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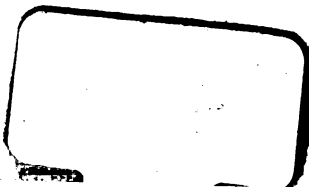
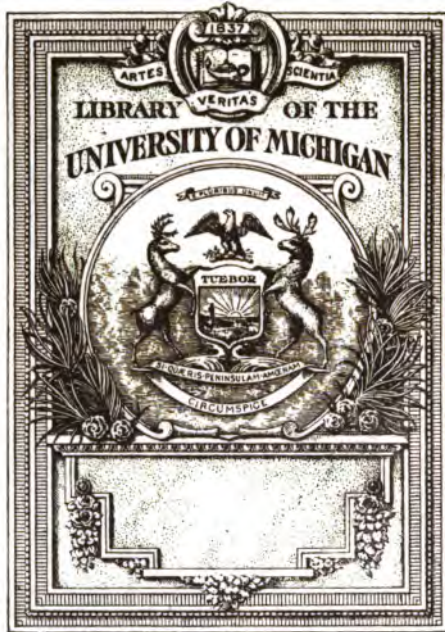
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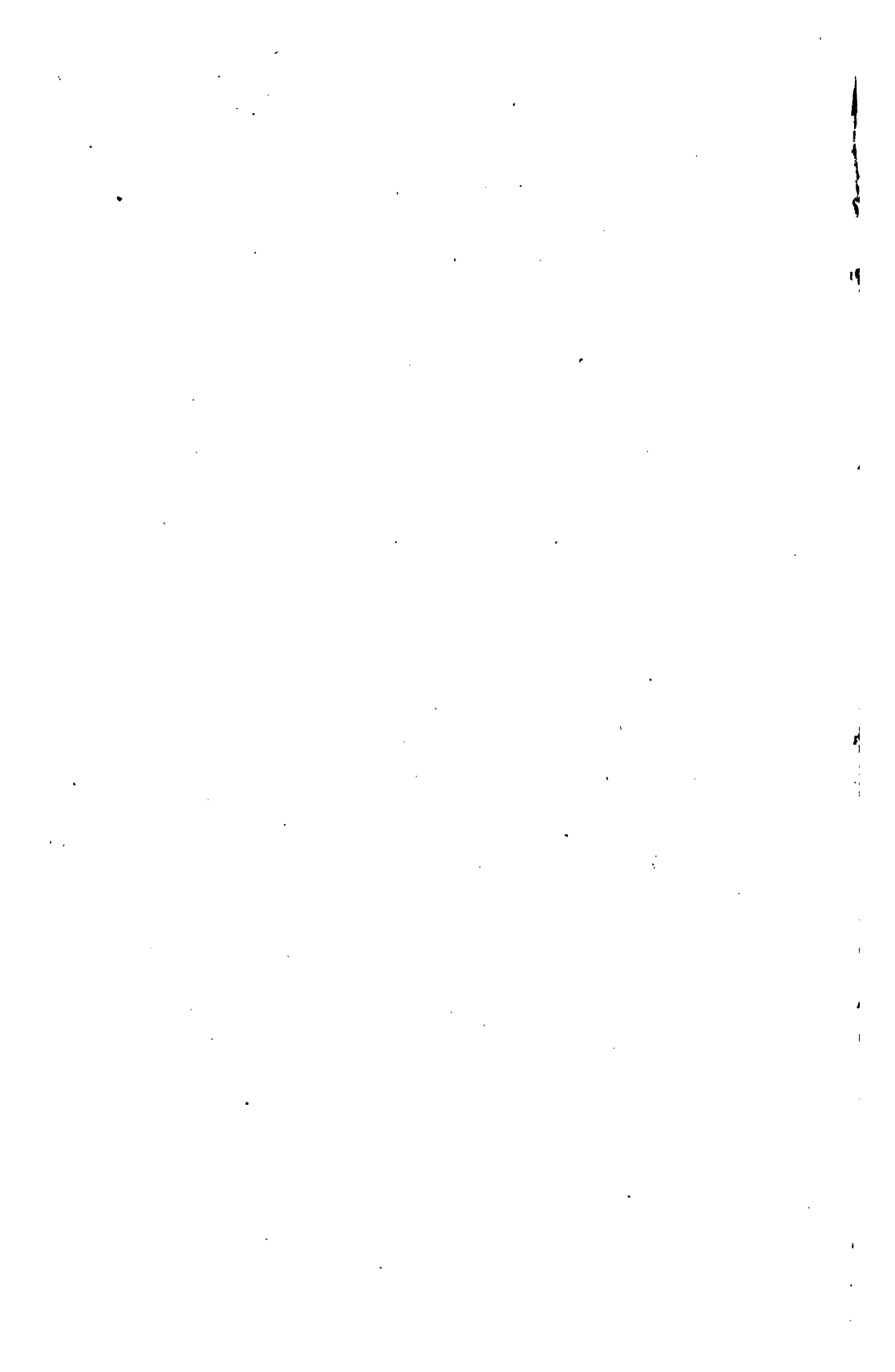
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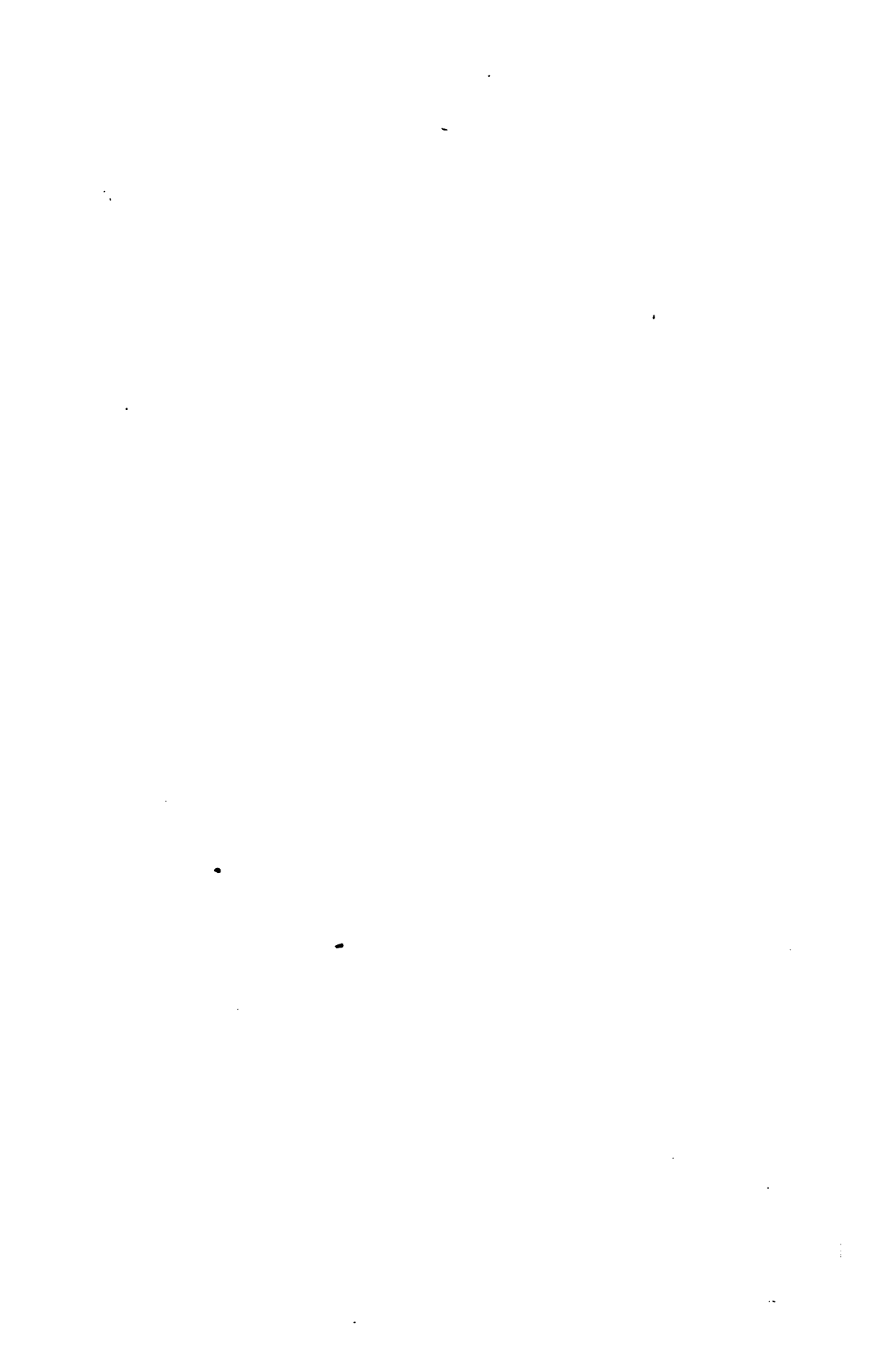
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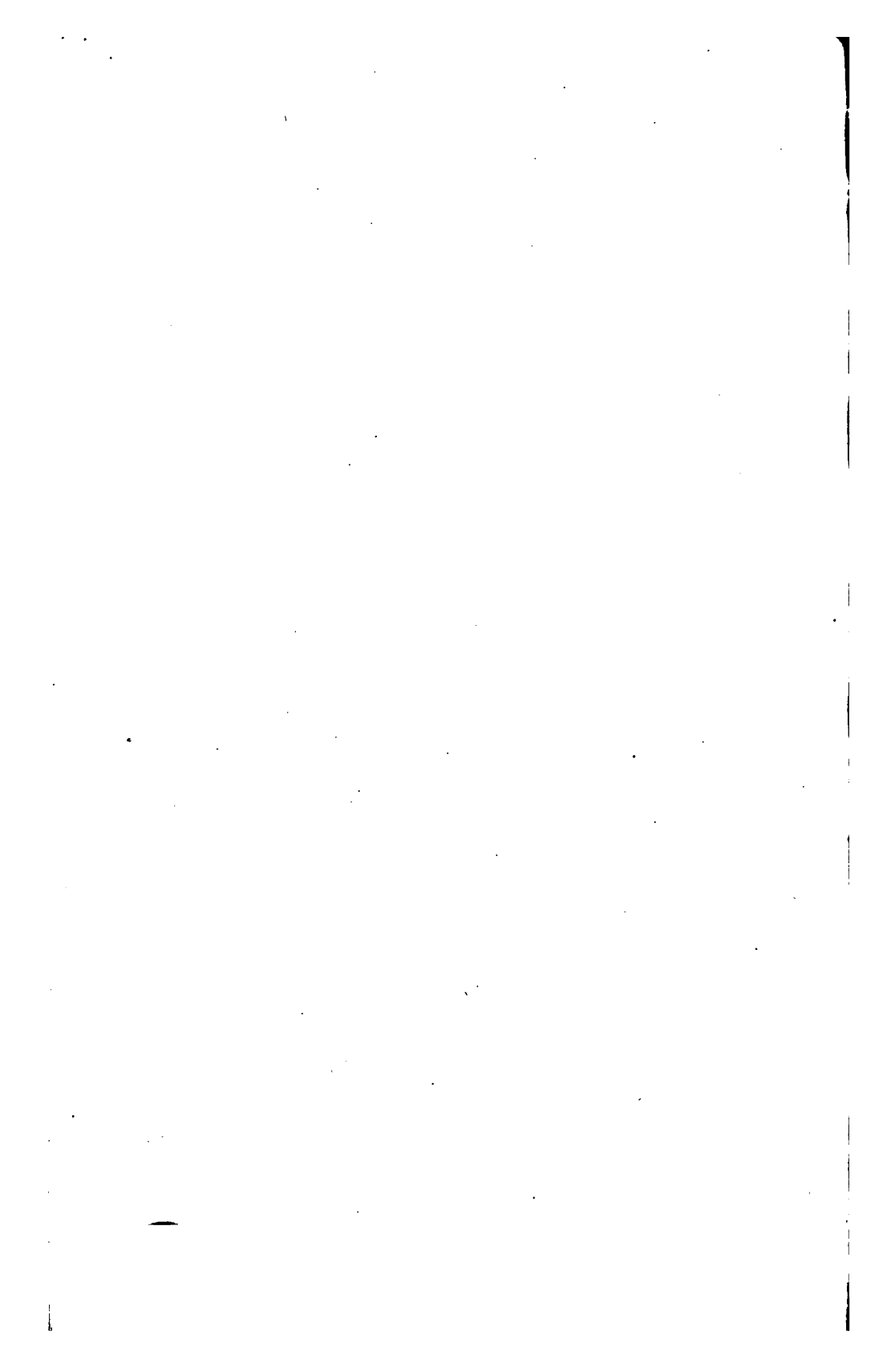
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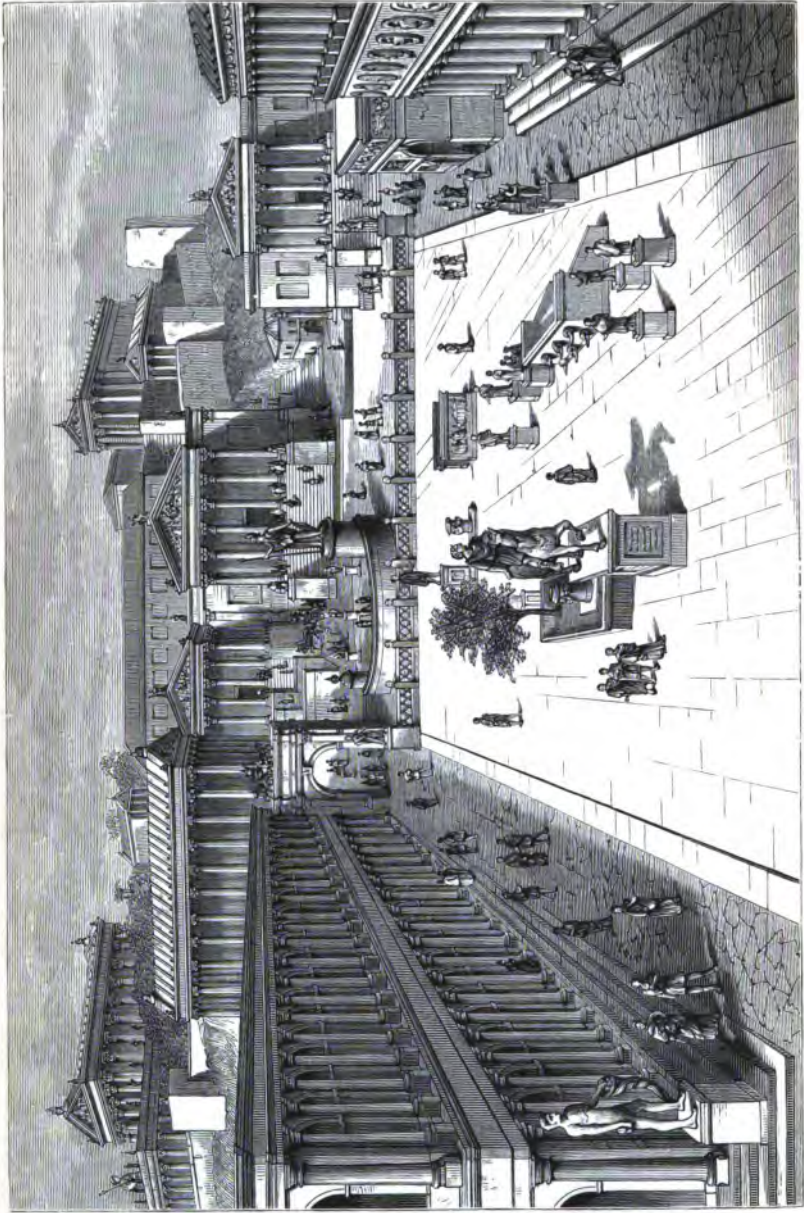




THE ROMAN FORUM.



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THE FORUM IN THE SECOND CENTURY FROM THE TEMPLE OF JULIUS.

THE ROMAN FORUM

73843

A TOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY

BY

FRANCIS MORGAN NICHOLS M.A. F.S.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF WADHAM COLLEGE OXFORD

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PREFACE.

Vielleicht kömmt einst eine glückliche Zeit, welche den tief unter Schutt und Erde liegenden alten Boden offen gelegt sieht, und daraus mit Leichtigkeit und Sicherheit Resultate ziehen kann, die sich jetzt nur mühsam und vermuthungsweise aus den Nachrichten der Schriftsteller gewinnen lassen. *Becker, Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer. Theil. i. p. 216.*

THE surpassing interest of the topography of Ancient Rome is derived from its connection with the history of the dominant nation of the world. It follows as a consequence that this interest has its principal seat in the place which was the centre of the public life of the Roman people. A host of stirring associations, such as belong in our own history to many different localities, gathered around the Roman Forum. There the Senate sate in its Curia, the people met in their Comitia. There laws were passed which reformed the constitution of the sovereign state, decrees were made which determined the fate of subject populations. The judicial business of an empire was there transacted; statesmen were attainted, and civil causes involving the fortune of a Crassus were determined; while at another tribunal the police of a great city was conducted and ordinary criminals sentenced and punished. The state prison and the place of public execution were close at hand. The same area which was the Westminster Hall, the Old Bailey, and the

Tower Hill, was also the Lombard Street and the Exchange of Rome. The most important financial transactions of the world were there arranged; loans were contracted by which armies were to be raised, provinces to be bought, kingdoms to be conquered, or the liberty of the Republic itself to be overthrown. The great religious festivals of Rome were celebrated in the same area, which was overlooked by the principal temples of the national deities; and the popular spectacles, which in imperial times filled the great amphitheatre, had their earlier home in the Roman Forum.

It is the province of topography to enable the student to conceive more vividly and accurately the events of history and the life of a bygone age, by associating them with their actual localities, and with such remains of ancient monuments as Time may have spared. The identification of historical sites is the first business of the topographer; but this mere identification presents a task of no slight difficulty where the remains of antiquity are few and indistinct, and the whole configuration of the ground has been altered in the course of ages. Ancient Rome lies buried at various depths below the surface of the modern city, and the archaeologists of the last three centuries have been disputing over topographical problems which could only be finally solved with the aid of ruder tools than those with which they laboured.

Within the last few years the shovel and pickaxe have been busy, and a large part of the ancient

Forum has been reduced to its original level by the removal of from twenty to thirty feet of accumulated rubbish. The effect of this revelation upon our topographical knowledge has not yet been estimated. The fruits are still to be gathered, and the sight of such a harvest lying open to the first comer has tempted the present writer into the field.

In the time of the great Italian topographers whose works form the foundation of our literature on this subject, and even in the time of Nibby and Canina, of Bunsen and of Becker, the disposition of the historical localities of the Forum was a matter of speculation and conjecture, founded upon the interpretation and comparison of ancient texts. Recent excavations have changed the nature of the problem. Instead of the inquiry,—where may we expect to find such a monument?—the question becomes more frequent,—what is the monument the ruins of which have been found? It is obvious that the latter question is open to a far more certain and definite solution than the former. Approaching the subject from this side, I propose in the first place to describe and identify the ruins which exist in the area of the Forum which has been cleared: this will occupy the first three chapters. The three following chapters are devoted to the discussion of subjects connected with the history of the Forum, but only indirectly illustrated by the late excavations, such as the site of the Comitium and Curia, the history of the Rostra, and the topography of that side of the Forum which has not yet been disinterred. In

the three remaining chapters the attention of the reader is withdrawn from the Roman Forum itself to the imperial Fora, the Sacra Via, the Velia, the Nova Via, and the gates of Palatine or primeval Rome. The additional data which have been furnished by recent discoveries may excuse a fresh attempt to deal with some of the topographical problems which these names suggest, and as to all of them there remains, in the present state of our knowledge, something to be said.

Upon none of the questions discussed in the present volume can a useful opinion be formed without an accurate acquaintance with the language of the ancient writers. The vast apparatus of learning that has been accumulated by the great scholars who have written on the subject of Roman topography, from Donati to Becker, furnishes the instruments by which, with the additional information supplied by modern exploration, their own conclusions may be supplemented and corrected. In the present work the principal passages of ancient authors bearing upon the topography of the Forum are cited in full, either in the text or at the foot of the page, in order that the reader may have before him in a trustworthy shape the literary material upon which his judgment is to be exercised. Some knowledge of the existing condition of the localities may be supplied to those who have not the actual sites within reach by plans and drawings, and still more completely in modern times by the aid of photography. This art places the distant student

almost upon the same level with the resident upon the spot. A very extensive and interesting series of photographs of the ancient monuments, sculptures, and excavations of Rome has been executed under the superintendence of Mr. J. H. Parker, who has thereby placed every student under a deep obligation.

No good map has been published of the excavations of the Forum, although the Cavaliere Rosa, the intelligent director of the excavations, has prepared a very accurate and detailed drawing, which it is understood he intends sometime to make public. The writer was consequently compelled for his own study to make a map from careful observation upon the ground, which he has reduced to a small scale for the present work, and has added a sketch of the neighbouring modern streets. This will be found at the commencement of the volume. In the plan accompanying it an attempt is made to represent the arrangement of the same quarter of the city at the closing period of pagan Rome. This and the other plans, one of which represents the same quarter in the time of Augustus, and the other includes a somewhat larger area, in order to illustrate the concluding chapters of the work, are founded partly on the existing ruins and partly on inference from ancient authors. This distinction is indicated by the shading of the buildings and by the form of the letters used in the names. In placing some important monuments the author has been unable to coincide with the opinions generally received among recent archaeologists. For

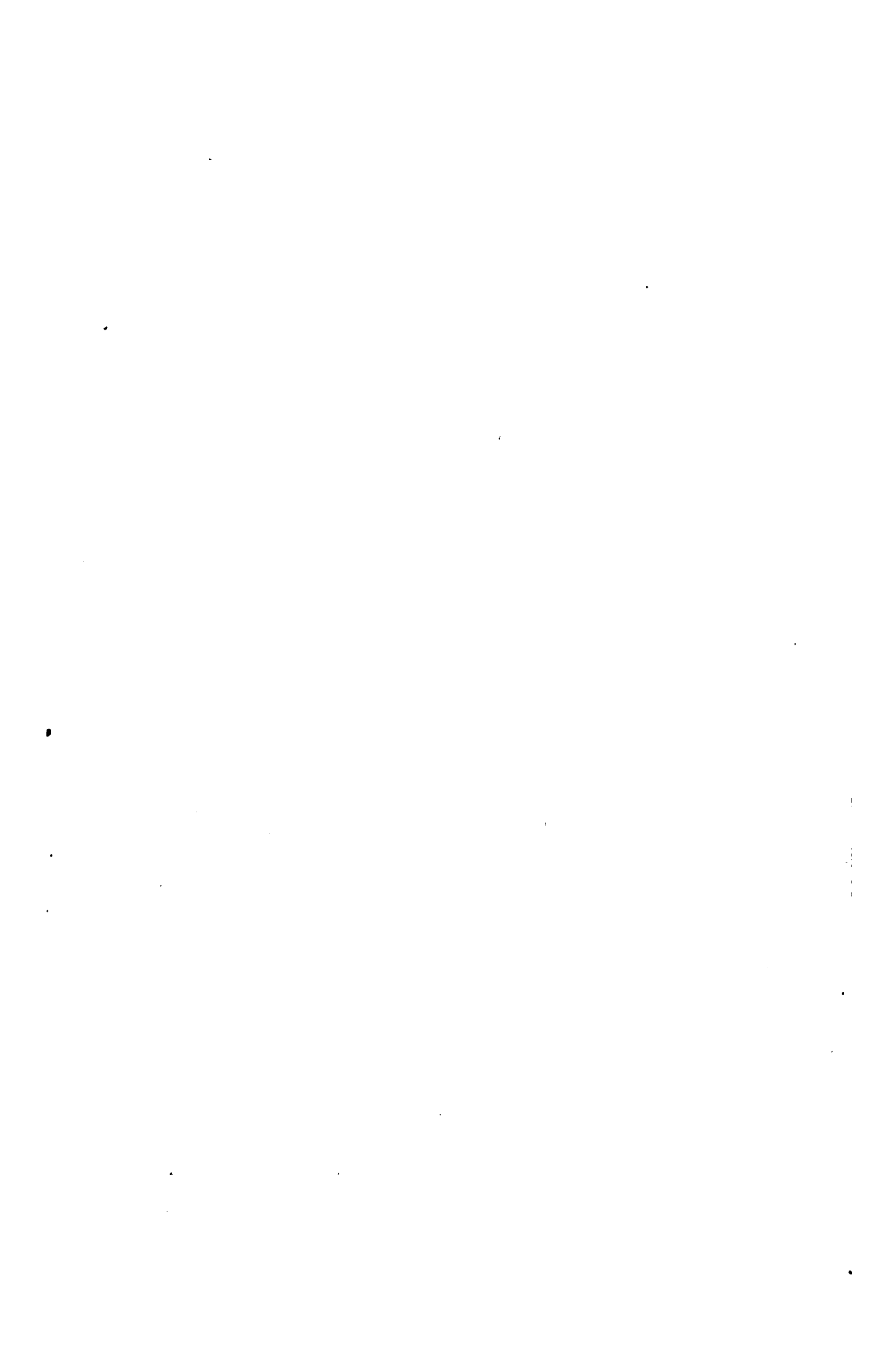
such deviations he trusts he has given sufficient reasons in his text.* The remains of the antique marble plan of Rome preserved in the Capitoline Museum form an important part of our topographical evidences. A copy of the few fragments that appear to relate to the Forum is given at p. 26. For convenience of comparison they have been reduced to the same scale as the other plans, and arranged in their probable relative position.

Another kind of illustration has been used in the present volume, which is submitted to the indulgence of the reader. It was an observation which early struck the attention of the author, that an adequate use had not been made of some of the ancient sculptures which illustrate the topography of the Forum. The representation of its north-western extremity contained in the bas-relief upon the Arch of Constantine has been well appreciated by Canina. The full topographical significance of the Trajan monument, recently excavated in the Forum itself, was first pointed out by the author in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of London in January 1875. The recognition of the south-eastern end of the Forum as there exhibited naturally led to that of some of the

* See as to the site of the Comitium, and the objects connected with it, Chapter IV.; the Forum Julium, pp. 247-250; the Velia, pp. 302-304; the Temple of Jupiter Stator and Porta Mugionia, pp. 311-321; the Porta Romanula, pp. 325-327.

I take this opportunity of requesting the Reader to add at p. 19 a reference to p. 184, where the terrace with the curved face, commonly called the Rostra, is identified with the Graecostadium.

same monuments as represented in the bas-relief of the triumph of M. Aurelius, now in the Capitoline Museum. It appeared to the author that the backgrounds of these sculptures are best explained by translating into perspective their somewhat conventional representations of temples, basilicas, and arches. In the Frontispiece the writer has been tempted to step beyond his authorities, in order to exhibit a general view of the Forum. He trusts that it is needless to say how thoroughly he is aware of the imperfection of these attempts. Were they much better than they are, it is always true that the best in this kind are but shadows, unless imagination mend them. Their object is to assist the reader to reconstruct in imagination the outward appearance of the Forum, as that of the entire book is to furnish some trustworthy materials towards an adequate conception of its ancient monuments and of their history, and of the wonderfully intense and varied life which once animated this small portion of the earth's surface.



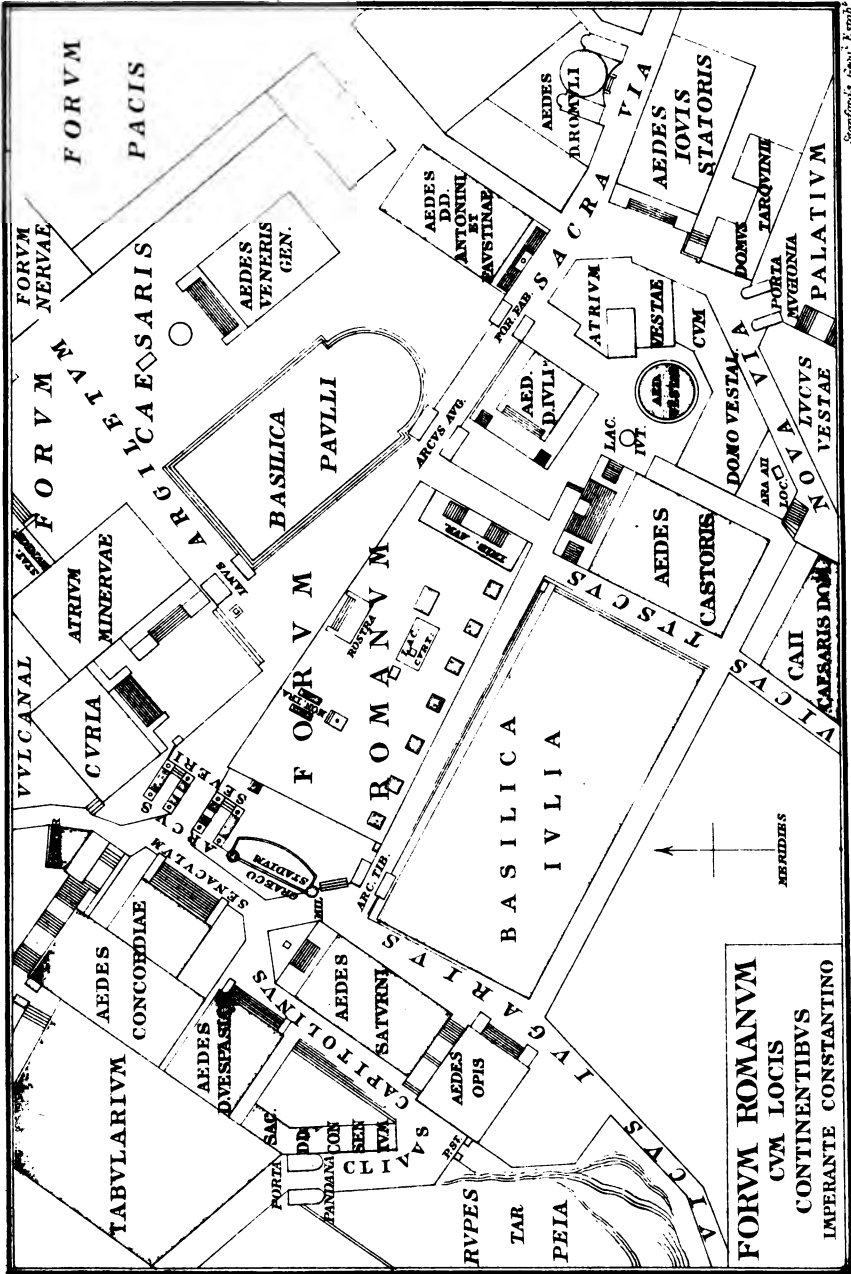
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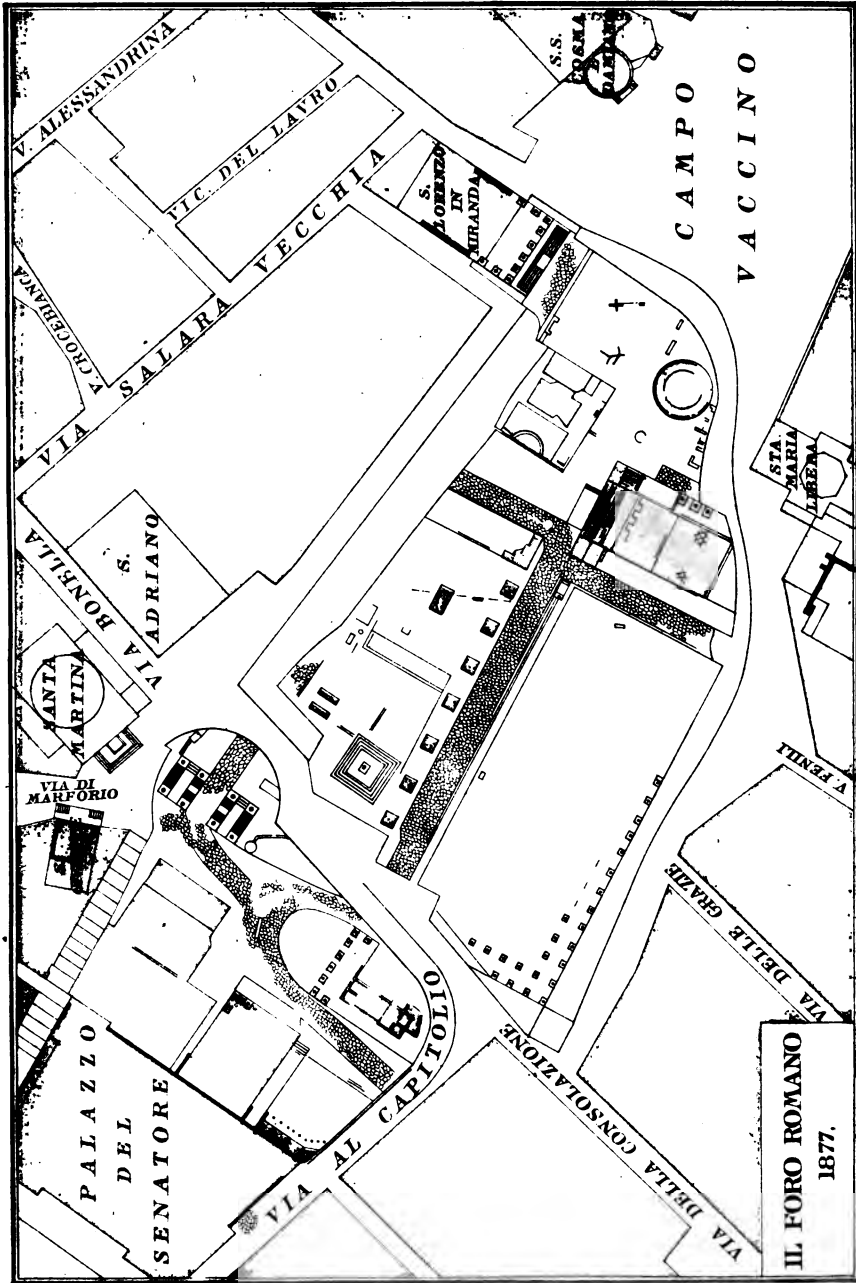
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Standard City & Town

FORVM ROMANVM
 CVM LOCIS
 CONTINENTIBVS
 IMPERANTE CONSTANTINO

0 100 200 300 Feet



IL FORO ROMANO
1877.

0 100 200 300 Feet



THE ROMAN FORUM.

CHAPTER I.

THE NORTH-WESTERN DIVISION OF THE FORUM, FROM
THE TABULARIUM TO THE TEMPLE OF SATURN AND
ARCH OF SEVERUS.

THE Roman Forum was once, according to an-
cient traditions confirmed by the physical cha-
racter of the locality, a marshy valley subject to
frequent inundation by the Tiber, and even in the
dry season partly covered with water.

CHAP. I.
Traditional
history of
the Forum.

Hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes.¹

Virgil presents a somewhat happier picture of
the place, as viewed by Aeneas and Evander from
the ascent of the Palatine hill.

Talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
Pauperis Evandri, passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.²

This space of ground, if we believe the legend-
ary history, was the scene of a long-contested
battle between the rival nations of Romans
and Sabines, when, the Romans were seated on
the Palatine hill, and the Sabines had possession
of the Capitol. Upon the termination of the
struggle by the interference of the Sabine women,

¹ Ovid. Fast. vi. 401.

² Virg. Aen. viii. 359.

CHAP. I. the enforced wives of the Romans, the kings Romulus and Tatius converted the battle-field into a market-place for their united peoples.³

The centre in historical times of the religious, political, and social life of the nation, the Forum became surrounded and filled with the most important temples and public buildings of the city, and in its area was transacted the internal history of Rome.

Position
and extent
of the
Forum.

The ancient Forum lay until a recent period buried some twenty feet below the modern surface, and, with the exception of a few columns which still reared a part of their height above the Campo Vaccino, the situation of its monuments was unknown. Relying upon the evidence of ancient writers as to its position between the Capitoline and Palatine hills,⁴ it was the prevailing opinion of antiquaries, from Nardini in the seventeenth to Nibby in the nineteenth century, that its principal area extended southward

³ Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusus egerat Romanos toto quantum foro spatium est. Nec procul iam a porta Palatii erat. Liv. i. 12.

Τὸ δὲ ὑποκείμενον τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πῆδιον, ἐκκόψαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκῖαν ὕλην, καὶ τῆς λίμνης, ἣ δὴ διὰ τὸ κοῖλον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον ἐπλήθυνε τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ὄρων νάμασι, τὰ πολλὰ χῶσαντες, ἀγορὰν αὐτόθι κατεστήσαντο, ἣ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι διατελοῦσιν. Dionys. ii. 50.

⁴ Νομάς δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας οὐκ ἐκίνησε τῶν φρατριῶν ἐστίας, κοινὴν δὲ κατεστήσατο πάντων μίαν, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Καπιτωλίου καὶ τοῦ Παλατίου χωρίῳ, συμπεπολισμένων ἤδη τῶν λόφων ἐνὶ περιβόλῳ καὶ μέσης ἀμφοῖν οὐσῆς τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἐν ᾗ κατεσκεύασται τὸ ἱερόν. Dionys. ii. 66. See also Liv. i. 12 (Note 3); Plutarch. Rom. 18.

from the columns which adorned the base of the Capitol. This opinion was corrected by modern criticism ; and recent explorations, in which the greater part of the Forum has been laid bare to its ancient level, have shewn beyond dispute that its longer measurement was from the north-west, on which side it was closed in by the Capitol, to the south-east, where it extended to the northern corner of the Palatine. Its length from the Tabularium to the Regia was about 230 yards. The width of its open area varied from 80 to 40 yards.

The Capitoline hill was composed of two heights united by a lower ridge. Upon the south-eastern slope of this ridge was constructed a large edifice, a great part of which has survived to the present day, and is incorporated in the Senatorial Palace, of which the principal façade is in the Piazza del Campidoglio. On the opposite face the ancient external wall remains, and forms the north-western boundary of the Forum. In the upper part of this side of the building was a long loggia or arcade, one arch only of which is now open, with Doric half-columns at the sides ; the capitals of several of the other half-columns are traceable at intervals in the wall.

The Tabularium.

Gallery of the Tabularium.

By an inscription which existed on its walls until the seventeenth century, this building is identified as the Tabularium or Public Record Office, the destruction of which by an incendiary

CHAP. I. is twice alluded to by Cicero. It was rebuilt by Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul, B.C. 78.⁵ There were other *tabularia* at Rome; one in the Atrium Libertatis is mentioned by Livy.⁶ But this great office in the most prominent situation of the city may well be taken for the public Tabularium alluded to by Virgil, which his fortunate worshipper of the rural deities was privileged not to know.

Nec ferrea iura
Insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit.⁷

Clivus
Capitolinus.

On the right of the Tabularium, as you look from it towards the Forum, was the principal road leading from the Capitol, called the Clivus Capitolinus, which descended in zigzag to the Forum. A small piece of the lava pavement of this ancient road is visible by the south-west wall of the Palazzo del Senatore; and the lower part is completely uncovered. On the left of the Tabularium was a steeper path leading down from the Capitol, called the Scalae Gemoniae, which

Scalae
Gemoniae.

⁵ Cic. pro Rabirio perd. reo, 3; de nat. D. iii. 30.

Q. LVTATIVS Q.F. Q.N. CATVLVS . COS . SVBSTRVCTIONEM . ET . TABVLARIVM . EX . S.C. FACIENDVM . COERAVIT. (Romae in Capitolio, ex Panvinio et Boissardo.) Gruter, Ins. 170, 6; Nardini, Rom. Ant. ii. 300.

The name of Catulus was also inscribed on the great temple of the Capitol after its reconstruction by Sulla. Tac. Hist. iii. 72; Dio Cass. xliii. 14.

⁶ Censores ex templo in atrium Libertatis escenderunt: et ibi signatis tabellis publicis clausoque tabulario . . . negarunt se . . . quicquam publici negotii gesturos. Liv. xliii. 16.

⁷ Virg. Georg. ii. 501.

reached the Forum close to the ancient Prison of Rome; upon the steps at the bottom, the bodies of persons executed in the prison were frequently thrown. No traces of this path are now visible, but its direction and extent are indicated by a passage of Dio Cassius, in which that historian, speaking of the events which foreshadowed the fall of Sejanus, describes his return to the Forum from a sacrifice in the Capitol, when some of his attendants, prevented by the crowd from keeping up with their master, turned aside into the path which led to the prison, and slipped and fell upon the steps where the condemned were used to be thrown.⁸

The Prison, *Carcer*, is mentioned by Livy as having been built by King Ancus, in the midst of the city, overhanging the Forum.⁹ It contained an underground cell, which was called Tullianum, having been, according to Varro, an addition of Servius Tullius.¹⁰ This part of the prison was used as a place of execution, and is depicted by Sallust with some minuteness in recording the fate of the Catilinarian conspirators. He describes it

CHAP. I.

The
Prison.

Tullianum.

⁸ Ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ θύσας ἐς τὴν ἀγοφὴν κατῆι, οἱ οἰκέται αὐτοῦ οἱ δορυφόροι, διὰ τε τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀγούσης ἔξετραπόντο, μὴ δυνηθέντες αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐπακολουθῆσαι, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν καθ' ὧν οἱ δικαιούμενοι ἔρριπτοῦντο κατιόντες ὤλισθον καὶ κατέπεσον. Dio Cass. lviii. 5.

⁹ *Carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciae media urbe imminens foro aedificatur. Liv. i. 33.*

¹⁰ *Carcer a coerendo, quod exire prohibentur. In hoc pars quae sub terra Tullianum, ideo quod additum a Tullio rege. Varro, L. L. v. 32. So Festus (ed. Müll.), p. 356.*

CHAP. I. as approached by a slight ascent to the left, the cell being twelve feet below the ground, with walls all round, and a vault above constructed with stone arches, its aspect dark, filthy, and frightful.¹¹

Site of the
Prison.

It has been usual to place the ancient prison of Rome on the site of the church of S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami, where there is an underground cell called the Prison of St. Peter.

Prison of
St. Peter.

This structure forms a sort of crypt to the church, being composed of two chambers one above the other, the upper chamber being about twenty feet square and thirteen feet high, and the lower, which is round, about eighteen feet in diameter and scarcely more than six feet in height. A flat vault of travertine divides the two chambers; and the ancient conical vaulting of the upper chamber has been partly replaced by a flat stone roof. Both are now reached by a stone staircase. In the lower chamber is a shallow well, the water of which rises nearly to the surface of the natural floor of the cell. On the face of the building, towards the Forum, is the following in-

¹¹ Ipse (Cicero) praesidiis dispositis Lentulum in carcerem deducit : idem fit caeteris per praetores. Est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam, circiter xii. pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vineta : sed incultu, tenebris, odore, foeda atque terribilis eius facies. In eum locum postquam demissus Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus praeceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere . . . De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cepario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est. Sallust. Bell. Catilin. 55.

scription, which records some restoration in the consulship of Vibius and Nerva, during the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 22. CHAP. I.

C . VIBIVS . C . F . RVFINVS . M . COCCEIVS . . . NERVA .

EX . S . C .

The lower subterranean chamber communicates by narrow passages with other larger chambers of solid masonry, situated under some houses in the Vicolo del Ghettarello, and also with the Cloaca Maxima.

The so-called Prison of St. Peter is supposed by some antiquaries to have been originally a well-house, or a subterranean cistern for collecting water. The word *tullius* in early language signified a well, and a derivation is thus suggested for the name Tullianum, by which the connection with king Tullius, and the improbable supposition that the under portion of the building is later than the upper, are superseded.

The identification of the Carcer with the structure existing at S. Giuseppe is not undisputed.¹² The inscription contains nothing to show the purpose of the building, and the description of Sallust might apply equally well to many an underground vault, and does not perhaps fit the existing cell with perfect accuracy, the original vaulting having apparently been constructed with overlapping

Identity of the Prison of St. Peter and the Carcer.

¹² See Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 81; Appendix, p. 455.

CHAP. I. stones, and not, as might have been expected from the expression of the historian, with an arch.

On the other hand, the mere situation of the structure in question makes it difficult to reject its received identity. The prison was in a position overlooking the Forum,¹³ near the Temple of Concord,⁴ and at the bottom of a steep path leading from the Capitol.⁵ If this was not its site, where is it possible to place it? The severe style of architecture of the remaining portion of the ancient façade agrees with the assumed destination of the building. The existence of passages connecting this structure with other strongly-built cells and also with the cloaca, by means of which the bodies of criminals might be secretly disposed of, tends to confirm the identification. On the whole, it can scarcely be doubted that we have here some remains of the Carcer; and it seems not improbable that the existing prison of St. Péter was actually the Tullianum of Varro and Sallust, originally, perhaps, entered only by a hole in the top of the vaulting, to which the slight ascent to the left mentioned by Sallust may have led.

Associa-
tions of the
Prison.

The Carcer plays a part in Roman history like that of the Tower of London in our own. The Tullianum was a secret Tower Hill. We read in Livy, that Pleminius, the legate of Scipio Africanus, who was committed to the Carcer on account

¹³ Liv. i. 33 (Note 9). ⁴ Dio Cass. lviii. 11. (Note 20.)

⁵ Dio Cass. lviii. 5. (Note 8.)

of his excesses at Locri, was detected in hiring men to set fire to the city, and was thereupon sent down into the lower prison and executed.¹⁶ Cicero, in his Second Oration against Catiline, speaks threateningly of the Carcer as having been ordained by their ancestors as the avenger of heinous and notorious crimes.⁷ And Plutarch describes how the orator carried out his threats of taking Lentulus from the Palatine along the Sacred Way and through the midst of the Forum to the prison, where, according to Sallust, he was put down into the Tullianum and strangled by the executioners. The same fate befel Cethegus and several other conspirators.⁸ It was into this hole that the wild Jugurtha was thrust, when, according to Plutarch, he exclaimed, "How cold is this bath of yours;" and in it he was starved to death.⁹ When Sejanus, the minister of Tiberius, was disgraced and imprisoned, the Senate met in the Temple of Concord on account of its proximity to the prison, and immediately decreed his death. His body was cast on the Scalae

CHAP. I.

¹⁶ Liv. xxix. 22; xxxiv. 44.

⁷ Carcerem quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum maiores nostri esse voluerunt. Cic. in Cat. ii. 12.

⁸ Καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ Παλατίου παραλαβὼν τὸν Λέντλον ἤγε διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης . . . Διελθὼν δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ παρέδωκε τὸν Λέντλον τῷ δημίῳ καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν· εἰθ' ἐξῆς τὸν Κίθηγον καὶ οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον καταγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. Plutarch. Cic. 22. Sallust. Bell. Cat. 55. (Note 11.)

⁹ Ὁσθεὶς δὲ γυμνὸς εἰς τὸ βάραθρον κατεβλήθη. . . Ἡράκλεις, εἶπεν, ὡς ψυχρὸν ὑμῶν τὸ βαλανεῖον. Plutarch. Mar. 12.

CHAP. I. Gemoniae, where it remained for three days exposed to the insults of the populace,²⁰ who, according to Juvenal, if Tiberius had been overthrown, would have been equally ready to salute him emperor.

Seianus ducitur unco
Spectandus. Gaudent omnes.
Idem populus, si Nursia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secunda senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum.¹

The subsequent execution of his children was carried out in the prison with circumstances of frightful atrocity, and their bodies thrown on the *Scalae Gemoniae*.² Sad, however, as were the associations connected with this building, the Roman Satirist, among the multiplied instruments of tyranny of his own day, could look back with fond regret to its early history.

Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
Secula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.³

²⁰ Τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνεβλήθη· ὕστερον δ' οὐ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἢ γερονσία πλησίον τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν τῷ Ὁμονοίῳ . . . θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατεψήφισατο· καὶ οὕτω δικαιοθεὶς κατὰ τε τῶν ἀναβασμῶν ἐρρίφη, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ ὄμιλος τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλε. Dio Cass. lviii. 11.

¹ Juvenal. Sat. x. 66.

² Placitum posthac ut in reliquos Seiani liberos adverteretur . . . Igitur portantur in carcerem . . . Tradunt temporis eius auctores, quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virginem inauditum habebatur, a carnifice laqueum iuxta compressam: exin obliis faucibus, id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta. Tac. Ann. v. 9. So Dio Cass. lviii. 11.

³ Juvenal. Sat. iii. 313.

The Carcer, like the Tower, had also its literary reminiscences. Naevius is said to have written two of his plays while he was confined in the Prison for his attacks on the aristocracy.²⁴ CHAP. I.

On the Gemonian steps the headless trunk of Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, was thrown by the soldiers of Vitellius, and not many days after Vitellius himself met his end on the same spot. Pliny calls the place *gradus gemitorii*, the Steps of Sighs.⁵ Scalae
Gemoniae.

Near the prison, on the other side of the Gemonian steps, was the Temple of Concord, the extensive podium of which, with remains of its marble pavement, has recently been exposed, with the exception of a small part which is under the modern pathway leading up to the Piazza del Campidoglio. The building of which we see the remains appears to have consisted of a large cell placed against the wall of the Tabularium, with a portico of less width projecting towards the Forum, the portico being approached by a lofty flight of steps. Temple of
Concord.

The identity of this ruin with the Temple of Concord is undisputed. It is proved by its position between the Capitol and the Forum,⁶ near the Temple of Saturn and the Clivus Capito-

²⁴ A. Gell. iii 3.

⁵ Tac. Hist. iii. 74, 85. Sueton. Vitell. 17. Plin. N. H. viii. 61. Aedis Concordiae inter Capitolium et Forum. Festus (ed. Müll.), p. 347.

CHAP. I. linus,²⁷ and in close proximity to the prison;⁸ and finally by a comparison of the three inscriptions preserved in the Einsiedlen Manuscript with the letters still remaining on the other two temples at the head of the Forum, which, assuming the three inscriptions to have belonged to these three temples, leaves that which has the name of Concord as the one belonging to this.⁹ The identity is further confirmed by the fragment of the Capitoline Plan, in which the letters *ORDIA* appear.³⁰ The existing remains appear to be those of an extensive building, the last restoration of the Temple. But, when Varro wrote, it would seem that there was not only a Temple of Concord, but a Basilica, called the Basilica Opimia, on this ground, and that in earlier times the same locality had furnished the site of a building called the *Senaculum*.¹

Temple of
Camillus.

The first Temple of Concord placed on part of this site was probably that of *M. Furius Camillus*, erected to celebrate the reconciliation of the Patrician and Plebeian orders upon the concession

²⁷ *Templum Saturni quod est ante clivum Capitolii, iuxta Concordiae templum.* Serv. ad Aen. ii. 116. Cic. Phil. ii. 7. (Note 41.)

⁸ Dio Cass. lviii. 11. (Note 20.)

⁹ See p. 24.

³⁰ These fragments of a marble plan of Rome were found at the foot of an ancient wall to the north of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. (See Chapter VII.) They are now on the walls of the staircase of the Capitoline Museum. The fragments relating to this part of Rome are engraved in Canina's *Edifizj di Roma*, vol. ii. tav. 89.

¹ Varro, L. L. v. 32 (43). See Chapter IV., where the topography of this corner of the Forum is discussed with more detail.

of one of the consulships to the latter, B.C. 367. CHAP. I.
 Its locality is described by Plutarch as commanding a view of the Forum and Comitium.³²
 But the temple existing here in the time of Varro and Cicero appears to have been that erected in the Forum, by order of the Senate, by L. Opimius, consul, B.C. 121, after the triumph of the aristocratical party over C. Gracchus.³ This may account for its association with the Basilica Opimia, which appears to have adjoined it.

Temple of Opimius.

The restoration of the Temple of Concord was undertaken by Tiberius in his own name and that of his brother Drusus, during the reign of Augustus, B.C. 6; and shortly after, on his journey to his retirement at Rhodes, he is said to have compelled the people of Paros to sell him a statue of Vesta, which he wished to present to the new temple.⁴ It does not, however, appear to have been dedicated till the triumphal return of Tiberius from his German campaigns, A.D. 12; though Dio places the dedication in the previous year. Livia united with her son in providing the altar and accessories of the new temple.⁵

Restoration of the Temple of Concord by Tiberius.

The Temple of Concord was adorned with

³² Ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς μὲν Ὁμονοίας ἱερὸν, ὥσπερ ἠῤῥατο ὁ Κάμιλλος, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποπτον ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἰδρῶσασθαι. Plutarch. Cam. 42.

³ Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ νεῶν Ὁμονοίας αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ προσέταξεν ἐγεῖραι. Appian. Bell. Civ. i. 26. Plutarch. C. Gracch. 17.

⁴ Dio Cass. lv. 8, 9.

⁵ Candida, te niveo posuit lux proxima templo
 Qua fert sublimes alta Moneta gradus ;

CHAP. I. many valuable works of art. It possessed among other treasures a picture by Zeuxis of Marsyas Bound, and another of Liber Pater by Nicias of Athens, an artist who is said by Pliny to have excelled in breadth and in the relief with which he brought out his subjects.³⁶

Identity of
temples of
Opimius
and Tiberius.

The identity of the temple restored by Tiberius with that of Camillus is testified by Ovid. But there is no direct evidence of the identity of either with the temple erected by Opimius in the Forum ; and a learned English writer has argued from the description of the site by Plutarch

Nunc bene prospicies Latiam, Concordia, turbam ;
Nunc te sacratae restituere manus.
Furius antiquum populi superator Etrusci
Voverat, et voti solverat ante fidem.
Causa, quod a patribus sumptis secesserat armis
Vulgus, et ipsa suas Roma timebat opes.
Causa recens melior : passos Germania crines
Porrigit auspiciis, dux venerande, tuis.
Inde triumphatae libasti munera gentis,
Templaque fecisti, quam colis ipse, deae.
Haec tua constituit genitrix et rebus et ara,
Sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis.

Ovid. Fast. i. 637.

A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit . . . Dedicavit et Concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris, suo fratrisque nomine de manubiis. Sueton. Tib. 20. Dio Cass. lv. 25.

³⁶ Zeuxidis manu Romae Helena est in Philippi porticibus, et in Concordiae delubro Marsyas religatus. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 36.

Lumen et umbras custodivit (Nicias), atque ut eminenter e tabulis picturae maxime curavit. Opera ejus, Nemea advecta ex Asia Romam a Silano, quam in Curia diximus positam, item Liber pater in aede Concordiae. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 40 (28). See also *ib.* xxxvi. 67 ; xxxvii. 2.

already cited, and from the language of Ovid, that the true position of the temple built by Camillus and restored by Tiberius was in the Arx, close to the temple of Juno Moneta;³⁷ but it will be found that the expressions of these authors are not inapplicable to the well-known site in the Forum. Ovid's description places it by the steps of Moneta, in a position whence the goddess Concord had a perfect view of the Latin crowd. The latter part of this description is equivalent to Plutarch's expression respecting the temple of Camillus, that it commanded a prospect of the Forum; and both are eminently appropriate to the present site at the foot of the Capitol. The allusion to the steps of Moneta requires more explanation. The steep way which led from the prison, past the side of the Temple of Concord, to the Arx, where the Temple of Juno Moneta probably occupied the site of the present church of Araceli, was called (at its lower part at least) *Scalae Gemoniae*. But Ovid may well have preferred to associate this path with the hallowed title of Moneta rather than to introduce into his verse any nearer allusion to the ill-omened name by which it was generally known. Possibly in the syllable common to both he may have found a connection between the two names. In judging whether the temple rebuilt by Tiberius was or was not the famous monument of the Forum, it

³⁷ Smith's Dict. Geogr. *art.* Roma, p. 765.

CHAP. I. should be remembered that, whatever minor temples of Concord may have existed,³⁸ the temple in the Forum is always referred to by Roman authors as the Temple of Concord without qualification.⁹ When, therefore, Suetonius and Dio speak of the dedication of the Temple of Concord, it is as difficult to suppose that they refer to some less known temple as it would be to doubt the meaning of an historian of London who spoke of the rebuilding of St. Paul's.

Under the podium of the Temple of Concord was a passage, closed in ancient times, which appears to have led into the Tabularium.

Meetings
of the
Senate
in the
Temple of
Concord.

The Temple of Concord was frequently used for the meeting of the Senate. It was to this place that Cicero brought the accomplices of Catiline, and here he exposed the conspiracy,⁴⁰ while the Clivus Capitolinus was thronged with the noblest of Rome.¹ It was here, during the same excitement, that Caesar, as he came out of

³⁸ Other temples of Concord were an *aedicula Concordiae in area Vulcani*, dedicated by Cn. Flavius, B.C. 304 (Liv. ix. 46, Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 6), as to which see further on in Chapter IV.; an *aedes Concordiae in arce*, vowed by L. Manlius, B.C. 219, and built B.C. 217 (Liv. xxii. 33); and an *aedes Concordiae (quae Concordiae Virilis) in Porticu Liviae*. (Ovid. Fasti. vi. 637.)

See the passages from Pliny already cited, and those from Cicero and Sallust cited in this and the following pages; Tacitus, Hist. iii. 68.

⁴⁰ Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire iubet. Eo senatum advocat. Sallust. Bell. Catilin.

¹ Quis enim eques Romanus, quis, praeter te, adolescens nobilis, . . . quum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit? Cic. Phil. ii. 7; Cic. p. Sext. 12.

the Senate, was threatened with violence by the Roman knights, who stood in guard round the temple.⁴² It was here, after Caesar's death, that Cicero and the Senate defied Mark Antony, while the knights stood crowded on the steps of Concord, and called on the orator to harangue the people.³ Another meeting of the Senate in this temple has been already mentioned, when the death of Sejanus was decreed.

