roman Religion* (tr. H. Mattingly, London 1938) bks. I—II throughout.

[30] For the individualization of the *Manes*, FOWLER *Rel. Exp.* 341, 386; cf. PW XIV(27) 1051—1060 under *Manes* (2), especially 1053, 1056 for the earliest example of *Manes* for a specific soul in CIC. *in Pis.* 16.

[31] TAYLOR 43—45; ROSENBERG, PW2 I(1) 1074—1089 under *Romulus*, gives an elaborate analysis of the Roman and the Greek contributions to the legend. Cf. G. COLIN *Rome et la Grèce etc.* (Paris 1905) 147—165 on the Aeneas legend. In general, on the conscious imitation of Greek religion at Rome after 250 B. C., see ALTHEIM *op. cit.* (above n. 29) 154—155.

[32] WEBER, 86* n. 398, regarded the apotheosis of Romulus as Hellenistic in inspiration.

[33] TAYLOR 52—53; yet even Cicero, admitting that Romulus had become a demi-god, opposed the deification of one so recent as Caesar, TAYLOR 46.

[34] TAYLOR, 96—99, opposed the view that the deification of Caesar after his death should be separated, as purely Roman, from his attempt to become a king-god on the Hellenistic pattern during his lifetime; cf. below n. 42.

[35] C. W. BLEGEN, "Post-Mycenaean Deposits in Chamber-Tombs" *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* C(1937) 377—390, has discussed the evidence for a cult of the dead or of heroes in the geometric period; see also A. W. PERSSON in *Asine etc.* (Stockholm 1938) 347—348, 350, 354.

[36] A collection of opinions in support of the indigenous origins of Greek ruler-worship may be found in C. W. MCEWAN *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 13; Chicago 1934) 4—6. It includes such weighty names as W. S. Ferguson, E. Meyer, A. D. Nock.

[37] Cf. the works cited in the bibliography.

[38] *Op. cit.* (above n. 36). In 23—31, he emphasizes the non-Greek character of ruler-cult.

had ruler-cult begun spontaneously among the Greeks, its first manifestation might be expected to have been the establishment of shrines for recently deceased national figures, similar to those already existing for heroes. Actually, however, divine honors for living persons appeared before the cult of the dead. Although it is uncertain whether Alexander was deified during his lifetime and although the earlier of the *Diadochi* were not worshipped until after death, the Greeks had for at least a century been offering divine honors to living men, for example, Lysander, Agesilaus, or Philip.[39] Though these instances have been used to show that ruler-worship was a development indigenous to Greece, the practice seems rather to have begun among the Asiatic Greeks who were familiar with the honors paid to the Persian king.[40] The same sequence appears in Rome, for the acceptance of divine honors by Roman governors in the east goes back into the second century B. C. while, as has been said, the deification of the recently deceased occurs only in the first.[41] As in the case of Alexander, it is probable, though not certain, that Caesar received worship during his lifetime.[42] But both Augustus and Tiberius set themselves resolutely against personal worship in the western part of the empire.[43]

Such divine honors as Augustus accepted during his lifetime were Hellenistic. The descent of the Julian family from Venus through Aeneas and Iulus appears to have been invented not earlier than 100 B. C. and very probably by Caesar himself on the occasion of his funeral speech over his aunt in 68 B. C.[44] The claim recalls that of the Seleucids to have descended from Apollo or those of both Ptolemies and Attalids to have come from Heracles and Dionysus.[45] The tale that Augustus' father had in reality been Apollo is an obvious copy of Zeus' reputed parentage of Alexander.[46] And the identification of the ruler with various gods, which may have begun for Caesar with "Jupiter Julius" and which continued for Augustus in both literature and art, was certainly Hellenistic in origin.[47]

[39] See in general TAYLOR 6—28; PW suppl. IV 806—810. For the worship of humans other than kings after death during the Hellenistic period, see BICKERMAN 253—254.

[40] HERZOG-HAUSER, PW suppl. IV 807, regarded the honors paid to Lysander and to other figures during the late fifth and early fourth centuries B. C. as hero-cult of the old Greek type. KAERST, 337—341, also emphasized the originally Greek character of ruler-worship, though he admitted that it was later subject to eastern influence, see Beilage V 376—404 and below n. 56. But Lysander first received divine honors from the Samians and other Ionian cities and even though, as TAYLOR, 11, suggested, the demonstrations were not wholly spontaneous, both Lysander himself and his flatterers may have been inspired by Persian practices with which the Ionians would have been thoroughly familiar. That the Persian king was actually deified during his life is the view of both TAYLOR, 247—255, and MCEWAN, *op. cit.* (above n. 36) 17—21. MCEWAN, 25, is dubious about the value of the account about Lysander, derived ultimately from Duris of Samos and reported by PLUT. *Lys.* 18.

[41] Divine honours to Roman governors, TAYLOR 35—42; TARN 51—52. Scipio Africanus may have received or desired divine honours, TAYLOR 55; R. M. HAYWARD *Studies on Scipio Africanus* (Baltimore 1933) 9—29.

[42] TAYLOR, 73—74, accepted the view that Caesar wished to become a living king-god; cf. CARCOPINO 120—125; PW suppl. IV 817. ADCOCK, *CAH* IX 718—724, adopted a more critical attitude.

[43] HAMMOND 108—109, 264 n. 37; SUET. *Aug.* 52, *Tib.* 67 3; TAC. *Ann.* I 72, II 87; A. L. ABAECHERLI (now Boyce) "The dating of the *Lex Narbonensis*" *Transactions of the American Philological Association* LXIII(1932) 268; "The Institution of the Imperial Cult in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire" *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* XI(1935) 153—186.

[44] MÜNZER, PW X(19) 106—107 under *Iulius*, dated about 100 B. C. the invention of the legend that Iulus was Ascanius, son of Aeneas, and not a Latin hero, and suggested as the inventor either of the *Lucii Iulii Caesares* nos. 142 and 143 in PW X(19) 465—471. Of no. 142 survives an inscription giving the earliest connection of the family with Ilium, Ditt. *OGI* 440 = Dess. 8770, PW X(19) 468; while the latter took part in the festival of Athena at Ilium as patron of the city, PW X(19) 469. That some L. Caesar began the tale that Ascanius changed his name to Iulus after the death of Mezentius depends on a comment of SERVIUS on *Aen.* I 267, ed THILO-HAGEN I p. 98 line 19, where the phrase about L. Caesar apparently occurs only in DANIEL, cf. *praef.* XCV. CARCOPINO, 113 n. 1, accepted the emendation *I* for *L* proposed by E. MEYER, *Caesars Monarchie etc.* (Stuttgart/Berlin, ed. 3, 1922) 511 n. 1. This would make Caesar himself the inventor; cf. TAYLOR 58—59; H. BOAS *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (*Allard Pierson Stichtung* VI, Amsterdam 1938) 10—24, especially 22—24; and, for the speech of 68, SUET. *Iul.* 6 1.

[45] BELOCH 365, with refs.; KAERST 341; BIKERMAN 253 (Seleucids); *CAH* VII 162, especially n. 1 (Seleucids) VIII 593 (Attalids).

[46] SUET. *Aug.* 94 4; TAYLOR 119, 233—234. Plato was regarded in the time of Speusippus as a son of Apollo, PLUT. *Quaest. Conviv.* VIII 1 2; PW VII(13) 1137 under *γενέθλιος ἡμέρα*.

[47] TAYLOR, 68—70, followed by CARCOPINO 124, thought that Dio's *Διὰ Ἰούλιον*, XLIV 6 4, usually rendered *Iupiter Iulius*, cf. for example MEYER *Caesars Monarchie* 513, really means *divus Iulius*. For the identification of Augustus with gods by the poets and Livy, TAYLOR 162—165; ALTHEIM *op. cit.* (above n. 29) 364—368, 461. SERVIUS on *Ecl.* IV 10, ed THILO-HAGEN III 1 p. 46 lines 12—13, cf. TAYLOR 154 n. 27, says that there was a statue of Augustus with all the *insignia* of Apollo; and a statue was found at Herculaneum of Augustus in the guise of Jupiter, DS III 1 452, where other instances also are mentioned. For the later emperors, TAYLOR 232; ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* L 102—110; P. RIEWALD *De Imp. Rom. cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione* (*Diss. Philol. Halle.* XX [1912] 265—344, separately publ. 1911); for Nero specially, SCHUMANN 23—25; for Domitian specially, F. SAUTER *Der röm. Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius* (*Tübinger Beiträge zur Alt.-wiss.* XXI, Stuttgart/Berlin 1934) 54—90. Riewald, Schumann, and Sauter constantly emphasize the Hellenistic background. This identification is, of course, distinct from the Egyptian worship of Augustus as Pharaoh, TAYLOR 143, 244; BLUMENTHAL 317—318. For the Ptolemies in

Emperor-worship was not, therefore, a native product at Rome. The way was prepared for it by Greek legends which had become accepted Roman traditions long before Augustus and by the familiarity which the Romans acquired during the late republic with the practices of Hellenistic ruler-cults and the theories of Stoic philosophers.[48] Caesar perhaps attempted to have himself deified while alive and popular enthusiasm forced his deification after death.[49] W. S. Ferguson argued in an article entitled "Legalized Absolutism en route from Greece to Rome" that Augustus deliberately fostered emperor-worship in order to bridge the gap between the self-governing city-state and the emperor. The Hellenistic monarchs, according to his thesis, deified themselves in order that their commands might carry a divine sanction and thus be recognized in the city-states, whose constitutions had no place for a human source of law exterior to themselves.[50] If to such a theory be preferred one which regards as sincere Augustus' attempts to check the worship of himself, his position of compromise would still have Hellenistic precedent.[51] Both the Antigonids and the Attalids ruled much more democratically than their fellow *Diadochi*, the Seleucids and Ptolemies. Of the Attalids in particular, Tarn says: "they posed as democratic rulers; their palace was only a big house, they never used the royal 'we', and they sometimes called themselves citizens of Pergamum. Possibly their idea was to be First Citizens, a sort of anticipation of Augustus".[52] Yet the Antigonids received worship in the Greek cities which they ruled, and though the Attalids officially countenanced only the cult of the dead rulers, they received worship in some cities during their lifetimes.[53] Caesar and Augustus were, naturally, much influenced by what they witnessed in Egypt of ruler-cult.[54] Yet even in Egypt the Roman domination saw a shrinkage of absolutism, evidenced by the failure to continue the state, as well as the city, worship which had existed under the Ptolemies.[55] In short it may be said that the establishment of emperor-worship at Rome affords an instance of Hellenistic influence, but of Hellenistic influence shorn of its more objectionable and oriental features.[56]

The Romans also borrowed from the Hellenistic monarchies certain practices which, though originating in the concept of the god-king, had attained an independent status. A common method of honoring, or flattering, the Hellenistic rulers had been to bestow their names on months.[57] The calendar still perpetuates similar tributes to both Caesar and Augustus, though the extremes to which the senate went in the cases of Nero, Domitian, and Commodus were short-lived. The custom appeared in Egypt only under the Romans so that it was probably an invention of the Greeks and may be paralleled by the Athenian practice of naming tribes after rulers.[58] The observ-

native Egyptian worship, cf. *CAH* VII 18. In general for the *Diadochi* as identified with gods, cf. BELOCH 433—434; KAERST 317—318, 404, who doubts oriental influence; *CAH* VII 14, 16.

[48] On the part played by Epicurean and Stoic views in the Augustan "revival of Roman religion," see ALTHEIM *op. cit.* (above n. 29) 332—338.

[49] Cf. above nn. 34, 42 and on Caesar's monarchy in general, below p. 13f.

[50] *Am. Hist. Rev.* XVIII(1912) 29—47. His view was based on E. MEYER, *op. cit.* (above n. 44) 522 and *Kleine Schriften* (Halle ed. 2 1924) I 311, and on his own *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) 109, passages cited by KAERST, 338 n. 2, in a brief criticism of the purely legalistic explanation of ruler-cult. BIKERMAN, 256—257, also rejected the view that the cult of the Seleucids was promoted by them for purely political reasons.

[51] For the sincerity of Augustus' refusal of divine honours, HAMMOND 106—109. Cf. in general ROSTOVTZEFF *Augustus* 138—141.

[52] 142. Cf. ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* L 9—10 for the influence of the Hellenistic ideal of the ruler as first citizen on the simplicity of Augustus' life.

[53] TARN 48.

[54] TAYLOR 73—74, 143—145.

[55] BLUMENTHAL, 326, called this an "Einschränkung des Absolutismus" and in n. 5 cited ROSTOVTZEFF'S similar conclusion, *Kolonat* 92—93, from the growth of private property under the Romans.

[56] In general for the Hellenistic ruler-cults, besides the works cited above nn. 26, 36, cf. BELOCH 365—373; BIKERMAN 236—257 (Seleucids); *CAH* VII 13—22 (general), 113—115 (Ptolemies), 162—164 (Seleucids), VIII 593 (Attalids); BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Sél.* I 464—474, *Lag.* III 31—68; *L'Hellénisation etc.* 288, 302—305. KAERST, 173—178, 320, drew an interesting contrast between the Greek and oriental attitudes in ruler-cult but admitted, 309, that the line cannot be sharply drawn in the Hellenistic period; cf. above n. 40. ROSTOVTZEFF, *SEH* 83, commented on the difference in tone between Hellenistic and Roman ruler-cult.

[57] K. SCOTT "Greek and Roman Honorific Months" *Yale Classical Studies* II (1931), especially 273—278. He overstated the dependence of Rome on Hellenistic antecedents, 274: "it seems more and more evident that Rome was, in every way, merely another Hellenistic state etc." Cf. BIKERMAN 246.

[58] SCOTT 273; cf. BLUMENTAL 344—345. For the tribes at Athens, FERGUSON *op. cit.* (above n. 50) 64 and 268 (Antigonids and Demetrius, cf. TAYLOR 28), 242—243 (Ptolemies), 271 (Attalids, cf. TAYLOR 33—34). A tribe was later named *Hadrianis*, P. GRAINDOR *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo 1934) index p. 297 *s. v.*, especially 80—84. Tribes were also named for the Seleucids in various Asiatic cities, Bikerman 246. It was proposed to name a tribe at Rome for Caesar, DIO XLIV 5 2, TAYLOR 67, and one for Augustus, DIO LI 20 2, TAYLOR 151. As both were to be named "Julian" and as neither proposal was realized, DIO may have applied a single proposal to both rulers. Tribes named for Roman emperors and members of their families appear in various cities; for example, at Prusias in Bithynia in an inscription dated after 212 A. D., A. KÖRTE *Athenische Mitteilungen* XXIV(1899) 435—436 no. 26; at Alexandria in Egypt in Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians col. 3, H. I. BELL *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London 1924) 5, 24, 33; at Antinoe and Antinoopolis in Egypt, W. WEBER *Unter-*

ance of the emperor's birthday as a public festival had good Hellenistic precedent and began at Rome both privately and publicly as early as Caesar.[59] Though the celebration probably started as a festival in honor of the god-king, it had spread even in Hellenistic times to private individuals and its religious significance was further weakened by Augustus' opposition to divine honors during his life.[60] The Romans extended the honor to the emperor's relatives. The birthdays were often, especially in Egypt, celebrated not annually but every month and continued as festivals after the emperor's death.[61] Undoubtedly the demonstrations served to display political rather than religious loyalty.[62]

The oath by the *genius* of the emperor in like manner changed from a religious to a political manifestation of loyalty.[63] This oath must be distinguished, of course, from the various oaths to the emperor: the military oath of service taken by soldiers on enlistment, the general oath of loyalty taken by both troops and civilians on important anniversaries like New Year's Day or the *dies imperii*, and the oath to the *acta* of the emperor and his predecessors.[64] Whatever the origin of these oaths, they had no exact Hellenistic parallels. The mercenary troops of the Diadochi swore to serve their employers but demanded in turn that the employer swear to observe the terms of their service.[65] Such mutual oaths in confirmation of an agreement are quite different from the one-sided oath of loyalty of the Roman soldier.[66] If, as von Premerstein thought, the general oath to the emperor was an outgrowth not of the military oath but of an oath taken by the gangs of clients under the later republic to defend their patron, such an oath differed from that between fellow-members of a Greek ἑταιρεία.[67] The oath to the *acta* was apparently an invention to secure the perpetuation of Caesar's work after his assassination.[68] In all these cases, the

suchungen zur Geschichte des K. Hadrianus (Leipzig 1907) 175—176, 250—254.

[59] BELOCH 373; BICKERMAN 246 (Seleucids); TAYLOR 194; PW VII(13) 1135—1147 under *γενέθλιος ἡμέρα*; DS IV 1 2—3 under *natalis dies*.

[60] W. SCHMIDT in PW VII(13) 1145.

[61] For the monthly imperial birthdays, the *ἡμέραι Σεβασταί*, in Egypt, cf. BLUMENTHAL 336—344 and W. F. SNYDER in *Aegyptus* XVIII(1938) 197—233. An inscription from Mytilene, *IG* XII 2 58 = DITT. *OGI* 456 = *IGRR* IV 39 col. A lines 19—20, mentions monthly sacrifices on the birthday of Augustus. An inscription from Pergamum, FRÄNKEL *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* II (Berlin 1895) 260—270 n. 364, defines the allowances to the *hymnodoi* of Augustus and Rome under Trajan and mentions, B lines 4—5, *μηνὸς Καίσαρος Σεβ(αστῇ) γενεσίῳ Σεβαστοῦ μνᾶν*. Livia is mentioned in D lines 4—5, but Roma has vanished, cf. the commentary on 263 col. 2. The *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (ed. HENZEN, Berlin 1874) show the birthday of Augustus and perhaps that of Livia as late as A. D. 38 but those of the other emperors only in their lifetimes (Tiberius probably in 38) and, so far as the surviving fragments indicate, not beyond Vitellius, HENZEN pp. 51—55. For the second century, cf. the *Feriale Duranum*, to appear in *Yale Classical Studies*, and, in general, PW VII(13) 1146.

[62] In view of the material collected in the previous note, it is interesting that though Pliny the Younger reported to Trajan the official *nuncupatio votorum* in Bithynia on New Year's Day and on the *dies imperii*, *Ep.* X 35(44)—36(45), 52(60)—53(61), 100(101)—103(104), he sent only a personal note of good wishes on the emperor's birthday, X 88(89)—89(90). Possibly Trajan in not insisting on the public observance of his birthday was reacting against Domitian's excessive desire for such honors. ALFÖLDI, *Röm. Mitt.* XLIX 86—88, especially 86 n. 4, L 80—81, regarded the *nuncupatio votorum* for the health of the emperor as Hellenistic, though under the republic vows had often been undertaken for the welfare of the state and under the empire the welfare of the emperor and of the state tended to become merged. A similar difficulty in distinguishing origins occurs in the case of the vows undertaken for a longer period than a year on behalf of the emperor, for five, ten, fifteen, or twenty years, but most often for ten, the *decennalia*. Such long-term *nuncupationes votorum* for the state occur under the republic, but certain elements in the imperial practice have Alexandrian connections, as the use of the palm branch on coins, L. SCHWABE *Die kaiserlichen Decennalien usw.* (Tübingen 1896) 32. And the first definite instance of *decennalia* occurs in an Egyptian papyrus in connection with Hadrian, HAMMOND "The Tribunician Day etc." *Memoirs of the Am. Acad. in Rome* XV(1938) 45 from *Pap. Osloenses* III no. 77. The question of the *decennalia* merits further study, as it is possible that they do not descend directly, as DIO, LIII 16 2—3, LVIII 24 1, implies, from the renewal of the *imperium* at five or ten year intervals under Augustus but were introduced in the second century under eastern influence.

[63] MOM. II 2 809—810.

[64] HAMMOND 103—104.

[65] Cf. the oaths exchanged by Eumenes I and his mercenary officers and troops in 263 B. C., DITT. *OGI* 266 = MICHEL 15. BELOCH, 382, cited PLUT. *Pyrrh.* 5 5 to show that the Hellenistic kings took annual oath to rule according to the laws while the people swore to protect the laws and the kingship. This may, however, have been a purely Epirote custom.

[66] VON PREMERSTEIN, 13—116, gave an elaborate discussion of the Roman oath in all its aspects. In the military oath he, 22—26, 73—85, saw a shift from an oath to the state to one to the commander and then to the emperor.

[67] VON PREMERSTEIN 26—32. KAHRSTEDT, reviewing von Premerstein's book in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* CC(1938) 9—11, doubted the connection between the clients' oath under the republic and the oath to the emperor. CUQ, DS IV 2 951—955 under *sacramentum*, regarded the general oath as an outgrowth of the military oath; cf. also DS III 1 748—775 under *iusiurandum* and the articles by STEINWERTER on *iusiurandum* in PW X(19) 1253—1260 and by KLINGMÜLLER on *sacramentum* in PW2 I(2) 1667—1674. K. LATTE, "Zwei Exkurse zum römischen Staatsrecht; I, *Lex curiata und coniuratio*" *Nachrichten von der Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen* p.-h. Kl. Alt-wiss. n. F. I 3 (1934) 59—73, argued that the *lex curiata* was in origin an oath of the people to protect the king and that this concept lay behind the Augustan *coniuratio*. The traditional view which connects the *coniuratio* of 32 B. C. and the general oath which apparently developed out of it with the military oath seems preferable.

[68] HAMMOND 104. It is likely, as VON PREMERSTEIN held, 55, 61, that the oath to the *acta* and the general oath of loyalty on New Year's Day were soon combined.

emperor took no corresponding oath in return.[69] He might, as did Tiberius and Claudius, join in the oath to the *acta* of his predecessors or, when he held the consulship, take the magisterial oath on entering and on leaving office.[70] But Cuq is not justified in concluding. "Les Grecs n'ont donc fait que prolonger leurs traditions, quand ils se sont conformés à la coutume romaine du serment prêté à l'empereur."[71] The taking of an oath was perfectly familiar to them and undoubtedly the ordinary citizen did not realize that the Hellenistic monarch had usually made some reciprocal commitment. But the Roman oath of loyalty was one-sided; the prince was bound only by his own conscience.[72]

The oath by the *genius* of the emperor, on the other hand, descended from that by the τύχη of monarchs or of private individuals in the Hellenistic world.[73] The connection between the Roman *genius* and the Greek τύχη and δαίμων or ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, not to mention the possible influence of the Persian *fravashi* and *havreno*, cannot be discussed in this brief article.[74] It must suffice to say that even among the Greeks, τύχη was closely connected with ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, and that the Romans, though they transferred most of the qualities of τύχη to their similar personified abstraction, *fortuna*, affirmed oaths rather by the *genius*.[75] In the *Captivi* of Plautus, the elderly Hegio summons the youth Philocrates, according to a plausible emendation, *per tuum te >in<genium obsecro, exi*.[76] Though this line does not necessarily prove that such an oath had become regular in Rome at so early a date, since Plautus may simply have taken it from a Greek original, it does indicate that already in oaths τύχη was translated by *genius*.[77]

An inscription preserves a treaty made between certain inhabitants of Magnesia and the people of Smyrna about 244 B. C.[78] In the mutual oath of confirmation, the Magnesians invoked not only a number of gods but also the τύχη of Seleucus, while the Smyrniotes, who were not Seleucid subjects, omitted the τύχη.[79] In Ptolemaic Egypt, the royal

[69] PLUTARCH, *Galba* 28 1, states that when the senate took the oath of loyalty to Otho, he took an oath in return but did not keep it. The other authorities, SUET. *Otho* 7 1; TAC. *Hist.* I 47; DIO LXIV(LXIII) 8 1, mention neither oath. Plutarch may have had in mind the oath taken by some emperors in the second century not to execute senators without trial by their peers, for example, by Trajan, DIO LXVIII 5 2; by Hadrian, DIO LXIX 2 4, SHA *Hadr.* 7 4; and by Septimius, DIO LXXIV(LXXV) 2 1—2; cf. also DIO LXVII 2 4 (Titus and Domitian); SHA *Marc.* 10 6—7; *Pert.* 6 8.

[70] HAMMOND 104—105. Trajan took the magisterial oaths, PLINY *Pan.* 63 2, 61 1—2.

[71] DS III 1 754.

[72] HAMMOND 114—116, citing ULPIAN *Dig.* I 3 31; cf. PLINY *Pan.* 65 1.

[73] ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* L 78—79; MITTEIS-WILCKEN *Grundzüge etc.* I 2 141—142, 144—145; A. REINACH in *L'Hellénisation etc.* 259. This oath was called, when taken by the τύχαι of kings or by the king himself, βασιλικὸς ὅρκος, BELOCH 373 n. 2; KAERST 340—341. STRABO, XII 331 (557c = Loeb ed. V p. 430), mentions an oath by the τύχη of the king of Pontus. In Roman Egypt the oath by the emperor or his genius was called σεβάσιος ὅρκος, DS III 1 751.

[74] Cf. TAYLOR 50—51 (δαίμων = *genius*), 246 (blood sacrifice oriental, cf. for libations 151, 251), index under *havreno* (especially 32); CUMONT *Textes* I 284—286; CHAPOT in *L'Hellénisation etc.* 293. The articles in the various encyclopaedias are helpful: *genius* in PW VII(13) 1155—1170; DS II 2 1488—1494; ROSCHER I 2 1614—1625. *daimon* in PW IV(8) 2010—2012; DS II 1 9—19; ROSCHER I 1 938—939. *agathodaimon* in PW I(1) 746—747; DS I 1 131; Roscher I 1 98—99. TAYLOR also refers to JACOBSON *Daimon och Agathos Daimon* (Lund 1925). ALFÖLDI, *Röm. Mitt.* L 141—142, traced the radiate crown back from the Roman emperors through the Hellenistic monarchs to the Persian *havreno*. DURRY, *op. cit.* (below n. 177) 315, remarked that the *genius*, whether of the Roman people, of the emperor, or of the army, is represented by a Hellenistic type of half-naked youth holding in his right hand a horn of plenty and in his left a *patera*.

[75] On τύχη and ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, DS II 1 12—14, II 2 1265 under *Fortuna;* PW I(1) 746. Nero later appears as the ἀγαθὸς δαίμων of the world, *IGRR* I 110 = DITT. *OGI* 66; *Pap. Ox.* VII 1021 = MITTEIS-WILCKEN *Grundzüge etc.* I 2 144 no. 113; J. VOGT *Alex. Münzen* (Stuttgart 1924) I 28—30, II 8—9; SCHUMANN 8—9; RIEWALD *op. cit.* (above n. 47) 327. BLUMENTHAL, 330, remarked that in this case ἀγαθὸς δαίμων was the city god of Alexandria; cf. E. VISSER *Götter und Kulte in ptol. Alexandria* (*Allard Pierson Stichtung* V, Amsterdam 1938) 5—7. For the confusion of *fortuna* and *genius*, PW VII(13) 32—33 under *fortuna*. L. MORPURGO, "Alessandro Macedone, Roma e la fortuna romana" *Atti del IV Cong. naz. di Studi Rom.* I (Rome 1935, publ. 1938) 285, summarized a longer article in the *Bollettino del Museo dell'Impero* VII (Roma 1936, publ. 1937), in which she noted the distinction between τύχη = blind fate and *fortuna* = a protecting goddess. The *fortuna Aug.* first figured on coins of Galba, *BMC* I 352 nos. 241, 241 a (Lyons), and in full, *fortuna Augusti*, under Vespasian, *BMC* II 74 no.‡ (uncertain), 79 no. * (Lyons), though generalized *fortunae* occur as early as 19 B. C., *BMC* I 1 nos. 1—2. Caesar and Augustus had high respect for their *fortunae*, PW VII(13) 34; ROSTOVTZEFF *Augustus* 137—138, and the idea of a personal *fortuna* went back to Sulla, CARCOPINO *Sylla etc.* (Paris 1931) 108—109, and even to Scipio Africanus, ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* L 89 n. 2; HAYWARD *loc. cit.* (above n. 41). It is undoubtedly Hellenistic. See also ALTHEIM *op. cit.* (above n. 29) 190, citing K. LATTE in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XXIV(1926) 247 for the transition from τύχη to *fortuna* and the association of the latter with persons as well as things. On 426—427, Altheim discusses Scipio and Sulla.

[76] *Capt.* 977; editors delete the *in-*. For further examples, MOM. II 2 809 n. 2.

[77] For the oath by the τύχη of Caesar and succeeding emperors, mentioned by DIO and other Greek authors, MOM. II 2 809 n. 3; CUMONT *Textes* I 287 n. 5; TAYLOR 67 n. 24. It would be, conversely, a translation of the oath by the *genius*.

[78] DITT. *OGI* 229 = MICHEL 19 lines 62 (Magnesia) and 70 (Smyrna). BIKERMAN, 101—106, dated it about 244 B. C. and pointed out that the curious list of Magnesians probably means that only part of the inhabitants were involved, perhaps the troops stationed there.

[79] The Seleucus was II, Callinicus, 246—226 B. C.

oath was ordinarily taken directly in the ruler's name.[80] One of the Zenon papyri affords an interesting case of an oath calling on Ptolemy and Arsinoe Philadelphus themselves and on the *δαίμων* of a private person, Panekestor, to whom the document is addressed.[81] According to the editors, this document shows that the oath by the *τύχη* or *δαίμων* of an individual no longer implied his divinity. If so, it is also unlikely that the King and Queen were invoked as gods. Earthly rulers might well have been regarded as more effective punishers of perjury against themselves than remote deities.

An oath which survives from the time of Augustus is taken directly in his name but one under Antoninus speaks of his *τύχη*.[82] The direct invocation of Augustus also occurs in two oaths from Asia Minor. The first, from Mytilene, prescribes an oath for jurors as follows: *ὅρκον δὲ εἶναι τῶν δ[ικαζόντων? . . . . .]ομένων σὺν τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς καὶ τὸν Σεβασ[τὸν . . .].*[83] The second, an oath of loyalty from Paphlagonia, was not only sworn to but affirmed by the emperor: *ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, θεοὺς πάντα[ς καὶ πά]σας καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Σεβασ[τ]ὸν εὐνοή[σειν Καί]σαρι Σεβαστῷ κτλ.*[84] Of the two surviving oaths of loyalty to Gaius, the one from Aritium in Lusitania has no initial formula but concludes by calling upon Jupiter, *divus Augustus*, and all the immortals to punish a breach.[85] That from Assos, in Asia Minor, begins: *ὄμνυμεν Δία Σωτῆρα καὶ θεὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν καὶ τὴν/πάτριον ἁγνὴν Παρθένον εὐνοήσειν Γαΐωι κτλ.* Augustus alone, living or dead, was invoked in these oaths of loyalty. Under Domitian, however, the magistrates of Salpensa and Malacita in Spain took their oath of office *per Iovem et div<o>m Aug. et divom Claudi|um et divom Vespasianum Aug. et divom Titum Aug. et genium Domitiani | Aug. deosque penates.*[86] A soldier in Egypt, testifying that his children were legimitate, is stated to have taken an oath as follows: *testatus est iuratusque dixit per I(ovem) O(ptimum) M(aximum) et genium | sacratissimi Imp. Caesaris Domitiani Aug. Germanici.*[87] Under Hadrian a similar document reads *iuravitque per I. O. M. | et numina divorum Augustorum | geniumque Imp. Caesaris Traiani Hadriani | Augusti.*[87a]

These last three instances show how the oath by the *genius*, in origin a voluntary invocation of the emperor's divinity, became an official test of loyalty. Refusal to take an oath by the *genius* of the emperor had before the third century become a regular test for Christians.[88] Even under Tiberius the violation of an oath sworn by the deified Augustus was made the basis of a charge of *maiestas*.[89] But this develop-

DITTENBERGER, n. *ad loc.*, thought that the oath by the *τύχη* may have had a military origin.

[80] DS III 1 751; BLUMENTHAL, 329, argued that though the Ptolemies were invoked in Egypt as gods, the emperors were not, but cf. the remark in the text above.

[81] W. L. WESTERMAN and E. S. HASENOEHRL *Zenon Papyri* I (New York 1934) 63—65 no. 18; cf. BIKERMAN 255.

[82] MITTEIS-WILCKEN *Grundzüge etc.* I 1 141—142 no. 111, 144—145 no. 114. BLUMENTHAL, 329, put the change in Egypt from the oath directly by the emperor to that by his *τύχη* early in the second century.

[83] *IG* XII 2 58 = *IGRR* IV 39 = DITT. *OGI* 456 col. A lines 15—16.

[84] DITT. *OGI* 532 = DESS. 8781; cf. VON PREMERSTEIN 45, 47, who regarded this oath as Hellenistic but not the western ones mentioned in the text below; TAYLOR 206—207. The inscription was found at Phazimon (Vézir-Keupru) but the text shows that the oath was issued from the capital of Paphlagonia, Gangra, cf. lines 4, 39, and the original publication by CUMONT *Rev. des Études grecques* LVI (1901) 26—45.

[85] MOMMSEN, *Eph. Epigr.* V 154—158 (*Gesam. Schr.* VIII [= *Ep. und Num. Schr.* I] 461—466), discussed both oaths. For the texts, BRUNS *Fontes* 277—279 nos. 101, 102; VON PREMERSTEIN 46; *CIL* II 172 = DESS. 190 (Aritium); *IGRR* IV 251 = DITT. *SIG* 797 (Assos).

[86] BRUNS *Fontes* 145 no. 30 col. II lines 1—2, 151 no. 30 (b) lines 13—17.

[87] *CIL* XVI appendix p. 146 no. 12 (= DESS. 9059) *scriptura interior* lines 13—14, dated July 2, 94 A. D.

[87a] H. I. BELL *Journ. Rom. Studies* XXVII (1937) 30—36, a certificate of Apr. 25, A. D. 127.

[88] MOM. II 2 810, especially n. 5; CUMONT *Textes* I 287 n. 5. The test by worship of the emperor's image occurs before that by the oath, as in PLINY *Ep.* X 96(97) 5, see BLUMENTHAL 328; E. G. HARDY *Studies in Roman History* (London 1906) 71—76, 85; and the many other discussions of the relations between Christianity and the Roman government. CHARLESWORTH, *CAH* XI 42, thought that the use of both oath and sacrifice as tests of loyalty may date from the reign of Domitian. It is noteworthy that in the prosecution under Decius, 250 A. D., the evidence of loyalty, required of all subjects and not merely of Christians, was an offering to the gods on behalf of the emperor and an oath by his *genius*. The emperor himself was not included among the gods. Cf. PW XV(29) 1281 lines 14—18, citing BLUMENTHAL 328. It would be tempting to use this as proof that Pliny's introduction of Trajan's image among the gods was unofficial, particularly since Trajan himself in his reply omits mention of his own image, *Ep.* X 97(98) 1, cf. HAMMOND in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XLIX(1938) 126 n. 4. But the lapse of nearly a century and a half and the changing religious ideas, especially as regards emperor-worship, render any attempt to connect these two items risky.

[89] MOMMSEN, II 2 810 n. 4 (cf. II 1 103 n. 1), thought that *Inst.* II 23 1 proved that Augustus undertook to guarantee trusts undertaken on an oath by his *salus*, but the passage perhaps gives the author's, not Augustus', explanation and, in any case, the oath by the *salus Augusti* is different from that by the *genius*, cf. TERTULLIAN *Apol.* 32 3 against 28 2—3, and, if violated, more clearly harmed the emperor because it affected his well-being; cf. ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* XLIX 86—88, especially 86 n. 4, and L 80—81. Tiberius did not at first permit the oath by his name, DIO LVII 8 3, though the practice is attested later, DIO LVIII 2 8, 6 2, 12 6; cf. MOM. II 2 810 n. 1, *Strafrecht* 586. Tiberius refused to accept the charge against Rubrius that he had perjured an oath sworn by the *numen* of Augustus, *Ann.* I 73 3—4, with the famous phrase *deorum iniurias dis curae*. The unwillingness to prosecute such perjuries seriously lasted down to the times of Severus and Alexander, MOM. II 2 810 n. 5, citing *Dig.* XII 2 13 6 and *Cod.* IV 1 2.

ment goes beyond the sphere of Hellenistic influence and is mentioned only as an instance of the importance which the Hellenistic contributions to the principate might acquire.

The origins of the various elements in the imperial ceremonial and costume have been much disputed. Two studies by Alföldi in the *Römische Mitteilungen* have shown that much of the elaborate ceremonial and costume of the later empire was not introduced by Diocletian as an abrupt orientalization of the court but had already been adopted in the third, second, and even first centuries of the empire.[90] The earliest literary evidence for the carrying of fire before the emperor appears in connection with Antoninus.[91] But coins of Augustus which show incense-burners and torches have been taken by some scholars as proving that the practice went back to him, though Mattingly connects these types with the worship of the dead.[92] It has also been derived from the bearing of incense before triumphing generals, since so much of the imperial regalia seems to have been taken over from that of the triumphator.[93] Finally, it has been regarded as a non-religious continuance of the right of republican magistrates, and occasionally private citizens, to be lit home at night with torches.[94] This last view is, however, unlikely since the censer appears with the torch and since both were borne before the emperor by day as well as by night. Traces of the custom have been detected in descriptions of the Hellenistic courts.[95] If the Romans borrowed it from them, it may well go back to the Persians, who are thought to have symbolized the divine glory, the *havreno*, of the monarch by fire.[96] If, on the other hand, it originated in the triumph, its implications would still be religious because the triumphing general either represented or actually was regarded as temporarily personifying Jupiter.[97]

The triumph can no longer be regarded as free from Hellenistic influences. Although the institution itself may have been primitive, either Roman or Latin, and though some of its trappings may have come from Etruria, the descriptions which have been preserved are of triumphs of the period after the second Punic War and they bear an astonishing resemblance to descriptions of similar processions in the Hellenistic kingdoms.[98] Bruhl, in a study of this problem, placed the borrowings largely in the period from Pompey through Augustus.[99] But they may well have begun with Scipio Africanus, who was in general so profoundly influenced by Hellenistic thought and practices and whose triumph forms the basis for Appian's general description.[100] Bruhl concluded: "ainsi avec leur robe de pourpre et leur diadème, le César est tout à la fois un triomphateur romain et le successeur des rois hellénistiques". And the costume of the successors of Augustus, with its star-spangled robe, its eagle-topped sceptre, its Medusa-head on the breast-plate, and its radiate crown, grew increasingly monarchical and Hellenistic, not to say Persian.[101] Mommsen, after describing the

[90] Cf. the bibliographical note. The first article, on ceremonial, has no index, but the second, on insignia and costume, has one, in which the entry *Hellenistische Wirkung*, 161, may be consulted.

[91] MOM. I 424 n. 4, citing DIO LXXI(LXXII) 35 5, cf. MARCUS *Med.* I 17 3.

[92] TAYLOR 195—196, citing DREXEL *Philol. Wochenschrift* XLVI (1926) 157—160; MATTINGLY *BMC* I cxxvi-cxxvii. The coins are an *aureus* and two *denarii* of uncertain date (TAYLOR, before 11 B. C.) and provenance (MATTINGLY, eastern ?), *BMC* I 110—111 nos. 683—685, pl. 17 nos. 14—15.

[93] TAYLOR 195—196.

[94] MOM. I 424; ALFÖLDI, *Röm. Mitt.* XLIX 116—117, saw a combination of foreign and domestic practices.

[95] ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* XLIX 111—118, especially 113; OTTO "Zum Hofzeremoniell des Hellenismus" *Epitymbion Heinrich Swoboda dargebracht* (Reichenberg 1927) 194—200, especially 195 n. 1 for Augustan period.

[96] TAYLOR 254, citing CUMONT "L'Éternité des Empereurs" *Rev. d'hist et litt. rel.* I (1896) 441—443, cf. *Rel. Or.* 127, 273 n. 7; V. CHAPOT in *L'Hellénisation etc.* 293. MOMMSEN, I 424 n. 4, doubted the derivation from Persia, and, in fact, the only early evidence seems to be XENOPHON'S statement, *Cyr.* VIII 3 12, that fire was borne before Cyrus. OTTO, *loc. cit.* (above n. 95) 198, also cited the presence of a hearth in the famous scene of proskynesis before Alexander, PLUT. *Alex.* 54, cf. TAYLOR 257 and ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* XLIX 13 n. 6, but the connection is tenuous.

[97] CARCOPINO 98, citing WISSOWA *Rel. und Kult.* (ed. 2) 127. M. RADIN, in an ingenious but not wholly convincing article "Imperium" in *Studi in onore di S. Riccobono* II (Palermo 1936) 23—45, sought to show that in origin the triumph was a procession to the Alban Mount which conferred on the magistrate the command of the Latin League. He accepted the Greek origin of the name *triumphus* = θρίαμβος and of the robe and sceptre.

[98] For the Etruscan origin, cf. APPIAN *Pun.* (*Lyb.*) 66; TAYLOR 44—45; ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* L 25—43, especially 29—30.

[99] BRUHL "Les influences hellénistiques dans le triomphe romain" *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist. de l'école franç. de Rome* XLVI (1929) 77—95.

[100] For Scipio Africanus, see below n. 124. The general thesis of the Hellenistic character of the republican triumph is that of S. WEINSTOCK, who is preparing a study of the triumph. J. GAGÉ, "Romulus-Augustus" *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist. de l'école franç. de Rome* XLVII (1930) 172—179, argued that Augustus sought to return to purely Roman traditions of the triumph, connected with Romulus' dedication of the *spolia opima*; cf. E. A. STRONG *Apotheosis and After Life* (London 1915) 64—65.

[101] Cf. BIKERMAN 32—33 (Seleucids); ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* L 139—154. The robe and sceptre had figured in the republican triumph. For the helmet and breastplate, ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* L 67; BRUHL "Le souvenir d'Alexandre le Grand et les Romains" *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist. de l'école franç. de Rome* XLVII (1930) 211, citing DS III 2 1307, 1311—1312. The mediating personage between Persia and Rome would appear to have been Alexander, BELOCH 373—374, 408 n. 1; BRUHL *op. cit.* 202—221; L. CURTIUS *Röm. Mitt.* XLIX (1934) 141—146 (Alexander on the Paris cameo); E. M. SANFORD "Nero and the East" *Harv.*

Parthian court ceremonial, which descended from the Persian, concluded: "alles Ordnungen, die mit wenigen Abminderungen bei den römischen Caesaren wiederkehren und vielleicht zum Theil von diesen der älteren Großherrschaft entlehnt sind."[102]

The very concept of a palace was unroman. The *pontifex maximus* lived, or at least had his office, in a small building near the temple of Vesta, the *Regia*, which perhaps descended from the house of the early kings.[103] But the idea that the civil magistrates should have a public residence never occurred to the Romans. Outwardly Augustus did not build himself a palace; he purchased a simple house on the Palatine, close to the memorials of Rome's legendary beginnings, and attached to it temples of Apollo and Vesta.[104] Thus he presented himself in part as *pontifex maximus* under the protection of the goddess of the public hearth and in part under that of his own patron god.[105] If von Gerkan is right in his contention that the Hellenistic palaces were also little more than enlarged private dwellings, Augustus may have learned the value of simplicity in this respect, as in others, from the Attalids and the Antigonids.[106] However, the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, at least in the third century, must have developed real palaces under the influence of the royal edifices of Persia and Egypt.[107] In such structures the successors of Augustus, particularly extravagant builders like Gaius, Nero, and Domitian, found antecedents for the vast complex of buildings with which they covered the Palatine so that its name came to signify a splendid kingly residence.[108] The Romans, as von Gerkan showed, designed their palaces on a principle of external "axial-symmetrische Kompositionen" which became the inspiration for Byzantine and Arabian architecture instead of on an organic structural design like the Greek.[109] Nevertheless the idea of a royal palace was Hellenistic, not Roman. Even Augustus felt that as head of the state he must have an official abode in the Hellenistic manner, though he concealed his palace, as he did the monarchical nature of his position, under a Roman and republican guise.

Augustus exercised equal restraint in his titles. He himself applied to his position the unofficial designation *princeps*, a term which was possibly inspired by Cicero and which suggests the πρῶτος ἀνήρ of Greek political thought.[110] He did, however, either adopt or accept certain names and titles which came during his own life to have a monarchical significance. The name *Caesar* he took as his right in consequence of his adoption under Julius' will and it descended to his first successors by adoption or inheritance in the Roman manner.[111] But to the empire as a whole, and particularly to the eastern half, it became as significant of the imperial position as had "Ptolemy" in Egypt and from the time of Claudius it was adopted by every emperor half as a name and half as a title, whether or not he had a legal claim to it.[112] The title *Augustus* had for precedents Pompey's *Magnus* and Sulla's *Felix*, though these were not acquired so formally.[113] In the earlier republic, there had been similar *agnomina*, both hereditary, like *Maximus* or *Pictor* in branches of the Fabian *gens*, and personal, as *Allobrogicus*, *Cunctator*, or *Eburnus*, to take examples from the same *gens*

Studies in Class. Philol. XLVIII (1937) 75—103; Mrs. A. STRONG *Apotheosis and After Life* (London 1915) 281. ALTHEIM, *op. cit.* (above n. 29), comments on the influence which Alexander exerted upon the Severi, especially on Caracalla, see also V. CAPOCCI *La Constitutio Antoniniana* (*Mem. della R. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei* anno CCCXXII ser. VI vol. I fasc. I, Roma 1925) 69—70, with refs. to the sources. ALFÖLDI points out, *Röm. Mitt.* L 50—51, that among the ancients the attainment of power was not regarded, as among the moderns, as an "elevation to the throne" but as a "clothing with the royal garb" and that the chlamys was one of the chief attributes of the Hellenistic monarchs, as the *paludamentum* was of the Roman emperors. For the importance of the "purple" as embodying the power under the later Roman empire, see AVERY below pp. 66—80.

[102] *Röm. Geschichte* V (ed. 5 Berlin 1904) 343 = Eng. translation (by DICKSON, London 1909) II 5, cited by CUMONT *Rel.* Or. 273 n. 8. ALTHEIM, however, *op. cit.* (above n. 29), argues for a Roman basis for the imperial ceremonial.

[103] PLATNER-ASHBY 440—443 under *Regia*. They felt that in historical times it could hardly have served as a residence because it had become a shrine.

[104] DS IV 1 200 under *Palatium;* GARDTHAUSEN I 2 957—961; PLATNER-ASHBY 156—158. The so-called "House of Livia" is now thought to have been that of Augustus.

[105] PLATNER-ASHBY 440 for the transference of the *domus publica* of the *pont. max.* to the Palatine.

[106] VON GERKAN 109.

[107] BELOCH 408—409; KAERST 345.

[108] For lavish houses under the republic, cf. FRIEDLÄNDER I 121—123, II 327—329. The whole chapter on "Der Luxus", II 263—379, illustrates the Hellenistic influence.

[109] 146—148, cf. 159—161, 166. For the Hellenistic (Alexandrian and Egyptian ?) origin of the Roman basilica, see recently W. LAIDLAW *A History of Delos* (Oxford 1933) 253.

[110] HAMMOND 110; WEBER 73, with reference to still unpublished chapters on Perikles as the πρῶτος ἀνήρ.

[111] MOM. I 2 765—766 (on the dropping of *Iulius*), 770—771, 820 (Caesar).

[112] For the comparison Ptolemy = Caesar, KORNEMANN 122. It is not quite accurate, as Ptolemy remained throughout a family name whereas Caesar became more and more a title.

[113] SULLA apparently adopted *Felix* without any authorization, PW IV(7) 1558 under Cornelius 392; DRUMANN *Gesch. Roms.* II (ed. 2 by GROEBE, Leipzig 1902) 403; CARCOPINO *Sylla etc.* (Paris 1931) 107—108, 112—113. APPIAN says, *Bel. Civ.* I 97, that the senate authorized the title *'Επαφρόδιτος*, which an inscription from Elatea, *IG* IX 1 143 = DESS. 8778, shows to have been used also by his son, cf. MOM. III 1 205 n. 2; CARCOPINO *op. cit.* 108—111. The origin of Pompey's *Magnus* is debated. DRUMANN, *Gesch. Roms* IV (ed. 2, 1908) 342—344 accepted PLUTARCH'S statement, *Pomp.* 13.7, that Sulla so entitled him; but

based on achievement, personality, or appearance.[114] It is in fact probable that all *cognomina* were in origin designations of this sort which became hereditary and that the distinction between *cognomina* and *agnomina* was artificially created by the grammarians of a later date.[115] Hence the use of *Felix*, *Magnus*, and *Augustus* as hereditary titles could be regarded as authorized by ancient practice.[116] But they have a more Hellenistic flavour than the earlier titles and suggest terms like *Εὐσεβής* or *Σωτήρ*. Pompeius *Magnus* in particular recalls Alexander or Antiochus "the Great".[117] *Augustus* had a Roman and religious connotation and it was bestowed, not assumed.[118] Yet it too reflects the Hellenistic as well as the native background.

In consequence of his adoption, Augustus at first employed not only the *nomen* Caesar but also the *praenomen* Gaius.[119] For this he soon substituted the unusual term *Imperator*.[120] *Imperator* had regularly been used as an honorific and personal, not hereditary, title during the later republic, though it cannot be traced further back than the third century B. C.[121] According to Livy, it was first so used by Scipio Africanus, who said to certain captive Spaniards *sibi maximum nomen imperatoris esse*.[122] Since the incident is dated in 209 B. C. when Scipio held an exceptional command in virtue of a law of the *comitia*, Levi thought that he may have adopted the title in consequence of some military salutation because he had not previously borne any proper magisterial one.[123] Though Livy's story and Levi's reason have been doubted, Scipio may well have been responsible for the use of *imperator* as a title resulting from the acclaim of a victorious general by his soldiers and, if so, in this as in other matters he was acting under Hellenistic influence.[124] Be that as it may, the alteration of *imperator* from a title to a *praenomen*

Drumann's editor, GROEBE, cites in a note, 344 n. 1, MOMMSEN'S view, *Das röm. Münzwesen* (Leipzig, 1850) 609 n. 419, that it derived from an acclamation by his troops in Africa in 87 B. C.

[114] MOMMSEN, III 1 212—213, traced all *agnomina* to popular acclaim, but it is obvious that some, like *Eburnus* or *Cunctator*, may have started as a simple nickname or as a later invention. The instances cited may be found in PW VI(12) 1806 under Fabius 114, 1835 under F. 122, 1795 under F. 110, 1815 under F. 116, 1796 under F. 111. Titles of victory were confined in descent to the eldest son according to a statement of PLANUDES printed as DIO frag. 44 but not accepted by BOISSEVAIN I p. 175 as Dionian. BOISSEVAIN, however, accepts the fact and date from MOM. III 1 213 n. 3.

[115] B. DOER *Die römische Namengebung* (Stuttgart 1937) 46—52, 68—73. It is unnecessary to go further into the extensive literature on Roman names or to debate these points.

[116] *Felix* was hereditary, PW IV(7) 1522—1566 under Cornelius 390—393; VI(12) 2166 under Felix 2; cf. on *Epaphroditus* above n. 113. For *Magnus*, DRUMANN *Gesch. Roms* (ed. 2) IV 344, where it is shown to have replaced the family *cognomen*. For both see DOER *op. cit.* (above n. 115) 50—52. Tiberius tried to refuse to use the title *Augustus*, SUET. *Tib.* 26 2; cf. DIO LVII 2 1. But coins and inscriptions show it regularly, DESSAU *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit* II 1 (Berlin 1926) 3 n. 2.

[117] CARCOPINO, 103 n. 3, suggested the precedent of Alexander, citing BRUHL in *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist. de l'école franç. de Rome* XLVII (1930) 206—207, XLVI (1929) 89. It is uncertain when Antiochus III became "The Great" and not simply, in Persian fashion, "The Great King", see BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Sél.* I 475—476; BIKERMAN 236, who maintain that he did, on the basis of APPIAN *Syr.* 1; PLUT. *Flam.* 9, against *CAH* VII 723, where it is stated that he was not called "Great" by his contemporaries. The epithet *Magnus* appears under the Roman empire informally in literature, see especially for Domitian, SAUTER *op. cit.* (above n. 47) 96—105, and formally for Caracalla, sporadically during his lifetime and regularly after his death in the formula *divus Magnus Antoninus*, PW II(4) 2437 nos. 5 and 2 under Aurelius 46; *DE* II 1 106, 109 under Caracalla. SAUTER'S work should be consulted throughout for the Hellenistic imitations in the epithets bestowed on and the compliments paid to Domitian by Martial and Statius. L. BERLINGER, *Beiträge zur inoffiziellen Titulatur der römischen Kaiser* (Breslau 1935), is criticized by H. VOLKMANN in *Gnomon* XIII(1927) 310—314 for his failure to recognize the Hellenistic influence. The honorific titles of senators, imperial officials, and the like which are so characteristic of the second century of the empire did not have Hellenistic antecedents according to A. STEIN, *Wiener Studien* XXXIV(1912) 162, but did first appear as regular titles in the Hellenized provinces.

[118] The literature on the significance is extensive, cf. HAMMOND 266 n. 7; VON PREMERSTEIN 64, 119, 169; TAYLOR 158—160; ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* L 74—78, 87 n. 2; *CAH* X 916 bibliography *s. v.*

[119] For the changes in Augustus' name, PW X(19) 275—276 under Iulius 132 (Augustus).

[120] For *Imperator*, HAMMOND 48—53 and 224—228; VON PREMERSTEIN 245—250; D. MCFAYDEN *Hist. of the title Imperator etc.* (Chicago 1920); the articles in DS III 1 423—425; PW IX(17) 1139—1154; *DE* IV 1 41—45.

[121] *DE* IV 1 42 *s. v.*; PW IX(17) 1141 *s. v.*; MOM. I 124 n. 5.

[122] XXVII 19 4. The earliest use in an inscription is in a decree of *L. Aimilius L. f. imperator* granting freedom and land to some slaves in Spain, *CIL* II 5041 = DESS. 15. He was praetor of Further Spain 191—189 B. C.

[123] "L'appellativo Imperator" *Rivista di Filologia* LX(X) (1932) 211—213, on the basis of POLYBIUS X 40 5, where, however, the term is *στρατηγός*, which led A. MOMIGLIANO to doubt the story, *Bollettino Communale d'Archeologia* LVIII (1930) 43. ROSENBERG, PW IX(17) 1141, is also dubious. R. M. HAYWARD, *loc. cit.* (above n. 41), does not commit himself. Cf. G. DE SANCTIS "Imperator" *Studi in onore di S. Riccobono* II (Palermo 1936) 57—61 for Scipio's influence on the title. He pointed out that *αὐτοκράτωρ* did not become the Greek equivalent until Sulla; cf. DITT. *OGI* 442. In Greek inscriptions of the second and early first centuries B. C. it is simply transliterated, *IG* V 1 1454, XII 1 48 = DESS. 8772, both of L. Licinius Murena.

[124] H. H. SCULLARD, *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War* (Cambridge 1930) 282—283, referred with doubt to GRENIER *Le Génie Romain* (Paris 1925) 170 = Eng. trans. *The Roman Spirit* (London/New York 1928) 170, for the view that Scipio consciously sought to build up a legend about himself in the Hellenistic manner; cf. HAYWARD *loc. cit.* (above n. 41). W. SCHUR, *Scipio Africanus etc.* (*Das Erbe der Alten* zweite Reihe Heft XIII, Leipzig 1927) 95—104, thought that he deliberately cultivated the legend; cf.

was certainly unroman. Dio and Suetonius say that it was voted to Caesar as a *praenomen* after the triumph of October, 45 B. C. and that it was to be a hereditary honor.[125] These statements have been suspected as an invention to justify Augustus' use of the *praenomen* since the contemporary evidence in Cicero, the coins, and inscriptions indicates that Caesar never used the term otherwise than as a title in the republican manner.[126] The question is only an aspect of the larger problem as to whether Caesar meant to establish a monarchy on the Hellenistic pattern or not, a problem which cannot be entered into here.[127] *Imperator* appears as a *praenomen* of Caesar Octavianus, as Augustus then was called, soon after 40 B. C. on coins minted by Agrippa.[128] If its use did not derive from Caesar, it may well have been devised by Agrippa.[129] During the triumvirate, Augustus, like Antony, was still under the domination of the tradition of the commander-dictator which Sulla and Caesar had created.[130] In the previous discussion this tradition has been shown to have contained many Hellenistic elements. The use of *Imperator* as a *praenomen*, though the title itself was Roman, strongly suggests the Hellenistic use of *Βασιλεύς* before the personal name.[131] Since the latter practice appeared only after Alexander, it may have begun under oriental influence.[132] The compromise of avoiding a term like *rex*, or even, in Augustus' case, *dictator*, which would have aroused prejudice at Rome, but of employing some Roman term in a Hellenistic, monarchical manner accords well with the policies of Caesar and of the young Augustus.[133] Though Augustus' program became less and less monarchical, he retained the *praenomen Imperatoris*.[134] Perhaps it had become so established that he could not dispense with it and certainly its continuance must have contributed to that *auctoritas* on which he regarded his peculiar position as ultimately resting.[135] Tiberius, his even more republican successor, refused to adopt the *praenomen* and thereby showed that he regarded it as nothing more than a personal honor, not as a designation of the position of the emperor.[136] But Nero, the Hellenizer, resumed it and thereafter it became, like the Greek *Βασιλεύς*, the regular initial title of the emperor. Thus the three elements in the nomenclature of the first emperor, the republican title *Imperator* used as a *praenomen*, the family name *Caesar*, and the honorary appellation *Augustus* had become by the end of the Julio-Claudian period the formula for the imperial position and as such they have descended into modern times.[137] In this development, Hellenistic precedents played a major rôle.

The right to place one's image and superscription on coins is today a traditional prerogative of rulers. But at Rome, the first living person to place his own

CARCOPINO *Sylla* (above n. 113) 98 and *Imp. Rom.* 103, for the influence on him of Alexander.

[125] DIO XLIII 44 2—5; SUET. *Iul.* 76 1.

[126] MOMMSEN, II 2 767, especially n. 1, thought that it became a cognomen indicative of his *imperium;* but cf. D. MCFAYDEN *op. cit.* (above n. 120) 15—27. VON PREMERSTEIN, 246—248, accepted the genuineness of the vote and held that Caesar simply did not use it, cf. DIO XLIII 46 1. CARCOPINO, 127—128, especially nn. 5, 1, suggested so reading the coin legends as to make *imp.* precede *Caesar.* He explained, without plausibility, *Caesar imp.* as an inversion of *nomen* and *praenomen;* cf. also J. GAGÉ *Rev. Historique* CLXXVII (1936) 306.

[127] CARCOPINO, 132, concluded: "Ainsi la dictature perpétuelle de César renfermait l'autocratie dans le présent et l'hérédité de l'autocratie dans l'avenir. C'était, en son intégrité, la monarchie absolu, et sous des termes romains, elle s'identifiait a celle des *basileis* orientaux"; cf. for Hellenistic antecedents, *id.* 99—100, 103—104, 108, 117—118, 124, 134, 150. His view is a reaffirmation of that of PAIS and E. MEYER, cf. *id.* 90 nn. 1, 2, and he thought that Augustus sought to fulfill, with less force and vision, the program of Caesar. ADCOCK, whom CARCOPINO attacked, tended in *CAH* IX 718—735 to minimize the Hellenistic character of Caesar's program and to regard it as perpetuating, in a hereditary form, the Sullan dictatorship.

[128] HAMMOND 50, 225 nn. 13—14 for this and the following.

[129] MCFAYDEN, *op. cit.* (above n. 120) 33—37, attributed its invention to Agrippa, which DESSAU, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit* I 36 n. 1, doubted. The *praenomen* probably did not designate Aug. as supreme holder of the *imperium*, HAMMOND 32—34, 48—50, following MCFAYDEN 44—52, against MOM. I 123—126, II 2 794.

[130] The accounts of Octavian during the triumvirate have perhaps been colored by hostile propaganda, M. P. CHARLESWORTH "Some fragments of the propaganda of Mark Antony" *Class. Quarterly* XXVII (1933) 172—177; K. SCOTT "The Political Propaganda of 44—30 B. C." *Memoirs of the Am. Academy in Rome* XI(1933) 7—49. But the thesis of M. LEVI, *Ottaviano Capoparte* (2 vols. Firenze 1933), that he started simply as a politico-military chief in the tradition of the last century of the republic, appears sound.

[131] BIKERMAN 193, "une sorte de prénom".

[132] BELOCH 373, cf. DITT *SIG* IV p. 250 under *βασιλεύς*.

[133] Of Caesar, CARCOPINO, 138, said: "Roi, César désirait l'etre", and T. R. HOLMES, *The Roman Republic* III (Oxford 1923) 337: "but though we may be sure that he intended to transmit his monarchy, the title *Imperator* would serve as well as *Rex.*"

[134] The odium aroused by Caesar's dictatorship made this an impossible office for Augustus, *Res Gestae* 5 1 (ed. J. GAGÉ Paris 1935, p. 80), and his compromises were, after 30 B. C., probably sincere attempts to preserve the republic while grafting onto its machinery an extraordinary executive officer, cf. HAMMOND *passim.*

[135] For the *auctoritas*, *Res Gestae* 34 3 (ed J. GAGÉ pp. 144—146). It is impossible to refer here to the wide literature on the subject, cf. VON PREMERSTEIN 273, index *s. v.*; cf. above n. 118.

[136] For this and the following, MOM. II 2 769; HAMMOND 50—51, 226 nn. 16—19. It occurs sporadically even for Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius and, on the other hand, Nero used it rather on coins than on inscriptions, MCFAYDEN *op. cit.* (above n. 120) 53—65.

[137] *Augustus* did not, like *Imperator* = Emperor and *Caesar* = Kaiser or Czar, become a term of daily speech, but it survived in official titularies of the Holy Roman Empire and as an adjective, "august majesty" and the like.

likeness on coins was Caesar.[138] Antony extended the portraiture to include his wives Fulvia and Octavia.[139] Under the empire, the right pertained to the emperor and, by his favor, to his immediate family, male and female.[140] Similarly, portraits of living persons appeared on Greek coins only in the Hellenistic period.[141] Alexander, in fact, used his features solely under the guise of Herakles and figured in his own person only after his death. The custom is perhaps to be traced back through the satraps of Asia Minor in the fourth and fifth centuries B. C. to the representation of the King of Persia on the darics.[142] It affords another example of a Hellenistic practice which was introduced by Caesar and perpetuated by Augustus.[143]

The *Res Gestae* of Augustus have often been compared to the *elogia* of distinguished Romans during the republic.[144] The earliest *elogia* which survive are those from the tomb of the Scipios, which were perhaps composed by Ennius.[145] They may well, therefore, constitute another instance of Hellenistic fashions which the family of the Scipios introduced to Rome. But their severe and factual style is Roman, in contrast to the economy and grace of the Greek epigram, which characterizes its subject by presenting only the most essential traits or deeds. The *Res Gestae*, however, differ markedly in length and treatment from the *elogia* and, probably, from the funeral orations which may or may not have resembled the *elogia*.[146] Augustus' memorial is factual and severe, but it is long and autobiographical; the author speaks in his own person. Autobiographical records are mentioned as having been set up by living Romans during the later republic.[147] But Kornemann and others have justly remarked that the true antecedents are to be found in the records of their achievements left by oriental monarchs and their Hellenistic successors.[148] The Mausoleum of Augustus itself, in so far as it was a family *tumulus*, derived from the Etruscan and republican grave mound. At the same time, its splendor and its character as primarily a monument of an individual recall the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, the Pyramids, and like royal sepulchres. Kornemann justly concluded his discussion of the tomb and the *Res Gestae*: "Wie fast alles, was Augustus geschaffen hat, zeigen auch das Mausoleum und der Tatenbericht ein Doppelgesicht, ein italienisches und ein hellenistisches".[149]

It has already been remarked that Caesar probably intended to make his position hereditary and that Augustus claimed this inheritance in virtue of his adoption in Caesar's will.[150] He underlined the very special nature of this inheritance by calling himself not *Gai f.* but *Divi f.*, the son of the deified person, the only one of recent times.[151] Inheritance played an important part in Roman history and law from the beginning, but in the early history, as in the early law, it was the continuance of the family from generation to generation rather than the descent from

[138] TAYLOR 66; H. MATTINGLY *Roman Coins* (London 1928) 75; G. MACDONALD *Coin Types* (Glasgow 1905) 193. For a rare gold coin probably struck by Flamininus in Greece in 146 B. C. and bearing his portrait, G. F. HILL *Historical Greek Coins* (London 1906) 136—137 = B. V. HEAD *Historia Numorum* (ed. 2, Oxford 1911), 235. For the connection of this coin with deification, MACDONALD *op. cit.* 153—154.

[139] U. KAHRSTEDT "Frauen auf antiken Münzen" *Klio* X (1910) 291—293; TAYLOR 116 n. 29, 122. For the portraits of Hellenistic queens on coins, KAHRSTEDT *op. cit.* 261—289; Tarn 52.

[140] MATTINGLY *Rom. Coins* 146—153; MACDONALD *Coin Types* 194—197, who connected it with emperor-worship; MOM. II 2 829—831; KAHRSTEDT *op. cit.* (above n. 139) 289—314.

[141] For this and the following, MACDONALD *Coin Types* 150—154; HEAD *Hist. Num.* ² lix.

[142] HILL *Hist. Gr. Coins* 57—58; HEAD *Hist. Num.* ² 596—598 (satraps), 794—796 (Kings of Sidon; the figure in the chariot is called the Persian king), 827—831 (darics, the "archer" was probably meant to portray the king).

[143] MACDONALD, *Coin Types* 197—198, pointed out an interesting change made by the Romans. Whereas the Hellenistic coins usually have the portrait on the obverse and the royal name on the reverse, the Roman have the portrait surrounded by all or at least most of the name and titles on the obverse. He suggested that the change was mediated by coins with portraits and names on both sides which occur for the Ptolemies and the triumvirs. TARN, *Journal of Roman Studies* XXI (1931) 179—183, thought that the coinage of Augustus after Actium deliberately recalled the defeat of Ptolemy II by Antigonus, as a victory of west over east. The Ptolemies and Seleucids, like the Romans, had provincial mints, BIKERMAN 223—226; *CAH* VII 165. CARY, *CAH* IX 386, compared the inflation by decreasing the weight of the copper drachma under Philometor, T. REINACH *Rev. des Études grecques* XLI (1928) 178, with similar practices under the Caesars. But all these may be rather parallels than precedents.

[144] The literature on the *Res Gestae* is extensive. The discussions are summarized by J. GAGÉ in the preface to his edition (Paris 1935). For the *elogia* cf. *id.* 28, with reference to H. DESSAU "Mommsen und das Mon. Anc." *Klio* XXII (1928) 261—283.

[145] *CIL* ed. 2 I 2 1 pp. 373—383. The tradition of Ennius' burial in the tomb of the Scipios is doubtful, M. SCHANZ-C. HOSIUS *Gesch. der röm. Litt.* I (*Handbuch der Alt.-wiss.* VIII 1, ed. 4 München 1927) 88, and so must be the attribution to him of the *elogia*, cf. *id.* 40.

[146] For funeral orations, SCHANZ-HOSIUS *op. cit.* (above n. 145) 38—39.

[147] WEBER 106*—107* n. 445; GAGÉ *Res Gestae* 29—31.

[148] KORNEMANN 122—123; *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus* (Leipzig/Berlin 1921) 91—94; WEBER 89*—90* n. 420, 106* n. 444; GAGÉ, *Res Gestae* 31—34, doubted their influence.

[149] *Mausoleum* 94.

[150] CARCOPINO 130, 153—155; cf. DIO'S account of how he came to Rome in 44, XLV 3—9. Modern writers generally accept the above view.

[151] TAYLOR 106, 130—131, 149, 153.

individual to individual which counted.[152] The leading positions were filled by members of the great families because of the distinction of the families, not because they happened to be the sons of any particular distinguished person.[153] The impact of Greece on Rome during the third and second centuries B. C. was a contributing factor, if not the primary cause, in the breakdown of the family solidarity and in the emancipation of the individual.[154] The part played by the Scipios during the second century represents the changing emphasis. The fact that they were *Cornelii* was important, but the personal prestige of Africanus equally promoted the fortunes of his descendants. Moreover, the ability of Africanus and of Aemilianus brought them to the fore while the intervening generation remained relatively insignificant.[155] During the last century of the republic, the influence which relationship to a great individual exerted on the public appears in the success achieved by such pretenders as the false sons of Gaius Gracchus and of Marius.[156] This shift of attitude, which made Caesar's mantle more valuable to Augustus than membership in the Julian or Octavian families, cannot be called Hellenistic, but at least it was unroman and it derived in a considerable measure from the changed character of the population of Rome, from its cosmopolitan, not to say oriental, composition.[157]

In the early rural community, where the population had been homogeneous and relatively permanent, the prestige of families carried great weight. In a great metropolis, with a shifting, selfish proletariat, the personality of the demagogue or the general counted for more than an ancient and distinguished lineage.[158]

Augustus must also have been influenced in his wish to make his position actually, if not legally, hereditary by the lessons of Greek history. These taught that the perpetuation of efficient government was more likely when it centered about a hereditary position than when it depended upon repeated elective changes. Augustus did not intend to found a monarchy but he did wish to introduce into the machinery of the Roman state an officer who would be in a position to control its working and to prevent the evils which had developed under the later republic. He realized that a successor would step into his shoes with less risk of rivalry among the nobility and more prospect of favor among the lower classes and the army if such a successor came as his choice and descendant.[159] The introduction of the heredity principle into the Roman constitution was therefore an innovation at least strongly influenced by Hellenistic precedents.[160] The Hellenistic monarchies also afforded examples of the bestowal upon the heir of special superior commands and of his elevation to what the Germans call "Mitregentschaft".[161] Both of

[152] Neither Greek nor Roman law recognized any special rights of the oldest sons, E. WEISS *Griechisches Privatrecht* I (Leipzig 1923) 191—193; MITTEIS *R-u-V-recht* 319—320; BIKERMAN 18; W. W. BUCKLAND *Manual of Roman Private Law* (Cambridge 1928) 227—232. Contrast JOUGUET 345 (= Eng. trans. 298).

[153] On the part played by the great families in Roman public life, cf. F. MÜNZER *Röm. Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (Stuttgart 1920); M. GELZER, *Die Nobilität der röm. Republik* (Leipzig/Berlin 1912).

[154] Cf. for example J. VOGT *Röm. Geschichte* I (Freiburg 1932) 164—165. Cf. F. ALTHEIM *Epochen* (above n. 8) II 230—245 "Die großen Einzeln" for the period of the Gracchi; ROSTOVTZEFF *Augustus* 137 for the first century B. C.

[155] For the sons of Africanus, cf. PW IV(7) 1431—1433, 1437—1438 under Cornelius (Scipio) 325, 331. Scipio Aemilianus was, of course, adopted into the family by the elder of these sons.

[156] False Gracchus, PW VI(11) 322—323 under Equitius 3; false Marius, PW XIV(28) 1815—1817 under Marius 16. In the Hellenistic world, similar careers were those of the false Philip of the third Macedonian war, *CAH* VIII 276—277, and of Aristonicus in Pergamum after 133 B. C., *CAH* IX 103—105. Cf. also the false Agrippa Postumus, TAC. *Ann.* II 39—40; DIO LVII 16 3—4, and the false Neros, B. W. HENDERSON *The Life and Principate of Nero* (London 1903) 419—420, 498 nn.; PW suppl. III 393 under Domitius (Nero) 28. The success of such pretenders depends upon having a population large enough and remote enough from the upper classes so that their deceit is not at once recognized.

[157] T. FRANK "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire" *Am. Hist. Rev.* XXI (1916) 684—708; G. LA PIANA "Foreign Groups in Rome etc." *Harvard Theol. Rev.* XX (1927) 183—403, especially the early chapters.

[158] Naturally, the prestige of the old families continued to count, both socially and politically, and Augustus sought to strengthen it, cf. the summary of various articles on *nobilitas* during the empire in HAMMOND "Pliny the Younger's Views on Government" *Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.* XLIX (1938) 118—119.

[159] HAMMOND 65—78. Augustus tried to combine three principles: heredity, the choice of the best man, and election by the senate and people.

[160] BELOCH 376—379; KORNEMANN 121—122; KAERST 342—343, who pointed out that a political position could not be divided among heirs according to the private law, cf. above n. 152, but must go to one person, presumably the eldest. Cf. for Egypt, M. L. STRACK *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin 1897) 72—114; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Lag.* III 85—93, 100. For the Seleucids, BIKERMAN 16—20. Of course, Augustus was influenced by other factors besides the Hellenistic precedents, HAMMOND 77—78.

[161] KAERST, 343, and BIKERMAN, 21—24, did not think that association in the Seleucid kingdom ever meant coequality. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Lag.* III 96, described two instances of Ptolemaic association as almost equivalent to the abdication of the fathers. KORNEMANN, in his *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* (Leipzig/Berlin 1930) 51, felt that Gaius, under the influence of Hellenistic ideas inherited from his great-grandfather Antony, sought to change the Roman principate to a Hellenistic monarchy shared between a *βασιλεύς* and a *βασίλισσα*. Throughout this study, KORNEMANN overemphasized the constitutional importance of the empresses, but undoubtedly Hellenistic monarchical ideas exercised a steadily increasing influence upon the concept of the imperial position as this existed both in the minds of the rulers and in those of the subjects. In the same work, 73—74, KORNEMANN cited

these methods were employed by Augustus to ensure as far as possible that those whom he selected would be in a position to succeed him.[162] Though Tiberius sought himself to discount his hereditary claim to the principate, even he came more and more to realize that the principate was a necessity and that its perpetuation depended in part on making it hereditary.[163]

The great development of the imperial administration took place after Augustus, notably under Claudius.[164] But the constituent elements of the administration can in a large measure be traced back to Augustus and even to the later republic.[165] They may for the purposes of discussion be divided into two parts, the "office staff" and the "field staff". The former may moreover be subdivided into two, the "court" and the "bureaucracy". Under Augustus, the entourage of the emperor, the court, was very informal and differed little from the group which had surrounded the prominent nobles of the later republic. The keynote of Augustus' life was simplicity; he tried as far as possible to remain on terms of equality with the senators and magistrates and to be accessible to all.[166] Nevertheless, the term *amicus* appears very early under the Julio-Claudians in a manner which suggests that it already had a semi-official meaning. Augustus referred to the proconsul of Asia, Asinius Gallus, as *τῷ ἐμῷ φίλῳ* in a letter to the free city of Cnidus.[167] This case taken alone might be considered a delicate way of avoiding any implication that a proconsul had rights over the free cities. The term, however, reappears several times under Claudius.[168] Particularly in his edict on the Anauni, he called the special commissioner whom he sent to investigate their claim to citizenship *Plantam Iulium, amicum et comitem meum.*[169] It looks as though he employed *amicus* to indicate a quasi-official status.

Already under the republic, there is mention of a *cohors amicorum* which might accompany a governor to his province and of *amici* serving on the *consilium* of magistrates as well as in family councils.[170] In the hierarchy of Hellenistic court titles, the *φίλοι* play a prominent part and are attested for all the kingdoms.[171] Cumont even thought that he could trace them back to Persia.[172] Certainly the *φίλοι* composed the *συνέδριον* or council of the Hellenistic kings.[173] Moreover, before the time of Philip II the *ἑταῖροι* in Macedonia approximated closely to the *φίλοι*, though later they appear to have been a special cavalry troop.[174] The Macedonian usage resembles the close connection between *amicus* and *comes*.[175] Prominent persons of

the position occupied by successors to the throne under Flavians and Antonines as an intrusion of the Hellenistic idea of the association of a son with his father as *consors successorque*.

[163] HAMMOND 69—73. The Ptolemaic queens played a rôle as colleagues which the Roman empresses did not achieve during the early period, though Agrippina the Younger tried to do so under Nero, HENDERSON *op. cit.* (above n. 156) 50—71.

[164] HAMMOND 74—75. BELOCH, 379—381, thought that the succession in the Hellenistic monarchies depended ultimately on acceptance by the people or by the army speaking as the people and that this led to "praetorianism" in Egypt; cf. *CAH* VII 201—202 (Macedon). But BIKERMAN, 8—11, doubted this theory and regarded the power as secured by force, 14—15, and perpetuated by bequest, 16.

[165] HIRSCHFELD 474—475; *CAH* X 686—690.

[166] VON PREMERSTEIN 175.

[167] SUET. *Aug.* 51—56, 72—78, and throughout; so also DIO, cf. especially LII 32 1, 33 6, 39 3—4 (all from the speech of Maecenas), LVI 41 3—5 (from the funeral oration of Tiberius). These passages represent, of course, DIO'S own opinions, not necessarily those of the speakers to whom he attributes them.

[168] DITT. *SIG* 780 = *IGRR* IV 1031 line 11 (6 B. C.). For other instances, BANG in FRIEDLÄNDER IV 60—61. He cited two restored inscriptions which are very doubtful. HIRSCHFELD restored *CIL* III suppl. 2 12240, of Paullus Fabius Maximus, to read *Caesaris* [*Augusti amicus*], and *CIL* XI 2 2 7553 = DESS. 916, of Cn. Pullius Pollio, to read [*comiti imp. Caes.*] *Aug.* The former restoration was rejected in PW VI(12) 1784 under Fabius 102 and the latter was not accepted by DESSAU.

[169] BANG in FRIEDLÄNDER IV 63—65.

[169] DESS. 206 = BRUNS *Fontes* 253 no. 79 line 16.

[170] *CAH* VIII 323; *DE* I 447—449 under *amicorum cohors* and *amici Augusti;* PW I(2) 1831 under *amicus*, IV(7) 356—357 under *cohors amicorum;* DS I 1 227—229 under *amici Augusti;* BANG in FRIEDLÄNDER I 76—77, IV 56—76; ALFÖLDI *Röm. Mitt.* XLIX 28, especially n. 3; PASSERINI *op. cit.* (below n. 177) 20—29. The *consilium* has been often treated, HAMMOND 164—169, 299—302.

[171] BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Lag.* III 102—107, *Sél.* I 474—475; TARN 53; *CAH* VII 116 (Ptolemies), 164—165 (Seleucids), VIII 594 (Attalids); BIKERMAN 40—50, who regarded them as having a formal organization as part of the hierarchy of the court.

[172] *Rel.* Or. 127. For Egypt, JOUGUET 347 (= Eng. trans. 299).

[173] BELOCH 383; KAERST 345; KORNEMANN 127; BIKERMAN 188—190; TARN *Greeks in Bactria etc.* (Cambridge 1938) 267, 418. The Roman *consilium*, apart from Augustus' committee of the senate, was until the time of Hadrian informal and variable in composition like the Hellenistic, cf. HAMMOND 168—169.

[174] BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Lag.* III 103—105; PW VIII(16) 1376—1378 under *ἑταῖροι;* BIKERMAN 41, 52.

[175] For *comes* the fundamental discussion is MOMMSEN "Die *Comites Augusti* der früheren Kaiserzeit", an appendix to his treatment of the edict on the Anauni, *Hermes* IV (1869) 120—131 = *Gesam. Schriften* LV (*Hist. Schr.* I) 311—322. Cf. also PW IV(7) 623—628 under *comites*; DS I 2 1372—1373 *s. v.*; *DE* II 1 468—471 *s. v.* The term did not become a regular title until the later empire; but a certain Sex. Palpellius was *comiti Ti. Caesaris Aug. dato ab divo Aug.*, *CIL* V 1 35 = DESS. 946, which suggests that it had a quasi-official meaning, like *amicus*, as early as Augustus; and it is used under the republic for the companions of governors, so that MOMMSEN thought that it meant an *amicus* who accompanied some official on his travels, *loc. cit.* 130 = 321. For the titles *συγγενής, ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, φίλος, κτλ.* in Ptolemaic Egypt, see M. L. STRACK "Griechische Titel im Ptolemäerreich" *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* n. F. LV (1900) 161—190.

every age have naturally surrounded themselves with their friends, and the relatively rudimentary administrations of ancient states practically necessitated that private agents be used on public service. But the continuous appearance of the terms *φίλος* = *amicus* in a quasi-official sense makes the Hellenistic influence on the Roman practice appear very probable.[176]

It has been maintained that the praetorian guard, which began under Scipio Aemilianus at Numantia, derived from the *cohors amicorum*, which he organized as a bodyguard in place of the unreliable noble *equites*.[177] The guard may, however, have been a development of one of the special corps of veterans, *evocati*, who as early as the time of Scipio Africanus often reënlisted under favored terms of service.[178] Whatever its origin, the connection of the guard with the Scipios lends color to a hypothesis of Hellenistic influence. At first sight, such a hypothesis receives support from the occurrence in the Hellenistic courts of *σωματοφύλακες*. Unfortunately, this name is often applied to persons who performed quite important functions. Hence it is likely that though in the early period the *σωματοφύλακες* constituted an actual bodyguard, perhaps of important and trustworthy associates of the king like the Roman *cohors amicorum*, they came to be employed for special duties and eventually the title became an honor for functionaries close to the king.[179] Various bodies of troops are mentioned which acted as body-guards to the king: the *ἑταῖροι*, *ἱππεῖς*, *ὑπασπισταί*, and *ἄγημα*.[180] Such corps may have given the Scipios the idea for their special escort, if they did not derive this from the traditional Greek descriptions of the ruler surrounded by guards.[181]

In the Hellenistic courts, the sons of noble Macedonian families received a semi-military education and formed a regular group, the *βασιλικοὶ παῖδες*.[182] Their organization may have been patterned on the training established in various Greek city-states, notably in Athens during and after the fourth century before Christ, for the *ἔφηβοι*, youths of an age between boyhood and manhood.[183] Even before the establishment of the Roman empire, Pompeii, and perhaps other Italian towns, had similar institutions.[184] That at Pompeii bore at first the Oscan name *Vereiia* but its inspiration may nevertheless have been Greek.[185] Della Corte thought that the presence of a goddess *Iuventas* in Rome at an early date was evidence for an organization of *iuvenes* to worship her.[186] But she was simply a personified abstraction, the patroness of coming-of-age, like such figures as *Febris*. The early existence of a goddess "Fever" scarcely proves that the sufferers from malaria had any formal organization.[187] A passage in Cicero gives very slight support for an organized body of youths even at the end of the republic.[188] Augustus, however, fostered an organization, thenceforth called *Iuventus*, whether or not he found it already existing at Rome and whatever its connection with the bodies in the Hellenized towns.[189] At Rome it comprised the sons

[176] CICCOTTI, *DE* I 448, doubted the connection; VON PREMERSTEIN, 224, accepted it; see his n. 1 for further references for the Hellenistic usage; BANG, FRIEDLÄNDER IV 58, showed that the Romans themselves recognized the connection.

[177] CICCOTTI, *DE* I 447; OEHLER, PW IV(7) 356—357, placed the development from the *cohors amicorum* after Philippi. Cf. also MOMMSEN "Die Gardetruppen der röm. Republik und der Kaiserzeit" *Hermes* XIV (1879) 25—33 = *Gesam. Schriften* VI (*Hist. Schr.* III) 1—8; F. FRÖLICH *Die Gardetruppen der röm. Republik* (Aarau 1882); M. DURRY *Les Cohortes Prétoriennes* (Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 146, Paris 1938) 67—74; A. PASSERINI *Le Coorti Pretorie* (*Studi pubblicati dal R. Ist. Ital. per la storia antica* I, Roma 1939) 3—40. On p. 71, DURRY accepted the connection between the *cohors amicorum* and the republican *cohors praetoria* and hesitated between the two Scipios as the originator. But on p. 74, he argued that the Augustan guard was only a collateral descendant of the various bodies which the title *cohors praetoria* covered during the republic and actually originated in the special bodyguards created by various commanders during the period of the triumvirate. PASSERINI, 3—10, maintained that Scipio Africanus probably created the regular bodyguard, which, 20—29, took its name from an older informal *cohors praetoria* or entourage. Then this latter came to be called *cohors amicorum*.

[178] KROMAYER-VEITH etc. *Heerwesen und Kriegsführung etc.* (*Handbuch der Alt-wiss.* IV 3 2, München 1928) 311.

[179] BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Lag.* III 104—105, 113—114; *Sél.* I 474; PW VIII(16) 1375—1376 under *ἑταῖροι*; PW2 III(5) 991—992 *s. v.*; DS IV 2 1395—1396 *s. v.*; *CAH* VII 11; BELOCH 385; BIKERMAN 37—38.

[180] Besides the above references, cf. KROMAYER-VEITCH *op. cit.* (above n. 178) 105—106, 137, 139—140.

[181] The *τύραννος* with his *δορυφόροι* figures in Herodotus, Plato, and other Greek writers on politics, cf. DS V 568 under *Tyrannus*; LIDDELL-SCOTT *Gr. Lexicon* (ed. H. S. JONES) 446 under *δορυφορέω*.

[182] KAERST 345; KROMAYER-VEITH *op. cit.* (above n. 178) 105; PW III(5) 97 *s. v.*; BELOCH 383—384; ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 78—79; BIKERMAN 38; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Lag.* III 118, *Sél.* I 480.

[183] ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 65—71; FERGUSON *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911) 481 index under "ephebes"; PW V(10) 2737—2746 under *ἐφηβία*; P. JOUGUET "Remarques sur l'éphébie dans l'Égypte Gréco-romaine" *Rev. de Philol. etc.* XXXIV (1910) 43—56; G. MATTHIEU "Remarques sur l'éphébie attique" *Mélanges offerts à A.-M. Desrousseaux* (Paris 1937) 311—318. The abstract term *ἐφηβεία* or *ἐφηβία* is a late word, PW V(10) 2737; LIDDELL-SCOTT *op. cit.* (above n. 181) 743 col. 2.

[184] Cf. in general ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 59—93; M. DELLA CORTE *Iuventus* (Arpino 1924) 5—22; DS III 1 782—785 under *iuvenes*; PW X(20) 1357—1358 under *iuvenes*.

[185] So DELLA CORTE *loc. cit.* (above n. 184); R. C. CARRINGTON *Pompeii* (Oxford 1936) 41—46.

[186] *Iuventus* 8—10. For the goddess, later *Iuventus*, ROSCHER II 1 764—766, III 2 2156—2157; DS III 1 785—786; PW X(20) 1360—1361.

[187] For *Febris*, ROSCHER I 2 1469—1470 *s. v.*; PW VI(12) 2095—2096 *s. v.*

[188] *Pro Caelio* 5 11, cited by ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 62.

of senators and knights under the leadership, usually, of an imperial prince. It provided a training in part military and in part scholastic from their coming of age at fifteen to the beginning of their military service at seventeen or later. Augustus sought, perhaps, through Virgil to connect the *Iuventus* with Aeneas and the mythological beginnings of Rome.[190] But he appears really to have had in mind either the ἔφηβοι or the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες.[191] Bodies of *iuvenes* existed in many, if not all, Italian towns under the empire and undoubtedly where Augustus found none, he created them. The *Iuventus* outside of Rome had much less of a military color and concerned itself chiefly with education and gymnastics.[192] Nero attempted to Hellenize the institution even further by converting the Roman *Iuventus* into a personal body-guard, like the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες.[193]

In the Hellenistic courts, certain noble boys and foreign princes were at a fairly early age made companions of the princes and brought up with them.[194] These σύντροφοι may have been specially favored members of the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες. Though the practice cannot be proved for the household of Augustus, Antonia, widow of Drusus, brought up "Herod" Agrippa I with her children and his friendship with Claudius stood them both in good stead later.[195] Tacitus affords a clearer instance under Nero when he says in connection with the poisoning of Britannicus: *mos habebatur principum liberos cum ceteris idem aetatis nobilibus sedentis vesci in aspectu propinquorum propria et parciore mensa.*[196] The custom was not one of Nero's Hellenistic innovations, not only because Tacitus calls it *mos* but also because Suetonius attributes it to Claudius: *adhibebat omni cenae et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur.*[197] The *vetus mos* perhaps refers to the habit of having children sit beside the couches at meals, and Suetonius elsewhere says of Augustus: *neque cenavit una*, that is, with his grandsons, *nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent.*[198] Children and women occupied an inferior position at Roman meals. But the mention under Claudius of the *pueris puellisque nobilibus* indicates that in the Hellenistic manner, special children were selected as playmates for the princes.[199] It may be that the idea was not Augustan but inherited by Claudius from his mother, the daughter of Marc Antony. In general, the court of the Roman emperor had from the beginning a Hellenistic coloring and became more, rather than less, monarchical during the Julio-Claudian period.

The bureaucracy developed from the business staffs of the rich nobles of the later republic.[200] During the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius the few freedmen secretaries who are known were little more than clerks in the imperial household.[201] But the lines of the bureaucracy were already established; and since almost all the freedmen, as well as many of the knights and even senators, in the imperial service were of eastern origin, they presumably applied Greek business methods in the service of their Roman masters.[202] The Hellenistic monarchs had employed agents of higher social standing than freedmen but they too had simply expanded their households to cope with the administration of their kingdoms.[203] The demarcation of functions at Rome resembles that in the east. If no single freedman fulfilled the functions of the Hellenistic "prime minister", ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, the powerful *libertus a rationibus* suggests the Seleucid ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων or the Ptolemaic διοικητής.[204] It

[189] The name occurs only after the founding of the empire, DELLA CORTE *Iuventus* 5—7; ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 63—65, 71; DS III 1 784. A bibliography on the *iuventus* is given by A. MOMIGLIANO "I problemi delle istituzioni militari di Augusto" *Augustus* (R. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, Roma 1938) 213.

[190] VIRGIL does not actually discuss the *Iuventus* but he describes the *Lusus Troiae* performed by Ascanius and the young Trojans at the funeral games of Anchises, *Aen.* V 545—603. This military exercise may have been of old Italian (Etruscan?) origin, and Augustus revived it for the noble boys who were too young to join the *Iuventus;* PW XIII(26) 2059—2067 *s. v.* Of course, its antiquity does not prove that of the *Iuventus*, but for Augustus they formed part of the same scheme for training the youth, ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 70—71.

[191] ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 80—93.

[192] S. L. MOHLER, "The *Iuvenes* and Roman Education" *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.* LXVIII (1937) 442—479, regarded the local bodies as simply associations of school-boys; cf. DIO LII 26 2 (from the speech of Maecenas), quoted by ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 65.

[193] ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 73—80; SCHUMANN 62.

[194] BELOCH 384; KAERST 345: BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Lag.* III 118; BIKERMAN 42—43.

[195] FRIEDLÄNDER I 84—85; WILLRICH "Caligula" *Klio* III (1903) 99, with reference to JOSEPHUS *Ant.* XVIII 143, 164 ff., XIX 276. Octavia's raising of the children of Antony and Cleopatra is hardly a fair parallel, cf. PW XVII(34) 1863 under Octavius (-a) 96.

[196] *Ann.* XIII 16 1.

[197] *Cl.* 32.

[198] *Aug.* 64 3; cf. ed. by E. S. SCHUCKBURGH (Cambridge Eng. 1896) n. *ad loc.* For the *vetus mos*, MARQUART *Das Privatleben der Römer* I (ed. 2 by MAU, Leipzig 1886) 300—301; H. BLÜMNER *Die röm. Privataltertümer* (*Handbuch der Alt.-wiss.* IV 2 2, München 1911) 386.

[199] CAPOT in *L'Hellénisation etc.* 293.

[200] HAMMOND 190—191; HIRSCHFELD 307—342, 471—474; BANG in FRIEDLÄNDER I 34—64, IV 26—46; *CAH* X 686—687.

[201] HIRSCHFELD 319.

[202] LAST in *CAH* XI 432 citing TAC. *Ann.* XIII 27 (56 A. D.); he concluded, however, that the product of Rome's absorption of Hellenism was essentially Roman, 435—436.

[203] TARN 53—54; ROSTOVTZEFF in *CAH* VII 116. ROSTOVTZEFF, *Anatolian Studies* 303, compared the royal slaves of Pergamum with the *Caesaris servi* of the empire.

[204] For ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, BELOCH 386; BOUCHÉ-

must be confessed, however, that lack of material prevents an accurate definition of the duties of these Hellenistic officials.

Without entering into the history of the *fiscus*, it may at least be said that the confusion therein of the accounting of the public and private funds which the emperor controlled, if not of the funds themselves, had good precedent in the Hellenistic monarchies, where all the revenues were regarded as the property of the crown.[205] The Hellenistic monarchs probably did not have to preserve public state treasuries as Augustus did in the case of the *aerarium*.[206]

The internal organization of the Roman chancery is not known, but if Wilcken's explanation of the offices *a libellis* and *ab epistulis* be accepted, his distinction between petitions handed in at Rome and simply annotated by the emperor and those sent in and replied to by letter can be paralleled from Bikerman's analysis of the Seleucid chancery, in which he drew the same distinction between *ἐπιστολή* and *ὑπομνηματισμός*.[207]

Even under Augustus the bureaucracy had some responsibility to the state since at his death he left the names of his freedmen, not of his heirs, as those from whom an accounting might be demanded for the public moneys entrusted to him.[208] Claudius brought the freedmen so much to the fore that when Pallas retired early in Nero's reign, it was to the state and not to the emperor personally that he refused an accounting.[209] In consequence of this change from a household staff to a public one, the freedmen began to be replaced by knights during the Flavian period and Hadrian made the reform general.[210] Thus in the second century the imperial bureaucracy resembled the Hellenistic not only in functions and organization but even in social status.

Besides the court and the bureaucracy, Augustus developed what was called above a "field staff" for the administration of Rome and the provinces. The republican machinery continued to govern Rome, Italy, and the senatorial provinces. In Rome, Augustus supplemented it by creating a number of new boards and posts for which it is hard to draw a distinction between additions to the old republican organization and intrusions of new imperial functionaries.[211] Those, however, which were most clearly imperial were borrowed from the urban administration of the Hellenistic monarchies, especially from that of Alexandria.[212] An instance commonly cited is the Roman praefect of the Watch and his *vigiles*, a police and fire department, who were copied from the Alexandrian *νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός* with his *νυκτοφύλακες*.[213]

LECLERCQ *Sél.* I, 483; BIKERMAN 197. For the *libertus a rationibus*, HIRSCHFELD 29—31. Authorities differ as ot the functions of the two Hellenistic officials. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Sél.* I 483—484, thought that no purely financial minister is attested for the Seleucid realm, but BELOCH, 389 n. 1, thought that *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων* was such. BIKERMAN, 128, agreed that *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων* was a minister of finance and, 187—188, portrayed *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων* as a general agent for the king. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Lag.* III 381—385, regarded the Ptolemaic *διοικητής* as a general minister = the Seleucid *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων*. For an official with the latter title in Egypt, only POLYBIUS XV 31 6 can be adduced, BELOCH 386. But the Ptolemies may have been their own prime ministers, and MITTEIS-WILCKEN, *Grundzüge* I 1 148, and ROSTOVTZEFF, *CAH* VII 120—121, regarded the *διοικητής* as financial; cf. P. M. MEYER "*Διοίκησις* und *Ἴδιος Λόγος*" *Beiträge zur alten Gesch. etc.* (*Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfeld etc.*, Berlin 1903), 131—163. For Seleucid *διοικηταί*, BIKERMAN 129.

[205] For the *fiscus* and the question whether within it in the time of Augustus there was a special privy purse, the *patrimonium*, cf. the brief summary in HAMMOND 190, 317 n. 8 and contrast *CAH* X 194. It would be tempting to find a precedent for the *patrimonium* in the Ptolemaic *ἴδιος λόγος*, but this appears to have been an account for miscellaneous, rather than private, revenue, *CAH* X 926 bibliography *s. v.*; PW IX(17) 882—903 *s. v.* For the Seleucid "privy purse" BIKERMAN 130—131, who wrongly (?) cited the *ἴδιος λόγος* as a parallel; cf. *id.* 184 for the royal estates.

[206] ROSTOVTZEFF, *Anatolian Studies* 387, compared the preservation of the municipal treasury of Pergamum alongside the royal *ῥίσκος* to the *aerarium* and the *fiscus*. He thought that the same duality may have existed in Egypt.

[207] WILCKEN "Zu den Kaiserrescripten" *Hermes* LV (1920) 1—42; BIKERMAN 193—196. For the *liberti a libellis* and *ab epistulis*, HIRSCHFELD 318—329. The Hellenistic parallels would be the *ἀρχιγραμματεύς* or *ἐπιστολογράφος* and the *ὑπομνηματογράφος*, BELOCH 286; MITTEIS-WILCKEN *Grundzüge* I 1 6—7; *CAH* VII 119, 165. BIKERMAN, 193—194, subdivided *ἐπιστολαί* into orders to a specific person, *προστάγματα*, and circular orders, the Ptolemaic *ἐντολαί*, terms which recall the Roman *mandata* and *edicta*.

[208] SUET. *Aug.* 101 4. So Augustus transferred Agrippa's water-department slaves to the state, HIRSCHFELD 275.

