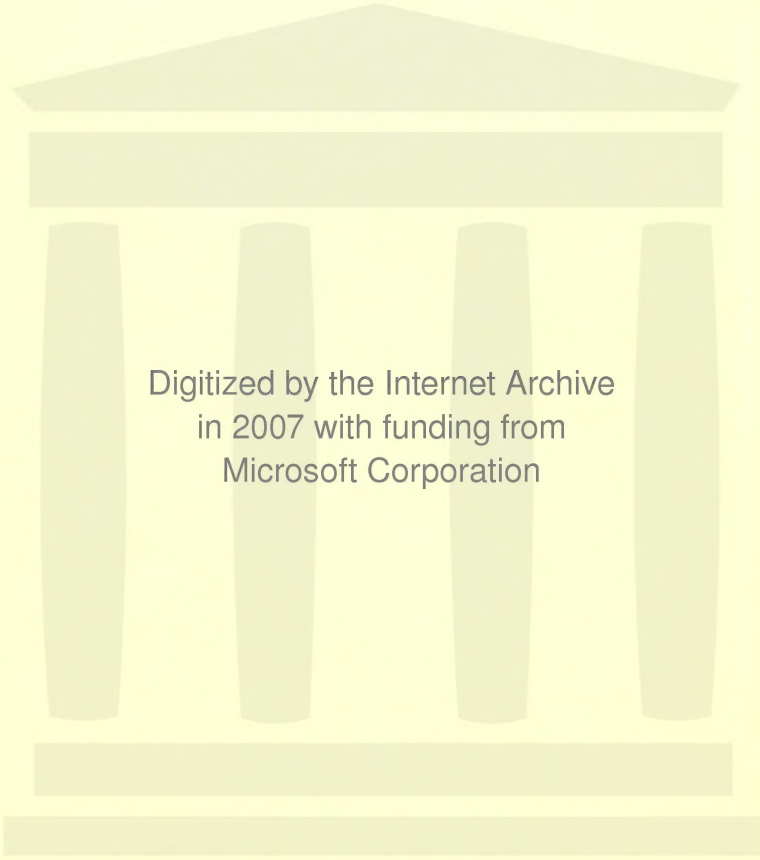

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ROMAN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

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ROMAN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

TO THE

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BY

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D.

PREFACE

This economic study of Rome was undertaken and practically completed in fulfilment of my obligations as Alexander Mackenzie Fellow in Political Science in the University of Toronto during the sessions 1902-1904. The subject was suggested by Professor Seligman's review of Henri Francotte's *L' Industrie dans la Grèce ancienne* in the *Political Science Quarterly* (Vol. xvi, No. 3.) The aim throughout has been to relate the subject to the primary sources. I have been careful, therefore, to read the original, and to verify references contained in the secondary, literature. Students who disagree with the conclusions which have been deduced will be grateful, I believe, that there has been thus collated the material from which conclusions may be drawn. I have not thought it expedient to encumber the foot-notes with an array of secondary literature. I am none the less greatly indebted to various writers for valuable hints and suggestions. In general I have considered it a sufficient acknowledgment of the assistance which an author has rendered me to include his work in my bibliography. No one, however, can investigate any period of Roman history without being indebted to the monumental works of Theodor Mommsen. Dureau de la Malle's *Économie politique des Romains* is somewhat antiquated, but the student of Roman economic history cannot afford to neglect it. Deloume's *Les Manieurs d'argent à Rome* is exceedingly suggestive and brilliant, and I have used it with advantage. The quaint old volumes, *The Husbandry of the Ancients* by Adam Dickson, are a patient and laborious, if uncritical, study of Roman agriculture; I felt more at liberty to avail myself of his work because it is within the reach of comparatively few students. The writings of Marquardt, W. Warde Fowler, Lanciani, Belot, Halkin, Prax, Humbert, Waltzing, Cagnat, Ihne, and the Antiquities of Smith,

Adams, and Ramsay I found of special service. It is a matter of much regret that Mr. Greenidge's treatment of economic conditions in Rome did not reach me until this study was ready for the press; I have been unable to profit by his exceedingly able discussion of Rome's economic situation in the second century B.C.

Some criticism may be evoked by reason of the detailed treatment of agriculture and the extent to which I have used Varro, Columella and Pliny as my authorities. My desire primarily has been to depict conditions not less than to trace developments, and at the risk of being tedious I have aimed at giving full details. It will not be so easy to acquit these writers of the charge of bookishness. Cato smacks of the soil; Varro has the instincts of the antiquary, and one feels in his laboured expositions the influence of old manuscripts and the library. To keep the reader on his guard, I have refrained from expressing measures, dates and coins in modern terms, even when this is possible. The quaintness of some of Varro's precepts, his evidently unconscious exaggerations, may be laid aside, and yet I feel there will still be left something of worth. I quote Columella and Pliny for conditions under the Republic because methods of husbandry changed slowly. The descriptions, therefore, furnished by these authors of the processes of tillage, harvesting, threshing, etc., I consider a fairly adequate representation even of Republican methods. Their value for a sketch of economic conditions under the Republic exists only in so far as they provide us with a view of the fuller development of economic tendencies operative before the Empire.

I beg gratefully to tender my best thanks to Dr. George Willis Botsford, Adjunct-Professor of Ancient History, Columbia University, for his valuable criticisms and kindly sympathy manifested in the revision of the work. In the same University, Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, LL.D., Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy and Finance, and Professor Munroe Smith, J.U.D., Professor of Roman Law and Comparative Jurisprudence, read the study in manuscript and offered suggestions of great value.

For the section which deals with Roman agriculture Dr. William Saunders, of Ottawa, Director of the Experimental Stations of the Dominion of Canada, gave me the benefit of his criticism and of his intimate acquaintance with modern methods. Professor Richard Davidson, M.A., Ph.D., of University College, Toronto, and Mr. John S. Carstairs, M.A., of Harbord St. Collegiate Institute, Toronto, rendered valuable service in forwarding the revision. To Professor George M. Wrong, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Toronto, whose kindness rendered the research possible, and to Mr. H. H. Langton, M.A., Librarian, and Editor of the University of Toronto Studies, whose co-operation has never failed me, I am under great obligation.

But I should be altogether lacking in gratitude if I failed to express my appreciation of the assistance rendered me by Professor William S. Milner, M.A., Associate-Professor of Latin and Ancient History in University College, Toronto. That I was able to undertake and complete this investigation is entirely due to his inspiration as a teacher. His profound knowledge of Roman history has given a stimulus second only to that afforded by his personal friendship and unabated sympathy.

E. H. O.

TORONTO, CANADA,
November 30th, 1906.

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BOOK I.

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE REVOLUTION

§ 1. THE PASTORAL STAGE

It was the firm conviction of many Roman writers that in the evolution of the human race pastoral conditions preceded the agricultural stage.[1] One of their commonest sources of satisfaction, moreover, was that the Roman people had not been out of conformity with this course of development.[2] Accordingly their accounts of the origins of Rome are embellished with a wealth of pastoral allusions. They maintained that the peninsula had received its name because "*Italia*" was a 'land of cattle."[3] It was the rich pasturage, they say, which tempted Hercules to linger in the neighbourhood of Rome,[4] and brought him into conflict with a shepherd, Cacus, who straightway appealed for assistance to fellow-shepherds.[5] It was in a shepherd's life upon the lonely hills that Metabus, tyrant of Privernum, sought consolation when banished with his daughter, Camilla.[6] Pastoral, also, were the conditions which Aeneas found in Italy. A sow with a brood of thirty young was his first omen in this land of promise.[7] The possession of five flocks and as many herds made Galaesus the richest man in all Ausonia.[8] By tracing the descent of

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[1]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 4 ; Col., *R.R.*, VI, *Praef.*; Varro, *R.R.*, III, i, 7.

[2]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 9 ; compare also Florus, I, xxii ; II, ii ; III, xii.

[3]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 9 ; Ibid. II, v, 3 ; Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Ας, 4. 2.

[4]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, I, xxxix; Livy, I, vii, 4.

[5]Livy, I, vii, 5 ; Ibid. I, vii, 7 ; Ibid. I, vii, 9.

[6]Verg., *Aen.*, xi, 569.

[7]Varro, *R.R.* II, iv, 18 ; Verg., *Aen.*, viii, 82 ; Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, κ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Ας, 4. 5-6.

[8]Verg., *Aen.*, vii, 537.

Latinus, shepherd king[1] of the Laurentes, from Faunus,[2] god of shepherds,[3] the Roman writers assigned to this pastoral economy a very remote antiquity.

Peculiarly pastoral is the whole setting of the conventional narrative of Rome's foundation.[4] A shepherd, Faustulus, master of the herds of Amulius, found and trained Romulus and Remus,[5] who, in turn, grew up to be shepherds and the associates of shepherds.[6] When in a contest for grazing grounds Remus was captured, the shepherds of Numitor were opposed by shepherds whom Romulus led to the rescue.[7] Further, the Roman writers assert that it was the rich pasturage and the abundant supply of water that attracted the Albans to the Roman hills.[8] They picture to us the distress occasioned by the barrenness of the cattle in the reign of Romulus,[9] and hint that, in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, shepherds still formed an element in the state.[10]

This deeply rooted belief on the part of the Romans, that the early stages of Italian and Roman development were associated with a pastoral economy, is of great importance, not because it is a tradition which transmits to us an actual historical fact, but because at the time when this belief had its birth there still survived from remote antiquity institutions which the Romans of that day understood far better than we can understand them now and from which they were led to infer that when these institutions were young their ancestors were shepherds.

An examination of the religious and secular institutions and of the archaeological remains of Rome seems to establish the validity of their claims. From this, however, it must

[1]Verg., *Aen.*, vii, 485.
[2]Verg., *Aen.*, vii, 47.
[3]Hor., *Carm.*, I, xvii.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 4.
[5]Livy, I, iv, 6 ; Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 9 ; Strabo, *Geog.*, V, c. 229 ; Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Λς, 4. 13.
[6]Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Λς, 4, 14; Livy I, iv, 9.
[7]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, I, lxxix ; Plut., *Rom.*, vii, 1; Livy I, v, 7.
[8]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, ii.
[9]Plut., *Rom.*, xxiv, 1.
[10]Livy, I, xl, 5.

not be inferred that at any time the Romans were unacquainted with agriculture. In a more or less imperfect form, agriculture, on a small scale, probably has existed from earliest times side by side with pastoral pursuits. Rigid classifications are not applicable to economic conditions. To say that a pastoral economy existed at that remote period, then, would merely signify that, at the time, pastoral interests predominated.

In Roman religion there are many customs and institutions which appear to be pastoral activities crystallized into a ritual. In the conservative atmosphere of religion what has been incidental comes to be regarded as essential, and the practice which the limitations of primitive life have rendered necessary becomes a sacred institution. For instance, in sacred rites, milk, not wine, was used.[1] That this requirement was no mere excrescence on the ritual, but an essential element of worship, would seem to be indicated by the fact that even when wine was brought into a temple it was called milk, and the name "honey-dish" (*mellarium*) for some reason was given to the vase which contained it.[2] This remarkable feature of Roman worship would receive an explanation, if we regarded it as a survival of the simple life of the herdsman. It would naturally be difficult or impossible for him to obtain wine, no matter how meritorious in the sight of the gods; whereas milk, his own most important means of subsistence, would seem the fitting medium for communion with the divinity.

The Vestal Virgins were an ancient and mysterious institution.[3] They kept the holy fire burning continually.[4] Whenever the sacred flame by chance expired, or was extinguished, as happened each spring,[5] it was kindled anew by the beams of the sun or by rubbing together pieces of

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[1]Pliny, *N.H.*, xiv, 88 ; Varro, *R.R.*, II, xi, 5 ; Verg., *Ecl.*, v, 66 ; compare also Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*, lvii.

[2]Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*, xx ; Macrob., *Saturnal.*, I, xii, 25.

[3]Livy, I, iii, 11 ; Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Λς, 4. 12

[4]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, III, lxvii.

[5]Macrob., *Saturnal.*, I, xii [5] 6 ; Ovid, *Fast.*, iii, 141.

the wood of the holy tree.[1] It would be rash to dogmatize as to the origin of this institution. And yet it, too, would seem to be the petrified and venerated survival of a natural set of conditions in a pastoral age. For when fire can be obtained only from the friction of pieces of wood, every care is taken to preserve the coals. While the father and brothers tended the flocks in the fields, and the mother was busied with other duties about the tent or the rude hut, the most natural guardian of the fire would surely be the daughter. That the fire was allowed to die out once each year may be a reminiscence of the time when the Romans each spring broke up camp to shift to new and unpastured feeding-grounds. We must not forget, however, that this explanation is conjectural, that others prefer to give the Virgins a Greek origin.

At the festival of the *Lupercalia* the Romans sacrificed dogs and goats.[2] They themselves were convinced that this institution had its birth among a pastoral and rustic people.[3] To purify and to fertilize were the fundamental aims of its rude ceremonies.[4] In later times the ceremony of purifying and fertilizing was applied to women, but the original application seems to have been to the flocks of a pastoral people.[5] This explanation of the *Lupercalia*, which Lanciani offers,[6] has at least the merit of being plausible. To communicate to cattle and sheep the strong sexual instinct of the dog and the goat by means of sacrifice was a desire natural enough in a simple herdsman.

Nor do the rites of the *Palilia* (or *Parilia*), a festival in honour of Pales, the tutelary divinity of shepherds, less evidently take us back to an early shepherd life.[7] The participants in this ceremonial aimed at the purification of their persons and flocks.[8] They sprinkled the sheepfold with water

[1]Festus, 78, s.v. "*ignis*"; Plut., *Numa*, ix, 6.

[2]Plut., *Rom.*, xxi, 4; *Ibid.*, xxi, 5.

[3]Cic., *Pro Coel.*, ii; Plut., *Caes.*, lxi, 1.

[4]Plut., *Rom.*, xxi, 3; Ovid. *Fast.*, ii, 31; Serv., *ad Aen.*, viii, 343; Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, vi, 34; Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*, lxviii.

[5]Serv., *ad Aen.*, viii, 343; Plut., *Rom.*, xxi, 5; Ibid., *Caes.*, lxi, 2.

[6]*Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Excavations*, p. 36.

[7]Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, vi, 15; Festus, s.v. "*Pales*."

[8]Ovid, *Fast.*, iv, 785; Ibid., iv, 725.

and decorated it with green boughs. Shepherds swept the stables with brooms, burned sulphur, pine and olive branches, laurel and straw. A salutary purification was effected as the shepherds with their flocks thrice passed through the fire.[1] Millet, milk, and other articles of food were offered up. The worshippers concluded with a prayer to Pales. Purification was the theme of their liturgy, as well as the motive of their activities. All evil they desired to be averted from their flocks and from themselves, whether they had unwittingly trespassed on holy ground, or caused the nymphs or a faunus to flee before human eyes, or tampered with the branches of a sacred grove to help a sick ewe, or disturbed the holy fountains, or looked upon the wood-nymphs. In this worship—the worship, no doubt, of the early Italian shepherds,—"*Da veniam culpae*" and "*Pelle procul morbos: valeant hominesque gregesque*" express the two most salient motives of their petitions—the fear of having unknowingly performed some act which might bring divine wrath upon them, and the earnest desire to promote the welfare of their flocks and of themselves.[2]

The Roman writers associated the birth-day of Rome with the *Palilia*, a proof that the Romans themselves regarded the institution as ancient. It does not, however, establish the antiquity of the festival.[3] But evidence of the extreme antiquity of the worship of Pales, and therefore, probably, of the early existence of the pastoral economy, is found in the fact that the Romans can never positively determine whether Pales is "*deus*" or "*dea*."[4] This fluctuation of sex Mr. Fowler considers a sure indication of antiquity.[5] The existence, therefore, of two genders for "*Pales*" recalls a period—very remote—when the suppliant, lest he should compromise his suit by a flaw in the formula of his petition, addresses the

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[1]Ovid, *Fast.*, iv, 727; Ibid., iv, 735.

[2]Ovid, *Fast.*, iv, 743 seq.

[3]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 9; Ovid, *Fast.*, iv, 801; Propertius, V, iv, 73; Plut., *Rom.*, xii, 1; Vell. Pater., *Compend. of Rom. Hist.*, I, viii.

[4]Servius, *ad Verg. Georg.*, iii, 1; Arnob., *Adv. Gent.*, iii, 40.

[5]*The Roman Festivals*, p. 67.

deity of undetermined sex, with the invocation, "Be thou god, or be thou goddess, to whom I perform this rite."[1] In his time Dionysius regarded the festival of the *Palilia* as inferior to none. This fact suggests how intimately the Romans at one period had connected the worship of Pales with the welfare of the state. They advanced beyond the pastoral economy; the state outgrew its dependence on Pales; but owing to the conservative spirit of religion there was no readjustment in the relative importance of the various elements of worship.[2] How else can we explain the prominence given to swine than as a survival from pastoral times? At the sacred mysteries of Ceres, at weddings and at the conclusion of a treaty a pig was slain.[3]

All these religious institutions had their origin, it would seem, at a period when shepherds were the predominant element in the state. But many secular customs and institutions also bear witness to the existence of a pastoral economy. For instance, the strong man who has seized the pasturage takes for his emblem of leadership a handful of hay twisted about a pole.[4] Moreover, in the earliest times wealth consisted wholly of cattle; and the oldest means of exchange was sheep and oxen;[5] for when fines formerly paid in sheep and oxen came to be paid in money, there already obtained between the sheep and the ox a definite relation of value.[6] A connection between this primitive standard of value and money may be found in the figure of an ox stamped upon the Italian *aes signatum*, and money, itself, was called "pecunia," from "pecus" (cattle).[7]

In this connection the elaborate Roman ceremony for declaring war and for concluding treaties is of interest. When

[1]Thus it was expressly forbidden at Rome to inquire whether the tutelary deity was male or female—Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*, lxi; compare Cato, *R.R.*, 139; C.I.L., I, 632.

[2]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, I, lxxxviii.

[3]Varro, *R.R.*, II, iv, 9.

[4]Plut., *Rom.*, viii, 6; Ovid, *Fast.*, iii, 114.

[5]Cic., *De Rep.*, II, ix, 16; Festus, s.v. "*peculatus*."

[6]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 9; A. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, XI, i, 2. Festus, s.v. "*maximam multam*"; Plut., *Poplic.*, xi, 3.

[7]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 11; Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiii, 43; Plut., *Poplic.* xi, 4; Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*, xli; Hill, *Greek and Roman Coins*, pp. 45, 46.

satisfaction was demanded from an enemy it was the custom to despatch to his territories an ambassador on whose head a cord fastened a covering of wool.[1] To declare war the *fetialis* bore to the frontiers of the enemy a spear tipped with iron or smeared with blood, and scorched at the end. Then, in the presence of not fewer than three grown men, uttering a fixed formula, he hurled his spear into their territory.[2] In the war with Alba, the *fetialis*, who received from King Tullus the commission to conclude a peace with the *pater patratus* of the Alban people, thus addressed his king, "I require herbs of thee, O King." Thereupon the king replied, "See that the grass thou takest is undefiled." The *fetialis* then brought clean blades of grass from the citadel. "O King," he continued, "dost thou constitute me the royal messenger of the Roman people of the Quirites, with my utensils and my companions ?" "I do," the King responded, "and may it bring no dishonour upon myself and the Roman people of the Quirites."

In addressing the Alban people, the *pater patratus* concluded, "From these terms the Roman people will not be the first to withdraw; if they shall have withdrawn first, either by public council or through evil treachery, then do thou, great Jupiter, so strike the Roman people as I shall strike this swine here this day, and strike thou so much the more terribly as thou hast more power and might." Thereupon he smote the pig with a flint stone and the Albans did the same.[3]

The remote antiquity of these customs in which the *fetialis* figures so prominently is proved by the use of the flint stone for a knife. The whole ritual, it is probable, originated in the shepherd quarrels of the stone age. The *fetialis* is, doubtless, a shepherd deputed to arrange for peace or war. In requiring clean grass he is demanding an emblem of his authority. The pasturage of their flocks—the most valued of their possessions—the shepherds offer to their companions as guarantee of their support. The wool used by the ambas-

[1] Livy, I, xxxii, 6.
[2] Livy, I, xxxii, 12 *et* 13.
[3] Livy, I, xxiv ; IX, v, 3.

sador is simply a portion of a sheepskin, the natural costume of a shepherd. To destroy the pasture of a pastoral people is to injure them at the most vulnerable point, to deprive them of their chief means of subsistence. Accordingly, at the outbreak of every struggle between herdsmen, both combatants take every precaution to preserve their own grass and make every effort to burn that of their foe. On the frontiers, therefore, watchmen are stationed to preserve the pasture from the enemy. It is probably to them that the *fetialis* addresses himself when he assumes the aggressive by discharging the charred spear into the territory of the enemy. The "*hasta praeusta*" may even be the survival of fire-brands hurled by a primitive pastoral people into the pasturage of their neighbour foes.

Archaeological remains likewise, it will readily be granted, are of the utmost importance. Antemnae is situated on the same bank of the Tiber as Rome, on the same road, *Salaria Vetus*, and is distant less than four miles from the city. Excavations in 1882-1883 indicate three gates, one leading to the river and to the springs, one to the highway, and another to the cemetery and pasture lands.[1] The site of the huts of the Antemnates is marked by a hard-trodden, coal-coloured floor within a ring of stones. The point worthy of note, however, is that adjoining each hut is an enclosure or sheep-fold. The area within the walls is far in excess of the space requisite for the inhabitants alone. In all probability each night the ancient Antemnates drove their cattle and sheep into these enclosures. It is hardly to be imagined that conditions were very different on the Palatine. Here, too, we find each family provided with an agellus and a sheep-fold. "Here we have the isolated hill protected by cliffs, by water, and by a circuit of walls; the neck of the Velia connecting it with the table-land of the Esquiline; the gate leading to the river and springs (*Romanula*), that leading to the pasture fields and cemeteries (*Mugonia*), and a third descending to the Vallis Murtia; the walls and cisterns within the fortifications and other such

[1] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 112, to which I am indebted for the material of this paragraph.

characteristics of the age." This is but an illustration of the archaeological discoveries which point to the conclusion that the Romans were originally a race of shepherds.

And finally, philological proofs are not wanting to establish the theory of a pastoral age in Rome. For example, the gate leading to the pasture lands of the Oppian received its name, "*Mugionis*," from the lowing of the cattle (*mugire*);[1] and the appellation "*Goats' Marsh*," applied to a district of Rome, indicates an early familiarity with the goat.[2]

A consideration of the above facts will lead to the conclusions, (1) that Roman writers attributed a pastoral economy to the earliest stages of their city's (or country's) history; (2) that customs and institutions, religious and secular, seem to confirm this belief; (3) that the unearthing of relics of a pastoral age and the survival of pastoral names to denote certain gates and districts, definitely localize for us a pastoral economy on the Palatine.

§ 2. AGRICULTURE

It must not be forgotten that during the pastoral stage there was some tillage. Gradually, however, agriculture encroached upon pasturage, so that the citizens came to derive their support more and more from the cultivation of the soil. How long a period was required to produce a preponderance of agricultural pursuits and interests it is impossible to say. Certain regulations, however, assigned by the Romans themselves to King Numa evidently mark this transitional stage. To encourage the pruning of vines, for instance, men were forbidden to offer to the gods wine from an unpruned vine; and to foster the cultivation of cereals sacrifice without meal was prohibited.[3] The growing importance of husbandry is further indicated by the institution of games to Mars, in primitive times preeminently a god of agriculture, and to Robigo, the spirit who worked in the mildew.[4] The legislation

[1] Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, v, 164; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, 1.
[2] Plut., *Numa*, II, 1.
[3] Plut., *Numa*, xiv, 3, 4.
[4] Tertullian, *De spectac.*, v; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 29.

attributed to Servius, however, limits for us the period of transition to husbandry. At the time of his enactments agriculture was well established; landholding had become a requisite for military service.[1]

What may, perhaps, be additional evidence of a distinction between the pastoral and agricultural economy is a line of cleavage drawn by early Roman law in the XII Tables between *pecunia* and *familia*. Ihering claims that *pecunia familiaque* is equivalent to *bona ;* that *pecunia* does not signify money but pastoral possessions, as *familia* represents agricultural wealth.[2]

Nor was this early agriculture unimportant. Mars, the father of "Romulus, founder of the city," the peculiar god of the Romans, better than any other deity represents in an ideal manner the characteristics of Rome's early inhabitants. Originally he is not the god of war, but of growth—the deity that protects agriculture. He brings health to oxen, and from the husbandman accepts gifts of spelt, fat, and wine. The rites with which he was worshipped bear evident traces of an agricultural origin.[3] To him as god of husbandry is dedicated the month of sprouting vegetation.[4] Again, when the fields needed purification the animals of the farm—pig (*sus*), sheep (*ovis*), and ox (*taurus*)—were led around its boundaries. This ceremony remained the essential feature of the *suovitaurilia*. And never in times of distress did the husbandmen forget to petition Mars to avert disease and barrenness, to grant increase of fruit, corn, wine and copse.[5]

Another relic of the early importance of agriculture is seen in the College of the *Fratres Arvales*, which used to assemble at the fifth milestone of the *Via Campana*.[6] The object of their rites, Varro maintains, was to render the fields fertile.[7]

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[1]Livy, I, xlii, 5; Cic., *De Rep.*, ii, 22.

[2]Compare *res mancipi* and *res nec mancipi* ; see Ihering, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des römischen Rechts*, pp. 81-91 ; Table v ; Livy III, lv.

[3]Cato, *R.R.*, 83.

[4]Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, vi, 33.

[5]Cato, *R.R.*, 141.

[6]Strabo, *Geog.*, 230.

[7]Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, v, 85.

However, the emblem of brotherhood—a wreath of corn tied with a white fillet—the very name of the College and the exclusion of iron from their ceremonies, would seem to bespeak for the *Fratres Arvales* an agricultural origin.[1]

Furthermore, in establishing colonies the Romans used to plow a furrow with an ox and a cow—a custom which some writers believe to have existed at the foundation of Rome, and which at least indicated that at the institution of the practice agriculture had attained considerable development. [2]

To these considerations may be added the fact that the Roman calendar is a record of the life of a husbandman. Mr. Fowler has shown how it prescribes for every season its proper duties.[3] For example, *Martius* is the month dedicated to Mars, the god of vegetation; *Aprilis*, the opening month; *Maius*, the month of growth; *Junius*, the month of maturity; Again, the days from June 5th to June 15th are *nefasti.* On the latter date the *Aedes Vestae* is swept, the refuse removed, and immediately the *tempus nefastum* is at an end.[4] This time is, without doubt, the period which immediately precedes the harvest and the gathering of the first fruits, when the granaries are swept, the barns put in order, the receptacles made ready. The cessation of judicial and other public business during these "*dies nefasti*" is designed to give full opportunity to attend to harvest preparations. The races of the *Consualia*, too,—a harvest festival on August 21st—are simply a relic of the rivalry among primitive farmers gathering in their crops.[5] As generations went on the discrepancy between the season and the object of the festival would become more and more absurd, and neither the festivals designed for the harvest fell in summer, nor those for the vintage in autumn.[6]

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[1]A. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, VII, vii, 8 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 6. For other indications see also Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 1472.

[2]Servius, *ad Verg. Aen.*, v, 755 ; Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 9 ; Plut., *Rom.*, xi, 2; Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*,xxvii; Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Λς, 5, 2, Col., *R.R.*, vi, *Praef.*, 7.

[3]*The Roman Festivals*, *passim.*

[4]Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, vi, 32.

[5]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, xxxi ; Festus, p. 148.

[6]Suet., *J. Caes.*, xl.

The close association, or identification, of religion and agriculture suggests the veneration in which husbandry was held.[1] The gods are intimately concerned with the things of the farm; they protect the fields, nourish the crops, and send the rain. Pan is the guardian of sheep; Minerva, the creator of the olive; and Silvanus, the god of the cypress.[2] On the Kalends, the Ides, the Nones, and the holy days, the master enjoined upon the *vilicus* to place a crown upon the hearth and offer prayer to the household deity.[3] The most venerable Roman form of marriage, *confarreatio*, is derived from the cultivation of corn.[4] And, finally, the messengers who summoned the senators to the senate house were called "travellers" (*viatores*) because in early times the senators were engaged in the fields.[5]

From the period of its displacement of the pastoral economy until the Punic wars, the relation of agriculture to the state was most vital. In fact, if we except the capitalist of the city, the husbandman furnished the sole basis to Roman economics. The two pillars of the Roman state were the farm beyond the city walls and the coffers of the rich capitalists within. Rome's writers were deeply sensible of Rome's debt to agriculture and held it in high esteem. Cicero declares,—"Of all the productive arts, there is none better, none more fertile, none sweeter, and none worthier of a free man".[6] Again, there was no higher eulogy for a citizen than to

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[1]The idea of an intimate relation between agriculture and religion was not peculiar to the Romans, nor to remote antiquity. The same conception is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, which voiced the Catholic economic theory of the Middle Ages. Says Ingram (*History of Political Economy*, p. 27) : "Agriculture and handiwork are viewed as legitimate modes of earning food and clothing ; but trade is regarded with disfavour, because it was held almost certainly to lead to fraud ; *of agriculture it was said, " Deo non displicet ;" but of the merchant, " Deo placere ron potest."* Compare also the maxim which Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i, 201, ed. Bury), quotes from the Zend Avesta : " He who sows the ground with care and diligence acquires a greater stock of religious merit than he could gain by the repetition of ten thousand prayers."

[2]Verg., *Georg*, i, 16.

[3]Cato, *R.R.*, 143.

[4]Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 10.

[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 21 ; Cic., *Cato Maior*, 56 ; Col., *R.R.*, I, *Praef.*, 18.

[6]Cic., *De Offic.*, 1, 42,3. The Greeks also were very partial to agriculture: *βέλτιστος γὰρ δῆμος ὁ γεωργικος ἐστιν* (Aristotle, *Politics*, viii, 1318, b).

be called a good farmer,[1] and rural occupations were held in higher regard than those of the city.[2] Cato likewise bestows his most enthusiastic admiration on the man who has redeemed his ancestral farm,[3] and he considers that age the most fortunate in which agriculture has been pursued with success.[4] In general Rome held agriculture in the highest esteem,[5] and traced to it the names of many influential families and gentes.[6] In early times Rome's eminent statesmen and generals were summoned from the plough[7] ; and at a later period, to teach agriculture became an occupation worthy of her best citizens.[8] It was to her agriculture, in fact, that her wise men attributed the greatness of their city.[9]

Early Roman agriculture consisted largely in the production of cereals. Spelt, for centuries one of the staple foods of the Romans, must have been cultivated over a large area.[10] Italy, if not Latium, produced an excellent white wheat, which, exported to Greece, probably by the Greeks of South Italy, was there held in high repute by the contemporaries of Sophocles.[11] It is, therefore, probable that throughout Rome's early history sufficient grain was produced to support her citizens at home and in the field.[12] The olive, on the other hand, is not native to Italy. Roman writers tell us that it was not found there in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. However, the importance of the olive in early Rome was not great.[13] But the vine is met with in Italy from time immemorial. For, when the Greeks came to Italy, some gave it the name of

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, *Praef.*, 3 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, lxiii.

[2]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 1.

[3]Plut., *Cato Maior*, 8, 10.

[4]*Catonis Orationum Reliquiae*, xxiii : *De lustri sui felicitate.*

[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 5.

[6]Varro, *R.R.*, II, 1, 9 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 10 ; Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*, xli.

[7]Col., *R.R.*, i, *Praef.*, 13 *et* 18 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 19 ; Seneca, *Epist.* xiii, 1, 5 ; xviii, 20 ; Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Λς, 23.2 ; Val. Max., *Memor.*, IV, iv, 6 ; VIII, xiii, 1 ; Cic., *Pro S. R. Amer.*, 18, 50.

[8]Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 22.

[9]Verg., *Georg.*, ii, 532.

[10]Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 12, 65 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, xxv.

[11]Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 12, 65.

[12]Varro, *R.R.*, III, i, 4 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 15 ; Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 43.

[13]Pliny, *N.H.*, xv, 1.

Οἰνωτρία, "wine-land".[1] Yet wine must have been scarce in early times; for in libations milk was used; by a law of Numa the Romans were forbidden to sprinkle the funeral pyre with wine; the king encouraged the pruning of vines, and women were not allowed to drink wine.[2] The production of good wine indeed does not precede the decline in the cultivation of cereals.[3]

Agriculture in short, became the very life of the Romans, the mainstay of the state. Their dependence upon husbandry they recognized; and rustic life they venerated as older than urban.[4] That Rome at the expulsion of the kings was a far advanced agricultural state is indicated by the protection granted to husbandry by the stringent regulations of the Twelve Tables. During the period of struggle from the first consuls to the Punic wars agriculture made considerable progress.[5]

§ 3. INDEPENDENT ECONOMY OF THE FUNDUS

While the course of economic development lay in the direction away from isolation and segregation, yet it could be said of any one time considered by itself that ancient life, almost unconsciously perhaps, aspired to self-sufficiency. The perfect good of Aristotle must be a self-sufficient good.[6] To be self-contained was an ideal, and yet the desire was to a certain extent realized. The boast of Hippias at Olympia that he was ignorant of no part of any art, that he had with his own hands made his own clothes, was no less than the early Romans could have said of themselves.[7] The husbandman must not only till his fields, but be a soldier on campaigns as well.[8] For state, for farm, for individual, completeness in self,—an ideal essentially different from that of our own

[1] Strabo, *Geog.*, v, c. 209.
[2] Pliny, *N.H.*, xiv, 88 ; Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*, vi *et* xx.
[3] Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 24.
[4] Varro, *R.R.*, III, i, 1.
[5] Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 12.
[6] Arist., *Nic. Eth.*, I, vii, 6 *et* 8 ; IV, iii, 33.
[7] Cic., *De Or.*, iii, 32, 127.
[8] Dion. of Hal., *R A.*, II, xxviii.

more developed, and highly specialized social life—was, to both Greeks and Romans, the greatest good.[1]

Not profit, therefore, but the independent economy of the *fundus*, or group which constituted the household on the farm, was the natural goal of Roman husbandry. In the management of the farm the needs of the individual household were considered, and within the *fundus* the work of each person was supplementary to that of some other individual within the same *fundus*,—while the father and sons ploughed the fields, the women spun the wool, made the clothing, and baked the bread.[2]

We find it less expensive, and at the same time less laborious, to produce more of a commodity than will meet our immediate requirements, in order to receive in exchange for our surplus the excess of a commodity which our neighbour is better fitted to produce. The Roman, however, produced enough of each commodity to satisfy his needs. His policy was never to buy what his farm could produce.[3] Cato's statement is characteristic of the times,—"The father of a family should sell, not purchase." [4] Nor is Pliny's remark concerning the ancient Romans less apposite,—"Their greatest care was to do things at the smallest *expense*." [5] The farmer's ideal was independence.

It is the *patria potestas* which best exemplifies the independent economy of the *fundus*. All-powerful within the household, the *pater familias* is not less all-powerful in regard to the external relations of the home.[6] If he no longer resides on the *fundus* the *vilicus* becomes his representative. Then writers on agriculture insist that the *vilicus* should be the sole intermediary with neighbours,—in truth, none save the *vilicus* and a companion should leave the farm. They would have

[1]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, I, xxxvi.

[2]C.I.L. 1007 ; Livy, I, lvii, 8 ; Plut., *Rom.*, xv, 4 ; Verg, *Aen.*, viii, 409 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 107. Augustus seldom wore any garment but what was made by the hands of his wife, sister, daughter or granddaughter.—Suet., *C. Aug.*, lxxiii.

[3]Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 40 ; Varro, *R.R.*, II, iv, 3 ; I, xxii, 1.

[4]Cato, *R.R.*, 2 (sec. 7).

[5]*N.H.*, xviii, 5 *et* 39.

[6]Cato, *R.R.*, 143 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, xxvi.

it independent.[1] This ideal brought marine traffic into the hands of the agricultural class; for the farmer exported his produce in his own ship. All the operations required to transform raw material into products needed on a farm were carried on within its confines. No special industrial enterprise on anything like a large scale could have existed. For although specialization undoubtedly obtained within the range of a household as special skill qualified certain members to pursue particular occupations, still the large variety of needs among even a primitive agricultural people prevented an individual from occupying himself with one task exclusively.

In considering this endeavour of the ancients to have the economy of their *fundus* self-contained, we should not forget that it is an ideal of our modern life, too, not to have our happiness and our existence dependent on the caprice of our neighbours. But the present organization of society renders a policy of complete isolation vain and impracticable. Nor are we to imagine that this ideal was ever quite attained even in the most ancient times, for no individual, no community can exist complete in itself for any considerable period. The first formal breakdown in this system,—if it can be called a system,—was assigned by the Romans themselves to the reign of Numa. To them this reign of Numa is curiously significant of change. Not merely is settled agriculture well begun, but division of labour in the trades is simultaneously outlined. Whatever may be the significance of their assigning this date for the modifications of the old conditions, it is clear that the time came when the single family found itself unable to satisfy its own growing needs. Outside the family there sprang up arts, which demanded a special aptitude and considerable training. This process, brought about unquestionably by a gradual evolution, the Roman writers express in the formal language :—"The distribution of Numa was made according to the several trades of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers and potters."[2]

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[1]Col., *R.R.*, I, viii, 12 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvi, 5.
[2]Plut., *Numa*, xvii, 2.

It is impossible, even if it were desirable, sharply to define the period of the independent *fundus*. There never was a time when the system had absolute sway; there never will come a time when people will not consume articles of their own production. By the statement that throughout the regal and, to a diminishing degree, during a great part of the Republican period there existed an independent economy of the *fundus*, we mean simply that to an extent greater than at any later time the products of the farm did not pass into general circulation, and that an organized system of distribution was lacking.

§ 4. TRADES

The noblest men in the state deemed it a high calling to till the soil; but a trade, representing an occupation beyond the limits of the *fundus*, never was considered the true business of a good citizen either in Greece or at Rome.[1] The skill of the workman, however, was undoubtedly highly esteemed in Homeric Greece.[2] It is probable that in Rome also so long as members of a household performed the work of the trades within the *fundus*, and solely for the needs of that particular household, no stigma attached to the labour itself. But in later times the association of trades with a professional class and with aliens degraded the handicrafts in the eyes of the Roman. For in states where the independent economy of the *fundus* was not only an ideal, but also, to a high degree, a reality, handicrafts furnished the only means of livelihood open to strangers; and accordingly it was chiefly aliens who became craftsmen. But while to the husbandman a period of leisure is left between seed-time and harvest, which might be devoted to the service of the state, in trades, on the other hand, there was no intermission to the labour, no intrusion of larger and less selfish interests. As slavery increased, certain occupations were more and more

[1]Cic., *De Off.*, I, 42. Thus to fight in war was a prerogative of the "civis Romanus." When craftsmen and artificers engage in warfare it is an exception which Livy (VIII, xx, 4) deems worthy of special mention; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IX, xxv; II, xxviii; Arist., *Pol.*, III, 1278; Herod., II, 167.

[2]Hom., *Odys.*, xvii, 382-5.

relegated to slaves. And soon the artisan and the tradesman not only were thought to be inferior citizens, but, judged by the standards of ancient life, were actually inferior members of the state. It needed but a little more to say that trades were unfit for good citizens. Yet tradesmen performed a useful function; they were a necessary supplement to the citizen body. Every citizen stood in constant need of their services, and for this reason, and not because they were highly esteemed, artisans to repair and fashion arms for citizen-warriors were placed high in the Servian classification.[1]

The industrial productions of those early times must have been of a very rude character. Yet the early Albans imitated Etruscan pottery in their rough cups and flasks,[2] and the blocks of stone at Antemnae are cut into sizes which approach regularity.[3] And as Rome's position on the Tiber forced her to become the emporium of Latium and to develop urban rather than pastoral or agricultural characteristics, trades began to thrive, and Mamurius Veturius, the skilled maker of shields, to receive celebration in the hymns of the Salii.[4]

The independent economy of the *fundus* broke down before the growing complexity of Roman life. The failure to realize their ideal led to the rise of those trades and industries which had grown up outside of the household. This change, as we have seen, the Romans attributed to Numa in the distribution made according to the several trades. This arrangement, however, must not be confused with the Servian military classification, in which carpenters and bronzesmiths had a place to prepare instruments of war.[5] In the course of time the ranks of the workmen were constantly recruited by the influx of strangers, by the ruin of small farmers, and later still, by the emancipation of slaves. The low esteem in which the urban tribes came to be held receives an explanation in the consideration that workmen were enrolled in them.[6]

[1]Arist., *Pol.*, 1337, b; III, 1278; Aristoph., *Hip.*, 738; Xen., *Oec.*, iv, 2; Seneca, *Ep. ad Lucil.*, 88.

[2]Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Excavations*, p. 31.

[3]Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 112.

[4]Festus, s.v. *Mamuri*, p. 131 ; Ovid, *Fast.*, iii, 387 ; Plut., *Numa*, xiii.

[5]Livy, I, xliii, 3 *et* 7 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IV, xvii.

[6]Livy, I, lvi, 1; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IV, xxii ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 13.

It is impossible to determine the exact character of the trades of this early period. But it is probable that, as in the case of Japan, skilled workmen associated in a union, which, becoming semi-religious in character, had regular meeting places, and by conference and assembly preserved the traditions and improved the technique of their arts.[1]

While the developments described above were taking place in Rome, her trades were subjected to outside influences. For example, transmarine commerce, essential to the foundation and continued existence of the trade of the goldsmiths in Rome, by the introduction of products of a more highly developed skill, led Roman crafts to follow tendencies that were not native.

a. Bronze

Iron was not introduced into Rome until a comparatively late period. The excavations of 1867 on the site of ancient Alba, in the Pascolare di Castello, revealed inside or near the cinerary urns no iron but only amber and bronze. Nor was iron found in the archaic tombs of Rome discovered within the Servian Wall,—tombs that are consequently older than the walls themselves.[2] The list of Numa's tradesmen contains no workers in iron.[3] Of the earliest Roman bridge across the Tiber, Pons Sublicius, iron originally formed no part, while in subsequent restorations its use was actually prohibited by religious tradition.[4] That iron was not used till late, or at least was subsequent to bronze, we learn from Lucretius, whose acquaintance with Roman ritual adds weight to his statements.[5] Religion indicates a time when people, though not yet beginning to work in iron, were already fashioning articles in bronze. Bronze is used in the garb of the Salii,[6]

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[1]Plut., *Num.*, xvii.

[2]Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Excavations*, pp. 31-9.

[3]Plut., *Numa*, xvii, 2.

[4]Plut., *Num.*, ix, 3; Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxvi, 23, 100; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, V, xxiv.

[5]*De Rer. Nat.*, v, 1286 ; compare Ovid, *Fast.*, iv, 405 ; Hesiod, *W. and D.*, 150.

[6]Livy, I, xx, 4.

and with a bronze plough were traced the limits of newly founded colonies.[1]

The fact that braziers are found in Numa's list shows that the Romans considered bronze-working to be almost as ancient as the city itself,[2]—a belief confirmed by excavations made at Antemnae.[3] At a very early date copper was found in southern Italy, and travellers from Greece "sailed over the dark sea to men of a different language, to Temesa for bronze,"[4] and Etruscan works of bronze were exported to Greece.[5] Moreover the monetary system of Rome was based on copper, first in bulk, "*aes rude*," and then in coin, "*aes grave signatum*". Timaeus, however, is probably wrong in assigning the first stamped coins to the regal period;[6] and no real value can be attached to the statements of Latin writers that copper coins were used in the specific reigns of Romulus, Numa, and Servius.[7] It is correct, nevertheless, to state that copper was used extensively in the regal and early Republican periods, and that the first stamped coin was bronze.

b. Pottery

In a more or less imperfect form, pottery existed at Rome from the earliest times.[8] Recent excavations, however, have revealed at Antemnae[9] pottery, one-third of local make, and baked in an open fire, the rest of Etruscan origin; at Rome, pottery, half of local origin, half of Etruscan; and at Alba

[1]Plut., *Rom.*, xi, 2.

[2]Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiv, 1.

[3]Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 112.

[4]Hom., *Odys.*, 1, 183 ; Strabo, *Geog.*, vi, 255. But perhaps the poet was thinking of Cyprus (τάμασος), *vid.* Perrin's note on *Il.*, I, 184; Beloch, *Gr.G.*, I, 201.

[5]Athen., I, p. 28 b.

[6]Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiii, 43; xxxiv, 1; Gaius, *Instit. Iur. Civ. Com.*, I, 122; Festus, p. 98 s.v. *Grave Aes.* In 1852, when the Jesuit Fathers, owners of the "Sorgenti di Vicarello," were clearing the mouth of the central spring, Padre Marchi found a few hundred pieces of *aes grave signatum*, the earliest kind of Roman coinage. Under these there was a bed of *aes rude*, that is to say, of shapeless fragments of copper.—Lanciani, *A.R. in the L.* of *R.E.*, pp. 46-7.

[7]Plut., *Rom.*, xxiv., 3 ; *Numa*, xiii, 4 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 12 ; Livy, I, xliii, 2.

[8]Tibullus, i, 40 ; Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, ii, 637.

[9]Lanciani, *The R. and E. of A.R.*, p. 112.

Longa, many specimens of Etruscan pottery in tombs and on the floors of square huts.[1] The extreme antiquity of earthenware is attested by its use in religious ceremonies. For example, vessels, not of gold and silver, but of simple earthenware, were employed for libations;[2] an earthen jar contained the sacred fire of Vesta;[3] after ages held in veneration the simple terra-cotta drinking-cup of Numa Pompilius;[4] and, finally, the annals of the *Fratres Arvales* for the second day of the *sacrum deae Diae* included the expression, "Their prayers they've uttered to jars of earthenware."[5] It was because the Roman writers were conscious of the extreme antiquity of pottery that they credited Numa Pompilius with the institution of a corporation of potters at Rome,[6] and loved to linger over the story of how Curius the consul preferred his own earthenware to Samnite gold.[7]

The active importation of bronze and pottery plainly indicates that the state as a whole, whether or not it was conscious of an attempt to attain to an ideal of independent self-sufficiency, at any rate was not self-sufficient. At the same time, the existence and success of local manufacture shows how through centuries close family corporations can develop and perfect an art requiring considerable technical skill.

§ 5. BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

Business was foreign to the instincts of the noble Roman; commerce, inconsistent with his "*gravitas*" and ideal of independence.[8] In preserving, however, the independent economy of his *fundus*, the Roman landowner transported the produce of his farm on his own ship. Then, too, Rome's position on the Tiber and near the Anio valley concentrated in her markets all the trade of Latium, and rendered it in-

[1] Lanciani, *A.R. in the L. of R.E.*, p. 27 seq.
[2] Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, xxiii ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxv, 46, 158.
[3] Val. Max., *Mem.*, IV, iv, 11.
[4] Juv., *Sat.*, vi, 342.
[5] *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, ed. Henzen, p. 26.
[6] Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxv, 46, 159.
[7] Florus, *Epit.*, i, 13.
[8] Val. Max., iii, 4, 2 ; Plaut., *Capt.*, 98.

evitable that the immense gains in this sphere of activity should not remain unknown and unattractive to the Romans. The profits of merchandise, therefore, ceased to be hateful and unbecoming. To engage in commerce was not the unseemly thing; it was discreditable to fail to do so on a large scale.[1]

As a matter of fact, the Romans by no means lacked the qualities essential to commercial enterprise. Early in their history they had erected a temple to Good Faith.[2] When a Roman gave his word he was loyal to his promise.[3] The rights of property were guaranteed with scrupulous care and every precaution taken to guard the interests of partners. No people ever guaranteed credit so ruthlessly as the Romans. Slavery for debt, common to Greeks and Romans, seems to have been worse in Rome and to have persisted longer. Even the body of the debtor could be divided to satisfy the creditors.[4] Neither owner could sell his share in a partnership without consultation with his associate.[5] Nor did the law leave much room for fraudulent operations. For instance, it was necessary in the sale of slaves to make a frank statement of their defects;[6] and the most scrupulous care was taken to have all public weights accurate and equal.[7] These safeguards are merely the crystallized expression of the primitive spirit of the Romans,—rigid honesty—a characteristic of prime importance to a mercantile community.