It is not easy to explain why this temple was chosen during the Catilinarian conspiracy for the meetings of the Senate, when the Curia was so near. Possibly the greater sanctity of the place, or even a greater facility for defence, may have given rise to the choice.⁴ During the contest between the Senate and Antony the Curia was not in use.⁵

In front of the ruin of the Temple of Concord stands the arch which its inscription shows to have been erected in honour of the emperor Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta, but from which the name of the last has

Arch of
Severus.

⁴² Usque adeo uti nonnulli equites Romani, qui praesidii causa cum telis erant circum aedem Concordiae . . . egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio munitarentur. Sallust. Bell. Catilin.

³ An equites Romanos amplectetur? Occulta enim fuit eorum voluntas iudiciumque de M. Antonio? Qui frequentissimi in gradibus Concordiae steterunt, . . . me una cum populo Romano in concionem vocaverunt. Cic. Phil. vii. 8.

⁴ In Cicero's first oration against Catiline, which seems to have been delivered in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, he alludes to the place of meeting as *hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus*. Cic. in Cat. i. 1.

⁵ See Chapter IV. on the position and history of the Curia.

CHAP. I. been erased. I propose to show in a future chapter how this monument broke in upon the ancient arrangement of the Forum.⁴⁶

The carriage-way between the Temple of Concord and the Arch of Severus is part of the ancient road leading from the Clivus Capitolinus to the prison; but the road branching from it and passing under the arch is probably not older than the arch itself, if it is not of a later date. This roadway may be traced further to the south-east in the open Forum, and probably joined the Sacra Via near the Temple of Divus Julius.

Statue of
M. Aure-
lius.

Beyond the arch on the left-hand (in the direction of S. Adriano) are the remains of the pedestal of an equestrian statue. There seems some reason to believe that this was the original position of the Marcus Aurelius, which was formerly at the Lateran, and was placed by Paul III. on its present pedestal in the Piazza del Campidoglio. An equestrian statue of Constantine is mentioned in the Notitia in this part of the Forum.⁷

Umbilicus
Romae.

At the western corner of the arch, in front of the Temple of Concord, is the nucleus of a tall circular structure, about fifteen feet in diameter, which is identified by some antiquaries with the Umbilicus Romae, mentioned in the Notitia next to the Temple of Concord, and by the Einsiedlen MS. placed near the church of SS. Sergio e

⁴⁶ See Chapter IV.

⁷ Fea, *Miscell.* lxii. 18. Winkelman, *Storia Art. Antiq.* (ed. Ital.), iii. 410. *Notitia* in *Reg.* viii. (Note 49.)

Bacco, which was built against the Arch of Severus. Nothing more, as far as I am aware, is known of this monument. It appears to have been distinct from the Milliarium Aureum, which is separately named in the Notitia, between the Capitolium and the Via Jugaria.⁴⁸ Becker, who maintains the identity of the Umbilicus and the Milliarium, has suggested that the circular pedestal may have been that of a Genius Populi Romani which is said to have been placed at the Rostra by Aurelian.⁹ At the time of the triumvirate of Octavianus, Antonius, and Lepidus, there appears to have existed a temple of some importance dedicated to this deity, near that of Concord. Its site is unknown.⁵⁰

CHAP. I.

Genius
Populi
Romani.

Commencing from the edge of the so-called Umbilicus Romae is a platform, or terrace, on a level (or nearly so) with the ground towards the Capitol, but with a perpendicular face, about ten feet high, forming part of a circle towards the Forum, which face has been cased with marble. Part of this monument is covered by the modern road. Below it, at a little distance, are the remains of a

Tribunal
or Rostra.

⁴⁸ S. Sergii, ubi umbilicum Romae. MS. Einsiedlen. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 344.) See Notitia in Reg. viii. (Note 61.)

⁹ Genium populi Romani aureum in rostra posuit. Catal. Scrip. Vienn. lib. ii. p. 246. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 360.) See further, p. 39.

Forum Romanum Magnum, Genium Populi Romani aureum, equum Constantini, senatum, atrium Minervae, Forum Caesaris, Augusti, Nervae Trajani, etc. Notitia in Reg. viii.

⁵⁰ Γύπεες τε ἐπὶ τε τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Γενίου τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀμονοίας παμπλήθεις ιδρύθησαν. Dio Cass. xlvii. ii. Ib. l. 8.

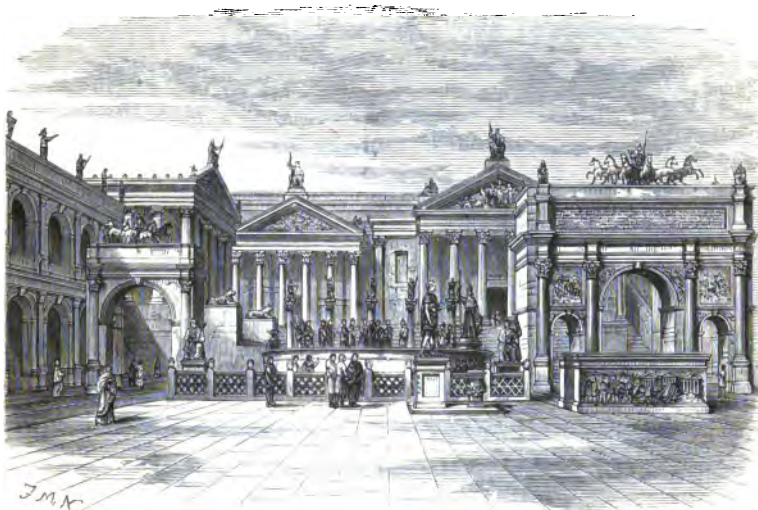
CHAP. I. low structure, which appears to have been carried in a straight line across this part of the Forum, and a portion of which is to be seen in the foot-passage leading under the modern street. The base of the latter structure is upon the same level as that of the curved terrace. The former of these monuments was recognised by Canina as one of the Rostra of the Forum, but there is no mark, where the face of it can be examined, of its ever having been ornamented with heads of ships; and the existence of another building in front of it at so little distance would seem to interfere with its suggested use. It may possibly have been the site of the Tribunal in the Comitium, of which the structure in front probably marks the boundary.⁵¹ Suetonius describes a scene enacted in this part of the Forum, of which the terrace now in question, if it be not of later date, may have been the stage. When Tiberius celebrated his triumph after his return from Germany, Augustus sat in state at the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus, at which point Tiberius descended from his car and threw himself before the knees of his adopted father.²

Represent-
ation of
the Forum
in bas-
relief of
Constan-
tine.

In one of the bas-reliefs on the Arch of Constantine, and of the date of that monument, the

⁵¹ See Chapter IV. on the Comitium, and Tribunal.

² A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus triumphum quem distulerat egit, prosequentibus etiam legatis, quibus triumphalia ornamenta impetrarat. Ac prius quam in Capitolium flecteret, descendit e curru, seque praesidenti patri ad genua summisit. Sueton. Tib. 20.



THE FORUM IN THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE.

emperor is represented standing upon a terrace CHAP. I.
 between the triumphal arches of Severus and
 Tiberius, with attendants about him, and the
 people in the Forum below. The terrace so re-
 presented appears to be that now existing with the
 curved face.⁵³

Returning to the wall of the Tabularium we
 find, separated from the Temple of Concord by a
 passage of about five feet in width, the ruins of a
 temple, three of whose Corinthian columns still

Ruins of
 Temples of
 Vespasian
 and Sa-
 turn.

⁵³ The above engraving is the result of an attempt to represent in perspective the locality of the bas-relief of Constantine. A photograph of the original may be easily procured. The *cancelli*, or marble railings, are probably the remains of the fence of the Comitium. See Chapter IV. Behind the arches are the Basilica Julia, and the temples of Saturn, Vespasian, and Concord; behind the temples the Tabularium.

CHAP. I. support the north corner of the entablature of the portico, inscribed with the letters *ESTITVER*. This temple, which was mounted on an elevated podium, faced towards the Forum, and concealed a portion of the loggia of the Tabularium. Before its southern corner, on the other side of the road which passes in front of it, is the nearly perfect Ionic hexastyle portico of another temple, having its façade at right angles to that of the temple last mentioned. Upon the entablature of the Ionic Portico may still be read the complete inscription :

*SENATVS . POPVLVSQVE . ROMANVS .
INCENDIO . CONSVPTVM . RESTITVIT .*

Behind the Portico are the remains of some chambers which were below the cell of the temple ; and in front is a ruined terrace where the steps of the temple must have been, and round which the Clivus Capitolinus is carried at a steep incline, continuing its upward course along the north-western side of the temple. On the opposite or south-eastern side of the temple, a lane ran towards the Tiber, and beyond the lane, which was very narrow at its opening into the Forum, is the lately cleared area of an extensive building, to which we shall presently return, and which is generally recognised as the Basilica Julia.

The two temples which I have described are beyond dispute those of *Vespasian* and *Saturn*, but antiquaries have not been agreed in distin-

Controversy about the Temples of Saturn and Vespasian.

guishing their identity. In spite of the weighty opposition of Becker, modern opinion has generally agreed with Canina in ascribing the Ionic Temple to Saturn. Many of the passages from ancient authors descriptive of the Temple of Saturn, which have been cited in this controversy, are applicable with nearly equal appropriateness on both sides. Varro speaks of the fane of Saturn as being in the "jaws" of the Capitoline hill; Servius describes the same temple as being under or before the Clivus Capitolinus, and close to the Temple of Concord; ⁵⁴ Dionysius speaks of an altar of Saturn by the root of the hill at the ascent from the Forum to the Capitol, and of the subsequent temple near the same spot; ⁵ and Festus mentions the altar of Saturn at the bottom of the Clivus. ⁶ If the question depended on these descriptions alone, no certain decision could be

CHAP. I.

Site of
Temple of
Saturn
according
to old
authors.

⁵⁴ Saturni fanum in faucibus (Capitolini montis). Varro, L. L. v. 5 (14).

Orestis vero ossa Aricia Romam translata sunt, et condita ante templum Saturni, quod est ante clivum Capitolinum iuxta Concordiae templum. Serv. ad Aen. ii. 115. Sibi oppidum fecit (Saturnus) sub clivo Capitolino, ubi nunc eius aedes videtur. Serv. ad Aen. viii. 319. See also the citation from the *Curiosum*, in Note 61.

⁵ και τὸν βωμὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοῦς Ἐπειοῦς ἰδρύσασθαι μεθ' Ἡρακλέους, ὅς ἐτι και νῦν διαμένει παρά τῇ ῥίζῃ τοῦ λόφου κατὰ τὴν ἀνοδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς φέρουσαν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. Dionys. i. 34.

⁶ Ἐπὶ τούτων (Ἀῦλου Σεμπρωνίου και Μάρκου Μινυκίου) φασι τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν νεὼν καθιερωθῆναι τῷ Κρόνῳ, κατὰ τὴν ἀνοδὸν τὴν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον φέρουσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Τὸν δὲ προτοῦ βωμὸν αὐτόθι καθιδρύσθαι λέγουσι τὸν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους κατασκευασμένον. Dionys. vi. 1.

⁶ Saturnii quoque dicebantur qui castrum in imo clivo Capitolino incolebant, ubi ara dicata ei deo ante bellum Troianum videtur. Festus, ed. Müller, p. 322.

CHAP. I.

Ancyran
monument.

made. But the most convincing proof of the received opinion is founded upon the inscription discovered at Ancyra, which records the benefits conferred by Augustus upon the Roman people, and which, speaking in the name of that emperor, describes the Basilica Julia as being between the Temple of Castor and the Temple of Saturn.⁵⁷ Now, as we find the area of the Basilica Julia lying, in fact, between two temples, it is scarcely possible to resist the conclusion that the temples are those named by Augustus; and since the Temple of Saturn must, in accordance with the authorities already cited, be placed under the Capitol, and not at the other end of the Basilica, it can be no other than that with the Ionic portico. Becker's answer, that the Temple of Vespasian did not exist at the date of the Ancyran Monument, and that the abutments of the basilica there given might therefore on his theory be still correct, is met by the consideration that so large and important a space as that occupied by the disputed temple is not likely to have been altogether vacant. The conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the inscription remaining on this portico with those preserved in the Einsiedlen Manuscript. The inscriptions of several temples are there given as follows, without distinguishing the parts belonging to each monument.

Inscriptions of the three temples under the Capitol.

⁵⁷ BASILICAM QVAE FVIT INTER AEDEM CASTORIS ET AEDEM SATURNI . . . PERFECI. *Mon. Ancyr. ed. Mommsen, p. 56. (Note 100.)*

Senatus populusq. romanus incendio con-
 sumptum restituit divo vespasiano augusto.
 S. P. Q. R. imp. caess. severus et antoninus
 pii felic. aug. restituerunt. S. P. Q. R. aedem
 concordiae vetustate collapsam in me-
 liorem faciem opere et cultu splendidiore restituerunt.⁵⁸

It is universally agreed that we have here the inscriptions from three temples ; and Becker, relying upon the punctuation of the MS., has made the first division after Augusto, contending that all the preceding words belong to the temple with the Ionic portico. But, as the inscription on the Ionic portico is still perfect (with no room for more), it is natural to conclude that where that ends, with the word *restituit*, the second inscription begins ; and that the words *Divo Vespasiano Augusto* belong to the second or intermediate temple. This is confirmed by the observation, that the letters ESTITVER now to be seen on that temple are below the middle of the entablature, so that the inscription of which they were part was probably in two lines, of which the first recorded the original dedication by the Senate, the second the restoration under Severus. The remaining letters are so placed as to leave room in one line for

⁵⁸ Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 315 ; Röm. Topog. in Rom. p. 35. The MS. preserved in the monastery of Einsiedlen is apparently the work of a traveller of the ninth century. Becker in attributing the Corinthian Temple to Saturn relies partly on this inscription, divided as above mentioned, and partly on the expression *iuxta Concordiae templum* in Servius (Note 54), and on the order in which the three temples are named in the Notitia and Curiosum. (Note 61.)

CHAP. I. all the words from *Impp.* to *restituerunt*. Becker suggests that the dedication to Vespasian was inscribed upon the opposite pediment of the Ionic temple, and supports this suggestion by the opinion of Bunsen, that the principal façade of this building was towards the south. The supposition that this important temple turned its back upon the Forum, is too improbable to need discussion ; and with it Becker's theory as to the position of the dedicatory inscription falls to the ground. A further confirmation of the view here advocated is furnished by a fragment of the Capitoline Plan, which represents a part of the end of a building with a triple row of piers or columns, answering in every respect to the Basilica Julia. On this building is the letter B, which forms the commencement of a word,⁶⁰ and between it and the adjoining structure are the letters VRNI, part, apparently, of the word SATVRNI.

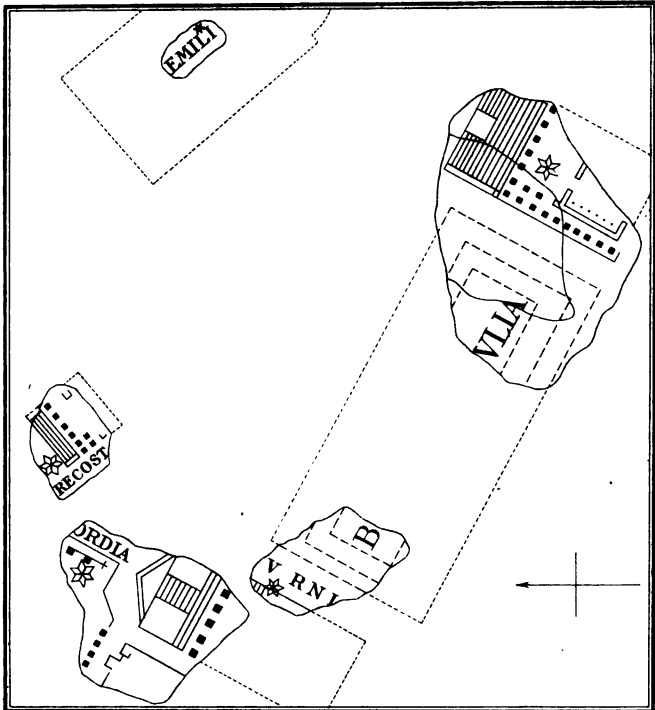
Capitoline
Plan.

Temple of
Vespasian.

Assuming, on the strength of the above reasons, that the Ionic temple is that of Saturn, we conclude that the temple with the Corinthian columns was that dedicated to Vespasian, the situation of which in the immediate neighbourhood of Concord and Saturn may be inferred from the Curiosum and Notitia,¹ and the inscriptions in the Einsiedlen

⁶⁰ Another fragment shows part of a building with like piers, inscribed VLIA, and another building which may represent Castor.

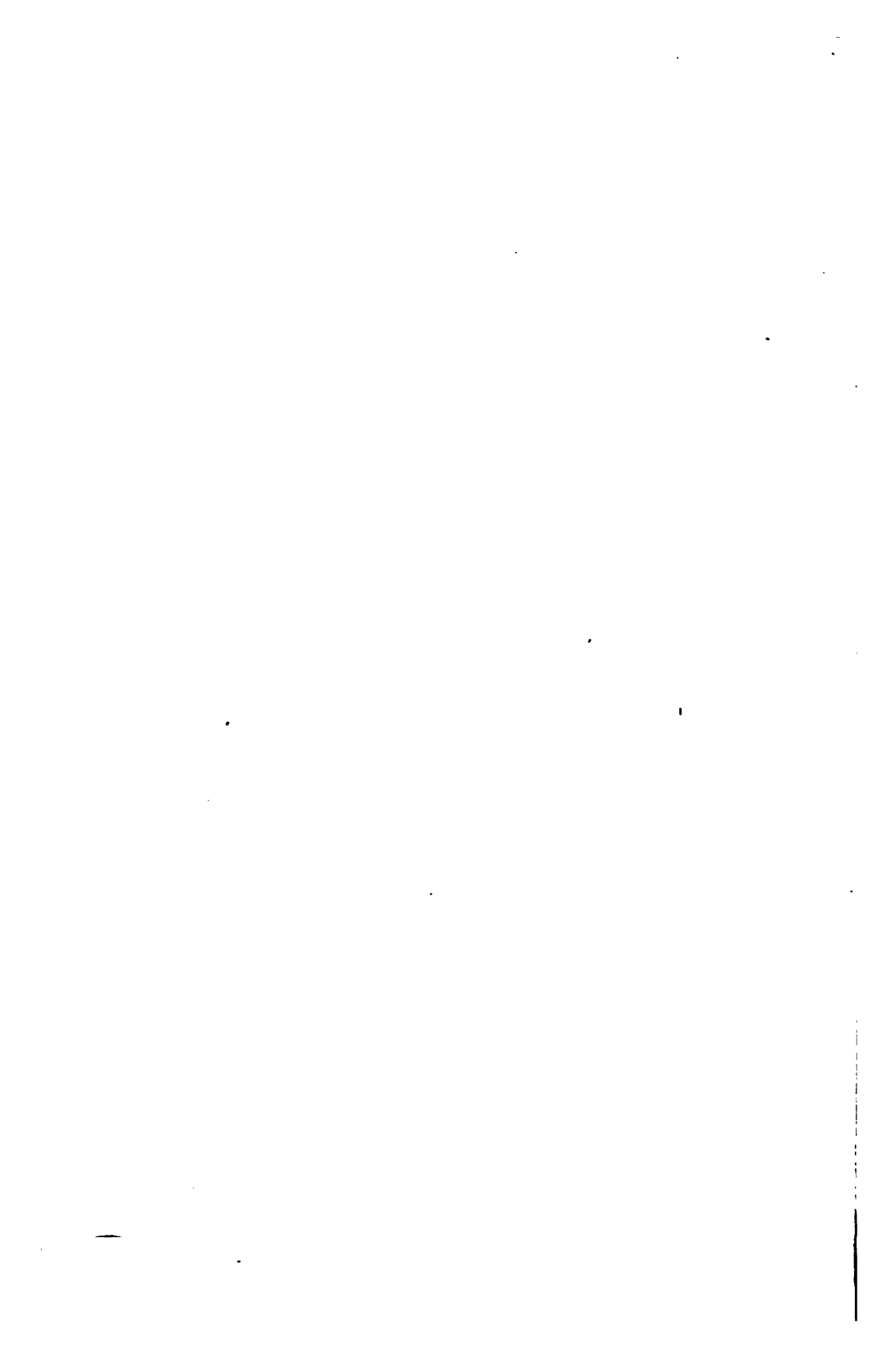
¹ Templum Concordiae et [Umbilicum Romae, Templum. *Notitia*.] Saturni et Vespasiani et Titi, Capitolium, Milliarium Aureum, Vicum Iugarium. Curiosum, in Reg. VIII



Stanford's Geog. Estab.

FRAGMENTS OF CAPITOLINE PLAN

***The portions marked * are restorations from the engravings of Bellori, but are here corrected from the Vatican drawings (Cod. 3439).*



Manuscript. This position of Vespasian, side by side with Concord, agrees well with the allusion of Statius, where, speaking of Domitian's statue in the middle of the Forum, he says :

CHAP. I.

*Terga pater blandoque videt Concordia vultu.*⁶²

The Temple of Vespasian was probably built in the time of Titus, and appears, from the inscription already cited, to have been restored by the Emperor Severus. We may conjecture, from the words of the Notitia, that it was called the Temple of Vespasian and Titus. It probably contained images of both divinities.

In the wall of the Tabularium, behind this temple, is a doorway, which was built up in ancient times, and further concealed by the construction of the Temple. It gave access to a staircase, which is still preserved in the interior, and led to the upper floor of the Tabularium without any communication with the lower story. The condition of this doorway is an obvious argument for the later origin of the temple, by which it was closed.

Doorway
in Tabu-
larium.

The Temple of Saturn is the relic of a very early worship. Dionysius relates the legend of a city founded by Hercules on the Saturnian Hill, afterwards called the Capitol, and speaks of an altar erected by the companions of the same hero at the base of the hill, which remained to the

Temple of
Saturn.

Hill of
Saturn.

⁶² Stat. Silv. i. 1, 31. (Note 168.)

CHAP. I. ^{City of} ~~City of~~ ^{Saturnia.} ~~Saturnia.~~ historian's time.⁶³ Varro, also, appears to have believed in the former existence of a Saturnian city, of which he found three traces : first, the Temple of Saturn, in the jaws of the hill; secondly, the gate, formerly called *Porta Saturnia*, but in his day *Pandana*; and, thirdly, the fact that some walls of buildings behind this temple were, in some legal instruments, called *postern ramparts*.⁴ Virgil alludes to the same tradition.

*Haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris
Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
Hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.*⁵

Age of the
temple.

The age of the Temple of Saturn was a disputed question with the Roman antiquaries. Macrobius relied on some evidence or tradition that it was dedicated by King Tullus Hostilius, while Varro asserted that it was begun by Tarquinius Superbus, and dedicated by Titus Lartius, the first dictator, B.C. 501. Dionysius attributes it to Sempronius and Minutius, the consuls of B.C. 497. Gellius found a decree of the Senate, ordering the erection of a temple of Saturn, the building

⁶³ Dionys. i. 34. (Note 55).

⁴ *Antiquum oppidum in hac fuisse Saturnia scribitur: eius vestigia etiam nunc manent tria; quod Saturni fanum in faucibus; quod Saturnia porta quam Iunius scribit ibi, quam nunc vocant Pandanam; quod post aedem Saturni in aedificiorum legibus privatis parietes Postici Muri sunt scripti.* Varro, L. L. v. 7 (13).

⁵ Virg. Aen. viii. 355.

of which was entrusted to L. Furius, Tribunus militum. This would, apparently, be in the year B.C. 381.⁶⁶ CHAP. I.

The Temple of Saturn was the treasury of the Roman Government. Plutarch attributes this arrangement to Publicola, and says that it continued to his own day. An ancient balance was kept in the temple, a vestige, as Varro thought, of the time when payments were made by weight.⁷ Suetonius speaks of the Treasury of Saturn as an existing institution, of which the Quaestors were the original and proper guardians.⁸ The military standards were kept in the Treasury.⁹ It was into this temple that Julius

Aerarium
in the
Temple of
Saturn.

⁶⁶ Tullum Hostilium, cum bis de Albanis, de Sabinis tertio triumphasset, inveni fanum Saturno ex voto consecravasse, et Saturnalia tunc primum Romae instituta; quamvis Varro libro sexto, qui est de sacris aedibus, scribat aedem Saturno ad forum faciendum locasse L. Tarquinium regem, T. vero Lartium dictatorem Saturnalibus eam dedicasse. Nec me fugit Gellium scribere, senatum decrevisse, ut aedes Saturni fieret, eique rei L. Furium tribunum militum praefuisse. Macrob. i. 8. Dionys. vi. 1. (Note 55.)

⁷ Ταμείον μὲν ἀπέδειξε [Ποπλικόλας] τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ναόν, ᾧ μέχρι νῦν χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν. Plutarch. Poplic. 12. Id. Quaest. Rom. 42.

Aedem vero Saturni aerarium Romani esse voluerunt. Macrob. Sat. i. 8.

Per trutinam solvi solitum. Vestigium etiam nunc manet in aede Saturni, quod ea etiam nunc propter pensuram trutinam habet positam. Ab aere aerarium appellatum. Varro, L. L. v. 36 (50).

⁸ Collegio quaestorum . . . curam aerari Saturni reddidit (Claudius), quam medio tempore praetores aut, uti nunc, praetura functi sustinuerant. Sueton. Claud. 24. Tac. Ann. xiii. 28, 29.

⁹ Ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ σημεῖα καταφέρειν. Dionys. x. 18. Compare Liv. iii. 69, Signa . . . a quaestoribus ex aerario prompta delataque in campum; Liv. iv. 22. Ib. vii. 23. Livy also mentions a *sanctius aerarium*, where a reserve of gold was kept. Liv. xxvii. 10.

CHAP. I. Caesar made a violent entry for the purpose of taking possession of the treasure of the State.

Tristi spoliantur templa rapina
Pauperiorque fuit tunc primum Caesare Roma.⁷⁰

Architec-
ture of the
temple.

The Temple of Saturn was rebuilt in the time of Augustus by Munatius Plancus,¹ and it probably at that time assumed the architectural form which it subsequently retained. Though the existing portico has been generally considered to be a late restoration,² we have evidence that in the time of Trajan the character of the architecture was similar to that we now see.³ It is very probable that before the latest restoration of the temple its use as a treasury had ceased ; but the

⁷⁰ Lucan. Phars. 167.

Aerarium quoque sanctum, quod tardius aperiebant tribuni, jussit effringi, census et patrimonium populi Romani ante rapuit quam imperium. Florus, Epit. ii. 13. [iii. 2.]

The locality is most clearly indicated by Lucan.

Metellus

Ut videt ingenti *Saturnia templa* revelli
Mole, rapit gressus et Caesaris agmina rumpens,
Ante fores nondum reseratae constitit *aedis*.

* * * * *

Tunc rupes Tarpeia sonat, magnoque reclusas
Testatur stridore fores. Tunc conditus imo
Eruitur templo multis intactus ab annis
Romani census populi. Pharsalia, iii. 119.

Compare Plutarch. Caes. 39 ; Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 41 ; Dio Cass. xli. 17.

¹ Multaque a multis tunc extracta sunt, sicut . . . a Munatio Planco aedes Saturni. Suetonius, Aug. 29.

² Canina, Foro Romano, 347. Becker, Handbuch, i. 357.

³ See p. 66.

chambers beneath the cell, of which there are remains, may be some small traces of the lower floor,—*imum templum*, as Lucan calls it,—in which the treasures were deposited. CHAP. I.

It is worth observation, that the lofty podium in front of Saturn, which was occasioned by the back of the temple being on rising ground, probably suggested that peculiar character which marks all the temples of the Forum, the later buildings being raised on artificial substructions in imitation of the earlier temple. Height of this temple imitated in others.

The altar of Saturn already mentioned was not superseded by the temple, but remained in the time of Dionysius, and to a later date.⁷⁴ There seems to have been also at one time a Sacellum Ditis adjoining this altar.⁵

Before the temple was a statue of Silvanus, by which there grew a fig-tree, which was removed at an early date with some religious ceremonies, because it was overturning the statue.⁶

The Clivus Capitolinus was the route by which the triumphs reached the Capitol. The entire course of these processions is not free from controversy; but it seems clear that after traversing the Circus Maximus they followed the road along the eastern side of the Palatine Hill, identified by Becker with the Via Triumphalis, at the end of Course of the triumphs.

⁷⁴ Dionys. i. 34 (Note 55); Festus, ed. Müll., p. 322 (Note 56); Macrob. Sat. i. 8.

⁵ Macrob. Sat. i. 11.

⁶ Plin. xv. 20.

CHAP. I which is placed the Arch of Constantine, mounted the slope where we now drive over the old pavement to the Arch of Titus, descended the Sacred Way, and so passed through the Forum to the Capitoline Hill. It is a melancholy association attached to this part of the Forum, that in front of the Temple of Saturn, where the victorious general turned his car to mount to the Capitoline sanctuary, he was accustomed to order the captive chiefs who had formed part of the procession to be led to the Prison and put to death.⁷⁷

*Porticus
Deum
Consen-
tam.*

Between the Temple of Saturn and the Tabularium is a broad terrace at a level considerably higher than the Forum, towards which it is open, but having at the back a long portico, built in part against the Tabularium, and in part against the retaining wall of the Clivus Capitolinus, which was here above it. Behind the portico was a series of small cells. This portico has been a good deal restored. It bore on its entablature an inscription, of which the following is Canina's restoration.

[DEVM . C]ONSENTIVM . SACROSANCTA . SIMVLACRA .
CVM . OMNI . LO . . . NE . CVLTV . INI . . . [V]ETTIVS .
PRAETEXTATVS . V . C . PRAE . VRBI . CVRANTE .
LONGEIO . CONSVLE.

⁷⁷ Quum de foro in Capitolium currum flectere incipiunt, illos duci in carcerem iubent; idemque dies et victoribus imperii et victis vitae finem facit. Cic. Verr. Actio II. v. 30. Hor. Od. ii. 13. 17. Liv. xxvi. 13; xxxviii. 60. Joseph. vii. 29. Persens, after having followed the triumph of Paullus, appears to have been spared. Liv. xlv. 40, 42.

Hence it appears that this porticus once contained the images of the twelve Di Consentes, which were placed here by Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Praefectus Urbi, A.D. 367. This was in all probability a restoration of a much earlier shrine of these deities, whose gilded images, six of gods and six of goddesses, are mentioned by Varro as existing at the Forum.⁷⁸

Between the terrace last described and the Temple of Vespasian is a passage at a lower level, about twelve feet wide, into which open a series of cells or chambers constructed under the side of the terrace. In this neighbourhood was found an inscription, preserved by some of the older Roman topographers, which relates to the restoration, by A. Fabius Xanthus and others, of a *schola*, apparently an office or waiting-room, for the clerks and criers of the aediles.⁹ Hence these chambers have gained the name of Schola Xantha, a name first found in the apocryphal account of the

⁷⁸ Invocabo XII. deos consentis, neque tamen eos urbanos, quorum imagines ad forum auratae stant, sex mares et faeminae totidem, sed illos XII. deos qui maxime agricolarum duces sunt. Varro, de Re Rustica, i. 1. The language of the inscription differs from that of Varro's day. Item quaerunt . . . cur appellat omnes aedes deum Consentum, et non deorum Consentium. Varro, L. L. viii. 38 (121).

⁹ C. AVILIVS . LICINIVS . TROSIVS . CVRATOR . SCHOLARVM . DE . SVO . FECIT BEBRYX . AVG . L . DEVSIVS . A . FABIVS . XANTHVS . CVR . SCRIBIS . LIBBARIIS . ET . PRAECONIBVS . AED . CVR . SCHOLAM . AB . INCHOATO . REFECERVNT . MARMORIBVS . ORNAVENVNT . VICTORIAM . AVGVSTAM . ET . SEDES . AENEAS . ET . CETERA . ORNAMENTA . DE . SVA . PECVNIA . FECERVNT. Gruter, Inscript. 170, 3;

CHAP. I. regions of Rome, which passes under the name of Sextus Rufus.⁸⁰

Porta Stercoraria.

Half-way up the Clivus Capitolinus was a narrow passage, into which once a year, on the 15th of June, the ordure from the Temple of Vesta was carried. This was the last day of the Festival of Vesta, which began June 7th, and until this ceremony was completed no legal business could be done. The passage was closed by a gate called Porta Stercoraria.¹

Vicus Jugarius.

The lane which ran between the Temple of Saturn and the Basilica Julia was the Vicus Jugarius, said to have derived its name from an altar of Juno Juga, the patroness of marriage.² This street led from the Forum to the Carmental Gate, which was situated between the Capitol and the river. On the occasion of the special sacrifice which was offered, B.C. 207, to Juno Regina, whose temple was on the Aventine, the procession entered the city at the Carmental Gate, and came by the Vicus Jugarius to the Forum, whence it proceeded by the Vicus Tuscus, the

Marliani, Urb. topogr. ii. 10; Lucio Fauno, Ant. di Roma, p. 49. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 318).

⁸⁰ Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 96.

¹ Q.S.D.F. Quando stercum delatum fas: ab eo appellatus quod eo die ex aede Vestae stercus everritur et per Capitolinum clivum in locum defertur certum. Varro, L. L. vi. 4 (60).

Stercus ex aede Vestae xvii. kal. Iul. defertur in angiportum medium clivi Capitolini, qui locus clauditur porta Stercoraria. Fest. ed. Müll. p. 344.

² Paul. Diac. in Fest. ed. Müll. p. 104.

Velabrum, and the Boarium Forum, to the Clivus Publicius and the temple of Juno Regina. That the Vicus Jugarius was close under the Capitoline hill we know from the fact mentioned by Livy that in the year B.C. 192 a mass of rock fell from that hill into the street and crushed several persons.³³ The modern street, running in the same direction, by the Church of the Consolation, is very close to the cliff.

The temple of Ops is more than once alluded to by Cicero as the depository of the treasure of Caesar, amounting at his death to 700,000,000 sesterces, and appropriated by Antonius under the pretence of carrying out his will,—ill-gotten wealth, as the orator thought, but extremely useful if it had fallen into the right hands.⁴ This temple has been supposed to have adjoined that of Saturn, but there is no distinct proof of its site. The worship of Ops, the symbol of Plenty, was connected with that of the god of agriculture.

Temple of
Ops.

³³ Ab aede Apollinis boves feminae albae duae porta Carmentali in urbem ductae . . . A porta Iugario vico in forum venire: in foro pompa constitit . . . Inde vico Tusco Velabroque per Boarium forum in clivum Publicium atque aedem Iunonis Reginae perrectum. Liv. xxvii. 37.

Saxum ingens, sive imbris sive motu terrae levioere quam ut alioqui sentiretur, labefactatum, in vicum Iugarium ex Capitolio proci-dit, et multos oppressit. Liv. xxxv. 21.

⁴ Ubi est septies millies sestertium, quod in tabulis quae sunt ad Opis patebat? funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen, si iis quorum erat non redderetur, quae nos a tributis posset vindicare. Cic. Phil. ii. 37. Ib. i. 7; ii. 14.

CHAP. I. Her great festival, the Opalia, was celebrated during the Saturnalia, on the 19th of December,⁶⁵ and the manner in which this festival is entered in the Fasti Amiternini seems to indicate that there was some Sacrum of Ops at the Forum.⁶ Donati mentions two antique bronze weights, of two and five pounds, preserved at the Collegio Romano, which were inscribed in silver letters, *TEMPL . OPIS . AVG . II .* and *TEMPL . OPIS . AVG . V .* and suggests that they were used for weighing money: it does not appear where they were found.⁷ An altar of Ops Augusta and Ceres, in the Vicus Jugarius, is noticed in the Fasti, at which altar a feast was held on the 10th of August; and Livy mentions an Aedes Opis in the Capitol, where, as appears from the Fasti, the Opiconsiva were celebrated August 25th.⁸

Lacus Servilius.

At the end of the Vicus Jugarius, adjoining the Basilica Julia (under the modern roadway which crosses the excavated space), was the site of the Lacus Servilius, a spot alluded to by Cicero and Seneca as associated with the memory of the proscriptions of Sulla, this fountain having, like the Rostra, been used for displaying the

⁶⁵ Macrob. Saturn. i. 10.

⁶ XVI. [Kal. Ian.] SAT . NP . FEB . SATURNO SATURN. AD FOR. XIV . OPAL . NP . FEB . OPI AD FORVM. Fast. Amitern. Dec.

⁷ Donat. urb. Rom. ii. (Graev. Thes. iii. 597.) Compare Cic. Phil. ii. 38. Varro, L. L. v. 36. (Note 67.)

⁸ Liv. xxxix. 22. Fast. Capran. iv. Id. Aug.; viii. Kal. Sept.; Fast. Amitern. iv. Id. Aug.

heads of the slaughtered senators. M. Agrippa adorned this monument with the figure of a hydra.⁸⁹ CHAP. I.

Another monument, which must have been near the end of the Vicus Jugarius, is the *Milliarium Aureum*, or Golden Milestone, which was erected by Augustus, B.C. 29. It appears to have been also called the City Milestone, *Milliarium Urbis*.⁹⁰ Pliny speaks of the *Milliarium* as situated at the top of the Forum, and uses it to give an idea of the greatness of Rome by calculating from it the distances to the thirty-seven gates, the sum of which distances he reckons as exceeding thirty miles. The gates were considerably within the limits of the inhabited space, and the total length of all the streets from the milestone to the extremity of the houses is calculated by Pliny as somewhat more than seventy miles.¹ Plutarch

Milliarium Aureum.

⁸⁹ Multos caesos, non ad Thrasimenum lacum sed ad Servilium, vidimus. Cic. Rosc. Am. 32.

Videant largum in foro sanguinem, et supra Servilium lacum, id enim proscriptionis Sullanae spoliarium est, senatorum capita. Seneca, de Prov. 3.

Servilius lacus appellabatur [ab] eo qui eum faciendum curaverat, in principio vici Jugari, continens basilicae Iuliae, in quo loco fuit effigies hydrae posita a M. Agrippa. Festus, ed. Müll. p. 290.

⁹⁰ Dio Cass. liv. 8. Macer in Dig. lib. L. tit. xvi. § 154.

¹ Eiusdem spatium mensura currente a milliario in capite Romani fori statuto ad singulas portas, quae sunt hodie numero triginta septem, ita ut duodecim semel numerentur praetereanturque ex veteribus septem quae esse desierunt, efficit passuum per directum xxx. m. DCCLV. Ad extrema vero tectorum cum castris praetoriis ad eodem milliario per vicos omnium viarum mensura colligit paullo amplius septuaginta millia passuum. Plin. N. H. iii. 9.

CHAP. I. says that all the roads of Italy ended at this point. But the distances upon them appear to have been measured from the gates.

Meeting of
Otho with
the Prae-
torian
conspi-
rators.

The principal historical interest of the *Milliarium* arises from its having been the rendezvous at which Otho met the handful of praetorians by whom the empire of Galba was overthrown. The accounts given by various historians of this incident involve the mention of so many localities of Rome as to give it a special topographical significance. Otho made his morning visit to the Emperor in the Palatine, and accompanied him in his sacrifice at the temple of Apollo, where the *haruspex*, on inspection of the entrails, foretold a pressing danger. Otho then received a message that his architect awaited him, and, making an excuse for leaving the emperor, proceeded by what Suetonius calls the back part of the Palatine, through the house of Tiberius, to the *Velabrum*, and so to the Golden Milestone in the Forum under the temple of Saturn. Here he was met by three-and-twenty soldiers, who alarmed him by openly saluting him emperor. He was then put into a lady's chair, and hurried through the Forum to the Praetorian Camp.⁹² The situation of the Golden Milestone,

Site of
the Mil-
liarium.

⁹² *Sacrificanti pro aede Apollinis Galbae haruspex tristia exta et instantes insidias ac domesticum hostem praedicit, audiente Othone, nam proximus adstiterat . . . nec multo post libertus Onomastus nuntiat, expectari eum ab architecto et redemptoribus . . . Otho . .*

at the head of the Forum and under the Temple of Saturn, would lead us to look for it opposite the end of the Vicus Jugarius, at the southern termination of the curved terrace already described, in a position corresponding to that of the round pedestal at the other end of the same terrace. Some remains of the Milliarium may possibly be discovered in case of the removal of the modern road, which crosses the Forum.⁹³

innixus liberto per Tiberianum domum in Velabrum, inde ad milliarium aureum sub aedem Saturni pergit. Ibi tres et viginti speculatores consulatum imperatorem ac paucitate salutantium trepidum, et sellae festinanter impositum, strictis mucronibus rapiunt. Tac. Hist. i. 27.

Ergo destinata die praemonitis consciis ut se in foro sub aede Saturni ad milliarium aureum opperirentur, mane Galbam salutavit, utque consueverat osculo exceptus, etiam sacrificanti interfuit auditique praedicta haruspici. Deinde liberto adesse architectos nuntiante, quod signum convenerat, quasi venalem domum inspecturus abscessit, proripuitque se postica parte Palatii ad constitutum. Alii febrem simulasse aiunt . . . Tunc abditus prope muliebri sella in castra contendit. Sueton. Otho. 6.

Ἀπῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς Τιβερίου καλουμένης οἰκίας καταβάς ἐβάδιζεν εἰς ἀγορὰν, οὗ χρυσοῦς εἰσῆκει κίων, εἰς ὃν αἱ τετμημένα τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι τελευτῶσιν. Plutarch. Galba, 24.

⁹³ There are some remains of a round monument built into the north wall of the passage under the modern road, near the Temple of Saturn. I do not know whether these are *in situ*. The name *umbilicus Romae* (see p. 18) looks like a fanciful synonym for *milliarium urbis*. But the Umbilicus Romae is placed by the author of the Einsiedlen MS. at the Church of S. Sergio, which lay behind the Arch of Severus and partly upon it. The two are separately named in the Notitia, but in the Curiosum only the Milliarium. See Note 61.

CHAPTER II.

THE MID FORUM.

CHAP. II. THE partition of the excavated space, which is here adopted for purposes of study, corresponds with an ancient division of the Roman Forum.

Threefold
division of
the Forum.

The open area, which lay under the modern road crossing the Forum, together with the space between that road and the great temples at the foot of the Capitol, constituted the Comitium.⁹⁸ The other extremity of the Forum, where the Temple of Julius was built, was called Infimum Forum.⁴

Comitium.

Infimum
Forum.

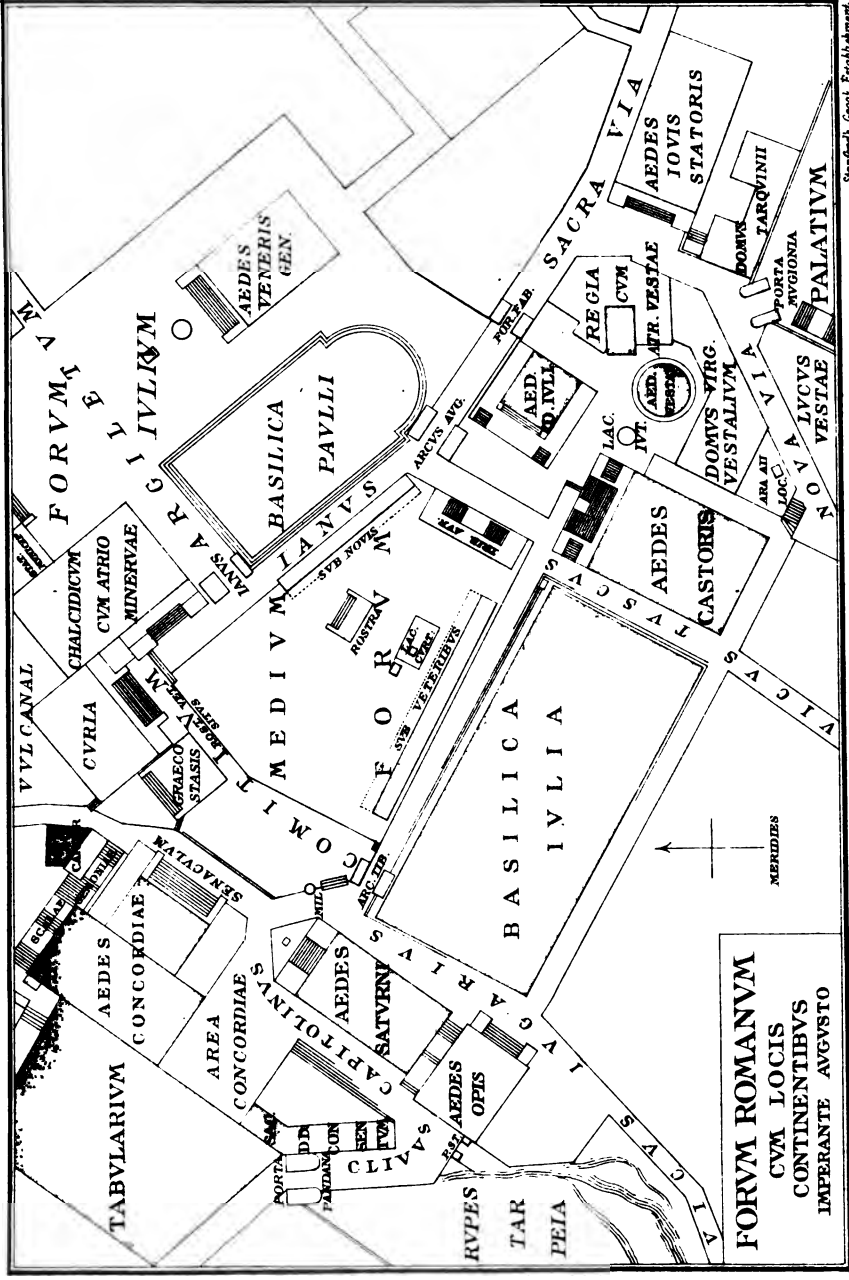
Medium
Forum.

The expression Mid Forum appears to have been applied to the space lying between the Basilica Julia on the one side and the Basilica Aemilia on the other, and bounded in the direction of the Capitol by the edge of the Comitium, and in the direction of the Regia by the cross-road in front of the Temple of Castor. Cicero speaks of Paulus restoring a basilica *in medio foro*;⁵ and in another place of one of the praetors having his tribunal *in foro medio*, where the locality appears

⁹⁸ If this part of the Forum had not had the name of Comitium, it might have been called *summum forum*. Dionysius, who does not use the word Comitium, calls it the best and most conspicuous part of the Forum. Dionys. i. 87; ii. 29; iii. 1. Pliny calls this extremity of the Forum, *caput Romani fori*. Plin. N. H. iii. 9 (note 91) See more as to the topography of the Comitium in Chapter IV.

⁴ Plaut. Curculio, iv. i. 14. (Note 97).

⁵ Cicero ad Atticum, iv. 16, 8. See Chapter VI.



Standard Geog. Establishment

**FORVM ROMANVM
CVM LOCIS
CONTINENTIBVS
IMPERANTE AVGVSTO**

0 100 200 300 Feet



to have been near the temple of Castor.⁹⁶ The same expression occurs in Plautus. CHAP. II.

In foro infimo boni homines atque dites ambulant,
In medio propter canalem ibi ostentatores meri.⁷

Livy, in telling the story of the self-devotion of Curtius, commences by relating that, owing to an earthquake or some other force, almost the whole

⁹⁶ Dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio, maximo conventu: incidique in eum locum dicendo, quum Sextius multis in templo Castoris vulneribus acceptis subsidio Bestiae servatus esset. Cic. ad Quintum frat. ii. 3. See further, p. 81.

⁷ The passage in which these lines occur touches upon so many objects in the Mid Forum, that it may be convenient to give it here entire. Whether it is the work of Plautus, has been doubted, on account of the mention of a basilica. See Chapter VI. on the Basilica Porcia.

Commonstrabo quo in quemque hominem facile inveniatis loco.

* * * * *

Qui perium convenire volt hominem, mitto in Comitium:
Qui mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinae sacrum.
Ditis damnosos maritos sub Basilica quaerito:
Ibidem sunt scorta exoleta, quique stipulari solent.
Symbolarum collatores apud forum piscarium.
In foro infimo boni homines atque dites ambulant,
In medio propter canalem, ibi ostentatores meri.
Confidentes garrulique et malevoli supra lacum,
Qui alteri de nihilo audacter dicunt contumeliam,
Et qui ipsi sat habeant quod in se possit vere dicier.
Sub Veteribus, ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt foenero.
Pone aedem Castoris, ibi sunt subito quibus credas male.
In Tusco vico, ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant.
In Velabro vel pistorem vel lanium vel aruspicem,
Vel qui ipsi vortant, vel qui aliis ut vorsentur praebeant.
Ditis damnosos maritos apud Leucadium Oppiam.

Plaut. Curculio, iv. 1.

The *canalis in medio foro* is probably simply the gutter. Canaliculae forenses homines pauperes dicti, quod circa canales fori consisterent. Paul. Diac. in Fest. ed. Müll. p. 45.

CHAP. II. Mid Forum had sunk into a vast cavern of an immense depth ;⁹⁸ and Pliny uses the same phrase to describe the position of a self-sown fig-tree at the Lacus Curtius.⁹ The area of the Medium Forum has now been cleared down to its ancient level, with the exception of a strip on its north-eastern side, where we may still hope to find traces of the Basilica Aemilia and other important buildings.

Basilica
Julia.

The whole of the south-western side of the Mid Forum was bounded by one of the longer sides of a building, of which the extensive pavement has been recently cleared, occupying a rectangular space of about four hundred by one hundred and sixty feet. This vast edifice appears to have been supported by a multitude of piers or columns arranged in triple rows around the central space, having eighteen on the longer façade and eight on the shorter. Of the superstructure there exist but small remains, principally at the western end, where, owing to the rise of the ground in the direction of the Vicus Jugarius, this corner of the building was constructed against the side of the hill, and was earlier and more completely buried and protected by débris. Sufficient fragments have been found to furnish materials for the

⁹⁸ Eodem anno, seu motu terrae seu qua vi alia, forum medium ferme specu vasto collapsum in immensam altitudinem dicitur. Liv. vii. 6.

⁹ Eadem fortuito satu vivit in medio foro. Plin. N. H. xv. 20. (Note 162). So τὸ μέσον τῆς ἀγορᾶς, Dio Cass. lxxiii. 4. (Note 228); ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, Herodian. ii. 9. (Note 170); and, perhaps, in medio foro, Hor. Sat. i. 4, 74.

restoration of one of the piers upon the façade towards the Forum; and the positions supposed to have been occupied by the other piers are now marked by modern brickwork. The restored pier has on its face a half-column of the Tuscan order. CHAP. II.

This magnificent monument has been recognised by universal consent as the Basilica Julia. Its identity is proved not only by the character of the building but by the evidence of the Ancyran inscription, which places that basilica between the Temples of Castor and Saturn,¹⁰⁰ and by the fragments of the Capitoline Plan, which indicate the situation of the basilica in relation to the two temples.¹ An inscription recording the dedication, about the end of the second century, of a statue as an ornament to the Basilica Julia, then recently repaired, was discovered near the column of Phocas, in the vicinity of this building.² Its identification.

The Basilica Julia was begun by Julius and finished by Augustus, who afterwards rebuilt it on a more extensive site after the destruction by History of the Basilica Julia.

¹⁰⁰ FORVM IVLIVM ET BASILICAM QVAE FVIT INTER . AEDEM . CASTORIS . ET . AEDEM . SATVRNI . COEPTA . PROFLIGATAQVE . OPERA . A . PATRE . MEO . PERFECI . ET . EANDEM . BASILICAM . CONSVPTAM . INCENDIO . AMPLIATO . EIVS . SOLO . SVB . TITVLO . NOMINIS . FILIORVM . [MEORVM] . INCOHAVI . ET . SI . VIVVS . NON . PERFECISSEM . PERFICI . AB . HEREDIBUS . [MEIS . IVSSI] . Mon. Ancyr. ed. Mommsen, p. 56.

¹ See before, p. 26.

² GABINIVS . VETTIVS . PROBIANVS . V.C . PRAEF . VRB . STATVAM . QVAE . BASILICAE . IVLIAE . A . SE . NOVITER . REPARATAE . ORNAMENTO . ESSET . ADIECIT . DEDIC . XV . KAL . FEBEVARI PVBLICORVM . CORNELIO . ANNVLINO . II . ET . AVFID . FRONTONE .

CHAP. II. fire of the first building. The honour of this restoration was attributed by the emperor to his grandsons and adopted sons, Lucius and Caius, and the basilica accordingly appears to have been known for a time by their names.¹⁰³ Dio places its dedication during the consulate of Germanicus B.C. 12, in the second year before Augustus's death, but it is mentioned as unfinished in the Ancyran monument, which belongs to his last year.⁴ It was repaired, as we have seen, at the end of the second century, and underwent subsequent restoration in the reign of Diocletian;⁵ but the architectural features of the building of Augustus appear to have been preserved, as may be seen by comparing the restored pier and Tuscan half-column with the representations of the building upon the monument of Trajan hereafter described, and upon the

cos. Gruter, Inscris. clxxi. 7; Panvinius, Antiq. Urb. Imago, Graevius, vol. iii. p. 300. This inscription was found and copied in the sixteenth century, and has since been re-discovered in a much less perfect state. Bull. del Instit. Arch. di Roma, Mar 20, 1835. As to the place of discovery, see Becker, Handbuch, i. 341, note 631.

¹⁰³ Monumentum Ancyranum. (Note 100.)

Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque, fecit, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, item porticum Liviae et Octaviae, theatrumque Marcelli. Sueton. Aug. 29.

⁴ "Ἡ τε στοὰ ἡ Διοῦνία [Ἰουλία] καλουμένη ψικοδομήθη τε ἐς τμήν τοῦ τε Γαίου καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου τῶν Καισάρων, καὶ τότε καθιερώθη. Dio Cass. lvi. 27.

The *lustrum* solemnized during the consulate of Pompeius and Appuleius, who were consuls when Augustus died, is mentioned in the Ancyran Monument.

⁵ Catal. imp. Vienn. t. ii. p. 247. (Becker, Handb. vol. i. p. 342.)

bas-relief on the arch of Constantine, which has been already mentioned. CHAP. II.

The Basilica Julia was the place of meeting of the Centumviri, a court which had, in the time of the younger Pliny, who practised before it, not less than a hundred and eighty *judices*, sitting in four separate *consilia*. The four *tribunalia* were not in separate rooms, but within sight and hearing of one another, like the old courts in Westminster Hall. The area of the basilica also accommodated a large audience, which in Pliny's time was too much accustomed to applaud the advocates. The upper gallery afforded additional room, whence at an interesting trial the proceedings might be seen, if they could not be heard.¹⁰⁷

Use of the
Basilica.

Jam clamor, centumque viri, densumque coronae
Vulgus, et infanti Iulia tecta placent.⁸

The Basilica Julia is mentioned by Dio as one of the places in which the Emperor Trajan sat to administer justice.⁹

¹⁰⁷ Cum (Trachalus) in basilica Iulia diceret primo tribunali, quatuor autem iudicia, ut moris est, cogerentur, atque omnia clamoribus fremerent, et auditum eum et intellectum, et, quod agentibus caeteris contumeliosissimum fuit, laudatum quoque ex quatuor tribunalibus, memini. Quintil. Inst. Or. xii. 5.

Sedebant iudices centum et octoginta, tot enim quatuor consiliis colliguntur: ingens utrinque advocatio et numerosa subsellia; praeterea densa circumstantium corona, latissimum iudicium (*quod* indicium), multiplici circulo ambibat. Ad hoc stipatum tribunal, atque etiam ex superiore basilicae parte, qua feminae qua viri, et audiendi, quod erat difficile, et, quod facile, visendi studio imminebant. Plin. Epist. vi. 33. Ib. ii. 14, v. 21.

⁸ Martial, Ep. vi. 38, 5.

⁹ Τοῦτ' ἐμὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τοῦ Ἀυγούστου, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ

CHAP. II. Suetonius, among his instances of Caligula's prodigality, describes that emperor as mounting on the parapet or roof of the Basilica Julia and throwing day after day coins to a large amount among the people.¹¹⁰

Streets
adjoining
the Basi-
lica.

The Basilica Julia was surrounded on three sides at least by streets. The Vicus Jugarius, which has been already described, was on its western side towards the Temple of Saturn and the Capitol. On the opposite or eastern side another ancient street has been recently uncovered, to which we shall presently return. On the northern side ran the great street, which entered the Forum at its eastern corner near the Temple of Faustina, and after crossing it in the manner we shall hereafter describe, and passing in front of the basilica, swept round the base of the Temple of Saturn and ascended the Capitol by the Clivus Capitolinus. This street was a part of the Sacra Via in the larger acceptation of the term, which included its whole course from the Carinae to the Capitol, though the name was usually reserved for the slope between the Temple of Venus and Rome and the commencement of the Forum.¹

Sacra Via.

Arch of
Tiberius.

Opposite the basilica, but not far from its

ώνομασμένη, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι, ἔκρικεν ἐπὶ βήματος. Dio Cass. lxxxviii. 10.

¹¹⁰ Quin et nummos non mediocris summae e fastigio basilicae Iuliae per aliquot dies sparsit in plebem. Sueton. Calig. 37.