[209] TAC. *Ann.* XIII 14 1 (55 A. D.): *paresque rationes cum re publica haberet.*

[210] Vitellius sought to substitute knights, TAC. *Hist.* I 58; cf. *CIL* XI 2 1 5028 = DESS. 1447, cited by HIRSCHFELD 320 n. 2. Domitian also used knights, SUET. *Dom.* 7 2. Though the SHA, *Hadr.* 22 8, say that Hadrian first used knights for his *ab epistolis et a libellis*, cf. HENDERSON *Hadrian* (London 1923) 64—67, freedmen appear thereafter, *CAH* XI 426—427.

[211] HAMMOND 158, 191; HIRSCHFELD throughout; *CAH* X 198—205.

[212] HIRSCHFELD 469 n. 1. VON PREMERSTEIN, "Der Tafel von Heraclea und die *acta Caesaris*" *Zeitschrift der Sav.-Stift.* rom. Abt. XLIII (1922) 53, drew a parallel between Caesar's (?) police regulations in the *lex Iulia municipalis* and those given in a Pergamene inscription which, though of the time of Trajan, reflects a Hellenistic *βασιλικὸς νόμος*.

[213] PW2 IV(7) 250—251 under *στρατηγός* 3 1 d; HIRSCHFELD 253; P. K. B. REYNOLDS *The Vigiles of Imperial Rome* (Oxford 1926) 95—96; BELOCH 399 n. 1 citing PHILO *in Flaccum* 14 (120) for the *νυκτοφύλακες*. V. CHAPOT, *La prov. rom. proc. d'Asie etc.* (*Bibl. de l'école des hautes études* CL, Paris 1904) 242, cited similar officials from Asia Minor; cf. PW2 *loc. cit.* O. HIRSCHFELD, "Gallische Studien III: Der *Praefectus vigilum* in Nemausus usw." *Sitzungsber. der kais. Akad. der Wiss.*, Wien, p.-h. Cl. CVII(1884) 240—241, also gives possible precedents from Asia Minor for the organization of fire-departments in the cities of southern Gaul.

But in describing the four chief municipal magistrates of Alexandria, Strabo assigns to the *ἐξηγητής* functions which suggest the general supervisory post of the praefect of the City.[214] No exact parallel can be given for the praefect of the grain supply, but the idea that the state should be responsible for the provision of adequate grain at fair prices was certainly derived by the Gracchi from Greek sources.[215]

Caesar apparently projected a program of city-planning and beautification for Rome and started a great basilica and a forum.[216] The very name "basilica" shows a Hellenistic origin for such buildings, though the type had certainly been introduced into Rome long before Caesar.[217] Carcopino took a passage of Appian to prove that Caesar's forum was not Roman but Persian in conception, a place less for marketing than for business and the administration of justice.[218] The remains, however, show that the forum was surrounded by small rooms which were probably shops, not offices, and von Gerkan regarded the whole scheme, an open space centering on a temple set at one end, as Roman rather than Hellenistic.[219] Nevertheless, the desire to make Rome a centre worthy of her empire must have been inspired by the great eastern capitals; and Augustus carried on Caesar's program so far that he could boast that he had found Rome a city of brick and left it one of marble.[220] Finally Nero had an excellent opportunity to regularize and improve, as well as to beautify, the city after the fire of A. D. 64. The colonnaded streets which formed part of his plan may have been Italian in origin, but they suggest the Hellenistic *stoa*.[221] Rome of the empire must have owed much of its appearance, orderliness, safety, and administration to the experience of the great Hellenistic cities.[222]

Outside of Rome, the imperial administration may be divided into the financial and the military. The financial agents, or procurators, were originally simply personal agents of the emperor, like the freedmen, but besides managing his properties they undertook from the beginning the collection of the taxes due to the imperial treasury, the *fiscus*, and were active in the senatorial as well as in the imperial provinces.[223] Though Kornemann thought that Augustus followed

DURRY, *op. cit.* (above n. 177) 17, cited as republican precedents for the *vigiles* the slaves of the *tresviri nocturni* and *quinqueviri cis Tiberim*. Augustus' first attempt to provide proper fire protection consisted in placing six hundred slaves under the aediles. In 7 B. C. he transferred them to the *magistri vicorum* whom he had just established. Only thereafter did he establish a separate *praefectus vigilum* with seven cohorts of freedmen organized in a military fashion. In this, as in other departments of the public services, Augustus apparently began by trying to bring republican institutions up to date. Only when these proved inadequate did he adopt more wholeheartedly new (Hellenistic ?) schemes.

[214] STRABO XVII 1 12 (p. 797); the four were the *ἐξηγητής, ὑπομνηματογράφος, ἐπιδικασής*, and *νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός*; cf. BELOCH 398—399. "Interpreter" hardly serves to translate *ἐξηγητής* unless he interpreted the king's wishes to the people, or rather announced them, like the *ἐξηγητής* of divine laws, PW VI(12) 1583—1584 *s. v.* MARQUARDT, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* (ed. 2 Leipzig, 1881) 456, and HIRSCHFELD, 235 n. 1 (dubiously), made the *ἐξηγητής* parallel to the *praefectus annonae*. For the parallel in the text, BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Lag.* III 160 n. 5, 162 n. 4; ROSTOVTZEFF *CAH* VII 122, who thought that the royal governor of Alexandria was a *στρατηγός*. Cf. PW2 IV(7) 247—249 *s. v.* 3 1 c.

[215] LAST, *CAH* VII 475, thought that from an early date the state at Rome had seen to the provision of grain. The early accounts are, however, severely criticized by CARDINALI, DS III 225—229 under *frumentatio*. LAST, *CAH* IX 57—60, showed that the Gracchan measure was not a charity dole but a stabilization of the price at a fair level. Political motives finally reduced the distribution to a free dole. This had Hellenistic precedents, TARN 99; ROSTOVTZEFF *Bleitesserae* 28, 38, who shows that the method of distribution was Hellenistic. And Athens had controlled her grain supply, J. HASEBROEK *Staat und Handel im alt. Griechenland* (Tübingen 1928) 158—163 (= Eng. trans. *Trade and Politics in Anc. Gr.*, London 1933, 146—150).

[216] E. MEYER *Caesars Monarchie etc.* (ed. 2 Stuttgart/Berlin 1919) 427, 497—498; PLATNER-ASHBY 78—80, 225—227.

[217] VON GERKAN, 139—140, thought that both the basilica and the colonnaded street were Italian in inspiration; cf. his whole chapter on the Italian city, 123—168.

[218] 150, citing APPIAN *Bel. Civ.* II 102 (424): *καὶ τέμενος τῷ νεῷ περιέθηκεν ὃ Ῥωμαίοις ἔταξεν ἀγορὰν εἶναι, οὐ τῶν ὠνίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράξεσι συνιόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, καθὰ καὶ Ἱέρσαις ἦν τις ἀγορὰ ζητοῦσιν ἢ μανθάνουσι τὰ δίκαια.*

[219] PLATNER-ASHBY 227, though on 225 they accept APPIAN as evidence for the Persian influence; VON GERKAN 103, 136—137, 144; cf. *CAH* IX 841, X 577—578.

[220] SUET. *Aug.* 283; DIO LVI 30 31; GARDTHAUSEN I 2 955—957; *CAH* X 457—461, 571—580.

[221] Above n. 217; A BOËTHIUS "The Neronian *Nova Urbs*" *Corolla Archaeologica* (Svenska Institutet in Rom, *Schriften* II [1932]) 84—97, with nothing on Hellenistic influence, see especially p. 89.

[222] Modern scholars emphasize the Roman character of Italian town-planning and building design, cf. besides VON GERKAN 123—168, E. STRONG *CAH* IX 838—841; D. S. ROBERTSON *Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (Cambridge Eng. 1929) 193—194; R. C. CARRINGTON *Pompeii* (Oxford 1936) 25—26 (contrast between Herculaneum and Pompeii). Contrast, however, F. HAVERFIELD *Ancient Town-Planning* (Oxford 1913) thoughout, especially 17, and his summary statement in *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (ed. G. MACDONALD, Oxford 1924) 201—202. HAVERFIELD admitted Rome's debt to Hellenistic town-planning. G. Q. GIGLIOLI, "L'arte di Roma e l'arte dell'Oriente nell' antichità" *Atti del IV Cong. naz. di Studi Rom.* I (Roma 1935, publ. 1938) 9—16, summarized what Rome received from the Orient, chiefly through Etruria, and what she later contributed.

[223] On the procurators, cf. *CAH* X 188; DS IV 1 662 under *procurator*; HAMMOND 63, 191; HIRSCHFELD 387 and "Der Grundbesitz der röm. Kaiser in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten" *Klio* II (1902) 45—72, 284—315, especially the second part. The procurators often governed minor districts as *praefecti*, HIRSCHFELD 371 ff. Naturally, in the senatorial provinces the proconsul's quaestor had some financial competency and probably collected the money due to the *aerarium*, cf. below n. 248. A single procurator, however, sometimes acted in both a senatorial and an imperial province, as Narbonensis and Aquitania, H. STUART JONES in *Legacy of Rome* (Oxford 1923) 122.

Ptolemaic precedent in developing the procuratorial system, he admitted a basic difference in that Augustus preserved even in this branch of his administration the military tone which characterized all Roman institutions whereas the Ptolemaic organization had been wholly civilian.[224] The equestrians, from whom the procurators were drawn, had as a class to begin their careers with military service, the *equestris militia*.[225] Nevertheless, the fact that the procurators were responsible to the emperor personally and not to the State recalls Hellenistic rather than Roman methods of administration.[226]

Augustus is generally thought to have borrowed many of his financial reforms from Egypt. Mitteis instanced a number of taxes, such as the *centesima rerum venalium* and possibly the *vicesima hereditatum*, for which Ptolemaic antecedents can be found.[227] It may also be that the *tributum capitis*, if originated by Augustus, derived from the Hellenistic head-tax.[228] On the occasion of imperial accessions or triumphs a special levy was made, called *aurum coronarium*. This represented a commutation into money of the gold crowns offered to Hellenistic kings, a commutation which had already been made by them.[229] The *portoria*, port dues, may also have been continued by the Romans from their predecessors.[230] With respect to the collection of taxes, the republic used either collection by the local communities, as in Sicily under the *lex Hieronica*, or by private companies of "tax-farmers", the method applied by Gaius Gracchus to Asia.[231] Rostovtzeff thought that since collection by private persons under contract appeared early at Rome, it represented a universal phenomenon of the city-state.[232] But the two methods suggest those in use in Egypt and Syria respectively. The Ptolemies applied a modified system of farming combined with local State banks, whereas the Seleucids let the communities collect and deposit directly into government treasuries.[233] Mitteis traced to Egypt some of the regulations of the *fiscus*, such as its right of confiscation and the rule that the purchaser of anything from it acquired full property rights.[234] In fact, as has been said, the general character of the *fiscus* seems Hellenistic.[235] The survey of the empire which Augustus initiated for financial, not military, purposes also recalls the precise records of property kept by the Ptolemies.[236] Two chief elements in the later financial system, forced labor and the colonate, or tenant, method of cultivation, are eastern in origin.[237] But since they did not attain great importance under Augustus, their complicated history need not be discussed here.[238] Augustus established, however, a system of couriers for official mail and laid upon communities along the road the obligation to provide transportation and upon individuals to assist the couriers if necessary.[239] Similar postal

[224] 124—127.

[225] PW VI(11) 301—306 under *equites Romani*; HIRSCHFELD 417—423.

[226] BELOCH 388—389; *CAH* VII 166 (Seleucids); BIKERMAN 128.

[227] *P-recht* I 17 n. 48, *R-u-V-recht* 9 n. 2. He equated the *cent. rer. ven.* with the Ptolemaic *τέλος ὠνῆς*, cf. HIRSCHFELD 93. HIRSCHFELD, 96—97, says of the *vic. her.* as a Hellenistic borrowing "möglich, aber nicht zu erweisen", but ROSTOVTZEFF, *Staatspacht* 385, and KORNEMANN, 130, accept it as Egyptian; cf. BELOCH 334. HIRSCHFELD is in general cautious on the question of Hellenistic borrowings, cf. p. 53.

[228] LECRIVAIN in DS V 433 under *tributum* 2. He also felt that the republican *tributum*, abolished in 167, was modelled on the Greek *εἰσφορά*, see p. 430.

[229] MITTEIS *P-recht* I 18 n. 52; TARN 169; BICKERMAN 111—112. CUMONT thought that the *aurum coronarium* had a Persian origin, *Memorie della Pont. Accad. rom. di Arch.* III (*Atti* serie III, 1932—1933) 90—93. In Egypt from the end of the third century B. C. is found mention of the *στέφανος*, a tax payable in grain either annually or on occasions important in the Ptolemies' reigns, C. PRÉAUX *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (Edition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, Bruxelles 1939) 395. This recent work presents an admirable study of the operation of the Ptolemaic finances so far as this can be recovered from the papyri. Augustus himself refused the *aurum coronarium*, *Res Gestae* 21 3 and GAGÉ *ad loc.*

[230] ROSTOVTZEFF *Staatspacht* 390—391, 396—397 for Egypt. Other taxes may likewise have been perpetuated, DS V 431—432 under *tributum* I B (Provinces).

[231] In the early republic, of course, some taxes may have been paid indirectly by the individual. For the *lex Hieronica*, cf. above n. 15 and ROSTOVTZEFF *Staatspacht* 350—356; for Asia, *ibid.* 356—361.

[232] *Staatspacht* 367—374, especially 369.

[233] BIKERMAN 127. He distinguished the treasuries into which the taxes came, *γαζοφυλάκια*, from the central bureau, *τὸ βασιλικόν*.

[234] *P-recht* I 17 n. 49.

[235] Above n. 205.

[236] KORNEMANN 129; cf. BELOCH 333—334. VON PREMERSTEIN, *op. cit.* (above n. 212) 62, accepted WILCKEN'S view that Caesar's census at Rome of the recipients of the grain dole was Hellenistic, cf. SUET. *Iul.* 41 3; DIO XLIII 21 4.

[237] For the colonate, ROSTOVTZEFF *Kolonat* throughout; KORNEMANN 124—125 (Egypt); *CAH* VII 609—610 (Pergamum). The system was older than the Hellenistic monarchies.

[238] The *lex Iulia Municipalis* (Caesar ?), BRUNS *Fontes* 103 no. 18 lines 20 ff., laid upon abutters the duty of maintaining roads, which is paralleled at Pergamum, *Ditt. OGI* 483 line 30.

[239] HIRSCHFELD 190—204; PW IV(8) 1846—1863; DS I 2 1645—1672; *DE* II 1404—1425 (these three under *cursus publicus*). The old book, E. E. HUDEMANN *Gesch. des röm. Postwesens* (Berlin 1875), has been replaced by E. J. HOLMBERG *Zur Gesch. des Cursus Publicus* (Uppsala 1933). The system became so burdensome that the government had to take it over. For the obligation on individuals and its Persian precedent, PW I(2) 2185 under *angarium*; OERTEL *Die Liturgie* (Leipzig 1917); ROSTOVTZEFF "Angariae" *Klio* VI (1906) 249—258, who refers the passage in MATT. 5 46 to the right of a soldier to demand aid, cf. on Simeon and the Cross, MATT. 27 32, MARK 15 21, LUKE 23 26.

systems had existed in the Hellenistic monarchies and probably derived from Persia.[240]

According to the arrangements of 27 B. C., the more pacified provinces of the empire continued under the control of the senate, which sent out ex-praetors and ex-consuls as it had during the republic.[241] Augustus took over those provinces which demanded the presence of troops or which served as bases for the armies on the frontiers.[242] To govern them, he adopted a method devised for Pompey, that of delegating his power to legates.[243] Such delegation was wholly inconsistent with the Roman tradition that substitution was possible only when a pro-magistrate vacated his powers, either by leaving his province or through death.[244] The imperial legates, who combined civil and military functions and who were selected by and responsible only to their superior, the emperor, are analogous to the governors of provinces in the Seleucid empire.[245] Under the republic several provinces had from time to time been combined into single commands when the military situation required it, but Augustus confined such large commands, with the extended powers which they necessitated, to members of his own family and especially to such as he marked out in other ways as heirs to his position.[246] The position of such favored persons recalls that which was sometimes bestowed on the princes of the Seleucid house.[247] Moreover, the procurators, to whom reference has already been made, were independent both of the senatorial proconsuls and of the imperial legates.[248] Similarly, in the Seleucid empire, the financial agents in each satrapy were at least semi-independent of the governor.[249] In both cases, the obvious reason suggests itself, that the one official was meant to keep check upon the other.

Other regulations recall those of the *Diadochi*. The policy of leaving to many of the Greek cities a considerable degree of self-government, *libertas*, which might or might not be combined with *immunitas*, freedom from taxation, may have been taken over under the republic from the Hellenistic monarchies.[250] It continued under the empire.[251] The successors of Alexander based their power on their Macedonian and Greek troops and gave up his dream of equalizing the races.[252] The privileged position which the Hellenic population in consequence enjoyed resembles that which Augustus ensured for Roman citizens, probably against the more cosmopolitan ideals of Caesar.[253] Augustus realized that not only his victory at Actium but the whole success of his compromise between city-state and empire depended upon the good-will and co-operation of the Romano-Italian population and that their preëminence, established by two centuries of victorious expansion, was not unacceptable to the rest of the empire.[254]

Augustus perhaps really desired to foster a certain amount of provincial self-government and responsibility, over and above that of the municipalities, when he established the provincial *concilia*.[255] These belonged in the tradition of the Greek east, where assemblies of kindred communities went back to the Ionian *κοινόν* of the seventh or sixth century B. C.[256] Such *κοινά*, though primarily religious in purpose, had some political importance.[257] Augustus gave to

[240] DS I 2 1646; HIRSCHFELD 190 n. 2; BELOCH 281—282, especially n. 2; MITTEIS-WILCKEN *Grundzüge* I 2 372—374; W. L. WESTERMAN "On inland transportation etc." *Political Science Quarterly* LXIII (1920) 375—381; F. PREISIGKE "Die ptolemäische Staatspost" *Klio* VII (1907) 241—277; V. CHAPOT in *L'Hellénisation* 293.

[241] On the settlement of 27, *CAH* X 128, 210—212.

[242] STEVENSON, *CAH* X 211, pointed out that this basis of division was not absolutely respected.

[243] HAMMOND 16.

[244] HAMMOND 11—13.

[245] BELOCH 392—400; *CAH* VII 166—167. There is some uncertainty whether all the satrapies were so called under the Seleucids. JOUGUET, 419—420 (= Eng. trans. 362—363), said that they were. BIKERMAN thought that they were named either satrapy, eparchy, or "meris", 197—207. The governors were called *στρατηγοί* more often than *σατράπαι*, BIKERMAN 198; PW suppl. VI 1148—1153 *s. v.* IV; TARN 54; BELOCH 393. In his recent *Greeks in Bactria etc.* (above n. 173), TARN draws an interesting contrast between the Hellenistic and Roman empires on p. 4.

[246] HAMMOND 69—73, cited above n. 162. Corbulo, under Nero, was the only general not closely connected with the imperial family to exercise such a command, TAC. *Ann.* XV 25 3—4, cf. the commands bestowed by Antiochus III, *CAH* VII 723.

[247] Above nn. 160—161, especially BELOCH 378; BIKERMAN 22.

[248] MOM. II 1 246. The senatorial proconsuls had, of course, their own financial assistants, the quaestors, who were in fact responsible to them though they rendered their accounts to the *aerarium*, MOM. II 1 561—565; HIRSCHFELD 468. But the procurators collected taxes even in the senatorial provinces, above n. 223.

[249] KAERST 346; ROSTOVTZEFF, *CAH* VII 166—167, suggests that they may have taken orders from the governors, cf. BIKERMAN 128—130.

[250] BIKERMAN 146—148; BELOCH 393; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Sél.* I 460—461; KAERST 348—361; *CAH* VII 24, 177. The *libertas* was, in fact, a fiction both under the Seleucids and under the Romans.

[251] F. F. ABBOTT and A. C. JOHNSON *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton 1926) 39—46, 53.

[252] KAERST 347—348; *CAH* VII 28 and throughout chapters IV—V. All the works on the Hellenistic monarchies emphasize this aspect, and the gradual recrudescence of native elements as the monarchies weakened.

[253] HAMMOND 97, 143; *CAH* X 206; VAUBEL *op. cit.* (above n. 4) 27.

[254] *CAH* X 585—587.

[255] For the literature on the *concilia*, *CAH* X 919 under bibliography (c), XI 901 under bibliography III.

[256] PW IX(18) 1876 under *Iones*, suppl. IV 922; for Italian precedents, PW IV(7) 802—803 under *concilium*.

[257] PW suppl. IV 919—929 and XI(21) 1053—1055 under *koinon*, IV(7) 803; KAERST 350; BELOCH 396; TARN 71. W. M. RAMSAY, "Studies in the Roman Province Galatia" *Journ. Rom. Studies* XIII (1922) 176—181, traced the Augustan *κοινόν* to Galatia.

his *concilia* a common religious denominator and a direct connection with the central government by putting in their charge the provincial worship of *Roma* and himself.[258] This imposition of a provincial emperor-worship from above may have been modelled on the similar cult introduced by Antiochus II or III.[259] In both cases, the official provincial cult was distinct from that in the cities and the latter seems to have arisen spontaneously and to have been fairly free from interference from above.[260] The more artificial provincial cult had less vitality; and in consequence, in the empire, the *concilia* never matured into effective intermediaries between Rome and the municipalities.[261]

The Romans had in the early republic sent out small colonies of able-bodied men to secure points of military importance, much as Athens had established clerouchies in her subject territories.[262] Later, the distribution of conquered land served to reward the citizenry or allied communities for successful military service. It also provided an outlet for surplus population. By the end of the second century B. C., however, the urban proletariat preferred the attractions of Rome to the hardships of rustic life and did not respond to the resettlement program of the Gracchi.[263] In the last century of the republic, colonization, whether man by man in individual allotments or as communities, was chiefly used to reward the veterans of an army which had become professionalized. Augustus began by pursuing the same policy of making land grants to his veterans, either separately or in colonies.[264] But he did locate certain of his provincial colonies with an eye to strategic considerations.[265] In this it is likely that he was not reviving the original Roman idea but copying the Hellenistic monarchs.[266] They too had used colonization as a means of satisfying veterans and also of securing commercial or military advantages.[267] Though Augustus substituted a money bonus for land between 13 B. C. and A. D. 6, veteran settlements continued to be established occasionally in Italy and frequently in the provinces.[268] From the time of Pompey, these communities often took the name of their founder, as had the foundations of the Hellenistic monarchs.[269]

The foregoing treatment cannot claim to have exhausted the possible similarities between the administrative policies of the Hellenistic monarchies and of the Roman empire.[270] It has, admittedly, "made a case" by emphasizing the likenesses as evidence for direct influence and by neglecting many important differences. Much that has been adduced might be regarded as accidental parallelism or as illustrating the degree to which like problems produce like solutions. Nevertheless, the resemblances occur in such varied aspects of the organization of the empire that they point to something more than the operation of chance. Since in certain fields, like emperor-worship and the court, the evidence for Hellenistic influence may be regarded as conclusive, it is reasonable to explain the other likenesses also by conscious imitation. One of the series of conferences held at Harvard University in connection with its tercentenary was entitled "Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing in Institutions, Thought, and Art."[271] The majority of the speakers regarded borrowing as

[258] *CAH* X 210.

[259] PW suppl. IV 813 under *Kaiserkult*; BIKERMAN 247—248, 256, against the doubts of BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Sél.* I 470—472. The first and last attributed it to Antiochus II, Bikerman to Antiochus III.

[260] BIKERMAN 247; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ *Sél.* I 470; TAYLOR 205—223.

[261] PW IV(7) 815—816 under *concilium* VI; *CAH* XI 471—475.

[262] For Roman colonization, PW IV(7) 511—588 under *coloniae*; *CAH* VII 473—474, where settlement of surplus population is also given as a reason even for early colonization. For the clerouchies, PW XI(21) 814—832 under *κληροῦχοι*; G. GLOTZ *Hist. Grecque* II (*Hist. Anc.* II 2, Paris 1929) 200—201.

[263] For the Gracchi, LAST'S chapters in *CAH* IX 1—101 thoughout. He did not regard the Gracchan settlement program as a failure.

[264] PW IV(7) 566; *Res. Gestae* 16, 28 and GAGÉ 101—102, 133—134.

[265] *CAH* X 206—207.

[266] KORNEMANN, 123—124, drew an unconvincing comparison between the Egyptian nome and the organization of the Gallic *civitates* as tribal municipalities. The Ptolemies were not concerned with self-governing communities, TARN 156—157; *CAH* VII 122.

[267] BIKERMAN 78—88; BELOCH 251—267; *CAH* VII 117—118, 171, VIII 595—596, 603; *L'Hellénisation* 285; TARN 130—138, who, 135, noted the influence on Rome, *Greeks in Bactria etc.* (above n. 173) 5—12.

[268] For the change 13 B. C. — A. D. 6, *Res Gestae* 16—17 and GAGÉ 102—104; E. C. HARDY *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Oxford 1923) 85, 88; DIO LIV 25 5—6, LV 24 9 — 25 6. For later colonies, cf. the settlements by Nero at Capua and Nuceria, TAC. *Ann.* XIII 31, and in general PW IV(7) 566—567.

[269] Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, TAYLOR 39—40. The Alexandrias, Eumeneias, Attaleias, Seleucias, Laodiceas, Caesareas, *Coloniae Iuliae, Augustae, Agrippinensis* and the like speak for themselves. For Nero, SCHUMANN 33—34.

[270] As has been remarked, the development of the empire was on the whole along Hellenistic lines, for example, KORNEMANN paralleled the Egyptian *ἐπιστράτηγοί* with the *legati iuridici* established for Italy by Hadrian and Marcus. Cf. in general *CAH* VII 11; CUMONT 3—5; SCHUMANN and ALFÖLDI throughout. J. VOGT, *Alex. Münzen* (Stuttgart 1924) I 55, 110, remarked on the symptoms of increasing Hellenization which appear in the imperial coinage of Alexandria. In both the Hellenistic and the Roman periods, administrative jurisdiction grew at the expense of the courts, TARN 83, 172; HAMMOND 170. KAERST'S discussion, 296—298, 326—327, of how the rise of individualism and the decay of the city-state aided the development of the Hellenistic monarchies would apply equally to the last century of the Roman republic.

[271] Published as *Harvard Tercentenary Publications* III (Cambridge, Mass. 1937).

the most important of these three factors in spreading the elements of civilization. The present discussion has also been inspired by the feeling that in the history of mankind, and especially of institutions, continuity plays the largest part. Tarn justly concluded that "the real heir of the Hellenistic kings was Augustus; for, though his principate was in form Roman and not Hellenistic, his empire was joined by many threads to the Macedonian kingdoms".[272]

To say, however, that Augustus learned much from the experience of the Hellenistic monarchs is not to argue that he meant his whole program to be monarchical or that his declared purpose of restoring the republic was hypocritical. To a certain extent the question whether Augustus meant to be a monarch depends on the meaning of the word. He left no written constitution which would have defined precisely his relation to the state. In virtue either of specific powers or, what is more important, of the willingness of others to accept his leadership, he controlled the government. To this extent he was *de facto* a monarch. But his position differed in important respects from that of the Hellenistic monarchs. Though their power was undefined and unlimited, it was unitary; the kingship was a whole, inseparable from the person of the king and deriving from no outside source save the force of arms or the will of a predecessor.[273] All government proceeded from the person of the king.[274] Augustus established no single position of emperor. Though his authority was all-pervasive, he acted in virtue of a variety of offices and powers which were distinct from his person and which might at any time have been alienated or ended without causing the state to cease. These powers he received from bodies independent of and anterior to himself, the senate and people, who exercised the ultimate sovereignty of the state, a sovereignty which they did not surrender to him. He was constitutionally their creature and agent, not their master. He was not even, in modern terminology, a constitutional monarch. But by the second century his successors had become emperors, in the ordinary sense of the term, because the separate elements which Augustus had combined in his person coagulated into a single position or office which could be conceived of as existing independently of an individual and subject to transmission and definition like a modern kingship.[275]

The willingness of others to accept his leadership and the constitutional nature of his position are not as significant in determining whether Augustus created a monarchy as is his own intention. The majority of modern scholars have maintained that Augustus wished to be in reality the sole master of the state behind a fiction of the restored republic.[276] The present writer has argued on the contrary that he was sincere in reëstablishing the old constitution and in grafting onto it an extraordinary executive magistrate as its agent, not its master.[277] According to him, the principate became a monarchy not because Augustus imposed his will upon the other organs, but because the rest of the state demanded the extension of his authority. One of the arguments for such an interpretation of the principate is that Augustus modelled himself on the ideals of Cicero, the Stoics, and Plato. If the present discussion has shown that he borrowed freely from Hellenistic and Greek institutions, then the probability that he was also influenced by Hellenistic and Greek thought is heightened and the essential unity of the Graeco-Roman civilization is reaffirmed.

[272] 72.

[273] Cf. above nn. 160 (inheritance), 163 (force).

[274] *CAH* VII 119; TARN 54; BIKERMAN 185—190. Of course, the Roman government depended greatly on Augustus alone and this dependence on the emperor increased, cf. the details which Pliny referred to Trajan.

[275] Even when the concept of a single imperial position had developed, its various original components were still distinguished, cf. the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, BRUNS *Fontes* 202 no. 56, and such accounts of the accession of emperors during the second century as DIO LXXIII (LXXIV) 5 = SHA *Pertinax* 4 5 — 5 7.

[276] For example, CHARLESWORTH *CAH* X 589—590; VON PREMERSTEIN throughout; CARCOPINO 153—155.

[277] In his *Augustan Principate;* cf. H. STUART JONES *CAH* X 132.

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THE CULTS OF ANCIENT TRASTEVERE

S. M. SAVAGE

(PLATES 1—4)

THE CULTS OF ANCIENT TRASTEVERE[1]

INTRODUCTION

In ancient as in modern Rome, the quarter of the city on the right bank of the Tiber maintained a character of its own. It was sufficiently remote to possess some individuality and at the same time close enough to be affected by influences from other quarters of the city. In the religious life of the city, it was always a section of few public cults or public gatherings, undoubtedly because it was not incorporated within the limits of Rome until the time of Augustus. Since the *pomoerium* seems never to have been extended to include the quarter, its numerous foreign residents were free to build sanctuaries to the gods of their choice.[2] Of the other parts of Rome, the Aventine alone had a similar development. It also was *extra pomoerium* for a long period and, geographically, was relatively isolated from the rest of the city. However, two of its three temples of Roman gods were said to have been foundations of Servius Tullius, and the temple of Minerva was known as early as the second Punic war. With three public temples, the Aventine could not long remain apart from the religious life of Rome.[3]

In Rome the district on the right bank of the Tiber was always called *Trans Tiberim, Trastevere* in Italian. The term was and is used carelessly, but in general it designates the long Janiculum ridge and the low land between it and the Tiber. It extends from the steep northern end of the Janiculum at S. Onofrio as far as the more gradual southern slopes of Monteverde. In ancient times, the section north of the Janiculum was properly the *Vaticanum* or *ager Vaticanus*, the *Prati* or *Prati di Castello* of to-day.[4] This study concerns only the Janiculum and the short strip of land below it along the river bank. Together they may properly be called *Trans Tiberim* or Trastevere; and the location would be evident at once to an ancient or modern Roman.

In the history of Trastevere, the effect of its location upon its fortunes is constantly apparent. The geological formation of the Janiculum ridge extended originally almost due north and south for 5 km. from Monte Mario at the north to a southern point in Monteverde opposite the Aventine. At the Vatican there was an artificial valley, formed by ancient clay pits. The Janiculum itself from S. Onofrio to its southern extremity is a ridge about 2 km. in

[1] This study was written while I was a Fellow at the American Academy in Rome during 1936—1938. I am grateful to Professor A. W. Van Buren of the American Academy in Rome for arousing my interest in the history of Trastevere, and to him and Professor Mason Hammond of the Academy and also to Professor Lily Ross Taylor and Professor Agnes Kirsopp Lake of Bryn Mawr College for valuable criticism. I am indebted to my brother, Robert Savage, for making the drawings, and to Commendatori Settimo Bocconi and Giuseppe Moretti, Cavaliere Riccardo Davico, and the Firm of Fratelli Alinari, for courtesies regarding the photographs.

[2] A boundary cippus (*CIL* vi 31538*c*) of the *pomoerium* was found in Trastevere, built into a wall under the church of Sta. Cecilia. It had been almost certainly moved there from its original position somewhere across the Tiber; see PLATNER-ASHBY, *s. v. Pomerium*, p. 395 f.

[3] On the Aventine temples, see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 157—161.

[4] Two examples from Latin literature will suffice to show how loosely the geographical terms were used. HORACE'S lines (*Od.*, i, 20, 7 f.), *redderet laudes tibi Vaticani | montis imago*, must refer to the greater heights of the Janiculum. Similarly MARTIAL, iv, 64, describes as viewed from the Janiculum places in Rome which are only visible from Monte Mario, about 3 km. further north.

length. At the Porta S. Pancrazio it attains its greatest height of 83 m. above the Tiber, while its average height is between 60 and 70 m. above the Campus Martius.[5] The soil is a marine formation of the older Pliocene period, consisting of an upper layer of coarse yellow sand and a lower layer of grayish-blue clay. As it happened, both clay and sand became famous. From the golden color of the sand, the hill was called *Mons Aureus* in the sixth century after Christ.[6] The clay was used, under the Empire at least, for the manufacture of a cheap, fragile pottery.[7] Finally, large tufa quarries at Monteverde were an important source of building material in Republican times.[8] The presence of such a high, long ridge naturally created drainage problems which were grave enough to tax the ingenuity of Roman engineers. As a hydrographic map of Rome shows, several small streams flowed down from the slopes of the Janiculum and collected into stagnant pools in lower Trastevere.[9] Remains of a Republican viaduct which followed the line of the Via Lungaretta bore witness to the condition of the swampy lowlands at an early period when it was necessary to raise the level of a road on arches.[10] At the same time, there was an accompanying lack of drinking water, a shortage which was always to vex the quarter. Of the two aqueducts in Trastevere, the Aqua Alsietina of Augustus was intended to supply water for his *naumachia* in the region, while the Aqua Traiana was mainly used for the Janiculum mills.[11] Neither provided drinking water. The difficulties of communication were another of the undesirable features of Trastevere, and it was not until several bridges spanned the Tiber that intensive habitation of the right bank was practicable. This review of the physical disadvantages of Trastevere makes obvious the chief reason for its late settlement.

According to ancient etymologists, the name of the Janiculum was derived from Janus, its mythical founder.[12] There was one dissenter, Festus (Paulus): *Ianiculum dictum quod per eum populus Romanus primitivus transierit in agrum Etruscum.*[13] The name, then, would be derived from *ianua*, "door." From the strategic position of the hill in all its relations with Etruria, both military and peaceful, the force of this etymology is clear. The Via Aurelia, which runs across the Janiculum, appears to represent an ancient line of communication with Etruria.[14]

From traditional accounts, it was Ancus Martius who first joined Trastevere by a bridge to the city on the left bank, and at the same time set a fortified post with garrison upon the hill.[15] Possibly the union of Trastevere with Rome was motivated by commercial interests as much as by a desire to defend the city. The Sabine king Ancus was the legendary founder of Ostia at the Tiber mouth, where lay the salt-beds which formed the basis of a prosperous trade in which the Sabines — served by the Via Salaria — were entrepreneurs for central Italy.[16] Control of the roads to Ostia on both sides of the Tiber was therefore essential.

In addition to its commercial value, Trastevere was indispensable to Rome as a military outpost. In histories of the Etruscan wars the Janiculum seems to have been the object of frequent Etruscan attacks, and every account of Lars Porsenna's siege of the city emphasizes his vantage point on the Janiculum.[17] According to Dio, it was to prevent a recurrence of

[5] This account of the geological formation is based on NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde* ii (Berlin, 1902), 489. See Pl. 1.

[6] *Cf.* GATTI, *Bull. Com.*, xvii (1889), 392—399. The Italian name of the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio shows a corruption of the phrase.

[7] MART. i, 18, 2; JUV. *Sat.*, vi, 344, *Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas.* Nothing further is known of this pottery.

[8] See TENNEY FRANK, *Roman Buildings of the Republic* (Rome, 1924), 28—32.

[9] See R. LANCIANI, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (London, 1897), fig. 1.

[10] For reports of discoveries of parts of this viaduct, see *Bull. Com.*, xvii (1889), 475 f.; xviii (1890), 7—9; 57—65; xxv (1897), 166.

[11] Even in the reign of Philip the Arab there was a shortage of drinking water: AUR. VICT., *Caes.*, 28, 1, *exstructoque trans Tiberim lacu, quod eam partem aquae penuria fatigabat.* On the aqueducts of Trastevere, see PLATNER-ASHBY, *s. v. Aqua Alsietina*, p. 20 f., *Aqua Traiana*, p. 28. Remains of the Aqua Traiana were found under the American Academy in Rome: see A. W. VAN BUREN and G. P. STEVENS, "The Aqua Traiana and Mills on the Janiculum," *Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome*, i (1917), 59 ff. *Cf.* VAN BUREN and STEVENS, "The Aqua Alsietina on the Janiculum," *Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome*, vi (1927), 137 ff.; "Antiquities of the Janiculum", *ibid.*, xi (1933), 69—72; E. B. VAN DEMAN, *The Building of the Roman Aqueducts* (Washington, 1934), 179—186, 331—340.

[12] DION. HAL., i, 73, 3 relates that Remus was the founder of a settlement in Trastevere called *Aenea*. The site was also known as Antipolis, PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, iii, 68. The story of the foundation by Janus is consistent from Vergil to Eusebius. *Cf.* VERGIL, *Aen.*, viii, 357; OVID, *Fasti*, i, 245 f.

[13] FESTUS (PAULUS), 93 L. *Cf.* WALDE, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*[3] (Heidelberg, 1938—), 669.

[14] These early routes are at present under discussion: see *e. g.* ASHBY, *Klio*, xxv (1932), 114—117; A. VON GERKAN, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlvi (1931), 170 f.; FRANK, *AJPh.*, liii (1932), 189; H. M. R. LEOPOLD, *Atti IV. Congr. Naz. Studi Romani* (1935, publ. 1938), 257—260.

[15] LIVY, i, 33, 6; DION. HAL., iii, 45, 1 f. There are very brief accounts of the history of the Janiculum by GALL, *PW*, ix, 1, 691 f.; LUGLI, *De Ruggiero*, iv, 3—5; MARCHETTI-LONGHI, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, xvi, 962—964. The following review purports to be no more than a notice of some salient facts which are of consequence in the history of Trastevere.

[16] LIVY, i, 33, 9. The *campus salinarum* lay on the right bank: see H. NISSEN, *Ital. Landeskunde*, ii (Berlin, 1902), 542 f., 566, and especially *Not. Sc.*, 1888, 228 f. Full evidence, *PW*, I A. 2078 f.

[17] LIVY ii, 10, 3 ff.; DION. HAL., v, 22; evidently the Etruscans held the Janiculum for a period after the war of 508 B. C., *cf.* DION. HAL. ix, 26, 6.

these seizures that the Romans instituted the custom of flying a flag on the *arx* of the Janiculum during meetings of the *comitia centuriata*.[18] Until the capture of Veii in 396 B. C., the Janiculum certainly fell into the hands of the Etruscans from time to time. The Tiber constituted only a barrier, never a boundary, and the land on both sides of the river was doomed to be the object of disputes until either Romans or Etruscans were decisively victorious. Both the Tiber and Trastevere were called Etruscan without any explanation as late as the Roman Empire.[19]

Even after Etruscan wars ceased harrying Rome, the Janiculum continued to fulfill its natural function as a citadel, the *arx* of Rome which lay directly opposite the *arx* of the Capitol. When the forces of Marius marched into the capital from Etruria, they entered at the Janiculum, and encamped across the Tiber from the city. Sertorius was stationed above the city, Cinna and Carbo opposite it, presumably on the Janiculum, and Marius took his stand towards the sea. It is significant that Marius took Ostia at the same time. From the position which he held, he controlled entrance to Ostia as well as to Rome.[20] Marius' occupation of the Janiculum was the last time that the hill was the scene of war until Belisarius defended it against the Gothic hordes of Vitiges.[21] However, when the praetors were entrusted with the command of Rome to defend the city from the forces of Octavian, they took care to occupy this important point with their troops.[22]

Under the Republic, the sparsely settled stronghold on the right bank of the Tiber was evidently considered remote and divorced from Rome. For instance, it was said to have been chosen by the plebs as the site of their last secession in 287 B. C.[23] Like some other sections of Rome, Trastevere was divided into *pagi* as early as the time of the Gracchi, a fact which implies that the community probably had a certain autonomy.[24]

In the Augustan reorganization of the city Trastevere was for the first time formally included within the limits of the city of Rome; with the Tiber island, it formed the fourteenth region, called *Trans Tiberim*. The boundaries of the region have never been definitely determined, but it is probable that they extended far beyond the triangular section which Aurelian included within his wall.[25] After the civic reforms of 7 B. C., the character of Trastevere seems to have changed. Previously it had been a rural region of small farms. Here Cincinnatus had his *prata* of four *iugera;* many other farmers in Trastevere, like Cincinnatus, must often have been summoned from their ploughing to defend their homes from the Etruscans or even from their fellow-countrymen.[26] Then, too, three sacred *luci* testify to the wooded country-side of Republican Trastevere.[27] During the early Empire, the district assumed a character which in many ways foreshadowed the aspect of modern Trastevere. Henceforth it became a quarter of squalid houses and small industries lying beneath the long ridge of the Janiculum which gradually became covered with public gardens.[28] From inscriptional and archaeological evidence, it appears that along the river bank there were several commercial warehouses of the smaller industries in the quarter: those of the leather-workers and furniture manufacturers seem to have been the most prominent.[29] It seems doubtful that water-mills could have been operated on the Janiculum, before the Aqua Traiana was built. However, when these *molinae* were finally installed, they ground almost all the flour for the city of Rome. Apparently they lay along the steep eastern slopes which the modern Via Garibaldi follows. From the extreme precautions of both Aurelian and Belisarius to defend the mills, it appears that the protection of the Janiculum was as essential for the welfare of Rome as it had ever been under the Republic. The hill now became not only a military but an economic stronghold.[30]

[18] CASSIUS DIO, xxxvii, 27, 28; *cf.* LIVY, xxxix, 15, 11.

[19] *Tuscus amnis* is a common synonym for the Tiber. HORACE describes the river rushing past *litus Etruscum*, *Od.*, i, 2, 14.

[20] APPIAN, *B. C.*, i, 67.

[21] PROCOP., *Bell. Goth.*, i, 19, 8—10.

[22] CASSIUS DIO, xlvi, 44, 5; *cf.* MACR., *Sat.*, i, 12, 35, for the significance accorded to the Janiculum at this time.

[23] LIVY, *Epit.*, 11.

[24] See p. 30.

[25] SUET., *Aug.*, 30; CASSIUS DIO, lv, 8,7; L. PRELLER, *Die Regionen der Stadt Rom* (Jena, 1846); PLATNER-ASHBY, *s. v. Regiones Quattuordecim*, pp. 444—447. On the wall of Aurelian, see I. A. RICHMOND, *The City Wall of Imperial Rome* (Oxford, 1930). It seems unlikely that there was a wall on the Janiculum in the Republic as RICHTER believed; see *Die Befestigung des Ianiculums* (Berlin, 1882). But see also G. SÄFLUND, *Le Mura di Roma repubblicana = Skrifter utgivna av svenska institutet i Rom*, I; Uppsala/Lund/London, 1932), 188—190, 216 f.

[26] On Cincinnatus, see LIVY, iii, 26, 8 f.; the *Mucia prata*, LIVY, ii, 13, 4 f.; the *ager Petilii*, LIVY, xl, 29, 3. An *ager* was popularly called *Codeta* from the grasses which grew there, FESTUS, 50 L.

[27] See below pp. 35, 40, 42, note 147; *lucus*, meaning in classical Latin "grove", is apparently connected with *lux, luceo, etc.*, and designated a space cleared of underbrush and the like in a primitive forest. As the forest vanished, such clearings as were used for religious purposes were preserved with their heavier trees; and thus the word came to mean "grove": ERNOUT-MEILLET, *Dict. Étym. de la Lang. Lat.* (Paris, 1932), 535, *s. v.*; F. MÜLLER, *Altital. Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1926), 243, *s. v. loukos*.

[28] See JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 643, 649.

[29] On the *Coriaria*, see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 638; on the *corpus eborariorum et citriariorum, ibid.*, 647 f. The *glutinarius* of the Janiculum inscription, *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, xi (1933), 73, was probably a local resident.

[30] On the *molinae*, see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 648; A. W. VAN BUREN AND G. P. STEVENS, cited above, p. 27, n. 11; *cf.* PROCOP. *Bell. Goth.*, i, 19,8.

With one pivotal industry and several minor occupations located in Trastevere, the population of the quarter was composed of artisans and laborers who dwelt near their places of employment. The foundations of only one of their *insulae* have been discovered, but it would seem certain that tenements were packed closely together in the low land beside the Tiber. Foreigners, some of whom may have been traders, seem to have been definitely preponderant in the population.[31] Inscriptions from Trastevere, and especially epitaphs from the Via Portuense, almost invariably bear the names of freedmen with *cognomina* which indicate foreign origin. Orientals, predominantly Syrians and Jews, as well as free-born Romans contributed to the motley welter which was the population of Trastevere. Socially, they probably mingled, but in religious life their dedications show that each nationality clung to the gods of its fatherland and asserted its right to independence in worship.

In addition to the artisans of Trastevere, a large detachment of sailors from the Ravennate fleet must have formed a conspicuous element in the population. Probably their duties as couriers between Rome and Ostia required the foundation of barracks in Rome, and the *castra* were located in Trastevere.[32] There is significance in their activities at Ostia. After Trajan had supplemented the harbor which Claudius built and Nero dedicated at Portus, sea traffic was increasingly diverted from other Italian ports to the port of the capital.[33] The proximity of Portus to Trastevere makes it appear highly probable that the surplus population of the port town may have resided in the latter, within "commuting distance" of the harbor. Of all the citizens of Roman Trastevere, the most famous to-day is a Romanized Syrian, M. Antonius Gaionas, who was commemorated in several inscriptions erected during the reign of Commodus.[34] Since these records of Gaionas were found in both Portus and Trastevere, it would seem that he had interests in both places, probably a business in Portus and a home in Rome. Possibly the situation of Gaionas was similar to that of many other residents of Trastevere.

The religious history of the quarter must be reconstructed mainly from the evidence of inscriptions and literature. Most of the shrines which were in the district have been demolished, but there are still some important remains. Since Trastevere was the most isolated section of Rome, there was opportunity for development of an individual character. In the history of Roman worship, a comprehensive study of its cults is consequently of some significance.

PART I
GREEK AND ROMAN GODS IN TRASTEVERE
PUBLIC CULTS IN TRASTEVERE

The differentiation between *sacra publica* and *sacra privata* was always marked in Roman cult. The former were conducted on behalf of the people exclusively by priests or officials of the state or of a municipality. But *sacra privata*, devoid of any official intervention, were the concern of a private individual, a family or a *gens*, or of a group of individuals. Private worship is exemplified by domestic rites and by voluntary private dedications of inscriptions, statues, or shrines for the personal use of the dedicant.[35]

Undoubtedly public cults were never prominent in Trastevere because — as indicated above — the quarter was relatively inaccessible and was not until a late period included in the city of Rome. No splendid temples rose in Trastevere; those of Fors Fortuna seem never to have been renowned for their magnificence. And yet there were a few occasions when public priests crossed the river to officiate in ceremonies on the right bank. In the lives of the residents, no public festival could have been more important than that of Dea Dia, which the *Fratres Arvales* celebrated at the fifth milestone of the Via Campana. After Augustus' revival of the rites of Dea Dia, preparations for the annual sacrifice in May must have been a familiar sight in the district.[36] In the ancient calendars, among *feriae publicae*, the Furrinalia are indicated on July 25 and the Fontinalia on October 13. As long as these festivals maintained some distinction in the religious life of Rome, there were public sacrifices in Trastevere in the *lucus Furrinae* and at the *ara Fontis*. The *dies*

[31] On foreign populations in Rome, see G. LA PIANA, "Foreign Groups in Rome", *Harvard Theological Review*, xx (1927), 183—403.

[32] On the *castra Ravennatium*, see PLATNER-ASHBY, p. 108. The epitaphs of the sailors are from their graves in the Villa Pamphili (*CIL* vi 3148 etc.).

[33] On the development of Ostia and Portus, see L. R. TAYLOR, *The Cults of Ostia* (Bryn Mawr, 1912), 7—9; G. LUGLI and G. FILIBECK, *Il Porto di Roma imperiale etc.* (Rome, 1935).

[34] See pp. 37 f.

[35] *Cf.* FESTUS, 284 L; *Publica sacra, quae publico sumptu pro populo fiunt, quaeque pro montibus, pagis, curis, sacellis: at privata, quae pro singulis hominibus, familiis, gentibus fiunt;* FESTUS (PAULUS), 285 L.; WISSOWA, 398—408.

[36] On the cult of Dea Dia, see HENZEN, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt* (Berlin, 1874). *Cf.* also HÜLSEN, *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* (= *Klio*), ii (1902), 276—279; WISSOWA, 561—563. Inasmuch as this sanctuary was outside the city, it lies beyond the topographical scope of this study.

Fortis Fortunae, the birthday of the two temples of Fortuna below Trastevere, was a time of gay festivities under the Empire. Finally the *ludi piscatorii* or fishermen's games, supervised by the *praetor urbanus*, consisted partly of an annual sacrifice in Trastevere.[37]

Apart from these purely public cults, there were those which, though actually official, had a definitely local character. For example, the *Lares* of an early *curia* were commemorated on an altar.[38] The name of only one of the *pagi* of Trastevere is known, the *pagus Ianicolensis*, but this at once implies the existence of a common cult, directed by the *magister pagi*.[39] In the Republican period, Trastevere, like the city of Rome, was doubtless organized into *vici*, each with its local cult of the *Lares Compitales*. In Trastevere there is no evidence for the cults of the *vici* until the Empire, when worship at the shrines at the *compita* was directed towards the *Lares Augusti* and the *Genius Imperatoris*.

FONS

The puzzling absence of any cult of Janus on the Janiculum is sometimes explained by taking refuge in Cicero's remark that an *ara Fontis* lay somewhere near the hill.[40] Janus, above all, should have been expected to receive recognition in a quarter which he himself had founded. Doubtless it was the association of Janus with running water which suggested to fanciful genealogists the ancestry of Fons, whom they called the son of Janus and Juturna.[41] The son, then, rather than the father, was honored near the Janiculum. In addition to the altar in Trastevere, a *delubrum* in the Campus Martius was sacred to Fons under the Republic.[42] Although the altar may have been the oldest sanctuary of the god in Rome or its vicinity, topographers have been unable to locate it.[43] It must have been the scene of the public sacrifice on October 13, the Fontinalia.

Ordinarily the discovery of an *aedes* of Fons in Rome might be dismissed as merely the disclosure of another dedication at a local spring. But the only known cult center of Fons in Trastevere is of more than passing interest. It was revealed in 1914 during the building of the Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale on the Viale del Re. At a depth of 5 m. under the southwest corner of the cortile of that edifice, workmen found a small vaulted room with carefully plastered brick walls.[44] Opposite the entrance, there was a brick niche of a common type, decorated by a pediment with the shell motif below it. Under the niche a frame enclosed the dedicatory inscription, which was placed above a water-spout. On the walls of the room, as well as on the vaulted ceiling, many nail-holes showed where the faithful had hung their dedications to the god. According to the inscription, the *aedes* was dedicated on May 24, A. D. 70.[45] Two men, probably freedmen, with their wives, built it in the first *lustrum* of a new *collegium* of which they were *magistri quinquennales*. Unfortunately they are not explicit about the identity of the *collegium*. Very probably these freedmen were the officials of one of the moribund *collegia aquarum* which escaped suppression when Augustus' restrictions spared *collegia* which were *antiqua et legitima*.[46] These *collegia aquarum* seem to have been of venerable antiquity, and possibly originated during the period of Rome's wars with her neighbours, when it was imperative to protect all springs and wells from pollution. As urban security grew, the cult of the spring necessarily declined, and the *collegia* lost their practical value.[47] Nevertheless, a few lingered on in the empire, usually

[37] One dedication was found to the *divae corniscae*, sacred crows who probably had some relation to the state cult of Juno; see p. 40.

[38] See p. 40 f.

[39] *CIL* i² 1000 = vi 2219 = DESSAU 6079; *CIL* i² 1001 = vi 2220. The inscription noting a *pagus Ianicolensis* belongs in the second century before Christ. On *pagi* and *vici* in general, see A. SCHULTEN, "Die Landgemeinden im römischen Reich," *Philologus*, liii (1894), 629—686.

[40] CIC., *De Leg.*, ii, 56, *in eo sepulchro quod <haud> procul a Fontis ara est regem nostrum Numam conditum accepimus*. The grave of Numa was *sub Ianiculo*, see note 51. For general discussions of Fons and his worship, see BÖHM, *PW*, vi, 2, 2838—41; PESTALOZZA, DE RUGGIERO, iii, 177—185; WISSOWA, 221—223.

[41] On Janus and running water, see L. A. HOLLAND, "Janus and the Bridge", *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, lxvi (1935), xliv. ARNOBIUS first recorded the genealogy of Fons, *Adv. Gentes*, iii, 29. However, the story of the descent of Fons from Janus must have been current in Rome by the beginning of the first century before Christ. At that time, *denarii* of the moneyer Gaius Fonteius bore a janiform image of a young god, probably *Fons*, in allusion to the founder of the *gens Fonteia*; see *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.*, ii, pp. 292—3, nos. 597—616.

[42] CIC., *De Nat. Deorum*, iii, 52; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 483 ff. The shrine was dedicated in 231 B. C. by the consul C. Papirius Maso. It may have replaced a *sacellum*.

[43] JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 624. Both BÖHM and PESTALOZZA, *locc. citt.* above n. 40, believe that the *ara Fontis* was the oldest shrine of the god in Rome.

[44] *Not. Sc.*, 1914, 362—363; *Bull. Com.*, xliii (1915), 52—53, fig. 1.

[45] The inscription is reproduced in the publications cited in note 44: *Imp. Vespasiano Caesare Aug. II | Caesare Aug. f. Vespasiano cos. | dedicatum VIIII K. Iunias | P. Pontius Eros C. Veratius Fortunatus | Mag. II Quinquennales lustri primi | cum Tutilla Helice et Popilia Pnoe coniugib. suis | aedem a fundamentis sua pecun. Fonti d. d.* (A. D. 70). The index to *CIL* vi (part vi fasc. 1) lists these names as occurring in 39416; part v fasc. 3 ends with 39340, so presumably 39416 will appear in fasc. 4.

[46] SUET. *Aug.*, 32.

[47] For the best account of the *collegia aquarum*, see RUDORFF, "Die sog. Lex de Magistris Aquarum [i. e. *CIL* vi 10298], eine altrömische Brunnenordnung," *Zeitschrift für Gescht. Rechtswissenschaft*, xv (1850), 203 ff.; MOMMSEN, *ibid.*, 326, 345; BRUNS, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*⁷ (*ed.* GRADENWITZ), no. 178, pp. 394—397. The *collegia aquarum* must not be confused with the *collegia aquatorum* or *collegia fontanarum* which were probably guilds of *fullones* or fullers; *cf.* WALTZING, i, 197, and *CIL* v, 992, 8307, 8308.

collegia with freedmen *magistri* who dwelt near the springs which they honored.[48] Their dedications are unimaginative and uniform, and display the same formula as the inscription from Trastevere, a precise date of the dedication with a list of the names of the dedicants, *magistri* and *ministri* alike.[49] Although the addition of the names of the wives is an innovation, in essentials this inscription conforms to type.

It is tempting to conjecture that this *aedes* of Fons represents a rebuilding on the site of the Republican *ara Fontis*, and that these dedicants were continuing or reviving an ancient cult. Their dedication, very significantly, is to the god himself, and not to a *genius* or *numen*.[50] Furthermore it is the only sanctuary of Fons known in Trastevere, and the Romans never forgot the enduring sanctity of hallowed ground. The nature of his cult required a spring; there had been a spring here from the earliest days, to be honored once again in the empire. Cicero's notice locates the *ara Fontis* near the grave of Numa, which other writers describe as *sub Ianiculo*.[51] The fact that the steep slopes of the hill begin almost immediately behind the *aedes* which was found in 1914 strengthens the probability that the location of the original *ara Fontis* has been discovered at last.

FORS FORTUNA

The only cult in Trastevere which tradition definitely ascribed to the regal period bore features which were to mark the subsequent history of the quarter. Throughout the course of the Roman Empire, signs of foreign influence and adherents of lowly position characterized the religious activities of Trastevere. The cult of Fors Fortuna was typical; it was said to have been a foundation of Servius Tullius, a king of alien birth, and its followers were rowdy plebeians who gladly renounced dignified ceremonies. But its supervision by public priests endowed it with official character and so differentiated it from later foreign cults.

The innovations attributed to each of the Roman kings must always be viewed with caution, yet in the apocryphal stories there is often a kernel of truth. Servius Tullius, for example, was known as the founder of numerous small shrines of Fortuna in Rome, as well as an *aedes in foro Boario* and a *fanum Fortis Fortunae* across the Tiber.[52] The absence of the festival of Fors Fortuna from the earliest calendar accords with the tradition of a foreign importation.[53] On the other hand, its omission need not imply that the cult was not ancient. Servius Tullius, whether he was an Etruscan chieftain or not, was always linked in Roman thought with institutions of Etruscan origin.[54] There were, moreover, Etruscan deities whose nature approximated that of the Roman Fortuna. In Praeneste, a city subjected to Etruscan influences, the oracular cult of Fortuna had extraordinary prominence, and in Volsinii the goddess Nortia was apparently considered an Etruscan equivalent of Fortuna. Servius' traditional introduction of the goddess to Rome, therefore, seems to indicate a Roman assimilation of something foreign.[55]

With the title *Fors*, as the goddess was venerated in Trastevere, she appeared in her most nebulous aspect. Specific allusions to Fors Fortuna were rare, nor were dedications to her at all common.[56] In Roman drama the name of Fors Fortuna occurs occasionally: if her various cults had not been established firmly by the second century before Christ, casual references would have had no meaning for the average playgoer.[57] No refined philosophical concept

[48] *Cf.* the dedication of an altar to Fontanus by a *collegium* at Formiae, *CIL* x 6071.

[49] See, for example, *CIL* vi 154—65.

[50] *CIL* vi 151, 152 are dedicated to the *genius* or *numen*.

[51] LIVY, xl, 29, 3, *in agro L. Petilii scribae sub Ianiculo;* SOLINUS, i, 21, *Numa sepultus sub Ianiculo;* PLUT., *Numa*, 22, *ὑπὸ τὸ Ἰάνικλον*.

[52] On the foundation of Servius Tullius across the Tiber, see VARRO, *Ling. Lat.*, vi, 17; *cf.* DION. HAL., iv, 27, 7, and p. 32, note 61 below; OVID, *Fasti*, vi, 783 f.; on Servius' *aedes in foro Boario*, see OVID, *Fasti*, vi, 569—636; DION. HAL., iv, 40, 7; VAL. MAX., i, 8, 11; PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, viii, 194, 197; CASSIUS DIO, lviii, 7, 2; on his smaller chapels, PLUT., *De Fort. Rom.*, 10; *Quaest. Rom.*, 74. Only PLUT., *De Fort. Rom.*, 5, dissents from the general tradition and states that Ancus Martius founded the first temple to Fortune.

[53] The calendar represented by the festivals in capital letters has recently been convincingly dated in the early sixth century, a time when Rome consisted of the Septimontium and the Quirinal; see ALTHEIM, 130 ff.

[54] Claudius, the emperor-antiquarian, remarked on the identity of Servius Tullius and an Etruscan chieftain, Mastarna. His statement is contained in his speech, preserved on the bronze tablet of Lugdunum, *CIL* xiii, 1668 = DESSAU 212, line 22. A figure in the painting from the François tomb at Vulci, inscribed *Macstrna*, has been interpreted to support the tradition which Claudius recorded; see G. KÖRTE, "Ein Wandgemälde von Vulci als Dokument zur Römischen Königsgeschichte", *Jhb. des Arch. Instituts*, xii (1897), 57—80; I. G. SCOTT, "Early Roman Traditions in the Light of Archaeology," *Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome*, vii (1929), 71—80; MESSERSCHMIDT argues against the identification of Servius and Mastarna, "Nekropolen von Vulci," *Jhb. des Arch. Instituts, Ergänzungsheft* xii (1930), 148—151.

[55] On the Fortuna of Praeneste, see WISSOWA, 259—261. The scholiast on JUVENAL, *Sat.*, x, 74, implies that Nortia and Fortuna were equivalent, *Fortunam vult intelligi poeta, quae apud Nyrtiam civitatem colitur, unde fuit Seianus. Cf.* MART. CAP., i, 88 on the identity of Sors, Nemesis, Tyche, and Nortia. On the cult of Nortia of Volsinii, see L. R. TAYLOR, *Local Cults in Etruria* (Rome, 1923), 154—157. WARDE FOWLER, *The Roman Festivals* (London, 1899), 171 f. advocates the theory of Fortuna's advent from Etruria. He states definitely, however, that this need not compel us to regard Fortuna as a purely Etruscan deity.

[56] *CIL* vi 170, to the *numini Fortis Fortunae*.

[57] See P. R. COLEMAN-NORTON, "The Conception of Fortuna in Roman Drama," *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton, 1936), 61—71. The first reference

exalted Fors Fortuna; she was simply the personification of an abstraction, luck or unpredictable chance.[58] According to Donatus' definition, she was apparently the patroness of unskilled men, *Fors Fortuna est, cuius diem festum colunt, qui sine arte aliqua vivunt,* a description which would be highly appropriate to the plebs of the empire.[59] From the words of Columella, Fors Fortuna would seem to have been especially beloved by market-gardeners, who paid their respects to her after they had come to town and sold their produce.[60] There was reason for devotion from such a group, whose livelihood depended very much upon the caprices of the weather.

Much speculation has been expended in attempts to determine the exact number of shrines of Fors Fortuna which were erected in Trastevere, the number varying from two to four. Varro stated that Servius had founded one temple to the goddess on the right bank of the Tiber outside the city and had dedicated it in the month of June.[61] From Livy, there is the information that the consul Spurius Carvilius, with funds derived from the booty of his Etruscan and Samnite campaigns, let a contract in 293 B. C. for a temple to Fors Fortuna near (*prope*) the temple of that goddess which had been dedicated by Servius.[62] There may be some significance in the discovery, between the fifth and sixth milestones of the Via Campana, of a travertine slab[63] commemorating a late republican dedication from the freedmen *magistri* and *ministri* of the *collegia aerariorum* or guilds of metal-workers:

Conlegia aerarior. | Forte Fortunae | donu dant; mag. | C. Carvilius M. l., | L. Munius L. l. - - -lacus, | minis. T. Mari Carvil. m. | - - -stimi D. Quinctius.

Two of this board of officials were dependents of the *gens Carvilia,* one a freedman, the other a slave. The continued interest of members of the *gens* in the temple with which the name of one of their number was associated may have led these humble retainers to influence their *collegia* to choose Fors Fortuna as the divinity to whom to address their dedication, and Carvilius's temple as the shrine at which to offer it. Moreover, the *Fasti Esquilini* record the dedication of two temples of Fors Fortuna on June 24, located at the first and sixth milestones of the Via Portuensis[64] — its course lies not far distant from that of the Via Campana. By the year 16 B. C., therefore, the date of these *Fasti,* two temples existed on the right side of the Tiber. Servius, then, was responsible for the first temple and Carvilius for the second; Ovid's expression (*Fasti* vi, 75)

Ecce suburbana rediens male sobrius aede

refers to a shrine so near Trastevere as to be quite accessible to the common folk; and Livy's *prope* is to be interpreted freely, in the sense that both the edifices lay on the Via Campana or Portuensis within a couple of hours' walk outside the gate. Finally Ovid, in his description of the festival, mentions *templa propinqua,* the foundation of which he attributes to Servius:

Convenit et servis, serva quia Tullius ortus
constituit dubiae templa propinqua deae.[65]

It has been assumed that two temples were meant by the poet; and reluctance — quite natural — to consider as (*inter se*) *propinqua* (*cf.* Livy's *prope*) two temples which lay five miles apart has led some scholars to accept Ovid's statement, thus interpreted, literally and to conclude that there must have been three temples when he wrote, two which Servius had dedicated, and the one which Carvilius had vowed.[66] The statements of Varro and Livy, who assign the foundation of only one temple to the king, appear more reliable, and more inherently probable, than Ovid's phrase as thus interpreted; but — this has apparently escaped the attention of previous scholars

in Roman drama to the deified Fortuna is PLAUTUS' *Pseudolus,* 678—80. *Fors Fortuna* is mentioned twice — in the first instance probably not personified — (TERENCE, *Hec.,* 386, *Phor.,* 841); *forte fortuna* occurs in PLAUTUS, *Bac.,* 916, *Miles,* 287; TERENCE, *Eun.,* 134, 568.

[58] CIC., *De Leg.,* ii, 28, *Fors in quo incerti casus significantur magis.* NONIUS MARC., p. 425, *Fors est casus temporalis. Cf.* WARDE FOWLER, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), 245, note 30; H. L. AXTELL, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* (Chicago, 1907), 9—11.

[59] DONATUS on TERENCE, *Phormio,* 841.

[60] COLUMELLA, x, 311—318:

Sed cum maturis flavebit messis aristis.....
Allia cum caepis, cereale papaver anetho
Iungite, dumque virent, nexos deferte maniplos
Et celebres Fortis Fortunae dicite laudes
Mercibus exactis, hilaresque recurrite in hortos.

[61] VARRO, *Ling. Lat.,* vi, 17: *Dies Fortis Fortunae appellatus ab Servio Tullio rege, quod is fanum Fortis Fortunae secundum Tiberim extra urbem Romam dedicavit Iunio mense.* It is doubtless this same temple to which DION. HAL. refers, iv, 27, 7, although he has incorrectly taken Fors as an adjective and translated it *ἀνδρεία.* This is the explanation of W. W. GOODWIN, *Plutarch's Morals* (Boston, 1874), iv, 204.

[62] LIVY, x, 46, 14: *Reliquo aere aedem Fortis Fortunae de manubiis faciendam locavit prope aedem eius deae ab rege Servio Tullio dedicatam.*

[63] GATTI, *Bull. Com.,* xxxii (1904), 317—324 = *CIL* i² 977 = vi 36771 = DESSAU 9253. Additional interest attaches to this inscription inasmuch as it was the first to prove the existence of *collegia aerariorum* in the Roman world.

[64] *Cf. CIL* i², pp. 211, 320; *cf.* p. 206, where the evidence for the date of these *Fasti* is set forth. Mommsen restored the reading of the *Fasti Esquilini* on the basis of the *Fasti Amiternini.*

[65] *Fasti,* vi, 783 f. *Cf.* FRAZER'S ed., ii, 295; iv, 2.

[66] JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 645, note 59; OTTO, *PW.* vii, 1, 17; and PLATNER-ASHBY, p. 212 f., do not believe that the temple of Carvilius is to be identified with Ovid's temple (or, as they would say, temples). On the other hand, MOMMSEN, *CIL* i², p. 320; WISSOWA, 256; and GATTI, *Bull. Com.,* xxxii (1904), 317—324, consider the temple of Carvilius to have been one of the ("two") *templa propinqua* of OVID'S *Fasti.*

— his *templa* is surely a poetic plural denoting one temple only; it is in fact reminiscent of a previous line in the *Fasti* in which he had used the same word in the same fashion to refer to Servius' temple of Mater Matuta at the Forum Boarium:[67] this poet's habit of re-using a phrase which he had already found pleasing is too well known to require comment. And *propinqua* means simply "near to Rome."

A phrase in Tacitus has seemed to some to indicate the existence of still another temple, across the Tiber from the main quarters of Rome. At the end of A. D. 16, in the gardens which Julius Caesar had bequeathed to the Roman people, Tiberius dedicated a temple to Fors Fortuna.[68] Yet the *Fasti Amiternini* record the dedication day of only two temples of Fors Fortuna *trans Tiberim*, and give June 24 as the date, a time which obviously does not coincide with Tacitus' *fine anni*. Moreover, these *Fasti*, completely preserved for the latter part of the year, were certainly compiled after A. D. 20, and contain many references to the reign of Tiberius.[69] This circumstance, however, need not militate against the statement of Tacitus; rather it offers convincing proof that the work of Tiberius constituted a restoration of a previous temple. Rededications did not necessarily have to be made on the same day as the original *natalis templi* or *dies dedicationis*. A recently discovered fragment of the *Fasti Annales* of Ostia demonstrates this. The temple of Venus Genetrix had its original dedication day on September 26, but the new fragment shows that the temple was rededicated on May 18, A. D. 113.[70] Contrary to the view of Wissowa, there is no proof that Augustus changed a single temple birthday in his numerous repairs of ancient temples.[71]

Tiberius, therefore, probably following the religious policy of his predecessor, restored a temple of Fors Fortuna, and preserved the original *natalis templi* of June 24. Tacitus' phrase *fine anni* must refer to the rededication. No zeal for ostentatious building appears to have possessed Tiberius. With characteristic modesty, he completed or restored anonymously many older structures; and his only fresh undertakings of a spectacular character, according to the historians of his reign, were his temple of Augustus and a new stage for Pompey's theater.[72] The temple of Fors Fortuna was one of several which Tiberius rebuilt, and thus he restored one of the temples which the *Fasti Esquilini* had noted as existing in the year 16 B. C.

On the right bank of the Tiber, then, there were two temples of Fors Fortuna. Varro's statement that Servius's temple was *extra urbem* is noncommittal as to its exact location.[73] The second temple, however — as was already suggested above — vowed by Carvilius, is located with a high degree of probability between the fifth and sixth milestones of the Viae Campana and Portuensis (the latter highway did not exist, or at least had not received its name, at the time of Tiberius). When Livy was writing his history, the land on the right bank of the Tiber, and especially points outside actual "Trastevere" and downstream, may well have still seemed remote, and two temples in that general area, though actually five miles apart from each other, might conceivably have been called "near" to each other.

The temple of Servius, then, stood at the first milestone, within the limits, eventually, of the gardens of Caesar. Moreover, the Roman propensity for rebuilding on sacred sites, rather than seeking new locations for the worship of the same divinities, seems

[67] *Fasti*, vi, 479 f.:

Hac ibi luce ferunt Matutae sacra parenti
sceptriferas Servi templa dedisse manus.

[68] TAC., *Ann.*, ii, 41, *Fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii, et aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberim iuxta in hortis quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legaverat, sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas dicantur.* PLATNER-ASHBY and OTTO, *locc. citt.* above in n. 66, and finally LUGLI, *I Monumenti Antichi di Roma e Suburbio*, iii (Rome, 1938), 636, consider Tiberius' temple the fourth in Trastevere.

[69] *CIL* i², p. 243; on the date of these *Fasti*, see p. 207. Since they date the triumph of Drusus Caesar on May 28, A. D. 20, they must have been compiled after that year. No restoration has been necessary in these *Fasti* in the entry regarding the temple of Fors Fortuna. Other calendars which note the festival, but do not supply evidence for the location, are *Fasti Venusini* (A. D. 4), *CIL* i², 221; *Fasti Philocali* (A. D. 354), *CIL*, i², p. 266; and *Menologia Rustica*, *CIL*, i², p. 280.

[70] For the original *dies dedicationis* of the temple of Venus Genetrix, see *CIL*, i², p. 330. The Ostia fragment shows that this temple was rededicated on May 18, A. D. 113 (CALZA, *Not. Sc.*, 1932, 201), *IIII id. mai. imp. Traianus* [*templum Ven*]*eris in foro Caesaris .... dedicavit.* On the date of rededication of the temple of Venus Genetrix, *cf.* KEYSSNER, *PW*, xvi, 2, 1800—2, who, however, assumes, without any justification, that the new date becomes a *natalis templi*.

[71] The pre-Julian *Fasti Antiates veteres* have shown that the dates, February 17 for Quirinus, June 19 for *Minerva in Aventino*, and June 27 for the *Lares in Summa Sacra Via*, all of which WISSOWA believed were Augustan restorations, were occasions of *sacrificia publica* before the time of Julius Caesar. For three other dedication dates attributed by WISSOWA to Augustus, *Apollo ad circum maximum*, September 23, *Ianus ad Theatrum Marcelli*, October 18, and *Consus in Aventino*, December 12, the *Fasti Antiates veteres* are not preserved. *Cf.* WISSOWA, *Hermes*, lviii (1923), 369—392. On the *Fasti Antiates veteres*, see MANCINI, *Not. Sc.*, 1921, 73—141, and O. LEUZE, *Bursians Jahresbericht*, ccxxvii (1930), 111—134.

[72] SUET., *Tib.*, 47, and TAC., *Ann.*, vi, 45, state expressly that his only public buildings were these two; VELL. PAT., ii, 130, is to be interpreted in this sense. CASSIUS DIO, lvii, 10, gives a vigorous account of this emperor's anonymous activities and of his fashion of perpetuating the original builder's name. Utilitarian structures such as the Castra Praetoria do not here enter into consideration.

[73] See also PRELLER, *Die Regionen der Stadt Rom* (Jena, 1846), 216.

to weaken the force of any suggestion that several shrines of Fors Fortuna might have clustered around the first milestone of the Viae Campana and Portuensis.[74] If our reasoning has been sound, only the temple founded by Servius Tullius and restored by Tiberius stood at that point.

Despite the inadequacy of official reports, it appears that certain remains have come to light near Trastevere which will satisfy all the requirements for the location of this temple. In the year 1860, ruins, presumably of a temple foundation, were found in the Vigna Bonelli, about half a mile from the present Porta Portese, to the right of the present Via Portuense: a location approximately *ad milliarium primum*, and within the limits of the gardens of Caesar. The temple was distyle *in antis*, and had a concrete podium, m. 20.5 × m. 12.75, which was faced with large blocks m. 1.6 (!) thick. Three fragments of the marble architrave of the pronaos were found. Certain inscriptions from the same vineyards relate to the cult of Sol; but there is no absolute necessity for associating this cult with the building in question.[75] The traces of this temple are no longer visible.[76]

Properly, a discussion of the temple of Fors Fortuna *ad milliarium sextum* should lie outside the scope of the present essay. The association of this edifice, however, with the problem of Servius Tullius's temple has already necessitated its mention, together with that of the inscription of the *conlegia aerarior(um)* which may identify its location;[77] and a few further words may not be considered wholly irrelevant.

On the western boundary of the former Vigna Ceccarelli, near the Tiber and five miles from the present Porta Portese, Henzen discovered rough walls of limestone and travertine which might have formed part of this temple. Further epigraphical evidence from this site offers confirmatory evidence. Two small bases of travertine display dedications to Fors Fortuna from *collegia* of *lanii*, butchers: they date from the first century B. C.[78] Another Republican inscription attests an offering by vendors of violets, roses, and garlands.[79] Even if unquestionable remains of a temple structure do not exist at the sixth milestone, the discovery of as many as four dedications to Fors Fortuna in that vicinity can leave no doubt that a temple of that divinity was located there; and that this may have been the temple of Carvilius is suggested by one of the inscriptions.

It is hazardous, of course, to speculate concerning the nature of the cult *ad milliarium sextum* on the evidence of such scanty remains. Nevertheless, the fact that all the inscriptions that were discovered there had been erected by members of *collegia* is of some significance. Normally in Rome, members of guilds made their dedications to the goddess "Luck" under the simple name *Fortuna*.[80] It was apparently only at this shrine, six miles out from the city, that guilds exclusively worshipped her under the guise of *Fors Fortuna*. Possibly the predominantly servile origin of the dedicants would naturally dispose them to her worship.

Bibulous hilarity alone seems to have characterized the festival of Fors Fortuna in Trastevere; certainly no other features emerge from Ovid's description of it:

> *Ite, deam laeti Fortem celebrate, Quirites!*
> *In Tiberis ripa munera regis habet.*
> *Pars pede, pars etiam celeri decurrite cymba,*
> *Nec pudeat potos inde redire domum.*
> *Ferte coronatae iuvenum convivia lintres:*
> *Multaque per medias vina bibantur aquas.*
> *Plebs colit hanc, quia, qui posuit de plebe fuisse*
> *Fertur, et ex humili sceptra tulisse loco.*
> *Convenit et servis, serva quia Tullius ortus*
> *constituit dubiae templa propinqua deae.*[81]

It is probably fortuitous that the holiday coincided with the date of the summer solstice, the occasion of an ancient European festival of water. If the festival represented a Roman celebration of Midsummer in the tradition of European folklore, the proximity of the temple to the Tiber might be of significance.[82]

[74] PLUT., also, *Brutus*, 20, *de Fort. Rom.*, 5, mentions the shrine in the gardens of Caesar. The *Notitia* has the simple entry *Fortis Fortunae* (*Cur. -na*) under the Fourteenth Region. The shrine in Caesar's gardens, then, was still known as late as the fourth century, the date of the *Notitia*.

[75] VISCONTI, "Escavazioni della Vigna Bonelli," *Annali Inst.*, xxxii (1860), 415—417; LANCIANI, *Bull. Com.*, xii (1884), 27 f., pl. 1. Inscriptions to Sol: see below, page 53, note 277.

[76] Here it is necessary to note a group of 28 votive bronze statuettes of male figures, which came on the market in Rome in 1887. The place of their discovery is not known, beyond the fact that they were found outside Porta Portese. The figurines are of two distinct types: some, probably Greek imports, resemble Greek κοῦροι, others, possibly of local manufacture, are shown wearing the *pilleus*. See HELBIG, *Not. Sc.*, 1888, 229—232. HÜLSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, iv (1889), 290 f., has suggested that these statuettes were votive offerings to Fortuna from manumitted slaves; Fortuna was a favorite of slaves and humble folk, especially honored by them in Trastevere. Imported figurines were used first and then replaced by those of local make.

[77] Above, p. 32.

[78] G. HENZEN, *Scavi nel Bosco Sacro degli Arvali* (Rome, 1868), 100. *CIL* vi 167 f. The *magistri* of one college were freedmen, those of the other, slaves. The date of these inscriptions is determined by the orthography. The epithet *Piscinenses*, of the butchers, indicates, according to HENZEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 101, that they resided in *Piscina Publica*, the suburb which was subsequently incorporated by Augustus in the twelfth city region, to which, in the transmitted texts of the Regionary Catalogues, it gave the name.

[79] *CIL* vi 169, *cf.* 30707. The words *violaries* and *rosaries* are rare, but there seems no doubt as to their meaning.

[80] For example, from the *horrearii*, *CIL* vi 188; 236; from the *collegium f(abrum)*, *CIL* vi 3678.

[81] *Fasti*, vi, 775—784.

[82] As J. G. FRAZER has noted, however, *The Fasti of Ovid* (London, 1929), iv, 333, note 3, OVID placed the

The cult of Fors Fortuna in Trastevere never loomed large in the religious life of Rome. But the words of Cicero suggest that the annual plebeian *Tiberina descensio festo illo die* was a Roman synonym for abandoned merriment.[83] This was the *dies Fortis Fortunae* of Varro. As a foundation of Servius Tullius, the cult was an importation, and yet one of great antiquity. Carvilius' temple of 293 B. C., and several inscriptions of the Republican period, bear witness to the continuity of the cult from the regal period. Tiberius' restoration of the temple provided for the cult in imperial Rome. Although the devotees were indubitably plebeians and slaves, it is probable from the remarks of Cicero and Ovid that this was by far the most popular and famous of the cults of Trastevere.

FURRINA

Despite the fact that Furrina had once had the distinction of a special *flamen* and *feriae publicae* on July 25, the nature of the goddess had become sufficiently unknown by the end of the Republic to confound even the learned Varro: *Furrinalia <a> Furrina>e< quod ei deae feriae public<a>e dies is; cuius deae honos apud antiquos: nam ei sacra instituta annua et flamen attributus; nunc vix nomen notum paucis.*[84] Obscure as the goddess herself was, her sacred grove had dire associations which made it immortal. It was the scene of one of the most tragic events of Republican history, the death of the tribune Gaius Gracchus. During the riots which preceded his death, Gracchus fled to the temple of Diana on the Aventine until pressure from his friends forced him to escape to a safer place. Accompanied by one faithful slave, he ran across the Pons Sublicius and into Trastevere. Bystanders encouraged him in his flight, but without a horse it was impossible to avoid capture. Gracchus' objective was probably the Via Aurelia, which led into Etruria, for it was on the slopes of the Janiculum that the pursuit became too hot. In the *lucus Furrinae*, his servant killed him to prevent his falling into the hands of his pursuers. After this dramatic incident, the fortunes of the grove of Furrina defy investigation until the Empire.[85]

Entirely by chance a discovery revealed the site of this grove, renowned even more for its tragedy than for its ancient cult. In 1906 workmen in the Villa Wurts — formerly Sciarra, which name it has now received again —, found a mass of religious antiquities in the gardens; Paul Gauckler's subsequent excavations nearby contributed illuminating supplementary evidence about the cults to which the objects belonged. Among the finds, there was a small marble altar inscribed in Greek and dedicated: *Διΐ Κεραννίῳ* (thus, for *-ῳ*) *Ἄρτεμις ἡ καὶ Σιδωνία Κυπρία ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς ἀνέθηκεν καὶ Νύνφες Φορρῖνες* (thus, for *-μφαις, -ναις*).[86] The dedicant, Artemis, also called Sidonia, was a woman of Cyprus, and the deities whom she chose to honor were a bizarre combination of the Oriental and purely Roman. Contrary to Gauckler's opinion, the heavily sculptured decorations of the altar do not emphasize the attributes of the gods to whom it was dedicated. The horned heads of Zeus Ammon at the corners are one of the commonest motifs for the adornment of altars, particularly grave-altars of the Flavian period.[87] Moreover, the head of Medusa carved beneath the inscription can have had no symbolic reference to the Furies with whom the goddess Furrina may have been confused. A Medusa head was one of the simplest of apotropaic signs, whose appearance on altars is well-known.[88]

A similar association of Eastern and Roman gods was found on a marble statue base dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and to the *genius Fori-*

solstice on June 26 and it was also marked on June 26 in the *Fasti Venusini, CIL*, i², p. 221.

[83] CIC., *De Fin*, v, 70. Anyone who has seen the gay July festival of "Noantri" in modern Trastevere must be reminded of the plebeian *dies Fortis Fortunae*.

[84] VARRO, *Ling. Lat.*, vi, 19. For the most recent general discussions of Furrina, see WISSOWA, 240 ff.; ALTHEIM, 116—8. The evidence for her *feriae* and *flamen* is from VARRO, *Ling. Lat.*, v, 84; vi, 19; vii, 45; FESTUS (PAULUS), 78 L; *CIL* i², p. 217, p. 219, p. 225, p. 323.

[85] Historians who told the story of Gracchus agree unanimously that he crossed the river before he died, while two writers specify the scene of his death. VELL. PAT., ii, 6 gives no location; OROSIUS, *Adv. Pag.*, v, 12, 8, implies that Gracchus died at the bridge; APPIAN, *B. C.*, i, 3, 26, describes the spot as *ἐς ἄλσος τι*; AUCT., *De Vir. Ill.*, 65 states definitely that the place was the *lucus Furrinae*; PLUT., *Gaius Gracchus*, 17, where the most detailed account occurs, writes *εἰς ἱερὸν ἄλσος Ἐριννύων*, reflecting the confusion of Furrina with the *Furiae* or *Eumenides*, *cf.* CIC., *De Nat. Deor.*, iii, 46. There is no evidence for GAUCKLER'S statement that the grove became accursed and *nefastum* after the death of Gracchus. PLUT., *ibid.*, 18, refutes such an assertion.

[86] *CIL* vi 36802, GAUCKLER, 15 ff., 55 ff., illustrated on p. 17; *Not. Sc.*, 1907, 88. The altar is now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, no. 53143. On *Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος* see p. 50.

[87] See GAUCKLER, 18 ff., 55 ff., for his discussion of the symbolism. For altars decorated at the corners with the horned heads of Zeus, see, for example, W. AMELUNG, *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* (Berlin, 1903), ii, 165; *Tafeln*, ii, 11, 67a; ii, 676, *Tafeln*, ii, 77, 425a; ii, 687, *Tafeln*, ii, 77, 429a; W. ALTMANN, *Die Röm. Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905), 88—100.

[88] The Medusa head on this altar suggested to HÜLSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxii (1907), 250, the name *Caput Gorgonis* in the Regionary Catalogues. This, he believed, referred to a *vicus* which led from one of the Tiber bridges to the sanctuary where the grove of Furrina had been. But the common occurrence of this motif on altars precludes any such significance here. CICERO'S identification of Furrina with the Furies is not sufficient evidence to warrant HÜLSEN'S conclusion that the name of the *vicus* referred to this special grove. For Medusa heads on altars, see ALTMANN, *op. cit.* in preceding note, 6, 200, 232.

narum.[89] It is significant that this base also came from Trastevere, from the vicinity of S. Crisogono. The orthographic variations in the forms *Furrina* and *Furina* of the literary texts, *Furrina* of the calendars, and Φορρῖνες and *Forinarum* of the inscriptions demand explanation. Differences in the literary texts may well be due to irregularities in the manuscript tradition. In both inscriptions, the differences must certainly have been caused by the engraver's unfamiliarity with the Latin language. The variation in spelling, then, is actually a negligible factor, and the change from singular to plural number represented a natural outcome of the goddess' degeneration and loss of identity. With the apparent discrepancy of name explained, there seems no further doubt that the altar discovered in the Villa Sciarra and inscribed Νύνφες Φορρῖνες was found on the site of the grove where Gaius Gracchus met his death. Violence in the sanctuary may well have doomed the popularity of a declining cult and new activities must have supplanted the original rites. Worship of the Roman deity probably diminished rapidly until it actually ceased.[90]

Etymological research has shown that peculiarities in the name *Furrina* probably indicate an Etruscan origin for the goddess. Gauckler perceived Etruscan parallels in the order of the consonants *f*, *r*, and *n* as they occur in *Furrina* and in various Etruscan place-names.[91] For Altheim, the name *Furrina* appears comparable to several Etruscan gentile names because of its root, the doubling of the first consonant, and the suffix.[92] The Etruscan occupation of the Janiculum at an early period adds to the weight of these arguments from linguistics.

The determination of the site of the *lucus Furrinae* reveals something of the nature of the goddess. The Greek inscription with its mention of nymphs suggests the existence of a spring; and the Greek concept of nymphs who dwelt in springs was thoroughly familiar to the Romans of the Republic.[93] Then, too, the designation *genius Forinarum* in the Latin inscription recalls the numerous Roman dedications addressed more frequently to the *genius* or *numen* of a spring, than to the spring itself. Above all, Gauckler's investigations have revealed elaborate hydraulic installations within the limits of the grove. Near the site where the altar to the Νύνφες Φορρῖνες was uncovered, excavations disclosed an ancient well-head 5 m. below ground at the bottom of a ravine.[94] When the well was cleared down to its original depth of 7 m., four channels radiated out from it at right angles, orientated according to the points of the compass. Two, proving useless, had been stopped at two metres north and south, but those forming a channel from east to west, following the course of a spring, still remained. The well was carefully lined and fed by subterranean springs which converged in a natural reservoir 2 m. above it.[95] Little was found of the equipment of the nymphaeum which the channels must have supplied with water. However, Cardinal Ottoboni's uncompleted excavations of 1720 on the eastern slopes of his villa had revealed a long vaulted channel as well as some coins, images of frogs and serpents, and a statuette of Hercules and the hydra, all these being objects frequently found near a *nymphaeum.*[96] Moreover, Nolli's map of 1748 shows the plan of a handsome semi-circular fountain in the Villa Crescenzi, which at one time had adjoined the Villa Ottoboni.[97] The fountain was destroyed when the Viale Glorioso was built, but the monumental basin of Carystos marble which almost certainly belonged to it was purchased by an antiquarian. According to Gauckler, it should be assigned to the period of the Antonines.[98] Since it weighed more than two tons, the basin could scarcely have been moved a great distance from its original location. Hence it is highly probable that the marble basin once formed part of the fountain of a sacred spring.

An inscription found in the excavations of 1906 contributed new information about the springs of the *lucus Furrinae.* In a mass of architectural fragments near the mouth of a water channel, Gauckler found a marble slab, 0.27 m. thick and 1.2 m. square, cut in the center with a round hole, 0.18 m. in diameter at the upper surface.[99] The hole was obviously

[89] *CIL* vi 422 = DESSAU 4292. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano) Aug(usto)* | *sac(rum)* | *Genio Forinarum* | *et cultoribus huius* | *loci Terentia Nice* | *cum Terentio Damari|one filio sacerdote et* | *Terentio Damarione iun(iore)* | *et Fonteio Onesimo filio* | *sacrorum signum et basim* | *voto suscepto de suo posuit* | *lustro eiusdem Damario|nis.* *CIL* vi 10200, naming an *ara Forinarum*, has been proved to be a forgery; see HÜLSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, x (1895), 293—296.

[90] *Cf.* PLUT., *C. Gracchus*, 17.

[91] GAUCKLER, 117, 8.

[92] ALTHEIM, 118.

[93] On nymphs in Roman cult, see BLOCH, *Roscher*, iii, 540—4; WISSOWA, 223 ff.

[94] GAUCKLER, 105 ff., especially 110; pl. V, no. 2; pl. XIII.

[95] GAUCKLER, pl. VI.

[96] JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 641, note 47, 48. Cardinal Ottoboni's finds were reported only by CASSIO, *Corso delle Acque*, i, 147 ff., quoted by GAUCKLER, 130, 1.

[97] GAUCKLER, pl. XV, reproduces Nolli's map. *Cf.* GAUCKLER, pl. V, no. 11, "Ancien nymphée Crescenzi."

[98] GAUCKLER, pl. XVI, described on 135—7. The rectangular basin was 2.09 m. wide, 2.5 m. long, 0.65 m. high with a maximum depth of 0.43 m. There were deep mouldings on the front and both sides.

[99] *CIL* vi 36804 = *Not. Sc.*, 1906, 248; GAUCKLER, 5 ff., 34 ff., and *cf.* 122 ff.; it is illustrated on p. 7 and pl. XIV. HÜLSEN, in a lecture at the German Institute in Rome, April 19, 1907, expressed the opinion that the marble slab was the top of a money chest, comparable to one found at Thera by HILLER VON GÄRTRINGEN, *Thera* (Berlin, 1899), i, 258 ff. GAUCKLER, 37—40, successfully refuted HÜLSEN'S contentions and left no further doubt of the

intended for fitting a water pipe, and the back of the slab, meant to be invisible, was only roughly finished and had not been in contact with the water. The slab must have been set in place vertically so that the inscription might be easily read. When a heavy calcareous deposit had been removed from the face, the following inscription was legible: *Δεσμὸς ὅπως κρατερὸς θῦμα θεοῖς παρέχοι | Ὃν δὴ Γαιώνας δειπνοκρίτης ἔθετο.* This rhythmical notice, of two pentameters, as Gauckler says, was the type to be expected of an Oriental writing in Greek at Rome towards the end of the second century of the Christian era. The dedicant must be the M. Antonius Gaionas whose name appears on three other inscriptions.[100] At Portus, between A. D. 176 and 180, a Gaionas dedicated a granite column to Jupiter Heliopolitanus for the safety of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.[101] A second inscription from Rome, set up on November 19, A. D. 186, was the offering of one M. Antonius Gai[ona]s to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, probably the god of his native Syrian city, and to the emperor Commodus.[102] The dedicant, in this place, added two of his civic titles, *Claudialis Augustalis* and *Cistiber*. In his Greek epitaph, Gaionas again repeated the puzzling title *Cistiber* and added for himself the compliment, *δείπνοις κρείνας πολλὰ μετ' εὐφροσύνης.*[103] There can be no doubt, then, of the identity of Gaionas; from the fulsome inscriptions which he provided for his own immortality, it is almost possible to reconstruct something of his personality. A Syrian immigrant in Rome, he had acquired some minor civic and religious offices and a conscious pride in his petty titles. At the end of the second century, he was a foreign resident of some importance. The office of *Cistiber* which he commemorated twice was apparently a favorite.[104]

The verses which Gaionas caused to be engraved on the slab are cryptic, to be sure; but an entirely plausible interpretation has been proposed by Franz Cumont. He was the first to perceive that *δεσμὸς κρατερὸς* is a Homeric expression with the special meaning of "strong barrier."[105] The stone might easily have fulfilled the function of a *δεσμὸς κρατερός* as one side of a basin. From the lime deposit it is obvious that it in fact formed one side of a memorial basin which Gaionas had presented. A pipe had been inserted in the hole in the center of the marble, so that the level of the water in the basin might be lowered if it were necessary. The basin, then, was the *δεσμὸς κρατερός*. That the *nymphae Forrinae* were not forgotten is shown by the altar dedicated to them with *Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος*. The *θῦμα*, or victim, which the verses mention, must be one of the sacred fish with which the basin was stocked. In certain Oriental rites, a pond for sacred fish was an

purpose of the marble slab. It is now exhibited in the first entrance court of the Museo Nazionale Romano. Pl. 3, Fig. 1.

[100] Possibly the name Gaionas is identical with the Syrian Gadonas which appeared on an inscription from Mashtala, CUMONT, *Études Syriennes*, 193, note 1. The cognomen Gaionas occurs in both Greek and Latin inscriptions, *cf.* HÜLSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxii (1907), 246.

[101] *CIL* xiv 24.

[102] *CIL* vi 420 = 30764 = DESSAU 398 = *IG* 985 = *IGRR* I, 33, no. 70; *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Heliopolitano | Κομμόδῳ | ἀνδρὶ βα[σι]λικ[ω]τ[άτῳ] | ἀσπιστῇ [τῆς] | οἰκουμ[ένης] | Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Commodo | Antonino Pio [Felici Aug.] | Sarm. Germanic[o] | trib. pot. X[I] imp. [VIII cos. V p. p.] | M. Antonius M. f. Ga[ionas] | Cl(audialis?) Aug(ustalis?) Quirin. e....us | Cistiber dedic(avit) u(rbis) c(onditae) [a(nno) DCCCC]XXXIX | Imp. Commodo A[n]ton[i]no Pio | Felice* (thus) *Aug. V. M. Acil(io) Glabrione | II cos. | III K. Dec. CIL* vi 30764 reads for the dedicant's name *MEGA....*; *IGRR* reads *M. f. Gal....* The *Corpus* gives *Quirin../////VS*, *IGRR* not. Dessau gives *QUIR(?) C.I EC...US*. In *Addenda*, vol. iii, 2 p. clxx, he accepts the restoration *Gai[onas]*.

[103] *CIL* vi 32316 = *IG* 1512 = *IGRR* I, 89, no. 235, *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) | Ἐνθάδε Γαιωνᾶς, ὃς Κίσ|ιβερ ἦν ποτε Ῥώμης | καὶ δείπνοις κρείνας | πολλὰ μετ' εὐφροσύνης | καῖμαι* (thus, for *κεῖμ-*) *τῷ θανάτῳ | μηδὲν ὀφειλόμενος | Gaionas animula.*

[104] *Κίσιβερ* in Greek is a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. The office seems to represent a survival in the empire of special police assistants appointed in 186 B. C. to aid in the suppression of the Bacchanalian rites. POMPONIUS, *Dig.*, i, 2, 2, 31, *Et quia magistratibus vespertinis temporibus in publicum esse inconveniens erat, quinque viri constituti sunt cis Tiberim et uls Tiberim qui possint pro magistratibus fungi. Ibid.* 33. *Et tamen hi quos Cistiberes dicimus, postea* [*per*?] *aediles senatus consulto creabantur. Cf.* LIVY, xxxix, 14, 10, *Adiutores triumviris quinque viri uls cis Tiberim suae quisque regionis aedificiis praeessent.* See MOMMSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii³, 611 ff., who states however that the office did not exist under the Empire. GAUCKLER, 43, 4, has proposed to change the term to *cistifer*, the bearer of a *cista* in religious rites. But the office of *cistiber* definitely existed in Rome. Moreover, in both inscriptions of Gaionas, the word is spelled in the same way, a fact which makes GAUCKLER'S suggestion untenable. In the *lex Tappula* of Vercellae (*CIL* v, *supp. Ital.*, 898), VON PREMERSTEIN, *Hermes* xxxix (1904), 327 ff., has restored v. 2 *.....ius Tapponis f. Tappo cis*[*tiber*]; since the *lex Tappula* was a *lex convivalis*, and therefore probably referred to banquets, he has suggested that the word *δειπνοκρίτης* is an explanatory synonym of *Κίσιβερ Ῥώμης*. WISSOWA, *Hermes* xlix (1914), 626—629, followed VON PREMERSTEIN, with the added comment that the duties of the *cistiberes* probably included the supervision of *epula publica*, which the *aediles*, to whom the *cistiberes* were subordinate, directed. Consideration of the rites of Syrian cults, however, shows that ritual banquets were a common ceremony and that Gaionas' title *δειπνοκρίτης* must refer to his religious office in this cult imported from his native land. The title *cistiber*, on the contrary, was a Roman civic title. As in Rome, a man might hold both civil and religious posts at the same time, so in Syria it was customary for temple priests to hold public office: see FÉVRIER, *La religion des Palmyréniens* (Paris, 1931), 167 ff. Gaionas in Rome was following Syrian as well as Roman tradition in being at once a public and a religious official.