Whereas the independent economy of the *fundus* was a sacred aspiration, in reality it could satisfy no man's wants. But where religion with its ideals proved inadequate, religion with its great festivals and gatherings provided a means to supply the needs of the people. In Greece, because large numbers of people assembling from all districts made even

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, *Praef.* 1 *et* 3; Cic., *De Off.*, i, 42.

[2]Livy, I, xxi, 4 ; Plut., *Numa*, xvi, 1.

[3]Polyb., vi, 56.

[4]Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xx, i, 48 ; Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Aς, 17, 8.

[5]Plaut., *Mercat.*, 443 ; Ulp. i, 18.

[6]Hor., *Ep.*, II, ii, 16-18 ; *De Aed. Edict*, D. xxi, 1.

[7]Festus, 246 M, quoted in Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui.*

distant parts of the country known for their needs and their resources, and traders found in the great concourse of people a ready market for their wares, the great national gatherings and games gave commerce a powerful impulse.[1] In Rome, likewise, the beginnings of commerce were associated intimately with religious gatherings. At the temple of Diana on the Aventine assembled the various Latin communities;[2] the shrine of Feronia served both Latins and Sabines as a common meeting-place not only for worship but also for the exchange of commodities;[3] while the concourse of Latins, Hernicans, Romans, and Volscians at the Latin festival in honour of Jupiter Latiaris, tended to foster a brisk trade.[4] Again, recent explorations of the Forum have revealed the national monument known as the Tomb of Romulus. This memorial, possibly the joint offering of all the various communities of Rome, was situated on neutral ground in the hollow space outside the boundaries of the Quirinal, Capitoline, Caelian and Palatine hills.[5] The subsequent development of the Forum at this spot suggests that the Forum sprang from the religious and commercial relations of the different communities which united to form Rome.

Markets were instituted on every eighth day, that the country people might visit the city to dispose of their produce. That they might not be called away from their marketing, but rather that every facility might be given to transact business, it was made illegal to hold the Comitia upon these *Nundinae*.[6] As the early establishments of shops greatly facilitated business, the Forum in time came to be surrounded with *tabernae*, one of which was the butcher's shop made immortal by the story of Virginia.[7]

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[1]Dion Chrys., *Orat.*, viii ; Plaut., *Cistell.*, 154.
[2]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IV, xxvi.
[3]Livy, I, xxx, 4 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, III, xxxii.
[4]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IV, xlix.
[5]Lanciani, *New Tales of Old Rome*, pp. 2-12.
[6]Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 13 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, xxviii ; Col., *R.R.*, I. *Praef.*, 18 ; compare L. Julius Cæsar, quoted in Macrob., i, 16, 29.
[7]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, III, lxvii ; Livy, III, xlviii.

Rome's commerce outside of Latium practically began with the foundation of Ostia.[1] Destined from her central position to become the mart of Latium[2] and later the emporium of Italy, Rome must have early felt the need of such an outpost both for harbourage and as a protecting fort. Nor is it likely that for the small boats of that remote age the immense deposits of silt borne down by the yellow Tiber impaired as in later times the efficacy either of Ostia as a roadstead or of the river as a highway to Rome.[3]

But besides its great water-route, from the earliest times Rome had more or less clearly defined land-routes. The *Via Salaria* extended from the Colline gate through Antemnae, Fidenae, and in a north-easterly direction along the left bank of the Tiber. Along it the primitive ox-cart creaked with its load of salt from Ostia for the shepherds of the uplands.[4] From time immemorial venturous Italian traders had dared the dangers of the Alps to barter with barbarian tribes beyond, and perhaps revived their failing courage by recalling that by this route Hercules was said to have reached Italy from Gaul.[5]

That there was a great inter-Italian commerce is indicated by the fact that copper was a general medium of exchange throughout the whole peninsula.[6] Conditions were very favourable for Rome to stretch out the tentacles of commerce towards the western Mediterranean. The great colonizing movement of the Greeks, more especially of the Phocaeans, tended to displace the Phoenicians who with trading-posts situated on the promontories and coasts of the western sea had long since established a brisk trade with the native peoples.[7] But Greek colonization and commerce in their turn

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[1]Strab., *Geog.*, c. 231 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, III, xliv.

[2]Pliny, *N.H.*, iii, 53 ; Cic., *De Rep.* ii, 5, 10; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, liii ; II, lv : III, xliv ; Livy, V, liv, 4.

[3]Strab., *Geog.*, c. 231 ; Lanciani, *A.R. in L. of R. E.*, pp. 234-5.

[4]Strab., *Geog.*, c. 228; Livy, I, xxxiii, 8; Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxi, 41, 89; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, II, lv.

[5]Arist., *De mir. ausc.*, lxxxv.

[6]Mommsen, *History of Rome*, I, 252.

[7]Herod., i, 163.

were forced to yield; for on the north coast had arisen the people of the Etruscans whose commercial greatness was due not more to the rich copper, silver and iron of their country than to the daring of their sailors; while the Phoenicians attempted to strengthen their grasp by establishing in Libya the entrepôt of Carthage, a city with the same trading instincts as the metropolis but with a newer life. Co-operating on the basis of a common enmity to their common rival, the combined fleets of these two states overthrew in the naval engagement of Aleria (or Alalia) in 537 B.C. the commercial supremacy of the Greeks in the western Mediterranean.[1] It was during this struggle of the Etruscans and Carthaginians against the Greeks that the Romans embarked upon marine enterprise. Fortunately their relations with all the combatants were cordial; for they had intimate commercial connections with Carthage, with the Etruscans of Caere, and with the Phocaeans of Velia and Massilia.[2]

This commercial development is largely due to the encouragement given to trade by the last kings of Rome. Now head of the Latin league, the Romans could safely go afield in their enterprises.[3] The expansion of their trade is best indicated by their position in the great commercial treaty concluded with Carthage about the beginning of the Republic. Their wide-extended mercantile interests have made it necessary clearly to define their relations to Carthage in the commerce of the western Mediterranean. While the Carthaginians engage themselves not to injure any people under Roman jurisdiction, and Carthage, parts of Africa, Sardinia, and the Carthaginian possessions in Sicily are open to the Roman merchant, neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the *Pulcrum Promontorium*, the Fair Promontory in Africa, except under stress of weather, or unless compelled by an enemy. Even then they shall be allowed to take or

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[1]Herod., i, 166, 167.

[2]Mommsen, *History of Rome*, I, x. That mercantile relations obtained between Latium and the Sicilian Greeks such philological similarities as "*mutuum*" (loan), and μοῦτον, seem to show.

[3]Livy, I, lii, 4.

purchase only what is barely necessary for refitting their vessels, or for sacrifices; and they shall depart within five days. Those merchants, moreover, who offer goods for sale in Sardinia or in Africa shall be required to pay no customs beyond the usual fee to the scribe and crier; and the state shall guarantee payment for all sales in the presence of the officials.[1]

Nor were the early trading efforts of the Italians, if not of the Romans, confined to the west. We have already seen that Italian bronze and pottery of a remote period were found in Greece. A connection with Egypt is attested by the Egyptian style, material, and hieroglyphics of vessels unearthed from the sepulchral chambers of Italy.[2] The Etruscans, their nearest neighbours in the immediate north, also exerted a stimulating influence upon Roman business. Their preeminence in navigation and commerce has been already noticed. At a time when the Romans had not yet developed their manufactures Rome derived her curule chair and *toga praetexta* from Etruria.[3] The Roman commerce lacked the aggressiveness of the Etruscan. Its origin and existence were not to the same degree the outcome of deliberate policy, but the result of failure on the part of the *fundus* to maintain an independent economy. The produce of the *fundus* was handled by those within its pale; the wholesale commerce of Latium was thrown into the hands of landed proprietors. Accustomed as they were to ship on the Tiber the produce of their own farms, it was only the larger landholders that possessed either articles to send abroad or means of transportation when transmarine traffic sprang up.[4] Many of the plebeians possessed no farms but attended to small retail interests or plied a trade not sanctioned by the religion of the household and regarded with contempt.[5] At the close of the regal period, Rome was a well advanced agricultural and mercantile state, with the agricultural interests, however, greatly predominating. The

[1]Polybius, III, xxii, xxiii.

[2]Mommsen, *History of Rome*, I, 253.

[3]Livy, I, viii, 3.

[4]An interesting parallel is seen in Hesiod, *W. and D.*, 689.

[5]Compare the Greek,—Xen., *Mem.*, III, vii, 6 ; Plato, *Pol.*, 260, D.; Homer, *Odys.*, viii, 161 seq.

incessant wars and struggles of the first two centuries and a half of the Republic consolidated Rome and secured her supremacy in Italy, but precluded any considerable progress in agriculture and commerce.

§ 6. THE REVOLUTION

Not altogether political, but to some extent economic, was the revolution by which the kings were expelled from Rome. From the Roman writers we learn the utter distress of the people compelled to construct great public works.[1] The last kings, it is well known, engaged in great building operations. Local tufa, peperine of Alba and of Gabii, the travertine of Tibur and the quarry-stone of Fidenae and Mt. Soracte offered material invitingly near.[2] And it is the kings who are responsible for the employment of this material in those monumental structures,—the Palatine walls,[3] the temple of Jupiter Stator,[4] the Pons Sublicius,[5] the harbour at Ostia,[6] the "Carcer imminens foro,"[7] the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus,[8] the Cloaca Maxima,[9] and the walls of Tarquinius Priscus,[10] Servius Tullius,[11] and Tarquinius Superbus.[12] Excavations at Antemnae reveal walls built of blocks of local stone, each 2 feet by 3 feet.[13] The oldest remains are in Etruscan style—*opus quadratum*—with blocks of tufa lengthwise in one tier, crosswise in the next.[14] Thus

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[1]Livy, I, xxxviii, 5; lv, 6; lvi, 1; lvi, 3; lvii, 1; lix, 9; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IV, xliv *et* lxxxi.

[2]Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, p. 599; Lanciani, *The R. and E. of A. R.*, p. 32; Strabo, *Geog.*, v, c. 238; Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxvi, 46; Vitruv., *De Architect.*, ii, 7, 1.

[3]Lanciani, *R. and E. of A.R.*, pp. 59, 60, 127; Livy, I, vii, 3.

[4]Dion of Hal., *R.A.*, II, 1; Livy, I, xii, 6.

[5]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, III, xlv; Livy, I, xxxiii, 6.

[6]See above p. 24.

[7]Livy, I, xxxiii, 8.

[8]Livy, I, lv, 1.

[9]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, III, lxvii; Livy, I, lvi, 2.

[10]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, III, lxvii.

[11]Livy, I, xliv, 3.

[12]Pliny, *N.H.*, iii, 67.

[13]Lanciani, *R. and E. of A.R.*, p. 112.

[14]Ibid., p. 43.

the tomb of Horatia is built of *saxum quadratum*.[1] Etruscan engineers and workmen were the chief architects and builders of early Rome.[2]

The building of the Servian Wall, however, marks an epoch in Roman development; its splendid material forms a striking contrast to the more primitive works.[3] But greater activity in public construction meant an increased oppression for the Romans. The very name of the city walls (*moenia*, i.e. *munia*, tasks) indicates that their creation was a burden to the citizens. Their distress was aggravated by financial uneasiness, attributed by Roman writers to the abolition of the "Servian law of contracts";[4] and the miseries of famine were intensified by excessive port-dues.[5] To this accumulation of unusual social burdens were added the everyday trials of the people,—the oppression of all classes, the jealousy of the patricians and their injustice towards the plebeians. It must have been an extreme of building activity, which was task work, that led the plebeians to unite with the patricians against their natural protectors, the kings. Perhaps it was really a foible for great building in the last Etruscan overlords of Rome (the last three kings would appear to mean a temporary conquest of Latium by Etruria,) that led to the revolution and their expulsion. Some individual instance of wrong-doing, like the rape of Lucretia, may have been the occasion but was certainly not the cause that dissatisfaction broke forth into violence. The rotation of the kingship among the patricians by the establishment of a yearly consulship and the "restoration of the law of contracts" proved an efficient revolutionary compromise.[6]

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[1]Livy, I, xxvi, 14.
[2]Livy, I, lvi, 1.
[3]Lanciani, *R. and E. of A. R.*, p. 128.
[4]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IV, xiii *et* xliii.
[5]This became acute shortly after the expulsion of Tarquin.—Livy, II, ix.
[6]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IV, lxxxiv ; V, ii.

BOOK II

THE PERIOD OF STRUGGLE

During the first two centuries and a half of the Republic, the history of Rome is the history of an incessant struggle. After a bitter strife the two sections of her population at last assume definite relations to each other, and then become assimilated into a more homogeneous whole. In her external relations Rome becomes mistress of the peninsula.

The regal period had seen an intimate alliance between the kings and plebeians. The former rewarded the latter for their support against their rivals, the patricians, by their creation of a class of landed plebeians. The common people became proprietors. The Servian legislation presupposes this.[1] It graded military service according to wealth, and wealth was land. The Revolution was the opportunity of the patricians. Taking advantage of discontent among the commons, arising from overpressure of the task work of great building, to disturb the hitherto amicable relations between king and plebeians, their patrician indignation found successful vent in a patrician victory. At once they began to reap the fruits of their triumph. Assignations of land to the plebeian members of the community ceased. For now the patrician senate, and not a king with plebeian sympathies, dispensed the patronage. The "occupation" system comes into vogue. This policy would strike at the poor, whether patrician or plebeian. It would not greatly offend the richer plebeians whose large properties served as a capital sufficiently great to secure the advantages to be derived from occupation. A new nobility is already in process of formation. It becomes legally completed and fully crystallized when the Licinian laws based it on wealth and family honours. In this manner arose moderately large estates,—a condition which was fostered by Rome's growing importance as a mercantile city. From the earliest times, moreover, there were strong motives oper-

[1] Livy, I, xlii, 5; xliii, 1; xliii, 10; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IV, xvi; IV, xx.

ating to drive the farmer from the flats of the Tiber. The more healthful atmosphere of the city hills induced the proprietor to linger in the campagna only so long as the management of his farm demanded. In time he ceased more and more to engage personally in agriculture and devoted himself to commercial interests associated with the produce of his farm. As his capital increased partly through commerce, partly through state contracts, his estates widened.

Gradually there grew up within the state a line of cleavage between those on the one hand who, having early possessed land, had by their enterprise greatly extended their property, or who, though not originally proprietors of estates, had by good fortune or industry gained for themselves large holdings, and those on the other who, whether in the first place proprietors or not, had never seen their holdings expand beyond the smallest dimensions.[1]

[1]Reasons will be given later for the belief that the size of the holding of a small proprietor was about 14 or 15 jugera. The 2 jugera assigned to the 1,500 colonists sent to Labici (Livy, IV, xlvii. 7) and the 2½ jugera of the 2,000 colonists of Satricum (Livy, IV, xvi, 6), were little more than house-plots. It seems, however, that Veii, where land was distributed at the rate of 7 jugera to each colonist, and where the children were considered in the allotment (Livy, V, xxx, 8), was an exception which was soon to become the rule. An increase in the size of the allotments is shown in the following table :

COLONY.	REFERENCE IN LIVY.	NUMBER SENT.	ALLOTMENT OF JUGERA.	DATE B.C.
Labici	iv, 47	1500	2	415
In Volscos	v, 24	3000	3½	392
In Veios	v, 30	*Et liberi*	7	390
Satricum	vi, 16	2000	2½	382
Anxur	viii, 21	300	2	326
Vibo	xxxv, 40	pedites, 3700	5	192
		equites, 300	10	
Bononia	xxxvii, 57	ceteri } 3000	50	189
		equites, }	70	
Pisaurum	xxxix, 44	(?)	6	184
Potentia	xxxix, 44	(?)	6	184
Mutina	xxxix, 55	2000	5	183
Parma	xxxix, 55	2000	8	183
Saturnia in agrum Caletranum	xxxix, 55	(?)	10	183
Gravici	xl, 29	(?)	5	181
Aquileia	xl, 34	3000 pedites	50	181
		centuriones	100	
		equites	140	

This increase in the size of allotments indicates that no longer were house-plots granted with the privilege of occupying the land which, in the case of colonies, must have been abundant. The state may even have expected the holders of small lots to be tenants or day labourers on the estates of the rich. As the land in Italy was appropriated it became more and more necessary

A clash of interests between these classes, the large landowners and the small proprietors, was inevitable. That Rome was not spared this strife, and that, too, at a period when she was contending for her very existence, will account for the slight development at this period of Rome's commercial enterprise.

We are not to suppose that all patricians were rich and all plebeians poor. Though the tribunes might insist that it was the patricians who were engrossing the land,[1] and an agrarian law was thought to imply the expulsion of the patricians from the *ager publicus*,[2] yet it is only with a liberal interpretation that we can say that the patricians represented the large landed proprietors. The large proprietors, indeed, were the wealthy members of both orders, plebeian and patrician. "Nay", says Valerius, "this has been made a reproach against me, that I sent a colony to the Volscians, that I apportioned extensive areas of fertile lands, not to the patricians and the equites, but to the needy ones among your order. This, especially, aroused their greatest wrath against me, that in the levy I added to the equites more than 400 wealthy plebeians."[3] Ancient writers, indeed, have confused the senate, the patricians and the large proprietors. The truth is that we cannot treat these classes as identical, although the three terms practically denote the same persons.[4] The

for each colonist to receive an allotment sufficient for his support. It is impossible, also, to estimate exactly the area of the larger holdings. Doubtless they varied considerably. Nevertheless, the object of the Licinian laws of 367 B.C. was to limit to 500 jugera the extent of the public land occupied by the rich (Appian, *De Bell. Civil.*, i,8; Livy, VI, xxxv, 5). It must be remembered that this was entirely apart from their private estates. And yet, the language in which the demands on the wealthy patricians were expressed seems unduly exaggerated :—" Were they so shameless as to require that, when the allotment to a plebeian did not exceed 2 jugera of land, they should be allowed to possess more than 500 jugera each ; that single individuals should be permitted to hold the share of almost 300 citizens, while a plebeian had barely the extent of land sufficient for a meagre habitation, or a place of burial? " (Livy, VI, xxxvi, 11). It may be near the truth to state that the land occupied by the large proprietors was from 30 to 50 times as great as the holding of the small landowner. In any case the acreage of the former was so large that had it not been for the immediate conquest of Italy the state must have experienced revolution.

[1]Livy, VI, xxxvii, 2.

[2]Livy, IV, li, 5.

[3]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, VI, xxvii *et* xliv.

[4]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, VII, lxiv ; IX, xxvii.

senators had estates in the country, for they had to be summoned thence when the decemvirs wished to convene the senate.[1] Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, with his four jugera across the Tiber, was a patrician who was not a large proprietor,[2] while poverty compelled his worthy lieutenant, Lucius Tarquitius, to serve in the infantry.[3] There were poor patricians as well as poor plebeians. It is clear then that the large estates were not held exclusively by patricians, nor the small farms exclusively by plebeians. Most of the great proprietors, however, were patrician, and the class of small landowners was predominantly plebeian.[4]

Since in this period Rome was fighting for her existence, her wars proved a heavy burden to the small landholder. The picture Livy has given of one unfortunate defender of his country from the Sabine inroads represents a condition which could scarcely have been uncommon. The whole produce of his farm was lost, his house burnt, his goods plundered, his cattle driven off, and he himself was compelled to incur debt. His debt increased until, deprived of the farm which he had inherited from his father and grandfather, and stripped of all his possessions, he was being dragged off by the creditor, "not into servitude merely, but to the *ergastulum*, a veritable place of torture."[5]

The small landowner was in a position of extreme difficulty. The strict enforcement of the laws of debt occasioned acute distress and the petty farmers refused to enlist. At times only the suspension of these laws could make it possible for Rome to resist invasion; it needed but their revival to induce the farmers to secede.[6] Though it is necessary, doubtless, to discount the statement of Titus Larcius that the whole plebeian body was plunged into debt, yet we can readily comprehend why the suspension of payments exerted upon the

[1]Livy, III, xxxviii, 11 *et* 12.

[2]Livy, III, xxvi, 8.

[3]Livy, III, xxvii.

[4]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, VII, i.

[5]Livy, II, xxiii, 5.

[6]Livy, II, xxiii, 2; xxiii, 6 ; xxvii, 1 ; Sallust, *Hist.*, i, 9 ; Cic., *De Rep.*, ii, 33, 58 ; Florus, I, xxiii ; Dion of Hal., *R.A.*, V, liii, lxiii, lxix; VI, xxii; Plut., *Cor.*, v.

state an influence so quieting.[1] We little wonder that the dream of the poorer classes was to abolish usury, and that this crisis produced a Manlius. If we can believe the tale which tradition has delighted to weave about this distinguished Roman, he was able to produce no less than four hundred fellow-countrymen who were grateful to him because he had lent them money without interest or prevented their goods from being sold or redeemed their persons from the custody of their creditors.[2]

The chief resource of the poor was to refuse to enlist. If there was no levy for them to obstruct, the plebeian tribune often came to their assistance and refused to allow debtors to be carried to prison.[3] Their position was a very unhappy one. Debt overwhelmed the common people and, as their tribunes truthfully asserted, exposed them to one danger after another.[4]

Throughout the contest remedies were constantly applied to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. The tribunate[5] and the right of appeal[6] became effective weapons against the large proprietors. Countless agrarian laws were introduced, and the credit is due to Spurius Cassius that he was the first to see that the solution of Rome's economic problem lay in the distribution of the public land which the rich occupied.[7] A less drastic method of dealing with the land question was furnished by colonization. Colonies served two ends. They protected Roman interests abroad, and removed the trouble-

[1]Livy, II, xxix, 8 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, VI, i.

[2]Livy, VI, xviii, 2 ; xviii, 14 ; xx, 6.

[3]Livy, VI, xxvii, 9 ; xxxi, 5 ; xxxii, 1.

[4]Livy, VI, xxvii, 6.

[5]Livy, II, xxxiii, 1; Sallust, *Hist.*, i, 9; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, VI, lxxxix *et* xc ; Plut., *Coriol.*, vii, 1 ; Cic., *De Rep.*, ii, 34, 59.

[6]Livy, II, viii, 2 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, V, lxx.

[7]Livy, II, xli, 1; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, VIII, lxix:—Many of the agrarian laws are undoubtedly the invention of annalists. Agrarian legislation, however, was constantly being urged by tribunes (Livy, II, liv, 2). Their persistence shows that the issue was vital. To consider them mere party cries will not explain the enthusiasm of the tribunes, nor the stubborn opposition of the rich (Livy, IV, xlvii, 8). In 388 B.C., it proved difficult to interest the commons in an agrarian law to distribute the Pomptine region (Livy, VI, v, 1); but, when vigorously supported by plebeian tribunes, laws referring to lands near Rome never failed to arouse the distressed class (Livy, VI, xi, 8).

some element from the city.[1] The poor, however, preferred agrarian laws with land at home to colonies which drew them away from their ancient abode. So few gave in their names for the colony to be led to Antium that to fill up the number Volscians were enrolled.[2] On the other hand, agrarian legislation was unpopular with the senate which seized every opportunity to forestall agrarian measures by new colonizing schemes.[3] The numerous colonies of the period, including Antium, Labici, Bolae, the colony among the Volscians, Veii, Satricum, and Nepete brought to the city considerable relief from economic distress. A further amelioration in the condition of the small landowners, to whom the constant wars proved ruinous, resulted from the privilege granted them of sacking the towns they captured. The pay which they began to receive for their military service proved a still greater boon.[4]

Appius Claudius, however, saw the real solution of the difficulty. He urged the appointment of a commission of inquiry to be composed of the most highly reputed senators. Where land had been unjustly occupied and cultivated, they should conserve the interests of the state by dividing a fixed portion into definite holdings. These were to be sold to private individuals who were to contest the title of the present occupants. On the other hand, the commission should safeguard the interests of those who had occupied and, in many cases, improved and built upon the public lands, by allowing them a five years' occupation if they paid into the war fund a stipulated rental.[5] The cries, now for the division of the public land, now for colonies, and again, for money for the troops to be raised by taxing the possessors of estates, reflected well the necessities of the poor.[6] So long, however, as the patricians, under the veil of their sacred character, guarded from the knowledge of the plebeians the modes of legal procedure, it was of small advantage to have special officers to protect

[1]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, VI, xliii.
[2]Livy, III, i, 4 ; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IX, lix.
[3]Livy, IV, xlvii, 6.
[4]Livy, IV, lix, 10.
[5]Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, VIII, lxxiii.
[6]Livy, IV, xxxvi, 1.

the oppressed. The patricians could always keep in reserve some law forgotten or fabricated. Accordingly, in 462 B.C. C. Terentilius Arsa began the struggle for a code which resulted in the promulgation of the Twelve Tables.[1] As a result the laws became definite and were no longer subject to the arbitrary interpretation of patrician land-owners. The petty holder might still be injured but now he could easily find means of redress. These Tables reflect in a striking manner the economic character of the struggle. The great debt struggles leave their traces in the provisions that usurers, who exacted a higher rate of interest than ten per cent. per annum, should be liable to four-fold damages;[2] while, in default of settlement of a claim, the creditor could put the debtor for a period of sixty days into stocks or into chains weighing not more than fifteen pounds. Within this interval the debtor was to be brought before the praetor in the comitium on three successive market days, and the amount of the debt publicly declared. After the third market day the debtor might be punished with death or sold beyond the Tiber, the creditors might divide his body, and if any should take more than his just share, he should be held guiltless.[3] Slaves were an element in the state, for there were measures which regulated their enfranchisement [4] which fixed at 150 asses the penalty for fracturing their bones,[5] and which prohibited their embalming.[6] Two years' possession in the case of land and one year's in the case of other things created ownership.[7] It is interesting to note that the law discriminated against aliens.[8] A space of five feet was to be left between adjoining fields for the purposes of access and the turning of the plough.[9] Stringent measures were adopted to punish the person who by enchantment blighted the crops of another, or attracted them from

[1] Livy, III, ix, 5.
[2] *Tabula*, viii, 18 ; Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 16 ; Cato, *R.R.*, *Praef.*
[3] *Tabula*, iii ; Aul. Gell., 20, 1, 46-7.
[4] *Tabula*, v, 8.
[5] *Tabula*, viii, 3.
[6] *Tabula*, x, 6; Cic., *De Leg.*, ii, 24.
[7] *Tabula*, vi, 3 ; Cic., *Top.*, iv, 23.
[8] *Tabula*, iii, 7.
[9] *Tabula*, vii, 4 ; Cic., *De Leg.*, i, 21.

one field to another,[1] or furtively cut or depastured a neighbour's growing crop.[2] It is instructive to observe that with the exception of the privilege of partnership,[3] which eventually came to be possessed by individual groups, there are no provisions of an industrial or commercial character. The setting of the legislation of the Twelve Tables is agricultural. Commerce had been crippled by the wars of the period, and these laws are the regulations of an agricultural society.

The adoption of the Twelve Tables does not mark the end of Rome's internal struggle. Henceforth, however, the issue is to a great extent a new one, and strife is waged between other factions. The contest is now taken up by the wealthy plebeians, the rich land-owners among the rural population, who seek equal privileges with the patricians.[4] In the struggle for the right of inter-marriage Canuleius strikes the keynote of the second half of the strife. He says, "In this question of inter-marriage with you, we ask for nothing beyond recognition as men and citizens."[5] The line of cleavage is now between the privileged and the non-privileged, no longer between the rich and the poor.[6]

Very soon the poor plebeians began to look with suspicion upon the wealthy members of their order. The persistent effort of the tribunes to introduce agrarian laws had met with but ill-success. Tribunician agitators might insist that the interests of both sections of the plebeians were identical, that there could come no relief from the heavy burden of debt until plebeians shared in the administration;[7] yet no union of the poor and wealthy was effected. Though a non-patrician could be elected military tribune with consular power, still for forty-five years no plebeian, the tribune bitterly complained, obtained that office.[8]

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[1] *Tabula*, viii, 8.
[2] *Tabula*, viii, 9; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 3, 12.
[3] *Tabula*, viii, 27; Gaius, *lib.* 4 *ad leg.* xii. *tab. D.*, 47, 22, 4.
[4] Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, VI, liii.
[5] Livy, VI, iv, 12; v, 5; lvi, 11.
[6] Livy, IV, iv, 9; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, X, xxix *et* xxxv.
[7] Livy, VI, xxxv, 1.
[8] Livy, IV, xxv, 1; IV, xxxv, 5; VI, xxxvii, 5; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, XI, lxi.

It became clearer that a compromise was necessary. Sextius, Licinius and Fabius declared that the patricians would cease to enlarge their estates and to crush the common people with interest only when the plebeians from their own order had elected a consul to be the guardian of their liberties. Admission to the administration was the indispensable condition for the proper exercise of their legitimate function as citizens.[1] On the other hand, the great mass of the plebeians, the poorer section, were interested not so much in political advancement as in the relief of the economic distress. They had slight sympathy for the aspirations of the wealthy members of their own order, who had manifested scant enthusiasm in seeking a remedy for economic evils in which they had a selfish interest. They may have felt that if, to achieve their ends, the rich plebeians for the moment lent themselves to measures of reform, there was no guarantee that aggression and encroachment might not follow hard upon the elevation of their wealthy fellow-plebeians. Therefore they were opposed to the election of a plebeian consul. Only the unflinching determination of the tribunes that the measure before the assembly should be accepted or rejected in its entirety saved the situation.[2] The Licinian Bills became law. That these laws sprang from mutual concessions, that the wealthy section of the plebeians aimed only to satisfy their political ambition and were either half-hearted in the support of these economic measures or opposed to them, is conclusively proved by one fact. The very man who had given his name to these regulations and by his efforts had made them law, Caius Licinius Stolo, was himself within ten years prosecuted for transgressing the limit fixed for the holdings of public lands.[3]

The ambitions of the wealthy proprietors were insured by the provisions :—

(*a*) that consuls, and not military tribunes with consular power, should be elected;

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[1]Livy, VI, xxxvii, 2 *et* 4.

[2]Livy, VI, xxxix, 1.

[3]Livy, VII, xvi, 9; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, XIV, xii; Plut., *Camil.*, xxxix, 6; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 17 ; Val. Max., VIII, vi, 3.

(*b*) that one consul should be plebeian;

(*c*) that the priestly college should consist of ten, instead of two, members; of these, five should be plebeians.

The small land-owners, the poor plebeians, were won by the following regulations :—

(*a*) that no single citizen should hold in occupation more than five hundred jugera of public land, nor pasture upon it more than one hundred cattle and five hundred sheep;

(*b*) that all landholders should employ some free, as well as slave, labour on their estates;

(*c*) that interest already paid on debts should be regarded as payment on the principal, and that the residue should be paid in three equal annual instalments.[1]

The Licinian Bills evidently appeared at the moment to solve the difficulties. The long century and a half of incessant fighting was at last over. There was union in the little state, a union which manifested itself in a united action against the enemies of Rome, and resulted in making Rome mistress of the peninsula in less than a century. This yielded to Rome a vast territory more than ample to satisfy the needs of her people. It was this extended conquest that disguised from men the inherent nullity of the Licinian legislation on its economic side. For the Licinian legislation was defective. It could not eradicate the system of *latifundia*, nor abolish the employment of slaves. The former evil was, for the time, only more firmly entrenched; the expansion of Roman dominions, however, was soon to postpone it to the days of the Gracchi. The maximum quantity of five hundred jugera was so great, and such large flocks and herds could be pastured, that these measures failed to restrict, to any considerable degree, the privileges which the wealthy already enjoyed. If the landholder suffered any limitations he received an ample compensation in the quasi-legal sanction which the legislation conferred upon the system of occupation.

The legal measures of the century which followed reflect economic distress, but of a less aggravated character. To

[1]Livy, VI, xxxv, 4 ; xxxvii, 12 ; xlii, 9 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 9 ; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, 8 ; Val. Max., VIII, vi, 3 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 17.

check the tendency to emancipate slaves, a tax of five per cent. was imposed in 357 B.C. on manumissions.[1] A vigorous contest succeeded in reducing the rate of interest to ten per cent. in 357 B.C.,[2] to five in 347 B.C.,[3] and in abolishing it completely in 342 B.C.[4] In 352 B.C. a state commission of five bankers was appointed to adjust the strained relations between debtors and creditors, and their efforts seem to have met with some success.[5] The great gain for the poor, however, was the Poetilian law of 313 B.C., which forbade the seizure of the debtor's person, and abolished enslavement for debt.[6] The heavy burden of debt in 287 B.C. produced a dangerous insurrection and a secession to the Janiculum.[7] It is probable that mere legislation failed to give effectual relief. But relief did come. The century of conquest and Italian expansion meant the widening of Rome's dominions and thereby the solution of her economic difficulties. The armies necessary to subdue one people after another entailed a constant drain on her resources, but more and more they were supported by the peoples she subjugated.[8] The first stage in her expansion is marked by the Samnite struggle of 343 B.C.[9] It was her final defeat of Samnium, too, by 269 B.C., and the foundation of the Samnite colonies which established her sovereignty in the southern portion of the peninsula.[10] The fruits of conquest were secured by the founding of colonies, which opened up for the poorer agricultural class opportunities to secure holdings, which removed the discontented section of Rome's population, and produced a prosperity that

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[1]Livy, VII, xvi, 7.
[2]Livy, VII, xvi, 1.
[3]Livy, VII, xix, 5 ; xxi, 3 ; xxvii, 3.
[4]Livy, VII, xlii, 1.
[5]Livy, VII, xxi, 5.
[6]Livy, VIII, xxviii, 1 *et* 8.
[7]*Joan. Freinshemii supp.* Liv. xi, 26.
[8]Livy, IX, xli, 7 ; xliii, 20 ; X, v, 12 ; xxxvii, 4 ; xlvi, 12.
[9]Livy, VII, xxix, 1.
[10]*Joan. Freinshemii supp.* Liv. xi, 26.

the growing consciousness of power greatly increased,[1] and the construction of great military roads[2] by their impetus to traffic and commerce helped to foster.

[1]In this period we have among other indications of Rome's expansion,
(a) The addition of tribes (Livy, VII, xv, 12 ; VIII, xvii, 11).
(b) The sending out of colonies (Livy, VIII, xi, 13 ; xvi, 13 ; xxi, 11; xxii, 2; IX, xxviii, 7 ; X, i, 1 ; x, 5 ; xxi, 7 ; XI; XV; XVI.

[2]Livy, IX, xxix, 5 ; Diod. Sicul., xx. 36.

BOOK III

FROM ROME'S FIRST MEDITERRANEAN EXPANSION TO THE CLOSE OF THE REPUBLIC

§ 1. GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

a. The Growth of Riches

The century which followed the Licinian legislation made Rome mistress of Italy. It needed but another century to make her virtual mistress of the Mediterranean. Pydna established the empire. The process was no less sudden than splendid. The promptings of commercial interests, of whose potency Rome herself was only half conscious, brought about the clash with Carthage. Her struggle with Hannibal and her entry upon Eastern politics were brilliant incidents in a career that demanded only thirteen short years from Zama to see the empire of Alexander in her power. Rome's inheritance of the old Mediterranean civilization was too sudden. It yielded a premature and tremendous growth in riches. While she was engaged in her struggle in the peninsula, a primitive simplicity still obtained; and a Curius could prefer his earthen vessels to Samnite gold with the same sincerity that the censor Fabricius condemned for luxurious living the consular Rufinus, the possessor of ten pounds of silver.[1] On the eve of the Mediterranean contest, then, Rome's wealth was only moderate.[2] But even within half a century a marked difference is observable. Hannibal saw orchards and vineyards planted for pleasure rather than for utility;[3] while the plebeian tribune, Caius Oppius, desirous of stemming the growing luxury, enacted, in 215 B.C., that no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold, or wear a garment of varied colours, or ride in a carriage drawn by horses, except on occasion of a public religious solemnity.[4] The proposal

[1] Jul. Flor. *Epit.*, I, xiii, 18.
[2] Polyb., *Bell. Pun.*, I, xiii, 12.
[3] Livy, XXII, xv, 2.
[4] Livy, XXXIV, i, 1-5.

to repeal this law twenty years later created a scene unprecedented at Rome. For the matrons beset every street and lane in the city, canvassed the men on their way to the Forum, begged to share in the prosperity of the state, and implored the restoration of their ornaments of dress. The tribes voted unanimously for the repeal; while the recognition, that altered conditions rendered such a sumptuary law intolerable, induced the tribunes to withdraw their protest.[1]

The comedies of Plautus, though largely Greek in inspiration, yet naturally must reflect the immediate surroundings of their author. In them wealth is seemingly the base of the social structure. Money insured a good social position; wedlock without a marriage-portion might be regarded as concubinage;[2] ward-masters doled out money to the poor;[3] *lenones* and *scorta* increased "like flies in warm weather;"[4] and Roman ladies paid an inordinate attention to dress and ornament.[5]

The shows of the period are not only a great innovation but also a striking index to the wealth that was flowing into Rome. In 187 B.C., Cn. Manlius, conqueror of the Galatians, celebrated a triumph on a scale of magnificence hitherto unequalled;[6] and no less than sixty-three panthers, and forty bears and elephants were exhibited in the games of the curule aediles in 169 B.C.[7]

From the time of the Curii and the Fabricii to that of Cato is but a short period as men count years, yet what a change had come over the state ! The two stages of national life are separated as by a gulf. Simplicity had given way to wealth. No longer are men of straitened circumstances magistrates of Rome but candidates court the favour of the people with servility and largesses.[8] On every side there is extrava-

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[1]Livy, XXXIV, i, 6 ; XXXIV, viii.
[2]Plaut., *Trinum.*, 158-160 ; 690-693.
[3]Plaut., *Aulul.*, 107-8 ; 172-3.
[4]Plaut., *Truc.*, 66-7.
[5]Plaut., *Epid.*, Act. II, Sc. ii, 45-50.
[6]Livy, XXXIX, vi, 7 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiv, 14.
[7]Livy, XLIV, xviii.
[8]Plut., *Arist. cum Cat. Comp.*, I, 4.

gance. Fish sell for more than an ox,[1] jars of Pontic salt-fish fetch more than three hundred drachmae, handsome slaves are valued higher than farms,[2] and mosaic pavements of Numidian marble adorn the villas of the rich.[3] To root out such luxuries the censor taxed at ten times their values all apparel, carriages, female ornaments, furniture and utensils in excess of 1500 drachmae.[4] But even Cato himself succumbed to the spirit of the age. To gain money became with him the first of duties; and to the man who had doubled his patrimony he ascribed the highest honour.[5]

We have not sufficient evidence to enable us to trace every stage in the development of wealth and luxury. Between Cato and Lucullus extravagances became more and more extreme. The vast fortune which he had amassed in war, Lucullus spent lavishly on fish-ponds, villas, walks, baths, paintings, statues and other works of art. His structures in the sea gained for him the nickname "Xerxes, clad in toga".[6] A Roman praetor who wished to exhibit magnificent games applied to Lucullus for one hundred purple robes for the chorus. He might have two hundred if he pleased, was Lucullus' reply.[7] "We will dine with you, Lucullus," said Cicero and Pompey, "on this condition, that you set before us only that which is already provided for yourself." Lucullus demurred; on another day he would have made adequate provision. They insisted. Lucullus thereupon directed his servants to prepare supper in the room Apollo. The magnificence of the entertainment amazed the guests. Their host informed them that each apartment had a definite name and a certain scale of expense. "Suppers in the room Apollo always cost fifty thousand drachmae."[8]

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[1]Plut., *Cat. Mai.*, viii, 2.
[2]Polyb., XXXI, xxiv, 1, 2.
[3]Festus, p. 242 b, ll. 17-22.
[4]Plut., *Cat. Mai.*, xviii, 2, 3.
[5]Plut., *Cat. Mai.*, xxi. 11.
[6]Plut., *Lucull.*, xxxix, 2 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, ix, 170 ; Vell. Pater., II, 33.
[7]Plut., *Lucull.*, xxxix, 6 ; Hor., *Ep.*, I, vi, 40-4.
[8]Plut., *Lucull.*, xli, 4-6.

The statement of Crassus, furthermore, that no man ought to be esteemed rich who could not with his own revenue maintain an army, while highly extravagant, both reveals a high standard for wealth in his time, and indicates that Crassus himself was enormously rich. And yet we have it on Pliny's authority that Crassus was not so wealthy as Sulla.[1] Large debts are possible only where there are great riches. Julius Caesar is credited with the statement that he needed 25,000,000 sesterces (about $1,250,000) to be worth nothing at all.[2] Later, however, Caesar could lay out considerable sums of money in the construction of the Appian road; while, as aedile, he eclipsed the most ambitious of his predecessors with his theatres, processions, public entertainments, and exhibitions of three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators.[3] It was Gaul that enriched Caesar. Cicero declared that he was wealthy enough to support the army there.[4] At any rate, his exceedingly large bribes to partisans indicate his enormous riches. Thus, while 1,500 talents (about $1,750,000) were sufficient to induce Paulus to give over further opposition, the tribune C. Curio required a larger sum,—he was more deeply involved in debt, and Caesar had to purchase his debts along with his support.[5]

In the civil war, Domitius Ahenobarbus had sufficient possessions to enable him to promise to each soldier of thirty cohorts four jugera, and to the centurions a proportionate share.[6] Cicero received about a million dollars in legacies. He says, however, that in this respect Antony was more fortunate than he.[7]

In the time of Varro, the spread of luxury was noticeable in the number and extent of fish-ponds.[8] "Fish-ponds," says he, "are of two kinds, fresh and salt. The first belong

[1]Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiii, 134; Cic., *Parad. Stoic.*, VI, i, 45; Cic., *De Offic.*, I, 8, 25; Plut., *Crass.*, II, 8.

[2]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, viii; Plut., *J. Caes.*, v, 4; xi, 1.

[3]Plut., *J. Caes.*, v, 4.

[4]Cic., *De Prov. Consul.*, xi, 28.

[5]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, 26; Vell. Pater., II, 48.

[6]Caes., *De Bell. Civ.*, I, 17.

[7]Cic., *In Ant. orat. Phil.*, II, 16, 40.

[8]Varro, *R.R.*, III, iii, 10.

to the common people and prove profitable when sources near the villas provide water for the ponds. Marine ponds, however, are the appanage of the nobility, and Neptune furnishes both the water and the fish. They satisfy the eyes more than the stomach, and empty rather than fill their master's purse. They are expensive to construct, expensive to stock, expensive to maintain. Hirrius used to derive 12,000,000 sesterces from the buildings about his ponds and this whole sum he spent in food for his fish. I remember that on one occasion he weighed and lent 6,000 *muraenae* to Caesar, and owing to the immense number of fish in his villa, it was sold for 40,000,000 sesterces. Not a soul amongst us is content with one fish-pond. Not a soul but has several marine ponds joined together out of individual ones.—These luxurious Romans have fish-ponds divided into compartments, to keep the several kinds of fish separate.—And yet no cook would dare to touch them.''[1] In many cases, however, fish-ponds proved exceedingly profitable. Thus the fattening of sea-fish was ten times as productive in Varro's time as was the cultivation of land.[2] In spite of this the ponds of Hortensius did not support him; on the contrary he supported them. Of his sick fish he took not less care than of his slaves.[3]

Nothing will enable us better to appreciate the luxury of Varro's time, or more clearly to perceive how the profit on money invested in a villa which supplied objects of delicacy was twice as great as from the same amount placed in landed property, than to consider some details which he has left us.[4] Peacocks, for instance, sold easily for five denarii apiece; young peacocks fetched fifty denarii; a flock of one hundred yielded a return of 40,000 sestertia;[5] Lurco derived from his 60,000 sesterces a year.[6] Says our author,—''The proprietor demands of the caretaker three peacocks a nest. These, when full-grown, he sells for fifty denarii—a price beyond that of

[1]Varro, *R.R.*, III, xvii, 2-4 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, ix, 171.
[2]Varro, *R.R.*, III, ii, 17.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, III, xvii, 6 *et* 8.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, III, ii, 15 *et* 17.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, III, vi, 6.
[6]Varro, *R.R.*, III, vi, 1.

any sheep.''[1] Not less were the profits from pigeons; some possessed flocks worth 100,000 sesterces.[2] It was a common occurrence for a pair of beautiful healthy pigeons to fetch 200 sesterces; especially excellent ones went as high as 1,000; while the knight Axius refused to accept less than 400 denarii for one pair.[3] The culture of flowers was likewise extensive. Violets and roses yielded good returns.[4] And yet the rich were not satisfied with the fruits of their country estates. For their feasts they must have delicacies transported from Rome.[5] The luxury of the last two centuries of the Republic can still be seen, though in an exaggerated degree, in the time of Columella; a pair of birds brought 4,000 sesterces.[6] The ancient virile life of the Romans, he protests, has given way to luxury and extravagance.[7]

But of all the phenomena that indicate an increase of wealth at Rome, nothing shews more clearly the growth of riches than the great extension of villas. This tendency, operative already in the days of Cato, had evoked from the censor the recommendation to sow and plant in youth and to defer building until more advanced in years. ''You may build,'' says he, ''at thirty-six years of age.''[8] A rivalry in this direction actuated the Romans.[9] Marius had a fine villa at Misenum. Although Cornelia purchased it for 75,000 drachmae, yet luxury advanced by such leaps and bounds within a few years that Lucullus had to pay for it no less than 500,200 drachmae.[10] This Lucullus, according to Pliny, through his excessive building, incurred the chastisement of the censors: he needed ''less to plough his land than to sweep his barns.''[11] Varro, too, adverts to the luxurious building in his time,—

[1]Varro, *R.R.*, III, vi, 3.
[2]Varro, *R.R.*, III, vii, 11.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, III, vii, 10.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvi, 3.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, I, lix, 2.
[6]Col., *R.R.*, VIII, viii, 10.
[7]Col., *R.R.*, I, *Praef.*, 14.
[8]Cato, *R.R.*, III.
[9]Cic., *De Leg.*, III, 13, 30.
[10]Plut., *Marius*, xxxiv, 2.
[11]Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 6.

"In former times some regard was paid to the requirements of the farm produce; now our sole barriers are desires which we do not govern."[1] To produce new and startling effects, large hills were levelled, and edifices constructed into the sea. Their villas and mansions "extended to the size of cities."[2]

The lavish expenditure on funerals and monuments is also significant. To check this was the purpose of the law which stipulated that for any amount spent in this way in excess of a specified sum, an equivalent must be paid over into the exchequer.[3] Wealth had long been undermining patriotism. Cicero, for example, speaks of the fools who fancied that, though the Republic were lost, yet their fish-ponds would be safe [4]

Though riches thus dominated Roman society during the last two centuries of the Republic it is, of course, impossible to determine the exact moment when wealth and luxury began to outweigh other interests in Rome. Many things point to the period between Rome's first conflict with Carthage and the final overthrow of that city. Varro, however, suggests that the development of luxury was comparatively recent. A vast park, several jugera in extent, enclosed with walls, and containing great numbers of boars, belonged to Axius. Such luxury, he hints, was entirely unknown a generation or two earlier. Varro, likewise, attributes to the extravagance of his own age the great extension of parks and ponds. It is questionable, however, whether we can assign the beginning of this development to the time of Varro. Undoubtedly extravagance was rampant at that period; but even before this wealth had long been flowing into the metropolis.[5] M. Belot has placed his "economic revolution" at Rome in the middle of the third century before the Christian era.[6] At that time the censors were obliged to multiply by ten the numbers expressing in *asses* the census of the different classes

[1] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xiii, 6-7.
[2] Sallust, *Cat.*, 12 *et* 13; Horace, *Carm.*, II, xviii, 18–22; III, i, 33-37.
[3] Plut., *Sulla*, xxxv, 2; Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, XII, xxxv, 2.
[4] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, I, xviii, 6.
[5] Varro, *R.R.*, III, iii, 8 *et* 10.
[6] *De la Révolution Économique et Monétaire.*

and sub-classes of Roman society. Pliny, indeed, states that during the first Punic war the Roman *as* was diminished in weight from one pound to a *sextans*—or two ounces.[1] Each new *as* of a *sextans*, therefore, was worth six times less than the old *as* of a pound. This accounts for the diminution of the value of the *as* from six to one. In exchange, however, the new *as* of a *sextans* represented only the tenth of an old *as* of a pound. There occurred, then, not one but two movements. The *as* was diminished in weight from six to one, and the power of money fell from ten to six. This depreciation in the relative value of money Belot attributes less to the mass of precious metals thrown into circulation than to the activity of the circulation. This economic and monetary revolution marks the initial stages of the growth of riches.