¹ See Chapter VIII. on the Sacra Via.

southern corner, a narrowing of the ancient roadway just before it passes under the modern road marks the probable site of the arch, which, as we learn from Tacitus, was erected A.D. 17, near the Temple of Saturn, to commemorate the recovery by Germanicus, under the auspices of Tiberius, of the standards which had been lost with Varus in his defeat by the Germans under Arminius.¹¹² This arch appears towards the left in the bas-relief, already mentioned, representing the Emperor Constantine in the Forum.³

The ancient street that has been uncovered at the eastern end of the Basilica Julia is identified beyond dispute as the Vicus Tuscus, which is known to have led from the Forum to the Velabrum and Circus Maximus.⁴ This street vies with the Sacred Way both in its frequent mention by ancient writers and in its religious character, being the route taken by the great procession on

Vicus
Tuscus.

¹¹² *Fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni, ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici auspiciis Tiberii, (dicatur). Tacit. Annal. ii. 41.*

³ See p. 21.

⁴ *Tuscus dicitur vicus quo itur Velabrum, ubi . . . unguentarii consistunt. Porphyrio, Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 228. Liv. xxvii. 37. (Note 83).*

Οἷς (τοῖς μετὰ Πορσίονου Τυρρηνοῖς) ἔδωκεν ἡ βουλή χώραν τῆς πόλεως, ἔνθα οἰκίαν ἐμελλον κατασκευάσασθαι, τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Παλατίου καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τέταρσι μάλιστα μηκυνόμενον σταδίους αὐλῶνα, ὅς καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ Τυρρηνῶν οἰκησὶς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον διάλεκτον, ἢ φέρουσα διόδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ἵππόδρομον. *Dionys. v. 36. Cic. Verr. Actio II. i. 59. (Note 116.)*

The locality of the Velabrum is still marked by the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro.

CHAP. II. the occasion of the *Ludi Romani*, in which the statues of the gods were carried, in cars called *thensae*, from the Capitol through the Forum to the Circus.¹¹⁵ Among the charges brought by Cicero against Verres, as Praetor Urbanus, is that of having maintained this street, by which the procession of the gods was conducted, in such a condition that he himself did not venture to use it.⁶

Derivation
of the
name.

The tradition which derived the name of the street from Tuscan settlers is variously given by different authors. According to Varro, the followers of Caeles Vibenna, an Etruscan chief who came to the assistance of Romulus, were first settled on the Caelian hill, and then for security removed to the lower ground, which became the *Vicus Tuscus*.⁷ Tacitus records a tradition varying but slightly from this,⁸ and a

¹¹⁵ Dionys. vii. 72; Cic. Verr. Actio II. i. 59; Ovid. Amor. iii. 2, 43-60; Liv. ix. 40.

⁶ Quis a signo Vertumni in Circum Maximum venit quin is in uno quoque gradu de avaritia tua commoneretur? quam tu viam thensarum atque pompae eiusmodi exegisti, ut tu ipse illa ire non audeas. Cic. Verr. Actio II. i. 59; ib. iii. 3; v. 72.

⁷ In Suburanae regionis parte princeps est Caelius mons a Caelio Vibenna Tusco duce nobili, qui cum sua manu dicitur Romulo venisse auxilio contra Latinum regem; hinc post Caelii mortem, quod nimis munita loca tenerent, neque sine suspitione essent, deducti dicuntur in planum. Ab eis dictus vicus Tuscus, et ideo ibi Vertumnus stare, quod is deus Etruriae princeps. Varro, L. L. v. 8 (14).

⁸ Caelium adpellitatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae, cum auxilium adpellatum ductavisset, sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco; seu quis alius regum dedit, nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt. Cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas eas copias per plana

similar story with a change in the name of the Tuscan captain is handed down by Propertius, in whose verse the god Vertumnus is made to say :

Et tu, Roma, meis tribuisti praemia Tuscis,
Unde hodie vicus nomina Tuscus habet,
Tempore quo sociis venit Lucumonium armis
Atque Sabina feri contudit arma Tati.¹¹⁹

Livy and Dionysius derive the name of the street from a Tuscan colony, which had formed part of the army of Porsenna, and, having been defeated before Aricia, took refuge at Rome.²⁰

Beside the sacred prestige already mentioned, the Vicus Tuscus had the character of a busy tradesmen's quarter.¹ Horace calls its dealers generally, *Tusci turba impia vici*, without perhaps meaning much against their character ; and it is probably to this street that he alludes as the place to which the works of neglected poets were carried to wrap up parcels of spice or perfume.

Character
of the
Vicus
Tuscus.

Deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores
Et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis.²

It seems that the street was in later times

Vicus
Turarius.

etiam ac foro propinqua habitasse, unde Tuscum vicum e vocabulo advenarum dictum. Tacit. Annal. iv. 65.

¹¹⁹ Propert. Eleg. iv. 2, 49.

²⁰ Multos Romae hospitum urbisque caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde Tuscum vicum appellarunt. Liv. ii. 14. Dionys. v. 36 (Note 114).

¹ Nec nisi prima velit de Tusco serica vico. Martial. Epig. xi. 27, 11.

² Hor. Epist. ii. 1, 269. See also Sat. ii. 3, 228 ; Porphyrio, ib. (Note 114).

CHAP. II. called *Vicus Turarius*, apparently from the spice-shops there.¹²³ In the time of Plautus the *Vicus Tuscus* and its neighbourhood behind the Temple of Castor had a bad reputation as the haunt of rogues and infamous persons, and Seneca has an allusion to a traffic in slaves which was carried on *ad Castoris*, where the shops were filled with slaves of the worst character.⁴

Statue of Vertumnus at the corner of the Basilica Julia.

Cicero describes the processional street as leading to the Circus Maximus from the statue of Vertumnus, and one of his commentators tells us that this statue was at the end of the *Vicus Turarius*, under the corner of the basilica. Varro also places it at the *Vicus Tuscus*.⁵ The statue is alluded to by Ovid as being in sight on entering the Forum by the road communicating with the *Nova Via*;⁶ and Propertius has devoted an elegy

¹²³ Signum Vertumni in ultimo vico Turario est, sub basilicae angulo flectentibus se ad postremam dexteram partem. Pseudo-Asconius in Cic. Verr. II. i. 59.

Tusci aliquando ab Aricinis pulsati contulere se Romam, et vicum qui modo Turarius dicitur insederunt. Schol. Cruq. Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 228.

⁴ Plaut. Curcul. iv. 1 (Note 97).

Qui ad Castoris negotiantur nequam mancipia ementes vendentesque, quorum tabernae pessimorum servorum turba refertae sunt. Seneca, de constantia sapientis, 13.

⁵ Notes 116, 117, and 123.

⁶ Forte revertabar festis Vestalibus illac
Qua Nova Romano nunc via iuncta foro est.

Nondum conveniens diversis iste figuris
Nomen ab averso ceperat amne deus.

Ovid, Fast. vi. 395, 409.

See Chapter IX. on the *Nova Via*.

to the honour of Vertumnus, from which it appears that this deity looked into the Forum, with the toga'd crowd passing before his feet.¹²⁷ CHAP. II.

A ruined pedestal, measuring about ten feet by eight, has lately been uncovered on the steps at the north-east corner of the basilica. It seems probable that we have here the remains of the pedestal of Vertumnus. Remains of the pedestal of Vertumnus.

Livy informs us that, for the site of the Basilica Sempronia, erected B.C. 169, during the censorship of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the tribunes, Sempronius purchased the house of Scipio Africanus, which stood behind the Veteres at the image of Vertumnus, with some butchers' stalls and shops adjoining. It appears therefore that this earlier basilica furnished part of the site of the more magnificent Basilica Julia.⁸ Basilica Sempronia. House of Scipio.

The Veteres mentioned by Livy in the passage just cited were some of the *tabernae*, or shops, of the Forum, the history and position of which it may be convenient to consider in this place. The origin of the *Tabernae* is attributed by Livy to Tabernae of the Forum.

¹²⁷ Haec me turba iuvat, nec templo laetor eburno,
Romanum satis est posse videre forum.

* * * * *
Sed facias, divum sator, ut Romana per aevum
Transeat ante meos turba togata pedes.

Propert. iv. 2. 5, 55.

⁸ Ti. Sempronius, ex ea pecunia quae ei attributa est, aedes P. Africani pone Veteres ad Vertumni signum lanienasque et tabernas in publicum emit, basilicamque faciendam curavit, quae postea Sempronia appellata est. Liv. xlv. 16.

CHAP. II. King Tarquinius Priscus, in whose reign some of the ground about the Forum was divided among private persons, and the covered galleries and shops were constructed. These buildings, however, appear to have been public property, since they were rebuilt by the censors.¹²⁹ The shops in early times were naturally those required for the trades generally carried on in a market-place. Hence the butchers' stalls, replaced as we have seen by the Basilica Sempronia; and the butchers' stall at the Tabernae afterwards called Novae, from which Virginius took the knife to stab his daughter.³⁰ The schools for children were, according to the same story, also among the shops of the Forum; and it was there that Appius Claudius had first seen Virginia reading.¹ As the dignity of the locality increased, the more ordinary trades disappeared from the Forum, and the shops that remained were occupied by dealers in the precious metals, silversmiths, moneychangers,

¹²⁹ Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca; porticus tabernaeque factae. Liv. i. 35. Ib. xxvii. 11. (Note 136.)

Τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ἐν ᾗ δικάζουσι καὶ ἐκκλησιάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιτελοῦσι πολιτικὰς πράξεις, ἐκεῖνος ἐκόσμησεν ἐργαστηρίους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κόσμοις περιλαβών. Dionys. iii. 67.

³⁰ Data venia seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinae ad tabernas quibus nunc novis est nomen, atque ibi ab lanio cultro abrepto, . . . pectus deinde puellae transfigit. Liv. iii. 48.

¹ Virgini venienti in forum, ibi namque in tabernis literarum ludi erant, minister decemviri libidinis manum iniecit. Liv. iii. 44.

Ταύτην τὴν κόρην ἐπίγαμον οὖσαν ἤδη θεασάμενος Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος ὁ τῆς δεκαρχίας ἡγεμὼν ἀναγνώσκουσαν ἐν γραμματικοῦ ἦν δὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα τῶν παιδῶν τότε περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐθύς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ κάλλους τῆς παιδὸς ἐάλω, κτλ. Dionys. xi. 28.

and usurers. Hence the name *tabernae argentariae* appears to have applied, as a description, to all the shops of the Forum.¹³² It was also given, as will be seen, as a distinctive name to those on the north side. On occasions of festivity, especially during the *Ludi Romani*, when the great *Circensian* procession passed through it, the Forum was decorated by the *Aediles*, a custom which, according to *Livy*, originated upon the triumph of *L. Papirius*, dictator, B.C. 308, when the gilt shields of the conquered *Samnites* were distributed among the owners of the *argentariae* for this purpose.³ *Hannibal* is said to have put up for sale the *tabernae argentariae* which were around the Forum of Rome.⁴

CHAP. II.

Decoration
of the Ta-
bernae at
festivals.

The *Tabernae* appear to have consisted of two rows of shops ranged along the two longer sides of the *Mid Forum*. At the time of the great fire in the Forum, B.C. 210, which destroyed all the

Two rows
of taber-
nae.

¹³² Hoc intervallo primum forensis dignitas crevit, atque ex tabernis lanienis argentariae factae. Varro in Nonio, p. 532, M. p. 364. Gerl. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 295).

Ut comitia edicat de rostris, et argentarii tabernas ocludant. Varro. L. L. vi. 9 (75).

³ Tantum magnificentiae visum in iis, ut aurata scuta dominis argentariarum ad forum ornandum dividerentur. Inde natum initium dicitur fori ornandi ab aedilibus quum tensae ducerentur. Liv. ix. 40.

Ludis ipsis Romanis, foro ornato. Cic. in Verr. Actio II. i. 54.

The closing of the *tabernae* was a principal mark of public mourning. *Tabernae circa forum clausae, iustitiumque in foro sua sponte coeptum prius quam indictum.* Liv. ix. 7. Ib. iii. 27; iv. 31. Cic. p. dom. sua, 21. They were also closed when the *Comitia* were held. Varro, L. L. vi. 9 (Note 132).

⁴ Ut extemplo (*Hannibal*) vocato praecone tabernas argentarias, quae circa forum Romanum tunc essent, iusserit venire. Liv. xxvi. 11.

CHAP. II. shops, as well as the Atrium Regium, and threatened the temple of Vesta, the shops on one side appear to have been called Septem Tabernae, and those on the other Argentariae.¹³⁵ The former were rebuilt by the censors in the following year, together with the Atrium Regium ;⁶ the latter were rebuilt a few years later by the Plebeian Aediles, and were sometimes called the Plebeian Tabernae. Their more usual name in later times was Novae, while the seven shops which had been previously rebuilt were called Veteres.⁷ From these names the two sides of the Forum came to be distinguished as Sub Veteribus and Sub Novis.⁸

Septem Tabernae ;
Argentariae ;
Plebeiae ;
Novae ;
Veteres.
Sub Veteribus ;
Sub Novis.

¹³⁵ Eodem tempore septem tabernae, quae postea quinque [quae veteres], et argentariae, quae nunc novae appellantur, arsere. Comprehensa postea privata aedificia; neque enim tum basilicae erant. Comprehensae lautumiae forumque piscatorium et atrium regium. Aedes Vestae vix defensa est tredecem servorum maxime opera, qui in publicum redempti ac manumissi sunt. Liv. xxvi. 27. It has been well conjectured that the reading *quinque* arose from the first letter of *vet.* for *veteres*, the two other letters being rejected as a reduplication of the following *et*. The change of expression, *quae postea, quae nunc*, lends some probability to the supposition that the Veteres Tabernae did not survive to the time of Livy. See p. 58.

⁶ Locaverunt (censores) inde reficienda quae circa forum incendio consumpta erant, septem tabernas, macellum, atrium regium. Liv. xxvii. 11.

⁷ [Plebeias tabernas no]vas vocant nos[tra aetate ut dicunt V. tabern]as esse, et septem ferun[tur olim fuisse. Plebeias appella]mus a genere magistratus; eas enim faciendas curaverunt M. Iunius Brutus, Q. Oppius, aediles. Festus, ed. Müll. p. 230. As to the date of these magistrates, compare Liv. xxxiv. 1, xxxv. 24, xxxvi. 2, xxxvii. 55. Readers will be reminded of the Procuratie Vecchie and Nuove on the two sides of the Piazza of St. Mark at Venice.

⁸ Sub novis dicta pars in foro aedificiorum, quod vocabulum ei perpetuum, ut Novae viae, quae via iam diu vetus. Varro, vi. 7 (67).

That the *Novae* and *Veteres Tabernae* were on opposite sides of the Forum, the former on the sunny, the latter on the shady side, is shown by a passage of Cicero, where, in speaking of a philosopher having changed his school, the author compares him to the strollers who were driven by the heat of summer from the sunshine *sub Novis* to the shade of the *Vetera maeniana*.¹⁴⁰ The expression *maeniana* as here used is interpreted by Festus, who states that the censor Maenius first made the wooden galleries in the Forum to project beyond the pillars that supported them, so as to give greater accommodation for viewing the area from above.¹ Vitruvius, picturing an ideal Forum, advises that the area dedicated to spectacles should be surrounded by spacious colonnades, and in the porticoes should be placed silversmiths' shops, with *maeniana* on the upper floors.² Aided by this description we may conceive the *tabernae* on the sunny and shady sides of the Mid Forum as low shops placed behind a colonnade, surmounted with an overhanging

CHAP. II.

Position
of the
Veteres
and Novae
Tabernae.*Maeniana.*

¹⁴⁰ Et ut hi qui sub novis solem non ferunt, item ille quum aestuaret veterum, ut maenianorum, sic Academicorum umbram secutus est. Cic. Acad. Pr. ii. 22.

¹ Maeniana appellata sunt a Maenio censore, qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna proiecit, quo ampliarentur superiora spectacula. Fest. ed. Müll. p. 134.

² A maioribus consuetudo tradita est, gladiatoria munera in foro dari. Igitur circum spectacula spatiosiora intercolumnia distribuantur, circaque in porticibus argentariae tabernae, maenianaque superioribus coaxationibus collocentur. Vitruv. v. 1.

CHAP. II. loggia, or gallery, which formed a sort of stand whence the processions or games held in the area below could be viewed. The shops were distinguished by the numeral of their pillar. Thus Catullus indicates a shop *sub Veteribus*, commencing his reckoning from Castor :

Salax taberna, vosque contubernales
A pileatis nona fratribus pila.¹⁴³

Paintings
on the
Tabernae.

The colonnades and galleries were, as might be expected in that climate, decorated with paintings, those on the side of the *Veteres Tabernae* being covered with the works of Serapion, who, according to Pliny, was an excellent painter of scenery, but not of figures.⁴ The porticoes of the *Tabernae Novae*, or the galleries above them, appear to have contained a picture painted in celebration of the triumph of Marius over the Cimbri, which was called Marius's Cimbrian shield. Among the figures was a Gaul, whose absurd face and attitude were made an engine of ridicule by C. Caesar Strabo in one of his speeches delivered in the Forum. "I will show thee what thou art like," said he to his opponent. "What?" cried the other ; and the orator pointed with his finger at the picture of the Gaul, which was pronounced a perfect likeness. The same story is

¹⁴³ Catull. xxxvii. 1.

⁴ *Maeniana, inquit Varro, omnia operiebant Serapionis tabulae sub veteribus. Hic scenas optime pinxit, sed hominem pingere non potuit. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 37.*

Ut meum illud in Helvium Manciam : Iam ostendam cuiusmod

told of the orator Crassus by Pliny, who shifts the scene from the Novae to the Veteres. Another picture in the Forum represented an old shepherd with a staff, as to which the story was told, that a barbarian ambassador was asked what he valued him at, and replied that he would not take him as a gift, even if he were real.¹⁴⁵ CHAP. II.

The description of Livy, which places the house of Africanus behind the Veteres at the statue of Vertumnus, compared with the other evidence which fixes this statue exactly at the corner of the Vicus Tuscus and Sacra Via, appears to forbid the supposition that the Tabernae were on the same side of the latter street as the statue. And, if they were coexistent with the Basilica Julia as we now see it, there would be no room for them on the same side of the way. It seems probable that their place was on the other side of the Via Sacra, between that street and the open Forum, where we now find seven brick piers about thirteen feet square, which have been supposed to be the remains of pedestals for large

Site of the
Veteres
Tabernae.

Seven
piers oppo-
site to the
Basilica
Julia.

sis; quum ille, Ostende quaeso, demonstravi digito pictum Gallum, in Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub novis, distortum eiecta lingua, buccis fluentibus. Risus est commotus; nihil tam Manciae simile visum est. Cicero, de Orat. ii. 66.

¹⁴⁵ Deinde video et in foro positas (tabulas) vulgo. Hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub veteribus, quum testis compellatus instaret: Dic ergo, Crasse, qualem me reris? Talem, inquit, ostendens in tabula pictum inficetissime Gallum exserentem linguam. In foro fuit et illa pastoris senis cum bacula, de qua Teutonorum legatus respondit, interrogatus quanti eum aestimaret, sibi donari nolle talem vivum verumque. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 8.

CHAP. II. works of sculpture.¹⁴⁶ The Novae Tabernae occupied a similar position on the other side of the open Forum in front of the Basilica Aemilia. Both buildings were doubtless extremely shallow; an additional reason for confining their use to dealers whose wares could be packed in a small compass. The rows of goldsmiths' shops on each side of the bridge at Florence, over one of which the gallery which unites the two palaces is carried, furnish an example of similar structures. English readers may perhaps recall the Pantiles at Tunbridge Wells.

Duration
of the
Tabernae.

The Veteres Tabernae survived the building of the Basilica Sempronia, and were extant in the time of Cicero. The Novae Tabernae were standing when Livy wrote.⁷ But how long either continued after the remodelling of the basilicas and the other great improvements of the imperial time is uncertain. Most of the Tabernae appear to have been burnt down shortly before the death of Agrippa, B.C. 12; and we may doubt whether what was then destroyed was rebuilt.⁸ Pliny speaks of Serapion's pictures on the authority of Varro: the anecdotes which he tells of pictures in the Forum do not appear to refer

¹⁴⁶ The question may occur: were these piers connected with the Tabernae? Looking at their construction, and the condition of the pavement between them, I judge this to be quite improbable.

⁷ Liv. xxvi. 27. (Note 135.) The mention of them by Festus as existing buildings (Note 137) is probably to be referred to his author, Verrius, who was a contemporary of Livy.

⁸ Dio Cass. lv. 8. (Note 213.)

to existing works; and we have seen that he places *sub Veteribus* the picture of the Gaul which Cicero mentions as *sub Novis*.¹⁴⁸ It is not improbable that before the period of the Flavian emperors these buildings, which can scarcely have been suitable to the magnificent architecture around them, were removed, and the area of the Mid Forum between the two great basilicas laid entirely open. Plutarch's account of the way in which the soldiers who attacked Galba at the Lacus Curtius made their appearance out of the Basilica of Paullus, and Statius' description of the statue of Domitian as guarded on each flank by the two basilicas, confirm this supposition.⁹

CHAP. II.

In the open space of the Mid Forum, near its north-western end, is the monument of Phocas, consisting of a Corinthian column which long stood with its base buried in the Campo Vaccino, and was taken for the ruin of a temple or other

Column of
Phocas.

¹⁴⁸ See before, pp. 56, 57. Becker has suggested that Crassus, speaking *sub Veteribus*, might point to the picture *sub Novis* (Handbuch, i. 297); but this appears scarcely probable, when we consider the objects and persons which would impede the view across the Forum.

⁹ Ἐφαίνοντο πρῶτον ἰππεῖς, εἶτα ὀπλίται διὰ τῆς Παύλου βασιλικῆς προσφερόμενοι, μὲ φωνῆ μέγα βοῶντες, ἐκποδῶν ἵστασθαι τὸν ιδιώτην. Plut. Galb. 26.

At laterum passus hinc Iulia tecta tuentur

Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli.—Stat. Silv. i. 1, 29.

We may suspect that there was at one time a single *taberna* standing alone in the Forum, as Pliny mentions the sudden death of C. Servilius Pansa, *quum staret in foro ad tabernam*. (Plin. N. H. vii. 54.) The date of this event is uncertain.

CHAP. II. similar building. When excavated in 1813, the column was found to stand on an isolated pedestal, mounted upon a broad square base forming a flight of steps on every side. The pedestal bears an inscription which shows it to have been erected A.D. 608 by the exarch Smaragdus in honour of the infamous emperor Phocas.¹⁵⁰

Monument
of Trajan.

Near the eastern corner of the base of the column of Phocas is one of the most interesting monuments which have been brought to light by the recent excavations in Rome. It was discovered in September, 1872, and consists of two walls of white marble, sculptured with bas-reliefs on both sides, and surmounted with a richly-moulded cornice. The sculptured spaces, when complete, were about seventeen feet in length, and five feet and a half in height; the cornices about one foot in height. Each wall is formed of several pieces of marble of unequal size; and some of the pieces have been lost. The stone bases on which they had been mounted were found *in situ*, placed parallel to each other, at a distance of about nine feet, and upon them the marble fragments, which had been more or less displaced, have been put together. Thus restored in position, they form a double screen with an intermediate passage, in a line crossing the open area of the Forum. Why the monument was constructed in this form, and what

¹⁵⁰ Nibby, Foro Romano, p. 164.

purpose beyond a commemorative object it served, it is difficult to determine. It seems possible, when we look at the subject of the sculptures, especially the sacrificial animals, that it formed a sort of avenue leading to an altar and statue of the emperor in whose honour the monument may have been erected after his deification by the Senate.¹⁵¹ CHAP. II.

The sculptures on the two interior walls represent the three animals used in sacrifice, the boar, the bull, and the ram, whose names were combined to form the title of the great lustral ceremony, *Suovetaurilia*. The beasts are adorned with ribbons and *vittae*, and move on both sculptures in the direction of the Basilica Julia. Sculptures
on inner
walls.

The sculptures on the outer walls of the screens present a far greater variety and interest, consisting of a number of human figures in more or less Sculptures
on outer
walls.

¹⁵¹ Mr. Burn, in an appendix to his admirable work on Rome, has done me the honour to notice the opinion suggested above, which I had expressed at Rome, but asks what has become of the altar and its substructions, some trace of which would probably remain. I answer, first, that near the end of the passage between the sculptures, in the direction towards which the sacrificial animals move, there are traces on the pavement of some structure having been removed; secondly, that such an altar would naturally be condemned to destruction in the time of Christian ascendancy, and when removed would be removed entirely with its substructions; and thirdly, that, if not removed before, such substructions would certainly have been cleared away at the time of the erection of the Phocas column close by. It has been suggested that the existing monument formed the Septa of the Comitium. But there is no reason to believe that the Comitium was here; and it is not likely that it had any permanent Septa. See Chapter IV.



CHAP. II. high relief, about half life size, with a background of architectural and other objects indicating the locality of the scenes represented. The historical meaning of these reliefs has been well discussed in two learned papers by Signor Brizio and Professor Henzen in the Proceedings of the Roman Archæological Institute.¹⁵² The topographical significance of the backgrounds has not received sufficient attention in any published work.

Trajan
with Italy
and her
children.

The screen placed nearer to the Capitol displays, to the right of the spectator, a group which has furnished a key to the probable meaning of the entire monument by its resemblance to some of the medals of the Emperor Trajan. These medals represent the emperor seated, with Italy and her children before him, and bear the inscription :

¹⁵² *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1872, p. 309; *Bulletino dell' Instituto*, 1872, p. 273. I have introduced the above engravings to make my description more easily intelligible. The enrichments of the cornices are omitted. For study, photographs of the original bas-reliefs should be procured.



ALIM . ITAL . S . P . Q . R . OPTIMO . PRINCIPI.¹⁵³ They CHAP. II.
 commemorate the provision made by Trajan for the children of poor or deceased citizens, who were called *pueri et puellae alimentarii*. The same figures are seen in the bas-relief. The torso of an infant remains on the left arm of the female figure, and another child probably stood under her right hand. To the left a distinct group represents a personage standing on the Rostra and addressing a crowd of persons, who evidently receive his words with pleasure and applause. Unfortunately the head of the principal figure in each of the groups is missing, owing to its having been in high relief, but there can be little doubt that we have here an allusion to some other public act of the same emperor.

Trajan,
speaking
from the
Rostra.

The bas-relief on the outer side of the other screen represents a single event. The principal Burning of the tax-books.

¹⁵³ Cohen, vol. ii. 303, 304, 305. The first words of the epigraph in full would be read : *Alimentum Italiae*.

CHAP. II. figure (of which the upper part is lost) is seated on the Rostra to the right, while in front of the Rostra are a number of persons carrying parcels, looking like large tablets with a strap or band round them, to a heap which is composed of similar materials. Near the Rostra are some of higher rank, who merely watch the proceedings, and one, who bends towards the heap with his right arm extended, as if to touch it with something in his hand. This something, having been in high relief, is lost; but it is conjectured that he held a torch, and that the whole scene represents the burning of some tablets or registers by the order of the personage seated on the Rostra. It is recorded by Spartianus, that the Emperor Hadrian, when he remitted some large sums which were due to the Fiscus, caused the evidences of the obligation to be burnt in the Forum of Trajan, in order to give greater assurance to the debtors.¹⁵⁴ But, if the other events commemorated by the monument are acts of Trajan, it is probable that this act is also his; and it will be shown that the locality indicated by the background does not agree with that mentioned by Spartianus. There is evidence of a like

¹⁵⁴ *Infinitam pecuniam quae fisco debebatur . . . remisit, syngraphis in foro divi Traiani, quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur, incensis.* Spartian. 7.

The precedent had been set by Augustus. *Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum, vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam exussit.* Sueton. Aug. 32.

remission of taxes by Trajan ;¹⁵⁵ and we may infer from this monument, that it was accompanied by a similar external demonstration in another public place. The precedent of Trajan and Hadrian was followed at a later period by the Emperor Gratianus, whose remission of tribute was accompanied by the burning of the evidences in the Fora of all the cities benefited by his indulgence.⁶

CHAP. II.

When we turn to the backgrounds of the two bas-reliefs, we find that they both represent the scene that was in reality before the spectator, the Forum Romanum ; and in this lies the important topographical interest of the sculptures.

Back-ground,
the Forum.

The locality of the Burning of the Registers is most easily recognised, and may be conveniently taken first. In the foreground, to the left of the spectator, is a fig-tree, and next it a statue on a pedestal. In the background, behind the figures, were five arches of a building divided by piers with half-columns or pilasters of the Tuscan order. At a short distance from the end of this building is a hexastyle Ionic portico with

Back-ground
of the
Burning
of the
Registers.

¹⁵⁵ Vel illud unum cuiusmodi est de condonatis residuis tributorum? . . . Fecerat et Traianus olim, sed, partibus retentis, non habebat tantam oblectationem concessi debiti portio quanta suberat amaritudo servati. Et Antoninus indulerat, sed imperii non beneficii successor invidit, qui ex documentis tabulisque populi condonata repetivit. Tu argumenta omnia flagitandi publicitus ardere iussisti. Videre in suis quaeque foris omnes civitates conflagrationem salubris incendii. Ausonii Gratiarum actio ad Gratianum, 21.

⁶ Ausonius, l. c.

CHAP. II. a pediment. Then, after a short interval, through which an arch is seen in the further distance, is another hexastyle portico and pediment with Corinthian columns. A part of the bas-relief to the right is lost; but in the foreground is a portion of the Rostra, upon which the emperor was seated. In order to identify the scene it is only necessary for the spectator to turn from the sculpture to the ruined buildings before him. In the Corinthian columns of the temple of Vespasian he will recognise the remains of the Corinthian portico, in the portico of Saturn the Ionic portico of the bas-relief. The arch seen in the distance between the two porticoes would probably be a part of the loggia of the Tabularium. The long line of arches, with piers between them, will be found in the Basilica Julia with its ornaments of Tuscan architecture. The whole of the background may thus be explained by the aid of the ruins which remain. Of the objects represented in the foreground no distinct traces are now to be seen. They consist, as has been mentioned, of the Rostra to the right and a fig-tree and statue to the left.

West view
of the
Forum.

Rostra,
statue, and
fig-tree
in fore-
ground.

Back-
ground of
Trajan
and Italy.

On the other bas-relief, which is more perfect than the first, the same statue and fig-tree are seen in the foreground on the right, and next to them, behind the figures, are seven arches with intermediate piers, similar to those of the first sculpture. Then, after an interval of some width,

is a Corinthian portico, which is represented as having five columns; and finally, to the left, an arch, which appears nearer to the spectator than the portico. In the foreground are the Rostra, from which the emperor is speaking. CHAP. II.

It will be observed that in the foreground of each sculpture we have the Rostra on one side and the statue and fig-tree on the other, but in one representation the Rostra are on the right, in the other on the left. In the two scenes the spectator is supposed to be placed on different sides of the Rostra; but in both cases the statue and fig-tree are seen in the same relative position, or nearly so,—the tree to the left of the statue. In order that these two objects should be so seen from the right and left of the Rostra, we must suppose both of them to have been before the Rostra, at about equal distances from it. Thus, though the spectator has changed his position from one side of the Rostra to the other, his situation with reference to the statue and fig-tree remains nearly as before; and, as the one sculpture ends with those objects on the left, and the other begins with them on the right, the background of buildings behind these two objects in the second sculpture may be expected to begin at about the same point where it terminated in the first. With this clue we find in the piers and arches of the second bas-relief a continuation of the long colonnade of the Basilica Julia. In the wide interval to the

Relative position of objects in the foreground.

South-east view of the Forum.



SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF THE FORUM.

CHAP. II. left of the basilica the portico of the temple of Castor might be expected to be seen; but the artist has not thought fit to introduce this monument, possibly because hidden from the Rostra by some nearer objects. In the portico with the Corinthian columns we may recognise the Temple of Divus Julius, the podium of which has been recently excavated, and which is represented in medals of Augustus and of Hadrian with a tetrastyle Corinthian portico. The five columns may be assumed to be a mistake, as this form of portico is unknown. The arch behind the Rostra was probably that of Augustus, of which we have

Temple of
Julius.

Arch of
Augustus.



WEST VIEW OF THE FORUM.

some obscure mention as standing near the CHAP. II.
 Temple of Julius.¹⁵⁷

The explanation here given of the first background (in which the Temples of Vespasian and Saturn appear) agrees with that of Signor Brizio, to whose paper I have referred. In the other background that learned antiquary thought we might find the Basilica Aemilia and some other buildings of the north-eastern side of the Forum. This opinion was founded on the supposition that

¹⁵⁷ Haec . . . Augustus. Huius facti notae repraesentantur in arcu qui est iuxta aedem Divi Iulii. Mai. Interpret. Virgil. Aen. vii. 6; viii. 666: cited by Canina, Foro Rom. 134, 139. In the representation in relief of the triumph of Marcus Aurelius now preserved in the Capitol, the buildings of the background appear to me to be the

CHAP. II. the two views were taken in opposite directions, a supposition which is contradicted by the similar relative position of the statue and fig-tree in both scenes. The two sculptures are in fact united by the recurrence of these objects, and present us with a partial panorama, comprehending the south-east, south-west, and part of the north-west side of the Forum, as seen from the neighbourhood of the Rostra.

Rostra of
of the
Forum.

We may now turn to the identification of the objects in the foreground. Among these are the Rostra of the Forum. The removal of this monument from its old site at the edge of the Comitium, where it stood till the time of Cicero, is testified by Dio and Asconius; but its subsequent position has not been ascertained, except so far as the sculpture before us enables us to do so.¹⁵⁸

Statue of
Marsyas.

The statue seen in both the bas-reliefs represents a figure nearly nude, but shod with a sort of loose boots. On his left shoulder he bears a full wine-skin, and his right arm, which is lost in both sculptures, appears to have been raised in the air. This figure has been recognised as that of Marsyas, who is represented with the attributes of a Satyr or Silenus, a character ascribed to him by Herodotus and Pausanias.⁹ This

same arch and temple as seen from the other side of the arch. The temple is tetrastyle. See p. 140.

¹⁵⁸ Dio Cass. xliii. 49. Ascon. ad Cic. p. 10, Mil. 5. The history of the Rostra is more fully discussed in Chapter V.

⁹ Ἐν τῇ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύου ἀσκάς ἐν τῇ πόλι (Κελαυαῖς)

character agrees with the description of Servius, CHAP. II.
 who, commenting on Virgil's "father Lyaeus," says that Marsyas, the servant of Lyaeus, was put in market-places as an emblem of liberty (perhaps of plenty), and bore witness with uplifted hand to the ample supplies of the town.¹⁶⁰ The uplifted hand is alluded to by Horace, where he represents Marsyas as professing his inability to tolerate the face of Novius.

Obeundus Marsya, qui se
 Vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.¹

The Marsyas of the Forum is mentioned by Martial.

Si schola damnatur, fora litibus omnia servant ;
 Ipse potest fieri Marsya causicus.²

The position of the statue before the Rostra is attested by the Scholia to Horace,³ and appears to be alluded to by Seneca in a passage in which he describes Julia, the licentious daugh-

ἀνακρέματα, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι. Herodot. vii. 26. Paus. ii. 7, 9.

¹⁶⁰ Lyaeo; qui, ut supra diximus, apte in urbibus libertatis [*qu.* ubertatis] est deus. Unde etiam Marsyas eius minister in civitatibus in foro positus libertatis [*qu.* ubertatis] imo iustitiae indicium; qui erecta manu testatur nihil urbi deesse. Servius ad Virg. Aen. iv. 58.

¹ Horat. Sat. i. 6. 120. The same jest has been applied in modern times to the statue of the Nile in the Piazza Navona (or Agonale), who was said by Bernini to veil his head, that he might not see the façade of Santa Agnese.

² Mart. Ep. ii. 64, 8.

³ Marsya statua erat in Rostris . . . Novii fuerunt acerrimi feneratores. Schol. Acronis, ad Hor. Sat. i. 6. 120. Marsya statua erat pro Rostris, ad quam solebant convenire causicici. Schol. Cruq. ib.

CHAP. II. ter of Augustus, as giving her assignations at Marsyas, and as disgracing with her crimes the Rostra where her father had promulgated his laws in favour of chastity and marriage.¹⁰⁴ Pliny tells us that Augustus himself in some of his letters spoke with bitterness of the statue of Marsyas having been crowned with garlands by his daughter in her nightly excursions. We read in the same author of a certain P. Munatius having been ordered to prison by the Triumviri Capitaes for taking a chaplet from Marsyas and placing it on his own head, and having in vain called for the intercession of the Tribuni Plebis in the case.⁵ Both these anecdotes appear to show that the statue was of no great height. It is represented in the bas-reliefs as less than life size, but this may be the result of want of space.

Fig-tree,

When we find a fig-tree associated with other monuments of Roman celebrity, our thoughts naturally turn to the Ruminal Fig-tree, mentioned by so many classical writers. But that famous tree, originally at the foot of the Palatine hill, was, in the time of Tacitus, undoubtedly in the

not the
Ruminal
Fig-tree.

¹⁰⁴ Forum ipsum ac Rostra ex quibus pater legem de adulteriis tolerat, filiae in stupra placuisse, quotidianum ad Marsyam concursum, etc. Seneca de benef. vi. 32.

⁵ P. Munatius quum demptam Marsyae coronam capiti suo imposuisset atque ob id duci eum in vincula Triumviri jussissent, appellavit Tribunos plebis: nec intercessere illi Apud nos exemplum licentiae huius non est aliud quam filia divi Augusti, cuius luxuria noctibus coronatum Marsyam literae illius dei gemunt. Plin. N. H. xxi. 7.

Comitium,¹⁶⁶ and therefore the tree here represented as standing in the Mid Forum cannot be the Ruminal Fig-tree. It is fortunate for the elucidation of the topography of the Forum that Pliny has given an account of another tree, which we may claim without much doubt as the subject of the bas-relief. After speaking of the fig-tree of the Comitium, he adds that the same tree grows self-sown in the Mid Forum, where Curtius filled up the chasm of a falling state with the gifts of valour and piety and an illustrious death.⁷ Assuming therefore this to be the tree represented in the bas-relief, we must conclude that the statue of Marsyas stood near the edge of the Lacus Curtius. This famous monument, as we may gather from the notices of Varro and Ovid, was nothing but a dry space of ground, marked off by a low fence, within which in Ovid's time an altar was included. While tradition related various stories about its origin, the one connecting it with Mettus Curtius, the Sabine leader against Romulus in the battle fought in the Forum, the other with the self-

CHAP. II.

Self-sown
fig-tree in
the Mid
Forum.

Lacus-
Curtius.

¹⁶⁶ Tac. Ann. xiii. 58. See further in Chapter IV.

⁷ Colitur ficus arbor in foro ipso ac comitio Romae nata sacro fulguribus ibi conditis . . . Eadem fortuito satu vivit in medio foro, qua sidentia imperi fundamenta ostento fatali Curtius maxumis bonis, hoc est virtute ac pietate ac morte praeclara, expleverat. Aequae fortuita eodem loco est vitis atque olea umbrae gratia sedulitate plebeia satae. Ara inde sublata gladiatorio munere divi Iulii quod novissime pugnavit in foro. Plin. N. H. xv. 20.

CHAP. II devotion of M. Curtius—stories which were supported by the name of the place, and perhaps had no other foundation,—its appearance seems rather to have suggested the idea that it was a *fulguritum*, or spot struck by lightning, and therefore considered sacred.¹⁶⁸ It was only in such a place, religiously protected from traffic, that a self-sown tree was likely to grow in the midst of so crowded a locality. We learn from Pliny, that, besides the fig, there were in his time a vine and an olive growing in the Lacus Curtius, which were much prized for the shade they afforded. The altar had been, according to an obscure passage of this author, removed at some gladiatorial show

Altar of
the Lacus
Curtius.

¹⁶⁸ Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras,
Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.

Ovid. Fast. vi. 403.

In foro lacum Curtium a Curtio dictum constat, et de eo triceps historia . . . A Proclio relatum, in eo loco dehisse terram et id ex senatus consulto ad haruspices relatum esse: responsum deum Manio Postilionem postulare, id est civem fortissimum eodem mitti: tum quendam Curtium civem fortem armatum ascendisse in equum et a Concordia versum cum equo eo praecipitatum: eo facto locum coisse atque eius corpus divinitus humasse ac reliquisse genti suae memoriam. Piso in annalibus scribit, Sabino bello quod fuit Romulo et Tatius, virum fortissimum Metium Curtium Sabinum, cum Romulus cum suis ex superiore parte impressionem fecisset, Curtium in locum palustrem, qui tum fuit in foro antequam cloacae sint factae, secessisse, atque ad suos in Capitolium recepisse; ab eo lacum invenisse nomen. C. Aelius et Lutatius scribunt eum locum esse fulguritum, et ex senatus consulto septum esse, id quod factum est a Curtio consule, quod M. Genucius fuit collega, Curtium appellatum. Varro, L. L. v. 32 (42).

Livy tells impartially both stories (Liv. i. 13; vii. 6); Dionysius that of Mettus Curtius (Dionys. ii. 41.) The name of Curtius is probably connected with Curia and Quirites.

either exhibited by, or in honour of, Julius ; CHAP. II.
 but this information appears to be contradicted
 by the passage from Ovid, in which he speaks
 of the altar as existing.¹⁶⁹ It is mentioned by
 Suetonius, as a proof of the popularity of Augustus,
 that persons of all ranks were accustomed
 once a year to throw a coin into the Lacus Curtius
 with a prayer for the health of the emperor.¹⁷⁰

The monument of Trajan serves, therefore, not
 only to illustrate the relative position of the
 Rostra and Marsyas, but to fix in some measure
 the situation of the Lacus Curtius, which would
 seem to have been in front of the Rostra, some-
 what to the left as one looked towards the Ba-
 silica Julia. It will be remembered that the
 Lacus Curtius was the scene of the death of the
 emperor Galba, who was here thrown out of his
 chair by his frightened bearers, and despatched
 by the partisans of Otho.¹ Its proximity to the
 Rostra, as shown by a comparison of the bas-
 reliefs with the passage cited from Pliny, gives a
 meaning to the subsequent narrative of Tacitus,
 when, describing Vitellius's more ignominious
 end, when he was driven with violence from the
 Palatine to the Scalae Gemoniae, the historian

Site of
 the Lacus
 Curtius.

Death of
 Galba.

¹⁶⁹ Plin. N. H. xv. 20 (Note 167) ; Ovid. Fast. vi. 403 (Note 168).

¹⁷⁰ Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quot annis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant. Sueton. Aug. 57.

¹ Iuxta Curti lacum trepidatione ferentium Galba proiectus e sella ac provolutus est. Tac. Hist. i. 41. Ib. ii. 55. Iugulatus est ad lacum Curti. Sueton. Galba, 20.

CHAP. II. says that he was forced to raise his face, and look sometimes at his own falling statues, and frequently at the Rostra or the place of Galba's death.¹⁷²

Position of
the Rostra.

The Rostra, as represented in the bas-reliefs, appear to have stood in the open area of the Forum, opposite to the middle of the Basilica Julia. With respect to their precise position some further light is furnished by the background of the bas-relief of the burning of the registers. It has been remarked that, between the porticoes of the temples of Saturn and Vespasian, an arch is seen, which appears to be one of those belonging to the loggia or gallery of the Tabularium. Now, the relative position of these two porticoes is such that it is only from a certain limited area, traversing the open Forum, that any interval would appear between them. This may be best seen by reference to the Plan. We may conclude, therefore, that the site of the Rostra, from the immediate neighbourhood of which this view is supposed to be taken, was within these limits, or very near them. Somewhat eastward

Ruin of
the Rostra.

¹⁷² Vitellium infestis mucronibus coactum modo erigere os et offerre contumeliis, nunc cadentes statuas suas, plerumque Rostra aut Galbae occisi locum contueri, postremo ad Gemonias, ubi corpus Flavii Sabini iacuerat, propulere. Tac. Hist. iii. 85.

Seminudus in forum tractus est inter magna rerum verborumque ludibria per totum Viae Sacrae spatium, reducto coma capite, ceu noxii solent, atque etiam mento mucrone gladii subruto, ut visendam praerberet faciem neve submitteret. Sueton. Vitell. 17.

of the monument last described, upon the very line which commands a view between the porticoes of Saturn and Vespasian, the ruin of the base of a building has recently been excavated, which may not improbably be a part of the Rostra themselves.

Supposing the Marsyas to have stood some ten yards in front of this site, with the Lacus Curtius to the left of it, the latter would be immediately behind a pedestal—apparently of a large equestrian statue—the ruins of which remain, and correspond in position with what is known of the site of the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian. This statue is the subject of a poem by Statius, who describes the emperor as having before him the Temple of Julius, on one side the Basilica Julia, on the other that of Paullus, and behind him, his father and Concord; while in his more distant view rise his new structures on the Palatine and the sacred buildings of Vesta. He further represents him as saluted on his arrival by Curtius, the tutelary genius of the spot.¹⁷³ We

Horse of
Domitian.

¹⁷³ Par operi sedes. Hinc obvia limina pandit,
Qui fessus bellis, adscitae munere prolis
Primus iter nostris ostendit in aethera divis.

* * * *

At laterum passus hinc Iulia tecta tuentur,
Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli;
Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu.
Ipse autem puro celsum caput aëre septus
Templa superfulges, et prospectare videris,
An nova contemptis surgant Pallatia flammis

CHAP. II. have thus a group of objects belonging to the Mid Forum—the horse of Domitian, the Lacus Curtius, the Marsyas, and the Rostra—the relative positions of which are in a great measure ascertained ; and their absolute sites cannot be far from the positions suggested.

It may be observed that the position thus given to the Lacus Curtius corresponds nearly with that indicated by Dionysius, namely, the very centre of the open space of the Forum.¹⁷⁴

Horse of
Domitian.

It is unlikely that the gigantic statue of Domitian should have been allowed to occupy so prominent a position after his death, when his memory was generally execrated ; and no subsequent mention of the statue is to be found. The ruined base now remaining may have served to support a succession of emperors. In the time of Herodian a colossal equestrian statue of bronze stood in the middle of the Forum, not improbably upon this pedestal, which was understood to be commemorative of a dream of Septimius Severus. The

Colossal
horse of
Severus.

Pulchrius, an tacita vigilet face Troicus ignis,
Atque exploratas iam laudet Vesta ministras.

* * * *

Ipsè loci custos, cuius sacrata vorago
Famosique lacus nomen memorabile servant,
Innumeros aeris sonitus, et verbere crebro
Ut sensit mugire forum, movet horrida sancto
Ora situ, meritaque caput venerabile quercu.

Stattius, *Silv.* i. 1, 22, 66.

¹⁷⁴ Καλείται δὲ . . . Κούρτιος λάκος, ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα ὡν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾶς. *Dionys.* ii. 41. *Liv.* vii. 6. (Note 98.)

dream itself is illustrative of the topography of the Forum. Severus, some time before his accession, saw in his sleep the emperor Pertinax mounted on a spirited horse, on which he rode through the middle of the Sacred Way. When he came to the beginning of the Forum, a public assembly was held, at which Pertinax was thrown from his seat. The restive animal was mounted by Severus himself, and stood quiet in the Mid Forum, where, according to the historian, a colossal image of the dream in bronze remained to his day.¹⁷⁵ CHAP. II.

Near the Rostra were statues of the Three Sibyls, mentioned by Pliny, and considered by him to have been among the earliest works of the kind in Rome.⁶ It was probably these statues which at a later time were popularly known as the Three Fates. Procopius, a writer of the sixth century, describes the Temple of Janus as The Three Sibyls.

¹⁷⁵ Μέγαν δὲ καὶ γενναῖον ἵππον βασιλικοῖς φαλάροις κεκοσμημένον ψήθη βλέπων, φέροντα τὸν Περτίνανκα ἐποχοῦμενον διὰ μέσης τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο, ἐνθα ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πρότερον ὁ δῆμος συνῶν ἐκκλησίαζεν, ψήθη τὸν ἵππον ἀποσεισασθαι μὲν τὸν Περτίνανκα καὶ ῥῖψαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἄλλως ἐστῶτι ὑποδύναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀράμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς νότοις φέρειν τε ἀσφαλῶς καὶ σῆναι βεβαίως ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, εἰς ὕψος ἄραντα τὸν Σεβήρον, ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ὄρασθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι. μένει δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ἡ τοῦ οὐείρατος εἰκὼν μεγίστη, χαλκοῦ πεποιημένη. Herodian. ii 9.

⁶ Equidem et Sibyllas iuxta rostra esse non miror, tres sint licet, una quam Sextus Pacuvius Taurus Aedilis plebis instituit (qu. restituit), duae quas M. Messala. Primas putarem has, et Atti Navii positas aetate Tarquinii Prisci, nisi regum antecedentium essent in Capitolio. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11. Three Fates.

CHAP. II. being a little past the Three Fates ;¹⁷⁷ and, at a still later date, the same name seems to have served to designate a street running along the north-eastern side of the Forum, and even to have taken the place of the name of the Sacra Via. In the account of Pope Honorius I. by Anastasius, Honorius is said to have built the Church of S. Adriano in the Three Fates ; and, in the same work, the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian is also described as in the Three Fates, the latter being in the very middle of the Sacra Via.⁸ The fact that their name was borrowed for the street makes it probable that the Sibyls stood behind the Rostra near the edge of the Forum.

On the north-eastern side of the uncovered area of the Mid Forum may be seen at intervals some traces of a road, which appears to have led to the Arch of Severus.

At the south-eastern end of the Mid Forum was a building of which no satisfactory account, as far as I am aware, has been given. The ruins consist of a brick nucleus with some remains of a marble plinth. At the period when the monument of Trajan was designed, this place must have been either vacant or occupied only by a low structure, since the Temple of Divus Julius is represented in

¹⁷⁷ Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 25. See Chapter VI.

⁸ Fecit ecclesiam B. Adriano Martyri in Tribus Fatis, et dedicavit et dona multa obtulit. Anas. Biblioth. in vit. Hon. I.

Pariter et basilicam S.S. Cosmae et Damiani sitam in Tribus Fatis e novo totam restauravit. Id. in vit. Hadriani I.

one of the bas-reliefs, as seen in this direction from the Rostra. The site, which is near the steps of the Temple of Castor, was probably that of the tribunal in the Mid Forum at which Cicero pleaded the cause of Bestia, when he made use of the locality to bring in an allusion to an event which had happened at the Temple.¹⁷⁸ It was probably the same tribunal which is frequently mentioned by Cicero under the name of Tribunal Aurelium, and at which Clodius enlisted his followers during the turbulent days of his tribuneship, when, according to Cicero, the Temple of Castor was filled with armed men, and made the citadel of the enemies of the state.⁹ The tribunal appears to have been a more solid and permanent structure than those of the Forum usually were. Its origin and name have been ascribed to M. Aurelius Cotta, consul B.C. 74;⁸⁰ but Cicero speaks of the *gradus Aurelii* as newly built when L. Quintius was tribune,¹ which appears to

CHAP. II.
Tribunal
Aurelium.

¹⁷⁸ Cic. ad Quint. frat. ii. 3. (Note 96.)

⁹ Pro Aurelio tribunali . . . delectus servorum habebatur ab eo qui nihil sibi unquam nec facere nec pati turpe duxit. Arma in templum Castoris . . . constituebantur ab eo latrone, cui templum illud fuit, te consule, arx civium perditorum. Cic. in Pis. 5. Id. pro Sext. 15; pro dom. sua. 21.

⁸⁰ Becker, Handbuch, i. 324. As to the nature of the tribunals of the Forum, see further, Chapter IV.

¹ Accusabat tribunus plebis idem in concionibus, idem ad subsellia; ad iudicium, non modo de concione, sed etiam cum ipsa concione veniebat. Gradus illi Aurelii, tum novi, quasi pro theatro illi iudicio aedificati videbantur, quos ubi accusator concitatis hominibus complerat, non modo dicendi ab reo, sed ne surgendi quidem potestas erat. Cic. pro Cluent. 34.

CHAP. II. have been in the preceding year, during the consulship of C. Aurelius Cotta, the brother of Marcus.

Pila Horatia.

At the corner, either of one of the rows of *tabernae*, or of one of the two great basilicas of the Forum, stood a small pillar, which was called Pila Horatia, and was believed to have once supported the spoils of the Curiatii. This monument was still in existence in the Augustan age. ¹⁸²

Transverse limb of the Sacra Via.

Adjoining the ruin which has been associated with the Tribunal Aurelium is an ancient roadway, running at right angles with the street which passes in front of the Basilica Julia, but forming, nevertheless, a continuation of it. For this latter street (which has been already described as a part of the Sacra Via in the larger sense of the term),³ after passing the end of the Vicus Tuscus, has been found upon excavation to turn sharply round to the left, in front of the Temple of Castor. This cross limb of the Sacra Via forms the eastern boundary of the Mid Forum. Its further course is now lost under the bank of modern débris, just

¹⁸² Spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur. Liv. i. 26.

"Ἐτερον δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἦν ἐπεδείξατο κατὰ τὴν μάχην μαρτύριον ἡ γωνιαία στυλὶς ἢ τῆς ἐτέρας πασάδος ἀρχουσα ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐφ' ἧς ἔκειτο τὰ σκῦλα τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τριδύμων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὄπλα ἠφάνισται διὰ μῆκος χρόνου, τὴν δ' ἐπέκλῃσιν ἢ στυλὶς φυλάττει τὴν αὐτήν, Ὁρατία καλουμένη πῖλα. Dionys. iii. 21. In the Latin writers the word *pila* is plural, not pillar, but javelins. Inter illa pila et spolia hostium. Liv. i. 26.

Et cecinit Curios fratres et Horatia pila.

Propert. iii. 3, 7.

³ See before, p. 46.

apparently at the point where it turned again to the right in order to pass in front of the Temple of Faustina. CHAP. II.

The progress of exploration on the north-east side of the Forum is stopped by the street which runs at the modern level along this side of the excavated space. If the ground could be further cleared in this direction, we might hope to find some remains of the highest interest. It was on this side of the Forum that the Basilica Porcia was built by the elder Cato, in the immediate proximity of the Curia. It was on this side also that the Temple of Janus was situated, at the bottom of the Argiletum, and commanding a view of one of the other Fora to the north-east. The Basilica Aemilia was another of the principal buildings of the same side of the Forum, and was situated close to the Janus.¹⁸⁴ These monuments will be the subject of further consideration in another chapter.⁵

The lowest level of the Forum is in the road near the eastern corner of the Basilica Julia, at the end of the Vicus Tuscus. From this point the street rises gradually as far as the site of the Arch of Tiberius, whence the ascent becomes more rapid to the Capitol. In the other direction also there is a very sensible rise in front of the Temple of Castor, and in the space beyond, as

¹⁸⁴ Schol. Cruq. ad Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 18

⁵ See Chapter VI.

CHAP. II. far as the eastern end of the Forum. The Cloaca
 Cloaca Maxima. Maxima, which we may suppose to have been originally carried through the lowest ground, passes under the raised platform of the Basilica Julia near its eastern end, where the Cloaca has been opened so that the structure of its arches may be well seen. It then crosses obliquely the open area of the Forum, passing under the ruins of the large pedestal which has been supposed to mark the position of Domitian's Horse.

The commencement of the great *cloacae*, by which the low ground in and near the Forum was drained, is attributed by the Roman historians to King Tarquinius Priscus, by whom, as we have seen, the Forum is said to have been otherwise improved.¹⁸⁶ The later Tarquin, who completed his grandfather's work, was believed to have employed in the construction of the drains the forced labour of the Roman people.⁷

Pavement
of the
Forum.

The surface of the open Forum, as we now find it, is paved, where it was intended for the use of carriages, with large polygonal blocks of hard grey volcanic stone, called *silex* by the ancient, and *selce* by the modern Romans ; and, where it is in-

¹⁸⁶ See p. 52.

(Tarquinius Priscus) *in* fima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis e fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccant. Liv. i. 38.

⁷ Ad alia . . (plebs) traducebatur opera . . cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam. Liv. i. 56.

Dionys. iii. 67 ; iv. 44. Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 24.

tended for foot passengers only, with rectangular slabs of travertine. The date of the first paving of the Forum is not preserved. The paving of the Clivus Capitolinus with *silex*, B.C. 174, is mentioned by Livy.¹⁸⁸ It was probably on the occasion of some improvement in the paving of the Forum that the elder Cato said that it should be paved with sharp shells, being of opinion apparently that people were better kept out of it.⁹

The parts of the Forum in which justice was administered must have been shaded in some way from the sun even in early times, probably by temporary sheds or awnings. Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, during his aedileship, is said to have spread an awning over the whole Forum, at the beginning of August, for the convenience of those engaged in legal business.⁹⁰ During an extremely hot summer, A.D. 39, it was found necessary to cover it in the same way.¹

The Forum, especially in the Comitium and the neighbourhood of the Rostra, afforded the favourite sites for commemorative sculpture; and

¹⁸⁸ Censores clivum Capitolinum silice sternendum curaverunt. Liv. xli. 27.

⁹ Plin. N. H. xix. 6. (Note 190)

⁹⁰ Deinde et sine ludis Marcellus, Octavia sorore Augusti genitus, in aedilitate sua, avunculo xi. consule, a. d. calendas Augusti velis forum inumbravit, ut salubrius litigantes consisterent; quantum mutatis moribus Catonis Censorii, qui sternendum quoque forum muricibus censuerat. Plin. N. H. xix. 6. Compare Dio Cass. liii. 31. (Note 226.)