[105] CUMONT, "Gaionas le *δειπνοκρίτης*", *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1917, 275—284. It does not seem necessary to repeat here the previous interpretations of this inscription, all of which Cumont's explanation has rendered void.

essential part of the temple equipment. At some time, then, during the empire, the Eastern residents of Trastevere took possession of the *lucus Furrinae* for the celebration of their rites.

To Cicero, who probably expressed a popular notion, the identity of Furrina was already confused: *Si haec (Hecate) dea est, cur non Eumenides? Quae si deae sunt, quarum et Athenis fanum est et apud nos, ut ego interpretor, lucus Furrinae, Furiae deae sunt, speculatrices, credo, et vindices facinorum et sceleris.*[106] It has been customary to dismiss Cicero's association of Furrina with the Furiae or Eumenides as the result of a specious resemblance of names.[107] But some relationship, however vague, may have existed between the two, and Cicero's remark may contribute something to our knowledge of the character of the goddess. Altheim has offered an explanation.[108] Since one inscription mentioned a *genius Forinarum* and a second *Νύνφες Φορρῖνες*, there was implied an identification of Furrina with nymphs, "the incarnation of the natural forces of the earth," as Altheim defines them. The Eumenides, similarly, were chthonic deities, at once beneficent and inexorable, and goddesses of the underworld as well. Moreover, in a list of divinities of Hades, Martianus Capella has included Furrina.[109] Since Furrina's Etruscan origin seems probable, Altheim has concluded that originally she was "an Etruscan form of the earth-mother."[110] However, the presence of nymphs need not necessarily imply that Furrina possessed dominion over the forces of the earth, and Altheim has greatly magnified the powers of nymphs. Almost invariably nymphs were guardians of springs.[111] As the results of Gauckler's excavations show, there is incontestable proof of springs and water-courses on the site of the *lucus Furrinae*. It seems proper, therefore, to infer that the original goddess was an aquatic deity.[112] As her rites declined and foreign influences penetrated Roman cult, the goddess of springs lost her identity and acquired a multiple nature, as the designation *Νύνφες Φορρῖνες* attests. If, as Altheim believes, the original goddess was Etruscan, she was almost certainly an Etruscan goddess of springs.

There is no doubt of the degeneration of the cult of Furrina and a substitution of other deities in her place. But the date of the change presents new problems. Here the peculiar association of the grove with the death of Gaius Gracchus deserves attention. Momentarily the partisans of Gaius Gracchus were stunned by his death, and for a year at least, while his enemy Opimius was in power, they could give no expression to their grief. The decline of this consul, who had successfully manoeuvred the death of Gaius Gracchus, began with his prosecution in the following year. Then, at last, the admirers of the Gracchi consecrated the scenes of their deaths as places for offerings and sacrifices. The *lucus Furrinae*, far from being abandoned, was dedicated to this new purpose, at least temporarily. But it is in the period of Opimius' ascendancy that its fortunes challenge curiosity. Immediately after the death of Gracchus, his followers were outraged when their enemy, the consul Opimius, restored the temple of Concord, perhaps intending an allusion to the harmony which he had achieved through bloodshed.[113] As Augustine remarked, the new temple, on the very spot where riots had occurred, was intended to be a *seditionis obstaculum*, a restraint to those who might imitate the example of the Gracchi.[114] It is possible, as well, that the grove of Furrina may have been converted to a similarly ominous purpose, the worship of the Eumenides. In Greek tragedy the Erinyes, alert to punish sin and to impose their crude justice, pursued malefactors until Athena placated their cruel spirits and established them in Athens as the *Σεμναὶ Θεαί*, goddesses of concord. After the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus had set forth the story of the avenging goddesses, the terms *Erinyes* and *Eumenides* became synonymous and Latin poets could translate *Erinys* as *Eumenis*.[115] Certainly the conversion of the grove of Furrina to a sanctuary of the Eumenides would accord with the policy of reconciliation which had prompted the building of the temple of Concord. It would not be the dreadful aspect of the Eumenides which Opimius meant to emphasize, but rather their function as peace-makers which they had proclaimed so magnificently in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus:

[106] *De Nat. Deor.*, iii, 46.

[107] WISSOWA, 240, calls the confusion "bloße Spielerei".

[108] ALTHEIM, 116–8.

[109] MART. CAP., ii, 164.

[110] Although ALTHEIM'S conception of the original nature of Furrina may be questioned, it is possible that a chthonic power was worshipped at some time in the *lucus Furrinae*. The following inscription was not mentioned by him. Three polished marble lintel blocks found on the site bore the words *πουλυβοτείρη, καὶ τοὺς μὲν, θυηκό[ος]*, *CIL* vi 36805. The rough backs of the blocks imply that they had been set into masonry or had formed an architrave. (GAUCKLER, 243, suggests that these blocks may have formed part of the altar of the Antonine temple). Apparently they belonged to a sanctuary, since there is mention of a *θυηκόος*. *Πουλυβοτείρη* is a stock epithet of *χθών*, usually occurring at the end of a hexameter in the Homeric phrase, *ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ*; see HÜLSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxii (1907), 239—242. *Χθονὶ* therefore may have preceded *πουλυβοτείρη* on the stone, which perhaps recorded a dedication to Earth.

[111] *Cf.* note 93 above.

[112] CICERO may be referring to a shrine of Furrina near Satricum which he locates significantly near a bridge: *ab eo ponticulo qui est ad Furinae Satricum versus; ad Quint. fr.*, iii, 1, 4.

[113] APP., *B. C.*, i, 26; PLUT., *C. Gracchus*, 17; CIC., *Pro Sest.*, 140.

[114] AUGUST., *De Civ. Dei*, iii, 25 f.

[115] For an excellent discussion of the Eumenides, see VERRALL'S introduction to his edition of the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus (Cambridge, 1908), especially xxxi—xxxvii.

"May the roar of Faction, hungry for evil, never be heard in this place; nor the dust, slaked with the red blood of brethren, grow eager and greedy for brute retribution on brethren slain in revenge! But may they rejoice one another, loving with common affection, and hating as with one soul! For among men, this mendeth much."[116]

The steady infiltration of Greek literary ideas into Rome during the third and second centures before Christ made it certain that an allusion to the Eumenides would carry conviction. The *Eumenides* of Ennius, which had the play of Aeschylus for its prototype, must have been well-known at the time of Gracchus. There were even superficial resemblances between the shrines of the Eumenides in Athens and in Rome. In Athens, at the northeast corner of the Areopagus, the shrine was a deep fissure in the rock which contained a spring.[117] The site which the *Eumenides* occupied at Rome also possessed a spring, and its location on a dark hill-side may have suggested the seclusion of the Attic shrine. The literary tradition with which the Optimates surrounded the history of the Gracchi had many elements which attracted the "romancing historians" in the period after the Gracchan age.[118] But as far as Gaius Gracchus himself was concerned, the desire of the Optimates was only to direct attention to the harmony which his death had conferred. Immediately after he died, the *lucus Furrinae* may have become a grove of the Eumenides, awful spirits, to be sure, but spirits of peace. Thus the dedication of the grove was comparable to the dedication of the temple of Concord in the forum. Yet Cicero's expression, *speculatores . . . et vindices facinorum et sceleris,* should not be forgotten. The diversion of religious usage to political expediency finds interesting expression in the vicissitudes of the *lucus Furrinae.*

LUDI PISCATORII

The *ludi piscatorii* afford an instance, rare in Trastevere, of religious observances which came within the ken of the officials of Rome. Fishermen's games, as Festus related in a rambling definition, were performed there annually in June under the supervision of the *praetor urbanus. Ludi piscatorii vocantur qui quotannis mense Iunio trans Tiberim fieri solent a praetore urbano pro piscatoribus Tiberinis, quorum quaestus non in macellum pervenit sed fere in aream Vulcani, quod id genus pisciculorum vivorum datur ei deo pro animis humanis.*[119] The statement should be compared with Ovid's description of fishermen's games which he claimed to have seen on June 7, presumably in the Campus Martius.

Tunc ego me memini ludos in gramine Campi
aspicere et dici, lubrice Thybri, tuos.
festa dies illis, qui lina madentia ducunt,
quique tegunt parvis aera recurva cibis.[120]

In the accounts of Ovid and Festus there are the wide diversities of expression of a poet and of a sober lexicographer. Ovid, silent about the technicalities of the celebration, recorded that the games were in honor of Father Tiber, certainly an appropriate deity for fishermen to worship.[121] There has been some futile conjecture in the effort to reconcile the contradictory notices of Ovid and Festus on the location of the games. As a solution, scholars have suggested that Trastevere was the scene of the official part of the ceremony.[122] This would probably be a sacrifice conducted by the *praetor urbanus* and preceding the games which Ovid saw in the open spaces of the Campus Martius.

Participants in the *ludi piscatorii* may well have been members of the *corpus piscatorum et urinatorum totius alvei Tiberis.*[123] Festus, however, was anxious to explain that the occupation of these fishermen was not to supply fish for the public markets, but rather for the *area Vulcani* in the forum. Here, he believed, fish were obtained for a vicarious sacrifice at the Vulcanalia in August, when live fish were offered to Vulcan in place of human beings.[124] The intervention of the *praetor urbanus* is of prime importance. To explain this official direction of the games, it

[116] *Eumenides,* 977—88, translated by VERRALL.

[117] PAUSAN., i, 28, 6; JUDEICH, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich, 1931), 300.

[118] See EITREM, "C. Gracchus und die Furien," *Philologus,* lxxviii (1922), 183—187. On Republican historiography, see FRANK, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, California, 1930), 172—185.

[119] FESTUS, 232 L, 274 L; FESTUS (PAULUS), 233 L. The quotation is from FESTUS, 274 L.

[120] *Fasti,* vi, 237—40. *In gramine Campi* is a conventional expression for the Campus Martius.

[121] WISSOWA, 225, accepts OVID'S statement as a possibility.

[122] O. GILBERT, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom* (Leipzig, 1883—1890), i, 250, note 2; WALTZING, i, 238; J. G. FRAZER, *The Fasti of Ovid* (London, 1929), iv, 171, noting the differences in location given by Ovid and Festus, suggested that the sanctuary of Tiber on the Tiber island, "situated half-way between the two banks, may have been the central point of the celebration." It is difficult to conceive how any festivities could have been held on the island, crowded as it was with sanctuaries.

[123] *CIL* vi 1872 = DESSAU, 7266, A. D. 206. The provenience of this inscription is unknown. *Cf.* WALTZING, i, 237; MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (Leipzig, 1885), iii, 138, note 5; WISSOWA, *loc. cit.* above in n. 121. *CIL* vi 29700 and 29702 are inscriptions commemorating *patroni* of this *collegium,* which must be assigned to Rome and not to Ostia: see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 639, note 43.

[124] VARRO, *Ling. Lat.,* vi, 20, on the sacrifice at the Vulcanalia says *animalia,* however. The sacrifice of fish was unusual, but a fish was offered to Tacita at the Parentalia, OVID, *Fasti,* ii, 571 ff. According to FRAZER, *op. cit.* above in n. 122, 170, the sacrifice was "a sort of fire-insurance" in which people attempted to propitiate Vulcan the fire-god by throwing animals or fish into the fire. See H. J. ROSE, *JRS.* xxiii (1933), 46—63.

has been proposed that fish were furnished without charge by the *corpus* to the public for use in the Vulcanalia, a kind of "liturgy" for the city.[125] In this way, an artificial connection which had not always existed was established between the *ludi piscatorii* and the Vulcanalia.

Unfortunately it is impossible to learn at what period the *praetor* assumed management of these games. Since Festus, following Verrius Flaccus, recorded the fact, it seems very probable that control of the *ludi piscatoiri* had devolved upon the *praetor urbanus* at some time before Augustus. The *praetor's* direction of the *ludi piscatorii* may even have been as ancient as his supervision of the *ludi Apollinares*, which dated from their foundation in 212 B. C.[126] Emphasis on the local character of the games, as well as their marked insignificance, suggests that originally they may have been local *ludi*, similar to the *ludi Capitolini* of the Capitoline or the *ludi Mercuriales* of the Aventine. Residents of these two hills were organized into *collegia* at the instance of the senate to celebrate games of local consequence.[127] But the presence of the *praetor urbanus* in the *ludi piscatorii* of Trastevere indicates an official interest, such as is not attested for the *ludi Capitolini* and *ludi Mercuriales*.

DIVAE CORNISCAE

An unusual inscription cut on a rough travertine cippus and found on the slope below S. Pietro in Montorio records a dedication to the *divae corniscae*.[128] Festus, fortunately, has explained that the *corniscae* were sacred crows in the care of Juno, who once possessed a grove across the Tiber.[129] From Festus' words, it would seem that the grove was no longer venerated in his day. On coins of Quintus Cornuficius, *ca.* 44—42 B. C., a crow appears, perched on the shield of Juno Sospita of Lanuvium. Certainly this sacred bird, the *cornix*, was introduced to suggest in punning fashion an allusion to the name of the moneyer.[130] Doubtless it was in her function as goddess of matrimony that crows were sacred to Juno Sospita of Lanuvium.[131] To Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, the crow signified constancy in marriage.[132] What motivated the choice of this remote spot in Trastevere for a sacred grove is still a baffling question. The inscription belongs in the Republican period, when the district was merely a rural region of Rome. In any case, the *divae corniscae*, although probably related to Juno, cannot have had any vital or indispensable connection with her state cult in the city on the left bank of the Tiber.

LARES

The minutely specialized powers of the Lares are immediately apparent in a review of their cult. Explanatory titles like *viales, semitales, viatorii,* or *permarini* are proof enough of the esteem in which the Lares were held as divinities whose prime function was the protection of some definite locality, be it a road, a path, or even the sea.[133] An altar from Falerii recorded a dedication to the Lares with three of these geographical epithets, *voto suscepto | Laribus | conpitalibus* (thus), *| vialibus, | [s]emitalibus | sacrum.*[134] Three small altars from Trastevere are analogous. They were found *in situ* on the right side of the Via Portuensis about one mile from Porta Portese, set side by side, facing the road, about 50 cm. from each other.[135] The two end altars were identical in form and lettering, one inscribed *Lares semitales* and the other *Lares viales*. But the central altar, of approximately the same size, was of a more friable tufa, set on a higher base, and engraved with an older type of letter. The reading *Lares* is certain, but the second word is partly defaced. Comparison with the other altars in the group would suggest that some topographical adjective should be supplied, and Gatti proposed the restoration *[c]uri[a]les*.[136] Probably the

[125] This is the theory of WALTZING, i, 238. *Cf.* GILBERT, *loc. cit.* above in n. 122.

[126] The suggestion of MOMMSEN, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, ii³, 1, 236, note 3. WISSOWA, 405, note 6, is uncertain how to classify the *ludi piscatorii*.

[127] MARQUARDT, *op. cit.* above in n. 123, iii, 135; WALTZING, i. 35.

[128] *CIL* 1², 975 = vi 96 = DESSAU 2986, *Devas | Corniscas | sacrum*. The letter forms are archaic; the words, *devas corniscas*, are in the dative plural. HÜLSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, x (1895), 63—65, has tried, but unconvincingly, to identify *Coronicei* of *CIL* vi 30858 = DESSAU 2987, with *cornices* and *corniscae*. *Cf. CIL* i² 976.

[129] FESTUS (PAULUS), 56 L; *Corniscarum divarum locus erat trans Tiberim cornicibus dicatus quod <in> Iunonis tutela esse putabantur*. LINDSAY accepts the manuscript reading *locus*; DACIER emends to *lucus*, which seems preferable and has been adopted by WISSOWA, in *Roscher* i, 930. According to DE RUGGIERO, ii, *s. v. Corniscae*, 1225, and AUST, *PW*, iv, 1663, the inscription may be written on the boundary marker of the grove, since the stone is shaped like a terminal cippus. I cannot accept the suggestion of L. PRELLER, *Röm. Myth.* (ed. 3 by H. JORDAN, Berlin, 1881), i, 101, that the *corniscae* were protecting goddesses of the sacred crows of Juno, but I follow AUST, *PW, loc. cit.*, who believes that *corniscae* and *cornices* are equivalent. WISSOWA in *Roscher*, i, 930, similarly assumes that the *corniscae* are birds.

[130] *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.*, ii, pp. 577 f., nos. 26—8.

[131] *Roscher*, ii, *s. v.* Juno, 608 f.

[132] AELIAN, *Hist. Anim.*, iii, 9; KELLER, *Die Antike Tierwelt* ii (Leipzig, 1913), 106.

[133] WISSOWA, 170; see also LAING, "The Origin of the Cult of the Lares," *Class. Phil.*, xvi (1921), 124—140.

[134] *CIL* xi 3079 = DESSAU 3634.

[135] *CIL* vi 36810—36812 = DESSAU 9251 a, b, c; *Not. Sc.*, 1907, 465; GATTI, *Bull. Com.*, xxxvi (1908), 42—47, pl. 4. The altars, found in the Vigna Jacobini during the construction of the railway, are now in the Museo Nazionale Romano.

[136] On the central altar, the first letter of the second word has disappeared, *uri* follows, the next letter is extremely poor, and the word ends in *les*. On the *Basis Capitolina*, *CIL* vi 975,

Lares Curiales of Trastevere and the Dei Curiales of Caere were analogous divinities, as Rosenberg has remarked.[137] Although the *curiae* were the oldest recorded local divisions which possessed common rites, they became decadent at an early period in the history of Rome. Still, memory of the original sacred character of the *curiae* was preserved to a slight degree in later times in the festival of the Fornacalia, celebrated by the *curio maximus*.[138] In Trastevere, a remote quarter of Rome, the late Republican inscription under discussion apparently commemorated the tutelary gods of an ancient *curia*.

After Augustus' administrative division of Rome into *regiones* and *vici*, four elective *magistri vicorum*, usually freedmen, were chosen annually to supervise the civic and religious activities of the localities from which they were elected.[139] Ancient *sacella* at cross-roads, dedicated to the *Lares Compitales*, remained the religious centers of the newly constituted urban districts, but became mainly subservient to the imperial cult. Henceforth dedications at *Compitalia* were *Laribus Augustis et Genio Caesaris*;[140] some of the picturesque character of the early *compita* festivals still lingered on when the *magistri vicorum* decorated the shrines with fresh flowers.[141]

So far it has been impossible to determine the boundaries of any of the *vici* of Trastevere, but two altars of the imperial *compita* shrines have been discovered. On comparison with other altars dedicated by *magistri vicorum*, there can be no doubt that an altar found in the Via Emilio Morosini was dedicated to the *Lares Augusti*. Both a designation of the deities and a date are lacking, but the names of four freedmen *magistri* make the identification quite certain.[142] Another altar was revealed, probably *in situ*, during the excavation of an ancient street corner, immediately south of the Aurelianic Wall at the tomb of Sulpicius Platorinus. Here the stone bore but two words, *Laribus Aug.*, but it evidently was the altar of another *vicus* of Trastevere.[143]

As worship of the Lares was steadily diverted to association with the imperial house, a special *collegium* was organized whose purpose was veneration of the Lares and the consecrated *imagines* of the emperor.[144] It is probable that the *collegium magnum Larum et imaginum*, as the association was called, added the activities of a burial society to its duties towards the imperial cult.[145] In Trastevere, two dedications were found from members of this *collegium*.[146] Both were addressed to Silvanus as the patron deity of the organization, a fact which probably indicates a *collegium funeraticium* with members of inferior social status. In this *collegium*, the cult of the Lares must have been decidedly subordinate.

right side, col. 3, line 1 = DESSAU 6073, a *vicus*, doubtfully called *vico Larum ruralium*, is named in the fourteenth region (Trastevere). *Putealium* was once suggested in place of *ruralium*, JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 669, note 124. But on the base the space between *u-* and *-lium* is actually too large for *ra*, and *ria* is preferable. Hence *vicus Larum Curialium* may be restored on the *Basis Capitolina*, according to GATTI, *loc. cit.*, 46 f. WISSOWA, 170, note 2, accepted GATTI'S restoration; likewise TOMASSETTI, *Bull. Com.*, xxxvii (1909), 19. There can be no special connection, as GATTI would maintain, between the temple of Fors Fortuna at the first milestone of the Via Portuensis and any *curia* in Trastevere. The festival of Fors Fortuna was conspicuously general, celebrated by plebs from the entire city and not restricted to any given locality.

[137] *CIL* xi 3593. See ROSENBERG, *Der Staat der alten Italiker* (Berlin, 1913), 133 f. GATTI did not note the inscription from Caere. The mention of the Dei Curiales in conjunction with the *genius* of the emperor recalls the cult of the Lares Compitales at Rome as reorganised by Augustus to include his own genius; see L. R. TAYLOR, *Local Cults in Etruria* (Rome, 1923), 121 f.

[138] See WISSOWA, 158.

[139] SUET., *Aug.*, 30,1; CASSIUS DIO, lv, 8,7; LIVY, xxxiv, 7, 2. The number four is confirmed by dedicatory inscriptions. *Cf.* WISSOWA, 172, note 3; MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii, 204 f.

[140] WISSOWA, 172.

[141] *Compitales Lares ornari bis anno instituit vernis floribus et aestivis*, SUET., *Aug.*, 31, 4.

[142] GATTI, *Bull. Com.*, xxxix (1911), 272—3, *CIL* vi 36851. The first three lines are lacking. There follows: *L. Cacurius....., Sex. Pomptinius....., L. Valerius Narcissus, M. Lusius Atticus, magistri.....* (a line lacking), *dedicat. VIII K. Febr.* Small branches of laurel were carved on the two sides, also the patera and ewer. L. 1 should read [*Laribus Augustis*] and have the name of the *vicus*. The names of the magistrates should be followed by the year of the dedication. GATTI had already discussed *compita* altars, *Bull. Com.*, xxxv (1906), 186—208, where he presents a chronological list of *magistri vicorum*.

[143] *CIL* vi 30952; *Not. Sc.*, 1880, 141; *Bull. Com.*, viii (1880), 133. The inscription was reported in the periodicals as *Laribus Sac.*, but the reading in the *Corpus* has been corrected to *Laribus Aug.* It was cut on a marble altar, 0.42 m. high, with the ewer and patera engraved on the sides. The exact point of its discovery is shown in *Not. Sc.*, 1880, pl. 4, fig. 1[a], point Q. Two dedicatory inscriptions to Silvanus were found in the same place, see p. 42, n. 151.

[144] Worship of the *imagines* of the imperial house probably existed on a small scale in the lifetime of Augustus: *cf.* OVID, *ex Ponto*, iv, 9, 105—110, who mentions a shrine in his house with images of the emperor and his wife, of Tiberius, and of Gaius and Lucius. Nola possessed an altar *Augusto sacrum*, later restored by a group styled *Laurinienses..... cultores d. d.* (*CIL* x 1238). TAC., Ann., i, 73, 2, mentions *cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domus in modum collegiorum habebantur*, and notes a case of sacrilegious treatment of a statue of Augustus.

[145] Inscriptions from various parts of the empire record dedications from this *collegium*, for example *CIL* vi 307 (A. D. 159); *CIL* iii 4038, from Pannonia; *CIL* viii Supp. 17143 (A. D. 128), from Numidia. The following *collegia* probably had a similar purpose: *cultores Augusti, cultores imaginum Caesaris nostri, cultores domus divinae*. According to WALTZING, i, 501, these were all probably funerary colleges as well. BOISSIER, *Rev. Arch.*, xxiii (1872), 84, believed that their only purpose was worship of the imperial family.

[146] *CIL* vi 671, 692. See. p. 43, n. 168.

PRIVATE CULTS AND CULTS OF COLLEGIA

In Trastevere the private shrines and dedications to the orthodox gods of Rome reflect the humble condition of the local residents. From a remote period, certain agricultural deities, Albionae, possessed a grove in the region, where private sacrifices were performed.[147] From the quantity of dedications to Bona Dea, it appears that there was a modest shrine of the goddess in Trastevere in the reign of Nero.[148] A crude but flourishing *sacellum* of Hercules, erected by a private citizen, stood outside Porta Portese.[149] In the vicinity an inscription was found which commemorated an *aedes* of Hercules Victor.[150] Whether these two sanctuaries may be identified or not, it is certain that a cult center of Hercules, maintained by private dedicants, lay near Porta Portese. A small enclosure containing an altar and an *aedes* represented a private shrine of Silvanus near the Ponte Sisto,[151] while an *aedicula* of the same god existed somewhere in the southern part of the district.[152] At another unknown site in the quarter, there was an *aedes* of Liber Pater and Diana.[153] Single private dedications to Febris[154] and Fortuna[155] were found in a sanctuary of Syrian gods. In addition, there were inscriptions of no special interest commemorating Antinous,[156] Apollo,[157] "Asclep(ius)",[158] Bacchus and Silenus,[159] Juno,[160] Jupiter Optimus Maximus,[161] and Mercury.[162]

In any Roman industrial community, dedications from *collegia* are necessarily conspicuous. Guilds of metal-workers, butchers, and flower-venders were devoted to the worship of Fors Fortuna at the sixth milestone of the Via Portuensis.[163] A similar commercial *collegium* of wine-merchants honored Liber Pater and Mercury.[164] In the same place where their dedication was found, a *collegium funeraticium* worshipped Fortuna Redux as their patroness.[165] A *collegium* was concerned with the worship of Fons,[166] while a *collegium dendrophorum*, combining religious and secular duties, adhered to the cult of Cybele as

[147] FESTUS (PAULUS), 4 L., *Albiona ager trans Tiberim dicitur a luco Albionarum quo luco bos alba sacrificabatur.* Since the same sacrificial victim, a *bos alba*, was offered to Dea Dia, and a *iunix alba* to Bona Dea Agrestis, it seems probable that the tutelary deities of the *lucus Albionarum* were similarly goddesses of agricultural operations. *Cf.* AUST, *PW*, i, 1316.

[148] Three inscriptions naming Bona Dea (*CIL* vi 65, 66, 67 = DESSAU 3500, 3501, 3501a) were found *in situ* under the Opera Pia Michelini in S. Pasquale, Via Anicia, 13. *CIL* vi 67 commemorates the gift of an image and *aedes* and implies the goddess' protection of an *insula Bolani* in Trastevere. From the lettering of the inscription, the *insula* must have belonged to M. Vettius Bolanus, *consul suffectus* in the reign of Nero, and not to his son of the same name who was *consul ordinarius* in A. D. 111; see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, iii, 411, 323—4. The Roman well near which the inscription was discovered may have stood in the court of the *insula Bolani*. *CIL* vi 75 = DESSAU 3508, a dedication to Bona Dea Oclata, was found in the garden of Sta. Maria dell'Orto. The epithet *Oclata* is probably an adjectival equivalent of the phrase, *ob luminibus restitutis* (thus) of *CIL* vi 68. One other dedication to Bona Dea was found in the immediate vicinity; see *CIL* vi 36766.

[149] *Not. Sc.*, 1889, 243—247, illustrated on 244 f.; BORSARI, *Bull. Com.*, xviii (1890), 9; HÜLSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, vi (1891), 149 f., with figures; *CIL* vi 30891 a and b, 30892. The rock-cut *sacellum* and large altar before it were destroyed in 1889. A figurine among the dedications showed Hercules reclining on a *lectus* and recalled the entry *Hercules Cubans*, probably the name of a *vicus*, in the lists of the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* for the fourteenth region (JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 644). Possibly the statuette from the *sacellum* was a copy of some heroic statue which was responsible for the name of a *vicus*; see BORSARI, *loc. cit.* The discovery in the same area of seven marble portrait heads of charioteers, suggests that the sanctuary may have been a "center of worship of Hercules by the charioteers," of whom the god was a favourite. See PETER, *Roscher*, i, 2, 2979 f.; LANCIANI, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (Boston/New York, 1897), 455. The identification of the portraits as charioteers is due to PETERSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, vi (1891), 237 f. The seven heads are now in the Museo Nazionale Romano: see HELBIG, *Führer*[3], i, p. 183, nos. 1431—7.

[150] *CIL* vi 332 = DESSAU 1135. The note on *CIL* vi 30892 states that no. 332 was found on the same site as the sanctuary of Hercules Cubans.

[151] *CIL* vi 31024; *Not. Sc.*, 1880, 141. This inscription was found near the *Cellae Vinariae Nova et Arruntiana*, large wine-cellars north of the Aurelianic Wall north of the Ponte Sisto; *cf.* JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 651. *CIL* vi 31016, an altar to Silvanus, was found in the vicinity.

[152] *CIL* vi 642 (A. D. 97), restored on the analogy of *CIL* vi 641 = DESSAU 3540. The names of the dedicants may be restored by comparing *CIL* vi 950. A single dedication to Silvanus was found in the remains of the *Excubitorium* of the *Cohors VII Vigilum* in Trastevere, *CIL* vi 579 = DESSAU 3520.

[153] *CIL* vi 36815 = DESSAU 9242.

[154] See p. 50 f.

[155] See p. 51. In this case, Fortuna was construed as the equivalent of Atargatis.

[156] *IG* xiv 960 = *IGRR* i 31; *cf. IG* xiv 961 = *IGRR* i 32.

[157] *CIL* vi 24.

[158] *CIL* vi 13 (A. D. 228).

[159] *CIL* vi 49.

[160] *CIL* vi 36785; *cf. CIL* vi 36772.

[161] *CIL* vi 393.

[162] *Bull. Com.*, xli, 1913, 77 *cf. CIL* vi 519.

[163] *CIL* i[2] 977, 978, 979, 980.

[164] *CIL* vi 8826 = DESSAU 7276. The inscription is from the *collegium Liberi Patris et Mercuri* of the *negotiantes* of the *Cellae Vinariae Nova et Arruntiana*. The exact site of its discovery is shown in *Not. Sc.*, 1880, pl. 4, fig. 1, at point 8 in the trapezoidal area CDFG. It has been suggested that this was the *schola* of the *collegium*; *cf.* WALTZING, i, 211—215.

[165] *CIL* vi 10251 = DESSAU 7336. The dedication, cut on a small marble altar, was set up by a member of the *collegium salutare* of which Fortuna Redux was patroness. It represents the only instance of a *collegium* under her protection. The altar was found in the excavation of the *Cellae Vinariae Nova et Arruntiana*; see note 164 above.

[166] See p. 30 f. above.

well as Silvanus.[167] Members of another college, the *collegium magnum Larum et imaginum* of the imperial house, made dedications to Silvanus.[168]

In having official supervision of its annual *ludi*, the *corpus* of Tiber fishermen was exceptional among the guilds of Trastevere.[169]

PART II

THE ORIENTAL GODS OF TRASTEVERE

With private worship in Trastevere, the cults of Oriental deities must be included, for none of those in this region seems to have had the sanction of the state. In sharp contrast to private dedications to Greek and Roman gods, the shrines of Oriental divinities were richer and more extensive. At least two large sanctuaries were built for the worship of Syrian gods, and there were numerous miscellaneous dedications.

DEA SYRIA

The Syrian Atargatis, known as *Συρία Θεά* in Greece and as Dea Syria in Italy, became by virtue of her manifold powers and mystic rites one of the most powerful of Syrian deities in Rome. Through slaves captured in Eastern wars and itinerant traders, the cult of Atargatis began to spread over the Roman world as early as the second century before Christ. The commercial island of Delos, a gathering place of many nationalities, was especially prominent in the propagation of her rites.[170] In ancient literature, Lucian's essay on the goddess in Hierapolis and Apuleius' description of her wandering priests are the most extensive accounts of the cult.[171] Archaeological research, especially in the Orient, has supplemented these descriptions.

Two statues with bases formerly in the Mattei gardens in Trastevere constituted offerings to Dea Syria and to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The former showed a mutilated image of the goddess seated between two lions, and the latter Jupiter majestically flanked by two bulls. Both statues were set up by the same dedicants in fulfilment of a vow for the safety of an emperor whose name, as the result of a *memoriae damnatio*, was erased on both inscribed bases.[172] In his publication of the inscriptions, Henzen proposed the restoration *Maximini*, as the name of the emperor. But Jordan, followed by Dessau, rejected the suggestion and preferred to substitute the name of Nero or Domitian, a correction which seems entirely justified. Both these emperors suffered *memoriae damnatio* and both had the title *Germanicus*. Moreover, the mention of the three *nomina* of the dedicants and the designation *Sp. f.* would be unusual in the third century.[173]

With the support of a literary notice, Jordan has ingeniously utilized his restoration in an attempt to establish the location of a temple of Dea Syria in Rome in Nero's reign. The *Chronographus* of the year 354 recorded the incredible capacity of a gastronomic freak who lived in the time of Alexander Severus: ..... *hoc imp. fuit polyfagus natione Italus qui manducavit pauca; cistam, latucas, vascellum sardinarium, sardas X, melopepones LXX,* ..... et *ebibit vini grecanicum plenum et venit ad templum Iasurae et ebibit labrum plenum et adhuc esuriens esse videbatur.*[174] Jordan suggested that probably the notice was interpolated from a similar account of a Neronian glutton in the *Chronographus*: *hoc. imp. fuit polyfagus natione Alexandrinus nomine Arpocras, qui manducavit pauca: aprum coctum, gallinam vivam cum suas sibi pinnas, ova C, pineas C,* ..... *et adhuc esuriens esse videbatur.*[175] Here, however, there is no mention of a *templum Iasurae;* and Jordan's argument for an interpolation is not convincing.[176] The name of Dea Syria underwent many variations, especially in inscriptions, where it might be written *Diasura, Diassura,* or even *Iasura*. In the present text, the corruption betrays a confused interpretation of *Iasurae* in the archetype of the manuscript. If, then, a temple of Dea Syria was located in Rome in the

[167] *CIL* vi 642; *cf.* note 152 above. The dedication to Silvanus Dendrophorus was the first from Rome to imply the existence of a *collegium dendrophorum* in the rites of Cybele.

[168] *CIL* vi 671 = 30808, 36751 = DESSAU 3543; *CIL* vi 692 = DESSAU 3542. *Cf. CIL* vi 582, 630 to Silvanus as the patron of the *collegia magna Larum et imaginum* of the imperial house. *Cf.* note 302 below.

[169] See p. 39 f.

[170] See CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*[4], 95—124 for an excellent account of Syrian penetration in the Roman Empire and the spread of the cult of Atargatis.

[171] LUCIAN, *De Dea Syria*; APULEIUS, *Metam.*, viii, 24—30.

[172] *CIL* vi 116 = DESSAU 4274; *CIL* vi 117 = DESSAU 4275. *CIL* vi 116, *Deae Suriae sacr. voto suscepto pro salute*..... *Aug. Germanici pontificis maximi tr. pot. D. Veturius Antigonus, D. Veturius Sp. f. Philo, D. Veturius Albanus pater cum filis posuit. CIL* vi 117, *I. O. M. sacr. voto suscept. pro salute*..... *Aug. Germanici pontificis maximi tr. pot. D. Veturius* (*et reliqua quae supra*). Another inscription from Rome gives a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Dea Syria, and the *genius venalici*: *CIL* vi 399 = DESSAU 3674.

[173] JORDAN, "Das Templum Deae Syriae in Rom," *Hermes*, vi (1872), 320—322; DESSAU, *ad loc.*

[174] MOMMSEN, *Chronica Minora*, i, 147 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Antiq.*, ix).

[175] *Ibid.*, 146. *Cf.* SUET., *Nero*, 37, 2.

[176] *Cf.* WISSOWA 361, note 2.

time of Alexander Severus, it should logically be found in Trastevere, the quarter outside the *pomoerium* in which most Syrian deities were worshipped under the Empire. The existence in Trastevere in Renaissance times of these inscriptions, which probably bore Nero's name, as well as the Neronian date of a literary notice which Jordan associated with a temple of Dea Syria, led that scholar to the conclusion that a temple of the goddess stood in Trastevere while Nero ruled. Moreover, in the first year of that emperor's reign, he had a passing inclination for the cult of Dea Syria, *religionum usque quaque contemptor praeter unius deae Syriae.*[177] Gauckler's discovery, in the Syrian sanctuary, of a temple which he dates under Nero might provide some support for Jordan's theory, but, as the next section will show, there is no real proof, and the provenience of the stones is not attested.

Like the dedicatory statues to Jupiter and Dea Syria, a small marble altar was exhibited as early as Renaissance times in the Mattei gardens.[178] In a crude low relief on the front the goddess is shown seated on a throne with a lion at either side. She wears a conical head-dress topped by a crescent on which a leaf is carved. Both hands are raised; in the left, she holds the mirror of Aphrodite, in the right a pomegranate. Such a representation of the goddess vaguely recalls her sumptuous cult statue in Hierapolis which Lucian described.[179] If the altar may be dated in the reign of Nero, it may well have been placed for a short time in a shrine favored by his patronage.[180] That this shrine was located in Trastevere is suggested by the appearance of the altar among the collection of antiquities possessed by Battista Mattei.[181]

[177] SUET., *Nero*, 56.

[178] *CIL* vi 115, 30696 = DESSAU 4276. The altar is now in the Capitoline Museum; see STUART JONES, *Catalogue of the ... Museo Capitolino*, p. 92, no. 11 a; pl. 33, no. 11 A. It is also illustrated in CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*[4], 96, fig. 6.

[179] *De Dea Syria*, 32.

[180] CESANO, *De Ruggiero*, ii, 2, p. 1469, dates the altar in this period.

[181] On Battista Mattei as a collector of memorials of Oriental cults, see *Bull. Com.*, viii (1880), 10. General considerations are in favor of local provenience for most of these. However, given his special interest in this particular class of ancient religious monument, some or all of the stones in question may have been brought from a greater distance; and this is true also of many inscriptions recorded as in Renaissance collections. Other inscriptions formerly in his possession, relating to Oriental cults, have been used for the present study when there appeared to be corroborative reasons for considering them Transtiberine in origin.

For the use of inscriptions in Renaissance gardens, see especially HÜLSEN, *Röm. Antikengärten des xvi. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg *Abh., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 4, Heidelberg, 1917), x f.

THE SYRIAN SANCTUARY OF THE JANICULUM

INTRODUCTION

The discovery on the Janiculum of a temple largely devoted to Syrian gods is of vast significance in the history of Oriental religions in Rome. The temple was located on the eastern slope of what was then the Villa Wurts (formerly the Villa Sciarra and now so renamed) close to the Via Dandolo. Cardinal Ottoboni, who owned the property in 1720, had once attempted amateur excavations on the eastern hillside of his villa.[182] Before anything noteworthy was accomplished, a collapse of earth in the excavations caused the death of two workmen and ended the Cardinal's project.[183] In March, 1907, renewed interest in the site was aroused by the discovery of several inscriptions and fragments of extraordinary significance. Mr. George Wurts, the proprietor of the villa, reported the finds to an English scholar, Welborne Saint-Clair Baddeley, who announced them in a letter to the *Times* on March 15, 1907. On the same date, the French archaeologist, Paul Gauckler, described the inscriptions in a communication to the Académie des Inscriptions (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1907, pp. 135—159). With the permission of the Società "Gianicolo", which held adjacent property, Gauckler, assisted by Gaston Darier and Georges Nicole, began excavations near the Villa Wurts on May 27, 1908. In June, 1909, however, a new law of the Italian government transferred the administration of the excavations to Italian authorities, ending Gauckler's direction immediately. His untimely death followed in 1911. In the following year, all his reports which had appeared in various archaeological periodicals were collected by his sister and published in one volume, *Le Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule.*[184] Gauckler had planned a definitive publication of his excavations which would have attempted a correlation of the results. Although the posthumous volume is necessarily repetitious and at times unfinished, it is an adequate memorial of Gauckler's thorough and

[182] GAUCKLER, pl. xv, from the *Pianta Topografica di Roma* of G. B. NOLLI, shows the plan of the Villa Sciarra and adjacent property in 1748.

[183] CASSIO, *Corso delle Acque*, i, 147 f. (quoted by GAUCKLER, 130—132), related the story of the Cardinal's excavations.

[184] The volume contains articles from the following journals: *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1907, 135 ff.; *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale*, xxxv (1907), 45 ff.; *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1908, 510; *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, xxviii (1908), 283 ff.; *id.* xxix (1909), 239 ff.; *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1909, 424 ff.; *ibid.*, 1909, 617 ff.; *ibid.*, 1910, 378 ff. Citations in this study are all from the single volume, *Le Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule* (Paris, 1912).

important work. In 1920 Gaston Darier published a complete bibliography of articles which referred to the sanctuary.[185] Since the excavations were by no means completed in 1909, there is every hope of impressive results from the Italian excavations which will soon be resumed. The following pages present a summary and analysis of Gauckler's finds.

THE THREE TEMPLES OF THE SYRIAN SANCTUARY

From the dedicatory inscriptions which Gauckler found in his preliminary excavations, there seemed no doubt that a sanctuary of Syrian gods had existed in the vicinity of the Villa Sciarra. Since the temples of Eastern cults nearly always stood on heights, a site near the summit of the Janiculum, the highest point in Rome, represented an obvious choice for a sanctuary devoted to Oriental cults. The abundant supply of pure water, so essential to Eastern rituals, was another desirable feature of the location on the Janiculum. When Gauckler's excavations ended, he had discovered the traces of three successive buildings, one of which he dated in the reign of Nero, the second in the period of the Antonines, and the last in the fourth century.

Previously the site had been a Roman sanctuary, the *lucus Furrinae*.[186] The subsequent dedications to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Hadad, Jupiter Maleciabrudus, and Zeus Keraunios, are incontrovertible evidence that the old Roman worship was replaced by a genuine cult center of the deities of Syria. Although no specific dedication to Dea Syria was found, Gauckler would identify the earliest remains which he discovered with a temporary sanctuary which Nero may have built during his brief admiration of the goddess. In the absence of more cogent evidence, Gauckler's theory of a Neronian shrine seems to lack support.

THE SHRINE DATED BY GAUCKLER UNDER NERO

From the meagre remains, it appears that the first sanctuary on the site was not an actual temple, but merely a sacred enclosure.[187] It probably consisted simply of an open rectangular temenos, orientated precisely according to the points of the compass. On the eastern side, Gauckler found a long stretch of masonry of the boundary (α, β).[188] The *structura testacea* of which it was built, he dated in the reign of Nero. Since the criteria for dating Roman buildings were not yet established at the time of Gauckler's work, it seems that his attribution may be erroneous. Below this wall on the hillside lay the pond for the sacred fish, indispensable in certain Syrian rites. The northern side of the enclosure, which coincided with the side of the deep ravine on the site, was composed of a single line of empty wine amphoras of various shapes and sizes (π, ϱ). They were set upright in the earth and seemed to mark the northern boundary.[189] Close beside the row of amphoras this boundary was completed by an open water channel which was covered before it reached the sacred pond. Since the pond prevented access to the sanctuary at the east, there was a crude stairway cut in the northern hillside. A bridge crossed the channel and led to the entrance, a break in the row of amphoras, near the northeast corner of the enclosure. On the western side, slight traces of a tufa retaining wall were found (ψ, ω) which divided the temenos into two terraces. The altar and *adyton* probably lay on the upper terrace, while the lower terrace formed an open court. On the western slope above the temenos there was probably a consecrated fountain at the site of the spring.

The pond on the eastern boundary was actually a vast reservoir built of extremely thick walls faced in reticulate; a low parapet separated it from the temenos. The reservoir was more than 5 m. deep and about 25 m. wide, but its length could not be determined. Worshippers might walk along the parapet and throw offerings into the pond. As long as any ceremonies took place in the sanctuary, the pond was a necessary part of its equipment. But after the edicts of A. D. 341, 353, 354 (346?), and 356, which closed all the pagan shrines in Rome, the reservoir was so thoroughly filled that not a trace of it remained any longer visible.[190]

THE ANTONINE TEMPLE AND ITS FAVISSA

The first sanctuary on the Janiculum seems to have been abandoned for about one century. The accession of Commodus, an initiate in the mysteries of Isis and Mithras,[191] assured imperial protection to oriental cults and probably gave impetus to a rebuilding on the site of the temenos. The most conspicuous member of the new religious community was the Romanized Syrian already mentioned, M. Antonius Gaionas. Perhaps it is of some significance that one of his dedications was for the safety of the emperor Commodus.[192] In many

[185] *Les Fouilles du Janicule* (Geneva, 1920). The official Italian publication is by A. PASQUI, in *Not. Sc.*, 1909, 389—410, citing earlier reports.

[186] See pp. 35—39.

[187] For a description of this building, see GAUCKLER, 249—253, 263—269.

[188] All references in parentheses in the text refer to the plan of the temples on Plate 2, based on Gauckler's plate LI, opposite p. 264; *cf.* also Gauckler's plate XXXV opposite p. 222.

[189] See GAUCKLER, pls. XLVIII, XLIX.

[190] GAUCKLER, 255, 270, dates the closing from the general prohibitive edict of 341, under Constans and Constantius II, *Cod. Theod.* xvi, 10, 2. The edicts of 353, 354 (346?), and 356, *Cod. Theod.* xvi, 10, 4 (= *Cod. Iust.* i, 11, 1) —6, refer to nocturnal sacrifices, closing of temples, and the like.

[191] LAMPRID., *Vita Commodi*, 9.

[192] On the career of Gaionas, see p. 37 above.

respects the temple of Antonine date followed the plan of its predecessor which lay 2 m. beneath it. It consisted of a square open temenos, probably at least 32 m. on a side.[193] Again the temple was orientated exactly according to the points of the compass. On the eastern side, a long retaining wall of rough tufa blocks (a, b) followed the line of the eastern wall of the Neronian sanctuary (α, β). The earlier wall was thicker and consequently projected slightly beneath. Excavations were not completed so as to determine how far the Antonine wall extended in a southern direction, but on the northern side it ended definitely where the steep slope began. Further investigation of the sanctuary revealed an extraordinary plan which has never been satisfactorily explained. On the northern side a single row of wine amphoras, stuck upright in the ground (r, s), was comparable to the short line of amphoras found in the Neronian sanctuary (π, ϱ). This row in the Antonine temple seemed to mark a boundary. However, another line (l, m), set in the ground in the same way, lay perpendicularly to r, s and does not appear to have marked an enclosure line. In order to explain this unusual arrangement, Gauckler suggested that these rows of amphoras divide the temenos into four equal parts as if to define the boundaries of a *templum*.[194] r, s denoted one boundary line, l, m marked the *cardo*, and the *decumanus* was yet to be found. The theory completely lacks support. In the first place, no evidence exists to show that any permanent marks were left to define the lines of a *cardo* and *decumanus*.[195] Excavations on the site have not been sufficiently extended to determine whether or not another line of amphoras intersected l, m. Above all, there is no reason for believing that the augurs of Rome would have performed the ceremony of *inauguratio* for a temple of foreign gods unrecognized by the state.

Another curious arrangement of amphoras was revealed in the Antonine temple. Along the northern boundary, but within the temenos, a trench had been dug to serve as a *favissa*. Upon the earth thrown up from the trench a wall had been made, about 2 m. high, of oil amphoras laid on their sides (p, q).[196] All were of the same size and shape, but like the wine amphoras lacked stamps or marks of identification, a fact which suggests that they were made especially for the purpose. The wall which they formed seems to be unique in Roman or Syrian construction, although Ostia, in a street to the east of the great baths, exhibits a well with sides constructed of jars, and rows of amphoras occur in the garden of the house of the Loreii Tiburtini at Pompeii. With the single row of wine amphoras, the intermediate ditch, and the high wall of oil amphoras, entrance on the northern side was impossible except for one very small opening.

This boundary of the sanctuary became stouter as the trench beyond the amphora wall was filled with the usual accumulation of a temple *favissa*. In a deep bed of ashes and burned bones of birds and small animals, the excavators discovered an immense deposit of vases, lamps, coins, and plates of terra-cotta, glass, or metal. Among the objects of special interest were some fragments of enameled tiles which may have been importations from the Orient. A quantity of peculiarly curved handles seem to have belonged to *situla*-like containers and are apparently without parallel in Rome.[197] All were broken and lay in piles in the middle and uppermost layers of the *favissa*. By far the most abundant objects in the trench were small terra-cotta vases about 10 cm. high. Even today scores of them lie heaped in the excavations. Three types recur constantly, one flask-shaped, another pear-shaped, and a third carrot-shaped.[198] All had covers and pointed ends. Evidently they were kept upright by sticking them in specially cut pieces of bone, since several were found to be so placed.[199] From the shape of these vases, each with a lip and a fairly definite neck, it seems that their prototype must have been in glass rather than in clay. However after a careful investigation no comparable examples have been found. It is significant, however, that a glass vase from Syria most closely approximates the type.[200]

The fountain basin which Gaionas had dedicated, the δεσμὸς κρατερός, lay west of the sanctuary on the hill-side.[201] Covered drainage canals from the spring flowed by both sides of the temenos, u, t on the north side, and e, f on the south. The latter channel supplied water to the *delubrum* of the temple, a room where ritual ablutions were performed.[202] It comprised two small communicating rooms paved in black-and-white mosaics (c and d). Its location indicates that the entrance to the Antonine temple was near the *delubrum* on the south side.

As long as the dynasty of the Severi was in power, there was every assurance of imperial protection for

[193] The sanctuary is described by GAUCKLER, 227—249.

[194] GAUCKLER, 230, 265.

[195] In camps and properly inaugurated cities, the intersecting main streets showed the lines of the *cardo* and *decumanus*, but there was no other demarcation. GAUCKLER has interpreted too literally SERV. *ad Aen.*, iv, 200.

[196] GAUCKLER, pl. XLVIII.

[197] See GAUCKLER, 237.

[198] See GAUCKLER, pl. XXXVII.

[199] GAUCKLER'S suggestion (235, note 1), that the vases were of Janiculum clay and of local manufacture, cannot be proved.

[200] See HARDEN, *Roman Glass from Karanis* (Ann Arbor, 1936), fig. 3, m; in Oxford, no. 1912.69. I am indebted to Dr. Edith Hall Dohan of the University Museum, Philadelphia, for the suggestion that the prototype might be glass.

[201] See p. 36 above.

[202] GAUCKLER, pl. XLIV—XLVII.

a Syrian cult. The decline of the sanctuary on the Janiculum probably began after the fall of Alexander Severus. The death-blow to the second shrine was presumably dealt by the edicts of Constantius, which ordered the closing of all temples and the cessation of pagan ceremonies.[203]

THE FOURTH-CENTURY TEMPLE AND ITS SCULPTURES

Imperial tolerance in the reign of Julian the Apostate (A. D. 361—363) gave opportunity for a brief revival of pagan cults. Apparently at that time a third sanctuary of Syrian gods was built upon the site of the abandoned temple of the Antonine period. The last temple, found a meter above the previous structure, was unusually well preserved and displayed a plan in which Oriental and Roman elements were curiously blended. The fourth-century sanctuary, rectangular in shape, was divided into three distinct parts, a temple proper at one end, a chapel at the other, with an atrium or court between the two systems of rooms.[204] At the western end lay the temple proper, consisting of a tripartite narthex (H, G) which gave entrance into a complex of rooms of basilica type (E, A, D). The latter was composed of a nave, flanked by single rooms which, however, were separated from it by partitions rather than by columns.[205] A deep apse, Syrian in type, projected from the western end of the nave.[206] At the extreme back of the apse, the cranium of a man was buried (O). Jaws and teeth had been carefully cut away, and the cranium exactly fitted its container.[207] Obviously it represented that Semitic foundation rite in which a sanctuary was consecrated by human sacrifice.[208] In the same place, excavators discovered a marble statue of a seated deity, which must have represented Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, the tutelary deity of the sanctuary.[209] Its location above the buried cranium was probably intended to signify the identification with the god which human sacrifice bestowed upon a victim.[210] Before the apse stood an equilateral triangular base (P). One corner pointed towards the apse, while the opposite side of the top surface was cut back in a lunette.

A central door in the narthex which opened on the court was evidently the sole source of light for the system of rooms which formed the temple proper. All the remaining walls are preserved to the same height and are of approximately the same thickness, a fact which probably indicates that a clerestory, the conventional means of roofing a basilica, was absent. Long narrow slits, through which light might enter, are still visible in the partition between the narthex and the cella. From the quantity of lamps and the niches for them in the walls of the nave, it appears that a "dim, religious light" was considered ample for the shrine, and probably enhanced the effect of its ceremonials.[211] Probably the roof was either flat or pitched. The walls, of regular rows of coarse tufa blocks, were not strong enough to bear the weight of a vault.

In the unpaved rectangular court before the temple (B), traces of the open *favissa* were distinctly visible as well as the rows of amphoras which had formed part of the equipment of the previous temple. A small postern gate was set in the northern wall of the court (I), while the main entrance to the sanctuary was located in the center of the south wall (J).

At the eastern end of the court, opposite the temple proper and on the same axis, another group of rooms appeared (C, K, L). Their plan seems to be without parallel, and, as Gauckler noted, every precaution was taken to keep them as secluded as possible. Entrance to the main room was through two pentagonal rooms on each side of it (K, L), which opened on the main court. In the pentagonal room on the south side (K), there was a second door (Q). This was presumably for entrance into a *delubrum*, yet undiscovered, belonging to the last temple. At the time the temple was abandoned, this door was blocked with architectural fragments and statues.

The cella proper (C) in this system of rooms was a quadrilateral structure, one of whose diagonals coincided with the main axis of the sanctuary. The corner on the western side was lengthened into an apsidal extension which lay between the two pentagonal rooms. Probably the central room was roofed with a light dome. The side walls were pierced with narrow openings, but the deposit of common clay lamps in the room shows that it was really lighted artificially.

[203] *Cod. Theod.*, xvi, 10, 4 (= *Cod. Iust.* i, 11, 1)—6; *cf.* above, n. 190.

[204] See Plate 2.

[205] This is the first instance in pagan architecture of a nave separated from its aisles by partitions, although the arrangement is found in early Christian churches of Crete, Africa, and Thera; see LEROUX, *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle* (Paris, 1913), 320.

[206] The deeply projecting apse occurs more frequently in small Syrian churches than in larger structures; *cf.* H. C. BUTLER, *Architecture and other Arts* (*Amer. Arch. Exp. to Syria, Part II*, New York, 1903), fig. 73; *Ancient Architecture in Syria* (*Princeton Univ. Archaeol. Exped. to Syria* ii, Leyden, 1907—), A, ill. 71, 73, 74; 161—163.

[207] GAUCKLER, 86—89, pl. X.

[208] CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*,[4] 110, 259, note 60. *Cf.* the practice of consecrating altars in modern Roman Catholic churches by placing a relic in the altar, HAUCK, HERZOG-HAUCK, *Real-Encyclopädie für Prot. Theol. und Kirche*,[3] xvi, 630 ff.

[209] GAUCKLER, pl. IX. The statue is now in the Museo Nazionale Romano.

[210] GAUCKLER, 88 f.

[211] The lamps are probably Oriental in type: GAUCKLER, 176, pl. XXI, XXII.

In the center of the large room, a second triangular plinth of stuccoed stone (N) was lying on the main axis of the sanctuary, but not orientated with it. This, similar to the first, was an equilateral triangle, 3 m. on a side, and about 0.4 m. high.[212] It is still *in situ*. In its center there was a small depression covered by three tiles. When they were removed a small gilded bronze image was discovered lying in the cavity.[213] According to Gauckler, the triangular base was too large and deep to represent an altar. Rather it must have been a hearth, designed to protect a ceremonial fire.

In the excavation of the pentagonal room on the south side, several pieces of sculpture were found buried. Worshippers had evidently hidden them to save them from destruction if the sanctuary were looted. The most exquisite object was a triangular candelabrum base of white Greek marble about 0.6 m. high. Three female figures are shown in high relief at the corners of the triangle, following each other as if in a procession. Since each of the graceful maidens holds the garment of the figure before her, they are probably to be identified as the Horai, who are distinguished in artistic representations by this gesture.[214] If Gauckler's theory is correct, this candelabrum was probably set upon the plinth, where it held a torch or sacred fire. Fragments of the same marble were found in the central room near the plinth.

In the same southern room excavators also discovered a Parian marble statue of Dionysos, buried about a meter deep. The figure was slightly less than life-size and almost perfectly preserved.[215] The youthful god, crowned with ivy and grapes, stands beside a tree-trunk bound with grape-vines. In his right hand, he holds a *kantharos;* and his left hand had once held a metal thyrsus. Apparently the statue is a Roman copy of a common Hellenistic type. Technically the only peculiarity is the structure of the head, made of two separate parts of the same marble, cut horizontally at the hair line.[216] When the figure was found, there were distinct traces of gilding on the front hair, face, and hands. Some of the gold is visible, but the rest of the statue presents the glaring white of untreated marble. Since the body is not painted, it is conceivable that the statue was once actually clothed so that only the gilded parts could be seen.[217]

In the central cella (C), the niche in the apse (W) once contained the black basalt statue of an Egyptian pharaoh, a little less than life size.[218] The figure is in the traditional Egyptian pose, standing erect with the left foot advanced. Although the image had been smashed into eight pieces and bore no cartouche, its restoration shows that stylistically it should probably be assigned to the Graeco-Roman period. Statues of the Greek Dionysos and of an Egyptian pharaoh seem at first sight extraneous additions in a sanctuary of Syrian gods. As a matter of fact, they attest very forcefully the high degree of syncretism which characterized religion in Rome in the fourth century after Christ.

Evidently the candelabrum base and the statues of Dionysos and the pharaoh represented the most precious treasures of the sanctuary, since they were segregated in an inaccessible chapel. In the apse of the same room, three coffins were set in the floor. Each was made of tiles and contained the skeleton of a man. They lay perpendicularly to the main axis of the temple, two with heads towards the north, the third with its head towards the south.[219] Other skeletons in coffins of the same type were in other parts of the sanctuary. In the absence of inscriptions or any objects in the graves, it is only possible to conjecture what purpose they fulfilled. Since all the burials were contemporaneous with the temple, they must be the graves of devotees of the cult. The burials at once recall the Christian predilection for interment in churches.

Comparison of the temple plan with other sanctuaries of Syrian gods has limited possibilities. The obvious analogies are with the temple of the Syrian gods at Delos (of the second half of the second century B. C.) and the temples of Artemis and Atargatis at Dura-Europos. The former consists of a court surrounded by small rooms, an odeum, and an altar outside the temple.[220] The latter has a large court, and a naos flanked by small rooms and preceded by a narthex-like chamber. According to Bellinger, the Dura temples and the Janiculum sanctuary show analogies in their arrangements.[221] The Dura temples, however, completely lack the symmetry of the temple in Rome, and the comparison does not seem at all convincing. By far the most pronounced similarity in plan is with the Christian basilica and the complex of rooms at A. Here the group of nave and side-aisles, preceded by a narthex and atrium, probably

[212] GAUCKLER, pl. XXXIII.

[213] See p. 51 below for description.

[214] GAUCKLER, 181—183, pls. XXVII—XXIX. The base is now in the Museo Nazionale Romano. On the representation of the Horai in art, see RAPP, *Roscher*, i, 2, 2727.

[215] GAUCKLER, 183—187, pl. XXV; now in the Museo Nazionale Romano.

[216] See p. 52 below.

[217] The attiring of a statue of Dionysos is described in a fragment of an Orphic hymn, preserved by MACR., *Sat.*, I, 18, 22, cited by GAUCKLER, 185.

[218] GAUCKLER, 187—189, pl. XXVI; now in the Museo Nazionale Romano.

[219] See Pl. 2, and GAUCKLER, pls. XXX—XXXII.

[220] HOLLEAUX, *"Rapport sur les Travaux Exécutés dans l'Île de Délos," Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1910, 289—306; ROUSSEL, *Délos, Colonie Athénienne* (Paris, 1916), 252—270.

[221] A. R. BELLINGER, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, iii (New Haven, 1932), 24.

shows the nearest pagan predecessor of the Christian basilica, which did not derive entirely from the secular basilica but had analogies in pagan religious architecture.[222] However, the triple arrangement of the Syrian sanctuary, the temple proper, court, and chapel, seems to represent an innovation in ancient temple planning.[223] The deeply projecting apse and the temple court are Eastern elements, but the unvarying axiality and symmetry of the sanctuary show the unquestionable influence of Roman architecture.

JUPITER HELIOPOLITANUS

A rectangular white marble slab engraved on its four borders may have been used as a *mensa* or table for offerings in the equipment of the Syrian sanctuary when Gaionas was priest.[224] The inscription on the borders comprised a dedication for the welfare and return and victory of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.[225] Since Commodus is called *imperator* in the inscription, but not *Augustus* or *Pater Patriae*, the dedication must be dated between November 27 and December 23, A. D. 176.[226] A religious inscription, cut in the same type of letters, occupied the upper part of the face of the slab, and is restored (with minor alternatives): *Iovi* [*o*(*ptimo*)? *M*(*aximo*)? *Angelo*?] *Heliopolitano s*(*acrum*). A large space was left in the center of the stone; and at the bottom in inconspicuous letters, the act of dedication was recorded: *v*(*otum*?) *l*(*ibens*) *a*(*nimo*) *s*(*olvit*). The names of the consuls follow in the third line: *Apro II Pollione II Co*(*n*)*s*(*ulibus*). By analogy with another dedication of Gaionas at Portus,[227] Gauckler restored Angelus among the titles of Jupiter. The epithet *angelus* for a pagan god occurs in Latin only in these two inscriptions, and probably is intended to describe the deity as a bearer of good tidings. Ἄγγελος was similarly used in Greek.[228]

When the sanctuary was abandoned after the second century, the *mensa* was discarded. However, a later dedicant used the same surface a second time, but turned its top to the bottom. The new inscription was cut in the open space in the center. Its crude irregular letters indicate a date in the late third or fourth century.[229] As restored by Gauckler, it reads: *C*(*aius*) *Aeflanius Martialis iterum Veneri Ca*[*elest*]*i*? *c*(*onsecravit*)? *v*(*otum*) *m*(*erito*). The first three letters of the title of Venus are certainly *Cae-*, and the restoration *Caelestis* was proposed by Duchesne. This goddess, then, was probably the *paredros* of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.[230]

In a sanctuary in Rome devoted nearly exclusively to Syrian gods, Jupiter Heliopolitanus might well have been the chief divinity. The statue of a seated deity found in the central niche of the cella must undoubtedly be a representation of the god, and the prominent position of his name on the sacrificial *mensa* is further proof of his supremacy in the temple. Finally, of the five dedications to Jupiter Heliopolitanus found in Rome, four were discovered in Trastevere, two in the ruins of the sanctuary and two in the immediate neighborhood. In addition to the inscribed *mensa*, in the débris of the shrine there was a dedication from a soldier: *Numini I*(*ovi*) *O*(*ptimo*) *M*(*aximo*) *H*(*eliopolitano*) | *M. Helvius Rusticus* | *a militiis sub* | *Herennio sacer*|*dote* | *d*(*ono*) *d*(*edit*).[231] The base dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the Genius Forinarum was found at S. Crisogono, a church at the foot of the Janiculum, whither the stone might easily have been carried from the sanctuary on the hill.[232] The last dedication from Trastevere was a pillar set up by a soldier and found in the grounds of the Villa Crescenzi, which lay directly south of the Villa Sciarra.[233] On the summit of the pillar there is a figure of Atargatis represented as Fortuna and flanked by two lions. The *paredros* of the god was therefore commemorated pictorially, but not mentioned by name. This stone too was probably removed from its former location in the

[222] This is the view of LEROUX, *L'édifice hypostyle* (above, n. 205), 320 f.

[223] GAUCKLER quotes MARCEL DIEULAFOY as stating that the arrangement is comparable to that of Mazdean fire temples or daîtyôgâtous. The quotation is in one of his unfinished papers and therefore no specific reference is given. It appears, however, that nothing is known of the architecture of these temples; see DHALLA, *Zoroastrian Civilization* (New York, 1922), 149. DIEULAFOY'S statement was probably a theory.

[224] *CIL* vi 36793, GAUCKLER, 84 f., 142—148. The slab is illustrated in a photograph in *Mél. de l'École Française à Rome*, xxix (1909), pl. XI, 1, 2.

[225] GAUCKLER, 143 = *CIL* vi 36793: *Pro salute et reditu et victoria* || *imperatorum Aug*(*usti*) *Antonini et Com*[*m*]*odi Caes*(*aris*) *Germanic*(*i*) || *principis iuvent*(*utis*) *Sarmatici* || *Gaionas Cistiber Augustorum d*(*ono*) *d*(*edit*).

[226] See GAUCKLER, 143, for the evidence for dating.

[227] *CIL* xiv 24 = DESSAU 4294.

[228] See L. R. TAYLOR, *The Cults of Ostia* (Bryn Mawr, 1912), 77, note 3.

[229] GAUCKLER, 144—6. On the goddess *Caelestis*, see below p. 55.

[230] *CIL* iii suppl. 7280 = DESSAU 4284 (from Athens) is a dedication to [*I. o.*] *m. et Veneri et Mercurio Heliupoli*[*t*]*anis* and *CIL* iii suppl. 11139 = DESSAU 4285 (from Carnuntum) to [*I.*] *o. m. H. Veneri Victrici.*

[231] *CIL* vi 36791 = DESSAU 9283, GAUCKLER, 170. The inscription is probably not later than the second century after Christ. GAUCKLER has restored the name of the god in the dative rather than the genitive on the analogy of *CIL* vi 724, A. D. 194, *Numini Invicto Soli Mithrae*.... *CIL* vi 420, a dedication of Gaionas to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, is of uncertain provenience.

[232] *CIL* vi 422 = DESSAU 4292; quoted above, n. 89.

[233] *CIL* vi 423 = DESSAU 4287; AMELUNG, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, i, p. 279 f., pl. 30, no. 152. The stone was described in *CIL* as found near the church of S. Cosimato. But the report of FEA, who discovered the pillar, states definitely that it was found in the property of the former Villa Crescenzi; quoted by GAUCKLER, 164 ff.

sanctuary. From the preponderance of dedications to Jupiter Heliopolitanus found in Trastevere and on the Janiculum, there can be no doubt that the temple on the hill was sacred to him and his consort.

ZEUS KERAUNIOS

The elegant marble altar dedicated to *Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος* and to the *Νύμφες Φορρῖνες* supplies the only mention of the god on an inscription from Rome.[234] Although his name is Greek, the majority of the devotees of this divinity were Syrians. In Greece proper, most dedications to him are late. At first it was *Κεραύνιος* personified as a warrior whom the Syrians worshipped.[235] After he was assimilated to Zeus, the quantity of inscriptions show that his cult in Syria and Asia Minor was widely spread.[236] In Cyrrhus in northern Syria, for example, the dominant cult was that of *Ζεὺς Καταιβάτης*, the equivalent of *Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος*.[237] From Italy itself, only two dedications to *Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος* were known before the discovery of the inscribed altar which, appropriately enough, stood in a sanctuary of Syrian gods.[238]

HADAD

Hadad, the solar deity of Syria, was linked with Atargatis as her *paredros* as early as the second century before Christ in the sanctuary of the Syrian Gods on Delos.[239] Merchants trading on the island may have introduced his worship into Italy through the port town of Puteoli, a place where foreign cults as well as foreign merchandise were wont to enter the country.[240] Only one dedication specifically to Hadad is known from the city of Rome, a small marble altar from the Syrian sanctuary.[241] In Italy the god was more frequently addressed by the name of his *alter ego*, Jupiter Heliopolitanus. On the altar both the epithets of Hadad are geographical, designating places associated especially with his worship. *Λιβανεώτη* could only refer to his sway in the vicinity of Lebanon, while *Ἀκρωρείτη* must be intended to suggest his cult centers on heights.[242]

JUPITER MALECIABRUDUS

A new cognomen of Jupiter, *Maleciabrudus*, appeared for the first time on a marble altar which had formed part of the equipment of the sanctuary.[243] In deciphering the inscription, Clermont-Ganneau proposed that the epithet be divided into its two component parts, *Malek* and *Iabrudus*.[244] The term *Malek* is difficult to define, but it probably signified the spirit or power of a god, and not the anthropomorphic god himself.[245] Iabruda, the second part of the compound word, was the name of a town in the Antilebanon.[246] In ordinary usage, "the Malek of Iabruda" would be an unusual expression: "the Baal of Iabruda" would be the orthodox designation. Therefore it is necessary to construe the phrase as the equivalent of "Jupiter Malek Iabruditanus", that is "Jupiter Malek, worshipped at Iabruda". The altar, then, is one of the many dedications from foreign residents in Rome who felt a kind of nostalgia for the gods of their fatherland.

FEBRIS

After Italian governmental restrictions ended Gauckler's excavations, he found a few objects of interest in the débris of the Syrian sanctuary. The most significant was a small inscribed fragment of Parian marble on which the word *febris* is clear. From the fine letters it is probably to be dated at the end of the first century after Christ at the latest. As restored by Gauckler, the inscription reads:. . .[*permissu sac*]*erdotu*[*m aram*] *pos*<*s*>*uit d*(*e*) *s*(*uo*) [*ex viso*] *Febris*.[247] A goddess Febris is mentioned in Roman literature, but this is the sole example in an inscription of the occurrence of her name.[248] However,

[234] See p. 35 above; *CIL* vi 36802.

[235] *Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος* with Bel-Yarhibol and Allat is shown as an Oriental warrior with lance and round shield on a relief from Homs or Palmyra in the museum of Brussels illustrated in DUSSAUD, *Notes de Mythologie Syrienne* (Paris, 1905), 105, fig. 27.

[236] On the cult of *Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος*, see USENER, "*Keraunos*," *Rhein. Museum*, lx (1905), 1—30. CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*,[4] 267, note 95, gives a valuable bibliography.

[237] CUMONT, *Études Syriennes* (Paris, 1917), 222—224.

[238] ADLER, *PW*, xi, 1, 267, gives a useful list of inscriptions naming *Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος*. For the inscriptions from Italy, see *IG* xiv 2407, no. 3 (probably from Sicily), missiles for slings, inscribed *νίκη Διὸς Κεραυνίου*; 1118, a crude altar from the Alban Hills, *Διὶ Κεραυνίωι*.

[239] CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*,[4] 99; 251, note 5; and *passim*. The nature of Hadad, especially his functions as a solar deity, was noted by MACR., *Sat.*, i, 23, 17 f.; he appears in PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii, 186.

[240] WISSOWA, 360, note 7.

[241] *CIL* vi 36803; GAUCKLER 11—13, 46—50; illustrated in *Röm. Mitt.*, xxii (1907), 230 f. The altar is engraved *Θεῶ Ἀδάδω ἀνέθη* . . . on the front; *Θεῶ Ἀδάδω Ἀκρωρείτη* on the left side, and *Θεῶ Ἀδάδω Λιβανεώτη* on the right side.

[242] GAUCKLER, 12, suggested that *Ἀκρωρείτη* referred to some definite locality, but he later followed HÜLSEN'S suggestion, *Röm. Mitt., loc. cit.*, 232, that the word simply means "worshipped on heights."

[243] *CIL* vi 36792 = DESSAU 9282, GAUCKLER, 13—15, 50—54; illustrated in *Röm. Mitt.*, xxii (1907), 232: *Sac*(*rum*) *Aug*(*usto*) | *Iovi Maleciabrudi* | *M. Oppius Agroecus* | *et T. Sextius Agathange*[*lus*]. . . . . *d.*

[244] Quoted by GAUCKLER, 51, note 1.

[245] For an excellent definition of the meaning of Malek, see J. G. FÉVRIER, *La Religion des Palmyréniens* (Paris, 1931), 5—7.

[246] PTOLEMAEUS, v, 14, 16.

[247] *CIL* vi 36796, GAUCKLER, 293—296; the fragment is .015 m. thick, .10 m. wide, and .06 m. high. It is now in the Museo Nazionale Romano with the other finds from the Syrian sanctuary.

[248] *CIL* iii 76* = GRUTER 97, 1, is false.

dedications are known to Tertiana and Quartana, personifications of specific types of fever.[249] In the city of Rome, there was a shrine with an *ara vetusta in Palatio*[250] to this goddess, a temple on the Quirinal *in summa parte Vici Longi* near the temple of Salus,[251] while on the Esquiline there were a shrine of Febris and an *aedes Mephitis*.[252] These shrines in Rome are all similar in their location on high healthy summits, and above damp valleys where fevers were easily contracted.[253] To these requirements the Janiculum would have conformed as an ideal situation for a shrine of Febris. The site of the Syrian sanctuary was nearly the highest in Rome, and the low land of Trastevere from time immemorial had been inadequately drained and subject to accumulations of stagnant water. Gauckler, therefore, suggested that healing powers may have been ascribed to the nymphs of the spring waters of the *lucus Furrinae*. In that case, the dedication might have been from a resident of Trastevere whom the goddess Febris on the heights of the Janiculum had cured. Possibly future excavations on the site will yield further evidence of a healing shrine among the complex cults which supplanted the worship of Furrina.

FORTUNA

A very small triangular marble fragment was found in some débris in the court in front of the northwest entrance to the chapel of the sanctuary. The top was carefully polished; but from the rough finish of the side, it appears that it must at one time have been set into a wall. Before the tablet was broken, it was probably about 0.20 m. high and 0.30 m. wide.[254] The beginnings of four lines of an inscription are partially preserved. In the first, large fine letters are clearly legible, reading *Fortu-*. The lettering changes in the second line, where only four smaller letters are visible: *aene-*. There follows in the next line: *Iar-*; and in the fourth line apparently *L. Lar-*. Gauckler has proposed the following restoration:

Fortu[nam] | *aene[am? . . .]* | *Iar[ibolo?]* | *L(ucius) Lar[cius . . .]*.

From the relative proximity of the fragment to the chapel and from the fact that the complete tablet had probably been set into a wall, Gauckler concluded that the stone had been placed in the front of the triangular base in the center of the chapel. In an effort to find Syrian affinities for the dedication, he suggested the identification of Fortuna and Atargatis.[255] Inasmuch as the only bronze object found in the sanctuary was the snake-bound image, Gauckler believed that the tablet commemorated the gift of the statuette. The theory is now untenable, since it has been proved without doubt that the image did not represent Atargatis.[256] The inscription obviously cannot concern the image, yet a dedication to Fortuna might very properly have existed among the welter of heterogeneous dedications from this sanctuary, where the tendency to syncretism was constantly apparent. The sway of Fortuna was so great that no phase of human activity lay outside her sphere, and her identification with other divinities was inevitable.[257]

THE RITES OF THE SYRIAN SANCTUARY

It is possible to present a few very tentative conclusions about the nature of the cult of the Syrian sanctuary, derived from a study of the evidence of the excavations. A phrase in the epitaph of Gaionas, *τῷ θανάτῳ μηδὲν ὀφειλόμενος*, indicates that he must have participated in the mysteries which formed a part of a Syrian cult.[258] The image found in the chapel of the shrine was probably used in the mystic ritual of resurrection. It was concealed by three tiles in a cavity of the triangular plinth in the chapel. The figure was that of a youth, tightly swathed in some light garment. A serpent was coiled seven times about his body and between each two of the coils a hen's egg was placed.[259] Such an arrangement was unparalleled in resurrection cults, but to Cumont it suggested the lines of Firmicus Maternus,

[249] *CIL* vii 999 (from Britain) to Tertiana; *CIL* xii 3129 (from France) to Quartana.

[250] CIC., *De Leg.*, ii, 11; *De Nat. Deor.*, iii, 63; PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, ii, 16; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 45, note 31.

[251] VAL. MAX., ii, 5, 6; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 418.

[252] VAL. MAX., *loc. cit.*; FESTUS, 476 L; on the latter shrine — its exact location is unknown —, JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 333.

[253] JORDAN, i, 1, 149; H. NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde*, i (Berlin, 1883), 413—415.

[254] *CIL* vi 36795; GAUCKLER, 148—156, 218—220; illustrated on p. 218. The difference in size of letters in the two lines seems to indicate that the word *aene-* describes some object which was dedicated, and is not to be construed as an adjective modifying Fortuna, as GAUCKLER would interpret it.

[255] *Alii dicunt eam esse Cererem . . . . . alii Atargatin alii Fortunam, Schol. Germanic.*, p. 65 BREYSIG. *Cf.* CUMONT, *PW*, iv, 2, 2240.

[256] See below.

[257] *Cf.* PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, ii, 22: *Toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibusque horis omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur ac nominatur, una accusatur, rea una agitur, una cogitatur, sola laudatur, sola arguitur et cum conviciis colitur, volubilis . . . . .que, a plerisque vero et caeca existimata, vaga, inconstans, incerta, varia indignorumque fautrix.* Such was the power of Fortuna in the first century of our era. *Cf.* LUCIAN, *Θεῶν Ἐκκλησία* 13, on the triumph of *Τύχη* over the other divinities.

[258] *CIL* vi 32316. That there were mysteries in the cult of Dea Syria is known from an inscription from Thuria in Messenia, 50 B. C. —50 A. D. See N. S. VALMIN, *Inscriptions de la Messénie, Arsberättelse* (Lund, 1928—9), 124, line 23 f.; 132 f. I am indebted to Dr. Francis R. Walton of Haverford College for the reference.

[259] GAUCKLER, pl. XXXIV; CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*, pl. XI, 3. Pl. 3, Fig. ?.

Idolum sepelis, idolum plangis, idolum de sepultura proferis.[260] The idol, then, was probably removed annually from its place of concealment during the ceremonies of the mysteries. The seven eggs which covered it were symbolic of the new life to come.

From Gaionas' constant mention of his office of δειπνοχοίτης, there can be no doubt that ceremonial banquets were included in the ritual of the Janiculum sanctuary in common with other Syrian shrines. The abundance of amphoras discovered in the temples as well as the precision of their arrangement suggests that they may have had some ritual significance. Possibly this was simply the storage of food. Among the objects in the *favissa*, a common type of clay vase was predominant.[261] From the covers which invariably accompanied these vases, it seems probable that they may have been used for offerings of water in certain spring rites of Dea Syria where such offerings were made in sealed containers, according to a specific statement of Lucian.[262]

There is certainly no recondite meaning in the three segmented sculptured heads which Gauckler believed were especially cut to receive "the divine essence." An exhaustive study of all the extant heads of this technique, *capita desecta*, has proved the fallacy of this theory of Gauckler. Such peculiarities evidently occurred in sculpture of a late period when the artist encountered technical difficulties.[263]

THE SANCTUARY OF SOL

After his capture of Palmyra (A. D. 271), Aurelian founded a great temple of Sol in Rome. The splendor of the temple treasures bore witness to the value of the spoils, and the monotheistic character of the cult could only emphasize the religious unity which would henceforth accompany political unity in the empire.[234] In the religious life of Rome, the worship of Sol was by no means an innovation, for it was said to have been introduced by the Sabine Titus Tatius, and a Sabine family, the Aurelii, directed the cult in Rome.[265] The temple of Sol and Luna inside the Circus Maximus was ancient in Tacitus' day.[266] Yet despite the traditional Sabine origin of the public sacrifice to Sol Indiges on the Quirinal, *Graecus ritus* seems to have prevailed in this connection, and Greek attributes were invariably present in artistic representations of the god.[267] There were numerous other foreign accretions to the worship of Sol as the interests of Rome expanded. For instance, after Augustus imported two Egyptian obelisks from Heliopolis and dedicated them to Sol, an Egyptian element was added to the farrago of foreign influences.[268]

In the empire the greatest contributions to the cult undoubtedly came from Syria. Soldiers, as usual, were largely instrumental in its propagation.[269] The particular adjective with which the god is designated often reveals the divinity from which he originated.[270] *Sol divinus* and *Sol sanctissimus* are probably Romanized Syrian gods; *Sol aeternus*, similarly, recalls the perpetual character of the solar system which had deeply impressed the astrological cults of Syria. *Sol invictus* (ἀνίκητος), the commonest epithet of the god after the second century, usually refers to Mithras. Yet the loose application of *invictus* to Serapis, Sabazius, and Elagabalus implies that the word might describe any solar divinity in the Roman empire.

The brief supremacy of Sol in the reign of Heliogabalus foreshadowed the dominion which he was to have under Aurelian. In antiquity the consensus of opinion was that the emperor actually imported images, the Baal of Palmyra and possibly other ritual paraphernalia, to adorn his new temple.[271] But there were distinct Roman elements in the cult; not the least was a college of priests recruited from the senatorial order. Aurelian's introduction of the Syrian cult of Sol was by no means a radical innovation. It simply added magnificence and publicity to rites which had been established in Rome for nearly two centuries.

From the quantity of dedications to Sol found outside the Porta Portese there seems no doubt that the humble predecessor of the temple of Aurelian was an extensive sanctuary in Trastevere.[272] Before the cult had obtained imperial sanction, it might be

[260] FIRM. MAT., *Err. Prof. Rel.* 22, 3; *cf.* CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*, 251, note 11.

[261] GAUCKLER, pl. XXXVII.

[262] LUCIAN, *De Dea Syria*, 48.

[263] GAUCKLER, pl. LIII—LV. *Cf.* J. R. CRAWFORD, "Capita Desecta," *Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome*, I (1917), 103—119.

[264] On the temple of Aurelian in Regio VII, see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 453—456; PLATNER-ASHBY, *s. v. Sol, Templum*, p. 491—493.

[265] VARRO, *Ling. Lat.*, v, 74; DION. HAL., ii, 50, 3; FESTUS (PAULUS), 22 L. See also KOCH, *Gestirnverehrung im alten Italien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1933).

[266] TAC., *Ann.*, xv, 74; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 115.

[267] *CIL* i², p. 324, Aug. 9.

[268] *CIL* vi 701, 702; *cf.* VAN BUREN, *PW*, xvii, 1, 1709—1711.

[269] CUMONT, DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, iv, 2, p. 1382.

[270] The following review of Sol in the Orient is based on CUMONT, DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, iv, 2, p. 1383.

[271] ZOSIMUS, i, 61; *cf.* VOPISC., *Vita Aureliani*, 31, 8. CUMONT believes that it was not entirely the native god of Palmyra that Aurelian brought to Rome — the Palmyrene divinity inspired him as a "model"; DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, iv, 2, p. 1384; *Rel. Orient.*,⁴ 106. NOIVILLE argues that Aurelian imposed a Roman cult on the conquered people of Palmyra by bringing Roman priests there, and that the god as he was worshipped in Rome was purely indigenous: *Rev. Et. Anc.*, xxxviii (1936), 145—176.

[272] JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 645 f., note 62; PLATNER-ASHBY, *s. v. Sol Malachbelus*, p. 493.

practised with safety in a place beyond the limits of the city of Rome. Evidence for the cult in Trastevere is entirely epigraphical, but the inscriptions indicate that some buildings were probably erected and that some of the dedicants were people of wealth. The sanctuary certainly existed at the beginning of the second century after Christ, and possibly as early as the Flavian period.

The most impressive dedication by far is a beautiful altar inscribed to *Sol Sanctissimus*, a title which betrays the Syrian origin of the god.[273] Stylistically, the altar is probably to be dated in the Flavian period or slightly later.[274] The sculptured reliefs on the four sides of the altar are of unusual interest, and according to the interpretation of Cumont depict the sequence of events in the life of Sol.[275] On the left side a youthful deity in Oriental attire is shown mounting a chariot drawn by four griffins. A winged Victory standing behind is about to crown him. The Palmyrene inscription below records a dedication to Malachbel and the gods of Palmyra from the same people whose names were engraved in Latin on the front of the altar. Since Malachbel corresponded to the Italian *Oriens*, the rising sun or "day-star" of poetry, the relief must represent this aspect of Sol. The accompanying victory signifies his conquest of the darkness. In an obscure Eastern myth, a griffin was said to rise with the sun and travel with it until it set. On the front of the altar a bust of Sol, shown with a *nimbus*, appears behind the figure of an eagle with wings outspread, a symbol of the sky. Here the god is Shamash or Iaribol, as the Syrians called the sun at the height of its course.[276] The right side bears a relief of a bearded man whose head is veiled. In his right hand, he holds the harpè of Saturn, a divinity known in astrological lore as the sun of the night. On the back of the altar a cypress tree, with a knotted ribbon at the top, has the figure of an infant emerging from its branches and holding a goat on his shoulders. The cypress, sacred to Sol in Syria, was the parent of Malachbel, even as the myrrh tree was the parent of Adonis. The goat which the child holds is the sign of Capricorn, which the sun entered in December, the month of his birth. This relief, then, shows the birth of Sol at the winter solstice. With this, the life-cycle of the god is complete. Such a sculptured series is unique among religious antiquities, and its beauty is as remarkable as its historical value.

At the beginning of the second century, shortly after the altar to Sol Sanctissimus was dedicated, the benefactions of C. Julius Anicetus were conspicuous in the sanctuary. Possibly it was the general religious tolerance in the period which permitted the sanctuary to be so prosperous at this time. The first of his buildings was a porticus which he states in the commemorative inscription to have been erected in A. D. 102 with the permission of the *calatores* of Rome.[277] Near the place where the inscription was found, there were the traces of a porticus made of pillars in reticulate, and extending towards the slopes of Monteverde. Probably the remains represent the dedication of Anicetus.[278] It is significant that in Aurelian's great temple of Sol, there was a porticus where *vina fiscalia* were stored.[279] If a porticus constituted an integral part of a temple of Sol, there may have been a completely equipped temple near Porta Portese which was abandoned when Aurelian's edifice usurped its functions. Two other dedications of Anicetus have been found; also two inscriptions in Greek and Latin of C. Licinius N - - - - - and Heliodorus which record the building of an *aedes* of Bel and Malachbelos.[280]

[273] *CIL* vi 710 = 30817 = DESSAU 4337, *Soli Sanctissimo Sacrum | Ti. Claudius Felix et | Claudia Helpis et | Ti. Claudius Alypus fil. eorum | votum solverunt libens merito | Calbienses de Coh. III.* An inscription on the left side in Palmyrene was the first to be published. *Calbienses de Coh. III* must signify that the dedicants were employees of the third *cohors* (court) of the *horrea Galbae*, *cf. CIL* vi 30855. GATTI interpreted the inscription in this sense, *Röm. Mitt.*, i (1886), 73 f. The altar, formerly in the gardens of Battista Mattei (see above, p. 44, n. 181), and now in the Museo Capitolino, is illustrated in H. STUART JONES, *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino* (Oxford, 1912), pl. 9 (text, pp. 47—49), and in CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*,[4] pl. X. Pl. 4.

[274] STUART JONES, *op. cit.*, i, 47—9. MRS. E. STRONG, however, dates the altar in the third century, *Scultura Romana*, ii (Firenze, 1926), 315.

[275] The following description is a brief paraphrase of CUMONT, "L'Autel Palmyrénien du Musée du Capitole," *Syria*, ix (1928), 101—109, pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX. The article is summarized by CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*,[4] n. on pl. X, opposite p. 106.

[276] In Syria, the sun was called by different names at different points in its course, *cf.* MACR., *Sat.*, i, 18, 12. See the inscriptions in DESSAU 4329—4345, with the notes.

[277] *CIL* vi 31034; part of the inscription is now in the cortile of the American Academy in Rome: *Mem.* ix (1931), p. 121, no. 98. The *calatores* were usually freedmen, servants of priests, and gave permission for offerings and dedications: MOMMSEN, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, i[3], 359. *Cf. CIL* vi 817 = 30834, *a* and *b*, fragments from the Vigna Bonelli which may refer to the sanctuary of Sol.

[278] *Not. Sc.*, 1887, 18 f.

[279] VOPISC., *Vita Aureliani*, 35, 48.

[280] For Anicetus, besides *CIL* vi 31034, cited above in note 277, there are an inscription requesting that no one deface the walls of his building, *CIL* vi 52 = DESSAU 4335, and a dedication on an altar, *CIL* vi 709 = DESSAU 4336 (formerly in the Church of Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere). The inscription of *C. Licinius N.....* Ἡλιόδωρος, *CIL* vi 50 = DESSAU 4334 = *IG* xiv 969, came, like the first two of Anicetus, from the Vigna Bonelli outside Porta Portese. Probably *CIL* vi 51 = *IG* xiv 970 came from the same *aedes* of Licinius and Heliodorus, though its provenience is not attested. It shows that there were two persons concerned, not a single †*C. Licinius Heliodorus* (*cf.* the *T. Licinius Hierocles* in *PIR*, ii, p. 279, *L* no. 138) as might be possible in restoring *CIL* vi 50.

At the end of the second century, T. Julius Balbillus was a prominent devotee of the cult of Sol. His numerous dedications, which began in A. D. 199 and lasted until 215, included an "eagle" for Sol Alagabalus.[281] Although the activities of Balbillus seem to have preceded the reign of Elagabalus, he appears to have been especially devoted to the Baal of Emesa, after whom the emperor was named.[282] Probably at the same time, a *negotia<n>s vinarius* of Greek descent recorded his building of a *triclia* to Sol Victor.[283] Below a rough relief of the same period, a bilingual inscription in Palmyrene and Greek commemorates Bel, Iaribolus, and Astarte.[284] All three were different manifestations of the solar power which was invariably present among the attributes of Syrian gods.

Another relief, likewise engraved in Greek and Palmyrene, was dedicated to Aglibolos and Malachbelos in A. D. 235.[285] The figures of the deities were set in a sort of *aedicula*. On the left, Malachbelos, the sun-god, was shown in Palmyrene costume, a tunic and trousers, grasping the hand of Aglibol, the moon-god, who was dressed as a Roman soldier. Above his shoulder there was a small crescent moon, and in the background between the two figures stood a cypress tree.

Of all the dedications to Sol found near the Porta Portese, only one designated him as a Roman god.[286] This was an inscription to Sol and Luna, the pair whom Varro noted among the tutelary deities of farmers.[287] In another dedication to Sol and Luna from Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, both the gods bore the epithets of eastern deities, *Sol Invictus* and *Luna Aeterna*.[288] The apparent cessation of dedications in Trastevere in the third century was probably caused by the foundation of Aurelian's temple, which eclipsed and replaced this previous sanctuary of Eastern solar divinities.

SINGLE DEDICATIONS TO ORIENTAL GODS

JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS DAMASCENUS

The divine founder and patron of Damascus, assimilated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, apparently enjoyed scanty prestige in Italy. Apart from two dedications from the *sacerdotes Iovis Optimi Maximi Damasceni* of Puteoli, only one other inscription is known to refer to him.[289] A veteran of an Oriental legion consecrated in Trastevere a red marble stele surmounted by a pine-cone. Eventually the stone achieved a higher destiny than simply to commemorate the Damascene deity, for it was tied to the neck of St. Callixtus when he suffered martyrdom by drowning.[290]

JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS DOLICHENUS

Phenomenal popularity, especially among the provincial armies, characterized the cult of Dolichenus, the local god of Doliche (modern Tell-Duluk) in Commagene. Naturally no Roman dedications commemorated Dolichenus until after Vespasian's annexation of Commagene. Thereafter, both traders and soldiers hastened the spread of the cult, which penetrated to every province of the empire. Like most local Syrian deities, he was assimilated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome.[291] Here he not only possessed a *sacellum* on the Esquiline, but a temple on the Aventine near S. Alessio.[292] Two stones from Trastevere recorded dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus. On one, a marble altar, the god himself was shown in his customary pose standing upon the back of a bull.[293]

[281] *CIL* vi 708 = DESSAU 4329 (gardens of B. Mattei): *Aquila Soli Alagabalo Iulius Balbillus*. MOMMSEN (*CIL ad loc.*) suggested that *aquila* should have been in the accusative. The dedication may have been the statue of an eagle, symbol of the sky. *Cf. CIL* vi 2269 = DESSAU 4330 (gardens of B. Mattei); *CIL* vi 2270 = DESSAU 4331 (A. D. 199); *CIL* vi 1603 = DESSAU 1346 (A. D. 201); *CIL* vi 2129 (A. D. 201); and *CIL* vi 2130 (A. D. 215); in all of which Balbillus is styled *sacerdos Solis*.

[282] WISSOWA, 89.

[283] *CIL* vi 712.

[284] *IG* xiv 972. The relief, in two fragments, is now in the Capitoline Museum; H. STUART JONES, *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino*, 50, no. 5; pl. 10, no. II, 5. In the upper right corner, there is the head of a female figure, wearing a *kalathos*. The name in the background is *'Αστάρ|τη*. On the lower fragment, two pairs of legs are visible; those on the left have trousers. There were evidently two male and one female figures, those of the gods named in the inscription. The sculpture is assigned by STUART JONES to the second or third century.

[285] *IG* xiv 971, in the Capitoline Museum; HELBIG, *Führer*,[3] i, p. 566 f., no. 988. Illustrated in CUMONT, *Rel. Orient.*,[4] pl. IX, 2.

[286] *CIL* vi 3719 = 31033 = DESSAU 1774.

[287] VARRO, *de Re Rust.*, i, 1, 5.

[288] *CIL* vi 755 = DESSAU 3940. A single inscription from Trastevere is addressed to Sol Invictus Mithras; *CIL* vi 727.

[289] *CIL* x 1575 f. Information about I. O. M. Damascenus is very slight; see CUMONT, *PW*, iv, 2, 2035; DUSSAUD, *"Le Temple de Jupiter Damascénien", Syria*, iii (1922), 219—250.

[290] *CIL* vi 405 = 30757 = DESSAU 4325. *Iovi Optimo Maxim. Damasceno | T. Cassius Myron | veteranus Augg. | d. d.*, in Sta. Maria in Trastevere.

[291] CUMONT, *Rel. Orient., passim*; CUMONT, *"Dolichè et le Zeus Dolichènos", Études Syriennes* (Paris, 1917), 173—202; WISSOWA, 362.

[292] On the Esquiline *sacellum* (dedicated August 1, A. D. 191) see PLATNER-ASHBY, *s. v. Iuppiter Dolichenus*, p. 292; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 357, note 37. On the Aventine temple, see PLATNER-ASHBY, *loc. cit.*; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 167 f.; MERLIN, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1906), 317 f., 373—376. For the most recent discoveries at the site of the Dolichenum on the Aventine, see COLINI, *Bull. Com.*, lxiii (1935), 145—159.

[293] *CIL* vi 415, 418, the altar found near Sta. Maria dell' Orto. Because of the discovery of these two inscriptions, PLATNER-ASHBY, *loc. cit.*, conjectured that there was a shrine of the god in the fourteenth region. The suggestion lacks support.

JUPITER SABAZIUS

The name of Jupiter Sabazius was already known in Rome in 139 B. C. when a decree of the *praetor peregrinus* purported to expel the Jews who were practising his cult.[294] Actually the adherents cannot have been Jews at all. A resemblance of the names of Yahveh Zebaoth, the war-god of Israel, and Sabazius, the Dionysos of Thrace and Phrygia, had caused a natural confusion. Doubtless the mysteries of Sabazius and the eschatology of his cult were responsible for his extensive worship in the Empire, especially in Gaul.[295] Of the five inscriptions from Rome, two were found in Trastevere engraved on marble altars.[296]

CAELESTIS

After the capture of Carthage, the cult image of Tanit, its tutelary deity, was brought by a formal *evocatio* to Rome, where she became known as Caelestis.[297] Although the statue was returned to Carthage at the foundation of the *Colonia Junonia* in 122 B. C., adherents in Rome swarmed to the Semitic goddess, whose vague nature easily assumed the attributes of Juno, Venus, Diana, or Cybele.[298] Dedications to her were abundant throughout the Empire, especially when new impetus came to the cult through the African dynasty of Severus. A single dedication from Trastevere revealed the epithet *invicta*, unique for Caelestis. An orthodox title of Sol or Mithras, it stands alone among the titles of Carthaginian Caelestis.[299]

MAGNA MATER

Since an important center of the worship of Cybele was the *Frigianum* near the Vatican, dedications to Magna Mater should not be abundant in the adjacent quarter of Trastevere.[300] Only one small altar has been found, but its designation, *praesentia Matris Deum*, is unique: *Praesentiae Matris Deum P. Septimius Felix ob coronam millesimi urbis anni.*[301] The thousandth year of the city was A. D. 247 when Philip the Arab celebrated the last secular games of Rome. In Mommsen's opinion, the *corona* which Felix the dedicant mentions was probably a prize which he had received as a victor in the secular games of this year.