The origin of this foreign luxury is attributed by Livy to the Asiatic army of Cn. Manlius Vulso, conqueror of the Galatians in 187 B.C.[2] Polybius speaks of Pydna as the beginning of what he calls dissoluteness. "It arose," says he, "from the prevalent idea, that owing to the destruction of the Macedonian monarchy universal dominion was secured to them beyond dispute; and in the second place, from the immense difference both in public and private wealth and splendour, occasioned by the importation of the riches of Macedonia into Rome.[3] Says Sallust, "When Carthage, the rival of Rome's dominions, had been utterly destroyed, and sea and land lay everywhere open to her sway, Fortune began to go mad, and to introduce universal innovation. At first the love of money, and then that of power, began to prevail, and these were the virtual sources of every evil."[4] In another place the same author states, "But discord and avarice, and ambition, and other evils that usually spring from prosperity, were most increased after Carthage was destroyed."[5] And again, "From this period the manners of our forefathers degenerated; not as before, gradually, but

[1]Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiii, 13, 44.
[2]Livy, XXXIX, vi, 7.
[3]Polyb., xxxii, 11.
[4]Sallust, *Cat.*, 10.
[5]Sallust, *Hist. Frag.*, I.

with precipitation, like a torrent, and the youth became so depraved with luxury and avarice, that they might be thought with justice to have been powerless either to preserve their own property or to suffer other individuals to preserve theirs."[1] The statement is made by Velleius Paterculus, that the elder Scipio had opened for the Romans the way to power, the younger, to luxury. "For when their dread of Carthage was at an end, and their rival in empire was removed, the nation, deserting the cause of virtue, went over, not gradually, but headlong to a career of vice; the old rules of conduct were renounced, and new ones introduced; and the people turned themselves from activity to slumber, from arms to pleasure, from business to idleness."[2] The period between the first and third Punic wars is a period of rapid and profound economic change.

During the second Punic war Rome must be considered comparatively sound, and in the war with Antiochus, the conqueror, by his acceptance of nothing beyond a golden crown, declared to the world that Rome was still waging war for honour, and was not prompted by greed nor actuated by purposes of state. Rome would have been happier had she retained this pristine moral vigour. She owed her riches to no industrial successes. She came into this vast wealth with no creative effort on her part—no conscious aim at all. The days of patriarchal discipline were ended with too great suddenness. There was no preliminary intellectual undermining process as in Greece, this came along with the wealth—the fatal gift of the vanquished.

To account for this inordinate growth of riches is a great problem in Roman economics. Enormous masses of gold and silver undoubtedly accumulated from her conquests. Thus in 209 B.C. the capture of Tarentum yielded 3,080 pounds of gold and a vast quantity of silver;[3] in 201 B.C., Scipio brought to the Roman treasury 123,000 pounds of silver, distributed money among the soldiers,[4] and extorted from the

[1]Sallust, *Hist. Frag.*, I.
[2]Vell. Pater., II, i.
[3]Livy, XXVII, xvi.
[4]Livy, XXX, xlv.

Carthaginians the promise to pay 10,000 talents in fifty years;[1] the war with Philip of Macedon added great wealth;[2] that with Antiochus, 15,000 talents;[3] while Aemilius Paulus paid out of the Macedonian spoil into the public treasury 300 millions of sesterces, and from this period the Roman people ceased to pay tribute.[4] The consequence was that seven years before the third Punic war, the Roman treasury contained 17,410 pounds of gold, 22,070 of silver, besides 6,315,400 sesterces in specie.[5] This process of accumulation is carried further in the last century of the Republic. Caesar, for example, amassed enormous riches in Gaul;[6] while Pompey by his conquests increased the revenues of Rome from 50 to 85 millions of drachmae, brought to the Roman treasury 20,000 talents in money, gold and silver vessels, and distributed such vast sums among the soldiers that even the smallest share amounted to 1,500 drachmae.[7]

But the gains through war of the treasury and individuals go but a little way toward explaining the source of this sudden wealth. For the full explanation we must study Rome's relation to her provinces. The settlement of Macedonia after the battle of Pydna seems to state the conscious acceptance by Rome of the conception of dominion for profit. For the doing away with *tributum* in Italy coincides with the imposition upon Macedonia of a tribute which, small though it was, was accompanied by a disarmament which received no justification in any undertaking on the part of Rome to defend her newly constituted province. The provinces were hers to exploit, not to govern.[8] The private accumulations of generals and pro-consuls were not merely prodigious; they

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[1]Livy, XXX, xxxvii.

[2]Livy, XXXIII, xiii ; XXXIII, xxx ; XXXIV, lii.

[3]Livy, XXXVII, xxxviii, xlv *et* lix ; Appian, *De Bell. Mith.*, xxxviii ; Polyb., xxi, 14 ; xxii, 26.

[4]Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiii, 55; Plut., *Aem. Paul.*, XXXVIII; Cic., *De Offic.*, II, 22, 76; Val. Max., IV, iii, 8.

[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiii, 55.

[6]Plut., *J. Caes.*, XXIX, 2, 3.

[7]Plut., *Pomp.*, XLV, 3.

[8]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 3, 7 ; Caes., *De Bell. Civ.*, III, 32.

should have been a matter of reproach.[1] Asia especially was a fruitful source of revenue.[2] The vast wealth did not by any means all go into the public chest;[3] Philippus exclaims in 106 B.C. that there were not 2,000 citizens in the state who possessed anything.[4] There is more than rhetoric in Cicero's complaint,—"All the money of all nations has come into the hands of a few men."[5] Not Rome herself, but some few Romans have been enriched with the wealth of the provincials. Cicero knows only three ways for a Roman honestly to enrich himself—commerce, professional labour, and state contracts.[6] It is our purpose to examine to what extent each of these contributed to the growth of riches under the Roman system.

b. Extension of Large Estates

We have seen already that the Licinian legislation aimed at preventing any extension of the *latifundia* which had arisen early in the Republic.[7] But during the last two centuries of the Republic large estates grew and multiplied with each addition to the wealth of the metropolis. And not the growth of capital alone, but the occupation of public lands, the eviction of small land-owners, speculation, the increase of slavery and the unstable tenure of land due to revolutionary movements, all alike contributed to the same result.[8]

The influx of riches into Rome soon produced a revolution in Roman agriculture. Those who could lay hold of capital enlarged their estates. Since the senators were prevented by the *lex Claudia* from engaging in mercantile pursuits, investments in landed property offered a remunerative outlet for their wealth. Moreover, newly acquired territory when neither sold nor given away was public land. Since

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[1]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, v, 48, 127.
[2]Cic., *Pro leg. Man.*, VI, 14.
[3]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XII, xxx, 4; *Ep. ad Brut.*, I, xviii, 5.
[4]Cic., *De Offic.*, II, 21, 73.
[5]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, v, 48, 126.
[6]Cic., *Paradoxa Stoic.*, VI, 2, 46; *De Off.*, I, 42, 150.
[7]Livy, XXXIV, iv, 9.
[8]Sallust, *Fragm.*, XI.

private persons could occupy it, the rich were prompted to seize upon sections immediately adjoining their own holdings. Gradually subtle legal distinctions as well as boundary lines faded. If the property upon which they had encroached was merely a "*possessio*" and the "*possessor*" held no title from the state, yet against other individuals their right was founded on the insuperable fact of possession.[1] Very naturally, small holders were readily displaced, more especially if absent on military service.[2] Sallust in one place arraigns the rich : "After the terror of the Carthaginians was removed[3] whoever grew eminently wealthy and better able to encroach on others was styled an excellent citizen if he supported the present state of affairs;"[3] and in another complains : "The people were gradually deprived of their lands, and idleness and want left them without habitations."[4] Horace preserves the picture of one of these evictions when he deplores the avarice through "which you even remove the land-marks of your neighbour's ground and trespass beyond the bounds of your clients. Wife and husband are turned out bearing in their bosoms their household goods and squalid children."[5] Colonial assignations of land diminished and soon ceased altogether. No colony was founded after 157 B.C. The Gracchan efforts to distribute the *ager publicus* succeeded in settling the Italian domain question to a certain extent. With the exception of land in the neighbourhood of Tarentum and Capua, the Borian (and a subsequent) law extinguished *ager publicus* in Italy."[6]

By the operation of the "*Ius commercii*" in the provinces large holdings were made still larger. It is hard to appreciate the importance of this peculiarly protected legal position of *cives*. But with all competitors handicapped the citizens of Rome possessed an enormous advantage; and

[1]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, xviii ; Livy, XLII, i, 6.

[2]Sallust, *Jug.*, XLI ; Seneca, *Ep.*, 90 ; Quint., *Apes Paup., Declam.*, XIII.

[3]Sallust, *Fragm.*, XII.

[4]Sallust, *Ep. ad Caes.*, II, 5.

[5]Hor., *Carm.*, II, xviii, 23-8.

[6]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, xxvii.

land readily passed into the hands of wealthy Romans. Again, as the production of cereals ceased to be profitable, the Romans influenced by the spirit of speculation devoted their capital and energies first to the wholesale cultivation of the vine and the olive and then to grazing. Pasturage always demands wider areas than agriculture and, in the transition to grazing, *latifuudia* became a necessity. Contemporaneous with the concentration of property was the increase in the number of slaves. Appian says, "The rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, added to their holdings the small farms of their poor neighbours partly by purchase, partly by violence. They came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates. They used for this purpose slaves as labourers and herdsmen, lest free labourers should be drawn from agriculture into the army. The ownership of slaves brought them great gain from the multitude of their progeny, who increased through exemption from military service. Thus the powerful became enormously rich; slaves multiplied throughout the country; but the Italian people, oppressed by penury, taxes and military service, dwindled in numbers and strength. During any respite from these evils they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, and these employed slaves instead of freemen to till the soil." [1]

The uncertainty of the political conditions of the last century of the Republic brought no change. Sulla did not hesitate to revive the old plan of occupation; and in those dark days many managed to secure themselves extensive holdings.[2] That large estates grew and multiplied cannot be doubted. To what extent, however, this system of *latifundia* prevailed, it is impossible to determine with exactness. But Quintilian, in his *Apes Pauperis*, describes the plight of a poor man at law with a rich neighbour. The latter, annoyed by his neighbour's bees, had destroyed them. The poor man claimed that he

[1] Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, vii.

[2] Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, c ; Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, I, xix, 4; Cic., *De Leg. Agrar.*, II, 26, 69.

had not been unwilling to abandon his ancestral plot of ground and establish his bees elsewhere—"I was unable," he protested however, "to find a single patch of land where I should not have a rich man for a neighbour."[1]

Sicily was unique as the seat of the great plantation system. The investigations preceding the first Servile war show by anticipation all the abominations of modern peonage. The praetor was obliged to declare against the claimant in many cases, and when the cases multiplied, closed the investigation in a panic. The evil was wide-spread. "Powerful men," says Columella, "have estates like nations; they cannot encompass them on horseback"[2] (i.e., in a day). Six individuals, according to Pliny, possessed the half of Africa.[3] These statements, although having reference primarily to the period of the early emperors, describe conditions differing only in degree from those of the last years of the Republic. In this connection, accordingly, we must attach special significance to the statement of Philippus, already quoted, that in 106 B.C. not two thousand people had wealth. The last days of the Republic, then, were not the days when every Roman was proud to till his farm. The times had changed since not fewer than sixteen of the Aelian family and name had only a small house and one farm.[4] To counteract this evil of large estates agrarian legislation proved ineffectual.

c. Disappearance of Small Landowners

The obverse view of this tendency by which landed property was concentrated is the disappearance of the small farmer. The holdings in the early Republic were petty. The senator, even of consular dignity or the winner of a triumph, was regarded by Manius Curius as blameworthy if he possessed more than fifty jugera; whereas the citizen not satisfied with seven jugera was considered a menace to the state.[5]

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[1] XIII, iv.
[2] *R.R.* I, iii, 12.
[3] *N.H.*, XVIII, 6, 35.
[4] Plut., *Aem. Paul.*, V, 4, 5; Val. Max., *Memor.*, IV, iv, 8.
[5] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 4, 18; Val. Max., IV, iii, 5; Col., *R.R.*, I, iii, 10.

To estimate the size of a peasant holding is difficult; but some considerations are of assistance. The equipment which Cato asks for his model olive farm of 240 jugera, is one *vilicus*, one *vilica*, five labourers, three workers with oxen, one ass-driver, one swine-herd, one shepherd, in all thirteen persons. We shall see later that the culture of the olive entailed but little labour. Thirteen workers for 240 jugera, therefore, was in most cases near the minimum equipment of the average farm in Cato's time.[1] On the other hand, the vineyard required a large equipment. To 100 jugera of vineyard Cato assigns one *vilicus*, one *vilica*, ten labourers, one worker with oxen, one ass-driver, one caretaker of willows, one swine-herd, in all sixteen persons.[2] For 240 jugera of vineyard the staff would be not much more than twice as great. Some of the workmen, indeed, and certainly the *vilicus* and *vilica*[3] would not require to be duplicated. A sufficiently liberal estimate would place the equipment of 240 jugera of vineyard at about thirty-five workers. The range, therefore, for 240 jugera varies from thirteen labourers to about thirty-five, according as the crop is olives or vines. Now, Saserna states that one man will suffice for eight jugera.[4] For 240 jugera, then, we should expect thirty workers besides the *vilicus* and *vilica*, or in all thirty-two persons. Saserna in another place gives us a basis for calculation which would seem to confirm the result obtained from Cato. Thus, when there was no orchard, for 200 jugera there would be two ox-drivers, six labourers, in all eight persons, besides the *vilicus* and *vilica*; with an orchard, 200 jugera require, apart from the *vilicus* and *vilica*, two ox-drivers, nine labourers, in all eleven persons. Apart from the *vilicus* and *vilica*, 240 jugera would demand, therefore, without the orchard, ten persons, with the orchard, thirteen. The equipment, therefore, for a farm of 240 jugera with an orchard would be one *vilicus*, one *vilica*, and thirteen labourers. This result does not differ

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, X, 1.
[2]Cato, *R.R.*, XI, 1.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xviii, 2, 3.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xviii, 2.

substantially from Cato's estimate, if we bear in mind that Cato's farm is wholly that of the easily cultivated olive.[1] Varro, however, states that this number might suffice for the plains of Gaul but would be inadequate for mountainous districts.[2] In conclusion, to leave out of consideration the *vilicus* and *vilica*, for a farm of 240 jugera the minimum equipment is from eleven to thirteen persons; the maximum from thirty to about thirty-five. The average equipment on a non-specialized farm was thus from about eighteen to about twenty-two persons. A small property, then, of about fourteen or fifteen jugera could support a man. With intensive cultivation,[3] and by occasionally hiring himself out to rich neighbours, as we shall see was possible, a small proprietor could obtain a bare existence for himself and family from fourteen or fifteen jugera. The family did not prove a serious burden for they helped to till the fields or were hired to neighbours.[4] In confirmation of these conclusions we have the distinct statement of Marius recorded by Plutarch that fourteen jugera were sufficient to support one (family ?).[5]

In the early Republic war had forced the small proprietor to neglect the cultivation of his petty holding; incursions of enemies had further diminished his crops; while the slack payment of the dues for public land increased the proportion of the war-tax which he was called upon to pay. Compelled by the pinch of hunger to borrow from rich neighbours he soon found himself overwhelmed with debt. In the last centuries of the Republic longer campaigns, which were waged not against Italian neighbours but beyond the limits of Italy, kept the husbandman completely away from his farm. How active Roman warfare actually was may be inferred from the circumstance that one of the qualifications for such military officers as the military tribunate was to have served, in some instances

[1] Col., *R.R.*, II, xii, 7.

[2] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xviii, 6.

[3] Thus C. Furius Cresimus with intensive cultivation obtained so much more ample returns from a small farm than his neighbours from their more extensive ones that he was accused of witch-craft.—Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 41-43.

[4] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvii, 2.

[5] Plut., *Crass.*, II, 8.

five, in others, ten yearly campaigns.[1] These wars destroyed agriculture, ruined the small land-owners, and wasted human life. Moreover, dazzled by the prospect of the spoils of war, petty proprietors became professional soldiers. A military career offered many enticements. In 171 B.C. many voluntarily enrolled, because those who had seen service in the previous Macedonian war and the war against Antiochus returned home rich.[2] The camp is a poor training for other pursuits. Not merely did the monotony of the life of a peasant henceforth prove unattractive to the war-worn veterans, but, often with health broken, they themselves were wholly unsuited, if not unfit, for its labours and duties. It was more exciting to enlist as volunteers or drift to Rome to join the idlers of the metropolis, than to settle down to a life which economic tendencies were rendering unprofitable as well as dull.[3]

To the competition of slave-labour was added the competition of provincial grain. Even the lack of roads made the difficulties attending the supply of the capital with Italian corn enormous. In response to the city's efforts to secure a cheap food supply the stores of Sicily and Sardinia poured into Rome and the ruin of the small land-owner was completed. To counteract this evil new farms were assigned in the domain land. The distribution of the Picentian possessions by Gaius Flaminius in 232 B.C., the colonization of the region between the Apennines and the Po by the establishment in 218 B.C. of Placentia, Cremona,[4] Bononia and Aquileia, in 189-177 B.C. of Potentia, Pisaurum, Mutina, Parma and Luna, the founding of eight maritime colonies in 194 B.C., all offered some relief, but the Gracchan situation is merely the situation of 367 B.C. on a larger scale. Now all Italy was affected.

This was the problem that confronted the Gracchi and the reformers who succeeded them—the recreation of a farming peasantry or the establishment of a class of small farmers in Italy. The Sempronian Law of 133 B.C. enacted that no one

[1]Polyb., VI, v, 19, 1.
[2]Livy, XLIII, xxxii, 6.
[3]Livy, XXVII, xlvi; XXXVII, iv.
[4]Livy, XX.

should occupy more than 500 jugera of the *ager publicus*, with 250 for each son, the total allotment not to exceed 1,000 jugera. The rest of the land was divided into inalienable hereditable leaseholds of thirty jugera.[1] On the death of Tiberius the land-board prosecuted with energy the distribution of the *ager publicus* and as a consequence the number of peasant landholders increased greatly. Caius restored to the board their jurisdiction[2] after it had suffered a temporary eclipse, but the small increase in the roll of citizens would indicate that few allocations of land occurred under Caius,—his remedy was colonization. Shortly after, Thorius abolished the land-board altogether and those who occupied the *ager publicus* paid into the treasury a definite rental. The disappearance of the peasant class continued unabated. Such a misfortune had far-reaching effects; it will be hard to find any compensating circumstances. In some cases, doubtless, the small landowner became the *vilicus* on a great estate; more commonly, however, because he would demand a salary and was liable to military service, he was superseded by the slave.[3] With the small estate disappeared from the soil of Italy the sturdy population. It was only here and there that, in spite of economic conditions, a small proprietor eked out an existence, to furnish to the fancies of a Horace the fascinating picture of a man, who, remote from business, after the manner of the ancient race of mortals cultivated his paternal land with his own oxen.[4]

d. The Abandonment of Agriculture

The growth of large estates and the disappearance of small land-owners meant for Rome the abandonment of agriculture; it meant the beginning of decay. In their early history agriculture had supplied the necessaries of life : for its luxuries they had not yet developed a taste. In the days

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[1]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, ix-xi.
[2]Plut., *C. Gracch.*, V, 1 ; C. I. L., I, 551.
[3]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, vii *et* x.
[4]*Epod.*, II, 1-3.

when faulty tillage fell under the notice of the censor the intense spade-cultivation of a Cincinnatus had given Rome a food supply independent of other countries.[1]

In the last two centuries of the Republic, however, there was a marked decadence. Even in the course of a single life-time farming underwent a great change. For while Cato was still young, agriculture yielded considerable profit; when he was old, it was looked upon as theory and amusement.[2] In a list of great importance this author has arranged according to profit the products of a farm one hundred jugera in extent; vineyard, well-watered garden, willow-plantation,[3] olive-garden, meadow-land, corn-ground, trees for fire-wood, trees for vines, and lastly, acorn groves.[4] It is notable that meadow-land is given the preference to corn-land. Cicero tells the story that when Cato was questioned as to what was the very best way to invest money, he replied,—"In good pasturage." "What next?" "In fairly good pasturage." "What third?" "In poor pasturage." "What fourth?" "In tillage."[5] In Cato's time, therefore, it is more profitable to graze than to produce cereals. And what is to be expected but that land should go out of cultivation? Can we wonder, then, at the desolate aspect of Etruria as seen by Tiberius Gracchus?[6]

By the time of Varro economic tendencies had advanced meadow-land from fifth in order of gains to first![7] Grazing had become the most profitable method of exploiting land. As to vineyards, to which Cato had given preeminence, some even fancied that they cost as much as they produced.[8] In his treatment of the *Res Rustica*, or rural economy, Varro well reflects the economic tendencies of the times. His work

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[1]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 3, 11; 4, 15; Aulugellus, IV, 12.

[2]Plut., *Cato Mai.*, XXV, 1.

[3]Profitable, because the willow was used for basket-making and vines were bound to it (Cato, *R.R.*, VI, 4).

[4]Cato, *R.R.*, I, 7.

[5]Cic., *De Offic.*, II, 25.

[6]Plut., *Tib. Gracch.*, VIII, 7.

[7]Varro, *R.R.*, I, vii, 10.

[8]Varro, *R.R.*, I. viii, 1.

falls into three divisions, in which he treats separately *agricultura*, or tillage, *res pecuaria*, or pasturage, and *villaticae pastiones*, the rearing of animals and poultry.[1] He himself recommends the farmer to combine all three to produce good results.[2] He informs us, nevertheless, that to rear cattle, chickens and doves, would yield a greater profit than to till the fields.[3] Parks, gardens, and fish-ponds were displacing cultivated fields. The rich were fish-breeders; their supreme delight was to have bearded mullets that would feed out of the hand.[4] We must remember that though Varro claims somewhat extravagantly that in his time Italy was the most extensively cultivated land in the world,[5] yet it is Varro, too, who utters the complaint that rural occupations had been abandoned. "Even fathers of families," he protests,[6] "have left the sickle and the plough, and have crept within the city. While they prefer to ply their hands in applause in the theatre and the circus, rather than in handling the crops and the vintage, we let out the contract for provisions from Africa and Sardinia; and our wine we store in ships laden from Cos and Chios."

The decadence of agriculture, did not of course, cease with Horace's plaint, that but few acres were being left for the plough, while on all sides were ponds "greater than the Lucrine Lake," and violet beds and myrtle groves were ousting olive plantations;[7] nor yet with Vergil's prayer that Caesar might rescue a ruined world, "harassed by wars, where the ploughman's meed of honour is departed, the fields are mantled with weeds, for the tillers are off to the war and bent sickles are forged into stiff sword-blades."[8] For in the first century of the Empire Columella protested that owners disdained to till the soil, and Rome had become dependent on the provinces,

[1] Varro, *R.R.*, I, i, 11.
[2] Varro, *R.R.*, II, *Praef.*, 5.
[3] Varro., *R.R.*, III, ii, 10 *et* 13.
[4] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, I, xix, 6; II, 1, 7.
[5] Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 3.
[6] Varro, *R.R.*, II, *Praef.* 3.
[7] Hor., *Carm.*, II, xv, 1-8.
[8] Verg., *Georg.*, I, 505-8.

and was supported by transmarine corn and wine from the Cyclades, Spain and Gaul.[1] Moreover, there were circumstances that helped to perpetuate these conditions. The increasingly unhealthy character of the regions abandoned to pasturage as well as the viciously inadequate system of shares which yielded the *politor* or *partiarius* or cultivator only one-ninth to one-fifth of the produce, operated to prevent a return to tillage.

We may conclude with Varro, "So then, in this land, wherein shepherds, who founded the city of Rome, taught their children the tillage of the fields there, in turn, their descendants in their avarice have despised the laws, have transformed the cultivable land to pasturage. They know not, forsooth, that agriculture and grazing are not identical. For a herdsman is one thing, and a ploughman another."[2]

e. Importation of Corn from the Provinces

To have a cheap food supply was the fixed policy of Rome. The small farmer might be ruined, distributions might prove demoralizing but corn must be cheap—the city proletariate must be kept quiet. While the habits of the Romans were still simple, the products of Italy fully satisfied their needs;[3] but with the acquisition of her first provinces, the payment of tribute in kind offered a temptation to which Rome all too readily succumbed.

As early as the time of the Punic wars, Rome had received large supplies of corn from Etruria, Sicily, Sardinia, Africa and Spain.[4] The allies of inner Sicily were obliged to furnish corn;[5] Hiero sent provisions from Syracuse;[6] and throughout this encounter Sicily served as the granary for Rome.[7] To Cato, Sicily was the storehouse of provisions

[1]Col., *R.R.*, I, *Praef.*, 12 *et* 20.

[2]Varro, *R.R.*, II, *Praef.*, 4.

[3]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 15.

[4]Livy, XXIII, xxxii, 9; xli, 6; XXV, xv, 4; xx, 3; xxii, 5; xxxi, 14; XXVII, iii, 9; XXX, iii, 2; xxiv, 5.

[5]Polyb., *Bell. Pun.*, I, lii, 8.

[6]Polyb., *Bell. Pun.*, I, xvi, 6-7; Livy, XXII, xxxvii, 1.

[7]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 1, 3.

for the Republic, the nurse of the Roman people;[1] while in times of war, it furnished Rome not only with provisions but with hides, tunics and clothes.[2] Pompey collected vast quantities of corn in Sicily, Sardinia and Africa,[3] and when, owing to Rome's dependence on her provincial supply of corn, the pirates threatened her with famine, in this economic crisis Pompey reaped the benefit in Rome's first declaration for monarchy.[4] Of the provinces that supplied Rome with corn, Sicily, Sardinia and Africa were the chief,—"the granaries of the republic," according to Cicero.[5] Recognizing the importance of Sicily and Sardinia as grain-producing islands, Caesar hastened to secure them for himself.[6] Sicily ranked first in importance,[7] then Sardinia, which for levies of corn is generally mentioned with Sicily.[8] All three paid a tenth in kind,[9] but Spain paid a tenth of its small products such as wine and oil, and only a twentieth of its grain.[10] Varro says that in his time corn came from Africa and Sardinia, and wine was brought from Cos and Chios.[11] In addition, individual cities to gain the good-will of the Roman people frequently sent supplies to the capital. Thus Gades gave relief at a time when corn was dear.[12] Rome came to draw supplies from all the provinces bordering on the eastern basin of the Mediterranean.[13] The full result of the growing importations from the provinces is seen in the first century of the Empire. For, as Tacitus complains,[14] Italy subsisted only on the products of a strange soil so that each day the life of the Roman people was at the mercy of waves and storms; and Columella pro-

[1] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 2, 5.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Plut., *Pomp.*, L, 1.
[4] Plut., *Pomp.*, XLIX, 4 ; Livy, CIV ; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, xviii.
[5] Cic., *De Domo sua*, X, 25 ; *Pro Leg. Man.*, XII, 34.
[6] Florus, *Epit.*, II, 13 (iv, 2); Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, 40.
[7] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 19, 48 ; 5, 11.
[8] Livy, XXXVII, 1, 9, 10 ; XLII, xxxi, 8.
[9] Livy, XLI, xvii ; Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 8, 20 ; *Pro Balbo*, xviii. 41.
[10] Livy, XLII, ii, 12.
[11] Varro, *R.R.*, II, *Praef*, 3 ; Livy, XXXVI, iv, 5-9.
[12] Cic., *Pro Balbo*, XVII, 40.
[13] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, IX, ix, 2.
[14] Tac., *Ann.*, III, 54.

tests that only contracts for corn from the transmarine provinces saved Rome from famine.[1] But even as early as 65 B.C. Cicero could declare that Rome was absolutely dependent on her imported supply of grain,[2] and that the real republic was to be found no longer in Rome but rather in the provinces.[3]

Such quantities of corn poured into Rome that the market was glutted and the price exceedingly low. Caesar said that each year Africa could supply 200,000 Attic measures of wheat and 3,000,000 pounds of oil.[4] In 203 B.C. corn from Spain,[5] in 201 B.C. corn from Africa,[6] was distributed at the rate of four asses per modius; and a year later, corn from Africa could be obtained at two asses per modius,[7] while in 196 B.C. a million modii were supplied at the same price.[8] Occasionally so much corn came from Sicily and Sardinia that the merchants received from the sale of the cargo only sufficient to pay the mariners for the mere freight.[9] The fact that Rome was dependent upon transmarine provinces for the food supply caused wide fluctuations in prices. When pirates threatened the corn fleets, Rome was in constant danger of famine. Prices rose, only to fall immediately when corn arrived from the provinces, or the state interfered to protect the transports.[10]

f. The Distribution of Corn

Important in contributing alike to the decay of agriculture in Italy and the demoralization of the inhabitants of the metropolis was the distribution of corn. We have already stated that during the second Punic war vast quantities of corn were handed over to the people of Rome at rates so ex-

[1]Col., *R.R.*, *Praef*, 20.
[2]Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, XII, 33.
[3]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XV, xx, 2.
[4]Plut., *J. Caes.*, LV, 1.
[5]Livy, XXX, xxvi, 6.
[6]Livy, XXXI, iv, 6.
[7]Livy, XXXI, l, 1.
[8]Livy, XXXIII, xlii, 8.
[9]Livy, XXX, xxxviii, 5.
[10]Cic., *Pro Cn. Planc.*, XXVI, 64 ; Plut., *Pomp.*, XXVI, 2.

tremely low that competition on the part of Italian agriculture must have been utterly hopeless. The removal of the small land-owner to the city served only to augment a class unable to purchase their own corn.

We are aware of no organized effort to distribute corn to the people until the time of Caius Gracchus. It was his desire to institute a largess controlled by the state. He was forced, however, to content himself with the Sempronian Law which established monthly sales of corn at six and one-third asses per modius.[1] The persistent effort to introduce legislation to deal with this problem shows how vital to Rome was the question of the distribution of corn. Saturninus in 100 B.C. and M. Livius Drusus in 91 B.C. proposed measures, but the *Lex Appuleia* of the former did not become law,[2] while the *Lex Livia* was never put into practice.[3] M. Octavius' measure to restrict the sale-distributions of corn[4] was followed in 82 B.C. by their abolition by Sulla's *Lex Cornelia*.[5] It is a testimony, however, at once to the growing political power and to the increasing inability of the metropolitan poor to purchase foodstuffs that nine years later, in 73 B.C., the *Lex Terentia Cassia* practically re-enacted, in all probability, the Sempronian Law of Gracchus[6] and made provision that governors of Sicily should attend to Rome's food supply.

For the favour of the metropolitan proletariat, party-leaders in the last half-century of the Republic were willing to bid high. To win the poor was the purpose of the threat of Caesar in 59 B.C. that he would institute gratuitous largesses.[7] A year later the *Lex Clodia* carried out this threat at a cost to the state of one-fifth of its revenues.[8] This, the first *lex frumentaria* which did not provide for selling corn

[1]Livy, *ex Lib.*, LX; Vell. Pater., II, 6, 3; Plut., *C. Gracch*, V, 1; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, xxi.

[2]Cic., *ad Herenn.*, I, 12; *De Legg.*, II, 6, 14.

[3]Livy, *Epit.*, LXX *et* LXXI.

[4]Cic., *De Off.*, II, 21; *Brut.*, LXII, 222.

[5]Sallust, *Hist. Fragm.*, I, 57, 11 (ed. Maurenbrecher).

[6]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 70; v, 21.

[7]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, II, 19.

[8]Ascon., *In Pison.*, §9, ed. Orelli; Cic., *Pro Sest.*, XXV; Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, XXXVIII, 13.

to the people, was largely indiscriminate in its application; but Pompey in 57 B.C. made it even still more so,—he removed from recipients all restrictions.[1]

Thus corn cost Rome much in money,—nearly $1,500,000 a year;[2] its free distribution cost her far more in the deterioration of moral vigour and in economic disability. Multitudes flocked to Rome to share in the largesses. Julius Caesar appreciated this evil and, on the establishment of his power, excluded from the lists of applicants for bounty all who were unable to establish their Roman citizenship; the number of those who could partake of state-corn gratuitously was reduced from 320,000 to 150,000. The latter was fixed as the maximum number of citizens who might participate in the Republic's bounty. He enacted that, when death occasioned vacancies in the number, the *praetor urbanus* should fill the positions by lot.[3] After Julius Caesar's death the number of the recipients of the state's bounty increased. The purchase of corn exhausted the treasury;[4] its distribution sapped the energy of the state. But the people themselves lost both inclination and capacity for serious work.[5] Augustus realized the curse as much as Julius, but distribution was a fixed policy of the Empire.

g. Substitution of Grazing for Arable Land

The positive aspect of the economic movement which resulted in the abandonment of agriculture is the substitution of grazing for arable land. Meadow-land among the Romans was always considered of prime importance in agriculture.[6] We may recall here the remark of Cato, who, on being asked what part of husbandry would quickly lead to wealth, replied "Good grazing;" and when questioned as to what would yield a fairly good income, answered "Moderate Grazing."[7]

[1] Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, XXXIX, 24.
[2] Plut., *J. Caes.*, viii, 4 ; *Cat. Min.*, XXVI, 1.
[3] Suet., *J. Caes.*, XLI, ; Dio. Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, XLIII, 21, 4.
[4] Florus, *Epit.*, III, 13.
[5] Suet., *Octav. Aug.*, XLII.
[6] Col., *R.R.*, II, xvi (xvii).
[7] Col., *R.R.*, VI. *Praef.*, 4 ; Cic., *De Off.*, II, 25, 89.

For this reason he recommends that meadows be laid out as extensively as possible. "To your utmost," he urges, "make well watered meadows if you have water; but if you can procure no water, make as many dry meadows as you can. This style of farm will pay you."[1] In Varro's time, indeed, Scrofa preferred good meadows to vineyards because they entailed little or no expense,[2] while people in general did not recognize the distinction between agriculture and pasturage. Agriculture was coming more and more to mean pasturage.[3] How large the herds may have been in the last century of the Republic would seem to be indicated by the circumstance that under Augustus a freedman Caecilius owned 3,600 yoke of oxen and 257,000 other cattle.[4]

As early as the second Punic war pastures were found in the neighbourhood of Croton.[5] The fields of Rosea were highly esteemed for their rich grasses;[6] in "scorched Calabria" were reared goodly flocks.[7] Reate produced the best and largest asses;[8] Umbria, sheep;[9] while the fleeces of Tarentum's flocks were so valuable that they were covered with skins.[10] By the time of Columella, however, the sheep of Gaul had surpassed those of Calabria, Apulia and Tarentum.[11] Varro himself possessed pastures for sheep in Apulia and for horses in Reate.[12] The various flocks and herds had different pasture lands in winter and summer.[13] "In spring," says Varro, "oxen pasture to best advantage in woods with young branches and heavy foliage; they winter beside the sea; in

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, IX.
[2]Varro, *R.R.*, I, vii, 10.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, *Praef.*, 4.
[4]Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiii, 47.
[5]Livy, XXIV, iii, 4.
[6]Pliny, *N.H.*, xvii, 32.
[7]Hor., *Carm.*, I, xxxi, 5.
[8]Varro, *R.R.*, II, vi, 1.
[9]Varro, *R.R.*, II, ix, 6.
[10]Varro, *R.R.*, II, ii, 18 ; Col., *R.R.*, VII, ii, 3 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, viii, 48, 190; Strabo, *Geog.*, VI, c. 284.
[11]Col., *R.R.*, VII, ii, 3.
[12]Varro, *R.R.*, II, *Praef.*, 6.
[13]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 16.

summer they are taken back to woody mountains.[1] '' Flocks which wintered in Apulia were taken for the summer to Samnium,[2] or even to the mountains of Reate.[3] Mules were driven in summer from the plain of Rosea to the high mountains, Gurgures;[4] while Horace tells us of cattle which changed the Calabrian for the Lucanian pastures before the scorching dog-star came on.[5] Up to the time of the extinction of the *ager publicus* in Italy when flocks were thus driven from one pasturage to another it was necessary under penalty of a fine by the censor to register the flocks with the public officer who collected the *scriptura* or pasture tax.[6] In Sicily, when the slaves revolted, the possessors of the pastures were, for the most part, Roman knights.[7] It is not unlikely that in Italy also it was the knights who held most of the grazing lands.

h. Population

During this period economic forces in Italy were producing two results : the population kept drifting from the country to the metropolis, and the total number of her free citizens in the peninsula was diminishing.

In 405 B.C., we are informed by Livy, the allies refused their quota of soldiers: but in the city and its territory the consuls suddenly raised ten legions of 4,200 infantry and 300 knights, in all 45,000 men—''a conscription,'' declares our author, ''which the same country could not furnish to-day, even should a foreign invasion assail, and that, too, despite Rome's conquest of the world. Luxury and riches have indeed increased, but they have exhausted us.''[8]

As early as 367 B.C., as we have seen, legislation had made it compulsory to employ free labour.[9] During the

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[1]Varro, *R.R.*, II, v, 11.
[2]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 16.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, II, ii, 9.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 16.
[5]Hor., *Epodes*, I, 27, 28.
[6]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 16.
[7]Diod. Sic., *Eclogae*, XXXIV, 11.
[8]Livy, VII, xxv, 8, 9
[9]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, viii.

second Punic war a considerable portion of the rural population fled to the capital from the fields wasted by long war and hostile occupation.[1] Out of the thirty colonies of Rome in 209 B.C. twelve declared their utter inability to contribute soldiers;[2] after the battle at the Metaurus in 206 B.C. the senate caused the consuls to send the labouring population back to the fields.[3] Two years of this struggle were sufficient to entail a loss of 100,000 men.[4] The senate, finally, was reduced to such straits that with the owners' consent it freed 8,000 slaves.[5]

In 187 B.C., envoys of the Latin confederates complained that great numbers of their citizens had moved to Rome. Thereupon the praetor ordered the return to their several states of all that the allies could prove to have been rated by either themselves or their fathers in the census, during, or subsequent to, the censorship of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius. Twelve thousand Latins returned: "so much," observes Livy,[6] "was the city even at that early period burdened by an influx of foreigners." In 177 B.C., again, the Latins complained that their citizens had flocked to Rome. If this were tolerated, they protested, they would be unable to furnish their quota of soldiers.[7] Their fears were not groundless: in the levies of 180 B.C.[8] and 174 B.C.[9] there was much difficulty in completing the legions. It was this visible depopulation of Italy that moved Tiberius Gracchus.[10] Passing through Etruria to Numantia he found the country almost bare, with scarcely a husbandman or shepherd except slaves.[11] The aim of his legislation was to restore

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[1]Livy, XXV, i, 8.
[2]Livy, XXVII, ix, 7.
[3]Livy, XXVIII, xi, 8 *et* 9.
[4]Appian, *De Bell. Hann.*, VII, 25.
[5]Livy, XXII, lvii, 11; Appian, *De Bell. Hann.*, VII, 27.
[6]Livy, XXXIX, iii, 4-6.
[7]Livy, XLI, viii, 7.
[8]Livy, XL, xxxvi, 13 *et* 14.
[9]Livy, XLI, xxi, 5.
[10]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, ix.
[11]Plut., *Tib. Gracch.*, VIII, 7.

a free population.[1] Land, he declared, should be bestowed as a gift on men who would rear children.[2] With the same purpose Caius Gracchus forbade enlistment under the age of seventeen.[3] The closing of the land question by the legislation of 111 B.C. accentuated the decrease in population.[4] It was in reference to this period that Plutarch stated that all Italy was on the verge of seeing itself depopulated of free men, and filled with slaves and barbarians.[5]

Although the property qualifications necessary for admission to the army had already been reduced, owing to the scarcity of men, on the news of Arausio, Marius took the fundamental step of opening the army to all citizens without property qualifications whatever.[6] Sulla recruited the senate, thinned by seditions and wars, by adding three hundred members from the knights; he granted citizenship to ten thousand slaves of proscribed persons; and attempted to distribute population throughout the country by giving land to the twenty-three legions which had served under him.[7] In his distribution of land Julius Caesar favoured those with large families. To check the decrease in population he forbade any person between the ages of twenty and forty years, unless in military service, to remain out of Italy for a period of more than three years. Except in the retinue of a magistrate he did not permit the son of any senator to go abroad.[8] He ordered graziers to have at least one-third of their shepherds free men. To retain those who practised medicine and the arts, to attract others to the city, he presented them with full citizenship. Finally, he drove half of the poor out of Rome.[9] The necessity of Caesar's measures to prevent the diminution of population is evident from the statement, doubtless highly exaggerated

[1]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, xi.
[2]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, xi.
[3]Plut., *C. Gracch.*, V, 1.
[4]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, xxvii.
[5]Plut., *Tib. Gracch.*, VIII, 3.
[6]Sallust, *Bell. Jug.*, 86.
[7]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, c.
[8]Thus, also, Augustus later forbade the senators to leave Italy. Dio. Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, LII, 42, 56 ; LV, 26, 1.
[9]Sueton., *J. Caes.*, XX *et* XLII ; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, x.

but nevertheless founded on fact, that an enumeration of the people after the civil wars of Pompey and Caesar showed a decline of one-half during this struggle.[1] Though the population as a whole thus decreased, the country folk kept drifting to the metropolis.[2]

Life in the country had become a difficult problem for the free man. Luxury was increasing and spreading; the precious metals were pouring in; prices were inflated; on every side the great proprietors were encroaching; and slaves were gradually depriving him and his sons of all chance of eking out a living. What wonder, then, that the eyes of the petty proprietor should turn hopefully to the metropolis with the pleasures of the theatre and the circus, with its cheap food supply and bounteous largesses ?[3] Here was centred the administration of the world; and Latium and the regions near Rome poured not only their best blood but also their degenerate peasantry into the metropolis to serve as clients of ambitious families and to furnish ballast to the contending political parties. Sallust 's picture needs no comment:—"The city populace had become disaffected for various reasons. For into Rome as the sink of the world had poured the leaders in crime and profligacy, with those whose fortunes dissipation had squandered, and, in a word, all whom vice or villainy had driven from their homes. Others had seen the success of Sulla raise common soldiers to senators, and establish individuals in regal luxury and pomp, and by this hope were induced to take up arms. In addition to this, there was the youth, who by manual labour had eked out a scanty existence in the country, and who now was tempted by the prospect of public and private largesses to prefer idleness in the city to unwelcome toil in the fields."[5]

The diminution in Rome's population is contemporaneous with the expansion of Roman power. In a service

[1] Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, cii ; Plut., *J. Caes.*, LV, 3.
[2] Varro, *R.R.*, II, *Praef.*, 3.
[3] Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, cxx ; Diod., XXXVII, 3.
[4] Col., *R.R.*, I, i, 19.
[5] Sallust, *Cat.*, XXXVII.

where none between seventeen and forty-five years could refuse enrolment, wars wrought cruel havoc with human life. The bloody encounters of Trasymenus and Cannae made terrible gaps in the citizen body.[1] It became more and more impossible to enforce enlistment. In the conquest of the provinces and in the civil wars[2] some of her best citizens lost their lives; while proscriptions destroyed many of those that escaped. Her able men poured forth to seek opportunities in the provinces; the provinces in return gave to Rome the dregs of their population.[3]

The congestion of population in Rome and the decrease in the number of her citizens were matters of serious difficulty. Cicero believed that the agrarian law of Flavius had two good features,—the dregs would be drawn from the city and the deserted districts of Italy repopulated.[4] Horace, with true insight, saw that the problem was largely moral.[5] As early as 132 B.C., Q. Metellus had detected a tendency to celibacy, and, to increase the population of the state, urged that every one should be compelled to marry.[6] Augustus found that the unmarried knights outnumbered the married.[7] In a speech delivered at a period when this tendency to celibacy could be more clearly observed, after setting forth the advantages of the excellent spouse and the joys of possessing children, he promises rewards and embellishments to those who become fathers. As for celibates he will not call them men; he must not call them citizens; he dare not call them Romans. It is men that make a city and not houses nor porches nor market-places, bereft of men. It is not right or seemly that the Roman race should cease and their name be blotted out from the earth. "We manumit our slaves," he urges, "for this reason above all, to augment our citizen body to the very fullest; and we share our citizenship among our allies to swell

[1] Livy, XXII, vii, 2 ; xlix, 15.
[2] Lucan, *Phars.*, I, 24-32.
[3] Of a later time Lucan writes in *Phars.*, VII, 404-5.
[4] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, I, 19, 4.
[5] *Carm.*, I, ii, 23-4.
[6] Livy, *ex Lib.*, LIX.
[7] Dio. Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, LVI, 1, 2.

our numbers. But you yourselves, you Romans of the original stock, who tell among your ancestors the Marcii, the Fabii, the Quintii, the Valerii, and the Julii, you desire that together with yourselves the race and name of Rome should perish.''[1] To curb the evil, Augustus put heavy encumbrances upon men and women who were not married; established rewards for marriage and child-bearing ;[2] granted recognition to all parents, and especial distinction to those who had several children. His own wife, Livia, he enrolled among mothers who had brought forth three children.[3] The tendency to celibacy is largely responsible for the decline in the Roman citizen body. Moral and economic causes were inextricably combined.

i. Slavery

The Romans of the earlier period neither possessed nor needed many slaves.[4] Not only was the extent of early slavery very limited, its character was largely innocent. Often close bonds of sympathy held together slave and master, doubtless, at times, even bonds of kinship. In some cases the slave rewarded his master for his kindly treatment by his careful stewardship of his petty estate when state duties enforced the absence of the proprietor.[5] Many Roman citizens suffered an incapacity by reason of debt.[6] Usury placed them in the virtual position of slaves, for the Roman law for debt operated continuously. But the day of slavery for debt practically passed when the horizon of Rome's dominions extended throughout the peninsula and around the Mediterranean. Foreign conquest developed a traffic in slaves. Hitherto they had rarely been bought and sold. With the arrival of foreign slaves the capitalist began to trade in human lives. By the third and second centuries B.C. the slave trade had pervaded the state to such an extent that a tax on manumissions became

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[1]Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, LVI, ii-ix.
[2]Dio. Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, LIV, xvi, 1.
[3]Dio. Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, LV, ii, 5-6.
[4]Val. Max., *Memor.*, IV, iv, 11.
[5]Val. Max., *Memor.*, IV, iv, 6.
[6]Livy, II, xxiii, 6.

a source of income to the treasury.[1] Though Plautus might stigmatize the commerce,[2] Cato the censor engaged in it and realized large profits by training slaves "like young dogs."[3] The system of agriculture which he recommended in his *De Re Rustica* was based wholly on slave labour. The *vilicus*, for instance, was highest in authority and a slave withal. The slave, indeed, was an important and essential feature of the agricultural and industrial economy of the last two centuries of the Republic because, owing to his exemption from military service, he could not be withdrawn from his work.[4] What more convincing evidence, what more startling result of the existence of more slaves within the state could be sought than such dangerous slave conspiracies as those in Latium in 198 B.C.[5] and in Etruria in 196 B.C. ?[6] The shepherd slaves were the most lawless and rendered Lucania so unsafe that in 185 B.C. the praetor, Lucius Postumius, had to be sent against them. Seven thousand were punished and many executed.[7] In the great Servile war of 134-132 B.C. four thousand slaves were executed in Sinuessa alone. The slave recruits of Spartacus in southern Italy even defeated Roman armies,[8] while against the Roman knights Catiline could rouse the slaves in Campania and Picenum, and the shepherds in Apulia.[9] "And what shall we say," asks Florus, "as to the wars with the slaves ? How did they come upon us but from their excessive number ?"[10] Livy bears testimony to the displacement in many districts of the free population by slaves.[11] In fact, the test of a rich family became in the last century of the Republic the number of its slaves;[12] and the

[1]Livy, VII, xvi, 7; manumission was a speculation on the industry of the person freed.
[2]Plaut., *Capt.*, I, 1, 30-1.
[3]Plut., *Cato Mai.*, xxi, 1.
[4]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, vii.
[5]Livy, XXXII, xxvi, 4.
[6]Livy, XXXIII, xxxvi, 1.
[7]Livy, XXXIX, xxix, 8.
[8]Livy, *ex Lib.*, XCV *et* XCVI.
[9]Sallust., *Cat.*, xxvii *et* xxx.
[10]Flor., *Epit.*, III, 12.
[11]Livy, VI, xii, 5.
[12]Hor., *Epod.*, II, 65.

freeman Caecilius, though he lost heavily in the civil wars, could leave behind at his death four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves.[1]

Through the introduction of slaves the tendency to *latifundia* was increased and accelerated. They were cheap, easily obtained and not liable to military service. For since by the law of nations prisoners of war became the slaves of the victors,[2] Rome's conquests soon filled the slave-marts, and her citizens became eager purchasers.[3] The supply was inexhaustible, the demand had its limitations. And Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, consul in 177 B.C., took so many captive in the war against the Sardinians that the market was glutted;[4] while Lucullus obtained a booty so considerable in the Mithradatic war that a slave brought only four drachmae.[5] After the capture of Cartagena in 210 B.C., the general declared two thousand artisans slaves of the Roman people.[6] After the fall of Corinth and Carthage Delos was the chief mart for the slave traffic. When the Cilician pirates—virtual slave dealers—had possession of the Mediterranean, as many as ten thousand slaves are said to have been imported and sold there in a single day.[7] The prisoners made by Rome's successive victories swelled the number while the continuous wars drained her of her free labourers. Her free men decreased; the slaves multiplied and took the free men's places.