¹ Dio Cass. lix. 23.

CHAP. II. the area, not being large, soon became incumbered with statues. As early as B.C. 159, the Censors P. Scipio Nasica and M. Popilius ordered the removal of the statues of magistrates that were round the Forum, except those which had been erected by the decree of the People or Senate.¹⁹²

The murdered ambassadors.

✓ Before the Rostra of the Comitium, or, as it was expressed, *in rostris*, were placed, B.C. 438, statues of the four Roman ambassadors who were killed by the Fidenates. These statues were existing within the memory of Cicero, and were probably destroyed at the time of the removal of the Rostra.³ When Publius Junius Coruncanius and his brother Tiberius, ambassadors to Teuta, Queen of the Illyrians, were put to death by her order, B.C. 229, their statues were erected, according to the former precedent, at the Rostra. Pliny mentions an interesting fact respecting these

¹⁹² (Ti. Gracchus ait) prohibuisse (Africanum) statuas sibi in comitio, in Rostris, in Curia, in Capitolio in cella Iovis, poni. Liv. xxxviii. 56. It is obvious that in this passage the orator proceeds from the ordinary positions of commemorative sculpture to extraordinary honours. The principal statues of the Comitium will be mentioned in Chapter IV.

Lucius Piso prodidit, M. Aemilio C. Popilio II. Consulibus, a censoribus P. Cornelio Scipione M. Popilio statuas circa forum eorum qui magistratum gesserant sublatas omnes, praeter eas quae populi aut senatus sententia statutae essent. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 14.

³ Legatorum qui Fidenis caesi erant statuae publice in Rostris positae sunt. Liv. iv. 17.

Lar Tolumnius Rex Veientium, quatuor legatos populi Romani Fidenis interemit, quorum statuae in Rostris steterunt usque ad nostram memoriam. Cic. Phil. ix. 2.

early honorary statues, that they were only half life size. They had become in his day matters of history.¹⁹⁴ Another personage who earned by his death the same distinction was Cn. Octavius, who was assassinated at Laodicea, B.C. 162, while on an embassy to the Syrian monarchy. This statue appears to have been thought worthy of preservation on the removal of the Rostra, and was probably moved with them, since Cicero speaks of it as still to be seen *in rostris*.⁵ In imitation of these ancient precedents, a bronze statue was erected at the new Rostra, by the advice of Cicero, in honour of his friend, the jurist Servius Sulpicius, who was sent by the Senate on a mission to M. Antonius, and died by disease in his camp before Mutina B.C. 43. This statue was still existing *pro rostris* in the time of the jurist Pomponius.⁶ The decree which conferred this honour on Sulpicius also gave to his posterity the use of a space five feet wide in every direction round the statue for the spectacles exhibited in the Forum.⁷

CHAP. II.

Cn. Octavius.

Servius Sulpicius.

¹⁹⁴ Inter antiquissimas sunt Tullii Cloelii, L. Roscii, Sp. Nautii, C. Fulcinii in Rostris, a Fidenatibus in legatione interfectorum. Hoc a republica tribui solebat iniuria caesis, sicut et P. Iunio et Tib. Coruncaniis, qui ab Teuta Illyriorum regina interfecti erant. Non omittendum videtur, quod annales annotavere, tripeditanas his statuas in foro statutas. Haec videlicet mensura honorata tunc erat. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11.

⁵ Cn. Octavii . . . statuam videmus in Rostris. Cic. Phil. ix. 2.

In qua legatione interfecto [Octavio] senatus statuam poni iussit quam in oculatissimo loco in rostris. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11.

⁶ Dig. lib. I. tit. ii. 2, 43.

⁷ Quum talis vir ob rempublicam in legatione mortem obierit,

- CHAP. II. Another early monument erected *in rostris* was
 Camillus. the statue of Camillus, which, like that of Romulus in the Capitol, was an example of the ancient simplicity of dress, being clothed in a toga without tunic. The statue of Camillus was apparently, in Pliny's time, a thing of the past, though that of Romulus was still preserved.¹⁹⁸ According to Livy,
 C. Maenius. an equestrian statue of C. Maenius was erected with that of Camillus, in consequence of their triumph over the Latins, B.C. 338, a rare honour in those early times.⁹
 Sulla. During the rule of Sulla, a gilded equestrian statue of the dictator was placed before the Rostra of the Comitium, with the inscription :

CORNELIO SULLAE IMPERATORI FELICI.²⁰⁰

- Pompeius. In the same locality a statue of Pompeius was also placed, which, with that of Sulla, was removed after the battle of Pharsalia.¹ Both statues were, however, restored by the generosity of

Senatui placere, Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem aeneam in Rostris ex hujus ordinis sententia statui, circumque eam statuam locum gladiatoribus liberos posterosque eius quoquo versus pedes quinque habere. Cic. Phil. ix. 7.

¹⁹⁸ Ex his Romuli est sine tunica, sicut et Camilli in Rostris et ante aedem Castoris fuit Q. Marcii Tremuli equestris togata. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11.

⁹ Additus triumpho honos, ut statuæ equestres iis, rara illa ætate res, in foro ponerentur. Liv. viii. 13

²⁰⁰ Εικόνα τε αὐτοῦ ἐπίχρυσον ἐπὶ ἵππου πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ὑπέγραψαν ΚΟΡΝΗΛΑΙΟΥ . ΣΥΛΛΑ . ἩΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ . ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣ. Appian. Bell. Civ. i. 97.

Inaurata equestris, qualis est L. Sullae prima statua. Cic. Phil. ix. 6.

¹ Dio Cass. xlii. 18.

Caesar, upon the building of the new Rostra in the Forum.²⁰² CHAP. II.

Two statues of Julius himself were erected, according to Dio, at the Rostra;³ and in the year of Caesar's death an equestrian statue of the young Octavianus in his nineteenth year was placed there by the Senate, the inscription upon which is cited by Paterculus in evidence of the emperor's age.⁴ Julius.
Augustus.

There was also a statue of the triumvir Lepidus at the Rostra, which was removed upon the breach between him and Augustus.⁵ Lepidus.

Of early statues in other parts of the Forum the most famous was that of Q. Marcius Tremulus, the consul who defeated the Hernici, B.C. 306. This was an equestrian statue, and placed before the Temple of Castor.⁶ A gilded equestrian statue was erected in the Forum in honour of L. Antonius, which Cicero mockingly compares with that of the conqueror of the Hernici before the Temple of Castor;⁷ and from the orator's Tremulus.
L. Antonius.

²⁰² Dio Cass. xliii. 49; Sueton. Caes. 75. See Chapter V.

³ Dio Cass. xliv. 4. See Chapter V.

⁴ Eum senatus honoratum equestri statua, quae hodieque in Rostris posita aetatem eius scriptura indicat, qui honor non alii per ccc. annos quam L. Sullae et Cn. Pompeio et C. Caesari contigerat, bellum cum Antonio gerere iussit. Velleius Paterc. ii. 61.

⁵ Dio Cass. xlvi. 51.

⁶ Liv. ix. 43; Cic. Phil. vi. 5. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11. (Note 198.)

⁷ Aspicite a sinistra illam equestrem statuam inauratam In foro L. Antonii statuam videmus, sicut illam Q. Tremuli qui Hernicos devicit ante Castoris. Cic. Phil. vi. 5.

CHAP. II. words an argument has been fallaciously drawn with respect to the position of the Rostra, from which he bids his audience to look at Antonius's statue on the left, it being assumed that this statue was in front of Castor.²⁰⁸ There appears, however, to be no ground for inferring from Cicero's language that any other statue but that of Tremulus was in this position.

Statues of emperors.

In imperial times it seems to have been usual to multiply statues of the reigning prince in various parts of the city, a practice which was anticipated in the case of Julius, to whom the Senate decreed the erection of statues in all the temples of Rome.⁹ Hence Vitellius, dragged through the Forum on his way to execution, was forced to look at his own falling statues;¹⁰ and in the time of Domitian the Sacred Way was full of images of that emperor.¹ Domitian's colossal equestrian statue in the Forum by the Lacus Curtius has been already mentioned.²

Sejanus.

Statues of other persons of eminence appear also to have been multiplied in the Forum and elsewhere; those of Sejanus were innumerable, several of them being gilt. He, like Vitellius, on

²⁰⁸ Becker, *Handbuch*, vol. i. p. 337; Smith, *Dict. Geog. art. Rome*, p. 792.

⁹ Dio Cass. xliv. 4.

¹⁰ Tac. Hist. iii. 85. (Note 167.)

¹ Inde sacro veneranda petes palatia clivo
Plurima qua summi fulget imago ducis.

Mart. Ep. i. 71. 6.

² See before, p. 77.

his way from the Palatine to the prison, witnessed the destruction of several of his own statues.²¹³ CHAP. II.

Another commemorative monument of the Forum was the Columna Duilia, a pillar ornamented with *rostra*, which was erected in honour of the naval victory gained by C. Duilius over the Carthaginians, B.C. 260. It was standing in the time of Pliny,⁴ and some remains of it were found in the Campo Vaccino, not far from the Arch of Severus, and may now be seen restored in the Capitoline Museum.

Columna
Duilia.

One of the purposes to which the Forum was devoted must have been much impeded by the crowding of statues upon its area. It was the ordinary place for religious processions and the exhibition of public games and spectacles. We have seen that the upper stories of the *tabernae* were specially designed for the convenience of spectators.

Spectacles
of the
Forum.

On the occasion of the Ludi Romani in the month of September, when the great procession of the gods passed from the Capitol to the Circus, the Comitium was covered with a wooden roof or an awning, and the Forum ornamented by the aediles.⁵ Another great religious spectacle of the Forum was the procession of the knights to the Temple of Castor on the ides of July.⁶

Religious
proces-
sions.

²¹³ Dio Cass. lvi. 2, 11; Sueton. Tib. 65.

⁴ Item C. Duilio (columna posita est) . . . qui primus navalem triumphum egit de Poenis, quae est etiam nunc in foro. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11. Sil. Ital. Punic. vi. 663; Quint. Inst. Or. i. 7.

⁵ Liv. ix. 49. (Note 133.) Ib. xxvii. 36. ⁶ See p. 106.

CHAP. II. The festival of the Salii, which took place in the beginning of March and lasted some days, was partly celebrated in the Forum.²¹⁷ The Lupercalia, which were held in the middle of February, also extended into the same locality, as is shown by Antonius having at that festival offered the crown to Caesar at the Rostra.⁸ The dances and strange costumes of the former of these festivals, and the licence of the latter, appear to have anticipated the modern Carnival.

Gladiatorial games.

The first gladiatorial combat which took place at Rome is said to have been exhibited in the Forum Boarium by D. Junius Brutus at the funeral of his father, B.C. 264.⁹ These shows appear to have been afterwards frequent in the Roman Forum. On the death of M. Aemilius Lepidus, B.C. 216, his three sons exhibited funeral games and twenty-two pairs of gladiators for three days in the Forum. Other similar occasions are mentioned by Livy, among which was the funeral of P. Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus, B.C. 183, when an hundred and twenty gladiators

²¹⁷ Ἐορτὴ δὲ αὐτῶν (τῶν Σαλίων) ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ Παναθήναια τῷ καλουμένῳ Μαρτίῳ μηνί, δημοτελής ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀγομένη, ἐν αἷς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄγουσι τοὺς χοροὺς εἰς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἰδίους τε καὶ δημοσίους τόπους, χιτῶνας ποικίλους χαλκείας μήτρας κατεζωσμένοι, κτλ. Dionys. ii. 70.

⁸ Dio Cass. xliv. 11; Sucton. Iul. 79.

⁹ D. Iunius Brutus munus gladiatorium in honorem defuncti patris edidit primum. Liv. Epit. xvi.

Gladiatorium munus primum Romae datum est in foro boario App. Claudio M. Fulvio coss. Valer. Max. ii. 4. 7.

fought, the games being continued for three days CHAP. II. and followed by a public banquet in the Forum. The funeral games given by T. Flamininus on the death of his father, B.C. 174, included *ludi scenici* as well as gladiators.²²⁰ This employment of the Forum continued to the end of the republic. Julius, on the occasion of his accumulated triumphs, exhibited gladiatorial games in the Forum, in which some noble Romans took part, and a Pyrrhic dance was performed by children of Asiatic and Bithynian princes.¹

It was probably at this festival that Caesar surprised the Roman public by covering for the first time the whole Forum and its approaches, from the Regia to the Capitol, with awnings. At a gladiatorial exhibition given by Caesar, or in his honour, an altar is said by Pliny to have been cleared away from the Lacus Curtius.² Cicero in one of his orations mentions the railings which were put up on these occasions in the Forum, and the stands for spectators on the Capitoline Hill.³

Forum covered with awnings.

We have seen that as late as the last years of

²²⁰ M. Aemilio Lepido, qui bis consul augurque fuerat, filii tres, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, ludos funebres per triduum et gladiatorum paria duo et viginti per triduum in foro dederunt. Liv. xxiii. 30. Id. xxxi. 50; xxxix. 46; xli. 28. Vitruv. v. 1. (Note 142)

¹ Munere in foro depugnavit Furius Leptinus stirpe praetoria, et Q. Calpenus senator quondam actorque caesarum. Pyrrhicam salta-verunt Asiae Bithyniaeque principum liberi. Sueton. Jul. 39.

² Mox Caesar dictator totum forum Romanum intexit, viamque sacram ab domo sua ad clivum usque Capitolinum, quod munere ipso gladiatorio mirabilis visum tradunt. Plin. N. H. xix. 6. Ib. xv. 20. (Note 162.) See p. 74.

³ Maximum vero populi Romani iudicium universo consessu gla-

CHAP. II Cicero, when the honour of a statue in the Forum was decreed to Sulpicius, a space around the pedestal was reserved for his posterity to view the gladiatorial games. Even in the time of Augustus the use of the Forum for shows of wild beasts and gladiators was not obsolete, although the Circus, the Septa, and the amphitheatres provided a more convenient stage.²⁴ Tiberius, during the rule of Augustus, after assuming the toga virilis, exhibited two separate gladiatorial shows in memory of his father, Nero, and of his grandfather, Drusus, the first in the Forum, the second in the Amphitheatre.⁵ During the aedileship of Marcellus, B.C. 24, games were exhibited in the Forum which included a Roman knight and a noble lady introduced as dancers, the Forum being covered with an awning, which was allowed to remain the whole summer.⁶ The games at the funeral of

diatoris declaratum est . . . Venit, ut scitis (Sextius), ad columnam Maeniam. Tantus est ex omnibus spectaculis usque a Capitolio, tantus ex fori cancellis plausus excitatus, etc. Cic. p. Sext. 58.

²⁴ [VENATIONES . BESTIA]RVM , AFRICANARVM . IN CIRCO . AVT . IN . FORO . AVT . IN . AMPHITHEATRIS . POPVLO . DEDI . SEXIES . ET VICIES . QUIBUS . CONFECTA . SUNT . BESTIARVM . CIRCITR . TRIA . MILLIA . ET . QVINGENTAE . Mon. Ancyr. Fecitque (Augustus ludos) . . . non in foro modo nec in amphitheatro, sed et in Circo et in Septis. Sueton. Aug. 43.

⁵ Munus gladiatorium in memoriam patris et alterum in avi Drusi dedit diversis temporibus et locis, primum in foro, secundum in amphitheatro. Sueton. Tib. 7.

⁶ (Ὁ Δίγονστος) τὴν ἰσοτήν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἀγοαστομίας ἐπέδρα (ὁ Μάρκελλος) συνδιαθείς λαμπρῶς, ὥστε τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ἐν παντὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐν παραπέτασμασι κατὰ κοροφὴν ὑαλαδεῖν, καὶ δοχοτήν τινα ἐκταία, γυναικὰ τε ἐκφανῆ ἐς τὴν ὄρχήστραν ἐσαγαγεῖν, ὅμως, κτλ. Dio Cass. liii. 31.

M. Agrippa, B.C. 12, were at the Septa, and not in the Forum, both for the greater honour of the deceased and because many of the *tabernae* of the Forum had been destroyed by fire.²²⁷ CHAP. II.

An historical drama was enacted in the Forum, which Suetonius very appropriately mentions among the spectacles provided for the gratification of the Roman people, when Nero crowned Tiridates as King of Armenia. On the night before the ceremony the city was illuminated, the Mid-Forum was crowded with citizens in white togas with chaplets of laurel, the temples around were filled with soldiers in their most splendid armour, the very roofs of the buildings were hidden by spectators. Nero, accompanied by the Senate and his Praetorian guard, came into the Forum at break of day, and took his seat on the Rostra in a curule chair in habit of triumph, surrounded by military ensigns and flags. The king, on appearing before the Rostra and making his obeisance, was received with such a shout as for a time unnerved him. When he had recovered his self-possession, he approached the Rostra by a sloping platform erected for the purpose, and, kneeling at the emperor's feet, was raised and saluted with a kiss. He then prayed for his crown, the words of his prayer being repeated

Coronation
of Tiri-
dates.

²²⁷ Ἐπιτάφιοι ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγρίππᾳ ὀπλομαχίαι . . . ἐν τοῖς Σεπτοῖς, διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκοδημάτων κεκαῦσθαι, ἐγένοντο. Dio Cass. Iv. 8.

CHAP. II. and translated to the crowd, and the diadem was placed on his head by the emperor. A similar scene was repeated at the theatre, where Nero seated the king by his side. After this pageant Nero ordered the Janus Geminus to be closed.²²⁸

The period of the Flavian emperors witnessed the construction of the great public amphitheatre, and it may be assumed that the use of the Forum for any theatrical purpose, if it had not already become obsolete, then entirely ceased.

²²⁸ Non immerito inter spectacula ab eo edita et Tiridatis in urbem introitum retulerim. Quem Armeniae regem produxit dispositis circa fori templa armatis cohortibus, curuli residens apud rostra triumphantis habitu inter signa militaria atque vexilla; et primo per devexum pulpitem subeuntem admisit ad genua adlevatumque dextra exosculatus est, dein precanti tiara deducta diadema imposuit ob quae . . . Ianum Geminum clausit tam nullo quam residuo bello. Sueton. Ner. 13.

Καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἐκεκόσμητο καὶ φωσι καὶ στεφανώμασιν, οἳ τε ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ πανταχοῦ ἐωρῶντο, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἐπεπλήρωτο. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ὁ δῆμος λευχειμονῶν καὶ δαφνηφορῶν κατὰ τέλη εἶχε, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οἱ στρατιῶται λαμπρότατα ὠπλισμένοι κτλ. Dio Cass. lxiii. 4.

CHAPTER III.

THE SOUTH-EASTERN DIVISION OF THE FORUM.

THE part of the Forum which remains to be described is that lying to the south-east of the Vicus Tuscus and of the transverse limb of the Sacra Via. The residence in this quarter of the Pontifex Maximus and the Vestal Virgins, persons of the highest rank and treated with the greatest veneration, appears to have extended a certain decorum in their neighbourhood, which was the resort in the time of Plautus of the more respectable frequenters of the Forum.

CHAP.
III.
—
Forum
Infimum.

In foro infimo boni homines atque dites ambulant.²²⁹

Adjoining the Vicus Tuscus, but facing the open area, was one of the most magnificent of the monuments of the Forum. Its site has long been distinguished by the three marble Corinthian columns in a line, which formed one of the landmarks of the Campo Vaccino, and were formerly known by the name of the Temple of Jupiter Stator. Canina for a time identified this ruin with the Curia Julia. It is now recognised as the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the divine twins whose supernatural interposition is so curiously interwoven with the traditions of the early struggles of Rome. The

Temple of
Castor.

²²⁹ Plaut. Curculio, iv. 1. (Note 97.)

CHAP.
III.
—

complete disinterment of the Basilica Julia, and the further explorations which have brought to light the remains of the Temples of Julius and Vesta, have placed this identification beyond doubt.²²⁹

Tradition
of the spot.

The well-known legend of the appearance of the Dioscuri at the battle of the Lake Regillus, and of the hoof-marks left by the horse of Castor in the rock, is alluded to by Cicero.³⁰ Livy tells us only that the dictator A. Postumius was said to have vowed a temple to Castor during the fight, but Dionysius and Plutarch relate the presence of the two horsemen at the battle, and their later apparition in the Forum, where they washed their horses at the spring which made a pool near the Temple of Vesta, and announced the result of the war to the crowd.¹ The dedication of the

Pool of
Juturna.

²²⁹ Monum. Ancyr. (Note 100); Dionys. vi. 13. (Note 231); Plutarch. Coriol. 3. (Note 231); Mart. Ep. i. 71, 3. (Note 262).

³⁰ Ergo et illud in silice quod hodie apparet apud Regillum tanquam vestigium unguulae, Castoris equi credis esse? Cic. de nat. Deor. iii. 5.

¹ Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori novisse fertur. Liv. ii. 20.

Ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾷ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὀφθῆναι δύο νεανίσκοι λέγονται . . . τοὺς ἵππους ἰδρῶτι διαβρόχους ἐπαγόμενοι ἄραντες δὲ τῶν ἵππων ἐκάτεροι καὶ ἀπονίσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς λιβάδος, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀναδίδουσι, λίμνην ποιῶσα ἐμβύθιον ὀλίγην . . . τὴν τε μάχην αὐτοῖς φράζουσιν ὡς ἐγένετο καὶ ὅτι νικῶσιν . . . Ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς . . . ἐπιφανείας ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ σημεῖα, ὃ τε νεὼς ὁ τῶν Διοσκούρων, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκεύασεν ἡ πόλις ἔνθα ὤφθη τὰ εἶδωλα, καὶ ἡ παρ' αὐτῷ κρήνη καλουμένη τε τῶν θεῶν τοῦτων ἱερά καὶ εἰς τότε χρόνου νομιζομένη, κτλ. Dionys. vi. 13.

Ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς Διοσκόρους ἐπιφανῆσαι λέγουσι, καὶ μετὰ

temple on the spot where they appeared is said to have been made fifteen years after the battle, B. C. 482, by the son of the dictator.²⁸² A similar apparition of the Dioscuri at the same place was said to have made known the victory gained in Macedonia by Paullus Aemilius over Perseus.³

CHAP.
III.
—

The Temple of Castor was rebuilt by L. Metellus Dalmaticus, consul B. C. 119;⁴ and, whatever may have been the character of the original temple, the edifice of Metellus was one of considerable size and importance, and was frequently used for the meetings of the Senate.⁵ The expense appears to have been provided out of the Dalmatian prize money, since Cicero accuses Verres

Temple
rebuilt by
Metellus.

τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὀφθῆναι ῥεομένους ἰδῶντι τοῖς ἵπποις ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὴν νίκην ἀπαγγέλλοντας, οὗ νῦν παρὰ τὴν κρήνην νεὼς ἴστω αὐτοῖς ἰδρυμένος.
Plutarch. Coriol. 3.

Castorem vero et Pollucem etiam illo tempore pro imperio populi Romani excubuisse cognitum, quo ad lacum Iuturnae suum equorumque sudorem abluere visi sunt; iunctaque fonti aedes eorum nullius hominum manu reserata patuit. Valer. Max. i. 8. i.

²⁸² Castoris aedes eodem anno idibus Quintilibus dedicata est. Vota erat Latino bello, Postumio dictatore: filius eius duumvir ad id ipsum creatus dedicavit. Liv. ii. 42.

³ Eodem die quo victus Perses in Macedonia, Romae cognitum est. Duo iuvenes candidis equis apud Iuturnae lacum pulverem et cruorem abluebant; hi nuntiare. Castorem et Pollucem fuisse creditum vulgo. Flor. Epit. ii. 12.

⁴ L. ipse Metellus, avus huius, sanctissimos deos illo constituisse in templo videtur in vestro conspectu, iudices, ut salutem a vobis nepotes sui deprecarentur. Cic. pro Scauro, 46.

Castoris et Pollucis templum Metellus, quem nominat, refecit. Asconius in Cic. pro Scauro, 46.

⁵ In aede Castoris celeberrimo clarissimoque monumento, . . . quo saepenumero Senatus convocatur, quo maximarum rerum frequentissimae quotidie advocationse fiunt. Cic. in Verr. II. i. 49.

CHAP.
III.Extortion
of Verres.Contract
for main-
tenance of
a temple.

of making plunder out of the plunder of Metellus.²³⁶

The extortion alleged to have been committed by Verres in connection with this temple throws some light upon the character of the building as well as upon the system adopted by the Romans for keeping their public edifices in repair. It is worth while to follow the story as told by Cicero.

The censors had entered into a contract with a certain P. Junius, a person of middle rank, probably a builder or contractor by trade, to take charge of the Temple of Castor and keep it in repair, the statues and treasures of the temple being also delivered into his charge. Junius died leaving a son, a minor, and the charge of the temple was transferred to one L. Rabonius. Verres, as Praetor Urbanus, had with his colleague, by decree of the Senate, the special cognizance of the repairs of public buildings. He summons Rabonius before him, and asks him what can be required from the minor that had not been delivered. The answer was that no sort of difficulty had arisen, the statues and gifts were all forthcoming, and the building was in perfect repair. Verres, thinking it intolerable that out of so great a temple and so large a contract he should not obtain some plunder,⁷ especially as he had a

²³⁶ *Dubitamus quid iste in hostium praeda molitus sit, qui manubias sibi tantas ex L. Metelli manubiis fecerit?* Cic. in Verr. II. i. 59.

⁷ *Indignum isti videri coepit ex tanta aede tantoque opere se non opimum praeda praesertim a pupillo discedere.* Cic. in Verr. ib. 50.

minor to deal with, goes himself to inspect the building. He looks round, sees the roof beautifully ceiled, everything else in excellent condition.²³⁸ "The only thing you can do here," suggests a sharp adviser, "is to require the columns to be made perpendicular."⁹ Not having much knowledge of such matters, Verres asks what is the meaning of the phrase. It is explained to him that scarcely any columns can be exactly perpendicular. "Be it so," says he, "then let these be made so." The new contractor has no wish to require it, as he knows that in Junius's contract, though the number of columns was specified, there was nothing said about the perpendicular, and he has no desire to have any such matter introduced into the new contract. He is overborne by Verres, and makes a demand upon the minor accordingly. The *tutores* of the minor, after trying in vain to obtain an alteration in the decision of the praetor, agree with Rabonius to pay him 200,000 sesterces. Verres disapproves the compromise, and orders Rabonius to renounce it. He then puts up the work to public competition without due delay or notice, in the midst of the festivities of the *Ludi Romani*.⁴⁰ The

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²³⁸ Videt undique tectum pulcherrime laqueatum, praeterea caetera nova atque integra. Cic. in Verr. II. i. 51.

⁹ Nihil habes nisi forte vis ad perpendicularum columnas exigere. Cic. in Verr. ib.

⁴⁰ Ipse vero non procrastinat, locare incipit non proscripta neque edicta die, ludis ipsis Romanis foro ornato. Cic. in Verr. ib. 54.

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—

Descrip-
tion of the
repair of a
temple.

tutors hasten to the spot, and bid in the name of their ward, offering to complete the work to the praetor's satisfaction for 80,000 sesterces. Verres, seeing that, if the contract is let to the minor, he can obtain no profit out of it, makes an order prohibiting the original contractor from having any part in the new contract, and lets out the work to Rabonius at 560,000 sesterces, ordering this sum to be forthwith paid out of the minor's estate. The greater part of this amount finds its way into the praetor's own hands. The work actually done to the temple Cicero describes to his audience: "Those columns which you see fresh whitened have been taken down by machinery, and erected again with the same stones. Nay, some of the columns have not been disturbed. There is one from which the old stucco only has been removed, and new stucco applied. To furnish one such column new would be as much work as to replace those four; and I could show you columns not less than these in private buildings, where the carriage was long and difficult, that have been put up new for 40,000 sesterces."²⁴¹

²⁴¹ Omnes illae columnae quas dealbatas videtis, machina apposita nulla impensa deiectae, eisdemque lapidibus repositae sunt. Hoc tu H. S. 101x millibus locavisti: atqui in illis columnis dico esse, quae a tuo redemptore commotae non sint: dico esse, ex qua tantum tectorium vetus delitum sit, et novum inductum Utrum existimatis minus operis esse, unam columnam efficere ab integro novam nullo lapide redevivo, an quatuor illas reponere? Nemo dubitat, quin multo maius sit novam facere. Ostendam in aedibus privatis,

We may conjecture from this description that the columns of the building of Metellus were of stone covered with fine white stucco, like those of the round temple at Tivoli. I do not know whether we should infer from Cicero's reference to "those four columns" that the portico was tetrastyle, or (as is more probable) that four columns only out of a larger number had been replaced. The comparison of the columns of the temple with those of private edifices, of which the orator knew the cost, may serve to indicate the enormous advance in luxury and magnificence which had been made in the last two generations.

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Architectural details of the older temple.

The temple of Castor, with its lofty steps and commanding situation, was always one of the most conspicuous objects of the Forum,²⁴² and became in turbulent times a position of great political importance. Popular assemblies were frequently held in front of it, when its terrace and steps served the purpose of Rostra.. Sulla and Q. Pompeius Rufus, during their consulship, B.C. 88, were holding a meeting here, when they were attacked by the tribune Sulpicius and the partisans of Marius. In the riot that ensued, L. Pompeius, the consul's son, was killed, and

Political importance of the Temple of Castor.

longa difficilique vectura, columnas singulas ad impluvium H. S. quadraginta millibus, non minus magnas, locatas. Cic. in Verr. II. i. 55, 56.

²⁴² Vosque, omnium rerum forensium, consiliorum maximorum, legum, iudiciorumque arbitri et testes, celeberrimo in loco populi Romani locati, Castor et Pollux, etc. Cic. in Verr. v. 72.

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Sulla was forced to take refuge in the house of Marius.²⁴³

The contest between Cato and Metellus respecting the recall of Pompeius from Asia took place upon the terrace before this temple, into which, at one period of the proceedings, Cato was carried for safety by the consul Murena.⁴

It was here that Caesar, as consul, proposed his agrarian law, and was opposed by his colleague Bibulus, who was pushed down the steps and driven from the Forum.⁵

Occupation of the temple by Clodius.

In the following year, during the troubled consulate of Piso, when Cicero's banishment was in agitation, the temple was occupied by Clodius with his armed followers; its steps were torn up and removed, and the building became, in the language of Cicero, a sort of citadel or fortified position in the hands of his political adversaries.⁶

When in the next year Cicero's recall was proposed by Fabricius, the tribune Sextius coming to

²⁴³ Ἐπαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζουσι περὶ τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων ὄχλου, ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ Πομπηίου τοῦ ὑπάτου μειράκιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνεΐλεν, κτλ. Plutarch. Sulla. 8.

⁴ Ὡς οὖν ἐπιστάς ὁ Κάτων κατεΐδε τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων ὄπλοις περιεχόμενον καὶ τὰς ἀναβάσεις φρουρουμένας ὑπὸ μονομάχων, αὐτὸν δὲ καθημένον ἄνω μετὰ Καίσαρος τὸν Μέτελλον, κτλ. . . ἄμα δ' εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζεν μετὰ τοῦ Θέρμου, καὶ διέστησαν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὰς ἀναβάσεις κατέχοντες, κτλ. Plut. Cat. Min. 28.

⁵ Καὶ πρὸς τὸ Διοσκούρειον ἀφ' οὗπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐδημηγόρει, (ὁ Βίβουλος) διέμπησε' . . . ὡς δὲ ἄνω τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀντιλέγειν ἐπειράτο, αὐτὸς τε κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν ἐώθη καὶ ῥάβδοι αὐτοῦ συνετρίβησαν. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 6. Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 11.

⁶ Arma in templo Castoris . . . constituebantur ab eo latrone, cui templum illud fuit, te consule, arx civium perditorum, receptacu-

see one of the consuls at this temple was attacked and nearly killed by the partisans of Clodius, who were armed, some with swords and some with fragments of the *septa* or polling-pens of the Forum.²⁴⁷

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Upon the arrival of Octavianus in the year of Caesar's death, he was brought into the city by the tribune Canutius, and they both harangued the people against Antony from the steps of Castor, the temple being surrounded by soldiers with their weapons concealed.⁸

The Temple of Castor was among the numerous public edifices which were rebuilt in the time of Augustus. This was done by Tiberius in his own name and that of his brother Drusus out of the spoils of the German campaign.⁹ The exist-
lum veterum Catalinae militum, castellum forensis latrocinii, bustum legum omnium ac religionum. Cic. in Pis. 5.

Rebuilding
of the tem-
ple under
Augustus.

Iisdem consulibus, arma in templo Castoris palam comportabantur, gradus eiusdem templi tollebantur, armati homines forum et conciones tenebant. Cic. pro Sextio, 15.

Quum arma in aedem Castoris comportabas . . . quum vero gradus Castoris convellisti ac removisti, tum ut modeste tibi agere liceret, homines audaces ab eius templi aditu atque adscensu repulisti! Cic. pro domo sua, 21. See before, p. 81.

²⁴⁷ Itaque fretus sanctitate tribunatus . . . venit in templum Castoris, obnuntiavit consuli, cum subito manus illa Clodiana . . . invadit . . . alii gladiis adoriuntur, alii fragmentis septorum et fustibus. Cic. pro Sextio, 37. Cic ad Q. frat. ii. 3. (Note 96.) See further, as to the *septa* of the Forum, p. 142.

⁸ Ὅς δὲ εἰσῆλθον, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων παρῆλθε, καὶ τὸν νεῶν περίστησαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι, ξιφίδια ἀφανῶς περιεζωσμένοι. Κα-
νούτιος δὲ πρότερον ἐδημηγόρει κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτοῦς ὑπεμίμνησκε, κτλ. Appian. Bell. Civ. iii. 41.

⁹ Dedicavit et Concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris suo fratrisque nomine de manubiis. Sueton. Tib. 20.

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ing marble columns are probably a relic of this magnificent restoration. The dedication to the two brother gods by the imperial brothers is thus mentioned by Ovid.

At quae venturas praecedit sexta kalendas
Hac sunt Ledaëis templa dicata deis.
Fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum
Circa Iuturnae composuere lacus.²⁵⁰

Palace of
Caligula.

This temple was the scene of one of the strangest freaks of the Emperor Caligula, who extended a part of the buildings of the Palatine towards the Forum, and, having converted the temple into a sort of vestibule, and made the Dioscuri his doorkeepers, frequently placed himself for adoration between the statues of the divine twins. Claudius restored the temple to its former state.¹ The ruined walls and arches, not far from the back of the temple, are probably remains of the buildings of Caligula.

Procession
of knights
to the Cas-
tor temple.

An annual sacrifice by the Roman knights took place at this temple on the Ides of July in celebration of the victory of the Lake Regillus. The sacrifice was followed by a procession of horse-

²⁵⁰ Ovid. Fast. i. 705.

¹ Partem Palatii ad forum usque promovit, atque aede Castoris et Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, consistens saepe inter fratres deos medium adorandum se adeuntibus exhibebat. Sueton. Calig. 22.

Τό τε Διοσκούρειον τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ὄν διατεμῶν, διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εἰσοδὸν δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως καὶ πύλωρος τοὺς Διοσκούρους, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔλεγεν, ἔχη. Dio Cass. lix. 29.

Ἀπέδωκε δὲ (ὁ Κλαύδιος) καὶ τοῖς Διοσκούροις τὸν νεών. Dio Cass. lx. 6.

men, in which it is said that five thousand persons sometimes took part. The ranks were formed at the temple of Mars outside the walls, and the knights, all clad in the purple robe called *trabea*, marched through the city and filed in front of the temple of the Dioscuri, presenting a pageant worthy, in the opinion of Dionysius, of the greatness of the empire of Rome.²⁵²

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The temple of Castor, in common with other religious edifices, was used as a repository for private treasures, which the owners were afraid of retaining at home, although, in the time of Juvenal, even the temples and statues of the gods do not appear to have been secure from theft.

Treasures
deposited
in temples.

Ad vigilem ponendi Castora numi,
Ex quo Mars Ultor galeam quoque perdidit et res
Non potuit servare suas.³

The epithet applied by Juvenal to Castor has been supposed to imply that special watch was kept over the temple.

This temple, though dedicated to the two divinities, generally bore the name of Castor only, a circumstance which was happily alluded to by Bibulus, in complaining that Caesar, with whom he was aedile, obtained all the credit of their joint expenses. "The same thing has happened to me as to Pollux," he said. "The temple in the Forum, though built for both brothers, is called

Temple of
Castor (not
Pollux).

²⁵² Dionys. vi. 13.

³ Juvenal. Sat. xiv. 260.

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Castor's, so the munificence which is mine and Caesar's is called Caesar's."²⁶⁴

Statue of
Tremulus.

In front of this temple was erected the equestrian statue of Q. Marcius Tremulus, consul B.C. 306, the conqueror of the Hernici.⁵ Cicero in one of his Philippics speaks of this statue as still to be seen in its place. Pliny mentions it as an early equestrian statue, clothed, like that of Romulus and Camillus, in the toga without the tunic, but not as existing in his time.⁶ It was probably removed on the occasion of the rebuilding of the temple by Tiberius.

Lane connecting the
Forum
with the
Nova Via.

The space in front of the steps of Castor, beyond the turn in the street which has been already mentioned, is paved with travertine as a foot-pavement; but on the south-east side of the temple we come to the end of a lane paved as a carriage-way. The state of the excavations does not allow us to trace this lane for more than a few feet. It probably communicated by a cross street at the back of the temple with the Vicus

²⁶⁴ *Evenisse sibi quod Polluci: ut enim geminis fratribus aedes in foro constituta tantum Castoris vocaretur, ita suam Caesarisque munificentiam unius Caesaris dici. Sueton. Caes. 10. The same saying is repeated by Dio Cass, xxxvii. 8.*

⁵ *Marcus de Hernicis triumphans in urbem rediit, statuaque equestris in foro decreta est, quae ante templum Castoris posita est. Liv. ix. 43*

⁶ *In foro L. Antonii statuam videmus, sicut illam Q. Tremuli, qui Hernicos devicit, ante Castoris. Cic. Phil. vi. 5.*

Ante aedem Castorum fuit Q. Marcii Tremuli equestris togata. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11. See Note 198.

Tuscius, and also in the other direction, by a steep slope or steps, with the Via Nova, which passed at a higher level between this end of the Forum and the Palatine hill.²⁵⁷ It is not unlikely that it is to this lane that Ovid alludes as a communication recently made between the Nova Via and the Forum.

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—

Forte revertebar festis Vestatibus illac
Qua Nova Romano nunc via iuncta foro est.
Huc pede matronam vidi descendere nudo.⁸

The formation of this way was probably an improvement connected with the rebuilding of the Temple of Castor by Tiberius, and intended to add to the accommodation of the Vestals, whose house adjoined it.⁹

Near the end of this lane, and about twenty feet from the eastern corner of the steps of Castor, are the remains of a low round construction, apparently a basin of water, which has been identified with the greatest probability as the Lake of Juturna, the proximity of which to the temple is mentioned by Ovid.⁶⁰ This monument appears in early story as a natural spring or pool near the Temple of Vesta, at which the divine twins were seen after the battle of the Lake Regillus.¹ It was probably in later times a *lacus* or basin artificially supplied with water.

Lake of
Juturna.

²⁵⁷ See Chapter IX.

⁸ Ovid. Fast. vi. 395.

⁹ See pp. 118, 124, 125.

⁶⁰ Ovid. Fasti, i. 705. See p. 106.

¹ Dionys. vi. 13; Plutarch. Coriol. 3; Val. Max. i. 8, 1. (Note 231.)

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—
Temple of
Vesta.

About twenty-five feet further to the south-east is the ruined podium of a circular building, which can scarcely have been other than the Temple of Vesta itself. The proximity of this Temple to that of Castor is testified by Martial:

Quæris iter? Dicam. Vicinum Castora canae
Transibis Vestae, virgineamque domum.²⁶²

Temple of
Vesta, in
the Forum.

We have also seen that the Lake of Juturna was in the immediate vicinity of the Temple of Vesta,³ which is placed by Dionysius in the Forum,⁴ and not, as some modern topographers have placed it, "somewhat back towards the Palatine."⁵ This latter supposition, which would put it upon higher ground, is opposed to the well-known lines of Horace, in which he describes the sanctuary of Vesta and the Regia as threatened by the flood:

Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire deiectum monumenta Regis
Templaque Vestae.⁶

The highest recent inundation of the Tiber, flooding the excavated Forum through the Cloaca, has reached nearly, if not quite, to the base of

²⁶² Mart. Ep. i. 71, 3.

³ Dionys. vi. 13. (Note 231.)

⁴ Dionys. ii. 66. (Note 4.)

⁵ Mr. Dyer in Smith, Dict. Geog. ii. 779. Der Tempel selbst aber reichte jedenfalls nicht bis an das Forum, sondern lag weiter zurück nach dem Abhange des Palatin. Becker, Handbuch, i. 223; ib. i. 289.

⁶ Hor. Od. I. ii. 13.

the circular ruin which is identified with the Temple of Vesta.

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Dionysius observes, as an argument for attributing the origin of the Temple of Vesta to Numa rather than to Romulus, that it was outside the *Roma quadrata* fortified by the latter, whereas a temple of the hearth-goddess would certainly be built in an important situation within the walls.²⁶⁷

Vesta, outside Roma Quadrata.

The worship of Vesta, the goddess of the hearth or of fire, was an important part of the early religion of Rome, and apparently of Latin origin, derived from a Tyrrhenian or Pelasgic source, the name of the goddess being equivalent to the Greek *ἑστία*. It will be remembered that Rhea Sylvia, the mother of Romulus, was described in the legend as a Vestal Virgin of Alba. The Vestals at Rome were believed to have been instituted by Numa.⁸ They were persons of the highest rank and official consequence, six in number, and lived in a house close to the temple. The importance of the worship there conducted was further enhanced by the residence, in the immediate vicinity, of the Pontifex Maximus, the chief of the Roman religion, who was considered in a special manner devoted

Worship of Vesta.

Vestal Virgins.

Pontifex Maximus.

²⁶⁷ Οὔτε γὰρ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἱερόν φυλάττεται πῦρ, Ῥωμῦλος ἦν ὁ καθιερώσας τῇ θεῷ· μέγα δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι τῆς τετραγώνου καλουμένης Ῥώμης ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐτείχισεν ἐκτὸς ἔστιν. Ἑστίας δὲ κοινῆς ἱερόν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ μάλιστα καθιδρύνονται τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες, ἔξω δὲ τοῦ τείχους οὐδεὶς. Dionys. ii. 65.

⁸ Virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium, et genti conditoris haud alienum. Liv. i. 20. Dionys. ii. 65.

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to the service of Vesta. Ovid, speaking of the assassination of Julius, who was Pontifex Maximus, makes Vesta claim him as her priest.

Meus fuit ille sacerdos ;
Sacrilegae telis me petiere manus.

And in another place he describes Augustus as fostering, in the same capacity, the eternal fire.²⁶⁹

Males not
admitted
into the
Penetralia.

But it appears that no male person, not even the Pontifex, was allowed to enter the Penetralia of the temple,⁷⁰ the contents of which were matters of mysterious conjecture. Hence, with Horace, "to dwell within the Penetralia of Vesta," is equivalent to being utterly unknown to the world.¹ This sanctuary had the peculiar name of *Penus*.²

Sacred fire.

If we may believe the testimony of Ovid, the temple contained no statue of the goddess, who was represented only by the sacred fire,³ which was believed to have been brought from Troy, and the continuance of which was connected by superstition with the fortunes of Rome. But this

²⁶⁹ Ovid. Fast. iii. 699; ib. iii. 427.

⁷⁰ Ovid. Fast. vi. 253, 450; Lucan. Phars. ix. 993; Appian. Bell. Civ. i. 54.

¹ Quamvis invita recedant,
Et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestae.

Hor. Ep. ii. 2, 114.

² Penus vocatur locus intimus in aede Vestae. Festus, ed. Müll. 250.

³ Esse diu stultus Vestae simulacra putavi,
Mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo.
Ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo,
Effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habet.

Ovid. Fast. vi. 295. Plutarch. Camill. 20. (Note 284).

absence of material representation was not generally known, since Ovid himself confesses that he had long supposed there was an image of Vesta in her temple.²⁷⁴ Cicero speaks of the image of Vesta being sprinkled with the blood of Scaevola, Pontifex Maximus, who was killed in this temple among the victims put to death by order of Marius;⁵ and in the Aeneid the shade of Hector delivers to the care of Aeneas not only the eternal fire, but the goddess herself.

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III.
—
Statues of
Vesta.

Vittas, Vestamque potentem
Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.⁶

Pliny mentions a celebrated sitting Vesta by Scopas, which was not, however, in any temple, but in the Servilian Gardens.⁷ Dio relates that Tiberius placed a statue of Vesta in his newly-restored Temple of Concord.⁸ And on a coin of Vespasian, representing the Temple of Vesta, a standing female figure is shown under the domed roof of a circular temple.

Beside the sacred fire, the temple contained another treasure, on the preservation of which

Palladium.

²⁷⁴ In another place he alludes to a supposed image in the temple at Alba:

Sylvia fit mater. Vestae simulacra feruntur
Virgineas oculis opposuisse manus

Ovid. Fast. iii. 45.

⁵ Neque enim (L. Crassus) . . . collegae sui, pontificis maximi, sanguine simulacrum Vestae respersum esse videt. Cic. de Orat. iii. 3. Florus. iii. 21. Lucan. Phars. ii. 126.

⁶ Virgil. Aen. ii. 296.

⁷ Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 4 (7).

⁸ See before, p. 13.

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—

the safety of the empire was supposed to depend. This was the Palladium or image of Pallas, which was believed to have been brought from Troy, having originally fallen from Heaven.²⁷⁹

Lucret in aris

Ignis adhuc Phrygius, nullique adspecta virorum
Pallas, in abstruso pignus memorabile templo.²⁸⁰

Form of the
temple.

The temple was round, with a domed roof, and this form is connected by Ovid and Festus with the attributes of the goddess, who was associated not only with Fire, but with the Earth.¹

It appears from some statements of Roman antiquaries, that the Aedes Vestae was not a *templum*, in the proper sense of the term, as it was not consecrated by augury. Servius accounts

²⁷⁹ Dionys. i. 69 ; Ovid. Fast. vi. 421, et seq.

²⁸⁰ Lucan. Phars. ix. 992.

¹ Vesta eadem est quae Terra ; subest vigil ignis utrique
Significant sedem terra focusque suam.

* * * *

Arte Syracosia suspensus in aere clauso
Stat globus, immensi parva figura poli ;
Et quantum a summis tantum secessit ab imis
Terra, quod ut fiat forma rotunda facit.
Par facies templi : nullus procurrit in illo
Angulus : a pluvio vindicat imbre tholus.

Ovid. Fast. vi. 267-282.

Νομᾶς δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν ἐγκύκλιον περιβαλίσθαι τῷ ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ φρουράν ἀπομιμούμενος, οὐ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς ὡς Ἑστίας οὔσης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, οὐ μέσον οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸ πῦρ ἰδρῶσθαι νομίζουσι, κτλ. Plutarch. Num. 11.

Rutundam aedem Vestae Numa Pompilius rex Romanorum consecrasset videtur, quod eandem esse terram, qua vita hominum sustentaretur, crediderit ; eamque pilae forma esse, ut sui simili templo dea coleretur. Fest. ed. Müll. p. 262.

for this omission by supposing that it was intended to prevent the meeting of the Senate in the Virgins' temple, since such a meeting could only take place in a locality so consecrated, but adds that the Senate might meet in the Atrium Vestae, which was a distinct building.²⁸²

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III.

The original temple of Vesta is attributed by Ovid to Numa, and is supposed by the poet to have been constructed with wattled walls and a thatched roof.³ When Rome was taken by the Gauls, the Virgins took the sacred fire and other relics to Caere in Etruria for safety.⁴ The temple was probably then destroyed. The temple of Vesta was burnt in the year B.C. 241, on which occasion L. Metellus, then Pontifex Maximus, saved the Palladium at the expense of his own eyesight.⁵ In return for his devotion a privilege

History
of the
Temple.

Palladium
saved by
Metellus.

²⁸² Id quoque scriptum reliquit (Varro), non omnis aedes sacras templa esse, ac ne aedem quidam Vestae templum esse. A. Gell. xiv. 7.

Et nisi in augusto loco consilium senatus habere non poterat. Unde templum Vestae non fuit augurio consecratum, ne illuc conveniret senatus, ubi erant Virgines. Nam haec fuerat regia Numae Pompilii. Ad atrium autem Vestae conveniebat, quod a templo remotum fuerat. Servius ad Aen. vii. 153.

³ Quae nunc aere vides, stipula tunc tecta videres,
Et paries lento vimine textus erat.

Ovid. Fast. vi. 261. Dionys. ii. 65. (Note 267.)

⁴ Τὸ δὲ πῦρ τῆς Ἑστίας αἱ παρθένοι μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀρπασάμενοι ἔφυγον, καίτοι τινὲς οὐδὲν εἶναι τὸ φρουρούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἢ πῦρ ἄφθιτον ἰστοροῦσι. Plutarch. Camill. 20; Liv. v. 40; Ovid. Fasti, vi. 265.

⁵ Siquidem is Metellus orbam luminibus exegit senectam amissis incendio, quum palladium raperet ex aede Vestae. Plin. N. H. vii. 45. Ovid. Fast. vi. 437; Dionys. ii. 66.

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was granted to him, which had been enjoyed by no other Roman ; he was allowed to be conveyed in a car to the Curia whenever he attended the Senate.²⁸⁶

At a later period, B.C. 210, the temple narrowly escaped destruction by a fire, which broke out in different parts of the Forum, and which certain Campanians were accused of having caused for the very purpose of burning this temple with its contents, and so inflicting a fatal blow upon the fortunes of Rome.⁷ The building was saved by the exertions of some slaves, who were rewarded with liberty.⁸

The age of the temple, as it existed in the time of Augustus, with the bronze dome mentioned by Ovid, is not known. It is not named in the Ancyran inscription among the restorations of Augustus himself ; and Pliny speaks of the roof of Syracusan bronze as if it were a work of considerable antiquity.⁹

The temple of Vesta was burnt down in the great fire of Nero,¹⁰ and probably rebuilt by Vespasian, on some of whose coins it is represented. It was again burnt down in the fire

²⁸⁶ Plin. N. H. vii. 45.

⁷ Vestae aedem petitam et aeternos ignes et conditum in penetrali fatale pignus imperii Romani. Liv. xxvi. 27.

⁸ Liv. xxvi. 27. (Note 135.) ⁹ Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 7.

¹⁰ Vetustissima religione quod Servius Tullius Lunae, et magna ara fanumque quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat, aedesque Statoris Jovis vota Romulo, Numaeque regia, et delubrum Vestae cum Penatibus populi Romani exusta. Tac. Ann. xv. 41.

which occurred during the reign of Commodus, and which destroyed among other important buildings the magnificent Temple of Peace erected by Vespasian. Herodian describes the removal of the Palladium by the Vestal Virgins through the midst of the Sacred Way to the imperial Court, on which occasion it was supposed that this image was first beheld by ordinary mortal eyes since its arrival from Troy.²⁹¹

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The public maintenance of the Vestal Virgins and of the worship of Vesta was stopped or curtailed by Gratianus, A.D. 382, and was the subject of protests addressed by Symmachus to that emperor and his colleague Valentinianus.

Failure of
the wor-
ship of
Vesta.

The corner of the Forum with which we are now occupied was the scene of the assassination of Piso Licinianus, the adopted son of the emperor Galba. When the latter was killed at the Lacus Curtius, Piso, who had joined him on his way to the Forum, fled to the Temple of Vesta, and was hidden by one of the public slaves in his own apartment; but, having been sought out by command of Otho, he was put to death at the door of the temple.²

Murder of
Piso.

²⁹¹ Τῆς Ἑστίας τοῦ νεῶ καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός γυμνωθὲν ὤφθη τὸ τῆς Παλλάδος ἄγαλμα . . . ὅτε πρῶτον καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξιν εἶδον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωποι. ἀρπάσασαι γὰρ τὸ ἄγαλμα οἱ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερεῖαι παρθένοι διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλλήν μετεκόμισαν. Herodian. i. 14.

² Piso in aedem Vestae pervasit, exceptusque misericordia publici servi et contubernio eius abditus, . . . cum advenere missu Othonis nominatim in caedem eius ardentis, Sulpicius Florus, e Britannicis

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House of
the Vestals.

Around the southern side of the Temple of Vesta, partly concealed by the bank of modern débris, are the ruins of some buildings, themselves perhaps of a later date, which occupied the site of the houses of the Vestal Virgins and the inferior attendants of the temple.²⁹³ The backs of these buildings looked into the Nova Via ; and beyond the Nova Via, on the slope of the Palatine Hill, was a garden of no very great extent, called the Grove of Vesta.⁴ This grove appears to have been used as a place of interment for the Virgins, since traces of their sepulture were found in the sixteenth century on the site of the Church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice. It is mentioned by Servius that the Vestals had the privilege of burial within the city.⁵

Grove of
Vesta.

The Regia.

Close to the houses of the Vestals, and on the north-eastern side of the temple, was the Regia or King's House, the traditional palace of Numa,⁶ cohortibus nuper a Galba civitate donatus, et Staius Murcus speculator, a quibus protractus Piso in foribus templi trucidatur. Tac. Hist. i. 43.

²⁹³ Mart. i. 71, 3. (Note 262.)

⁴ Non multo ante urbem captam exaudita vox est a luco Vestae, qui a Palatii radice in novam viam devexus est. Cicero de Div. i. 45.

⁵ Servius ad Aen. xi. 206. Vicino a Sta. Maria Liberatrice, dove vogliono che fosse il Tempio di Vesta, sono stati ritrovati da' duodeci sepolcri di virgini Vestali colle loro iscrizioni. H. Aldroandus, Memorie, n. 3. Lucio Fauno, Antich. di Rom. p. 46 ; Andr. Fulv. de Urb. Antiq. p. 206. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 223) See more as to the Nova Via and the Grove of Vesta, in Chapter IX.

⁶ Ἐπει δὲ διεκόσμησε τὰς ἱερωσύνας, εἰδείματο πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥηγίαν, οἷόν τι βασιλεῖον οἴκημα. Plutarch. Num. 14.

and the residence of the Pontifex Maximus. The north-east side of this building was in the Sacra Via.

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The site of the Regia, close to the Temple of Vesta, and the houses of the Vestals, and at the spot where the Sacra Via left the Forum, is one of the clearest points of Roman topography. Servius describes it as at the bottom of the slope of the Palatine, and on the limits of the Forum.²⁹⁷ That it abutted on the Sacred Way appears from the passage of Festus, in which he explains that the Sacred Way in its ordinary sense was the road leading from the Regia to the house of the Rex Sacrificulus, and from Suetonius's description of the Regia as the residence of Caesar, where it is said that he lived in the Sacred Way.⁸ That it was close to the Temple of Vesta is shown by the statement of Solinus cited below, and by other authorities;⁹ and it appears from a passage in Dio Cassius, hereafter to be mentioned, that it actually adjoined the buildings devoted to the use of the Vestals.³⁰⁰ The group of objects collected at this point is depicted in three lines of Ovid :

Site of the
Regia.

Numa (habitavit) in colle primum Quirinali, deinde propter aedem Vestae in Regia, quae adhuc ita appellatur. Solinus Polyhist. 1.

²⁹⁷ Quis enim ignorat Regiam, ubi Numa habitaverit, in radicibus Palatii finibusque Romani fori esse. Servius in Aen. viii. 363.

⁸ Festus, ed. Müll. p. 293; Sueton. Jul. 46. (Note 311). See Chapter VIII. on the Sacred Way.

⁹ Solinus 1. (Note 296); Plutarch. Rom. 18, Num. 14.

³⁰⁰ Dio Cass. liv. 27. (Note 318.)

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Haec est a sacris quae via nomen habet ;
 Hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem ;
 Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.³⁰¹

Atrium
 Vestae, a
 part of the
 Regia.

The Atrium Vestae is treated by Servius as something distinct from the Regia,² but he is not supported by more reliable authorities. When Livy records the destruction by fire, B.C. 210, and the subsequent rebuilding of the Atrium Regium, he must be understood to speak of the entire Regia, including the Atrium.³ And Ovid expressly identifies the Atrium Vestae with the palace of Numa.

Hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestae,
 Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.⁴

Atrium
 Vestae.

The Atrium of the house of the Pontifex had a specially sacred character. It was probably the place of meeting of the pontifical college,⁵ and appears to have been a *templum*, consecrated by augury. Servius implies this by saying that the Senate met in the Atrium Vestae, but it can scarcely have been large enough to be convenient for this purpose. The scanty area of the whole

³⁰¹ Ovid. Trist. iii. 1. 28.

² Servius ad Aen. vii. 153. (Note 282.)

³ Liv. xxvi. 27. (Note 132); xxvii. 11. (Note 133.)