CONCLUSION

The relative insignificance of Roman public worship in Trastevere was the natural result of the topographical isolation of the quarter. Still, its three most prominent public cults, those of Fons, Furrina, and Fors Fortuna, attest a very early association of Trastevere with the main part of the city of Rome. Under the Republic, before the district became an organic part of the city, the *dies Fortis Fortunae* marked a great celebration for the people of all Rome. On that occasion, Trastevere, thronged with merry-makers, assumed a definite importance in Roman religious life. The present study has led to the belief that there were only two temples of Fors Fortuna on the right bank of the Tiber, not three or four. The "dedication" of a temple to this divinity below Trastevere recorded by Tacitus constituted a rededication and not a new establishment. While the public cults of Fons and Furrina, despite their antiquity, did not maintain their prominence, they did not vanish completely. A shrine of Fons of imperial date, as I have suggested, probably stood on the site of the *ara Fontis* which was known to Cicero. As part of the conciliatory policy of the Optimates, the grove of Furrina may have been transformed into a sanctuary of the Furies — as deities of appeasement — after the violent death of Gaius Gracchus in the grove. Except for the indications of shrines at *compita* and the records of the *cultores Larum et imaginum*, there are no important monuments of the worship of the imperial house in this quarter.[302] The poverty of most of the residents of Trastevere prevented them from dedicating sumptuous private shrines to Greek and Roman gods. More conspicuous than the foundations of individuals are the dedications of *collegia* or burial societies, composed for the most part of artisans and especially of freedmen.

Among Oriental gods, the divinities of Syria have almost a monopoly in Trastevere. Their shrines, which necessarily belong to private worship, were far richer than sanctuaries of orthodox Roman gods. Near the summit of the Janiculum, there was an extensive cult center for the worship of Syrian deities, while a large area devoted to Syrian solar divinities lay outside the Porta Portese. Sporadic dedications to Syrian gods were made elsewhere in Trastevere. From the numerous signs of Syrian

[294] VAL. MAX., i, 3, 3.

[295] On the cult of Sabazius, see EISELE, *Roscher*, iv, 232—264; CUMONT, *Daremberg-Saglio*, iv, 929 f.; WISSOWA, 376.

[296] *CIL* vi 429 = 30766 = DESSAU 4086; *CIL* vi 430 = DESSAU 4087.

[297] SERV., *ad Aen.*, xii, 841, calling the goddess Iuno; MACR., *Sat.*, iii, 9, 7 f.

[298] PLUT., *C. Gracchus*, 11; SOLINUS, 27, 11. On the cult of Caelestis, see CUMONT, *PW*, iii, 1247—1250; WISSOWA, 373—375.

[299] *CIL* vi 78; DE RUGGIERO, ii, *s. v. Caelestis* p. 5. *Cf.* also *Caelestis victrix*, *CIL* vi 756. An inscription from the Syrian sanctuary (GAUCKLER, 144—6) records a dedication to Venus Caelestis, probably the *paredros* of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, see above p. 49.

[300] On the *Frigianum*, see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 659, and FABRE, *"Un Autel du Culte Phrygien au Musée du Latran"*, *Mél. de l'École Française de Rome*, xl (1923), 3—18.

[301] *CIL* vi 488 = DESSAU 4095.

[302] *CIL* vi 1117, 1118, record dedications to Diocletian, Maximian and Constantine from the *corpus corariorum (sic!) magnariorum solatariorum*. *Cf.* note 29 above.

worship, it seems evident that there was in the district a thriving Syrian colony whose members enjoyed the privilege of worshipping their native deities in a section of the city where the *pomoerium* presented no restrictions.[303]

This investigation has not included a study of Jews and early Christians in Trastevere. From the days of Augustus, the Jews in Rome had their oldest colony in Trastevere.[304] Since the earliest Jewish cemetery in the city was near the Porta Portese, it is probable that an ancient synagogue, perhaps the first in Rome, was situated somewhere in the region.[305] From the location of the churches of Sta. Cecilia and S. Crisogono on the sites of private houses, it appears that groups of Christians must have mingled with the other Orientals of Trastevere.[306]

From the evidence of religion at least, there is nothing to indicate that there were residents of other Eastern nationalities in Trastevere. For example, there is not a single dedication to Egyptian gods, a fact which strengthens the impression that Trastevere was a center for cults which were ignored by the state. The worship of Egyptian deities was recognized by the state when the temple of Isis Campensis was built, at some date before the reign of Vespasian. Thereafter no necessity existed for relegating the cults of Egypt to a remote part of Rome. Yet it is perhaps significant that even in private worship there are no records of Egyptian gods in Trastevere. The paucity of evidence for Mithras is very striking in an Oriental quarter. Possibly future excavations will disclose the Mithraeum, the existence of which in Trastevere is suggested by an inscription.[307] The *Frigianum* near the Vatican provided a convenient center for the inhabitants of Trastevere who wished to worship Cybele.

The literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence from Trastevere reveals a religious history which is entirely consistent with the inferior social status and predominantly foreign origin which characterized most of its residents. There was a definite preponderance of private dedications to the gods beloved by the common man, and to the θεοὶ πατρῷοι, deities of far countries — and chiefly of Syrian cities — where dwellers in Trastevere had once lived. The dedications from the quarter show that it was an accepted refuge of the unorthodox. In parts of Rome restricted by the *pomoerium* and crowded with state temples such a spontaneous character could never have manifested itself in religious life.

ABBREVIATIONS

ALTHEIM: FRANZ ALTHEIM, *A History of Roman Religion* (English translation by H. MATTINGLY), New York, 1938.

CIG: *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

CUMONT, *Rel. Orient*: FRANZ CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, ed. 4, Paris, 1929.

DAREMBERG-SAGLIO: *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines.*

DE RUGGIERO: *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane.*

DESSAU: *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.*

GAUCKLER: PAUL GAUCKLER, *Le Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule*, Paris, 1912.

IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae.*

IGRR: *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes.*

JORDAN: H. JORDAN, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, i and ii, Berlin, 1871, 1878.

JORDAN-HÜLSEN: H. JORDAN and CHR. HÜLSEN, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, i, 3, Berlin, 1907.

PW: PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*

PLATNER-ASHBY: PLATNER-ASHBY, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929.

ROSCHER: *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie.*

WALTZING: JEAN PIERRE WALTZING, *Étude Historique sur les Corporations Professionelles chez les Romains*, i-iv, Louvain, 1895—1900.

WISSOWA: GEORG WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, ed. 2, Munich, 1912.

Whole volumes are denoted by Roman numerals, parts of volumes by Arabic numerals, *e. g.*, iii, 1 = volume iii, part 1.

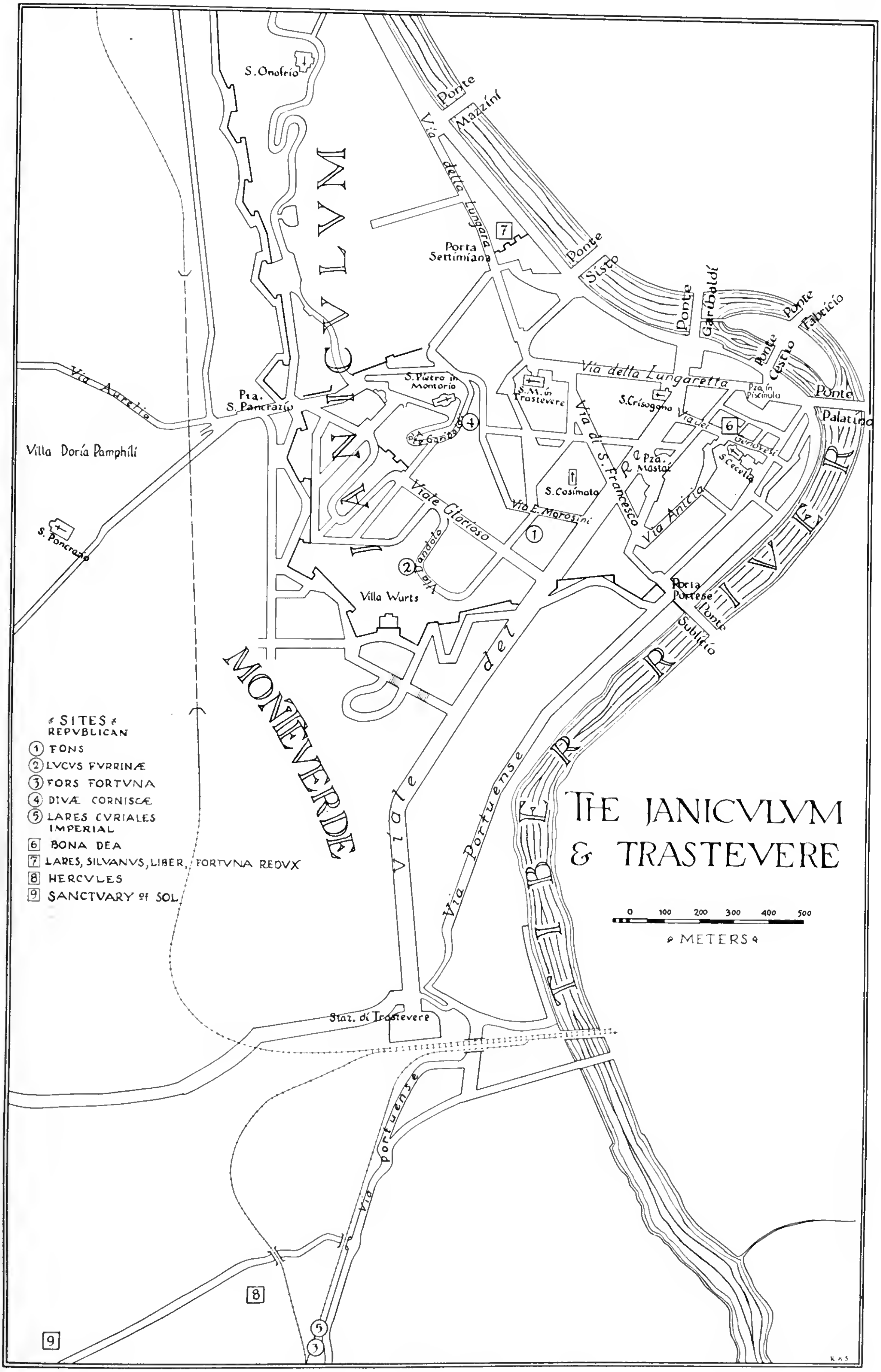
[303] On the sanctity of the *pomoerium* in a late period, see JORDAN, "Das Templum Deae Syriae in Rom," *Hermes*, vi (1872), especially pp. 316—319.

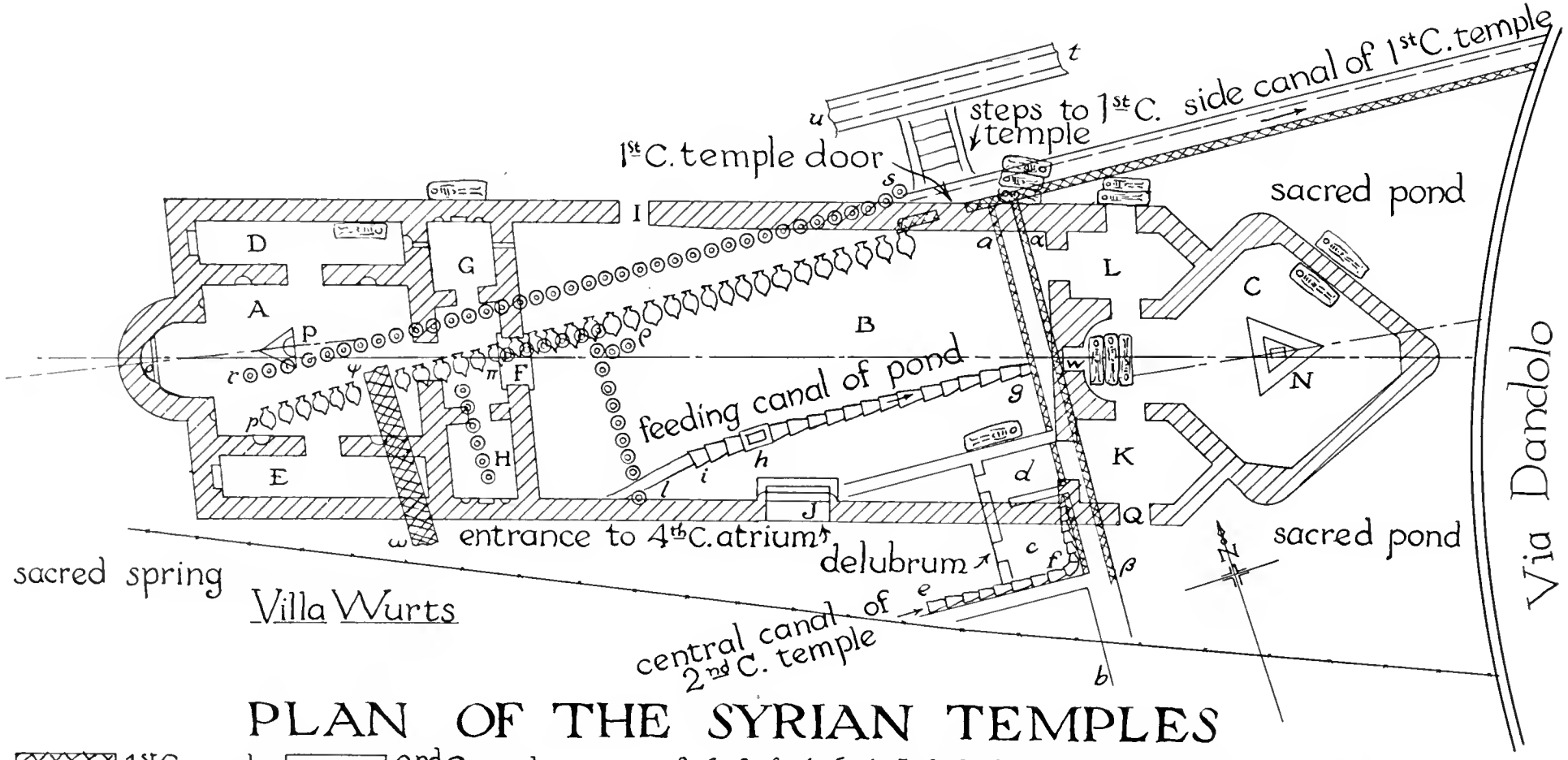
[304] PHILO, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 23.

[305] The cemetery was discovered by Bosio in 1602. In 1904 and 1907 it was explored by NIKOLAUS MÜLLER, who published *Die Jüdische Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom* (Leipzig, 1912), and "*Il cimitero degli antichi Ebrei posto sulla Via Portuense*," *Atti Accad. Pont. Romana*, xii (1915), 205 ff. Inscriptions from the cemetery were placed in the Lateran Museum; see SCHNEIDER-GRAZIOSI, "La nuova sala giudaica nel museo Lateranense," *Nuovo Bull. Arch. Crist.*, xxi (1915), 13 ff., and PARIBENI, "Iscrizioni del cimitero giudaico di Monteverde," *Not. Sc.*, 1919, 60 ff. There is a useful review of the material by CUMONT, "Catacombes juives de Rome," *Syria*, ii (1921), 145 ff.

[306] On the excavations under Sta. Cecilia, see *Not. Sc.*, 1900, 12 ff. A house of the first century after Christ was found built over a Republican house. The remains under S. Crisogono are of at least three periods, a tufa wall of the Republic; brick walls of the Antonine era, probably of a house; and a structure of the third to fourth century, perhaps the original Christian assembly-hall; M. MESNARD, *La basilique de Saint Chrysogone à Rome* (*Studi di Ant. Crist.*, Pont. Ist. di Arch. Christ., IX; Roma/Paris, 1935), 19—32, especially 30—32.

[307] *CIL* vi 727.


THE JANICVLVM
& TRASTEVERE
SITES
REPVBLICAN
1 FONS
2 LVCVS FVRRINÆ
3 FORS FORTVNA
4 DIVÆ CORNISCÆ
5 LARES CVRIALES
IMPERIAL
6 BONA DEA
7 LARES, SILVANVS, LIBER, FORTVNA REDVX
8 HERCVLES
9 SANCTVARY of SOL
0 100 200 300 400 500
METERS
IANICVLVM
MONTEVERDE
TIBER RIVER
S. Onofrio
Ponte Mazzini
Via della Lungara
Porta Settimiana
Ponte Sisto
Ponte Garibaldi
Ponte Fabricio
Ponte Cestio
Ponte Palatino
Via della Lungaretta
Pza. in Piscinula
S. Crisogono
S. M. in Trastevere
S. Pietro in Montorio
Pta. S. Pancrazio
Via Aurelia
Villa Doria Pamphili
S. Pancrazio
Via di S. Francesco
Pza. Mastai
S. Cecilia
S. Cosimato
Via E. Morosini
Viale Glorioso
Via Dandolo
Villa Wurts
Via Anicia
Porta Portese
Ponte Sublicio
Viale del Re
Via Portuense
Staz. di Trastevere



PLAN OF THE SYRIAN TEMPLES

1st C. temple 2nd C. temple 4th C. temple

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

meters ~

after Gauckler "Le Sanctuaire Syrien" Pl. LI

R.H.S.

PLATE 2.

1. Inscription of M. Antonius Gaionas. See pp. 36 f.

2. Gilded Bronze Image from the Syrian Sanctuary.
Photo. Alinari 30194. See pp. 51 f.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Altar to Sol Sanctissimus. See p. 55.

VASES BEQUEATHED BY ESTHER BOISE VAN DEMAN TO THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

WILLIAM T. AVERY, FRANCES BLANK, CHESTER G. STARR, JR.

(PLATES 5—10)

At her death in 1937, Dr. Esther Boise Van Deman generously bequeathed to the Academy a large collection of antiquities, which are now installed in its Museum. These include building materials, ceramics, objects of glass, bronze, and bone, and some coins. It is hoped that all this material will eventually be published[1], but since it is impossible now to catalogue the entire collection, this article deals only with the vases.

Dr. Van Deman left no inventory of these vases and no notes as to where she acquired them. The few numbers and words written on the vases themselves seldom give any clue as to their acquisition. Thus their provenance is entirely unknown. Some are certainly from Latium, and nearly all are Italic.

The number of each vase in this catalogue is immediately followed by the Museum inventory number in parentheses. The vases are grouped according to fabric. All measurements are given in centimeters. Two vases included in the bequest but of dubious antiquity have been placed at the end of this catalogue: they have an interest of their own.

There is some reason for thinking that No. 32, which was received with the others, belongs not with Dr. Van Deman's bequest but with that of Mr. Mahlon K. Schnacke.

ABBREVIATIONS

Arch. Anz.: Archäologischer Anzeiger
B. P. A.: Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana
C. V. A.: Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
Mon. Ant.: Monumenti Antichi
Montelius: Montelius, O.: *Civilisation Primitive en Italie*
N. S.: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità
Röm. Mitt.: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung

CATALOGUE

Italo-Protocorinthian

1. (1198). Lekythos. (Pl. 5, no. 11.) H., 10.8; D., 6.0; D. (base), 1.6; D. (lip), 4.5.

Slightly micaceous buff clay covered with a darker wash. From a small ring base the ovoid body rises to a maximum circumference near the top, then contracts rapidly to a small neck surmounted by a wide, flat lip. This lip is connected to the shoulder at one point by a wide strap handle decorated with three horizontal stripes of brown paint. On the lip a tongue pattern radiates from a band of brown. This pattern is used also on the shoulder and on the foot. On the body of the vase a wide brown band is separated from the upper design by three narrow stripes of brown and from the lower one by a single stripe. This band is decorated with four rows of scales formed by double incised lines made with compasses, some of whose centering holes are visible. Inside each scale is a dot of paint, purple-red and buff in alternate rows. These dots frequently cover the centering holes. One side of the lip is missing.

Cf. SIEVEKING-HACKL, *Die Königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, I, p. 80 and pl. 28, no. 692; ROBINSON, HARCUM, and ILIFFE, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, I, p. 44 and II, pl. 11, no. 147; *Mon. Ant.*, xxii (1913), pl. 54, no. 4 (Cumae); MONTELIUS, II, 2, pl. 323, no. 6 (Narce).

Corinthian and Italo-Corinthian

2. (1210). Corinthian kothon. (Pl. 5, no. 8.) H., 5.0; D., 16.1; D. (mouth), 8.0; D. (base), 11.8.

Micaceous buff clay, left unpolished. From a low ring base the body curves outward and upward, then sharply upward and inward to the turned-down rim. A ribbon handle without curling ends is attached at the point of maximum diameter. The kothon is decorated in a combination of dots and bands in red and dark brown paint. The rim and the interior of the vase up to the point of maximum diameter are dark brown. At the upper edge of the rim a band has been left in the natural buff, and outside that is a brown band. Below this are two rows of dots, the inner row being predominantly of brown dots and the outer predominantly of red. Bounding these dots is a thin red stripe, and 1.0 below is a broad brown and red band. A similar one is below the handle. The outer edge of the ring base is red, the inner side brown. On the bottom are two concentric circles with a dot in the center. That part of the handle

[1] The coins have already been published by Walter F. Snyder, *MAAR.*, xv (1938), p. 22 f.

that stands free from the kothon is brown. The paint is worn away in many places.

On two places on the base is written in pencil "15".

Cf. MINGAZZINI, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, I, p. 148, no. 382 and II, pl. 29, no. 10; ROBINSON, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part V, p. 64 and pl. 44, no. 6.

3. (1195). Italo-Corinthian aryballos. (Pls. 5.9; 8.1.)
H., 7.0; D., 6.4; D. (lip), 3.4.

Slightly micaceous buff clay with a buff wash. The body is a sphere flattened at top and bottom. The neck is narrow and ends in a wide lip. A flat strap handle runs from the lip to the shoulder of the vase. The decorations are in brown paint unless otherwise stated. The main frieze has four "swans" with wings closed advancing to the right. The breasts are painted dark red, and breast, wing feathers, and eyes are shown by incised lines. The bird under the handle has a second pair of legs instead of a tail, for which there is no room on the vase. Above and below the "swans" are dots and rosettes. These rosettes are formed by incising a cross in a large dot A stripe separates the frieze from the tongue pattern at the base, and a similar stripe separates it from the tongue pattern at the shoulder. On the flat surface of the lip is a radiating tongue pattern and on its vertical edge are stripes of paint. The handle is decorated with three horizontal stripes. In the base is a hemispherical hollow.

Just under the handle in pencil is "4".

Cf. ALBIZZATI, *Vasi Dipinti del Vaticano*, fasc. 2, p. 56 and pl. 13, no. 150; *Mon. Ant.*, xvi (1906), p. 423, fig. 38 (Capena); *C. V. A., Great Britain*, fasc. 9, p. 69 and pl. 387, no. 30; SIEVEKING-HACKL, *Die Königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, I, p. 84 and pl. 29, no. 751.

4. (1199). Italo-Corinthian alabastron. (Pl. 5, no. 7.)
H., 8.0; D., 4.4; D. (lip), 2.2.

Micaceous buff clay. The ovoid body is slightly flattened to form a base, in which is a hemispherical hollow. Below the wide rim on one side is a handle pierced by a suspension hole. The decoration is all in paint. On the body of the vase are two zones of bands, each consisting of a dark red stripe between two brown ones. Between these zones are four rows of brown dots. On the shoulder below the neck, interrupted by the handle, is a tongue pattern in dark brown. The upper surface of the lip has a red band in the middle; the vertical edges are painted brown.

On the base is written in ink "with fibula."

Cf. MONTELIUS, II, 1, pl. 209, no. 5 (Pitigliano); *C. V. A., France*, fasc. 14, p. 3 and pl. 601, no. 6; BRANTS, *Description of the Ancient Pottery..... Museum of Archeology, Leiden*, Part II, p. 13 and pl. 13, no. 52; *C. V. A., Danemark*, fasc. 1, p. 74 and pl. 95, no. 13.

5. (1196). Italo-Corinthian alabastron. (Pl. 5, no. 6.)
H., 14.7; D., 6.8; D. (lip), 3.7.

Buff clay with a slightly darker wash. The shape is like that of the preceding vase, although larger and with a slightly more rounded base. The body is divided into two zones by three groups of bands, each consisting of two brown stripes separated by one of dark red. In each of these zones are six rows of dots. The handle has three parallel horizontal stripes. The neck and lip are decorated as in the preceding vase.

On the bottom is written in pencil "7 Cap".

Cf. C. V. A., France, fasc. 14, p. 4 and pl. 601, no. 22; MINGAZZINI, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, I, p. 146, no. 376 and II, pl. 29, no. 6.

6. (1197). Italo-Corinthian alabastron. (Pl. 5, no. 10.)
H., 9.9; D., 5.7; D. (lip), 3.4.

Buff micaceous clay, highly polished, and covered with a slightly darker wash. The ovoid body contracts to a small neck terminating in a broad flat lip. Around the neck are a ridge and groove. A flat strap handle joins the lip to the shoulder. The body of the vase is decorated by two zones of three bands each, the wide outer two being of dark brown and the narrow inner one of dark red. These bands do not touch each other. On the shoulder a tongue pattern in brown depends from a brown stripe just below the ridge. Both stripe and pattern are interrupted by the handle. The lip has three narrow bands which do not touch, the outer and inner being of brown, the middle one of dark red. A band inside the neck is also brown, and there is a brown stripe on the outside edge of the lip. The handle has three horizontal parallel stripes. The brown paint has faded to red in several places.

Cf. C. V. A., France, fasc. 14, p. 6 and pl. 603, no. 3; SIEVEKING-HACKL, *Die Königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, I, p. 82 and pl. 28, no. 710.

Black Glazed

7. (1176). Cylix having a ring base. (Pls. 6.7; 8.3.)
H., 4.8; D. (without handles), 18.4; D. (handle to handle), 25.5; D. (base), 8.8.

Buff clay covered with an orange wash and black glaze. High ring base, thrown separately from the vase and articulated with two shallow torus mouldings. A ridge encircles the inside of the bowl 2.4 below the rim. The center of the bowl is stamped with five palmettes, each adjacent two being connected by incised arcs, except in one case where two palmettes are close together and the arc from one does not touch the other, but ends without a palmette. Enclosing the palmettes, but slightly off-center, is a large circular flaw in the glaze which has exactly the same diameter as the base of this cylix. This suggests that a similar cylix rather than a cylindrical support rested here during the firing. The handles

are attached below the rim. They slant slightly upward to the ends, then curve almost vertically up and in. The glaze on the handles and rim is red in some places and has chipped off in others. The inside of the base is reserved.

Cf. *C. V. A., France,* fasc. 13, p. 102 and pl. 579, nos. 3 and 7; SCRIBNER, *A Catalogue of the Spang Collection in the Carnegie Museum,* p. 348 and pl. 41, no. 2; *C. V. A., Pays Bas,* fasc. 2, p. 5 and pl. 93, no. 12.

8. (1182). Phiale mesomphalos. (Pls. 6.5; 8.2.) H., 4.0; D., 17.2.

Red clay covered with a buff wash and a black glaze with a metallic sheen. From the omphalos the bowl curves outward and upward rather sharply to a vertical rim. Around the omphalos is a circle of short radiating stamped strokes on which are impressed three palmettes. The rim is red in one place owing to defective firing. The inside of the omphalos is reserved.

Cf. ROBINSON, HARCUM, and ILIFFE, *Greek Vases at Toronto,* I, p. 260 and II, pl. 95, no. 595 (Cales). A similar design is seen in *Hesperia,* III (1934), p. 431, fig. 115, no. D 6.

9. (1177). Lekanis without a cover. (Pl. 6, no. 9.) H., 7.1; D. (without handles) 13.7; D. (handle to handle), 21.2; D. (base), 6.4.

Buff clay covered with a black glaze. Below the thin vertical rim and the ridge that supported the cover, the vase slants slightly inward from the vertical, then turns sharply and curves almost horizontally to the foot. This foot, which was thrown separately and then attached, is high and hollow, and spreads slightly at the bottom, ending in a single heavy roll moulding. The handles are attached below the ridge and curve slightly upward. The base and inside of the foot are reserved except for a narrow band. The glaze has flaked off in places and there are traces of repainting.

Cf. ROBINSON, HARCUM, and ILIFFE, *Greek Vases at Toronto,* I, p. 225 and II, pl. 83, no. 456; *id.,* I, p. 258 and II, pl. 94, no. 584; *C. V. A., U. S. A.,* fasc. 3, p. 35; pl. 103, no. 30; *C. V. A., Great Britain,* fasc. 3, p. 40 and pl. 140, no. 17; *Mon. Ant.* xxii (1913), pl. 105, fig. 1f (Cumae).

10. (1185). Kantharos. (Pl. 6, no. 11.) H., 6.5; D. (handle to handle), 15.5; D. (body), 11.0; D. (base), 5.3.

Micaceous buff clay covered with a black glaze. The bowl has straight sides and a base that slopes very slightly downward to the center. The bowl rests on a high ring foot formed by a truncated cone. The broad ribbon handles are attached just below the top and at the bottom of the sides of the vase. They are topped by flat thumb pieces slightly rounded at the ends. The decoration consists of two broad parallel grooves below the top of the vase and two similar ones on the ring foot. The inside of the foot is reserved. The glaze is worn away in several places and the surface of the inside of the bowl is corroded.

On the inside of the base is written in ink "518", and in pencil "15" and a word indecipherable beyond its initial "T". Two slips bearing previous catalogue numbers are pasted inside the base.

Cf. *C. V. A., Pologne,* fasc. 2, p. 51 and pl. 89, no. 11 (Carthage); *id.,* fasc. 1, p. 42 and pl. 54, no. 6 (Carthage).

11. (1184). Kyathos or oinochoe *a rocchetto.* (Pl. 6, no. 8.) H. (body), 8.9; H. (with handle), 12.5; D.(mouth), 5.9; D. (base), 7.6.

Orange-buff clay covered with a red wash and a black glaze. The spool-shaped body is 0.2 wider at the base than at the top. A rim with a central rib is attached 0.9 in from the edge. The high loop handle is attached in the middle of the body and at the rim, and is engaged at the upper edge of the spool. The surface is rough where the clay was not carefully polished after the handle was attached and there are brush marks in the glaze at that point. A small irregular section on the inside of the base and almost two-thirds of the outer part of the base are reserved. The sharp edges of the vase are chipped.

In ink on the base is written "5".

Cf. *N. S.,* 1905, p. 57, fig. 4 (Populonia) and *id.,* 1932, p. 93, fig. 4b (Porano).

12. (1186). Miniature hydria. (Pl. 6, no. 6.) H., 8.4; D., 5.9; D. (lip), 4.1; D. (base), 3.4.

Buff clay covered with a darker wash and a black glaze. From a broad ring base the body curves outward and upward, then almost vertically upward to the shoulder, from which it curves approximately horizontally inward to the neck, to which it is joined with a ridge. This neck flares inward to a narrow mouth, then out to a wide flat lip surrounded by a ridge. Two horizontal handles are placed asymmetrically below the shoulder. They curve upward parallel to the body of the vase, then inward, and one is engaged. The vertical handle joins the narrowest part of the neck to the shoulder. The paint is worn off in places. The inside of the ring base is reserved.

On the base is written in pencil "10".

Cf. the two hydriae from Priene in Berlin, St. Mus., T. WIEGAND and H. SCHRADER, *Priene,* p. 428, nos. 113, 114, fig. 546 (found with many others of the same form); their contours vary somewhat from those of the present example.

For a small (not miniature) hydria of this shape, *cf.* *C. V. A., France,* fasc. 13, p. 99 and pl. 578, no. 1; *id., Pologne,* fasc. 2, p. 44 and pl. 84, no. 13; *N. S.,* 1933, p. 333, and p. 334, fig. 1a.

13. (1189). Miniature plate on a ring base. (Pl. 6, no. 10.) H., 1.8; D., 5.1; D. (base), 2.5.

Wheelmade vase of slightly micaceous buff clay covered with black paint worn off in several places. In the center of the slightly concave bowl is a raised circle, which gives the vase a resemblance to a phiale mesomphalos. The plate has a ring base.

Cf. C. V. A., Italia, fasc. 8, p. 14 and pl. 361, no. 5 (Vetulonia).

Impasto

14. (1209). Lamp. (Pls. 7.3; 9.2.) H., 2.6; L., 11.3; W., 3.9.

The clay is gray micaceous impasto with a polished black surface. The workmanship is very crude. The oval concave bowl has four roughly made knobs on the bottom which serve as supports. Near each end of the oval rim are two pointed knobs, and between them are slightly concave projections which form handles 2.0 wide and 2.5 and 3.0 respectively in length. At the line of attachment these projections are equal in thickness to the depth of the bowl, but they taper sharply to the ends. A ridge in the center of the bowl is pierced by a suspension hole.

Cf. PINZA, *Etnologia Antica Toscano-Laziale,* p. 62, no. 18 and pl. 6, no. 1.

15. (1194). Jar with cover. (Pl. 7, no. 9.) H. (jar), 8.4; D. (jar), 11.0; Max. d. of mouth, 7.0; D. (base), 6.9; H. (cover), 5.0; D. (cover), 8.5; Total h., 13.2.

This jar is of micaceous reddish-brown impasto with a brown-black slip. It is handmade. The body is spherical with a flat base. The decoration consists of two bands of rectangular panels formed by raised ribs in imitation of net-work. The jar is chipped in places. The cover is shaped like a crude cylix on a thick high stem. A solid handle, now partly broken, may once have ended in a horn-shaped thumbpiece. This handle is pierced by a hole. The thick stem and slightly hollowed foot of this cylix form a convenient though clumsy knob.

Cf. PINZA, *Monumenti Primitivi di Roma e del Lazio Antico* (*Mon. Ant.* xv [1905]), p. 359 and p. 363, fig. 135d (Grottaferrata) for the jar, and *Mon. Ant.,* xvi (1906), p. 386, fig. 9, no. 3 (Capena) for the cover. Such a cover in use is shown *N. S.,* 1902, p. 163, fig. 51 (Grottaferrata). Covers without the knobs but with the pierced handle are common. *E. g., cf. N. S.,* 1929, p. 339, fig. 18 (Veii).

16. (1208). Small cup with biforate handle. (Pl. 7, no. 1.) H., 4.2; D., 5.2; H. (with handle), 7.1.

Dark gray micaceous impasto covered on the exterior with a buff slip worn away in places. Below the vertical lip the bowl curves outward and then inward and downward to a small flat base. At the point of maximum diameter there are short parallel vertical ridges, an imitation of the earlier skin vases. Directly opposite the handle these ridges are interrupted by a pointed knob. The biforate handle is attached at the lip and at a point of maximum diameter, and is divided into two unequal parts by an almost horizontal bar. This type of handle is common in Latium. A small part of the lip is broken away.

Cf. PINZA, *Monumenti Primitivi di Roma e del Lazio Antico* (*Mon. Ant.* xv [1905]), p. 158 and pl. 11, no. 29 (Rome). The treatment of the swelling and the ridges at the middle of the vase is similar to that described in *B. P. A.,* xxxv (1909), p. 90, where, however, the cup has only one protuberance.

17. (1202). Miniature jar with handles. (Pl. 7, no. 5.) H., 4.4; Max. d. of mouth, 4.5; D. (handle to handle), 6.7; D. (base), 3.5.

Dark reddish micaceous impasto fired dark gray in an open fire. Below a flaring rim the body is slightly curved to a flat base. At the point of maximum diameter are two flattened handles, formed by piercing a small hole in a horizontal projection on each side. The vase is handmade and the thickness varies from about 1.0 at the base to 0.2 at the lip.

Cf. N. S., 1927, p. 229 and p. 230, fig. 11, no. 3 (Tivoli).

18. (1204). Cover or miniature bowl. (Pl. 5, no. 2.) H., 3.1; D., 5.8.

Micaceous brick red impasto containing volcanic particles. The flaring bowl rests on a thick foot curving slightly outward, and hollowed at the bottom to form a crude ring base. This foot would form a convenient knob if the vase were to be used as a cover. There are several fingerprints.

Cf. C. V. A., Great Britain, fasc. 10, p. 4 and pl. 432, no. 27; *id., Danemark,* fasc. 4, p. 148 and pl. 193, no. 14 (Capodimonte); *N. S.,* 1927, p. 232, fig. 12, no. 32 (Tivoli); PINZA, *Monumenti Primitivi di Roma e del Lazio Antico* (*Mon. Ant.,* xv [1905]), p. 357, fig. 131 (Grottaferrata).

19. (1203). Miniature cup. (Pl. 7, no. 6.) H., 2.2—2.8; D., 4.1; D. (base), 2.8.

Red micaceous impasto fired at an open fire. The vase is wheel-made but crude. From a flat base the sides flare to unequal heights. The handle is attached at the rim and at a point half-way between the base and the rim.

Cf. N. S., 1926, p. 187, fig. 10 (Vetulonia), and SÄFLUND, *Le Terremare delle Province di Modena, Reggio Emilia, Parma, Piacenza,* pl. 4, no. 2.

20. (1201). Miniature jar. (Pl. 7, no. 4.) H., 3.0; D. (mouth), 3.7; D. (body), 3.5.

A dark gray micaceous impasto. The vase is wheelmade. From a broad base the body rises in a flat curve to a broad groove above which is a flaring lip.

Cf. N. S., 1911, p. 247, fig. 1, no. 2 (Trevignano Romano).

Faliscan

21. (1181). Plate on a high foot. (Pls. 7.7; 9.3.) H., 8.0; D., 17.2; D. (base), 8.5.

Reddish brown micaceous impasto containing volcanic particles. Around the shallow bowl is a raised rim 4.3 wide. The high hollow foot spreads outward to the base. The normally black-brown surface is red in one place on the rim, because of defective firing. The decoration is confined entirely to the rim and consists of patterns formed by crudely incised lines. A line encircles the inner edge of the rim, and above this is a pattern of alternate volutes and palmettes varying from five to seven leaves. This design is repeated ten times. Between the volutes below the palmettes are five parallel horizontal lines, and between the volutes and the inner circle are parallel vertical lines. Two holes have been pierced 1.6 apart on the rim.

For the shape, *cf. C. V. A., Danemark*, fasc. 5, p. 155 and pl. 202, no. 6a. A similar though more elaborate decoration is to be seen *id.*, p. 157 and pl. 204, no. 8b.

22. (1183). Spiral amphora. (Pls. 7.8; 9.1.) H., 18.7; D., 15.2; D. (mouth), 8.4; D. (base), 6 0.

Red micaceous impasto containing volcanic particles. The surface is highly polished. The vase is covered with a dark brown wash. The shape is that known as Nicosthenic. The body of the vase is a truncated spheroid resting on a low solid foot. From the shoulder the neck tapers upward to the flaring lip. The wide ribbon handles are attached at the lip and at the shoulder. The decoration consists of lines crudely incised in geometric patterns. On each handle are four parallel vertical lines. Above the shoulder on the neck are four horizontal parallel lines surmounted by a horizontal zigzag. Both lines and zigzag are interrupted by the handles. On the body, centered under each handle, are groups of parallel lines varying in number from four to six and arranged in the shape of the letter "W". Between these designs on each side is a double spiral, and above each of these is a wedge-shaped design formed by straight lines (six and seven respectively) which tend to converge. On each side of each handle is a scroll design; one of these is incomplete, owing to lack of space.

Cf. HOLLAND, *The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times*, pp. 95—101 for a discussion of this type of amphora. For details of the decoration *cf. C. V. A., Danemark*, fasc. 5, p. 153 and pl. 199.4; *N. S.*, 1924, p. 478, fig. 26 (Marino); *id.*, 1903, p. 408, fig. 38 (Rome); MINGAZZINI, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, I, p. 33, no. 123 and II, pl. 3, no. 2.

Bucchero

23. (1191). Small bowl. (Pl. 6, no. 1.) H., 3.0; D., 8.8; D. (base), 4.8.

Dark gray bucchero with a dull finish. The clay is micaceous. From a low solid foot the bowl curves outward and upward for half its height, then rises almost vertically to the lip, which flares outward. The sides are thick. The bowl appears to be wheelmade, but before firing one side was slightly flattened, owing possibly to an overcrowded kiln. The foot has been divided into unequal segments by two incised diameters. A cavity in the center of the foot may not be ancient. The lip and foot are slightly chipped.

Cf. N. S., 1912, p. 78, fig. 6b (Rignano Flaminio).

24. (1180). Cup. (Pl. 6, no. 12.) H., 8.5; D., 13.5; D. (base), 8.5.

A thick bucchero with a dull finish. The clay is micaceous. On one side it is red, owing to defective firing. The lip flares slightly outward and downward for 1.3. The body curves inward to the stem, which spreads outward to form the foot. There is no decoration. The lip and foot are slightly chipped.

Cf. MONTELIUS, II, 1, pl. 221, no. 13 (Chiusi).

25. (1175). Phiale without omphalos. (Pl. 6, no. 4). H., 5.2; D., 19.5; D. (base), 7.7.

Micaceous bucchero with a dull finish. A shallow bowl having a slightly flaring rim rests on a low ring base. Just below the rim the sides curve outward, then inward and downward to the ring base. The sides of the vase are *ca.* 0.8 in thickness. There is no decoration. The roughness in the center of the interior may be a fingerprint left by the potter. In two places just outside the ring base on the bottom is written in pencil "2".

Cf. C. V. A., Pologne, fasc. 2, p. 46 and pl. 85, no. 3.

26. (1178). Cylix without stem. (Pl. 6, no. 2.) H., 6.1; D., 13.6; D. (handle to handle), 18.6; D. (base), 4.0.

Bucchero fino with a good polish. The clay is micaceous. Below a high flaring lip the vase curves outward then inward and downward to the foot, on which it rests directly. The flat handles are attached at the line of the body's greatest diameter at a very small upward angle. On the swell of the body are eight groups of wedge-shaped ornaments composed of dots made with a toothed stick and arranged in a straight line. These groups are divided into two parts of four groups each by the handles. Below are three bands of decoration, each consisting of five parallel incised lines. The first band is immediately below the handles, the third just above the foot, and the second in the middle between them. The vase is chipped in places along the lip.

For the shape and decoration of the bowl *cf. C. V. A., Great Britain*, fasc. 10, p. 12 and pl. 444, no. 10 and PINZA, *Monumenti Primitivi di Roma e del Lazio Antico* (*Mon. Ant.*, xv [1905]), p. 130 and pl. 10, fig. 7 (Esquiline necropolis, Rome). The type of foot is shown *C. V. A., Great Britain*, fasc. 10; pl. 452, no. 3. For the use of a toothed stick *cf.* RICHTER, *Studi Etruschi*, x (1936), pp. 64f.

27. (1179). Cup. (Pl. 6, no. 3.) H., 10.6; D., 13.5; D. (foot), 6.9.

Micaceous bucchero fino with a high polish. The straight sides slant downward and inward to a notched moulding, below which they curve to the foot. This is a truncated cone with a curving contour, smaller and lower than is usual in this type of cup. It was thrown separately and joined to the body without a ridge. The inside of the foot has not been carefully finished and fingerprints are visible. The decoration consists of six fan-shaped ornaments composed of lines of dots made with a toothed stick. These ornaments are placed just below the edge and below them three grooves 0.1 apart encircle the cup.

Inside the foot in pencil is written "Cap 15".

Cf. C. V. A., Great Britain, fasc. 6, p. 42 and pl. 280, no. 9.

Campanian

28. (1188). Ring guttus of Gnathia ware. (Pl. 7, no. 12.) H., 8.3; Max. d., 10.6; Inner d., 3.6; D. (base), 8.8; H. (spout), 4.3; D. (spout), 5.3.

Slightly micaceous buff clay completely covered by a black glaze, which has worn off in spots. The vase is a hollow ring on a low base, with a spout having a flaring lip on one side. A handle joins the base of the spout to the other side. Around the ring in buff paint is a laurel wreath with leaves and berries. The ring base is reserved. There are several fingerprints, especially under the spout.

On the base in two places is written in pencil "5".

Cf. ROBINSON, HARCUM, and ILIFFE, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, I, p. 250 and II, pl. 90, no. 539.

29. (1187). Kernos. (Pl. 7, no. 10.) H., 10.9; D., 11.7; D. (base), 8.1; H. (jar), 6.3; D. (jar rim), 4.5.

Slightly micaceous buff clay covered with a good black glaze. The solid ring base has around the top and bottom edges a moulding in three divisions. This ring flares sharply outward at the upper edge. Around the top of this ring base are four small jars with high solid bases, globular bodies, and high flaring lips. They have no decoration. The ring base has on the middle division of both upper and lower mouldings an incised tongue pattern with dots of white paint irregularly placed both inside and outside the tongues. On the upper division of the top moulding below each jar is a row of similar dots. Between the two mouldings on the surface of the ring base is a vine design having incised tendrils and white painted leaves and grapes, three in each cluster. The bottom of the ring base is reserved. One jar has been broken from the ring and repaired, and all are chipped at the mouth.

In ink on the base is written "30".

Cf. Mon. Ant., xx (1910), p. 138, fig. 106b for the shape of the kernos (with five jars). The vine and tongue patterns are seen *id.*, p. 114, fig. 84d. Both come from Teanum Sidicinum. A close but not exact parallel, with four jars, is Berlin, St. Mus., 3553 (Cat. FURTWÄNGLER, ii, p. 957, no. 3553, form 289).

30. (1200). Squat lekythos. (Pl. 5, no. 4.) H., 5.9; D., 5.8; D. (base), 5.0.

Buff clay highly polished. From a low broad ring base the vase curves outward and upward briefly, then upward and inward to a small neck to which it is joined with a ridge. The neck widens into a bell-shaped mouth with a wide flat lip. The handle is attached at the neck and at a point somewhat above the line of maximum diameter. Between the handle and this line are three bands of black paint, the outer two of which are much narrower than the middle one. Three horizontal parallel black stripes are on the handle, and the lip is black. There is a slight dent in one side, and the surface is somewhat chipped.

On the base in pencil is "Abbruzzi" (*sic!*).

For the shape *cf.* ROBINSON, HARCUM, and ILIFFE, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, I, p. 243, no. 510; LANGLOTZ, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, I, p. 151 and II, pl. 241, no. 847. Both of these vases are of Gnathia ware.

Apulian

31. (1205). Canosa askos with two spouts. (Pls. 5.13; 10.1.) H., 17.7; D., 14.8.

Buff clay without wash. From a spheroid body, flattened at the base, spring two spouts, one slightly higher and narrower than the other. Both are closed by strainers, the one at the bottom of the neck, set in the curve of the body, and the other at the flaring lip. The double handle is attached at the base of each spout. The strainers and the inside of the open spout are painted red. The exterior of the askos is decorated by bands of curvilinear and floral designs in brown paint. The lips of the spouts have short lines sloping from the inner to the outer edges. The handle has long brown stripes from end to end. Beneath the handle on the top of the body inside a rectangle is a double spiral enclosed in two degenerate spirals. The spouts and body of the vase are decorated with seven curving bands of designs separated from each other by two narrow parallel stripes of brown. These are as follows from top to bottom: (1) inverted wave, (2) degenerate vine, (3) repeated hook with transition to snake at ends, (4) inverted wave, (5) degenerate bird, (6) degenerate ivy, (7) braid. Near the base on each side there is a degenerate palmette flanked by snakes, crosses inscribed in circles, dots, rosette crosses, etc. There is a small hole in the body, and the surface is chipped in some places. A few fingerprints are visible.

Cf. MAYER, *Apulien*, pp. 305—6 and pl. 38, no. 14 and pl. 40, no. 2; LANGLOTZ, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, I, p. 134 and II, pl. 224, nos. 751 and 752. *Cf.* also *Mon. Ant.*, vi (1895), p. 364, fig. 8 and *C. V. A., Italia*, fasc. 4, p. 4 and pl. 165, nos. 1 and 2.

32. (1214). Part of a candlestick(?). (Pl. 5, no. 15.) H., 28.1; D., 6.5; D. (base), 4.9.

Red micaceous clay covered with a buff wash. The base is flat with a large semispherical depression, in the center of which is a small protuberance. From the base the vase curves very slightly inward, then outward, and again very gradually inward. The top of the vase is missing. The decoration of the remaining part consists of nine complete bands of painted designs separated from one another by one or two stripes. From top to bottom these patterns are as follows: (1) wave, (2) parallel vertical stripes in groups of three or four, (3) degenerate leaves, (4) broad band with saw-tooth edges divided by a stripe of buff, (5) two checkerboards separated on one side by cross-hatching and on the other by a square containing a rosette, (6) degenerate leaf, larger than the one above mentioned and with direction reversed, (7) ivy leaf, (8) repeated chevrons arranged on their sides, (9) tongues outlined by two stripes and separated by parallel horizontal stripes surmounted by a serrated crescent. The portion of pattern remaining above the first seems to be (9) reversed, which suggests that it was the top pattern. The decoration seems originally to have been in brown on buff. At a later time red was added both where the brown had been chipped away and independently. In some places it covers the brown. Thus there are red lines in the wave pattern, red vertical lines between the groups of (2), the leaves of (3) have a red stem, parts of the serrate pattern are red, the checkerboards have some red squares and the rosette a red center, the hatching a red border, the vine has some red leaves in place of brown ones, and the ivy red leaves in addition to brown ones. Some of the chevrons are in red, and the outline tongues have a solid red tongue inside. The red lines are thicker than the brown ones.

There is some uncertainty as to the purpose of this vase. Its shape is that of the Syrian vase shown *C. V. A., Danemark*, fasc. 1, pl. 19, no. 12, but the decoration is Italic and may be most nearly paralleled on Apulian candelabra. *Cf.* MAYER, *Apulien*, pl. 38, nos. 7 and 8; *id.*, pl. 39, nos. 1 and 2; *id.*, pl. 40, nos. 3—5; *N. S.*, 1898, p. 209, figs. 12—14; MILANI, *Archeologia e Numismatica*, I, p. 318, fig. 257; *C. V. A., Italia*, fasc. 4, pl. 165, no. 6. See however *Exped. Sieglin*, II^3, p. 40 f., fig. 45. It is possible that some candelabra were made in sections, but there are no clear indications at the base of such an arrangement.

33. (1193). Vase cover. (Pls. 7.11; 10.2.) H., 6.9; D., 15.5; D. (handle), 6.7; H. (handle), 3.5.

Reddish buff micaceous clay covered with a reddish wash on the exterior. From the rim, which slants slightly outward, the cover curves upward and inward to the center, where there rises a stem supporting a disk which forms the handle. The disk is decorated in black figure technique with a cross consisting of two palmettes base to base and a conventionalized lotus flower on each side. In each of the four vacant spaces is a dotted circle, in one of which the dot is replaced by a smaller circle. In the middle is a small hemispherical hollow. The designs are surrounded by a raised band painted black and an outer raised band with radiating red and black stripes. From a point halfway down the stem the vase has a black glaze and the red figure technique is used. Diametrically opposed on the cover are two palmettes encircled by a band flanked by floral designs. Between the palmettes on each side are a duck and a rosette. The palmettes and rosettes have dots of white paint, and this paint is also used to emphasize details of the ducks. A band of red encircles the stem. The rim has parallel red stripes. One side has been broken and mended. The interior is reserved.

Inside the cover is written in pencil "1922" and "L. 100".

Cf. C. V. A., Italia, fasc. 6, p. 34 and pl. 295, no. 12 (Egnatia); LEROUX, *Vases Grecs et Italo-Grecs de Madrid*, p. 278 and pl. 51, no. 517. The use of a bird between the palmettes is seen *Arch. Anz.*, xxiv (1909), p. 1, pl. 1, no. 54.

Miscellaneous

34. (1211). Jar. (Pl. 5, no. 5.) H., 13.3; D. (body), 7.1; D. (mouth), 6.5; D. (foot), 2.1.

Micaceous red-buff clay, unpolished. From a small solid foot spreading very slightly the vase curves outward and upward to the shoulder, then upward and inward to a wide mouth with a lip that curves outward and upward and is slightly thickened along its outer edge. There are broad irregular grooves on the body of the vase. A part of the foot is broken away and the body is chipped.

This vase may be Egyptian. *Cf. C. V. A., Danemark*, fasc. 1, p. 5 and pl. 9, no. 13; *id., Pays Bas*, fasc. 2, p. 5 and pl. 54, nos. 4, 8, and 9. For a similar jar found in the bed of the Fucine Lake, *cf. Studi Etruschi*, xi (1937), pl. 32, no. 2d.

35. (1206). Alabastron. (Pl. 5, no. 12.) H., 29.2; D., 6.1; D. (lip), 7.1.

Micaceous gray-buff clay. The body is cylindrical, tapering sharply at the bottom to a small flat base and at the top to a neck set off by a groove. The neck curves in and then out and broadens at the top to a wide flat lip which projects slightly over the mouth on the inside. 7.1 below the lip are two rudimentary handles not pierced for suspension. The exterior was once covered by a wash whose color it is now impossible to distinguish, for it has been changed by some chemical action to a dull olive-green, and the surface is much corroded, with rust streaks in some places. On the lip, part of which is broken away, are two circular incised lines. Both are incomplete because of the breakage, but the inner was left incomplete at the time the vase was made.

Near the base at one side a large section has been broken out and restored with clay of a different kind. From the top of this patch a crack runs irregularly upward to a point below the shoulder.

This alabastron is an imitation in clay of a type common in alabaster, seen in *Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 118, fig. 108; *id.*, p. 391, fig. 448; *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Plates III, pl. 98, no. 63; *Studi Etruschi*, xi (1937), pl. 55, no. 31. For a similar alabastron of clay, but without the handles, *cf. C. V. A., France*, fasc. 13, p. 52 and pl. 554, no. 57 (Cyrenaica).

36. (1190). Miniature cylix crater. (Pl. 7, no. 2.) H., 3.5; D., 4.8; D. (base), 2.4.

Micaceous buff clay covered by a reddish brown wash and unevenly fired. Below a flaring rim the profile of the body is slightly concave for two-thirds of its height, then the vase swells out and in again to a ring base. The completely engaged handles spring from just above the swell, and are not diametrically opposite each other.

On a piece of paper pasted on the base are written in two different inks "Civita Castellana" and "10".

Cf. ROBINSON, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part V, p. 247 and pl. 106, nos. 994—1000 for similar miniature vessels. For a larger and better formed miniature cylix crater, *cf. C. V. A., U. S. A.*, fasc. 3, p. 35 and pl. 103, no. 32. *Cf.* also LANGLOTZ, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, I, p. 165 and II, pl. 254, no. 953.

37. (1207). Bowl of terra sigillata. (Pl. 5, no. 3.) H., 3.3; D., 16.4; D. (base), 5.6.

Red clay covered by an orange-red glaze. A bowl with a wide horizontal rim, curving sides, and a convex bottom rests on a low narrow ring base. The transition from sides to bottom is marked by a ridge on the outside and a groove inside. A second groove runs just inside the outer edge of the rim, and a third on the exterior just inside the ring base. A hole has been pierced in the center of the base. The bowl has been broken in two and mended. The outside of the bowl is chipped in places.

The shape is a combination of OSWALD-PRYCE, *Terra Sigillata*, pl. 47, no. 5 (curved sides), pl. 59, no. 3 (rim), and no. 11 (convex bowl). *Cf. C. V. A., France*, fasc. 13, p. 115, and pl. 585, no. 7; *id.*, p. 125; pl. 588, no. 34.

Dubious

38. (1213). Askos. (Pl. 5, no. 14.) L., 19.5; W., 8.7; H. (body), 11.6; H. (with handle), 16.7.

Brick red clay, slightly micaceous, left unpolished and covered with a lighter wash. The shape is somewhat like that of a duck's body, with the head replaced by a spout and the feet by a high, hollow, circular foot. The top is, however, not broad and flat, but comes to a ridge. Along this ridge is a ring handle and at one end is the curving tubular spout, with a moulding just below the end and a thin flaring lip. Both the handle and spout tilt slightly to the left. The high foot spreads at the bottom and ends in a turned-up rim. Inside the body it continues upward as a hollow tube to within *ca.* 0.5 of the top. The decoration is in thin reddish-brown paint. Along the ridge and handle is a series of short parallel lines, and the spout is encircled by four stripes. On each side of the ridge are two slightly curving parallel lines which join at each end two other parallel lines which curve around the bottom of the body. On each side of the body there are three overlapping triangles, their bases formed by the curving body lines above mentioned, and the other two sides by groups of three parallel lines. Through each triangle are three broad parallel horizontal lines. Above and to each side are other designs. Around the foot there is a vine tendril pattern without leaves and below it two bands, then a degenerate bird pattern and another band. The edge of the turned-up rim is painted. Many fingerprints are seen on the surface. There is a hole in one side of the body.

On the inside of the foot in pencil are "15" and "13".

Vases of a somewhat similar type have been found at Capodimonte (*N. S.*, 1928, p. 455 and pl. 9) and at Tarquinia (*Mon. Ant.*, xv [1905], p. 625, fig. 192a). MAYER (*Röm. Mitt.*, xii [1897], p. 214) says that triangles having a common base are a favorite Apulian device. However, the appearance of clay and color is peculiar, the main ornament is intelligible as a square-rigged ship; and the form of the spout is not typically ancient: hence the vase is probably modern. However, there is a close parallel for the shape in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican, among the "Ceramica saec. II.—V. d. C.": in unpainted red clay, with two spouts, the front one having a large concave lip for receiving liquid, and the back one being small and pointed for pouring.

39. (1212). Small pointed amphora. (Pl. 5, no. 1.) H., 17.6; D., 10.0.

Brick red clay covered with a grayish buff wash. From a solid foot spreading very slightly the amphora curves outward and upward gradually to the shoulder, then abruptly in towards the neck, which is attached with a groove. The neck is slightly wider at the mouth than at the bottom. Two handles are attached at the mouth and at the shoulder. The foot and lower body are painted black. This black surface terminates above in three curves which meet in sharp points of irregular height and spacing. Above these the body to the shoulder is a mauve-gray, ending at the shoulder with irregular streaks on the buff wash, as if the paint had been applied while the vase was inverted and allowed to run towards the neck. The top of the neck and part of one handle seem to have been cut away. Body and foot are chipped. A defect of firing has changed the black paint to red in one spot.

In pencil is written on the neck "4".

Bequest of Esther Boise Van Deman.
AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME.

Bequest of Esther Boise Van Deman
AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME.

1. Italo-Corinthian aryballos (3).
(Scale *ca.* 5 : 8).

2. Phiale mesomphalos (8).
(Scale *ca.* 5 : 5).

3. Cylix having a ring base (7).
(Scale *ca.* 5 : 9).

Bequest of Esther Boise Van Deman.
AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME.

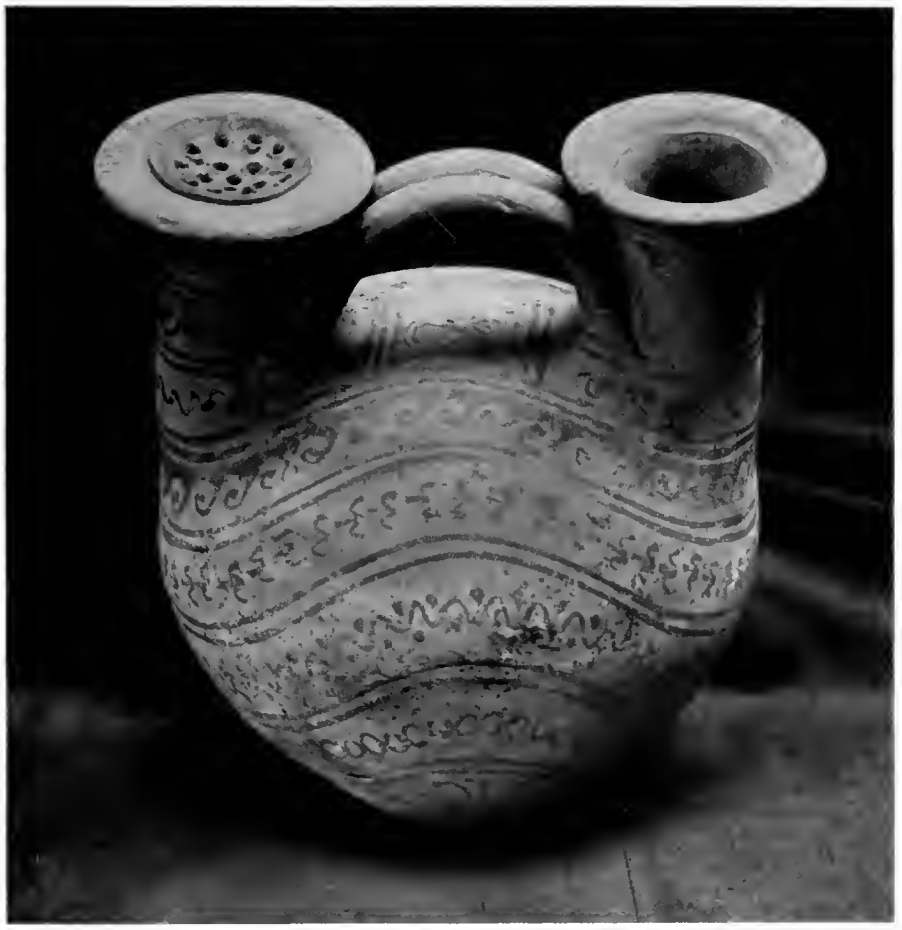
1. Faliscan amphora (22).
(Scale *ca.* 5 : 9).

2. Impasto lamp (14)
(Scale *ca.* 2 : 3).

3. Faliscan plate on a high foot (22).
(Scale *ca.* 4 : 7).

Bequest of Esther Boise Van Deman.
AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME.

PLATE 9.



1. Canosa askos with two spouts (31).
(Scale *ca.* 4 : 7).

2. Apulian vase cover (33).
(Scale *ca.* 3 : 5).

Bequest of Esther Boise Van Deman.
AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME.

The shape of this vase is similar to those shown in *C. V. A., U. S. A.*, fasc. 3, p. 37 and pl. 104, no. 19, and in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Plates II, pl. 67, no. 1a. The decoration however appears to be without a parallel from antiquity; and the clay resembles that of no. 38.[1]

TABLE OF REFERENCE

Inventory Number	Catalogue Number	Inventory Number	Catalogue Number
1175	25	1195	3
1176	7	1196	5
1177	9	1197	6
1178	26	1198	1
1179	27	1199	4
1180	24	1200	30
1181	21	1201	20
1182	8	1202	17
1183	22	1203	19
1184	11	1204	18
1185	10	1205	31
1186	12	1206	35
1187	29	1207	37
1188	28	1208	16
1189	13	1209	14
1190	36	1210	2
1191	23	1211	34
1192	(modern)	1212	39
1193	33	1213	38
1194	15	1214	32

[1] The third and last fascicule of the contribution of Poland to the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* appeared after this catalogue was already in proof. The parallel material which could not, therefore, be included in the body of the work is for convenience gathered here. All references are to *C. V. A., Pologne*, fasc 3. To the references to vase no. 4 may be added p. 5 and pl. 98, no. 7; to those for no. 12, p. 44 and pl. 113, no. 12; to those for no. 24, p. 63 and pl. 123, no. 5; and to those for no. 39, p. 3 and pl. 97, no. 17 (Kertch).

THE *ADORATIO PURPURAE* AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE IMPERIAL PURPLE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

WILLIAM T. AVERY

> *...sicut nunc Romanis indumentum purpurae insigne est regiae dignitatis assumptae...*
> LACTANTIUS *Div. Inst.* IV 7 6.

A study of the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus reveals certain significant facts in connection with the worship of the Roman emperor in the fourth century of the Christian era. The most striking of these is the obvious change in the spirit of the cult. The acts and manifestations of worship rendered to the emperor during the first three centuries of the empire contained some element of spontaneity and personal feeling. This cannot be denied despite the great amount of hypocrisy and adulation which characterized the reigns of such emperors as Domitian. However, by the fourth century a stage of ennui, as it were, had been reached. Experience with tyrannical emperors, conflicts among aspirants to the throne and the ephemeral nature of sovereignty were undoubtedly some of the factors which reduced much of emperor worship to pure formality. The mere symbols of the imperial station, — and of these the most important seems to have been the purple robe which the emperor wore —, represented the power. The general who could muster sufficient force of arms among his men, harangue them to the point of declaring him emperor, and then present himself clad in the purple, had a good chance of holding the imperial power until another like himself, but with greater forces at his disposal, arose to dispute his rights. Consequently, the purple acquired a new importance. Whereas in the earlier cult the emperor was the object of veneration, at this period attention has shifted to the attributes which represent his station. The cult has been rigidly formalized, and what once would have been an individual and personal act of worship rendered to the emperor has now become a conventional court ceremonial. "The purple makes the emperor" became the theme of the day and as a result the imperial robe became the object of adoration.

Of course, the lower *strata* of society, the *vulgus*, which had not been infected with the sophistication of the court continued to express its gratitude to the emperor in much the same way as it had in the past. Entire populations continued to turn out on the day when the sovereign honored the community with his presence. The army was lavish in its eulogies of the newly acclaimed Augustus as an invincible leader in battle. And, to be sure, the emperor himself clung jealously to the old honorific titles with which his predecessors had been honored during a period when such titles had not yet become commonplaces but held some significance.[1]

The purpose of the present study is to illustrate the nature of the formalization of emperor worship as it appears in the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus. Two principal aspects of the problem will be considered: (1) the official ceremony of *adoratio* as practised in the fourth century, and (2) a subject important in connection with this ceremony, the significance of the imperial purple robe which was the essential symbol of the emperor's absolute power.

The most concrete example which Ammianus provides of the tendency to formalize the worship of the emperor is found in his references to the ceremony of kissing the purple, the *adoratio purpurae* as it may be called.[2] He is the only ancient author in whose writings there occurs anything approaching a description of the ceremony; therefore a direct transcription of the passages in which he refers to it seems advisable.

1. (Ursicinus, *magister equitum* in the Orient, formerly in disfavor with Constantius because of charges brought against him by his enemies,[3] is summoned and taken into the presence of the emperor who is in need of his aid.)
   ...et per admissionum magistrum — qui mos est honoratior — accito eodem (scil. Ursicino), ingresso consistorium offertur purpura multo quam antea placidius.[4]

[1] These aspects of the fourth century cult will be treated in a forthcoming study.

For explanation of the abbreviations employed in the foot-notes of the present work, see the bibliographical note at the end.

[2] The expression *adoratio purpurae* is admittedly an invention appearing for the first time in the present work. It occurs neither in ancient literature nor in later commentaries to the knowledge of the author. However, it is grammatical and highly convenient and any scruple against its introduction here should be removed by the consideration of the universal acceptance and current usage of a similar expression, *memoriae damnatio*, which was likewise unknown in antiquity but which is constantly employed by modern scholars.

[3] AMMIANUS XIV 9 1—2; 11 1—5; XV 2 1—6.

[4] AMMIANUS XV 5 18.

2. (The same Ursicinus, sent by Constantius to quash the upstart Silvanus who has had himself declared emperor at Cologne, finds that he must temporize because of the great support which Silvanus has been able to muster. He obtains an audience with Silvanus.)

   Susceptus tamen idem dux (scil. Ursicinus[5]*) leniter adactusque, inclinante negotio ipso cervices, adorare sollemniter anhelantem celsius purpuratum (scil. Silvanum), ut spectabilis colebatur et intimus: facilitate aditus honoreque mensae regalis adeo antepositus aliis, ut iam secretius de rerum summa consultaretur.*[6]

3. (Lucillianus, *magister equitum* stationed at Sirmium, has been preparing to resist Julian who is on the march eastward to meet the forces of Constantius in battle. Lucillianus is summoned before Julian and approaches terrified.)

   Verum cum primitus visus (scil. Iulianus), adorandae purpurae datam sibi copiam advertisset (scil. Lucillianus), recreatus tandem suique securus, "Incaute," inquit, "imperator et temere cum paucis alienis partibus te commisisti." Cui amarum Iulianus subridens, "haec verba prudentia serva," inquit, "Constantio. Maiestatis enim insigne non ut consiliario tibi, sed ut desinas pavere porrexi."[7]

4. *Thalassium quendam ex proximo libellorum, insidiatorem fratris oderat (scil. Iulianus) Galli,*[8] *quo adorare adesseque officio inter honoratos prohibito...*[9]

5. *Inter complures alios honore conspicuos, adoraturi imperatorem (scil. Constantium) peregre venientem, ordinantur etiam ex tribunis insignibus. Cum igitur a Mesopotamia reversus, Constantius hoc exciperetur officio, Amphilochius quidam ex tribuno Paflago, quem dudum sub Constante militantem discordiarum sevisse causas inter priores †*[10] *fratres, suspiciones contiguae veritati pulsabant, ausus paulo petulantius stare, ut ipse quoque ad parile obsequium admittendus, agnitus est et prohibitus...*[11]

The rite of kissing the purple[12] was performed in the following manner: the individual admitted to the presence of the emperor fell before him in the usual attitude of obeisance,[13] took the hem or corner of the emperor's purple robe in hand,[14] and raising it to his lips kissed it.[15] On the basis of a passage in

[5] Ammianus calls Ursicinus *dux*, "head of the expedition," because he accompanied Constantius' envoy on his mission to Cologne. *Cf.* AMMIANUS XV 5 24.

[6] AMMIANUS XV 5 27.

[7] AMMIANUS XXI 9 8.

[8] *Cf.* AMMIANUS XIV 1 10.

[9] AMMIANUS XXII 9 16. There is no doubt that *purpuram* is to be understood with *adorare*. The expression became so common that *adorare* (or some form of it) often stood for the complete phrase. *Cf.* below, p. 78f., and n.129. *Cf.* NOT. DIG. (ed. SEECK) OR. XXXIX 37; XL 38; XLI 41. Observe also the absence of some form of *adorare* (*ad adorandum*) in AMMIANUS XV 5 18 quoted above. On the present reference in particular, *cf.* Alföldi's interpretation in "Ausg." 63.

[10] Throughout I have chosen to follow CLARK'S critical edition of Ammianus, which is to be recommended for its conservatism in textual matters. Although the doubtful passages have been made "readable" in J. C. ROLFE'S text (books XIII—XXVI) in the Loeb Classical Library, it has seemed advisable to reproduce CLARK'S results.

[11] AMMIANUS XXI 6 2. It is certain that *adoraturi imperatorem* is to be interpreted as meaning *adoraturi purpuram imperatoris*. Compare, for example, the variations which appear in the CODEX THEODOSIANUS X 22 3: *adoraturus aeternitatem nostram;* VI 23 1: *in adoranda nostra serenitate;* VI 8 1: *nostrae serenitatis adoraturi imperium,* all of which are equivalent to a form of *imperatorem adorare* (*cf.* below, p. 00). With this fourth century ceremony of *adoratio purpurae* in honor of the emperor on his return, compare the later practice described in CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENITUS I Appendix (MIGNE PG 112 936 C—940 B, especially 936 C—937 A.).

[12] The ceremony of *adoratio purpurae* has been described with varying degrees of thoroughness and accuracy by SEECK in *RE* I 1 400—401, *s. v. Adoratio;* SAGLIO in DAREMBERG-SAGLIO I i 81, *s. v. Adoratio;* DU CANGE VI 575—576, *s. v. Purpura* (*purpuram adorare*); VALESIUS *ad* AMMIANUM XV 5 18 (p. 83, n. *b* in Paris edition of 1681); GOTHOFREDUS *ad C. TH.* VI 8 1 (II 83) and BABUT 225—231.

[13] THEMISTIUS Or. IV 52c; PROCOPIUS *Bell. Vand.* II 9. *Cf.* SEECK 400; BEURLIER 285; BABUT 225; DAREMBERG-S. I 1 81; ALF. "Ausg." 62. Obviously the regular obeisance was due to the emperor before the *adoratio purpurae* was introduced into the court ceremonial. On the basis of a representation on an *aureus* of Postumus (see ALF. "Ausg." Taf. I 2) Alföldi writes: "Aus den sechziger Jahren des 3. Jahrhunderts haben wir ein Dokument der offiziellen Rezeption der Adoration." ("Ausg." 58. *Cf. CAH* XII 363). For the most complete treatment of *adoratio* among the Romans consult ALF. "Ausg." 45—79.

[14] JOHN CHRYSOSTOM *Ad Pop. Ant.* XI 5 (MIGNE *PG* 49 126). *Cf. C. TH.* VI 24 4; VIII 7 16; THEMISTIUS Or. IV 53c. See also SEECK 400—401; BABUT 225; DAREMBERG-S. I 1 81; GOTHOFREDUS *ad C. TH.* VI 8 1 (p. 83). SEECK and GOTHOFREDUS are of the opinion that the emperor held out his robe to the *adorator* who then took it in his hand. They cite as evidence for this particular AMMIANUS XV 5 18: *...offertur purpura multo quam antea placidius...*; and XXI 9 8: *"Maiestatis insigne... tibi... porrexi."* It is true that in these instances the emperor does "offer" the purple for *adoratio* by extending it towards the *adorator*. However, in both cases the *adorator* is or has been out of favor with his sovereign and cannot be certain of how he will be received; see above p. 66f. Therefore the purple is held out as a gesture of reassurance. There is no evidence to show that this was a regular practice.

[15] Although no ancient reference to the actual kissing of the purple has been found, it is evident that such must have been the custom for the following reasons: (1) the mere act of taking the purple in the hand would certainly not have been considered an act of veneration; (2) the original idea of proskynesis included both obeisance and kissing (*cf.* ALF. "Ausg." 46—47 and his references); (3) in other varieties of *adoratio*, although the person venerated is not the emperor, the hands, knees and breast were kissed (*cf.* AMMIANUS XXVIII 4 10; LUCIAN *Nigrinus* 21). It is probable that the word *adorare* had the definite connotation of kissing

John Chrysostom's oration to the people of Antioch, Babut has suggested that the ceremony was preceded by an act of ablution "qui en marquait mieux le caractère religieux."[16] However, the evidence does not seem sufficient to warrant such a conclusion. Chrysostom asks: *Εἰ γὰρ πορφυρίδα τις βασιλικὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο χερσὶ δέξασθαι μεμιασμέναις, πῶς σῶμα Δεσποτικὸν δεξόμεθα ἀκαθάρτῳ γενομένῃ γλώττῃ;*[17] The question is obviously rhetorical and figurative and contains no definite indication that it was the custom to cleanse the hands before touching the emperor's robe.

That the privilege of kissing the purple was a mark of distinction and that its concession indicated that the emperor was well-disposed towards the individual whom he so honored is evident from the passages in Ammianus. Ursicinus had been under suspicion of treasonable intentions because of reports made to Constantius by his enemies.[18] Yet the emperor needed his help and was willing to disregard the charges for the moment. The fact that he had been restored to Constantius' favor was made known to Ursicinus when he saw that the purple was offered to him in order that he might kiss it. Again, after he had performed the rite of kissing the robe worn by Silvanus, he was received as an intimate friend and was invited to dine at the royal table.[19] Lucillianus is described as *recreatus* and *sui securus* when he observes that Julian is about to grant him the privilege of kissing the purple, and indeed Julian's reply to Lucillianus' bold remark reveals the implication involved in the concession of the privilege. He says: *"Maiestatis... insigne... tibi... ut desinas pavere porrexi."* The case of the Thalassius proves the rule. He has been denied the privilege because of personal differences with the emperor. Similarly, Amphilochius is not allowed to join the group of distinguished officials who prepare to receive Constantius as he returns from Mesopotamia because he is recognized as one who, while serving under Constans, had created discord between the latter and his brother Constantius.[20]

The ceremony of *adoratio purpurae* was the established rite to be performed whenever an official of a certain rank in the court hierarchy was received in an imperial audience.[21] It is not clear whether or not convocation of the strictly formal *consistorium* was the rule on the occasion of every audience. In only one of the above passages is the *consistorium* mentioned: Ursicinus was received by Constantius during such a session. In any case, the meeting of the *consistorium* definitely constituted an occasion on which the ceremony of kissing the purple was performed by all the state officials whose station in the court guaranteed them the privilege.[22] The dignitaries kissed the purple in a fixed order determined by the rank which each held in the official hierarchy. The first to perform the rite were the pretorian prefect and prefect of the city; then came the other *illustres* and these in turn were followed by the officials of less importance.[23] The last to kiss the robe were the subalterns of the troop and the supernumeraries, that is, the *protectores.*[24] In the civilian class the ceremony could be performed by no one whose rank fell below that of *consularis.*[25]

when employed with reference to the imperial purple. All commentators have accepted this interpretation without question. *Cf.* VALESIUS *ad* AMMIANUM XV 5 18 (p. 83, n. *b* in Paris edition of 1681; BEURLIER 285; SEECK 401; DAREMBERG-S. I 1 81; SITTL *Die Gebärde der Griechen und Römer* 170; GOTHOFREDUS *ad C. TH.* VI 8 1 (p. 83); DU CANGE VI 575; BABUT 225; ALF. "Ausg." 62—63; ENSSLIN in *CAH* XII 388.

[16] 225, n. 3.

[17] *Ad. Pop. Ant.* XI 5 (MIGNE *PG* 49 126).

[18] See above, p. 66.

[19] It should be remembered that Silvanus is not a "legal" emperor. Fearing the attempt which was being made to ruin him (AMMIANUS XV 5 1—16), he had chosen open revolt as his only salvation (AMMIANUS XV 5 15—16). When he had gained the support of the chief officers through promises of reward, he invested himself with the purple decorations which he tore from the standards and declared himself emperor (AMMIANUS XV 5 16). As a result, the relationship between Ursicinus and Silvanus when the former arrives at Cologne was strange indeed. Silvanus the rebel allowed Ursicinus to kiss the purple to which he had no rightful claim. At the same time, Ursicinus, who had earlier admitted his allegiance to Constantius by kissing the purple worn by him (AMMIANUS XV 5 18), went through the empty form of the ceremony in the presence of Silvanus in order to allay his suspicions and to gain time (XV 5 27). The circumstances are quite similar in the case of the *adoratio* performed by Lucillianus in "veneration" of Julian (above p. 67).

[20] Here it is apparent (*cf.* the transcribed passage no. 5 above, p. 67) that those who forbade Amphilochius to participate in the ceremony were the other officials who composed the delegation. They cried out that he should be put to death, but Constantius intervened and said: *"Desinite ...urgere hominem ut existimo sontem, sed nondum aperte convictum..."* (AMMIANUS XXI 6 2). This may indicate that Constantius overrode the prohibition of the delegation and allowed Amphilochius to take part in the *adoratio,* although his words may well refer solely to the demand for Amphilochius' execution.

[21] BABUT 225—226. *Cf.* SEECK *RE* IV 1 930, *s. v. Consistorium.*

[22] *Cf.* BABUT 225—226.

[23] MAMERTINUS *Genethl. Max.* XI 1—3; EUSEBIUS *Vit. Const.* IV 67 (MIGNE *PG* 20 1221 B—C). (On the Mamertinus passage, see below p. 69; on that from Eusebius, see below p. 72.) *C. TH.* VI 8 1. *Cf. C. TH.* VI 23 1: *adorare inter eos qui ex ducibus sunt.* CASSIODORUS *Var.* XI 18; 20; 31. *Cf.* BABUT 226.

[24] BABUT 226, n. 3. *Cf.* ALF. "Ausg." 63.

[25] Compare *C. TH.* VI 27 5 with NOT. DIG. (ed. SEECK) OR. XXI 6; XXII 34; XXIII 16; XXIV 21; XXV 27; XXVIII 48. *Cf.* BABUT 226 and ALF. "Ausg." 63. It seems, however, that certain individuals irrespective of their rank enjoyed the privilege through the influence of powerful persons. *Cf. C. TH.* VI 24 3. On the special privileges conceded to those who were eligible to kiss the purple, see *C. TH.* VI 24 4; VIII 7 8; VIII 7 9; VIII 7 16; XII 1 70.

Thus the various stations in the official hierarchy were distinguished by the place which each held in these *adorationes*. Each official when promoted to a higher rank was required to participate in one of these ceremonies with his new colleagues before he could enter office.[26] In this way promotions assumed the form of ceremonies of *adoratio*, and each time an official was appointed to a higher degree he repeated the ceremony.[27]

The problem of dating the introduction of the *adoratio purpurae* into the Roman court ceremonial admits no positive solution because of the complete lack of direct evidence. It is possible to do no more than to arrange in chronological order the few references which may throw some light on the problem and then to proceed to the construction of probable hypotheses and their alternatives.

As has already been indicated, *adoratio*, that is, the simple act of obeisance in which the kissing of the purple is not involved, was officially established as a court ceremony as early as A. D. 260—270.[28] The next *point d'appui* is a passage from the panegyric written by Mamertinus on the occasion of Maximian's birthday in A. D. 291.[29] It reads as follows:

> *Quid illud, di boni! Quale pietas vestra* (*scil.* of Diocletian and Maximian) *spectaculum dedit, cum in Mediolanensi palatio admissis qui sacros vultus adoraturi erant conspecti estis ambo et consuetudinem simplicis venerationis geminato numine repente turbastis! Nemo ordinem numinum solita secuta est disciplina; omnes adorandi mora restiterunt duplicato pietatis officio contumaces. Atque haec quidem velut interioribus sacrariis operta veneratio eorum animos obstupefecerat quibus aditum vestri dabant ordines dignitatis.*[30]

The importance of this passage lies in Mamertinus' description of those who performed the ceremony in the presence of Diocletian and Maximian as persons *quibus aditum vestri* (*scil. Diocletiani et Maximiani*) *dabant ordines dignitatis*. The rôle of these *ordines* in the ceremony of *adoratio purpurae* as practised in the fourth century has already been discussed. The rank held by an individual determined whether or not he was eligible to enjoy the privilege of kissing the purple. Likewise, the various ranks of the *adoratores* fixed the order in which they performed the ceremony. It is certainly significant that the *adoratio* described by Mamertinus is characterized by one of the principal elements of the *adoratio purpurae*.

An entry in Hieronymus' version of the *Chronica* of Eusebius comes third in the chronological series. Under *Olympias* CCLXVII 4, that is the year which extended from *ca.* July, A. D. 292 to *ca.* June, A. D. 293, Hieronymus (Eusebius) records the following:

> *Primus Diocletianus adorari se ut Deum iussit et gemmas vestibus calceamentisque inseri, cum ante eum omnes imperatores in modum iudicum salutarentur, et chlamydem tantum purpuream a privato habitu plus haberent.*[31]

Hieronymus (Eusebius) is not alone in his criticism of Diocletian as responsible for the introduction of elaborate pomp and regalia into the Roman court. Three other authors were of the same opinion. Eutropius writes:

> *Diocletianus moratus callide fuit, sagax praeterea et admodum subtilis ingenio et qui severitatem suam aliena invidia vellet explere. Diligentissimus tamen et sollertissimus princeps et qui imperio Romano primus regiae consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanae libertatis invexerat adorarique se iussit, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur. Ornamenta gemmarum vestibus calciamentisque indidit. Nam prius imperii insigne in chlamyde purpurea tantum erat, reliqua communia.*[32]

The words of Aurelius Victor are quite similar:

> *...Valerius Diocletianus... ob sapientiam deligitur, magnus vir, his moribus tamen: quippe qui primus ex auro veste quaesita serici ac purpurae gemmarumque vim plantis concupiverit. Quae quamquam plus quam civilia tumidique et affluentis animi, levia tamen prae ceteris. Namque se primus omnium Caligulam post Domitianumque dominum palam dici passus et adorari se appellarique uti deum.*[33]

Finally, an emended passage in Ammianus is of great importance since it suggests a possible connection between the statements of Hieronymus (Eusebius), Eutropius, and Victor and the ceremony of *adoratio purpurae*. Ammianus' first mention of the ceremony occurs in the passage in which he describes reception in the *consistorium* of Constantius.[34] As above, he writes:

> *... et per admissionum magistrum — qui mos est honoratior — accito eodem* (*scil. Ursicino*), *ingresso consistorium offertur purpura multo quam antea placidius.*[35]

[26] *C. TH.* VIII 7 4; VI 24 3; VIII 7 8 and 9; VII 1 7; XII 1 70; VIII 1 13; VIII 7 16; VI 24 4; X 22 3; *cf. adorat protector* in NOT. DIG. (ed. SEECK) OR. XXXIX 37; XL 38; XLI 41; XLII 45; *cf.* C. IUST. XII 29 2; CASS. *Var.* XI 18; 20; 31. The ceremony thus represented the completion of an official career (*cf.* SEECK 401; ALF. "Ausg." 63).

[27] *Cf.* BABUT 226; ALF. "Ausg." 63.

[28] See above p. 67, n. 13.

[29] On the date see SCHANZ-HOSIUS-KRÜGER[3] III 140. *Cf.* ALF. "Ausg." 58.

[30] MAMERTINUS *Genethl. Max.* XI 1—3.

[31] HIERON. *a. Abr.* 2312 (ed. SCHOENE II 187).

[32] EUTROP. *Brev.* IX 26.

[33] AUR. VICT. *De Caes.* XXXIX 1—4.

[34] See above, p. 66.

[35] AMMIANUS XV 5 18.

The text continues as follows:

(lacuna) *omnium primus, extero*[36] *ritu et regio more instituit adorari, cum semper antea ad similitudinem iudicum salutatos principes legerimus.*[37]

When this passage is compared with those cited from Hieronymus (Eusebius), Eutropius, and Victor, it becomes obvious that Valesius was correct in filling out the lacuna after *placidius* with the words *Diocletianus Augustus,*[38] and Gardthausen's insertion of *enim* between *Diocletianus* and *Augustus* was equally felicitous for the presence of the connective definitely establishes the proper relationship between the two statements of Ammianus.[39]

Alföldi discusses these various authorities at the beginning of his study of the historical development of Roman court ceremonial. His comments are of value. He points out that such sources are clearly tinged with rhetorical invective,[40] which would, of course, detract from their authority. Of equal importance is his observation that the accounts are all derived from a lost "Kaisergeschichte,"[41] the existence of which was first established by Enmann.[42] Finally, after reconstructing the "true" history of *adoratio* among the Romans,[43] Alföldi concludes that "Diocletianus ist nicht... der 'erste' gewesen, der sich kniefällig anbeten ließ..."[44] and in regard to the passages under discussion (Hieronymus [Eusebius], Eutropius, Victor, and Ammianus) he writes: "Die Angaben, die wir eingangs erörterten, könnten höchstens nahelegen, daß der 'große Reglementierer' Diocletianus wichtige Vorschriften bezüglich der Proskynese traf," and then adds: "Es könnte vor allem gefragt werden, ob die Beschränkung der Adoration auf die höheren Rangklassen nicht von ihm herrühre."[45]

[36] See below, p. 74, n. 79.

[37] AMMIANUS XV 5 18.

[38] See the *apparatus criticus ad loc.* in GARTHAUSEN'S edition. *Cf.* CLARK *ad loc.*

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] ALF. "Ausg." 4.

[41] "Ausg." 6.

[42] ENMANN "Eine verlorene Geschichte der römischen Kaiser und das Buch *De Viris Illustribus Urbis Romae*" *Philologus* Supplementbd. IV 1884 337—501, especially 447—448. Enmann's thesis has been continued and developed in the following studies: C. WAGENER "Eutropius" (Jahresbericht no. 55) *Phil.* XLV 1886 509—551, esp. 544—551; SILOMON "Lactanz *De Mortibus Persecutorum*" *Hermes* XLVII 1912 250—275, esp. 251—253; SILOMON "Untersuchungen zur Quellengeschichte der Kaiser Aurelian bis Constantinus" *Hermes* XLIX 1914 538—580, esp. 538—540; KURT STADE *Der Politiker Diokletian und die letzte große Christenverfolgung* Diss. Frankf. a. M. 1926 esp. 13—27 (*cf.* E. HOHL *Gnomon* V 1929 105—109); K. ROLLER *Die Kaisergeschichte in Laktanz De Mortibus Persecutorum* Diss. Giessen 1927; RICHARD LAQUEUR *Eusebius als Historiker seiner Zeit* 1929.

[43] "Ausg." 45—58.

[44] "Ausg." 58.

[45] "Ausg." 58. See also 58—59.

Alföldi's observations concerning the sources and his conclusions are quite acceptable. One fact, however, remains: the *inventio* of *adoratio* is ascribed to Diocletian by the author of the lost "Kaisergeschichte" and continues to be ascribed to him, even if through blind acceptance of a tradition, by historians who lived and wrote during the century in which the emperor died. As is clear from Alföldi's citation in another connection of the *aureus* of Postumus, *adoratio* had been officially incorporated in Roman court ceremonial as early as *ca.* A. D. 260—270.[46] There is a serious discrepancy between this fact and the notice in the lost "Kaisergeschichte," followed by Hieronymus (Eusebius), Eutropius, Victor, and Ammianus, which makes Diocletian, whose reign began in A. D. 284, responsible for the introduction of the ceremony. A recapitulation of the testimony of the sources may provide an explanation.

The passage from the Panegyric of Mamertinus contains, as has been observed, evidence to show that as early as A. D. 291 the *ordines dignitatis* were followed in the performance of the ceremony of *adoratio.* In consideration of the fact that the observance of these *ordines* was a cardinal feature of the ceremony of *adoratio purpurae,* it is not impossible that Mamertinus is describing that ceremony, omitting the particulars as irrelevant to the topic of discussion. On the other hand, he may be referring to a ceremony of simple *adoratio* or obeisance in which the *ordines* were observed but which had not yet reached the stage of development at which the purple was kissed. If the first alternative could be proven, it might be concluded not only that Diocletian was the "great regulator" who introduced the observation of the *ordines dignitatis,* but also that the kissing of the purple was the official practice as early as the eleventh year of his reign and that possibly he was responsible for the innovation.

Another explanation is still more probable. Its exposition will perhaps be clearer if presented step by step.

1. Ammianus reports that Diocletian was the first to exact homage in the form of obeisance to himself (the emperor) as a god, following almost word for word the reports of Hieronymus (Eusebius), Eutropius, and Victor, and hence of the lost "Kaisergeschichte."

2. The passage in question occurs immediately after Ammianus' first mention of the ceremony of *adoratio purpurae* and therefore may well refer, not to simple obeisance, but rather to the ceremony which the author has just described.

3. The obvious relationship between the Ammianean passage and those so similar to it in Hieronymus (Eusebius), Eutropius, and Victor would suggest

[46] See above p. 67, n. 13.

that these authors too were referring to the *adoratio purpurae*. All four historians drew upon the lost "Kaisergeschichte," which, according to the present line of reasoning, would also have ascribed the institution of the *adoratio purpurae* as the official court ceremonial to the emperor Diocletian. Perhaps the reference in the "Kaisergeschichte" was ambiguous and only Ammianus understood the true meaning of it, or it is also possible that Hieronymus (Eusebius), Eutropius, and Victor knew that the *adoratio purpurae* was meant, but expressed themselves in general terms when they repeated the tradition.

4. If, for the moment, this explanation be accepted, the statement of Hieronymus (Eusebius) becomes of the greatest importance. Granting that he is referring to the *adoratio purpurae* and that his dating is reliable, it results that Diocletian was the first to introduce the practice of kissing the purple and that he established the observance of the practice between *ca.* July, A. D. 292 and *ca.* June, A. D. 293.

Various objections to the foregoing hypothesis might be advanced. It may, for instance, be admitted that Ammianus might have erred in interpreting a reference in his source to *adoratio*, the simple form of obeisance, as a reference to the *adoratio purpurae*. Nevertheless the hypothesis is quite probable and certainly not impossible.

If we accept, once again merely for the purpose of argument, this second explanation, it follows that the passage in the Panegyric of Mamertinus does not refer to the kissing of the purple, but is rather describing a ceremony which would represent an intermediate stage in the development of the court ceremonial; more definitely, a ceremony of simple obeisance in which there is no kissing of the purple, but in which the *ordines dignitatis*, a cardinal feature of the ceremony of *adoratio purpurae*, are observed.

A passage in Lactantius' *De Mortibus Persecutorum* seems to conflict with the four authorities discussed above. Lactantius writes of Galerius:

> *Adeptus igitur potestatem ad vexandum orbem, quem sibi patefecerat, animum intendit. Nam post devictos Persas, quorum hic ritus, hic mos est, ut regibus suis in servitium se addicant et reges populo suo tamquam familia utantur, hunc morem nefarius homo in Romanam terram voluit inducere: quem ex illo tempore victoriae sine pudore laudabat.*[47]

Alföldi cites this passage together with those from Hieronymus (Eusebius), Eutropius, Victor and Ammianus,[48] but denies that it is of any value when he writes: "Die Anklage, daß Galerius an der Ausgestaltung des neuen Zeremoniells einen Anteil hätte, kann in der Hauptsache nicht zutreffen, da der Nachweis der *consuetudo venerationis* (in the passage from Mamertinus) aus 290 noch vor seine Ernennung zum Caesar fällt."[49] Here, of course, Alföldi has the *adoratio* of simple obeisance in mind; and his reason for discrediting the possibility that Galerius contributed to the formation of the court ceremonial does not apply in the case of the *adoratio purpurae*. Nor, when Alföldi speaks of the ceremonial, does he refer to any type of *adoratio* except that in which simple obeisance is performed.[50] Lactantius' report, then, demands consideration.

First: he surely included *adoratio* among the many forms of slavishness implied by the word *servitium*. It is generally accepted that he made extensive use of the "Kaisergeschichte."[51] In the very passage under discussion there is an instance of his dependance on it: his use of *ritus* and *mos* is to be compared with Ammianus' phrase *extero ritu et regio more*.[52] The fact that Lactantius drew upon the same source as did Hieronymus (Eusebius), Eutropius, Victor, and Ammianus suggests that the *adoratio* which is to be read into *servitium* is the *adoratio purpurae*, although Lactantius was not necessarily conscious of the meaning of the reference in his source. Lactantius states that Galerius made the innovation *post devictos Persas*. Galerius won his decisive victory over the Persians in A. D. 297.[53] Therefore, according to Lactantius, Galerius introduced the change in the court ceremonial some time, though probably not long, after A. D. 297. Hieronymus (Eusebius), Eutropius, Victor and Ammianus, however, ascribe the innovation to Diocletian; and Hieronymus (Eusebius) dates it between *ca.* July, A. D. 292 and *ca.* June, A. D. 293.

In a recent study of the sources of Lactantius, Stade gives a plausible explanation of the discrepancy among the sources and, in an apt phrase, affords a criterion for the choice between the two versions. He writes: "...Diokletians lange glückliche Regierung in das Schema des Laktanz nicht gut paßt."[54] He puts the reader of the *De Mortibus Persecutorum* on his guard: "Bei Laktanz allein erhaltenen Nach-

[47] LACTANTIUS *De Mort. Persec.* XXI 1—2.

[48] "Ausg." 7.

[49] "Ausg." 59.

[50] *Cf.* "Ausg." 62 where he dismisses the *adoratio purpurae* as a "begleitende Geste und Handlung der Proskynese" with which his study is not directly concerned.

[51] See the works cited in note 42, above p. 70, especially the following: SILOMON "Lactanz *De Mortibus Persecutorum*" *Hermes* XLVII 1912 250—275; SILOMON "Untersuchungen" *Hermes* XLIX 1914 538—580; STADE 13—27; ROLLER 9; 31—36; and LAQUEUR 153—154. ROLLER (9) assures us that the "Kaisergeschichte" was used as a source in chapters 17—50 of the *De Mort. Persec.* thus including the passage under discussion.

[52] This observation has already been made by ALFÖLDI ("Ausg." 7).

[53] On this date see ENNSLIN *RE* XIV 2 *s. v.* "*Maximianus*," no. 2 2522 and STEIN *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches* I 119. BAYNES in *CAH* XII 664 gives A. D. 298.