Roman slaves were either public or private, that is, belonged either to the state or to an individual.[8] Each Roman household, indeed, generally contained several who performed a variety of duties.[9] A mistress in one of Plautus' comedies cannot tolerate a domestic slave unless she can weave, grind, cut fire-wood, crush grain, sweep the house, take a flogging,

[1] Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIII, 47.

[2] *Inst.*, II, i. 17.

[3] Plaut., *Capt.*, 34; *Epid.*, 44; Livy, XXXIX, xlii, 1; XLI, xi, 8; Caes., *B.G.*, II, 33; III, 16; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, IV, 24.

[4] Sex. Aur. Victor, *De Viris Illustr.—Tib. Semp. Gracch.*

[5] Appian, *De Bell. Mith.*, 78.

[6] Polyb., X, xvii, 9; Livy, XXVI, xlvii, 2.

[7] Strabo, *Geog.*, XIV, p. 668.

[8] Plaut., *Capt.*, 333-4.

[9] Cic., *Pro A. Caec.*, XIX, 55.

and cook the daily food of the household.[1] Among females of this class weaving was a common occupation.[2] Plautus enumerates among the retinue of a courtesan wardrobe-women, bath-attendants, guardians of jewellery, fan-carriers, sandal-bearers, singers, purse-attendants, and messengers.[3] Rich men possessed not only cooks, bakers, and litter-bearers, but scores of musicians and other entertainers to tickle their fancies.[4] Some were smiths, plasterers, or bailiffs.[5] Crassus had about five hundred in his *familia* who were carpenters and masons, and many who could serve as readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards and cooks.[6] The rich used them instead of free men to cultivate their land. Thus, as we have seen, Cato's method of farming was based entirely on such labour. After agriculture began to decline they were employed more extensively and served as labourers and herdsmen on the large estates.[7] In Varro's time most shepherds were not free men,[8] an evil which Caesar tried to check by obliging proprietors to employ at least one-third free labour.[9] A still greater number of slaves was required after the introduction of aviaries, parks and fish-ponds.[10] Slaves often managed the affairs of their masters. That in many instances they were both capable and faithful may be inferred from the testimony of Roman history and Latin literature; we need mention no more than the slave of Regulus, the great Roman commander in Africa, Gripus in the *Rudens*, and Tyndarus in the *Captivi* of Plautus.[11] The chief writers on Roman agri-

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[1]Plaut., *Merc.*, 391.

[2]Plaut., *Merc.*, 512 ; *Menaech.*, 784.

[3]Plaut., *Trinum.*, 251-4.

[4]Cic., *Pro Sex. Rosc.*, XLVI, 133-4.

[5]Cic., *Pro Cn. Planc.*, XXV, 62.

[6]Plut., *Crass.*, II, 4 *et* 6.

[7]Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 17 ; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, vii.

[8]We conclude this from conditions of sale for shepherds (Varro, *R.R.*, II, x, 4-5)..

[9]Suet., *J. Caes.*, XLII.

[10]Varro, *R.R.*, III, iii, 4.

[11]Val. Max., *Memor.*, IV, iv, 6 ; Plaut., *Menaech.*, 947-0 ; *Rudens*, 903-7; *Capt.*, 671-3 ; Cato the censor used to lend money to his slaves to invest in boys. These they trained and sold for him at a great profit. (Plut., *Cato Mai.*, XXI, 7).

culture, Cato, Varro and Columella, are unanimous in their preference of slave to free labour, except where the district is unhealthy, and the operation on hand is too large for the ordinary household to undertake. [1]

The state, too, possessed its public slaves, either captured in war or purchased.[2] At times, to reward private slaves for conspicuous devotion or patriotism, the state purchased them, that is, made them public slaves, and then manumitted them. In this way, freedom was given to the thirty slaves, who in 210 B.C. saved the temple of Vesta from fire,[3] and to the two slaves who exposed the conspiracy of 198 B.C.[4] Again, to fight in the legions was the privilege of the Roman citizen alone. Service in the navy, however, was always distasteful. The latter sphere of activity, therefore, was assigned largely to freedmen and slaves, and such in the Punic war were the rowers and sailors.[5] It was, indeed, only at a time of great extremity, as after Cannae, that public slaves in the army would be tolerated.[6] They were used, nevertheless, as auxiliary employees in war, for Scipio kept for his service two thousand artisans of Cartagena, whom he had declared public slaves.[7] In attendance upon the generals and magistrates were state slaves,[8] such as he who carried the mantle and libation vessels for Cato when he was governor of Sardinia.[9] They were engaged also in the service of the curule aediles[10] and tribunes,[11] as scribes in the *tabularium* of the censors[12] and in the completion of decrees in the senate, with the exception, however, that the senators themselves, to preserve secrecy, wrote the *senatus consultum tacitum*.[13] Public slaves

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[1] Cato, *R.R.*, V. 4 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvii, 2 ; Col., *R.R.*, I, vii, 4-5.
[2] Halkin, *Les Esclaves Publics chez les Romains*.
[3] Livy, XXVI, xxvii, 4 *et* 9.
[4] Livy, XXXII, xxvi, 14.
[5] Livy, XXIV, xi, 7-9 ; XXVI, xxxv, 2-3 ; XXXIV, vi, 13.
[6] Servius, *ad Aen.*, IX, 544 ; Livy, XXII, lvii, 11.
[7] Polyb., X, xvii, 9; Livy, XXVI, xlvii, 2.
[8] Aul. Gell., *Noct. Attic.*, X, iii, 19.
[9] Plut., *Cato Mai.*, VI, 2.
[10] Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 2.
[11] Livy, XXXVIII, li, 2 ; Lydus, *De Mag. Reip. Rom.*, I, 44.
[12] Livy, XLIII, xvi, 13.
[13] J. Capit., *Gord.*, c. 12.

served in religious rites either directly to minister, or indirectly as attendants on priests. The censor, Appius Claudius, in 310 B.C. counselled the Potitii, who presided over the worship of Hercules, to transmit to public slaves the cult of that god.[1] They were placed about the gate and walls to serve in fire-brigades.[2] We cannot doubt that they were used extensively in the construction and repair of temples, roads and sewers. At any rate, we know that the contractors of the aqueducts had to inscribe on official lists under the supervision of magistrates the names of all the slaves employed.[3]

The price of slaves under the Republic cannot be stated precisely. The comedies of Plautus, however, contain references to a considerable number of sales. Thus a young child fetches six minae, a vigorous and full-grown slave twenty minae in the *Captivi*;[4] in the *Poenulus* two small girls and a nurse sell for eighteen minae ;[5] twenty minae is the price of a beautiful slave in the *Pseudolus* ;[6] twenty minae is demanded for a girl in the *Asinaria*.[7] An amusing scene is depicted in the *Mercator*, where keen competition raises the price of a girl slave from twenty to one hundred minae ;[8] while in the *Persa* the purchaser succeeded in reducing the price of a slave from one hundred to sixty minae.[9] Thirty minae in the *Mostellaria*,[10] forty[11] and fifty[12] in the *Epidicus*, and a talent in the *Rudens*,[13] *Aulularia*,[14] and *Captivi*[15] are prices quoted for slaves. Cato the censor never paid more than

[1] Livy, I, vii, 12-4; Dion. of Hal., *R.A.*, I, xl ; Serv., *ad Aen.*, VIII, 179; VIII, 269.

[2] *Dig.*, I, 15, 1.

[3] Front., *De Aqued.*, XCVI.

[4] 352-3 ; 973-4.

[5] 896-9.

[6] 51-2.

[7] 227-8.

[8] 422-435.

[9] 658-665.

[10] 293.

[11] 53.

[12] 347.

[13] 1316-7.

[14] 301-2.

[15] 273.

1,500 drachmae for one.[1] In his time, however, a handsome slave occasionally sold for more than a farm.[2] Julius Caesar paid such extravagant prices for young slaves of ability that he forbade the items to be entered in his accounts.[3] They were always a valuable asset, and even in the provinces formed a considerable portion of the fortune of those who trafficked and lent money at interest.[4]

The slave had no legal rights. He was not a person, "*persona*," but a thing, "*res*," a piece of property, an "*instrumentum vocale*" as opposed to the ox, which is "*semivocale*," or a wagon which is "*mutum*."[5] Thus Cato recommends to sell the old and diseased slave as ruthlessly as the useless ox, the old wagon, or the old iron tool.[6] Profit was Cato's ultimate aim. The children of his slaves, therefore, he caused to be suckled by his wife to inspire within them a fondness for his family.[7] He regulated most carefully the quantity of bread and wine, meat and clothing to be given to the slave-labourers.[8] To the sick, however, the *vilicus* was not allowed to apportion the ordinary quantity of provisions.[9] This system of exploiting the life of the slave gave place, fortunately, to a more enlightened and benevolent philanthropy; and in Varro's time they received much more kindly treatment. We must not suppose, however, that their condition in Cato's time was intolerable, for he himself ate and drank the same coarse victuals as they.[10] But Varro is anxious to have them well cared for. "Slaves ought to be neither timid nor bold," he declared. The character of the overseer caused him some concern. They should be steeped in literature, honest, older than the *operarii*, and should possess a practical knowledge of agriculture. Slaves should be restrained by words rather

[1] Plut., *Cato Mai.*, IV, 4.
[2] Polyb., XXXI, 24,
[3] Suet., *J. Caes.*, xlvii.
[4] Plut., *Cato Mai.*, LXI, 1.
[5] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvii, 1.
[6] Cato, *R.R.*, II, 7.
[7] Plut., *Cato Mai.*, XX, 3.
[8] Cato, *R.R.*, LVI-LIX.
[9] Cato, *R.R.*, II, 4.
[10] Plut., *Cato Mai.*, III, 2.

than by blows. Those in charge should receive rewards, should be allowed to gather a *peculium*, and should be permitted to have wives.[1] This humanitarian tendency continued to the time of Columella, who favoured a certain friendliness of intercourse with the farm slaves.[2] He expected that the master should have some solicitude for those in bondage. "A diligent master," he stated, "should inquire both of the slaves themselves and of the free servants, in whom greater confidence may be reposed, as to whether they receive their full allowance. He himself should taste and prove the quality of their victuals and drink, and should examine their clothes, mittens and shoes."[3] Nothing will better indicate the improvement of their condition than a comparison of the attitudes of the three great Roman rural economists towards the *contubernium* of slaves. Cato permitted cohabitation, but only in return for a money-payment from the *peculium*.[4] Varro, however, recommends marriage as an incentive to faithful service.[5] To Columella the fruit of such intercourse was sufficient motive to encourage it. Relaxation from toil and even liberty should be the reward, he claimed, of the prolific mother.[6]

The position of the slave was materially relieved by the prospect of freedom. The large number of festivals and holy days mitigated his toil. He was often manumitted by his master ; occasionally out of his *peculium*, or private earnings, he even bought his liberty.[7] To prevent manumissions a five per cent. tax was imposed. As early as 356 B.C. the revenue derived from this source was considerable.[8]

The economic result of the great increase in the number of slaves is important. Slave cultivation discredited farming for all free men; slave competition impoverished and crushed

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[1]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvii, 5.
[2]Col., *R.R.*, I, viii, 15.
[3]Col., *R.R.*, I, viii, 18.
[4]Plut., *Cato Mai.*, XXI, 2.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xviii, 5 ; II, x, 6.
[6]Col., *R.R.*, I, viii, 19.
[7]Plaut., *Trinum.*, 566 ; *Poenul.*, 23-4 : 518-20.
[8]Livy, VII, xvi, 7.

out of existence the smaller husbandmen, the sinews of the Roman state.[1] In the mob support given to unscrupulous leaders in the party struggles of the last century of the Republic the slaves were not only a disturbing element but an active force that aided in the disaster of the commonwealth ; Marius and Catiline availed themselves of their assistance to swell their following. Slavery was a festering sore in the state.[2]

j. Increasing Insalubrity

In its train of evils the decline of agriculture brought for Italy increasing insalubrity. In Cato's time a purchaser of a farm is greatly concerned about the healthful character of the district ;[3] with reference to the construction of a new farm-house, he remarks,[4] "The prices above quoted have been adjudged for a healthful district and an upright master. The wages shall be in accordance with a sealed contract. But, where the district is pestilential and operations must be interrupted in the summer, then, when the master is just, let one quarter be added to the price."

As the small estates disappeared, land went out of cultivation with disastrous results to the general health of Italy. When the Romans farmed, Varro believed their health was better.[5] He has much to say about pestilential districts, for "a pestilential soil, however fertile, gives the cultivator no opportunity to enjoy the fruit of his labour. For where mortality is not reckoned on, not only is the product of the farm uncertain, but the life of the husbandman is precarious."[6] Cicero, too, bears witness to the unhealthy character of portions of Italy in his day.[7] The "aria cattiva" was spreading desolation. Stagnant water and mosquitoes were undermining the health of Italy.[8]

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[1]Col., *R.R.*, I, *Praef.*, 3.
[2]Plut., *Sulla*, IX, 7 ; Sallust, *Cat.*, xxiv *et* lvi.
[3]Cato, *R.R.*, I, 2 *et* 3.
[4]Cato, *R.R.*, XIV, 5.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, II, *Praef.*, 2.
[6]Varro., *R.R.*, I, iv, 3.
[7]Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, II, 26-27; 36, 98.
[8]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xi, 2–xii, 4.

§ 2. AGRICULTURE

a. Equipment of Farm

In two very instructive, if tedious, chapters Cato has detailed for us the equipment of two types of estates :— first of an olive farm of 240 jugera ; secondly of a vineyard of 100 jugera. The olive farm required thirteen labourers, one steward, one stewardess, five labourers, three workers with oxen, one ass-driver, one swine-herd, one shepherd ; three yoke of oxen, three pack-asses harnessed to carry out manure, one ass to turn the mill, one hundred sheep ; five equipped jars for olive oil, one brazen kettle holding thirty quadrantes, one kettle-lid, three iron hooks, three water-pots, two funnels, one brazen kettle holding five quadrantes, one kettle-lid, three hooks, one small water-vessel, two oil-vessels, one water urn containing fifty measures, three ladles, one water-bucket, one basin, one pot, one little dish, one pot, one watering-pot, one ladle, one candle-stick, one pint measure ; three big wagons, six ploughs with ploughshares, three yokes fitted with reins, six sets of harness for oxen ; one rake, four wicker receptacles for dung, three baskets of rushes used as bodies of manure-wagons, three domestic utensils, three coverings for asses; iron-work, eight iron forks, eight hoes, four spades, five shovels, two four-teethed rakes, eight hay-scythes, five scythes for cutting straw, five pruning-knives, three axes, three wedges, one hand-mill for corn, two fire-tongs, one fire-shovel, two fire-pans ; one hundred jars for olive oil, twelve vats, ten jars in which to preserve grape-stones, ten jars for the dregs of olive oil, ten wine-pots, twenty corn-jars, one jar for lupines, ten cylindrical jars, one vat for rinsing, one tub, two water-vats, lids separate from jars and vessels, one mill run by an ass, and one hand-mill, one Spanish mill, three traces for mill asses ; one cupboard, two brass rings, two tables, three great benches, one bench in sleeping-room, three low benches, four chairs, two seats, one bed in sleeping-room, four couches stretched with thongs, and three couches, one wooden ball, one fuller's shop, one web for making a toga, two balls, one pestle for beans, one for spelt, one for bruising seeds, one in-

strument to sift nuts, one peck measure, one one-half peck measure, eight pillows, eight coverlets, sixteen cushions, ten coverlids, three napkins, six rag garments for boys.

For the vineyard farm there were sixteen persons required:—one steward, one stewardess, ten labourers, one worker with oxen, one ass-driver, one gardener for willow-trees, one swine-herd. As stock and appliances they had two oxen, two asses for wagons, one ass to turn the mill ; three receptacles ready for the press, eight hundred jars with a capacity of five sacks of grapes, twenty jars in which to store grape-stones, twenty jars in which to place corn, separate lids of jars and covers of receptacles, six urns made of broom, four amphorae made of broom, two funnels, three plaited strainers, three strainers by which to remove the flower, ten must pots ; two wagons, two ploughs, one yoke for the wagon, one yoke for carrying wine-pots, one yoke for asses, one brass ring, one trace ; one brass kettle, containing a sack for holding liquids, one kettle-lid, three iron hooks, one brass kettle for cooking which contains a sack for holding liquids, two water-pots, one watering-pot, one basin, one pot, one basin, one water-bucket, one little dish, one ladle, one candle-stick, one pot, four couches, one bench, two tables, one cupboard, one chest for keeping clothes, one closet for storage, six long benches, one water-wheel, one measure fitted out of iron, one one-half peck measure, one vat for rinsing, one seat, one vat for lupines, ten cylindrical vessels, two trappings for oxen, three trappings spread for asses, three domestic utensils, three baskets for lees, three mills run by asses, one hand-mill, iron work, five pruning hooks for rushes, five hooks for the woods, five hooks for trees, five axes, four wedges,* ploughshares, ten iron forks, six spades, four shovels, two four-teethed rakes, four crates for dung, one wagon-bodied basket for dung, forty pruning hooks for vines, ten torches for butchers' brooms, two braziers, two fire-tongs, one fire-shovel ; twenty baskets made in Ameria ; twenty baskets used in sewing or trays, two vats (*lintres*), four pillows, four coverlets, six cushions,

six coverings, three table-napkins, six piece-garments sewn for boys.[1]

"As for those articles," says Varro, "which can be raised on the farm or manufactured by the servants none of these should be bought. Of such a nature are nearly all those utensils in the manufacture of which you use osiers and other materials at hand in the country ; for example, baskets, broom-baskets, threshing-sledges, winnowing-vanes, hoes ; so too those in the making of which are employed hemp, linen, rushes, palms, bulrushes, as ropes, cords, coverings. But in the case of things which you cannot produce on the farm make your purchases with a view to their usefulness rather than ornament, and then their cost will not eat up their profit. This will be especially the case if you get them where they can be obtained good in quality, close at hand and cheap in price."[2]

Locality was considered an important element in the equipment of a farm. With their means of communication and transit it must have been of paramount concern. "That your farm may not demand an immense equipment," says Cato, "have it situated in a convenient position."[3]

In charge of the farm which the proprietor kept in his own hands, was the *vilicus*, usually of servile condition.[4] Nor will it be without interest to quote at length Cato's statement of the relation of the proprietor to the *vilicus* :—"After the paterfamilias has come to the villa, and performed his devotions to his domestic deity, he ought that same day, if possible, to make a tour of his farm; if not that day, at least the next. When he has considered how his fields should be cultivated, what tasks should be completed, what not, then on the next day he ought to summon the *vilicus*, and inquire what work has been accomplished, what still remains ; whether

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, X *et* XI. It is exceedingly difficult to find words in English adequately to represent the Latin. Several different expressions must be translated by the same English word. Chapters XII, XIII give the equipment of a *torcularium* or press, of a press in use, and of an oil store-room.

[2]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxii, 1, 2.

[3]Cato, *R.R.*, I, 5.

[4]Cic., *In. C. Verr.*, II, iii, 50, 119 ; Hor. *Epist.*, I, xiv, 14, 15.

the work is far enough advanced for the season, whether what still remains can be completed, what has been done about the wine, corn and the other products. When he has ascertained this, he ought to inspect the account of the various workmen, and of the working days. If enough work does not appear completed, the *vilicus* will urge that he has worked faithfully but that the slaves have been sick, there have been violent storms, the slaves have escaped, have been engaged in some public work. When he has offered these and many other excuses, recall the *vilicus* to an examination of the account of tasks performed, and of the work of the workmen. When there have been storms, consider the work that could have been performed while it rained ; jars ought to have been washed and pitched, the villa cleaned, corn carried away, dung removed, dung-hills made, seed cleaned, old ropes repaired, new ones made, and the slaves ought to have patched together their rag-garments and caps for themselves. On holy days old trenches could have been cleaned, the highway paved, the brambles cut, the garden dug, the meadow cleared, twigs bound, thorns rooted up, the spelt pounded, everything put in order. When the slaves have been sick, the ordinary supply of provisions ought not to have been given them. When he is quite satisfied with his examination, he should give orders for the completion of the work that remains. He should then inspect the accounts of the *vilicus*, money-account and provision-account, the supply of food prepared, the wine-account, the oil-account, what has been sold, what used, what remains, what of this is for sale. Let there be good security for what is owing. As to what remains, he should see that it tallies. He should buy what is wanting for the year, have the surpluses sold, let out the necessary contracts. He should give orders concerning the works he would have completed, and the things he is inclined to let, and leave his order in writing. He should carefully inspect his flocks, make his sales, sell the superfluous oil, wine and corn, if they are giving a good price, sell the old oxen, the refuse of the cattle and sheep, wool, hides, the old carts, old iron tools, and old and diseased slaves. Whatever is superfluous he

ought to sell : A FARMER SHOULD SELL, NOT BUY.''[1] The function of the *vilicus* is merely to execute the will of his master.

''The *vilicus*,'' says Columella, ''may attend to his business very well though illiterate, provided he has a good memory. Cornelius Celsus says that such a *vilicus* will bring to his master money more often than his book ; because through his ignorance of letters, he is less able to fabricate his accounts, and fears to trust another through suspicion of trickery.''[2]

Of the duties of the *vilicus*, Cato has given us a succinct account,—''He should maintain good discipline, attend to the observance of holy days, keep his hands off the property of others, faithfully protect his own, preside over disputes among the slaves, punish with discretion those guilty of a delinquency, provide against ill befalling the household, against sickness, against hunger. If he keeps the slaves busy with work, it will be easier for him to keep them out of mischief and out of other peoples' affairs. If the *vilicus* be averse to wrong-doing, he will not be guilty of it. If he has tolerated evil, the master must see that he is punished for it. He should reward good conduct, that others may be willing to give good service. The *vilicus* must be no ''gad-about,'' always be sober, never go out to dine, must keep the household busy, and attend to the execution of his master's orders. He must not fancy that he knows more than his master, must hold as friends to himself the friends of his master, must give heed to commands. He must perform no sacred rites except in the case of the *Compitalia* at the cross-roads or on the hearth. He must extend loans to none without his master's orders, and must exact payment from his master's debtors. He must lend no one seed for sowing or provisions or spelt or wine or oil. Let him have two or three households from which he may borrow, or to whom he may lend articles—let this be the limit. He must often reckon his accounts with his master. He must not use the same labourer, hired servant, or culti-

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, II.
[2]Col., *R.R.*, I, viii, 4.

vator longer than a day. He must not desire to sell anything without his master's knowledge, or to conceal anything from his master. He must keep no sluggard about him, he must consult no soothsayer, fortune-teller, or astrologer. He must not cheat about the crop—for that is not auspicious. He must make sure that he knows how to perform all the rural tasks, and apply himself to them with frequency, provided he does not become fatigued. If he engages in work he will know the feeling of the household, and they will be more contented to work. If he does this he will have less inclination to rove about, will be in better health, and will sleep more readily. He must be first to rise from sleeping, the last to retire. Before retiring he should see that the villa is closed, that each member of the household is sleeping in his proper place, and that the yoke animals have fodder.''[1] Notwithstanding this lofty and impossible ideal Cato sums up well what must have been the real duties of the *vilicus*. ''The precepts of his master as to the duties to be performed on the farm, the purchases to be made, the provisions to be secured, how food supplies and garments ought to be assigned to the household,—these I advise that he attend to, and perform ; and in all things be obedient to the command of his master.''[2] Columella is more practical however : ''One who will become a *vilicus* ought to be trained as well as if he were going to be a potter or a smith.''[3]

The *vilicus* was in charge of the farm, of the tillage. Over the pasturage was the *magister pecoris*.[4] The standard set for his efficiency was by no means low. Varro urges that he should have a knowledge of medicine or have recipes written down.[5] Columella suggests that he should be active, hardy, strenuous, capable of enduring toil, swift and daring, able to run easily over rocks, deserts and through brambles, for the most part to precede his herd, not, as shepherds of another stamp, to follow.[6]

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, V, 1-5.
[2]Cato, *R.R.*, CXLII.
[3]Col., *R.R.*, XI, 1, 9.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 13, 14.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, II, x, 10.
[6]Col., *R.R.*, VII, 6, 9.

When the *vilicus* was given a *vilica* Cato says, "If your master has assigned her to you as wife, be content with her. Make her respect you. She must not be over-extravagant. She should associate with her neighbours and other women as little as possible, nor should she welcome them to her house and to her companionship. She must never go out to dine, nor "gad about." She must not take part in sacred rites, or order any one to perform them in her behalf, unless her master and mistress bid it. She must understand that the master officiates for the whole household. She must be clean, and keep the house trim and neat. She must have her hearth clean and attended to each day, before she retires to sleep. On the Kalends, Ides, Nones, whenever there is a holy day, she must put a crown on the hearth, and, on the same days, pray to her domestic deity as he hath prospered her. She must see to it that she has food cooked for you and the household, and that she has many hens and eggs. She should have dried pears, sorb-apples, figs, dried clusters of grapes, sorb-apples in must, and pears, and clusters of grapes in jars, and sparrow-apples, clusters buried in the earth in grape-stones and in pitchers, and newly gathered nuts of Praeneste, buried in the earth in a pitcher. She must have, each year, carefully preserved Scantian apples, and the others which usually are preserved, and wild apples. She must know how to make good meal and fine grits."[1]

Good buildings on the farm, were, of course, an essential feature.[2] Accordingly the construction was not to be undertaken rashly. It was to be deferred until the whole farm was under cultivation ; until the proprietor was thirty-six years of age. "It will be in your interest," says Cato, "to have your rural villa well built, with store-rooms for oil and wine, that you may be disposed to wait for high prices.[3] "Villa" was the general term comprehending all farm buildings. Cato urges that the villa be adapted to the size of the farm : "Build that the villa may not want a farm, nor the

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, CXLIII.
[2]Cato, *R.R.*, I, 4.
[3]Cato, *R.R.*, III, 1, 2.

farm a villa.''[1] In the same spirit Varro informs us that many erred in not attending to the size of their farm, that some made their villas smaller, others larger than their farm would warrant, and thereby impaired their own interests and decreased the gain from their broad acres.[2] And Columella furnished L. Lucullus and Q. Scaevola as concrete examples of these contrasted errors.[3]

For the details of the situation of the villa we are indebted to Varro and Columella. Varro would place it as near a fresh spring of water as possible, at the foot of a well wooded mountain exposed to the most healthful winds, to catch the shade in summer, the sun in winter. He would not have it fronting a river or near a marsh, for there are generated small insects, which, entering the body by the mouth and nostrils, occasion disease.[4] ''Nor should a villa,'' according to Columella, "be situated near a marsh, or by a military road; for the heats exhale from the marsh a noxious vapour and bring to life insects armed with stings, which fly against us in the thickest swarms ; from it, likewise, come forth as plagues water-snakes and serpents, deprived of their winter pools ; these, envenomed with mud and putrified filth, often occasion secret diseases, the cause of which physicians are unable to determine. Besides these, through the whole year there is a kind of scurf and moisture which corrodes the rustic implements, rots the household furniture, and spoils the fruits of the earth both before and after they are stored away. A highway, likewise, is disadvantageous both on account of the ravages of travellers, and the continual visits of those who are on jaunts of pleasure. To avoid all such inconveniences a villa, in my opinion, ought to be situated neither on a highway nor in a pestilential district, but in a place retired and open, facing the east ; for this position equally leaves the villa open to the summer and protects it from the winter winds.''[5]

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, III, 1.

[2]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xi, 1.

[3]Col., *R.R.*, I, iv, 6.

[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xi, 2—xii, 4. The Romans at widely separated periods appear to understand or suspect the cause of malaria.

[5]Col., *R.R.*, I, v, 1-8.

The villa was divided into three sections : (1) *villa urbana ;* (2) *villa rustica ;* (3) *villa fructuaria.* The *villa urbana* was reserved for the proprietor, and contained bedchambers, baths, courts, and walks suited to the various seasons of the year. The *villa rustica* contained the *culina* or kitchen : the *cellae,* or chambers for slaves who were not bound : the *ergastulum* for the fettered slaves : the *stabula,* or stables of various kinds, including the *bubilia* for oxen ; and doubtless also, though Columella does not mention them in this connection, *ovilia* for sheep ; *equilia* for horses ; *suilia* for pigs ; and *harae* for fowl. The *villa fructuaria* contained the *cella olearia,* or oil store-room ; *cella torcularia,* store-room for the press; *cella vinaria,* wine cellar; *cella defrutaria,* must store-room ; *foenilia,* hay-lofts ; *palearea,* chaff-lofts ; *apothecae,* repositories for fruit;[1] *horrea,* barns ; *granaria,* granaries.[1] On coming to a villa the prospective proprietor is instructed by Cato to observe whether there is a good supply of vessels for the press, and jars. "Where there is not," says he, "know that the produce of the farm is proportionately small."[2] For one hundred and twenty jugera of olive garden he reckons that there ought to be two hundred and forty vessels if the olive garden is of good quality and has been frequently cultivated with care.[3] Moreover, fifty-five feet of rope should always be on hand for the press.[4] In chapters XII and XIII of his treatise Cato has stated with considerable detail the various articles which are useful for the press, for a press in use and for an oil store-room.

The various granaries which we have mentioned are of different types. Varro with the instincts of an antiquarian has classified them. One was well aired and elevated, open to the east and north, with walls coated with mud not only to drive away mice and insects but also to harden the grain. Another, like that of the Cappadocians and Thracians, was an underground trench. Still another, as among the people of

[1] Col., *R.R.,* I, vi, 1-10.
[2] Cato, *R.R.,* I, 5.
[3] Cato, *R.R.,* III, 5.
[4] Cato, *R.R.,* LXIII.

Hither Spain, Carthage and Osca, was a pit ; and in these wheat could be preserved for fifty, millet for more than one hundred years. Others, again, used vases for storing away the legumens.[1] In addition to the above equipment no villa was complete without its *pistrinum*, or mill, its *furnus*, or oven, its *piscina*, or pond, and its two *sterquilinia*, or manure-pits.[2] Not less essential to the villa were the *area*, or threshing-floor, and the *nubilarium*, or covered place adjoining it. The *area* was situated on high ground, with all sides exposed to the wind, round in shape, and elevated in the middle. Sometimes it was paved with flint but generally it was laid with clay, well beaten and smoothed with a great roller. It was usual to sprinkle it with *amurca*, or lees, to prevent the growth of weeds and to exterminate ants and mice. Pliny would have it bedaubed with thin cow-dung.[3] The *nubilarium* had a capacity adequate for the crop of the whole farm and was open on the side of the *area*, that the corn might be thrown back quickly when rain threatened. To expose the grain to the wind, windows were placed on all sides.[4]

In the preceding sketch we have placed the *vilicus* and *vilica* in charge of the farm. It is true that they did preside over the farm, and yet our treatment of the subject has been in part a concession to modern ideas. In Roman economics they with the other slaves must be classed not as persons but as things under the class of "*instrumenta*." Says Varro,—"Some have made a three-fold classification of the instruments of husbandry : *genus vocale*, those that have speech ; *genus semi-vocale*, those that have a quasi-speech or are semi-vocal ; and *genus mutum*, the mute or silent. Those that have speech include the slaves ; those that are semi-vocal, the oxen ; those that are silent, the wagons. In the cultivation of land are employed either slaves or free men or both ; free men when the fields are tilled by the proprietors themselves—as most small proprietors with their families, or,

[1]Varro, *R.R.*, I, lvii, 1—lviii, 1.

[2]Col., *R.R.*, I, vi, 21.

[3]Cato, *R.R.*, XCI ; CXXIX; Varro, *R.R.*, I, li ; Col., *R.R.*, I, vi, 23; II, xix ; Verg., *Georg.*, I, 178-186 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 29, 71, 295.

[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xiii, 5; Col., *R.R.*, I, vi, 24.

in case of hired help, when proprietors pay men wages to perform the heavier tasks of husbandry—as the vintage and the hay-harvest. There is also the case of those called *obaerarii* who are debtors working off their debt. Of this type a number even now are found in Asia, Egypt and Illyricum. Of all of these this statement is true,—it pays in the cultivation of the more difficult sections to hire free men rather than to employ slaves, and in the healthy districts, as well, for the heavier tasks of husbandry like the vintage and the harvest.''[1] The slaves who were either *soluti* or *vincti*, that is, at large or fettered, included *bubulci*, ox-herds; *subulci*, swine-herds; *asinarii*, ass-drivers; *armentarii*, neatherds; *opiliones*, shepherds; *caprarii*, goat-herds; *vinitores*, vine-dressers; *salictarii*, willow-trimmers; *operarii*, ordinary labourers.[2]

Cato has furnished us some detailed information as to the food for the household,—''Those who work are to have four *modii* of wheat through the winter, four and one-half through the summer. The *vilicus*, *vilica*, superintendent and shepherd are to receive three *modii*. Let the supply for the fettered slaves be four pounds of bread through the winter; five pounds when they have begun to dig the vineyard—and up to the time of figs; then let the supply be reduced to four pounds.''[3] He apportions the wine also: ''After the vintage for three months let them drink the thin wine of the skins of the grapes; in the fourth, one-half *sextarius* per day, that is, two and one-half *congii* in a month; in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth months, one *sextarius* each day, or five *congii* in a month; in the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth months three *heminae* or an *amphora* each month. In addition at the *Saturnalia* and *Compitalia* let each individual receive a *congius*. The total amount of wine in a year is eight *quadrantes* for each individual. Let the shackled slave receive additional wine proportioned to the work ac-

[1]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvii, 1-2.

[2]Cato, *R.R.*, X, 1; XI, 1; Varro, *R.R.*, II, iii, 10; v, 18; Col., *R.R.*, I, vii, 1; ix, 2; Cic., *De fin.*, V, 14, 40.

[3]Cato, *R.R.*, LVI.

complished ; it would not be too much for them to drink ten *quadrantes* each year.''[1] Meat and drink provided, he adds a relish, *pulmentarium* : ''Store up as many fallen olives as you can ; afterwards the ripe olives from which you can make very little oil, but be sparing with them that they may last as long as possible. When the olives are eaten, give them fish-pickle and sour wine. Give each individual one *sextarius* of olive oil per month. In a year to give each individual a peck of salt is sufficient.''[2]

The clothing for the household was one tunic, three and one-half feet in length, coarse mantles on alternate years. ''As often,'' says Cato, ''as you give each a tunic or a mantle, first take the old one to make out of it rag-garments. You must give them good wooden shoes on alternate years.''[3]

The *genus semi-vocale* included the ox, the ass, the sheep, the goat and the pig. Nearly all the heavy work of the farm was performed with oxen. At an early age a large number were set apart for this purpose and trained regularly. Vergil would have the farmer divide his calves into three classes : those intended to form a portion of the herd ; those reserved for sacrifice ; those destined for agricultural labours.[4] The ox was very highly esteemed among the Romans ; in the early times it was considered a capital offence to slay him. Cato informs us that nothing is of greater importance in husbandry than to take good care of oxen ; that they should never be fed on pasture alone except in the winter when there is no ploughing.[5] ''Have the oxen tended with the greatest care,'' he advises. ''Humour the ploughmen somewhat that they may be more ready to care for the oxen.''[6]

Cato believed that one yoke of oxen was required for 80 jugera ; Saserna, for 100 jugera ; Varro thought that neither proportion was suitable for all land, while both might suit particular cases. For 240 jugera of olive orchard

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, LVII.
[2]Cato, *R.R.*, LVIII.
[3]Cato, *R.R.*, LIX.
[4]Verg., *Georg.*, III, 157-162.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, II, v, 4 ; Col., *R.R.*, VI, *Praef.*, 7 ; Cato, *R.R.*, LIV, 3.
[6]Cato, *R.R.*, V. 6, LXXI, LXXII, CII.

Cato assigned three yoke of oxen and three ploughmen ; for 100 jugera of vineyard, one yoke and one ploughman.[1] Not the heavy oxen but cows and asses were used where the soil was light as in Campania.[2] Where green foliage could be obtained as fodder for oxen, Columella tells us that it was to be preferred to any thing else. It could be procured only in wet districts ; in dry regions the best feed was vetches, *cicercula*, and meadow-hay. Other provender was *palea* or straw, of which millet was the best. Besides, there were employed barley, wheat, *ervum* or pulse, grape-stones and leaves,—of which the elm, the ash and the poplar far surpassed the holm, the oak and the laurel.[3] "That the oxen," says Cato, "may be in good health and well looked after, and that those disinclined to eat may be more eager for their fodder, sprinkle it with lees ; at first, until they become accustomed to it, only in small quantities ; then, more and more; occasionally, by mixing it with water in equal parts, making it into a drink. If you do this every four or five days, the oxen will be in better condition and free from disease."[4] He considered a year's provision for a single yoke of oxen to be 120 pecks of lupines, or 240 pecks of acorns, 521 pounds of hay, 20 pecks of clover and of beans, 30 pecks of vetches.[5]

Asses also were employed in agriculture. They were used for ploughing light soil like that of Campania,[6] and for turning mills ; but they served principally as pack animals to convey oil, wine or corn to market or to the coast. *Aselli dossuarii* carried these products from Brundisium and Apulia down to the sea-coast. Merchants, accordingly, often possessed large herds of them.[7] The best and largest were reared at Reate.[8] Varro with his bookish love of details tells of a

[1]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xix, 1 ; Cato, *R.R.*, X, 1 ; XI, 1.
[2]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xx, 4.
[3]Col., *R.R.*, VI, iii, 2-6.
[4]Cato, *R.R.*, CIII.
[5]Cato, *R.R.*, LX.
[6]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xx, 4.
[7]Varro, *R.R.*, II, vi, 5 ; Col., *R.R.*, VII, 1, 3 ; Verg., *Georg.*, I, 273-5.
[8]Varro, *R.R.*, II, vi, 1 *et* 2.

single ass that brought 60,000 sesterces, and a team for a *quadriga* which cost at Rome 400,000 sesterces ;[1] elsewhere he mentions another which sold for 40,000.[2] Horses were not used extensively. They were given the most careful attention. They were not worked until three years of age ; when covered with sweat, they were rubbed with oil ; when it was cold, fires were lit in the stables. For the most part they were fed on barley.[3] Both sheep and goats were found on the farm. Vergil declares, "The profit from goats will not be less than from sheep, no matter how great the price you are paid for Milesian fleeces steeped in Tyrian crimson. For the goat produces a more numerous herd and a wealth of abundant milk. The beards and bristles of the Cinyphian he-goat are used for the service of the camp and for the sail-cloth of hapless sea-farers."[4]

Besides the slaves and the inferior animals there was the class of *instrumenta* known as *genus mutum*, the tools. We have given a complete list of these in Cato's enumeration of the articles essential to the equipment of a farm. The principal are—first, those worked by beasts of draught : *aratrum* (plough), *irpex* (harrow), *crates* (hurdle-drag), *plaustrum* (wagon), *tribulum* or *traha* (threshing-sledge) ; secondly, those worked by hand : *rastri* (mattocks), *bidens* (heavy hoe), *ligo* (hoe), *pala* (spade), *sarculum* (light hoe), *marra* (weeding-hook), *dolabra* (pick-axe), *securis* (axe), *falx* (sickle).[5]

Cato mentions two kinds of ploughs,—the first, *Romanicum*, for stiff soil ; the second, *Campanicum*, for light soil.[6] It was considered a matter of the highest importance to have good ploughs and shares.[7] The *irpex* was a plank with several teeth, drawn by oxen as a wagon, to pull roots out of the earth.[8] The *crates* was dragged over the earth to crush

[1] Varro, *R.R.*, II, 1, 14.
[2] Varro, *R.R.*, III, ii, 7 ; II, viii, 3.
[3] Varro, *R.R.*, II, vii, 13-14.
[4] Verg., *Georg.*, III, 306-13.
[5] Verg., *Georg.*, I, 160-175.
[6] Cato, *R.R.*, CXXXV, 2.
[7] Cato, *R.R.*, V. 6.
[8] Varro, *De ling. lat.*, V. 136.

the clods.[1] Cato demands a complete equipment of wagons : "You ought to have as many wagons as you have yokes of oxen, or mules or asses."[2] The *bidens* was a kind of hoe furnished with two hooked iron teeth for breaking clods.[3] The *ligo* was a spade used for digging up the soil.[4]

An essential feature of the farm—especially for the apple and olive orchards,—was a nursery twig plot, turned under with a mattock, cleared of stones, hedged around, and planted in rows.[5] Columella demands, moreover, at least two fish-ponds and two manure-pits.[6]

Enclosures or fences Varro, with his desire to catalogue, divides into four kinds,—one raised by nature by planting briars or thorns; the second made of the timber of the country, constructed by fixing stakes near each other, and weaving them with twigs, or by inserting poles into holes bored into stakes ; the third, the military fence, a ditch and earthen dike, commonly made along highways and rivers ; the fourth, a wall of masonry, the best, as it was made of stone or of bricks, burned or unburned, or of earth and gravel compounded.[7]

b. Cultivation

The Romans appreciated the benefits of a diligent cultivation. "Jove did not wish the tillage of the soil to be easy,"[8] declares Vergil ; "except thou wilt harass the soil, then, with ceaseless mattock, all in vain wilt thou eye the garnered pile of another."[9] The Roman precept, "Praise great estates, farm a small one,"[10] and the maxim, "A small farm cultivated is more fruitful than a large one neglected,"[11] are in

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[1]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 94–5 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 18 (48), 173.
[2]Cato, *R.R.*, LXII.
[3]Verg., *Georg.*, II, 399.
[4]Hor., *Carm.*, III, vi, 38-9.
[5]Cato, *R.R.*, XLVI, 1 ; XLVIII, 1.
[6]Col., *R.R.*, I, vi, 21.
[7]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xiv.
[8]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 121-2.
[9]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 155-8.
[10]Verg., *Georg.*, II, 412-3.
[11]Pallad., *R.R.*, I, vi, 8.

harmony with Varro's injunction to work the land at least twice, if not thrice.[1] Columella by the story of the daughters and vineyard of Paridius Veterensis,[2] and Pliny by his description of the diligent tillage of C. Furius Cresimus[3] sought to emphasize the advantage of intensive cultivation. That the expense of labour, however, might exceed the profit, the Romans recognized—hence their proverb, that nothing pays less than to cultivate too much,[4]—hence, also, Pliny's dictum "Good cultivation is necessary ; inordinate cultivation, ruinous."[5] In any case, the cumbrous character of Roman instruments of husbandry must have rendered their usage unduly laborious. The toil varied with the crop,—the olive was easily worked ; the vineyard entailed much labour.[6]

The small properties of early Rome, probably, were not ploughed but cultivated with the spade. To enable the petty holdings of that period to support a yoke of oxen, we must assume that there were large pastures adjoining the small properties. The existence, moreover, at the time of the conversions of fines into money-payments, of the fine of five sheep for the poor and thirty oxen for the rich would suggest that, originally, the small proprietor had no oxen, that his cultivation was spade tillage. We cannot state exactly how much land a man with a yoke of oxen could cultivate in a year. Pliny's estimate is for light soils forty ; for heavy, thirty jugera ;[7] while after careful calculation Columella concludes that a farm of two hundred jugera, if free of trees, will require two yoke of oxen, two ploughmen, and six common labourers. If there are trees, Saserna demands three additional workers.[8]

Land that was not fertile the Romans ridged in shallow furrows.[9] Vergil recommends that growing corn be watered when the ground is dry, and be used as pasture when the

[1]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxvii, 2.
[2]Col., *R.R.*, IV, iii, 5, 6.
[3]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 41-43.
[4]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 6, 37.
[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 6, 38.
[6]Verg., *Georg.*, II, 420.
[7]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 18, 173.
[8]Col., *R.R.*, II, xii, 7.
[9]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 67-8.

growth is too luxuriant.[1] Free soil was considered the best for vines ;[2] for corn, soil that was stiff, or black and crumbling.[3] But in cultivation acquaintance with local climatic conditions was deemed as essential as knowledge of the character of the soil and of the crops it would best bear.[4]

To destroy weeds two methods were employed : first, weeding (*runcatio*), where they are either pulled by the hand or cut with a hook ; second, hoeing (*sarculatio* or *sarritio*).[5] To delay evaporation in dry and sunny regions, the surface was stirred, and the soil heaped up around to cover the plants ; in cold or wet soils the surface was merely stirred.[6] Cato recommends hoeing the corn twice ;[7] Varro informs us that the operation was performed twice, and sometimes thrice.[8]

In the time of Cato the husbandman who farmed his own estate was known as a "*colonus.*" "It is better," he says, "to purchase from a proprietor, a good *colonus.*"[9] Often, however, the proprietor, though keeping the farm in his own hands, carried on the farming operations through a slave overseer, a *vilicus*.[10] Another system in vogue in the time of Cato is cultivation by the *politor* or *partiarius*, who entered into a sort of partnership with the proprietor and received a share of the produce of the farm. Cato gives the terms upon which land should be let to a *politor :* "In the district of Casinum and Venafrum where the soil is good, the *politor* will receive the eighth basket ; where the soil is moderately fertile, the seventh ; in a third-rate soil, the sixth ; if the grain is divided in a measure, the fifth. In the very best soil about Venafrum, when the produce is divided by the basket he receives only the ninth. If the proprietor and the *politor* thresh in common, the proprietor receives an allow-