⁴ Ovid. Fast. vi. 263. In later times, when the Regia was added to the Virgins' house, the latter was called Atrium Vestae. See p. 125

⁵ Nam quum (Domitianus) Corneliã Maximillã Vestalem defodere vivã concupisset, . . . reliquos pontifices non in Regiam, sed in Albanã villã convocavit. Plin. Ep. iv. 11. It is not clear

building is more than once alluded to by Ovid, and is sufficiently manifest on the ground. That it was, however, a *templum*, seems the more probable, as the Atrium of the imperial house on the Palatine, which replaced the Regia as the residence of the Pontifex Maximus, was inaugurated, and used for the assemblies of the Senate.³⁰⁶

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In the Regia, probably in the Atrium, was a Sacrarium, in which were preserved some sacred weapons called Hastae Martis, which, like the Ancilia, were believed to be sometimes stirred by a supernatural power when a special expiatory ceremony was required. A decree of the Senate has been preserved by Gellius, which was made upon the report of this wonder occurring during the pontificate of Caesar;⁷ and the same prodigy was repeated at his death.⁸ There was also in the Regia a Sacrarium of the goddess Opeconsiva, into which only the Vestals and the Pontifex were admitted.⁹

Sacrarium
in the
Regia.

Hastae
Martis.

whether Pliny means the original Regia, or the substituted Atrium of the imperial palace. See next Note.

³⁰⁶ Idcirco etiam in Palatii Atrio quod augurato conditum est, apud maiores consulebatur senatus. Servius ad Aen. xi. 232. Tac. Ann. ii. 37.

⁷ Eius rei causa senatus consultum factum est . . . QVOD. C. IVLIVS. L. F. PONTIFEX. MAXIMVS. NVNCIAVIT. IN. SACRARIO. IN. REGIA. HASTAS. MARTIAS. MOVISSE. DE. EA. RE. ISTA. CENSVERVNT. VTI. etc. Gell. iv. 6. Julius Obseq. 96, 104, 107, 110.

⁸ Dio Cass. xlv. 17.

⁹ Opeconsiva dies ab dea Opeconsiva, quouis in Regia sacrarium,

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Caesar's
residence at
the Regia.

As the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, the Regia was during the greater part of his public life the home of Julius Caesar.³¹⁰ Here took place the scandalous intrusion of Clodius at the festival of the Bona Dea, which induced Caesar to divorce his wife Pompeia, though he refused to assist in bringing Clodius to punishment, alleging as his reason for the divorce, that his wife must be above suspicion.¹ Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, alludes to a visit paid by the latter to the Regia, when, after the battle of Pharsalus, it had become a necessity to court Caesar's pardon or protection.² From this house he set forth on the fatal Ides of March, alarmed, according to the stories that were afterwards current, by his wife Calpurnia's dreams, and by other evil omens;³ and hither his lifeless body was brought back from the Curia of Pompey.⁴

Nothing is known of the architecture of the

quod ideo actum ut eo praeter virgines Vestales et sacerdotem publicum introeat nemo. IS CVM EAT, SUFFIBVLVM HAVD HABEAT, scriptum. Varro L. L. vi. 3 (57).

³¹⁰ Habitavit primo in Subura modicis aedibus: post autem pontificatum maximum in Sacra via domo publica. Sueton. Jul. 46.

¹ Plutarch. Caes. 10.

² Visum te aiunt in Regia; nec reprehendo, quippe quum ipse istam reprehensionem non fugerim . . . Caesar mihi ignoscit per literas, quod non venerim. Cic. ep. ad Att. x. 3.

³ Plutarch. Caes. 63; Sueton. Jul. 81; Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 115.

⁴ Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 118.

Regia, except that it was surmounted in the time of Julius by a fastigium, or pediment, which was erected by the Senate in order to add to the dignity of the dictator's house. It was one of the ominous dreams of Calpurnia that this pediment fell down.³¹⁵

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Fastigium
of the
Regia.

Caesar was succeeded as Pontifex Maximus by Lepidus, upon whose death, B.C. 13, Augustus assumed the office, which was afterwards always filled by the emperors. Augustus did not occupy the Regia, but made part of his house on the Palatine public, to satisfy the law or custom that required the Pontifex Maximus to live in a house belonging to the state. The new palace included, as we know from Ovid, a temple or chapel of Vesta, and probably a Sacrarium in substitution for that of the Regia. The Atrium was inaugurated, and probably served the same purposes as the ancient Atrium Vestae.

Removal
of the
Pontifex
from the
Regia.

Phoebus habet partem, Vestae pars altera cessit,
Quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.

³¹⁵ Quem is (Caesar) maiorem honorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Cic. Phil. ii. 43.

Omnes unum in principem congesti honores . . . suggestus in curia, fastigium in domo. Florus, iv. 2.

Et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est, conlabi fastigium domus. Sueton. Jul. 81.

Ἄλλὰ ἦν γάρ τι τῇ Καίσαρος οἰκίᾳ προσκείμενον οἶον ἐπὶ κόσμῳ καὶ σεμνότητι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀκρωτήριον, ὡς Λίβιος ἱστορεῖ· τοῦτο ὄναρ ἢ Καλπουρνία θεασαμένη καταρρηγνόμενον, ἔδοξε ποτνιαῖσθαι καὶ δακρύειν. Plutarch. Caes. 63.

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State Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
Stet domus : aeternos tres habet uua deos.¹¹⁶

The dedication of the Sacrum of Vesta in the house of Augustus during the consulship of Quirinius and Valgius, B.C. 12, is mentioned in one of the Fasti.⁷

Later
history of
the Regia.

The Regia, being vacated by the Pontifex, was used to provide additional room for the Vestals. The authority for this statement is Dio, who says that Augustus gave up the house of the βασιλεὺς τῶν ἱερῶν to the Virgins, because it adjoined theirs.⁸ The house here spoken of, in spite of the doubtful description of the office to which it had been attached, could be no other than the Regia, since the house of the Rex Sacrificulus was at the other end of the Sacra Via.⁹ The fact is indirectly confirmed by Suetonius, who alludes to Augustus having added to the accommodation of the

¹¹⁶ Ovid. Fast. iv. 951.

Vestaque Caesareos inter sacrata penates.

Ovid. Metam. xv. 864.

⁷ Fast. Praen. iv. Kal. Mai. (Becker, Handb. i. 236.)

⁸ Ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ Δεπίδου μεταλλαζάντος ἀρχιερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη . . . οὐτ' οἰκίαν τινὰ δημοσίαν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ μέρος τι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἀρχιερεὺν ἔν κοινῷ πάντως οἰκεῖν ἔχρην, ἐδήμωσε. τὴν μέντοι τοῦ βασιλείως τῶν ἱερῶν ταῖς ἀειπαρθένους ἔδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ ὁμότοιχος ταῖς οἰκήσεσιν αὐτῶν ἦν. Dio Cass. liv. 27.

⁹ Festus, ed. Müll. p. 293. See Chapter VIII. The name, Regia, seems to have given rise to the idea that it had formerly been the residence of the Rex Sacrificulus. Domus enim in qua Pontifex habitat Regia dicitur, quod in ea Rex Sacrificulus habitare consuesset. Servius ad Aen. viii. 363. Ib. ii. 57; Paul. Diac. in Fest. ed. Müll. p. 279.

Vestals.³²⁰ The house previously devoted to them was no doubt scanty, according to the more luxurious ideas of the imperial time, and from its position it could not be otherwise enlarged. It is probably in consequence of this change that Martial in the passage lately quoted, in which he describes the objects between the Temple of Castor and the Sacred Way, mentions the Virgins' house, but altogether omits the Regia.¹

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From this time, therefore, the Regia became part of the house of the Vestals, and the term *Atrium Vestae* appears to have been used in the time of the younger Pliny and of Gellius as a general name for the Virgins' residence.² But it seems that the name of Regia was not forgotten; Plutarch speaks of the Regia as existing in his day, and Solinus (probably early in the third century) describes the building as still known by its old name.³ Pliny mentions two statues placed before the Regia, which were believed to have once

Atrium
Vestae.

³²⁰ Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem, sed et commoda auxit, praecipue Vestalium virginum. Sueton. Aug. 31.

¹ Martial. Ep. i. 71, 3. Compare Ovid. Trist. iii. 1, 28. See before, pp. 110, 120.

² Angit me a Fanniae valetudo. Contraxit hanc dum assidet Iuniae virgini Vestali, sponte primum, est enim affinis, deinde etiam ex auctoritate pontificum; nam virgines, cum vi morbi atrio Vestae coguntur excedere, matronarum curae custodiaeque mandantur. Plin. Epist. vii. 19.

Virgo autem Vestalis, simul est capta atque in atrium Vestae deducta et pontificibus tradita, . . . e patris potestate exit. Gellius, i. 12.

³ Plutarch. Rom. 18. Solinus, i. (Note 297.) Serv. ad Aen. viii. 363. (Note 298.) Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 148. (Note 362.)

CHAP.

III

Arch of
Fabius.

supported the tent of Alexander the Great. Two others were before the Temple of Mars Ultor.³²³

The Sacred Way, at the point where it entered the Forum, after passing the Regia, was spanned by the Fornix Fabius, one of the earliest of a class of monuments which were afterwards so numerous at Rome, and in imperial times were multiplied to satiety.⁴ This commemorative arch was erected by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, consul B.C. 121, by means of the plunder gained in his campaign against the Allobroges and Arverni, tribes of Gaul. The prominence of this monument made it a frequent subject of allusion in ancient authors. Cicero reports a saying of Crassus about Memmius, that he thought himself so great a man, that he could not come down into the Forum without stooping his head at the Arch of Fabius.⁵ The site of this arch at the entrance of the Forum is here indicated, as is its position at the bottom of the Sacra Via by another allusion of Cicero, where he says, that, when he is hustled in a crowd and pushed against the

³²³ Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 18, ad fin.

⁴ *Ianos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum tantos ac tot extruxit (Domitianus), ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit, arci (ἀρκεί).* Sueton. Dom. 15. The earliest arches of this kind appear to have been those of L. Stertinius, who erected three, two in the Forum Boarium and one in the Circus Maximus, B.C. 196, and that of Scipio Africanus, B.C. 190, in the Capitol. Liv. xxxiii. 27; xxxvii. 3.

⁵ *Ut tu, Crasse, in concione, ita sibi ipsum magnum videri Memmium, ut in forum descendens caput ad fornitem Fabii demitteret.* Cic. de Orat. ii. 66.

Fabian Arch, he does not find fault with a person at the top of the Sacra Via, but with the man who runs against him.³²⁶ An ancient commentator on Cicero describes the arch as close to the Regia in the Sacra Via, and speaks of a statue of Fabius Allobrox placed on or near it.⁷

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In the immediate vicinity of the Arch of Fabius was a monument of a somewhat mysterious character, which is often alluded to by ancient authors, called the Puteal Scribonianum or Puteal Libonis. It seems to have been a circular structure with an aperture in the top which it was forbidden to close.⁸ It thus resembled a well-head, whence its name, and is so represented upon coins of the family of the Scribonii Libones, by one of whom it was probably erected.⁹ According to

Puteal
Libonis.

³²⁶ Hoc tamen miror, cur tu huic potissimum irascere, qui longissime a te abfuit. Equidem, si quando, ut fit, iactor in turba, non illum accuso qui est in summa Sacra via, quum ego ad Fabium fornicem impellor, sed eum qui in me ipsum incurrit atque incidit. Cic. pro Plancio. 7.

⁷ Fornix Fabianus arcus est iuxta Regiam in Sacra via, a Fabio censore constructus qui a devictis Allobrogibus Allobrox cognominatus est, ibique statua eius posita propterea est. Pseudo-Ascon. ad Cic. Verr. i. 7.

⁸ [Scribonianum ap]pellatur ante atria [puteal, quod fecit Scri] bonius, cui negotium da[tum a senatu fuerat ut] conquireret sacella at[acta, isque illud pro]curavit, quia in eo loco [attactum fulmine] sacellum fuit. Quod igno[raverunt contegere] ut quidam, fulgur conditum [quod cum scitur, quia ne]fas est integri: semper forami[ne ibi aper]to coelum patet. Festus, ed. Müll. p. 333. The words in brackets were supplied by Scaliger and Ursinus.

⁹ See Smith's Dict. Biogr. art. Libo, where there is a representation of the coin.

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Festus it was originally a *fulguritum*, or spot struck by lightning.³³⁰ The allusions to it in classical literature are associated with indebtedness or litigation, and have been explained by some commentators by supposing that it was a rendezvous for usurers, while others assert that it was the site of the praetor's tribunal.¹

Cicero describes the Consul Gabinius as a man ruined by the Puteal and by herds of usurers.² Horace, in the character of a disciple of Cratinus, who believed in an intimate association between poetry and wine, commends the Forum, and this spot in particular, to the advocates of temperance.

Ennius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus ad arma
Prosiluit dicenda. Forum putealque Libonis
Mandabo siccis.³

On another occasion his own presence was required at the Puteal, to assist a friend.

Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.⁴

The Puteal and its topography have given rise

Another
Puteal in
the Comi-
tium.

³³⁰ Festus, ed Müll. 333. (Note 328.)

¹ Locus Romae ad quem veniebant feneratoris; alii dicunt in quo tribunal solebat esse praetoris. Acro ad Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 34.

Ad puteal Scribonis Licinii, quod est in portica Iulia ad Fabianum arcum feneratoris consistere solebant. Schol. ad Pers. Sat. iv. 49.

Puteal autem Libonis sedes praetoris fuit prope arcum Fabianum, dictum quod a Libone illic primum tribunal et subsellia collocata sint. Porphyrio ad Hor. Ep. i. 19. 8.

² Puteali et feneratorum gregibus inflatus atque percussus. Cic. pro Sextio 8.

³ Hor. Ep. i. 19, 8.

⁴ Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 34.

to considerable controversy, owing to the fact that there was in the Comitium a spot so called, where, according to the old story, the razor and whetstone of Attius Navius were buried.³³⁵ Hence it has been supposed that the Puteal Libonis was in the Comitium.⁶ There seems, however, to be strong evidence for placing the Puteal of Libo in this eastern corner of the Forum, and therefore for concluding that it was altogether distinct from the Puteal of the Comitium. Festus describes it as before the Atria, by which we may suppose he means the Atrium or Atria Vestae;⁷ Porphyrio, a commentator on Horace, says it was near the Arch of Fabius, and an ancient scholiast on Persius places it in the Porticus Julia at the Arch of Fabius.⁸ This Porticus, if it had any real existence, may have been either a part of the temple of Divus Julius, or more probably a covered way between that building and the Regia.⁴⁰

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Site of the
Puteal
Libonis.

Porticus
Julia.

With respect to the praetor's tribunal having been at the Puteal Libonis, there is some difficulty in the apparent want of space for the accommo-

Site of the
praetor's
tribunal.

³³⁵ Cic. de divin. i. 17; Liv. i. 36; Dionys. iii. 71. See Chapter IV.

⁶ Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. 280.

⁷ Festus, ed. Müll. p. 333. (Note 328.)

⁸ Porphyrio ad Hor. Ep. i. 19, 8; Schol. ad Pers. Sat. iv. 49. (Note 331.)

⁴⁰ Another Porticus Julia has been imagined, but probably had no existence as distinct from the Basilica Julia, which was called in Greek *στοὰ Ἰουλία*, and which appears to be referred to by Suetonius as the Porticus basilicae Gai et Luci. See Notes 101 and 106; Becker, Handbuch, i. 339, note 628.

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dation of a court of justice. We have no contemporary author who bears witness directly to the fact ; and of the two known commentators who mention it, it is remarkable that the earlier, Acro, speaks of it with doubt, while the later, Porphyrio, asserts it without hesitation, adding that Libo was the first to place the tribunal and benches there.²⁴¹ The same assertion is repeated by another ancient scholiast, probably on the authority of Porphyrio.² The direct evidence does not appear very strong ; and the extent of the locality is unfavourable. On the other hand, the inconvenience of a limited space must have been more or less common to all the ancient tribunals of the Forum ; and the supposition of the praetor's tribunal being held at the Puteal furnishes the most consistent explanation, not only of the two allusions of Horace already cited, but also of another well-known passage of the same poet, which seems to imply the existence of some court of justice in the immediate neighbourhood of the Temple of Vesta.

Ventum erat ad Vestae quarta iam parte diei
Praeterita; et casu tunc respondere vadato
Debebat, quod ni fecisset perdere litem.
Si me amas, inquit, paulum hic ades. Inteream si
Aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura.³

²⁴¹ Acro ad Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 34; Porphyrio ad Hor. Ep. i. 19, 8. (Note 331.)

² Schol. Cruq. ad Hor. Ep. i. 19, 8.

³ Hor. Sat. i. 9. 35.

The existence of a praetor's tribunal in this post would also account for its association with usurers, since this class of creditors would have frequent recourse to the jurisdiction of the praetor.

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III.
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The connexion of the Roman money-lenders with the Forum is part of the history of both. It was in the Forum that the banking business of Rome was carried on.³⁴⁴ Here loans were contracted, and interest paid; and it was here that the repayment of the debt, in case of default, was enforced by legal proceedings. Hence the frequent allusions in classical writers to the *fenestratores* of the Forum. Marsyas is associated in the mind of Horace with the usurer Novius.⁵ The Puteal was a place at which a nobleman might be ruined, or at which a friend's security was required.⁶ The Veteres in Plautus's day were thronged with money-lenders;⁷ and in the time of Cicero and of Horace the great money market of Rome was on the other side of the Mid Forum, at the place called Janus Medius.⁸ It was probably on account of this character of the Forum

Roman
money-
lenders.

³⁴⁴ Τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν . . . πωλῶν ἀναφανδὸν ἠρίθμει τὴν τιμὴν διὰ τραπεζῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ κειμένης. Plutarch, Sull. 8; Liv. vii. 21; (Note 350); Cic. Off. ii. 25.

⁵ Hor. Sat. i. 6. 120; (Note 157); Schol. Acron. ad Hor. ib. (Note 158.)

⁶ Cic. pro Sextio, 8; (Note 332); Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 34; (Note 334.)

⁷ Plautus, Curcul. iv. 1. (Note 97.)

⁸ Cic. Off. ii. 25; Cic. Phil. vi. 5; Hor. Sat. iii. 18. See further in Chapter VI.

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III.
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that Cato the Censor, who professed a great hatred of usury, wished it paved with shells.³⁴⁹ On one of the several occasions on which the distress of debtors demanded a public remedy (B.C. 352), five magistrates were created who were called *Mensarii*, on account of the tables which were placed for them in the Forum, and supplied with cash from the public treasury for the liquidation of debts upon security.⁵⁰

Usury
illegal.

Although by the Twelve Tables a legal rate of interest, at twelve per cent., was recognised, an attempt was subsequently made by the *Genucian Law* (B.C. 342), confirmed by the *Sempronian Law* (B.C. 194), to prevent the oppression of debtors by forbidding usury altogether.¹ It need scarcely be said that these laws were ineffectual, and tended to increase the mischief which they proposed to cure. Before the close of the Republic an established rate of interest was again recognised by custom, if not by law. During the intermediate period usurers were subject to prosecution, and money was occasionally raised for religious or public purposes by imposing fines upon the whole class, or a considerable number of them.² The usurers, how-

³⁴⁹ Cic. Off. ii. 25; Plin. N. H. xix. 6. (Note 190.)

⁵⁰ *Tarda enim nomina . . . aerarium mensis cum aere in foro positis dissolvit, ut populo caveretur.* Liv. vii. 21. Compare Tac. Ann. vi. 17.

¹ Tac. Ann. vi. 16.

² Liv. x. 23; xxiv. 16; xxxv. 41; Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 6.

ever, continued a numerous body, and their indispensableness or their influence with powerful customers was generally sufficient to shield them from attack. Enjoying a practical immunity, they naturally resented with bitterness any suggestion to revive the old laws. Ap-
 pian relates an event which shows how strong and unscrupulous a body the usurers were, and at the same time presents a picture of the Forum in some respects singular. In or about B.C. 89, some persons having a grudge against the money-lenders proposed to put in force the laws against usury ; Asellio, the praetor, to the dismay of the defendants, appointed a day for trial. Shortly afterwards, as he was sacrificing at the Temple of Castor, he was surrounded by a mob of usurers, and attacked at first with a stone. Throwing down his patera, he fled and tried to take refuge in the Temple of Vesta ; but his escape in this direction was cut off, and he was pursued into an inn or tavern, and assassinated. Though this crime was committed in the morning, and in the midst of the Forum, and rewards were offered by the Senate for information, with promise of impunity to accomplices, it was found impossible to detect the murderers, so powerful was the influence of the usurers over their own class and others.³⁵³

CHAP.
 III.
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Assassin-
 ation of
 Asellio.

³⁵³ Οἱ δανείσται δὲ, χαλεπήναντες ὅτι τὸν νόμον παλαιὸν ὄντα ἀνεκαίριζε, κτείνουσιν αὐτὸν ὡδε. Ὁ μὲν ἔθηκε τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τοῦ πλήθους ὡς ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ περιστάντος. ἐνὸς δὲ λίθου τοπρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφελέντος,

CHAP
III.Inn in the
Forum.

This narrative contains the only notice, so far as the writer is aware, of any inn or tavern in the Forum. It is not easy to find room, either in its area or in its circuit, for such an establishment. The *tabernae* described in the last chapter were too small and narrow to furnish accommodation for a place of public entertainment. The only part of the circuit of the Forum not known to be occupied by public buildings was on the north side of the Sacred Way, near the Arch of Fabius and the later Temple of Faustina; and the course taken by Asellio in his attempt to escape from the mob of money-lenders rather points in this direction. A house with three shops overlooking the Forum existed as late as the reign of Nero, and was the property of Salvidienus Orfitus.³⁵⁴ This house was probably in the same corner of the Forum, and may possibly have been the inn of the preceding century.

House of
Salvidi-
enus.Temple of
Julius.

In front of the site of the Regia, and opposite to the eastern portion of the steps of the Temple of Castor, is the ruin of a building which seems to have vied with that temple itself, not in extent of

ἔρριψε τὴν φιάλην, καὶ ἐς τὸ Ἑστίας ἱερὸν ἴερο δρόμῳ· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν προλαβόντες τε ἀπέκλεισαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ καταφυγόντα ἐς τι πανδοχεῖον ἐσφάζαν· πολλοὶ τε τῶν διωκόντων ἐς τὰς παρθενούς αὐτὸν ἠγούμενοι καταφυγεῖν, ἐσέδραμον ἔνθα μὴ θέμις ἦν ἀνδράσιν. Οὕτω μὲν Ἀσελλίων . . . ἀμφὶ δευτέραν ὥραν ἐσφάζετο ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ παρὰ ἱεροῖς. Appian. Bell Civ. i. 54.

³⁵⁴ Salvidieno Orfito obiectum est, quod tabernas tres de domo sua circa forum civitatibus ad stationem locasset. Sueton. Nero, 37.

area, but in the height of the artificial platform upon which it was raised.³⁵⁵ The rude nucleus of the podium, formed of brick, tufa, and cement, is unfortunately all that remains of an edifice which from its situation and other indications we identify as the temple erected in honour of the first deified Roman of historical times.

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—

*Ille quidem coelo positus Iovis atria servat,
Et tenet in magno templa dicata foro.*⁶

The temple itself appears to have occupied a part only of the large platform which has been uncovered, and to have faced towards the Mid Forum and Capitol. This orientation recalls the allusion to this temple which Ovid places in the mouth of Jupiter :

*Ut semper Capitolia nostra forumque
Divus ab excelsa prospectet Julius aede;*⁷

while the view it commanded of the neighbouring Temple of Castor on the left agrees with another passage of the same poet, where he compares the youthful Caesars, Germanicus and Drusus, sharing in their father's triumph, to the twin gods :

*Fratribus assimiles, quos proxima templa tenentes,
Divus ab excelsa Julius aede videt.*⁸

³⁵⁵ When on the spot I roughly estimated the height of the highest part of the bases of these two temples to be about twenty-two feet above the intervening paved space.

⁶ Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 703.

⁷ Ovid. *Metamerph.* xv. 841.

⁸ Ovid. *Ep. ex Ponto.* ii. 2. 85.

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It is remarkable how the singular height of the artificial level of this temple, the only characteristic which the ruin has preserved for us, justifies Ovid's repeated epithet.

The identification of the site is confirmed by its vicinity to the Regia, where Appian places the Temple of Julius,³⁵⁹ and by its position directly in front of the equestrian statue of Domitian.

Hic obvia limina pandit,
Qui fessus bellis adscitae munere prolis
Primus iter nostris ostendit in aethera divis.⁶⁰

Temple of
Julius on
the spot
where his
body was
burnt.

The temple of which we see the remains was that of which Dio Cassius records the design, B.C. 42, in the early period of the triumvirate of M. Antonius, Lepidus, and Augustus, and which is said by that historian to have been intended to be placed on the spot where Caesar's body was burnt.¹ This account of the previous associations of the site agrees with the statement of Appian, that the burning of Caesar's body took place before the Regia, where in the historian's time the temple stood;² but is not easily reconciled with other authors, who speak of the burning of the

³⁵⁹ Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 148. (Note 362.)

⁶⁰ Statius, Silv. i. 1. 22. (Note 168.) See before, p. 77.

¹ Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκείνοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐποίουν . . . καὶ ἡρώων οἱ ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐκείαντο προκατεβάλλοντο. Dio Cass. xlvii. 18.

² Ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐθις ἔθεσαν (τὸ λέχος τοῦ Καίσαρος), ἐνθα τὸ πάλαι Ῥωμαίους ἐστὶ βασιλείων . . . Ἐνθα βιωμὸς πρῶτος ἐτέθη, νῦν δὲ ἐστὶ νεὼς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος. Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 148.

body before the Rostra.³⁶³ This difficulty will be further noticed in discussing the history of the Rostra.⁴

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On the site of the cremation the partisans of the dictator very soon after placed a column, which Suetonius describes as of Numidian marble, nearly twenty feet high, and inscribed PARENTI PATRIAE. The person principally instrumental in this act of veneration was C. Amatius, who assumed the name of Marius, and represented himself as the grandson of C. Marius and so a kinsman of Caesar. Before the column appears to have been an altar, which was for some time the centre of an irregular worship.⁵ After Amatius had been put to death by Antonius, the column and altar were removed by the other consul, Dolabella, the son-in-law of Cicero, who was so delighted with Dolabella's proceedings on this emergency that he was ready to forgive at once all his previous offences both public and private.⁶ The

Column
and altar
on the
same site.

³⁶³ Caesaris corpus quum in campum Martium ferretur, a plebe ante Rostra crematum est. Liv. Epitom. 116; cf. Sueton. Iul. 84.

⁴ See Chapter V.

⁵ Plebs . . . postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit, scripsitque: Parenti Patriae. Apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseveravit. Sueton. Iul. 85; Cic. Ep. div. xi. 2. (Note 368.)

⁶ Ἀμάτιος ἦν ὁ ψευδομάρτιος . . . γιγνόμενος οὖν διὰ τήνδε τὴν ὑπόκρισιν συγγενὴς τῷ Καίσαρι, ὑπερήλγει μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεθνεώτος καὶ βωμῶν ἐπιφοδόμει τῇ πυρᾷ. Appian. Bell. Civ. iii. 2. Dio Cass. xlix. 51.

⁶ O mirificum Dolabellam meum: iam enim dico meum, antea, crede mihi, subdubitabam. Magnam ἀναθεώρησιν res habet; de

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populace met in the Forum, and demanded the restoration of the altar and an act of worship by the magistrates, but they were dispersed by the authorities and several of their leaders executed, the slaves being crucified, and the citizens being hurled from the Tarpeian Rock.⁶⁷ Later in the year there seems to have been another proposal to replace the altar, before the departure of Antonius from the city; but it is probable that nothing further was done at this time.⁶⁸ The temple, which was designed by the triumvirs in the following year or the year after, was erected on the same spot.⁶⁹ In the monument of Ancyra the Aedes Divi Juli is claimed as a work of Augustus.⁷⁰

Architec-
ture of
temple of
Julius.

I have already mentioned that this temple, which

saxo; in cruce[m]; columnam tollere; locum illum sternendum locare. Cic. ad Attic. xiv. 15.

Liberatus caedis periculo post paucos dies Senatus: uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui in C. Marii nomen invaserat. Atque haec omnia communiter cum collega; alia porro propria Dolabellae . . . Nam quum serperet in urbe infinitum malum . . . iidemque bustum in foro facerent, qui illam insepultam sepulturam effecerint . . . talis animadversio fuit Dolabellae quam in audaces sceleratosque servos tam in impuros et nefarios liberos; talisque eversio illius exsecratae columnae, etc. Cic. Phil. i. 2.

⁶⁷ Τὴν ἀγορὰν οὖν καταλαβόντες ἐβόων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευον ἀντὶ Ἀματίου τὸν βωμὸν ἐκθεοῦν καὶ θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρι πρῶτους . . . καὶ συλληφθέντες ἕτεροι ἐκρεμάσθησαν ὅσοι θεράποντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθεροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημοῦ κατερρίφησαν. Appian. Bell. Civ. iii. 3; Cic. Phil. i. 2. (Note 366.)

⁶⁸ Putesne nos tutos fore in tanta frequentia militum veteranorum, quos etiam de reponenda ara cogitare audimus. Brutus et Cassius Antonio. in Cic. Ep. div. xi. 2.

⁶⁹ Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 148 (Note 362.)

⁷⁰ ΑΕΔΕΜ ΔΙΥΙ ΙΥΛΙ . . . FΕCΙ. Mon. Ancyr.

in the Trajan monument is represented by mistake with a portico of five Corinthian columns, appears upon some medals of Augustus and Hadrian as a tetrastyle temple. Vitruvius mentions it as an example of a pycnostyle building, that is, having columns placed at short distances from each other.³⁷¹

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The temple appears to have stood on the hinder or south-eastern part of the artificial platform, having in front of it, at a lower level, a broad terrace about sixty feet wide and thirty feet deep, approached by two flights of steps, one on each side. This spacious terrace was used as a suggestum or platform for public speaking, a destination which was so completely recognised that its face was ornamented with the beaks of Egyptian ships taken at the battle of Actium,² in allusion to the time-honoured decoration of the ancient Rostra of the Comitium and Forum. Looking more closely at the remains of this terrace, we find that a portion, nearly semicircular in form, of about fifteen feet radius, appears to have been built separately from the rest, and to

Rostra
Julia.

³⁷¹ Pycnostylos est cuius intercolumnio unius et dimidiatae columnae crassitudo interponi potest, quemadmodum est divi Iulii, et in Caesaris foro Veneris, et si quae aliae sic sunt compositae. Vitruv. iii. 2. Becker (Handbuch, vol. i. p. 336); citing Vitruvius, states that this temple was *peripteros pycnostylos*, and this has been repeated by some other authors; but I find no authority in Vitruvius for supposing it to have been peripteral, which would be inconsistent with the evidence of its being tetrastyle. Becker anticipated very correctly the two flights of steps with the terrace between them.

² Dio Cass. li. 19. (Note 374.)

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III.

BAS-RELIEF OF AURELIUS.

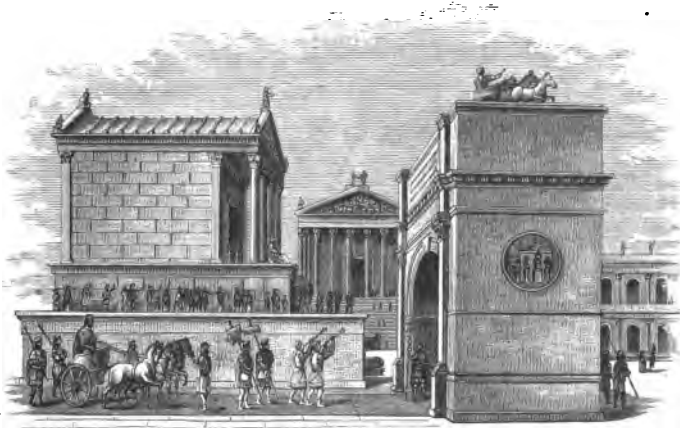
have either existed previously or been a subsequent addition. No satisfactory explanation of this singular construction has yet been given. It has been suggested that the existence of the Rostra at or near this spot was anterior to that of the temple, but there is no good ground for such a supposition.

This terrace was frequently used at the public funerals of the imperial family.³⁷³

Arch of
Augustus.

Near the Temple of Divus Julius was a triumphal arch, erected in honour of Augustus, which probably spanned the Sacra Via, where that road was continued from the Regia through the Forum, just before it turned in the direction of the Temple of Castor. Dio mentions two occasions on which this honour was decreed to Augustus, once after the battle of Actium, and afterwards on the recovery of the standards taken by the Parthians. On the first occasion an arch was placed in the Forum; the site of the second arch (if another was erected) is not men-

³⁷³ See Chapter V. on the History of the Rostra.



TEMPLE OF JULIUS AND ARCH OF AUGUSTUS.

tioned.³⁷⁴ The position of the arch near the Temple of Julius is mentioned by an obscure commentator on Virgil.⁵ It is this arch and the Temple of Divus Julius that are represented in the bas-relief of the triumph of Marcus Aurelius now preserved in the capitol, as well as on the monument of Trajan in the Forum.⁶ The arch appears to have been of a simple type, somewhat similar to that known as the Arch of Drusus, with a single opening and one column or pilaster on each side. The several arches now remaining at Rome enable us to observe the successive elabo-

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III.

Arch of
Augustus
and
Temple of
Julius in
bas relief
of Au-
relius.

³⁷⁴ Καὶ ἀψίδα τροπαιοφόρον ἐν τε τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ρωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾷ ἔδωκαν· τὴν τε κρηπίδα τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἡρώου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν νεῶν ἐμβόλοις κοσμηθῆναι. Dio Cass. li. 19.

Καὶ ἀψίδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη. Dio Cass. liv. 8.

⁵ Mai. Interpret. Virg. Aen. vii. 6, viii. 666. (Note 153.) A triumphal arch appears on medals of Augustus, with the legend, CIVIS . ET . SIGN . MILIT . A . PART . RECVP . and on another with the simple legend, IMP . CAESAR .

⁶ See before, p. 68.

CHAP.
III.
—Meeting
of the
Comitia
Tributa
in the
Forum.

ration of design introduced into this species of monument, from the arch of Drusus to that of Titus, and from the latter to that of Constantine.

The space before the Temple of Castor, occupied in part by the monuments last described, was before their erection the least incumbered part of the open area, and was, not improbably, the place of meeting of the *Comitia tributa* when assembled in the Forum.⁸⁷ For convenience in taking the suffrages of the several tribes, the space where they met was divided by *septa*, formed of posts and ropes,⁸⁸ Appian describes Octavianus, soon after his return to Rome on the death of Julius, as standing at the *septa* to canvass the voters in favour of a rogation conferring upon Antonius the command in Gaul.⁹

It should be mentioned, before leaving this part of the Forum, that in the *Curiosum*, as commonly read, a temple of Minerva occurs between those of Castor and Vesta. No trace of such a temple, or any room for it, can be found in or near the locality thus indicated.⁸⁰

⁸⁷ See before, pp. 103-105.

⁸⁸ Οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι συνεκάλουν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὴν φυλῆτιν ἐκκλησίαν, χωρὶα τῆς ἀγορᾶς περισχοινίσαντες, ἐν οἷς ἐμελλον αἱ φυλαὶ στήσεσθαι κατ' αὐτάς. Dionys vii. 59. Cic. pro Sextio, 37. (Note 246.)

⁹ Ὁ δημότης λεῶς, ἀχθόμενος τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, συνέπρασσεν ὄμως διὰ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἐφεστῶτα τοῖς περισχοινίσμασι καὶ δεόμενον. Appian. Bell. Civ. iii. 30.

⁸⁰ Basilica Julia, Templum Castorum et Minervae, Vestam. Curiosum, in Reg. viii. It may be suspected that under the words *et minervae* is concealed the notice of some other monument, possibly *lac. iuternae*; or *et iulii* may have been misread *et min.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMITIUM, THE CURIA, AND OTHER MONUMENTS
UPON THE COMITIUM.

AN attempt has been made in the three preceding chapters to identify the existing remains in that part of the Forum which has been cleared to its old level. But of some historical sites belonging to the Forum no distinct traces have yet been found. Among the most important of this class are the Comitium and the Curia, the positions of which are still to be ascertained. The investigation of these localities, and of the monuments connected with them, involves some interesting topographical questions, which it is proposed to discuss in the present chapter.

CHAP.
IV.
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The Comitium was an open space, forming part of the Forum in the larger acceptation of the latter word. In this sense the Forum included the entire public area and the monuments surrounding it; but in the present chapter the word will be generally used with a more restricted signification for the open area exclusive of the Comitium, which was probably divided from the rest of the Forum by some sort of wall or fence.³⁸¹ The Comitium commanded a good view of the

Comitium
and
Forum.

³⁸¹ Fecitque idem (Tullus Hostilius) et sepsit de manubiis comitium et curiam. Cic. Rep. ii. 17.

CHAP.
IV.
—

Forum, for when the latter was used for public spectacles the former appears to have been covered with a temporary roof, as a place for the more distinguished spectators.³⁸²

Level
of the
Comitium.

There has been some variance of opinion among antiquaries whether the ancient authorities justify the conclusion that the Comitium was on a higher level than the Forum. The passage of Livy, describing the statue of Attus Navius "in the Comitium upon the steps to the left of the Curia," has been thought to refer to steps leading from the Forum to the Comitium, and therefore to imply the greater elevation of the latter.³ But the steps referred to may possibly have been those of the Curia. An inference in favour of the higher level of the Comitium might be drawn with some probability from the paraphrase used by Dionysius for the Comitium, when he describes Romulus as placing his tribunal in "the most conspicuous part of the Forum,"⁴ and from the fact of the Comitium being used as a place for

³⁸² *Eo anno primum, ex quo Hannibal in Italiam venisset, comitium tectum esse memoriae proditum est, et ludos Romanos semel instauratos ab aedilibus curulibus.* Liv. xxvii. 36.

³ Smith, *Dict. Geog. art. Roma*, p. 777.

Statua Atti, . . . in comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit. Liv. i. 36. Compare Liv. i. 48. (Note 409)

⁴ *Χωρίον τε, ἐν ᾧ καθέζομενος ἰδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ φανερωτάτῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς (παρεσκευάκετο).* Dionys. ii. 29; Niebuhr, *Hist. Rom. (Engl. Transl.)*, vol. ii. 314, note 720. If, as there is some ground for thinking, the Hephaestum or Vulcanale of this historian is the same as the Comitium, it is distinctly placed above the level of the Forum. See further on, p. 164.

spectators when there were games given in the Forum.³⁸⁵ Niebuhr on the other hand asserts positively that the Comitium and Forum were on the same level, relying on an expression of Fronto, in which the orator, as an illustration of a trifling superiority, says, "as much as the Rostra are higher than the Forum and Comitium."⁶ The significance of this passage for the present purpose depends upon the question of the number and position of the Rostra.⁷ If, as seems likely, the Rostra of the Comitium and Forum were in Fronto's time two different structures, Niebuhr's inference of course falls to the ground. It is only as if one said, "as much as the pulpit is above the pavement at St. Paul's and Westminster."

The origin of the Comitium is probably as ancient as that of the Forum itself. Cicero attributes its establishment to Tullus Hostilius, the founder of the Curia. Plutarch believed it to be the place of meeting and agreement between Romulus and Tatius after their battle in the Forum, and to have derived its name from this circumstance.⁸

Origin of
the Comi-
tium.

³⁸⁵ The story told by Gellius about the statue of Horatius also bears on this question. See p. 164.

⁶ *Locuturumque . . . nobiscum de loco superiore, nec tantulo superiore quanto Rostra foro et Comitio excelsiora sunt, sed quanto altiores antennae sunt prora, vel potius carina. Fronto ad Antonin. lib. i. ep. 2. (p. 98, ed. Lips. 1867).* Becker is equally confident that the Comitium was not on a higher level. *Handbuch*, i. 281. It will be seen hereafter that it was situated where the ground naturally rose above the Forum. See p. 189.

⁷ See Chapter V.

⁸ *'Οπου δὲ ταῦτα συνέθεντο μέχρι νῦν Κομίτιον καλεῖται κομῖρε γάρ*

CHAP.
IV.Political
use of
Comitium.

Its political importance is indicated by its name. It was the gathering place of the primitive citizens of Rome, when the Forum was no more than a market. Hence, when the representatives of the original citizens, the *Populus* as distinguished from the *Plebs*, became an aristocratical class, the *Comitium* was the patrician, and the Forum the plebeian, place of meeting; and the *comitia curiata*, or assemblies of the *curiae*, which represented the ancient patrician body, were held in the *Comitium*.³⁸⁹ These assemblies, however, early lost their political importance, and long before the close of the Republic were summoned only for formal purposes, when the constituents were represented by the officers of the *curiae*.

Tribunals
of the
Comitium.

The *Comitium* was also the juridical centre of Rome. Hence the satirical line of Plautus,

Qui periorum convenire volt hominem mitto in Comitium.⁹⁰

The Praetor had his tribunal there.¹ The

³⁸⁹ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ συναλθεῖν καλοῦσι. Plutarch, Rom. 19. Cic. Rep. ii. 17. (Note 381.) The same story was told of the origin of the *Sacra Via*. See Chapter VIII. p. 276.

³⁹⁰ Comitium, ab eo quod coibant eo comitiis curiatis et litium causa. Varro, L. L. v. 32 (43). Comitium, locus propter Senatum, quo coire equitibus et populo Romano licet. Pseudo-Ascon. in Cic. Verr. II. i. 22. The Forum (from *fero*, φέρω) was a place to which merchandise (τὰ φορτία) was brought.

⁹⁰ Plaut. Curc. iv. 1. (Note 97.)

¹ Homo in ius vocatus . . . (ex XII. tabulis) ad praetorem in Comitium . . . effertur. A. Gell. x. 1.

C. Titius vir aetatis Lucilianae, in oratione qua legem Fanniam suavit . . . describens . . . homines prodigos in forum ad iudican-

Triumviri Capitales sat at the Maenian column to hear criminal causes, and their sentences of punishment were executed on the spot.³⁹² Livy, in describing the arraignment of M. Manlius Capitolinus before the dictator Cornelius, places the scene in the Comitium, where the dictator fixes his tribunal, surrounded by the Senate just issued from the Curia. So the consuls sit in the Comitium to hear the complaints of the legates from Locri, who prostrate themselves before the tribunal.³ In later times the civil tribunals appear to have been held in various parts of the Forum, as well as in the Comitium,⁴ and the basilicas furnished a more convenient place for the transaction of legal business.

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Some idea of the size of the Comitium and of

Forum,
Comitium,
and Curia.

dum ebrios commeantes . . . sic ait. Ludunt alea . . . ubi horae decem sunt, iubent puerum vocari ut in Comitium eat percunctatum quid in foro gestum sit . . . inde ad Comitium vadunt, ne litem suam faciant. Dum eunt, nulla est in angiporto amphora, quam non impleant, quippe qui vesicam plenam vini habeant. Veniunt in Comitium tristes; iubent dicere; quorum negotium est dicunt; iudex testes poscit; ipse it mictum. Ubi redit, ait se omnia audivisse, tabulas poscit, literas inspicit, vix prae vino sustinet palpebras. Macrob. Saturn, ii. 12.

Varro, L. L. v. 32 (43). (Note 389.) Dionys. ii. 29. (Note 384.)

³⁹² Cic. in Caecil. div. 16. Ascon. ad Cic. ib. (Note 484.) Sueton. Dom. 8. (Note 399.)

³ Postero die Senatu habito, quum satis periclitatus voluntates hominum discedere senatum ab se vetuisset, stipatus ea multitudine, sella in Comitio posita, viatorem ad M. Manlium misit. Liv. vi. 15.

Decem legati Locrensium . . . in Comitio sedentibus consulibus. . . ante tribunal . . . humi procubuerunt. Liv. xxix. 16.

⁴ See before, pp. 81, 129. Ius diligenter et industrie dixit, ple-rumque et in foro pro tribunali extra ordinem. Sueton. Dom. 8.

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its relation to the rest of the Forum on the one hand and to the Curia on the other may be formed from Livy's narrative of the excitement which prevailed at Rome after the defeats of Trasimene and Cannae. The people on the first occasion gather in the Forum, and then turn to the Comitium and Curia to demand explanations from the magistrates. In the second case the crowd is represented as collected in the Comitium, and addressing its complaints and remonstrances to the Curia, in which the Senate is assembled to hear the messengers from the Roman prisoners of war.³⁹⁵

Exhibitions in the Comitium.

The Comitium was used with the Forum for public exhibitions. Thus, in the aedileship of Julius and Bibulus, both these areas were filled with temporary galleries for the exhibition of the animals prepared for the extraordinary spectacles which were given by the aediles.⁶ So the Comitium, as well as the Forum, was decorated, probably on some public occasion of

³⁹⁵ Romae, ad primum nuntium cladis eius, cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades allata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur. Et quum frequentis concionis modo turba in Comitium et Curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem, etc. Liv. xxii. 7.

Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est, quorum princeps M. Iunius, Patres conscripti, inquit Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba quae in Comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus manusque ad Curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Liv. xxii. 59, 60.

⁶ Aedilis praeter Comitium ac forum basilicasque, etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus extractis, in quibus abundante rerum copia pars apparatus exponeretur. Sueton. in Jul. 10.

festivity, with the vast collection of pictures and statues amassed by Verres, when, according to the pathetic reproach of Cicero, the ambassadors from Greece and Asia recognised and worshipped in the Forum of Rome the images which had been torn from their native temples.³⁹⁷

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The Comitium was used as a place for the infliction of capital punishment *more majorum* as late as the reign of Domitian, who in his severities against the Vestals and their paramours ordered Cornelia to be buried alive (probably at the Colline gate),⁸ and the male criminals to be flogged to death in the Comitium.⁹ The continuance of the Comitium as a distinct locality in the time of M. Aurelius may be inferred from the passage of Fronto already mentioned.⁴⁰⁰ This is perhaps the last notice to be found of its exist-

Duration
of the
Comitium.

³⁹⁷ Dices tua quoque signa et tabulas pictas ornamento urbi foroque populi Romani fuisse. Memini, vidi simul cum populo Romano forum Comitiumque adornatum . . . vidi collucere omnia furtis tuis, praeda provinciarum, spoliis sociorum . . . casu legati ex Asia atque Achaia plurimi Romae tunc fuerunt, qui deorum simulacra ex suis fanis sublata in foro venerabantur. Cic. Verr. Actio II. i. 22.

Teque, Latona, et Apollo, et Diana, quorum iste Deli . . . sedem antiquam . . . compilavit; etiam te, Apollo, quem iste Chio sustulit: teque etiam atque etiam, Diana, quam Pergae spoliavit, etc. Cic. Verr. Act. II. v. 72.

⁸ Liv. viii. 15; Plut. Numa, 10; Serv. ad Aen. xi. 206.

⁹ Corneliam maximam Virginem . . . defodi imperavit, stupra-
toresque virgis in Comitio ad necem caedi, excepto praetorio viro. Sueton. Dom. 8.

Celer, eques Romanus, cui Cornelia obiiciebatur, cum in Comitio virgis caederetur, in hac voce perstiterat, Quid feci? nihil feci. Plin. Ep. iv. 11. Liv. xxii. 57.

⁴⁰⁰ Fronto ad Antonin. lib. 1, ep. 2. (Note 386.)

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ence. We shall see reason to believe that its form and character were in a great measure lost during the reign of Septimius Severus.

Comitium,
partly in
front of
the Curia;

Part of the Comitium was in front of the Curia, that is, between that building and the Forum.

but mostly
at the side.

But this part cannot have been more than a narrow terrace, since the ancient Rostra, which stood on the edge both of the Comitium and Forum, so that the orators were able to turn either to a patrician or to a plebeian audience,⁴⁰¹ were before the Curia and almost in contact with it.² In order therefore to find room for the Comitium, the whole extent of which, as the meeting-place of the *curiae*, must have been considerable, we are compelled to suppose its greatest area to have been at the side of the Curia. It cannot have been behind that building, as it would not then have commanded a view of the Forum.

Curia.

In telling the story of Tarpeia, Propertius associates the site of the Curia with a natural well of water.

⁴⁰¹ Cic. de Amicit. 25; Plutarch. C. Gracch. 5. (Note 540.)

² Comitium ab eo, quod coibant eo comitiis curiatis et litium causa. Curiae duorum generum; nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas, Curiae Veteres, et ubi senatus humanas, ut Curia Hostilia, quod primus aedificavit Hostilius rex. Ante hanc Rostra, quous id vocabulum, ex hostibus capta fixa sunt rostra. Sub dextra huius a Comitio locus substructus, ubi nationum subsisterent legati qui ad senatum essent missi: is Graecostasis appellatus a parte, ut multa. Senaculum supra Graecostasin, ubi aedis Concordiae et basilica Opimia. Senaculum vocatum, ubi senatus aut ubi seniores consisterent: dictum ut *γερουσία* apud Graecos. Varro, L. L. v. 32 (43). Valerius Max. ix. 5. 2. (Note 421.) Asconius ad Cic. pro Mil. 5. (Note 551.) See Chapter V. p. 199.

Lucus erat felix hederoso consitus antro,
 Multaque nativis obstrepit arbor aquis.

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* * * * *
 Murus erant montes : ubi nunc est Curia septa,
 Bellicus ex illo fonte bibebat equus.⁴⁰⁴

One is reminded of the traditional springs at Janus Geminus,⁵ and of the well in St. Peter's prison.⁶

The Curia adjoined the Comitium and was entered from it,⁷ the façade and principal doors being in the direction of the Forum,⁸ and approached by a flight of steps, which existed, according to tradition, in the earliest times.⁹ The origin of the ancient Curia was attributed to king Tullus Hostilius, whose name the building bore until its destruction at the funeral of Clodius.¹⁰

Façade of
 Curia to-
 wards the
 Forum.

Curia
 Hostilia.

One of the earliest paintings placed in a public

⁴⁰⁴ Propertius, iv. 4. 3. 13.

⁵ Varro, L. L. v. 32 (43). (Note 740.)

⁶ See pp. 6, 7.

⁷ C. Aufustius (obiit) egressus, quum in Senatum iret, offenso pede in Comitio. Plin. N. H. vii. 54; Dionys. iv. 38. (Note 409.) I assume that the Curia always stood on the same place, or in other words that the site of the Curia Hostilia and Curia Julia was identical. See this matter discussed further on, p. 153.

⁸ Dio Cass. lxxiii. 13 (Note 620); Procop. B. Goth. i. 25. (Note 639.)

⁹ Tum Tarquinius, . . . medium arripit Servium, elatumque e Curia in inferiorem partem per gradus deiicit. Liv. i. 48. Liv. i. 36. (Note 474.)

Γενόμενος δὲ ἔξω τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μετέωρον ἔξαρκίνας αἰτὼν . . . ἀναρρίπτει κατὰ τῶν κρηπίδων τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν εἰς τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον φεροσῶν. Dionys. iv. 38.

¹⁰ Principes Albanorum in Patres . . . legit . . . templumque ordini ab se aucto Curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est. Liv. i. 30. Cic. Rep. ii. 17. (Note 381.)

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—
Tabula
Valeria.

situation in Rome was on the side of the ancient Curia. It was placed there by M. Valerius Maximus Messala, consul B.C. 263, and represented the victory obtained by him over Hiero and the Carthaginians in Sicily. This picture gave its name to a known locality, which was situated between the Rostra and the Carcer. When the tribune Vatinius arrested Bibulus at the Rostra and was carrying him to the prison, the other tribunes released him at the Tabula Valeria.⁴¹¹

Curia
Hostilia
burnt.

The Curia Hostilia was destroyed at the funeral of Clodius, B.C. 52, when the populace insisted on burning his body within it, and thus set fire to the building itself. The building then destroyed had been rebuilt or considerably altered by the dictator Sulla, and the Senate committed the task of restoring it to his son Faustus Cornelius Sulla, intending it to receive the new denomination of Curia Cornelia.² The history of the Curia and its site during the ten years that followed is some-

✓
Intended
Curia
Cornelia.

⁴¹¹ M. Valerius Max. Messala . . . princeps tabulam picturae praelii, quo Carthagenienses et Hieronem in Sicilia devicerat, proposuit in latere Curiae Hostiliae. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 7.

Cum eum (Bibulum) tu consulem in vincla duceres, et a tabula Valeria collegae tui mitti iuberent, fecerisne ante Rostra pontem continuatis tribunalibus, per quem consul populi Romani . . . non in carcerem sed ad supplicium et necem duceretur? Cic. in Vatini. ix. 21.

Nam ad me P. Valerius . . . scripsit . . . quemadmodum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam ducta eases. Cic. ad Terent. (Ep. ad div. xiv. 2, 2.)

² Τό τε βουλευτήριον τῷ Φασίῳ τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου νεῖ ἀνοικοδομησαί κρείσταιζαν. ἦν μὲν γάρ τὸ Ὅστῆλιον, μετεσκεύαστο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου διὰ τοῦτο τε περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔδοξε, καὶ ὅπως ἐξοικοδομηθὲν τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα ἀπολάβῃ. Dio Cass. xl. 50. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 12. (Note 485.) Ascon. ad Cic. p. Mil. 5. (Note 551.)

what obscure. Our chief information on the subject is derived from Dio. The restoration decreed by the Senate appears, according to this historian, to have been commenced, if not completed, when Caesar or his friends, jealous of the honour proposed to be paid to the family of Sulla, caused the new building of Faustus to be pulled down, under pretence of raising on its site a temple to Felicity (which was actually completed by Lepidus), but really in order that a new Curia might be built to bear the name of Julia.⁴¹³ In the year following the death of Julius, an order was given for the rebuilding of the Curia Hostilia on the occasion of an alarm caused by various portents and calamities,⁴ and in the next year the Curia Julia was erected at the side of the Comitium in pursuance of the previous decree.⁵

CHAP.
IV.Temple of
Felicity. ✓Curia
Julia.

The above narrative does not make it certain whether the Curia Julia stood on the site of the Curia Hostilia. The first passage, which describes the removal of the proposed Curia Cornelia to make room for a Temple of Felicity, implies an intention

Question
as to iden-
tity of site.

⁴¹³ Βουλευτήριόν τε τι καινὸν ποιῆσαι (Καίσαρι) προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὀστίλιον καίπερ ἀνοικοδομηθὲν κατηρέθη πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναὸν Εὐτυχίας ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὃν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἱππαρχήσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σώζοιτο, καὶ ἕτερον ἐκ καινῆς κατασκευασθῆναι Ἰούλιον ὀνομασθεῖν Dio Cass. xliv. 5.

⁴ Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τό τε βουλευτήριον τὸ Ὀστίλιον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι . . ἐψηφίσθη. Dio Cass. xlv. 17.

⁵ Τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰούλιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθὲν παρὰ τῷ Κομιτίῳ ὀνομασμένῳ φκοδομοῦν, ὥσπερ ἐψηφίστο. Dio Cass. xlvii. 19.

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at that time to build a new Curia on another site; and the completion of the temple, of the subsequent removal of which not a word is said, seems to present a difficulty in supposing the Curia Julia to have occupied the same spot. On the other hand, the decree to rebuild the Curia Hostilia, and the description of the position of the new Curia, which corresponds so exactly with that of the old, at the side of the Comitium,⁴¹⁶ leaves the impression that the intention to seek another position was abandoned, and that the Curia Julia ultimately occupied the site of the older Curia. It should be added that no further mention is found of the Temple of Felicity. The identification of the Curia Hostilia and the Curia Julia is confirmed by the expression of Livy, who says that the Curia up to his father's time bore the name of Hostilia.⁷ The same inference may be drawn from other authors subsequent to the rebuilding, who speak of the Curia as an individual monument without any indication of a change of site having interrupted its identity.

*Curia, praetexto quae nunc nitet alta senatu,
Pellitos habuit, rustica corda, patres.⁸*

⁴¹⁶ Pliny likewise places the Curia Julia in the Comitium. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 10. (Note 428.) The new Curia was, not improbably, on a larger scale than the old. The adjoining basilica, which was burnt with it, may have afforded room for its extension.

⁷ Liv. i. 30. (Note 410.)

⁸ Propertius, iv. 1, 11. Mon. Ancyr. (Note 437.) Dionys. iv. 38. (Note 409.)

The meaning of the word *Curia* is not without its bearing upon the question here discussed. This word was undoubtedly used not only for the regular Senate-house, but for any place where the Senate met, and also for the Senate itself. Cicero boasts that during his consulate he had always on the *Rostra* defended the *Curia*, and in the Senate defended the people.⁴⁹ Sallust speaks of *Catiline* bursting out of the *Curia* when the Senate was sitting in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, though the historian does not mention the locality.⁵⁰ In one of the anecdotes of *Valerius Maximus*, the *Curia*, as the place where the Senate was actually assembled, is contrasted with the *Hostilia*. The Senate invited the tribune *Drusus*, who was at the *Rostra*, to come to the *Curia*. "Why does not the Senate rather," said he, "come to the *Hostilia*, that is, to me?"¹ Still the word *Curia*, when used of a locality without reference to the presence of the Senate, could only mean the ordinary place of meeting for the time being of that body.

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—
Meaning
of the word
Curia.

During the interval between the burning of the *Curia Hostilia* and the death of *Caesar*, the great

Curia
Pompeia.

⁴⁹ *Ut semper in rostris Curiam, in senatu populum defenderim.* Cic. in *Pis.* 3.

⁵⁰ *Dein se ex Curia domum proripuit.* Sallust. *Bell. Catilin.* Cic. in *Catil.* i. 1. (Note 44.)