[54] STADE 20.

richten darf nur Glauben geschenkt werden, wenn sie seiner Tendenz nicht günstig sind."[55] Stade goes on to discuss the possibility that Lactantius intentionally shifted the blame for the great persecution of the Christians from Diocletian to Galerius.[56] He points out Harnack's view that Lactantius had nothing to gain by so doing[57] and admits that it may be difficult to assume that Lactantius deliberately tampered with the truth. However, his discussion of Galerius and the reaction which a man of Galerius' background and qualities would have produced in the spirit of the Christian writer is a convincing argument and leads to a genuine skepticism with regard to Lactantius' reliability in his reports concerning Galerius. The emperor belonged to the heathen party which clamored for persecution of the Christians, and the persecution which took place during his reign lasted much longer than that under Diocletian. His "unglückliche Politik," the terrible illness from which he suffered and died, and "das wohl vor allem durch die außenpolitische Lage erzwungene Toleranzedikt rückten ihn in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses."[58] Similarly, Roller has remarked upon the hatred of Lactantius for Galerius,[59] and, in addition, lays special emphasis upon the nationalistically Roman character of Lactantius' source.[60] Galerius was "ein typischer Vertreter des in römischen Kreisen übel angesehenen Barbarenkaisertums."[61] The source followed by Lactantius was indignant at the penetration of the barbaric element in the *imperium Romanum*.[62]

The foregoing considerations amply explain why Lactantius directed his hostility against Galerius, and this hostility makes suspect any charge which the Christian lays against his pagan enemy. The likelihood that Lactantius deliberately blamed Galerius for the persecution of the Christians, although it was in truth the work of Diocletian, has already been pointed out. Lactantius may similarly have shifted the blame for the innovation in the court ceremonial from Diocletian, to whom it was attributed in the "Kaisergeschichte," to Galerius. He hated Galerius, who represented to him the essence of pagan barbarism. It was Galerius, not Diocletian, who had fought and conquered the Persians. Therefore it was more likely he to whom the introduction of the "Persian" custom was due.

The chronological difficulty need cause little concern. The *De Mortibus Persecutorum* was written no earlier than A. D. 317,[63] and since the introduction of the new court ceremonial was not an event of immediate historical significance, its exact date would not of necessity impress a contemporary. Lactantius would probably not check his attribution of the innovation to Galerius with any official document which might contain the correct date of the innovation. In addition, his statement is general and his whole intent is to add another blemish to the memory of Galerius. The above arguments and the preponderance of testimony which points to Diocletian as the *inventor* of the new court ceremonial combine to form just grounds for rejecting Lactantius' accusation against Galerius.

A final piece of evidence occurs in a passage from Eusebius' life of Constantine. The historian describes the tribute paid to the dead emperor as he lay in state: *Οἱ δέ γε τοῦ παντὸς στρατοῦ καθηγεμόνες, κόμητές τε καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων τάγμα, οἷς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ νόμος πρότερον ἦν προσκυνεῖν, μηδὲν τοῦ συνήθους ὑπαλλαξάμενοι τρόπου, τοῖς δέουσι καιροῖς εἴσω παριόντες, τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς λάρνακος βασιλέα, οἷά περ ζῶντα καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, γονυκλινεῖς ἠσπάζοντο· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ταῦτ' ἔπραττον παριόντες, οἵ τ' ἐξ αὐτῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, οἵ τ' ἐπὶ ἀξίας πάντες· μεθ' οὓς ὄχλοι παντοίων δήμων, γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ παισὶν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν παρῆεσαν.*[64] An analysis of the passage reveals several significant details.

1. In the ceremony described the *ordines dignitatis* were observed. The first to pay homage to the deceased emperor were the officials of the military: *Οἱ...ἠσπάζοντο*; then came the senators and the other dignitaries whose rank secured them the privilege of "adoring" the emperor: *μετὰ .... πάντες.*
2. Proskynesis (simple *adoratio*) was performed at the bier: *γονυκλινεῖς.*
3. A second act of homage designated by Eusebius with the verb *ἠσπάζοντο* followed the obeisance.
4. The ceremony was a regular established rite which it had been the custom to perform in honor of the emperor when he was alive: *μηδὲν ... ἠσπάζοντο.*

The interpretation of *ἠσπάζοντο*, the word chosen by Eusebius to designate the act which followed the

[55] *Ibid.*
[56] STADE 20—21. But see BAYNES in *CAH* XII 665.
[57] STADE 20, n. 7.
[58] STADE 21. On Galerius' illness and death, see LACT. *De Mort. Persec.* XXXIII and *cf.* EUSEB. *H. E.* VIII 16 (MIGNE *PG* 20 790 B—C).
[59] ROLLER 31: "Beide Autoren, Laktanz wie der Verfasser der Quellendarstellung, stimmen jedoch darin überein, daß sie Licinius und vornehmlich Konstantius und Konstantin auffallend bevorzugen, die übrigen Kaiser ihrer Art aber, in erster Linie Diokletian, Galerius und Maximin mit Verachtung und erbitterter Feindschaft behandeln. Freilich hat ihre Polemik verschiedene Beweggründe. Laktanz empört sich gegen jene Herrscher, weil sie persecutores sind (*cf.* STADE 21: "Die Verfolgung dauerte unter seiner [*scil.* Galerius'] Regierung weit länger als in der Diokletians"), der Verfasser der Quelle sieht in ihnen die unmittelbare Ursache für die allgemeine Notlage des Reiches."
[60] ROLLER 32—36.
[61] ROLLER 33.
[62] ROLLER 34.
[63] See SCHANZ-HOSIUS-KRÜGER[3] III 431.
[64] *De Vit. Const.* IV 67 (MIGNE *PG* 20 1221 B—C).

execution of the simple obeisance, is most important. The verb *ἀσπάζομαι* originally had the meaning of "to welcome, greet, salute" and the like. However, because of the modes of salutation current among the Greeks it eventually assumed the meaning of "to kiss."[65] If, in the present instance, the verb is thus interpreted, the problem arises of what was kissed. Eusebius has already stated that the ceremony performed at the bier of Constantine varied in no way from the "usual procedure," and that the dignitaries kissed (*ἠσπάζοντο*) the dead emperor just as if he had been alive. A literal interpretation would suggest that they kissed the corpse, and, in view of Eusebius' assurance that the accustomed ceremony was performed with no variation, it would follow that in the established rite the *adorator* kissed the emperor's person. There is, however, no evidence that such a practice existed at the time of which Eusebius is speaking. There remains but one logical explanation: that the robe was kissed, not the corpse.[66] Eusebius employed a loose and general expression when he wrote ... *τὸν ... βασιλέα ... ἠσπάζοντο,* as he might easily have done if the custom of kissing the emperor's robe had been a regular ceremony, familiar to his contemporary readers. The ceremony described by Eusebius would thus contain all of the elements of the *adoratio purpurae:* observance of the *ordines dignitatis,* simple *adoratio* and the kissing of the purple.

If this interpretation is accepted, it follows that the *adoratio purpurae* was the official ceremony of the Roman court by A. D. 337, the year of Constantine's death. Eusebius' general tone would further indicate that the rite had been an established practice for some time previous to that year, a supposition which would be quite in harmony with the possibility discussed above that the ceremony was instituted during the reign of Diocletian.

The earliest definite mention of the *adoratio purpurae* occurs in a statute in the *Codex Theodosianus* under date of May 14, A. D. 354 (353).[67] The law provides that the *cohortales* and the *officiales magistrorum peditum et equitum* were required to have served in the army and to have participated in all military expeditions before they were eligible for the privilege of kissing the purple.

In discussing the origin of the *adoratio purpurae,* Alföldi writes: "Dies ist, wie wir festhalten müssen, eine alte persische Gewohnheit,"[68] and on the basis of a passage in Plutarch, he has assumed that Persian subjects venerated the chiton of Alexander in this manner. The passage, however, does not contain evidence for such an assumption. Plutarch, in recording the quarrel between Alexander and Clitus, states that at a banquet given by Alexander verses were sung in ridicule of the Macedonian generals who had recently suffered defeat. Clitus, who was drunk, openly resented the debasement of the Macedonians, and a dispute arose between the two friends. Clitus went so far as to throw it up to Alexander that Macedonians had been beaten with rods and had found it necessary to beg for the intercession of the Persians in order to obtain an audience with their sovereign. According to Plutarch, Clitus' boldness was so vehement that those around Alexander leaped up to face him and heaped abuse upon his head. Alexander then turned to two of the banqueters and asked: *οὐ δοκοῦσιν ... ὑμῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὥσπερ ἐν θηρίοις ἡμίθεοι περιπατεῖν*; Then, to continue with Plutarch: *Τοῦ δὲ Κλείτου μὴ εἴκοντος, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον ἃ βούλεται λέγειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύοντος, ἢ μὴ καλεῖν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἄνδρας ἐλευθέρους καὶ παρρησίαν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βαρβάρων ζῇν καὶ ἀνδραπόδων, οἳ τὴν Περσικὴν ζώνην καὶ τὸν διάλευκον αὐτοῦ χιτῶνα προσκυνήσουσιν ...* [69] The words of Clitus in no way indicate that Persians paid honor to Alexander by kissing his robe. Clitus is merely telling Alexander to consort with base and slavish barbarians who will bow down to *him*[70] because he wears the Persian girdle and chiton. The inference is, of course, that Alexander has become a Persophile[71] and has merited the disrespect of his own countrymen.

Alföldi next writes: "die Kontinuität der Sitte im Orient bezeugt z. B. die Stelle von Lukianos (*Nigr.* 21), wo er die Überhebung der Reichbegüterten damit kennzeichnet, daß sie bei der Begrüßung *τὰς πορφυρίδας προφαίνοντες,* also ihr Purpurgewand zum Küssen

[66] ARISTOPH. *Vesp.* 607; PLUT. *Rom.* L: *ἀσπάζεσθαι τοῖς στόμασι.* See THESAURUS GRAECAE LINGUAE I 2 *s. v. ἀσπάζομαι,* 2203.

[66] We should naturally expect that the emperor was buried in the imperial costume, but EUSEBIUS (IV 66 [MIGNE *PG* 20 1221 A—B]) is careful to describe Constantine resplendent in full regalia as he lay in state: *Ἔνδον γάρ τοι ἐν αὐτῷ παλατίῳ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῶν βασιλείων, ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς κείμενον χρυσῆς λάρνακος τὸ βασιλέως σκῆνος, βασιλικοῖς τε κόσμοις πορφύρᾳ τε καὶ διαδήμασι τετιμημένον, πλεῖστοι περισταχισάμενοι ἐπαγρύπνως δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐφρούρουν.* *Cf.* AMMIANUS XVI 8 4 where it is clear that Diocletian was buried in the purple.

[67] *C. TH.* VIII 7 4. The first mention of the ceremony in AMMIANUS (XV 5 18) occurs in the historian's description of Ursicinus' audience with Constantius during which the former is ordered to go to Cologne to put down the antiemperor Silvanus. Silvanus revolted August 11, A. D. 355 (*cf.* SEECK *RE* 2 Reihe Halbbd. V *s. v. Silvanus* 126; *cf.* STEIN [*op. cit.* in n. 53 above] 221) and was slain September 7 of the same year (see SEECK *loc. cit.*). Therefore the date of that audience described by Ammianus would fall between these two *termini.* Further precision is unnecessary for the present purpose.

[68] "Ausg." 62.

[69] PLUT. *Alex.* 51 = 694b. For the context paraphrased above, see 50 = 693c—51 = 694b.

[70] *Προσκυνήσουσιν* refers to simple obeisance here as generally.

[71] *Cf.* PLUT. *Alex.* 47 = 691d—f and 51 = 694a: *καὶ Περσῶν δεομένους (scil. Μακεδόνας) ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέλθωμεν.*

hinreichen."[72] Obviously there can be no "continuity" of a practice which is not known to have existed. Nevertheless, an examination of *Nigrinus* 21 is instructive. The passage does not show that Lucian's wealthy contemporaries held out their purple robes to be kissed as Alföldi has assumed. On the contrary, it reveals that the Persian custom as Lucian knew it did not include the kissing of the robe. Lucian writes: *Πῶς γὰρ οὐ γελοῖοι μὲν οἱ πλουτοῦντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς πορφυρίδας προφαίνοντες καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους προτείνοντες...*; Alföldi cites the words *τὰς πορφυρίδας προφαίνοντες* as indicating that the wealthy men held out their purple garments that they might be kissed. However, the only possible meaning of the phrase is that they were lavish in dress and "made a display of their purple gowns,"[73] just as they are accused in the next phrase of showing off their costly rings: *καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους προτείνοντες*. However, the variety of obeisance performed at the feet of the arrogant fellows whom Lucian is ridiculing is described further on in the passage cited by Alföldi. Lucian continues his attack: *Οἱ δὲ σεμνότεροι καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι περιμένοντες, οὐ πόρρωθεν οὐδ' ὡς Πέρσαις νόμος, ἀλλὰ δεῖ προσελθόντα καὶ ὑποκύψαντα καὶ [πόρρωθεν][74] τὴν ψυχὴν ταπεινώσαντα καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς ἐμφανίσαντα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὁμοιότητι τὸ στῆθος ἢ τὴν δεξιὰν καταφιλεῖν...*[75] There is clearly no reference to the kissing of the robes. In addition, it is evident that Lucian's acquaintanceship with the Persian custom had taught him that it was not an act of obeisance in which the robe of the person venerated was kissed. In fact, he cites the Persian form of proskynesis as direct antithesis of the type which was performed at the feet of the *σεμνότεροι* of Rome.[76] The form of homage in which these latter took delight was not that in which the *adorator* remained at a distance (*πόρρωθεν*), "as," writes Lucian, "is the custom of the Persians" (*ὡς Πέρσαις νόμος*), but one had to go up to the man, bow one's head, and kiss his breast or hand.

Alföldi's statement that the kissing of the purple derived from an old Persian custom cannot, then, be accepted. The sources which he cites as documentation contain no evidence to support his theory. On the contrary, the passage following the portion of Lucian's *Nigrinus* which he quotes would indicate that the wealthy Romans (not Orientals as Alföldi believed[77]) of Lucian's day were honored by a form of obeisance in which the robe played no part. In addition, Lucian makes it clear that, to the extent of his knowledge, the Persian custom was considerably less complex than the Roman and did not involve the kissing of the robe.

One other line of evidence remains to be considered. Of the four authorities whose allegations that Diocletian introduced *adoratio* to the Roman court were examined above,[78] Ammianus alone remarks that the practice was foreign. He writes that Diocletian: *extero ritu et regio more instituit adorari.*[79] In view of the possibility that the reference

[72] "Ausg." 62—63.

[73] *Cf. Nigr.* 4; 13.

[74] The brackets are the contribution of C. JACOBITZ (see his *Praefatio* in *Lucianus Opera* I (Teubner) iv *s. v. Nigr.* c. 21) and correct an obvious instance of dittography.

[75] *Nigr.* 21.

[76] See below, n. 77. It is not clear whether Lucian is referring to a custom practised in his own day or to one traditionally attributed to the Persians. If his reference is to a contemporary custom, by Persians he naturally means the people of the Parthian Empire who were still called Persians in literary works.

[77] "Ausg." 62. But see *Nigr.* 2 where *πόλις* = Rome, as *urbs*. *Cf.* CHRIST-SCHMID-STÄHLIN[6] II 2 730, also 712. *Cf. Nigr.* 17; 19.

[78] pp. 69 f.

[79] XV 5 18. GARDTHAUSEN reads *extero ritu et regio more* which is preferable to the *externo et regio more* of CLARK. See both *ad loc.* LACTANTIUS, in the passage from the *De Mortibus Persecutorum* (XXI 1—2) discussed above (p. 71 f.), accused Galerius of imposing Persian *servitium* upon the Romans. As already indicated, it is certain that *adoratio* is meant and LACTANTIUS' source probably referred to *adoratio purpurae* whether LACTANTIUS knew it or not. However, the passage in the *De Mortibus Persecutorum* cannot be accepted as evidence that the *adoratio purpurae* derived from a Persian custom. STADE (54—55) has already questioned the veracity of LACTANTIUS' reference to the Persian origin of the court ceremonial, although he was unaware that the *adoratio purpurae* was involved. He writes: "Viele Forscher glauben bei der Einführung des Zeremoniells an eine direkte und beabsichtigte Nachahmung des persischen Hofes. Sie wäre psychologisch wahrscheinlich nach der Niederlage Valerians, nicht aber nach den Erfolgen des Carus, Diokletian und Galerius. Letztere polemisieren gegen 'die verkehrten Gesetze und Bräuche der Perser" (STADE correctly cites *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* XV 3 4 which can be consulted in GIRARD *Textes de Droit Romain*[4] 598) was politisch nicht sehr klug gewesen wäre, wenn man das neue Zeremoniell allgemein als persisch und als Nachahmung empfunden hätte. Wer Laktanz 'Über den Tod der Verfolger' als unbedingte Autorität betrachtet, dem mag zu denken geben, daß nach Laktanz erst Galerius den persischen Dominat als erstrebenswertes Vorbild betrachtete. Der Wert dieser Mitteilung wird allerdings sehr dadurch herabgesetzt, daß Galerius nach einer anderen Stelle bei Laktanz und anderen, auch inschriftlichen Quellen, als 'zweiter Romulus' erscheinen wollte und den Gott Mars zum Gatten seiner Mutter Romula machte." (STADE properly cites LACT. *De Mort. Persec.* IX 9 and compares *CIL* VIII 2345 = DESS. 633 and AUR. VICT. *Epit.* XL 17. See his further references in his note 1 on p. 55). STADE'S citation of the "polemic" of Diocletian and Galerius against Persian customs is most felicitous. The Manichaean Edict condemns the *execrandas consuetudines et scaevas leges Persarum* (see *Mos. et Rom. Leg. Coll.* XV 3 4 in GIRARD 598. also reproduced by STADE 88) as dangerous to the *Romana gens modesta et tranquilla* (*ibid.*). It would indeed be highly inconsistent for either Diocletian or Galerius to introduce a Persian custom into the Roman court ceremonial and at the same time openly to condemn such customs as evil in their influence on the Roman people. STADE'S second line of argument is not so cogent, although it might indicate that Galerius had the desire to appear as an "echt"

is to *adoratio purpurae* Ammianus' qualification of the custom as a foreign practice demands attention. Alföldi[80] has demonstrated that *adoratio* (simple obeisance) was known to the Romans early in Republican times and that its final acceptance as an official ceremony was in no sense a sudden imposition of an unknown rite brought in from another land. It had appeared sporadically as a voluntary expression of entreaty or veneration during the early empire.[81] Its final adoption as a regular ceremonial to be executed in honor of the emperor was the result of the new position assumed by the head of the state, that is, his gradual usurpation of the position of autocrat and theocrat.[82] The ceremony of *adoratio purpurae* may well be considered merely as a variation or further development of the simple act of obeisance, and since no evidence has yet been presented to prove that this refinement, as it were, of the less complex ceremony had its origins among non-Romans, there is no plausible reason for ascribing its invention to the Persians, or, in fact, to any other foreign race. Reasons have been presented for accepting as based on a credible source Ammianus' view that Diocletian introduced the change from simple *adoratio* to *adoratio purpurae*. But the phrase *extero... more* bears the stamp of rhetorical invective to which allusion has already been made and which Alföldi has discussed in full.[83] The phrase probably represents Ammianus' own criticism of Diocletian, not that of the lost "Kaisergeschichte," since it does not appear in the other three authorities who ascribe the *inventio* to him. Therefore the remark hardly deserves credence, especially since the ceremony of *adoratio purpurae* could easily have developed from elements which already existed among the Romans. The evolution from simple *adoratio* to the more complex rite, that is, to the act of obeisance followed by the kissing of the purple robe, was indeed an easy step, and in view of the great importance which the purple had assumed, it was most natural.

Alföldi[84] has already pointed out that early in the principate accession to the throne had taken on the form of the imperatorial acclamation. The logical result was that the donning of the purple *paludamentum*, the military cloak which had become the official vestment of the emperor,[85] became closely associated with the rise to the imperial station,[86] and by the third century the act had definitely assumed the character of a formal ceremony of investiture.[87] It is, therefore, not surprising that the robe came to be considered of great importance. It was the symbol of the absolute sovereignty of the emperor[88] and an indispensable attribute of his exalted station. Consequently, the attitude towards it became almost mystical. The writings of Ammianus abound in illustrations of this fixation, as it were, on the imperial purple. An examination of the more pertinent ones will reveal the psychological background for the veneration of the emperor's robe and will demonstrate the attitude of the fourth century towards the inanimate symbols of sovereignty.

Let us begin with the investitures described by Ammianus. It is surely significant that in every instance in which Ammianus finds occasion to speak of an accession to the rank of Augustus or Caesar, he is certain to include mention of the purple. Of the accessions described by Ammianus two are especially noteworthy: that of Julian to the rank of Caesar, and that of Silvanus to the rank of Augustus by acclamation. The others are of equal importance in the present connection, but they are so similar, one to another, that one will suffice as a typical example before these two are analyzed. Of Valentinian's proclamation of his son Gratian as Augustus, Ammianus writes: *...Valentinianus exultans, corona indumentisque supremae fortunae ornatum, filium osculatus, iamque fulgore conspicuum, adloquitur advertentem, quae dicebantur. "En," inquit, "habes, mi Gratiane, amictus, ut speravimus omnes, augustos..."*[89] The phraseology is essentially the same in the descriptions

Roman and therefore would not have been likely to import foreign practices. To STADE'S comments may be added the observation that the Lactantian passage is characterized by the familiar rhetorical invective which rarely fails to make a contrast between free Rome and enslaved Persia. LACTANTIUS' purpose is obviously to blacken Galerius, as has been pointed out, and he has chosen a hackneyed way of doing so.

[80] "Ausg." 45—65.

[81] See ALF. "Ausg." 49—58.

[82] See *ibid.* 55.

[83] *Ibid.* 3—25.

[84] "Insig." 50.

[85] MOMMSEN I³ 433. *Cf.* ALF. "Insig." 49—50 and ENNSLIN in *CAH* XII 364—365.

[86] *Cf.* ENNSLIN *CAH* XII 365.

[87] MOMMSEN I³ 433. *Cf.* ALF. "Insig." 50. As pointed out by ENNSLIN in *CAH* XII 365, Tacitus (*Ann.* XII 56) already saw the symbol of sovereignty in the purple and "...from Pescennius Niger onwards donning the purple becomes more and more prominent at the assumption of imperial power." (*Cf.* HERODIAN II 8 6; V 3 12; VI 8 5, cited by ENNSLIN).

[88] *Cf.* ENNSLIN in *CAH* XII 365. For an exhaustive study of the various uses and mystical significance of the color purple in Classical Antiquity and among primitive peoples of modern times, see EVA WUNDERLICH "Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer" *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* XX 1 1925 1—114, especially 82—84. *Cf.* the opening words of the emperor Valentinian's speech on the occasion of his elevation of his son, Gratian, to the imperial station: *"Faustum erga me vestri favoris indicium, hunc loci principalis circumferens habitum, quo potior aliis iudicatus sum, multis et claris..."* (AMMIANUS XXVII 6 6).

[89] AMMIANUS XXVII 6 11—12. From this point forward all references are to AMMIANUS unless otherwise indicated.

of the accessions of Jovian,[90] Valentinian,[91] and Valens.[92] In each case there is direct reference to an investiture and mention of the purple.

The elevation of Julian to the rank of Caesar received special attention from Ammianus. All the particulars of the investiture are carefully recorded and the purple receives its share of emphasis. Constantius' speech to the soldiers assembled for the occasion closes with the words: *"Ergo eum (scil. Iulianum) ...amictu principali velabo."*[93] Here is a direct quotation from an investiture. Constantius then clothes Julian with the robe: *Dixit (scil. Constantius) mox indutum avita purpura Iulianum...* etc.[94] Later the soldiers hail the new Caesar who is described as *imperatorii muricis fulgore flagrantem.*[95] Julian himself was impressed with the fact that he had just been invested with the purple robe. As he is received at the palace, he murmurs a quotatio nfrom the *Iliad*: ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή. [96]

A most important passage in the present connection is that in which Ammianus records the accession of Silvanus by acclamation to the station of Augustus. Silvanus was in danger of ruin and realized that he had to take immediate action. Accordingly he approached his officers with promises of reward in return for their support in acclaiming him Augustus. His offers were accepted and it only remained to assume the power. However, no robe was to be had. Silvanus, feeling the absolute necessity of some sort of investiture, found a substitute for the imperial *paludamentum*, and, in the words of Ammianus: *cultu purpureo a draconum et vexillorum insignibus ad tempus abstracto, ad culmen imperiale surrexit.*[97]

It is likewise significant that Julian gave a purple robe to Procopius, his chosen successor, in order that his relative (*i. e.* Procopius) might accede to the station of Augustus in the event that he himself met death during his campaign against the Parthians.[98] It would seem that Procopius later misplaced the robe, for when he ultimately succeeded in having himself acclaimed Augustus by a handful of soldiers in Constantinople he wore only the gold-embroidered tunic since a *paludamentum* was nowhere to be found.[99] Nevertheless the improvised emperor was supplied with two other articles of imperial regalia which were purple in color and which in a way guaranteed his sovereignty in the eyes at least of the man who supported his accession. Ammianus writes: *...purpureis opertus tegminibus pedum, ... purpureum itidem pannulum laeva manu gestabat.*[100]

Just as the ceremony of investiture signified that he who put on the robe simultaneously took possession of the imperial power, so the official removal of it implied degradation from the rank of Augustus or Caesar. Ammianus portrays Gallus' loss of the rank of Caesar just previous to his execution as follows: *Ingressusque (scil. Barbatio* who is representing Constantius) *...allatisque regiis indumentis, Caesarem tunica texit et paludamento communi...*[101] Similarly, the voluntary laying off of the imperial robe afforded visible evidence of resignation from the station of Augustus or Caesar.[102]

The significance of the hallowed purple grew to so great proportions during the fourth century that anyone who thought he had support enough to seize the power advertised himself as emperor by exhibiting himself clad in that color. In the history of Ammianus are found repeated instances in which legal action is taken against individuals who are

[90] XXV 5 5: *Et confestim indumentis circumdatus principalibus...* (*scil. Iovianus*).

[91] XXVI 2 3: *Mox principali habitu circumdatus et corona, Augustusque nuncupatus...* (*scil. Valentinianus*).

[92] XXVI 4 3: *...Valentem... Augustum pronuntiavit* (*scil. Valentinianus*), *decoreque imperatorii cultus ornatum, et tempora diademate redimitum, in eodem vehiculo secum reduxit.* *Cf.* the phraseology of the advice which Dagalaifus, *equestris militiae rector*, gave Valentinian in regard to the person whom the emperor should elevate to the imperial station: *"Si tuos amas..., imperator optime — habes fratrem, si rem publicam — quaere quem vestias."* (XXVI 4 1). Similar passages in AMMIANUS which illustrate the importance of the investiture are: XIV 11 3; XV 6 3; XVII 12 20; XXVI 7 10; XXVII 6 4; XXVII 12 10 and XXX 7 4.

[93] XV 8 10.

[94] XV 8 11.

[95] XV 8 15.

[96] XV 8 17. The quotation is from *Iliad* V 83.

[97] XV 5 16. It is possible that the emperor Jovian had to resort to a similar expedient. On the occasion of his acclamation as Augustus, he is described as *indumentis circumdatus principalibus* (XXV 5 5). Yet when AMMIANUS describes him in a passage devoted to a general discussion of his character and appearance he writes: *Incedebat autem motu corporis gravi, vultu laetissimo, oculis caesiis, vasta proceritate et ardua, adeo ut diu nullum indumentum regium ad mensuram eius aptum inveniretur.* (XXV 10 14).

[98] XXIII 3 2. *Cf.* Gallienus' designation of Claudius as his successor in AUR. VICT. *Caes.* XXXIII 28: *Nam cum profluvio sanguinis vulnere tam gravi mortem sibi adesse intelligeret* (*scil. Gallienus*), *insignia imperii ad Claudium destinaverat...*; *cf. Epit.* XXXIV 2 (both passages already cited by ENSSLIN in *CAH* XII 365). *Cf.* LACT. *De Mort. Persec.* XXVI 7.

[99] XXVI 6 15. On the tunic, see ALF. "Insig." 57—59. AMMIANUS would seem to contradict himself here, since in XXV 9 13 he writes of Procopius: *...postea apud Constantinopolim visus est subito purpuratus* (*i. e.* after he had buried Julian and disappeared). However, *purpuratus* is a general term meaning that he had been hailed emperor.

[100] XXVI 6 15. *Cf.* ALF. "Insig." 57. On the *pannulus purpureus*, or *mappa*, see ALF. "Insig." 34—36 and his references in n. 6, p. 34.

[101] XIV 11 20. *Cf.* LACT. *De Mort. Persec.* XXVIII 3—4.

[102] XX 4 8: *...ipse* (*scil. Iulianus*) *propria sponte proiceret insignia principatus, gloriosum esse existimans iussa morte appetere, quam ei provinciarum interitum assignari.* *Cf.* XXVI 7 13: *...eo usque desponderat* (*scil. Valens*) *animum, ut augustos amictus abicere tamquam gravem sarcinam cogitaret...* *Cf.* also LACT. *De Mort. Persec.* XXVI 10 and XLVII 4—6: *Videt Maximinus aliter rem geri quam putabat. Proiecit purpuram et sumpta vesti servili fugit,* although here Maximinus' motive was probably to disguise himself.

known to possess or who are merely suspected of possessing a purple robe, or something resembling one, and hence are under suspicion of plotting to elevate themselves to the dignity of an Augustus. The charge was that of *laesa maiestas*[103] and the prosecution was vigorous. One case is typical. Constantius, concerned about Gallus Caesar's savagery in the East,[104] had ordered the prefect Domitianus to go to Antioch and to use gentle persuasion in enticing Gallus to return to Italy.[105] Domitianus' conduct on arrival[106] infuriated Gallus and the upshot of the affair was that Domitianus was murdered.[107] At the same time, a certain Apollinaris, a son-in-law of Domitianus and formerly in charge of Caesar's palace, had been sent to Mesopotamia where he commenced to inquire among the soldiers whether they had received any indication from Gallus that he was planning to declare himself Augustus.[108] When Apollinaris heard of the happenings at Antioch he fled to Constantinople, but there he was captured by the guards, taken back to Antioch and placed under strict custody.[109] While the above events were taking place, a purple robe was discovered in the city of Tyre. It had been made in secret; and in an effort to find out who had made it and for whom it was intended, the agents of Gallus put the governor of the province, another Apollinaris, the father of Domitianus' son-in-law, on trial as his son's accomplice. But the prosecution did not stop there. Ammianus states that various individuals of other cities were arrested and charged with a great variety of crimes.[110] Certain dyers of purple stuffs confessed under torture that they had made a short, sleeveless tunic. A Christian deacon, Maras by name, was cited as having written a letter to the foreman of a Tyrian weaving plant, pressing him to hasten the completion of an order which he had apparently placed for the manufacture of a royal robe. Though the letter, written in Greek, was produced in court and the deacon was tortured almost to the point of death, no confession could be obtained from him.[111] The investigation dragged on and men of various stations in life were cross-examined. Finally, it was decided that some aspects of the case were doubtful and others were of no importance. After many suspects had been put to death, the two Apollinarises were sentenced to exile. However, no such easy escape was intended for them. They had gone only a short distance from Antioch, to a villa which belonged to them, when they were overtaken, had their legs broken, and were put to death.[112] Ammianus ends his relation of the case by remarking that Gallus investigated many more charges of the same nature *quae singula narrare non refert, ne professionis modum* (*quod sane vitandum est*) *excedamus.*[113]

Two other cases recorded by Ammianus are worthy of notice. A slave named Danus had been accused of some ordinary misdemeanor by his wife who wished to intimidate him. The woman then became intimate with a certain Rufinus,[114] who by means of clever lies induced her to accuse her husband of high treason and to charge her husband with having stolen from the tomb of Diocletian a purple robe which, she was to allege, he and certain accomplices were keeping hidden. Rufinus then rushed to the emperor's camp where he began his usual work of spreading deceitful slander. When Constantius learned of the case, he ordered Mavortius, the praetorian prefect, to investigate the charge and appointed a second inquisitor, Ursulus, count of the largesses, who was as severe a judge as Mavortius. The whole case was greatly exaggerated *ad arbitrium temporum*, says Ammianus; many people were put to torture but nothing was revealed. Finally, when the judges were at a loss as to what procedure to follow in pursuing the investigation, the woman confessed the guilt of Rufinus as the organizer of the plot and admitted her adultery. Both were condemned to death.[115]

Again, a clever old fellow in Aquitania was attending a lavish banquet. While at table he observed that the purple borders of the linen covers which adorned the couches were quite broad and that the servants had so dextrously arranged them that they appeared to be of one piece. Similar covers lay on the table. Probably in the spirit of fun, he folded the front of his chlamys inward and spread the purple cloths over it in such a way that it looked like an imperial robe. The result of his trick was disastrous. Ammianus writes: *quae res patrimonium dives evertit.*[116]

[103] *Cf.* XVI 8 4 where the charge is named. *Cf.* also XXII 9 10.
[104] XIV 1 1—10; 7 1—4.
[105] XIV 7 9.
[106] XIV 7 10—11.
[107] XIV 7 12—16.
[108] XIV 7 19.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] XIV 7 20.
[111] XIV 9 7.
[112] XIV 9 8.
[113] XIV 9 9.
[114] On Rufinus, see XV 3 7—9 and XVI 8 3.
[115] XVI 8 3—6.
[116] XVI 8 8. ROLFE (in *LCL* AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS I 236, *ad loc.*, n. 1) writes: "The *veterator* (*i. e.* the old man) showed that the table decorations could be used for an imperial cloak, and implied that they had been so used." On the contrary, his implication surely was that they could be so used in the future, and were most likely intended for such use.

For the remainder of similar cases in AMMIANUS, see XVI 6 1—3; XXIX 2 9—11; and especially XXII 9 10—11 where Julian is described as refusing to prosecute on such a charge.

Such persecutions as these apparently became more numerous, for there soon appear in the law codes regulations forbidding private citizens to manufacture or to traffic in purple stuffs.[117] The industry was finally made an imperial monopoly and possession of purple cloth constituted official ground for prosecution on the charge of *laesa maiestas*.[118]

Two other passages in Ammianus provide excellent illustrations of the importance attached to the imperial regalia during the fourth century. One is of special interest since it demonstrates the extent to which the emperor's purple robe was held in awe as inviolable and sacrosanct.

Ammianus relates that when Julian harangued his troops in preparation for the march against Constantius,[119] he asked them to swear allegiance to him.[120] All but one eagerly took the oath with their swords at their throats.[121] The prefect Nebridius alone did not comply with Julian's request, pleading that he could not in conscience take an oath against Constantius to whom he was indebted for many favors.[122] At this the soldiers became angry and flew at Nebridius with the intention of putting him to death. The terrified prefect threw himself at Julian's feet and begged for mercy. Julian gave proof of his clemency and covered the suppliant with his robe (*eum [scil. Nebridium] ...imperator paludamento protexit*)[123] and thus saved his life.[124]

Finally, Ammianus records that in preparing for the Battle of Adrianople the Romans were careful to leave the *principalis fortunae insignia* within the city walls where they would be safe from the Barbarians in case of a Roman defeat.[125] And, to be sure, the day following the disastrous battle the Barbarians marched on the city with grim determination to take it, *docti*, as Ammianus describes them, *per proditores et transfugas, potestatum culmina maximarum, et fortunae principalis insignia, thesaurosque Valentis, illuc ut arduo in munimento conditos*.[126]

Ammianus thus illustrates in its several aspects the extreme veneration which was felt for the purple during the fourth century. The robe had clearly become a fetish and was looked upon as a sacred object which alone conferred upon its wearer supreme sovereignty over the Roman world. The attribution of sanctity to the badge of emperorship was certainly an important factor in the development of the ceremony of kissing the purple. Alföldi correctly explains the nature of the ceremony when he writes: "Am wichtigsten scheint mir bei der Anbetung des Purpurs der Umstand zu sein, daß hier an Stelle der göttlichen Ehrung der Person (wie bei Caesar, Caligula, Domitianus) die Ehrung des Symbols der kaiserlichen Macht in den Vordergrund tritt. Der abstrakte Begriff hat also auch hier seinen momentanen Träger überschattet."[127] Yet another theory has been advanced and must be considered if only for the purpose of contradicting it.

Babut[128] holds that the purple was substituted for the person of the emperor as the object of *adoratio* in order to avoid conflicts with the Christians, whose creed prescribed the worship of a single deity. His argument is based solely on the phraseology of the Law Codes. He points out that under Constantius and Valentinian the jurists wrote *purpuram adorare* in place of *imperatorem adorare* or some similar expression.[129] But this was natural, since the statutes in question concern the ceremony of *adoratio purpurae*. He goes on to show that during the early years of the reign of Theodosius the expression became *purpuram venerari, contingere* or *adtingere*,[130] supposedly a

[117] *C. IUST.* IV 40 1: *Imppp. Valentinianus Theodosius et Arcadius AAA. Fausto comiti sacrarum largitionum. Fucandae atque distrahendae purpurae vel in serico vel in lana, quae blatta vel oxyblatta atque hyacinthina dicitur, facultatem nullus possit habere privatus. Sin autem aliquis supra dicti muricis vellus vendiderit, fortunarum se suarum et capitis sciat subiturum esse discrimen.* This is the earliest statute in the codes which contains such a prohibition. It is undated, but the heading indicates that it was promulgated between A. D. 383 and A. D. 392. Therefore it is considerably later than the prosecutions recorded by AMMIANUS.

[118] *C. TH.* X 21 3: *Imp. Theod(osius) A. Maximino Com(iti) S(acrarum) L(argitionum). Temperent universi, qui cuiuscumque sunt sexus dignitatis artis professionis et generis, ab huiusmodi speciei possessione, quae soli principi eiusque domui dedicatur. Nec pallia tunicasque domi quis serica contexat aut faciat, quae tincta conchylio nullius alterius permixtione subtexta sunt. Proferantur ex aedibus tradanturque tunicae et pallia ex omni parte texturae cruore infecta conchylii. Nulla stamina subtexantur tincta conchylio nec eiusdem infectionis arguto pectine solidanda fila decurrant. Reddenda aerario holovera vestimenta protinus offerantur. Nec est, ut quisquam de abiurato pretio conqueratur, quia sufficit calcatae legis inpunitas, nec vacet illi curare de quaestu, cui sua salus esse non debet in pretio. Ne quis vero nunc huiusmodi suppressione in laqueos novae constitutionis incurrat; alioquin ad similitudinem laesae maiestatis periculum sustinebit. Dat. XVII Kal. Feb. Constantinop(oli) Victore V. C. Cons.* (January 16 424). *Cf. C. IUST.* XI 9 4, and MOMMSEN *Strafrecht* 584. See also the strange prohibition in regard to purple ink pronounced by Leo I in A. D. 470 (*C. IUST.* I 23 6).

[119] XXI 5 1—8.

[120] XXI 5 7. *Cf.* XXI 5 10.

[121] XXI 5 10. *Cf.* XXI 5 11.

[122] XXI 5 11.

[123] XXI 5 12.

[124] *Ibid.*

[125] XXXI 12 10.

[126] XXXI 15 2.

[127] "Ausg." 63.

[128] 229—231.

[129] *C. TH.* VIII 7 4 (*a.* 354 [353]); VI 24 3 (*a.* 364?); VIII 7 8; VII 1 7; XII 1 70 (*a.* 365); VIII 7 9 (*a.* 366). BABUT (229 n. 3) cites EUSEBIUS *Vit. Const.* IV 67 (see above, p. 72 f.) as evidence that under Constantine the expression was "adorer l'empereur." On the interpretation of EUSEBIUS' phrase *βασιλέα ἠσπάζοντο* see above, p. 73.

[130] *C. TH.* VIII 1 13 (*a.* 382); VIII 7 16 (*a.* 385); VI 24 4 (*a.* 387).

further "dilution" of the idolatry involved. Babut then concludes that the appearance in later years of the phrases *aeternitatem, clementiam, serenitatem (principis) adorare*[131] and *principem adorare*[132] indicates that the emperor thought that since the government was actively persecuting paganism it would be safe to revive the old phraseology which would then seem quite free from any idolatrous taint. This evidence is not at all convincing. In the first place, the *adoratio purpurae* is meant in each case and the mere change in phraseology would hardly affect any feeling which the Christians might have had against the ceremony of "adoring" the emperor, for the ceremony was no longer one in which the emperor's person was venerated but was the *adoratio purpurae*. The wording of the Codices does not, then, affect the question if the substitution of the robe for the emperor had already been made. In addition, it is difficult to assume that the later emperors were so fond of the phrase *principem adorare* that they instigated its revival when they thought that it could be employed without danger of offending the Christians, even though the ceremony remained the *adoratio purpurae*. Alföldi's interpretation of the ceremony is the only acceptable one.

It was most likely the fascination which the purple held for the fourth century mind that was responsible for the development of the ceremony. The purple remained the symbol of the absolute dominion over the Roman State regardless of who wore it. One emperor might die and another succeed him; the purple robe endured and conferred upon its next "momentary wearer," to use the expression of Alföldi, the quasi-mystic power by right of which he ruled. The evolution of the court ceremonial from simple *adoratio* to *adoratio purpurae* probably came so naturally that little if any rationalization was wasted on an explanation of the significance of the new rite. The "eternal" symbol had taken the place of the man and was revered in his place.

The latest occurrence of the phrase *purpuram adorare* is found in a statute in the *Codex Iustinianus* under date of A. D. 531.[133] It seems certain, however, that the ceremony meant was not that with which the present study has been concerned. A passage in the *Anecdota* of Procopius would indicate that the court ceremonial had undergone a modification. Procopius writes: *Τῶν δὲ πρός τε Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρας ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ νεοχμωθέντων καὶ ταῦτά ἐστι. Πάλαι μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος βουλὴ παρὰ βασιλέα ἰοῦσα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε προσκυνεῖν εἴθιστο. Πατρίκιος μέν τις ἀνὴρ παρὰ μαζὸν αὐτοῦ προσεκύνει τὸν δεξιόν. Βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ καταφιλήσας τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξίει, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες γόνυ κλίναντες βασιλεῖ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀπηλλάσσαντο. Βασιλίδα μέντοι προσκυνεῖν οὐδαμῇ εἴθιστο. Παρὰ δὲ Ἰουστινιανόν τε καὶ Θεοδώραν τὰς εἰσόδους ποιούμενοι οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἅπαντες καὶ ὅσοι τὸ πατρικίων ἀξίωμα εἶχον ἔπιπτον μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ στόμα, χειρῶν δὲ καὶ ποδῶν ἐς ἄγαν σφίσι τετανυσμένων τῷ χείλει ποδὸς ἑκατέρου ἁψάμενοι ἐξανίσταντο. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ Θεοδώρα τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀνεδύετο ταύτην ...*[134]

Clearly the ceremony which Procopius describes as having been in practice prior to the innovation of Justinian and Theodora was not the *adoratio purpurae* which has been treated above. Procopius describes an *adoratio* performed by the Senate in which the patricians of that body kissed the right breast of the emperor,[135] who in turn kissed the patricians' head. The other Senators fell on their right knees. In this ceremony there is no kissing of the purple as in the original rite discussed above. When the change took place is unknown. The latest definite allusion to the taking of the purple in the hands is that already quoted from John Chrysostom's oration to the people of Antioch,[136] which was delivered in A. D. 387.[137]

A second change came through the innovation of Justinian and Theodora. All the Senators, patricians and others alike, who were admitted into a royal audience, fell prone on the floor with their hands and feet extended and kissed one foot respectively of the emperor and empress. It is impossible to determine which of the two ceremonies described by Procopius is meant by the phrase in the *Codex Iustinianus*. The expression *purpuram adorare* was so common by A. D. 531[138] that it could be used in a generic sense to apply to a ceremony in which the emperor was adored but in which the original *adoratio purpurae* no longer appeared. It may be worthy of note that in the first ceremony of which Procopius speaks the patrician who kissed the emperor's breast was literally kissing the purple for the emperor was, of course, clad in the purple robe. Similarly, in the ceremony performed after the innovation of Justinian and Theodora the *adoratores* kissed the purple shoes worn by the royal pair.[139]

[131] *C. TH.* X 22 3 (*a.* 390); VI 23 1 (*a.* 415); VI 8 1 (*a.* 422); *NOT. DIG.* (ed. SEECK) *OR.* XXI 6; XXII 34; XXIII 16; XXIV 21; XXV 27; XXVIII 48.

[132] *C. TH.* VI 13 1.

[133] *C. IUST.* XII 33 7 2.

[134] *Anec.* XXX 21—23.

[135] DIEHL (*Justinien et la Civilisation Byzantine au VI^e Siècle* 87) obviously misread the Procopian passage when he wrote: "Autrefois, lorsque les sénateurs se présentaient devant l'empereur, ils se contentaient de fléchir le genou droit, et le prince du Sénat, mettant la main sur son coeur, se bornait à s'incliner profondément."

[136] XI 5 (MIGNE *PG* 49 126). See above, p. 68.

[137] LIETZMANN *RE* IX 2 *s. v. Iohannes* no. 55 1815.

[138] After the period of variation in phraseology on which BABUT based his explanation of *adoratio purpurae*, there was apparently a return to the expression *purpuram adorare*. *Cf. C. IUST.* XII 3 4; XII 292; II 7 25.

[139] On the purple shoes, see AMMIANUS XXVI 6 15; *cf.* the investiture of Justinus II as described by CORIPPUS *Iust.* II 104—110. *Cf.* HERMANN WEISS *Kostümkunde.*

After the modification of the ceremony under Justinian and Theodora the kissing of the feet was probably the official rite for some time.[140] Further changes were made in later years. By the tenth century the court ritual described by Constantinus Porphyrogenitus had become highly complex and *adoratio* was performed in various ways according to the particular occasion.[141]

Geschichte der Tracht und des Geräths[2] II 33 and note 1; ALF. "Insig." 30; 57; 60—61. See also Dempsterus *ad* CORIPP. *Iust.* I 173 in *CSHB* (Merobaudes et Corippus) 334—335 and Fogginius *ad* CORIPP. *Iust.* II 111, *ibid.* 366—367.

[140] *Cf.* the *adoratio* of Justinus II after the death of Justinian described in CORIPP. *Iust.* I 156—158.

[141] A study of the forms of *adoratio* which appear in the *De Caerimoniis* is not within the scope of this work. Suffice it to say that *adorationes* continued to be performed as promotion ceremonies in a variety of ways. *Cf.*, for example, CONST. PORPH. I 44 3 (MIGNE *PG* 112 484 B); I 45 1 (MIGNE *PG* 112 485 A—B); I 46 2 (MIGNE *PG* 112 489 B); I 47 2—3 (MIGNE *PG* 112 496 A—497 A). See especially CONST. PORPH. I 86 (MIGNE *PG* 112 704 B—705 A).

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MOSAICS OF THE LATE EMPIRE IN ROME AND VICINITY

MARION ELIZABETH BLAKE

(PLATES 11—34)

CONTENTS

PREFACE

It has always been and still is my intention to continue the studies of Roman mosaics already published by me (*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, VIII, 1930, 7—159, frontispiece, plates 1—50; XIII, 1936, 67—214, plates 8—46) with two or three sections devoted to the mosaics of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. In the course of investigations to that end, it became evident that the mosaics of Rome and its immediate vicinity developed independently after the close of the second century; consequently it has seemed desirable to publish them separately. Restriction of the space at my disposal has necessitated the exclusion of the chapter on Ostia. This has been attended with less regret than would otherwise have been the case if the new excavations were not constantly bringing fresh material to view. It seems futile to publish a few, when all will soon be available for study in a *corpus* now in preparation under the direction of Commendatore Guido Calza. Unfortunately, the same line of reasoning would seem to apply to Rome itself. During the past summer excavations for the new Via Imperiale have brought to light scores of mosaics, some of which undoubtedly belong to the period under consideration. It is a temptation to postpone publication until it is permissible to include these also. By that time, however, new finds would doubtless interpose further delay. If this study by bringing forward the mosaics discovered in other years facilitates in any way the publication of those newly found, it will have ample justification.

I am very grateful to Commendatore Giuseppe Moretti for showing me these recent finds as well as for giving me the privilege of publishing for the first time much that is already mounted in the *Museo Nazionale Romano*, although not yet on exhibition. This last has included access to the rooms still in the process of reorganization and the right to photograph material as yet unpublished. My special thanks go also to Senatore Alfonso Bartoli, to Commendatore Antonio Maria Colini, to Commendatore Antonio Muñoz, to Commendatore Giuseppe Lugli and to Dottor Aldo Rinaldis, for their readiness to give any assistance in their power, be it information, photographs, or permission to photograph in the areas under their jurisdiction. To Dr. Edith Hall Dohan, Classical Curator of the University Museum, in Philadelphia, I am indebted for the photograph and all information with regard to the Bacchus mosaic recently placed on exhibition there. I am assuming, I trust with justification, that the permission accorded to me by Commendatore Nogara and the heirs of his Editor, Ulrico Hoepli, to make use of the plates in their magnificent publication, *I Mosaici Antichi Conservati nei Palazzi Apostolici del Vaticano e del Laterano*, in *Collezioni Artistiche Archeologiche e Numismatiche dei Palazzi Pontifici, pubblicate per ordine di Sua Santità Pio P. P. X*, Ulrico Hoepli, Milan, 1910, still holds good for the republication of one of them. Professor Armin von Gerkan, Director of the Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Rome, has graciously permitted me to make use of two plates from the *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung*, and Dottor Enrico Stefani has done the same for his plate in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità comunicate alla R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* for 1935. The *Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra* have also with great kindness sent me the two photographs of their excavations under the Lateran Baptistery which I have included in the plates as well as a copy of the plan of a portion of the Palace excavated earlier. The plates taken from the photographs of Alinari, Anderson, and Moscioni are reproduced with courteous permission. Stuart Mertz, Fellow in Landscape Architecture of the American Academy in Rome, very kindly made from my very rough sketches the

drawing which has become Plate 34. Finally, I feel impelled to record my obligation to those whose research has served to shed some light upon what has been a very dark period of the history of Roman life and art. Without their contributions this study would have been far more difficult to execute. It is a pleasure at the end of a task to call to mind the many kindnesses that one has encountered in the course of its progress.

MARION ELIZABETH BLAKE.

American Academy in Rome,
November 5, 1939.

CHAPTER I

Introduction. It is difficult to penetrate into the thoughts of those who live in a tottering empire. With the advantages of hindsight it may seem to us that they must have known into what straits they had fallen. They, however, doubtless felt that each change would bring the yearned-for peace and prosperity. There was a surprising amount of building in Rome for times as troubled as the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, but there are few mosaic floors which have any distinction as works of art. A more extensive use of cut marble pavements may have reduced the number of elaborate mosaics, but cannot account for the poor quality of those that were laid. Years of financial stress doubtless reduced the men of culture to penury. Such wealth as there was passed into the hands of those who desired to make an impression rather than of those who had an appreciation of beauty. From the standpoint of the history of art, these chapters on the mosaics of the third and fourth centuries have little to add. A study of the decadence of an art is, however, necessary if one is to gain the proper perspective for viewing its birth in another form. If mosaic art had not sunk so low at Rome, it might never have given rise to the superb pavements of the Cosmati which are the glory of her Mediaeval churches. The chapters which follow also have a contribution to make to an understanding of the people themselves. It is not without significance that at this period the influence of the mosaics of Rome did not extend beyond the immediate neighborhood. In the rest of Italy the art took a more consistent course. Even there it showed a gradual retrogression. The pendulum was swinging backwards so far as Italy was concerned, and nothing could check its motion until the time came for it to reverse its action. In Rome something was definitely wrong with the clock. The examples which follow tell their own story. There was a striving after novelty which led to the development of a few new motives.

Palaces

The Palace of Septimius Severus on the Palatine. Septimius Severus was the first — as well as the last — to enlarge the Domitianic Palace to any great extent. What is left of his building operations may be seen in the south-eastern portion of the hill near the "Hippodrome". Such fragments of pavements as appear, if they are representative, reveal a complete lack of interest in the mosaic art. Many are in plain black, some are in unrelieved white, and only four employ patterns of any sort. Bi-colored scales in black-and-white appear here for the first time as an all-over pattern.[1] Alternating circles and curvilinear squares have been arranged into an all-over pattern of "double-axes,"[2] which is a third century development. A new arrangement of *peltae* has been achieved, in which a continuous undulating line is formed by the bases, while the apexes point first up, then down, in alternation. Undulating lines of white against a black ground characterize the pavement of one corridor. All these patterns are enclosed by simple bands of black or white. The undulating line appears to be the one factor common to all these four designs. It seems strange that the Emperor should have been content with such simplicity of pattern and such roughness of workmanship. The tesserae are too irregularly cut to be measured accurately or to have been laid with precision. It is conceivable that finer mosaics have been destroyed, but if so, they have left no trace. Doubtless rich marbles paved the more important rooms. The present pavement of the cryptoporticus leading from the "House of Livia" towards the north and towards the east is also Severan. It is plain white with a border composed of six rows of black tesserae. The cubes are very irregular in size and shape, those actually measured ranging from 0.6 to 2.8 cm. with a depth of 2.3 cm.

Atrium Vestae. When Julia Domna restored the Atrium Vestae,[3] she apparently did not think that it was necessary to embellish it with mosaics of any special beauty. The Severan level is clearly visible about a meter above the republican pavement in the open court at the center. Unfortunately, the portion of mosaic still preserved at this height is composed of white tesserae only, so that it has no value for this

[1] A mosaic reported from Via Venti Settembre (*Not. Sc.*, 1877, p. 81) may be of this type and contemporaneous.

[2] *Cf.* R. O'CONNOR, *AJA.*, xxiv, 1920, 151—4.

[3] E. B. VAN DEMAN, *The Atrium Vestae*, Washington, 1909, 8, 41—5.

study except for technical considerations.[4] A mosaic of similar workmanship (Pl. 11, Fig. 4) paves part of a corridor at the south of the court from which a stairway of a later date mounts to an upper storey. The field is composed of curious curvilinear figures in black so arranged on a white ground as to leave ordinary squares alternating with curvilinear squares. A border of triangles of beehive form encloses the whole design. It was patched in ancient times with coarse tesserae (3 cm. × 1 cm.), which may be loosened Severan tesserae set upon their sides so that each might cover a wider surface.

The Palace of the Laterani. It is a well known historical fact that Septimius Severus bestowed palaces upon his favorites.[5] Unfortunately, even the location of most of them cannot be determined with precision, and where it can, the remains are too slight to have any significance. Excavations are, however, constantly bringing to light more of the one which he gave to a certain T. Sextius Lateranus, who was consul in A. D. 197.[6] It had already had a checquered existence. Built, or at any rate owned, by Plautius Lateranus,[7] it was confiscated by Nero after his alleged participation in the conspiracy of Piso[8] and continued under imperial possession until the time of Septimius Severus. By the period of Constantine, however, it was again under imperial control and it eventually became the residence of the Popes. Considerable remains of a huge edifice were discovered about 1877 under and behind the apse of *S. Giovanni in Laterano* and were published by Stevenson (Pl. 17, Fig. 2).[9] These, to judge from the character of their brick construction, belonged to the rebuilding under Septimius Severus. The slight traces of mosaic floors are in accordance with the taste of that age. The triangular court had an all-over pattern of curvilinear triangles of black placed so as to leave curvilinear hexagons of white.[10] A narrow corridor on the west showed a composition of curvilinear squares of white separated by crosswise ovals of white so arranged between half ovals and squares that the black spaces left resemble handleless baskets, their upper rims forming the sides of the curvilinear squares. The whole pattern is included between rather heavy black lines. A colonnade on the north divides the court from another corridor. Its mosaic gives the impression of two black tubes, each encircling a pole with symmetrical coils. It is a feeble and entirely inappropriate attempt at tridimensionalism. Broad black bands at each side lend character and a sense of stability to the design so that the decorative effect is not unpleasing. Each one of these three shows a certain amount of originality and a predilection for curved lines. Of the row of rooms at the north, one has a pattern of circles interlaced so as to form a four-petaled flower.

At a later dater (1924)[11] more rooms were laid bare under the Baptistery, and their pavements are still visible beneath the modern floor. One (Pl. 13, Fig. 4), about a meter lower than the other two, has an all-over pattern reminiscent of one of the borders of the triangular court, with which it was doubtless contemporaneous. The pattern, though simple, is difficult to describe. Squares are separated by curvilinear squares which touch them at the center of each side; ovals stretch from the corner of one square to that of the next. These are the parts of the design which are rendered in white. The black spaces left between them form a series of four-petaled flowers. A narrow band of black outlines the field and a broad band (20 cm. wide) encloses the whole mosaic. Such combinations of curved and straight lines were very agreeable to the mosaicists of the early years of the third century. The tesserae are rather fine but they are so roughly cut that they could not be laid with any regularity. The mosaic at the higher level (Pl. 16, Fig. 2) reveals the same workmanship and belongs to the same period. A difference in level of half a meter between rooms was not unusual in a Roman house. The field is separated from the walls of the room by two black borders, the outer one wider (*ca.* 30 cm.) and the inner one much narrower. This arrangement of borders was common in the Severan age. The pattern is very simple — white squares flanked by black rectangles with smaller white squares at the corners. Since the third pavement is cut-marble instead of mosaic, it has no place in this study. More recent excavations, partly under the Basilica itself,[12] seem to be bringing to light remains of earlier periods.

[4] The tesserae vary from 1 to 2.3 cm. with an average of 1.5 cm. and a depth of 3 cm.

[5] VICT., *Epit.*, 20, 6.

[6] S. PLATNER-T. ASHBY, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929, 183—4, where a bibliography is given. The identification of the palace with the *egregiae Lateranorum aedes* mentioned by JUVENAL (x, 17) is practically certain.

[7] The identification is given by two water-pipes. See *CIL.*, XV, 7536; LAUER, cited below, 12, fig. 3.

[8] TACIT., *Ann.*, xv, 49, 60.

[9] E. STEVENSON, *Ann. d. Inst.*, xlix, 1877, pp. 332—67 with pl. T (an excellent summary of all literary sources). *Cf.* also R. LANCIANI, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Boston and New York, [1897], 339—44, with fig. 129; PH. LAUER, *Le Palais de Latran*, Paris, 1911, 9—12, pls. i—ii; G. B. GIOVENALE, *Studi di Antichità Cristiana*, i, *Il Battistero Lateranense*, Rome, 1929, fig. 3.

[10] A familiar pattern has been completely altered by the substitution of curved lines for straight.

[11] ASHBY, *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1924—5, 86; GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, 21—55. This monograph traces the history of the site from the private bath of the time of Septimius Severus through the pre-Constantinian and the Constantinian Baptisteries to the fifth century baptistery which is still in use.

[12] *Ill. Lond. News*, Sept. 29, 1934; E. JOSI, *Riv. d. Arch. Crist.*, xi, 1934, 351—5 with fig. 9; G. LUGLI, *Bull. Com.*, lxii, 1934, 163—4; A. W. VAN BUREN, *YWCS.*, 1936, 107.

This establishment, more than the Palace of Septimius Severus on the Palatine or the Atrium Vestae as rebuilt by the Severi, corresponds with what one would expect of the imperial residence of the period.

Private Houses

Introduction. There is often little or no difference between the type of mosaic laid in the private houses of the later years of the second and the early years of the third century. Many already published as belonging to the second[13] could equally well be ascribed to the third. Some houses, proved upon external grounds to have been laid in the third, show no element in their decoration which could not have been developed earlier. In general there are fewer innovations in the houses than in the palaces.

House of L. Octavius Felix and Others in Vicinity. The style of architecture, the quality of the mosaics, the nature of the frescoes, and the kind of *graffiti* convinced Lanciani that a house excavated some years ago on the border line between the Viminal and the Esquiline was built within the first half of the third century.[14] Inscriptions on its lead pipes proved that it belonged to a certain L. Octavius Felix. Its mosaic patterns — white dotted with larger squares of black, meander in the key pattern, interlacing circles in groups of six — were all common earlier. A second house of the third century unearthed in the same vicinity had as its only mosaic of consequence a picture of a maenad and a faun, which was by no means new in the repertory of the mosaicist.[15] A neighboring house, probably also contemporaneous, revealed a meander with four squares containing geometric figures.[16] There were some interesting marble floors in these three houses.

House near Via Sicilia. Although a Hadrianic house near Via Sicilia[17] was torn down and its site converted into a garden with an obelisk and an octagonal pool at some time during the course of the third century, one of its pavements bears all the earmarks of a Severan mosaic. Its excellent state of preservation indicates that it was not long in use before the destruction of the house. A broad black band serves to set off the field, which is further limited by a single row of black tesserae. Rows of white circles alternating with rows composed of circles and curvilinear squares constitute the main decoration. The dark background does not form either quatrefoils or "double-axes" as in similar patterns at Ostia.

House under the Banca Nazionale. Huge quatrefoils appeared in a mosaic floor of what seemed to be a third century house destroyed by Constantine to make room for his Baths.[18] It was discovered in excavating for the foundations of the Banca Nazionale on Via Nazionale. Although heart-shaped petals occur earlier in small floral motives, these are the first to appear in large rosettes constituting an all-over pattern. The white spaces between the petals of each quatrefoil form a simple four-petaled flower, whereas those between the quatrefoils taken as a whole are curvilinear squares.

House under Sta. Sabina. Undulating lines were a favorite feature of the mosaics of the Palace of Septimius Severus on the Palatine. They reappear in the one mosaic floor of a Roman house under Sta. Sabina (Pl. 12, Fig. 3) as white ribbons meeting and parting on a black ground in such a way as to leave spaces roughly circular, in the centers of which are Maltese crosses.[19] It is interesting to note that although Muñoz dates the house in a general way to the second or the third century in his first two studies, in the third he states his conviction that it belongs to the third.

House at the Tomb of the Scipios. The extraordinary interest in the re-excavation of the Tomb of the Scipios and the systematization of the site has diverted attention from the house which was constructed in the vicinity in the third century.[20] It has, however, a contribution to make to our rather meagre knowledge of the Roman habitation of that period. Apparently, when the Scipio family became extinct in the early years of the Empire, their burial place fell into the hands of the Lentuli. Years passed, the tomb, being no longer cared for, was plundered. Late in the third century, walls of tufa blocks and bricks were constructed to prevent the vaults from caving in. Soon all remembrance of them was lost, and some Roman gentleman built a house of at least three storeys at the side of the hypogeum facing Via Appia. Unfortunately, not enough of the mosaic floors remain to give a clear picture of the patterns employed. All were in black-and-white, and each had a band of black along the wall to set off the pattern to better advantage. One room (Pl. 13, Fig. 1—2) showed for

[13] M. E. BLAKE, *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, xiii, 1936, 67—214.

[14] R. LANCIANI, *Bull. Com.*, i, 1872—3, 79—81, with pl. vi; PLATNER-ASHBY, 186.

[15] LANCIANI, *op. cit.*, 86—8 with pl. vii.

[16] *Ibid.*, ii, 1874, 217.

[17] E. KATTERFELD, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxviii, 1913, 92—112 with fig. 4.

[18] LANCIANI (*Bull. Com.*, xiv, 1886, 184—8) implies rather than actually states that this house was one of those in the lowest zone, which were erected in the latter part of the third century. The mosaic is in accord with such a date.

[19] A. MUÑOZ, *Studi Romani*, ii, 1914, 332—4 with figs. 1—4; *La Basilica di Santa Sabina in Roma*, Milan, 1919, 31—2, pl. xii; *L'Église de Sainte Sabine à Rome*, Rome, 1924, 36—7 with pl.

[20] P. NICORESCU, *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, i, 1923, 1—56; C. VALLE, *Capitolium*, ii, 1926—7, 24—9; A. M. COLINI, *ibid.*, iii, 1927—8, 27—32; P. HARSH, *MAAR.*, xii, 1935, 61, 63—64. The only mention of the mosaics known to me is in G. LUGLI, *I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio*, i, 1930, 438.

its border a twisted ribbon of the simplest form imaginable. The field was a meander made with lines set at an angle to the axis of the room and arranged so as to leave rectangular spaces, of which one remains. It contains the picture of a sparrow-like bird perched on a branch heavily laden with berries or fruit. Another pavement is too fragmentary to show its design. It had a distinct border, in which "double-axes" in white had a part in the decoration. The curvilinear square as well as the "double-axe" appeared in the field. Another fragment located between this room and the next showed ovals and scales. Undoubtedly all these elements formed a single composition of the type popular in the third century. A small room at the side had a different history, although its pavement at the upper level had the remains of a mosaic of the same type as the ones in the other rooms. The walls are of the reticulate used in the late Republic or the early Empire, and its original floor was of cement mixed with pieces of colored limestone and stained red after the fashion of the same period. The mosaic floor is about 20 cm. higher. A line of tesserae alternately black and white separates this field from an outer border of black. Too little is preserved to show whether the pattern was composed of black and white scales or black scales and white circles. All these mosaics are typical of the third century in technique as well as in pattern. They consist of moderately fine tesserae (*ca.* 1 cm.) too irregularly cut to allow precision in workmanship.

House in the Villa Orlando. In the Villa Orlando on the Via Appia the ruins of an ancient villa have recently been uncovered.[21] One of the rooms was paved by a mosaic with a geometric design which calls to mind various pavements of the third century found in Antioch-on-the-Orontes except that it appears to be in black-and-white whereas they are in colors.[22] The pattern consists of hexagons flanked upon all sides by squares. The hexagons and squares in their turn are decorated with simple motives. Among the four-petaled flowers, pin-wheels, checkerboards, and other familiar devices, the "double-axe" appears to suggest an origin in the third century. The border of large circles formed by interwoven bands of white has been laid not in straight lines but according to some scheme which is not apparent in the photograph. It suggests the frame in the apse of the Baths of Diocletian.[23]

Isolated Examples in the National Museum

Introduction. A large room of the Baths of Diocletian at the right of the modern entrance to the Museum is slowly but with meticulous care being converted into a splendid hall for the exhibition of mosaics. Its specimens cover the entire history of the mosaic art for ancient Rome.[24] Seven purely geometric designs in black-and-white belong, in my judgment, to the third century or later. They are the type suitable for use in private residences even though they may not have been so used in some instances. A few others contemporaneous with them fall into different categories.

Stars of Lozenges, Squares, "Angle-pieces". A border of black circles decorated with indented squares in white suggests the ascription to the third century of a mosaic from the house in the vicinity of the Farnesina[25] which has the familiar pattern of stars of lozenges, squares, and "angle-pieces" (Pl. 14, Fig. 1). There is nothing outstanding either in the composition itself or the elements of which it is composed. The large squares show an inner border of triangles arranged with the apexes touching the defining line and a smaller central square made up of three squares alternately white and black inscribed one within the other. The small squares preserved exhibit a flower with four heart-shaped petals, the swastika, and a cross composed of miniature squares, a form which does not appear until the third century. The triangles along the edges have indented triangles of black at their centers. Indented edges grow in popularity as the mosaic art declines. The one "angle-piece" which appears contains a smaller one outlined in one row of black tesserae; four miniature squares at the angle divide it into two equal parts. The tesserae are comparatively large (average about 1.2 cm.) and the craftsmanship is mediocre. Although the majority of the mosaics, as well as the wall-paintings, from this house[26] are Augustan, I have no hesitation in ascribing this one to the late second or the early third century on internal evidence alone.[27]

Octagons and Four-pointed Stars. In a design of octagons and four-pointed stars recently unearthed at Sette Camini (Pl. 14, Fig. 3),[28] an unknown mosaicist probably of the early years of the third century has evolved an effective new pattern from familiar elements. He has decorated the square at the center of each star in sober fashion with an inner

[21] A. M. COLINI, *Bull. Com.*, lxvi, 1939, 241 fig. 5, 242.

[22] These I saw in Antioch before their distribution to the museums in whose interests the excavations were undertaken.

[23] *Cf.* p. 90.

[24] These words are written in grateful acknowledgement to the Director of the Museum, Commendatore Giuseppe Moretti, for placing the material at my disposal, and to his able assistant, Dottor Giovanni Annibaldi, who painstakingly ascertained the provenience of each mosaic for me.

[25] *Cf.* JORDAN-HÜLSEN, *Topographie*, i, 3, Berlin, 1907, 651 for the bibliography of this excavation. Black-and-white mosaics are mentioned from time to time, but none with which this can be identified.

[26] LUGLI (*Mélanges*, lv, 1938, 5—27) has brought forward arguments to prove that this was a solarium of some sort.

[27] *Cf.* however R. LANCIANI, *Not. Sc.*, 1880, 127—8.

[28] Unpublished to the best of my knowledge.

square of black inscribed with a curvilinear square of white, and he has given each triangular "point" a dark center. He displays the tendency of his own age, however, in the miscellaneous character of the motives which he chooses for the adornment of the octagons. One of these has an inner octagon framed in a band outlined with dentils carefully arranged so that one falls at each angle and one at the middle of each side and all point to the center of the band. The dark octagon within is ornamented with a rosette of twisted ribbon which has the appearance of a five-looped Solomon's knot. This type of rosette does not occur in Italy until the early years of the third century. There is a miniature quincunx in the center. In a second, the mosaicist has employed the familiar pattern of a four-pointed star so inscribed in the inner octagon as to leave octagons with dark centers along the sides, but he has produced a slight change by inserting a circle in the center in place of the usual square. The "points" are dark, the circle white. A third consists first of an inner octagon in outline, next a girdle of dark ovals, third an octagon in which have been inscribed two Maltese crosses, one black, the other white — with a single circle serving as the center of both. Since the ends of the arms are curved, the periphery presents a series of lunettes alternately black and white. The fourth octagon is less successful. The mosaicist has forced the wave pattern to do duty as the border of the octagon, thereby destroying the fluidity which is its chief charm. Furthermore, the central design is quite meaningless. It consists of a Maltese cross with a quincunx at its center and quincunxes between its arms. The whole composition is enclosed in a three-strand guilloche. The tesserae are comparatively small, although they vary much in size. The workmanship is fairly good.

Reticulate. A form of reticulate which became popular in the East in the course of the third century of the Christian era[29] was uncovered in the same excavation at Sette Camini (Pl. 14, Fig. 4). Double lines of black tesserae set corner to corner outline a series of squares (27 cm. per side) with their axes at an angle to the axis of the room. Each square is decorated with the same ornate cross as appeared in the mosaic from the Farnesina, in which larger squares are set between the corners of a central quincunx and miniature "angle-pieces". The design, though simple, makes an effective all-over pattern. The tesserae are small but vary so greatly in size that they appear larger than they are. The workmanship is good considering the irregularity of the tesserae.

Circles. A mosaic from Via Portuensis (Pl. 14, Fig. 5)[30] reveals an interesting conventionalization of the pattern of a mosaic at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli.[31] The circumferences are no longer outlined by volutes, although they themselves give rise to short volutes with an effect not unlike a second mosaic at Hadrian's Villa.[32] In a similar fashion, a small rosette of four petals arranged around a circle forms the center, and another with heart-shaped leaves decorates the interstices between the circles. The dots inserted in the background beyond the petals may represent stamens. The clasps holding the circles together have degenerated into straight lines. A narrow band of black outlines the field and a broader one forms the outer border. The mosaic may be either Antonine or Severan. The third century was, however, more prone to conventionalization than the second. In spite of the irregularity of the tesserae (average 1 cm. per side), the workmanship is moderately good.

Parts of a Large Coarse Mosaic. For completeness it is well to mention in passing the parts of a very large coarse mosaic unearthed on Via Eliana[33] outside the Porta Maggiore, which was found in too fragmentary state to reveal the design. Two separate pieces of the same border show respectively an oblong with an inscribed lozenge of black and a square with a four-petaled flower which has a circular center. Another fragment exhibits a flower composed of four petals shaped like acanthus leaves also arranged about a circle, while the fourth consists of an octagon decorated by a flower with banded oval petals and acanthus-like sepals forming a whorl about a circular center. The black tesserae are very coarse, and the white ones, though smaller (average 1.1 cm.), are equally irregular, necessitating the use of a great deal of mortar.

Basket-weave Interlace. The addition of a single color to black and white scarcely constitutes polychromy, since the effect depends upon the design rather than upon the use of color. There is a basket-weave interlace from Via Appia Pignatelli,[34] in which a red line runs down the center of each strand. In the threshold red petals introduce approximately the same amount of color into two highly stylized rosettes. A red border encloses the whole. It is amazing how much the use of red softens the effect. It had been much restored before reaching its present position. The tesserae are smaller in the threshold than in the field, but they are so irregular in size that they require a great deal of mortar to weld them together.

Vatican Specimens

Mosaic in the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandine. Since the mosaic in the *Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandine*

[29] This observation is based largely upon a study of the mosaics of Antioch made in the summer of 1935. *Cf.* also D. N. WILBUR, *Bull. Iran. Art and Arch.*, v, 1937, 22—6.

[30] Unpublished, to the best of my knowledge.

[31] BLAKE, pl. 12, fig. 1.

[32] *Ibid.*, pl. 13, fig. 3.

[33] Unpublished, to the best of my knowledge.

[34] Unpublished, to the best of my knowledge.

(Pl. 34 c) is unpublished, there is no information available as to its history or provenience. It appears to me the kind of floor that one would expect from the early years of the third century. Although the design may have been originally composed of a combination of white triangles, semi-circles, and curvilinear squares, interest centers in the black spaces which seem to represent a series of groups of four broad daggers arranged with their hilts bounding a curvilinear square and their points touching. They are separated by black squares. Exactly the same proportion of curved and straight lines appears in other mosaics of this epoch. Although the tesserae are comparatively small (0.8—1.1 cm.), the workmanship is mediocre.

Rosettes. Four fragments of an all-over pattern composed of rosettes and enclosed in a black band (Pl. 34 h) been have brought from an unknown site to the storerooms of the Vatican.[35] The rosette is a more elaborate version of that found in the edifice under the Banca Nazionale[36] in that it consists of a six-petaled flower of white within a six-petaled one of black with petals of a different form. There are traces of small indented squares in the white spaces between the rosettes. On internal evidence, I should ascribe the mosaic to the third century.

Sacraria

Introduction. It is a well known fact that various foreign cults came into the foreground and grew in power during the course of the second and particularly in the third century of the Christian era. Although Mithraism gained the strongest foothold, there were others which had their appointed meeting-places. Some of these were dignified with mosaic floors.

The Syrian Sanctuary on the Janiculum. A complex of walls laid bare on the Janiculum close to the Villa Sciarra resolves itself into three building periods.[37] The earliest remains go back to the middle of the first century of the Christian era. Towards the close of the second century, when the Oriental cults in Rome had attained such prominence that they attracted even members of the imperial family within their folds,[38] this sanctuary of the Syrian gods was rebuilt in more sumptuous style. The exact year is given as A. D. 176. Its prosperity declined after the death of Alexander Severus (A. D. 235) so rapidly that it was cut off from the rest of Trastevere by the Aurelian Wall, and it may have been destroyed or abandoned even before the Edict of A. D. 341 forbade all pagan sacrifices. It was reconstructed under Julian, the Apostate, sole Emperor A. D. 361—3, but its new lease of life was of brief duration. By the end of the fourth century it had closed its doors forever. The one mosaic with any design (Pl. 34 g) belongs to the second building period.[39] A brickstamp like *CIL.* XV no. 762 b seems to prove that it was laid in the early years of the Severan age,[40] a date which is in accordance with its simple pattern in black-and-white. The tesserae, though comparatively fine, are roughly cut and roughly laid.[41] In spite of its simplicity, it is difficult to describe the pattern. "Angle-pieces" of white separated by oblongs of black form the outer border of a square. Quarter-circles of black have been inserted between the arms of the "angle-pieces" so that a white octagon with four curvilinear squares was left in the center. Semi-circles of black resting upon the outside of the arms of the "angle-pieces" on three sides add a curvilinear effect to the whole design. All these elements appear in other Severan mosaics.

Mithraeum on the Aventine. An edifice excavated in 1925 near S. Saba on the Aventine is somewhat different in plan from the usual type of Mithraeum.[42] A corridor nearly three meters wide opens out into three semi-circular niches on the north and gives access to a series of narrow rooms on the south. At a date sometime later than its erection, the greater part of the corridor was converted into a long narrow hall by the construction of a shallow niche towards the west.[43] A marble relief of Mithras slaying the Bull suggests the cause of the transformation. The original construction showed the particular combination of courses of tufa blocks and bricks which does not appear until the time of Maxentius.[44] Still, one of the mosaics (Pl. 34 d) follows completely the tradition of the preceding century. The field consists of a series of black quatrefoils with curvilinear triangles for petals. Curvilinear squares of black with white centers decorate the spaces between them. A narrow band of black with dentils pointing outwards and a broader band of black constitute the simple border.

[35] B. NOGARA, *I Mosaici Antichi dei Palazzi Laterano e Vaticano,* Milan, 1910, p. 37, pl. lxxv, figs. 1—4.

[36] *Cf.* p. 84.

[37] A. PASQUI, *Not. Sc.,* 1909, 390—410 with plan; G. NICOLE-G. DARIER, *Le Sanctuaire des Dieux Orientaux au Janicule,* Rome, 1909, with pls. xii-xiv; *Compt. Rend.,* 1909, 490—1, 617—47, with plan opp. p. 618; P. GAUCKLER, *Le Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule,* Paris 1912, esp. chap. viii, 221—57; G. LA PIANA, *Foreign Groups in Rome,* in *Harvard Theological Review,* xx, 1927, 218—9, 316—8; S. SAVAGE, above, pages 44—52.

[38] Commodus is said to have been initiated into the mysteries of both Isis and Mithras.

[39] PASQUI, *op. cit.,* 390 and plan; GAUCKLER, *op. cit.,* pl. xxxv.

[40] GAUCKLER, *ibid.,* 247—8.

[41] *Ibid.,* pl. xliv.

[42] E. GATTI, *Not. Sc.,* 1925, 384—7, who, however, considers that the edifice has a form characteristic of a Mithraeum.

[43] At least that is my interpretation of the plan given in fig. 3, *op. cit.*

[44] E. B. VAN DEMAN, *AJA.,* xvi, 1912, 429—31.

One of the niches has an early pattern of white hexagons converted into six-pointed stars by the help of black triangles. The addition of a miniature gammadion in the center of each hexagon and the use of a loosely braided four-strand guilloche as a border correspond to the fourth century date of the building. The only other niche with the pavement preserved shows an all-over pattern of squares surrounded by elongated hexagons which became very popular in the churches of the fourth to the sixth centuries. A Greek cross adorns each square and a Latin cross each hexagon, but they are obviously not Christian symbols. The field is enclosed in a two-strand guilloche of the usual form.

Edifice near the Basilica of Junius Bassus on the Esquiline. Beneath the basilica which was built by Junius Bassus when he was consul probably in A. D. 331 are the remains of a large house extending beyond the Basilica to the north and east, which was constructed of Augustan reticulate.[45] A room shaped like a horse-shoe was inserted in one of the eastern chambers at the end of the first century of the Christian era. Still later it was somewhat reduced in size by an inner wall of block-and-brick of the type associated with Maxentius.[46] At this period it received a black-and-white mosaic floor which shows an entirely new pattern (Pl. 15, Figs. 1, 4). An inscription in a *tabella ansata* gives the information that it was then the house of the Arippi and the Ulpii Vibii.

DOMVS ARIPPORVM ET
VLPIORVM VIBIORVM
FELIX

The FELIX set off by a branch on each side may be either a prayer for the happiness of the household or the name of the mosaicist. A palm-branch decorates each "handle". A broad black band includes both the inscription and the decorative mosaic. An undulating line separates white from black in the frame, whereas narrow bands of white and of black separate it from an all-over pattern of black goblets arranged so that the bases leave a square of white and the rims form a curvilinear square. The workmanship is fairly good although the tesserae are roughly cut. Both craftsmanship and style place the mosaic in the same era as the inner wall. The letters in the inscription have a slightly cursive character which is in accordance with that date. The room may well have been adapted to the use of some cult to which the two families, otherwise unknown, were devoted.[47] A silhouette mosaic will receive treatment later.[48]

Mithraeum della Casa de' Nummi. Sometime during the third or fourth century of the Christian era, in all probability, the Mithraeum of the *Casa de' Nummi* on Via Firenze received a black-and-white mosaic of geometric design. Unfortunately, no description of the pattern has been preserved.[49]

Thermae

Baths of Caracalla. If the Baths of Caracalla alone remained to give evidence for the taste in mosaic floors of the early years of the third century, the picture would be a fairly accurate one. The date of their construction is well known (A. D. 211—6).[50] The main part seems to be homogeneous in construction.[51] The peribolos was destroyed, or at any rate damaged, by fire and rebuilt by Aurelian. Some of the mosaic floors were renovated at that time. Marble sectile pavements of which no trace remains may once have embellished some of the more important rooms, but black-and-white mosaics were the more common type of decoration. The immensity of the Baths makes any description quite inadequate. It is for others to rebuild in imagination the great halls in their pristine beauty; it is within the scope of this study merely to furnish as accurate a picture of the pavements as can be reconstructed from the comparatively scanty remains.

The rooms are symmetrically arranged to the north and the south of a great pool. As an ancient Roman entered the door at the right of the pool, he would have found himself in a hall paved with coarse mosaic of green serpentine framed in a wide border of pinkish marble composed of equally coarse tesserae (2.5—3 cm.). He would doubtless have glanced at the pool at his left before he advanced towards a smaller room paved in a very simple pattern of relatively small oblongs in finer tesserae (*ca.* 1 cm.) of pinkish marble outlined in two rows of gray.[52] Before reaching it, however, he would probably have turned to his right into a small court which gave access to four small rooms, two on each side. If he had no business there, he would pass on into what is known as the North Palaestra, which also had a pavement of polychrome mosaic, identical in pattern

[45] G. LUGLI, *Riv. d. Arch. Crist.*, ix, 1932, 223—44; G. GATTI, *Bull. Com.*, lxi, 1933, *Not.* 249, 250 fig. 7.

[46] *Cf.* VAN DEMAN, *loc. cit.*

[47] This mosaic is now in the basement of the *Collegio Russo*.

[48] See p. 95 f.

[49] A. CAPANNARI, *Bull. Com.*, xiv, 1886, 23; F. CUMONT, *Textes et Mon.*, ii, 197 n. 11 with no mention of the mosaic.

[50] PLATNER-ASHBY, 520—4, where the evidence is given. The question of the roofing or otherwise of some "courts" is at present under discussion.

[51] DR. ESTHER B. VAN DEMAN went over the Baths with me in 1935 and gave this as her final judgment.

[52] The pattern consists of concentric frames of oblongs so arranged about a central oblong of white as to leave squares at the corners of each frame. A narrow border of porphyry encloses the field. Borders composed of squares of solid color, squares with inscribed squares of contrasting color, and oblongs decorate the two shorter sides.

with that in the corresponding room to the south (Pl. 16, Fig. 1), which is in a better state of preservation. The small court with its adjacent rooms is of more interest to us at this point because all have characteristic black-and-white mosaics. The palace of Septimius Severus on the Palatine had an all-over pattern of bi-colored scales in black-and-white, whereas this court has the scales set obliquely.[53] A single line of white tesserae followed by nine rows of black and six of white leads from the field to a band of decoration composed mostly of curved lines, which defies description (Pl. 34 f); a narrower band of white separates it from the broad black band which outlines the periphery of the room. Of the four rooms, one had a pattern of circles so interlaced as to leave great curvilinear hexagons in the center. Its companion (Pl. 34 b) is more complicated. Greek crosses of black separated by white squares at the extremities of the arms form the framework of the design. Quadrants of circles also in white have been inserted between the arms of these crosses so as to leave octagons of black with four straight and four curved sides. The usual broad black band encloses the field on three sides while the fourth has a simple border decorated by arcs of semi-circles so placed that the centers of those in the upper row are above the tips of those below. In the room opposite, white circles (51 cm. in diameter) joined by white ovals (48 cm. long) leave curvilinear octagons of black with four longer and four shorter sides (Pl. 34 a). Arcs of circles again serve as a threshold, but they are set at intervals with their curved sides touching so as to leave elongated hexagons of black with four curved sides. In the fourth room, the pattern consists of black curvilinear squares inscribed in circles of white and set more than a meter apart with connecting lines of white (Pl. 34 e). The black surface thus bounded is once more a curvilinear octagon with only four straight sides. A broad band of white is the only frame. In all of these the mosaicist seems to have been experimenting with different combinations of curved and straight lines.

If our Roman gentleman had chosen to enter at the left of the great central pool, he would have stepped into a room with a pavement of serpentine tesserae identical with that on the other side, advanced towards a smaller room with the same floor pattern as the corresponding room, and turned to his left into a small court with the same arrangement of bi-colored scales in black-and-white (Pl. 16, Fig. 3) as he would have encountered on the other side. The first difference which he could note would be the border of this mosaic, where a narrower band decorated with black semicircles set tip to tip replaces the more elaborate border of the similar court on the right. Of the four rooms opening out of this, two have undulating lines of white which almost meet at intervals only to part again, a third merely outlines in white tesserae great quatrefoils of a type common in the third century mosaics of Ostia, while the fourth shows Greek crosses of black with quadrants of white between the arms separated by oblongs of white. In these chambers, there are no fancy borders; broad bands of black serve adequately to set off the designs.

The central part of the court of the South Palaestra was once paved with a mosaic pattern consisting of ovals of red porphyry, green serpentine, yellowish-pink and white marble set in oblongs of a contrasting color and so laid that dark alternated with light (Pl. 16, Fig. 1). The field was framed with a pleasing rinceau of *giallo antico* and green serpentine on a white ground, which became more elaborate on the south side where it faced the exedrae.[54] A colonnade separated this central portion on the other three sides from a corridor framed with bi-colored scales laid in parallel rows (Pl. 16, Fig. 4). They are composed of the same materials as the field. A narrow checked border of green and white, a broader band of yellow, and a wide band of a mixture of pink and gray make a pleasing border. The cubes are comparatively small (*ca.* 1 cm.) but are very irregularly cut owing partly to the intractability of the materials employed. A semicircular exedra on the north side once contained part of the famous athlete mosaic, now in the Lateran, which will be considered later.[55] Small rooms cut off from the corridor at the south-east and north-west corners have extremely simple pavements — plain white with black borders and the same design of black-and-white rectangles as occurs in the old Lateran Palace.[56] This South Palaestra could be approached more directly from the east through a large ante-room paved with a plain white mosaic enclosed in a black band. It was flanked by an equally large room on each side, both with identical pavements of elongated hexagons outlined in four rows of serpentine and filled with tesserae of yellow or pink or gray — rather small, but very irregular. The hexagons are laid in such a way that their obtuse angles touch, making rows that run the entire length of the room. A plain band about 6 cm. wide separates these rows of contiguous hexagons and gives opportunity for a rather subtle polychromy as it varies from yellow through white to a mixture of pink and gray.

Only barely enough of the mosaic of the central court of the North Palaestra remains to reveal that

[53] A similar scale pattern has been unearthed at Lucca. See A. MINTO, *Not. Sc.*, 1934, 22—5 with fig. 2.

[54] These can scarcely have been paved originally with the exceedingly coarse mosaics of which the traces remain today. One would like to think that the original floors were of cut marble as they are usually restored in architectural drawings.

[55] See pp. 111—12.

[56] See p. 83.

it was identical with that on the South. Slightly more of the coarse mosaics in the three exedrae on the north are preserved showing that there were large surfaces of green serpentine, although the pattern is not clear. The rest of the great athlete mosaic was in the hemicycle at the south. This court might also be approached directly from the outside through an ante-chamber flanked by two other rooms, one on each side, all three having mosaics identical with those of the corresponding rooms on the south. white mosaics framed in a narrow band of black. The one on the right shows clear evidence that it was not the original pavement. A thin marble revetment of the walls descends to a level a few centimeters below the pavement, while a coarser revetment concealing the finer one rests upon the mosaic.

To judge from the fragments now to be seen in both the North and the South Palaestrae, there were upper rooms paved with marine scenes of the usual type showing Nereids mounted on hybrid creatures and *amorini* driving dolphins or sea-monsters (Pl. 13, Fig. 3). They are no longer sportive babies, but purposeful charioteers with stern faces urging their mounts onwards with raised whips. They wear bracelets reminiscent of the stripes often found on the sleeves of charioteers in the Circus. The sea is represented as usual by straight lines. These fantastic scenes were enclosed by elaborate borders, the fragments of two of which remain. Upon a broad black band were depicted in white, tridents between volutes and oars between paired dolphins (Pl. 12, Fig. 1). The other was once an elaborate white rinceau on a black ground. The contrast between these borders and the central pictures must have been very effective.

The Baths of Diocletian. Of the vast number of mosaics which must once have paved the enormous Baths of Diocletian only one remains *in situ*.[57] It paves a large apse with tesserae of black and white and yellow, and shows a rather clever adaptation of an angular pattern to a curved surface. A comparatively small semicircle decorated with a simple foliate pattern serves as a point of departure for alternating rays of hexagons and lozenges. The nearer to the center, the smaller is the hexagon or lozenge. As the lozenges become larger, the increase in size is concealed somewhat by the insertion of concentric lozenges until there is a nest of five in the largest of all. In the case of the hexagons, after the first two, of which each has an inner hexagon, the mosaicist contented himself with two. He gradually enlarged the rosettes which embellished the hexagons from six- to eight-petaled flowers, making them larger and larger as the space permitted. The whole pattern is enclosed in a border of interlacing ribbons — one yellow, one white — which are separated so as to leave dark circles. This border is closely related in conception to the two-strand guilloche, but it gives a totally different effect. It is not found in the mosaics of Italy until the third century.

Arabesques

Introduction. The Roman type of arabesque, in which volutes and tendrils are clasped together instead of being interlaced,[58] became more fantastic as the second century gave way to the third. Its popularity continued in Rome and vicinity throughout the period of the Severi, and isolated examples doubtless appeared later. The arabesque in black-and-white seems to have been a purely Roman development. At no time did it extend beyond the neighborhood of Rome to any great degree. Elsewhere, when richness of effect was desired, it was more often achieved through polychromy.

Group in the Museo Nazionale Romano

Prefatory Remarks. The National Museum in Rome is particularly well equipped to show the Roman arabesque in its period of decadence. Even in the second century vines were occasionally represented as issuing from acanthus plants, but such a departure from nature is mild in comparison with the practice of making inanimate objects, such as baskets and vases, grow out of stalks — a conceit, however, not unknown to Hellenistic and early imperial art in other branches. Volutes and vines had been conventionalized to a certain degree in the second century, but not in the mechanical fashion in which they are depicted in the third. The mosaics of the National Museum illustrate all these tendencies.

"Hall of Mosaics." A rather intricate arabesque was excavated in the vicinity of the *Stazione di Termini* and placed in the "Hall of Mosaics."[59] Acanthus leaves in the corners form the source of leafy volutes which rise to the corners of the central square so as to form oval frames for foliate plants. A rather stiff arabesque issuing from the center of each side supports a vase none too securely. Other volutes decorate the remaining spaces, leaving room for representations of birds. Within the central square, which is framed by a two-strand guilloche and a double row of dentils, is a fantastic picture of a tiger precariously poised upon a tendril and attempting to drink from a vase which grows out of an acanthus plant. Realism has surrendered to decorative effect. The entire mosaic is framed by a band of dentils and a two-strand guilloche, reversing

[57] Unpublished, to the best of my knowledge. It is possible that others may appear in excavations now in progress.

[58] For the development of the arabesque, see BLAKE, 202—5.

[59] Unpublished, to the best of my knowledge.

the order of the border used for the central square. The tesserae are coarse (1.3 cm.), and the workmanship is mediocre. There is no external evidence to help with the chronology.

A spirited vintage scene forms the subject of a part of an arabesque brought from the neighborhood of *S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura*.[60] Two satyrs preserved only in the upper part uphold two crossed vines. An *amorino* without wings is leaning forward with a little basket of grapes, as he steps from a nearby vine to the ones supported by the satyrs. Higher up in the picture are two more *amorini* — one with a pruning-hook in the right hand and a basket in the left, the other with a ladder over his shoulder. Doubtless they are to be thought of as standing on the ground under the vines. The vine itself is mechanically rendered with clusters and leaves and tendrils emerging at intervals from its stiff stem. The fore part of a horse appearing from the left proves that this was one of those incongruous mixtures of subject matter in which the third century delighted. The mere end of a *tabella ansata* above the horse's hoofs does not help to solve the problem of the type of room for which it served as the floor. The tesserae, though of medium size, are so irregular that they produce a coarse effect with much mortar visible in the interstices.

Another fragment of unknown provenience[61] has similarly coarse workmanship. It represents a raven perched upon the calix of a flower, issuing from the junction of two volutes which form a frame for the bird. Tendrils ending in heart-shaped leaves and other leaves of acanthus-form shoot off from the main vine at strategic points. In front of the raven is a branch which is entirely independent of the arabesque. As a work of art the mosaic has nothing to recommend it.

Room V. A mosaic from *Correntini di Porto* near the mouth of the Tiber, now in Room V of the National Museum,[62] shows the decadence of the Roman arabesque in another form. Although the tesserae are finer, the workmanship is equally crude. Curved grape-vines cut off the corners, which are decorated with busts of the Seasons(?). A basket grows out of a stalk which emerges from a cluster of leaves at the center of each side. The figure which once occupied the center is now gone except for a part of the legs. The mosaic is feeble in composition and poor in execution. Again, there is no external evidence for dating the floor.

Room VII. Passing through Room VI with its silhouette mosaic of Venus at her toilet, we come to Room VII with its intricate arabesque of the Anzio type.[63] There is no external evidence for dating it so far as I know, but the coarseness of the workmanship and certain fantastic elements in the design seem to indicate that it was not laid before the third century. Its complication makes description difficult. Acanthus leaves in the corners are the sources of volutes which are so bound together as to frame spaces roughly oval in shape at the corners, to leave room for representations of birds at the center of each side, and to reserve an open place for a central picture. Such was the general scheme of the arabesque. The volutes are not, however, joined together in convincing fashion, and there are supernumerary tendrils which confuse the eye. A wide-mouthed vase grows out of the stalk of an acanthus plant. Even the vase presents peculiarities, for its shape is a cross between an amphora and a cantharus; its meander decoration is sketchily rendered; and its handles are twisted as though they were made of rope rather than a more intractable material. A leaf rears its head above the rim, but neither branch nor tendril issues from the mouth. Branches rise from conventionalized leaves at the center of each side apparently to form perches for birds, and yet the birds are actually suspended with closed wings in mid-air. Each represents a different species — peacock, quail, dove, and black-bird. Bacchus holding a cantharus and leaning on a satyr occupies the place of honor in the center. His garments sweep out behind him in impossible fashion, and his feet are turned out in an absurd manner. The satyr carries a curved staff. His mantle supports itself in mid-air at his side. The border is in keeping with the rest of the mosaic. Conventionalized rinceaux, starting in an acanthus leaf in the middle of one side, continue for a short distance on the adjacent sides. A vase like those in the field rests on this central acanthus leaf, and from its mouth issue three additional leaves. Rows of black octagons with four curved sides and indented squares at their centers complete the border. This part is much rougher than the rest. In spite of the many defects, the entire composition is not ineffective.

Room VIII. Another curious arabesque was discovered at Viale Manzoni and has now been installed in Room VIII.[64] Volutes clasped together form four curvilinear octagons,[65] two above and two below a central square, which they touch in mechanical fashion. The octagons are fastened together by miniature circles with simple geometric designs. These circles further serve as holders for leafy

[60] Unpublished.

[61] Unpublished.

[62] R. PARIBENI, *Le Terme*, Rome, 1932, p. 74, no. 88 (72278).

[63] Unpublished. For the Anzio mosaic, see BLAKE, 77—8.

[64] PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 86, no. 115 (108519).

[65] A similar use of volutes to form a frame occurs in a rough mosaic, now in the *Antiquarium Comunale*, Room IX (Pl. 11, Fig. 1). Conventionalized vegetable motives are clasped to the points of a curvilinear octagon which frames a Medusa head. The whole is enclosed by a simple band of black, while a row of indented squares flanks it on each side. The mosaic is not without a rude effectiveness. It also doubtless belongs to the third century.

branches, which fill the spaces on each side. Similar branches occur at the corners and in the spaces along the sides. The top of the design is enlarged to make room for large trefoils facing in the opposite direction from the central picture. There is a row of curvilinear squares above it. Every available space here also is decorated with simple vegetable motives. The central square and the curvilinear octagons were reserved for pictures. In the center a leopard drinks from a vase from which leaves protrude; in the octagons birds of different kinds appear. Such a mechanical use of various elements would not, in my judgment, have occurred before the third century. The workmanship is exceedingly coarse.

Room IX. An even more crude mosaic floor from the Viale Manzoni decorates the floor of Room IX.[66] Large leaves loosely held by a clasp at each corner curve slightly so that their tips touch a clasp at the center of each side, thereby forming a species of frame for the central picture. Smaller leaves pointing upwards from the corners rather unconvincingly give rise to an ivy vine which wanders through the central panel in such a way that a running panther seems to be bounding through it. The tesserae are very large and the workmanship is exceedingly coarse.