[1]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 104-13.
[2]Verg., *Georg.*, II, 228-9.
[3]Verg., *Georg.*, II, 203-5.
[4]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 50-3.
[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 21, 184 *et* 185.
[6]Col., *R.R.*, II, xi, 2.
[7]Cato, *R.R.*, XXXVII, 5.
[8]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xix, 8.
[9]Cato, *R.R.*, I, 4.
[10]Cato, *R.R.*, II, 1.

ance for the use of his mill. In the case of barley and beans, divided by measure, the *politor* receives a fifth.''[1] The proportion of the produce which the *politor* received was always small. As the number of slaves engaged in rural occupations increased, the *politor* disappeared. Though the proprietor furnished fodder to the animals, and, doubtless, the stock and implements essential to cultivation,[2] the share of the *politor*, one-ninth, or at most one-fifth, was too inadequate to call forth the best activity of a husbandman. By the time of Columella, the *coloni* were no longer free-holders ; they paid rent for their farms.[3] Columella thought that, with a healthful climate and a good soil, a proprietor received better returns from a farm under his personal management than from one let out to a *colonus*, or managed through a *vilicus* or overseer. It was more profitable, on the other hand, to have distant farms, especially corn farms, under free *coloni* than under *vilici*. ''If the landlord cannot be on the spot,'' he says, ''a farm of this kind ought to be let.''[4] When the farm is worked by the *vilicus*, he lays stress upon the presence of the master : unless this is constant, ''all things come to a standstill.''[5] It was his opinion that the frequent letting of a farm was an evil only surpassed when the farm was rented to an individual who lived in town and did not himself take part in the cultivation of the land.[6]

Four considerations, according to Varro, were of the utmost importance to cultivation : first, whether the neighbouring country was quiet or not; second, whether the vicinity afforded markets for products, and facilities for securing supplies ; third, whether roads and rivers to foster exportation and importation were at hand and in what condition ; fourth, whether anything in adjoining properties was detrimental or beneficial to the land.[7] Varro thinks the situation

[1] Cato, *R.R.*, CXXXVI.
[2] Cato, *R.R.*, CXXXVII.
[3] Col., *R.R.*, I, vii, 1 et 4.
[4] Col., *R.R.*, I, vii, 5-7.
[5] Col., *R.R.*, I, i, 18.
[6] Col., *R.R.*, I, vii, 3.
[7] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvi, 1.

of the farm of the greatest consequence. A farmer on the edge of a town would find it profitable to raise garden-stuffs, to have beds of violets and roses. These, however, do not prove profitable at a distance. Moreover a farm close to town secures an advantage in the abundant supply of doctors, fullers and smiths.[1]

c. Ploughing

The design of ploughing, according to Vergil, was to render the soil loose and crumbling.[2] With the Romans, then, ploughing occupied a very prominent place among the rural occupations. Says Cato, "What is it to till a farm well? To plough it well. What next? To plough it indifferently. What third? To manure it."[3] This passage Pliny quotes with approval;[4] elsewhere he urges the husbandman "to sow less and plough better."[5]

The Romans generally ploughed with oxen, usually a pair but occasionally three yoked together.[6] They were usually yoked by the neck, but Columella, by his strong condemnation of those who yoked by the horns, indicates the existence of that practice.[7] Between the ages of three and four years they were broken for ploughing and their owners were careful to have them strong and well matched.[8] The amount of land a yoke could plough in one day was called a *jugum* or *jugerum*.[9] This was in heavy soil, for in light, as in Campania, not oxen, but cows and asses were employed.[10] Ploughs also varied in character with the soil: one species was furnished with an iron coulter before the share; another was simply a lever provided with a pointed beak; a third used only in light, easy soils was without an edge projecting from

[1] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvi, 3-4.
[2] Verg., *Georg.*, II, 204.
[3] Cato, *R.R.*, LXI, 1.
[4] *N.H.*, XVIII, 19, 174.
[5] *N.H.*, XVIII, 6, 35.
[6] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 18, 173; Col., *R.R.*, VI., ii, 10.
[7] Col., *R.R.*, II, ii, 22-23; Pall., *R.R.*, II, iii, 1.
[8] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xx, 1.
[9] Varro, *R.R.*, I, x, 1; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 3, 9.
[10] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xx, 4.

the share-beam throughout, and had only a small point at the extremity ; in a fourth type this point was larger and fashioned with a sharp edge which, cleaving the ground, served to cut the weeds at the roots.[1] At the first ploughing the usual depth of the furrow was nine inches. It was considered a fair day's work to plough to this depth one jugerum of light soil for the first time ; and for the second, one and a half. In a stiff soil it required a day to turn up half a jugerum for the first ploughing and a jugerum for the second.[2] The common length of the furrow made without turning was 120 feet, called *actus*.[3]

To plough a field four times was considered good husbandry. "The field," says Vergil, "that has twice felt the sun, twice the frost, responds to the greedy farmer's prayers, and bursts his granaries with overflowing crops."[4] In the time of Varro and of Pliny, there were three ploughings, of which the last served to cover the seed. The names applied to these operations were *proscindere*, *offringere*, and *lirare*.[5] Varro says that soil ought not to be ploughed less than twice, while thrice is to be preferred.[6] Columella, however, would recommend four ploughings.[7] Pliny would be more thorough : "Where the soil is dense as in most parts of Italy, it is a still better plan to go over the ground five times before sowing ; in Etruria they give the land as many as nine ploughings first. The bean, however, and the vetch may be sown with no risk without turning up the ground at all.[8] The first ploughing required double the time of the second.[9] These first furrows were made in a straight line ; then others were drawn crossing them obliquely ; but on a hill-side the furrows were drawn transversely only."[10] "Be careful," says Cato, "not

[1]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 18, 171-3.
[2]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 19, 178.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, I, x, 2 ; Col., *R.R.*, V, 1, 5 ; II, ii, 27 ; Pall., *R.R.*, II, iii, 1 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 3, 9.
[4]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 46-49.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxix, 2 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 20.
[6]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxvii, 2.
[7]Col., *R.R.*, II, iv, 8.
[8]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 20, 181.
[9]Col., *R.R.*, II, iv, 8.
[10]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 19, 178 ; Verg., *Georg.*, I, 97-9.

to make crooked furrows.''[1] A field was badly ploughed if it needed harrowing after the seed was sown. It was only when it was impossible to know in which direction the share had gone, that the work was properly done.[2]

''Plough well and at the right time,'' says Cato.[3] In this connection Pliny's testimony is of interest: "It is a more prudent counsel which recommends us to plough no land in the middle of the spring but that of mediocre quality; for with a rich soil, weeds will spring up immediately in the furrows ; and on the other hand thin meagre soil will dry up as soon as the heat comes on, and thus will evaporate the moisture which should be reserved to nourish the seed. Beyond a doubt it is much better to plough such soil in autumn.''[4] These precepts had special reference to seed-land. Rich, dry land, however, was ploughed in the early spring ; poor land not till autumn.[5] Cato further directs that in spring the dry lands be ploughed first, then the heavy and moist.[6] To the same purpose are not only the precepts of Columella[7] but our own modern practice. Pliny has given us, moreover, a number of general precepts as to the time of ploughing different soils in various climates : ''In warm localities you must open the ground immediately after the winter solstice, but, where it is cold, directly after the vernal equinox. This, moreover, should be done sooner in dry than in wet districts ; earlier in a dense than in a loose soil, in a rich than in a meagre earth. In countries where the summers are hot and oppressive, the soil chalky or thin, it is the best plan to plough between the summer solstice and the autumnal equinox. On the other hand, when the heat is moderate, rain-fall heavy, and the soil rich and suitable to vegetation, ploughing should be completed while it is warm. A deep, heavy soil, however, should be ploughed

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, LXI ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 19, 174 *et* 179.

[2]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 19, 179 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, iv, 2.

[3]Cato, *R.R.*, LXI, 1 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 19, 174.

[4]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 26, 242 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, iv, 11 ; Verg., *Georg.*, I, 67-8.

[5]Col., *R.R.*, XI, ii, 8 ; Verg., *Georg.*, I, 63-4.

[6]Cato, *R.R.*, L, 2 ; CXXXI.

[7]Col., *R.R.*, II, iv, 3 *et* 9.

in winter ; but a very thin and dry soil, just before putting in the seed.''[1]

d. Drainage

To the drainage of their soils, too, the Romans paid great attention. ''In winter,'' says Cato, ''the water ought to be let off from the fields. The ditches on declivities should be cleaned out. In the beginning of autumn, when everything is covered with dust, then especially is there danger from water. As soon as it begins to rain the household ought to go forth with iron spades and hoes to open up ditches, to lead the water in channels and to look after the crop that the rains may have outlet. In a time of rain some one ought to go about the villa and mark with a piece of charcoal where there is a leakage, with a view to changing the tile after the rain is over. If water is standing in the growing corn or in the crop or in the trenches, or if anything dams the water, this must be attended to, the course opened up and the obstruction removed.''[2] Vergil attaches great importance to drainage ;[3] while Varro and Pliny recommend drainage between the winter solstice and the prevalence of the west winds ;[4] the latter, especially, however, in the interval between the west winds and the vernal equinox.[5] Columella would have water-furrows drawn immediately after the seed is sown.[6]

Cato describes the construction of covered drains: ''If the place is wet the drains should be hollowed out three feet wide at the top, four feet deep, one and a quarter feet wide at the bottom. Strew the bottom with stones ; if there are no stones strew with green willow-slips, placed crosswise. If slips cannot be obtained, tie twigs together. Afterwards make trenches three and a half feet deep and four feet wide and cause the water to flow down from the trench to the drain.''[7] Columella and Pliny inform us that there were two kinds of drains :

[1]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 19, 174-5.
[2]Cato, *R.R.*, CLV.
[3]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 113-7.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxvi ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 26, 236.
[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 26, 242.
[6]Col., *R.R.*, II, viii, 3.
[7]Cato, *R.R.*, XLIII, 1.

the open, for stiff and clay soils ; the covered, generally used where the soil was of lighter texture. The covered drains were three feet deep, half filled with small stones or clean gravel with a covering of the earth thrown out in digging the trench. Where stones and gravel were not at hand twigs twisted like rope were placed in the bottom of the ditch and covered with cypress, or pine, and earth to serve as a conduit. Palladius is authority for the belief that the covered had outlets into open drains.[1] Pliny recommended, also, that the husbandman, in case the nature of the farm demanded it, should leave a channel at frequent intervals, by making furrows of a larger size to draw off the water into drains.[2]

e. Irrigation

Irrigation was well known to the Romans. For Vergil has pictured for us the process in his time : "Why tell of him who o'er the fields guides the water in the running streamlets, and, when the grass lies withered on the scorched and languishing fields, lo ! from the crest of the hill he entices the runlet from its path, and the trickling water, uttering a gurgling chatter among the shining pebbles, gushes forth to refresh the fields all parched.[3]" According to Pliny, this operation met with conspicuous success in the Fabian district ;[4] and he urges that water should be drained from the high road into the meadows.[5] This was recommended by Columella, likewise, where the water supply was abundant, and the land stiff. "For unless the soil was firm, the water had a tendency to wash it away."[6]

f. Manuring

That the farm should be well manured the Romans considered of the utmost importance. Cato, for instance, believed it was second only to ploughing.[7] "Strive to have a

[1]Col., *R.R.*, II, ii, 9-11; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 6,47; Pall., *R.R.*, VI, iii, 1, 2.
[2]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 19, 179.
[3]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 106-10.
[4]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVII, 26, 250.
[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 28, 258.
[6]Col., *R.R.*, II, xvii, 5.
[7]Cato, *R.R.*, LXI, 1.

large sized dung-pit; scrupulously save the dung,'' he urges.[1] ''Scorn not,'' enjoins Vergil, ''to soak the dry soil with enriching dung.''[2] Pliny states that it was universally accepted that men should never sow without first manuring the ground, and that this was especially true of millet, panic, rape and turnips.[3] That husbandman was slothful who had no manure, is the inference of Columella.[4]

The Romans were very careful to employ every available fertilizer. They divided dung into three classes :— that of birds, that of men and that of beasts. Of bird-dung pigeons produce the best ; next, hens and other fowls except the fenny and the water-fowls. Of the dung of beasts, Varro considered horse-dung to be the worst for cornfields, but the best for meadows. Columella graded the animals according to the virtue of their stercoraceous products: asses, sheep, goats, cows and work-cattle, and lastly, swine.[5] Cato has given us with considerable detail the sources from which manure was generated—the stable-bedding, lupines, chaff, bean-stalks, husks of grain, the foliage of the holm-oak and of the oak. He says, ''Pull out from the crop the dwarf-elder, the hemlock stalks, the high grass, and the sedge around the thickest of willows. Spread it underneath the sheep and the oxen till the leafage putrifies. If the vine is wasted away, cut its twigs into small pieces, and cover them by ploughing or bury them in the earth.''[6] Pliny states that the husbandman littered his cattle badly unless each month a sheep furnished one cart-load of manure, and the larger cattle ten.[7] Others believed that the best method of manuring was to pen sheep on the land to be fertilized, with nets stretched to prevent them from straying.[8]

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, V, 8.
[2]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 79, 80.
[3]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 192.
[4]Col., *R.R.*, II, xiv, 5.
[5]Cato, *R.R.*, XXXVI ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxviii, 1-3 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, xiv, 1-4 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVII, 9, 50-4.
[6]Cato, *R.R.*, XXXVII, 2, 3.
[7]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 194.
[8]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 194.

The manure-pit, according to Varro, ought to be placed near the villa to save the labour of carrying out manure.[1] Into this tank the manure was cast, and, after water had been added, the whole was mixed thoroughly with a shovel.[2] Each villa properly equipped had for dung either two manure-pits, or one divided into two sections. Into one the new dung from the villa was carried and kept for a year ; and from the other, the old dung, now rotten, and therefore, in their opinion, better, was carried into the fields. The dung-pit was protected from the sun by twigs and leaves ;[3] and its construction, one of the duties which could be performed during rainy days.[4]

The value of green manuring was by no means unknown to the Romans. To enrich the soil they ploughed under lupines, beans, vetches, tares, lentils, cicercula and pease.[5] The lupine, according to Columella, was beneficial only if turned under when in flower.[6] "I have no doubt," he continues, "as to the lupine and the vetch when used for green forage, provided that immediately they are cut, the field is ploughed and what is left by the scythe is turned under, for this will serve as dung."[7] Ashes, too, were used as a fertilizer. Both Cato and Pliny advise the husbandman to burn twigs and small branches on the fields,[8] and Vergil agrees : "Scorn not to scatter grimy ashes on exhausted soils ; often, likewise, has it paid to burn the barren fields and light stubble with crackling blaze."[9]

Columella informs us that his uncle, who was a successful husbandman, found it advantageous to mix earths of different qualities.[10] Formerly, land was manured with about twenty

[1] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxviii, 3.
[2] Cato, *R.R.*, XXXVII, 2.
[3] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xiii, 4 ; Col., *R.R.*, I, vi, 21-2.
[4] Cato, *R.R.*, II, 3.
[5] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxiii, 3 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVII, 9, 54 ; Cato, *R.R.*, XXXVII, 2.
[6] Col., *R.R.*, XI, ii, 80-1.
[7] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVII, 9, 56 ; Col. *R.R.*, II, xiii, 1.
[8] Cato, *R.R.*, XXXVII, 3 ; XXXVIII, 4 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 25, 229.
[9] Verg., *Georg.*, I, 80-5.
[10] Col., *R.R.*, II, xv, 4.

tons or forty one-horse cart-loads per acre. In many places this is still the rule to-day, but now it is more common to apply the manure every third year, using twelve tons or twenty-four cart-loads per acre, and, after manuring, to have a hoed crop of roots, potatoes or Indian corn. Ancient writers have informed us how much manure was applied to a jugerum. Thus Pliny says that the custom was to give eighteen cart-loads of manure to each jugerum,[1] while Columella asserts that a jugerum with this amount was sparsely manured, and twenty-four cart-loads were required.[2] It was considered much better to manure little and often than but seldom and in abundance.[3] When a fertilizer was not used it was deemed necessary to spread the land with aviary dust just before hoeing-time.[4] The Romans, it would seem, were sufficiently generous with their manure, in theory at least, if not in practice.

Autumn and winter seem to have been the seasons for the application of the fertilizing agents.[5] "If you intend to crop the ground in autumn," says Pliny, "be careful to plough in the manure just after rain has fallen in the month of September ; if the purpose is to sow in the spring, you should spread the manure in winter."[6] In the case of meadows, however, manure was applied when the moon was not shining in the beginning of spring.[7] In soil that had not been fertilized it was considered better to sow wheat than barley ; and likewise in fallow lands, although in this instance beans afforded the best crop in spite of the belief that bean land should have been manured as recently as possible.[8]

g. Rotation of Crops

The two-field system of cultivation was in extensive use among the Romans. Licinius, in Varro's treatise, lays down

[1] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 193.
[2] Col., *R.R.*, II, v, 1.
[3] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 194.
[4] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 193.
[5] Cato, *R.R.*, V, 8 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, xv, 1.
[6] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 193.
[7] Cato, *R.R.*, L, 1.
[8] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 192.

the rule that land should be either left idle in alternate years or sown with lighter crops which use less of the soil's moisture.[1] Vergil believes that the exhausted energies of the ground are recruited by allowing it to remain uncropped in alternate years.[2] Some recommended that corn should never be sown except on land that had lain fallow the year before.[3] Columella insisted upon the necessity of fallow every other year for wheat ;[4] and for beans, either the same treatment or a liberal application of manure.[5] Pliny thought that to have fallow in alternate years was without doubt the most advantageous system, and should be adopted wherever by the extent of the farm it was possible ;[6] in fact, that the oftener the land was allowed to rest from cultivation, the better was the soil for the production of cereals.[7]

Rotation of crops is based upon the idea of food equilibrium. The aim is to secure a maximum total yield of produce with a minimum amount of manure. One approach to rotation of crops made by Cato is a certain discrimination in adapting particular crops to various qualities of soil ;[8] but he implies a distinct rotation in the following passage, "Sow clover, vetches, Greek hay, beans, pulse as pasturage for oxen. Sow clover a second and a third time and then sow other crops."[9] Land sown every year was called "*restibilis*,"[10] and carried a heavy and rich crop probably only every third year.[11] In those cases where the extent of the farm did not admit of a fallow in alternate years, Vergil recommended them to grow corn after the pulse, vetch and lupine. He excluded from the rotation flax, oats, and poppies, for they exhausted the soil. Where this was done and the crops varied, production

[1] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xliv, 3.
[2] Verg., *Georg.*, I, 71-2 ; 83.
[3] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 191.
[4] Col., *R.R.*, II, ix, 4.
[5] Col., *R.R.*, II, x, 6.
[6] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 21, 187.
[7] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVII, 5, 40.
[8] Cato, *R.R.*, XXXV.
[9] Cato, *R.R.*, XXVII.
[10] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xliv, 2.
[11] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xliv, 3.

did not exhaust the land.[1] Cato found the chick-pea, barley, Greek hay and pulse,[2] Columella[3] and Pliny[4] the flax, hurtful to the soil. On the other hand, Columella stated that Saserna believed the lupine, bean, vetch, pulse, lentil, chick-pea, and pease improved the soil.[5] Pliny has suggested more than one scheme of rotation. Thus in "*terra tenera*," he advises barley, millet, rape, and then barley, or else wheat, as in Campania. Another system was spelt, fallow for four months, spring beans and then winter beans. Where the soil was too rich, the plan was fallow one year, corn the next, and then leguminous plants ; where, however, the soil was too thin, the land had to lie fallow even up to the third year.[6] Pliny has mentioned an extraordinary field in Campania. It was sown every year, one year with panic, two with spelt, and between the crops roses[7] came forth in great abundance.[8] "Meadow-lands will grow old in time," he adds, "and require to be renovated occasionally by having sown upon them a crop of beans, or rape, or millet, then corn, and then the third year they should be left for hay."[9]

It seems certain, then, that the Romans paid considerable attention to the proper rotation of crops. It is not fair to state that farming was abandoned because the soil of Italy was exhausted by a vicious system of cultivation. Yet we must bear in mind that the theory of the writers was doubtless better than the practice of the husbandmen.

h. Sowing

In sowing, the Romans were very careful to adapt the crop to the land. "A soil," says Cato, "that is heavy and fertile, and free from trees, should be corn-land ; in this same

[1] Verg., *Georg.*, I, 71-83 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 21, 187.
[2] Cato, *R.R.*, XXXVII, 1.
[3] Col., *R.R.*, II, x, 17.
[4] Pliny, *N.H.*, XIX, *Proem.*, 6.
[5] Col., *R.R.*, II, xiii, 1.
[6] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 23, 191.
[7] In the richer wheat lands of the Canadian North-west the wild rose is very common.
[8] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, xi, 111.
[9] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 28, 259.

soil, when cold and moist, you should plant turnips, radishes, millet, and Italian panic-grass, especially the last.'' He is most particular, also, as to where olives, poplars, willows and vineyards should be planted. ''Sowing,'' he continues, ''should be done first in the coldest and dampest soils, and last in the warmest. Lupines will be produced in soil that is gravelly, blackish, hard, dry and sandy, and not subject to dampness ; sow spelt above all in chalky red earth or watery soil. Where it is dry, free from weeds and not shaded, put in wheat ; and where it is strong and powerful, beans. Vetches and Greek hay should have a soil as free from grass as possible ; while winter wheat and wheat are best adapted to an open elevated locality, fully exposed to the sun's warmth. The lentil thrives best in a meagre, red earth, free from weeds ; barley is equally suited to land that is fallow and to soil that is intended for crop ; while three-months wheat is adapted to land where ordinary wheat would never ripen, but which, owing to the depth of it, will admit of yearly cultivation. In a well manured and dense soil, sow turnips and rape-cabbage and radishes.''[1] Varro has given us in one sentence the theory if not the practice of the Romans in this matter : ''The same soil is not equally adapted to all crops ; one soil is best for the vine, another for corn, so another for some other kind of crop.''[2] In another place he has stated, ''Two things ought to be considered, what crops it is advantageous to cultivate, and the particular place for each. For some soils are adapted to hay, some to corn, some to vines, and others to olives ; likewise, also, some are suited to fodder, in which I include *ocimum*, *farrago*, *vicia*, *medica*, *cytisus*, *lupinum*. Upon rich land all things cannot be sown with profit ; upon poor soil some may be.''[3] ...'' Those plants should be sown in thin soil which do not need much nutriment : for example, the *cytisus* and the leguminous plants with the exception of the chick-pea ; in a rich it is better to sow what demands more nutriment: colewort, wheat, winter-wheat and flax.''[4] The

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, VI ; XXXIV ; XXXV ; Pliny, *NH.*, XVIII, 17, 163-4.
[2]Varro, *R.R.*, VII, 5.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxiii, 1, 2.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxiii, 2 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 17, 165.

general impression left us by writers on rural economy is the extraordinary variety of things grown.

The manner of preparing the soil for sowing varied with the nature of the land. Seed was sown either upon ridges, or in furrows. In the case of wet soils, the seed was deposited in ridges, and the ground turned up after the seed was sown. In dry soils, on the other hand, the ground was ridged before the seed was introduced into the intervening furrows.[1] The seed was scattered by the hand from a basket which ordinarily contained three pecks. It was a maxim, that, to sow seed evenly, the hand should move with the right foot.[2] The usual custom was to harrow after the seed was sown.[3] In one passage, however, Pliny would seem to imply that harrowing was always the result of faulty ploughing.[4]

The Romans had two seasons for sowing, autumn and spring.[5] For wheat and barley the principal seed-time was from the autumnal equinox to the winter solstice ; and in the spring, as early as the weather would allow.[6] To a certain degree however, it would seem, the time was regulated by the stars,[7] and, contrary to the best modern practice, seed was sown earlier in cold and watery spots than in the warm soil.[8]

The quantity of seed for a jugerum varied according to the situation and nature of the soil, according to the season and the weather. Thus different amounts were needed on level lands and on declivities ; on rich, on moderate, and on meagre soils ; in the autumn and in the spring seed-times ; in rainy and in dry weather.[9] More seed was needed ordinarily on rich than on meagre soils. Varro says, "To the jugerum are sown four modii of beans, five of wheat, six of barley, ten of spelt, but in some places a little more, in others less. For

[1]Col., *R.R.*, II, iv, 8 *et* 11 ; XI, iii, 21 *et* 44.

[2]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 24, 197 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, ix, 9.

[3]Verg, *Georg.*, I, 104-5; Col., *R.R.*, XI, ii, 82 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 18, 173 ; 20, 180.

[4]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 19, 179.

[5]Col., *R.R.*, XI, iii, 14.

[6]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 208-11; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxiv, 1 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, viii, 1.

[7]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 24, 201.

[8]Cato, *R.R.*, XXXIV, 1.

[9]Col., *R.R.*, II, ix, 2.

if the soil is heavy, more; if thin, less.''[1] According to Columella a jugerum of rich soil required four modii of wheat, nine of spelt ; of middling soil, five modii of wheat, ten of spelt.[2] Pliny has given us further details. According to him, the proper proportion of seed in a soil of middling quality was five modii of wheat or winter-wheat to the jugerum, ten of spelt or seed-wheat, six of barley, one-fifth more of beans than of wheat, twelve of vetches, three of chick-peas, chickling-vetch and pease, ten of lupines, three of lentils, six of pulse, six of fenugreek, four of kidney-beans, twenty of hay grass and four sextarii of millet and panic. He adds that where the soil was rich the proportion must be greater ; but where thin, less. In a dense, cretaceous or moist earth, he would sow six modii of wheat or winter-wheat to the jugerum, but where the land was loose, dry and prolific, four were considered enough.[3]

The Romans understood that seed degenerated in size unless great caution was exercised, and the largest selected each year. Their practice, therefore, was to set apart the best portion of their crop for seed. Even then this labour might be in vain, for Columella says, ''It is true indeed that plump grain is not always produced by plump seed ; however, it is certain that it never can be produced by seed that is poor and shrivelled.'' It was their custom, then, to reserve for seed that which fell to the lowest part of the threshing floor, the heaviest.[4]

i. Farm Production

Of grain there were two principal classes, cereals and legumens.[5] Of the cereals, about the setting of the *Vergiliae* were sown the winter grains, such as wheat (*triticum*) and barley (*hordeum*) ; before the rising of the *Vergiliae* were sown the summer grains, such as millet (*milium*), panic (*panicum*), sesame (*sesama*), sage (*horminium*), and a siliquose plant

[1]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xliv, 1.
[2]Col., *R.R.*, II, ix, 1.
[3]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 24, 198-9 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, ix, 5.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, lii, 1 ; Verg., *Georg.*, I, 193-200 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, ix, 11-2.
[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 7, 48.

(*irio*). Of these some were sown at either the rising or the setting of the *Vergiliae* ; others, again, in spring. Thus the name of spring grains is given by some writers to millet, panic, lentils (*lens*), chick-pease (*cicer*) and spelt (*alica*).[1] Columella's list of cereals gives as first and most useful, wheat (*triticum*), with three sub-divisions, *robus*, *siligo*, *trimestre*, and spelt (*semen adoreum* or *far*), with four sub-divisions, *Clusinum*, *vennuculum rutilum*, *vennuculum candidum*, *halicastrum*.[2] *Far* was adapted to heavy, wet clay ; *triticum* to dry, open land.[3] Barley (*hordeum*) yielded an inferior food, fit only for horses and for soldiers who had lost their standards.[4] Columella, however, would rank it next to wheat: better than wheat for cattle, and more wholesome than bad wheat for men.[5] From Campanian millet were made a fine white porridge and bread of a fine grade ;[6] while *alica* as a wholesome breadstuff gave Italy high rank as a cereal-producing country.[7] Of the legumens the chief were the bean (*faba*), lentil (*lenticula*), pea (*pisum*), kidney-bean (*phaselus*), chick-pea (*cicer*), lupine (*lupinum*), and pulse (*ervum*). Columella also incorrectly mentions among leguminous plants hemp (*cannabis*), millet (*milium*), sesame (*sesama*), and flax (*linum*).[8] The most important leguminous plant was the bean, used for food for men and cattle ;[9] the lupine required the least work and preserved the soil.[10]

Among forage crops (*pabula*) were lucerne clover (*medica*), Greek hay (*foenum Graecum*), vetch (*vicia*), pulse (*ervum*) and a mixed fodder (*farrago*). A species of clover (*ocinum*) and also of broom (*cytisus*) were sown to be cut green for fodder,[11] while hay was stored up for oxen at the plough.[12]

[1] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 7, 49, 50.
[2] Col., *R.R.*, II, vi, 1-3.
[3] Cato, *R.R.*, XXXIV, 2 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, ix, 4.
[4] Livy, XXVII, xiii, 9 ; Col., *R.R.*, VI, xxx, 7.
[5] Col., *R.R.*, II, ix, 14.
[6] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 10, 100.
[7] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 11, 109.
[8] Col., *R.R.*, II, vii, 1 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 7, 57.
[9] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 12, 117.
[10] Col., *R.R.*, II, x, 1.
[11] Cato, *R.R.*, XXVII ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxi, 4 ; II, i, 17 ; II, ii, 19 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, vii, 1,2.
[12] Cato, *R.R.*, LIII.

For the vines and olives that were reared, willows (*salices*) and reeds (*arundines*) were grown for props, hedges and baskets.[1]

The bee was reared extensively in Italy. In the time of Vergil it formed an element in rural economy sufficiently important for him to devote his fourth Georgic to its history and care.[2] Varro tells us about one bee-keeper who in one year produced 5,000 pounds of honey ; and about two brothers who dwelt on a jugerum planted in garden, thyme and clover, and who derived each year no less than 10,000 sesterces from bees.[3]

Different sections of Italy yielded their own peculiar products. In Hannibal's time Caere, Volaterrae and Arretium produced corn, while the Perusini, Clusini and Russellani could provide fir-trees for the construction of ships as well as a great quantity of corn.[4] In Varro's time spelt is produced in Campania, wheat in Apulia, wine in Falernum, olive oil in Venafrum, wine in the district between Ariminum and Picenum and at Faventia and many other places.[5] Pliny states that excellent millet was raised in Campania, and *alica* in Campania, Pisa and Verona.[6]

Towards the close of the Republic, wine, oil and special luxuries became the staple products of the more concentrated rural enterprise. With the initial stage of the disappearance of the small proprietors coincided the development of vineyards and olive orchards ; with the second stage is more closely associated the growth of pasturage. A further decline in Italian products is due to the fact, already noted, that insufficient inducement was held out to the *politor* or *partiarius*. With the impetus given to pasturage wool assumed considerable importance in the rural economy of Italy.

To dispose of the products of the farm Cato advised the occupant to cultivate friendly relations with neighbours,[7] and

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, VI, 4 ; XXXIII, 5 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxiv, 4.
[2]Verg., *Georg.*, IV, 1,2 ; 139-141.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, III, xvi, 10-11.
[4]Livy, XXVIII, xlv, 14-8.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 6, 7.
[6]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 10, 100 ; 11, 109.
[7]Cato, *R.R.*, IV.

to seek a farm near a thriving town or on the sea, near a navigable river or on a road well built and much travelled.[1]

j. Vineyards

We have already indicated that there never was a time when the vine was not found in Italy. It was the abandonment of the culture of cereals, however, which gave an impetus to the production of wine on a somewhat extensive scale.[2] Even in Cato's time, indeed, the vineyard ranked first in the scale of importance ; it had become more profitable to rear vines than to grow cereals.[3] A century later, however, in Varro's time, Scrofa preferred good meadows to vineyards. Changing economic conditions rendered vineyards less profitable than meadows,—in fact, they were believed to cost as much as they produced.[4] But at a period later still Columella pointed out that vineyards yielded excellent returns.[5] He compared vineyards with meadows, pastures, woods and cornlands and found the vineyards the most productive.[6]

The production of wine became extensive after the culture of cereals had ceased to be profitable and before the too great extension of the large estates had turned Italy into grazing land. It was protected from foreign competition by a law which forbade transalpine nations to plant vines and olives.[7] The wines of certain districts of Italy acquired considerable reputation. Cato advises that they be very careful to preserve the good name of a wine. "See to it," says he, "that you attend to the gathering of the grapes when they are well ripened and dry, lest your wine lose its reputation."[8] The noted Falernian of the last century B.C. is mentioned neither by Plautus nor by Cato. The former speaks of Greek wines, those of Leucadia, Lesbos, Thasos, and Chios;[9] Cato enumer-

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, I, 3.
[2]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 4, 24.
[3]Cato, *R.R.*, I, 6.
[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, vii, 10—viii, 1.
[5]Col., *R.R.*, III, iii, 2.
[6]Col., *R.R.*, III, iii, 3, 4.
[7]Cic., *De Rep.*, III, 9, 16.
[8]Cato, *R.R.*, XXV.
[9]Plaut., *Poen.*, 698-9.

ates that of Cos, which was a Greek wine, and those of Aminaea, Murgantia, and Lucania. This acquaintance with various Greek wines indicates an original, but not necessarily a continued commerce with Greece. Cato, in fact, gives directions how they can be made in Italy.[1] Foreign wines, however, were held in great repute even after the introduction of the Falernian.[2] The cultivation of the vine seems to have been wide-spread throughout middle Italy. Thus in Latium, at Alba above all,[3] and Formiae,[4] at Fundi, Privernum and Velitrae,[5] was reared the vine. The Sabines produced a cheap and poor product of the grape.[6] Among the best of Roman wines were those of Caecubum in southern Latium and of Cales in southern Campania.[7] Further, in Campania were produced *vinum Caucinum*, *vinum Faustinianum*, the wines of Vesuvius and Surrentinum, and the more famous Falernian [8] and Massic wines.[9] The Aminaean wines, also, are mentioned on an equality with Falernian by Vergil.[10] These numerous varieties indicate very well the wide area over which the manufacture was extended.

The chief duties associated with vine-growing are,—before the vintage to wash vases, to weave baskets, to daub with pitch both jars and baskets;[11] in the vineyard, trenching (*pastinatio*), leaf-plucking (*pampinatio*), pruning (*putatio*), digging (*ablaqueatio*).[12] The vineyard was dug at least three or four times a year ; the superfluous leaves and shoots were lopped off twice a year,—in the spring just as the leaves came

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, VI, 4 ; XXIV ; CV, 1 ; CXII, 1.

[2]Pliny, *N.H.*, XIV, 14, 94-5.

[3]Hor., *Carm.*, IV, xi, 1, 2; *Sat.*, II, viii, 16-7.

[4]Hor., *Carm.*, I, xx, 10-12.

[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, XIV, 6, 65.

[6]Hor., *Carm*, I, xx, 1, 2.

[7]Hor., *Carm.*, I, xx, 9-10 ; xxxvii, 5, 6 ; II, xiv, 25-6.

[8]First mentioned by Catullus and Varro,—Catul., *Car.*, XXVII, 1-4 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 6.

[9]Pliny, *N.H.*, XIV, 6, 63; Hor, *Carm.*, I, xxvii, 9-10; I, i, 19, 20 ; II, vii, 21-2 ; II, xi, 18-20 ; Col., *R.R.*, III, ii, 10 ; III, viii, 5 ; Flor., *Epit.*, I, 16.

[10]Verg., *Georg.*, II, 96-7.

[11]Cato, *R.R.*, XXIII, 1.

[12]Verg., *Georg.*, II 397-400: Col., *R.R.*, III, xiii, 4.

forth, in the autumn when the cluster began to turn colour.[1] In the autumn the vinedresser dug about the vines.[2] Either in the spring or when the grapes were ripe they were grafted according to one of three methods, incision, inarching, or boring.[3]

Rich, free soil was considered best suited for vineyards.[4] Columella advised that the vines be arranged so as to be attractive to the master and easily to admit of his inspecting them.[5] The distance between them varied with the soils from five to eight feet. Because their soil was very moist and rather weak the Umbri and Marsi planted them even twenty feet apart.[6] They were fastened either to trees or to poles. Of the trees the elm most commonly was used ;[7] less frequently, the willow,[8] of which a jugerum could provide supports for twenty-five jugera of vines ;[9] and sometimes the oak, at the winter solstice.[10] When props were necessary a single prop supported the vine, although cross-poles occasionally joined these together.[11] The planting was done both in spring and in autumn;[12] the setting of the vine was regulated by the moon ; and the seventeenth day was considered most lucky for this operation.[13] Vergil recommended that the husbandman place the vine-cuttings in furrows as shallow as possible,[14] and adds, "Be first to dig the ground, first to wheel away and burn the prunings, and first to carry the vine-poles indoors; be last, however, to gather the vintage."[15]

[1] Cato, *R.R.*, XXXIII, 3 *et* 4 ; Verg., *Georg.*, II, 400-1; Col., *R.R.*, IV, vi, 1.

[2] Cato, *R.R.*, V, 8 ; XXXIII, 1.

[3] Cato, *R.R.*, XLI, 1-3.

[4] Verg., *Georg.*, II, 184-229.

[5] Col., *R.R.*, III, xxi, 4 ; IV, xviii, 1.

[6] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVII, 22, 171; Verg., *Georg.*, II, 273-8.

[7] Verg., *Georg.*, I, 2; II, 221; Hor., *Carm.*, II, xv, 4, 5; Cato, *R.R.*, XXXII, 2.

[8] Cato, *R.R.*, VI, 4 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxiv, 4.

[9] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVII, 20, 143.

[10] Cato, *R.R.*, XVII, 1.

[11] Verg., *Georg.*, II, 358-61; Varro, *R.R.*, I, viii, 1-4.

[12] Verg., *Georg.*, II, 319-22.

[13] Verg., *Georg.*, I, 276-84.

[14] Verg., *Georg.*, II, 288-9.

[15] Verg., *Georg.*, II, 408-10.

Cultivation, it is certain, greatly increased the returns from the vineyard.[1] In Columella's time vineyards were commonly cultivated by fettered slaves.[2]

In the treatment of the equipment of the farm above are indicated in detail the articles necessary for a vineyard of one hundred jugera.

k. Olives

The impetus given to the cultivation of the olive coincides with the greater development of vine-culture, and with the first phase of the decadence of cereals in Italy. By Cato's time it was profitable to give up corn-land to olive-orchards ; in his list olive-yards were considered more profitable than meadows and corn-land, but less profitable than vineyards, well watered gardens and willow-groves.[3] Later, however, as we have seen, the olive was superseded by grazing, and its cultivation had to be protected by the prevention of trans-alpine competition.

The olive was produced in Casinum,[4] in Taburnus between Samnium and Campania,[5] and above all in the gravelly soil of Venafrum. The oil of Italy held the highest place in the estimation of the people of that age. That part of Venafrum which produced the Licinian oil won a preeminent reputation.[6] Columella distinguished no less than ten varieties of olives : *Pausia*, *Algiana*, *Liciniana*, *Sergia*, *Nevia*, *Culminia*, *Orchis*, *Regia*, *Cercitis*, *Murtea*. Of these the fruit of the *Pausia* was the most agreeable ; of the *Regia* the most beautiful ; both of these and the *Orchis* and *Radius* were suitable for food rather than oil. The *Pausia*, moreover, when green possessed an excellent flavour but was readily spoiled by age. The *Liciniana* yielded the best quality of oil, the *Sergia* the largest quantity.[7] In heavy, warm soil could be produced, according to

[1] Col., *R.R.*, IV, iii, 4.
[2] Col., *R.R.*, I, ix, 4.
[3] Cato, *R.R.*, I, 6.
[4] Macrob, *Sat.*, III, xvi, 12.
[5] Col., *R.R.*, V, viii, 5 ; Verg., *Georg.*, II, 37-8.
[6] Pliny, *N.H.*, XV, 2, 8 ; XVII, 4, 31 ; Hor., *Carm.*, II, vi, 15-6; *Sat.*, II, iv, 68-9.
[7] Col., *R.R.*, V, viii, 3, 4.

other authors, eight varieties of olives: *Conditiva, Radius maior, Sallentina, Orcites, Posea, Sergiana, Colminiana, Albiceris ;* in cold and meagre only the *Liciniana.*[1]

One surpassing merit possessed by the olive which was used so extensively in Italy not only for oil, but also for food,[2] was that for cultivation it required scarcely any outlay.[3] Nor was this the only superiority in the husbandman's eyes. According to Vergil the soils adapted to the olive were stubborn soils, ungracious hills, fields of lean marl and pebbly brush-wood, lands that, ever green with grass, exhaled mists, ever drinking in and draining away the water.[4] Columella states that olive orchards were at the same time corn-fields : "When the tilled olive-field is not sown with corn, the tender shoots come forth, but the olive-tree yields its fruit when the field is bearing a crop."[5] Indispensable to the olive-yard were the willows from which baskets were made to carry olives to market.[6]

The tree was propagated by planting small pieces of the trunk or branches.[7] In grafting the process of inarching was employed.[8] The pruning of each grove occupied forty-five days beginning with the fifteenth day before the spring equinox.[9] To gather the fruit an attempt was made to pluck the olive by hand ; when this was found impossible even with a ladder, it was beaten down with poles. But Varro is very particular to caution the gatherers to spare the bark and the fruit-buds. The damage generally inflicted by this crude method of harvesting Varro considered a sufficient explanation of the fact that the olive produced a crop only in alternate years.[10] In making the oil, Cato advises that the olive

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, VI, 1, 2 ; Verg., *Georg.*, II, 85-6 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XV, 3, 13.
[2]Varro, *R.R.*, I, lv, 4.
[3]Col., *R.R.*, V, viii, 1 ; Verg., *Georg.*, II, 420 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 6, 38.
[4]Verg., *Georg.*, II, 179-81 ; 217-22.
[5]Col., *R.R.*, V, ix, 12.
[6]Cato, *R.R.*, XXXI, 1.
[7]Verg., *Georg.*, II, 30, 31 ; 63, 64.
[8]Cato, *R.R.*, XLII.
[9]Cato, *R.R.*, XLIV.
[10]Varro, *R.R.*, I, lv, 1-3 ; Col., *R.R.*, V, ix, 11.

be not allowed to lie when gathered. The more quickly it was used the greater the quantity, and the better the quality of the oil produced.[1] The fallen olives served as food (*pulmentarium*) for slaves.[2]

In our study of the equipment of a farm was given a list of the articles required to furnish an olive-farm of two hundred and forty jugera. Cato demands two vessels for each jugerum of a well cultivated olive farm, one hundred and twenty jugera in extent.[3] For an oil store-room Cato demands the following equipment : oil-jars, lids, fourteen oil-basins, two large and two small vessels for holding oil, three brazen ladles, two amphorae for oil, one water-pitcher, one urn containing fifty quadrantes, one pint oil-dish, one lip, two funnels, two sponges, two earthen pitchers, two pitchers holding half an amphora, two wooden ladles, two keys with bars for the store-rooms, one pair of scales, one hundred-pound weight and the other weights.[4]

The production of the olives in Italy was so extensive that in the last generation of the Republic Italy exported olive-oil to the provinces.[5]

l. Harvesting

Among the Romans, the custom, or at least the advice of their writers, was to cut grain before the kernels were hardened.[6] In reaping, three different methods were employed in as many districts. In Umbria the practice was to cut with a hook the straw close to the soil, and to deposit on the ground each handful as it was cut ; when considerable progress had been made they went back over the grain, stripping the ears from the stalks and throwing them into baskets to be carried to the threshing-floor. The straw left on the field was subsequently stacked. In Picenum, however, employing a curved wooden *bacillum*, which had a small iron saw attached to the end, they grasped a bunch of ears and cut them off ;

[1] Cato, *R.R.*, LXIV.
[2] Cato, *R.R.*, LVIII.
[3] Cato, *R.R.*, III, 5.
[4] Cato, *R.R.*, XIII, 2.
[5] Pliny, *N.H.*, XV, 1, 3.
[6] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 30, 298 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, xx, 2.

afterwards they cut the straw left standing in the field. But in the vicinity of Rome and in several other districts the custom was to grasp in the left hand the upper part of the stalk and to cut it off in the middle ; the portion that was left below the hand was cut later.[1] In these three methods of reaping we find no hint of binding the grain into sheaves, although Varro and Pliny mention sheaves of hay.[2] Hay, too, was cut before it had become parched. Some even turned water upon the meadow before mowing ; while the night-time, when the dew covered the grass, was generally believed to be the proper time for mowing.[3] "You should cut your grass with sickles," says Varro, "as soon as it has ceased to grow and as soon as it begins to turn dry. Turn with forks as it is drying; and, when quite dry,[4] tie in small bundles and carry home ; then rake what is left upon the meadow and add to the crop."[5] Carts and wagons often carried the crops from the fields. The grain was taken sometimes to a shed, *nubilarium*, near the threshing-floor, *area*, and opening towards it so that the corn might easily be thrown into the *area*, and, if it rained, quickly returned.[6]

The crude character of the implements involved a great waste of energy. For as soon as the crop was removed the Romans immediately mowed a field a second time to secure what had been missed.[7] In some parts of Italy the mowing was not done till after the harvest ;[8] throughout the peninsula the mowers cut with one hand only. A fair day's work for one man was to cut a jugerum of grass, or to bind twelve hundred sheaves of four pounds each;[9] while Columella is our authority for the statement that, for reaping, a jugerum of *triticum* or *siligo* each required one and one-half days ; beans,

[1] Varro, *R.R.*, I, 1, 1-3.
[2] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xlix, 1 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 28, 261-2.
[3] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 28, 260.
[4] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 28, 261-2.
[5] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xlix, 1.
[6] Verg., *Georg.*, II, 205-6 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xiii, 5 ; Col., *R.R.*, I, vi, 24 ; II, xx, 3.
[7] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xlix, 2 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 28, 259.
[8] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 28, 261.
[9] Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 28, 261-2.

barley, vetches, pulse, *siliqua*, *phaseolus*, chick-pease, lentils, lupines, and medica, each one day ; sesame, two ; *cicer* and flax, each three.[1]

Nor was the operation of threshing uniform. Sometimes the grain was beaten out with a flail. At other times a machine, with a driver or great weight placed upon it, was drawn over the grain by oxen. This machine, made of a plank roughened with stones or iron, or furnished with little rollers in the place of teeth, was called *plostellum poenicum*. The third and usual method was to drive cattle, and sometimes horses, over the well filled *area*.[2] To winnow the grain the Romans threw it into the wind with a shovel (*ventilabrum*), or used a fan (*vannus*) with or without wind.[3] The best of the corn was saved for seed.[4] If it was to be preserved for any considerable period it was cleaned a second time ;[5] nor was less care shown in storing it. For instance, Cato advises that the ground where it would lie be treated with lees and chaff and then tramped down compactly. The purpose of this was to ensure protection against vermin and mice. After it was finally pressed down the place was smeared with thick mud and sprinkled with lees.[6] Some stored wheat in caves, others in wells; but always they placed a layer of chaff in the bottom and took many precautions to exclude the air. Granaries, also, were not uncommon,—some admitting, others keeping out all air. Beans and some other legumens were stored and sealed in vases.[7] The straw, left on the ground after cutting, sometimes was burned there.[8] At other times, it was used for fodder, or to litter cattle or to thatch houses.[9] In this connection Cato offers the wise

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[1]Col., *R.R.*, II, xiii.

[2]Varro, *R.R.*, I, lii, 1, 2 ; Verg., *Georg.*, III, 132-3 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, xxi, 4; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 30, 298.

[3]Varro, *R.R.*, I, lii, 2 ; Col., *R.R.*, II, xx, 4, 5.

[4]Varro, *R.R.*, I, lii, 1.

[5]Col., *R.R.*, II, xx, 6.

[6]Cato, *R.R.*, LXXXXII.

[7]Varro, *R.R.*, I, lvii *et* lviii ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 30, 301-7.

[8]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 84-5.