¹ *Cum senatus ad eum misisset ut in Curiam veniret, Quare non potius, inquit, ipse in Hostiliam, propinquam Rostris, id est ad me, venit?* Val. Max. ix. 5, 2.

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hall in the Porticus of Pompey was the usual meeting-place of the Senate, and was inaugurated for this purpose.⁴²² This building was therefore for the time the Curia; and an anecdote told by Suetonius, in which the word is used without qualification, probably relates to this building. Caesar having given great offence to the Romans by admitting strangers, especially half-barbarous Gauls, into the Senate, some wit suggested, as a happy thought, that they should all agree to refuse to show a new senator the way to the Curia.³ So Ovid writes with reference to the death of Caesar:

Neque enim locus ullus in urbe
Ad facinus diramque placet nisi Curia caedem.⁴

Curia
Julia.

The Curia, with a structure called the Chalcedicum attached to it, is among the buildings claimed by Augustus in the Ancyran inscription.⁵ It was dedicated by him in the year B.C. 29, the same year in which he celebrated his triple triumph and closed the Temple of Janus. He

⁴²² Confirmavitque (Varro), nisi in loco per augures constituto, quod templum appellaretur, senatus consultum factum esset, iustum id non fuisse; propterea et in Curia Hostilia et in Pompeia et post in Iulia, quum profana ea loca fuissent, templa esse per augures constituta, ut in iis senatus consulta more maiorum iusta fieri possent. A. Gell. xiv. 7.

³ Peregrinis in senatum allectis, libellus propositus est: bonum factum, ne quis senatori novo Curiam monstrare velit. Suetonius, Iul. 80.

⁴ Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 801.

⁵ *Mon. Ancyran.* (Note 437.)

placed in the Curia a statue of Victory, which remained there in the time of Dio. This statue came originally from Tarentum; ⁴²⁶ it was carried in the funeral procession of Augustus.⁷ Two pictures, placed upon the walls of the Curia by the same emperor, preserved the names of their authors, Nicias and Philochares, to the age of Pliny, who mentions, as a singular circumstance with reference to the material, that the work of Nicias was said, in his own inscription on the picture, to be burnt in.⁸

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IV.

Statue of
Victory.

Pictures in
the Curia
Julia.

The Curia Julia is mentioned by Suetonius as existing at the death of Caligula, when the Roman aristocracy was so averse to the rule of the Caesars, that the consuls convoked the Senate in the Capitol, rather than in the Curia, because the latter bore the name of Julia.⁹ This, it appears, is the latest mention by any classical writer of the Curia Julia as an existing building.³⁰ It was probably burnt down in the time of Titus or

Later
history of
the Curia.

⁴²⁶ Τό τε Ἀθήναιον καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ὀνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμῆ γενόμενον καθιέρωσεν. ἐνίστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγάλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης καὶ το νῦν ὄν' . . ἦν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταρεντίων. Dio Cass. li. 22.

⁷ Sueton. Aug. 100.

⁸ Item in Curia quoque, quam in Comitio consecrabat (Augustus), duas tabulas impressit parieti. Nemeam sedentem supra leonem . . Nicias scripsit se inussisse, tali enim usus est verbo. Alterius tabulae . . . Philochares hoc suum opus esse testatus est. Plin. xxxv. 10. Ib. xxxv. 40. (Note 36.)

⁹ Sueton. Calig. 60.

³⁰ Becker, Handbuch, i. 346.

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Domitian, since a Senate-house was built by the latter emperor.⁴³⁰ It was again burnt in the time of Diocletian.¹

Altar of
Victory
removed by
Christian
influence.

Herodian mentions a statue and altar of Victory, which stood in the Senate-house in the reigns of Heliogabalus and Maximin.² The altar of Victory became afterwards a central point around which was waged the war between Christianity and expiring Heathendom. It appears to have been removed by Christian influence under the emperor Gratianus in the year A.D. 382, and its restoration was demanded by Symmachus, and opposed by Ambrose as offensive to the conscience of the Christian senators.³ The Christian party is said to have prevailed; but an allusion of Claudian, in his description of Stilicho's reception by the senate some twenty years later, seems to imply that the statue, if not the altar, of Victory was then in the Senate-house.

⁴³⁰ Hieron. an. xcii. t. i. p. 443. Ronc.; Prosp. Aquit. p. 571; Cassiod. Chron. t. ii. p. 197; Catal. Imp. Vienn. p. 243. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 347.)

¹ Catal. Imp. Vienn. (Note 448.)

² Herodian, v. 5; ib. vii. 11. Dio Cass. li. 22. (Note 426.)

³ Quis ita familiaris est barbaris ut aram Victoriae non requirat? Relatio Symmach. i. 4. Prudentius, ed. Valpy, p. 683.

Cum vir clar. Praefectus urbis Symmachus ad clementiam tuam retulisset, ut ara quae de urbis Romae Curia sublata fuerat redderetur loco, etc. . . . Sic deam esse et Victoriam crediderunt . . . Hujus aram strui in urbis Romae Curia petunt, hoc est, quo plures conveniunt Christiani. Ambros. Epist. in Symm. ibid. pp. 689, 699.

Ducibus circumstipata togatis
 Jure paludatae iam Curia militat aulae.
 Adfuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis,
 Romanae tutela togae : quae divite pompa
 Patricii reverenda fovet sacraria coetus.⁴⁸⁴

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The *Senatus*, as the building itself was commonly called in later times,⁵ probably continued to exist on its ancient site for many centuries. Both the original Curia and the Curia Julia appear to have been guarded by some sort of fence.⁶

Fence of
 Curia.

When the Curia was rebuilt by Augustus, he joined to it a building, which was of sufficient importance to be specially mentioned in the Ancyran inscription, and is there called Chalcidicum.⁷ The character of this monument is matter of conjecture. Vitruvius speaks of *chalcidica* as proper adjuncts to a basilica,⁸ and a *chalcidicum* is named in an inscription found at Pompeii, describing the various parts of the building there discovered, which is called the Hall of Eumachia. It may be reasonably supposed that the Chalcidicum of Augustus contained waiting-rooms and offices for the conve-

The Chal-
 cidicum of
 Augustus.

⁴⁸⁴ Claudian, xxviii. De vi. Cons. Honor. 595.

⁵ *Senatum dici et pro loco et pro hominibus.* A. Gell. xviii. 7. Compare Plin. N. H. vii. 54 (Note 407); Pseudo-Ascon. in Cic. Verr. II. i. 22. (Note 389.)

⁶ Cic. Rep. ii. 17. (Note 381.) Propertius, iv. 4. 13. See before, p. 151.

⁷ CVRIAM . ET . CONTINENS . EI . CHALCIDICVM . . . FECI . Mon. Ancy.

⁸ Basilicarum loca adiuncta foris. Sin autem locus erit amplior in longitudine, chalcidica in extremis constituentur. Vitruv. v. 1.

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Atrium
Minervae.

nience of the senators. The dedication of the Chalcidicum is mentioned by Dio, who associates it with the Curia, and with a building called τὸ Ἀθήναιον, unless, as has been long suspected, his Chalcidicum and Athenaeum are the same.³⁹ No subsequent notice is found of the Chalcidicum under this name. But in the Notitia the monument mentioned next after the Senatus in the eighth Region is called Atrium Minervae, and this building appears to have been among those burnt with the Senatus in the time of Diocletian.⁴⁰ A temple of Minerva Chalcidica¹ was among the works of Domitian,² and it seems not improbable that the word Chalcidicum, as appropriated to the building of Augustus, was connected with the same goddess, whose image may have consecrated its hall, and that the foreign name was rejected by popular usage in favour of the more familiar Atrium Minervae. We have seen that in like manner the whole residence of the Vestals was in Pliny's time called Atrium Vestae, a name which had originally belonged to a part of the Regia.³

³⁹ *Ἐπει δὲ ταῦτα διετέλεσε, τό τε Ἀθήναιον καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ὀνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμῇ γενόμενον, καθιέρωσεν. Dio Cass. li. 22. The reading, Ἀθήναιον τὸ καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ὀνομασμένον, was suggested by Reimar in the edition of 1750.

⁴⁰ Catal. Imp. Vienn. (Note 448.)

¹ The temple of Minerva Chalcidica is mentioned in the Notitia in the ninth Region. Its name is still preserved in that of the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

² Eusebius or Hieron. Ol. 217, p. 443. Ronc. (Becker, Handbuch, . 332.)

³ See p. 125.

Upon the Comitium, at the side of the Curia, and to its right, was, as we learn from Varro, a terrace or platform called the Graecostasis. This is described as a place in which the ministers of friendly states might pass their time while awaiting an audience of the Senate.⁴⁴⁴ In speaking of this monument as being to the right of the Curia, we understand Varro to mean that it was to the right of a person standing in front of the Curia and looking from it. Cicero, in a letter to his brother, describes the followers of Clodius as disturbing the Senate by their shouting from the Graecostasis and from the steps,—apparently of the Curia.⁵ The Graecostasis seems to have been an open area, since we read of the prodigy of a shower of milk falling there.⁶

CHAP.
IV.
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The Grae-
costasis.

The Graecostasis, or a monument called by a similar name, existed in the time of Antoninus Pius, by whom it was restored after fire.⁷ A building called Graecostadium was also rebuilt by Diocletian,⁸ and is named in the *Curiosum*

The Grae-
costadium.

⁴⁴⁴ Varro, L. L. v. 32. (Note 402.)

⁵ Deinde eius (Clodi) operae repente a Graecostasi et gradibus clamorem satis magnum sustulerant. Cic. ad Quint. fr. ii. 1.

⁶ Caio Cassio Longino, Caio Sextilio Coss. in Graecostasi lacte pluit. Iul. Obseq. p. 69 (ed. Paris, 1533). Anton, P. c. 8. Varro, L. L. v. 32. (Note 402.)

⁷ Opera eius haec extant, Romae . . . Graecostadium post incendium restitutum. Capitolinus, Anton. Pius, c. 8. (Hist. Aug. Script.)

⁸ Opera publica arserunt Senatum, forum Caesaris, patrimonium [Atrium Minervae, *Preller*] basilicam Iuliam et Graecostadium. Catal. Imp. Vienn. Preller, Regionen, p. 143.

CHAP.
IV.
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of the time of Constantine.⁴⁹ But on both these occasions it is mentioned in conjunction with the Basilica Julia; and it is probable that the Graecostasis did not exist at this period on its old site as described by Varro.⁵⁰

Vulcanal.

In connection with the Comitium should be noticed the Vulcanal. From the expressions of the Greek writers upon Roman antiquities, it would be concluded that this was a temple of Vulcan. Dionysius and Plutarch generally call it τὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἱερόν, and the latter even calls it ναός.¹ But we learn from the Latin authors, who frequently call it Area Vulcani, that it was an open space in which trees grew, and upon which a shower of blood was believed to have fallen.² Pliny says that Romulus founded the Vulcanal in memory of one of his victories;³ and Dionysius and Plutarch speak of a bronze quadriga said to have been dedicated by Romulus in the Sacrum of Vulcan out of the spoils of Camerium.⁴ It is one of Plutarch's questions on Roman Anti-

⁴⁹ Vicum Iugarium, Graecostadium, basilicam Iuliam. Curiosum in Regione viii. See Appendix.

⁵⁰ See p. 183.

¹ Plutarch, Quaest. Rom. 47. (Note 455.) Dionys. ii. 50, vi. 67. (Note 456.)

² Quod sanguine per biduum pluisset in area Vulcani. Liv. xxxix. 46. In area Vulcani et Concordiae sanguinem pluit. Liv. xl. 19. In area Vulcani per biduum, in area Concordiae totidem diebus, sanguinem pluit. Iul. Obs. p. 61 (ed. Paris, 1533). Plin. N. H. xvi. 86. (Note 463.)

³ Plin. N. H. xvi. 86. (Note 463.)

⁴ Dionys. ii. 54; Plutarch, Rom. 24.

quities why Romulus founded this sacred place outside his city ; and he supposes it to have been a secret meeting-place for the two kings and their senators.⁴⁵⁵

CHAP.
IV.

Dionysius frequently speaks of the Vulcanal as the usual place of public assembly in the early age of Roman History. This appears to identify it with the Comitium ; and, as this historian makes no distinct mention of the Comitium by its ordinary name, his Hephaestum can hardly be taken otherwise than as another name for that locality.⁶ In other authors the Vulcanal is clearly a distinct area. It contained an altar, at which a singular sacrifice was performed, the small fish caught in

Hephaestum of Dionysius identical with Comitium.

⁴⁵⁵ Διὰ τί τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἱερὸν ἔξω πόλεως ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἰδρύσατο ; . . . φηκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, συνέδριον καὶ βουλευτήριον ἀπόρητον αὐτῷ μετὰ Τατίου τοῦ συμβασιλεύσαντος, ὅπως συνιόντες ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῶν γερόντων, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch. Quaest. Rom. 47. Compare the account the same writer gives of the Comitium, Plutarch. Rom. 19. (Note 388.)

⁶ Ἀγορὰν αὐτόθι κατεστήσαντο, ἧ καὶ νῦν ἐπι χρώμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι διατελοῦσι· καὶ τοὺς συνόδους ἐνταῦθα ἐποιοῦντο ἐν Ἡφαίστου χρηματίζοντες ἱερῷ, μικρὸν ἐπανεστηκότι τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Dionys. ii. 50.

Ἐξήσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν . . . καὶ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ἐνθα ἦν ἔθος αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτελεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπήνεσαν τὸν δῆμον, κτλ. Dionys. vi. 67.

Καταλάβομενοι τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον, ἐνθα ἦν ἔθος αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἱκαλοῦν μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον. Dionys. vii. 17.

Ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱερὸν, ἐκάλει (ὁ Ἀππιος) τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. Dionys. xi. 39.

These passages should be compared with that in which the same author speaks of the part of the Comitium before the Curia as τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον. Dionys. iv. 38. (Note 409.) Elsewhere he uses another paraphrase for the same locality: τὸ κράτιστον χώριον (ὁ κράτιστος τόπος) τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Dionys. i. 87; iii. 1. (Note 481.) τὸ φανερώτατον τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ib. ii. 29. (Note 384.)

CHAP.
IV.

The Vulcanal
above the
Comitium.

the Tiber being there offered alive to Vulcan in atonement for human lives.⁴⁵⁷

The Vulcanal adjoined the Comitium, and was at a higher elevation.⁸ This is expressly stated by Festus, in speaking of a column and statue placed there in memory of an actor or gladiator, whose death by lightning in the Circus was followed by some prodigies, on account of which his bones were removed from their first burial-place to this spot.

Statue of
Horatius
Cocles
removed
from Co-
mitium to
Vulcanal.

Gellius tells a story about another statue, which also illustrates the difference of level of these areas. The statue of Horatius Cocles, which stood in the Comitium, was struck by lightning. Public superstition being alarmed, Etruscan augurs were sent for, under whose perfidious advice the statue was removed to a lower situation, where it was shaded by buildings. Treachery being suspected, the augurs were arraigned, confessed, and were put to death. It was now clear that the statue ought to have been placed on a higher level, and it was accordingly removed to the Vulcanal, with

⁴⁵⁷ *Piscatorii ludi vocantur qui quodannis mense Iunio trans Tiberim fieri solent a PR. Urbano pro piscatoribus Tiberinis, quorum quaestus non in Macellum pervenit sed fere in aream Volcani, quod id genus pisciculorum vivorum datur ei Deo pro animis humanis. Festus, ed Müll. p. 238.*

Vulcanalia a Volcano, quod ei tum feriae, et quod eo die populus pro se in ignem animalia mittit. Varro, L.L. vi. 3 (57).

⁸ *Statua est ludi eius, qui quondam, fulmine ictus in Circo, sepultus est in Ianiculo; cuius ossa postea ex prodigiis oraculorumque responsis senatus decreto intra urbem relata in Volcanali, quod est supra Comitium, obruta sunt, superque ea columpna, cum ipsius effigie, posita est. Festus, ed. Müll. p. 290.*

the best results to the Commonwealth.⁴⁵⁹ This ancient statue, which was believed to have been erected to the hero in his lifetime, still existed in the time of Pliny.⁶⁰ It probably owed its preservation to its removal, since the ancient statues of the Comitium appear for the most part to have been destroyed during the alterations which took place upon that area.

CHAP.
IV.
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The temple which was dedicated to Concord, B.C. 310, by Cn. Flavius, curule aedile, in spite of the opposition of the patricians, is placed by Livy in the Area of Vulcan.¹ But Pliny describes the same temple as a small building of bronze erected in a Graecostasis which was then above

Temple of
Concord
on the
Vulcanal.

⁴⁵⁹ *Statua Romae in comitio posita Horatii Coelitis fortissimi viri de caelo tacta est . . . haruspices ex Etruria acciti . . . illam statuam suaserunt in inferiorem locum perperam transponi, quem sol oppositu circum undique aliarum aedium nunquam illustraret . . . Constititque eam statuam . . . in locum editum subducendam, atque ita in area Vulcani, sublimiori loco, statuendam; eaque res bene et prospere rei publicae cessit.* A. Gell. iv. 5.

⁶⁰ Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11. (Note 535.)

¹ *Civile ius repositum in penetralibus pontificum (Cn. Flavius) evulgavit, fastosque circa forum in albo proposuit, ut quando lege agi posset sciretur: aedem Concordiae in area Vulcani summa invidia nobilium dedicavit.* Liv. ix. 46. Cic. pro Murena, 11; A. Gell. vi. 9.

Hic (Flavius) namque publicatis diebus fastis, quos populus a paucis principum quotidie petebat, tantam gratiam plebis adeptus est, alioqui libertino patre genitus et ipse Appii Caeci scribe, cuius hortatu exceperat eos dies consultando assidue sagaci ingenio promulgeratque, ut aedilis curulis crearetur . . . Flavius vovit aedem Concordiae, si populo reconciliasset ordines. Et quum ad id pecunia publica non decerneretur, ex multatitia feneratoribus condemnatis aediculam aeream fecit in Graecostasi, quae tunc supra Comitium erat. Inciditque in tabella aerea eam aedem trecentis quatuor annis post Capitolinam dedicatam. Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 6.

CHAP. the Comitium. This *aedicula*, with the Graecostasis in which it was placed, had disappeared before Pliny's time.⁴⁶²

IV.
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Fasti hung
in the
Forum.

The same Flavius, who had been a clerk of the censor Appius Claudius the Blind, hung around the Forum tablets containing the Roman Calendar of *dies fasti* and *nefasti*, for the knowledge of which the people had previously been dependent on the pontifices.

Vulcanal
of the time
of Pliny.

There still remained in the time of the empire an Area of Vulcan, in which grew two trees of remarkable age, supposed to be coeval with the city. One of these, a cypress, fell down about the end of Nero's reign; the other, a lotos, existed in the time of Pliny, and had roots which, according to that author, extended under the Stationes Municipiorum as far as the Forum of Caesar.³ We may conclude from this statement that between the Vulcanal of Pliny and the last-

Stationes
Municipi-
porum.

⁴⁶² The Graecostasis so placed can scarcely have been the same as the Graecostasis to the right of the Curia, described by Varro, and mentioned by Pliny in speaking of the observation of mid-day. (Plin. N. H. vii. 60.) The latter was in the Comitium, and projected, as we shall see, in front of the Curia. See further, p. 177. The expression *supra Comitium* (Ib. xxxiii. 6. Note 462) means, as in Festus's *Vulcanal supra Comitium* (Note 458) and Varro's *Senaculum supra Graecostasin* (Note 402), on the higher level behind it. Pliny's phrase, *Graecostasis quae tunc erat supra Comitium*, points to a monument on a site not generally connected with the name.

³ Verum altera lotos in Vulcanali quod Romulus constituit ex victoria de decumis, aequaeva urbi intelligitur, ut auctor est Masurius. Radices eius in forum usque Caesaris per stationes municipiorum penetrant. Fuit cum ea cupressus aequalis, circa suprema Neronis principis prolapsa atque neglecta. Plin. N. H. xvi. 86.

named Forum was a monument, which probably answered a similar purpose for the use of the representatives of subject municipia as the Graecostasis for those of foreign nations.

CHAP.
IV.
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In Varro's account of the objects near the Curia, he proceeds, from the Graecostasis upon the Comitium at the right of the Curia, to the Senaculum, which was at a higher level. This is described as a waiting-place used by the senators themselves, and in which they appear to have held conferences with those magistrates who had not the entry of the Senate.⁴⁶⁵ We meet with it in Livy, B.C. 174, when it would seem that a covered gallery was constructed, or paved, from the Temple of Saturn to the Senaculum, and, further on, to the Curia.⁶ The site of this ancient Senaculum is identified by Varro with that of the Temple of Concord and Basilica Opimia. Festus also, on the authority of Nicostratus, an older author, says that there was formerly a Senaculum in the place where in later times the Temple of Concord stood, between the Capitol and the Forum.⁷ The

Senaculum.

Temple of
Concord;
Basilica
Opimia.

⁴⁶⁵ Varro L. L. v. 32 (43). (Note 402.) Festus, ed. Müll. p. 347. (Note 467.)

⁶ Censores . . . clivum Capitolinum silice sternendum curaverunt, et porticum ab aede Saturni in Capitolium ad Senaculum ac super id Curiam. Liv. xli. 27. The reading is evidently defective in some way, so that the passage is not reliable as topographical evidence.

⁷ Senacula tria fuisse Romae, in quibus senatus haberi solitus sit, memoriae prodidit Nicostratus in libro, qui inscribitur de Senatu habendo: unum ubi nunc est aedis Concordiae inter Capitolium et Forum, in quo solebant magistratus D. T. cum senioribus deliberare. Festus, ed. Müll. p. 347.

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IV.
—

name of *Senaculum* long lingered in connection with the spot, and was probably applied to the great portico of Concord, or the space in front of it, for Valerius Maximus, writing in the time of Tiberius, says that the senators used formerly to wait, before they were summoned into the Curia, at the place which was still to that day called *Senatulum*.⁴⁷⁰ And Macrobius asserts that the altar of Saturn, which was probably not far from the temple of that god, stood (in the writer's time) before the *Senaculum*. The Temple of Concord formed a convenient place for waiting before going into the Curia, since we read that Pertinax, on his election as emperor, coming late on the last night of the year from the Camp to the Senate, sat down in this temple until the porter could be found to open the Curia.¹

What was
the Sena-
culum?

Whether the *Senaculum* was an inclosed building, or a *porticus*, or a terrace, or merely a locality so called from the use made of it, we have no distinct information. Livy's notice of it

⁴⁷⁰ Antea senatus assiduam stationem eo loco peragebat, qui hodie quoque *senatulum* appellatur, nec expectabat ut edicto contraheretur, sed inde citatus protinus in Curiam veniebat. . . . Illud quoque memoria repetendum est, quod tribunis plebis intrare Curiam non licebat; ante valvas autem positis subselliis decreta patrum examinabant, et si qua ex iis improbassent rata esse non sinerent. Valer. Max. ii. 2, 6.

¹ Habet (Saturnus) aram et ante *Senaculum*: illic Graeco ritu capite aperto res divina fit, quia primo a Pelasgis, post ab Hercule, ita eam a principio factitatum putant. Macrobius Saturn. i. 8. Dionys. i. 34; vi. 1. (Note 55.)

throws no light upon this question. Festus, or the author whom he cites, appears to speak of it as a monument which had been displaced by the Temple of Concord. But neither Valerius Maximus nor Varro know anything of the Senaculum except as a locality. The former mentions it as a place which was still so called. The latter fixes it where the Temple of Concord and Basilica Opimia stood, and gives no indication that he is speaking of a monument which had been removed to make room for those buildings.

CHAP.
IV.
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The Senaculum in Varro and Valerius a locality.

Beyond its mention by Varro, nothing is known of the Basilica Opimia. It is conjectured to have been the work of L. Opimius, consul B.C. 121, the rebuilder of the Temple of Concord. It was probably destroyed before the restoration of that temple by Tiberius. Its site may have been partly used for the enlargement of the Temple of Concord, which it appears to have adjoined, and may have extended to the ground afterwards occupied by the Temple of Vespasian.

Basilica Opimia.

Its site.

Having reached in this direction the limits of the Forum at the base of the Capitol, we will now return to the front of the Curia.⁴⁷²

It is said that in early times benches were placed before the doors of this building for the accommodation of the Tribunes of the Plebs, who were not admitted into the senate.

Benches of the Tribunes.

⁴⁷² Factus autem sexagenario maior imperator, pridie Kal. Ian. de castris nocte quum ad Senatum venisset, et cellam Curiae iussisset

CHAP.
IV.
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Statue
of Attus
Navius.

Upon the steps to the left of the Curia stood in the time of the Republic the bronze statue of the famous augur Attus Navius, which was believed to have been placed here by King Tarquinius Priscus, and which existed on the spot until the time of Dionysius, who describes it as less than a man of ordinary stature, with the head veiled. This curious relic was probably removed during the rebuilding of the Curia. Livy speaks of it in the past tense, and Pliny tells us that the pedestal was burnt in the fire that destroyed the Curia at the funeral of Clodius. Close by were said to be buried the razor and whetstone with which Navius performed his miracle; the site of this sacred deposit being marked by a monument called the Puteal.⁴⁷⁴

Ruminal
fig-tree.

Before the Curia, near the statue of Navius, grew a sacred fig-tree,⁵ which appears to have

aperiri, neque inveniretur aedituus, in templo Concordiae resedit. Capitolin. Pertin. 4.

⁴⁷⁴ Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in Comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam Curiae fuit: cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros miraculi ejus monumentum. Liv. i. 36.

Cotem autem illam et novaculam defossam in Comitio supraque impositum Puteal accepimus. Cicero de Div. i. 17. See p. 129.

Namque et Atti Navii statua fuit ante Curiam cuius basis conflavit Curia incensa Publii Clodii funere. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11.

Εἰκόνα κατασκευάσας αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν (ὁ Ταρκίνιος) δέιστησεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἢ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κειμένη, πλησίον τῆς ἱερᾶς συκῆς, ἐλάττων ἀνδρὸς μετρίου, τὴν περιβολὴν ἔχουσα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀποθεν αὐτῆς ἢ τε ἀκόνη γεγράφθαι [qu. κεκρόφθαι] λέγεται καὶ ὁ ξυρὸς κατὰ γῆς ὑπὸ βωμῶ τινι. Dionys. iii. 71.

⁵ Dionys. iii. 71. (Note 474.)

been once called *Ficus Navia*, from some traditional association with the augur,⁴⁷⁶ but had become by the time of Tacitus identified in popular belief with the Ruminal Fig-tree, the original site of which was at the foot of the hill called *Germalus*, at the western corner of the Palatine on the road to the *Circus Maximus*.⁷ In a somewhat confused passage of Pliny's *Natural History*, he alludes to a story of the tree having been miraculously transplanted to the *Comitium*. Whenever it withered it was planted anew by the priests.⁸ Tacitus mentions an occasion when the dying down of the Ruminal Fig-tree, as it was called,

⁴⁷⁶ *Ficus quoque in Comitio appellatur Navia ab Atto Navio augure. Festus, ed. Müll. p. 169.* The story of the growth of the fig-tree according to a prediction of *Navius*, and of its miraculous preservation, is told by *Festus*, but the text is for the most part supplied by conjecture.

⁷ *Germalum a germanis Romulo et Remo, quod ad ficum Ruminalem ii ibi inventi. Varro, L. L. v. 8 (17). Dionys, i. 79. (Note 223.) Plutarch, Rom. 3, 4.*

⁸ *Colitur ficus arbor in foro ipso ac comitio Romae nata, sacra fulguribus ibi conditis, magisque ob memoriam eius, quae nutrix Romuli ac Remi conditoris imperi in Lupercali prima protexit, Ruminalis appellata, quoniam sub ea inventa est lupa infantibus praebens rumim, ita vocabant mammam, miraculo ex aere iuxta dicato, tanquam in Comitium sponte transisset, Atto Navio augurante; nec sine praesagio aliquo arescit, rursusque cura sacerdotum seritur. Plin. N. H. xv. 20 (ed. Sillig).*

[*Ruminalem ficum appel*]latam ait *Varro* [*prope Curiam sub veter*]ibus quod sub ea ar[bore lupa a monte decurrens] *Remo* et *Romulo* [*mammam praebuerit, mamm*]a autem *rumis di*[cebatur]. *Festus, ed. Müll. 270.* The clauses in brackets were supplied by *Scaliger* and *Ursinus*, and the words *prope Curiam sub veteribus* are inconsistent with our present knowledge, and with *Varro, L. L. v. 8. (Note 477.)*

CHAP. on the Comitium, gave rise to some public un-
IV. easiness, which was allayed by the appearance of
— fresh shoots.⁴⁷⁹

The Rostra of the Comitium. The position of the Rostra in front of the Curia and upon the edge of the Comitium has been already mentioned. They were removed from this site in the year preceding the assassination of Caesar, probably during some of the alterations that accompanied the rebuilding of the Curia.⁸⁰

Lion of Faustulus. On the Comitium, by the side of the Rostra, was in early times a stone lion, which was believed to mark the site of the death and burial of Faustulus.¹

Columna Maenia. Another ancient monument of the Comitium was the Columna Maenia, mentioned by Pliny as one of the oldest commemorative monuments of Rome, but which had apparently been removed before he wrote. It was erected in honour of C. Maenius, the conqueror of the Latins, in whose consulate, B.C. 338, the *rostra* of the ships taken at Antium were fixed on the suggestum.² This monument appears to have been near one of the entrances of the Forum in the larger sense of the

⁴⁷⁹ Eodem anno Ruminalem arborem in Comitio, quae super octingentos et quadraginta ante annos Remi Romulique infantiam texerat, mortuis ramalibus et arescente trunco diminutam prodigii loco habitum est, donec in novos fetus reviresceret. Tac. Ann. xiii. 58.

⁸⁰ See more as to the history of the Rostra in Chapter V.

¹ Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸν λέοντα τὸν λίθινον, ὃς ἔκειτο τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ χωρίῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις, ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι τοῦ Φαυστούλου τεθῆναι φασιν, ἐνθα ἔπεσεν. Dionys. i. 87.

² Antiquior columnarum (celebratio), sicut C. Maenio, qui devi.

word. For on the occasion of the tribune Sextius, who had distinguished himself by his exertions for the recall of Cicero from exile, attending a gladiatorial spectacle, he had come as far as the Maenian Column, when he was received with general applause, which extended to the stands on the Capitoline slope, and was repeated from the railings of the Forum.⁴⁸³

CHAP.
IV.
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At the Maenian Column was the tribunal of the *Triumviri Capitaes*, the principal Criminal Court of Rome. This tribunal appears from an allusion of Cicero to have had a special class of advocates practising before it, the Old Bailey Bar of the Forum.⁴

Tribunal
of the
Triumviri
Capitaes.

Upon the Comitium also in the time of the Republic stood two statues, the history of which is a singular one. On occasion of one of the reverses which befel the Roman arms in the second Samnite War, about three centuries before the Christian era, the Senate applied to Delphi for advice, and were commanded by the oracle

Statues of
Pytha-
goras and
Alci-
biades.

cerat priscos Latinos . . . eodemque in consulatu in suggestu rostra devictis Antiatribus fixerat anno urbis ccccxvi. Item C. Duilio, qui primus navalem triumphum egit de Poenis, quae est etiam nunc in foro. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11.

⁴⁸³ Cic. *Sext.* 58. (Note 223.) As to the site of the column, see pp. 178, 191.

⁴ *Vobis autem tanta inopia reorum est, ut mihi causam praeripere conemini potius quam aliquos ad columnam Maeniam vestri ordinis reos reperiat? Cic. in Caecil. div. 16.*

Reos vestra defensione condignos, ut fures et servos nequam, qui apud triumviros capitaes apud columnam Maeniam puniri solent. Pseudo-Asconius ad Cic. ib.

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to dedicate in some frequented site a statue to the wisest, and another to the bravest, of the Greek race. The philosopher and warrior chosen were Pythagoras and Alcibiades; and the statues were placed, to use Pliny's expression, on the horns of the Comitium, that is apparently at its two corners or extremities. These statues retained their position until the rebuilding of the Curia by Sulla.⁴⁸⁵ Their disappearance on that occasion leads to the supposition that the "horns" of the Comitium, or one of them, were in immediate proximity to the Curia.

Porsenna.

Plutarch mentions a bronze statue of Porsenna of rude and archaic workmanship, which used to stand at the side of the Curia.⁶

Hermodorus.

Another ancient statue of the Comitium was that of Hermodorus the Ephesian, who assisted the decemvirs in drawing up the laws of the Twelve Tables. This was lost before the time of Pliny.⁷

Basilica Porcia.

Under the Curia at the side of the Forum was the Basilica Porcia,⁸ and at a short distance in

⁴⁸⁵ Invenio et Pythagoræ et Alcibiadi (statuas) in cornibus Comitii positas, cum bello Samniti Apollo Pythius fortissimo Graiæ gentis iussisset, et alteri sapientissimo, simulacra celebri loco dicari. Ea steterè donec Sulla dictator ibi Curiam faceret. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 12.

⁶ Ειστήκει δὲ χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀρχαϊκός τῇ ἔργασίᾳ. Plutarch. Popl. 19.

⁷ Fuit et Hermodori Ephesii (statua) in Comitio, legum quas decemviri scribebant interpretis, publice dicata. Alia causa, alia auctoritas M. Horatii Coclitis statuæ, quæ durat hodieque, quum hostes a ponte Sublicio solus arcuisset. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11.

⁸ Plutarch, Cat. mai. 19; Asconius, argum. ad Cic. pro Mil.

front of the Curia stood the Temple of Janus, the closing or opening of which was the index of peace or war. This monument was placed at the lower end of the Argiletum, a street which led from the Forum to the Suburra. It was actually in the Forum Romanum,⁴⁸⁹ but was also united, as we learn from Ovid, with another Forum.⁹⁰ The latter was in all probability the Forum of Caesar, the proximity of which to the group of monuments with which we are now occupied has been already observed. Having indicated the position of these objects in relation to the Curia, it is convenient to defer what remains to be said about them, in order to complete our observations respecting the Curia itself and the other monuments situated upon the Comitium.¹

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Janus.
Argile-
tum.

Forum of
Caesar.

Before attempting to determine the absolute locality of these monuments, the attention of the reader should be called to a passage of Pliny, which enables us to fix with considerable minuteness the relative situation of some of them with respect to one another. We learn from that author that the legal mid-day was for some time ascertained by observing the time when the sun was to be seen from the Curia between the Rostra and the Grae-

Time
ascertained
by observa-
tions on the
Comitium.

⁴⁸⁹ Ἐχει δὲ τὸν νεῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 25. Liv. i. 19. (Note 611.)

⁹⁰ Cum tot sint iani, cur stas sacratus in uno,
Hic ubi templa foris iuncta duobus habes?

Ovid Fast. i. 257.

¹ See further, Chapters VI. and VII.

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costasis, and that the *suprema tempestas*, which closed the hours of legal business, was announced when the sun, as observed from the column of Maenius, was sinking towards the Prison. The latter announcement was made, according to Varro, in the Comitium. This primitive method of ascertaining the mid-day and evening hour, which could only be used in clear weather, was practised before the first Punic war.⁴⁹² It was afterwards superseded by the sun-dial, and still

⁴⁹² Duodecim tabulis ortus tantum et occasus nominantur; post aliquot annos adiectus est et meridies, accenso consulum id pronunciantem quum a Curia inter Rostra et Graecostasin prospexisset solem. A columna Maenia ad carcerem inclinato sidere, supremam pronuntiabat, sed hoc serenis tantum diebus, usque ad primum Punicum bellum. Plin. N. H. vii. 60.

In duodecim tabulis verbum hoc, sol occasus, ita scriptum est: ANTE . MERIDIEM . CAUSAM . CONICIUNT . QUOM . FERORANT . AMBO . PRAESENTES . POST . MERIDIEM . PRAESENTI . LITEM . ADDICITO . SOL . OCCASVS . SVPREMA . TEMPESTAS . ESTO. A. Gell. xvii. 2.

Quia est in XII Tabulis scriptum sic: SOLIS . OCCASVS . SVPREMA . TEMPESTAS . ESTO. Sed postea M. Plaetorius tribunus plebis scitum tulit, in quo scriptum est: PRAETOR . VERBANVS . QVI . NVNC . EST . QVIQVE . POST . HAC . FVAT . DVOS . LICTORES . APVD . SE . HABETO . VSQVE . AD . SVPREMAM . [AD . SOLEM . OCCASUM] IVS[QVE] INTER . CIVIS . DICITO. Censorinus, de die nat. c. 24. ed. Hultsch, Lips. 1867.

Suprema summum diei, id a superrimo. Hoc tempus XII. tabulae dicunt occasum esse solis; sed postea lex praetoria [*quae* Praetoria] id quoque tempus iubet esse supremum, quo praeco in Comitio supremam pronuntiavit populo. Varro, L. L. vi. 2 (52).

Accensum solitum ciere, Boeotia ostendit, quam comoediam Attii esse dicunt, hoc versu :

Ubi primum accensus clamarat meridiem.

Hoc idem Cosconius in actionibus scribit, praetorem accensum solitum tum esse iubere, ubi ei videbatur horam esse tertiam, inclamare horam tertiam esse, itemque meridiem, et horam nonam. Varro, L. L. vi. 9 (75).

later by the more accurate division of time obtained by the water-clock.⁴⁹³ The topographical significance of the practice described by Pliny has relation therefore to an early disposition of the monuments of the Comitium ; but there is no reason to suppose that any change took place in the position of the Curia, Graecostasis, Rostra, Columna Maenia, or Carcer, between the first Punic war and the last years of the Republic.

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It is obvious that, if two objects are used to indicate a meridian line from a given point, their extremities must be nearly in the same direction from that point, so that a vertical line may be drawn from these extremities, or from a narrow space between them, to the sun. The observation in question may have been made either in this manner, or more easily by watching the moment when the shadows of the two monuments fell on the two sides of a line marked upon the pavement for the purpose.

Observation of mid-day from the Curia.

The Rostra were, as we have seen, before the Curia, and close to it.⁴⁹³ The observation must therefore have been taken from the front of the Curia. The Graecostasis was on its right, and was therefore the more western object ; and its terrace must have projected somewhat before the façade of the Curia, as it would not otherwise have been seen from the front of it.

Rostra.

Graecostasis.

The two facts, that the observation of the

Orientation of the Curia.

⁴⁹³ See pp. 150, 199.

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meridian was taken from the front of the Curia, and that the sun at mid-day was above the edge of an object to the right of the building, prove further, that the façade of the Curia was opposite to a point east of south. We may conclude therefore that the front of the Curia looked down the Forum, and not across it, in the direction of Vesta and not of Saturn. This orientation of the Curia agrees well with the fact that the temple of Janus, which was clearly at the side and not in the middle space of the Forum, was in front of the Curia.

Observation of evening.

Maenian column in the Comitium.

The last moment of the legal day was ascertained by an observation made at the Maenian column. Varro states that the *suprema* was proclaimed in the Comitium. We may infer with some probability that the column was also in that area. We may also conclude that this monument stood towards the east of the Prison, from which it cannot have been far distant, since from any distant point to the east that building would be seen far below the horizon of the Capitoline Hill. It would not therefore have been chosen as an index for such an observation from the Mid Forum. It may be remarked, however, that in winter it would be impossible from the neighbourhood of the prison to observe the sunset, or any position of the sun towards the west, since it would be hidden long before sundown by the Capitoline Hill. The observation must therefore have been confined to the long days as well as to clear weather.

A more accurate conclusion might perhaps be drawn as to the relative position of the column and Prison, if we knew what length of time after mid-day was intended to be allowed for legal proceedings. Roman hours were generally early. The emperor Severus, who was very diligent in this part of his duties, sat at the tribunal until mid-day.⁴⁹⁴ According to Martial,

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Probable
hour of the
suprema.

In quintam varios extendit Roma labores
Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.⁵

The less occupied would conclude their affairs at one o'clock; but this was not the end of the legal day. There were proceedings which were expressly to take place in the afternoon, and the *suprema*, as fixed by this rude observation, was a substitute for sunset. It appears from an author cited by Varro that the Praetor, when he determined that it was the third hour, ordered his *accensus* to declare it so, and that he did the same at midday and at the ninth hour.⁶ We cannot conclude, however, that the ninth hour was the *suprema*. We read of careless *judices* who did not make their appearance in the Comitium until the tenth hour;⁷ and Augustus is said to have presided at the tribunal till nightfall, sometimes, when unwell, lying on a sofa.⁸ The

⁴⁹⁴ Ἐκρίνε δὲ μέχρι μεσημβρίας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἵππευεν. Dio Cass. lxxvi. 17.

⁵ Martial. Ep. iv. 8. 3.

⁶ Varro, L. L. vi. 9. (Note 492.)

⁷ Macrob. Saturn. ii. 12. (Note 391.)

⁸ Ius dixit assidue, et in noctem nonnunquam; si parum corpore valeret, lectica pro tribunali locata. Sueton. Aug. 33.

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suprema determined by the observation in question on a summer afternoon was probably not intended to allow less than six hours after mid-day. If, however, the day was ended throughout the year when the sun appeared vertically above a given point, the afternoons would be very unequal, and shorter by more than an hour at midsummer than at the equinoxes. This may have been roughly remedied by observing when



the sun reached an oblique line, such as might be given by the roof of a building or by a wall seen in perspective, and extended, if necessary, by the eye or with the assist-

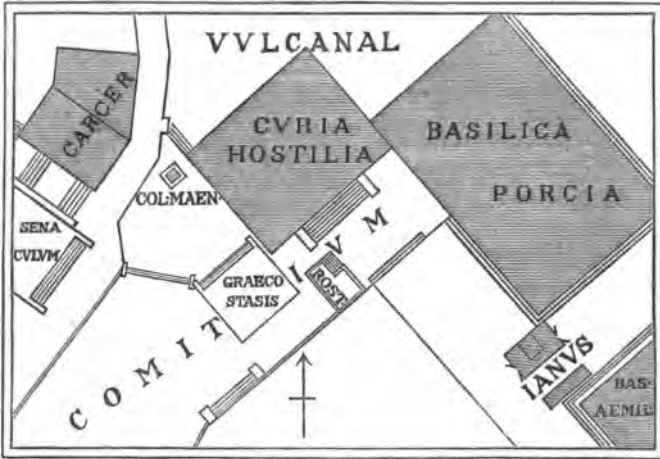
Probable
site of the
Maenian
column.

ance of a rod. In this way, supposing the column to have stood to the east of the south corner of the Prison, a tolerably uniform observation may have been made about six o'clock from April to September.⁴⁹⁹

We may now endeavour to see how far our information enables us to fix the absolute locality of the Curia and other monuments, the relative position of which in respect of each other we have so far been able to describe.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁹ The topographical problems presented by these observations of the course of the sun have been discussed by Canina, *Foro Romano*, pp. 358, 362; Becker, *Handbuch*, i. 284, 322.

⁵⁰⁰ The plan on the opposite page is suggested as an arrangement of the Curia and objects near it, consistent with the descriptions of ancient writers and the existing remains. The best proof to the author's mind of its probability is, that he has been unable to arrange



PLAN OF THE NORTH CORNER OF THE FORUM, B.C. 150.

We may first observe, that the vicinity of the Argiletum and the Forum of Caesar leads us at once to the north-eastern side of the Forum Romanum. The Argiletum led to the Suburra,⁵⁰¹ and, although the precise locality and extent of the Julian Forum are not known, it is not doubted that it formed part of the group of imperial Fora on this side of the Roman Forum.

It is remarkable that, of all the other objects which have been mentioned in connection with the Curia, there is only one which can be confidently identified with any existing remains. The Comitium, the Rostra, the Graecostasis, the Sena-

the objects differently consistently with the data. The Senaculum is represented as a distinct monument; see before, p. 168.

⁵⁰¹ Mart. Ep. ii. 17. (Note 673.)

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Curia on the north-east side of the Forum.

Temple of Concord.

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culum, and the Janus, as well as the Curia itself and the Forum of Caesar, have all disappeared without leaving any certain traces behind them. The one monument which still exists in ruin is the Temple of Concord. The remains of this temple under the base of the Capitoline Hill have been already described. It has also been shown that the latest temple occupied the site on which the temple built by Opimius and the Basilica Opimia had previously stood. The temple of Opimius again had replaced that of Camillus, and probably superseded the small bronze temple of Flavius, the associations connected with which were not agreeable to the dominant party.⁵⁰¹

Gallery
and en-
trances of
the Tabu-
larium.

It should be observed that when the gallery of the Tabularium was erected, probably by Catulus, B.C. 78, during the existence of the basilica and temple of Opimius, there were no buildings abutting on the Tabularium of the height of the more recent temples of Concord and Vespasian, by which this gallery was afterwards in a great measure closed or obscured. Beside the doorway of the Tabularium already mentioned, which was closed by the Temple of Vespasian,² there are traces of another entrance into this building from the Forum behind the podium of the Temple of Concord. The passage leading to this door appears to have been originally carried under the base of

Doorway
of the Ta-
bularium
behind
Concord.

⁵⁰¹ See before, pp. 11—16, and pp. 165-169.

² See p. 27.

some earlier structure, but to have been closed upon the rebuilding of the temple by Tiberius.⁵⁰³

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Proceeding downwards from the site of the Temple of Concord, the first monuments which our authorities have taught us to seek are the Comitium and the Graecostasis raised upon it.⁴

The Graecostasis.

Now the principal object which at present occupies the area below this site is the Arch of Severus. I have little hesitation in concluding that this structure, which belongs to a period when the associations connected with the ancient Roman constitution had lost their general influence, and were disregarded by the reigning prince,⁵ was placed in the midst of the Comitium, the original character of which was thereby destroyed. The ancient Graecostasis had probably occupied a part of the site so invaded; but whether it had survived on its old site until the erection of the arch we have no direct evidence to show.

Arch of Severus placed in the Comitium.

Site of the Graecostasis.

A monument called Graecostadium was restored after fire by Antoninus Pius; a Graecostadium was also rebuilt by Diocletian, and is named in the *Curiosum*. A fragment of the Capi-

The Graecostadium.

Capitoline Plan.

⁵⁰³ The passage "has old walls faced with *opus reticulatum* of the time of the Republic. It is stopped abruptly at the further end by a wall of the time of Augustus." Parker, *Forum Romanum*, Description of Plate III.

⁴ Sub dextra huius (Curiae) a Comitio locus substructus . . . Graecostasis appellatus . . . Senaculum supra Graecostasin, nbi aedis Concordiae et Basilica Opimia. Varro, *L. L.* v. 32. (Note 402.)

⁵ Gibbon, *Roman Empire*, chap. v. at the end.

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IV.Age of the
Plan.Older
Graecosta-
sis in the
Plan.Later
Graecosta-
dium on a
new site.

toline Plan shows a rectangular structure of considerable size, having the appearance of a terrace, with steps on one side, and columns or pedestals upon it, and bears the imperfect inscription, RECOST. This plan appears to have been made in the reign of Severus, after the association of Caracalla in the empire, A.D. 198, and before that of Geta, A.D. 211.⁵⁰⁶ The arch was erected A.D. 203. The plan may therefore be either earlier or later than the arch. But if, as we can scarcely doubt, the building shown on this fragment is the Graecostadium, it is probable that the plan is earlier, and that the terrace here represented, which has no counterpart in the existing ruins, was destroyed upon the erection of the arch. The notices of the Graecostadium of a later time point to the neighbourhood of the Vicus Jugarius and the Basilica Julia, between which objects it is mentioned in the Curiosum. In this direction no other place can be found for such a monument than that now occupied by the terrace with the curved face, which is described in the first Chapter, and which has been commonly known as the Rostra.⁷ The form of this ruin does not correspond with that figured on the Capitoline Plan, and was probably adopted on the

⁵⁰⁶ See plan, p. 26. The only evidence of the date of the plan is an inscription on some buildings in the Palatine, SEVERI ET . . TONINI AV . . NN. This is read in full, Severi et Antonini Augustorum Nostorum.

⁷ See p. 19.

removal of the monument from its former site, to suit the narrower area of this part of the Comitium. The view of the Forum given by the bas-relief of Constantine exhibits one monumental terrace only, occupying the ground between the Arch of Tiberius and the Arch of Severus.⁸⁰⁷ This could be no other than the curved terrace; there is not room for another on the ground; and no such monument as that now in ruins is likely to have been added to the Forum after the age of Constantine. We can scarcely avoid the conclusion, that in this terrace we have the Graecostadium of the later empire. It may be observed, that the supposition that this was also the site of the Republican Graecostasis is excluded beyond question by the evidence of Pliny, since it is impossible to place the Curia to the north of the curved terrace.⁸ It is probable that, in earlier times, this end of the Comitium had been the site of the Praetor's tribunal.⁹ The Graecostadium, so far as the existing remains enable us to judge, was an open terrace, without any permanent covering. This agrees with what we read of the earlier Graecostasis.¹⁰

With respect to the position of the Curia, it has been shown to have had a south-easterly aspect, and was therefore situated to the north-west of the Janus, which stood in front of it;

Site of
the Curia.

⁸⁰⁷ See p. 21.

⁹ See p. 192.

⁸ See pp. 175, 177.

¹⁰ See p. 161.

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and as the Janus was itself on the north-eastern edge of the Forum Romanum, looking in one direction into the Forum of Caesar, we may conclude that the Curia was also among the buildings bounding the Forum (in its larger sense, including the Comitium), on the same north-eastern side. It appears to have adjoined, or nearly so, the Graecostasis,⁵¹¹ and we know from the argument of the meridian that it lay to the north of that monument.³ Assuming that the Graecostasis was on the site of the Arch of Severus, the Curia must be placed, wholly or in part, upon the site of the Church of Santa Martina.

Site of
the Chal-
civicum,
or Atrium
Minervae.

The Chalcidicum of Augustus, which, as we have seen, was probably identical with the Atrium Minervae of later authors, adjoined the Curia Julia.³ It could not have been on its right or south-western side, as that position was otherwise occupied; and, if we are correct in the position of the Curia, there was no room for it at the back. It may have been built, wholly or in part, on the site of the Basilica Porcia, that is, in front of the Curia to the left. This basilica nearly adjoined the Curia Hostilia, and was burnt with it, and we read nothing of its subsequent restoration.⁴ It is probable that the Chalcidicum lay in part against the north-east wall of the Curia Julia, where its site is now marked by the apse of the

⁵¹¹ Varro, L. L. v. 32. (Note 402.) See before, p. 161.

³ See p. 177.

² See p. 159.

⁴ See Chapter VI.

church of Santa Martina, in which an inscription was found recording the restoration of a *secretarium senatus* in the year A.D. 407.⁵¹⁴ This building, the foundation of which is attributed by the inscription to Flavianus, Praefectus Urbi, A.D. 309, can scarcely have been the principal place of assembly of the Senate, which, as we have seen, was popularly called *Senatus*, and in the controversy between Ambrose and Symmachus, not long before the restoration of this Secretarium, had still its old title of Curia.⁵ The Secretarium was more probably an adjunct to the Curia, which had taken the place of the Atrium Minervae, the name of which would naturally be dropped under Christian influence. The *Senatus* itself, and the Atrium Minervae, had been both burnt down towards the end of the third century.⁶

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Secretarium Senatus.

With regard to the site of the Comitium, the fact that it was the place of meeting of a privileged class of citizens makes it probable that it was at one end, or at the side, and not in the middle, of the Forum. The same kind of position is also indicated by its use as a place for spec-

Site of the Comitium.

⁵¹⁴ SALVIS . DOMINIS . NOSTRIS . HONORIO . ET . THEODOSIO . VICTORIOSISSIMIS . PRINCIPIBUS . SECRETARIUM . AMPLISSIMI . SENATUS . QVOD . VIR . INLVSTRIS . FLAVIANVS . INSTITVERAT . ET . FATALLIS . IGNIS . ABSVMPST . FLAVIVS . ANNIVS . EVCHARIVS . EPIPHANIVS . VC . PRAEF . VRB . VICE . SACRA . IVD . REPARAVIT . ET . AD . PRISTINAM . FACIEM . REDVXIT. (In hemicyclo templi S. Martinae.) Gruter, Inscr. 170. 5.

⁵ Ambros. Epist. in Symmach. (Note 433.)

⁶ Note 448.

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tators at the public games.⁵⁶ It lay, as we have seen, partly before the Curia⁷ and partly to the right of that building, as one looked from the front of it.⁸ It was in sight of the Temple of Concord,⁹ and close below it.²⁰ With these marks we can have no difficulty in concluding that the Comitium constituted the upper or north-western end of the Forum, commencing where the ground naturally began to rise, occupying the principal part of the space between the Temple of Saturn on the one side and the Curia on the other, and also extending in a narrow terrace before the Curia, where it supported the republican Rostra. The evidence which places the Comitium in the locality which has been indicated, though slight, is still so significant that the reader may wonder that its bearing has not been previously pointed out. This has arisen partly from the position and orientation of the Curia not having been distinctly conceived, and still more from the intrusion of the Arch of Severus, which has obscured the topography of this part of the Forum.

Limits and
level of the
Comitium.

The great temples at the foot of the Capitol are never described as situated in the Comitium. We may infer that the road which ran in front of their steps formed its western boundary. The

⁵⁶ See p. 144.

⁷ See pp. 150, 151.

⁸ Varro, L. L. v. 32. (Note 402.)

⁹ Plutarch, Cam. (Note 32.)

²⁰ Varro, L. L. v. 32. (Note 402.)

space thus included was on a natural slope, the road last mentioned being higher by about eight feet than the Mid Forum. By what terraces and steps this slope was broken, in the ancient arrangement of the ground before the introduction of the Arch of Severus, it is useless to conjecture. The limits of the Comitium, in its central part, were obliterated at the time of the erection of this arch. Its special uses and associations had already become obsolete. Possibly in more recent alterations all traces of its distinction from the rest of the Forum may have disappeared, unless the ancient wall, fragments of which are to be seen under the modern road between the Arch of Severus and the Column of Phocas, may mark a part of its boundary.

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Dura-
tion of the
Comitium.

It is probable that, before the erection of the Arch of Severus and the formation of the ways under it, there had been for centuries a well-worn footway past the side of the Curia and Graecostasis, and across the Comitium. This would be the ordinary route from the Forum to the short and steep ascent of the Capitol called the *Scalae Gemoniae*,⁵²¹ and probably also to the street which followed the direction of the present *Via Marforio* towards the *Campus Martius*. We have some indication of this ancient route in Livy's story about the proposed evacuation of the city after its con-

Way
across the
Comitium.

Position of
the *Scalae*
Gemoniae.

⁵²¹ These steps began to rise between the Carcer and the Portico of Concord, nearly where the modern steps begin, but, as they were at a

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quest by the Gauls. The Senate is represented as holding counsel in the Curia Hostilia, when a body of soldiers, returning from guard duty, crosses the Forum and passes into the Comitium. In the Comitium the centurion gives the command to halt, in words, which, overheard by the senators, determine the fate of Rome: "Ensign, fix the standard; here we had best remain"! The senators immediately issue from the Curia, declare that they accept the omen, and their decision is confirmed by the people.⁵²²

Carriage-
way under
the Arch
of Severus.

The previously frequented route across the Comitium was probably converted into a carriage-way at the time of the erection of the Arch of Severus. Some antiquaries, indeed, have been of opinion that there was no carriage-way originally under the arch, and I do not know whether the investigation on the spot which might decide the point has been made.³ But the form of the building, with its wide central arch and narrower arches on either side, seems to imply a carriage-way as well as footways beneath it.

lower level at the bottom, they must have been considerably steeper. They led out of the Forum, and the spot where the condemned were thrown was in full view from its area. (Calpio) in publicis vinculis spiritum deposuit, corpusque eius, funesti carnificis manibus lacertatum, in scalis Gemoniis iacens magno cum horrore totius fori Romani conspectum est. Valer. Max. vi. 9, 13. Dio. Cass. lviii. 5. (Note 8.)

⁵²² Quum Senatus . . . in curia Hostilia haberetur, cohortesque ex praesidiis revertentes forte agmine forum transirent, centurio in Comitio exclamavit: Signifer, statue signum, hic manebimus optime. Qua voce audita et senatus accipere se omen ex Curia egressus clamavit, et plebs circumfusa approbavit. Liv. v. 55.

³ But see Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 121.

The Columna Maenia was probably placed near the south-western wall of the Curia, with little but the roadway between it and the Prison. This proximity must have been convenient for the criminal tribunal of the *Triumviri Capitaes*, which sat at the *Maenian Column*. From this locality, and from no other, could the observation of the afternoon position of the sun with reference to the Prison be made. And this site agrees perfectly with the indication afforded by Cicero, since a person entering the *Comitium* by the ancient street leading from the *Campus Martius*, now represented by the *Via Marforio*, would first come in view of the crowd of spectators collected on the *Capitoline slope* and in the *Mid-Forum* when he arrived at this point.⁵²⁴

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IV.
—
Columna
Maenia.

Of all the sites in the immediate neighbourhood of the Curia, there is none more difficult to place than the *Vulcanal* or *Area Vulcani*. We have already seen that in *Dionysius* the *Hephaestum* is not distinguishable from the *Comitium*. But the *Vulcanal* of other authors is clearly a distinct locality. Being on a higher level than the *Comitium*, it doubtless lay on the rising ground in the direction of the *Capitoline Hill*. Judging by the slight indications of its locality in early times, we might be inclined to place it on the site ultimately occupied by the great Temple of

Site of the
Vulcanal.