Other Arabesques

Sacellum of the Horrea Agrippiana. The shrine in the center of the Horrea Agrippiana at the south of the Forum[67] is proved to be Severan by the nature of the brickwork and the character of the inscription on the pedestal for the statue. If there were no other indication, the style of the mosaic floor would point to the same date. It contains a Roman arabesque. A leafy spray rises to the center from each corner and is flanked by two others, one on each side, the tendrils of which turning inward are so curved that they outline heart-shaped spaces bisected by the sprays from the corners. Furthermore, a vase stands at the center of each side, from which issue volutes connecting its mouth with the tips of the sprays from the corners. Thus an eight-sided frame is made for a picture of Oceanus of familiar type. The whole is enclosed in a two-strand guilloche of ordinary form. The use of green tesserae for the usual gray softens the general effect considerably. The tesserae are rather fine, but irregular.

House on Via Sicilia. The broad black band followed, after an interval of white, by a narrow one also in black is possibly an indication that a fragment of a mosaic found on Via Sicilia[68] belonged to the Severan age. Not enough remains to give the pattern. A volute with foliage and a lily-like flower suggest that it was an arabesque. Of the two brickstamps found, one dates from the middle of the second century, the other from the period of Commodus or Septimius Severus.

"Privata Hadriana". Parker[69] has published a photograph of a mosaic found in 1869 in what he styled the *"Privata Hadriana"* as a Hadrianic mosaic, but such a confusion of elements in one composition never, to my knowledge, appears in any mosaic laid before the Antonine period. It belongs to the same tradition as the mosaic from *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini*, but it seems somewhat later.[70] Grapevines in full fruitage rise from the bases of huge amphorae in the corners, only to be clasped together first into a large and next into a small circle before they meet others to form a frame for a large circular picture in the center. The amphorae show rope-like handles, a characteristic not, to my knowledge, encountered before the third century. Within the large ovals, busts of the Seasons seem to brood over the amphorae, while pictures of birds occupy the smaller ovals. Volutes branching from the vines fill the spaces between the ovals and the figure of a maenad or a satyr which stands in the center of each side. Birds appear here and there amidst the foliage. Figures dancing upon a ground strewn with leaves decorate the large central circle. A narrow black band prepares the way for a three-strand guilloche which forms the outer border just inside the broad black band which surrounds the room.

House near Via Venti Settembre. A mosaic found in the region between Via Nazionale and Via Venti Settembre in the early years of the century discloses a Roman arabesque of rather graceful form.[71] Vases at the corners and at the center of each side give rise to volutes which fill the field with their plume-like leaves. The vases themselves start from volutes rather than conventional supports of any kind, and supernumerary tendrils give a lacy effect to the whole field. All this forms an elaborate frame for a small square placed about two-thirds of the way up the room. It is decorated by a polychrome flower with heart-shaped leaves enclosed by what at first sight appears to be the familiar laurel wreath in gray. Further study, however, reveals that the "laurel-leaves" are in reality miniature fish. Since fish are sometimes used as Christian symbols for the Faithful and the petals of

[66] PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 88, no. 122 (108517).

[67] A. BARTOLI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxvii, 1921, 392—3 with figs. 8—9.

[68] G. GATTI, *Bull. Com.*, xxix, 1901, 278; *Not. Sc.*, 1901, 421, 422 fig. 3.

[69] J. H. PARKER, *The Archaeology of Rome*, xi, *Church and Altar Decorations and Mosaic Pictures*, Oxford-London, 1876, pl. 2. See also PLATNER-ASHBY, 433 for the historic *"Privata Hadriani."*

[70] BLAKE, 169—70. Parker publishes this as a third century mosaic, in plate 3 of the same work, wrongly labeled as from Ostia.

[71] G. GATTI, *Bull. Com.*, xxix, 1901, 86—9 with photo.

the flower have been separated so as to leave a cross, it has been conjectured that this was an early Christian oratory decorated during the age of persecution with a symbolism which would not arouse the curiosity of the pagans. Such an interpretation would explain the asymmetrical placing of the polychrome square at the logical position of the altar. An arabesque as complicated as this probably belongs to the latter part of the third century. The entire mosaic is enclosed in two narrow bands of black and a double row of white curvilinear triangles of beehive shape.

House on Via Cornelia. If walls of a combination of tufa-block and brick are any criterion, a house excavated on Via Cornelia and reported in 1919[72] was not erected before the early years of the fourth century.[73] One of the pavements exhibits the final degeneration of the "arabesque" into a conglomeration of separate elements artificially bound together into the semblance of a pattern. A band ornamented with lozenges terminating in *peltae* and decorated by a four-petaled flower separates an all-over pattern of bi-colored scales in black-and-white from an oblong containing a rude arabesque framed in a broad black band and outlined by a narrower one. Only half of the field is preserved. Volutes clasped together at eight points with miniature rings form a frame for a picture of Marsyas bound to a tree.[74] A realistic raven and jay are crowded into the two corners still remaining. Entirely separated from the arabesque in a free space at the top a dog is poised facing in the opposite direction from the Marsyas picture. An amphora stands at the right of the dog but faces to the side of the oblong. Presumably it was matched by another on the left turned in the opposite direction. Doubtless two other amphorae with an animal between them fitted into the corresponding space at the bottom of the picture. Such a lack of coherence marks extreme decadence. The part with Marsyas is on exhibition in the "Hall of Mosaics" of the National Museum.

Arabesques in Tombs. "Arabesques" with medallions in the center constituted a favorite form of tomb decoration. The descriptions are, however, so vague that it has seemed advisable to include them with other tomb mosaics in a separate chapter.[75]

Conclusions. These black-and-white mosaics are important for the light which they throw on the development of rather simple motives proving that the art was not yet dead. There is a continual striving after new effects. Comparatively few mosaicists confined themselves to the use of straight lines. The dentil border remained popular but was usually laid with the dentils pointing outwards. There are some rather awkward combinations of straight and curved lines, but it was primarily an era of curvilinear motives. Undulating lines drew circles or rosettes; guilloches opened up to make circles. In addition to ovals, circles, and scales, the mosaicists made use of curvilinear triangles, squares, hexagons, and octagons to evolve a series of rather ineffectual new designs. The "double-axe" was a new motive. The more resourceful invented all-over patterns of baskets or goblets or even daggers. The octagon often showed four straight and four curved lines. The triangle sometimes appeared in beehive shape to form an effective border. Fantastic arabesques full of incongruous elements were fairly common. The idea was not new; the marvel is that the mosaicists were so slow to copy this phase of wall-painting. The flower or bud with heart-shaped petals seems to have been a late importation from the East. With it came the reticulate of lines of oblique squares and a renewed interest in the indented square. A broad black band usually separated the pattern from the walls and often a narrower black line enclosed the field. Other tendencies of the times are better exemplified in the colored mosaics. From the technical point of view, the tesserae are normally rather fine (*ca.* 1 cm.) but so irregularly cut that they cannot be confused with those of an earlier period. Where it is possible to determine the depth they are somewhat deeper. Such irregular tesserae necessitated the use of a great deal of mortar. There are in addition some mosaics coarser than any which we have encountered before.

CHAPTER II.

FIGURED MOSAICS IN BLACK-AND-WHITE

Introduction. An earlier study[76] has presented the humble beginnings of the silhouette mosaics in the first century of the Christian era, traced their development through the Hadrianic period to their culmination under the Antonines, and noted their spread throughout the Italian peninsula. It is possible that some of the silhouette mosaics published there were actually laid in the third century, but all at least followed the traditions of the second so closely as to be indistinguishable from the true Hadrianic or Antonine products. The less pleasing task of following the decadence of the type remains. Since this phase of the mosaic art never took a firm foothold in the outlying districts of Italy, it is not strange that

[72] E. GATTI, *Not. Sc.*, 1919, pp. 57—9 with figs. 8—9.
[73] VAN DEMAN, *loc. cit.*
[74] The Marsyas was probably inspired by some well known statue.
[75] See pp. 119—25.
[76] BLAKE, 138—71.

its last manifestations are practically all in Rome or its immediate vicinity.

Marine Scenes

Baths of Caracalla. During the reigns of the earlier Antonines sea-monsters in silhouette decorated the floors of the principal rooms in most of the great baths. In the Baths of Caracalla, on the other hand, they have been relegated to an upper floor, thereby showing clearly that interest in this type of composition was already on the wane. The mosaics have been described elsewhere.[77]

Via Appia near the Monument of the Servilii. There is no reason for thinking that the black-and-white mosaic of the Bath near the Monument of the Servilii on the Appian Way was not contemporaneous with the polychrome mosaics, which have been ascribed to the third century,[78] although it has no distinguishing characteristics. Among the usual items of which a sea-scene of this sort is composed, there is one amusing episode. A Triton, though in the act of blowing his horn, stretches back a hand to steady an *amorino* who is trying to balance himself on the slippery tail. Birds are standing on the rocks by the edge of the sea. Narrow bands enclose the picture.

The Baths of Prima Porta. It seems probable that the Baths at Prima Porta, which were proved by brickstamps to have been repaired by Septimius Severus, were first constructed under the earlier Antonines.[79] Most of the rooms were paved with mosaics of geometric design in black-and-white. Two have silhouette mosaics[80] which may belong to the original decoration,[81] but seem more like what one would expect of the period of the restoration. The broad band of black framing a sea-scene (Pl. 17, Fig. 3) in the rectangular room, though not unknown in the second century, was common in the third. Furthermore, although the picture is Antonine in its conception, it shows a striving after novelty which may be Severan. The procession of sea-monsters starts with a sea-stag which has paused to drink from the water at its feet. It seems to be yoked loosely to a sea-cow which fills a second side with the coils of its tail. An *amorino*, with a foot on the coils of each, strives to urge on the stag with the whip, while he checks the cow with the reins. A fish follows. Two sea-panthers with their tails intertwined give a precarious seat to an *amorino*, who offers a drink from a patera to one. A third *amorino* with slack reins and uplifted whip is driving forward two dolphins whose tails are also coiled together. As often in mosaics of this type, a lobster brings up the rear. Straight lines mark the sea with a decorative effect which is not unpleasing. A threshold with paired dolphins leads to a semi-circular room with two semi-circular niches, which contain a sea-goat and a sea-panther respectively, although the main picture is a scene from the Circus.[82]

Via Sicilia. From the crudeness of the workmanship and the carelessness of the drawing, the mosaic which was found in a small private bath on Via Sicilia and brought to the National Museum in Rome (Room VI)[83] should be ascribed to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century; the subject matter, however, suggests the later of the two. When an Antonine mosaicist was conceiving great maritime compositions he did not depart from the imagery of the sea. To him the fantastic creatures doubtless seemed as real as the fish and dolphins. If this artisan had depicted Venus rising from the sea foam or riding along in a sea shell, he would have remained in the same realm of fancy. Instead, he shows her arranging her hair in front of a mirror held by Cupid, while her toilet case stands convenient to her right hand, thereby introducing an episode of the boudoir into the midst of the sea. The Nereids on sea-animals which occupy the sides, the dolphins and polyps in the spaces between them, the heads of the winds with puffed-out cheeks in the corners have no significance for the central picture. The mosaicist has taken from his repertory the figures which pleased him and arranged them in a balanced composition without any attempt to give meaning to the whole. Such incongruity would be tolerated only when the eye was wearying of the endless repetition of fantastic sea-pictures, before the brain had evolved anything new to take their places. Although the subject matter betrays the period of the decadence of silhouette mosaics, straight lines represent the sea in the usual fashion, and beyond a narrow enclosing line of black, there is a band of dentils with the teeth pointing inwards in the earlier style.

Via Girolamo Induno. This same incongruous mixture of subject matter occurs in a mosaic recently unearthed in digging the foundation for the *Casa del Balilla* in Trastevere.[84] Here a bull with fillets stretched from horn to horn and hanging down at the sides and with the ceremonial belt around its body stands ready for sacrifice in the midst of a more or less conventional scene of sea-monsters. An enormous head of Oceanus to the left of him serves for

[77] See p. 90.

[78] See p. 103 for the bibliography.

[79] F. PIACENTINI, *Not. Sc.*, 1878, 370—1; E. CAETANI-LOVATELLI, *Mem. Acc. Lincei*, Ser. III, iii, 1879, 250—6 with 2 pls.; G. LUGLI, *Bull. Com.*, li, 1924, 35—6, 40—2.

[80] Not in colors, as LUGLI implies, *op. cit.*, 36.

[81] *Ibid.*, 40.

[82] See p. 96.

[83] G. MANCINI, *Not. Sc.*, 1925, 47 with fig. 1; G. VON KASCHNITZ-WEINBERG, *Arch. Anz.*, xlii, 1927, 108; PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 76, no. 99 (108376).

[84] GU. GATTI, *Bull. Com.*, lxii, 1934, 177.

drainage through holes where the eyes should be. This idea has been borrowed from the huge stone masks which often covered drains. Below the bull a Nereid sits upon a curved surface (a fish or a shell perhaps) upheld by two Tritons. The other sea-creatures swimming about by themselves or bearing Nereids on their backs require no special comment. It is framed first by a narrow and next by a broad band of black. The subject matter is characteristic of the Severan age and the workmanship is coarse. In spite of the fact that three brickstamps found in the excavations were dated 155, 163, 194 respectively, Gatti ascribed the edifice to the early years of the third century. The mosaic was installed in the *Casa del Balilla*.

Villa Casali. A mosaic with huge Tritons in the corners and dolphins and fish everywhere else in the field, found in the Villa Casali,[85] encircled a disc of *cipollino* framed by a guilloche(?).[86] If the disc replaced a circular *emblema*, as Lanciani conjectures, the mosaic doubtless belonged to the early years of the third century. The mosaicists of the second filled the field with sea-creatures more or less artistically arranged but did not divert attention from them to a separate central picture.

The Corridor near the Fountain of Juturna. The corridor leading from the Temple of Vesta to the Fountain of Juturna still shows the remains of a late mosaic of coarse workmanship.[87] Although much has disappeared since the excavation of 1901, an early photograph reveals a small rowboat containing two men, a large fish swimming in front of it, and a smaller one taking refuge near a rock behind it. Straight lines represent the sea. An aquatic bird appears in the upper right hand corner, belonging to a composition intended to be seen from the opposite direction. Such an arrangement serves sufficiently well in a large mosaic where the spectator can see each detail by walking slowly around the whole composition, but the space here is too constricted to make it effective. A second fragment represents a sailor with a *causia*[88] upon his head attempting to guide his boat past a craggy rock. Above him appears the top of a palm-tree[89] growing upon another rock, intended like the bird to be seen from the other side. The tesserae are coarse and irregular, ranging in size from 1.3—1.8 cm. Such a mediocre mosaic is certainly not earlier than the third century.

[85] R. LANCIANI, *Not. Sc.*, 1885, 341.

[86] The word *greca* is sometimes used for the guilloche; a meander enclosing a circle is very rare.

[87] G. BONI, *Not. Sc.*, 1901, 66 fig. 19, 68—9 with fig. 20; D. VAGLIERI, *Bull. Com.*, xxxi, 1903, 169, 170 fig. 80, 171 fig. 81.

[88] *Cf.* E. WUESCHER-BECCHI, *Petasus e Causia*, in *Bull. Com.*, xxxii, 1904, 93, 94 fig. 1.

[89] BONI (*op. cit.*) considers it a rayed star.

Human Figures

Satyrs in the National Museum in Rome, Room III. Some years ago a mosaic was discovered in the vicinity of the Chigi Palace and brought to the National Museum.[90] It clearly belongs to the period of the decadence of the silhouette mosaics. The four figures chosen for delineation, though related in subject matter, are mechanically arranged. Two dancing satyrs and two resting satyrs have been placed obliquely in the corners in such a way that their heads are towards the center, which is decorated with a bearded head of Dionysus.[91] There are no intermediate figures. Everything possible has been conventionalized. The main shadows fall in decorative fashion without regard for an imaginary sun. A curved staff becomes a white line against the black flesh in two cases but merges with it in the other two. Seven black lines carefully graded in size suffice to represent the shepherd's pipes which two are carrying in addition to the staffs; a plant of some sort twisted up into the shape of a boat forms the attribute which each of the other two is attempting to balance on his outstretched hand. What should be drapery streams out in three tatters at one side of each figure. Hands and feet are awkwardly rendered without a thought for verisimilitude. Ears are entirely lacking, and lines standing up from the head may represent either hair or the leaves of chaplets. Such conventionalizations do not occur before the third century. The tesserae are large (1—1.3 cm.) and are neither carefully cut nor laid with precision. A single row of black tesserae outlines the field at a distance of about 5 cm. from an enclosing band of black approximately 10 cm. wide.

Dionysus from the Edifice near the Basilica of Junius Bassus. Besides the mosaic with the goblets discovered near the Basilica of Junius Bassus,[92] there was a second room only partially excavated with a silhouette mosaic (Pl. 15, Figs. 2—3). A trellis belonging to the upper picture divided what is preserved of the field in two uneven parts. Two-thirds of the space is devoted to a picture of Dionysus clad in a long chlamys and crowned with vines. He stands with one foot on a footstool, holding a cantharus in one hand and the thyrsus in the other. A satyr at his left seems about to ascend some rocks in the right hand corner of the picture. With his left hand he touches the thyrsus. At this point the mosaic breaks off. The scene has been plausibly interpreted to mean that the satyr is summoning the god to gaze upon the sleeping Ariadne. It is necessary to walk around the room to see the vintage scene under the pergola. One *amorino* has mounted a ladder to gather the clusters of grapes, another pushes forward a

[90] PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, 68—9, no. 66 (108520).

[91] PARIBENI calls it Pan.

[92] See p. 88.

large basket to receive them, while a third is busy about something in the lost part of the mosaic. These figures are necessarily on a different scale from those in the main part of the field. The division of the space into an upper and a lower register is a development in the mosaic art new for Italy. There are few silhouette mosaics of the third century in Rome devoted entirely to mythological subjects.

Athletes from Via Nazionale. A mosaic found at the site of the Banca Nazionale on Via Nazionale[93] was reminiscent of the athletes from the Baths of Caracalla. It also portrayed athletes by busts and full-length figures separated by guilloches, but in black-and-white rather than in colors. Although such static figures are more appropriate for floor decoration than those in violent action, they probably never had the appeal of pictures which told a story of a hard fought fight or a dearly won victory. The workmanship is said to have been coarse.

The Chariot Race from Prima Porta. In addition to the sea-scene which has been described above,[94] the Baths of Prima Porta had an intensely interesting picture of a chariot race (Pl. 17, Fig. 1). Contessa Caetani-Lovatelli proposed the following interpretation of the scene presented. In the lower register, a charioteer in characteristic garb guides his biga on to victory without the use of the whip, while close at his heels another lashes his steeds forward in a last attempt at glory. In the upper register, a man on foot with a short mantle thrown over his long-sleeved tunic holds what is probably the discarded whip of the winning charioteer and raises his right hand as though giving utterance to the sentiment LIBERNICA (= Liber *νικᾷ*)[95] written in mosaic letters above his head. Since a horseman, dressed after the fashion of the two charioteers, follows bearing the crown[95a] and palm of victory, the man on foot becomes the herald whose duty it was to proclaim the victory. The damaged inscription above the first charioteer, L[iber R]OMANO, thus means "Liber with Romanus", the latter being not unknown as the name of a horse.[96] The unsuccessful competitor, according to another inscription, was (H)ILARINVS OLY(M)PIO (= Hilarinus with Olympius). Apparently only the better horse, which was given the position on the left where it would have to negotiate the turns, really counted in the popular favor.[97] If it was successful, it shared with the driver the plaudits of the multitude. The lines between the two registers may be a schematic rendering of the *spina* of the Circus, as the Countess believed, or a group of conventionalized shadow lines.

Quadriga from Ceccano. A fragment of a silhouette picture of a chariot-race has been brought from Ceccano to the "Hall of Mosaics" in the National Museum.[98] Four horses dash forward dragging their chariot behind them, although their driver has already fallen and lies prone on the ground. The head of another individual, intended to be seen from the opposite direction, shows that this is part of a larger composition. The crude drawing and the rough workmanship cause no regret that the rest is lost.

The Tusculum and Neilodoros Mosaics. It is only fair to remark at this point that the great athlete mosaic from Tusculum has been considered by eminent scholars as a product of the third century.[99] The Neilodoros mosaic from Santa Severa appears somewhat later in style. Without a careful examination of the mosaics themselves, which is not now feasible, it would be presumptuous to state definitely whether they were Antonine, Severan or later. This completes the list of athlete mosaics in silhouette. There are no scenes from the amphitheater. By the third century gladiatorial contests and hunting-scenes in the arena were rendered in colors.

The Heralds from Via dei Cerchi. The task of widening Via dei Cerchi has focused attention upon a building of the Severan period, the ruins of which still remain at the foot of the Palatine below the Paedagogium.[100] Its wall-paintings have been studied by a number of distinguished scholars.[101] Although the architectural background of the paintings is reminiscent of the second Pompeian style, the realistic pictures of ancient waiters pursuing their profession are something new in Roman art. Wirth dates them at A. D. 200.[102] To the Roman who represented in permanent form in the mosaic of his triclinium the débris of the feast,[103] it would doubtless have seemed

[93] G. GATTI, *Bull. Com.*, xv, 1887, 36; G. GATTI-L. BORSARI, *Not. Sc.*, 1887, 15, where it is ascribed to the end of the second century without presenting the evidence upon which the conjecture rests.

[94] See p. 94, where the bibliography of this mosaic is given also.

[95] *Cf.* DESSAU, 2(1), p. 341 no. 5291[a]. His interpretation, *Liber nica!*, although it has parallels (*cf. ibid.*, 5292, 5293), does not seem to fit the scene illustrated so well as the one proposed by Contessa Caetani-Lovatelli.

[95a] For this use of the crown, *cf.* PAULY-WISSOWA, iv, 1642.

[96] *Cf. CIL.* VI 10053 and 33937; 10056.

[97] L. FRIEDLAENDER, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*[9], Leipzig, 1920, ii, 31—2, with reference to a quadriga, however, rather than to a biga. *Cf.* also PAULY-WISSOWA, vi, 267—70.

[98] Unpublished.

[99] *Cf.* BLAKE, *op. cit.*, 163—5.

[100] G. LUGLI, *Capitolium*, ix, 1933, 441—55; T. LA CAVA, of *Bull. Com.*, lxi, 1933, 276—8 with two photographs (a brief summary of Lugli's article). *Cf.* also E. B. VAN DEMAN, *PBSR.*, viii, 1916, 102—3; C. HÜLSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, viii, 1893, 289—92.

[101] *Cf.* D. MARCHETTI, *Not. Sc.*, 1892, 44—8; E. STRONG, *PBSR.*, viii, 1916, 91—102; F. WIRTH, *Römische Wandmalerei*, Berlin, 1934, 125—9.

[102] WIRTH, *op. cit.*, caption under pl. 29.

[103] The *Asarotos Oecos* of Pliny, N. H., xxxvi, 184, o

appropriate to decorate the walls with the portraits of those who served. Wirth sees in it the dining-room of those who were learning how to be waiters. The suitability of the paintings for such a room is self-evident. In either case we may feel grateful for this glimpse into the intimate life of the Romans in the early years of the third century. Examined closely, they leave much to be desired from the point of view of drawing. Equally interesting for subject matter, but even less well drawn are the figures decorating the mosaic floor, which has more recently come to light (Pl. 18). They are so much poorer in technique that they do not, in my judgment, seem contemporaneous with the paintings.[104] The mosaic may have been laid when the room was adapted to a new purpose, perhaps as a meeting-place for the heralds. To turn to the description of the mosaic itself, eight figures, four on each side, are in the act of forming a procession. All wear tunics with bell-shaped sleeves, which were the festival costume from the beginning of the third century onward.[105] These tunics are decorated with one or two stripes at each side of the front panel and are girded up at the waist so as to fall well below the knees. Thus far the costume is the same as that of the waiters. All seem to be fitted with hose of some sort[106] and with shoes. The first on the right is marching forward carrying a fringed banner[107] decorated at the corners with "angle-pieces" and at the center with a circle and a dot. He glances over his shoulder as though to see whether or not his procession is in order. Apparently it needs his supervision. The individual immediately behind him is evidently the leader of the heralds inasmuch as he is carrying a rod in his right hand as the symbol of his authority. He, however, is hurrying along in undignified haste without paying the slightest attention to those following him. He bears his caduceus in proper fashion over his left shoulder, but they are holding theirs awkwardly in their right hands. The first of these two looks frightened and self-conscious. The second is turned almost to front view, as though he were watching for someone to follow him. If the spectator allows his gaze to follow around to the opposite side of the room, he will come upon a second standard-bearer with a similar banner hurrying to take his place behind two heralds who are moving forward with the caduceus properly held. The dignified air of the first from the rear forms an amusing contrast to the hesitant half-frightened attitude of the other. Their color-bearer doubtless led the whole procession since his banner is slightly more elaborate with its outer line of white and its broader "angle-pieces." He looks back over his shoulder to see if all is in readiness. Clearly it is a procession in the act of forming. Three baskets, in which presumably the emblems are kept, still stand on the floor between the marchers. There are many serious faults in drawing. The first standard-bearer has only one arm; the second herald has one bell-shaped sleeve and one long tight one, to mention the two most glaring. The pole of the standard becomes white when it crosses the body of the bearer, as in the mosaic from the Chigi Palace.[108] A wide black band frames the picture. The tesserae are coarse and badly squared. According to Lugli, the workmanship resembles that of the marine-scenes of the Baths of Caracalla. The proximity of the edifice to the Circus Maximus suggests a connection between the subject matter of the mosaic and the life of the Circus. In the description a distinction has been made between the heralds and the standard-bearers. As is well known, the races opened with a parade which followed the tradition of the triumphal procession. Heralds certainly had manifold duties at the display, and they may have had a place in the procession under their own color-bearers. The colleges had their *vexillarii*, as well as the legions.[109] On the other hand, the color-bearers also had their duties, as a lamp in the British Museum showing a standard being borne before a victorious horse bears witness.[110] Lugli's conjecture that this room was the meeting-place of the heralds, the *praecones*, has much to recommend it. Perhaps it was also the headquarters of the standard-bearers, the *vexillarii*. Either of these interpretations seems more natural than that the figures represented initiates forming a mystery procession.[111]

Conclusions. A critical examination of the silhouette mosaics of the third century in Rome, which are comparatively few in number, leaves the impression that all artistic merit had departed from that type of pavement. In many cases they reveal a conventionalization and lack of originality which is a mark of decadence. The introduction of absolutely incongruous elements into the midst of the composition, as vases growing out of stalks or the picture of a

which two examples have been found in Italy: one in Rome (B. NOGARA, *I Mosaici*, pl. v) and one at Aquileia (O. FASIOLO, *I Mosaici di Aquileia*, pl. v; G. BRUSIN, *Aquileia, Guida*, 1929, 115 with fig. 68; *Il R. Museo Arch. d'Aquileia*, 1936, 36.

[104] Lugli and Wirth consider them contemporaneous.

[105] WIRTH, *op. cit.*, 128.

[106] WIRTH sees in the hose an evidence of their Oriental origin. By this time, however, it was doubtless as much a part of the costume of the heralds as of the charioteers. See pp. 109-10.

[107] The fringe seems to me to preclude wood as a material from which the standards were made and makes some woven material more natural than leather. *Cf.*, however, LUGLI, *op. cit.*, 449. The cloth must have been stretched on a wooden frame.

[108] See p. 95.

[109] AD. REINACH, DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, v (1) 777.

[110] Brit. Mus., *A Guide to the Exhibition Illustrating Greek and Roman Life*[3], 1929, 69 with fig. 59.

[111] *Cf.* G. LUGLI, *Zona Arch.*[2], 404, also *Capitolium, loc. cit.*, 454.

sacrificial bull in the midst of a sea-scene, is a symptom of degeneration. One mosaic displays the use of registers to portray continuous episodes. The convention was new only to the mosaic art, as the Column of Trajan bears witness. More examples appear among the polychrome mosaics. In a few instances the pictures which they give of the life of the times somewhat atone for the lack of aesthetic interest. In all examples the coarseness of the tesserae and the careless fashion in which they were laid destroys all pleasure in the craftsmanship as such. This kind of floor decoration had run its course. By this time it is seldom, if ever, found outside Rome and its immediate vicinity, perhaps because this form of mosaic never established itself firmly away from the Capital.

CHAPTER III.

POLYCHROME MOSAICS

Introduction. The number of purely decorative polychrome mosaics of the third and fourth centuries in Rome and its vicinity is not sufficient to admit of a reduction to a distinct category. Those in the Baths of Caracalla are so simple that for convenience a description of them has been included with those of black-and-white.[112] No others like them have come to light up to the present time in Rome at least. It is possible that some ascribed in an earlier study to the preceding century may have been actually laid in the third.[113] Because of a general lack of effectiveness, some may have been disregarded in early excavations or inadequately published more recently.[114] Figured mosaics are much more common. Although there are a few mythological scenes and personifications borrowed from earlier phases of the mosaic art, the third century and the first half of the fourth excelled in realistic pictures of such aspects of the life of the times as appealed to the somewhat degraded population of the Eternal City. Gladiatorial pictures and hunting scenes predominate, although there are others dealing with more simple occupations. These polychrome pictures were gradually superseding the silhouette mosaics. Unfortunately, not a single one can be studied in its original position, which is a handicap to a just appreciation of the artistic merits of the mosaics themselves.

PART 1

DECORATIVE MOSAICS

Mosaics from the Esquiline. Three interesting polychrome mosaics have been unearthed on the Esquiline. One, excavated many years ago, probably in 1773, under the *Palazzo Caetani* in that district, is now in the *Sala delle Muse* of the Vatican;[115] the other two, discovered recently in digging the foundations for a building in the property of the PP. Redentoristi in the same section of Via Merulana, are now in the National Museum.[116] There is no doubt in my mind that the three originally belonged to the same ancient edifice. The evidence of the mosaics themselves points to the early years of the third century for its erection or redecoration.

A portion of one in the "Hall of Mosaics" (Pl. 19, Fig. 4) is the most significant for the chronology. A border of indented squares shading from red to white encloses, presumably on three sides, a strip decorated with two rows of squares, in which Solomon's knots in pink and red against a dark ground alternate with indented squares shading from white to red, also against a dark ground. Lines passing from the corners of the squares make hexagons which are ornamented with miniature four-petaled flowers in black that are highly stylized. This border seems to serve as the approach to a more important design of which little more than the border remains. An undulating line has been converted into a succession of acanthus plants by the addition of leaves along the curves and of a conventionalized flower at the center. Since both sides of the curves are used in this way, the plants point upward and downward in strict alternation. The delicate shades of pink, yellow, and green which form the vegetable motives present a sharp contrast to the black ground. This border is of better workmanship than the rest of the mosaic. In fact, there is a descending scale of excellence. The strip of squares and hexagons has equally fine (*ca.* 1 cm.) but much less regular tesserae, and the outer border of indented squares employs coarser and even more irregular cubes. There is a trace of what appears to be a black-and-white arabesque in the field.

[112] See pp. 88—90.

[113] BLAKE, 67—214.

[114] Two such possibilities are the following: one from *S. Giacomo in Settimiana* near the Farnesina (*Not. Sc.*, 1878, 344) is described as an elegant polychrome pavement (3.25 m. square) with circles and semi-circles outlined in festoons of green glass and with the whole composition enclosed in a guilloche "in *chiaroscuro*"; the other from Via Sicilia (*Not. Sc.*, 1904, 43), was a mosaic of *bianco, giallo, serpentino, porfido* decorated with fillets, triangles, volutes, and meanders. The account by Gatti, however (*Bull. Com.*, xxxii, 1904, 198), sounds as if it were a mosaic with insets of colored marble.

[115] B. NOGARA, *I Mosaici*, p. 8, pl. xv; BLAKE, *op. cit.*, 127, pl. 29, fig. 2.

[116] Unpublished.

The mosaic in the Vatican (Pl. 19, Fig. 3) has a practically identical border for a square with beveled corners. Its field is also an arabesque, but in colors rather than in black-and-white. The arabesque resembles in stiffness the one in the shrine of the Horrea Agrippiana[117] which belongs to the Severan epoch. The curving volutes are strictly subordinated to the stalks which extend from the corners and the center of each side to the points of a curvilinear octagon. The curves of the octagon give rise to a shell pattern, which looked at in another way appears to be a pleated ribbon held in place by a series of pins. There is an inner dentil border in which the teeth point outwards. This all serves as a frame for a beautifully executed head of Medusa, in which two serpents tied under the chin suggest the snaky locks and are balanced by wings issuing from the top of the head.

An oblong of polychrome mosaic from the same excavation, now mounted in a newly systematized hall of the Baths of Diocletian near Sta. Maria degli Angeli (Pl. 19, Fig. 1) shows certain resemblances to both the others. A diaper pattern of ruder workmanship forms the approach. It consists of a reticulate of squares made of lines of four-tesserae squares set corner to corner with an indented square of red or yellow in the center of each square of the reticulate. This form of reticulate was popular in the mosaics of the third and fourth centuries at Antioch.[118] Since the length does not equal the width of the main mosaic, the black border enclosing the whole mosaic has been widened to cover the discrepancy. The narrower band of black which separates the reticulate from the chief design forms an outer border for the latter. By placing within it a still narrower band equipped with a row of L's pointing outward, the mosaicist sought to break the severity of the borders of straight lines before embarking upon a purely curvilinear design, which consists of guilloches so interlaced as to make circles and pointed ovals which enclose two curvilinear octagons with four sides shorter than the others. He has not, however, thought out the color scheme of the strands with sufficient care. Occasionally, he passes without reason from red to green or from green to yellow.[119] Such carelessness is characteristic of the declining centuries of the Empire. Each part of the design has an inner border — the circles, a polychrome band; the ovals, normally a simple band of broad dentils in red and black, once ordinary dentils in red, and twice a border of pendent L's also in red; the octagons, a band of very long dentils pointing outwards. As inner decoration, the circles exhibit rosettes — a conventionalization of petals and sepals into an eight-pointed flower — and the ovals an elongated stylized vegetable motive, as do the spaces between them and the outer border, whereas the octagons reveal a similar arrangement of simple motives within their dentil borders. Stylized floral motives rest upon their shorter curved sides, a simplified bead-and-reel border in red outlines a circle within which the "awning border"[120] in yellow and green defines a small circle outlined in a dentil border and embellished by a rosette, which is a smaller edition of those in the larger circles. The "awning border" has the appearance of a ribbon held in place by pins like the "shells" in the Vatican mosaic. Quadrants of the type of rosette used in the rest of the floors decorate the corners. The colors — red, yellow, gray, black, and white — are common in the mosaics of all periods. The arrangement is unfortunately somewhat inharmonious. The tesserae are rather small (*ca.* 1 cm.) and the workmanship is fairly good. The pattern has not been drawn with absolute precision, but the whole shows a care seldom expended on the mosaics of the third century.

Mosaic from Via Nazionale. A polychrome mosaic was discovered in 1882 in excavating the basement for the Exposition Building on Via Nazionale. The portion which could be preserved is now on exhibition in the *Antiquarium Comunale*, Room IX, but unfortunately the fragment is too small to reveal the pattern.[121] An oval pointed at the ends stretches from a semicircle resting upon the edge of the mosaic presumably to a circle on the other side which has entirely disappeared. Both are outlined in two rows of black, but the oval has an inner border of dentils pointing outwards. A conventionalized rosette decorates the semicircle, and a bright colored fish impressionistically rendered nearly fills the oval. A vague dislike for vacant spaces, which led to an over-crowding of the field in the fourth century, caused the mosaicist to adorn the remaining surfaces with some rather ineffectual curved lines. On the analogy of a mosaic including a similar pattern found at Palermo,[122] the mosaic may be ascribed to the third century. Smaller tesserae were employed in the delineation of the fish than in the rest of the mosaic.

Mosaic from the Casa di Lucina. One mosaic has survived from the *Casa di Lucina* (Pl. 19, Fig. 2) and is now preserved in the Palazzo Almagià.[123] It shows a field in which two-strand guilloches seem to interlace

[117] See p. 92.

[118] *Cf.* D. N. WILBER: *Iranian Motifs in Syrian Art*, in *Bull. of Amer. Inst. for Iran. Art and Arch.*, v, 1937, 22—6.

[119] The mosaic has been greatly restored, but this misunderstanding of the pattern seems ancient.

[120] *Cf.* R. HINKS, *Cat. Gr. Etr. Rom. Paintings and Mosaics in B. M.*, London, 1933, lix.

[121] Br. Sch. at Rome, *Cat. Pal. d. Cons.*, Oxford, 1926, 275—6, pl. 111.

[122] E. GÀBRICI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxvii, 1921, 182—90, 203—4.

[123] Unpublished to the best of my knowledge. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Karl Lehmann-Hartleben for the photograph.

to form large and small circles in alternation. Actually, however, the guilloches with their dark grounds merely decorate the visible portions of two interlacing bands of white which are simply outlined in two rows of black. The principle of the interlace so dear to the Oriental mind, though borrowed by the Romans from the East, never took a firm hold upon their consciousness. It apparently always remained a decorative border rather than a realistic representation of interlacing ribbons. By the third or the fourth century there are various conventionalizations of the guilloche, which is simply a form of twisted ribbon. One such appears in the outer border of this mosaic. The "eyes" of a two-strand guilloche have been enlarged into sizable circles.[124] The resultant border lying against a dark ground has a real effectiveness. The strict interlace is broken at the corners to leave spaces for graceful foliate patterns. The Solomon's knot which adorns the smaller circle of the part preserved, though somewhat awkward in its proportions, needs no special comment, but the decoration of the larger circle reveals a new tendency. The center is the same size as the circles of the border. A plain band of white separates it from a second band decorated with a twisting ribbon of tridimensional aspect. This is a late development.[125] The decorative device inserted in the space between the smaller circle and the border is also a late conventionalization of a floral motive into an oblique square and two petals. They are outlined in black and filled with solid color unbroken by shading, another late convention. Until these changes in taste can be reduced to a more exact chronology, a general ascription to the third or fourth century must suffice. It seems probable that such a mosaic was laid before the house of Lucina was converted into a church about the middle of the fourth century.[126] The workmanship appears good in the photograph.

Series of Miscellaneous Pictures in the National Museum. It is difficult to classify mosaics which consist of square or oblong pictures separated by guilloches. The frame-work is too simple to constitute a pattern and the pictures are not sufficiently important to merit separate treatment. Three such are in the National Museum, of which two are mounted in the "Hall of the Mosaics" at the right of the entrance.[127] One brought from the *Antiquarium Comunale*[128] (Pl. 14, Fig. 2) contains an oblong divided by two-strand guilloches in yellow, red, black, and white into twelve rectangular compartments. A black-and-white border, of which one side remains, once apparently enclosed the whole design, making a rectangle 3.60 m. × 2.83 m. It is composed of large lozenges decorated with a simple foliate pattern alternated with circles adorned with a four-petaled flower having a circular center. Such a border appears to be late. There is a rude symmetry in the arrangement of the pictures. Heads of the Seasons have been placed diagonally in the corners. Though themselves in black-and-white, they are partially framed in simple acanthus leaves of green serpentine. Identical vases of late form,[129] equipped with cord-like handles and decorated with a heart, occupy the central square of the shorter sides. There is some pink and some green in their composition. The rectangular spaces show respectively a pink and yellow platter with handles on a green ground and a green plate with a white rim on a yellow ground. The others exhibit a mask in black-and-white silhouette, a bird in black standing under a green branch, two birds perched on a cup, and a goose, the last two being in black-and-white. The miscellaneous character of the pictures, the ineffectual combination of black-and-white and colors, the late form of the vase, and the poor workmanship suggest the period of the decadence.

A second mosaic of somewhat the same type (Pl. 20, Fig. 6) was uncovered in digging the foundations for the Cinema Barberini on the Piazza Barberini.[130] A supposedly square surface (1.70 m. × 1.60 m.) is divided by two-strand guilloches of pink and gray into four squares, each decorated with its own picture — a branch of a grape vine with leaves and a cluster of grapes all in delicate shades of pink and gray; a wicker basket topped with heart-shaped petals lying against a dark ground; a quail facing a stalk of yellow wheat issuing from blades of light blue glass; and a dove standing by a rosebud where what ought to be green is bright blue glass. Although there is no obvious connection between the subjects, they suggest the Seasons by representing certain unrelated attributes. These four pictures, simple as they are, have been arranged to be seen to best advantage from one point of view, which is a late characteristic. Separate heart-shaped petals and this

[124] This, although an old Babylonian pattern, is new to the mosaics of Italy. A good example from Assyria is illustrated by A. H. LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, London, 1853, pl. 84.

[125] HINKS, *op. cit.*, *p.* lix.

[126] J. KIRSCH, *Die Römischen Titelkirchen*, Paderborn, 1918, p. 84.

[127] Not open to the public as yet. The Director, Commendatore Moretti, has graciously allowed me access to them on several occasions.

[128] Unpublished, unless this is the mosaic from Via dei Fienaroli described by Lanciani (*Not. Sc.*, 1881, 90). There may have been enough plain white around it to bring it up to the size mentioned (5 m. × 3 m.). There are, however, no meanders (*greche*) in its composition. Still, the term is occasionally used for guilloches.

[129] One vase is, however, largely a modern restoration.

[130] For a conjectural history of the site, see BLAKE, *op. cit.*, viii, 56—7. Unfortunately, this mosaic had been removed before my visit to the site.

type of rosebud seem to be late importations from Persia,[131] and the use of such bright glass may be an indirect result of the contact with the more colorful East.

A somewhat similar arrangement, now in Room IX (Pl. 20, Figs. 5—7),[132] has the earmarks of being very much later. It is said to have been found on Via Appia many years ago. There are nine compartments, but only five have individual borders. Even without frames those at the corners look crowded since each contains the representation of an amphora filled with tall plants and a bird placed at each side of it. The amphorae are set diagonally as though to encourage the spectator to walk around the periphery of the room, whereas the heads of the Seasons which decorate the squares between them all face in the same direction. There is no symmetry in the arrangement of the borders of these pictures. One has a two-strand guilloche; two, a meander of late form; and the fourth, an undulating ribbon already conventionalized. One has an inner border of dentils pointing outwards, while the others do not. Paribeni calls attention to the fact that the heads of the Seasons have the large round eyes encircled with shadows which recall the mosaics of Ravenna. The floral attributes of Spring and Summer have the type of heart-shaped petal which was popular in the East in the fifth century. The central picture of Apollo and Marsyas(?) is framed in an angular guilloche which does not, to my knowledge, appear before the sixth century, although there are angular Solomon's knots in the fifth.[133] The entire composition has its closest parallel in a fifth century mosaic at Ravenna.[134] Although the craftsmanship leaves much to be desired, the colors are rather delicate. The tesserae are *ca.* 1.1 cm. per side. This appears to be one of the latest mosaics of the classical tradition to be found at Rome.

The Carpet Pattern in the Antiquarium Comunale. Ribbons colored red and yellow, clasped together over a field of green so as to form ovals,[135] give distinction to a mosaic now in the *Antiquarium Comunale*, Room VII (Pl. 12, Fig. 2).[136] The decoration of these ovals is most curious. Each clasp holds two buds turned in opposite directions. In the center of each oval the tips of their lance-like petals of red and white meet the red tips of heart-shaped petals which have been converted into buds by the addition of enclosing lines of white. This type of heart-shaped petal, probably emanating from Persia, appears late in mosaic art. A cable pattern of tridimensional aspect in green and white upon a band of white forms the inner border. The outer border is a conventionalized form of the twisted ribbon, which has not however lost its tridimensional appearance. Tridimensionalism seems to have returned to the mosaic art in the course of the third century. This is the only "carpet pattern," and the whole effect is unique among the mosaics which have as yet come to light in Italy. The tesserae are comparatively small, and the workmanship is fairly good, but criteria are lacking for even an approximate dating.

PART 2

FIGURED MOSAICS

Introduction. Ippel's study[137] has opened up a new approach to the problem of polychrome pictorial mosaics. The process of tracing paintings by means of thin cloth or some other material,[138] of cutting them along strategic lines into pieces of convenient size, and of distributing them to different artisans, whose duty it was to cover them with some sticky substance and to lay the tesserae upon them in accordance with a color chart, may have remained a trade secret during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. At any rate, the examples are comparatively few. The small pictures were prepared for sale upon trays of stone or terra-cotta in the studio. These were called *emblemata*. Borders of the same fine workmanship could doubtless also be bought ready made. In this case the tesserae would remain face downwards on the strip of papyrus or cloth. The *emblema* and the borders could then be inserted in a pre-existing pavement or be surrounded by whatever floor treatment seemed desirable. Large mosaics, such as the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii or the Nile scene at Palestrina, because of their size, had to be assembled not upon trays but at the spot that they were to occupy. *Emblemata* do not depart far from Hellenistic standards until after the age of Hadrian.[139] Gradually, however, the distinction between *emblemata* and ordinary mosaics begins to break down. The tesserae become larger. Fewer pictures are laid in terra-cotta trays. Larger compositions continue to be embellished by pictures in finer tesserae which resemble *emblemata*. They were doubtless prepared in the studio in the same fashion

[131] WILBER, *loc. cit.*

[132] PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 88, no. 123 (59585).

[133] The history of this development will appear in my study of the later mosaics in the rest of Italy.

[134] G. GHIRANDINI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxiv(2), 1918, 793—4, fig. 24.

[135] *Cf.* p. 84 for a similar arrangement in black-and-white.

[136] Unpublished.

[137] A. IPPEL, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlv, 1930, 80—110.

[138] Dr. Ippel is somewhat vague as to the material employed. In any case, it would not invalidate his argument, if the mosaic studio possessed copies of Hellenistic paintings which served as models both for outline drawings on parchment, papyrus, or cloth, which were cut up and distributed to the workers, as well as for color charts.

[139] *Emblemata* which we have been considering Hadrianic because they came from the Villa Adriana may have belonged to the earlier villa which was incorporated in it. *Cf.* F. WINTER-E. PERNICE, *Die Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, vi, Berlin, 1938, 20, 164.

as the borders for the *emblemata* and the separate pieces of the larger compositions. The material with the tesserae adhering to it would be laid on the damp mortar with the tesserae side down and pounded until these were firmly embedded. The material could then be dampened and removed. Little by little, taste changed. Geometric patterns designed to show off smaller pictures yielded to grandiose compositions depicting the more colorful aspects of the life of the times. The third and fourth centuries reveal all these phases.

Emblemata

Sta. Bibiana: Athlete (?). A fragment of a tile which once contained the picture of a young man was uncovered near Sta. Bibiana on the Esquiline,[140] and now rests in a small case of mosaic fragments in Room IX of the *Antiquarium Comunale*. Only the head and shoulders remain, but the modeling of the face and upper arm resembles that in the athletes of the Baths of Caracalla. The part of the mantle which passes over the shoulder seems stiff and stereotyped. The tesserae are small, but the workmanship is mediocre. The picture was enclosed in a black dentil border of coarser tesserae in which the teeth point outwards. There is no external evidence to assist with the problem of dating.

The Mosaic Studio. In 1876, in excavating part of the Garden of Maecenas, a tile was found, covering a sewer, which had earlier served as the tray for an *emblema*.[141] Fortunately, the picture was not destroyed and may still be seen in the *Antiquarium Comunale*, Room IX (Pl. 20, Fig. 4). It represents a nude man with his neatly folded mantle resting upon his left shoulder seated on a stone bench in front of a surface of white edged with gray on the top and at the side. He has his back partially turned to the spectator, as he gazes intently at a draped woman. She is dressed in a sleeveless chiton of pale blue over which there is a white himation with a colored border. She has a wreath on her head and from behind it a veil falls down over her shoulders. In her right hand she holds a gilded statuette. She stands against a dark background in which the silhouette of a mountain can be discerned. The scene has usually been regarded as a conversation between Orestes and Iphigenia or between Helen and Diomedes.[142] Recently, Schweitzer[143] has proposed another ingenious interpretation. A mosaicist searching for a new subject decided to adapt to his art a studio picture in which a painter seated before his canvas was sketching a model. In the original an unfinished picture rested against the seat. When the mosaicist conceived the idea, he evidently did not take into consideration the difference in method between the two arts. In spite of the fact that he was doubtless laying his picture on a tray resting upon the table before him, he represented his mosaicist as seated before a vertical surface with borders of gray already laid like those which give depth to the mosaics of Dioscurides,[144] as though the mosaic art consisted in substituting colored cubes for white until a picture was achieved! Equally incongruous is the piece of mosaic with the dentil border which takes the place of the unfinished picture in the painting. Schweitzer believes that a mosaicist of the time of Trajan was copying, with these variations, a painting of the first century before Christ. In my opinion, the mosaic is much later than that, perhaps contemporaneous with the "Maius" with which it was found. It is the same size and has an identical dentil border.[145] The exaggerated realism which led to the delineation of a great roll of flesh about the waist of the man, the over-developed muscularity of the upper arm and the calf of the leg, the disproportionate size of the head[146] of the female figure taken together all point to a date at least as late as the third century. An age which would depict a boudoir scene in the midst of the sea would not object to the incongruity of representing a mosaicist attaining his results by methods appropriate to the painter.

The Lovers from Centocelle. Rodenwaldt[147] has shown that there was a close connection between a mosaic uncovered at Centocelle, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and a wall-painting found in the Roman house near the Farnesina. Curtius has pointed out more recently that both go back to an early Hellenistic source.[148] The wall-painting preserves the Hellenistic background, whereas the mosaic employs the type of setting popular in the so-called Graeco-Roman world. There is a lofty pedestal supporting a statuette of Artemis[149] at the extreme left. Beneath it a crater rests upon a standard in the shape of a statuette of Silenus. Nearer to the center is a gnarled tree which has been utilized to hold up a yellow awning over an elaborately

[140] Listed in *Bull. Com.*, ii, 1874, 244; Br. Sch. at Rome, *op. cit.*, p. 278, no. 21a, pl. 111.

[141] *Not. Sc.*, 1876, 186; *Bull. Com.*, iv, 1876, 212, no. 1; Br. Sch. at Rome, *op. cit.*, 273—4 with pl. 108; A. M. COLINI, *Antiquarium*, Rome, 1929, pl. ix.

[142] *Cf.* E. STRONG, *JHS.*, xliv, 1924, 81, n. 50.

[143] B. SCHWEITZER, *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, 35—44, pls. 2—3.

[144] *Cf.* M. BIEBER-G. RODENWALDT, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, xxvi, 1911, 1—22 for a detailed analysis of the Dioscurides mosaics.

[145] *Ca.* 50 cm. × 50 cm. *Cf.* pp. 104—5.

[146] Large heads begin to appear in the age of Marcus Aurelius. *Cf.* J. TOYNBEE, *The Hadrianic School, A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*, Cambridge, 1934, 192, 198.

[147] G. RODENWALDT, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxv, 1910, 257—62. *Cf.* W. HELBIG, *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1866, 170—3.

[148] L. CURTIUS, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipzig, [1929], 112 with figs. 68—9.

[149] Helbig and Rodenwaldt consider it Dionysus, with his thyrsus destroyed by an ancient patching.

appointed couch with a red cover and green cushions upon which a woman reclines. She wears a transparent tunic partially concealed by a yellow mantle, and she doubtless represents a courtesan of the type made familiar by Plautus. Her body is partly turned from the spectator, as she looks back to speak to a maid-servant, who, clad in a green tunic, is filling the crater from an amphora. On the further side of the couch partly hidden from view stands a nude man of uncouth appearance whose flesh has been bronzed by the sun. He gazes fixedly at his beloved. Behind him stands a little maid-servant in a sleeveless tunic of bluish white resting her hands on the foot of the couch as she leans forward to catch the final instructions of her mistress. This picture, laid on a tile 39.7 cm. × 38.6 cm., has been copied, no doubt according to the method described by Ippel, from some Hellenistic painting or its Roman copy. Is there anything to betray the era in which the mosaic was laid? Both the mistress and the maid with the amphora, although they totally lack the charm of the corresponding figures in the Farnesina painting, were doubtless as faithful copies of the model as this mosaicist could achieve; the other two figures reveal a decided difference in style, as if he had laid them in accordance with the fashion of his own day. There is not only an exaggerated muscularity[149a], but also a slight tendency to substitute graduated contour lines for the more naturalistic rendering of the surface of the figures and to use a dark outline to give sharpness to the picture, each of which would suggest a date in the early years of the third century. The picture is enclosed in a simple band of white. Another tile (41 cm. × 41 cm.) found at the same spot shows a comic mask with a diadem of violets and a crown of red and yellow flowers.

Bacchic Scene by Aristo. Three polychrome mosaics were unearthed in a Bath situated on Via Appia about a half mile beyond the Monument of the Servilii.[150] One now in the Berlin Museum is an *emblema* (51.5 cm. × 47 cm.) which represents an unusual version of the common subject of a satyr, this time somewhat elderly, pursuing a nymph. His over-indulgence in wine makes itself apparent not only in the support given to him by his two younger companions, but also in the vacuous expression on his face as he plucks at the robe of the nymph with one hand and extends the other towards her in supplication. The nymph is practically all a modern restoration. Two or three plants locate the action out of doors, but a seat of some sort at the extreme right shows that it is not far from human habitation. A tridimensionalism bringing the figures into their true prospective, a subtle balance of legs in the lower part of the picture, the modeling which is reduced almost to contour lines suggest a date in the first half of the third century, a date which is further attested by the slightly cursive character of the letters in the brief inscription, ARISTO FAC,[151] which is flanked by ivy leaves and enclosed in a *tabella ansata.* Again, one of the rare signed mosaics bears a Greek name. There is a frame of dentils pointing outwards. The mosaic has been so much restored that it is impossible to judge accurately concerning either the style or the craftsmanship. One of its companion pieces carried the legend, T·FLAVIVS.....C (the remains of *fac(it)*).[152] Since the cognomen is missing it is impossible to tell whether the mosaicist was of Roman ancestry or a freedman of some other nationality, but the latter is more probable. The composition consisted of a central square framed by a series of smaller squares. Only the central picture with its well drawn head of Apollo remained when the mosaic was excavated. The third represented a Medusa head somewhat larger than life, enclosed in a three-strand guilloche. These may or may not have had the fine tesserae of the Aristo mosaic (0.2—.4 cm.), but there is no reason for thinking that they were not contemporaneous. A sea-scene in black-and-white so far as its subject matter is concerned can be regarded with equal propriety as Antonine or Severan.

Episode in the Combat of Dionysus with the Indiani. The National Museum has on exhibition in RoomXXX a late *emblema* (44 cm. × 52 cm.) (Pl. 21, Fig. 2) with a border in slightly coarser tesserae of black dentils pointing outwards.[153] According to a celebrated legend, Dionysus carried civilization to India through conquest of arms.[154] This mosaic picture portrays an episode in the fight on the banks of a mighty river. A maenad and a satyr are advancing against two Indiani.[155] The maenad seems to have felled her adversary, while the satyr has his staff upraised to inflict a telling blow. The Indiani are clad in short tunics of skin fastened at one shoulder and wear outlandish-looking caps, apparently to show their

[149a] Exaggerated muscles appear sporadically in wall-paintings much earlier, as one from Pompeii illustrated in *Not. Sc.*, 1901, 169 fig. 21 bears witness.

[150] P. VISCONTI, *Diss. d.* [*Pont.*] *Acc. Rom.*, ii, 1825, 668—71; H. LUCAS, *Röm. Mitt.*, xvii, 1902, 122—9 with fig.

[151] *CIL.* VI(4) 29825; J. OVERBECK, *Die Antiken Schriftquellen*, p. 417, no. 2166; H. BRUNN, *Gesch. d. Griechischen Künstler*, 210; PAULY-WISSOWA, ii, 960, no. 65; THIEME-BECKER, ii, p. 106, Ariston VII.

[152] *Ibid.*, 29826; OVERBECK, *loc. cit.*; BRUNN, *loc. cit.*; PAULY-WISSOWA, vi, 2525, no. 8; THIEME-BECKER, xii, 78: the name is not to be taken here as evidence for Flavian date.

[153] G. GHIRARDINI, *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1879, 66—79 with pl. G; H. GRAEVEN, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, xv, 1900, 195—218; HELBIG, *Führer*[3], Leipzig, 1913, ii, p. 189; PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 256 no. 795.

[154] DIODORUS, ii, 38.

[155] PARIBENI (*loc. cit.*) returns to an earlier theory that they are Dionysus himself and a maenad.

barbaric state. It must be admitted, however, that the maenad and satyr appear equally uncouth. The river is represented quite simply by a lighter strip. The trees on the further bank are not in the least dwarfed by the distance. Evidence for the date is entirely lacking, although there is a hard rather stereotyped muscularity with a tendency to contour lines instead of modeling which suggests the third century. It was always a mediocre work, and it has not been improved by the restoration to which it was submitted in the last century. It was found in Tusculum, probably at the Villa Ruffinella.

The Inundation of the Nile. The realization that popular pictures were copied again and again in mosaic complicates the problem of dating all fine mosaics. In general, they preserve the characteristics of the pictures from which they were taken. The representation of the inundation of the Nile on a tegula (46 cm. × 45 cm.) uncovered in excavating for the foundations of the Exposition Building on Via Nazionale (Pl. 20, Fig. 3)[156] shows undeniable similarities with the great Palestrina mosaic, and yet it betrays a later hand. The division of the field into somewhat indefinite registers is similar but the distribution of the figures is less happy. Too many aquatic birds and plants are crowded into the lower third of the picture. A great deal of activity has been compressed into a small space. In the lower right hand corner a richly draped man is being taken in a boat among the partially inundated plants. Even the birds reflect the excitement of the rising water. In the center two officials — one in gray with a yellow cloak, the other in white — seem to be regarding the water with some anxiety. A gnarled tree-trunk separates this pair from two priests in white who are intent upon feeding a sacred crocodile. This middle register cuts obliquely across the tile, leaving spaces roughly triangular in shape. In the upper triangle, one individual clad in blue and gray plays the lyre while three dance and two look on. The upper part is unfortunately broken off. Both the flesh and the garments of the priests in the middle register are reduced to little more than a series of contour lines, a third century characteristic. The mosaic is in the *Antiquarium Comunale,* Room IX.

The Months. An illustrated calendar was executed for Valentinus, Duke of Illyria, in A. D. 354, of which several copies were made between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. The subject was given an exhaustive treatment by Strzygowski,[157] who points out that five pagan festivals are still suggested under their appropriate months.[158] Such a practice after Rome became officially Christian indicates an earlier calendar which was copied to a greater or less degree without complete adaptation to the new state religion. Each picture is accompanied by a tetrastich which describes it in part. These were formerly believed to be the work of the contemporary poet Ausonius. In that case, however, why is there not a closer correspondence between verse and picture? Bährens[159] felt that they had an Augustan flavor. It is within the realm of possibility that there was an illustrated calendar of the Augustan age in which the personification of each month with its appropriate attributes was engaged in its characteristic festival and was described in fitting verse. With such an interval of time between the manuscripts and their archetype, it is not strange that there is little left to suggest the Augustan age.

An *emblema* (50 cm. × 49 cm.) representing May found in the Gardens of Maecenas[160] on the Esquiline, now in the *Antiquarium Comunale,* Room IX (Pl. 20, Fig. 2), has long been known. More recently, a mosaic of unknown provenience representing June, now in the Hermitage in Leningrad, has been made available for study through publication (Pl. 20, Fig. 1).[161] It is practically the same size (52.5 cm. × 52.5 cm.)[162] as the May and has an identical border of outward-turning dentils of coarser tesserae. The two pictures are so patently different in style that they could not have been made by the same artist, but they may have belonged to two similar series.[163] The composition, allowing for conscious variation to prevent monotony, is the same in both. June, clad in a short-sleeved tunic with narrow stripes, stands resting his weight on his right foot and holding a tray of fruit in his outstretched right arm and a basket of fruit protected with leaves down at his left side, while May dressed in a fuller tunic rests his weight on the opposite foot, holds a tray of flowers out in front of him with his right hand, and raises a flower to his nose with his left. Both have their heads turned a little to one side. June stands between a bench upon which two fish lie and a chest upon which two squids have been laid; May has taken his position between a bench upon which a basket of flowers rests and a

[156] *Bull. Com.,* x, 1882, 238; Br. Sch. at Rome, *op. cit.,* 275 no. 14, pl. 108; COLINI, *op. cit.,* 57, pl. xi.

[157] J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354, Jahrb. d. Inst., Ergänzungsheft* i, 1888.

[158] *Ibid.,* 86—7.

[159] *PLM.,* i, 204—5, quoted by STRZYGOWSKI, *op. cit.,* 49.

[160] *Not. Sc.,* 1876, 186; *Bull. Com.,* 1876, 212; STRZYGOWSKI, *op. cit.,* 50, 67—8; Br. Sch. at Rome, *op. cit.,* 272—3 with pl. 107; COLINI, *op. cit.,* pl. ix.

[161] S. KORSUNSKA, *Röm. Mitt.,* xlviii, 1933, 277—83 with pl. 47.

[162] It was set in a metal tray.

[163] J. C. WEBSTER (*The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art,* in *Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology,* xxi, Princeton, 1938, pp. 18—20) expresses my meaning with more precision when he states that June belongs to another and variant cycle within the same tradition. This interesting study came into my hands too late to have exerted any influence upon my analysis, from which it differs in only minor details.

low stand which holds a vase of elegant form. In both cases, in so far as the mosaics have been preserved, the plain surface of the front of a piece of furniture has been broken by some foreign object. In the first picture a fish rests against the bench and a basket of flowers obscures part of the chest, whereas in the second, ribbons hang down over the side of the bench, but the stand is too much damaged to show what, if anything, rested against it. There is a slight diversity in the treatment of the upper part of the pictures. June's head stands out from the neutral color of the wall between two windows, while May's head is silhouetted against a white wall between two windows which are protected by railings, but a second section of wall shows at the right so that the background is divided into four instead of three parts. Although the inscription, IVNIVS, over June's head has a neater appearance than that of May, MAIVS, it has a similar slightly cursive character. The two inscriptions have not, however, been laid by the same hand. A strip of neutral color forms the floor in both cases. There is considerable glass in both.

Mme. Korsunska ascribes June to the period of the fourth Pompeian style. In my judgment, however, it is an excellent copy of a picture of about that time. It is always difficult to date a copy. The over-developed calf of the leg, the slightly disproportionate size of the head, the careless drawing of the nose and mouth, the cursive quality of the inscription suggest a date at least as late as the third century. The British School Catalogue considers May as a product of the fourth century and so contemporary with the so-called Calendar of Philocalus. The inordinately large eyes with which the mosaicists of that era sought to impress the spectator are certainly very much in evidence. Allowing for the difference in age, these two pictures resemble rather closely the March in some representations in manuscripts.[165] There are other calendar cycles in mosaic going back to the same archetype, but this is not the place to discuss them.[166]

Emblema from Via Flaminia. Entirely different from any *emblema* which has yet come to light in Italy is that laid on a *tegula bipedalis* which has recently been brought from Via Flaminia to the Museo Nazionale Romano (Pl. 22, Fig. 2).[167] It is so elaborate in itself that it is difficult to envisage it actually inserted in a floor of any sort; it may have served as a wall decoration as its publisher suggests. Against a pale background in the center the head of a maiden, her brown hair wreathed with flowers, is delineated in such fine tesserae that it seems like an *emblema* within an *emblema*. Two rows of coarser white form a pleasing contrast to the green ground on the one side and to the gaily colored twisted ribbon in red and yellow and blue which constitutes the next border. After another two rows of white, a line of brown forms the transition to an intermediate field, which has an entirely different color scheme. It consists of a reticulate composed of lines of brown tesserae set corner to corner and decorated with indented squares of yellow, blue, tan, and brown. A dark brown line and a narrow white band separate this from a second twisting ribbon in coarser tesserae of more vivid coloring — blue, yellow, orange, red. Two rows of coarse white tesserae stand between this border and the rim of the tile. In spite of the excellent workmanship this mosaic is not early. The face has none of the charm of the heads of the second century. Both the twisted ribbon and the combination of this type of reticulate with indented squares are almost always late.[168] Generally speaking, the use of a multiplicity of borders is also a characteristic of the period of decadence. It is always possible that a tile of this sort was imported and so came under other influences. Whoever made it retained a pride in workmanship which was worthy of a better age. Some glass adds brilliancy to the coloring.

Disguised Emblemata

Introduction. The word *emblema* has been used for so many years in a restricted sense to apply only to mosaics laid on a tray ready for insertion into a floor of more humble workmanship that it would be difficult at this point to enlarge its meaning. Ippel's theory[169] reveals the possibility of another type of *emblema* which would not be obvious in the finished product. The picture would be prepared in the studio with its tesserae face down on a piece of cloth or other material until it was mounted *in situ*. Presumably, the more ordinary parts of the floor would be laid with spaces left where the pictures were to be. These spaces would be filled to the required depth with fresh mortar of the proper consistency and the pictures would be applied, tesserae side down, and pounded into place. When the cloth was removed no trace of the process would remain. The practice seems to have become popular in the age of the earlier Antonines. The subject matter is sometimes derived from old mythological pictures, but they were too complicated to give quick returns from the labor expended. The majority were symbolic heads — Oceanus, Bacchus, the Seasons. As always, there are a few too miscellaneous to be classified. Terminology is a problem. Possibly the adjective "disguised" will serve to distinguish this type from

[164] *CIL.* VI(4) 29823.

[165] See STRZYGOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pls. xx-xxi.

[166] *Cf.* REINACH, *Répertoire de Peintures,* p. 222; R. HINKS, *op. cit.*, 89—96; STRZYGOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 50—1, 69.

[167] E. STEFANI, *Not. Sc.*, 1935, 68—9, pl. iv in colors.

[168] *Cf.* p. 86.

[169] *Cf.* p. 101.

the other. A description of the disguised *emblemata* of the third and fourth centuries follows.

Mythological Subjects

The Group from Baccano. The mythological pictures from Baccano,[170] now for the most part in the National Museum in Rome, were doubtless derived ultimately from Hellenistic sources, but they have lost any lingering charm of the Greek art which inspired them. It is difficult to believe with Brizio that they belonged to the Flavian epoch when the villa was first erected, but they are in accord with Helbig's ascription to an almost complete rebuilding under the Antonines. The abnormally large heads of some of the Muses follow a canon of proportions popular in the late Empire: the substitution of contour lines in carefully graded colors for tridimensional effect in place of more realistic modeling suggests the same date. The choice of subject matter reveals the literary aspirations of the owner. Six of the nine Muses are represented as full length figures, each in a separate panel. One picture and possibly another deal with the punishment of Marsyas, a theme treated in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. In one Apollo accompanied by Diana is being crowned by Victory as he looks on unmoved by the entreaties of the kneeling Olympus, while a slave energetically binds Marsyas to a tree at the left of the picture. The other, which is unfortunately in fragmentary condition, may be a scene between Marsyas and Olympus before the fateful contest. Others depict the Swan just leaving Leda,[171] and the Eagle in the act of lifting Ganymede from the earth (Pl. 21, Fig. 7),[172] to both of which stories allusions are made in Ovid.[173] The *Iliad* may be represented,[174] and the *Odyssey* certainly is so in the panel where Odysseus is clinging to the fleece of the ram while the blinded Polyphemus seated on a rock futilely passes his hands over its back (Pl. 21, Fig. 5). The immediate source of both, however, may be the *Aeneid*. There are two pastoral scenes which would make fitting illustrations for Theocritus or Virgil. One, badly preserved, reveals a woman offering succour to a shepherd by a rustic altar (Pl. 21, Fig. 4).[175] In the other (Pl. 21, Fig. 6), a goatherd clad in a short tunic fastened on one shoulder has laid aside his crook and sack and seated himself upon a rock to repair his pipes, while a goat looks on with interest. From behind a conical hill, in which two trees have taken root, a second goatherd appears wearing drawers instead of the usual tunic. An altar tops the hill. Nearby a tree is pushing its way out of a small round shrine. Two sections of a stone wall and another tree complete the landscape background. Besides the more or less literary and mythological subjects, there is a personification of a river; the sea is represented by two *amorini*, one on a sea-bull, the other on a sea-goat.[176] A symbolic head of Flora, or Spring, drawn on a larger scale, will receive treatment later.[177] Two smaller pictures in somewhat larger tesserae depict the animosity between the bird and the snake.[178] From this brief description it becomes apparent that the mosaicist of the third century had a large repertory from which to choose his subjects.

Heads of Divinities and Personifications

Oceanus and Others. The head of Oceanus, usually represented in black-and-white in the mosaics of the second century, appears in polychromy in the third. One from Tusculum (Pl. 21, Fig. 1), now in the National Museum, Room XXIX,[179] seems on stylistic grounds to belong to this epoch. Seaweed, serving as hair and beard, frames a face in which some attempt has been made to portray the sunken cheeks of age. One eye, perhaps because of a careless restoration, is larger than the other. A plant with yellow leaves turned upwards fills the triangular space left by the two divisions of the beard, and leaves of pale pink, yellow, and green are arranged like a diadem on the head. A line of black encloses the face, and the picture is laid against a black ground. There are black grounds to some Hellenistic mosaics, but they do not reappear in Italy, at any rate until the third century.

A companion picture (Pl. 21, Fig. 3) may be considered as a representation of Tethys.[180] Although evidently intended to balance the Oceanus in some larger composition, it appears to be the work of a different mosaicist. Brownish seaweed is arranged

[170] E. BRIZIO, *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1873, 127—38; HELBIG, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 185—8; PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 221, no. 597; p. 253, no. 768 (1241); p. 254, no. 777 (1242); p. 255, no. 788 (1252).

[171] Helbig interprets this as Hebe playing with the eagle of Jove.

[172] Helbig sees Ganymede fleeing from the Eagle.

[173] *Heroides*, xvi, 55; *Metamorphoses*, x, 155—61 respectively.

[174] Brizio interprets the second Marsyas picture as a scene from the *Iliad*.

[175] Paribeni (*loc. cit.*) tentatively interprets this as Philoctetes before Chryse's roofless shrine. *Cf.* SOPHOCLES, *Phil.* 1326—7.

[176] A mosaic of this subject (Pl. 21, Fig. 8) showing stylistic peculiarities similar to those in the mosaics from Baccano is published (PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 256, no. 795) as from Villa Ruffinella in Tusculum.

[177] See p. 108.

[178] PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 255 suggests that these may be illustrations of AESOP'S *Fables*.

[179] PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 256, no. 795; for such representations, see F. MATZ-C. ROBERT-G. RODENWALDT, *Die Antiken Sarcophagreliefs*, v, Berlin, 1939, 125—6, also the references *ap.* C. PICARD, *Comptes Rendus*, 1937, 440—50.

[180] PARIBENI, *loc. cit.*

like a cap on top of seaweed hair in much the same fashion, but the round face reveals practically no modeling of cheek or chin. The gray-green eyes are, however, rendered with greater fidelity to nature. Her chin virtually rests upon a yellow leaf, the lobes of which turn downwards. Here also there is a black outline for the face and a black ground for the picture. In both the tesserae are large (average 0.7 cm.) for a mosaic of this type. They are irregular in shape and have been laid with a great deal of mortar, which was stained the color of the tesserae to conceal it partially from view.

A more pleasing example (Pl. 23, Fig. 3),[181] now in the Borghese Gallery, Room VII, is probably contemporaneous with the two from Tusculum. It also exhibits a restrained head of Oceanus, from which such obvious attributes as dolphins and lobster-claws have been omitted. The red-brown hair tinged with gray is crowned with seaweed, and the beard is a beautiful combination of gray streaked with white and of gray-brown marked with yellow which appears to advantage against the black ground. The hazel eyes beneath the gray brows are full of fire. The flesh has the pinkish tone bestowed by health. Although the half-open lips show where teeth are gone, there is little, if any, loss of dignity to the expression of the face. Taken all in all, it presents a picture of triumphant old age.

Its companion mosaic (Pl. 23, Fig. 4) shows the reverse — old age degraded by dissipation. The blond hair turning gray and the yellow tones of the flesh give a slightly jaundiced aspect to the face, which is accentuated by a wreath of gray-green leaves and the green, yellowish-brown, and gray locks which make up the beard. The nose is flat and misshapen, and the eyes no longer focus, and yet the face is somehow saved from complete degradation. Its owner has drunk his cup to the lees and has no joy left to which to turn his unhappy thoughts. This mosaic also has a black background.

A third (Pl. 23, Fig. 2), apparently the head of a water-nymph with reeds still clinging to her hair, though somewhat conventional in style, has the same size and employs tesserae of identical shades against the same dark ground. Her hair is impressionistically rendered in red-brown, gray-green, yellow, and red. A combination of reddish and yellowish tesserae has been carefully calculated to give warmth to the flesh tones. As in the other two, one half of the face is in shadow. The cubes in these three are 0.5—.6 cm., which would be coarse for a mosaic of this type in earlier times. Each is enclosed in a narrow band of red, next in one of white, and finally in a rather unusual border of ribbons twisted so as to leave spaces for ovals of red with white centers. The ribbons show a peculiarity which first appears in the third century, the up-stroke is always yellow while the down-stroke is always red. Doubtless all three were originally parts of a larger composition.

Bacchus. A fine mosaic (Pl. 24, Fig. 1) has just come into the possession of the University Museum in Philadelphia after a sojourn in America of half a century in private hands.[182] It was found at Centocelle at what may have been the site of the Villa of Elagabalus. In the central circle against a dark ground is a head of Bacchus with large expressive eyes and lips sufficiently parted to show the teeth. The treatment of the hair recalls that of the Spring in the National Museum.[183] He is crowned with a garland of grapes, olive-berries, and flowers, each with its characteristic leaves. A mantle conceals his left shoulder, and a ribbon passes over the right. A band ornamented with beads loosely strung encloses the circle, which is set in a white octagon decorated with a realistic ivy vine. The octagon in its turn has been inserted in a black square, the angles of which contain pictures of musical instruments, a ewer, a torch, and a thyrsus joined with fluttering ribbons. A white border, embellished with a ribbon which winds its way rhythmically over and under a myrtle-vine, encloses the whole. Dark squares adorned with four-petaled flowers mark the corners. Practically all the tesserae except those in the backgrounds are very small oblongs (0.2 cm. × 0.4 cm.). Beads and berries are represented by circular tesserae. The cubes in the backgrounds of the borders increase in size as they recede from the central picture from *ca.* 0.5 cm. in the inner border to *ca.* 1 cm. in the outer. There is little glass. Practically all the tesserae are limestone except for the red which is marble. The mortar has been stained to enhance the colors; but since there are patent modern restorations, it is probable that this staining is modern.

Athena on a Shield. It is with some hesitation that I include here the mosaic, now in the *Sala a Croce Greca* in the Vatican,[184] with a fine head of Athena forming the center of an elaborate shield (Pl. 22, Fig. 1). It was excavated in the Villa Ruffinella in Tusculum in 1741, but no external evidence remains for determining its date. Since it is unique, it falls into no category. There are, however, a few minor details to suggest a third century origin.

[181] There is no publication of these three mosaics, to the best of my knowledge, and I do not know their provenience.

[182] The mosaic is first mentioned in a manuscript of P. E. Visconti under Rome, March 16, 1880, and was authenticated by Lanciani before its purchase. His letter is in the possession of the Museum. My thanks are due to the Museum not only for supplying the photograph, but also for putting all the data at my disposal.

[183] See p. 108.

[184] NOGARA, *op. cit.*, 25—6, pl. liii; G. M. MC CRACKEN, *A History of Ancient Tusculum*, American Documentation Institute, Washington, 1939, 324.

A description of the mosaic is necessary before they can be discussed. The *aegis* with its greenish scales and its yellow serpent fringe serves to set off the head of a youthful Athena in a very high helmet. The Medusa head on her bosom seems like a brooch holding the scaly mantle in place. The ground is the red of porphyry. The picture is enclosed in an unusual border representing on a brilliant blue ground the moon in thirteen different phases with six-rayed stars in between. Five borders follow, separated by narrow bands. The first, consisting of small circles so arranged that black alternates first with green and then with white, is followed by a guilloche composed of three strands — green, yellow, red — braided together. The simple meanders which form the third and fifth rows enclose a band decorated with a modified two-strand guilloche in which the strands are separated to leave miniature ovals. The curves towards the center are green and blue, while the others are red and yellow. A tiny square marks each crossing. The shield is upheld by four figures of youths in silhouette of dark blue instead of black against a white ground. Elaborate vines, with leaves of green and yellow and brown, meander at will over the space between the circle and the two lines which mark the square. The lunettes beyond the square are clever modern imitations to bring the mosaic into harmony with its present position. The elements suggesting the third century are the large eyes of the Athena, the border of circles, the border with the ovals which shows some resemblance to that used for the three heads in the Borghese Gallery, and the silhouettes which recall those in the mosaic from the *Palazzo Chigi*, now in the National Museum. No deductions as to technique can be drawn from a mosaic which was mounted in a museum over a century ago.

The Seasons. The practice of portraying the Seasons by symbolic heads of women[185] furnished with wreaths suitable to the time of year represented continued into the third century with little or no change. One such, possibly Flora, but more probably Spring, now in the National Museum in Rome, Room XXIX (Pl. 23, Fig. 1), was found at the Roman villa at Baccano which yielded so many mythological scenes.[186] The head is life-sized. The dark hair, effectively rendered in black and various shades of brown and gray, falls over the shoulders in curls and is crowned with laurel interwoven with flowers. The face is full with little modeling to soften either cheek or chin. The gray-green eyes set beneath plucked brows are much too large for the face, one unfortunately being larger than the other. Still, with all its defects the head possesses an imperiousness which is impressive. A yellow tunic and a gray-green mantle are clasped at the shoulders in rather stereotyped folds. The tesserae are finer than those usually employed in these disguised *emblemata*. A miscalculation in the space reserved for it must have caused embarrassment to the ancient mosaicist. He remedied the deficiency in rather awkward fashion by doubling the number of rows of black and white tesserae which separate the picture from the two-strand guilloche border at the top and at the right side. The guilloche with its strands of gray-green and pink-yellow is soft in color, but rough in workmanship.

To this same earlier tradition belong the Seasons uncovered in the so-called *Palazzo Imperiale* at Ostia,[187] which were transferred to form part of the pavement of *S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane* (Pl. 24, Fig. 2). There is little which requires comment. Spring is crowned with blue flowers; Summer wears wheat in her hair and a necklace with a large blue stone at her throat, while a sickle stands at one side; Autumn has borrowed the chaplet of green grapes and the leopard skin from Dionysus; Winter wears a green hood covered with sedges. The polychromy is rich and harmonious against a white ground, but the delineation of the features shows an unskilled hand. The workmanship falls far below the standard set by the other polychrome mosaics of the "*Palazzo Imperiale*".[188] The growing popularity of mosaic inscriptions may have led to the addition of names[189] to figures already sufficiently identified by their wreaths. Each square is enclosed in a single line of black followed by a frame of black dentils which point inward after the older fashion. The busts are set, two facing in one direction and two in the other, at the corners of an oblong made of tesserae of red porphyry enclosed in a simple two-strand guilloche. A meander in isometric treatment emphasizes the quincunx arrangement of the five parts.

Although evidence is insufficient for determining the date of a mosaic with the heads of the Seasons excavated many years ago at Tor de' Schiavi,[190] it

[185] Recently, G. GUIDI (*Africa Italiana*, v, 1933, 44) has proposed a theory that these heads resulted from the practice of reproducing only a part of a Hellenistic mosaic in which the Seasons were shown as full-length figures. Although his main thesis that Hellenistic compositions were dismembered to furnish details for smaller mosaic pictures is doubtless based on fact, portrait busts may also have contributed to the practice of representing the Seasons by heads alone. To his examples of full-length figures may be added those in the mosaic from Pesaro, now in the National Museum at Ancona. *Cf.* BLAKE, pl. 44.

[186] See p. 106.

[187] A. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, *Gaz. Arch.*, v, 1879, 151—2 with fig.; Parker Photograph 3065 (negative in the possession of the American Academy in Rome); L. PASCHETTO, *Diss. d. Pont. Acc.*, Ser. II, x, 1912, 417.

[188] *Cf.* BLAKE, 125, 130.

[189] *CIL.* XIV 2030.

[190] E. PETERSEN, *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1861, 85; A. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, *op. cit.*, 153; T. ASHBY, *PBSR.*, i, 1902, 161.

shows at least one deviation from the customary types, which denotes an experimentation either before the norm was established or after the eye wearied of the constant repetition. In this instance, the latter seems more reasonable. Summer is crowned with stalks of wheat as usual, but Autumn has a lotus flower upon her forehead instead of the customary grape-leaves and clusters; Winter is veiled and, according to Petersen, wears the normal wreath of reeds, but, according to Héron de Villefosse, a chaplet of roses; Spring is too much disfigured by ancient patching to reveal her attributes. The record does not state whether the mosaic was in black-and-white or in polychromy; the flowers would show up to better advantage in colors.[191]

A bust of a woman in coarse mosaic, now in the *Antiquarium Comunale*, Room VII (Pl. 25, Fig. 3),[192] reveals the newer style set by the busts of athletes from the Baths of Caracalla. The face is so ugly that one suspects that the mosaicist was more accustomed to portraying masculine muscularity than feminine grace. In fact, the lady has such a mannish appearance that the string of beads about her neck appears incongruous. Because of the spikes of wheat in her hair she is generally interpreted as a personification of Summer. Although reported originally as being in black-and-white, there is some color both in the figure and in the guilloche border. If it is indeed Summer, the other three Seasons must have been present originally, and the four doubtless formed part of a very large composition. It is on a tile (1 m. × 1 m.) unearthed on the Esquiline near S. Vito and the Arch of Gallienus. It is therefore a true *emblema* in spite of its coarse workmanship. It was, however, doubtless laid directly in the tray filled with mortar without any recourse to the indirect method described above. A two-strand guilloche appears on two sides only, which is indirect proof that the composition was formed of a series of such *emblemata*.

Race Horses

Pascasus and Sattara. A mosaic discovered over a century ago in the Villa Celimontana (Pl. 33, Fig. 4)[193] shows four disguised *emblemata* as they were actually mounted. The multiplicity of borders probably points to a date in the third century. A two-strand guilloche in black-and-white with prominent circles encloses the whole square. Guilloches of more ordinary form with small "eyes" in red and white on a black ground divide the field into four squares. Each square has its own black-and-white border. A row of circles and lozenges forms the frame for two identical pictures of a bird perching on a naturalistic spray of roses, which decorate the first and fourth squares; simple rinceaux perform the same service for the picture of a horse in each of the other two. The horse stands in front of a crooked tree sniffing at the outstretched hand of a figure in a long-sleeved tunic which is girded high. The names of the horses, PASCASVS and SATTARA, were probably intended to recall two favorites.[194] The pictures in natural colors form a strong contrast to the borders in black and white and red. There is no external evidence for dating this pavement, but a sectile pavement unearthed in the same excavation also gives the same impression of being a product of the third century.

Horses from Baccano. In addition to the mythological pictures described above,[195] the villa at Baccano had four superb *emblemata* (Pl. 27) of this type inserted in a separate room apart from the rest.[196] They are, however, in my judgment, contemporaneous with the others. They are now in the National Museum at Rome, Room XXIX. The pictures do not represent individual horses and charioteers so much as the four main factions of the Circus. The horses, although they differ in color, are practically identical in form and pose. All but one have metal-studded bridles, and each has two necklaces made of metal-studded leather or of beads. Each is held by a charioteer dressed in the costume peculiar to his faction. Each charioteer wears a long-sleeved shirt with embroidery on the sleeves and close-fitting hose next to the body. Next, he drew on a very short tunic with abbreviated sleeves — white with red and blue stripes, green with red, blue with red, and red with white. Outside this he laced a corselet of leather thongs to protect the vital organs from the jolting of the chariot. Finally, he fitted upon his head a visorless steel helmet with a feather stuck rakishly at one side. Each carries a whip. Apparently one studio specialized in these pictures,

[191] For other busts of Seasons already described see pp. 91 f., 100 f.

[192] Listed in *Bull. Com.*, iii, 1875, 240; Br. Sch. at Rome, *op. cit.*, p. 274, pl. 108; COLINI, *op. cit.*, 48, pl. iv.

[193] L. ROMANO, *Diss. Pont. Accad.*, i(2), 1823, 161 with n. 1, also pl. 4 (not pl. 3, fig. 2 as published in the note).

[194] Romano suggests that the outlandish names may refer to the charioteers rather than to the horses, but these individuals do not wear the costume of the charioteer and are probably grooms.

[195] See p. 106.

[196] E. BRIZIO, *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1873, 133—4; E. LOVATELLI-CAETANI, *Mem. d. R. Acc. d. Lincei*, vii, 1880—1, 149—56 with 2 pls.; HELBIG, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 184, no. 1438; PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 251, no. 757 (1247) with pl.; F. WIRTH, *op. cit.*, 79—80.

Wirth considers three of them Hadrianic, but weakens his own argument by saying that they atone somewhat for the loss of painted representations. The fact is that there is insufficient evidence for forming a clear picture of the Hadrianic style of painting, especially in a subject which is Roman instead of Hellenistic. The fourth picture, Wirth considers a restoration of the third century.

for the charioteer of the blue faction has one sleeve embroidered in red and blue, the other in green and blue, as if there had been a mistake in assembling the parts of two separate pictures. There are many other errors of a similar kind. In fact so much is wrong with the charioteer of the whites that he had doubtless been damaged in his original form so badly that he had to be almost entirely remade in a later and less expert age. Here also the figures stand upon a strip of ground which very much resembles the base of a statue.

Grandiose Compositions

Introduction. Again the matter of terminology demands consideration. From the technical point of view,[197] the Alexander mosaic was the forerunner of the grandiose colored pictures of the third and fourth centuries. They were doubtless made in exactly the same way. Strictly speaking, these were also *emblemata,* for they too were prepared elsewhere for insertion. That the mosaic was often planned to fill the entire floor space does not change the process. The borders have a secondary importance, merely serving as frames for the pictures. There was a chance for error in the *emblemata* laid in trays, due to carelessness in assembling the smaller parts of which they were composed; there was a greater chance in the "disguised *emblemata*" where the mosaicist had to work indirectly; but there was the greatest of all in the grandiose compositions, which were so large that their parts were often assigned to different artisans. The Romans of the third and fourth centuries were not very sensitive to imperfections of that sort. They rejoiced in the polychromy which they had substituted for the silhouette mosaics of an earlier age, and were not critical of minutiae. Since they were living in troublous times, they preferred to cover their floors with pictures of what filled their leisure hours. Mythology belonged to a bygone age, but gladiatorial contests, hunts in the arena, theatrical performances, even simple fishing scenes delighted their hearts. The one mythological picture, with the exception of its rich coloring, is an utter failure. The athlete mosaic of the Baths of Caracalla is composed of separate pictures, but each is so large that it would be ridiculous to include it among the "disguised *emblemata.*" A description of the mosaics follows.

Mythological

The Rape of Hylas. "Between Rome and Albano near the Baths of Plotina, the wife of Trajan," a mosaic was found in 1853 representing the Rape of Hylas by the Water-nymphs (Pl. 27, Fig. 1)[198], a subject which was charmingly treated by Theocritus. The scene is being enacted against rocks impressionistically rendered in red and blue and green. Two nymphs sitting on rocks at each side of the pool are augmenting its waters with the contents of their jars. Blue water pours from red vases decorated with yellow. Upon their heads they wear close-fitting caps, from which rise sedges of green like those growing beside the pool. One cap has the added adornment of reddish flowers. Behind their heads bluish-gray *nimbi* appear. Their green mantles are draped so as to conceal little of their bodies. Emerging from behind a rock, Hylas, nude except for a blue mantle slung over one shoulder, his golden hair disheveled, has surprised them at their task. Shadows in contrasting colors add interest to the drapery. Near the right-hand nymph, a head appears from behind a rock; it may belong to a third nymph deprived of her crown of reeds and her *nimbus* by a careless restoration. The free use of glass adds brilliancy to the coloring. Perspective has been handled with considerable skill in the smaller scale of the figure in the background; atmosphere also, in the diminishing intensity of the coloring. A scale pattern in black and red and gray with its scales drawn for a tridimensional effect encloses the lunette of which this picture forms the decoration. Mme. Korsunska upon stylistic grounds feels so strongly its affinities with the fourth Pompeian style that she would even have assumed a re-use of an older mosaic if she had been convinced that the identification of the site in question as the "Baths of Plotina" was established. Her discriminating eye sees a difference in the treatment of the body of the nymph at the left, which causes her to ascribe it to a later period than the rest. It would seem to me that Ippel's theory might give a clearer clue to the dating.[199] A tracing or outline drawing of a Hellenistic painting had been cut into smaller pieces, which were allotted to mosaicists of varying ability. Some copy the characteristics of the prototype more closely that the others, but the one who renders the nymph at the left in graduated contour lines rather than more realistic modeling betrays the age of the mosaic. The picture shows the divergence of color due to such a system of composition as well as the errors of the person who put the mosaic together. The awkward placing of a tree-trunk behind the nymph at the right is a case in point. This is merely a suggestion. It would be presumptuous to go into detail without having access to the mosaic itself. Tridimensional treatment such as occurs in the border reappears towards the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century.

[197] IPPEL, *loc. cit.*

[198] S. KORSUNSKA, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlv, 1930, 166—71 with pl. 52.

[199] IPPEL, *ibid.*, 80—110.

The subject matter is not particularly pleasing to modern taste. There is said to be a use of terra-cotta tesserae and an excessive employment of glass. Considerable difference appears between the size of the tesserae in the figures (0.5—.7 cm.) and those in the field (1—1.1 cm.), which were doubtless laid after the figures were in place. The mosaic, though fairly large (240 cm. × 70 cm.), was transported to the Hermitage in Leningrad.

Gladiatorial and Hunting Scenes

Athletes from Baths of Caracalla. One of the best known mosaic floors of the ancient world is the collection of athlete pictures from the Baths of Caracalla, now in the Lateran Museum.[200] Originally, square alternated with rectangle until the great inner apses of the Palaestrae were filled with representations of ancient gladiators and their trainers. The triangular spaces along the curved walls contained images of the paraphernalia used in connection with the profession. The individual panels were separated by four-strand guilloches, and each had its own inner border with dentils pointing outwards. When the mosaic was moved to the Lateran Museum, the pictures were set into a rectangular pavement in one of the large rooms on the upper floor. They have since been more or less taken apart again and rearranged upon the floor and along the walls of two of the downstairs rooms (Pl. 28). In spite of the naturalistic coloring, the full-length figures which occupy the rectangles have a statuesque quality as they stand against a white background on small platforms which simulate low bases in appearance. In their over-developed muscularity, they resemble closely the Farnese Hercules, now in the Naples Museum, which was also discovered in the Baths of Caracalla. The faces in both the full-length figures and the busts exhibit many racial types. Probably all originally wore their hair drawn up in the awkward topknot prescribed by their profession, but they were apparently allowed free choice in the matter of the beard. Although all show clearly that they are professional athletes, they are strongly individualized in both feature and posture. The moron, the slow stupid fellow relying upon brute force for victory (Pl. 25, Fig. 1), the sly crafty individual in the profession for gain, the morose, the sulky, even the weak sensitive chap with mournful eyes (Pl. 25, Fig. 2) are all represented. Some wear boxing-gloves or carry a discus or javelin. Others doubtless reveal to the initiated by their pose the sport in which they excel. No two have taken exactly the same position. A few bear the crown or the palm of victory. One trainer is named IOBIA | NVS (Pl. 29, Fig. 1) and one athlete IOVINVS with an explanatory ALVMNVS;[201] there is in addition a fragment with [b]ENATOR ALOM[n]VS. *Benator* (*Venator*)[202] admits two interpretations. It may be either a proper name or a noun in apposition with a proper name now lost. Such a reading implies that the name of the *alumnus* is also gone. Since there is only one figure in each rectangle the first interpretation seems more natural. Their heavy over-developed bodies are not pleasant to gaze upon. Ippel[203] calls attention to the fact that not only are the varying abilities of the individuals who made the separate pieces apparent in the finished product, but there are slight errors in proportion and in joining the parts. Together with the athletes, there are several pictures of trainers (Pl. 29) distinguished from them, in the majority of cases, only by the mantle draped rather carelessly about their otherwise nude bodies and by the fans(?) which they carry in their hands. Their bodies proclaim that they too have received intensive athletic training before attaining their present position of authority. One old man quite bald and wrinkled has a magnificent physique. Another indulges his advancing years by wearing a long-sleeved tunic under his mantle, while a younger man with a Jewish cast of feature has a tunic with a shorter sleeve and a stripe down at least one side. Neither of these tunics has any characteristic of the fourth century, to which the mosaic has been ascribed.

Hülsen,[204] largely on the basis of the names and their orthography, advocates a date in the fourth century and Helbig follows his judgment.[205] His arguments are not, however, unanswerable. If it were the usual practice to bestow names on the pictures of the athletes, it is strange that only three out of the fifty or so still extant should be thus marked. If, on the other hand, the mosaic were in need of repair at a later date, it would be easy for an artisan to slip in the name of an athlete or trainer popular in his own day without running the risk of arousing the ire of those who employed him. Less cogency is inherent in his second argument that a mosaic of such size could not be finished for many years after the completion of the Baths, since we have no actual knowledge of the methods employed by the mosaicists. If Ippel's theory holds, an indefinite number of workmen, each independent of the others, may have made the parts, although a comparatively small number of skilled artisans assembled and mounted them. The task, though laborious, may have reached completion as soon as the building. Because some

[200] NOGARA, *op. cit.*, 1—3, pls. i-iv. One head appears in the "Hall of Mosaics" of the National Museum.

[201] *CIL.* VI 10155.

[202] *CIL.* VI 33963.

[203] IPPEL, *loc. cit.*, 108.

[204] C. HÜLSEN, *Architektonische Studien von* SERGIUS ANDREJEWITSCH IWANOFF, Berlin, 1898, iii, 73—5.

[205] HELBIG, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 53. H. LUCAS (*Jahrb. d. Inst.*, xix, 1904, 127 n. 3) does not commit himself.

changes were made in the vicinity of the exedrae in the fourth century (Hülsen's third argument based on probability), it does not follow that the mosaic was installed at that time. Hülsen's fourth argument, that the gladiators were in high favor with the emperors of the end of the fourth century, would carry more weight if the removal of the court to Constantinople had not left Rome little more than a provincial city. Vast sums may have been spent on the games to amuse the people and upon individual gladiators, but scarcely upon the adornment of Baths which had already been eclipsed by the newer ones erected under Diocletian.[206] Furthermore, the restoration of the Baths after a fire in the late fourth century did not affect the main part of the building to any great degree.[207] Such mosaics as belong to a later renovation are so coarse as to make improbable the contemporary installation in the apses of such magnificent mosaic pictures as these athletes. The simplicity of the rest of the Severan floors would have served to focus attention on the great athlete mosaics. The burden of proof, in my opinion, still rests with those who propose a later date.

A few technical considerations remain to be noted. The tesserae are generally speaking rather small, averaging 0.5 cm. in the figures and about 0.7 cm. in the background. They are so irregular that a more exact measurement is impossible. There may be a little glass-paste for certain shades of dull green, but for the most part, the mosaicist has relied upon the colors furnished by natural stones. A surprising amount of yellow appears in the flesh tones of some of the figures. The cement has been artificially stained to harmonize with the colors of the tesserae.[208] The convenience of this practice for concealing errors due to the piecing together of the manifold parts of a great mosaic is self-evident. In the border, the effect of the braided ribbon has been somewhat obscured by making each strand yellow when it touches one side, greenish-white when it crosses the center, and pink when it approaches the other. It is impossible to judge accurately of the technique of a mosaic which has been moved and repaired so many times.

Porta Maggiore Athletes. Northeast of a *piscina*, probably of the Aqua Alexandrina,[209] at Porta Maggiore were excavated the remains of a huge athlete mosaic in polychromy very similar, to judge from the fragments brought to light, to those of the Baths of Caracalla in subject matter, proportions, and style.[210] The pieces revealed two separate heads, part of an athletic figure with a cestus, and a bust which is now preserved in the *Antiquarium Comunale*, Room VII (Pl. 25, Fig. 4).[211] The last mentioned shows the muscular shoulders, thick neck, and cauliflower ears of the professional athlete. The modeling of the muscles is well rendered in rich polychromy. These pictures were also framed in a band of dentils pointing outwards and were separated by the three-strand guilloche in colors. Such similarity to the great mosaic of the Baths suggests an origin in the same studio.