[9]Varro, *R.R.*, I, l, 2-3 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 30, 297 ; Cato, *R.R.*, XXXVII, 2 ; Col., *R.R.*, VI, iii, 1 *et* 3.

advice : "When you lay up straw, put under cover that in which there is the greatest mixture of grass, sprinkle it with salt, and use it as hay."[1]

But a startling condition is revealed by a consideration of the proportion of the product to the seed sown. In speaking of the Leontini in Sicily, Cicero declares that a return of eight to one was a good crop, that favourable conditions produced ten to one.[2] Varro estimated the product in some places at ten to one, in others, as in Etruria, at fifteen to one. He likewise informs us that the yield at Subaritanum was one hundred to one,—doubtless a very exceptional case.[3] What, then, is the meaning when compared with these facts of the statement of Columella, that he can scarcely remember when, over the greater portion of Italy, the return was as much as four to one ?[4] Does it indicate a decline in the productivity of land throughout Italy ?

m. The Farmer's Calendar

In the regulation of the different operations of husbandry, the farmers paid the same attention to the moon, the stars and the wind as did the sailors.[5] For example, the handling of the crops was under the domination of the sun and the phases of the moon ;[6] trees were planted during the first quarter ;[7] in the spring the meadows were manured only at the time of the new moon.[8] In an interesting passage Pliny has given us the influence of the moon on agriculture. "All products are cut, gathered, reaped to a greater advantage during the first rather than the last quarter. Manure must never be touched except during the last quarter ; but by all means manure the land during the change of moon and at the first quarter. During the last, geld your boars, bulls,

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, LIV 2.
[2]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 47, 112.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xliv, 1, 2.
[4]Col., *R.R.*, III, iii, 4.
[5]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 51-2 ; 204-11 ; 276-86 ; 335.
[6]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 353 ; 463-4 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxvii, 1 *et* 4.
[7]Col., *R.R.*, V, xi, 2.
[8]Cato, *R.R.*, L, 1.

rams, and kids. At the new moon put eggs under your hens. When the moon is full, dig your ditches by night and cover up the roots of trees. When the soil is wet sow your seed at the time of the new moon, and during the four days about that period. It is the usual recommendation, too, to air the corn and the legumens and to store them up before it is new moon ; to make seed-plots when the moon is above the horizon ; when it is below, to tread out the grape, to fell timbers, and to attend to other duties each in its proper place."[1] It would be folly to suppose that the seasons and the phases of the moon were observed with such minuteness. We know, however, that writers on husbandry would have the shearing of sheep and even the cutting of a man's hair regulated by the heavens and the phases of the moon.[2]

Religion played no small part in Roman husbandry. "Above all, worship thou the gods," is the advice Vergil gives to the farmer ;[3] and Columella states that the ox had to be broken in a day free from storms and from religious observances.[4] The holy day or holiday, however, was not such an impediment to labour as would appear at first sight. It was allowable thereon, for example, to yoke oxen ; nor was it forbidden to carry wood, corn-stalks, and the corn which was not to be contracted for. Cato declares: "There are no holidays for mules, horses, asses, unless they are household holidays."[5] Moreover, he was considered an inferior *paterfamilias* who did on working days what was permitted on holidays.[6] Though it was reckoned that there were forty-five days included under feast days and rainy days,[7] the round of duties was by no means limited. Old trenches could be cleaned, the public way paved, brambles cut, the garden dug, the meadow cleared, twigs bound, thorns rooted up, the spelt ground, everything made clean.[8] Vergil, likewise, would consider it right and

[1]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 32, 321-2.
[2]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxvii, 2.
[3]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 338.
[4]Col., *R.R.*, VI, ii, 3.
[5]Cato, *R.R.*, CXXXVIII.
[6]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 6, 40.
[7]Col., *R.R.*, II, xii, 9.
[8]Cato, *R.R.*, II, 4.

lawful on holidays to attend to irrigation, to fence corn-fields, to burn brambles, to wash sheep, to convey oil or apples to a neighbouring town to purchase wares.[1] Columella stated that it was permitted to grind corn, to cut faggots, to make candle-dips, to cultivate a vineyard that had been contracted for, to clean out fish-ponds, preserves, old trenches, to cut the aftermath, to spread manure over a field, to pile it in heaps, to pluck the fruit purchased from an olive-plantation, to dry apples, pears and figs, to make a cheese, to carry trees for planting on the back or on a single beast of burden but not on one yoked to a wagon. Certain operations, however, were not allowed, such as to thin a grove, to cut, bind or carry hay, or to gather the vintage or olives.[2] He was considered the worst of all husbandmen who, in fine weather, worked under cover rather than in the fields.[3] On rainy days, therefore, a multiplicity of duties awaited the farmer. Casks were washed and mended, the villa cleaned, corn carried away, dung carried out, dung-hills made, seed cleaned, old ropes repaired, new ones made, and the servants' clothes mended.[4] "Seek out," says Cato, "what can be done in the villa during rain. Let there be no pause to work. Clean up things. Consider that if nothing is done, the expenditure will continue none the less."[5] Vergil recommends the ploughman on rainy days to beat out the stubborn point of his blunted share. Other timely duties are mentioned : to hollow troughs out of the trees, to brand the flock, to sharpen stakes and poles, to sort bands for vines, to weave baskets, and to parch and pound corn.[6] He was a bad head of a household who did by day, except in bad weather, tasks which could be done at night.[7] Cato enjoined upon the husbandmen to hew by torchlight through winter the vine-props and the stakes if dry ; to make

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[1]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 268-75.
[2]Col., *R.R.*, II, xxi, 3, 4.
[3]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 6, 40.
[4]Cato, *R.R.*, II, 3 ; XXXIX, 1.
[5]Cato, *R.R.*, XXXIX, 2.
[6]Cato, *R.R.*, XXIII, 1 ; Verg., *Georg.*, I, 259-67.
[7]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 6, 40.

torch-splinters ; and to carry out manure.[1] According to Vergil, again, while some operations such as cutting corn and threshing were better adapted to the noon-day heat, others, such as preparing torch-wood, could be better performed by night.[2] Public work, also, made demands on the time of the farmer. To the excuse given to his master by the *vilicus* that sufficient work was not in evidence because the slaves had been employed on some public tasks Cato rejoins that the paving of the highway was one of the duties that could be performed on holidays.[3] It seems that each person was responsible for keeping in repair the road in front of his own property. "If the road is not properly made," we are told, "the law allows a man to drive his beast of burden wherever he likes." It is probable, then, that to prevent travellers from trespassing on h's fields the Italian would seek, even at considerable expense, to keep his share of the highway mended.[4]

The season and the weather notably influenced the activity of the Romans. Even the supply of food varied with the different operations and seasons. For instance, of the household those who worked were to receive four modii of wheat in the winter ; in the summer four and a half. The steward, the stewardess, the superintendent and the shepherd obtained each three modii ; the fettered slaves four pounds of bread in the winter, five when they began to dig the vineyard and until there were figs—then the supply was reduced to four pounds.[5]

The duties allotted to the various seasons may be traced with considerable minuteness ; a more general sketch will best suit our purpose. The whole year was divided into four periods by the winter and the summer solstice and the vernal and autumnal equinox. Each of these was subdivided into two parts by the prevalence of the west winds,

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, XXXVII, 3.

[2]Verg., *Georg.*, I, 287-98.

[3]Cato, *R.R.*, II, 2 *et* 4.

[4]Cic., *Pro A. Caec. Orat.*, 19, 54 ; *Lex Julia Municipalis, Sc.* 7, *Sc.* 10; C.I.L. I, 119, *n*, 206; *Ri. tab.* 33,34 quoted from Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui.*

[5]Col., *R.R.*, XI, ii, 1 ; Cato, *R.R.*, LVI.

by the morning rising of the *Vergiliae*, by the setting of the Lyre, and by the morning setting of the *Vergiliae*.[1] From the winter solstice to the prevalence of the west winds the crops were drained of water ; when the weather permitted, the ground was dug with a double mattock, the rose and the vine were planted, ditches made ; whatever could be done under cover was attended to at daybreak,—sharpening iron tools, fitting on handles, repairing broken *dolia*, fashioning covers for sheep, and cleaning their wool. The vines and the trees used for support were pruned during this period.[2] From the prevalence of the west winds to the vernal equinox was a period of extreme activity for the agriculturist. Seed-plots of all kinds were planted, the meadows cleaned and manured, the ground dug up about the roots of the vines, the vines pruned, projecting roots lopped off, willows sown, crops hoed and three-months wheat sown. This was considered, moreover, the very best time for making ditches, for planting the elm, the fig and the olive in damp soils. The meagre, gravelly and, later, the rich, heavy, watery soils were ploughed.[3] From the vernal equinox to the morning rising of the *Vergiliae* the crops were weeded, the land broken up, the willows cut, the meadows taken care of, the olive sown and pruned. Pliny says that during the first fifteen days of this interval haste should be made to complete anything left undone before the equinox, that the farmer should bear in mind the jibes and taunts reserved for those who are late in pruning their vines. The latter half of this period is devoted to sowing panic and millet.[4] From the morning rising of the *Vergiliae* to the summer solstice new vineyards were dug, ploughed and harrowed ; the tendrils of the vine lopped off ; all the pasture, the vetches, the hay, the first clover and the mixed fodder cut. The meadows were mown about the first of June, and, as soon as the hay was removed, they were watered, the fruit-trees sprinkled, and the sheep washed and sheared.[5]

[1] Col., *R.R.*, XI, ii.

[2] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxvi ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 26, 236.

[3] Cato, *R.R.*, XL, 1 ; Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxix, 1 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 26, 238-43.

[4] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxx ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 26, 249-50.

[5] Cato, *R.R.*, XXXI ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 27, 254-7.

From the summer solstice to the setting of the Lyre the harvest was gathered ; the first, and even the second ploughing completed ; vetches, lentils, chick-peas, the bitter vetch and the legumens sown ; old vineyards harrowed a second, new ones a third time if there were clods ; the barley harvest taken in ; and the *area* made ready for threshing.[1] From the setting of the Lyre to the autumnal equinox whatever served as litter was cut and piled in heaps, the cross-ploughing done, the foliage cut, the watered meadows mown again, vetches, kidney-beans and hay-grass sown, leaves raked together, and sometimes the vintage gathered.[2] From the autumnal equinox to the morning setting of the *Vergiliae* the sowing was done, and the operation extended even to the ninety-first day. The best time to plant beans was the setting of the *Vergiliae*. During this period they plucked the clusters, made the vintage, began to prune the vines, and to propagate fruit trees.[3] From the morning setting of the *Vergiliae* to the winter solstice lilies and saffron were sown, new trenches dug, old ones cleaned, vines and trees for support pruned, various trees, the elm for instance, planted, roots of trees manured, vines hilled, and the presses well washed and stored away.[4]

n. Labour Conditions

"All fields," says Varro, "are cultivated by slaves or by free men, or by both. And sometimes the free men with their children till their own fields as petty proprietors ; at other times serving for wages, both they themselves and their children undertake the larger tasks of husbandry, as the vintage and the hay-cutting ; and still again, there are others, whom we call *obaerarii*, who are working off their debts. To this whole class of free men the statement is applicable that it pays to use hired help rather than slave labour at all times in disease-laden districts, and even in the healthful regions as well for the more difficult tasks of husbandry, like

[1] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxii ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 29, 295.
[2] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxiii ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 31, 314.
[3] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxiv ; Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii, 31, 319.
[4] Varro, *R.R.*, I, xxxv ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 26, 230.

the harvesting of the vintage and the crops.''[1] Cato, also, would employ free labour only for occasional operations ;[2] while Columella, agreeing with Varro that slave labour was preferable to free except in unhealthy localities, nevertheless is careful to entrust distant corn-land to free farmers rather than to slaves.[3] We should conclude, then, that there existed in Italy, even in the last century of the Republic, a class of free labourers. These must not be confused with the *operarii*, slave labourers, who probably existed in considerable numbers and who were often hired from neighbours;[4] a class of workmen that Cassius urges should be at least twenty-two years of age and willing to be taught agriculture.[5] Farms at a distance from a town kept their own supply of ''doctors, fullers and smiths;'' these artisans went the round of farms in the vicinity of the town and probably were slaves owned by some Crassus.[6]

The extension of pasturage augmented the employment of slave labour. That shepherds were chosen generally from the class of slaves[7] is implied in the conditions given by Varro for the sale of shepherds,[8] and is evident from the law of Julius Caesar which demanded that among the shepherds one-third be free men.[9] Varro supplements our information in his sketch of characteristics essential for the various types of shepherds. While even boys were suitable for the lesser stock, the larger cattle required men of mature age. There were two classes of shepherds : the more robust living in the mountains, and carrying arms ; and those of the farm including not only boys but even girls. While the shepherds fed their sheep in common, each passed the night with his own flock. All served under the head shepherd who was more experienced and older than the rest, and yet not so much older

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[1]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvii, 2.
[2]Cato, *R.R.*, V, 4.
[3]Col., *R.R.*, I, vii, 4-6.
[4]Cato, *R.R.*, I, 3 ; IV.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvii, 3.
[6]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvi, 4.
[7]Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 17.
[8]Varro, *R.R.*, II, x, 4-5.
[9]Suet., *J. Caes.*, XLII.

that his age prevented him from engaging in labour; for "neither aged men nor boys readily endure the roughness of the defiles and the hardships of the mountains, and the generally dangerous character of a shepherd's life." "Men should be chosen with robust frames, with swift, active and agile limbs, that they may not only follow the herd, but even guard them from wild beasts and robbers ; that they may lift loads on yoke animals, may run and shoot."[1] The shepherds on the distant mountains and in the woody defiles were given women to prepare food, and to render the shepherds more diligent and contented.[2] Varro has discussed also the number of shepherds necessary for the flocks. Here he finds a great difference of opinion. "For myself, I have assigned a single shepherd for every eighty sheep ; Atticus for every one hundred ; but you can more easily decrease the number of shepherds in those large flocks, that run into the thousands, than in the case of small flocks as of Varro and myself. I give seventy sheep to each shepherd ; you, I think, eighty to each. Nor yet have you, as we, one-tenth rams. For a herd of mares two men are necessary with every fifty."[3] The shepherds of Italy, remote from the control of their own masters and the contact with towns, were violently lawless ; and it became the boast of party leaders that at their will they could rouse the shepherds or the runaway slaves.[4]

We have not adequate information from which to deduce the pay of the ordinary agricultural labourer. However, there existed a regular wage which it was unusual to exceed, for when the olives were plucked and the oil made, the contractor had to make declaration that wages above the customary rate had not been paid except to workmen who were temporary partners. According to Cato this precaution was taken to prevent the contract from being awarded at too high a price.[5] The object was to prevent the combine, with which device the Romans were quite familiar.

[1]Varro, *R.R.*, II, x, 1-3.
[2]Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 26 ; x, 6.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, II, x, 10-11.
[4]Cic., *Fragm., In C. Ant. et L. Cat.*, 11, 12.
[5]Cato, *R.R.*, CXLIV, 4, 5.

Polybius informs us that the pay of the infantry soldier was two oboli (six cents) per day, of the centurion four oboli (twelve cents). The monthly allowance of corn was for the foot-soldier two-thirds of an Attic bushel of wheat, for a member of the cavalry two bushels of wheat, seven of barley. The Roman soldiers were obliged to purchase their corn and their clothes and the arms occasionally needed at a stated price. This sum the quaestor deducted from their pay.[1] Julius Caesar doubled the pay of the legions, so that the infantry soldier received four oboli.[2] If we can take the 25,000 drachmae per day which the 40,000 miners at New Carthage, Spain, yielded the Republic as the daily wage of public slaves who were let out by the state, then the daily wage of a miner was five-eighths of a drachma (about twelve cents).[3]

§ 3. INDUSTRIES, TRADE AND COMMERCE

a. Business Methods

The importance which the Romans attached to bookkeeping is characteristic of their singular caution in business relations, and indicative of a scrupulous exactness as to detail. Thus, in the public accounts commanders registered the sums of money received from the enemy. Such an entry Pompey made of the money lodged with his quaestor,[4] and Scipio, of the amount handed over by Antiochus.[5] Magistrates and governors kept books of accounts. That this was considered important may be inferred from several well known instances. Tiberius Gracchus was exceedingly anxious to recover his lost accounts.[6] Cato Minor was exasperated at his failure to stand forth as a conspicuous example of an accurate governor when on his return from Cyprus his books were lost.[7] Cicero notes as most suspicious that of those years of government during which Verres alleged that he had made numerous

[1]Polyb. *Hist.*, VI, xxxix, 12-5.
[2]Suet., *J. Caes.*, XXVI.
[3]Strabo, *Georg.*, III, 147-8.
[4]Vell. Pater., II, 37, 5.
[5]Polyb., *Hist.*, XXIV, 9A, 7.
[6]Plut., *Tib. Gracch.*, VI, 1.
[7]Plut., *Cato Min.*, XXXVIII, 2, 3.

purchases he produced no accounts at all.[1] Plautus mentions the regular system of banking accounts.[2] What is most striking, however, is the nicety with which the Romans conducted their private affairs ; for every free individual not under the *patria potestas* appears to have kept books of accounts.[3] In these books (*codices*) were entered the most trivial sums.[4] Private individuals again, like Cicero, kept day-books (*commentaria*):[5] while all transactions, including receipts (*accepta*) and expenditures (*expensa*), were transferred almost every month from memoranda (*adversaria*) to accounts (*tabulae*).[6] This book-keeping, so characteristic of the Romans, is strong evidence of how deeply embedded in them was the commercial instinct. Traders in the provinces were careful to register every item of business. Cicero exclaims,—"There is not a single sesterce that ever changes hands in Gaul which is not entered in the accounts of Roman citizens."[7] Accounts were made the basis of actions in the law courts,[8] while evidence not supported by account books was considered very questionable.[9]

Plautus mentions transactions which seem to serve the purpose of the cheque[10] and the promissory note;[11] and he indicates the custom of sending a crier through the streets to warn individuals against advancing money to certain persons who had proved bad creditors.[12] There existed at Rome business instruments which ordinarily we associate with modern conditions. For example, registers were kept in single and double entry.[13] Cicero furnishes other instances.

1Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 16, 36.
2Plaut., *Capt.*, 192-3.
3Cic., *Pro M. Cael.*, VII, 17 ; *In Calp. Pis.*, 25, 61 ; Plaut., *Trucul.*, 739 ; *Curcul.*, 371-4 ; Cato, *R.R.*, II, 5.
4Cic., *Pro Q. Rosc. Com.*, I, 4.
5Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, VII, 3, 7.
6Cic., *Pro Q. Rosc. Com.*, III, 8,9.
7Cic., *Pro M. Font.*, V, 11.
8Cic., *Pro C. Rab. Post.*, V, 11.
9Cic., *Pro L. Flacco*, XV, 35.
10Plaut., *Trin.*, 982.
11Plaut., *Asin.*, 437.
12Plaut., *Merc.*, 51-2.
13Pliny, *N.H.*, II, 7, 22.

In a letter to Curius he requested him to honour Tiro's draft to any amount.[1] In writing to Trebatius he mentions the *syngrapha*, which would seem to represent our promissory note.[2] Moreover, we have evidence of the negotiation of letters of exchange in his request to Atticus to ascertain if he can get exchange, *permutatio*, on Athens.[3] Exchange was liable to considerable fluctuation and operated sometimes to advantage, in other cases at a loss.[4]

Deposits of money were usually made in a temple[5] or with professional bankers, *argentarii*, who were stationed in the Forum.[6] But sometimes, as when Cicero left money with them at Ephesus for investment, the *publicani* became the custodians of people's wealth.[7] The chief financial activity, however, was centred in the Forum where the bankers, stationed behind the temple of Castor, transacted a business in money.[8]

Letters were sealed.[9] Pitchers used in transportation were stamped with their owner's name.[10] Even the value of advertising was appreciated by the Romans. They posted up (*proscribo*) descriptions of articles for sale,[11] at definite dates.[12] Again, when, in accordance with a praetor's edict, goods were seized, it was announced by placards placed in the most frequented places ; assignees and trustees were appointed, and a crier made proclamation[13] that an auction-sale would take place.[14]

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[1]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XVI, iv, 2.

[2]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, VII, xvii, 1.

[3]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, XI, 1, 2 ; XII, xxiv, 1.

[4]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, II, xvii, 7.

[5]Plaut., *Aulul.*, 572-5 ; 606-7 ; *Bacch.*, 303-4 ; Cic., *In M. Anton.*, II, 37, 93 ; *Ep. ad Fam.*, V, xx, 5.

[6]Plaut, *Aulul.*, 519.

[7]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, V, xx, 9.

[8]Plaut., *Curcul.*, 473-80 ; *Trinum.*, 729-0; *Asin.*, 115-6 , 124-5, 246 ; *Bacch.*, 1057 ; *Persa*, 432-5.

[9]Plaut., *Trinum.*, 789-91 ; Cic., *Ep. passim.*

[10]Plaut., *Rud.*, 463-7 ; *Poen.*, 835-6.

[11]Cic., *Pro M. Tull.*, VII, 16.

[12]Cic., *Pro P. Quinct.*, IV, 16.

[13]Cic., *Pro P. Quinct.*, XV, 50.

[14]Cic., *In M. Ant.*, II, 26, 64 ; Plaut., *Menaech.*, 1135-7 ; *Stich.*, 197-9 ; 205-6; 222-5; Plut., *Cic.*, XXXIII, 1. If we can believe the comic writers the life of the auctioneer was not an easy one (Plaut., *Poen.*, 11-4). One of their

The restriction of traffic in Rome furnishes a striking illustration of state regulation. The *Lex Julia Municipalis* forbade laden wagons to circulate within the city except by night and in the evening. Only vehicles employed in public constructions or demolitions could be used from sunrise to the tenth hour. Provision, however, was made by which carts which had arrived by night could return by day either empty or laden with dung.[1]

In the *Captivi* of Plautus we have a striking suggestion of the modern combines. The oil-merchants (*olearii*) in the Velabrum entered into a compact to keep up the price of oil.[2] From Cato, too, we learn the existence of the combine as an ordinary device.[3] The art of "cornering" staple products was also known. For instance, the story of Spurius Maelius is but the reflection of a custom which existed in the time of the historians who tell the tale.[4] The fact, moreover, that Cicero induced the Greeks and the Romans, who had "cornered" the food supply in Cilicia, to promise large stores to the people,[5] shows on the one hand that this pernicious practice obtained in the provinces, on the other that the government exercised some care to counteract the evil. Already in 189 B.C., the curule aediles had dedicated twelve gilded shields out of the fines levied on the corn-merchants who by hoarding grain had raised the market-price.[6] From a similar solicitude there came other legislation and measures to secure the interests of the public. Thus, to prevent fraud in the markets, an aedile inspected all wares exposed for sale, and, in the case of deception, confiscated articles.[7] We have al-

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favourite tricks was to sell an old slave with a batch of good ones, and by smuggling him into the lot to gain him some consideration (Plaut., *Bacch.*, 970-1). In this connection it is interesting to note that auctioneers who were actually engaged in business, but not those who had retired, were excluded from being municipal councillors (Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, VI, 18, 1).

[1] C.I.L., I, 206 ; ll. 56-61 ; 66-7.

[2] Plaut., *Capt.*, 487-8.

[3] Cato, *R.R.*, CXLIV, CXLV.

[4] Livy, IV, xiii, 2.

[5] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, xxi, 8.

[6] Livy, XXXVIII, xxxv, 5.

[7] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, VIII, vi, 5 ; Suet., *J. Caes.*, XLIII ; Plaut., *Rud.*, 370-1.

ready seen that in 129 B.C. the government prohibited the production of wine and oil in Gaul in order to stamp out a competition ruinous to Italian producers. In 74 B.C. moreover, the government attempted through M. Seius, curule aedile, to regulate at Rome the price of olive oil at ten pounds for the *as* throughout the whole year.[1] The government, likewise, tried by legislation to prevent the Jews from exporting gold to Jerusalem from Italy and the provinces ;[2] while Cicero despatched his quaestor to Puteoli to put a stop to the exportation of gold and silver to Greece.[3]

We read of no strikes in Rome during the Republic, if we except the humorous incident of the flute-players, who in 312 B.C. went on strike because they had been prohibited from holding their repasts in the temple of Jupiter. The whole body of flute-players marched off to Tibur, leaving no one in the city to play at the sacrifices, and all efforts to induce them to return proved of no avail. At length the Tiburtines, whose assistance the Romans implored, invited these musicians to their houses and plied them with wine till they were drunk. In this state of insensibility they were placed on wagons, and carried away to Rome. Here, finally, they consented to remain only when the privilege was granted them, during three days in every year, to ramble about the city in full dress with music.[4]

b. Industries, Manufactures, etc.

In a society where prejudice branded with infamy occupations other than arms and agriculture, handicrafts laboured under serious disadvantages. Even before private industry was overwhelmed by the work of the slaves, while the stigma of association with slavery still attached to workaday crafts, Cn. Flavius, in 304 B.C., was compelled to renounce his occupation as notary before he was admitted as eligible for the aedileship.[5] Industries, accordingly, played a small part in

[1] Pliny, *N.H.*, XV, 1, 3.
[2] Cic., *Pro L. Flacco*, XXVIII, 67.
[3] Cic., *In P. Vatin.*, V, 12.
[4] Livy, IX, xxx, 5, 10.
[5] Livy, IX, xlvi, 1.

the later economy of Rome. Not industry, nor yet trade, but rather the public service was the chief means of accumulating wealth.

We have already noted those trades mentioned in the list of Numa. By the time of Plautus, "they lead a wretched life who have no trade or occupation."[1] That considerable specialization existed at this period, among the dyers and workers in cloth, for example, is attested by the vivid picture which Plautus has drawn for us of the day on which the tradesmen present their bills for payment :—

"There stand the fuller, the embroiderer,
Hair-dressers, border-makers, violet-dyers,
Dealers in under-clothes and bridal veils,
Dyers in yellow, sleeve-makers, perfumers,
Sellers of linen garments, slipper-makers,
Cobblers that squat at ease, and shoe-makers ;
There stand the sandal-dealers, there the dyers ;
The milliners and tailors want their cash ;
There stand the belt-makers and girdle-sellers.
You've got these paid, a thousand more press on ;
They stand, your gaolers, all about your hall,
Weavers and fringe-dealers, and cabinet-makers.
You pay them and you think the list's exhausted ;
But no ! the saffron-dyers march along.
Or some new plague or other with his bill."[2]

There was but little inducement for the free peasants who flocked from the country to Rome to work as artisans. At a later period Augustus caused Q. Ovinius to be put to death "because, though a senator of the Roman people, he had not blushed to superintend for the queen of Egypt a spinning and weaving establishment—conduct most disgraceful."[3] The most important industries the rich reserved for their slaves. Workshops, doubtless, were established in Rome as in Sicily, where immense establishments of this kind produced censers;[4] Verres founded manufactories at Me-

[1] Plaut., *Rud.*, 289-90.
[2] Sugden's translation of Plaut., *Aulul.*, 500-14.
[3] Paul. Oros., *Hist.*, VI, xix.
[4] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 21, 46.

lita[1] for weaving women's garments, and at Syracuse for the carvers and goldsmiths.[2] We have already seen that Crassus employed about five hundred slaves as carpenters and masons. Slaves, moreover, were bought to become smiths and plasterers.[3] The truth is that most of the industrial activity of the last century or more of the Republic was centred in the carefully trained *familiae* of men like Crassus and Atticus. We must suppose, however, that in Rome artisans, small merchants and workmen belonged also to the class of the enfranchised. Such was the great-grandfather of Augustus, a rope-maker.[4] The industry of public baking, which arose about 174 B.C., probably likewise belonged to this class,[5] and perhaps the trade of the barber introduced into Italy in 300 B.C.[6] In this connection it is instructive to notice how war influenced the conceptions of the Romans. Thus, ship-building was wholly alien to the tastes of the Romans, and in a large measure unknown to them until their struggle with Carthage compelled them to build ships. As soon as war, however, demanded their construction, such enthusiasm was manifested that within sixty days of the time when the timber was standing in the forests, one hundred and sixty ships rode at anchor.[7] While this, however, cannot be considered an important branch of Roman activity, it is of interest that Plautus with considerable minuteness has detailed for us the construction of a ship.[8]

In Rome certain trades were localized. Thus, we have the Carpenters' quarter[9] and the Scythe-makers' street.[10] Small traffic and petty industry were carried on in the Velabrum or at the Trigeminan gate.[11] On the farm the slaves made

[1]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 46, 103.

[2]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 24, 54.

[3]Cic., *Pro Cn. Planc.*, XXV, 62.

[4]Suet., *Oct. Aug.*, II.

[5]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 11, 107-8.

[6]Varro, *R.R.*, II, xi, 10 ; Plaut., *Capt.*, 265-8. Barbers seem to have cut nails also (Plaut., *Aulul.*, 304-5).

[7]Florus, *Epit.*, II, 2 ; Paul. Oros., *Hist.*, IV, vii.

[8]Plaut., *Mil. Glor.*, 913-9.

[9]Livy, XXXV, xli, 10.

[10]Cic., *In L. Cat.*, I, 4, 8.; *Pro P. Sulla*, XVIII, 52.

[11]Plaut., *Curcul.*, 482-3; *Capt.*, 88-90; 488,

all their apparel, their rag-garments and caps (*centones, cuculiones*).[1] Clothing was generally made from wool, but a coarse cloth for the use of soldiers and sailors, and for the knapsacks of workmen, was manufactured from goat's hair.[2] For sails and the cordage for ships flax was used.[3] The various articles for the farm were usually made within the bounds; in this way, for instance, were made the press[4] and the willow-baskets.[5]

Certain towns had won reputations for the manufacture of various articles. Thus Tarquinii could furnish linen stuffs for sails ; Arretium shields, helmets, javelins, axes, shovels, basins and mills.[6] Rome was the best place to purchase articles of clothing, tunics, togas, mantles, patch-work garments, wooden shoes, jars, vats, yokes for oxen, the best ploughs for heavy land, the keys and bolts necessary for oil-mills, baskets and arms. Cales in southern Campania, and Minturnae in Latium on the border of Campania were noted for caps, iron implements, sickles, spades, hoes, axes, trappings, bridle-bits, and small chains. Venafrum manufactured spades and tiles. At Sinuessa and in Lucania were sold wagons and white threshing-sledges. The best ploughs for blackish soils, and the best twig-baskets were those of Campania. Oil-mills and mill-stones were obtained chiefly from Pompeii, Suessa, and Nola, near the enclosure of Rufrius. Water-buckets, olive-oil urns, water-pots, wine-urns and other brazen vases were important products of Capua and Nola ; hoisting-ropes of broom, of Capua ; baskets of Suessa, Casinum and Ameria.[7]

It is impossible for us to detail the extensive building operations of this period. Horace has described for us the builder who hurries along with his mules and porters, and with his machine whirls aloft now a stone, now a great piece of timber.[8]

[1] Cato, *R.R.*, II, 3.

[2] Varro, *R.R.*, II, i, 28 ; xi, 11 ; Col., *R.R.*, VII, ii, 1 ; Verg., *Georg.*, III, 311-3.

[3] Pliny, *N.H.*, XIX, *Proem.*, 3.

[4] Cato, *R.R.*, XVIII.

[5] Cato, *R.R.*, XXXI.

[6] See above, "*Farm products.*"

[7] Cato, *R.R.*, XI, 5 ; CXXXV, 1-3 ; XXII, 3-4 ; Cic., *In M. Anton.*, VII, iv, 13.

[8] Hor. *Epist.*, II, 2, 72-3.

Especially stupendous were the great public works, buildings, sewers and roads. While the highways were maintained largely by the inhabitants who lived beside them, those marvellous military roads could have been created only as state undertakings. The construction and repair of public works in general devolved upon the aediles and the censors,[1] though occasionally special officers seem to have been appointed to exercise a supervision.[2]

It was from the artisans that the political clubs of the last century of the Republic were recruited. They were an element in the state, always important and often dangerous. It would be apart from our purpose to enter into a detailed treatment of the political influence of industrial groups. In 64 B.C. the artisans formed a class upon which Catiline could faithfully depend. In many instances expression was given to their sentiments in the shows, where a separate place was allotted them.[3] During the last century of the Republic the industrial class profited largely by that liberty of association accorded to all whose organizations did not contravene public law. The Twelve Tables had authorized complete autonomy in internal government.[4] The first corporations were semi-military,—to assist in the work of equipment and construction in campaigns.[5] These colleges of workmen did not have a religious origin ; nor was their primary purpose to preserve industrial processes, to develop technical skill or to impose conditions of apprenticeship. We may believe that where a father taught his son his trade apprenticeship was by no means formal, and that men of the same handicraft could scarcely be brought together without a comparison of methods, leading to the adoption of newer and better ways of doing things. The instinct for sociability, the greater dignity which springs from association would be sufficient motives for their existence. The corporations, nat-

[1]Livy, *Perioch.*, XX ; XXXIX, 2, 10.

[2]Plut., *Cic.*, XXXII, 2.

[3]Cic., *Pro Mur.*, 35, 73.

[4]J. P. Waltzing, *Corporations professionelles chez les Romains*, I, 89 ; *Dig.*, 47, 22.4.

[5]Livy, I, xliii, 3.

urally assuming a semi-religious character in the state where each occupation possessed a protecting deity, probably discharged such religious functions as the burial of dead members. This duty was being performed in the interesting incident recorded by Appian where the bearers of a corpse fell upon and killed a man, who, though assisting in carrying the corpse, was not a member of their trade.[1]

c. Dealers

With everything essential for existence originally made on the *fundus*,[2] trade was slow to develop. For the *paterfamilias* did not aim at selling; and very jealously he strove not to be under the necessity of buying. As a result, therefore, he sold only what was superfluous, the oil, the wine and the corn which he did not need, the old oxen, the refuse of the cattle and sheep, the wool, the hides, the old carts, the old iron tools, and with equal ruthlessness old and diseased slaves.[3] The fact that the proprietors of estates originally were independent of them bred for the occupation of the dealers a profound contempt. The small dealer always remained in slight esteem ; large dealing advanced in public estimation as the higher classes became more dependent on it or even participated in it.[4] This idea colours the writings of the historians who, for instance, reproach the consul, C. Terentius Varro, so disastrously defeated at Cannae, with his descent from a father who was a butcher.[5]

There seems to have existed from early times the guild of "*mercatores*", or merchants, who celebrated their festival in the temple of Mercury on the Ides of May. This guild, doubtless, antedated the dedication of the temple in 495 B.C.[6] The usual place for buying and selling was the Forum.[7] Here

[1]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, IV, xxvii.

[2]Compare wool-dressing (Ter., *And.*, I, i, 74-5).

[3]Cato, *R.R.*, II, 7.

[4]Cic., *De offic.*, I, 42, 150, 151.

[5]Livy, XXII, xxv, 18, 19 ; Val. Max., *Mem.*, III, 4, 4.

[6]Festus, p. 148 ; Livy, II, xxxi, 7.

[7]Thus Cæsar when he laid out a forum about the temple of Venus, stated specifically as being an exceptional case that *this* forum in particular was *not* for buying and selling (Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, 102).

the censors[1] erected the butchers' stalls and other shops.[2] Here were the cattle-market, *forum boarium*,[3] the vegetable market, *forum holitorium*,[4] with its *tabernae* (stalls), the fish-market, *forum piscatorium*,[5] and the wine-market, *forum vinarium*.[6] Here were the shops, *tabernae veteres*, originally seven in number ; to these subsequently were added *tabernae novae*.[7] The dealers and tradesmen were localized in the city. On the Esquiline was the potter ;[8] on the Vicus Tuscus were gathered dealers in perfume, pepper and other small wares ;[9] oil-dealers congregated in the Velabrum ;[10] dealers in fruit, e.g. apples in Varro's time, took their place in the Via Sacra;[11] we know of one inn-keeper, who, in the time of Varro, found inn-keeping profitable on the Latin Way;[12] near the statue of Vortumnus were stationed butchers' stalls and shops.[13] Publishers like the Sosii issued books.[14] Atticus used his copying slaves to publish Cicero's speeches. We are aware that book-stores were in existence[15] and that hucksters sold bread and wine.[16] Great men like Cicero, who themselves scorned to engage in retail trade, let out shops to tenants.[17] We know also that one Sassia fitted up a shop at Larinum for the purpose of carrying on the business of an apothecary.[18] A brisk trade was carried on between the country and the towns in flowers, especially violets and roses, and in fruits

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[1]Livy, XLI, xxvii, 10.
[2]Livy, III, xlviii, 5 ; XXVII, xi, 16.
[3]Livy, XXI, lxii, 3 ; XXXIII, xxvii, 3 ; XXXV, xl, 8.
[4]Livy, XXI, lxii, 4 ; XXXIV, liii, 3 ; XL, xxxiv,4.
[5]Livy, XL, li, 5.
[6]Varro, *R.R.*, I, liv, 2.
[7]Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, VI, 59; Livy, XXVI, xxvii, 2 ; Plaut., *Curcul.*, 479.
[8]Festus, p. 344*b* ; Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, V, 50.
[9]Hor., *Epist.*, II, i, 269-0.
[10]Plaut., *Capt.*, 488.
[11]Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 10 ; III, xvi, 23.
[12]Varro, *R.R.*, I, ii, 23 ; Cic., *Pro A. Cluent.*, 59, 163.
[13]Livy, XLIV, xvi, 10.
[14]Hor. *Ep.*, I, xx, 2 ; *Ars Poet.*, 345.
[15]Hor. *Sat.*, I, iv, 71-2 ; Cic., *In M. Anton.*, II, 9, 21.
[16]Plaut., *Asin.*, 199, 200 ; Cic., *In L. Cal. Pis.*, 27, 67.
[17]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, XIV, 9, 1.
[18]Cic., *Pro A. Cluent.*, 63, 178.

and garden-stuffs.[1] In language quaint but eloquent of an active intercourse between rural and urban life, Cato says,—"On the edge of a city sow kitchen-garden stuffs of all kinds, all sorts of flowers, Megarean onions, the twin myrtle-berry, white and black,—the after-wine, Delphic and Cyprian and wild,—nuts with smooth shells, filberts of Abella,—nuts, Praenestine and Grecian. For him who will have that farm alone that is near a city, be it to prepare and sow it that it may be as productive as possible."[2] Farms which were in the immediate neighbourhood of cities supplied the butchers with lambs and beeves[3] and did an active business in firewood and twigs.[4] Important in this connection are the aviaries which the provision merchants of Rome both established in Rome and rented in the country, especially in the Sabine country, where thrushes were attracted by the nature of the soil.[5] That this trade between town and country was not unimportant, but brisk, we gather from the fact that it forms one of the practical considerations which, Varro claims, every farmer should bear in mind, whether there existed a market to which he could bring his products, and whether the means of communication by roads and river were good.[6]

There seems to have existed considerable specialization in trade, for we have dealers in honey,[7] bread, wine,[8] milk,[9] fish,[10] lead,[11] wool, [2] fur[13] and the itinerant dealers in remedies, *pharmacopolae*.[14] Another indication of this specialization is evident in the special costume of the charcoal-dealers,[15] but it

[1]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvi, 3.
[2]Cato, *R.R.*, VIII, 2.
[3]Cato, *R.R.*, VII, 3, 13 ; Varro, *R.R.*, II, v, 11.
[4]Cato, *R.R.*, VII, 1.
[5]Varro, *R.R.*, III, iv, 2.
[6]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xvi, 1.
[7]Varro, *R.R.*, III, xvi, 17.
[8]Plaut., *Asin.*, 199.
[9]Verg., *Georg.*, III, 402-3.
[10]Varro, *R.R.*, III, xvii, 5. They were sold extensively at Puteoli.
[11]Cato, *R.R.*, XXI, 5.
[12]Verg., *Georg.*, III, 384.
[13]Plaut., *Menaech.*, 397.
[14]Hor., *Sat.*, I, ii, 1 ; Cic., *Pro A. Cluent.*, 14, 40.
[15]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, IV, 40.

is most clearly manifested in the extreme specialization of those who dealt in clothing. They include the cloth-fuller, *fullo* ; the embroiderer, *phrygio* ; the goldsmith, *aurifex* ; dealer in linen, *linarius* ; inn-keepers, *caupones* ; border-makers, *patagiarii* ; makers of womens' under-garments, *indusiarii* ; makers of bridal veils, *flammearii* ; dyers of violet, *violarii* ; dyers of yellow, *carinarii* ; sleeve-makers, *manulearii* ; balsam-shoemakers, *murobatharii* ; hucksters, *propolae* ; linen-weavers, *linteones* ; slipper-makers, *calceolarii* ; cobblers, *sutores* ; shoe-makers, *diabathrarii* ; sandal-makers, *solearii* ; mallow-dyers, *molochinarii* ; menders of old garments, *sarcinatores* ; milliners or band-makers, *strophiarii* ; girdle-makers, *semizonarii* ; weavers, *textores* ; fringe-makers, *limbularii*; cabinet-makers, *arcularii* ; saffron-dyers, *crocotarii*.[1]

Many circumstances rendered business and trade highly speculative, and caused variations in values. Thus Pliny tells us that the price of garments fluctuated with the prospect of cold weather. If the *Vergiliae* set in cloudy skies, rainy weather was anticipated, and the price of cloaks immediately rose ; on the other hand, clear weather forboded a sharp winter, and the price of garments of other kinds was sure to go up.[2]

d. Commerce

(1) *Those who engaged in Commerce.*—Mercantile pursuits were denied the senatorial families by the *Lex Claudia* of 219 B.C. No senator or senator's son was permitted to possess a ship whose capacity exceeded three hundred amphorae—a size sufficient, it was thought, to transport the produce of an individual *fundus*.[3] A contempt for trade was common to the Mediterranean world. Lucian, the Syrian satirist, fully expresses his scorn for commerce ; at Halesa in Sicily the decree of Caius Claudius Plucher debarred from election as municipal senators all engaged in

[1]Plaut., *Aulul.*, 500-14.
[2]Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 25, 225.
[3]Livy, XXI, lxiii, 3-4.
[4]Lucian, *Toxaris*, 4.

trade.[1] Rome was not exceptional ; merely to a greater degree she developed her dislike and realized it in custom. Her aristocracy was an aristocracy of land and not of commerce, of provincial governorships and military commands and not of industry. It is interesting to note that only one senator, and he a democrat, C. Flaminius, lent his support to the passing of the *Lex Claudia*. We cannot believe that this restriction imposed upon them was always obeyed by the senators. "Don't be alarmed, Hortensius," says Cicero,[2] "that I shall ask how you, a senator, were allowed to build a ship. Those laws which forbid this no longer bind—they're dead, to use your customary phrase." Nevertheless the prohibition had two results, the assumption of this fruitful sphere of activity by the Roman knights and the restriction of senatorial interest in commercial enterprise to the position of sleeping-partners or sureties.

(2) *Facilities for Commerce.*—Splendid military roads, like the Appian, Latin, Aemilian, and Flaminian Ways, served as great arteries for commerce. Men like Caius Gracchus[3] devoted themselves with great energy to the construction of roads, and we have seen that each proprietor was responsible for the condition of the roads adjoining his property. And yet, though vehicles could be used on the great roads,[4] the unsatisfactory condition of the other highways rendered it necessary for merchants to employ large herds of asses as pack-animals. They were used, for instance, to carry quantities of oil, wine and corn from Brundisium and Apulia to the sea-coast.[5]

Rome's transmarine commerce was singularly impeded. The Tiber was unsuited to large vessels. Ostia was beset with dangerous obstructions ; the harbour was inadequate to accommodate the vessels that came there. For the convenience and security of merchants who traded at Rome Caesar conceived not only the design of clearing Ostia and building

[1] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 49, 122.
[2] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 18, 45.
[3] Plut., *C. Gracch.*, VII.
[4] Varro, *R.R.*, VIII, 5.
[5] *Equipment of Farm*, supra.

proper harbours there but also the larger project of conveying the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circeii and thence into the sea near Tarricina.[1] Again, in our estimate of the commercial activities of the Romans we must remember that marine voyages in the Mediterranean were accomplished only during the summer.[2] From November to March, so far as marine traffic was concerned, one part of the world was totally cut off from communication with the other.[3] But, as is well known, the greatest hindrance of all to the development of marine commerce was the extensive practice of piracy. From the time of the expedition against Scodra in 229 B.C. it had been necessary to take measures to suppress this evil. To protect Roman commercial interests expeditions were fitted out against the pirates. In 102 B.C. the praetor Marcus Antonius captured some of their strongholds and ships. But Rome was scarcely in a position to check piracy. The pirates leagued themselves with Rome's enemies on every sea, now with a Mithradates in the East, now with a Sertorius in the West. And after all it was hardly expedient for the Roman state to do otherwise than tolerate piracy. The laxity of the maritime police of the eastern Mediterranean fostered the activity of Cretan buccaneers and Cilician pirates whose traffic in human lives fed the great slave marts. The Romans profited by the slave trade of the pirates,—in fact, much of the piracy was simply slavers plying their wretched trade, secretly encouraged in high quarters. But however doubtful was Roman policy towards the pirates, the effect of piracy upon commerce was disastrous. Mercantile projects were paralysed. The merchant who ventured on the sea had to undergo grave dangers ;[4] the corsairs of the Ligurians plundered and destroyed merchant ships as far as the Pillars of Hercules ;[5] vessels sailing from Italian ports frequently were molested by Illyrians ;[6] export and import

[1] Plut., *J. Caes.*, LVIII, 4, 5.
[2] Dion Cass., *Hist.*, XLI, 44, 1-2 ; XLII, 58, 2 ; XLIV, 44, 4.
[3] Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, II, iv, 7.
[4] Plaut., *Trinum.*, 1087-9 ; *Mil. Glor.*, 117-8.
[5] Plut., *Aem. Paul.*, VI, 2.
[6] Polyb., *Hist., Res Illyr.*, II. 8. 1.

trade was precarious ; travel was exceedingly venturesome,—even the great Julius himself was captured by these marine marauders.[1] During the last century of the Republic, indeed, Cilician pirates had so spread themselves over the sea, obstructed commerce and cut off the Romans' food supply,[2] that in 67 B.C. the *Lex Gabinia* gave Pompey full command against them. In forty days they were driven from the sea.[3] It was by a strange irony, then, that Pompey's own son, Sextus, became the next great leader of pirates, and in 39 B.C. caused great annoyance by his effectual obstruction of the importation of corn.[4] As a matter of fact, this impediment to commerce was never wholly removed during the Republic. After the agreement between Antony, Octavius and Sextus Pompey, private robbery again infested the sea.[5]

(3) *Commerce.*—Though Cicero has spoken with enthusiasm of the natural advantages of Rome's position for trade and commerce she was far better adapted to become the chief market of Latium than the emporium of the western Mediterranean.[6] "To obtain wealth by trade," says Cato, "has advantages but is precarious ; the occupation of a trader is not exempt from risk and misfortune."[7] To this dread of the sea and ignorance of navigation can be attributed the Roman disasters of the first Punic war. At the beginning of her struggle with Carthage, Roman merchants had been engaged in export.[8] Towards the close of the contest Rome had acquired a marine equipment devoted largely to the transport of provisions. Thus in 217 B.C. some merchantmen carrying supplies from Ostia to the army in Spain were captured by the Carthaginian

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[1]Suet., *J. Caes.*, IV ; Plut., *J. Caes.*, I, 4.

[2]Florus, *Epit.*, III, 6 ; Dion Cass., *Hist.*, XXXVI, 20, 1 ; 22, 2 ; 23, 1 ; Appian, *De Bell. Mith.*, XCI, XCIII, CXIX ; Plut., *Pomp.*, XXV, 1; Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, XII, 32 ; XVII, 53.