Castra Praetoria Athletes. In the region of the Praetorian Camp there was a large mosaic[212] divided by meanders and guilloches into several compartments of varying size. Only two were sufficiently preserved to reveal the subject — two doves drinking from a two-handled vase and two gladiators with an official. The latter group only concerns us. The fight is over. The victor is ready to depart and the defeated gladiator has permission to retire, for MIS(*sus*) is written in mosaic at his side. As this picture alone measured 1.13 m. × 87 cm., the whole mosaic must have been very large. Unfortunately, the brief notice fails to state whether it was in black-and-white or in colors. In either case, the subject matter suggests the Antonine-Severan epoch. It was inexpertly patched sometime in the third or fourth century.

Gladiators from Orto del Carciofolo on Via Appia. Two mosaics excavated several centuries ago at the *Orto del Carciofolo* on the Via Appia[213] passed into the hands of the Massimi family, thence to Madrid where they were exhibited first in the National Library and finally in the Archaeological Museum. They seem to be companion-pieces. Each is divided into two panels by an irregular line so as to give room for two related pictures, an arrangement not found in mosaic, to my knowledge, before the third century. In the upper picture of one, a trainer at the extreme left seems to be announcing with uplifted hand the victory of a gladiator (*secutor*) who, more or less involved in a net,[214] stands in an attitude of defense with a large square shield and a drawn poignard still presented to the foe. At the right, a second trainer with an outstretched hand is apparently conceding the victory, while his pupil supports himself in a half-

[206] Nogara has suggested this argument.

[207] See p. 88.

[208] *Cf.* BIEBER-RODENWALDT, *loc. cit.*, 7—9.

[209] The indentification of the *piscina* as fed by the A. A. is not sure. *Cf.* JORDAN-HÜLSEN, *Top.*, I, iii, 247—8; PLATNER-ASHBY, 530; VAN DEMAN, *The Building of the Roman Aqueducts*, 342. It was later incorporated in the so-called Baths of Helena.

[210] Listed in *Bull. Com.*, vii, 1879, 239.

[211] Br. Sch. at Rome, *op. cit.*, 273, pl. 108; COLINI, *op. cit.*, 48, pl. iv.

[212] LANCIANI-VISCONTI, *Bull. Com.*, i, 1872, 20; *CIL.*, VI, iv(2), 33989.

[213] *CIL.* VI (2) 10205; WINCKELMANN, *Mon. Ant. Ined.*², Rome, 1821, ii, 258—9, pls. 197—8 (these give the most details); A. MICHAELIS, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, xxv, 1910, 120, no. 91 (only the Astyanax mosaic); ASHBY, *PBSR.*, vii, 1914, 17, pl. vii (Topham Drawings, Eton College); S. REINACH, *Répertoire d. P.*, 285, nos. 3—4.

[214] Following WINCKELMANN, *loc. cit.*, pl. 197.

sitting position with the palm of one hand flat on the ground. Though defeated, he still points his poignard rather ineffectually at his opponent. His trident lies useless on the ground. An inscription reads ASTYANAX (leaf) VICIT·KALENDIO Θ (for θάνατος).[215] The lower portion shows an episode in the fight. Astyanax stands in a less tense version of the posture which he held above. Kalendio, his small shield drawn up on his shoulder, vigorously aims his trident at his foe, while his trainer spurs him on. The names are repeated in mosaic letters with the fatal theta following the name of Kalendio in anticipation of the outcome portrayed above.

The second mosaic shows the same general arrangement. The shock of battle appears in the lower picture. Both gladiators are armed alike with round shields, helmets, and swords. The trainers wear striped tunics with bell-shaped sleeves. The upper picture represents victory largely by inference. One trainer is walking unconcernedly away towards the left, while the other hastens to the aid of his charge who lies outstretched on the ground probably already dead. Inscriptions name the three in the upper picture — NECO, the trainer of the successful combatant, HABILIS, the other trainer, and MATERNVS, the fallen warrior with the theta after his name. HAEC VIDEMVS in the center of the top seems quite superfluous. SIMMACHI | HOMO FELIX (leaf) — "Symmachius, you fortunate man!" — in the upper right hand corner apostrophizes the absent victor. Across the top of the lower panel is written QVIBVS PVGNANTIBVS SIMMACHIVS FERRVM | MISIT — "and while these were fighting Symmachius thrust(?) the sword."[216] MATERNVS Θ and HABILIS placed below seem to designate the contestants, but inasmuch as Habilis is the trainer in the upper part of the picture, the mosaicist apparently made a mistake in naming his characters. The language does not bear the stamp of the Latinity of Cicero. If these are the "*due tegoloni di musaico*" mentioned in *CIL.* VI, iv (2), 33979, they are *emblemata* in the more restricted sense. I know nothing of the technique.

Gladiators from Via Appia near Domine Quo Vadis. It is impossible to judge from either the line drawings in the *Répertoire*[217] or the elaborate Topham drawing[218] concerning the stylistic peculiarities of the gladiators and the racing-chariots represented in a colored mosaic found many years ago on the Appian Way near the church of *Domine Quo Vadis*, and now on exhibition in the Archaeological Museum in Madrid. The former show only the general arrangement of the figures, the latter reproduces certain episodes to suit the fancy of the engraver. Two gladiators, equipped with helmet, breast-plate, shield and some thrusting weapon, stand at attention one above the other at the left of the picture. In the center, one quadriga has rounded the goal and seems secure of victory. A biga (quadriga in the Eton drawing) and a quadriga are about to make the turn, lashed on by their eager charioteers. Since the mosaic is broken at the right, it may once have contained the quadriga with the two figures hastening to the left and the second represented in full face, which is also at Madrid.[219] The inscriptions[220] do not give the key to the strange mixture in subject matter. The upper gladiator, MARTIALIS, was set free (L[221] for liberatus) after his twenty-first fight (XXI) and SEVERVS after his fifth (V), but what, if any, was their connection with the chariot-races? The three-line inscription which follows the name of Severus in some publications:

T·FL·POSIDONI
O·FILIO·BENE
MERENTI·F·

was doubtless introduced arbitrarily by the eighteenth-century artist (*ap.* Montfaucon) from a tombstone incomplete at the top, which was found at the same time, although Montfaucon (p. 176) wrote as if it were in the mosaic. *CIL.* publishes it as a stone, using Bianchini's copy. It is of Flavian date and has nothing to do with the mosaic.[222] Such a picture could scarcely have been laid before the third century. It may be later. The crude interlace[223] which forms the border is not an early decorative feature.

Torre Nuova Gladiatorial Scenes now in the Borghese Gallery. Whoever conceived the vast gladiatorial pictures now in the *Casino Borghese*,[224] which once decorated the peristyle excavated in the *Tenuta di Torre Nuova* in 1834, chose a strange moment for portrayal. The figures are life-sized and so realistically rendered both in color and in details of equipment that at first

[215] The letter actually seems half-way between a theta and a phi.

[216] *Cf. ferrum parabant, TAC., Ann.*, i, 23, 6.

[217] MONTFAUCON, *Ant. Expl. Suppl.*, iii, pl. 67; REINACH, *op. cit.*, p. 292, 1. *Cf.* also p. 295, 1—4.

[218] ASHBY, *op. cit.*, pp. 22—4, nos. 37—40, pl. x; LANCIANI, *Bull. Com.* xxiii, 1895, 171—2.

[219] ASHBY, *op. cit.*, p. 22, nos. 35, 36.

[220] *CIL.* VI 10203, 33978.

[221] Instead of L, E appears in the *Répertoire* and I in the Eton drawings.

[222] *CIL.* VI 18169.

[223] The borders in the Eton drawings can be disregarded, as they frame parts of the dismembered mosaic.

[224] L. CANINA, *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1834, 193—6; G. HENZEN, *Diss. d. Pont. Acc.*, xii, 1852, 73—157, pls. i-v (a mine of information with regard to gladiators and their profession); A. VENTURI, *Museo e Galleria Borghese*, Rome, 1893, 13; ASHBY, *PBSR.*, i, 1902, 233—4; HELBIG, *Führer*[3], ii, 230—33; A. DE RINALDIS, *La R. Galleria Borghese in Roma*, Rome, 1935, 6. For the subject in general see L. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, ii, Leipzig, 1920, 50—76; J. CARCOPINO, *La Vie Quotidienne à Rome*, Paris, 1939, 267—75.

sight it seems as if one were actually present at the close of a great spectacle. Upon a longer perusal, however, various awkwardnesses make themselves unpleasantly felt, revealing no doubt the varying skill of those to whom the portions were entrusted as well as a lack of comprehension on the part of those who put them together into the finished product.[225] It belongs among the Roman mosaics in which the irregularity of the tesserae was partially concealed by staining the mortar to an appropriate color.[226] The mosaic was so thoroughly restored and rearranged when it was installed in the *Casino Borghese* that it is difficult to judge of the original workmanship. The five panels (Pl. 30), once separated by meanders[227] in black-and-white, depict the end of a gladiatorial show in which man has fought man and man has hunted wild beast with varying success. Of those taking part in the gladiatorial contest, three have the coveted VIC and at least four have the fatal *Θ*. In each case the fight is over, the vanquished are either dead or at the point of receiving the mortal blow. Shields, poignards, and tridents lie on the ground as they were dropped in the heat of battle or in the agony of defeat. The attendants, who stand nude save for a narrow loin-cloth, are better drawn than the contestants, perhaps because they are derived from some such prototype as the athletes from the Baths of Caracalla. They are smaller in size than the fighters, which may be a naïve way of relegating them to the background regardless of their position in the picture. They also supply evidence for those who believe that the episodes have been selected from some gladiatorial picture containing many figures, since they imply a rearrangement without due regard to the laws of perspective.[228] These laws, however, are frequently misunderstood or disregarded. The dead Macizinus, for example, seems to be standing upon his head rather than to be lying on the ground. One attendant leads a horse. Since the others are armed with whips they are doubtless *lorarii*, whose duty it was to lash on the reluctant. Students of Roman private life will find much to interest them in the accoutrement of the gladiators. They wear corselets, loin-cloths, and "puttees" from the toes to the calves and wrapped about the leg just under the knee. One of each pair seems to be heavy-armed with helmet, long body shield, and a single greave worn either on the right or on the left shin. Their offensive weapons were either the trident or the poignard or the sword. One, Pampineus by name, is completely covered. He wears helmet, scaly sleeve, sleeveless tunic, shield, trousers, and "puttees". These are the veterans. Their light-armed opponents,[229] however, are usually victorious. Probably, all the gladiators were originally designated by name.[230] These names prove the barbaric origin of most of them. Even those which are undeniably Roman are far from common and may have been bestowed upon those of foreign birth at the caprice of their owners. Names of Greek origin predominate, but Henzen[231] believes that they too were applied to slaves regardless of race. Only three of the *venatores* are named.

The hunting-scenes are no less gory.[232] In one part of the field, five men have been able to withstand successfully eleven or more leopards,[233] and no wonder since they were probably the tame leopards of Gordianus.[234] Ones sympathy goes to the beasts, of whom four are receiving the death blow, and five lie transfixed in horribly realistic attitudes of death. Two are apparently unscathed. In another section horror is piled upon horror, for seven men and one bull display in stark realism the tortures which they are undergoing before death shall bring a blessed release. Nearby, two *venatores* are left to cope with an ostrich, a bull, a lion, and an eland(?) over the slain bodies of a stag and a hyena. The choice of animals suggests that the episodes have been taken from some painting of the *Ludi Saeculares* celebrating the thousandth anniversary of the birth of Rome. The lion, the stag, and the eland(?) appear in the coins of Philip, "the Arab," commemorating the games held in honor of the event.[235] Literature informs us that the ostrich[236] and the hyena[237] had places in the menagerie of Gordianus, which was used by Philip to supply animals for the arena. The gladiators slain or wounded by the beasts appear unarmed. Having

[225] IPPEL, *op. cit.*

[226] BIEBER-RODENWALDT, *op. cit.*, 8 n. 7.

[227] Guilloches would seem more natural, and the old records are often ambiguous in the words used for meander.

[228] They cannot be explained as due to the rearrangement in the Borghese *Galleria* unless the restoration was more thoroughgoing than seems likely.

[229] *Cf.* SENECA, *Epist.* vii, 3—4.

[230] *CIL.* VI(2) 10206. The complete list follows: Licentiosus, Purpureus, Entin(m?)us, Baccibus, Astacius (*lorarius*), Astacius (*retiarius*), Iaculator, Astivus, Rodan(us), Miliiio(?), T(?)al(?)amonius, Cupido, Bellerefons, Pampineus, Aurius, Melea[ger], Pi-, Eliacer, -us, Alumnus, Ideus, Mazicinus, -us, Callimorfus, Serpent(?)ius, Sabati[u]s. The phonetic spelling deserves mention.

[231] HENZEN, *loc. cit.*, 100; *cf.* M. L. GORDON, *JRS.*, xiv, 1924, 101—6.

[232] For *venatio* in general, see DAREMBERG-SAGLIO V (i), 700—9; FRIEDLÄNDER, *op. cit.*, ii, 77—89; CARCOPINO, *op. cit.*, 275—6.

[233] One man is represented merely by an elbow, one leopard by a part of a tail.

[234] HIST. AUG., xx, *Gord.*, 33, 1.

[235] COHEN, v, p. 112, nos. 171—3; p. 113, nos. 182—5; p. 113, no. 186 with n. 1 respectively.

[236] HIST. AUG., xx, *Gord.*, 3, 7; HENZEN, *loc. cit.*, 152; COHEN, v, p. 93; E. SYDENHAM, *Historical References on Coins of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Gallienus*, London, 1917, 142; O. KELLER, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909, ii, 173.

[237] HIST. AUG., xx, *Gord.*, 33, 1; HENZEN, *loc. cit.*, 153; SYDENHAM, *loc. cit.*

discharged their spears they had nothing left with which to protect themselves. The dead and wounded are clad merely in a short tunic adorned with red stripes and furnished with bell-shaped sleeves,[238] whereas the more successful wear long-sleeved tunics with short broad stripes and circular shoulder-guards. This style of tunic shows a feature rare in any costume preceding the fourth century. The *orbiculus* on the shoulder, as we have said, may be a species of shoulder-guard, but the ones near the hem must be pure ornamentation.[239] They appear regularly in this position on the richly embroidered Coptic tunics from the third to the sixth century. Unfortunately, the chronology of these garments has not, to my knowledge, been worked out in detail. Wilpert states that the device was not common until the fourth century.[240] Cyprian, who died in A. D. 257, comments on the costly clothing of those who fought with the wild beasts.[241]

De Rossi had added to the arguments for the fourth century the character of the names and their orthography.[242] On the other hand, Canina[243] tentatively ascribed the building where the mosaics were found to a period slightly earlier than Caracalla. However, we do not know his criteria nor whether the mosaics were contemporaneous with the building. To turn to technical considerations, some glass has been added to the colored stones, especially for the blue and red, and the mortar has been stained to add vividness to the coloring. The workmanship is rather coarse; the tesserae are, however, somewhat smaller in the figures than in the background, which suggests that they were made elsewhere for insertion. The errors in the way that the pictures are put together are so numerous that it is strange that they present such a life-like appearance. More cannot be said about a mosaic which has been so completely renovated.[244]

Animal Pictures from the Aventine in the Vatican. The hunt, whether out in the open country or in the amphitheater, gave an excellent opportunity for showing wild beasts in action, of which the mosaicists did not avail themselves on a large scale until the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century.[245] Rodenwaldt[246] conjectures that this may have come from the influence of pictures painted for the celebration of the triumph of some emperor, perhaps in particular that of Constantine. In the Topham Collection is the drawing of a mosaic[247] belonging to the same series as the famous hunting-scenes from the Aventine, now in the Vatican Museum.[248] A horse has been brought to its knees by the onslaught of a bear, which has its teeth firmly embedded in its opponent's rump. The horseman is thrusting his spear at the face of the beast, while a huntsman on foot aims at its heart. The peculiarities of the apparel of the rider may well be due to the imagination of the copyist, but the costume of the other huntsman looks authentic. The tunic has elbow sleeves, and it is decorated with a colored square on the shoulders in addition to the usual stripes. This square decoration seems to have been used interchangeably with the *orbiculus* in the costume of the fourth century.[249] Unfortunately for my former tentative dating of the Vatican group (Pl. 31, Figs. 1—4) in the second century, two of the hunters there also have colored squares on the sleeves of their tunics. In the first of the panels a camel strides proudly along, while its rider turns to watch a tame lion which he is leading by a rope. The lion stalks along as though it were quite conscious of being the cynosure of all eyes. Immediately behind this group, the shock of combat has forced both a bull and an elephant to a kneeling position. The outcome is certain, since the elephant is assisted by a human rider and the bull is hampered by a rope fastened to a ring in the ground. In another panel, a bear springs at a bull which has lowered its head to ward off the attack. Again, a huntsman on horseback pursues a fleeing bull. The third panel shows two horsemen riding up from opposite sides with spears couched to meet the attack of two bears which are rushing at them from the center. There is no background indicated with the exception of some vague shadow lines along the ground; the figures stand out in colored silhouette. Bianchini,[250] to whom these mosaics were known in the seventeenth century, proposed the theory that they represented episodes

[238] Perhaps these are the *damnati ad bestias*.

[239] M. G. HOUSTON, *Ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Costume*, London, 1931, 76, fig. 71.

[240] J. WILPERT, *Die Malereien d. Katakomben Roms*, Freiburg, 1903, 132, no. 7.

[241] CYPRIAN, *Epist.*, i, 7.

[242] Quoted in VENTURI, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* HELBIG, *loc. cit.* In the English translation of 1896, ii, p. 131, the mosaic was ascribed to the third century.

[243] *Op. cit.*, 196.

[244] A Nile scene was found in the same general locality (L. BORSARI, *Not. Sc.*, 1890, 158—9; ASHBY, *PBSR.*, i, 1902, 239). It depicts a man in a boat amidst various aquatic plants among which lurks a crocodile. On the basis of the workmanship, the mosaic was ascribed to the last years of the second century. There is no sure indication of date.

[245] With the exception of the silhouette mosaics of the small cloister of the Museo Nazionale Romano. See BLAKE, 156.

[246] G. RODENWALDT, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxvi-xxxvii, 1921—2, 80—110.

[247] T. ASHBY, *PBSR.*, vii, 1914, p. 40, no. 37, pl. xvii. *Cf.* pp. 3—4 for a letter regarding the inaccuracy of the drawings.

[248] NOGARA, *op. cit.*, pp. 6—7, pl. ix, figs. 1—4; BLAKE, 174, pl. 42.

[249] M. G. HOUSTON, *op. cit.*, 76, fig. 70, which shows a more elaborate example.

[250] *Cf.* J. BERTHIER, *L'Église de Sainte-Sabine à Rome*, Rome, 1910, 19—20, where statements from other early authors are quoted in full.

from the games given in celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome. He based his assuption on coins struck in commemoration of the *Ludi Saeculares.*[251] The elephant occurs on other coins of Philip "the Arab".[252] Furthermore, the *silva* of Gordianus I besides other beasts contained at least a hundred lions, a thousand bears, and a hundred Cyprian bulls which he is said to have handed over to the people to be killed in the amphitheater.[253] Although bears and bulls are not mentioned specifically among the animals which Philip found ready at hand in the menagerie of Gordianus, it would not be strange if some had survived the carnage mentioned above.[254] Elephants and tame lions appear in the list; the camel alone remains unaccounted for. Julius Capitolinus also states that there was a remarkable painting in the home of Gordianus representing the park with its animals.[255] There may have been in existence somewhere a painting of the *Ludi Saeculares.* All this belongs to the field of conjecture. The colors are soft and pleasing to the eye. The tesserae are smaller in the figures (0.3 cm.) than in the ground (0.5—.7 cm.). How these pictures were arranged is not known. They seem to have been found in the third century house of which a part remains under Sta. Sabina,[256] but that does not necessarily mean that they were part of the original decoration. In the present state of our knowledge we can ascribe them merely to the interval between Gordianus I and Constantine.[257]

Hunting Scene from the Esquiline in the Antiquarium Comunale. During the construction of some railroad tracks in the vicinity of Sta. Bibiana in 1903—4, a large rectangular room (15 m. × 9.50 m.) was uncovered.[258] Between parallel borders of mediocre workmanship, each consisting of four decorative bands in black-and-white — a keyed meander, a two-strand guilloche, a four-strand guilloche, and the wave motive — were four hunting scenes, two on each side cleverly separated from each other by isolated trees. It was too large to be removed intact; such portions as could be preserved were carried to the *Antiquarium Comunale,* where a part decorates the floor and the rest the wall of Room VII. The bear hunt (Pl. 31, Fig. 5) is the most interesting. Three men and two dogs are actively engaged in rounding up three bears. A hunting-net in the foreground stretched from tree to tree leads the beasts towards a snare which has been made ready for them. Something, probably food, tied in the box of the trap is engaging the interest of the foremost bear; a huntsman on top waits in readiness to shut the sliding door as soon as the bear has entered. A second hunter seems to be attempting to divert the attention of a second bear by means of an indeterminate object which he holds in his hand, perhaps to give his companion an opportunity to box the first bear without interference. A dog rushes to his assistance apparently unaware that the beater behind it has started up another bear. A second dog seems to be seeking a scent among the trees and rocks of the background. Near the cage are some curious lines flanked by what appear to be branches of trees. Perhaps this is a more dangerous method of securing wild beasts for the amphitheater by allowing them to fall into concealed pits.[259] Trees and rocks give the proper sylvan background, while the uneven character of the ground is clearly indicated. Two trees separate the bear-hunt from the end of a wild-boar hunt. A horseman is riding up in triumph towards the boar which he has transfixed with his spear, while his dog sniffs at the hapless beast. The harness shows a leaf-shaped pendant which Héron de Villefosse considered a good-luck symbol.[260] The picture corresponding to it on the other side is lost, but the remainder of the space contains an antelope hunt, in which the dogs certainly outnumber the prey. A hunter leads one on a leash, while a second crouches behind him. A third dashes forward rather blindly. Nets have been stretched between the trees as in the other picture. An antelope (Pl. 27, Fig. 2) is in the very act of springing into the snare as it turns its head to look for danger from the rear. A dog having outstripped the others looks back at the victim. In the middle register, a doe in full flight turns its head to watch a dog in hot pursuit. In the background the head and shoulders of a man appear from behind a jagged line which is supposed to represent a hill. With his outstretched hand he indicates the antelope which he has aroused from its lair.[261] Incidentally, by this gesture he aids the mosaicist in his attempt to give depth to the picture, since the hand partially conceals a tree which must be further in the background. A feeling for perspective is revealed in the

[251] *Cf.* p. 114.

[252] COHEN, v, pp. 96—7, nos. 17—21.

[253] HIST. AUG., xx, *Gord.*, 3, 6—8.

[254] *Ibid.*, 33, 1.

[255] *Ibid.*, 3, 6—7. If there is justification for the translation of *silva* as "wild-beast hunt" as it occurs in the Loeb Library rendering of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (ii, 385), it would furnish a plausible prototype.

[256] *Cf.* p. 84.

[257] It is interesting to note in passing that an animal picture of fine tesserae like those at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli was found in the neighborhood. (See J. A. FURIETTI, *De Musivis*, Rome, 1752, 44, pl. iii.) It has no connection with the amphitheater. A lion, a slain wild-boar, two stags, and an elephant are represented against a sylvan background.

[258] G. GATTI, *Not. Sc.*, 1903, 509; *Bull. Com.*, xxxi, 1903, 284—5; xxxii, 1904, 375; xxxiii, 1905, 380; HELBIG, *op. cit.*, i, p. 603; COLINI, *op. cit.*, 47, pls. v-viii; J. AYMARD, *Mélanges*, liv, 1937, 42—66.

[259] AYMARD (*op. cit.*, 54—5) considers it an ambuscade.

[260] A. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, *Bull. Arch. du Comité des tr. hist. et scient.*, 1918, 257—8.

[261] AYMARD (*loc. cit.*, 58) interprets this as a special gesture for directing the hounds.

diminishing size of the trees, although it is imperfectly carried out. There is a little shrine or hut on the crest of the hill. The whole picture leaves no doubt that it represents a real hunt and not a *venatio* in the amphitheater.

The arrangement of a miscellaneous collection of huntsmen, animals, trees and various accessories of the hunt into a hunting-picture of three registers with an attempt at perspective suggests a date at least as late as the third century, but the costumes of the hunters allow a more exact ascription. The tunics (Pl. 27, Fig. 3) are long-sleeved with stripes down the front and are further embellished by the *orbiculus* or the swastika near the hem. These do not appear until the second half of the third century and are not common until the fourth.[262] Short capes are worn over the shoulders of the sort which, as Rodenwaldt has conclusively proved, seldom if ever appear before the time of Constantine.[263] The thighs seem to be covered with hose and the legs to be wrapped with spiral "puttees" of bright colors up to the knees where they are tied to hold them securely. The mounted horseman has a beard trimmed after the fashion of the transition from the third to the fourth century. Because the horseman is reminiscent of the figures of various emperors as they appear on coins, Rodenwaldt has conjectured that the mosaic received its inspiration from some picture of a triumph. The presence of the beard militates against its being copied from a picture of Constantine's triumph. Another slight indication of date may appear in the distaste for plain surfaces which led to the drawing of a simple geometric design on the side of the box-trap, although it may, as Aymard surmises, merely represent a reinforcement of some sort. The tesserae in the figures are appreciably smaller than those of the background. Considerable glass is used in addition to cubes of colored marble. The cement in the interstices has been stained to give unbroken color masses.[264] In the light of all the evidence offered, a date early in the fourth century seems reasonable.

Animal picture from Via Sistina. A round picture, a meter in diameter, was uncovered in 1901 in Via Sistina.[265] Only one fact stands out from the vague description, namely, that it was divided into zones between which appeared fish, birds, and animals. In this it is similar to the design found in the sixth-century mosaic of the cathedral at Pesaro, with which it may be contemporaneous.[266]

The Fishermen of the Villa Borghese. The mosaic in the fifth room of the Borghese Museum[267] gives the immediate impression of being the combination of two ancient mosaics. The field with its sprinkling of four-tesserae crosses and the meander in isometric treatment was doubtless originally laid in the Republican period. The use of coarser tesserae in the four-strand guilloche included within white bands marks the transition to a later pictorial mosaic in a different technique.[268] This guilloche has been conventionalized until the effect of the braided ribbons has disappeared. The outer part of each strand is always green, the central part pink, and the inner part yellow. A broad yellow acanthus leaf at each corner further breaks the continuity of the strands. The picture itself (Pl. 32, Fig. 2) is enclosed in a narrow red frame. Two fishermen are following their calling in a yellowish boat upon a black sea against a gray-green sky in which there is, however, a generous sprinkling of brownish tesserae. In the extreme foreground, lines of green and white represent ripples on the water. One fisherman is standing up in the boat pulling in a net. Black rises from the sea like a shadow to throw his head into stronger relief. He wears a brief tunic of yellowish-gray fastened only at the left shoulder. The other fisherman, nude save for a narrow loin cloth, seated in the prow holds the boat steady with a pole in one hand, while he directs a telling gesture of remonstrance towards his companion who looks at him askance. There is considerable expression in the two faces. The bodies have the rounded muscular development of the athletes of the Baths of Caracalla. A large fish leaps out of the black sea just in front of the boat. A companion-piece (Pl. 32, Fig. 1) now paves the window recess. Two fishermen — one in the prime of life, the other already gray-haired — are seated in a similar yellow boat. The black sea has been drawn up in arbitrary fashion to set off the muscular bodies. The older man in front, clad in a loin cloth, extends his rod over the sea, while he regards his fellow fisherman out of the corner of his eye. The other, virtually nude, holds a slack line in one hand and in the other a small net with which to land his prey. Behind him his fishing basket lies in readiness. Gray-green again represents the sky. The tesserae are rather small but vary greatly in size. They are, however, laid with considerable precision, but the mortar is not stained. Four other mosaics in the same museum may come from the same site. The three heads[269] in the seventh room employ the same unusual shade of green and have black grounds. The border of twisted ribbon shows the same conventionalization of strokes. In one

[262] *Cf.* p. 115.

[263] RODENWALDT, *loc. cit.*, 158. *Cf.* AYMARD, *loc. cit.*, 65.

[264] BIEBER-RODENWALDT, *loc. cit.*, 8, n. 7.

[265] M. E. CANNIZZARO, *Not. Sc.*, 1901, 10; G. GATTI, *Bull. Com.*, 1901, 90—1.

[266] G. B. CARDUCCI, *Sul Grande Musaico recentemente scoperto in Pesaro*, 1866, pl. 1.

[267] Unpublished, to the best of my knowledge.

[268] The tesserae in the picture are somewhat finer than in the Republican border, but somewhat more irregular.

[269] See p. 107.

of the rooms of the upper floor there is a table-top decorated with two four-strand guilloches and a two-strand guilloche between them. The latter is composed rather illogically of a strand derived from each of the other two. It is impossible to tell whether this was an ancient mosaic reused as a table-top or a Renaissance or Empire pattern developed under classical influence. In spite of the illusion of twisted ribbons in the center, the four-strand guilloches also have the colors applied in a conventional fashion to strokes rather than to individual ribbons. Since the Casino Borghese was built and decorated in the early years of the seventeenth century, it is probably impossible at this late date to discover from which of the vast Borghese holdings this group of mosaics came.

Theatrical Scenes in the Vatican. The theater is represented in a great mosaic discovered over a century ago in the *Tenuta di Porcareccia* and carried to the Vatican,[270] where its octagons decorate the circular room at the head of the monumental staircase and its trapezoids adorn the adjacent vestibule. Since the locality where it was found has been identified with Lorium where the Antonines had a villa, it is reasonable to suppose that the mosaic was laid either in the Antonine or the Severan epoch. Stylistic peculiarities point to the latter. That the original pavement had twenty-four octagons each with a scene from the theater, eight trapezoids with representations of scenic masks, and various delicate borders is indubitable, but unfortunately no note seems to have been made of the arrangement before its dismemberment. The pictures may be in reality "disguised *emblemata*," but at least they were made exclusively for this composition. The workmanship is coarse. The tesserae are rather small (average 0.4—.5 cm.) but so irregular that they had to be laid with much mortar visible. The interstices have been stained to conceal this defect. *Giallo antico*, *rosso antico*, and *serpentino* supply the yellow, red, and dark green respectively, while glass furnishes the brighter green and blue in the garments. Much of this is now, however, a modern restoration. Such a complete renovation makes it difficult to judge of the original appearance. The fact that the figures have been fastened without feet to a small flat base invites the conjecture that they are puppets dressed like actors and posed in favorite scenes. Their clothing with its stripes and plaids is quite remarkable. I have nothing to add to the description of the scenes given by Nogara. The borders have real delicacy of line. Each octagon has its own border; ivy vines, or grape vines, or vines with strange fork-like leaves run between the three-petaled flowers which mark the corners. None of them are sufficiently curved to form rinceaux. The grape vine shows an early instance of the tendril conventionalized into parallel lines, which became common in the fifth and sixth centuries. The fork-like leaf is entirely new. The fragments of the border which once separated the various parts of the composition show delicate volutes arranged in rinceaux in which each small off-shoot terminates in a simple flower. At the angles and at the centers of the sides were *peltae* converted into stiff acanthus leaves. Fantastic developments of the *pelta* appeared in the second century, but none so fantastic as this.

Vaudeville Performers from the Aventine. A companion-piece to the hunting-scenes from the Aventine,[271] representing an ancient vaudeville performance (Pl. 30, Fig. 6), was certainly contemporary with them.[272] Under a trellis in the center a dwarf, clad in a sleeveless tunic with two stripes running down the front, is walking away from a four-legged table with a ewer in his hand. His presence is balanced by a wine-jar of ordinary shape set in a standard, which is nearly as tall as he. At the right, a flute-player wearing a short-sleeved tunic with a shoulder ornament in addition to the usual stripes is playing for a dance executed by a woman with a figure of ample proportions, which is by no means concealed by her diaphanous sleeveless garment, and two male figures wearing loin cloths. At the left a similar female figure is dancing between a flute-player in a tunic with bell-shaped sleeves and a male dancer wearing a loin cloth. Since the flute-players are also equipped with percussion instruments, the male dancers with rattles, and the female dancers with castanets, the noise must have been somewhat deafening. This concludes the glimpses into the entertainments of the Romans of the third and fourth centuries in Italy in so far as they are revealed in mosaic.

Conclusions. The third and fourth centuries were devoted primarily to polychromy. They employed all the colored stones used in the second century, with a slightly increased use of marble. Now that irregular tesserae were tolerated, the intractability of porphyry and serpentine was no longer considered a handicap. *Giallo antico* became more common for yellow, and a certain yellowish-pink stone which appears frequently is probably another variety of *giallo*. Glass also occurs with greater frequency especially for light blue, light green, and a vivid dark blue. Glass-paste supplies various shades of brown and unusual varieties of green. With the exception of a few mosaics in the Baths of Caracalla, there are no rectilinear designs in polychromy. The other geometric patterns show the same qualities as

[270] NOGARA, *op. cit.*, 27—32, pls. lvi-lxi; pls. lxii-lxvi (drawings by A. L. Millin).

[271] See p. 115 f.

[272] ASHBY, *op. cit.*, p. 40, no. 38; LANCIANI, *Bull. Com.*, xxiii, 1895, 189; NOGARA, *op. cit.*, p. 7, pl. ix, fig. 5; BLAKE, 174—5.

the corresponding ones in black-and-white. A tendency to conventionalization reveals itself especially in the guilloches which are losing the impression of being made of ribbon, since the continuity is often broken by other decorative motives and the strokes are colored without relation to the strands. One of the few new motives is the rosette of twisted ribbon. Tridimensionalism appears in the re-introduction of meanders and scales in isometric treatment. Where pictures were to be introduced there was often a multiplicity of borders doubtless intended to give elegance to the whole. The pictures were usually laid to be seen to the best advantage from one point of view. Pictorial mosaics were much more popular than geometric designs of any kind. In the figures, over-developed muscularity and graduated contour lines instead of more realistic modeling begin to make themselves felt in the early years of the third century. Inordinately large eyes and heads disproportionate to the rest of the body are apt to betray an even later period. When the figures appear before a white ground they often have a statuesque quality. Black backgrounds reappear for the first time since the true Hellenistic mosaics. Where landscape backgrounds occur they show an attempt at perspective which is usually not very successful. An arrangement in more or less clearly defined registers is new to the mosaic art with the possible exception of the Palestrina Nile mosaic. Since the third and fourth centuries were the heirs of all that went before, they contain much which is not significant. Various tendencies appear now in one form, now in another, so that it is difficult to reduce the mosaics to specific categories.

CHAPTER IV.

TOMB MOSAICS

Introduction. If a kindly fate had postponed the discovery of the tombs in the vineyards of the Via Appia and elsewhere to a period of more scientific excavation, there would be in existence today a rich series of tomb mosaics belonging to the latter half of the third or the early years of the fourth century. This gap is, however, being filled to a certain extent from the excavations for the Via Imperiale, where a succession of tomb mosaics is coming to light extending in date from the first through the third century.[273] The only information available with regard to the mosaics which were discovered earlier, with one exception, must be derived from old drawings, which are hopelessly inaccurate from the point of view of the archaeologist. Apparently, however, it was customary for the Roman of the period in question to insert a circular picture in the center of a floor which was decorated with motives from the rich repertory of the mosaicists. There are a few rectangular pictures. On the other hand, the pavement of the Mausoleum of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine, was entirely circular to fit a circular building. After the Peace of the Church initiated by Constantine, there was at least one attempt to embellish with mosaic the catacombs which formed the final resting-places of the martyrs of the persecution of Diocletian, namely those of *SS. Pietro e Marcellino.* Old drawings are the basis of our knowledge of these last also. There remain a few dedicatory inscriptions which have little or no value for an insight into the aesthetic taste of the period, but do render aid to a more sympathetic understanding of the hearts of the men of old. A more detailed treatment of the individual examples follows.

[273] A. W. VAN BUREN, *AJA.*, xliii, 1939, 511. Commendatore Moretti has with his habitual courtesy shown them to me in the storerooms of the *Museo Nazionale Romano.* An official publication is to be expected in the near future.

PART 1

DECORATIVE TOMB MOSAICS

Vigna dei Gesuiti a S. Stefano or *alla Navicella.*[274] In the Eton drawings of ancient paintings and mosaics, there are representations of ten circular pictures in mosaic.[275] They were doubtless colored, and they present a varied subject matter. Fortunately, one drawing shows a picture of a tomb as it looked when it was discovered. A medallion with the picture of a centaur occupied the place of honor in the center. Floral motives rise stiffly[276] from wreaths at the corners to the circumference of the circle. Three birds and a stag have found places along the sides between the plants. It is impossible to tell whether this part of the mosaic was in black-and-white or in colors. There is no record as to how the others were mounted. In some cases it is even difficult to ascertain whether the circular medallions were in mosaic for floors or in painting for ceilings. The subjects chosen seem to have no special funerary significance. The list is as follows: a goat-legged satyr holding a shepherd's pipe as he stands in a field of flowers; a drunken Silenus supported by a horned satyr as he rides along on an ass; two rather elaborate archi-

[274] Both names are used indiscriminately in the old records.

[275] For the series: ASHBY, *PBSR.*, vii, 1914, 9—12, nos. 22, 24, 26, 29—36; LANCIANI, *Bull. Com.*, xxiii, 1895, 172—3.

[276] They recall the shrine of the Horrea Agrippiana. See p. 92.

tectural scenes, one of which is surely Egyptian; and four Nile scenes with the hippopotamus and the hyena as well as the usual crocodile and ibis. Nile scenes were introduced into Italy from the Hellenistic East along with the mosaic art itself and appear from time to time at least until its decline in the latter part of the third century. It is possible, however, that the presence of the hyenas in the park of Gordianus and the exhibition of hippopotami in the *Ludi Saeculares* under Philip "the Arab" aroused fresh interest in exotic creatures. A hyena appears in the great hunting picture of the Casino Borghese.[277] A composition similar to the one with the hyena, hippopotamus, and crocodile was discovered in 1710 in the Baths of Constantine.[278] Such evidence as there is points to a date at least as late as the third century for this group of mosaics. There is one which is more complicated, as it seems to include within the circle, in addition to the circular medallion representing the head of the Sun with pointed rays, four busts of the Seasons crowned with flowers and encircled with vine-branches, which in their meanderings leave spaces for birds. Among the Corsini drawings[279] there is one which Lanciani identifies, wrongly according to Ashby,[280] with the mosaic described above. It is, after all, apparently square with a medallion of Diana in the center,[281] the four Seasons in the corners, and a bird corresponding to each Season in the spaces between. This mosaic is in black-and-white. These drawings are so notably incorrect from the archaeological point of view that they cannot contribute more than a general idea of the subjects chosen.

Vigna Moroni. A similar series of tombs appeared in the Vigna Moroni, opposite the Tomb of the Scipios on Via Appia.[282] Again, the whole composition is described in only one instance, in which a Silenus is represented in a reclining position with a patera in his hand, while a vine with leaves and clusters of grapes fills the space between this central circle and the square. A drunken Silenus, supported by a youth so that he can safely ride the panther of Dionysus, forms the subject of another central circle. A third shows the head of the youthful Diana with a crescent in her hair and foliage at each side of her face. There is no means of ascertaining how the last two were mounted. A Rape of Proserpina is the only subject with apparent funerary significance. Lanciani does not state whether it is round or not, consequently it may or may not belong to the same series and be contemporary with the others. There were also a few geometric designs. Presumably all the circular mosaics came from the same workshop. The engravers took such liberty with their subjects that it is useless to draw from apparent stylistic peculiarities any deductions as to the age of the mosaics. The second half of the third century would probably cover roughly the period of their popularity.

Villa Corsini. The mosaics uncovered long ago in the tombs of the Villa Corsini, now the Villa Doria Pamfili, were more varied. One exhibits a field divided by two-strand guilloches into one nearly square compartment with two side panels, each divided into two parts.[283] Each of the four small spaces reveals the picture of a tree, an animal, and a plant grouped as though upon a platform. The animals would appear to be a hare, a lioness, a cow, and a panther. A vase stands in front of the panther. In the compartment in the center a small child crowned with grape-leaves reclines upon a horse's back and holds aloft a cantharus. Knowing the inaccuracy of the old drawings, one wonders if the animal should not be a donkey instead of a horse. A stout vine-branch planted at the base of a pillar at each side of the picture rises up until it finds a trellis upon which to twine itself. The arbor seems to be hanging in air. Birds hover over the vines. There are little plants at the base of the pillars. The whole composition — plants, pillars, vines and horse — has been set on a narrow platform which represents the ground. There is no landscape background. It is difficult to judge of the age of a mosaic from an engraving of this sort. Still, this kind of arbor does not appear in mosaic in Italy at any rate until the third century. The brief notice accompanying the drawing[284] proclaims that the mosaic is in black-and-white; the drawing, however, clearly represents a colored picture. At this late date it is impossible to detect where the error lies.

The second,[285] if correctly drawn, shows a departure from the old convention which required the spectator to walk around the room to see the mosaic pavement to the best advantage. The entire composition faces the front entrance. A border of lily-like flowers placed pistil to stem appears at each side; a simple rinceau, at the top. The representation of a colonnade of eight columns seems to support the central picture, while the picture of an arcade rests upon it. Statues stand in the intercolumniations of both these porticoes. Two strands twisted and pulled out to make a series of spaces more or less circular in form frame the picture, which seems to portray the Rape of Proserpina. Pluto with the Maid in his arms is about to mount

[277] For this whole subject see pp. 114, 116.
[278] ASHBY, *loc. cit.*, 11, no. 32 (2).
[279] LANCIANI, *loc. cit.*
[280] ASHBY, *loc. cit.*, 11, no. 31.
[281] Bacchus in the *Picturae Cryptarum* (LANCIANI, *loc. cit.*).
[282] LANCIANI, *loc. cit.*, 184—8; ASHBY, *loc. cit.*, 7—9.
[283] P. S. BARTOLI-J. P. BELLORI, *Veterum Sepulchra*, in J. GRONOVIUS, *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum*, xii, Venice, 1737, fig. xiiii.
[284] *Ibid.*, 15.
[285] *Ibid.*, p. 16, fig. xvii.

the waiting chariot, his four horses are crouched ready to spring. There is in addition a third figure, nude save for a flutter of drapery at the waist. Pluto's drapery forms a low arc behind his head. This mosaic also is said to be in black-and-white.

A third[286] employs a type of conventionalized arabesque which begins to appear in the late second century, but, if it is correctly drawn, it discloses the search for new effects which is characteristic of the third. Instead of issuing from the corners in the usual fashion, the vines start in a rosette at the center of each side. They are clasped so as to leave four spaces roughly heart-shaped, after which they fill with their volutes all the space which remains. The volutes, for the most part, terminate in buds and flowers, but there are a few tightly curled tendrils. Four birds have found places for themselves in the surfaces between the volutes and the heart-shaped spaces, which are decorated with dancing figures equipped with rattles. Incidentally, the dancers are arranged in the new style to be seen to the best advantage from one point of view, but the birds are placed with regard to the old canon. This mosaic is said to be in colors.

Tomb on Via Asinaria. An old engraving preserves the record of a rectangular tomb mosaic in black-and-white.[287] A nude man is striding forward so rapidly that his long hair flies back from his face. He holds a torch before him in the left hand and three poppy-stalks behind him in the right. He has been identified both as a priest of Ceres and as Hypnos.[288] The border is a two-strand guilloche in which every other loop has been pulled out to form a larger circle. A miniature four-petaled flower decorates these circles. While the usual "eye" appears in the smaller loops, buds have been inserted between the smaller loops and the bands which enclose the border. This border is of the type developed in the third century. The tomb had been completely destroyed by the time that the drawing was made.

Tomb of Posidonius. Because of the extraordinary interest of its subject matter, the tomb erroneously associated with T. Flavius Posidonius has already been considered in another connection.[289]

Tomb on Via Ostiensis. More recently, a mosaic (Pl. 11, Fig. 5) has come to light[290] in a group of tombs which are shown by their construction to belong to the third or the fourth century of the Christian era.[291] It has a freshness of conception which does not appear in silhouette mosaics after the early years of the third century. A vine heavy with leaves and clusters of grapes rises from a whorl of leaves in the lower right hand corner, gently embraces a herm, and then climbs over a trellis erected above the herm in the same artistic but utterly impractical fashion as that in one of the mosaics of the Villa Corsini.[292] Enough remains of a human figure to show that he held a patera, and so the picture has been plausibly explained as a sacrificial scene before the herm of the dead. A little color in the patera and in the leaves breaks the monotony of simple black-and-white. A narrow band of black encloses the picture, while a two-strand black-and-white guilloche on a black ground serves as a frame. A broad band of black decorated with a row of white indented squares appears at the bottom and may have continued around the other three sides. It is separated from the guilloche by a narrow band of white. The tesserae are fairly regular and the workmanship is creditable for this late date. It is now in the *Antiquarium Comunale,* Room VII. It is the only one of these tomb mosaics which is preserved.

The Mausoleum of Constantia. It is fitting to conclude the discussion of the decorative tomb mosaics with that of the sumptuous mausoleum of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine.[293] According to the *Gesta Sanctae Agnetis* written in the fifth century, Constantia not only persuaded her father to build the Basilica of *S. Agnese fuori le Mura,*[294] but also conceived the desire to be buried in the shadow of the basilica. A wall of fourth century workmanship was reared to enclose an area consecrated as a burial ground probably as early as the days of Constantine, to judge from the coins found in the tombs. A part of this wall strengthened by another supported the columns which once adorned the vestibule of the mausoleum. Beneath the vestibule were the remains of a room with three apses which may once have served for the funeral banquets. The mausoleum must, therefore, have been erected some years after the establishment of the cemetery. In the mosaic ceiling of the barrel vault covering the circular colonnade spaces were left in the design of intertwining grape-vines for two portrait busts, one a young man of rather melancholy aspect and the other a woman of more mature years. The youth wears a

[286] *Ibid.*, p. 19, fig. xviii. *Cf.* also *Veterum Lucernae* p. (34), fig. xxxv.

[287] P. S. BARTOLI-J. P. BELLORI, *ap.* GRONOV., *op. cit.*, xii, p. 51, fig. lix.

[288] *Cf.* A. MICHAELIS, *Arch. Zeit.*, xxiv, 1866, 147 n. 18; *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, xxxv, 1910, 124, no. 198.

[289] *Cf.* p. 113.

[290] G. LUGLI, *Not. Sc.*, 1919, 331—2 with fig. 24.

[291] *Ibid.*, 289.

[292] See p. 120.

[293] E. MÜNTZ, *Rev. Arch.*, Sér. II, xxxii, 1876, 406; F. JUBARU, *L'Arte,* vii, 1904, 457—68; R. MICHEL, *Stud. über Chr. Denkmäler,* xii, 1912, 1—9; ASHBY, *PBSR.*, vii, 1914, 37, no. 50. The pavement is wrongly labeled in the Eton drawing as coming from the *Palazzo di Augusto.* WILPERT (*ad.* MICHEL, *op. cit.*, 8, n. 2) claims that it is a forgery.

[294] V. BURCH (*Myth and Constantine the Great,* London, 1927, 162) maintains that Constantine did not dedicate churches to individuals. This does not, however, affect the argument.

robe of gold[295] and has been plausibly identified as the young husband of Constantia, Gallus Caesar.[296] It seems probable, therefore, that he built the mausoleum for his wife, who died in A. D. 354, three years after their marriage. The entire interior — pavement, barrel vault, niches, cupola — with its rich mosaic decoration formed a fitting setting for the sarcophagus of red porphyry which is now in the Vatican. It originally stood in the center where its four carved sides could be admired, encircled by the double row of columns which supported both vault and cupola. A door opposite the main entrance led out to a platform which surrounded the edifice. In the fifth century this passage was blocked to form a niche for the sarcophagus so that a baptismal font could be installed in the center of the building.

The pagan character of the mosaic decoration becomes less of a stumbling-block now that it seems clear that the edifice was constructed as a tomb.[297] By the fourth century Christianity had absorbed from the paganism surrounding it much that formed a more serious menace than a repertory of graceful decorative motives used to adorn the final resting-place of the daughter of the Emperor. The mosaics of the cupola and the vault are familiar to most lovers of ancient art,[298] but the pattern which once decorated the floor, since it is preserved in only one old drawing, is little known. Composed of black and white tesserae it formed a striking contrast to the porphyry sarcophagus and the rich polychrome mosaics above. In the center a plump child holding aloft a cup with his right hand rides an alert donkey, while another child dances along in front raising a cup in one hand and a staff in the other. It is amusing to see such innocent babies aping Silenus and his companion. A hydria (?) of graceful shape rests on a pedestal behind the donkey. Miniature plants raise their heads above the platform which represents the ground. A grape vine with clusters, leaves, and tendrils forms an arabesque about the central group. Birds appear amid the foliage. A patera and a pedum are suspended from the vines at the left, a shepherd's pipe in the corresponding position on the right. Space for an altar has been left at the top and bottom. Both altars are garlanded. The one at the bottom supports a crater of fragrant wine over which a butterfly hovers. An apple is suspended over one side. The other has an amphora of pleasing shape and also an apple resting upon it, and a pedum held in front of it by the festoon. All these details are arranged in strictly classical fashion so as to be seen to best advantage by walking around the periphery of the room. This description fits the old drawing of the design which, although it may not have reproduced all the details with accuracy, doubtless gives the general effect. It seems a strange composition for a Christian tomb, but at any rate it is highly decorative.

Catacombs of SS. Pietro e Marcellino. The mosaics decorating the corridor of the Catacombs of SS. Pietro and Marcellino on Via Labicana, which were excavated in 1838, represent an attempt to systematize and embellish the final resting-place of many of the martyrs to the new faith. The only knowledge of them is contained in the drawings of P. E. Visconti and the commentary which accompanies them.[299] The entrance was marked by a portico *in antis*. By descending eight steps the worshiper reached a landing decorated by a mosaic with an all-over pattern of elongated hexagons and swastikas enclosed within a rectangle. Four more steps led to a ramp which descended to a narrow corridor crossed at intervals by lateral galleries. The passageway had a mosaic floor sprinkled at regular intervals with indented squares. Each crossing was marked by a mosaic square in polychromy. The variety of patterns suggests that the mosaicist had access to a book of designs.

The first (Pl. 33, Fig. 1) is the most elaborate. It shows the familiar pattern of a central square, crosses at the corners separated by octagons, and lozenges in every other available space.[300] The central square framed by a two-strand guilloche contains a dove perched on an olive branch, which may be a Christian symbol. A curious interlace brings the eye to focus on the crosses.[301] The small squares in the corners bear Solomon's knots, and the lozenges show three lozenges one within the other. At this point, if we may borrow the terminology from botany, radial symmetry ends and lateral symmetry begins. The two lateral octagons are both decorated by a circle with a rosette of twisted ribbon at its center, a motive which does not appear in Italy until the third century;[302] the other two are divided into central squares bounded by oblongs with triangles at the corners, each part of which has its own miniature decoration — the basket-weave interlace in the central square, the two-strand guilloche in the oblongs, and the indented triangle in the triangles: the two

[295] For gold clothing, *cf.* A. ALFÖLDI, *Röm. Mitt.*, I, 1935, 58—9.

[296] Some have identified the portrait with Crispus (*cf.* ANTHONY, *Mosaics*, 64). The circumstances of his death in A. D. 326 make this seem unlikely.

[297] O. DEUBNER (*Röm. Mitt.*, liv, 1939, 31) calls attention to marble incrustation taken from earlier buildings.

[298] One of the latest to appraise them is ANTHONY, *op. cit.*, 63—5.

[299] P. E. VISCONTI, *Diss. Pont. Acc. Rom.*, x, 1842, 43—88; V. VESPIGNANI, *ibid.*, 89—95; RAOUL-ROCHETTE, *ibid.*, 97—112.

[300] For earlier examples, see BLAKE, 194, pl. 17, fig. 2.

[301] It appears in various forms of Byzantine art.

[302] It occurs in the Palace of Nero at Olympia (CURTIUS-ADLER, *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, Berlin, 1896, *Tafeln* ii, cviii-cx.

lateral rectangles between the octagons and the outer edge exhibit the three-strand guilloche, while those at the top and bottom show the guilloche of two strands: of the small squares at the extremities of the crosses, those at the sides have a cross in a circle, the others, an indented square set on the diagonal. The whole composition is framed in a simple border of triangles. Panels decorated by the developed guilloche and enclosed on the three exposed sides by the same band of triangles have been added at the sides. Being shorter than the square, they are placed symmetrically with regard to the front line of the square, but the right one extends to the back line, while the left one stops short of it. These also add laterality to a pattern which was supposed to be viewed from the front only.

The square at the second crossing is much simpler in design, a basket-weave interlace enclosed in an open meander.

The third (Pl. 33, Fig. 3) lacks both radial and lateral symmetry. Four octagons, their sides parallel but not contiguous, are separated by swastikas with an effect somewhat similar to a meander. The octagons at the top and bottom have the same rather ineffectual pattern, a small square decorated by the basket-weave interlace set with its diagonal to the axis of the room, the awkward space between the octagon and the square being filled with a two-strand guilloche. The designs in the lateral octagons not only are diverse, but they have been chosen unfortunately, since an optical illusion inherent in the pattern makes one appear much larger than the other. A central square set on the diagonal and converted into an eight-pointed star by the addition of two triangles at each side gives the one at the left its true proportions, whereas a central square orientated the same as the whole composition and set between lozenges whose sides are parallel to those of the octagon seems to constrict the one at the right. The square within the left octagon is decorated with a Solomon's knot at the center which brings the eye to a focus; the one at the right is plain while the four contiguous lozenges containing inner lozenges in outline serve to divert attention. The trapezoids along the sides are adorned with a simple pattern of triangles. The outer border of lozenges, set side by side, each with an inner lozenge in outline, is new. The mosaicist had apparently not thought the border out carefully, for he inserts triangles at the center of each of two adjacent sides and at the ends of the other two. On the other hand, he may have been trying to avoid a symmetry which he found monotonous. He has, however, added side panels decorated with two-strand guilloches as though he wished to bring this mosaic into correspondence with the first.

The fourth and last crossing has a graceful pattern of ovals (Pl. 33, Fig. 2), curvilinear triangles, and curvilinear octagons arranged symmetrically about a central circle in such a way that various segments of circles are left along the sides. A many-petaled flower like a chrysanthemum decorates the central circle; half an eight-petaled rosette with indented petals, the semicircle along each side; and a four-petaled flower with petal-like sepals, two of the curvilinear octagons, the other two having a new variety of rosette made of twisted ribbon. Neither outer border nor side-panels appear in the drawing.

When shall this catacomb be dated? The wall construction, whether in brick with wide mortar or in a mixture of tufa block-and-brick, does not appear until the time of Maxentius.[303] Visconti has proposed an ingenious theory based on the proximity to the tomb of Helena, the mother of Constantine. Many Christians had lost their lives in the recent persecutions of Diocletian and had been laid to rest in these catacombs. After the Peace of the Church, it was possible for the Empress to embellish their tombs, which had become places of worship, by supplying mosaic floors. They were laid without substructures in a fashion which would not have been tolerated even in a tomb before the time of Constantine. The patterns, though generally speaking old, show no proper understanding of an aesthetic relation of the parts to the whole. A few of the minor motives are new, as for example the ribbon rosette. Such a series of patterns is not without significance for one who would analyze the taste of the early fourth century.

PART 2

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

Introduction. In the early years of the first century of the Christian era, dedicatory inscriptions appeared occasionally in the mosaic floors of the columbaria. Since none of these were built after the time of Hadrian,[304] it is not strange that only one pavement of this type, to my knowledge, has come from the third century, namely that of the columbarium on the Via Labicana to be described below. A few private tombs of the latter part of the Empire bear mosaic inscriptions. The substitution of inhumation for cremation on the part of the early Christians led to the construction of hypogea for the reception of sarcophagi.[305] One of these discovered on Viale Manzoni has aroused extraordinary interest because of its unique wall-paintings. Its mosaic inscription may even furnish the key for their interpretation. These scattered tomb mosaics are not an important

[303] E. B. VAN DEMAN, *AJA.*, xvi, 1912, 429—30; VESPIGNANI, *loc. cit.*, 89.

[304] PAULY-WISSOWA, IV (1), 594, is to be corrected in the light of G. LUGLI, *Not. Sc.*, 1919, 294, 312—14.

[305] This change was not confined to the Christians. *Cf.* DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, IV (2) under *Sarcophagus*, 1071—5; A. D. NOCK, *Harvard Theological Review*, xxv, 1932, 321—59.

branch of the art, but they merit brief treatment for the insight which they give into the hearts of the people in their hour of grief. More detailed information follows:

Columbarium on Via Labicana. A group of columbaria, excavated on Via Labicana,[306] was proved by the structure of the walls and by the epigraphy to have been in use from the first to the middle of the third century of the Christian era. It seems probable that the rude mosaic in one of them[307] should be ascribed to the latter part of the period. The insertion of minor decorative motives — a white swastika outlined in black, dolphin(?), and a cross formed by oblique squares above; a similar swastika and dolphin(?) below — without regard for any preconceived plan is in accordance with the taste of the third century.[308] Along the left side, an inscription starts with P·SEX·P(?) only to be broken off by a lacuna. The same inscription apparently continues along the bottom:

MVN with VS above.[309]
FECIT·AMICIS·
DONAVIT

An unkind fate has destroyed the significant part of the name of the Publius Sextius who graciously presented this gift to his friends.

Tomb of Atticus. An inscription in white letters on a black ground (Pl. 11, Fig. 2) shows that a mosaic fragment, now in the *Antiquarium Comunale,* Room VII,[310] once belonged to the private tomb of a certain Atticus. It reads:

·D·I·M·
·ATTICO·

The rather unusual *D.I.M.* stands for *Dis Inferis Manibus.*[311] Three rows of plain white tesserae separate the inscription from a field composed in part at least of scales[312] arranged to form double axes into which a face has been inserted, the features marked out in white on a black ground. No doubt this was intended as a portrait. The tesserae are fairly regular, and the workmanship is good. It would appear to belong to the early years of the third century.

Polychrome Mosaic in the Antiquarium Comunale. Unfortunately, in its present state the inscription of a polychrome tomb mosaic,[313] also in the *Antiquarium Comunale,* Room VII (Pl. 11, Fig. 3), does not make sense. If the *D.M.* stood in the center, as usual, a considerable portion is lacking at the left. The part preserved reads as follows:

ET
D M RIORO
VIIS TE·FECIT·TIMARETAE FI·CONR
P

Such an inscription may betray the ignorant mosaicist who could not read what he was lettering. The slightly cursive nature of the letters suggests a late date, but how late it is difficult to say. Two figures in blue near the letters *D M* may represent birds in flight. A row of gammadia of simple form serves as a border both above and below. They are bright in color, and the orange, red, and brown has been made more vivid by a stain which covers both mortar and cube. Although the tesserae are fairly small, the workmanship is very coarse.

Tomb in the Vigna Silvestrelli on the Via Latina. In 1876, a tomb was uncovered in the Vigna Silvestrelli,[314] which had a black arabesque on a white ground with a Medusa head at its center. Near the entrance there was an inscription in a *tabella ansata* which reads:

FECIT·SI·BI·(hedera)·A·SO·LO
DOMVM·AETERNAM

The forms of the letters are said to reveal an origin in the third century. The inscription on the urn or the sarcophagus doubtless supplied the name.

The Hypogeum of the Aurelii on Viale Manzoni. A significant body of literature[315] has grown up about the sepulchral chambers discovered in 1919 on Viale Manzoni. The interpretation of the extraordinary wall-paintings which they contain has interested a number of distinguished scholars. An evaluation of the various theories propounded is beyond the scope of this study. A date in the third century is well attested. The hypogeum must have been built before the Aurelianic wall brought the land within the city limits. Add to this the form of the arcosolium, the type of the tunic with long narrow sleeves and the short stripe over the shoulder depicted in the paintings, and the method of wearing the hair in imitation of Julia Domna also in the pictures, together with the name *Aurelius,* and a date in the third century seems assured.[316] Because of the combination of careful drawing with sketchy illu-

[306] G. MANCINI, *Not. Sc.,* 1914, 375—99.

[307] *Ibid.,* 394—5 with fig. 4.

[308] *Cf.* the mosaic from Ostia published by D. VAGLIERI, *Not. Sc.,* 1911, 44—5, figs. 1—2.

[309] *Cf.* A. W. VAN BUREN, *Rendic. Accad. Pontif. Rom.,* ix, 1934, 140—2.

[310] E. GATTI, *Bull. Com.,* liv, 1926, 237—8.

[311] DESSAU, iii, 2, p. 765.

[312] The manner in which the tesserae are laid in the bottom of the fragment casts doubt upon the nature of the rest of the design.

[313] Unpublished.

[314] E. STEVENSON, *Bull. d. Inst.,* 1876, 201; *Not. Sc.,* 1876, 58; ASHBY, *PBSR.,* 1907, 69; *CIL.* VI 29956.

[315] G. BENDINELLI, *Not. Sc.,* 1920, 123—41; 1921, 230—4; *Art and Arch.,* xi, 1921 (1), 169—72; *Mon. Ant.,* xxviii, 1922, 289—519; R. PARIBENI, *Boll. d'Arte,* Ser. II, i, 1921—2, 97—104; O. MARUCCHI, *Nuovo Bull. d'Arch. Crist.,* xxvii, 1921, 44—7, 83—93; G. WILPERT, *Mem. d. Pont. Acc. Rom.,* Ser. III, i (2), 1924, 1—43, pls. i-xxiv; J. CARCOPINO, *Rev. d. Études Gr.,* xxxviii, 1925, xlvii-xlviii; F. WIRTH, *Röm. Wandm.,* 185—6, pl. 46b.

[316] WILPERT, *op. cit.,* 4—5.

sionism, Wirth dates them about A. D. 240.[317] The upper chamber does not concern us, but the lower one has a five-line inscription in mosaic of black letters upon a white ground within a border of dentils which turn outwards after the fashion approved in the third century. The slightly cursive character of the letters accords well with such a date. The inscription reads:

AURELIO ONESIMO
AURELIO PAPIRIO
AURELIAE PRIME VIRG
AURELIVS FELICISSIMVS
FRATRIS ET COLIBERT B·M·F·

Wilpert calls attention to the observation of Lietzmann[318] that *fratris* is often used for *fratribus* in the inscriptions of the common people. Unfortunately, *fratres* admits of two interpretations. According to Wilpert, Aurelius Felicissimus constructed the tomb for Aurelius Onesimus and Aurelius Papirius, who are presumably the brothers mentioned below, and his unmarried sister, Aurelia Prima, and in addition for his fellow freedmen. Since no wives are mentioned, the inscription seems to imply that Aurelius Felicissimus was also unmarried when he built the tomb for his bachelor brothers[319] and his maiden sister. Wilpert's interpretation of several of the pictures rests upon this understanding of the inscription. Most scholars agree that Aurelius Felicissimus belonged to one of the numerous Gnostic sects with which Rome was rife during the second and third centuries of the Christian era; Wilpert believes that many difficulties in the interpretation of the paintings can be obviated by assuming that Aurelius was an eclectic. One of the chief commands of many of these sects was to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked. There is a banqueting scene in one of the paintings which may illustrate the first precept. More interesting, however, is the illustration of the second. A man fully clothed, in whom Wilpert sees Aurelius himself, seems to be directing a woman, presumably his sister Aurelia, to bestow the fruit of her loom upon three nude men who stand nearby to receive it. Above are the flocks and herds which formed a part of the wealth of the family. The camel may indicate interests in Syria or North Africa. His interpretation of the other pictures is no less ingenious, but it is not dependent upon the information gleaned from the inscription. Paribeni, on the other hand, interprets *fratres* to mean "brothers in the Faith." The three men and the one woman would have joined some Christian sect either before or after their manumission by the edict of Caracalla or by an Aurelian family, and Aurelius Felicissimus built them a tomb which was later enlarged to include others. Such an understanding of the inscription necessitates a different interpretation of the pictures. He believes that an orthodox significance can be discovered for all. This is not the place to discuss the pagan interpretation of the scene with the loom on the part of Bendinelli, nor the theory of Marucchi which connects the pictures with the story of Job.

This concludes the study of the mosaics of the late Empire in Rome and vicinity.

[317] The in scription is reproduced in photographic form in BENDINELLI, *Mon. Ant., loc. cit.*, 321—2 and in WILPERT, *op. cit.*, 3.

[318] H. LIETZMANN, *Zeitschr. f. Neutest. Wissensch.*, 1922, 157.

[319] It is quite possible that the brothers may have died before they were of marriageable age.

INDICES

(A) SITES

(B) MUSEUMS

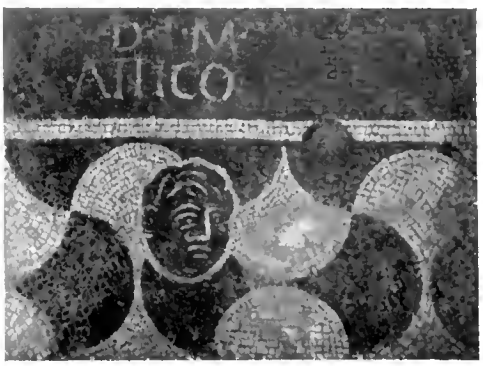
(C) SUBJECTS

[1] This part of the museum is in process of reorganization.
[2] Plants of various sorts have not been included.

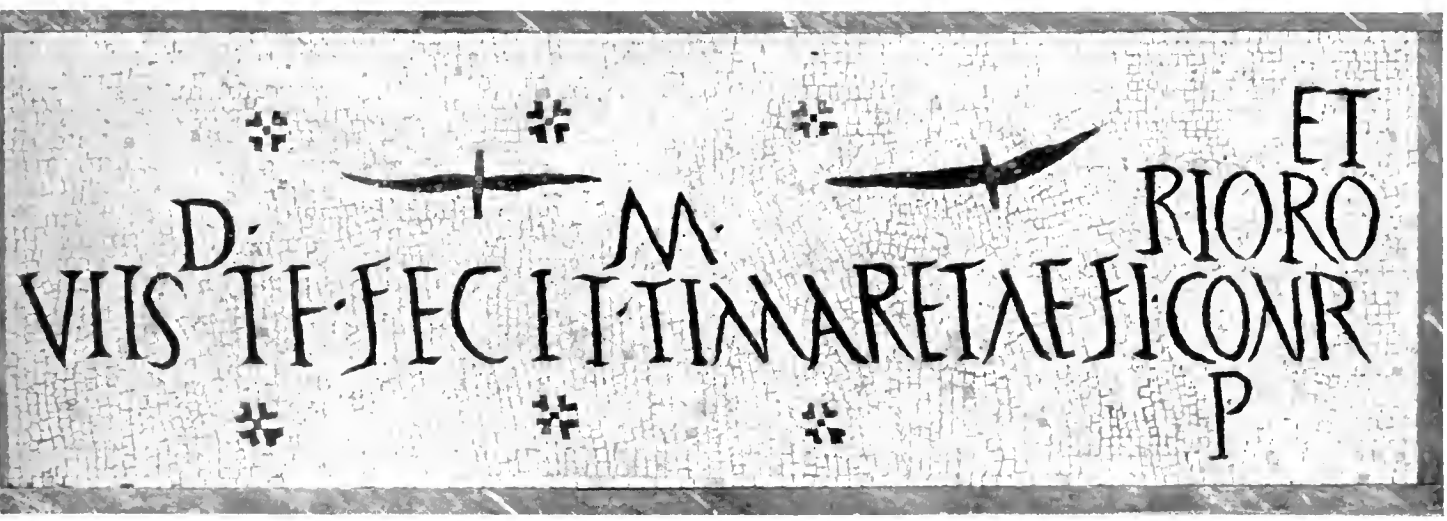
(D) INSCRIPTIONS

2. Standard Publications

1. (P. 91 n.* 61.)



2. (P. 124.)



3. (P. 124).

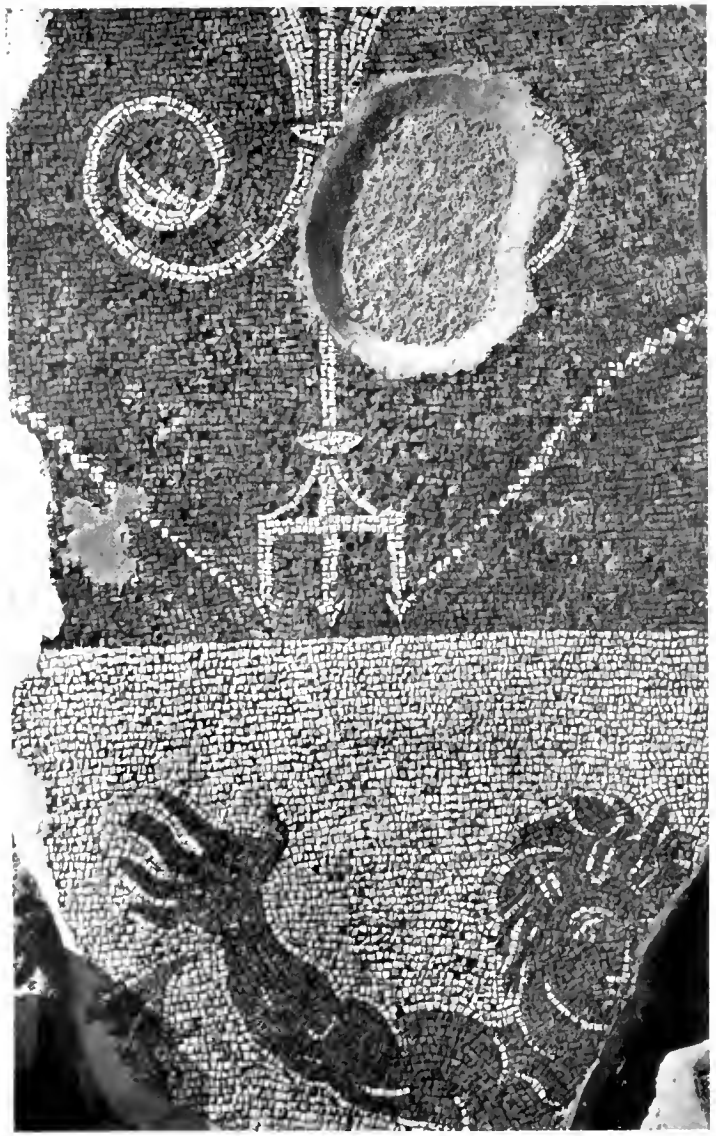
(Photograph by Calderisi.)

Figures 1—3, 5. Antiquarium Comunale.

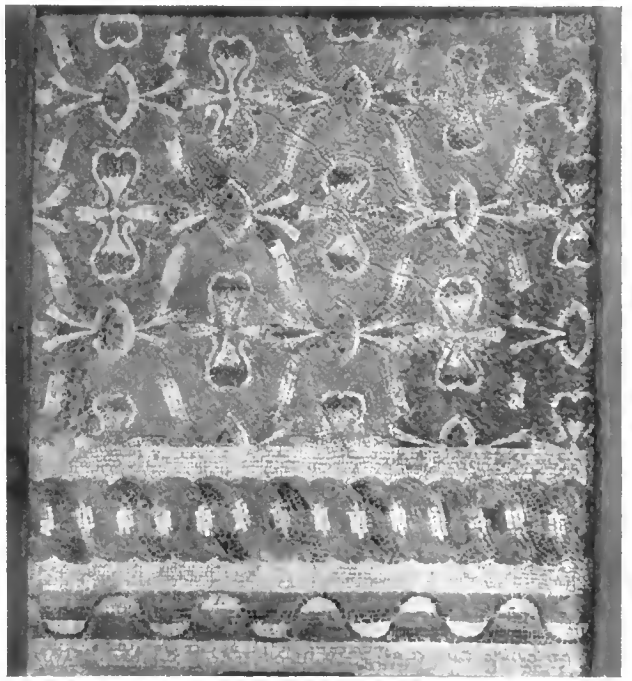
(Photographs 1, 2, 4, 5 by M. E. B.)

4. Atrium Vestae. (P. 83.)

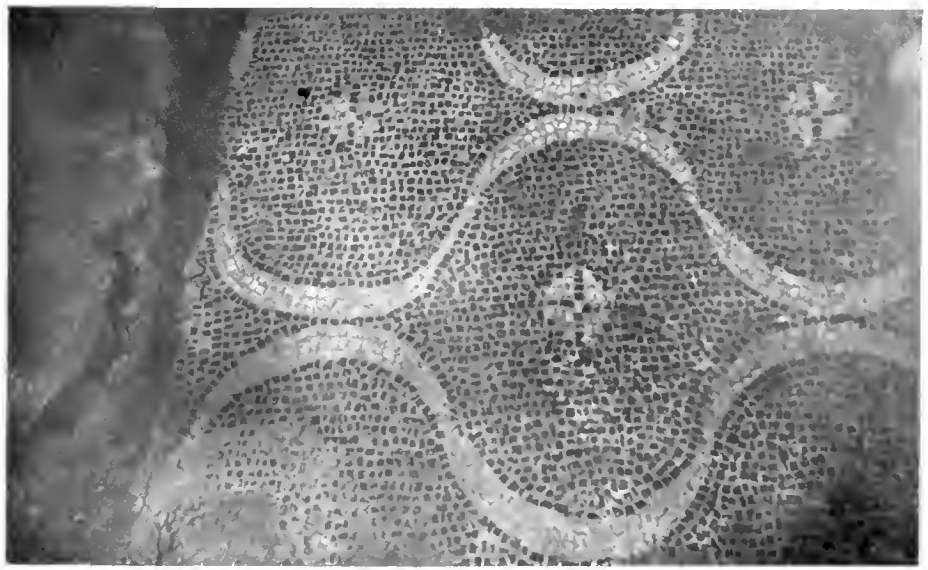
5. (P. 121.)



1. Baths of Caracalla. (P. 90.)
(Photograph by Anderson 580.)



2. Antiquarium Comunale (P. 101.)
(Photograph by M. E. B.)



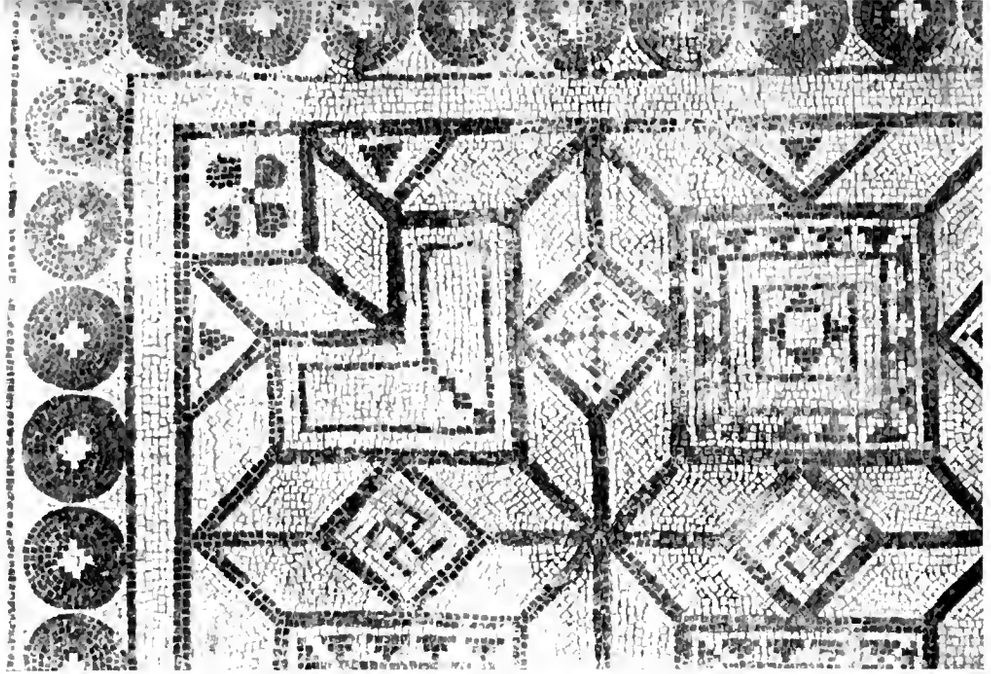
3. House under Sta. Sabina. (P. 84.)
(Photograph by Muñoz.)

PLATE 12.

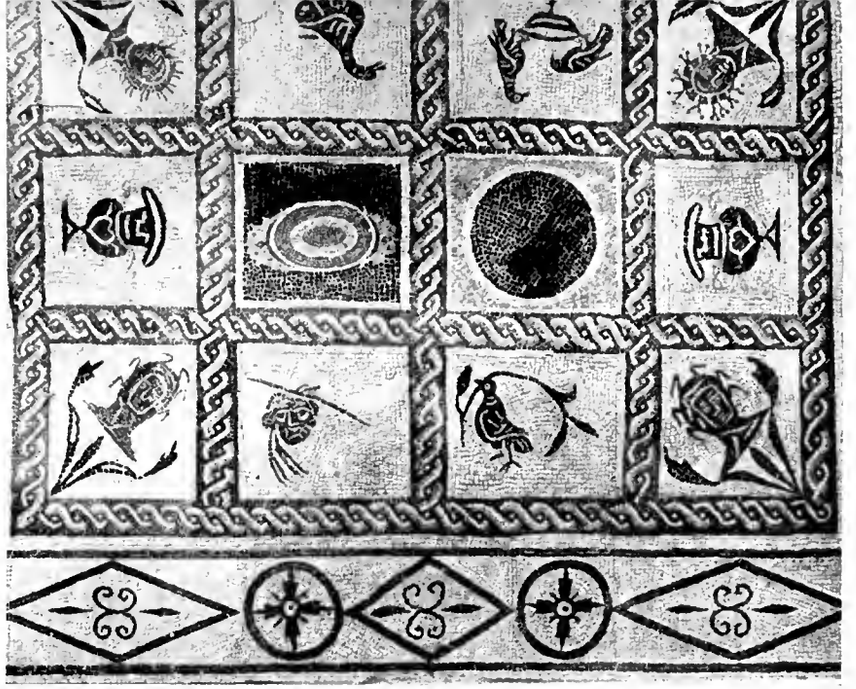
1—2. House near Tomb of Scipios. (Pp. 84—5.)
(Photographs by M. E. B.)

3. Baths of Caracalla. (P. 90.)
(Photograph by Moscioni 11266.)

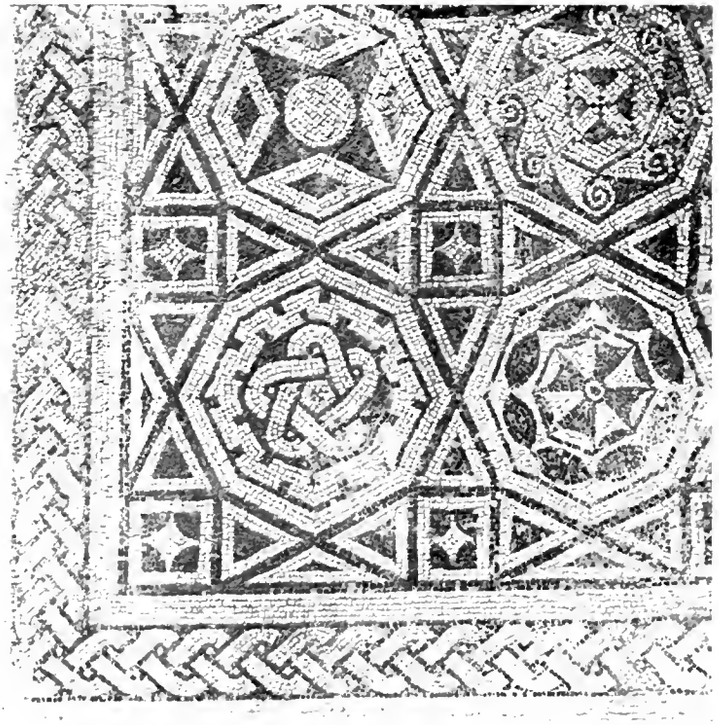
4. Palace of the Laterani. (P. 85.)
(Photograph of Pontif. Comm. Archeol. Sacra.)



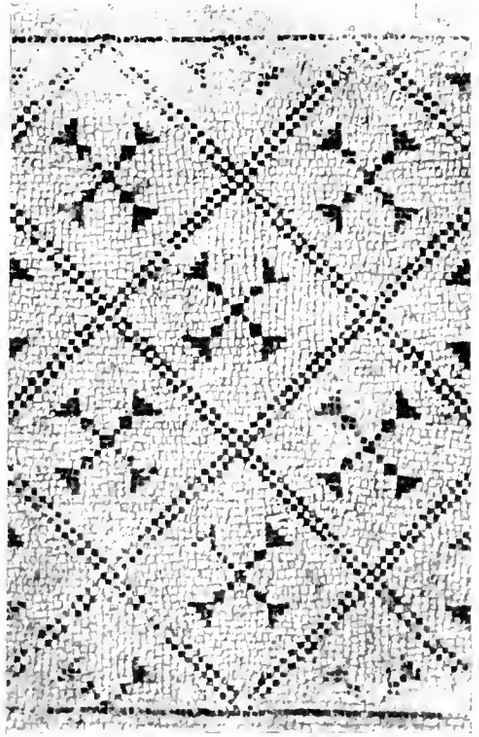
1. (P. 85.)



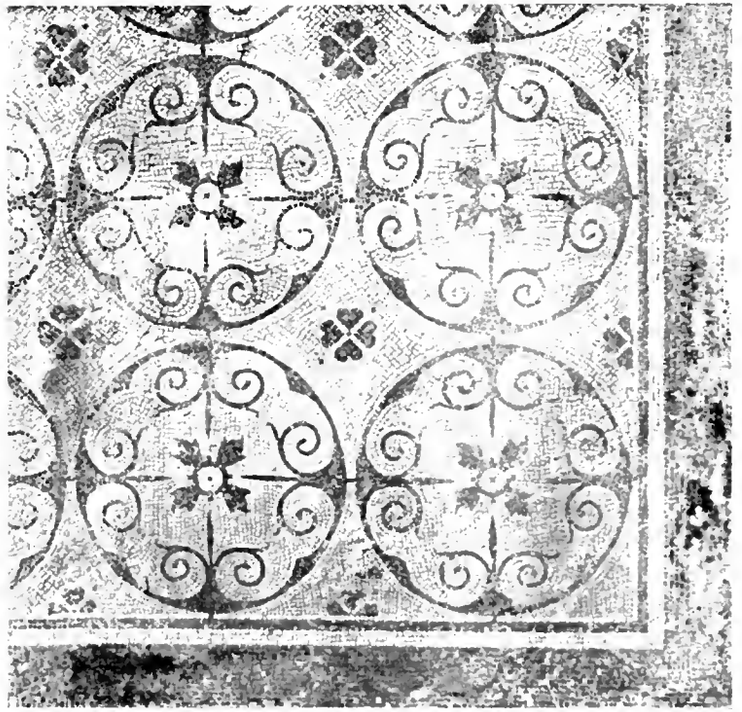
2. (P. 100.)



3. (P. 85.)



4. (P. 86.)



5. (P. 86.)

1—5. Museo Nazionale Romano.
(Photographs by Calderisi.)

PLATE 14.

1. (P. 88.)

2. (Pp. 95—6.)

3. (Pp. 95—6.)

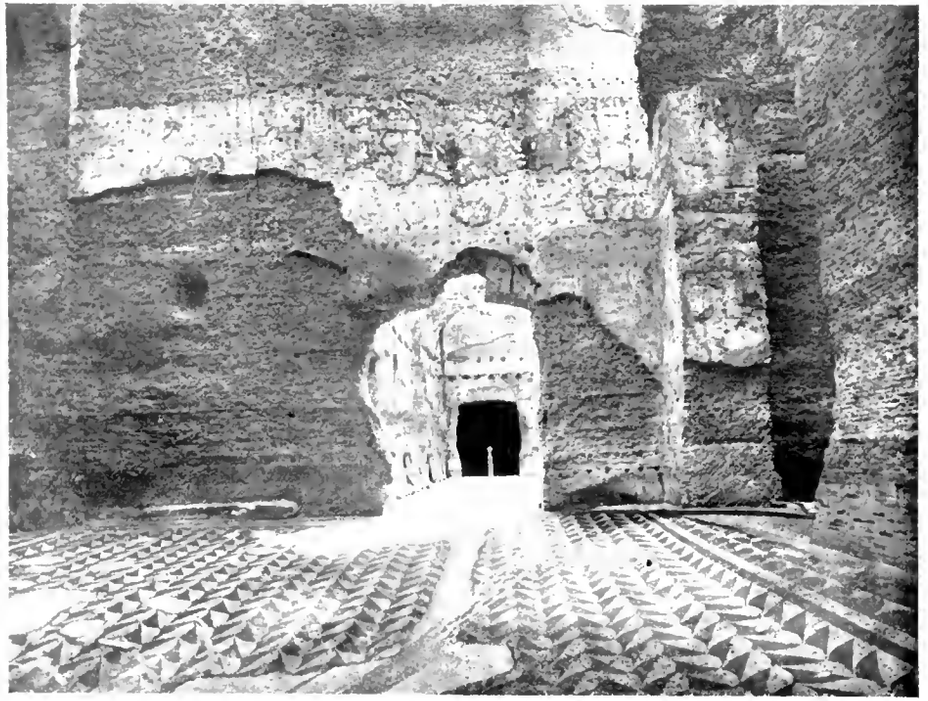
4. (P. 88.)

1–4. Edifice near the Basilica of Junius Bassus.
(Photographs by Lugli.)

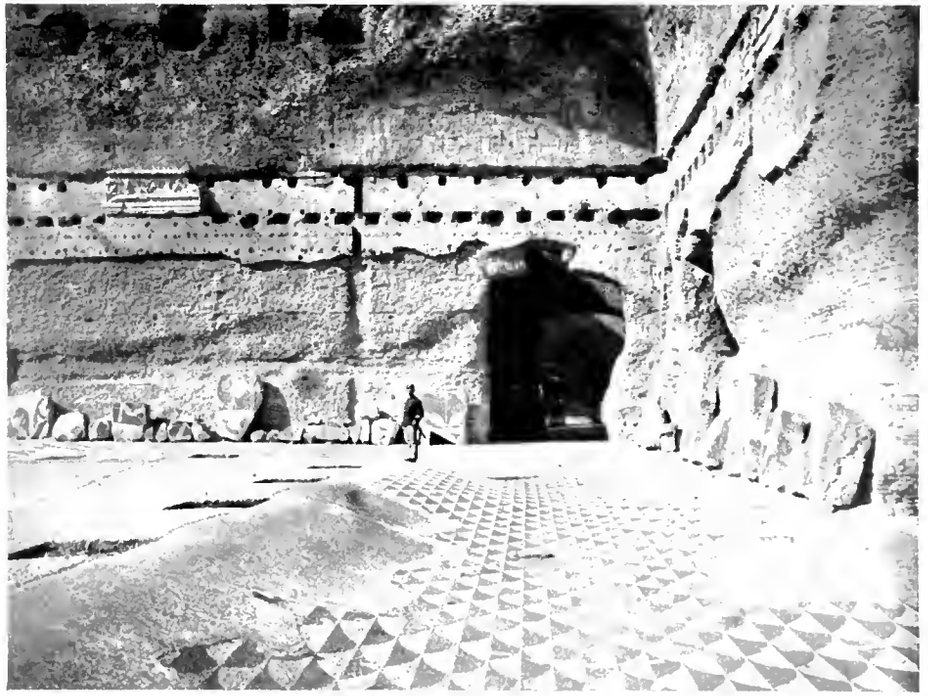
PLATE 15.

1. (P. 89.)

2. Palace of the Laterani. (P 83.)
(Photograph of Pont. Comm. Archeol. Sacra.)



3. (P. 89.)

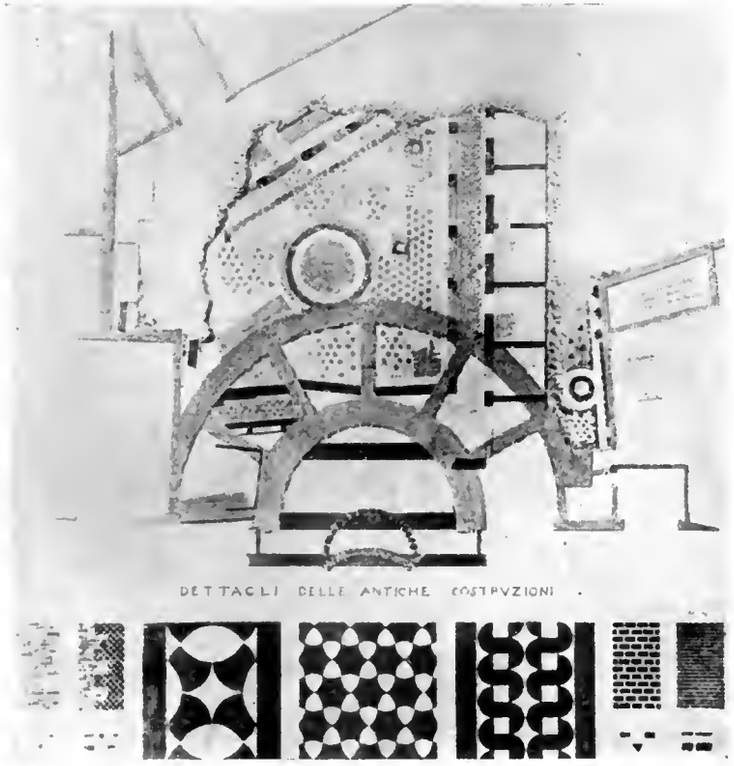


4. (P. 89.)

1, 3, 4. Baths of Caracalla.
(Photographs by Moscioni 271, 271 A, 271 B.)

PLATE 16.

1. Prima Porta. (P. 96.)
(Reproduced from *Mem. Acc. Lincei.*)



2. Palace of Laterani. (P. 94.)
(Courtesy of Pontif. Comm. Arch. Sacra.)

3. Prima Porta. (P. 83.)
(Reproduced from *Mem. Acc. Lincei.*)

PLATE 17.

1.

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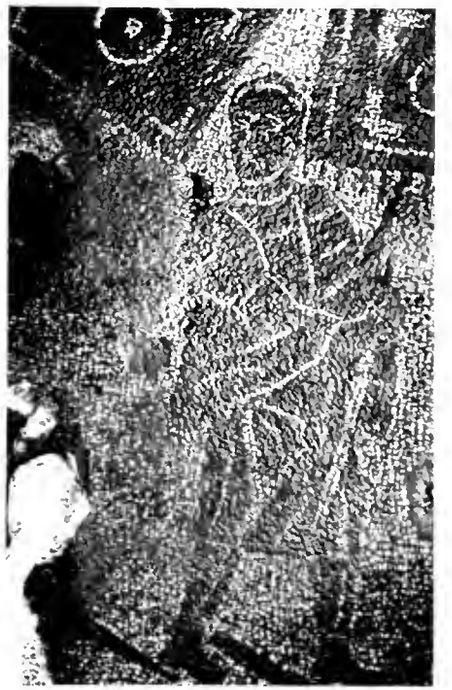


8.

1—8. Edifice near Paedagogium of the Palatine. (Pp. 96—7.)

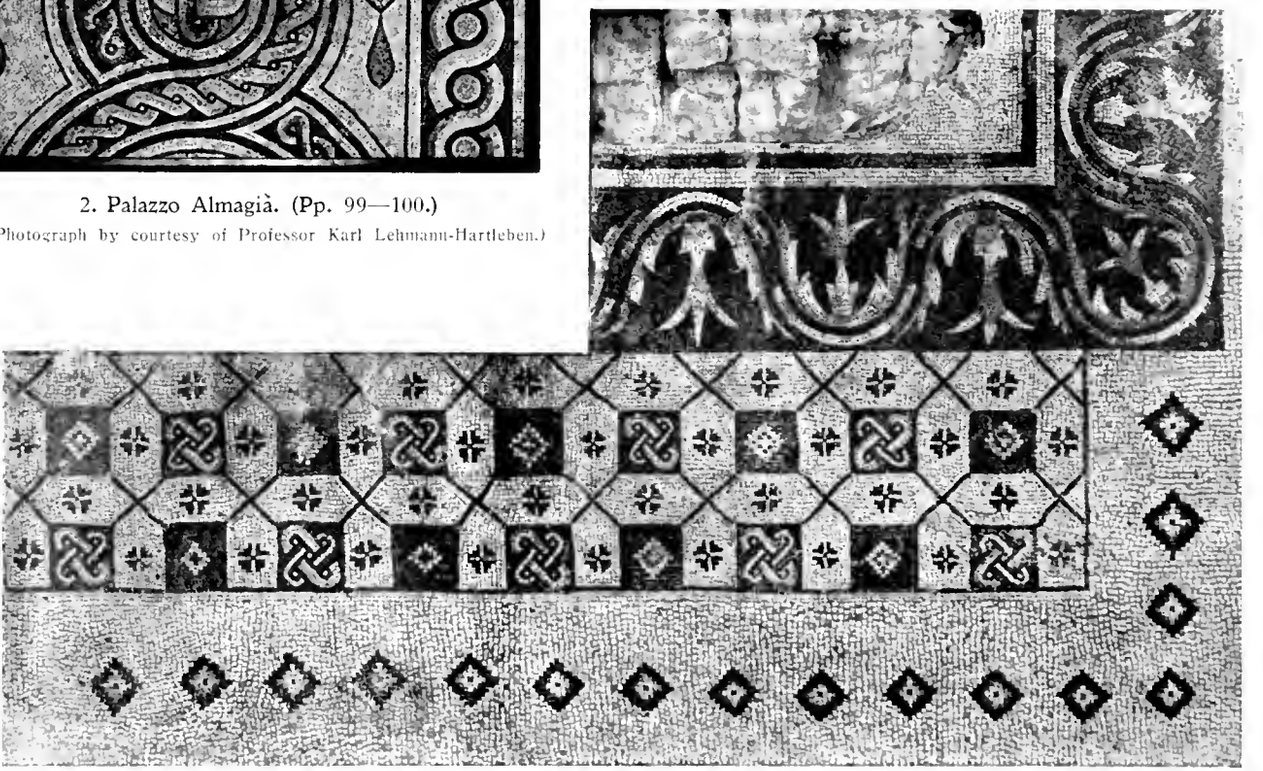
(Photographs by Lugli.)

PLATE 18.

1. Museo Nazionale Romano. (P. 99.)
(Photograph from Museum.)

2. Palazzo Almagià. (Pp. 99—100.)
(Photograph by courtesy of Professor Karl Lehmann-Hartleben.)

3. Vatican. (P. 99.)
(Photograph by Moscioni 8243.)



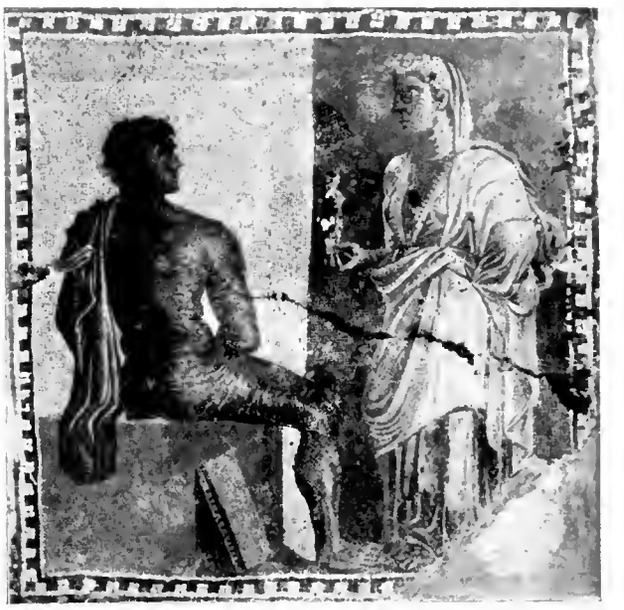
4. Museo Nazionale Romano. (P. 98.)
(Photograph by Calderisi.)

PLATE 19.

1. Hermitage, Leningrad. (Pp. 104—5.)
(Photograph 37,585 from Deutsches Arch. Inst., Rome.)

2. (Pp. 104—5.)

3. (P. 104.)



4. (P. 102.)

2, 3, 4. Antiquarium Comunale.
(Photographs from Museum.)

5. (P. 101.)

6. (Pp. 100—1.)

7. (P. 101.)

5—7. Museo Nazionale Romano.
(Photographs by Calderisi.)

1. (P. 106.)

2. (P. 103.)

3. (P. 106.)

4. (P. 106.)

5. (P. 106.)