[3]Livy, *Ex Lib.*, XCIX ; Dion Cass., *Hist.*, XXXVI, 37, 3 ; Appian, *De Bell. Mith.*, XCVI ; Plut., *Pomp.*, XXV, 2 ; Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, XII, 35 ; *Pro Flacco*, XII, 29,

[4]Livy, *Ex Lib.*, CXXVII; Vell. Pater., II, 77; Plut., *Anton.*, XXXII, 1; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, IV, 83 ; V, 15, 18, 67.

[5]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, V. 77.

[6]Cic., *De Repub.*, II, 5, 10.

[7]Cato, *R.R.*, *Praef.*, 1 *et* 3.

[8]Polyb., *Hist.*, I, 83, 10.

fleet ;[1] while in 215 B.C. large stores of provisions came to Rome from Sicily.[2] A mercantile party grew up in the state. They clamoured for the destruction of Carthage and Corinth because the removal of these rivals meant larger commercial opportunities. Yet Roman commerce was always inextricably associated with the food-supply of Rome. It developed for her into a social necessity. In time she came to need everything. The steady decline of Italian production, which we have noted, in the face of the steadily increasing wants necessitated a transmarine traffic in grain.[3] Rome's trade, therefore, was largely, if not almost entirely, an import trade. Dependent for her food upon her provinces and other cities, her trade was stimulated not by interchange of commodities so much as by that development of consumption for which the rapid growth of the city itself was responsible. The transport of wheat by land and sea was taken in hand by the *negotiatores*, Rome's great business men.[4]

Vanquished peoples Rome deprived of *ius commercii* outside of their own territory.[5] Owing to this handicap, then, the privilege of trade among her subjugated peoples fell to the Roman knights who engaged in commerce very extensively.[6] With certain districts there developed a commerce in special articles. Thus pottery was brought from Samos ;[7] figs from Chios, Chalcidice, Lydia and Africa ;[8] as we have seen, corn came from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, and Spain, and later from Egypt. Transmarine commerce seems to have been attended with considerable profit. Plautus,[9] as well as Horace,[10] remembers the rich Roman *mercator* who wanders over remote seas and scours the Mediterranean.

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[1]Livy, XXII, xi, 6.
[2]Livy, XXII, xxxvii, 1 *et* 6.
[3]Varro, *R.R.*, II, 1, 3.
[4]J. Caes., *De Bell. Civ.*, VII, 3.
[5]Livy, XLV, xxix, 10.
[6]Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, II, v, 2.
[7]Plaut., *Menaech.*, 179 ; *Bacch.*, 199 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 12, 165
[8]Varro, *R.R.*, I, xli, 6.
[9]Plaut., *Stich.*, 6 ; 403-6.
[10]Hor., *Carm.*, I, i, 15-6 ; xxxi, 10-15 ; *Sat.*, I, i, 4-7 ; *Ep.*, I, i, 45-6.

The importance of Ostia to Rome's commerce we have already noticed. Before the close of our period, however, Puteoli, the first port of prominence south of Rome, surpassed it in commerce and trade and became the virtual port of Rome.[1] Here congregated many leading men of commerce.[2] Travellers bound for Rome landed at Puteoli. Cicero, returning after his quaestorship in Sicily,[3] and St. Paul,[4] at a later time, both disembarked at this port. It carried on an extensive trade with the Turdetanians in the south of Spain and with Africa, and handled large quantities of iron smelted at Populonium.[5] It was the port of entry for goods from the East and received annually great stores of costly wares and corn from Alexandria.[6] Moreover, so active was its trade with Greece that in 56 B.C., when Cicero desired to prevent the exportation of gold and silver to that country, he allowed at Puteoli only a commerce in truck.[7]

At a later stage we shall consider taxes and customs. The general rule, however, was to exempt from taxes objects intended for private use ; commodities destined for commerce were taxed. The octroi duties of the provinces were not levied on Roman citizens or their Latin allies. In connection with the coasting trade of Asia, Cicero mentions the tax *circumvectio*. The exact nature of this tax needs more inquiry than it has received. It seems, however, to be a case of sending goods through in bond.[8] The mercator was hampered by unwise prejudices, by injudicious customs and tolls and by inadequate means of communication and transportation.

e. Negotiatores

Between the world of business and the world of finance stood, as a connecting link, the *negotiatores* who dealt both in merchandise and in money. Such were the three hundred

[1] Strab., *Geog.*, 145 ; 245.
[2] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, v, 59, 154.
[3] Cic., *Pro Cn. Planc.*, 26, 65.
[4] *Acts of the Apostles*, XXVIII, 13, 14.
[5] Strab., *Geog.*, 145 ; Diod. Sic., V, 13.
[6] Strab., *Geog.*, 793 ; Suet., *Oct. Aug.*, XCVIII.
[7] Cic., *In P. Vat.*, 5, 12.
[8] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, II, 16, 4.

Romans in Utica that Cato formed into a council ; they trafficked in commerce and exchanged money. The term "*negotiator*" then oscillates in its signification between "trader" and "banker" ; often the *negotiator* was both trader and banker.[1] The "*negotiatores*" belonged for the most part to the knights (*equites*).[2] According to Sallust, it was Roman knights, both soldiers and merchants, *negotiatores*, who wrote to Rome for Marius's appointment as general.[3] Again, when the Carnutes slew Roman citizens who had settled at Genabum to trade, it is a distinguished Roman knight, Caius Fufius Cita, in charge of the wheat transportation,[4] who receives special mention.

Nor did they merely keep pace with the advance of Roman conquests. In some instances, as in Gaul, they were the pioneers and were responsible for the march of Rome's armies.[5] We have already seen that commercial and military enterprises ultimately became so intimately associated that Roman soldiers began to carry in their belts money with which to trade on campaigns.[6] Is it possible that we have an allusion to this trading passion among the troops in John the Baptist's injunction to the Roman soldiers to be content with their wages ?[7]

The provinces presented a field for the activities of the *negotiatores*, and in them all save Sicily they proved unpopular.[8] In Sicily they seem to have recognized that their interests were closely identified with those of the Sicilians,[9] and, with the exception of the interference of Verres, their business relations were unrestricted.[10] They maintained connections with the whole province, and especially with the

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1Plut., *Cat. Min.*, LIX, 2.
2Cic., *Pro reg. Deiot.*, 9, 26.
3Sallust, *Bell. Jug.*, 65.
4Caes, *B.G.*, VII, 3.
5Caes., *B.G.*, III, 1.
6Livy, XXXIII, xxix, 4.
7*Gospel according to St. Luke*, III, 14.
8Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 3, 7.
9Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, v, 4, 8.
10Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 20, 43.

cities of Syracuse, Agrigentum, Panormus and Lilybaeum.[1] These *negotiatores*, moreover, operated among frontier tribes, had access to the Suevi, settled among the Carnutes and penetrated even to the Belgae.[2] In fact, all Gaul was filled with these Roman traders,[3] and no one except them ever crossed into Britain.[4] Nor did Africa escape their persevering enterprise. Thus Herennius, the friend of the Roman knight, L. Flavius, and probably himself a knight, was *negotiator* in this province ;[5] many resided and trafficked in Vaga, a city of the Numidians ;[6] the council of Utica consisted of *negotiatores*.[7] Asia, however, was their largest sphere of activity. Thus Decinanus for thirty years operated in the free city of Pergamus ;[8] many had settled at Lampsacus ;[9] and a great number of knights and men of other ranks either traded in this province or invested sums of money there;[10] always with the hope that, if the payment of their debts was not forthcoming, a governor would grant the rank of *praefectus* with some troops to bully those who were unfortunate enough to be under financial obligations to them.[11] They were utterly unscrupulous in their methods, and, on occasions, combined to "corner" the wheat.[12] We can form some conception both of their large number and of the hatred entertained for the Roman traders from the fact that Mithradates caused the slaughter of 80,000 (150,000 according to another account) in one day.[13] His instigation of this savage attack is very significant. This is a general rising of the East, and Rome was clearly on the point of losing her empire in the East.

[1]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, I, 7, 20 ; II, ii, 3, 6 ; ii, 62, 153 ; iv, 43, 93 ; v, 62, 161.

[2]Caes., *B.G.*, I, 1, ; IV, 2 ; VII, 3.

[3]Cic., *Pro M. Font.*, V. 11 *et* 12.

[4]Caes., *B.G.*, IV, 20.

[5]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, i, 5, 14.

[6]Sallust, *Bell. Jug.*, 47.

[7]Plut., *Cat. Min.*, LIX, 2.

[8]Cic., *Pro L. Flacc.*, 29, 70.

[9]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, i, 27, 69.

[10]Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VII, 18.

[11]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 10 ; VI, 1, 4 ; 2, 8 ; 3, 5.

[12]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 8.

[13]Val. Max., IX, 2, 3; Plut., *Sulla*, XXIV; Appian, *De Bell. Mith.*, 186.

They spread, too, over Bithynia and Pontus ; and Cicero's request for the pro-praetor of these provinces to assist the *negotiator*, M. Laenius, in his business relations was only one of many instances.[1]

Though the *publicani* or government contractors, as well as the *negotiatores*, engaged in banking and finance, we must carefully distinguish them. The *negotiatores*, principally knights, for the most part operated on their own private ventures, and were not closely associated as a class ; the government contractors, also largely knights, held their enterprise from the state and were a more definitely recognized order in society.

In earliest times wealthy patricians, and doubtless plebeians also, had advanced money to those whose service in Rome's campaigns forced them to borrow. Gradually, however, there evolved in the Forum the professional banker with his record of deposits, withdrawals, and interest accrued.[2] Though they performed a real service in facilitating loans and in safeguarding deposits, yet in financial crises the state was forced to supplement their efforts by establishing a public bank.[3] Financial activity and usury, however, became subject to many restrictions in Italy, and stringent measures were passed to protect the Roman debtor. To extricate themselves from these regulations, the shrewd money-lenders had devised the scheme to use Latin allies as intermediaries, for, by dealing with non-citizens, the transaction was not within Roman law. Their cunning proved of no avail. For in B.C. 193 a law forced the Latins to make declaration of all loans in which they had figured as mere go-betweens, and subjected to Roman law all monetary transactions within the peninsula.[4] Large profits, consequently, no longer could be expected in Italy. Those who had money turned to the provinces.

Inasmuch as the gains yielded by financial ventures were small in Italy, and money brought only four per

[1] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XIII, 63, 2.
[2] Plaut., *Curcul.*, 479 ; Cic., *Pro A. Caec.*, 6, 17.
[3] Livy, VII, xxi, 8 ; XXII, lx, 4 ; XXIII, xxi, 6.
[4] Livy, XXXV, vii, 1-5.

cent. per year on ordinary, and eight per cent. on special occasions, the profits realized in the provinces were large.[1] Men borrowed money at the low rates in Rome and let it out at the high rates in the provinces. For example, individuals like Sittius were in debt in the metropolis, but their debtors in the provinces were numerous and important.[2] With Rome as their financial centre the *negotiatores* extended their exploitations alike in Gaul, in Africa and in Asia. Nor was it usual, though it happened in Asia in 70 B.C., to have the authorities, in the interests of the provincials, impose a check upon their predatory demands.[3] In this year Lucullus reduced interest to the legal rate of one per cent. per month, rejected all claims for interest where it exceeded the principal in amount, and restricted the liability of the debtor to one-fourth of his income. One instance of the oppressive usury which prevailed may be cited :—Towards the public fine of 20,000 talents imposed on Asia by Sulla, 20,000 talents had been already twice paid, yet, in the time of Lucullus, the amount of the obligation was 120,000 talents. The result of Lucullus's activity was two-fold. Within four years all debts were paid and the influential classes in Rome, offended by this check upon their greed, transferred the command from Lucullus to Pompey, the candidate of the capitalists.[4] Generally, however, the *negotiatores* were on friendly terms with the governor. They lent themselves as accessories to the magistrates or his lieutenants, who, in turn, did not scruple to use for private ends their official position. It was to avenge himself upon Philodamus of Lampsacus that Verres, lieutenant of Dolabella in Asia, aroused some creditors to accuse the unfortunate man before the tribunal over which he himself presided.[5]

One incident will cast considerable light upon the relation which existed between these Roman money-lenders and the provincials. To reserve to Roman speculators the

[1]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, IV, 15, 7.
[2]Cic., *Pro Sulla*, XX, 56 *et* 58.
[3]Plut., *Lucull.*, VII, 6 ; XX, 1.
[4]Plut., *Lucull.*, XX, 3-5.
[5]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, i, 29, 73-4.

profits from commerce in money, the tribune Aulus Gabinius had caused to be passed an enactment which prohibited provincials from coming to Rome to borrow money, where it was cheap, and denied to the creditor the right to recover such loans. The people of Salamis, however, when hard pressed for money, borrowed at Rome through Scaptius and Matinius from Brutus and his friends not at the legal rate of twelve per cent. but at forty-eight per cent. The prospects of the large gain induced Brutus to incur the risk. He reckoned on his influence with the senate to secure a resolution to have that particular bond legalized for recovery. Nor did he calculate amiss ; he procured the legislation. But when the time for payment arrived, difficulties arose. Thereupon Scaptius and Matinius obtained a command and some troops from the governor, Appius, and kept the councillors of Salamis shut up within their town-hall till some actually died of starvation. Just at this juncture Cicero became governor, and issued the customary edict, in which he declared his intention to maintain the rate of interest at twelve per cent. He refused the demand of Scaptius for a command and troops to recover the debt. After a careful examination of the case he discovered a second decree of the senate that the bond should be held valid, but only for the usual rate of interest. Despairing of obtaining the whole amount, Scaptius took Cicero aside, and informed him that he would be content with this decision, and accept 200 talents, as, forsooth, the people fancied they owed him this sum, whereas they really owed him a trifle less. This seemed reasonable to Cicero until he called in the Salaminians, and they protested that the debt was only 106 talents. Moreover, by a comparison of their accounts with those of Scaptius, they were enabled actually to prove this, and, at the same time, they offered to pay the money down at once. Scaptius was much chagrined, but, hoping ultimately to secure his demands, took Cicero aside and begged him to leave the matter as it stood. It reflects no credit on Cicero, and is a significant commentary on the relationship of the governor and *negotiatores*, to know that Cicero yielded to the request of Scaptius to leave the matter

over for the decision of the next governor, and refused the Salaminians permission to deposit the money in some temple.[1]

We can appreciate the extensive operations of some of these Roman *negotiatores* when we consider that one of them, Rabirius, was engaged in many enterprises, undertook many large contracts, possessed large blocks of shares in public contracts, lent money to towns and peoples, invested his capital in more than one province, advanced great sums to the king of Egypt, and became, in fact, the banker of kings.[2]

With the financial interests of the metropolis thus intimately bound up in those of the provinces, the money-market at Rome was extremely sensitive to shock from provincial political movements.[3] The *negotiatores* were naturally and consistently opposed to war. Its long continuance, even its existence, exposed their fortunes to hazard.[4]

We must bear in mind that, in addition to these *negotiatores*, whose interests were largely in the provinces, and who conducted a banking business, there existed in Rome professional bankers, "*argentarii*," who served as intermediaries in exchange, and fixed the rates thereof.[5] The 'Change of the Romans was at the '*medius Janus*,' at the beginning of the Sacred Way.[6] Here they occupied the basilicas[7] built, according to Vitruvius, "for those who engaged in trade, as a protection against the rigours of the season."[8] It is not, therefore, by a mere chance that the advent of financiers coincided with the establishment of the first basilica, the Porcia, about 184 B.C.[9] The *negotiatores* undoubtedly and, in spite of Cato's statement to the contrary,[10] probably the professional bankers also, were held in esteem at Rome. Augustus was always careful to protect the interests of the traffic of the

[1] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 10-13 ; VI, 2, 7-9.
[2] Cic., *Pro C. Rab. Post.*, 2, 4. See also *Revue de Paris*, 1903, t.1, p. 355.
[3] Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VII, 19.
[4] Sallust, *Bell Jug.*, 64.
[5] Cic., *Pro Quinct.*, 4, 17.
[6] Hor., *Ep.*, I, i, 53-5 ; Cic., *In M. Ant. Phil.*, VI, 5, 15.
[7] Plaut., *Curcul.*, 471-2.
[8] Vitruv., V, 1.
[9] Livy, XXXIX, xliv, 7.
[10] Cic., *De offic.*, II, 25.

negotiatores.[1] Cicero recognized the real value of the bankers to the state. He ranked them above philosophers;[2] he especially admired one, M. Fulcinius, who had come from the municipality of Tarquinii and had worked up a splendid business as a banker at Rome ; and was on most intimate terms with another, Cluvius, who left him a villa at his death.[3]

§ 4. ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

a. The Public Service

At Rome, then, commerce and industry were despised and relatively undeveloped, agriculture became unprofitable and was abandoned, but, nevertheless, within the metropolis we have been able to trace a great and steady growth of riches. For the nobles, debarred as they were from trade and manufacture, a career in the public service became a great avenue to the accumulation of enormous wealth. The Roman carried with him into the provinces the slave-owner's arrogance and confidence. Their conquest by war had meant for provincials one plundering; in times of peace Rome's governors and officials, seeking to make their fortunes by their administration, pursued a policy of uninterrupted pillage.[4] In Gaul, for instance, Caesar, as already quoted, amassed treasures sufficient to purchase Curio, to beautify the Forum as a counter-bid to Pompey's theatre, to buy Paulus, and to adopt a course of indiscriminate bribery.[5] The governors Rome sent out soon rendered her name odious.[6] The provinces were plundered, harassed and utterly ruined.[7] Only exceptional men of the stamp of Q. Mucius Scaevola possessed the inclination and the courage to stem the tide of Roman provincial maladministration.[8] Only a man with the spirit of a Horace could resist the temptation of a lucrative governor-

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[1]Suet., *Oct. Aug.*, XLII.
[2]Cic., *De offic.*, II, 24, 87.
[3]Cic., *Pro A. Caec.*, IV, 10.
[4]Polyb., XXXII, xi, 6-7.
[5]Plut., *J. Caes.*, XXIX, 2.
[6]Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, XXII, 65.
[7]Cic., *In Q. Caec.*, III, 7.
[8]Val. Max., *Memor.*, VIII, xv, 6.

ship and prefer the prospect of a good crop at home to the dazzling pro-consulship of fertile Africa.[1]

The term of office for the governor was one year only.[2] When the safety of the province was endangered, however, it was deemed a matter of such importance to have the administration continue uninterrupted, that the appointment of a successor was not permitted and the measure to lengthen the governorship was not subject to veto.[3] For this reason Cicero feared that the crisis in Asia would prolong his period of administration.[4] The governor, it would seem moreover, had some power, on his withdrawal from the province, to appoint a deputy as interim administrator.[5]

No inconsiderable part of the governor's duties was the circuit of the province. To arrange the finances of the towns, to satisfy the tax-farmers, to deal with disputes between Roman citizens and provincials he held court at various centres.[6] It was a necessity of his position to keep his friends at home informed of all movements in his own and neighbouring states and to be in touch himself with the political situation in Rome. For this purpose he found the messengers of the tax-contractors very useful in transmitting and forwarding mails.[7] Any account of Roman provincial government, however, would be incomplete without a reference to the

[1]Hor., *Carm.*, III, xvi, 29-32.

[2]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 16, 2 ; VI, 2, 6 ; 6, 3.

[3]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 3.

[4]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 3 ; VI, 2, 6 ; 11, 1.

[5]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, VI, 6, 3. The Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada is the official despatched by the Imperial government to represent it in this colonial nation. But no Governor-General in Canada possesses the prerogatives of a Roman pro-consul in his provincial administration. Were he to become at one and the same time Minister of Militia and Commander in Chief of the Canadian forces, were he to assume a great part of the functions of the Minister of Finance, to perform all the duties which devolve upon the Supreme Court of Judicature at Ottawa, without omitting those offices which attach to him as the representative of the Crown and the visible bond between the Dominion and the Empire; were he moreover, by the enactment of edicts which Canadians must obey, to stand in his single person for the Prime Minister, Cabinet, Senate and House of Commons; and were he to exercise these prerogatives not necessarily in a tyrannical fashion, but, at any rate, arbitrarily; his powers would be similar to those wielded by Rome's representative. But he would still have to reckon with a free people that self-government has made capable of resisting oppression.

[6]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, II, 13, 3 ; *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 9 ; VI, 2, 4.

[7]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, VIII, 4, 5 ; *Ep ad Att.*, V, 11, 7 ; 21, 4.

numerous demands on a governor for assistance. Personal applications for posts and requests to enforce payment on luckless provincials were constantly urged.[1] One friend appeals to Cicero to rescind measures passed in previous years ; another persistently reminds him of a bond that he wishes to collect; still another clamours for some wild beasts or panthers for an exhibition.[2] Many of these requests, doubtless, were unheeded ; and when one governor wished another to pay any heed to a recommendation which he urged for a friend, he was particularly attentive to couch it in carefully chosen words (*accurate*).[3]

The anxiety with which provincials awaited the arrival of a new governor is a significant commentary on the havoc which he, directly or indirectly, wrought.[4] By the terms of Caesar's Act of 59 B.C. a governor was allowed forage and probably firewood ; and he could exact expenses for himself, his staff and his paymaster.[5] Members of the staff, however, and unquestionably the governor also, did not scruple to overstep the bounds of this provision.[6] The difficulty and expense then of securing wild animals for the governor's friends, billeting, the device of combining with dealers to corner the grain required for a requisition "*in cellam*", honorary wine and other benevolences, the erection of statues, temples and triumphal arches, sums paid to avert the fulfilment of threats to quarter soldiers for the winter, the peculations of their own magistrates,—all these plunged the wretched provincials into overwheming debt both as individuals and as communities.[7] And to obtain redress, access to the governor was sometimes possible only through a chamberlain ;[8] while cases of dispute a governor often left entirely open to his successor.[9]

[1] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 10.
[2] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, VIII, 4, 5 ; 6, 5 ; 6, 10 ; *Ep .ad Att.*, V, 11, 6.
[3] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 11, 6 ; 21, 4.
[4] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V. 16, 2.
[5] Cic., *Ep ad Att.*, V, 16, 3.
[6] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 5.
[7] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, VIII, 8, 10 ; *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 7 ; 21, 11; VI, 2, 5.
[8] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, VI, 2, 5.
[9] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 13.

It is fortunate that the same author, Cicero, has given us pictures of two provincial governorships, the one of Sicily by Verres, the other of Cilicia by himself. Neither delineation represents the truth : for in one instance he is anxious to extol, in the other he is careful to disparage. The account of Cicero as pro-consul of Cilicia presents in extravagant outlines the benefits accruing under a conscientious administrator ; that of Verres in Sicily exaggerates the evils, almost too enormous for exaggeration, by which rapacious governors oppressed provincials. A more colourless account mid-way between these which should neutralize the colouring of both would give us a more adequate conception of the character of the normal governorship. We shall endeavour to produce faithfully and sympathetically Cicero's account of the government of Cilicia and Sicily without forgetting that no governor administered his province so well as Cicero would have us believe Cilicia was governed, or abused the provincials so badly as the prosecutor claims Verres to have done. And yet Verres was the Warren Hastings of antiquity and Cicero, possibly, represents the climax of virtuous Roman provincial administration.

Cicero had already been quaestor in Sicily before he became pro-consul in Cilicia, and he knew well the opportunities which the public service afforded at a time when governors of provinces indulged in open plunder.[1] Yet Cicero refused to accept even those allowances which Caesar's Act permitted the governor. His hope, indeed, was throughout his year of office to occasion his province not one farthing of personal expense.[2] During six months of Cicero's administration Asia received not one letter of injunction from him, not one requisition ; nor had she a single official to entertain. Though it was the custom of the larger states to pay large sums for exemptions, and though the people of Cyprus had paid as much as 200 Attic talents, Cicero neither exacted nor received a talent. Indeed he even forbade the erection in his honour of statues, shrines and marble chariots. When he

[1] Plut., *Demosth. et Cic., Comp.*, III, 3.
[2] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 16, 3 ; 20, 6.

could write boastfully from Tralles that his visit there had been concluded without cost to any person,[1] we can understand better how it was possible, out of the sum decreed for him for the year's expenses, to leave behind for C. Caelius, his quaestor, an amount sufficient for a year's expenditures, and in addition to pay back into the treasury 1,000,000 sesterces.[2] In the edict which it was usual for the governor to issue on first entering the province, Cicero declared that he would recognize no financial rate above twelve per cent.[3] At the assizes held in the various towns he freed a great number of cities from very vexatious tributes, from excessive interest, and from fraudulent debt.[4] His administration enabled many states to pay up arrears of debt for five years, and gained him popularity with people and government contractors.[5] Though friends in Rome urged upon him the claims of their business and official connections, and Cicero was always anxious to comply with such requests, and himself wrote to Q. Gallus to protect the interests of Lucius Oppius, banker and manager for L. Egnatius Rufus, yet his determination to earn a reputation for just administration led him to refuse prefectures to men engaged in business.[6] It was his desire to have his governorship known as one in which not a penny was exacted except in payment of debt.[7] There always existed the danger, even if the governor resisted the temptation to exploit his office, that he might not be able to cope with some fraudulent banker or over-extortionate tax-farmer.[8] Nevertheless, that Cicero was enabled to leave behind in Sicily a grateful remembrance

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[1]Cic., *Ep ad Att.*, V, 14, 2.

[2]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, VII, 1, 6.

[3]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 11 ; VI, 1, 6. Cæsar's legislation of 59 B.C. had aimed to promote the welfare of the provincial. When the rich *publicanus* Zacchæus stated that for unjust extortions he restored fourfold he was simply complying with Cæsar's Act (St. Luke XIX, 8).

[4]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XV, 4, 2.

[5]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, II, 12, 3 ; *Ep. ad Att.*, VI, 2, 5.

[6]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XIII, 26,2 ; 43, 1 ; 66, 2 ; 70, 1 ; 72, 1 ; 77, 3 ; *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 21, 10 ; VI, 1, 6.

[7]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, VI, i, 21.

[8]Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 2-7.

of his quaestorship,[1] that in Cilicia, of all provinces, he should have been governor without swerving from honesty,[2] is indisputable evidence that good government was not entirely impossible.

In his government of Cilicia Cicero had thrown the great weight of his influence on the side of just and equitable government. In Sicily however, Verres, with a power no less, turned his energies to self-aggrandizement ; for three years his cruelty, avarice and arrogance wrought havoc throughout the island.[3] We can obtain some conception of the enormity of his plunder from the circumstance that the action brought against Verres was for one hundred millions of sesterces (over $4,000,000).[4] The total amount of his extortions was in the neighbourhood of $25,000,000—a high salary for three years.[5]

Verres' record was bad. As proquaestor, by levying corn and then estimating it at his own valuation, he had harassed the Milyades, he had oppressed Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and all Phrygia.[6] Sicily, however, offered him the fairest field for plundering. A contract, which others offered to undertake for 80,000 sesterces, he took advantage of his official position as praetor to award to himself for 560,000 sesterces.[7] In his capacity as judge he did not scruple to accept bribes from masters of accused slaves or even from both plaintiff and defendant.[8] In all Sicily no one could become a senator unless Verres had received gifts.[9] He exacted money from individuals for appointing them censors and from cities on the pretence of erecting statues.[10] It was by a refinement of extortion, however, that he compelled the provincials against their wills to give him money and wheat

[1] Cic., *In Q. Caec.*, I, 2.
[2] Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 2, 8.
[3] Cic., *In Q. Caec.*, I, 3.
[4] Cic., *In Q. Caecil*, V, 19.
[5] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 50, 118.
[6] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, i, 38, 95.
[7] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, i, 55, 144.
[8] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 32, 78 ; v, 7, 15.
[9] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 51, 125.
[10] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 55, 137 ; 57, 141 ; 59, 146.

as a compliment.[1] In the farming of the tithes which were there paid in kind, Verres gave free rein to his rapacity. During his quaestorship the cultivator was forced to pay as much as the farmer demanded.[2] Indeed, he regarded himself as treated very leniently, if the demands of his oppressors were satisfied with three-tenths, and that when the legitimate demand was one-tenth.[3] From the people of Hybla were exacted six times as much corn as was sown ;[4] from the estate of C. Cassius' wife the whole crop was removed.[5] When, in order to defeat Verres' edict that no one should remove his corn from the threshing-floor until the tax was paid to the farmers, Septitius determined to leave his corn lying, Verres issued another edict, that every one should deliver his tenths at the water-side before August the first.[6] In all provinces magistrates had friendly relations with the government contractors. Verres' association with them in misdeeds was unabashed.[7] The farmers of the revenues openly avowed that Verres was in partnership with them, and complained bitterly that he appropriated most of the profits.[8] Verres himself therefore was virtually the farmer of the tenths.[9]

He seems, moreover, to have been especially unscrupulous and particularly skilful in manipulating financial operations. For example, the law of Terentius and Cassius, and a decree of the senate, entrusted Verres with the duty of purchasing corn in Sicily. For this corn, which consisted of the second tenths at three sesterces a modius and 800,000 modii at three and a half sesterces furnished in fair proportion by the cities, Verres, during his three years, was paid nearly 36,600,000 sesterces (nearly $1,500,000). This enormous sum he appropriated to himself. Most of this money he put out at twenty-four per cent. interest among the companies from

[1] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 38, 86.
[2] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 10, 25.
[3] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 16, 42.
[4] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 43, 102.
[5] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 41, 97.
[6] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 14, 36.
[7] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XIII, 9, 2.
[8] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 57, 130.
[9] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 30, 71.

which it had been drawn. To a few of the cities he paid trifling sums ; the majority received actually nothing at all for their corn.[1] Again, for the 60,000 modii which the city of Halesa was required to furnish each year, Verres substituted a money-payment for payment in kind, and kept the whole sum for himself.[2] Wheat which he received from the cities for fifteen sesterces a medimnus, he handed over to the Roman people for twenty-one sesterces.[3] By an ingenious, but thoroughly unscrupulous device, Verres sold twice, once to the cities for fifteen sesterces a medimnus, a second time to the Roman people at twenty-one sesterces, corn, which extorted from the cultivator by violence, had cost him nothing.[4] Nor was this all : when the price of a modius of wheat was two, or at most, three serterces, Verres exacted from the cultivators three denarii, or twelve sesterces, and even then he increased the quota of corn beyond what was due.[5] He made additional illegal exactions for the examination of the corn, for the difference in exchanges and for *sealing* money[6]; and even deducted one twenty-fifth for the services of his clerk,—something altogether too trivial for men of the stamp of Hortensius and Cicero.[7]

Magistrates had the power to decide at what place corn should be delivered. The custom grew up with covetous magistrates to require corn to be handed over at the most remote and inconvenient places in order to induce the cultivators, through the difficulty of carriage, to consent to a desired valuation. It would be to the advantage of the Philomelians, for instance, rather to pay in Phrygia the price which corn brought at Ephesus than either to convey corn to Ephesus or to send both money and agents thither to purchase it at current rates. The governors shrewdly profited by the difference in the price in different places.[8] But, when in any district

[1]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 70, 163-5.
[2]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 73, 170.
[3]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 75, 174.
[4]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 77, 178-9.
[5]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 81, 82, 189.
[6]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 78, 181.
[7]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 78, 181-2.
[8]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 82-83, 190-2.

whatsoever, corn was bringing at the most three sesterces, Verres raised the valuation to twelve.[1] Again, in addition to the money which the government at Rome advanced to the praetor of Sicily to purchase corn for the metropolis, the usual sum was given him to buy corn for the governor's granary.[2] Verres, however, demanded of the cities five times the lawful amount.[3] In fact, to support the praetor's granary and his valuation alone was a heavy burden for the Sicilians.[4] To except favourites from payment rendered the burden intolerable. For, without diminishing the contribution, he decreased the number of contributors. Because they allowed him to store his plunder amongst them, Verres exempted the people of Messana from the payment of 60,000 modii of wheat, and transferred the obligation to Centuripae and Halesa, cities which should have been exempt from this tax. Moreover, for three years, his favourites in Messana were not required to furnish a ship and were granted immunity from all expenses.[5]

"I say that in all Sicily," is another charge that Cicero urges against Verres, "in all that wealthy and ancient province, in that number of towns and families of such exceeding riches, there was no silver vessel, no Corinthian or Delian plate, no jewel, neither any pearl, nor anything made of gold or ivory, no statue of marble or brass or ivory, no picture, whether painted on canvas or embroidered, that he did not seek out, that he did not inspect, that, if he admired, he did not carry off."[6] Many counts in this severe indictment, at once so dark and so comprehensive, Cicero fully establishes by concrete instances of thievery. From the house of Heius, Verres took away all the statues and Attalic tapestry.[7] Philarchus of Centuripae, Aristus of Panormus, Cratippus of Tyndaris he plundered of their splendid trappings.[8] He carried off the plate of

[1] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 84, 194.
[2] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 87, 202.
[3] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 97, 225.
[4] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 87, 203.
[5] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 9, 20-1 ; 10, 23 ; 21, 55.
[6] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 1, 1.
[7] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 3, 7 ; 12, 27.
[8] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 12, 29 ;

Diocles of Lilybaeum.[1] He deprived Marcus Caelius, a Roman knight of Lilybaeum, of his silver vessels ; Caius Cacurius, of all his household furniture ; Quintus Lutatius Diodorus, of a table of citron wood; Apollonius, of his exquisitely wrought silver plate ; Lyso of Lilybaeum, of the statue of Apollo ; Heius, of his drinking vessels wrought with emblems of Lilybaeum.[2] It was notorious over all Sicily that men were prosecuted for capital offences, because the praetor coveted their chased silver-plate.[3] All their silver vessels Catana, Centuripae, Agyrium, and Haluntium were forced to give over to the rapacious praetor.[4] Indeed, to his grasping soul nothing was too sacred for plunder. A candelabrum of jewels—a present for Capitoline Jupiter ; a statue of Diana ; a statue of Mercury ; breast-plates and helmets of brass of Corinthian workmanship from the temple of Cybele ; ivory and ornaments from the temple of Juno ; Ceres herself, the very chief of sacred things to Sicily ; pictures from the temple of Minerva in Syracuse ; the folding doors of a temple ; the statue of Paean from the temple of Aesculapius; the image of Aristaeus from the temple of Bacchus ; the figure of Jupiter Imperator from the temple of Jupiter ; Delphic tables of marble ; beautiful goblets of brass ; and an immense number of Corinthian vases from every temple of Syracuse,—all failed to satisfy the ravenous appetite of the covetous proconsul.[5] After his rule, it was asserted by his accuser, he had not left in Sicily one single censer.[6] It was an aggravation of his offence that Verres should have regarded these robberies as purchases and, in some instances, should have added insult to wrong by the payment of a pittance.[7]

The fleet, also, furnished Verres opportunity for exploitation. Each city granted the admiral ship-money for the expenses and equipment of the vessels, for provisions, for pay.

[1] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 16, 35.
[2] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 17, 37.
[3] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 19, 41.
[4] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 29, 67.
[5] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 29, 67 ; 34, 76 ; 39, 84 ; 44, 97 ; 45, 99 ; 46, 103-4 ; 49, 109 ; 55, 122 ; 56, 124 ; 57, 127-8 ; 59, 131.
[6] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 21, 47.
[7] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iv, 24, 53 ; 60, 134.

This money the praetor caused to be paid to himself.[1] He accepted 600 sesterces for the discharge of each sailor, and yet demanded money for his maintenance as if he had not been discharged.[2] His iniquitous conduct provoked from Cicero the exclamation that during Verres' praetorship Sicilian soldiers fed on wild-palm roots, but pirates on Sicilian corn.[3]

The land throughout Sicily was deserted and abandoned by its owners.[4] Lucius Metellus, the successor of Verres, found the fields empty, the province in a wretched and ruined condition.[5] The picture of Roman rule in Sicily under Verres, as outlined by Cicero, is dark : "You shall hear the complaints of the brave and industrious Agrigentines ; the sufferings and injuries of the Entellans, men of the greatest perseverance and utmost industry ; and the wrongs of the citizens of Heraclea and Gela and Solentum. I shall tell you how the lands of the loyal and wealthy Catanians were ravaged by Apronius, how the iniquity of these tax-farmers has ruined the cities of Tyndaris, Cephalaedis, Halentia, Apollonia, Enguina, Capitia. I shall show you that actually nothing is left to the citizens of Ina, Murgentia, Assoria, Elorum, Erina, and Ietum ; that the people of the small cities, Cretana and Scheria, are wholly crushed and utterly destroyed ; that, in short, all the lands liable to the payment of tenths, for three years have been tributary to the Roman people,—but merely to the extent of one-tenth of their produce,—for the rest they were tributary to Caius Verres. You shall understand that to the majority of the cultivators absolutely nothing is left ; where anything was either remitted or left to any one, it was just so much of that property as remained after that man's avarice had been sated."[6]

This picture of the government of Sicily by Verres, though over-drawn, is painted from an original of startling misery and outrageous oppression. The scale of Roman extortion

[1] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, v, 24, 60.
[2] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, v, 25, 62.
[3] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, v, 38, 99.
[4] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 98, 228.
[5] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 53, 124.
[6] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 43, 103.

was enormous. In the provinces wicked and rapacious magistrates became subservient to the government contractors,[1] and acquired enormous wealth. The proconsul was attended by his paymaster, or *quaestor*, who did not scruple at peculation;[2] and by a considerable suite of sons of prominent citizens to whom a career of administrative plunder in the provinces offered an inviting prospect. We have already noted that the suite overstepped the limitations of Caesar's Act in their relation to provincials ; and if Cicero's recommendation of Trebatius to Caesar and the hope which he expressed that he would make his fortune[3] count for anything, their sojourn in the province was not lacking in opportunities to amass wealth. The *liberae legationes* afforded another method of provincial oppression. Occasionally these ancient 'railway passes' were granted to facilitate the collection of debts ;[4] often they merely enabled private individuals to travel at the expense of those districts through which they passed.[5]

The provinces all complained of Roman covetousness and injustice. Few districts—Cicero says none—were spared the extortion of the Roman governor.[6] Was there no redress ? The courts were corrupt. In the provinces to obtain reparation was well nigh impossible. Verres himself judged the validity of the claim which he urged against Dio that an inheritance had been forfeited to Venus Erycina ; he was both judge and plaintiff. To prevail in this case of undeniable justice, Dio had to pay 1,000,000 sesterces (over $40,000) and suffer the vexation of having the praetor drive away his herds of mares, and carry off his plate and embroidered vestments.[7]

At Rome the courts of justice had become base and wicked. The Calpurnian law of 149 B.C. had indeed established a

[1] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 41, 94.

[2] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, X, 32, 2 ; *In C. Verr.*, II, i, 4, 11.

[3] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, VII, 5 *et* 10.

[4] Cic., *Pro L. Flacco*, 34, 86.

[5] Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, II, 17, 45. They were abolished in the year of Cicero's consulship. In 65-4 we find Cicero saying that he will use one to run up into Piso's province.

[6] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 89, 207.

[7] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, i, 10, 27-8.

law against the peculation of provincial magistrates, but at the best the penalties were merely pecuniary and the constitution of the courts rendered the procedure a farce. The provinces, tyrannized over and depopulated, could secure no redress ; they were avenged on their spoilers in the lowering of the victor's moral standards and ideals.[1] Indeed Cicero asserted that the trials for extortion only aggravated the situation. Were it rendered unnecessary to procure vast sums to corrupt the judges, was his contention, the exactions from provincials would not be so excessive.[2] "*Imperium ex iustissimo atque optimo crudele intolerandumque factum,*" was the sad commentary of the historian whose lucrative government of Numidia had so amply repaid him that he was enabled to purchase gardens to be for ages the delight of emperors.[3]

We have solved in a great measure, we think, the growth of riches for the nobility of Rome. Land was not the basis of Roman fortunes at the close of the Republic. The extremely profitable nature of Roman administration is the true key to the situation. Cicero could prove Caius Verres to have made the statement in Sicily that he had a powerful friend, in confidence in whom he was plundering the province, that he was not seeking money for himself alone but had so distributed the exactions of the three years of his Sicilian praetorship that he should be perfectly satisfied if he could appropriate to himself the profits of but one year ; the gains of the second year he would assign to his patrons and defenders ; whereas the proceeds of the third year, the most productive and gainful of all, he reserved for the judges.[4] The administration of her provinces was supporting, was enriching, and was degrading Rome.

b. Customs

That the Romans should have a system of customs was no new thing for the ancient world. The wealth of the old

[1] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, I, 15, 45.
[2] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, I, 14, 41.
[3] Sallust, *Cat.*, X.
[4] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, I, 14, 40.

magnates of Mycenae has received an explanation in forced tolls, these being an old-world prototype of customs.[1] At Athens, besides harbour dues, octroi tolls, excise charges, and a special tax on resident aliens, an *ad valorem* duty of 2 per cent. was levied on all exports and imports.[2] That the Carthaginians had established a system of customs their commercial treaty with the Romans clearly proves in the specific exemption of the latter from all dues except the fees of the broker and the clerk.[3] Greece had a tax on imports and exports sufficiently high for exemption from it to be considered a boon.[4] In the Bosporus, moreover, the Athenians were especially favoured by Pareisades in being freed from customs.[5] Strabo mentions it as no uncertain indication of the stupidity of the Cumaeans that they imposed no duties upon merchandise entering their harbours.[6] In Rome a tax on the importation of merchandise, *portorium*, existed from very early times, even under the kings. For at the very commencement of the Republic, when Porsena threatened war, one measure taken to secure the support of the poorer classes was to free them from this impost.[7]

Customs dues were levied everywhere throughout the Roman world,[8] in rivers, ports and roads. However universal was the imposition of dues, it is unlikely that they were uniform. At Capua, Puteoli and Castra, the censors in 198 B.C. farmed out the custom duties on goods for sale.[9] It is suggested by passages in Plautus that in his time the customs were in force,[10] and we know that in 178 B.C. the Romans re-established the *portoria*.[11] These were increased in number by Caius Gracchus in 125 B.C.[12] It is very probable, then, that the

[1] Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, I, 11-12.
[2] Whibley, *A Companion to Greek Studies, & Finance*, p. 406.
[3] Polyb., III, xxii, 8.
[4] Demosth., *Contra Phor.*, 36.
[5] Demosth., *Contra Lept.*, 31.
[6] Strabo, XIII, c. 622.
[7] Livy, II, ix, 6 ; Dion of Hal., *R.A.*, V, 22; Plut., *Popl.*, XI, 3.
[8] Polyb., VI, xvii.
[9] Livy, XXXII, vii, 3.
[10] Plaut., *Trinum.*, 1107 ; *Asin.*, 158.
[11] Livy, XL, li, 8.
[12] Vell. Pater., II, 6, 3.

beginning of the last century B.C. saw port dues throughout Roman dominions at principal harbours like Ostia and Puteoli, and tolls or transit duties at places of the importance of Capua. The vexations incident to the collecting of them led the praetor , Metellus Nepos, in 60 B.C., to abolish the tolls and customs of Rome and Italy ;[1] but not long afterwards Julius Caesar established an import tax on foreign merchandise.[2] The *portorium* was levied not on objects for consumption by the shipper, but on articles destined for commerce, or exposed for sale.[3] We know that at Syracuse there was an export tax of 5 per cent. from which not even the governors of the province were exempt. Accordingly, when Verres refused to pay, the farmers suffered considerable loss.[4] Inspection and confiscation were the ordinary methods adopted. Sealed letters were opened and examined,[5] and full replies had to be made to the embarrassing questions of the customs officers.[6]

The chief customs port of Italy seems to have been Puteoli.[7] The quaestor superintended the importation of the food supply at Ostia, but this, of course, was not subject to a tax.[8] The ports of Brundisium and Aquileia also were subject to a levy.[9] But it was not in Italy alone that the *portorium* existed or became intolerable. It required a divine virtue, declared one governor, to reconcile the interests of the tax-farmers and the provincials.[10] Sicily was well furnished with customs depots. A tax of 5 per cent. was levied at Syracuse, Agrigentum, Lilybaeum, Panormus, Thermae, Halesa, Catana, and Messana.[11] In Macedonia, by an unwarranted stretch of his prerogative, Piso subjected to a

[1]Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 33 ; *Ep. ad Att.*, II, 16, 1 ; Dion Cass., XXXVII, 51, 3.

[2]Suet., *J. Caes.*, XLIII.

[3]Livy, XXXII, vii, 3; Cic., *In L. C. Pis.*, 36, 87. *De Vectigalibus et commissis*, IV, lxi, 5.

[4]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 72, 176 ; 75, 185.

[5]Plaut., *Trinum.*, 794-6 ; 810-1.

[6]Plaut., *Menaech.*, 114-8.

[7]Cic., *Pro C. Rabir. Post.*, 14, 40.

[8]Cic., *Pro Sest.*, 17, 39.

[9]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, 79 ; Cic., *Pro M. Font.*, I, 2.

[10]Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 11, 33.

[11]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 75, 185.

customs fee all goods destined for sale.[1] In Gaul, moreover, wine was subjected to a transit duty varying in different places; for the tax for an amphora at Tolosa was 14 denarii or 56 sesterces, at Crodunum 3 victoriati or 9 sesterces, at Vulchalo 2 victoriati or 6 sesterces, while a tax of 6 denarii or 24 sesterces was exacted from those who took wine to an enemy.[2] Marseilles[3] and Rhodes[4] also imposed tolls; and the *portorium* existed in Asia, where likewise was farmed the bonding tax, *circumvectio*—a tax on the coasting trade—a toll on goods received into ports and thence removed when not sold.[5] In many cases, but not always, the Romans themselves were exempt from customs. Thus by a convention of 187 B.C. in the Gulf of Ambracia, the Romans and the Latin allies were freed from all tolls by land and sea.[6] Further, an inscription informs us that, on the understanding that no tax should be levied on the government contractors in their official capacity, and in reward for distinguished services, the town of Termessus Major in Pisidia received the privilege of farming its own *portoria*.[7] On the other hand, we have already seen that it was wholly irregular for even the governor in Syracuse to receive exemption from the tax on exportation.

A study of the customs of Syracuse and Rhodes is instructive. We have already indicated that, at the single port of Syracuse, Verres cheated the company which farmed the *vicesima* out of 60,000 sesterces. This sum, then, constituted one-twentieth of his exports. Therefore, from one port and by a single individual, goods to the extent of 1,200,000 sesterces were exported. Rhodes, situated on the road of traffic from the east, had extensive commercial dealings with the Romans. In B.C. 169, ambassadors from the Rhodians came to Rome to renew friendship, and to obtain a license to import

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[1]Cic., *In C. Pis.*, 36, 87.
[2]Cic., *Pro M. Font.*, IX, 19, 20.
[3]Strab., *Geog.*, c. 183.
[4]Cic., *De Invent.*, I, 30, 47.
[5]Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VI, 15; Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, II, 16, 4.
[6]Livy, XXXVIII, xliv, 4.
[7]C.I.L., I, 204. *Lex Antonia de Termessibus.*

corn from the Roman dominions. The senate allowed them to import 100,000 medimni of corn from Sicily.[1] This friendly relation did not continue forever, and its rupture enables us to appreciate the importance of its customs to Rhodes. The Romans, urging their desire to avenge themselves on the Rhodians as a pretext for what was outrageous cupidity on the part of the equites, opened the free port of Delos. Corinth and Carthage were not fated to be the sole victims of equestrian greed. Owing to this stroke, Rhodes fell to secondary importance, while her revenue from harbour dues was diminished from 1,000,000 to 150,000 drachmae.[2]

This episode of the Rhodians raises an important question: Was there an imperial tariff? Doubtless there was some general restriction of trade, at any rate in corn, in the interests of Rome. There are no grounds for a belief that the frontiers of the empire were the limits of a system of customs.