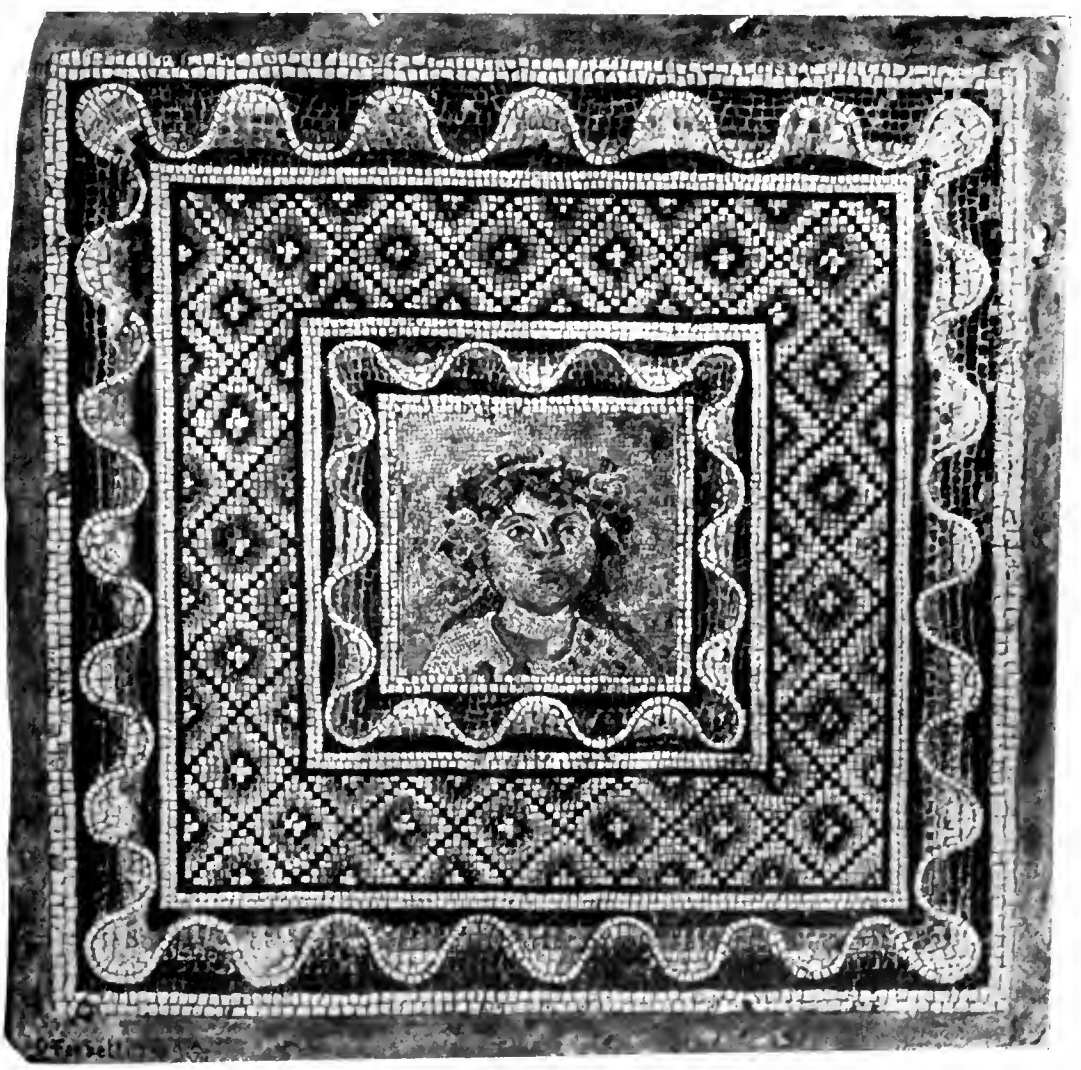
6. (P. 106.)

7. (P. 106.)

8. (P. 106 n. 176.)

1—8. Musec Nazionale Romano.
(Anderson Photographs 8070, 8073.)

1. Vatican. (Pp. 107—8.)
(Photograph by Moscioni 8242.)



2. Museo Nazionale Romano. (P. 105.)
(Reproduced from *Notizie d. Scavi.*)

1. Museo Nazionale Romano. (P. 108.)
(Photograph by Alinari 27354.)

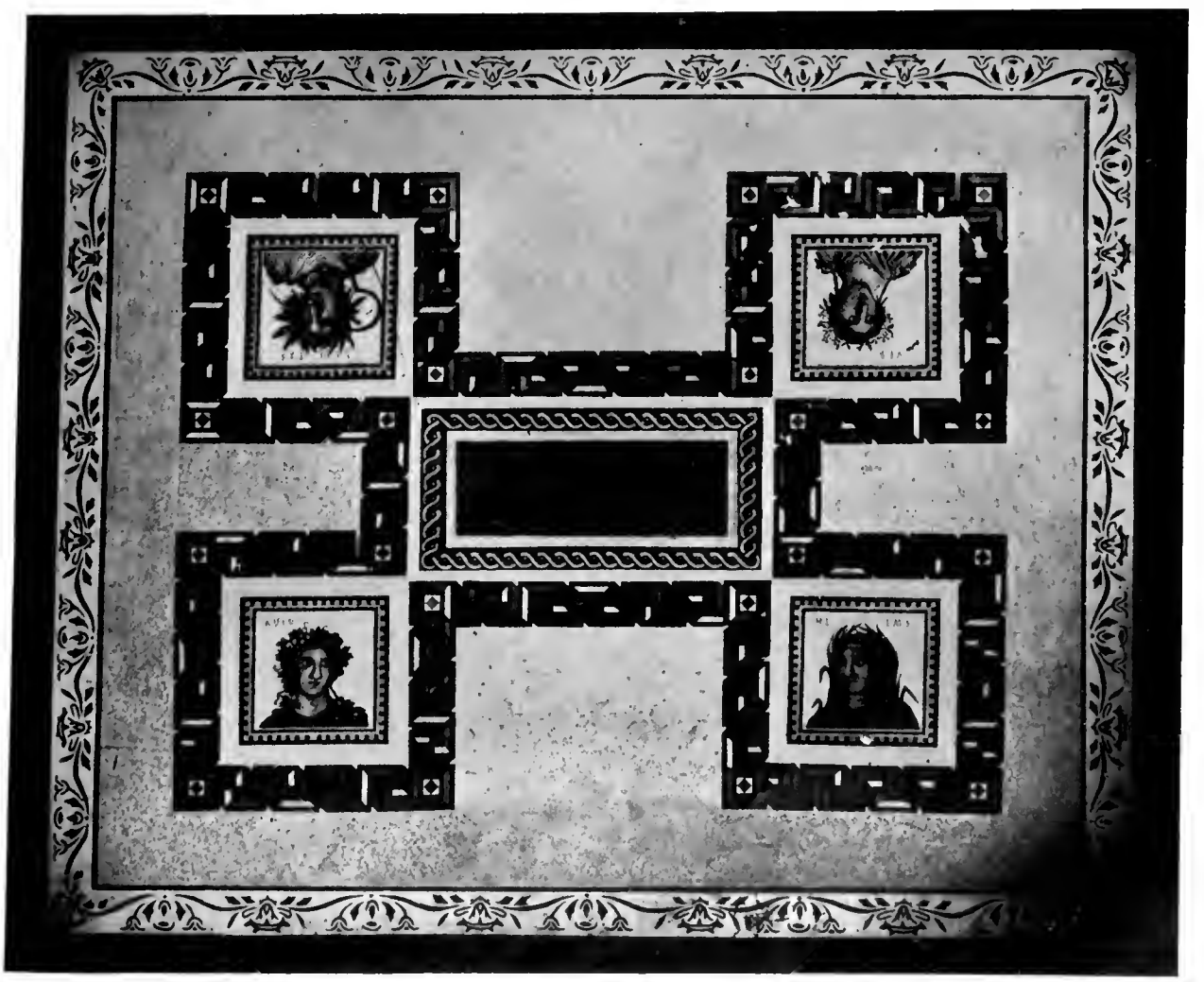
2. (P. 107.)

3. (P. 107.)

4. (P. 107.)

2—4. Borghese Gallery.
(Photographs by Caldersi.)

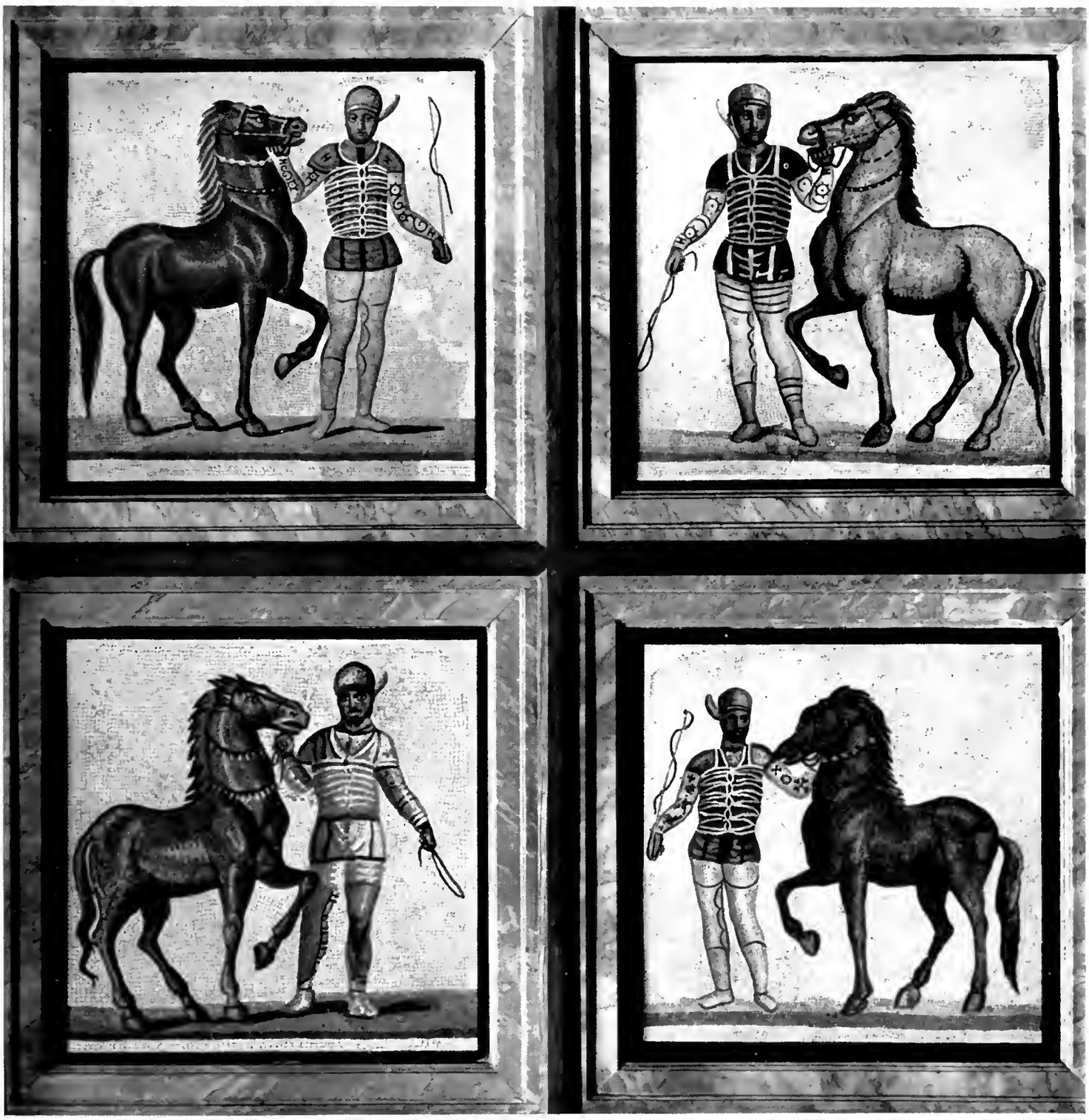
1. University Museum, Philadelphia. (P. 107.)
(Photograph from Museum.)



2. S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane. (P. 108.)
(Parker Photograph 3065.)

1—2. Lateran Museum. (P. 111.)
(Photographs from Anderson 24160, 24164.)

3—4. Antiquarium Comunale. (Pp. 109, 112.)
(Photographs from the Museum.)



Museo Nazionale Romano. (Pp. 109—10.)
(Photograph by Anderson 2484.)

1. Hermitage, Leningrad. (Pp. 110—11.)
(Photograph 39.779 from Deutsches Arch. Inst., Rome.)

2. (P. 116.)

3. (P. 117.)

2—3. Antiquarium Comunale.
(Photographs from Museum.)

Lateran Museum. (Pp. 111—12.)
(Photograph by Anderson 28880.)

PLATE 28.

1.

2.

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Figs. 1—6. Lateran Museum. (P. 111.)
(From Anderson photographs 24159–72.)

1

2.

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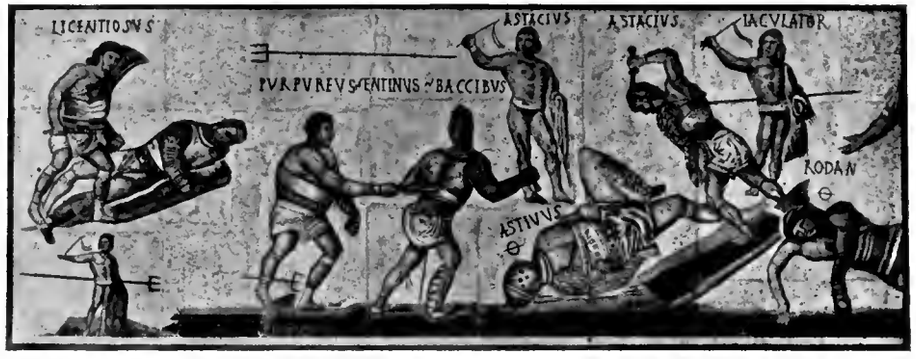
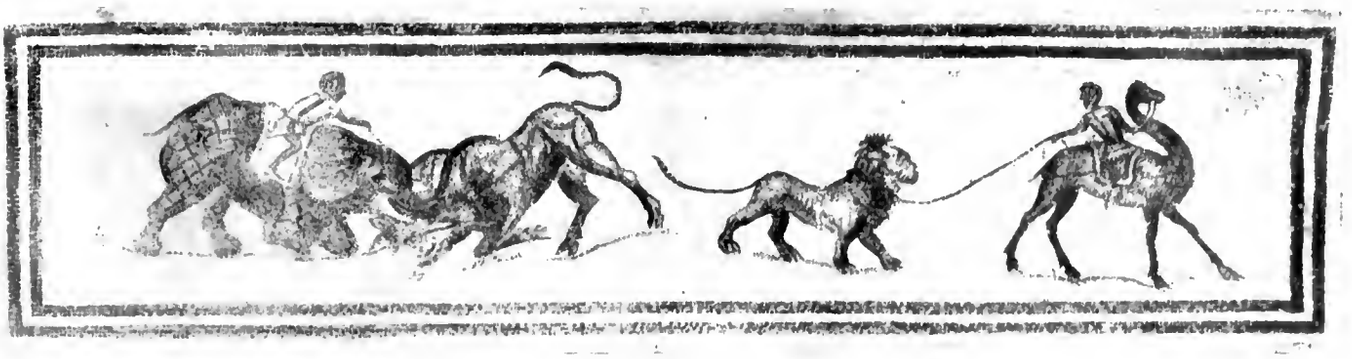
4.



5.

1—5. Borghese Gallery. (Pp. 113—15.)
(Photographs by Anderson 31274—8.)

6. Vatican. (P. 118.)
(Reproduced from Nogara.)



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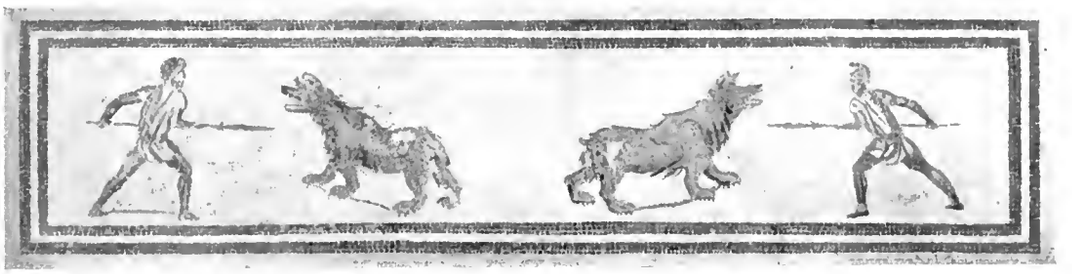
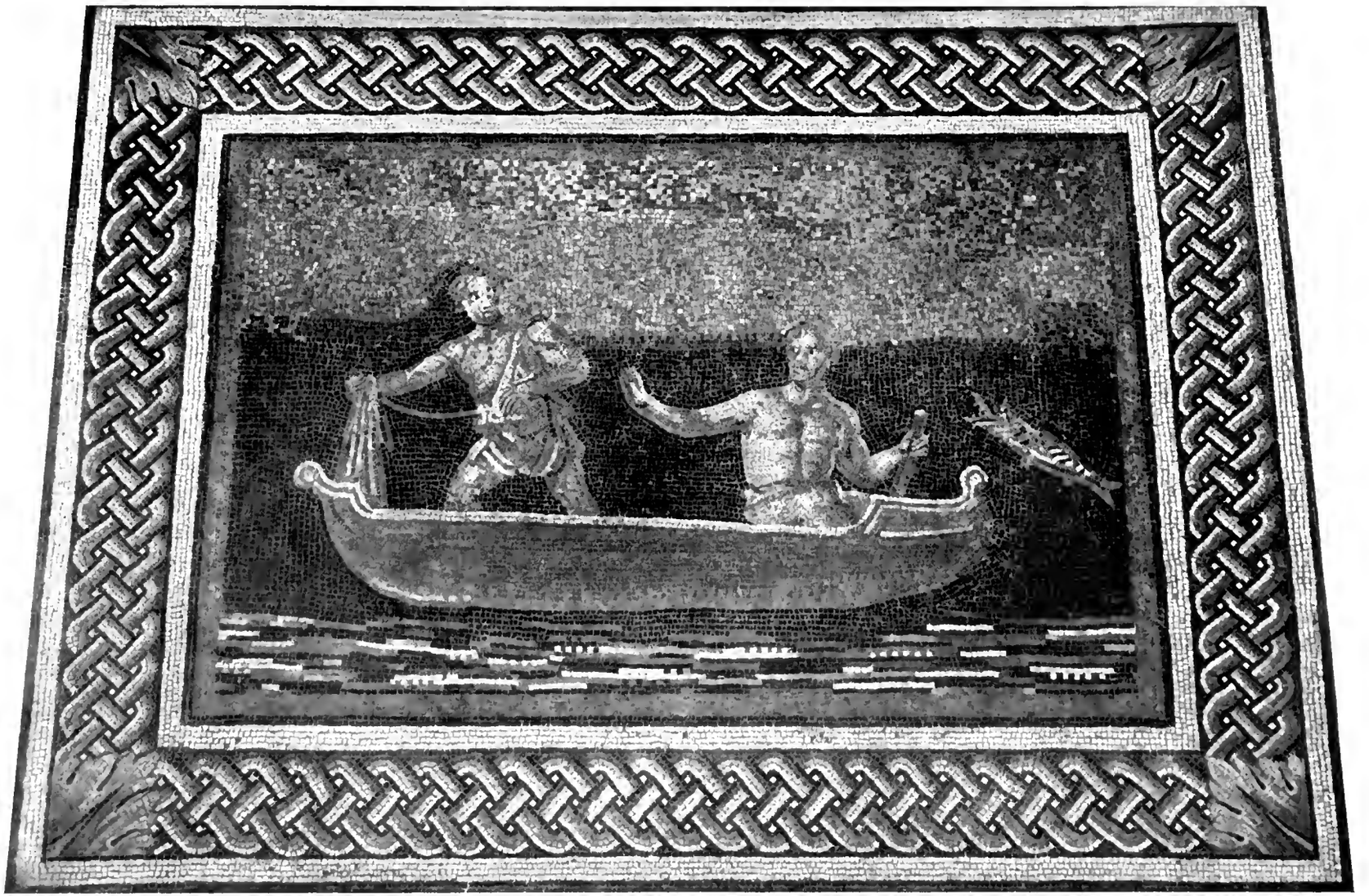


4.

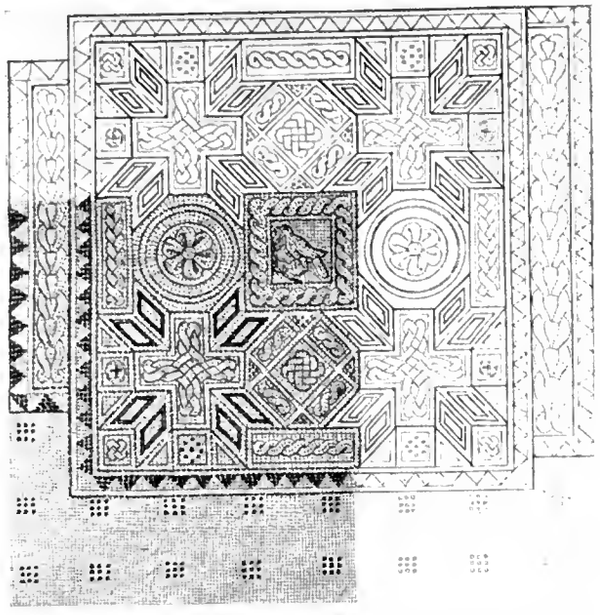
1—4. Vatican. (Pp. 115—16.)
(Reproduced from Nogara.)

5. Antiquarium Comunale. (Pp. 116—17.)
(Photograph by Moscioni 24770.)

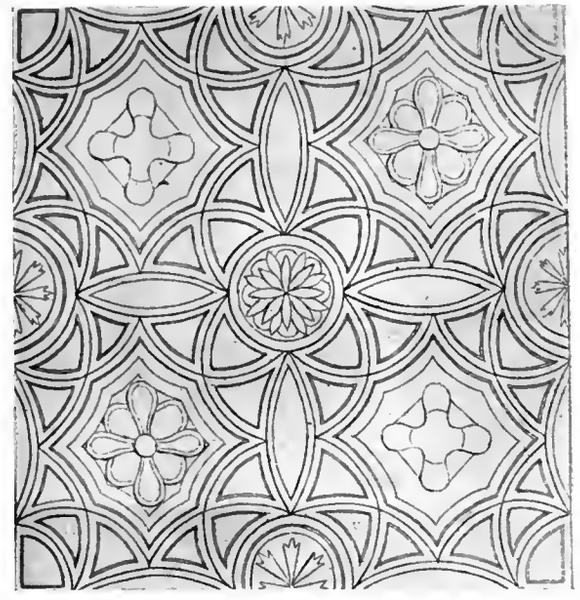
1.



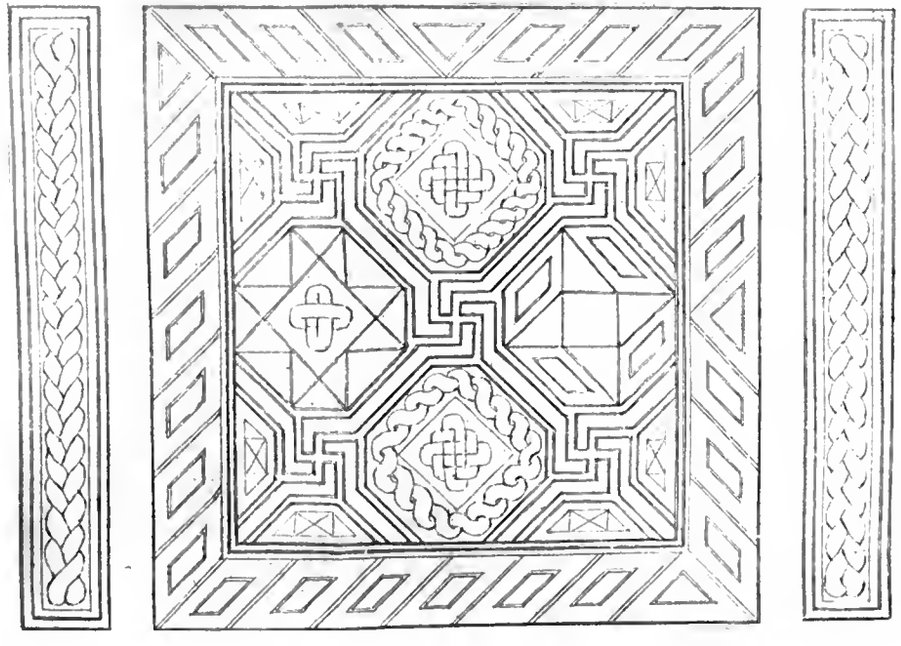
1—2. Borghese Gallery. (P. 117.)
(Photographs by Calderisi.)



1.

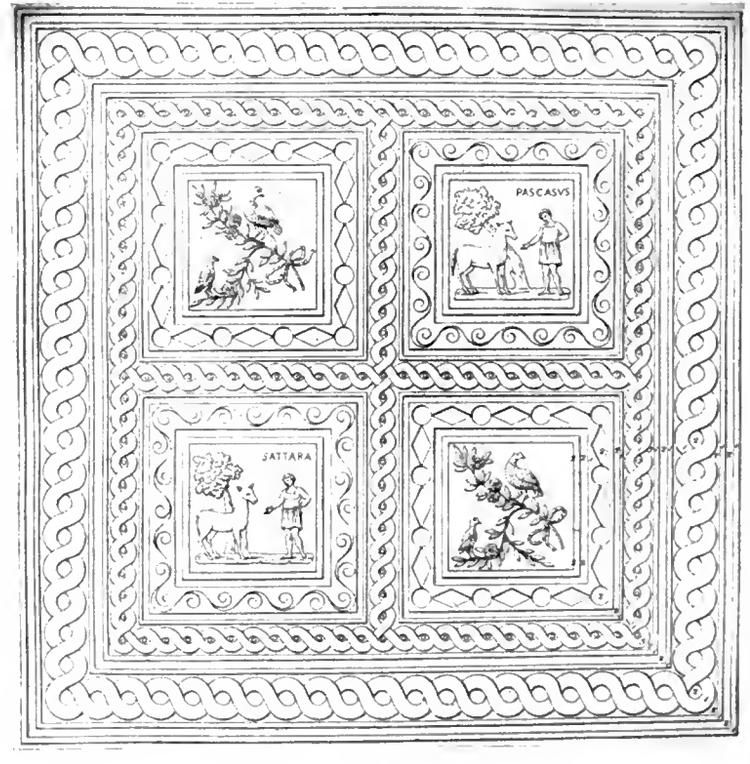


2.



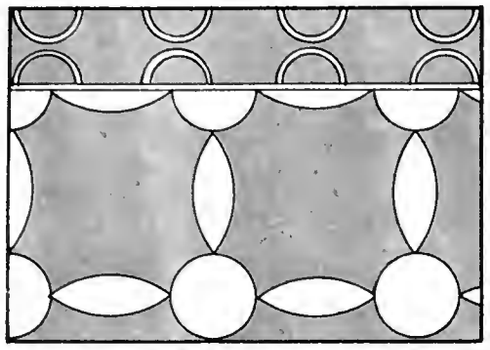
3.

1—3. Catacombs of SS. Pietro e Marcellino. (Pp. 122—3.)
4. Villa Celimontana. (P. 109.)
(Reproduced from *Diss. Accad. Pontif.*)

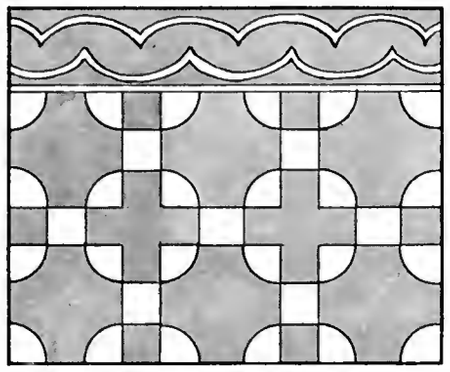


4.

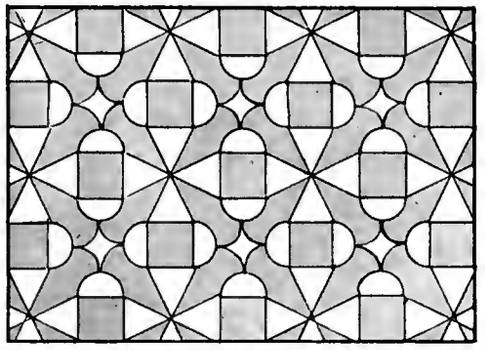
PLATE 33.



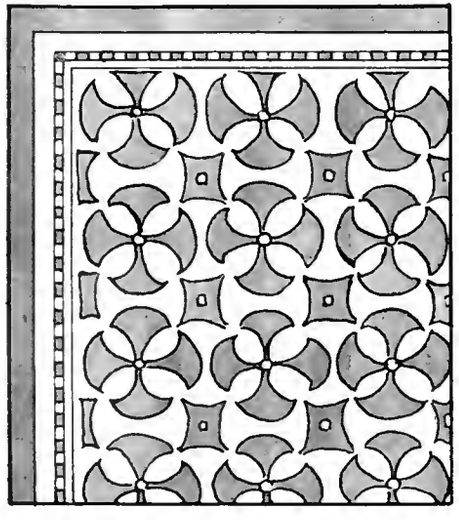
a.



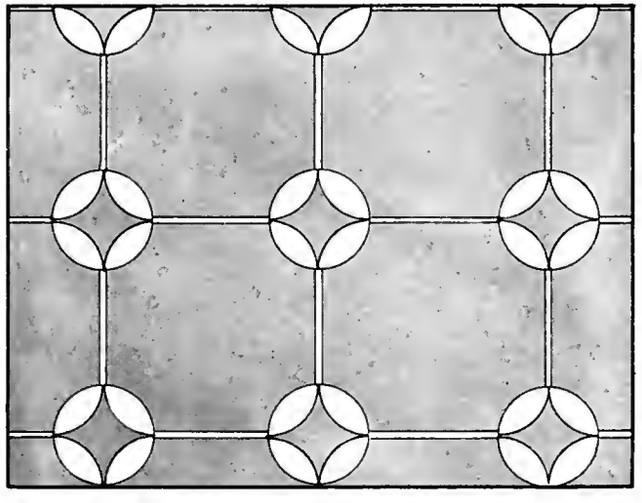
b.



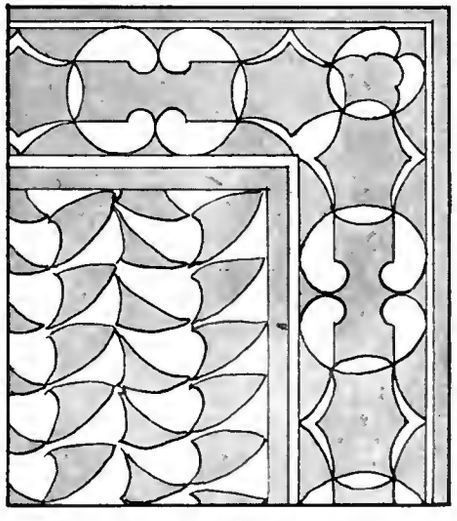
c.



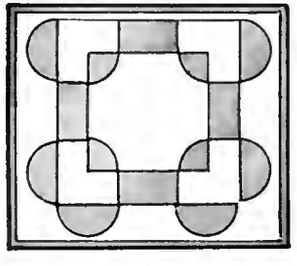
d.



e.



f.

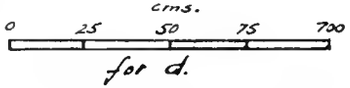


g.

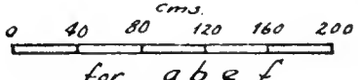
KEY

a, b, e, f. Baths of Caracalla.
c, h. Vatican Museum.
d. Mithraeum on Aventine.
g. Syrian Sanctuary on Janiculum.

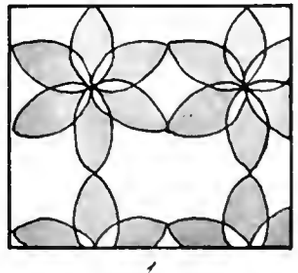
SCALES



for d.



for a, b, e, f.



h.

PLATE 34.

THE FORUM AND FUNERAL *IMAGINES* OF AUGUSTUS

HENRY T. ROWELL

In his description of the events at Rome following the death of Augustus, Wilhelm Weber undertakes a meticulous analysis of the Emperor's funeral.[1] In the course of this analysis, he has occasion to observe that certain *imagines* in the funeral procession throw light upon the ideas which led to the erection of the statues of heroes in Augustus' forum.[2] The observation is made in passing nor is it later studied or developed. This is understandable, since a detailed discussion of the relations between funeral and forum could only have taken the form of a rather lengthy digression, parts of which would have been far removed from Weber's immediate subject. On the other hand, since further investigation would have shown that it is only through the forum that we can reach a satisfactory explanation of the funeral *imagines* in question, it is regrettable that Weber did not treat the entire problem, if only for the contribution which it would have made to his analysis of the funeral proper.

To fill the lacuna, I offer the following pages. They contain essentially the development of a few basic ideas which occurred to me before reading Weber's book. As I have just indicated, the proper approach is from forum to funeral, for the forum itself not only comes first chronologically but with it the trends of thought and conceptions which gave the use of *imagines* its final form. Yet, before we interpret a part of the funeral as the reflection of ideas previously realized in the stone of the forum, it will be necessary to obtain a clear picture of the practice in question in relation to tradition and precedent. We shall then be ready to evaluate the symbolic character of the funeral with the help of the forum and to test Weber's interpretation of the relations existing between them.

As a final prefatory remark, I should like to state that I am not unaware of the many strictures which Weber's work has incurred at the hands of his reviewers. On the whole, most of the criticism seems justified, but even so, his book still contains the most important and detailed study of the funeral of Augustus. Therefore, it appeared advisable in a paper largely devoted to a certain feature of that funeral to give precedence to Weber's account and to correct or supplement it wherever necessary from other interpretations and points of view including my own.

At the first meeting of the Senate after the death of Augustus, three documents were made public which that emperor had entrusted to the Vestal Virgins during his lifetime.[3] Chief of these was the Emperor's will, but also notable were instructions regarding his funeral.[4] They are unfortunately not described by our ancient authorities, who pass over them with cursory mention, but we are not entirely at a loss with regard to their contents. In the first place, Dio reports that Augustus organized the funeral procession of Agrippa in the same way as he was later carried out to burial himself.[5] This, however, tells us less than we might expect, for Dio does not give any detailed description of Agrippa's funeral. He merely states that Agrippa lay in state in the forum, that Augustus delivered the eulogy, and that the remains were put away in Augustus' tomb in the Campus Martius.[6]

[1] WEBER, *Princeps* 76—86.

[2] *Op. cit.* 79* n. 350.

[3] According to WEBER, *op. cit.* 39, 86, *cf.* 38* n. 119, 46* n. 197, this meeting was held on September 3 or 4. But HOHL demonstrates that we can only assume with certainty that it was held sometime before September 11, *Hermes* lxviii (1933) 107—108, *cf. Klio* xxx (1937) 326 n. 1. The exclusive business of the meeting was *de supremis Augusti*, TAC. *Ann.* i 8, and the only documents then made public were the will, the funeral instructions and the *index rerum gestarum* (*cf.* HOHL, *Klio* xxx [1937] 323—328, KORNEMANN, *Gnomon* xiv [1938] 493—494), all of which are mentioned by SUETONIUS, *Aug.* 101, and DIO, lvi 32, 33, while TACITUS mentions the will alone, *Ann.* i 8. As to the *breviarium totius imperii*, SUET. *Aug.* 101, DIO lvi 33, TAC. *Ann.* i 11, it was first read in the meeting of the senate which took place on September 17, as stated expressly by TACITUS, *Ann.* i 11; and WEBER, *op. cit.* 71* n. 294, has insufficient grounds for assuming its publication at the earlier meeting, *cf.* HOHL, *Hermes* lxviii (1933) 112—114 and KORNEMANN, *op. cit.* 493. The much disputed "political testament", mentioned by DIO alone, lvi 33, is still defended as a separate document by WEBER, *op. cit.* 67—75, who believes that it was read together with the other documents at the first meeting of the Senate. But most scholars now consider it to have been part of the *breviarium*, *cf.* KORNEMANN, *op. cit.* 494.

[4] Described by SUETONIUS, *Aug.* 101 as *mandata de funere*, by DIO, lvi 33, as ὅσα τῆς ταφῆς εἴχετο. Their authenticity is doubted by no one. Weber defines them as a "Nachtrag zum privaten Testament," *op. cit.* 82, but it is much more likely that they were written at the same time as the Emperor's last will, which was dated April 3, A. D. 13, SUET., *loc. cit.*, *cf.* HOHL, *Philol. Wochenschr.* 1937 575—576.

[5] DIO, liv 28 3.

[6] DIO, *loc. cit.* 5.

But the notices which we have of the debate in the Senate on the funeral honors to be paid to Augustus are much more informative. They have been carefully analysed by Weber and he concludes that at least eleven different motions were made and discussed pertaining directly to the Emperor's funeral.[7] Of these seven were passed and four rejected, but for our purpose, all eleven are equally significant, in that they indicate that the provisions which they contained were not included in the instructions left by Augustus. As is natural, the Senate was eager to make Augustus' funeral surpass in honor and splendor all previous funerals, and the honors which were moved and voted were hardly of the kind which the Emperor himself would have requested.[8] Yet, when we subtract them from our accounts of the funeral, we may wonder for a moment just what the instructions of Augustus could have been. Weber suggests that they were primarily instructions to his family about the care and cultivation of his memory; that he knew that he would be given a *funus publicum*, which was a matter belonging to the Senate alone, and hence outlined a norm to guide it in its actions.[9]

This is reasonable enough, but it still leaves a great deal of uncertainty about the origin of one of the funeral's most impressive features. It is mentioned by Dio at the beginning of his description of the funeral and the passage may be summarized as follows.[10]

The three images of Augustus prepared for the occasion were at the head of the procession, followed by the *imagines* of his ancestors and deceased relatives. Then came the *imagines* of other Romans, beginning with Romulus, who had been distinguished in any way. The *imago* of Pompey the Great, of which special mention is made, must have belonged to this group of non-relatives. With Pompey were characteristic representations of the provinces which he had added to the Empire. Then came other features, which do not concern us here.[11]

Now we are forcibly struck by the presence of non-relatives among the *imagines* of Augustus. Here the break with republican tradition is so thorough and the deviation from established custom so contrary to Augustan principle that Mommsen was led to assume that Dio was attributing a practice of his own day to that of Augustus.[12] That the veracity of Dio's account may be legitimately questioned has recently been demonstrated. Dio states that an eagle was released from the funeral pyre of Augustus *ὡς καὶ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρων*,[13] which cannot have actually occurred, since the deification of Augustus did not take place until after his funeral, an order of events which was maintained throughout the first century after Christ.[14] This order, however, had been reversed by the end of the second century and there can be no doubt that Dio was inserting into his narrative a feature of imperial funerals of his own time which did not belong to the Augustan period.

Hence, we have the right to question Dio. But it does not follow, because he demonstrably transferred one feature from his own time to that of Augustus, that we have the right to assume a transfer in every case where a feature of an imperial funeral of his own time also appears in his account of that of Augustus.[15] Each case must be treated separately with due regard for circumstances and background, and this is what I propose to do with the *imagines* at Augustus' funeral. This approach will also help us conclude to what extent Augustus himself was directly responsible for the kind of *imagines* present at his funeral and what part of this feature of his funeral, if any, may be reasonably attributed to the Senate as an additional honor.

Let us begin with a few general observations on Roman funeral *imagines*, dealing first with the nature of the custom and then with the material form of the *imagines* proper.[16] The problem of their origin does not concern us here, since it is not connected with the use made of them by Augustus. He found and accepted existent forms and conceptions which had not changed essentially since the time of Polybius, our earliest authority, and whatever innovations he may have introduced had nothing at all to do, as we shall see, with any antiquarian opinions regarding far-removed origins. Hence I feel justified in limiting myself to a brief indication of the chief views held on this aspect of the subject by modern scholars.

But with regard to the custom in its historically attested form, there is need on occasion for more

[7] WEBER, *op. cit.* 82—85.

[8] This does not mean, however, that Weber is correct in interpreting the funeral as a triumphal procession, *op. cit.* 77, 80; *cf.* HOHL, *Klio*, xxx (1937) 326 n. 1.

[9] WEBER, *op. cit.* 82.

[10] DIO, lvi 34.

[11] Discussed by WEBER, *op. cit.* 77—78.

[12] MOMMSEN, *Staatsrecht* I³ 443 n. 1.

[13] DIO, lvi 42.

[14] The matter is treated in detail by F. VITTINGHOF in his Bonn dissertation *Der Staatsfeind in d. röm. Kaiserzeit* (Speyer 1936), 106—108, *cf.* 77—80.

[15] KORNEMANN, *Gnomon* xiv (1938) 494, on the basis of the anachronism pointed out by Vittinghof (see n. 14 above), seems inclined to consider the *imagines* at Augustus' funeral in the same category. But he does not express himself definitely.

[16] Of the general discussions of *imagines* based chiefly on the literary evidence, I have consulted BLÜMNER, *Röm. Privataltertümer* 493—495, COURBAUD in DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire* iii 412—414, MARQUARDT, *Privatleben*² 241—245, 353—354, MOMMSEN, *Staatsrecht* I³ 442—447 and SCHNEIDER-MEYER, *PW* ix 1097—1104. Unfortunately, I was only able to obtain an "Auszug" of F. BÖMER'S Berlin dissertation *Ahnenkult im alten Rom* (Bonn, 1939). He appears, however, to have dealt chiefly with the origin of the *imagines maiorum*.

detailed treatment. For the evidence has been interpreted in different ways, and the most recent treatment of the entire subject by Dr. Annie N. Zadoks has seriously questioned some of the views hitherto generally accepted.[17] As we are interested in the conception of *imagines* which Augustus had before him, it will be necessary to settle moot points insofar as evidence and reason permit. The truth, in my opinion, lies nearer the traditional views, but it is also time for these views to be subjected to a fresh examination.

First of all, we may distinguish between the part played by *imagines* at family funerals and the function which they came to serve in family atria. The latter is closely connected with the material form of *imagines* at the end of the Republic and we may reserve it for later discussion. The former takes us back to the origin of the custom.

As Benndorf first suggested, the custom of making funeral masks of distinguished Romans may well have arisen from the long *collocatio* of the corpse between death and burial or cremation.[18] To preserve the features, whose putrefaction was accelerated by the warm climate of Italy, it was necessary to fashion a likeness of them, hence, a death mask in wax, which was placed over the face of the corpse or joined to an effigy which represented the rest of the body.[19] Religious or cult motives have been denied in view of the fact that the masks were not buried with the corpses, but were preserved in the house; hence, they could not have been votive or apotropaic.[20] As the Etruscans practiced the *collocatio* together with many other features of the Roman funeral, we may assume a considerable degree of Etruscan influence.[21]

Masks so fashioned (*imagines*) were kept within wooden shrines situated in the family atrium.[22] Appended to them were inscriptions (*tituli*) identifying the person and recording his achievements.[23] When a distinguished member of the same *gens* died, the masks were removed temporarily from their shrines to be displayed in his funeral procession.[24] There they were worn by persons whose size and carriage approximated most closely those of the individuals from whom the masks had been originally made. In each case the representant was dressed in the official garb of the highest political office which had been held by the individual represented.

Polybius also tells us of the kind of man of whom a death mask was made and whose funeral was attended by the *imagines* of his ancestors. He characterizes him twice, once as *τις.... τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν*, and again as *τῶν οἰκείων..... τις ἐπιφανής*. Hence Polybius takes as his criterion the distinction of the individual in question, not that of his ancestors or dead relatives. Furthermore, from the fact that masks were made of men of distinction alone, it follows that the *imagines* in a funeral procession were all of distinguished men, for they were the death masks of those already deceased which had been preserved for later funerals.

The distinction of these men was of a political nature. Speaking of the costumes worn by the representants, who, we recall, were dressed in the official costume of the highest office which had been held by the men represented, Polybius specifically mentions consuls, praetors, censors and *triumphatores*. This accords fully with all that we have said above about Polybius' criterion of personal distinction. On the other hand, Dr. Zadoks points out that Polybius may have been mentioning those magistrates alone whose conspicuous official costumes made a striking impression upon him, and that he does not exclude others.[25] It is true, of course, that he does not specifically exclude others. But the fact that he mentions the fasces, axes and other insignia of the respective

[17] ZADOKS-JITTA, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome*, Allard Pierson Stichting, *Bytragen* i (Amsterdam 1932) 22—46, 97—110.

[18] O. BENNDORF, "Antike Gesichtshelme und Sepulkralmasken," *Denkschriften d. kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaft*, Wien, Philol.-hist. Classe xxviii (1878) 370—375. The ancient authority for the *collocatio* is SERVIUS, *Ad Aen.* v 64, who gives seven days as its length. Although he does not specify the kind of man who was thus laid out *apud maiores*, it has long been recognized that the custom could not have been applied indiscriminately (see the evidence in BECKER-GÖLL, *Gallus* iii 494—495). BENNDORF, *op. cit.* 370, limits it originally to patricians, while MOMMSEN, *op. cit.* 442—443, followed by ZADOKS, *op. cit.* 34, connects the origin of the whole custom of *imagines* with patrician *gentes*. But they also agree that with the growth of a patrician-plebeian nobility the custom was taken over by plebeian *gentes*.

[19] POLYBIUS, vi 53 (*cf.* PLINY, *H. N.* xxxv 6), tells us of the wax mask. The effigy representing the rest of the corpse is first directly attested for the funeral of Sulla: PLUTARCH *Sulla* 37. But it is likely that POLYBIUS, *loc. cit.*, is thinking of an effigy rather than the corpse itself when he describes the deceased as *ποτὲ μὲν ἐσιὼς ἐναργής, σπανίως δὲ κατακεκλιμένος*; *cf.* BENNDORF *op. cit.* 371—373. After Sulla, effigies are attested for the funerals of Caesar (APPIAN, *B. C.* ii 147), the elder Drusus (TAC., *Ann.* iii 5), Augustus (DIO, lvi 34), Pertinax (DIO, lxxiv 4), and Septimius Severus (HERODIAN, iv 2).

[20] BÖMER, *op. cit.* 6. But ZADOKS, *op. cit.* 26, 33—36, reconstructs the custom of *imagines* as an original religious rite which later became a social custom with complete loss of its early religious significance. Be that as it may, our earliest authority, Polybius, gives no indication that the Romans of his time considered *imagines* as anything but a social custom.

[21] BÖMER, *loc. cit.*; ZADOKS, *op. cit.* 21, 25—26, 33—36.

[22] POLYBIUS, *loc. cit.*, speaks of *ξύλινα ναΐδια*, PLINY, *loc. cit.*, of *armaria*. PLINY (xxxv 6) tells us that these shrines were *in atriis*, Polybius in the most conspicuous part of the house. As to their possible early religious significance, see ZADOKS, *op. cit.* 25—26.

[23] MARQUARDT, *op. cit.* 243 n. 2; MOMMSEN, *op. cit.* 445 n. 2; V. PREMERSTEIN, *PW* v 2442—2443.

[24] POLYBIUS, vi 53 (*cf.* PLINY, xxxv 6), gives the most complete description of a Roman funeral procession. The following account is taken from him entirely.

[25] ZADOKS, *op. cit.* 28.

offices once held by the men represented, and informs us that their representants *all* sat on ivory chairs (*sellae curules*) to listen to the funeral oration, limits us, at least to curule magistracies. Of these, there is only one which is not specifically mentioned by Polybius: the curule aedileship; and since it unquestionably gave right to *imagines* by the time of Cicero, it may have deserved a place in the list of Polybius, although he did not think it important enough to justify specific mention.

Be that as it may, we must next turn to Cicero for information which both confirms and augments what we have already learned from Polybius. Among the rights and privileges pertaining to his coming aedileship, Cicero mentions the *ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae.*[26] This phrase in particular has given rise to the conception of a *ius imaginum*, characterized by German scholars as an *Ehrenrecht* or a *Gewohnheitsrecht*. According to Mommsen's definition, followed by Schneider, it was the right of any member of a *gens* to have his funeral attended by the *imagines* of past members of his family who had held curule office.[27] Dr. Zadoks, on the other hand, maintains that "the so-called jus imaginum is only based on a wrong interpretation of classic authors and a great deal of fancy among modern scholars."[28] As we have seen, certain limitations and regulations applying to *imagines* certainly existed in the mind of Polybius and they are borne out by further evidence which we shall examine below. Mommsen perceived this, but in being rigidly legalistic in his approach he attempted to reduce the irregularities of a practical *mos* to the inflexibility of a formal *lex*. If we will remember that we are dealing with an old custom where there was a place for differences in interpretation and practice as well as a body of traditional observances, the matter will present very few difficulties.

To return now to Cicero's phrase *ius imaginis prodendae*, Dr. Zadoks interprets Cicero to mean that his aedileship will give him the right to display his portrait to be remembered by posterity. "So apparently," she adds, "there existed in Cicero's days a right of high officials to erect their portrait in public. The same appears from Cicero *Pro Rab. Post.* 7. 16. That this was a special privilege cannot astonish us; for prescriptions of censors are also known, in which the erection of portraits in public is limited. With ancestral portraits, not to mention masks, this information of Cicero has nothing whatever to do."[29]

We may question this interpretation. In the first place, there is no direct evidence on which it can be based, nor can it be inferred from what we know of censorial activities in this field. Pliny the Elder merely tells us that the censors of 158 B. C. removed all statues of past magistrates from the forum except those erected by decree of the people or the Senate.[30] To Mommsen, who had his conception of the *ius imaginum* in mind, this meant that statues of men who had held curule magistracies, and of them alone, might be erected on public land by their descendants after obtaining permission from a competent magistrate, but that such statues were subject to removal by subsequent magistrates acting in an official capacity.[31] This is a reasonable assumption, but Mommsen goes even further. He assumes that it was forbidden in early times for portraits of the living to be set up even in private places. Yet this restriction, as he admits, must have been obsolete by the time of Polybius. For we know that M. Marcellus, who held his third consulship in 151 B. C., erected his own statue in the monument of his grandfather near the Temple of Honos and Virtus together with those of his father and grandfather,[32] while Q. Fabius Maximus, curule aedile in 57 B. C., adorned the *fornix Fabianus* in the forum with his own statue together with those of some of his most distinguished ancestors.[33] Let us note that in both cases we are dealing with family groups and that neither Fabius nor Metellus had the temerity to erect statues of themselves as individuals rather than as members of a family. Indeed, I know for certain only one Roman from the republican period who set up his own statue apart from a family group.[34] He was C. Sempronius Tuditanus, consul in 129 B. C. The statue, however, did not stand in Rome, but most probably at Aquileia.[35]

All in all, then, we see that in the time of Cicero there was no legal restriction against a man's erecting his own statue in public if he wished to do so. But that should not be taken to mean that it was a definite privilege of those who had held a curule magistracy. Common sense as well as our direct evidence leads us to believe that formal regulations never existed to prevent the living from erecting their own statues,

[26] CIC., *Verr.* II 5 36; *cf. Rab. Post.* 16.

[27] MOMMSEN, *op. cit.* 442—444; SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.* 1099—1100.

[28] ZADOKS, *op. cit.* 110.

[29] *Op. cit.* 32.

[30] PLINY, *H. N.* xxxiv 30; the information came from the annalist L. Piso.

[31] MOMMSEN, *op. cit.* 448—449.

[32] ASCON. *In Pison.* 44 p. 18 Stangl.

[33] This monument is discussed in detail by DEGRASSI, *Inscriptiones Italiae* xiii 3 No. 71. Henceforth all references to *I L* will refer to this volume and fascicule.

[34] I omit the case of Sp. Cassius, who, according to PLINY, *H. N.* xxxiv 30, erected his own statue in the Temple of Tellus. It was later destroyed by the censors after Cassius had been condemned of monarchical ambitions. But the Temple of Tellus had not yet been built nor the office of censor instituted at the period to which the event is attributed; see MOMMSEN, *Hermes* v (1871) 236—237.

[35] The evidence has been examined in detail by DEGRASSI, *I L* n. 90.

for the obvious reason that there was no need for such regulations. The matter was clearly one of modesty, good taste and dignity; and, as our evidence shows, the Roman who merited such a memorial was as content to allow posterity to handle the affair in his own case as he was ready to honor those who had gone before him for having deserved well of family and state. We should be greatly misjudging the Roman character, I believe, if we considered that a law or fixed regulations were ever necessary to keep men of distinction from immortalizing themselves publicly in stone, or conversely, to permit them to do so. When Cicero, on the threshold of his curule aedileship, speaks of the *ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae* in the same breath with the *antiquior in senatu sententiae dicendae locus, toga praetexta,* and *sella curulis,* and characterizes them all as the rewards (*fructus*) for the work and worry which the office will entail,[36] it certainly appears more likely that he is referring to the well-attested custom of funeral *imagines* than to a highly hypothetical privilege of erecting his own portrait in public. Hence, as I understand him, it is Cicero's belief that the fact of his having held the curule aedileship will give his descendants the right to carry his likeness after his death in funeral processions of the Tullian *gens.*

But Cicero in a letter to L. Papirius Paetus makes it clear that family discretion played a large part in selecting the *imagines* to be displayed. He writes:[37] *Sed tamen, mi Paete, qui tibi venit in mentem negare Papirium quemquam umquam nisi plebeium fuisse? fuerunt enim patricii minorum gentium, quorum princeps L. Papirius Mugillanus, qui censor cum L. Sempronio Atratino fuit, cum ante consul cum eodem fuisset, annis post R. c. cccxii; sed tum Papisii dicebamini. Post hunc* XIII *fuerunt sella curuli ante L. Papirium Crassum, qui primum Papisius est vocari desitus. Is dictator cum L. Papirio Cursore magistro equitum factus est annis post Romam conditam* CCCCXV *et quadriennio post consul cum K. Duilio. Hunc secutus est Cursor, homo valde honoratus; deinde L. Masso aedilicius; inde multi Massones. Quorum quidem tu omnium patriciorum imagines habeas volo. Deinde Carbones et Turdi insequuntur. Hi plebeii fuerunt; quos contemnas censeo; nam praeter hunc C. Carbonem, quem Damasippus occidit, civis e re p. Carbonum nemo fuit. Cognovimus Cn. Carbonem et eius fratrem scurram; quid iis improbius? De hoc amico meo, Rubriae filio, nihil dico. Tres illi fratres fuerunt, C., Cn., M. Carbones. Marcus P. Flacco accusante condemnatus fur magnus, ex Sicilia; Gaius accusante L. Crasso cantharidas sumpsisse dicitur. Is et tr. pl. seditiosus et P. Africano vim attulisse existimatus est. Hoc vero, qui Lilybaei a Pompeio nostro est interfectus, improbior nemo meo iudicio fuit. Iam pater eius accusatus a M. Antonio sutorio atramento absolutus putatur. Qua re ad patres censeo revertare; plebeii quam fuerint importuni vides.*

As we see, Cicero undertakes to correct an erroneous opinion of Paetus that all Papirii had been plebeians. First of all, he gives a list of Papirii who had belonged to patrician branches of the *gens.* In all but one instance, it is stated expressly or is known from other sources that these individuals had held a curule magistracy.[38] The exception is contained in the phrase *inde multi Massones* which follows directly upon mention of L. Masso as one who had held the aedileship. With these many Massones Cicero ends his list of Papirian patricians, adding but one observation by way of summary: *Quorum quidem tu, omnium patriciorum imagines habeas volo.* As Cicero has been careful up to the end of his list only to mention men who had been curule magistrates, we may reasonably interpret the words *inde multi Massones* as "and many Papirii Massones followed him" (*L. Masso aedilicius,* mentioned in the phrase directly preceding) "who also held a curule office."

Cicero then turns to the plebeian branches of the *gens: Deinde Carbones et Turdi insecuntur. Hi plebeii fuerunt, quos contemnas censeo. Nam praeter hunc C. Carbonem quem Damasippus occidit, civis e re publica Carbonum nemo fuit.* This C. Carbo, killed by Damasippus, had held the praetorship.[39] Of the others whom Cicero mentions specifically, three had been consuls and one a praetor,[40] while the remaining two are only known to us through Cicero's characterizations of one as a *fur magnus ex Sicilia* who was condemned on the accusation of P. Flaccus, and of the other as *amicus meus, Rubriae filius.* Here again, we may assume, as in the case of the patrician Massones, that these last two men had held curule office, although it is possible that they were included in the list only because they were brothers of two Carbones who had been consuls. At any rate, the thought comes readily to mind that in one case a praetorship might be very closely connected with a conviction for theft *ex Sicilia.*

I have examined this letter in some detail, because it has been cited as proof that there was no fixed *ius imaginum* limited to curule magistrates.[41] The contention seems to be correct insofar as Roman public law is concerned. But it seems equally clear

[36] CIC., *Verr.* II 5 36.

[37] CICERO, *Ad Fam.* ix 21 = TYRRELL AND PURSER, *Correspondence* iv² pp. 471—474.

[38] See Tyrrell and Purser's notes *ad loc.*

[39] See the genealogy of the Papirii Carbones in Tyrrell and Purser, *op. cit.* p. 473. The Carbo killed by Damasippus had held the praetorship (VELLEIUS, ii 26, a reference omitted by Tyrrell and Purser in their note on his career).

[40] The consuls were Gaius and Gnaeus, brothers of Rubria's son and the notorious Gnaeus who was the colleague of Marius. His brother, the *scurra,* had held the praetorship (GRANIUS LICINIANUS, p. 32 Flemisch; *cf.* VAL. MAX., ix 7 3, references also omitted).

[41] ZADOKS, *op. cit.* 103.

from Polybius and Cicero that only men who had held curule office were considered by their descendants to be worthy of representation at family funerals. Cicero's letter shows that he considered Paetus within his customary rights in discriminating against the inclusion among his *imagines* of certain ancestors who were qualified for the honor because of the offices they had held, but were not deemed worthy of it for reasons of conduct and *mores*. He advises his friend to have as *imagines* in his atrium and presumably later at his funeral likenesses of those men alone whom he, Cicero, judges to have worked for the best interests of the Republic. The other members of the family, the politically unorthodox or the morally corrupt, he thinks Paetus should ignore. But Paetus will remain the final judge.

In other words, we see again that with regard to *imagines*, we are dealing with a family matter, in which custom and tradition played an important part. Polybius and Cicero both attest the belief that no one should be represented publicly by an *imago* unless he had held high office. On the other hand, the fact of having held high office did not automatically assure the deceased of the honor. Cicero makes it clear to Paetus that he is entitled to have among his *imagines* men from any or all branches of his *gens*, the Papirian, and later under Tiberius the *imago* of Scipio Africanus the elder was temporarily removed from the Capitolium to be worn at any funeral of the Cornelian *gens*.[42] On the other hand, we hear of Messala Corvinus' indignation when an *imago* of a member of another branch, the Laevini, of his own *gens*, the Valerian, had been introduced among his own.[43] Another Messala had previously protested against the same sort of thing, and the contrast with Cicero's opinion is a clear indication of the room which was left for personal opinion and independent practice regarding *imagines*.[44]

In the light of these observations, we can now examine a statement of Pliny. He writes:[45] *aliter apud maiores in atriis haec erant, quae spectarentur; non signa externorum artificum nec aera aut marmora: expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis, ut essent imagines quae comitarentur gentilicia funera, semperque defuncto aliquo totus aderat familiae eius qui umquam fuerat populus.* Pliny is writing of the past. He is contrasting the *expressi cera vultus apud maiores* with the *signa externorum artificum*, the *aera* and *marmora* of his own times. His words *totus . . . . familiae* etc. clearly mean "all past members of the family." But this all-inclusiveness is in direct conflict with the information provided by Polybius and Cicero, and as these two writers are depicting conditions which prevailed in their own times and are doing so in some detail, we cannot well question their accounts on the basis of Pliny's later and very general statement.

Fortunately, there is another approach to the problem. We know that one of Pliny's sources for the book (XXXV) containing the passage in question was the work *de familiis* of M. Valerius Messalla Rufus (*cos.* 53 B. C.).[46] Pliny tells us that the sight of the *imagines* of the Salvittones in the atrium of Scipio Pomponianus — a disgrace to the Scipiones Africani — caused Messalla to compose his work.[47] It is difficult to see where this notice could have come from if not from the preface to Messalla's book. It is also clear that the book must have dealt with the subject of *imagines*, and contained a protest against the practice, then prevalent in certain families, of including all branches of a *gens* among the *imagines*, a protest repeated by the more famous Messalla of Augustan times.[48] It then seems possible that in a work of so antiquarian a nature the origin and early history of *imagines* were expounded and that Messalla went back to a time when, as he conceived it, *gentes* had not yet broken up into separate branches and all deceased members of a *gens* were entitled to representation among the *imagines*.

I do not wish to push conjecture too far, and it is just as possible, of course, that Pliny was drawing on another source for his general information about *imagines*. But whatever his source may have been, his statements that the *imagines* of all the deceased members of a *gens* were present at a *funus gentile* is contrary to the practice of the second and first centuries B. C., in which we are interested here.

We come now to the material aspect of the family *imagines*. As those mentioned by Pliny and Polybius were of wax, it is natural that no one of them has come down to our day. On the other hand, we are not left entirely without archaeological evidence which bears directly on our immediate subject. Dr. Zadoks has published and described a small and rather unique class of portrait busts dating from the late Republic and early Empire.[49] These busts, fashioned in durable material, represent wax originals of which, as in the case of the ancestral masks, no examples have survived. Furthermore, the wax originals are sometimes portrayed as within shrines, the form and appearance of which correspond fully with the literary notices of the shrines in the family atrium in which *imagines*

[42] VAL. MAX., viii 15 1.
[43] PLINY, *H. N.* xxxv 8.
[44] *Loc. cit.*
[45] PLINY, *op. cit.* xxxv 6.

[46] He appears in the list of authorities for book xxxv as Messalla *senex* next to Messalla *orator*, the great Corvinus of the Augustan age. On the use made of him by Pliny, see MÜNZER, *Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius* 352.
[47] PLINY, *op. cit.* xxxv 8.
[48] *Loc. cit.*
[49] ZADOKS, *op. cit.* 42—46, pls. iv, v, vi.

were kept.[50] Dr. Zadoks concludes that under the influence of the portraits of the living, the wax mask was abandoned and the wax bust took its place as the usual form of the *imago*.[51] It must be conceded at the outset that she is right, insofar as the mere use of wax busts for atrium *imagines* is concerned. But it is one thing for a new practice to arise and yet another to hold that it supplanted an old one, without evidence that the latter did not exist contemporaneously.

Unfortunately, if we turn to ancient literature for precise information, we are doomed to disappointment. In speaking of funeral *imagines*, both Greek and Latin authors are apt to use the terms εἰκών and *imago*, which have the general meaning of "image" or "likeness" and may be applied to a mask as well as a portrait bust. To be sure, the word *imago* when applied indefinitely to statuary usually meant a bust, but in connection with family *imagines* this connotation is not necessarily valid, because there its first and foremost sense is "likeness of an ancestor" with reference to the custom of *imagines* rather than to the form or material in which the likeness was carried out.

We must therefore approach the problem in a different way; and in so doing, we must first recall that *imagines* were primarily part of a funeral, whether covering the face of the deceased or worn by a representant, and that their preservation in the atrium was necessary but of secondary importance in the early practice as a whole. Speaking of the presence of *imagines* at the funeral he describes, Polybius emphasizes their moral effect — the immortalization of the men represented and the example they set for the living.[52] This is a reasonable and rational interpretation of the custom which was undoubtedly shared by Polybius' contemporaries. It is further attested by the attitude prevailing in the last century of the Republic towards the *imagines* in the family atrium.

With the political conception of *imagines* as a mark of nobility,[53] the atrium became increasingly a kind of family Hall of Fame where the family's political pedigree was exhibited to residents and visitors alike.[54] It is natural that this would have been done in the most effective manner and that as changes occurred in artistic methods of representation, these changes were reflected in the portraits of the family ancestors. We not only have the monuments published by Dr. Zadoks attesting the use of busts, but we also hear of paintings and *imagines clipeatae*.[55] Obviously paintings would never have been carried at a family funeral, but in the atrium it is probable that busts and paintings stood side by side.[56] Nor can we derive any precise information from the many references to *cerae* in the sense of *imagines* which we find in the literature of the Empire. For *cerae* may mean wax busts as well as wax masks.[57] Nevertheless, there are other considerations which make it highly probable that whatever changes in forms of representation may have taken place in the *imagines* of the atrium, the traditional mask was preserved for the funeral during the early Empire. I say the early Empire, because it seems likely that after Tiberius the custom of *imagines* within the funeral procession was limited to imperial funerals.[58] Hence there would have been no longer any necessity for the making of masks of private individuals.

In the first place, elements of a funeral ceremony are apt to keep their original form for an indefinite length of time. Such fundamental practices of society are notoriously impervious to change or innovation. Then, Dr. Zadok's assumption that busts supplanted masks in the funeral procession forces us to think of a curious mixture of *imagines* at a family funeral. Unless we believe it consistent with Roman *pietas* and respect for tradition that the masks of older ancestors which had been worn at the funerals of generation after generation were discarded in favor of busts copied from these masks, we must imagine the older ancestors represented in the traditional way, while busts of the more recently deceased were carried, presumably in the hands, by others. When Valerius Maximus tells us that in his own day (under Tiberius) the *imago* of Scipio Africanus the Elder was taken from the Capitolium to participate in the funerals of the Cornelian *gens*,[59] we cannot well conceive of this *imago* as anything but the death mask,

[50] *Op. cit.* 26.

[51] *Op. cit.* 37—38.

[52] POLYBIUS, vi 53.

[53] This is best attested by the fact that from Cicero's time on *imago* was often used metaphorically for "distinguished ancestor" without any thought of portraiture. The evidence is collected in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, s. v. imago*, p. 406.

[54] The atrium as a place in which the family pedigree was exhibited is well illustrated by SENECA, *Ben.* iii 28: *Qui imagines in atrio exponunt et nomina familiae suae longo ordine ac multis stemmatum inligata flexuris in parte prima aedium collocant, non noti magis quam nobiles sunt?* For more evidence, see MARQUARDT, *op. cit.* 241 n. 2.

[55] JUVENAL, 8 2 f.: *pictos . . . . . vultus| maiorum; cf.* ZADOKS, *op. cit.* 107, who rightly interprets them as paintings. She also follows MARQUARDT, *op. cit.* 244 n. 2, in interpreting Juvenal's *stantes in curribus Aemilianos* as painted figures. But this does not exclude the possibility that statues of ancestors stood in the house. For it is a likely assumption that the *effigiem patris Silii consulto senatus abolitam* which the younger Silius had nevertheless preserved *in vestibulo* of his house was a statue (TAC., *Ann.* xi 35; *cf.* the same author's use of *effigies* in xi 38). On the use of *clipeatae imagines*, see MARQUARDT, *op. cit.* 244 n. 4.

[56] MARTIAL, xi 102 4: *Quam silet in cera vultus et in tabula.* I interpret *vultus in cera* as "wax bust," *in tabula* as a painted portrait.

[57] See the examples in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, s. v. cera*, p. 853.

[58] See p. 143 below.

[59] VAL. MAX., viii 15 1.

original or copy, of Scipio. And yet, if later distinguished members of the family were represented by busts, it seems to me that the whole spectacle would have lost in effectiveness and unity. After all, the custom as described by Polybius was superbly theatrical and it is difficult to imagine a less effective form of representation than a series of busts, especially when contrasted with living representants decked in the brilliant costumes of the Roman magistracy. Finally, it is significant that our accounts of later imperial funerals inform us specifically that busts were not used as *imagines*.[60]

All in all, then, I cannot agree with Dr. Zadoks that busts ever took the place of masks as *imagines* in funeral processions. Both evidence and general considerations point to a continuation of the use of masks described by Polybius into the early Empire so far as family funerals were concerned, and even without further evidence, we could assume that the practice was observed at Augustus' funeral.

The *imagines* at the funeral of Augustus fall naturally into two groups: those of ancestors and dead relatives and those of other Romans who had been distinguished in any way, beginning with Romulus.[61] Dio characterizes the members of the first group as προπάτωρες and συγγενεῖς τεθνηκότες. These words, as shown from Dio's usage elsewhere, mean no more than our own relatively vague terms "forefathers" and "deceased relatives." As we have seen above, discrimination might be applied within a *gens*; and every member, even though he had held curule office, was not necessarily represented at a family funeral. On the other hand, our evidence gives no indication that persons not belonging to the *gens* were ever included among the *imagines* in republican practice.

We have, however, the notices given by Tacitus of the funerals of Drusus, brother of Tiberius, and of his namesake, Tiberius' son. To begin with the elder Drusus, Tacitus tells us that his bier was surrounded by the *imagines* of two *gentes*, the Claudian and the Julian.[62] This Drusus had never been adopted into the Julian *gens*; hence, from the strictly traditional point of view, he had no right to Julian *imagines*. But to change the well-attested reading *Iuliorum* to *Liviorum*, as was done by Lipsius, does not help us out of the difficulty.[63] If there were any evidence that it was traditional for *imagines* from both sides of a man's family to appear at his funeral, we might find Lipsius' emendation well founded. But since such evidence is entirely lacking, it is better to keep to manuscript authority, especially in view of Augustus' behavior. As Tacitus tells us, the emperor went to meet the corpse of Drusus at Ticinum in the dead of Winter and escorted it back to Rome.[64] There, he participated personally in the funeral proper by delivering one of the two funeral orations, the one in the Circus Flaminius.[65] He had the ashes of Drusus deposited in his own tomb on the Campus Martius,[66] and composed an *elogium* of the deceased in verse as well as a memoir of his life in prose.[67] These are clear indications of the affection and esteem in which Augustus held his younger step-son, and they lead us to interpret the presence of Julian *imagines* at the funeral of the latter as another personal tribute coming from the Emperor. Augustus could not have shown in a more impressive way that he was mourning Drusus as a son than by permitting his own Julian *imagines* to escort Drusus, a member of another *gens*, to his final resting place.

The other Drusus, however, the son of Tiberius, was a member of the Julian *gens*.[68] At his funeral, we find *imagines* of Aeneas, all the Alban kings, and Romulus, the founder of the city.[69] Behind them came the long series of the Claudian nobility, led by Attus Clausus, who, traditionally, was the first of the family to remove from Regillus to Rome in 504 B. C.[70] The great men from Aeneas to Romulus obviously represented the legendary ancestors of the Julian *gens* into which young Drusus had passed by adoption, while the *imagines* of the *gens Claudia* represented his natural ancestors. This is the earliest direct evidence which we have for the presence of purely legendary ancestors among funeral *imagines*. But, as I hope to demonstrate, we must not assume that this instance lacked precedent.

Returning now to Augustus, we have seen him at the funeral of the elder Drusus break with the lusual republican tradition governing the use of family *imagines*. It is conceivable then that he did so again at his own funeral, whose plans he had formulated, by including the *imagines* of his natural ancestors, the Octavii, among those of his adoptive and legal ancestors, the Iulii. But the fact is that the Octavii would not have made a very brave showing.[71] In the Emperor's immediate branch of the Octavian *gens*, the first person to obtain a curule office was the

[60] See p. 143 below.

[61] See p. 132 above.

[62] TAC., *Ann.* iii 5.

[63] See Furneaux's note *ad loc.* But I cannot agree with his view that "effigies, no doubt, of the Livii and other less noble houses were borne, but so eclipsed by these as not to need mention." As evidence, he cites the funeral of Junia (TAC. *Ann.* iii 76), but see my discussion of it below, p. 143.

[64] TAC. *Ann.* iii 5.

[65] DIO, lv 2.

[66] *Loc. cit.; cf.* SUET., *Claud.* 1.

[67] SUET., *loc. cit.*

[68] He entered into the Julian *gens* when his father Tiberius was adopted by Augustus in A. D. 4. (*PIR* ii 176, No. 144).

[69] TAC., *Ann.* iv 9.

[70] LIVY, ii 16; SUET. *Tib.* 1.

[71] See the *stemma* of the family in DRUMANN-GRÖBE, *Geschichte Roms* iv 234.

Emperor's own father, praetor in 61 B. C.[72] In the *gens* as a whole, Cn. Octavius, praetor in 205 B. C., appears to have been the first who had the right to leave an *imago* to posterity.[73]

On the other hand, though political considerations are a sufficient explanation of the emphasis which Augustus put on his adoptive *gens*, the Julian, it is also clear that he felt a particular attachment to that part of his family from early childhood. Bereft of his father, C. Octavius, at the age of three, his formative years were especially influenced by his mother's side of his family[74] and we find him delivering the *laudatio funebris* of his grandmother Julia at about the age of eleven.[75] His love and admiration for his great-uncle, Julius Caesar, in the years before he was aware of his adoption need no discussion. After his adoption we should be apt to forget that the new Julius Caesar was ever born an Octavius, were it not for the Octavianus of modern scholarship, a name legitimate enough, but hardly one which was welcomed or propagated by the man to whom it was given by his enemies.[76] All in all, then, we may entertain a reasonable doubt that Octavian *imagines* took part in Augustus' funeral for reasons of political expediency or sentimental attachment.

This leaves the many Julian ancestors who had distinguished themselves by holding curule magistracies, and we cannot doubt that they were all represented.[77] But what is more, there is an indication that it was not the historical members of the family alone with whom we now have to deal. As we have noted, the *imagines* of Aeneas and his descendants down to Romulus were present at the funeral of the younger Drusus as members of the Julian *gens*. Dio divides the *imagines* at Augustus' funeral into two classes, the traditional family *imagines* and those of other Romans beginning with Romulus who had been distinguished in any way. This notice is significant, in that we might expect Aeneas, not Romulus, to have been the oldest legendary figure to be represented. Although Aeneas was not the founder of the city of Rome according to the official version prevalent in Augustan times, the recognition he enjoyed as founder of the *gens Romana* certainly entitled him to be at the head of any procession of great men from Rome's past.[78] The *Aeneid*, published years before, can have left no doubt in the Roman mind concerning Aeneas' outstanding position at the very threshold of Roman history, and it is difficult to conceive of any pageant such as that of Augustus' funeral in which he would not been have represented.

But our difficulty is solved if we make the reasonable assumption that the *imago* of Aeneas was present but not within Dio's second group of *imagines*, those outside Augustus' family. For Aeneas was not only the common ancestor of all Romans, the *Gens Romana* in general, but the founder of the Julian *gens*, through his son Iulus, in particular.[79] In this quality, he and his immediate descendants, the Alban kings, appeared at the funeral of the younger Drusus. In this quality, he belonged in Dio's category of Augustus' ancestors, no one of whom is mentioned by name. And it is both as founder of the Roman people and founder of the Julian *gens* that he appears in the forum of Augustus.

I mention the forum here, since we have come logically to that part of Augustus' funeral which is the most difficult to explain and whose existence was doubted by Mommsen: the *imagines* of distinguished Romans, who were not ancestors or relatives of Augustus. For the monument not only furnishes a striking parallel to the funeral, but gives us at the same time an insight into the emperor's mentality and his methods of propagating certain political conceptions before and after his death.

It is unnecessary for the purpose of this paper to undertake an archaeological study of the forum Augustum, for it is primarily a single aspect of the monument which bears directly on the subject under discussion.[80] Yet a few general facts should be kept in mind. The forum proper was thrown open to the public before the temple of Mars Ultor, which was its chief ornament, was finished;[81] hence, sometime before August 1, 2 B. C.[82] Its construction had been vowed forty years before at Philippi and the spoils of that victory set aside to meet the expense.[83] As result of recent excavations, it is now possible to form an adequate conception of the original plan and appearance of the forum and temple.

[72] *Op. cit.* 245 no. 17.

[73] *Op. cit.* 236 no. 2.

[74] *Op. cit.* 261; *cf.* CHARLESWORTH in *CAH* x 5—7.

[75] SUET., *Aug.* 8. QUINTILIAN, xii 6 1, reports that he delivered it at the age of 12 = 51 B. C., NICOLAUS, *Vit. Caes.* 3, three years later.

[76] CHARLESWORTH in *CAH* x 17.

[77] See the *stemmata* in DRUMANN-GRÖBE, *op. cit.* 111, *cf.* 693; 114, *cf.* 694.

[78] On Aeneas as the founder of the Roman race, see p.142 below.

[79] The evidence has been collected by MÜNZER, *PW* x 106—107, *cf.* 953.

[80] The most recent description of the *forum Augustum* containing photographs and a map is that of DEGRASSI, *I L* pp. 1—8. It is based on the recent excavations. The literary evidence is collected in PLATNER-ASHBY, *Topographical Dictionary* 220—223, and there is an excellent general discussion in Sir James Frazer's edition of OVID'S *Fasti*, Vol. iv, 61—67. For the date of construction, see FRANK, *AJP* lix (1938) 93—94.

[81] SUET., *Aug.* 29.

[82] DIO, lv 10, lx 5; VELL., ii 100. OVID, *Fasti* v 551, who gives the twelfth of May, is probably confusing the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum with an earlier one on the Capitol; see FRAZER, *op. cit.* 61—62.

[83] SUET., *Aug.* 29, OVID, *Fasti* v 569—578.

In connection with our immediate discussion, we must first dwell on the two great hemicycles which enclosed the forum to the north and south.[84] Fortunately, the one to the south is partially preserved, giving a fair idea of the original state of both. It contains two rows of rectangular niches, which at first glance seem admirably suited to contain and display statues of life size. That they actually did so can be concluded with certainty from other evidence.

Suetonius tells us that next to the immortal gods, Augustus honored the memory of the leaders who had raised the Roman *Imperium* from the smallest to the greatest, and that he dedicated the statues of all of them in triumphal garb in both porticoes of his forum.[85] His purpose in so doing, as he stated in an edict, was that the lives of these worthies should serve as a standard by which his own and that of his successors could be measured by the citizens.[86] These are obviously the same statues to which Lampridius refers, when he states that Augustus placed marble statues of the greatest men (*summi viri*) in his forum, accompanied by inscriptions.[87] It is true, of course, that Suetonius speaks of them as *in utraque fori sui porticu*, which should mean the two porticoes each of which formed a chord to its hemicycle, but a marble slab forming the pavement of one of the niches shows the imprint of a stone .9 m. wide, which is the size of the best preserved statue base containing the inscription or *elogium* of Sulla.[88] Since Dio also tells us that commanders accorded a triumph were to have their statues in bronze *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*,[89] we may accept Degrassi's conjecture that these bronze statues were placed under porticoes, while the worthies of old, represented in marble, stood in the niches.[90] Suetonius must have confused the two kinds of statues.

The marble statues stood on marble bases inscribed with part of the inscription or *elogium* of the person portrayed.[91] Below the niche a marble slab contained the rest of the notice. First recorded were the regular magistracies in descending order, then other *honores*, such as pontificates, chronologically. There followed a list of achievements in war, then those in peace, among which the dedication of temples played a prominent part. Although the statues themselves have perished, a relatively large number of *elogia* have come down to us. Those originally in the forum at Rome are complemented and increased by a number from Arezzo, where the Augustan forum was imitated. Two *elogia* of Marius, one from Rome, the other from Arezzo, demonstrate by their identical wording that the Aretine *elogia* were exact copies of the Roman.[92] Scattered notices in the writers complete our sources of information.

The men whose offices and achievements are recorded in the *elogia* of the forum Augustum are best described in the words of Lampridius as *summi viri*. The great majority, as was natural in a state in which the same magistrates performed both civil and military functions, had celebrated triumphs; but we also find a number of men represented who had never attained that honor.[93] In a word, we can correctly define the forum Augustum as the first great national Hall of Fame, a monument expressly designed to put the visitor in mind of memorable deeds from Rome's past through the representation of the great men who had achieved them and the documentation of their several careers. It was a superb and elaborate commentary in stone on Ennius' noble line:

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.[94]

The immediate moral influence which the statues and inscriptions were to exercise upon the citizen standing in their presence is quite similar to that ascribed by republican authors to the *imagines* of the family atrium.[95] They were to serve as examples of virtue and patriotism. As has recently been said, it was not a system of ethical philosophy which Augustus invoked to raise the moral level of the great mass of his fellow Romans.[96] That would have been too circumscribed in its effect. But a national and religious revival, achieved in no small part by the renewal of proud memories of the past, might be expected to make a universal appeal and to spread its influence far and wide. To resuscitate such memories and to give them a new life and significance, poetry, history and antiquarian research were called upon to do their part. To these we may now add the art of architect and sculptor.

Since the temple of Mars Ultor occupied the middle of the forum, emphasis lay on Roman virtue

[84] See the map in *I L*, opposite p. XXIV and the description on p. 2.

[85] SUET., *Aug.* 31.

[86] *Loc. cit.*

[87] *SHA, Alex. Sev.* 28.

[88] *I L* no. 18, *cf.* p. 2.

[89] DIO, lv 10.

[90] *I L* pp. 2—3.

[91] Degrassi's discussion of the *elogia* of the forum supersedes all other treatments as it is the only one based on the complete evidence, *op. cit.* pp. 5—7. He has made good use, naturally, of the best previous treatment, Henzen's revision of MOMMSEN, *CIL* I² pp. 186—188. For the *elogium* as a literary form and its relation to the *titulus* of the family *imago* and the republican *libri imaginum*, see DEGRASSI, *op. cit.* pp. ix-x, HENZEN, *op. cit.* p. 186, and V. PREMERSTEIN, *PW* x 2443—2446. All references to *elogia* from the *forum Augustum* are to Degrassi's publication.

[92] Nos. 17 and 83.

[93] For instance, Appius Claudius Caecus, nos. 12 and 79; *cf.* p. 4.

[94] ENNIUS, A. 500 Vahlen.

[95] POLYBIUS, vi 53; SALLUST, *Bell. Iug.* 4; VAL. MAX., v 8 3. Many other examples can be found in *Thes. L. L. s. v.* p. 406.

[96] VON PREMERSTEIN, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats, Abh. d. Bay. Akad.* xv (1937) 17.

in arms. Dio tells us that young men on reaching military age should frequent the temple of Mars Ultor;[97] that officials leaving for provincial commands should make it their starting-point; that the senate should meet there to debate the granting of triumphs; that men granted triumphs should dedicate their crown and sceptre to this Mars; that their statues should be erected in bronze in the forum; that military standards recaptured from the enemy should be deposited in the temple; finally, that the *seviri equitum* should hold a yearly festival by the steps of the temple. Thus temple and forum constituted the military center of ancient Rome, where the memory of past victories was continually refreshed by the addition of new trophies and mementos.

But the forum has more to suggest than this, the obvious, to anyone who will scrutinize it more closely. As Weber pointed out in his note on the forum, Augustus not only recalled the heroes of the past, but kept himself in the eyes of his people, not only as the creator of the monument, but as one who had joined past and present.[98] This, of course, is true, but it is a mere indication of the problem. To examine it in its several aspects, we must first consider the men who were represented in the forum, and I shall first make an apparently arbitrary classification, the reasons for which will appear later.

In the first place, there are the great men of the Republic who were not directly related to the emperor.[99] Of these nineteen are known to us. To mention but a few whose identification is certain, — for much of our evidence is very fragmentary, — we have Camillus, Appius Claudius Caecus, Q. Fabius Maximus, L. Aemilius Paullus, Marius, Sulla and Lucullus.[100] We hardly need better evidence than the fact that Marius and Sulla both appeared to conclude that political convictions played no part in choosing these men for the honor of being represented.

Then there are the legendary worthies. Aeneas was portrayed carrying Anchises on his shoulders and holding Iulus by the hand.[101] With him, as Ovid tells us, one saw

et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos.[102]

Recalling that all the Alban kings appeared among the *imagines* of the Julian *gens* at the funeral of the younger Drusus and noting that Ovid places his Julian *avi* between Aeneas and Romulus, we may conclude that all the Alban kings were represented in the forum Augustum, although the *elogia* of only a few of them have been preserved.[103] Finally Romulus appeared, carrying the spoils of Acron.[104]

The third and last group is composed of the emperor's historical relatives. Here we find C. Julius Caesar Strabo, C. Julius Caesar, the father of the dictator, M. Claudius Marcellus and Nero Claudius Drusus.[105] The divine Julius, as was to be expected, had his place within the temple of Mars Ultor at the side of Venus Genetrix and Mars.[106]

Now the striking thing is this: of the four relatives of Augustus just mentioned, Claudius Drusus alone had the right to a place in the forum on grounds of his own distinction. His consulship and his brilliant campaigns in Germany fully justified his inclusion among the republican worthies. But a curule aedileship is the highest office in the cursus of Julius Caesar Strabo, a praetorship in that of Caesar's father, while the young Marcellus died in the year of his curule aedileship.[107] Nor had any of these men achievements outside of the normal cursus to compensate for their lack of distinction within it.

These facts, I believe, throw a new light on the political significance of the forum Augustum. We no longer have the right to consider it a purely public monument, designed with the sole purpose of glorifying Rome's past through the tangible representation of the men who had made that past great; or, with its temple, merely a kind of military museum, serving to kindle valor and emulation in successive generations of soldiers. To be sure, it had this essentially public character in its most important aspect. Yet, in a lesser degree, it was a private monument of Augustus and his family, a counterpart, on an imposing scale, of the emperor's private atrium where the *imagines* and *tituli* of his ancestors and dead relatives would normally have been kept according to Republican tradition.

The legendary forefathers whom the Julian *gens* might claim to be peculiarly their own among the *imagines* of a family funeral took on a larger significance in the Augustan Hall of Fame. They established Augustus' kinship with the whole Roman people, for his forefathers were also the founders of the *gens Romana* and the city of Rome. The idea is not a new one. Dio makes Antony express it in his funeral oration on Julius Caesar.[108] Speaking of Caesar's

[97] DIO, lv 10.

[98] WEBER, *op. cit.* 79* 350.

[99] See the list in *I L* p. 8.

[100] Camillus, no. 61; Appius Claudius Caecus, nos. 12 and 79; Q. Fabius Maximus, nos. 14 and 80; L. Aemilius Paullus, no. 81; C. Marius, nos. 17 and 83; L. Cornelius Sulla, no. 18; L. Licinius Lucullus, no. 84.

[101] No. 1, *cf.* OVID, *Fasti* v 563 and MRS. STRONG in *CAH* x, p. 578, *cf.* Vol. of Plates iv, 176 b, 204 d.

[102] OVID, *loc. cit.* 564.

[103] No. 2 and possibly Nos. 3, 4 and 5. On the restoration and interpretation of No. 2, see ROWELL, *Proceedings of the Am. Phil. Ass.* lxviii (1937) p. xxxvii.

[104] OVID, *loc. cit.* 565; *cf.* MRS. STRONG, *op. cit.* 578 and Vol. of Plates iv 176 a, 204 d.

[105] Julius Caesar Strabo, No. 6; C. Julius Caesar, the father of the dictator, No. 7; M. Claudius Marcellus, No. 8; Nero Claudius Drusus, No. 9.

[106] *CAH* x 578.

[107] See Degrassi's commentary to Nos. 6, 7 and 8.

[108] DIO, xliv 37.

distinguished ancestry which reached back to kings and gods, Antony states that he will not praise him particularly for this, but first of all because he was a kinsman of the whole city — for he adds, "he descended from those by whom we were founded" — and then, because he not only confirmed but strengthened the tradition about his ancestors, who were considered to have attained divinity through virtue. From what we know of Caesar, we may judge that he was more interested in his own divine descent than in the kinship it brought him with his fellow citizens.[109] But the conception is one which accords admirably with Augustus' far different attitude towards the divine origin of his family, which he never seems to have emphasized as a personal matter. To use it, however, as a means of demonstrating to every Roman that he was connected with the emperor through a common ancestry and that a kind of family tie existed between the lowest and highest in the state, was a use beyond reproach. It was not without reason that Virgil called the Romans of the early Republic *Aeneades*, in a work in which Augustus' direct descent from Aeneas through Iulus and C. Julius Caesar is proudly established.[110]

At the same time, the presence of the emperor's historical ancestors and relatives among the worthies of the Republic was reassuring evidence that no irrevocable break had been made with the past. Only a few years ago, Professor Tenney Frank pointed out that political circumstances make it highly probable that the forum of Augustus was begun, which means planned, in the years following immediately upon the "restoration" of the Republic in 27 B. C.[111] By way of summarizing his observations, he writes: ". . . . it seems clear that the period 27—22 was one of widespread enthusiasm for the republican régime, its heroes and its spirit; and that while Vergil was giving luster to the subject in one of the finest passages in literature, Augustus was constructing a government that was to honor its precedents and was also requesting the sculptors of Greece and Rome to place before the Romans a portrait gallery of the great men of the Republic whom he promised to emulate."[112]

I am in complete agreement with these views, and if they are correct, it must have seemed unlikely that a man who had erected the statues of the heroes of the republic, and had placed those of his own ancestors among them, was planning to make any revolutionary change in the constitution which they had shaped and the political tradition by which they had lived.

Rather, Augustus himself must have appeared as the legitimate successor of the men portrayed in his forum and the heir to their virtues. He himself had apparently made no provision to have his statue placed in his forum, and it was better that a living man should not intrude upon the dead while he had yet work to do and no final accounting could be made. But the senate provided that he should have his place in the monument he had built; for in the year 2 B. C., when the temple of Mars Ultor was dedicated, a *quadriga* was placed in the forum with an inscription in which Augustus was significantly called *pater patriae* and his achievements recorded.[113]

In consideration, then, of this forum and the political and patriotic conceptions which it illustrated so brilliantly, we have no longer any valid reason to question the veracity of Dio's statement that the *imagines* of all great Romans, beginning with Romulus, were present at Augustus' funeral, together with those of his own family, historical and legendary. For it is clear, I think, that what the Emperor had done during his lifetime in building his forum was repeated in a different form after his death. The spirit and motive were the same in each case, and there cannot have been an inhabitant of the city who had seen the forum, who did not grasp the connection. The *imagines* of the *gens Romana*, the ancestors of Augustus in tradition and virtue as well as in blood, were accompanying their most distinguished descendant to his last resting place.

Did Augustus so order it in his *mandata de funere*? As we have seen, there is no direct evidence that he did. On the other hand, there is no word that the honor was voted by the senate, and since the presence of the *imagines* of all distinguished Romans was such a striking innovation, we might expect that it would have been mentioned as emanating from the senate if it actually did. Moreover, if Augustus' funeral instructions applied at all to what we may call the private aspects of his funeral, it is almost unthinkable that they did not touch upon a feature of it which was traditionally so closely connected with the family. Admitting that the funeral was a public affair, we may still conceive of the part played by family *imagines* as a private element, and as to the *imagines* of non-relatives, our study of the forum has made it sufficiently clear that these too were meant to be understood in a symbolic and patriotic sense as belonging to the emperor. All in all, with due consideration of

[109] On Caesar's attitude towards his divine ancestry, see DRUMANN-GRÖBE, *op. cit.* iii 108 and EDUARD MEYER, *Caesars Monarchie*[3] 510.

[110] It is significant that Virgil speaks of Aeneas as founder of the Roman race and of his son Iulus as founder of the *gens Iulia* in the same two passages, *Aen.* i 257—296, vi 755—853. The Romans in general are descendants of Aeneas, either as *nepotes* (vi 757, *cf.* iii 409, viii 731) or *Aeneades* (viii 648). But Aeneas' particular Romans (*hanc aspice gentem | Romanosque tuos*, vi 788—789) are *Caesar et omnis Iuli | progenies*, 789—790, — *cf. domus Aeneae* for the imperial family, ix 448. See too Mrs. Strong's discussion of Aeneas on the *Ara Pacis*, *CAH* x 548—549.

[111] FRANK, *AJP* lix (1938) 91—94.

[112] *Op. cit.* 94; *cf.* the views of JONES, *CAH* x 127—132, on the restoration of the Republic.

[113] *Res Gestae* 35; VELLEIUS, ii 39.

the fact that Augustus himself conceived and built his forum to illustrate ideas which later were manifest at his funeral, I am inclined to believe that he was personally responsible for all the *imagines* at his funeral.[114]

We hear of *imagines* at only one funeral outside of the imperial family, from this time on, and we have direct evidence that the custom was observed at imperial funerals alone by the beginning of the third century after Christ.[115] The private funeral in question was that of Junia, the half-sister of Marcus Brutus, held in A. D. 22. Tacitus tells us that the images of twenty illustrious "families" (= *gentes*) preceded her corpse; some of these were but distantly related to her.[116] This is the first and only instance of the representation of *gentes* other than those of the deceased at a private funeral. Mommsen sees in it a relaxation of republican practice in general, and such certainly was the case. But we may also assume that the break with republican tradition manifest in funerals of the imperial house had contributed to the change. In this particular funeral of Junia, we may also suspect a political motive. Tacitus states that she pointedly omitted Tiberius from her will.[117] This Tiberius accepted as a private citizen, and he did not prevent the funeral from being conducted with the traditional ceremonies including a *laudatio pro rostris*. It was apparently too good an occasion to be missed for a pious demonstration on the part of those of the republican nobility who had not yet become reconciled to the new order of affairs. The *imagines* of Brutus and Cassius were not present, but, as Tacitus knew, their spirit was abroad.[118]

Finally, a word must be said about the material aspect of the *imagines* at Augustus' funeral. How were these worthies portrayed? Were wax masks made arbitrarily to represent the legendary heroes and the historical persons of whom no death mask had been made, and were they carried in the traditional manner by representants dressed in appropriate costume? And what of the historical members of the Julian *gens* whose masks had come down to Augustus by inheritance?

We can infer the answer to these questions from later notices and immediate circumstances. In giving a detailed description of the funeral of Septimius Severus, Herodian states that chariots were driven about the funeral pyre in the Campus Martius, bearing men who were dressed in the *toga praetexta* and who wore masks (*προσωπεῖα*) representing the features (*εἰκόνας*) of as many Romans as had been distinguished as generals or rulers.[119] On the other hand, Dio, in describing the funeral of Pertinax which he attended, merely speaks of the presence of statues (*ἀνδριάντες*) of all the old Romans of distinction.[120] Hence we may conclude that there was no uniformity of practice in this regard at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century of our era. But of the two methods of representation, statues and masks, one of which we may reasonably assume for the funeral of Augustus, that of masks immediately commends itself as the more desirable. For as we have attempted to demonstrate in the first part of our discussion, there is no reason to believe that the traditional wax masks had been supplanted by busts in the funeral procession. Those of the Julian *gens* were in the possession of the emperor, and it is hard to imagine other families who would not have gladly lent their own in order to be represented among Rome's greatest men. For even those few who had not as yet become completely reconciled to the principate could not have felt many scruples in allowing the *imagines* of their ancestors to appear in a company so overwhelmingly republican and national.

Thus, if we are right in concluding that the traditional masks were worn wherever available, it is unlikely that a different form was used to represent those of whom no masks existed. The mask was the traditional form of the *imago* at funerals, and Augustus did not have the slightest reason for breaking away from the tradition. From the point of view of sheer spectacle, a certain uniformity of representation was obviously desirable; and I can see no mechanical difficulties which would have been insurmountable. Masks had only to be prepared artificially, where they did not already exist, following historical data, or, in the case of legendary persons, an artistic tradition, which had already been given an official stamp in the statues displayed in the forum of Augustus.

Since we know that these statues were fashioned so as to recall some outstanding event in the life of the person represented, — that M. Valerius Corvus, for instance, was depicted with the crow on his head[121] and Scipio Aemilianus with the *corona obsidionalis* on his brow,[122] — we may conclude that such significant adjuncts were worn or carried by the representants at Augustus' funeral in order to facilitate identification on the part of the onlooker. But be that as it may, many a new mask must have been fashioned for the occasion.

[114] WEBER, *op. cit.* 83—84, concludes that the procession of distinguished men was added by the Senate.

[115] PORPHYRIO on HORACE, *Epodes* 8, 11 writes: *in funere autem nobilissimi cuiusque solebant praeferri imagines maiorum eius quod adhuc observari vidimus in funeribus principum.* His commentary is attributed to the first decades of the third century; *cf.* TEUFFEL, *Röm. Lit.* III[6] 148.

[116] TAC. *Ann.* iii 76, with Furneaux's notes there and on ii 52, in which *familia* is accepted as Tacitean usage for *gens*.

[117] *Loc. cit.*

[118] *Loc. cit.*: *sed praefulgebant Cassius atque Brutus eo ipso quod effigies eorum non visebantur.*

[119] HERODIAN, iv 2.

[120] DIO, lxxiv 4.

[121] GELLIUS, x 11.

[122] PLINY, *H. N.* xxii 13.

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