The censor farmed out the customs by contract. This method of collecting taxes seems to have obtained in some of the provinces, even before the advent of the Romans. For among the Aeduans, Dumnorix, himself an Aeduan, had got himself great wealth and influence by contracting for the customs and taxes for several years.[3] Immediately a country became a province its customs went to Rome and were farmed by Romans.

c. Taxes

For the Romans there were two kinds of taxes, *tributum*, personal or land taxes, and *vectigalia*, the other revenues of the state. The *tributum* was originally a forced loan,[4] levied in cases of emergency, to be repaid as soon as the crisis was over and the state-chest had been replenished. Such was the cavalry tax, at an early period imposed on the special classes of widows and orphans (*viduae et orbi*).[5] From the year 406 B.C., as often as the other revenues of the state proved in-

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[1]Polyb., *Reliq.*, XXVIII, i, 2, 1-2; 5.
[2]Polyb., XXXI, vii, 10-2.
[3]Caes., *B.G.*, I, 18.
[4]Livy VI, xiv, 12.
[5]Livy, I, xliii, 9; Cic., *De repub.*, 20, 36; Plut., *Popl.*, XI, 3.

sufficient to provide pay for the soldiers, a *tributum* was levied, and every citizen had to contribute according to his means.[1] After the disasters of Trasimene and Cannae, war expenses were met out of a citizens' tax.[2] The *tributum* cannot be regarded as a regularly levied impost.[3] The censors appear to have subjected the citizens to a sort of land tax, for which the distribution of lands taken from the enemy was to reimburse them. These gifts of land on the part of the state, however, were always regarded not as a compulsory but a free payment.[4] But expenditures for religious purposes were met largely by the revenue of lands appropriated to temples and priests.[5] After the victory at Pydna in 168 B.C., however, Aemilius Paulus brought so much money from Macedonia to the public treasury, that no *tributum* was levied for over a century, till the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, and even then its re-establishment was only temporary. This was a sort of public declaration that Rome was to live off her empire.[6] In 43 B.C., the treasury, being in great straits for money, in order to fulfil the promises made to the soldiers, levied a tax not only on property, but also on incomes.[7] But we are told by Appian that at the period of Octavius' struggle with Antony the Roman people were paying no *tributum*.[8] We have found no trace in any text of the farming of the *tributum*. It was doubtless collected directly by the agents of the state, "*tribuni aerarii*."

But the treasury was not forced to seek for revenues from compulsory contributions alone. Even before extending her conquests beyond Italy Rome had derived her chief income from *vectigalia* levied on the landed domain within the peninsula. Usually the *pascua* was a rent for pasturage. Being at once a payment for the right to graze on *ager publicvs* and a

[1] Livy V, xx, 5.
[2] Livy, XXIII, xlviii, 8.
[3] Cic., *De Offic.*, II, 21, 74.
[4] Livy, II, xli, 1-2.
[5] Dion. Hal., *R.A.*, II, vii ; III, i.
[6] Plut., *Aem. Paul.*, XXXVIII, 1 ; Cic., *De Offic.*, II, 22, 76 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIII, 3, 56 ; Val. Max., *Memor.*, IV, iii, 8.
[7] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XII, 30, 4 ; *ad Brut.*, I, 18, 5.
[8] Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, V, 92.

fee for registration the tax imposed on cattle and sheep received the name *scriptura*.[1] Already in 295 B.C. out of fines on graziers games had been instituted and golden bowls offered to Ceres.[2] As Roman dominions widened this tax was more extensively levied. In the provinces as well as in Italy, the *scriptura* came to be hated as cordially as the tenths and the harbour dues.[3] In Italy, however, as the logical result of the extinction of *ager publicus*, about 110 B.C. a law, possibly the Thorian, suppressed the levy of this tax.[4] The *ager Campanus* had never been "occupied". The payment on this domain, as attested by Cicero's criticism of Caesar's legislation in 59 B.C., was a rack-rent and cannot be regarded as *scriptura*.

Even within the peninsula each extension of Rome's conquests operated to replenish the treasury, for the quaestors sold newly acquired domain. In this way a portion of the Campanian land was disposed of in 205 B.C.[5] Other parts of the public lands were reserved for colonies,[6] or for the common use of Roman citizens. At times they were let out by the lease of the censors and farmed to the government contractors.[7]

During the period of Mediterranean expansion, except where distinguished service rendered them free from taxation, Rome subjected each conquered people to an impost. The contract for the farming of this tax lay at the disposal of the censor.[8]

In 204 B.C., the censors levied a tax on salt. Hitherto the price of salt throughout all Italy had been the same as at Rome. Henceforth, while the price was unchanged at the capital, it rose in Italy according to the locality.[9]

Already we have dwelt at some length upon harbour dues and customs. If we except a general restriction of trade in corn, we can find in them no trace of a protectionist aim.

[1] Plaut., *Truc.*, 144-8 ; Varro, *R.R.*, II, 1, 16 ; Festus, p. 333a.

[2] Livy, X, xxiii, 13.

[3] Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VI, 15 ; *Pro L. Flacc.*, VIII, 19 ; *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 70, 169 ; Pliny, *N.H.* XIX, 3, 39.

[4] Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, 27; Burmann, *De Vectig.*, p. 46.

[5] Livy, XXVIII, xlvi, 4-5.

[6] Livy, XXVI, xvi, 7 ; XXXVI, xxxix, 3.

[7] Livy, XXXI, xiii, 6-8 ; Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, III, 3, 12; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, I, vii.

[8] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 6, 14.

[9] Livy, XXIX, xxxvii, 3-4 ; Dion Cass., XVII, 57, 70.

Indeed, there were no national industries, no manufactures to be safeguarded. The *portorium* was an impost on circulation, adopted merely to fill the treasury—a revenue-tax.

Even after the *scriptura* and the *portorium* had passed away there remained the tax of 5 per cent. on the sale value of enfranchised slaves, the *vicesima manumissionum* created at Sutrium in 357 B.C., by the legionaries in assembly.[1] This tax, levied only in extreme emergencies, had accumulated by 209 B.C. to 4,000 pounds of gold.[2] In the last century B.C. this tax alone survived all democratic legislation.[3] In addition, there were certain minor taxes. At Tusculum Cicero paid a water rate;[4] at Rome it devolved upon the curule aedile to fine the citizens who attempted to steal the water.[5] This, however, would seem to be a purchase rather than a tax. Under the Republic too, doors, windows, columns and pillars were all subject to taxation in the provinces, if not in Italy.[6]

Of all these, however, the tenths were the most productive, and the farmers of them, *decumani*, the richest capitalists of the equestrian order.[7] The tenths were paid in kind and estimated in accordance with a census renewed every five years. In general, it mattered little to the cultivator for how much the tenths were sold.[8] Even before the advent of the Romans the system of tithes had existed in Sicily.[9] On the other hand, among the Macedonians the kings had been accustomed to exact twice as much as the Romans demanded.[10] We can form some idea of the immense sums collected from the single fact that Julius Caesar imposed upon his new acquisition, Gaul, the yearly tribute of 40,000,000 sesterces ($1,640,000).[11] In Asia, when an instalment of Sulla's tribute became due,

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[1]Livy, VII, xvi, 7.
[2]Livy, XXVII, x, 11-2.
[3]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, II, 16, 1.
[4]Cic., *Ep. ad. Att.*, XIII, 6, 1 ; *De Leg. Agr.*, III, 2, 9.
[5]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, VIII, 6.
[6]Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, III, 8, 5 ; VIII, 9, 5 ; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, III, 32.
[7]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 71, 175.
[8]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 53, 131 ; iii, 63, 147.
[9]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 6, 12.
[10]Livy, XLV, xxix, 4.
[11]Suet., *J. Caes.*, XXV ; Vell. Pat., II, 39, 1.

Lucullus added a tax of one-quarter on harvests to the existing tax on houses and slaves.[1] When Asia had contributed 200,000 talents ($226,400,000) Antony doubled her taxes.[2] Ship-money, or requisitions for the marine, which, we have seen, Verres levied in Sicily, was another of the taxes which oppressed the provincials and enriched Romans.[3]

The farming of the taxes the censors let out by contract for the period of a lustrum.[4] The terms were specified in *leges censoriae*, and the award was made in Rome in March.[5] Certain portions of the revenue thus obtained were allocated for definite purposes. For instance, we have record of one year's taxes which were handed over to the erection of public works.[6] The peculation in handling the public finances was greatly increased when Gracchus transferred the judicial power from the senate to the knights.[7]

In dealing with the system of tax-farming we must not fail to note a striking Roman characteristic—the tendency to speculation. The Romans were seized with the gambling spirit. Crassus, for instance, was a master speculator. At a period when Rome's fire-system was utterly inadequate, he organized a slave fire-brigade. As soon as a house took fire he marched this company to the scene, and, at an exceedingly low price, offered to purchase both the house that was burning and those adjoining. If his offer was accepted, he made every effort to extinguish the fire, and, when successful, realized enormous gains. His great wealth, however, was due to the fact that he speculated on the success of Sulla, and bought estates from the confiscations.[8] How immense were the profits thus obtained we can imagine when a piece of property valued at 6,000,000 sesterces was sold at the time of

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[1]Appian, *De Bell. Mith.*, LXXXIII.

[2]Plut., *Anton.*, XXIV, 5.

[3]Cic., *Pro L. Flacc.*, XII, 27.

[4]Livy, XXXIX, xliv, 3 *et* 8.

[5]Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 12, 35 ; *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 7, 18 ; *De Deor. Nat.*, III, 19, 49 ; *De Leg. Agr.*, I, 3, 7 ; II, 21, 55 ; Macrob., *Satur.*, I, xii, 7.

[6]Livy, XL, xlvi, 16.

[7]Flor., *Epit.*, III, 13.

[8]Plut., *Crass.*, II, 3, 4 ; VI, 6.

the Sullan confiscations and proscriptions for a paltry 2,000 sesterces.[1]

Latin metaphors based on gaming are eloquent of the prevalence of an eagerness to run risks. The great contracts which involved more or less the taking of chances gravitated towards the equestrian order. This class looked to the state for opportunities advantageously to place its capital, and soon found it in the great state contracts,—public works, equipment, transportation, and farming of taxes. The widest field for speculation was, of course, offered by tax-farming. Here competition was keenest, for rewards were great. For example, the knights, to whom the censors had awarded the contract to farm the taxes of Asia, complained in 51 B.C. to the senate that, dazzled by the prospects of gain, they had carried the bidding too high. The senate granted their request to cancel the lease.[2] The farming of the *decumae*, or tenths, of Sicily was a speculative contract on the prospect of a large or a small crop to be harvested. So it was in the possibility of immense gains from the collection of provincial exactments that the strength of the influential section of the knights, the government contractors, lay. When, therefore, Sulla desired to deal the knights a crushing blow, the government contractors were deprived of the right to collect the Asiatic revenues.[3] With the "operators" in the Forum placed in constant touch with the provinces through *tabellarii*,[4] credit and the funds rose and fell with provincial news and provincial undertakings.[5] It is thus we can explain the suspension of payments and the fall of credit when the Mithradatic war began.[6] For this reason, in 44 B.C., the fear of war caused a stringency in the money market.[7] In this way arose the disasters in the stock market : fluctuations in value, and

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1Cic., *Pro Sex. Rosc. Amer.*, II, 6.
2Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, I, 17, 9.
3Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 11, 33.
4Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V. 15, 3 ; 19, 1.
5Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VI, 15 *et* 16 ; VII, 19.
6Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VII, 19.
7Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, XVI, 7, 6.

dealing in futures are the real explanations of those fortunes lost at the "middle Janus."[1]

d. Contractors

The use of the middleman is almost the most destructive thing in Roman public finance. Nothing shows better the thoroughly mercantile character of the Roman state at a very early date. This practice is certainly not the device of a purely agricultural community. The first aim in using the middleman was to guarantee the community against loss.

"In every part of Italy," says Polybius, referring to his own time, "works of various kinds are let out to farm by the censors. Of these are the building and repairing of the innumerable public edifices, the care of rivers, harbours, gardens, mines, and lands,—in a word, everything that comes under the dominion of the Roman people. To such an extent are the people engaged in these, that you can find scarcely a person who is not in some degree involved either in the contracts, or in the management of the enterprises. Some, then, at a definite price undertake the contract from the censors; with them, others become partners. Again, while some engage themselves as sureties for the contractors, still others, to support these sureties in turn, pledge their own fortune to the state. Of all these undertakings the supreme direction rests wholly in the senate. It has power to prolong the period of the contract; in case of mishap, to lighten the conditions of the agreement; and, again, if the terms are found impracticable, to release the contractors from their engagements. In many other ways those having in hand many of these public works may be either greatly injured or greatly favoured by the senate. To this body is referred every thing that relates to these transactions."[2] In this passage Polybius has given us an admirably concise account of Roman contracts, how the censor awarded contracts for supply and equipment for public works, and for the farming of revenues, and how, over all, was the supervision of the senate. And Polybius is more keen-sighted than most

[1]Hor. *Sat.*, II, iii, 18-20.
[2]Polyb., VI, xvii, 2-6.

in tracing to this minute financial control of the senate one secret of its power and of the people's submission.

It was at an early period the definite policy and method of Roman administration to give contracts for the supplies and equipment of her soldiers. Thus in 215 B.C. was awarded the transportation of supplies to the armies in Spain, at the risk, not of the contractors, but of the state.[1] Later, in the same war, some Romans proved unworthy of this state-security. For Postumius and Pomponius, granted a contract to carry supplies to Roman soldiers, and secured by the state from loss by shipwreck, put some few things of trifling value into some old boats, sank them in the high seas, and demanded the state-guarantee.[2] In 169 B.C., not a censor, but the praetor, C. Sulpicius, awarded a contract, to be performed to the consul's satisfaction for the transport into Macedonia of clothing and horses.[3] At the close of the Republic, the contract to supply Rome herself with food from the provinces had displaced the contracts to supply Roman armies in the provinces with provisions and equipment from Rome.[4]

Contractors undertook, also, the construction of the great public works. It was the regular custom for the censor to let out by auction contracts to build, care for, or restore, public edifices, temples, aqueducts, sewers, and roads. For this purpose the senate established in the treasury a considerable credit forthe censors. And these officers were expected to exercise some supervision over the slave-workmen of the contractors.[5] Lepidus, the censor, in 179 B.C., awarded contracts to construct a mole at Tarracina, to build a theatre, to build a temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, and to polish columns.[6] Other contracts granted were the erection of a basilica, a fish-market, a forum, arches and sewers.[7] The year 174 B.C. appears to have been one of great activity on the part of the censors, Quintus Fulvius

[1]Livy, XXIII, xlix, 2.

[2]Livy, XXV, iii, 10-2.

[3]Livy, XLIV, xvi, 4.

[4]Varro, *R.R.*, II, *Praef.*, 3—(*frumentum locamus qui nobis advehat, qui saturi fiamus ex Africa et Sardinia*).

[5]Polyb., VI, 13, 3 ; Front., *De Aqued.*, 96 ; Livy, XXIV, xviii, 10-11.

[6]Livy, XL, li, 2-3.

[7]Livy, XL, li, 5-7.

Flaccus and Aulus Postumius. They granted contracts to pave the streets of Rome with flint stones, to make great gravel-roads outside the city, and to construct raised foot-paths. They had bridges built in several places; seats arranged in the theatres for the praetors and aediles; goals established in the Circus; iron gates to admit the beasts erected; the Capitoline laid with cobbles, a piazza constructed from the temple of Saturn to the Capitol up to the senate house, and, over this, a public hall. Beyond the Trigeminan gate they paved a market-place, fenced it, repaired the Aemilian portico, formed an ascent by stairs from the Tiber to the market-place, paved with flint the portico from the same gate to the Aventine, built a court-house, contracted for the erection of walls at Galatia and Oximum, and, from the sale of public lands there, built shops in both places. Flaccus, moreover, awarded contracts to erect a temple of Jupiter at Pisaurum, and also at Fundi, to bring water to Pollentia, to pave the streets at Pisaurum, to complete various works at Sinuessa, such as the construction of a sewer, the enclosure of the forum with porticoes and shops, and the erection of three statues of Janus. This wonderful activity on the part of the censors in 174 B.C. was rendered possible by the system of contracts. It is scarcely probable that the censors themselves undertook any of these enterprises; they awarded and supervised the work.[1] Even such undertakings as the paving of cisterns and the cleansing of sewers the censors similarly carried out.[2] In 57 B.C., however, it is the consuls who had the colonnade of Catulus restored by contractors.[3]

We shall see that the largest field for contractors lay in the farming of the revenues.[4] The extent to which the Romans adopted the system of contracting is marvellous. Even the simplest enterprise was undertaken on the basis of a formal contract. The *paterfamilias* would not leave his

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[1]Livy, XLI, xxvii, 5-13.
[2]Livy, XXXIX, xliv, 5.
[3]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, IV, 2, 5.
[4]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, I, 17, 9; *De Leg. Agr.*, II, 19, 50.

farm without leaving behind in writing an enumeration of those undertakings for which contracts were to be let or taken.[1] Cato has preserved for us the terms of some of these. Thus, in building a new rural villa, the various constructions to be made are first specified.[2] We are informed that the proprietor was required to furnish the requisite materials, as stone, mortar, sand, water, chaff, and earth, also the necessary tools, as saw and plumb-line (provided the contractor felled, hewed, cut and dressed the material). A certain price was paid for each unit of area, as, for example, in the roof, for each tile, but in pestilential districts, one-quarter was added to the price. In any case the wages were in accordance with a sealed contract. Practically the same conditions obtained for the construction of an enclosure out of mortar, rubble, and pebble-stone. The proprietor furnished the supplies for the work. The price paid for the construction was estimated at the rate of one-tenth denarius for each five feet and for one perch, or was ten pounds of *victoriati nummi* to the extent of one hundred feet, that is, ten feet in each direction. In the contract for burning lime, the proprietor furnished the lime-stone, the wood for the furnace, and all other requisites; whereas the lime-burner got everything in order, prepared the wood for the furnace, burned the lime and removed it from the furnace.[3]

The gathering of olives and the making of olive-oil, likewise, were let out by formal contract. Of such an agreement, Cato, again, has given us the terms. The olives had to be gathered to the satisfaction of the proprietor, or keeper, or purchaser. If, on any particular day, the contractor plucked or beat off olives contrary to the wishes of the proprietor, for that day he received no pay. The collectors were forced to swear that neither they themselves, nor others by their machinations, had pilfered olives; otherwise no pay was due. Sufficient security had to be given that the olives would be

[1]Cato, *R.R.*, II, 6.

[2]For elaborate specifications in a contract see *Lex parieti faciendo Puteolana*, C.I.L., I, 163, n. 577, Ri. tab., 66, Wi. 607, quoted Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*, p. 212.

[3]Cato, *R.R.*, XIV-XVI.

collected. All ladders and other articles employed had to be restored in good repair; in case of damage, the proprietor deducted an adequate amount from the contractor's pay. The contractor had to furnish a sufficient number of collectors and pickers. To prevent the contract of picking the olives from being awarded at too high a price, it was considered unlawful to pay a workman beyond the normal rate of wages, unless declaration had been made that, for the work in hand, such workman was a partner. Similar conditions existed in the contract for making olive-oil. Here we must note the additional stipulation that the proprietor or keeper could object to any partner whom the contractor might choose.[1]

Contracting was usual in almost every sphere of public activity. For example, the feeding and the keeping of the sacred geese, and the renewing of the statues of the gods, the censors let out by contract.[2] When Corinth was captured, Mummius let the contract to remove to Rome the paintings and statues executed by the best masters of Greece. The stipulation which he made is characteristic at once of the Roman appreciation of art, and of the usual conditions of a contract,—if the contractor lost them he should replace them.[3]

We have already seen that it usually fell within the jurisdiction of the censors to award the state contracts.[4] The awards were made by auction in the presence of the assembly.[5] The change had been fundamental in Roman finance when Caius Gracchus legislated that the taxes of Asia should be sold in Rome. This was the great bribe that won the equites and made them the enormous force they were in Roman political life. The law of Hiero, however, enacted that the tenths of Sicily should be put up at auction within that island. Nevertheless, even in this solitary instance the senate permitted Lucius Octavius and Caius Cotta, the consuls, to auction at Rome the tenths of wine, oil and pulse which the quaestors

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[1]Cato, *R.R.*, CXLIV, CXLV.
[2]Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*, XCVIII.
[3]Vell. Pater., I, 13, 4.
[4]Festus, p. 376 a, ed. Müller.
[5]Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, I, 3, 7 ; II, 21, 55.

had been wont to let in Sicily [1] It would seem, then, that both consuls and quaestors could award contracts. Indeed, we are aware of an occasion when a contract for a statue was awarded by the quaestors of the city at the instigations of the consuls, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius.[2] These consuls, moreover, arranged for the erection of a monument;[3] while, as has been already noticed, the securing of the transportation of supplies and clothing into Macedonia by Sulpicius is notable as an instance where a praetor let out a contract.[4] The state often came to the rescue of contractors whose lack of foresight was occasioning them loss.[5] A majority in the senate could quash and annul the censor's contracts leases and purchases.[6]

Though contractors were engaged largely in public enterprises, to assign them a professional character would be a mistake. Nevertheless, not every one was allowed to take a contract. Magistrates were debarred, though, as a matter of fact, they acted as partners in the great companies.[7] Nor were persons of servile condition or of infamous habits allowed to farm the *vectigalia*;[8] and, unless they furnished sufficient bonds, debtors of the republic were excluded from the privilege of taking contracts.[9] The resolve of the senate in 167 B.C. to desist from working the mines which the Macedonian conquest had placed at its disposal is significant. It would seem to indicate that mining operations were cases of contracting and that the state had really tried working the mines itself. Nothing better shows how, in the farming of the revenues, the state in some instances fared, and how hopeless was the task to check peculation, for "the farmers would despoil either the provincials or the revenues."[10]

1Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 6, 14-5 ; 7, 18.
2Cic., *In M. Anton.*, IX, 7, 16.
3Cic., *In M. Anton.*, XIV, 14, 38.
4Livy, XLIV, xvi, 4.
5Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, i, 4, 11.
6Plut., *T. Quinct. Flam.*, XIX, 4.
7Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 30, 71 ; 57, 130.
8Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 20, 50.
9*De Publ. et Vect. et Com.*, XXXIX, iv, 9, 3.
10Livy, XLV, xviii, 3-4.

e. The Joint-Stock Companies

Among the Romans, association in business, fostered by the great liberality of the Roman law, became common. Partnership always was sacred, and to deceive a partner was adjudged no less heinous than to cheat a ward, or to break a pledge upon which a life depended.[1] In Rome developed not only the simple partnership, but highly complex companies. We seem to see Cato the censor anticipating the modern device of a separate limited liability company for each ship. Instead of investing all his money in a single boat, he had his slave Quintius invest one-fiftieth of the amount in each of fifty boats.[2]

Companies were organized either for a specific kind of transaction or for general business. The companies of government contractors seem not to have been formed on the basis of "*ius fraternitatis*," whereas other business associations at the will of any partner could be dissolved, and this actually happened at the death of any member of the company or at the completion of the work for which the organization was formed.[3] *Publicani*, or government contractors, were those entrusted with a state enterprise (*publicum*). This, of course, was more generally the farming of the revenues.[4] The explanation of the rise of companies of government contractors lies in the vastness of the scale on which, in the provinces, were managed the extensive expeditions and immense revenues of Rome. This called for a capacity which only the strength of an association could afford.[5] The rich *bourgeoisie*, the equites, assume their definite final position as a class under Caius Gracchus. At any rate,it is his legislation that marks them out as the *publicani* and definitely crystallizes a process begun in the Claudian law.[6] The equites invested nearly their whole capital in the exploitation of the Roman revenues,[7] and organized themselves on

[1]Cic., *Pro Q. Rosc. Com.*, VI, 16.
[2]Plut., *Cato Mai.*, XXI, 6.
[3]Gaius, *Inst.*, *De Societ.*, III, 25, 1, *et* 4-6.
[4]*De Pub. et Vect. et Com.*, XXXIX, iv, 1.
[5]Cic., *Pro P. Quinct.*, III, 12.
[6]Cic., *Pro Planc.*, IX, 23 ; *In C. Verr.*, II, i, 52, 137 ; II, iii, 72, 168.
[7]Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, II, 4.

a definite system of shares (*partes*) into the government contract companies (*societates publicanorum*).[1]

It was to the official head or president (*manceps* or *princeps publicanorum*) that the censors awarded the contract in the Forum; he, on behalf of the original associates, advanced the necessary sums of money to the state; and it was his goods that were mortgaged to indemnify the state, or to reimburse the sureties. Such a president the father of Cneius Plancus had been for many years.[2] It would be a mistake to suppose that the whole class of government contractors themselves directly undertook contracts; some were partners (*socii*), others were sureties (*praedes*), still others contributed funds.[3] In authority and influence next to the president were the directors (*magistri*), among whom the managing director was the *magister*. Resident at Rome the *magister* kept accounts, attended to the correspondence, and transmitted orders. Thus P. Vettius Chilo was *magister* for the *scriptura* and other revenues of Sicily.[4] But in Rome, besides the president, directors and sureties, there were, as we must infer, simple subscribers of stock. Such must have been Pomponius Atticus, represented by Cicero as interested in the companies,[5] but declared by Cornelius Nepos never to have taken any part either in the award of a contract or in the administration of a company.[6] Large subscribers of stock, doubtless, were the senators and their families, who, forbidden to engage in traffic, became silent partners in great companies. But it was not the senators alone who purchased shares; for "everybody," says Polybius, "is interested in the contracts of the government contractors, and in the profits which they realize."[7] Though the equites might be chiefly benefited by the great

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[1]Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 12. 36 ; *Ep. ad Fam.*, XIII, 10, 2 ; *Pro C. Rab. Post.*, II, 4 ; *De Dom. sua*, XXVIII, 74 ; *Pro P. Sext.*, XIV, 32.

[2]Cic., *In Q. Caec. Divin.*, XI, 33 ; *Pro Cn. Planc.*, IX, 24 ; Festus, p. 151 ; Pseudo-Asconius, *Ad. divin.* § 33, p. 113 (ed. Orelli), quoted Cagnat, *Impôts Indirects*, p. 86.

[3]Polyb, VI, xvii, 4.

[4]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 71, 167.

[5]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, I, 19, 6.

[6]Cor. Nep., *Attic.*, VI.

[7]Polyb., VI, xvii, 3.

companies that farmed the revenues, yet a great section of the Roman people was largely interested in the contracts, held stock or petty shares in the companies (*particulas habebant*), and watched closely every fluctuation in values.[1] There appears to be some indication that these shares were transferable,[2] that one person might possess stock in various enterprises, that his profits varied with the capital invested, and occasionally his transactions spread over many provinces.[3] Under certain circumstances, moreover, the shareholders (*participes*) could, and must, be summoned to be consulted with reference to the company's policy.[4] In charge of the company's interests in the province was the *promagister*.[5] Such a provincial representative was Zacchaeus, a 'chief tax-gatherer,' (incorrectly translated, "chief among the publicans."[6]) In the employ of the *promagister* were freemen, clerks, who served for wages. Indeed, we can suppose that sometimes persons that had some small interest in the company thus possessed sufficient influence to secure a place in the service.[7] The companies undoubtedly also used slaves to assist in the collection of taxes (*familiae maximae*). Probably, also, it was slaves who, as mentioned already, in the capacity of couriers, *tabellarii*, kept the agents in different provinces in constant relation with the directors at Rome, and with the speculators of the Forum.[8]

In discussing contracts we saw that the jurisdiction to rent the taxes, and to award contracts, belonged to the censors, that the publication of specifications and conditions (*lex censoria*) preceded the award, that the contract was for a period of a *lustrum*, about five years, and that the award was made only at Rome in the Forum, in the presence of the people,

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[1] Val. Max., *Memor.*, VI, ix, 7 ; Cic., *Pro C. Rabir. Post.*, II, 4.

[2] Cic., *Pro C. Rabir. Post.*, II, 4.

[3] Cic., *Pro C. Rabir. Post.*, II, 4.

[4] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 71, 173.

[5] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, XI, 10, 1.

[6] *Gospel according to St. Luke*, XIX, 2.

[7] Val. Max., *Memor.*, VI, ix, 8 ; Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 71, 173 ; Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VI, 16.

[8] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 15, 3 ; 16, 1; *Ep. ad Fam.*, VIII, 7, 1. *Pro Leg. Man.*, VI, 16.

though for some indefinite period the sale was held in the provinces and provincials were allowed to compete.[1] The great contracts were for the provincial taxes, but there were, as already indicated, countless minor state contracts. For instance, in 142 B.C., government contractors farmed a forest in Bruttium to extract its famous pitch.[2] A general survey would show that the revenues of Rome included fixed payments of money, as taxes, customs or tolls (*portoria*), revenue from public pasturage (*scriptura*), tenths of wheat, wine, oil and lesser grains. In the farming of these the government contract companies developed. Apart from the security which association gave, it is highly probable that to farm one single group of revenues always was a task beyond the resources of any individual. Companies, accordingly, would correspond in number to the different branches of revenue to be farmed. As the system developed individual companies began to farm more than one class of revenues; for instance, the same company at times farmed the harbour dues (*portoria*), and the tax on pasture-lands.[3] In Roman business transactions, as we have already noticed, there was adopted an exact and systematic record of all dealings. Doubtless it was in the account books of these great companies that Roman book-keeping reached its highest excellence of method. An indication of their prudent and orderly habits can be seen in the duplicates which the directors of the companies made of all documents relative to their administration.[4]

A study of Cicero's attitude towards the government contractors will enable us to appreciate what the companies through their dividends meant to individual Romans. In giving his support to the measure which the demagogue Manilius urged, to recall Glabrio and to entrust to Pompey the conduct of the war in the East with full authority and without limit of time, Cicero protested that *maxima vectigalia* were at stake; that not only the interests of tax-payer and tax-farmer

[1]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, v, 21, 53 ; *Ep. ad Att.*, VI, 2, 5; *Ep. ad Fam.* II, 13, 3. ; Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, VI, 2, 11.

[2]Cic., *Brutus*, XXII, 85 ; Strabo, *Geog.*, c. 261.

[3]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 70, 171 ; *Ep. ad Att.*, V. 15, 3.

[4]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 74, 182.

were to be considered, but also the funds of the Roman investors, the equites especially, *firmamentum ordinum ;* that a financial crisis in Asia involved a collapse of the public credit in Rome. In addressing the Roman people, he speaks of the government contractors as "those people, who are fruitful to you" (*qui vobis fructui sunt*),[1] and of the war waged in behalf of the government contractors he declares that it "concerned the goods of many Roman citizens."[2] We quote a portion of Cicero's eloquent and significant appeal : "*Nam et publicani, homines honestissimi atque ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt, quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunae vobis curae esse debent. Etenim, si vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte esse dicemus. Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines gnavi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent.*"[3] At the time of the Manilian Law, Cicero was the great champion of the companies. Cicero was closely related to the whole of the equestrian order.[4] Throughout his life he supported the government contractors, and the association of M. Terentius with the great companies was sufficient to gain Cicero's favour.[5] Especially enthusiastic are his allusions to the shareholders and the directors of the great government contract companies. To Crassipes, therefore, as warmly as he could, he recommended the members of a company of Bithynia with very many of whom, and especially P. Rupilius, the *magister*, "I am on terms of great intimacy."[6] From Cilicia, in 51 B.C., Cicero wrote that he enjoyed the most cordial relations with P. Terentius Hispo, provincial representative and manager of the company which collected the "*scriptura*" in that place, that they rendered each other important mutual services, and that his connection with the

[1] Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VI, 16.
[2] Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VII, 17.
[3] Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VII, 17, 18.
[4] Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, II, 4.
[5] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XIII, 10, 2.
[6] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XIII, 9, 1-2.

shareholders was no less friendly.[1] Can we suppose that a personal element enters into Cicero's lavish praise of the government contractors as the flower of the Roman knights, the glory of the state, the strength of the whole republic?[2] At any rate, he himself admitted that he owed much to the government contractors,[3] and he was particularly anxious not to disturb the cordial relations which his brother Quintus and himself enjoyed with them.[4] Cicero, again, received in his province, without any infringement of the law, 2,200,000 sesterces within twelve months.[5] What was the origin of this money? In an exceedingly interesting and instructive passage of his "*Les Manieurs d'Argent*," Deloume has detailed the immoveable property of Cicero, and, in conclusion, has estimated his fortune at many millions of sesterces. Moreover, Cicero had political ambitions, and became consul. To pave his way to this high office enormous outlays were necessary. He was wealthy, and, as we have seen, he knows only three ways of enriching himself honestly,—commerce, professional activity, and government contracts. From commerce he was debarred as a senator; as an advocate he was singularly successful, but this professional activity brought no emolument. To the third, government contracts, we may be able to attribute his wealth. Without impugning the sincerity of his support of the *equites* at any period of his career we cannot help feeling that his close association with that order placed him in a privileged financial position. The great government contract joint-stock companies, then, are highly responsible for Rome's marvellous growth of riches.

The great companies in general had sufficient influence to secure favourable awards. It was only the Catos among the censors who lowered the price of public works to the utmost limit, and farmed out the public resources at the

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[1] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XIII, 65, 1-2.
[2] Cic., *Pro Planc.*, IX, 23.
[3] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, XIII, 9, 2.
[4] Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 11. 32.
[5] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, V. 20, 9.

highest rent they could bear.[1] The influence of the government contractors is clearly manifest in the alterations they could induce the senate to effect in their leases. Thus in 183 B.C., realizing that the contracts awarded to them would yield no profit, they prevailed upon the senate to have the auction recommenced. The censors, however, would not allow the same contractors to engage in the bidding, and finally let the contract at almost the same price.[2] Keen competition sometimes caused the contract to be awarded at a loss to the successful bidders.[3] If the government contractors failed to insert in the agreement the clause that losses should be to the prejudice of the state,[4] they did not hesitate to apply to the senate for either an entire cancellation of the lease or a reduction of the price.[5] Though in these instances a Cato Uticensis would offer strenuous opposition, the senate generally intervened. For instance, Caesar obtained a remittance of one-third for the knights who farmed the taxes of Asia,[6] and later, Octavius released farmers of revenues and holders of public leases from their dues.[7] Ever since Caius Gracchus had sought to enlist their support by transferring the *iudicia* from the senate to the knights,[8] the government contractors had constituted an important element in the state that no one desired to antagonize.[9] In the farming of the revenues immense sums were at stake. The public tributes were the sinews of the state, and yet the slightest rumour of danger would sweep away the revenues of a whole year. We do not wonder, then, that the great political leaders strove to conciliate this influential portion of the body politic.[10] Nothing shows us better the length to which the equestrian govern-

[1]Livy, XXXIX, xliv, 7 ; Plut., *Cato Mai.*, XIX, 1.

[2]Livy, XXXIX, xliv, 8 ; Plut., *Cat. Mai.*, XIX, 2.

[3]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, I, 17, 9 ; *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 11, 33.

[4]Livy, XXV, iii, 10.

[5]Cic., *Pro L. Mur.*, 30, 62.

[6]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, I, 18, 7 ; Suet., *J. Caes.*, XX ; Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.*, XXXVIII, 7, 4 ; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, 13 ; V, 4 ; Plut., *J. Caes.*, XLVIII, 1.

[7]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, V. 130.

[8]Dion Cass., ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Λς, 83.7 ; Appian, *De Bell Civ.*, I, 22.

[9]Livy, XXV, iii, 12.

[10]Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VI, 15, 16 ; VII, 17.

ment contractors were both prepared and able to go than their treatment of Publius Rutilius Rufus, quaestor of Quintius Mucius Scaevola. His superior was a model governor whose reputation was so high that the senate instructed succeeding governors to take him as their example. Afraid to attack the governor, their ill-humour vented itself upon his quaestor. He received some compensation for his banishment and for the firm honesty with which he repressed the extortions of the government contractors in the invitation extended him by the Asiatics to spend the rest of his days in their country.[1] By Caesar's time it was old-fashioned strictness and antiquated probity for Sentius to disclose the frauds of government contractors, punish their avarice, and restore the recovered results of their peculations to the state chest.[2]

A close relationship between the government contractors and the governor of a province was natural from the fact that the governor's edict had special reference to accounts, debts, contracts,—in fact, to everything that concerned the contractors.[3] In general, co-operation existed, although sometimes they were at variance.[4] In most cases the governor regarded it as part of his duties not to repress the exactions of the government contractors, but to protect their interests. Occasionally he entered into collusion with them. Verres in Sicily is at once a notorious example of how a governor might, on the one hand, arouse the antagonism of the government contractors by unwonted demands,[5] and, on the other, even be considered as partner in their enterprise.[6] Cicero in Cilicia indulged, complimented, and honoured the contractors; nevertheless he contrived that they should "injure no one," as he puts it.[7] There were cases where rapacious governors of provinces advanced their own selfish ends even by complete subservience to the contractors.[8] The companies, however,

[1]Livy, *Ex Lib.*, LXX., Dion Cass., *Reliq.*, XXVIII, 97, 1.
[2]Vell. Pater., II, 92, 2.
[3]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, VI, i, 15.
[4]Cic., *De Provinc. consul.*, V, 10, 11.
[5]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 72, 168.
[6]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 57, 130.
[7]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, VI, 1, 16.
[8]Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 41, 94.

were not insensible to the benefits which good government produced,[1] and Cicero's wise administration gained him great popularity with them because several communities were freed from debt and able to pay up arrears.[2]

We have already called attention to the distress which government contractors occasioned both Italians and provincials in the farming of the *portorium*. Such were their extortions that the senate, to preserve the rights of the public and the freedom of their allies, was forced to abolish the farming of Macedonian mines and state lands.[3]

The contractors respected nothing. Religion could afford no sanctuary to bar their greed. For example, the priests of Amphiaraus and Trophonius claimed the immunity from taxation which the *lex censoria* had granted to the lands of the gods in Boeotia. Informed, however, that those were not immortals who had once been men, they were forced to contribute to the contractors.[4] In Sicily the farmers of the revenues at times extorted money for the tax in kind;[5] in Asia the evil which Roman usurers and tax-gatherers wrought was intolerable.[6] To allow government contractors to collect the public revenues was the curse of Rome as of all nations that have adopted the system. To find a substitute for this method in the Mediterranean world was clearly as impossible a thing to expect of Rome as to expect her to have discovered the principle of representation with all that ancient background of city-state conceptions. There were Romans who felt the manifest evil involved. Perhaps the most striking feature in Sulla's work is his recognition of this. In Asia Sulla arranged to have the Asiatics collect their taxes through their own agents. This system failed completely, for, twelve years later, Lucullus found Asia weighed down with debt and its inhabitants selling their children to meet their obligations. Their own magistrates had proved even more rapacious than the Romans. To

[1] Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 12, 36.
[2] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, VI, 2, 4-5.
[3] Livy, XLV, xviii, 3-4.
[4] Cic., *De Deor. Nat.*, XIX, 49.
[5] Cic., *In Q. Caec.*, X, 33.
[6] Plut., *Sertor.*, XXIV, 3 ; *Lucull.*, VII, 5.

revert to the old method seemed necessary. Farming seemed the inevitable system[1] The contractors were thoroughly unpopular with the provincials. Before the arrival of Verres, Sicily was the only place where government contractors and money-traders were not heartily detested.[2] This was owing to the just regulations of the *lex Hieronica*.[3] But even this law could afford but slight protection when a Verres would appoint as farmers of the tenths men so corrupt that the province required many years of good government to recover from their harassings.[4] Laws against extortion and peculation merely failed to prevent farmers from increasing the amount to be collected.[5] They show only that into the coffers of the great government contract companies, and into the pockets of their shareholders, private citizens of Rome, was flowing in abundance the wealth of the provincials, extorted through the connivance of magistrates, who, sent out to administer and to protect the province, fancied that their functions had been best discharged when the interested shareholders of the metropolis profited more largely by their base collusion with such oppressors.

Thus these government contractors formed in the state an exceedingly influential class,—a plutocracy so powerful that with the impunity which the control of the law courts secured to them, they could indulge themselves in systematic exactions. He who would rise in the state must rise through them,—was compelled to ally himself with these intriguers in politics. Certain it is that to the great companies, in the main, Rome owed its enormous growth of riches; still more certain is it that these government contractors were for the Romans the greatest stumbling-block to good government.[6] The treasury profited little by provincial administration. In most cases the provinces hardly paid the cost of government. But they paid the governors.[7] Even in the closing

[1] Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, VI, 2, 5 ; *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 11, 33 ; Plut., *Lucull*, XX, 1.

[2] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 3, 7.

[3] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, ii, 13, 32.

[4] Cic., *In C. Verr.*, II, iii, 8, 21.

[5] Cic., *Pro C. Rabir. Post.*, V, 12 ; XI, 30.

[6] Cic., *Ep. ad Q. Fr.*, I, i, 11, 32.

[7] Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, VI, 14 ; XXII, 65.

years of the Republic there was observable a marked decline in equestrian integrity. It is more than mere opportunism that leads Cicero to deplore their deterioration from "our fathers' days when they supported a great portion of the republic, and the whole dignity of the courts of justice."[1] The oppression of the provincials carried its retribution in the waning moral vigour of those who were the oppressors.

[1]Cic., *Pro C. Rabir. Post.*, VII, 20.

CONCLUSION

So far as we can ascertain, this people began their career as a shepherd-folk of the Stone Age. By the time of the Servian organization however, agriculture, with its ideal of the independence of the *fundus*, had gained a firm foothold in the state. The aspiration to have the household self-contained restricted the rise of handicraft industry within the limits of the farm, rendered trade useless and extensive commerce impossible. A larger development of agriculture followed as this ideal became less and less a reality. That the aim of independence was still potent, nevertheless, will account for the fact that the trades were regarded with strong disfavour, and retail business relegated to landless plebeians and strangers, while commerce on a large scale did not advance beyond shipments by the owners of large estates.

Before the abolition of the kingship certain definite trades had grown up. Rome had manifested some activity in bronze and pottery, under the direction of Etruscan engineers had effected considerable building, and had developed her agricultural exports from Latium to a degree which rendered it necessary to define clearly her commercial relations with Carthage. But Rome, at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., was mainly agricultural.

The distracting conflicts that marked the two centuries and a half that intervened between the establishment of the Republic and the inception of Rome's struggle with Carthage forbade any development of industry or commerce, but gave her social solidarity within the city, and hegemony in Italy. In this period, Rome's greatest economic problem, her land question, caused a crisis in domestic affairs. The small proprietors, compelled to serve in their country's legions, returned from long and arduous campaigns only to find their fields untilled, the large land-owners encroaching on their petty estates, and themselves forced to borrow from wealthy neighbours all too eager to place them at a disadvantage. During the struggle against actual oppression the decemviral legislation put custom into law, ratified what had been usual, instituted definite means for redress, and eased the position of

the poor. Nearly a century later, the Licinian laws carried by a union of the oppressed plebeian poor with the wealthy, ambitious members of the same order, produced not an adequate solution of the land question—it was never solved—but sufficient harmony within the state to enable Rome to withstand her foes, and, by the consequent extension of her territory, to postpone consideration of the land question until the time of the Gracchi, when it was an evil no longer confined to Rome, but affecting all Italy.

The first Punic war marks an important epoch in Rome's history—the beginning of her Mediterranean expansion and transmarine rule. There is nothing that is more remarkable in the last two hundred and fifty years of the Republic than the marvellous growth of riches and luxury in Rome. To fathom the cause of this is the problem for the student of Rome's economic conditions.

The explanation of the growth in wealth we cannot find in any development of agriculture. It would seem to be the case that both the theory and the practice of Roman husbandry were fairly adequate. The Roman agricultural writers, in their endeavours to improve farming methods, have left behind them pictures of model farms. By these occasional glimpses of actual conditions it would seem that Roman agricultural methods are characterized by a sufficiently intelligent appreciation of a farm's needs even if they sometimes entailed an unnecessary expenditure of labour. The equipment and the cultivation, the ploughing, drainage, and irrigation, the manuring, sowing, and rotation of the crops, are by no means inadequate. The introduction of capital, the increase in the number of slaves, the importation of corn from the provinces, produced a further extension of large estates, in which speculative farming first gave itself up to the specialized production of oil and wine, and then substituted grazing for agriculture. The concurrent ruin of the small farmer and the shifting of the population from the rural districts to the metropolis will lead us to the conviction that agriculture was not responsible for Rome's growth in riches.

It would be equally vain to try to account for the increase of wealth by any reference to an increasing commercial or

industrial activity. Commerce was denied her nobles, and Rome's mercantile activity was at best largely a commerce of food importation. Roman industrial enterprise, moreover, though it gave a reputation to certain towns within the peninsula, was too intimately associated with the Roman *fundus* or the slave workshop of a Crassus to admit of an advance beyond handicraft industry.

Not to her Italian agriculture, then, nor to her manufactures, nor to her industries or commerce can we attribute the increase in Roman wealth, but to the exploitation of her provinces. The plunder gained by generals in their conquest, the wealth acquired by the not over scrupulous joint-stock companies in the farming of Rome's provincial revenues, the fortunes amassed by individual speculators and *negotiatores* in enterprises operated under the protection of Rome's deputed governors, the extortions as well as the legitimate gains, not only of Rome's representatives and administrators, but also of the young Romans who danced attendance upon proconsuls—this was the price which the province paid for government by the imperial city, the true explanation of the wealth that was enriching the coffers, and sapping the moral vigour of the Roman people.

If Rome's riches grew and her dominions extended, she paid heavily for it in the deterioration of her morals and the complete pauperization of her democracy. Extravagances produced burdensome loads of debt ;[1] largesses and public distributions of corn debauched the people.[2] All Mediterranean civilization ran quickly towards the extinction of middle classes, but the scale is greater in Rome. Though legislation against bribery was introduced again and again,[3] the voters of the metropolis went to the elections to be bought; for one single consulship was paid 800 talents[4]—a sum only a trifle less than $1,000,000. Habits became corrupt. Even in old Cato's time was uttered the complaint that the vastness

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[1]Sallust, *Cat.*, XVI.
[2]Pseudo-Sallust, *Ep. ad Caes.*,
[3]Plut., *Cat. Min.*, XLIX, 3.
[4]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, 19.

of Rome's conquests had left no room for her primitive purity and integrity.[1] The verdict of Jugurtha is justified : " *urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.*[2]

The last century of the Republic was marked by extreme disorder. Upon the general unrest and excitement of Rome's conquests and struggles in three continents followed hard the insecurity and uneasiness bred by civil troubles and seditions. Most disastrous to Rome were the destruction and hatred that remained as the evil legacies from the civil wars. They subverted agriculture,[3] and exhausted Italy;[4] they rendered property insecure through the confiscations to which the defeated partisans were subjected;[5] they entailed enormous private losses,[6] and endangered the city's food supply.[7] The inevitable remedy was at hand. Caius Gracchus was the forerunner of Caesar in discerning that new fields must be opened for Italians,—really the beginning of Europe. Pompey's success against the pirates, Julius Caesar's extinction of company plundering, his energetic measures and effective control of Rome,[8] served to pave the way for the assumption of power by Augustus. To maintain order, to establish security, to prevent extortion, to foster measures of reform, a strong hand was demanded at this juncture; and as an economic and moral necessity, for Rome and the provinces alike, the Empire was established.

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[1]Plut., *Cat. Mai.*, IV, 2.

[2]Sallust, *Bell. Jug.*, XXXV.

[3]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, V, 18.

[4]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, IV, 5.

[5]Appian, *De Bell. Civ.*, II, 140 ; Hor., *Sat.*, II, 2, 114-5 ; Cic., *De Offic.*, I, 14, 43; *Pro Q. Rosc. Com.*, XII, 33 ; *Pro P. Sulla*, XXV, 71; *Ep. ad Fam.*, VII, 3, 3 ; XI, 20, 3.

[6]Cic., *De Dom. sua*, 58, 146 ; *Ep. ad Fam.*, XI, 10, 5.

[7]Cic., *Ep. ad Att.*, XIV, 3, 1.

[8]Suet., *J. Caes.*, XLII.

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