⁵²⁴ See before, pp. 172, 178.

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—

Concord.⁵²⁴ But the more distinct evidence of its later position leads us to the north-east side of the Curia, in the direction of the Forum Caesaris, into which, as we have seen, the roots of its ancient lotus-tree extended. And there is no reason to suppose that its site was ever moved. The speculations of Plutarch as to the origin of the Vulcanal seem to associate it with the meeting-place of the Senate.⁵

Some confusion has been caused among topographers by an Area Vulcani being found in the printed Notitia in the list of remarkable objects in the fourth Region. This is clearly to be regarded as an error, probably arising from the incorrect state of the manuscript.⁶ The Vulcanal was certainly in the eighth Region.

Tribunal
of the
Comitium.

There is no direct evidence as to the position of the praetor's tribunal on the Comitium. We have seen that the Triumviri Capitaes sat at the Maenian Column, near the Prison, to hear criminal causes. The principal civil tribunal was probably towards the southern extremity of the Comitium, where there would be more ample space for the numerous *judices*, witnesses, and

Site of
the tri-
bunal.

⁵²⁴ See before, pp. 165, 168.

⁵ Plin. N. H. xvi. 86. (Note 463.) Plutarch. Quaest. Rom. 47. (Note 455.) Festus, ed. Müll. 290. (Note 458.)

⁶ The words in one MS. are *auro vulcani aurum bucinum*, possibly a twofold entry of the same object, whatever it may have been. The two words which are read *aream Vulcani* are not in the Curiosum. See Appendix.

advocates who attended before it. The particulars of the trial of Milo furnish some suggestions as to its situation. That trial was presided over by L. Domitius, a Quaesitor specially chosen for the occasion, and the court consisted of fifty-one *judices*. When the first witness against the accused was cross-examined by Marcellus, one of the advocates of Milo, the Clodian faction among the bystanders was so excited against the advocate, that he was forced to take refuge with the presiding judge within the tribunal, and Domitius appealed for assistance to Pompey, who was consul, and sat before the Aerarium, or Temple of Saturn. The next day Pompey occupied the same spot, surrounded by soldiers;⁵²⁸ and Cicero in his published speech represents himself as raising his voice to address himself to the consul.⁹ This description corresponds with no place so well as with the situation of the curved terrace near the Temple of Saturn, which is probably of later date, and has been identified

⁵²⁸ *Primo die datus erat in Milonem testis Cassinius Schola . . . quem cum interrogare M. Marcellus coepisset, tanto tumultu Clodianae multitudinis circumstantis exterritus est, ut vim ultimam timens in tribunal a Domitio reciperetur . . . Sedebat eo tempore Cn. Pompeius ad aerarium . . . Euntibus ad tabellam ferendam postero die iudicibus . . . clausae fuerunt tota urbe tabernae, praesidia in foro et circa omnes fori aditus Pompeius disposuit. Ipse pro aerario ut pridie consedit, septus delecta manu militum. Asconius, argum. ad Cic. pro Mil.*

⁹ *Tuas, Cn. Pompeie, te enim iam appello ea voce ut me audire possis, tuas inquam suspiciones perhorrescimus. Cic. pro Mil. 25.*

CHAP.
IV.

Construction of the tribunals.

with the Graecostadium.⁵³⁰ The open-air tribunals appear to have been for the most part wooden structures consisting of a raised platform,—the proper tribunal, upon which were placed the *sella* of the presiding magistrate, and the seats of the *judices*,¹—of desks for the *scribae*, and of distinct *subsellia* for the adverse parties and their advocates and witnesses.² These structures were easily torn in pieces by a mob, and their materials were

⁵³⁰ See pp. 20, 185. A bas-relief on the arch of Constantine represents the emperor addressing the people from this monument, which may possibly have been sometimes called Tribunal in memory of the previous use of the site. Ammianus Marcellinus, in describing the entry of Constantine into Rome, says that he addressed the nobility in the Curia, and the people from the Tribunal. Proinde Romam ingressus, imperii virtutumque omnium larem, cum venisset ad Rostra perspectissimumque priscae potentiae forum obstupuit; perque omne latus quo se oculi contulissent miraculorum densitate praestricus, adloquutus nobilitatem in Curia, populumque e tribunali, in Palatium receptus, etc. Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 10.

¹ Quaero ex te, Vatini, . . . num quis reus in tribunal sui quaestoris ascenderit, eumque vi deturbarit, subsellia dissiparit . . . Sciasne . . . iudices quaestionum de proximis tribunalibus esse depulsos, in foro, luce, inspectante populo Romano? Cic. in Vatin. 14. Plin. Ep. vi. 33. (Note 107.)

Palam de sella ac tribunali pronuntiat. Cic. Verr. Actio II. ii. 38. Liv. vi. 15. (Note 393.)

Tiberius watched the proceedings of the praetor and *judices* from a corner of the tribunal. Nec Patrum cognitionibus satiatus indicibus adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem sella curuli depelleret. Tac. i. 75.

² Erant ei veteres inimicitiae cum duobus Rosciis Amerinis, quorum alterum sedere in accusatorum subselliis video. Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 6.

Volo hoc oratori contingat, ut quum auditum sit eum esse dicturum, locus in subselliis occupetur, compleatur tribunal, gratiosi scribae sint in dando et cedendo loco. Cic. Brut. 84.

used on more than one historical occasion for purposes for which they were not designed.⁵³³ But we have seen that the Tribunal Aurelium was built with a permanent platform and steps, which were probably of stone or marble; and the tribunal of the Comitium may have been similarly constructed.⁴

The *subsellia* were especially the advocates' seats. Hence a *subsellis esse* was equivalent to being an advocate, or, as we say, at the bar (Cic. in Caecil. div. 15.); a *subsellis se in otium conferre*, to retire from the bar. (Cic. de Orat. ii. 38.) But, as in our own courts, room was probably made in the *subsellia*, and even in the seats of the clerks of the court, for respectable visitors. (Cic. Brut. l. c.)

⁵³³ *Fecerisne ante Rostra pontem continuatis tribunalibus, per quem consul . . . ad necem duceretur.* Cic. in Vatin. 9. (Note 547.)

Populus, duce Sex. Clodio scriba, corpus P. Clodii in Curiam intulit, cremavitque *subsellis* et *tribunalibus* et *mensis* et *codicibus* *librariorum*, quo igne et ipsa Curia flagravit, et item Basilica Porcia, quae erat ei iuncta, ambusta est. Ascon. argum. ad Cic. pro Mil.

Confestimque *circumstantium turba vulgulta arida* et cum *subsellis tribunalibus* . . . *congressit* (ad funus Caesaris). Sueton. Jul. 84. (Note 571.)

⁴ The several tribunals placed in the basilicas appear to have been distributed in their areas like the older tribunals in the open Forum, and not to have occupied separate rooms. See p. 45.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROSTRA.

CHAP. V. THE several Rostra of the Comitium and Forum have been already mentioned in treating of the localities in which they were placed. But in order to gain a clear idea of the relation of these monuments to one another, and of the part played by each in the history of the Forum, some connected account of them is required.

Conciones held in the Comitium.

The old meeting-place of the citizens of Rome was doubtless the Comitium. It was here that the *conciones* were assembled at which the measures proposed by the magistrates were recommended to the people.⁵³³ But it is not known at what period a fixed platform was first erected for the use of orators. Some such monument probably existed in very remote times, since as early as B.C. 438 the statues of the ambassadors killed by the Fidenates are said by Livy to have been placed at the Rostra; and, though the name of Rostra seems to be applied to it by anticipation, there is no reason why the *suggestum* should not have been already on the site which it occupied when within Cicero's recollection these statues were still before it.⁴

Suggestum of the Comitium.

⁵³³ Dionys. ii. 50; iv. 38; vi. 67; vii. 17; xi. 39. (Note 455.)
See before, pp. 146, 148, 162.

⁴ Legatorum, qui Fidenis caesi sunt, statuæ publice in Rostris positæ sunt. Liv. iv. 17.

Rex Veientium quatuor legatos populi Romani Fidenis interemit,

In the year B.C. 338, when the Latin towns were subjugated under the consulship of Camillus and Maenius, some of the *rostra* or beaks of the ships taken from the Antiates were used to adorn the *suggestum*. The number of beaks so used seems to have been six. The platform was thenceforth known by the name of Rostra.⁵³⁵ This monument was consecrated by augury, and was appropriated to the use of the higher magistrates, who in early times were themselves inaugurated. Cicero speaks of it as an act of profanation when the tribune Vatinius produced the informer Vettius upon the Rostra, that inaugurated temple, to which former tribunes had only invited the chiefs of the state to give authority to their proposals.⁶ A special interest in the Rostra appears to be here ascribed to the tribunes, who are represented by Livy as using them for a tribunal.⁷

CHAP. V.

Suggestum
adorned
with *ros-
tra*.

The Rostra
a temple.

quorum statuæ in Rostris steterunt usque ad nostram memoriã.
Cic. Phil. ix. 2.

⁵³⁵ Naves Antiatiarum partim in navalia Romæ subductæ, partim incensæ, rostrisque earum suggestum in foro extractum adornari placuit, Rostraque id templum appellatum. Liv. viii. 14.

Extant et parta de Antio spolia, quæ Maenius in suggestu fori capta hostium classe suffixit, si tamen illa classis, nam sex fuere rostratæ; sed hic numerus illis initiis navale bellum fuit. Florus. i. 11.

Antiquior columnarum (celebratio), sicut C. Maenio, qui devicerat priscos Latinos, . . . eodemque in consulatu in suggestu rostra devictis Antiatibus fixerat anno urbis ccccxvi. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 11.

⁶ Cum L. Vettium . . . in concionem produxeris, indicem in Rostris, in illo inquam augurato templo ac loco, collocaris, quo auctoritatis exquirendæ causa ceteri tribuni plebis principes civitatis producere consuerunt, ibi tu indicem Vettium, etc. Cic. in Vatin. x. 24. Liv. viii. 14. (Note 535.)

⁷ Liv. xxxviii. 51. (Note 545.) Val. Max. ix. 5, 2. (Note 421.)

CHAP. V. Cicero says that M. Antonius the orator, whose head was affixed to the Rostra when he was put to death by order of Marius, had adorned the same Rostra during his censorship (B.C. 97) with *manubiae imperatoriae*, the fruits apparently of his Cilician victories, which gained him a triumph five years before.³⁸

Site of the first Rostra.

The site of these first Rostra has been described in a previous chapter. They were upon the Comitium, and were entered from it,⁹ but were so placed with reference to the remaining part of the Forum that the speech, which was primarily addressed to the aristocratic body in the former, could also be heard by a plebeian audience in the latter. In later times it became the custom for orators to address their harangues to the larger assembly. This alteration of posture indicated a material change in the constitution of Rome. According to Cicero, C. Licinius Crassus, tribune of the plebs, B.C. 145, was the first to turn in the direction of the Forum, but Plutarch ascribes the innovation to C. Gracchus.⁴⁰

Posture of the orators.

³⁸ Iam M. Antonii in his ipsis Rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime consul defenderat, quaeque censor imperatoriis manubiis ornat, positum caput illud fuit, a quo erant multorum civium capita servata. Cic. de Orat. iii. 3.

⁹ Pulsus e Rostris (frater meus) in Comitio iacuit. Cic. p. Sext. 35. See before, p. 150.

⁴⁰ Is (C. Licinius Crassus) primum instituit in forum versus agere cum populo. Cic. de Amicit. 25. A passage of Varro, which has given rise to much controversy, seems to allude to the same change.

The Rostra were in front of the Curia, and so near to that building as almost to touch it.⁵⁴¹ They must therefore have been close to the steps which led to its principal entrance.² This position was, no doubt, chosen for the convenience of the Senate, who made use of the Rostra for announcing and recommending their decisions to the assembled people. They would also in this position be more immediately under the control of the Fathers of the State. Their relation to the Senate in this respect is noticed by Cicero, who says that the Curia watches and besets the Rostra to punish indiscretion and temper duty.³ The actual possession of the Rostra was a matter of importance in a moment of political excitement, and Dionysius, in illustrating the influence of the *patria potestas* among the Romans, speaks of it as a familiar thing for a son, however eminent his public position, to be dragged by his father from

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Rostra
under con-
trol of the
Senate.

Eiusdem gentis C. Licinius, tribunus plebis cum esset post reges exactos ccclxv., primus populum ad leges excipiundas in septem iugera forensia e Comitio eduxit. Varro de Re Rust. i. 2. 9.

Τοῦτον τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρων τὰ τε ἄλλα λέγεται σπουδάσαι διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντων δημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀφορώντων καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Κομίτιον, πρῶτον τότε στραφεῖς ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγορῆσαι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω ποιεῖν ἐξ ἐκείνου, μικρὰ παρεγκλίσει καὶ μεταστάσει σχήματος μέγα πρᾶγμα κινήσας, καὶ μετενεγκῶν τρόπον τινα τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν. Plut. C. Gracch. 5.

⁵⁴¹ Τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τοτὲ κειμένοις ἐμβόλοισ. Diodor. Sic. xii. 26. Asconius ad Cic. pro Mil. 5. (Note 551.)

² See before, p. 151.

³ Speculatur atque obsidet Rostra, vindex temeritatis et moderatrix officii, Curia. Cic. pro Flacco, 24.

CHAP. V. the Rostra, if he was advancing opinions hostile to the policy of the Senate.⁵⁴⁴

History of
the first
Rostra.

The Rostra, thus advantageously placed for the influence of the nobles, was the scene of the long struggle between the aristocratic and democratic elements of the Roman constitution. It was from these Rostra that the Gracchi advocated their laws. Here, according to the story told by Livy, Africanus was arraigned by the tribunes, and, having summoned the whole people to the Capitol to give thanks to the gods for his former victories, left his accusers alone upon the Rostra.⁵ From the same place Cicero spoke his second and third Catilinarian orations. During the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus, when the former found the senate determinately opposed to his measures, he closed the Curia and brought all his legislation before the people.⁶ On one occasion in the midst of these contests, Vatinius the tribune made a bridge with the platforms of the tribunals, by which he took the Rostra by storm,

⁵⁴⁴ Κατὰ τοῦτον γέ τοι νόμον ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς δημηγορίας διεξιόντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐναντίας μὲν τῇ βούλῃ κεχαρισμένας δὲ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς . . . κατασπασθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀπήχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων, κτλ. Dionys. ii. 26.

⁵ Tribuni in Rostris prima luce consederunt. Citatus reus . . . per mediam concionem ad Rostra subiit . . . Ab Rostris se universa concio avertit et secuta Scipionem est; adeo ut postremo scribae viatoresque tribunos relinquerent. Liv. xxxviii. 51.

⁶ Καὶ βουλὴν μὲν οὐκέτι συνήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ἕλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐδημηγόρει. Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 10.

and put Bibulus under arrest.⁵⁴⁷ Cicero, three years CHAP. V.
 after, in denouncing the disturbances which took place in the Forum on the day on which his own recall from exile was proposed, when his brother was driven from the Rostra, and almost lost his life, gives a lively picture of what had been common in the recollection of his hearers. "You remember," he says, "the Tiber filled with corpses, the drains choked, the blood sponged from the Forum." "Stone-throwing we have often seen; not so often, though too frequently, swords drawn; but such a massacre, such heaps of human bodies, who ever saw in the Forum, unless perhaps on that day of Cinna and Octavius?"⁸

The Rostra of the Comitium were already associated with some of the most terrible atrocities of history. The heads of the consul Octavius and of the chiefs of the aristocracy put to death by Marius and Cinna were hung in front of the Rostra; and in the retribution of Sulla similar horrors were repeated.⁹

⁵⁴⁷ Volo uti mihi respondeas, . . . fecerisne ante Rostra pontem continuatis tribunalibus, per quem Consul populi Romani, non in carcerem, sed ad supplicium et ad necem duceretur. Cic. in Vatin. ix. 21.

⁸ (Frater meus) pulsus e Rostris in Comitio iacuit . . . Meministis, tum, iudices, corporibus civium Tiberim compleri, cloacas referciri, e foro spongiis effingi sanguinem . . . Lapidationes per-saepe vidimus, non ita saepe sed nimium tamen saepe gladios, caedem vero tantam, tantos acervos corporum exstructos, nisi forte illo Cinnano atque Octaviano die, quis unquam in foro vidit? Cic. p. Sext. xxxv. xxxvi.

⁹ App. Bell. Civ. i. 71, 94; Dio Cass. frag. 119, 139; Florus, iii. 21.

CHAP. V. Upon the same Rostra the body of Sulla was placed in his funeral ceremony, as those of Julius and Augustus were deposited upon the later Rostra of the Forum. The body of Clodius was also placed upon the old Rostra before it was burnt by the populace in the Curia.⁵⁵⁰

Public
funerals at
the Rostra.

The Rostra of the Comitium continued in use until the destruction of the Curia upon the occasion last mentioned, B.C. 52. During that scene of tumult one of the tribunes continued to address the mob from the *suggestum* till he was scorched, as Cicero sarcastically describes it, by the fire which was burning at his back.¹

Rostra
between
B.C. 52 and
B.C. 44.

During the eight years which followed the destruction of the Curia Hostilia, the site of that monument underwent a series of alterations, which have been described in a previous chapter.² Whether the old Rostra continued in use in spite of the disturbance around them, we have no information.

Removal
of the
Rostra,
B.C. 44.

We learn from Dio, that in the last year of Caesar's dictatorship, B.C. 44, the Rostra were removed to the position which they still occu-

⁵⁵⁰ Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 21.

¹ Declarant huius ambusti tribuni plebis illae intermortuae conciones, etc. Cic. pro Mil. 5. Tribuni plebis . . . concionati sunt eo ipso tempore . . . quo propter Clodii corpus Curia incensa est, nec prius destiterunt quam flamma eius incendii fugati sunt e concione. Erant enim tunc Rostra non eo loco quo nunc sunt, sed ad Comitium prope iuncta Curiae. Ob hoc T. Munatium ambustum tribunal appellat. Asconius ad Cic. ib.

² See p. 153.

pied in the time of the historian, having been previously, as he informs us, somewhere in the middle of the Forum.⁵³³ Whether the locality last mentioned refers to some temporary position occupied by the Rostra after the destruction of the Curia Hostilia, or whether, as is more probable, it is a loose description of their ancient site between the Comitium and the Forum, it is impossible to say; but it may be observed that Appian uses similar language to describe the latter locality in speaking of the head of the younger Marius being hung before the Rostra.⁴ It is possible that neither Appian nor Dio were acquainted with the precise site of the ancient Rostra, which had become in the time of the Antonines a mere matter of archaeology.

The new Rostra were adorned with beaks of ships, which were believed to be the same relics of the navy of the ancient Latins that had decorated the old *suggestum*.⁵

A gilded equestrian statue of Sulla, and a

Statues
at the
Rostra.

⁵³³ Καὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἐν μέσῳ που πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔν, ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον ἀνεχωρίσθη. Dio. Cass. xliiii. 49.

⁴ Καὶ αὐτὴν (Μαρίου τὴν κεφαλὴν) ὁ Σύλλας ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῳ πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων θέμενος ἐπιγέλασαι λέγεται τῇ νεύτητι τοῦ ὑπάτου, κτλ. Appian. Bell. Civ. i. 94. The heads appear to have been hung upon the βῆμα itself. Compare Dio, frag. 139, Αἱ κεφαλαὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὰν ἐκομίζοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐξετίθεντο, and Appian. Bell. Civ. i. 71 (of the head of Octavius) ἐκρεμάσθη πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐν ἀγορᾷ, where the historian observes that this precedent was followed in later massacres.

⁵ Florus. i. 11. (Note 536.)

CHAP. V. statue of Pompey, had formerly stood in front of the ancient *suggestum*, but had been displaced by the people. These were restored upon the erection of the new Rostra. An inscription, which attributed the restoration to the consul Antony, only served to increase the glory of Caesar, to whom alone such liberality could be ascribed.⁵⁵⁶ On this restitution Cicero is said to have made the epigrammatic remark, that in setting up Pompey's statues Caesar strengthened the foundation of his own.⁷ Two statues of Julius himself adorned the same monument, one with a civic chaplet as the saviour of his fellow-citizens, the other with an obsidional crown as the successful defender of Rome.⁸

History of
the second
Rostra.

The evidence of Dio is important to show that the Rostra, after the one removal which he records, remained on the same spot for nearly three centuries, that is to say, during all the remaining period that any interest attached to such an institution. It was upon the Rostra in their new site that Caesar sat in purple upon a throne of gold, when Antony offered him the diadem, and a groan echoed through the Forum.⁹ From the

⁵⁵⁶ Dio Cass. xlii. 18, xliii. 49; Plutarch. Caes. 57; Sueton. Iul. 75.

⁷ Plutarch. Caes. 57; Id. Apophthegm. (ed. Reiske, p. 774.)

⁸ Dio Cass. xliv. 4. Other statues at the Rostra have been already mentioned in Chapter II. See p. 86-89.

⁹ Sedebat in Rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus. Adscendis, accedis ad sellam; ita eras Lupercus ut te consullem esse meminisse deberes; diadema ostendis; gemitus

same Rostra Cicero's later harangues were delivered, and upon them the orator's lifeless head and hand were fixed, conspicuous among a number of other like ghastly trophies.⁵⁶⁰ From these Rostra Augustus recommended to the people his new laws, which were to restore the sanctity of marriage, and reform the corruptions of Roman society; and before the same Rostra his daughter Julia kept her assignations with her paramours, or abandoned herself to any chance companion.¹ Upon these Rostra Trajan was pleased to appear as a citizen rather than a prince, and to accept or resign the ancient offices of the magistracy before popular assemblies already unaccustomed to such condescension;² and upon these Rostra he sat, as

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toto foro. . . Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plausu reiiciebat. Cic. Phil. ii. 34. Sueton. Iul. 79; Dio Cass. xliv. 11; Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 109; Plutarch, Caes. 61.

⁵⁶⁰ Liv. Epit. cxx.; Appian. Bell. Civ. iv. 20; Dio Cass. xlvii. 8; Juvenal. x. 120.

¹ Divus Augustus flagitia principalis domus in publicum emisit . . . admissos gregatim adulteros . . . forum ipsum ac Rostra, ex quibus pater legem de adulteriis tulerat, filiae in stupra placuisse, quotidianum ad Marsyam concursum, quum ex adultera in quaestuariam versa ius omnis licentiae sub ignoto adultero peteret. Seneca de Benef. vi. 32.

Τὴν μέντοι Ἰουλίαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἀσελμαίνουσαν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βήματος καὶ κωμάζειν νύκτωρ καὶ συμπίνειν, ὀψὲ δὴποτε φωράσας ὑπεροργίσθη. Dio Cass. lv. 10.

Apud nos exemplum licentiae huius non est aliud quam filia Divi Augusti, cuius luxuria noctibus coronatam Marsyam literae illius dei gemunt. Plin. N. H. xxi. 6.

Marsya statua erat pro Rostris. Schol. Cruq. ad Horat. Sat. i. 6. 120.

² Iam toties procedere in Rostra, inascensumque illum superbiae

CHAP. V. we have seen, to witness the burning of the registers of the taxes which he had remitted.⁵⁶³ We have the testimony of Dio, that the same Rostra continued to exist in the reign of Severus. There can be little doubt that they were among the three Rostra which were to be seen in the Forum Romanum in the time of Constantine,⁴ and probably continued on the same spot as long as any trace of the old condition of things remained.

Form of
the Rostra.

Figures on
coins.

Trajan
monument
in the
Forum.

With respect to the form of the Rostra in either 'situation, our information is not very accurate. Two coins of the Lollian and Sulpician *gentes* are supposed to contain representations of Rostra. The former, which has the legend PALIKANVS, exhibits what appears to be a curved terrace, ornamented with arched panels in which are fixed the beaks of ships, and having upon it a sort of table or desk. The other seems to show an oblong platform, which is ornamented in front with *rostra*, and on which two persons are seated. Until the discovery of the Trajan monument in the Forum we had no image of the Rostra on sculpture. Forming our idea from the slight representations there given of the later Rostra, we should conceive them as a

principum locum terere, hic suscipere, hic ponere magistratus, quam dignum te. Plin. Panegy. 65.

⁵⁶³ See before, p. 64.

⁴ Curiosum, in Reg. VIII. See Appendix.

rectangular platform, large enough to accommodate several persons besides the orator, approached by steps from behind, and ornamented with a double row of *rostra* upon their face. The platform, though at no great height above the Forum,⁵⁶⁵ was sufficiently raised to place the persons who might be upon it out of contact with the audience. Its possession therefore afforded some security to its occupiers. The tribune Vatinius, when he wished to get at the consul Bibulus, who was in possession of the ancient Rostra, had to make a bridge for this purpose out of the wooden tribunals of the Forum;⁶ and a sloping platform was constructed in front of the Rostra for the ceremony of the coronation of Tiridates.⁷ When the emperor Galba and his attendants in the Forum, alarmed at the news of the proceedings of the Praetorians, were uncertain what course to take, and some of those about him proposed to return to the Palatine, and others to make for the Capitol, the majority were in favour of occupying the Rostra.⁸

The site of the Rostra of the Forum, near the middle of the north side of the open area, has been determined in a previous chapter, principally

Site of the
Rostra of
the Forum.

⁵⁶⁵ Fronto ad Antonin. i. 2. (Note 386.)

⁶ Cic. in Vatin. ix. 21. (Note 547.)

⁷ See before, p. 95.

⁸ *Iam Marius Celsus haud laeta retulerat, cum alii Palatium redire, alii Capitolium petere, plerique Rostra occupanda censerent.* Tac. Hist. i. 29.

CHAP. V. by the aid of the sculptures on the monument of
 Funeral of Trajan.⁶⁶⁹ But there is one important event that
 Caesar before the occurred shortly after the removal of the Rostra
 Rostra. to this spot, which it will be necessary to notice
 with reference to the original authorities as
 bearing upon some topographical questions re-
 lating to this monument. The circumstances of
 Caesar's funeral are principally known to us by
 the narratives of Dio Cassius, Appian, and Sue-
 tonius. After the assassination of the dictator,
 his body was privately brought to his residence
 in the Regia.⁷⁰ When the funeral was to take
 place the pyre was prepared in the Campus
 Martius, near the spot where his daughter Julia,
 the wife of Pompey, had been buried by the
 popular will. The bier was borne from the Regia
 into the Forum by persons of magisterial rank,
 and placed on or before the Rostra, where a sort
 of catafalque had been constructed in the form
 of the Temple of Venus Genitrix. The consul
 Antony mounted the Rostra and caused the
 Senate's decree in his honour, and the oath which
 had been taken by the Senate, including the con-
 spirators, to watch over his safety, to be read.
 A few words of his own in addition were more

⁶⁶⁹ See before, p 76. Becker asserts that the Rostra were *sub veteribus*, on the authority of the passage in Suetonius, Aug. 100 (Note 580), where, instead of *pro Rostris veteribus*, he adopts the reading, *pro Rostris sub veteribus*. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 338.) This reading must now be finally abandoned.

⁷⁰ Appian. ii. 118.

than sufficient. The populace became eager for vengeance. The conspirators were sought in vain. According to Appian the body of Caesar was carried by the mob to the Capitol to be at once placed among the gods, but the priests having refused it admission to the temple, it was brought back to the Forum and placed before the Regia; other authors speak only of a proposal to carry the body to the Capitol to be burnt there. A pyre was at length hastily made in the Forum by collecting the materials of the tribunals and benches, and whatever other fuel came to hand. The apparatus of the funeral and other offerings of value were heaped upon it. The veterans threw on their arms, the women their ornaments. Thus the body was burned, and the people watched it through the night; some of Caesar's freedmen then collected his ashes and placed them in the sepulchre of his family. The spot where the pyre had stood was first marked by an altar, and afterwards became the site of the temple erected in honour of Julius.⁵⁷¹

CHAP. V.

Burning of
the body
before the
Regia.Site of the
Heroum
of Caesar.

⁵⁷¹ Funere indicto rogos extractus est in Martio campo, et pro Rostris aurata aedes ad simulacrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata . . . Lectum pro Rostris in forum magistratus et honoribus functi detulerunt. Quem cum pars in Capitolini Iovis cella cremare, pars in Curia Pompei destinaret, repente duo quidam . . . ardentibus cereis succenderunt, confestimque circumstantium turba virgulta arida et cum subselliis tribunalia . . . conguessit . . . Plebs . . . postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit, scripsitque, Parenti Patriae. Apud eam longo tempore sacrificare . . . perseveravit. Sueton. Iul. 84, 85.

Κἄκ τοῦτου τό τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαντες, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν ᾧ

CHAP. V. The base of this temple has been lately excavated at the eastern corner of the Forum. We have already seen that it had in front of it a large platform, which served the purpose of a *suggestum*, and was adorned with the beaks of ships taken at Actium. It thus became a sort of second Rostra, and appears to have been sometimes called the Rostra Julia.⁵⁷²

Rostra
Julia.

Caesar's
body burnt
before the
Regia, or
before the
Rostra?

The statement of Appian, that the spot where the body of Caesar was burnt was the same that was subsequently occupied by his temple, is confirmed by Dio, and is so consistent with antecedent probability that we cannot hesitate to accept it.³ On the other hand, the narrative of

ἀπέσφακτο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον κομίσαι τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἐκεῖ καῦσαι. Κωλυθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν . . . αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ εἶχον, ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐπέθηκαν βωμὸν δὲ τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρὸς χωρίῳ ἰδρυσάμενοι . . . θύειν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ . . . ἐπεχείρουν. οἱ οὖν ὕπατοι ἐκείνόν τε ἀνέτρεψαν, κτλ. Dio Cass. xliv. 50, 51.

Τὸ σῶμα . . . ἐπὶ τὰ ἐμβολα προτέθη . . . καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἡρμήνευος εἰπεῖν . . . τὸ ἐπιτάφιον, κτλ. "Ὡδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἤδη τὴν καὶ χειρῶν ἐγγὺς οὖσιν ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνρδείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον" τὸ γὰρ σῶμα ὡς ὕπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους οὐκ ἐωρᾶτο . . . Ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἐπὶ τὸ λέχος . . . ἐπανελθὼν, ἔφερον αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον . . . κωλυόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐθις ἔθεσαν, ἐνθα τὸ πάλαϊ Ρωμαίοις ἐστὶ βασιλεῖον, καὶ ἔπλα αὐτῷ καὶ βάρη ὅσα πολλὰ ἦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ . . . συνενεγκόντες . . . ἐξῆψαν, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πανδημεὶ τῇ πυρᾷ παρέμενον. ἐνθα βωμὸς πρῶτος ἐτέθη, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ νεὼς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος. Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 143, 147, 148.

Cicero's scornful allusion to Caesar's funeral, in his tirade against Antony, contains no topographical details relating to the Forum. Funeri tyranni, si funus illud fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti . . . tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas quibus semiustulatus ille est, et eas quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagavit. Cic. Phil. ii. 36.

⁵⁷² Dio Cass. lvi. 34. (Note 580.) See before, p. 139.

³ Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 148. (Note 571); Dio Cass. xlvii. 18. (Note 361).

Suetonius, and still more distinctly the few words of the Epitome of Livy, place the site of the burning of the body before the Rostra.⁵⁷⁴ The attempt to reconcile these statements has occasioned no slight confusion, and some antiquaries have concluded that the Rostra Julia had an existence prior to that of the Temple of Julius, and that the funeral of Caesar took place before those Rostra. There is no authority for such a supposition. At all periods of their history, both before and after their removal from the Comitium, both before and after the building of the Temple of Julius, the Rostra are always in Roman authors a distinct monument, sufficiently designated by the name of Rostra alone. The Rostra, says Asconius, writing in the age of Augustus, were not formerly where they are now. The Bema, says Dio, writing in the time of Severus, was removed, in the last year of Caesar's dictatorship, to where it is now.⁵ Had there been more than one monument to which the simple term Rostra would apply, these writers would not have so expressed themselves. On the other hand the platform of the Temple of Julius, though its use as a *suggestum* is occasionally mentioned, is generally described by reference to the temple.⁶

CHAP. V.

Not before
the Rostra
Julia.

⁵⁷⁴ Caesaris corpus, quum in campum Martium ferretur, a plebe ante Rostra crematum est. Liv. Epit. 116.

⁵ Ascon. ad Cic. pro Mil. 5. (Note 551); Dio Cass. xliii. 49. (Note 553).

⁶ Pro aede divi Iuli. Sueton. Aug. 100 (Note 583); ἐπι τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἡρώου. Dio Cass. liv. 35. (Note 578.)

CHAP. V. In one passage only, Dio, after having first mentioned the public Rostra, speaks of this platform as the other, or Julian, Rostra.⁵⁷⁷ It is plain that no Roman author in using the simple word Rostra would intend any other than the public Rostra.

Public
funerals at
the Rostra.

It seems, moreover, to have been thought essential that on the occasion of a public funeral some part at least of the ceremony should take place at the public Rostra. This is most distinctly shown by Dio's account of the funeral of Octavia, the sister of Augustus. The bier was on that occasion placed upon the terrace of the Temple of Julius, and Augustus pronounced the funeral oration from thence, but Drusus, because the funeral was a public one, made his appearance upon the Rostra.⁸ So at the funeral of Drusus himself, though Augustus pronounced the funeral oration in the Flaminian Circus, the body was brought into the Forum, and Tiberius delivered another laudation there.⁹ At Augustus's own funeral, Tiberius pronounced a laudation at the Rostra Julia, but the bier was placed upon the public Rostra, from which Drusus, the son of the new emperor, read a funeral speech.⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁷ Dio Cass. lvi. 34. (Note 580.)

⁸ Τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν προέθετο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἡρώου . . . καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐκεῖ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον εἶπεν, καὶ ὁ Δρούσος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος (δημόσιον γὰρ τὸ πένθος) . . . ἐγένετο. Dio Cass. liv. 35.

⁹ Dio Cass. liv. 35.

⁸⁰ Bifariam laudatus est, pro aede divi Iuli a Tiberio, et pro Rostris veteribus a Druso Tiberi filio. Sueton. Aug. 100.

Προτεθείσης δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ τοῦ δημογορικοῦ βήματος, ἀπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου

There cannot therefore be a doubt that the funeral ceremony of Julius took place at the public Rostra; and, as we know from Dio that these were placed in the year preceding Caesar's death in the same situation which they continued to occupy more than two centuries later, their site cannot have been that of the subsequent Rostra Julia. CHAP. V.

Another theory has supposed that the Rostra, on their removal, B.C. 44, were placed between the Temple of Castor and the Regia, or somewhere at the south-eastern end of the Forum.⁵⁸¹ This supposition serves to reconcile in a very simple way the diverging statements of Appian and Livy's epitomist as to the site of the burning of Caesar's body, but has no other ground to support it. The recent exploration of this part of the Forum shows an absolute want of room on the proposed site for such a monument, which we must remember remained wherever it was then placed long after the building of the Temple of Julius. On the other hand, the discovery of the sculptures on Trajan's monument has served to fix the site of the Rostra of his day, and the association of the Rostra represented in those Position of
the Rostra.

ὁ Δροῦσός τι ἀνέγνω· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐμβόλων τῶν Ἰουλίων ὁ Τιβέριος δημόσιον δὴ τινα κατὰ δόγμα λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοιόνδε ἐπελέξατο. Dio Cass. lvi. 34.

⁵⁸¹ Dyer, in Smith's Dict. Geog. ii. 792; Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 82.

CHAP. V. sculptures with the statue of Marsyas identifies them with the Rostra used by Augustus and familiar to Horace.⁵⁸² We cannot doubt that the Rostra so identified were the Rostra removed before Caesar's death, which, according to the evidence of Dio, remained on the spot where they were then reconstructed until his own day.

Site of the
burning of
Caesar's
body.

With respect to the circumstances of Caesar's funeral, we may conclude the facts to have been these. The ceremony undoubtedly commenced at the Rostra; but the space immediately in front of this monument did not offer a convenient site for the cremation. We have seen that the time-honoured statue of Marsyas, and the Lake of Curtius, a spot held in popular reverence, were near the Rostra and in front of them. Other statues adorned the area around them.³ A wider space would naturally be sought; and probably the most open area in the whole Forum, before the erection of the Temple of Julius, was that which lay in front of the Temple of Castor and the Regia. In this part of the Forum Caesar himself had held the assembly at which he passed his Agrarian Law, when the terrace of the Temple of Castor served the purpose of Rostra.⁴ Here therefore, before the house which he had so long

⁵⁸² Seneca, de benef. vi. 32. (Note 561); Hor. Sat. i. 6, 120; Schol. ad Hor. ib. (Note 163.) See before, p. 71.

³ See before, pp. 86-89, 203-4.

⁴ See before, pp. 103-4.

inhabited, in the part of the Forum associated with his political triumphs, the people burned the body of their idol. The expression in the Epitome of Livy, that the body was burnt before the Rostra, if it be not taken to refer to the funeral ceremony in general rather than to the actual cremation, must be understood in a somewhat liberal sense. The spot chosen was not immediately in front of the Rostra, but was probably the nearest convenient position within sight of them. CHAP. V.

It has been thought by some writers that after the establishment of the new Rostra, in the time of Caesar, the old Rostra of the Comitium still remained, and that they continued to exist till a late period of Roman history. This supposition has no support from any ancient authority, and is inconsistent with the evidence of Asconius and Dio. The former describes the old Rostra completely as a thing of the past—"they were not where they now are, but at the Comitium;" the latter seems scarcely to know where the Rostra formerly were—"somewhere in the middle of the Forum."⁵⁸⁵ There can be little doubt that their removal, however justified by other reasons of convenience or policy, was connected with the plan for the re-arrangement of this part of the Forum upon the construction of the new Curia. For nearly two centuries after this period there is

Old Rostra
ceased to
exist, B.C.
44.

⁵⁸⁵ See pp. 202, 203.

CHAP. V. no mention in ancient authors of any existing Rostra upon the Comitium or at the north-western end of the Forum.

Later Rostra on the Comitium.

It is another question, whether there is reason to believe that some Rostra existed at the Capitoline end of the Forum in late imperial times. The earliest and most distinct indication of this is conveyed by an expression of Fronto in one of his letters to the emperor M. Aurelius, where he compares a trifling superiority in oratorical skill to the slight elevation of the Rostra above the Forum *and Comitium*,⁶⁸⁶ — an expression which is more easily understood if we assume that there were some Rostra existing at that time on the Comitium, though it may possibly be a learned allusion to the Rostra of history. If we suppose that new

Three Rostra in the time of Constantine.

Rostra were erected upon the Comitium in the reign of Hadrian or of the Antonines, it would account for the mention in the *Curiosum* of three Rostra in the Forum.⁷ The curved terrace near the Arch of Severus was supposed by Canina to be the remains of Rostra, but this identification has been already rejected.⁸ Mr. Hemans observed in the face of a wall under the modern road in front of this terrace some marks which might well have been left by the insertion and removal of solid metal ornaments, such as the beaks of

⁶⁸⁶ Fronto. ad Antonin. i. 2. (Note 386.)

⁷ Reg. VIII. See Appendix.

⁸ See before, pp. 20, 185.

ships.⁵⁹⁰ The Jurist Pomponius, who appears to have written in the second century, speaks of the Rostra of the Forum as *Rostra Augusti*,¹ a name which may possibly have been used to distinguish this old platform with its Augustan associations from some newer Rostra on the Comitium.

CHAP. V.

Rostra
Augusti.

The immediate neighbourhood of the Rostra, both when they stood on the Comitium, and in their newer site on the Forum, was a favourite position for honorary statues. Such statues were said to be placed *in Rostris*, which appears to mean, not *upon* the Rostra, but *at* the Rostra, that is, probably, in front or at the side of them.² Several examples of such statues have been mentioned in the present Chapter, and in the Chapter on the Mid Forum.³

Statues in
Rostris.

⁵⁹⁰ Hemans, *Historic Rome*, p. 220.

¹ Hic (Servius) cum in legatione perisset, statuam ei populus Romanus pro Rostris posuit, et hodieque extat pro Rostris Augusti. Pomponius in Dig. lib. I. tit. ii. 2, sect. 43. The jurist is speaking of the statue of Servius Sulpicius, which was placed at the Rostra by the proposal of Cicero, B.C. 43, when no other Rostra existed but those of the Forum. See before, p. 87.

² Compare the passage of Pomponius, cited in the last note, with Cic. Phil. ix. 7. (Note 197.) So the Marsyas is said to have been *in Rostris* and *pro Rostris*. (Note 163.) Niebuhr seems to have thought that the statues were placed upon the Rostra. (*Hist. Rom. Eng. ed.* vol. iii. p. 145, note 268.) But when we consider their multitude, and that some of them were equestrian, this opinion can scarcely be maintained.

³ See pp. 86-89.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NORTH-EASTERN SIDE OF THE MID FORUM.

CHAP.
VI.
—

IN a former chapter the ruins of the Mid Forum have been described, so far as they have been uncovered by excavation. But its north-eastern side still remains buried, and consequently some of the most important monuments of this part of Rome are known to us only by the writings of ancient authors.

Basilica
Porcia.

Proceeding from the Comitium and Curia, the first building on this side of the Forum in the time of the Republic was the Basilica Porcia. This edifice, the earliest basilica of Rome, was built by the elder Cato, B.C. 184. Livy tells us, that two *atria* called *Maenium* and *Titium* in the Lautumiae, and four *tabernae*, were purchased for its site.⁵⁹⁴ The story, told by a commentator on Cicero, of Maenius, the proprietor of one of the houses, reserving a column with the right to erect an awning over it, for a seat at the gladiatorial shows of the Forum,⁵ is evidently a blunder,

Atria,
Maenium
et Titium.
Story of
Maenius
reserving a
column.

⁵⁹⁴ Cato atria duo, Maenium et Titium, in Lautumiis, et quatuor tabernas in publicum emit, basilicamque ibi fecit quae Porcia appellata est. Liv. xxxix. 44.

⁵ Maenius cum domum suum venderet Catoni et Flacco censoribus,

arising out of a double confusion of the Atrium of Maenius with the Columna Maenia, and with the Maeniana or covered balconies of the Tabernae.⁵⁹⁶ Plutarch places the basilica by the side of the Forum under the Curia;⁷ and it appears from the statement of an author who wrote about a century after the destruction of the Curia Hostilia that the basilica either adjoined it, or was connected with it by some other building.⁸

CHAP.
VI.
—

Position
of the
Basilica
Porcia.

Two of the plays of Plautus contain allusions to a basilica, but as the poet died in the year of Cato's censorship,⁹ and no earlier basilica existed, it has been supposed that these passages are additions inserted in the text after the author's death.⁶⁰⁰

ut ibi basilica aedificaretur, exceperat ius sibi unius columnae super quam tectum proiiceret ex provolantibus tabulatis, unde ipse et posterius eius spectare munus gladiatorum possent, quod etiam tum in foro dabatur. Ex illo igitur Columna Maenia vocitata est. Pseudo-Asconius ad Cic. in Caec. div. 16.

⁵⁹⁶ See pp. 55, 172.

⁷ Τῆς βασιλικῆς . . . ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐκ χρημάτων κοινῶν ὑπὸ τὸ βουλευτήριον τῆ ἀγορᾶ παρέβαλε καὶ Πορκίαν βασιλικὴν προσεγόρευσε. Plutarch. Cat. maior. 19.

⁸ Quo igne et ipsa quoque Curia flagravit, et item Porcia basilica, quae erat ei iuncta, ambusta est. Asconius, arg. ad Cic. pro Mil. (Note 533.)

⁹ Nam Plautus P. Claudio L. Porcio, viginti annis post illos quos dixi consules, mortuus est, Catone censore. Cic. Brut. 15.

⁶⁰⁰ Tum piscatores, qui praebent populo pisces foetidos,
Qui advehuntur quadrupedanti crucianti canterio,
Quorum odos subbasilicanos omnes abigit in forum,
Eis ego ora verberabo sirpiculis piscariis,
Ut sciant alieno naso quam exhibeant molestiam.

Plaut. Capteivei, Act. iv. sc. 2, 33. Id. Curculio, Act. iv. sc. 1. 11. (Note 97.)

CHAP.
VI
—
Forum
Piscatorium.

One of them describes the frequenters of the basilica being driven into the Forum by the smell of bad fish. This passage appears to show the proximity of the fish-market to the basilica. That the ancient Forum Piscatorium lay to the north-east of the Forum Romanum appears probable, when we read in Livy that the great fire which occurred in the Roman Forum, B.C. 210, extended to the Lautumiae, the Forum Piscatorium, and the Atrium Regium.⁶⁰¹ The Forum Piscatorium was surrounded with new shops at the time of the building of the Fulvian basilica.² Its area was probably absorbed in later times by the Forum of Caesar.

Burning
of the
Basilica
Porcia.

The fire which destroyed the Curia Hostilia extended to the Basilica Porcia; but whether it was entirely burnt down, or only injured, does not appear.³ No subsequent mention of it is found. At the time of the restoration of this part of the Forum a memorial of the Catones was not likely to be restored in its original name. Even before its destruction, some part of the building appears to have been thought in the way; since we learn from Plutarch that the younger Cato was forced into public life by his anxiety to protect this monument of his family from an alteration proposed by the tribunes, who used this locality for the transaction of their business, probably on

⁶⁰¹ Liv. xxvi. 27. (Note 135.)

² Liv. xl. 51. (Note 641.)

³ Asconius, arg. ad. Cic. pro Mil. (Note 598.)

account of its proximity both to the Curia and the Rostra.⁶⁰⁴ But, if the Basilica Porcia was not rebuilt, its site, or the principal part of it, was doubtless employed for some other edifice. The Curia, as rebuilt by Augustus, had a structure attached to it called the Chalcidicum, and it is not improbable that room for this building was found on the site of the Basilica Porcia.⁵

CHAP.
VI.

Chalci-
dicum.

If we have been right in placing the Curia where the church of Sta Martina now stands, the Basilica Porcia, and the building which replaced it, must have occupied the position now held by the church of S. Adriano. This church was built by Pope Honorius I. about the year A.D. 630, that is, only about twenty years later than the erection of the Column of Phocas. But, though the column stands on the low level of the ancient Forum, the church is on the level of the modern street, some fifteen or twenty feet higher. This contrast suggests the probability that the church occupies the site of some ancient building raised upon an elevated podium, and that the level around has risen to the height of the top of the podium.⁶ We have seen that the Curia was raised

Site of the
Basilica
Porcia.

Church of
S. Adriano.

Contrast of
level with
the Phocas
column.

⁶⁰⁴ Ἡ δὲ καλουμένη Πορκία βασιλικὴ τμητικὸν ἦν ἀνάθημα τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κάτωνος. Εἰωθότες οὖν ἐκεῖ χρηματίζεον οἱ δήμαρχοι, καὶ κίονος τοῖς δίφοροις ἐμποδῶν δοκοῦντος, ἔγνωσαν ὑφελεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ μεταστήσαι. Plutarch. Cat. Min. 5. See before, pp. 169, 197, 200.

⁵ See before, p. 186.

⁶ The ground had formerly risen still higher, for in Du Perac's

CHAP.
VI.
—
Chalci-
dicum.

by a flight of steps above the Comitium. If the Chalcidicum connected with it was here placed, upon what was probably a lower part of the Forum, it would require a considerable artificial elevation.

Inscrip-
tion at S.
Adriano,
relating to
a basilica.

Under the pavement of S. Adriano is said to have been found in 1655 a marble pedestal, with an inscription referring to a statue placed in a basilica by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Praefectus Urbi.⁶⁰⁷ The inscription is very similar to another found near the Phocas column, and relating to a statue placed by the same magistrate in the Basilica Julia during the consulate of Anulinus and Fronto, A.D. 199.⁸ If the inscription found under S. Adriano was *in situ*, we must conclude that the ground was occupied by a basilica during the reign of Severus.

Basilica
Argen-
taria.

Assuming upon this evidence that a basilica existed here in imperial times, some antiquaries have supposed that they have found the site of the Basilica Argentaria of the Curiosum and Notitia, which is there mentioned after the imperial Fora and before the Temple of Concord.⁹

views, about 1585, the church is entered by steps which descend from the outer level.

⁶⁰⁷ GAVINIUS . VETTIVS . PROBIANVS . V.C. PRAEF . VRB . STATVAM .
CONLOCARI . PRAECEPTIT . QVAE . ORNAMENTO . BASILICAE . ESSE .
POSSET . INIVSTRI . Romae in basi marmorea. Grutero Sirmondus
qui vidit. Gruter. MLXXX. 11. Gualdo de Lap. Sepulch. (Nardini,
Rom. Ant. ed Nibby, ii. 228.

⁸ See before, p. 43, Note 102.

⁹ Reg. VIII. See Appx. Burn, Rome and the Campagna p. 83.

But there seems to be some reason to think that the Basilica Argentaria lay between the imperial Fora and the street leading from the tomb of Bibulus to the Prison. The street appears in the Middle Ages to have been called Clivus Argentarius, and to have had on its eastern side an *insula Argentaria*, which may be supposed to mark the site of the basilica.⁶¹⁰ This locality seems to range better with the order in which the various monuments are named in the Notitia.

CHAP.
VI.
—

The situation of the celebrated Janus in front of the Curia has been already mentioned. The foundation of this monument is attributed by Livy to Numa and by other authors to Romulus and Tatius.² Varro calls it the Porta Janualis,

Janus
Geminus.

⁶¹⁰ Ascendit sub arcu Manus carnea per clivium (*sic*) argentarium inter insulam eiusdem nominis et Capitolium, descendit ante privatam Mamertini. Ordo Rom. A.D. 1143, Mabill. Mus. Ital. ii. 143. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 413.) In clivo argentarii templum Concordiae et Saturni. In insula [in Tolusa *Montf.*] templum Bacchi, in fine huius insulae argentariae templum Vespasiani. Mirab. Rom. Montf. Diar. Ital. p. 293. It may be observed that in the first and most trustworthy of these extracts the *insula argentaria* is placed on the ascent of the hill in the Via Marforio, before descending to the prison. In the latter it is brought as far down as the temple of Vespasian.

¹ Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit; aper- tus, ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus, pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit: semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto, pace terra marique parta. Liv. i. 19.

² Huius autem aperiendi vel claudendi templi ratio varia est: alii dicunt Romulo contra Sabinos pugnante, quum in eo esset ut vin-

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Legend of
the sul-
phureous
spring.

and mentions it as one of the ancient gates which were in his time within the walls.⁶¹³ The original gateway may possibly have been in the line of some early fortification uniting the Capitol with the Palatine, but there is no other evidence of this. An ancient legend associated it with the war between the Romans and Sabines, when the god Janus was said to have driven back the invaders from the gate by an outburst of sulphureous water.⁴ The story is told by Macrobius of

ceretur, calidam aquam ex eodem loco erupisse, quae fugavit exercitum Sabinorum. Hinc ergo tractum morem, ut pugnaturi aperirent templum quod in eo loco fuerat constitutum, quasi ad spem auxilii pristini. Alii dicunt Tatum et Romulum facto foedere Iani templum aedificasse, unde et Ianus ipse duas facies habet, quasi ut ostendat duorum regum coitionem. Serv. ad Aen. i. 291. Id. ad Aen. xii. 198.

⁶¹³ Tertia (porta) est Ianualis dicta a Iano, et ideo ibi positum Iani signum, et ius institutum a Pompilio, ut scribit in Annalibus Piso, ut sit aperta semper nisi quom bellum sit nusquam. Varro, L. L. v. 34 (46).

⁴ Cum tot sint iani, cur stas sacratus in uno
Hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes?
Ille, manu mulcens propexam ad pectora barbam,
Protinus Oebalii rettulit arma Tati,
Utque levis custos armillis capta Sabinis
Ad summae tacitos duxerit arcis iter.
Inde, velut nunc est, per quem descenditis, inquit,
Arduus in valles et fora clivus erat;
Et iam contigerat portam, Saturnia cuius
Dempserat oppositas insidiosa seras.
Cum tanto veritus committere numine pugnam,
Ipse meae movi callidus artis opus,
Oraque, qua pollens ope sum, fontana reclusi,
Sumque repentinas eiaculatus aquas;
Ante tamen gelidis subieci sulphura venis,
Clauderet ut Tatio fervidus humor iter.

a gate under the Viminal Hill, which, he says, was thence called *Janualis*;⁶¹⁵ but Ovid, who mixes up this legend with that of the treason of *Tarpeia*, places the scene at the bottom of the steep slope which led from the *Arx* to the *Forum*.

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The monument comprised a passage-way or *ianus*, and a small temple in or at the side of it. That it had this double character is shown by the question addressed by Ovid to the god :

Janus,
what it
was.

Cum tot sint iani, cur stas sacratus in uno
Hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes?*

and still more distinctly by the description of *Martial* :

Pervius exiguos habitabas ante Penates,
Plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter.†

In the *Forum* in front of the temple stood an

Cuius ut utilitas pulsus percepta Sabinis,
Quae fuerat, tuto reddita forma loco est,
Ara mihi posita est parvo coniuncta sacello;
Haec adolet flammis cum strue farra suis.

Ovid *Fast.* i. 257. *Serv.* ad *Aen.* i. 291, xii. 198. (Note 612.)

⁶¹⁵ Quum bello Sabino, quod virginum raptarum gratia commissum est, Romani portam quae sub radicibus collis Viminalis erat, quae postea ex eventu *Janualis* vocata est, claudere festinant, quia in ipsam hostes ruebant, postquam est clausa, mox sponte patefacta est; cumque iterum ac tertio idem contigisset . . . cumque Sabini per portam patentem irrupturi essent, fertur ex aede *Iani* per hanc portam magnam vim torrentium undis scatentibus erupisse . . . ea re placitum ut belli tempore, velut ad urbis auxilium profecto deo, fores reserarentur. *Macrob.* *Sat.* i. 9. It is remarkable that *Macrob.*, while he places the *Porta Janualis* under the *Viminal*, still identifies it with the *Janus*, the index of peace and war. *Becker* has suggested that this was the original site of the *Janus* of *Numa*. See further, p. 272.

* Ovid. *Fasti*, i. 263.

† *Martial*, *Ep.* x. 28, 4. (Note 630.)

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VI.Cell and
image of
Janus.

altar of the god.⁶¹⁸ The temple contained an image, believed to have been dedicated by Numa, of the venerable deity whose worship constituted an important part of the primitive religion of Rome.⁹ The square cell, of bronze, was no larger than sufficient to hold the statue, which was of the same material, and not less than five cubits high.²⁰ The god was represented with two faces, hence called Janus Bifrons and Janus Geminus, and indicated by the fingers of his right hand the number three hundred, and by those of his left fifty-five, making the sum of the days of the year according to the computation then received. The deity was thus exhibited as the lord of time.¹ One face of the image looked to the east and the other to the

⁶¹⁸ Ovid Fast. i. 275. (Note 614); Dio Cass. lxxiii. 13. (Note 639).

⁹ Saliorum quoque antiquissimis carminibus deorum deus canitur (Janus). Macrobius Sat. i. 9.

²⁰ Ἐχει δὲ τὸν νεῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλίγον ὑπερβάντι τὰ τρία φάτα. οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς μοίρας νενομίκασι καλεῖν. ὃ τε νεὼς ἕκασ χαλκοῦς ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἔστηκε, τοσοῦτος μὲν ὅσον ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰάνου σκέπειν. ἔστι δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐκ ἦσσαν ἢ πηχῶν πέντε τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἡμερὲς ἀνθρώπων, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχον· καὶ τοῦ προσώπου θάτερον μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται. θύραι δὲ χαλκαὶ ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ προσώπῳ εἰσὶν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσις ὄντος ἀνεψῆχθαι. ἔπει δὲ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν δόγμα, εἶπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτίμησαν, ταύτας δὴ τὰς θύρας οὐκέτι οὐδὲ πολεμοῦντες ἀνέκλινον. ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τινὲς τὴν παλαιὰν οἶμαι δόξαν ἐν νῦν ἔχοντες ἐγκεχειρήκασι μὲν αὐτὰς ἀνοιγνύουσι λάθρα. Procopius, Bell. Goth. i. 25.

¹ Praeterea Janus Geminus a Numa rege dicatus, qui pacis bellique argumentum colitur, digitis ita figuratis, ut trecentorum quinquaginta quinque dierum nota per significationem anni, temporis et aevi se deum indicaret. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 16. Macrobius Sat. i. 9; Serv. ad Aen, vii. 607.

west; and the two gates of the cell, which were also of bronze or iron, and placed in the same two directions,⁶²² were open during war and shut in time of peace.³ They are said to have been only once closed—at the end of the first Punic war—between the age of Numa and that of Augustus. The latter, after the battle of Actium, and at two subsequent periods, was able to make this announcement of the undisputed acceptance of his empire.

CHAP.
VI.
The Gates
of War.

Vacuum duellis

Ianum Quirinum clausit.⁴

The language of Livy and Varro would lead to the supposition that the double doors, which were the index of peace and war, were the doors of a gateway; but it is clear, from what we read in Plutarch and Servius, and the more minute description of Procopius, that they were the doors

⁶²² Sic ego prospicio coelestis ianitor aulae
Eoas partes Hesperiasque simul. Ovid. Fast. i. 139.

³ Sunt geminae belli portae, sic nomine dicunt,
Religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis;
Centum aerei claudunt vectes aeternaque ferri
Robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus.
Has ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae,
Ipse, Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
Insignis, reserat stridentia limina consul. Virg. Aen. vii. 607.

*Ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νεὼς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίθυρος, ὃν πολέμου πύλην καλοῦσι.
Νομίζεται γὰρ ἀνεψῆχθαι, κτλ. Plutarch. Num. 20.

*Ἐκλείσθη δ' οὖν τότε καὶ τὸ, Ἴανοῦ δίπυλον, ὃ πολέμου πύλην καλοῦσιν.
Plutarch. fort. Rom. 9.

Liv. i. 19. (Note 611.) Varro L. L. v. 34. (Note 613.)

⁴ Janum Quirinum, semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausam, in multo breviori temporis spatio, terra marique pace parta, ter clusit. Sueton. in Aug. 22. Horat. Od. iv. 15, 8.

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of the temple. This fact goes some way towards disposing of the speculations of Niebuhr as to the reason for opening and closing the gates, which he connects with the relations between the Roman and Sabine inhabitants of the early city. The popular notion doubtless was, that the god ought to be free to assist his worshippers in war.⁶²⁵

Form of
the Janus.

Some modern antiquaries do not admit the existence of any gateway at all. Becker represents the open temple as itself serving the purpose of a passage, and thinks that the name of gate, applied to it by Varro and Ovid, may have arisen from the double doors of the temple being commonly called the Gates of War.⁶ This supposition might seem to imply that the announcement of peace closed one of the great thoroughfares of Rome;⁷ but it is possible that the principal passage was outside the Janus, and that the way through the monument, though in use, was not necessary to the traffic. The coins of Augustus and of Nero, which represent the temple, give no indication of any arch or gateway at the side of it.

Statue of
Janus.

Besides its proper idol, the Temple of Janus, small as it was, also contained in the time of Pliny a marble statue of the god, brought from Egypt, and dedicated by Augustus. It was doubted whether this was the work of Scopas or

⁶²⁵ Macrob. Satur. i. 9. (Note 615); Serv. ad Aen. i. 291, vii. 610. (Note 612.)

⁶ Becker, Handbuch, i. 119. ⁷ Mart. Ep. x. 28. 4. (Note 630.)

Praxiteles, and Pliny thought that the gilding, or plates of gold, with which it was covered, made it all the more difficult to discern the hand of its sculptor. He mentions it among other examples of masterpieces the authorship of which was unknown, a proof, as he observes, how the very abundance of statuary, and the occupation of people's minds with other matters, made Rome an unfavourable place for preserving the history of art.⁶²⁸

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After the general adoption of Christianity at Rome the gates of Janus were closed, without reference to peace or war, while the idol was left undisturbed in its original position. We owe to this circumstance a most interesting account of the temple and statue by Procopius, who relates that in the siege of the city by the Goths, when it was defended by Belisarius, A.D. 537, some of the people, who were still under the influence of the old superstition, made a secret attempt to open the temple and release the god.⁹

Janus, in
Christian
times.

Martial has a hymn to this deity upon the completion of the Janus Quadrifrons, erected by Domitian in the Forum Transitorium, which gives

⁶²⁸ Par haesitatio est in templo Apollinis Sosii, Nioben cum liberis morientem Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit; item Ianus pater in suo templo dicatus ab Augusto ex Aegypto advectus, utrius manus sit, iam quidem et auro occultatus. Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 4. (8).

⁹ Procop. B. Goth. i. 25. (Note 620.)

CHAP. VI. some interesting particulars respecting the more venerable Janus of the Forum Romanum.⁶³⁰

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Site of the
Janus.

The position of this monument is indicated by the following marks. It was in the Forum Romanum, in front of the Curia,¹ near the foot of the Capitoline hill,² and not far from the Three Fates;³ but at the same time it was at the bottom of the Argiletum,⁴ and was united with another Forum.⁵ Thus placed, a great part of the traffic of Rome passed under its archway.⁶ The three Sibyls or Fates have been already mentioned, and their probable position behind the Rostra near the side of the Forum has been discussed.⁷ The various indications that have been mentioned place the Janus Temple without doubt on the

⁶³⁰ Annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi,
Publica quem primum vota precesque vocant,
Pervius exiguos habitabas ante Penates,
Plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter.
Nunc tua Caesareis cinguntur limina donis,
Et fora tot numeras, Iane, quot ora geris.
At tu, sancte pater, tanto pro munere gratus,
Ferrea perpetua claustra tuere sera.

Mart. Ep. x. 28.

¹ Primus interrogatur sententiam Ianus pater . . . quantumvis vafer, qui semper videt ἄμα πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω. Is multa disertè, quod in foro vivat, dixit. Seneca, Apocolocyntosis. Dio Cass. lxxiii. 13. (Note 639). Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 25. (Note 620.)

² Ovid. Fast. i. 263. (Note 614)

³ Procopius Bell. Goth. i. 25 (Note 620.)

⁴ Liv. i. 19. (Note 611)

⁵ Ovid. Fast. i. 257. (Note 614.)

⁶ Mart. Ep. x. 28, 4. (Note 630.)

⁷ See before, p. 79.

north-eastern side of the Forum Romanum, at the end of a street communicating in the first place between the Forum Romanum and another Forum in its immediate vicinity, and beyond that with some of the most frequented parts of Rome.

The Basilica Porcia was also on the north-eastern side of the Forum in front of the Curia, which it either adjoined, or was connected with it by some intermediate building. The Janus, therefore, being at the end of a street leading from the Forum, must have been further from the Curia than the Basilica. We cannot be far wrong in placing it near the south corner of the church of S. Adriano, which, as we have seen, was probably built on the site of the Basilica Porcia, or the edifice which replaced it.⁶³⁸ A street running from this point in the direction of the Suburra, to which the Argiletum extended, would lie in a direction not much north of east; so that the cell of Janus at the bottom of it, which is described as facing the rising and setting sun,

⁶³⁸ See before, pp. 186, 221. Labacco, an architect of the sixteenth century, states that there had existed at S. Adriano, to the left, in the direction of the Temple of Faustina,—quivi (a S. Adriano) da man sinistra verso il tempio di Antonino e Faustina,—a square building, apparently antique, of which he gives full architectural details. This building, if his details are to be trusted, which appears doubtful, did not agree with what we might expect the Temple of Janus to be, inasmuch as it is represented with only one doorway. He does not state at what level it stood. Labacco, *Architettura* (Roma, 1557), p. 17.

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opened in one direction into the Forum, and in the other up the street.

The position of this temple near a corner of the Forum is indicated by a passage of Dio, in which he describes a scene at which he was himself present as a senator, when an angry crowd collected round Didius Julianus, as he was preparing to sacrifice to the Janus before the doors of the Curia, and the loud shouts of the multitude were rendered more terrible to the ears of a timid senator by the echo from the buildings around.⁶³⁹

Basilica
Aemilia.

The next building to the Janus on this side of the Forum, and probably adjoining that monument,⁴⁰ was the Basilica Aemilia. The original basilica on this site was erected by M. Fulvius, censor with M. Aemilius Lepidus, B.C. 179. Livy places it behind the *Argentariae Novae*.¹ This Basilica,

⁶³⁹ Καὶ τέλος ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον ἦλθε, καὶ τῷ Ἰανῷ τῷ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῦ θύσειν ἐμελλεν, ἐξέκραγον πάντες . . . ὡς δὲ . . . ἀργυρίον τι αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο . . . ἀναβόησαν ἅμα παντες, οὐ θέλομεν, οὐ λαμβάνομεν. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πέριξ οἰκοδομήματα φρικῶδές τι συνεπήχησαν. Dio Cass. lxxiii. 13.

⁴⁰ Schol. Cruq. ad Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 18. (Note 663.)

¹ M. Fulvius . . . locavit . . . basilicam post argentarias novas et forum piscatorium, circumdatis tabernis quas vendidit in privatum. Liv. xl. 51. This passage has been understood as if the *forum piscatorium* were only introduced to indicate the position of the new basilica, and the shops have been supposed to surround the basilica. The *forum piscatorium* is mentioned by Livy as injured by a fire at a previous date, B.C. 210. (Liv. xxvi. 27.) There can be little doubt that Livy meant to commemorate the rebuilding of the fish market, with new shops around it, by Fulvius. It is inconceivable that the basilica, which was in the Forum Romanum (Plutarch, Caes. 29, Note 644), should be described as *post forum piscatorium*, which

though distinctly attributed by the last-named historian to Fulvius, was afterwards appropriated as a monument of the family of Lepidus. Pliny tells us that M. Aemilius, consul B.C. 79, who appears to have been the great grandson of his namesake the censor of a century before, fixed some shields, containing portraits or figures, in the Basilica Aemilia.⁶⁴² Varro employs the double title of Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia when he mentions a sun-dial which was there placed.³

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The Basilica Aemilia was pulled down by L. Aemilius Paullus, the son of the last-named consul, and brother of the triumvir Lepidus, in order to be replaced by a nobler edifice, which was afterwards known as the Basilica Paulli. It was believed that Caesar bought off the opposition of Paullus to his ambitious schemes by a bribe of fifteen hundred talents, which were employed by Paullus upon this building. This was during the consulate of Paullus, B.C. 50.⁴ But it

Origin of
the Basi-
lica Paulli.

could only mean that the fish market was between it and the Forum. Its position *post argentarias novas* corresponds with that of the Basilica Sempronia on the other side, *pone veteres*. Liv. xlv. 16. (Note 125.)

⁶⁴² M. Aemilius, collega in consulatu Q. Lutatii, non in basilica modo Aemilia, verum et domi suae posuit clypeos, idque Martio exemplo: scutis enim qualibus apud Troiam pugnatum continebantur imagines. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 4.

³ Solarium dictum id, in quo horae in sole inspiciebantur, quod Cornelius in basilica Aemilia et Fulvia inumbravit. Varro, L. L. vi. 2 (52).

⁴ Παύλῳ δὲ ὑπάτῳ ὄντι χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δόντος, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκείνος, ὀνομαστὸν ἀνάθημα, τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσεκόλλησεν, ἀντὶ τῆς Φουλβίας οἰκοδομηθεῖσαν. Plutarch. Caes. 29.

Παῦλον δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακσίων τάλάντων ἐπρίατο μὲν αὐτῷ μήτε

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Allusion of Cicero to the buildings of Paullus.

Two basilicas restored or built by Paullus.

Identity of site of the Basilica Aemilia and Basilica Paulli.

appears from a letter of Cicero to Atticus, written B.C. 54, that Paullus was at that earlier date restoring a basilica in the Mid Forum, in which he was using its old columns, and that he had also contracted for the building of another on a most magnificent scale, while Cicero himself was busy with Caesar's plans for the enlargement of the Forum.⁶⁴⁵ This passage of Cicero has occasioned no little controversy in the endeavour to identify the two basilicas which Paullus was simultaneously building or restoring. It has been generally assumed that the Basilica *in medio Foro* was the old Aemilian basilica, and that the second basilica mentioned by Cicero was the building afterwards known as the Basilica Paulli. But this explanation presents considerable difficulty, as it supposes a simultaneous existence and distinct sites for these two monuments, which, for the following reasons, appear to be improbable.

The Basilica Aemilia was on the north-east side of the Mid Forum.⁶ So was the Basilica Paulli.⁷ And with the other public monuments on this

συμπράττειν μήτε ἐνοχλεῖν . . . Παῦλος μὲν δὴ τὴν Παύλου λεγομένην βασιλικὴν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέθηκε Ῥωμαίοις, οἰκοδόμημα περίκαλλος. Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 26.

⁶⁴⁵ Paullus in medio foro basilicam iam paene texuit iisdem antiquis columnis: illam autem quam locavit, facit magnificentissimam. Quid quaeris? Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. Itaque Caesaris amici (me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet) in monumentum illud, etc. Cic. ad Attic. iv. 16. (Note 677.)

⁶ Liv. xl. 51. (Note 641.)

⁷ Statius, Silv. i. 1. 30. (Note 173.) Plut. Galb. 26. (Note 149.)

site there was not more than room for one basilica of such importance as the latter structure undoubtedly was. We must therefore conclude that the Aemilian basilica was removed to make place for the new edifice. That this was in fact done, is implied by the statements of the writers who have handed down the story of Paullus receiving a bribe from Caesar, since Plutarch asserts that the 1,500 talents were spent in building a basilica on the site of that of Fulvius, while Appian says that Paullus built with this money the Basilica Paulli.⁶⁴⁸ The same conclusion is supported by the fact that, after the period which we have now reached, the name of Basilica Aemilia disappears, while the Basilica Paulli is frequently mentioned. The expression used by Tacitus in speaking of a later restoration of the Basilica Paulli, where he calls it the Aemilian monument, tends to confirm the identification of the two basilicas.⁹

Becker has conjectured that the second basilica upon which Paullus was engaged was that afterwards called the Basilica Julia, and that he was in this, like Cicero himself in the other matter, only concerned as the agent of Caesar. If this was so, it might account, in a more creditable way, for the large sum of money afterwards paid him and reported to have been employed upon his own basilica.⁵⁰ But this conjecture supposes

Was one
of Cicero's
basilicas
the Basi-
lica Julia?

⁶⁴⁸ See Note 644.

⁹ Tac. Ann. iv. 72. (Note 655.)

⁵⁰ Becker, Handbuch, i. 304: Smith, Dict. Biog. art. Lepidus, p. 766.

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Paullus to have been acting at this time in concert with Caesar, which does not appear to have been the case; and Cicero's language gives the impression that a rivalry existed between them, and that Caesar's friends were led on by the large expenditure of Paullus to outbid him in munificence.

Cicero's first basilica, perhaps the Basilica Sempronia; his second, the Basilica Paulli.

It is more probable that, at the time when Paullus was rebuilding the ancient monument of the Aemilian family on a scale of unprecedented grandeur, he was also restoring in a humbler fashion one of the other older basilicas, possibly the Basilica Sempronia, soon afterwards replaced, as we have seen, by the Basilica Julia. Cicero's description of the first basilica, which he places *in medio Foro*, would apply with equal fitness to the Basilica Sempronia as to the Basilica Aemilia; while the superlative admiration which he expresses for the design of the second basilica would lead us rather to identify this with the Basilica Paulli, which was reckoned for many generations one of the most magnificent monuments of Rome.

Cicero's old columns not the Phrygian columns of Pliny.

It is remarkable that Cicero mentions the preservation of the ancient columns in the first basilica, and that the Basilica Paulli was famous in the time of Pliny for its columns of Phrygian marble.⁶⁵¹ But it is not likely that the same columns which were conspicuous in a more luxurious age should have belonged to the period of the older Basilica Aemilia, when the materials introduced in Roman

⁶⁵¹ Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 24. (Note 656.)

buildings were by no means of the splendour and costliness afterwards usual.⁶⁵² We should therefore only regard this as an accidental coincidence, and not as a reason for identifying Cicero's first basilica with that of Paullus. The fact that the restoration of the former was nearly completed when Cicero wrote, whereas the construction of the latter was not finished till some twenty years later, supplies an additional reason against their identity.

The building of the great monument of Paullus was probably interrupted by the disturbance arising from Caesar's assassination; and it appears to have remained unfinished at his own death, since, according to Dio, the "Portico of Paullus" was completed by Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, the son of Aemilius Paullus, at his own expense, and dedicated in his consulate, B.C. 34.³ Only twenty years later the same building was damaged by a fire which reached so near the temple of Vesta that the sacred treasures were removed for security. It was then restored by Augustus and

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Basilica of
Paullus
completed
by his son.

⁶⁵² Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8. See before, p. 103.

³ Καὶ τὴν στοὰν τὴν Παύλου καλουμένην Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος Παῦλος ἰδίους τέλειον ἐξφοδόμησε, κὰν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ καθιέρωσεν. Dio Cass. xlix. 41. As to the use of the word *στοὰ* by this author in the sense of *basilica*, compare liv. 24 (Note 654), lvi. 28 (Note 101), and lxviii. 10 (Note 106), where the critics, supposing a *porticus* to be meant, have substituted the conjectural reading *λιονία* for *Ιουλία*. For the Latin *basilica*, Plutarch and Appian use the word *βασιλική* (Note 644), Dio *στοὰ*, Strabo *στοὰ βασιλική* (Note 681), Dionysius, perhaps, *παστάς* (Note 182).

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VI.
—Phrygian
columns
of the
Basilica
Pauli.

others in the name of Aemilius Paullus, the then representative of the family of its founder.⁶⁵⁴

Some thirty years later, under the reign of Tiberius, M. Lepidus, though a man of moderate fortune, obtained leave from the Senate to repair and decorate the Basilica of Paullus, public munificence, as Tacitus informs us, being then in fashion.⁵ In the time of Pliny it was accounted one of the most magnificent monuments of Rome, being especially admired on account of its columns of Phrygian marble.⁶ There are extant medals of M. Lepidus representing this basilica as a building with two ranges of columns one above the other, inscribed AEMILIA . REF . S . C . M . LEPIDVS.

The Phrygian columns are said to have been removed to decorate the basilica of a more famous Paulus, the Church of San Paolo fuori le mura, where some of the columns saved from the burn-

⁶⁵⁴ "Ἡ τε στοὰ ἡ Παύλειος ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἑστιαῖον ἀφίκετο, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἱερά ἐξ τε τὸ Παλάτιον . . ἀνακομισθῆναι καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς οἰκίαν τεθῆναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν στοὰ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀνόματι μὲν ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου, ἐς δὲ τὸ τοῦ ποιήσαντός ποτε αὐτὴν γένος ἐληλύθει, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ὑπ' Ἀγούστου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Παύλου φίλων ψικοδομήθη. Dio Cass. liv. 24.

⁵ *Iisdem diebus Lepidus ab Senatu petivit, ut basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monumenta, firmaret ornaretque; erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia . . . Lepidus, quanquam pecuniae modicus, avitum decus recoluit.* Tac. Annal. iv. 72.

⁶ *Nonne inter magnifica basilicam Pauli columnis e Phrygibus mirabilem, forumque Divi Augusti, et templum Pacis Vespasiani Imperatoris Augusti, pulcherrima opera quae unquam?* Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 24.

ing of the ancient church may still be seen in the modern edifice behind the high altar. CHAP.
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It has been already noticed that the basilica of Paullus is alluded to by Statius as being on one flank of the equestrian statue of Domitian. Its proximity to the Lacus Curtius, which appears to have been close to the same statue, is also indicated by the circumstance mentioned by Plutarch in describing the death of Galba, that some of the mutinous soldiers by whom that emperor was killed at the Lacus Curtius were seen to come into the forum out of the basilica of Paullus.⁶⁵⁷

The Basilica Aemilia in its earlier days was partly hidden from the open Forum by the Tabernae Novae, behind which it was placed. Near these shops was the altar of Cloacina, which is mentioned by Livy as the scene of the death of Virginia. The Sacrum of Cloacina is also mentioned in Plautus among the localities of the Forum;⁸ and Pliny records a tradition that the Romans and Sabines, after the battle of the Forum, underwent purification at the place where in his time were the *Signa Veneris Cluacinae*, for that *cluere* in the old language signified to purify.⁹ An ancient coin of the gens *Mussidia* represents a sort of

Tabernae
Novae.

Sacrum of
Cloacina.

*Signa
Veneris
Cluacinae.*

⁶⁵⁷ Plutarch, Galb. 26. (Note 149.)

⁸ Liv. iii. 48. (Note 130); Plaut. Curc. iv. 1. 10. (Note 97.)

⁹ Traditur myrtea verbena Romanos Sabinosque, quum propter raptas virgines dimicare voluissent, depositis armis purgatos in eo loco qui nunc Veneris Cluacinae signa habet. Cluere enim antiqui purgare dicebant. Plin. N. H. xv. 36.

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—

terrace having *cancelli* and two images upon it, with the letters CLOACIN. These are probably the *signa* mentioned by Pliny.

Janus, a
street.

Between the Basilica Aemilia and the Tabernae Novae was a street leading from the Regia and the arch of Augustus to the Curia. This road was known in the time of the decadence by a

Tria Fata.

name derived from the Three Sibyls or Fates, whose statues stood upon the edge of it.⁶⁶⁰ In earlier days it appears to have been called Janus. Before the end of the Republic this part of the Forum had become the special resort of the money-dealers, who probably found shelter in the Basilica Paulli.¹ Hence Janus (in the sense of a street) or the middle of Janus, *Ianus medius*, appears in the writings of Cicero and Horace as the Bourse or Exchange of Rome. Cicero, upon the subject of the getting and investment of money, refers his readers to the worthy persons who sit at the middle of Janus; and in one of his Philippics, alluding to a statue of L. Antonius, upon which he was described as patron of the Mid Janus, he asks derisively, whether in all that Janus a single man could be found who would lend Antonius a thousand sesterces.² Horace

*Ianus
medius.*

⁶⁶⁰ See before, p. 79.

¹ Quia omnes ad Ianum in basilica stabant feneratores. Porph. ad Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 18.

² Sed toto hoc de genere, de quaerenda, de collocanda pecunia, etiam de utenda, commodius a quibusdam optimis viris ad medium

also speaks of the lessons as to the value of money which were to be learnt in Janus from top to bottom.

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O cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est,
Virtus post nummos. Haec Ianus summus ab imo
Prodocet.

And Damasippus, in one of Horace's satires, speaks of his fortune wrecked at Mid Janus.

Postquam omnis res mea Ianum
Ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,
Excussus propriis.⁶⁶³

One of the older commentators on Horace, strangely misunderstanding his language, thought that, in the passages just cited, the poet spoke of three statues of the god, a *summus Ianus*, a *medius Ianus*, and an *imus Ianus*, which other scholiasts concluded must have stood at the two ends, and in the middle of the Forum.⁴ Bentley

Ianus,
summus,
medius et
imus.

Ianum sedentibus, quam ab ullis philosophis ulla in schola disputatur. Cic. Off. ii. 25.

L. Antonio Iani Medio Patrono. Itane, Ianus medius in L. Antonii clientela sit? Quis unquam in illo Iano inventus est, qui L. Antonio mille nummum ferret expensum? Cic. Phil. vi. 5.

⁶⁶³ Hor. Ep. i. 1, 52; Sat. ii. 3, 8.

⁴ Duo Iani ante basilicam Pauli steterunt, ubi locus erat feneratorum. Ianus dicebatur locus in quo solebant convenire feneratores. Acro ad Hor. Ep. i. 1, 52.

Ad Ianos eos, qui sunt in regione basilicae Pauli, feneratores consistunt . . . Unus enim illic Ianus in summo, alius in imo est, quos hic inducit monere. Porphyrio ad Hor. ib.

Duo Iani ante basilicam Pauli steterunt, ubi locus erat feneratorum. Ianus autem hic platea dicitur, ubi mercatores et feneratores sortis causa convenire solebant. Schol. Cruq. ib.

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pointed out how groundless these interpretations were.⁶⁶⁴ But modern critics and antiquaries have refined upon the assumption of the scholiasts, and supposed that there were three *iani* or gateways, instead of three statues of the god. This supposition has no foundation whatever. Ovid's allusion to the multitude of *iani*,⁵ which, assuming the existence of three *iani* of the Forum, might seem to refer to them, is easily explained when we consider that every gateway in Rome was, in this sense of the word, a *ianus*. Becker, who has adopted the notion of three *iani* on the north side of the Forum, between the Arch of Severus and the Faustina temple, pictures them as capacious archways with chambers above, serving as shelter for the money dealers. He argues that Janus cannot have been the name of a street, because the site of *Ianus medius* was beyond all question *sub Novis*.⁶ This difficulty is founded on an inaccurate idea of the locality to which this

Iani statuæ tres erant; ad unam illarum solebant convenire creditores et feneratores, alii ad reddendum alii ad locandum fenus. Acro ad Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 18.

Iani autem statuæ tres erant; una in ingressu fori, altera in medio, ubi erat eius templum prope basilicam Paulli, vel pro Rostri. Huc concurrabant et potissimum suas stationes habebant feneratores, alii ad reddendum fenus alii ad accipiendum. Tertia autem statua erat ad exitum fori. Schol. Cruq. ib.

⁶⁶⁴ Falluntur qui Ianos tres hinc sibi fingunt, summum, medium, imum; cum unus fuerit vicus Iani nomine insignitus . . . Ergo Ianus summus ab imo, est, totus, universus. Bentl. ad Hor. Ep. i. i. 54.

⁵ Ovid. Fast. i. 257. (Note 614.)

⁶ Becker, Handbuch, i. 326, note 600.

latter name was applied. The *Novae Tabernae* stood, as we have seen, at a short distance in front of the *Basilica Aemilia*. The sunny side of the *Tabernae* was, as we know from Cicero, called *sub Novis*.⁶⁶⁷ The street running on the north of the *Tabernae*, between them and the basilica, was *Janus*.

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⁶⁶⁷ See before, p. 55.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARGILETUM AND THE IMPERIAL FORA.

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VII.

THE preceding chapter closes our study of the monuments included within the limits of the Roman Forum. In those that follow it is proposed to discuss with less detail the history of some of the localities most intimately associated with it.

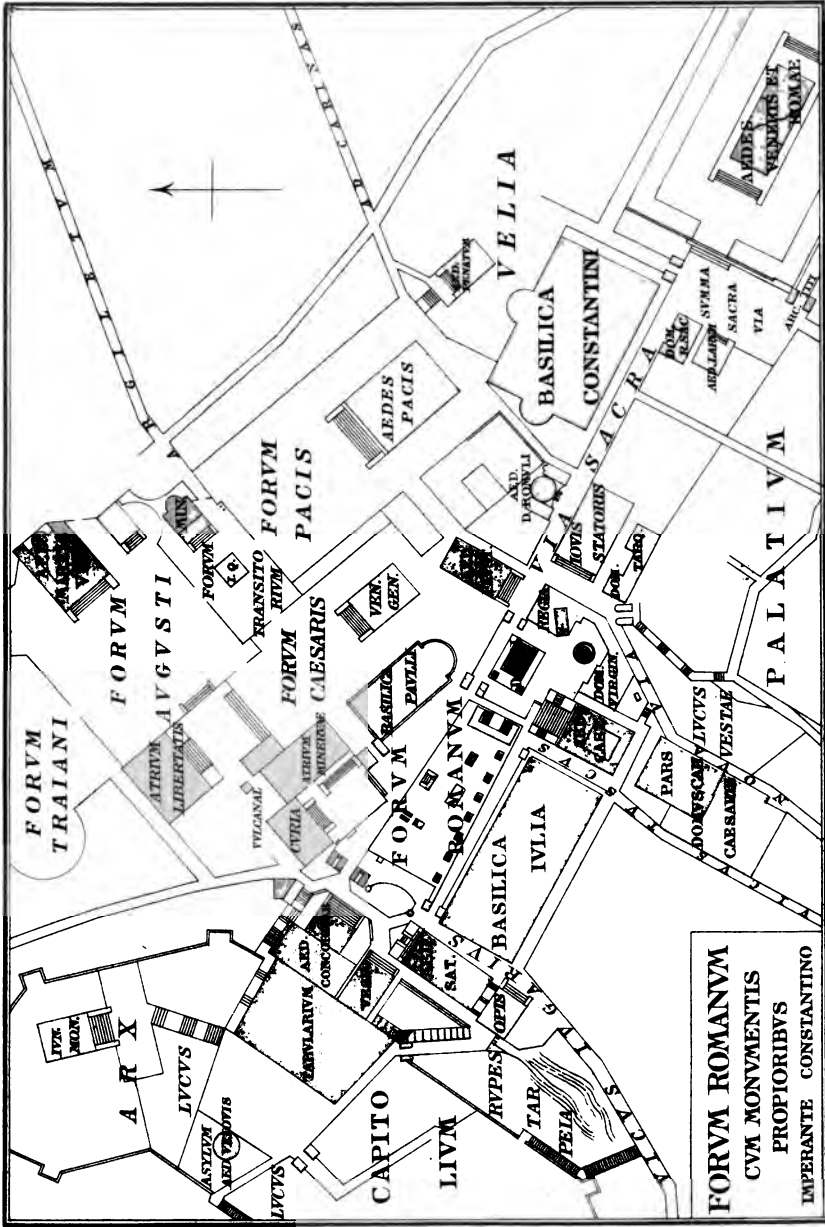
Argiletum. The Argiletum has been already mentioned in connection with the Temple of Janus, which was situated at the end of it. In the poem of Virgil, Evander shows Aeneas the sacred grove of Argiletum, and tells him the story of the Argive stranger, whose death gave a name to the spot.⁶⁶⁸ Varro supplies two conjectures as to the etymology of the word, one connecting it with Argos and the burial of an Argive hero there, the other deriving it from the argillaceous soil.⁹ The latter derivation is also adopted by Servius.⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁸ Necnon et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti,
Testaturque locum, et letum docet hospitis Argi.

Virg. Aen. viii. 345.

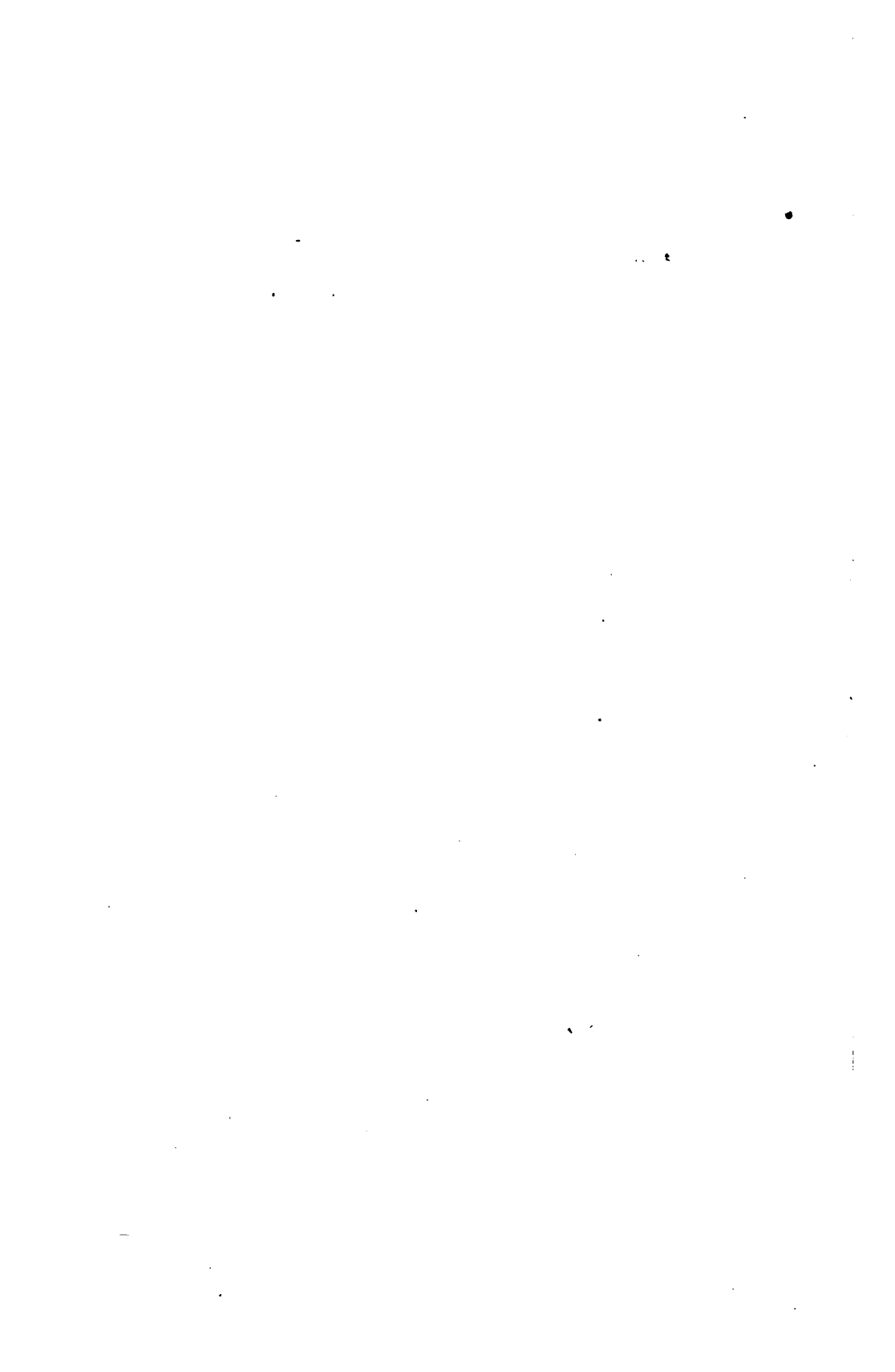
⁹ Argiletum sunt qui scripserunt ab Argola, seu quod is huc venerit ibique sit sepultus, alii ab argilla, quod ibi id genus terrae. Varro, L. L. v. 32 (44).

⁷⁰ Servius ad Aen. viii. 345.



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Whatever the Argiletum may have been in the days of Evander, there can be little doubt that in historical times it was a street. The expression of Livy, *ad infimum Argiletum*, when compared with the phrases, *summa Sacra Via, infima Nova Via, ad medium Janum*, is alone sufficient to suggest this conclusion. The same may be inferred from the passage in Martial where he gives the address of his bookseller, in the Argiletum, opposite Caesar's Forum.

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—
Argiletum,
a street.

Quod quaeris propius petas licebit;
Argi nempe soles subire letum.
Contra Caesaris est forum taberna
Scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,
Omnes ut cito perlegas poetas.
Illinc me pete, ne roges Atrectum ;
Hoc nomen dominus gerit tabernae.⁶⁷¹

This description, if it be taken to refer, as it appears to do, to the Julian Forum, serves to

⁶⁷¹ Mart. Epig. i. 118, 8. In another epigram, Martial gives the address of his bookseller, Secundus, *limina post Pacis Palladium-que forum*. (Epig. i. 3, 8.) If we could suppose that Martial would use the term Caesar's Forum of Domitian's new work, we should be tempted to believe Atrectus and Secundus to be the same. But the term Forum Caesaris seems to have been too well appropriated to the Julian Forum to be otherwise applied. (Plin. N. H. xvi. 86; xxxv. 45; Ovid. Trist. iii. i. 27.) Both booksellers were probably in the Argiletum. Compare Epig. i. 4, 1. (ad librum suum).

Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas.

Antiquaries have generally assumed that Argiletum was the name of a district or quarter of the town. (Nardini, ed. Nibby, iii. 260; Becker, Handbuch, i. 254; Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 79; Smith, Dict. Geog. art. Roma, p. 798.) The name may be com-

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explain Ovid's allusion to the position of the Janus in connection with two Fora.

Cum tot sint iani, cur stas sacratus in uno,
Hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes ? ⁶⁷²

Situation
of the
Argiletum.

Before the existence of the imperial Fora the Argiletum was probably a lane, running from the Janus to the Suburra, to which it appears from another allusion of Martial to have extended.³ The Argiletum thus formed the main communication between some of the most important and populous parts of Rome,

Plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter.⁴

In later times it must have crossed the Forum of Caesar and the Forum Transitorium, and passing in front of the so-called "Colonnacce," (the well-known half-buried Corinthian columns with the figure of Minerva above, in the Via Crocebianca), it was probably carried under the lofty wall inclosing the imperial Fora by the broad archway which existed to the east of the Colonnacce

pared with our Piccadilly, Pall Mall, or Strand, which, whatever may have been their origin, have for some centuries been streets. This appears to be the natural destiny of names in a crowded city. The Suburra, which gave its name to a Servian region (Regio Suburana) appears to have been also a street. *Ἐτίρους κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Συβοῦρραν ὁδὸν περιέπεμπεν.* Appian. Bell. Civ. i. 58.

⁶⁷² Ovid. Fast. i. 257.

³ Tonstrix Suburrae faucibus sedet primis,
Cruenta pendent qua flagella tortorum,
Argique letum multus obsidet sutor.

Mart. Epig. ii. 17.

⁴ Mart. Epig. x. 28, 4. (Note 630.)

until the seventeenth century, and is represented with the neighbouring temple of Minerva (a ruin, which has since entirely disappeared) in the views of Du Perac and Gamucci.⁶⁷⁵

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The Forum of Caesar was situated, as we have seen, opposite some part of the Argiletum ; but whether it lay to the north or to the south of that street, or on both sides of it, there is little satisfactory evidence. The proximity to the Vulcanal, which is implied in Pliny's story of the lotos-tree whose roots reached from that area to the Forum Caesaris, would lead us to infer that it extended somewhat to the north.⁶ On the other hand the expression of Cicero in one of his letters to Atticus, where he speaks of this great improvement, which he was himself assisting to carry out, as a widening of the Forum,⁷ supplies an argument for placing it on the south of the Argiletum. The construction of a new Forum behind the Curia, or, where Canina and other recent authors have placed it, north of the Via Bonella, could not be well described as a widening of the Forum Romanum ; but that expression

Position
of the
Forum
Julium.

Position
generally
assigned
to it.

Suggested
position.

⁶⁷⁵ Du Perac, *Vestigi delle Antich. di Roma*, 1674; Gamucci, *Antich. di Roma*, p. 55. See further, p. 265.

⁶ Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 6. (Note 463.) See further, p. 250, as to the position of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.

⁷ *Itaque Caesaris amici (me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet) in monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus, contempsimus sexcenties H. S. Cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia.* Cic. ad Att. iv. 16. (Note 645.)

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might be appropriately used if a space were cleared the side of which would run parallel to the side of the Forum along a great part of its extent, leaving only the Basilica of Paullus between the two areas. This position of the Forum of Caesar appears to be strikingly confirmed by the well-known passage in Ovid's *Tristia*, where the poet, describing a route to the Palatine, steps at once from the Julian Forum to the *Sacra Via*.

Paruit, et ducens, haec sunt fora Caesaris, inquit ;
Haec est a sacris quae via nomen habet ;
Hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem ;
Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.⁶⁷⁸

According to this description the stranger is led immediately from the Forum of Caesar to the commencement of the *Sacra Via* in the neighbourhood of the *Regia*. If the Forum Romanum had lain between these two localities the poet would not have left it without mention. These considerations induce me to think that the Julian Forum extended on both sides of the *Argiletum*, and that it lay side by side with the Roman Forum for nearly the whole length of the latter.

Argument
from the
Regions.

The fact that Caesar's forum was included in the eighth Region with the Roman Forum and that of Augustus, while the Basilica Paulli was in the fourth Region with the Forum Transitorium and the Temple of Peace, appears to militate against the supposition that the Basilica

⁶⁷⁸ Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 1, 27. (Note 879.)

lay between the Forum Romanum and the Forum Caesaris. But this argument may be met by the consideration, that the Argiletum, which appears to have been the boundary of these Regions, and probably of some previous divisions on which they were founded, passed through the middle of the Forum Caesaris. It would therefore be a matter of discretion to assign the open area to either Region, and it would probably be more convenient that it should be entrusted to the same police supervision as the Forum Romanum. The Forum Augusti fell within the same Region. The Forum of Peace on the other hand was entirely within the fourth Region, and the Forum Transitorium, across which the Argiletum also passed, and which might for this reason have been assigned to either Region, naturally went with the last erected Forum, which it adjoined.

It is worth while to observe, as bearing upon the topography of the Forum Romanum as well as the later Fora, that the Fora of Augustus, Domitian, and Trajan appear to have been designed upon one rectangular plan, the walls of the remaining buildings of all these Fora being parallel or at right angles to each other. It is natural to suppose that these parallel lines were adopted from those of the Julian Forum, by the side of which the later Fora were built, and that the lines of the Julian Forum followed those of the buildings already existing between that Forum and the Forum

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Distribu-
tion of the
imperial
Fora in the
eighth and
fourth
Regions.

Rectangu-
lar plan
of the
imperial
Fora

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VII.
—
corre-
sponds
with that
of S. Adri-
ano.

Con-
nec-
tion of plan
of all the
Fora.

Romanum. Now the only remaining structure which preserves any evidence of the parallels upon which the ancient monuments of the north-east side of the Forum Romanum were built is the Church of S. Adriano, the walls of which are of the seventh century, and probably raised upon some more ancient substructions.⁶⁷⁹ And it is a remarkable fact, that the walls of this church are parallel with the lines of the later imperial Fora. It is impossible to doubt that we have here the clue to the connection between the plans of all the later Fora and that of the Roman Forum. It will probably be found, when the north-eastern side of the Forum has been excavated, that the lines of the Basilica Paulli and the whole of this side of the Forum Romanum were parallel with those of the later Fora.⁸⁰ There is a passage of Strabo which gives a good idea of the relative position of the Fora, where he describes the striking effect produced upon a stranger when he saw one Forum leading out of another, and all the later areas laid side by side with the original Forum.¹

⁶⁷⁹ See p. 221.

⁸⁰ The Temple of Faustina, which was the first building on the Sacred Way after leaving the Forum, departs from these parallels, being built to face that street.

¹ Πάλιν δ' εἶ τις, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθὼν τὴν ἀρχαίαν, ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης ἴδοι παραβεβλημένην ταύτη, καὶ βασιλικὰς στοὰς καὶ ναοὺς, ἴδοι δὲ καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἔργα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς Λιβίας περιπάτῳ, ῥαδίως ἐκλάθοιτο ἂν τῶν ἐξωθεν τοιαύτη μὲν ἢ Ῥώμη. Strabo, φ. 3, 8.

The Forum of Caesar was the first great improvement in the ancient part of the city. It seems to have been planned by Julius during his absence from Italy, and commenced, about the same time as the rebuilding of the Basilica Aemilia by Paullus, when its founder was engaged in the distant conquest of Britain, B.C. 54. The land required for this new area was mostly covered with houses, which had to be purchased at an enormous cost from private persons. In these purchases, at the date of Cicero's letter to Atticus above mentioned, some sixty millions of sesterces had been expended. The total cost of the ground, without including the buildings, is said to have exceeded a hundred million sesterces.⁶⁸² It is probable that the new Forum also swallowed up the ancient Fish Market, of the existence of which in the neighbourhood of the Basilica Porcia there is some indication in one of the plays of Plautus.³

CHAP.
VII.
Origin of
the Julian
Forum.

The position of the Atrium Libertatis, to which, as we learn from Cicero, it was proposed to extend the Forum,⁴ has been the subject of some controversy. This monument first appears in the pages of Livy as a place where, in the year B.C. 212, the Tarentine hostages were kept in confine-

Atrium
Libertatis

⁶⁸² *Pyramidas regum miramur, quum solum tantum foro extruendo H. S. millies Caesar dictator emerit. Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 24, 2.*

Forum de manubiis inchoavit, cuius area super sestertium millies constitit. Sueton. Iul. 26.

³ *Plaut. Capt. iv. 2, 33. (Note 600.) See before, p. 220.*

⁴ *Cic. ad Att. iv. 16, 8. (Note 677.)*

CHAP.
VII.Public
office of the
Censors.

ment, and out of which they escaped by the corruption of two aeditui.⁶⁸⁵ It was rebuilt by the Censors with the Villa Publica, B.C. 194.⁶ Other passages in Livy show that it was used as the public office of the Censors, in which business was transacted and documents preserved relating to *status*, and especially to the condition of slaves and *liberti*.⁷ It appears from Cicero that the evidence of slaves was taken in the Atrium Libertatis previous to the hearing of a cause before the higher tribunals.⁸ During the rule of Augustus this monument was rebuilt by Asinius Pollio, who converted it to an entirely new use, by establishing there the first public library known at Rome. The library was adorned with statues of authors, and the only living person who was admitted to this honour was Varro.⁹ Ovid complains of his books

Library of
Pollio.

⁶⁸⁵ Phileas Tarentinus . . aditum sibi ad obsides Tarentinos invenit. Custodiebantur in atrio Libertatis minore cura . . Hos . . corruptis aedituis duobus quum . . custodia eduxisset, etc. Liv. xxv. 7.

⁶ Atrium Libertatis et Villa Publica ab iisdem resecta amplificataque. Liv. xxxiv. 44.

⁷ Postremo eo descensum est, ut ex quatuor urbanis tribubus unam palam in atrio Libertatis sortirentur in quam omnes qui servitutem servissent, conicerent. Liv. xlv. 15.

Censores extemplo in atrium Libertatis escenderunt, et ibi signatis tabellis publicis, etc. Liv. xliii. 15. (Note 6.)

⁸ Sed quaestiones urgent Milonem, quae sunt habitae nunc in atrio Libertatis. Quibusnam de servis? Rogas? de P. Clodii . . . Heus tu Ruscio, verbi causa, cave sis mentiaris. Clodius insidias fecit Miloni? Fecit. Certa crux. Nullas fecit. Sperata libertas. Cic. pro Mil. 22.

⁹ Multaque a multis tunc extracta sunt, sicut . . ab Asinio Pollione atrium Libertatis. Sueton. Aug. 29.

being excluded from this library, as well as that of the Palatine.

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Nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis,
Atria Libertas tangere passa sua est.⁶⁹⁰

The building was sufficiently large to furnish accommodation for soldiers, and a body of German troops was quartered here at the time of Otho's insurrection, and was sent for as trustworthy by Galba. According to Tacitus they appear to have hesitated in their allegiance; according to Suetonius they were anxious to bring assistance to the emperor, but were delayed by losing their way.¹

Soldiers quartered in the Atrium Libertatis.

The Atrium Libertatis, of which the above notices are found, was placed by the older topographers on the Aventine, where a temple was dedicated to Liberty by Tiberius Gracchus in the third century before the Christian era.² But it is evident that the Atrium mentioned in Cicero's letter to Atticus cannot have been there, and some writers have therefore supposed that there

Site of the Atrium Libertatis.

M. Varronis, in bibliotheca, quae prima in urbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est, unius viventis posita imago est. Plin. N. H. vii. 31. Ib. xxxv. 2.

⁶⁹⁰ Ovid. Trist. iii. 71.

¹ Praeceptum . . . primipilaribus, ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio arcesserent . . . Germanica vexilla diu nutavere. Tac. Hist. i. 31.

Ii (Germanici) . . . in auxilium advolaverunt, sed serius itinere devio per ignorantiam locorum retardati. Sueton. Galb. 20.

² Liv. xxiv. 16.

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VII.
—Atrium
Libertatis
at the edge
of the
Julian
Forum,at its north-
western
end.

were two Atria Libertatis.⁶⁸³ There is no sign of this in the authors cited, who seem always to speak of the Atrium as a well-known monument, not requiring any further description to identify it. Cicero's allusion in the letter to Atticus is indeed the only passage which gives any direct evidence of its locality. It was at the edge of the Julian Forum as then designed, and there is no reason to suppose that any material alteration was made in the plan, which Cicero was actually engaged in carrying out. It has been observed that one of the notices of Livy indicates that the Atrium was at a higher level than the Forum, as the Censors are represented as going up to the building.⁴ This has been applied to the supposed second Atrium on the Aventine hill, but it is more likely that the Censor's office should be near the Forum; and if it was placed on the rising ground behind the Curia, in the direction of the Capitol, it might well be the same building to which the Forum was proposed to be extended. A fragment of marble, having the appearance of part of the dedicatory tablet of a temple, was found before

⁶⁸³ Smith, *Dict. Antiq. Art.* Atrium. Mr. Rich, the writer of this article, relies on the use by Livy of the word *aeditui* in speaking of the custodians of the Atrium (Note 685), to prove that it was a part of the Aedes Libertatis. But perhaps, as the Atrium was also a consecrated place (Ovid. *Fast.* i. 623), it might have its *aeditui*. A later historian speaks of the *aedituus* of the Curia. Capitolinus, *Pertin.* 4. (Note 473.)

⁴ Liv. xliii. 16. (Note 687.)

the publication of Gruter in the church of Sta. Martina, inscribed with the letters,

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ENATVS . POPVLVSQVE . R
LIBERTATI.⁶⁹⁵

The language of Cicero, which seems to treat the extension of the open space as far as the Atrium Libertatis as a distinct thing from the widening of the Forum,⁶ is favourable to the supposition that the Atrium lay at one end of the new Forum. And this position is rather confirmed by the fact that it remained undisturbed by the construction of the Forum of Augustus, as is shown by its mention by Ovid and Tacitus. It is possible that the ancient substructions in the Via Marmorelli, which have been generally connected by antiquaries with the Julian Forum, were part of the Atrium Libertatis.

Becker and other antiquaries have been anxious to connect the Atrium Libertatis with a fragment of the Capitoline plan, in which the word LIBERTATIS is found upon the tribune of a basilica.⁷

Capitoline
plan.

⁶⁹⁵ Romae in foro, in aede divae Martinae, fragmentum tabulae marm. quam olim Libertatis templo praefixam fuisse veri simile est. Vidit Smetius. Gruter, xcix. 11.

⁶ Cic. ad Attic. iv. 16, 8. (Note 677.)

⁷ Becker, Handbuch, i. 462; Smith, Dict. Antiq. art. Atrium p. 113; Smith, Dict. Geog. art. Roma, p. 798. Becker thinks that the word LIBERTATIS was placed in the tribune nearest the Capitol; but Canina was probably right in placing it at the northern end of the basilica under the Quirinal. This is shown by the direction of the letters as compared with those on other fragments. It is thus removed as far as possible from the Forum of Caesar. If, as has been supposed, the map was placed on a wall, a comparison of the lettering shows

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Tribune of
Liberty in
the Ulpian
basilica.

The fragment was formerly attributed to the Aemilian basilica, but Canina appears to have rightly assigned it to that of Trajan. In neither case can the building be the Atrium Libertatis. On the former supposition it would be part of a building adjoining the Roman Forum, and Cicero's proposal to extend the Forum so far could have no meaning. On the latter assumption, which is admitted by Becker, identification is out of the question, since the very site of the Ulpian basilica was created in the time of Trajan by the removal of part of the Quirinal hill. To whatever building it belonged there could be no great resemblance between the object marked on the map and the Atrium Libertatis. The Atrium was a building of considerable extent, comprising at different periods a public office and a prison, a public library and a barrack. The word on the map appears merely to indicate the dedication of an altar or statue to Liberty in the tribune of a basilica. It should be observed however that in the fifth century the Ulpian Forum, and probably the basilica, was used for some of the business which would have been appropriate to the ancient Atrium Libertatis, since the manumission of slaves took place there.⁶⁹⁸ Becker has suggested that the

Slaves
manu-
mitted in
the Forum
of Trajan.

that the east side was at the top. See the fragments of the Forum, p. 26. and further, pp. 267-8.

⁶⁹⁸ Nam modo nos iam festa vocant, et ad Ulpia poscunt
Te fora, donabis quos libertate Quirites.

Sidonius Apoll. Carm. ii.

Atrium was on the hill removed by the great work of Trajan, and that, while its name and some of its purposes were transferred to the basilica, the Ulpian library was possibly a development of that of Pollio. This is a tempting conjecture, but it must be remembered that our only evidence as to the position of the Atrium places it upon the limits of the extension of the Forum as designed by Caesar.

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It may seem strange that Suetonius should have believed that the German soldiers lost their way to the Forum, or to the Palatine, if they were quartered in a building adjoining the Forum of Caesar.⁷⁰⁰ But this historian, whose narrative is not consistent with that of Tacitus, does not mention, and may not have known, the situation of their quarters. And it may be conjectured that the part of the building in which the soldiers would be lodged was at the back, opening upon one of the narrow lanes of the city, on leaving which it might not be so difficult to take a wrong turn.

Story of
Germans
losing
their way.

The principal monument of the Forum of Caesar was the temple of Venus Genetrix, dedicated by the dictator, B.C. 45, to the goddess whom the Julian family claimed as a parent.¹ It is mentioned

Temple of
Venus
Genetrix.

⁷⁰⁰ See before, p. 253.

¹ *Ἀνίστηκε καὶ τῇ γενετείρᾳ τὸν νεῶν, ὡς περ εὗξατο μέλλων ἐν Φαρσάλῃ μαχεῖσθαι· καὶ τέμενος τῷ νεῷ περιέθηκεν, ὃ Ῥωμαίοις ἔταξεν ἀγορὰν εἶναι οὐ τῶν ὠνίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράξεσι συνιόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, καθὰ καὶ Πέρσαις ἦν τις ἀγορὰ, ζητοῦσιν ἢ μανθάνουσι τὰ δίκαια. Κλεοπάτρας*

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by Vitruvius as an example of a pycnostyle building.⁷⁰² The statue of the deity was by Arce-silaus, an artist who had enjoyed the protection of Lucullus. Such was the hurry of the dedica-tion, that the statue was erected in the temple on the occasion of the ceremony in an incomplete state.³ A statue of Cleopatra was placed by the side of the goddess.⁴

In the portico of this temple Julius sat to receive the Senate after it had passed some de-crees in his honour, and gave inexpressible offence to the Senators by not rising to greet them. The meeting of the Fathers had probably been held in the temple itself.⁵

Site of this
Temple.
Ruin de-
scribed by
Palladio.

The site of the temple is unknown. Palladio has recorded the discovery of the foundations of what he considered to have been a temple of Nep-tune, some fragments of a cornice found on the spot being ornamented with dolphins and tridents. The intercolumniations were observed to have been remarkably narrow, and this latter circum-stance has led Canina and others to identify this ruin with the pycnostyle temple of Venus Geni-

τε εικόνα καλήν τῇ θεῷ παρεστήσατο, ἥ και νῦν συνίστηκεν αὐτῇ. Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 102.

⁷⁰² Vitruv. iii. 3. (Note 371.)

³ Plin. N. H. xxxv. 45.

⁴ Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 102. (Note 701.)

⁵ Verum praecipuam et inexpressibilem sibi invidiam hinc maxime movit. Adeuntes se cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis universos patres conscriptos sedens pro aede Veneris Genitricis excepit. Suet. Iul. 78. Plutarch, Caes. 60; Dio Cass. xlv. 8.

trix.⁷⁰⁶ It is unfortunate that the site where the ruin was found is not more distinctly marked. Palladio describes it as "opposite the Temple of Mars Ultor, in the place called in Pantano, which is behind Marforio;" and says that the discovery was made in digging the foundations of a house.⁷ The position of the statue of Marforio was between the churches of S. Giuseppe

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⁷⁰⁶ Canina, Foro Rom. 94; Becker, Handbuch, i. 364.

⁷ Rincontro al Tempio di Marte Vendicatore, del quale sono stati posti i disegni di sopra, nel luogo che si dice in Pantano che è dietro di Marforio, era anticamente il Tempio che segue; le cui fondamenta furono scoperte cauandosi per fabricar vna casa; e vi fu ritrouato anco vna quantità grandissima di marmo laurati tutti eccellentemente. Non si sa da chi egli fosse edificato, nè a qual Dio fosse consecrato, ma perche ne' fragmenti della Gola diritta della sua cornice se vedono de' Delfini intagliati, ed in alcuni luoghi tra l'vn Delfino e l'altro vi sono de' tridenti, mi dò a creder che egli fosse dedicato a Nettuno. L'aspetto suo era l'Alato a torno. La sua maniera era di spesse colonne. Gli intercolumnij erano la vndecima parte del diametro delle colonne meno di vn diametro e mezo, il che io reputo degno di auertimento per non auer veduto intercolumnij così piccioli in alcun altro edificio antico. Di questo Tempio non si vede parte alcuna in piedi; ma dalle reliquie sue, che sono molte, s'è potuto venir in cognitione degli uniuersali, cioè della Pianta, e dell' Alzato, e de' suoi membri particolari, i quali sono tutti laurati con mirabile artificio. Io ne ho fatto cinque taule. Palladio, Architettura, lib. iv. c. 31 (ed. Venet. 1570).

This is followed by the ground-plan of a hexastyle peripteral temple, with a cell 66 feet long and 44½ feet wide and a portico at each end, and by other engraved details. If such a building was found in any site between the Forum Romanum and the Forum Augustum, there can be little doubt that it was the Temple of Venus. But has not the architect constructed a Hercules from the fragment of a foot? He says expressly that it was Peripteral (Alato atorno). The matter is obscure, and must remain so until exploration or accident has rediscovered the ruin.

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dei Falegnami and Santa Martina, close to the west corner of the latter ; and the description of Palladio might apply to any place between this spot and the Arco de' Pantani, but seems rather to point to some site near the Marforio, possibly in the Via Cremona. Such a position cannot well be supposed to have been near the centre of the Julian Forum, but may have been at its north-western end, where, according to the foregoing observations, the Atrium Libertatis was probably situated.⁷⁰⁸ We do not know enough of the later history of this monument to determine whether Palladio's ruin, which must have belonged to a building existing at a late date, had any probable connection with it.

The Julian Forum was not finished at the dictator's death, since its completion is claimed in the Ancyran Monument as a work of Augustus.⁹

Caesar's
horse.

In this Forum, before the temple of Venus, was the statue of a horse, which was bred by Caesar, and would not bear any other rider. The hoofs of the fore feet of this animal are said to have been cloven in such a way as to suggest a resemblance to humanity, and to have given occasion to consult the Haruspices upon the mean-

⁷⁰⁸ See before, p. 254). If I were searching for the remains of the temple of Venus Genitrix, I should commence my exploration where a rise in the ground at the end of the Vicolo del Lauro marks the site of a buried building of some consequence.

⁹ FORVM . IVLIVM . . . PERFECI. Mon. Ancyran. (Note 100.)

ing of such a portent, which was interpreted as presaging to its owner the empire of the world.⁷¹⁰

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Another monument of the Forum Caesaris, more than once mentioned by Ovid, was a fountain, which appears to have been adorned with figures of nymphs called Appiades.

Et fora conveniunt, quis credere possit, Amori;
Flammaque in arguto saepe reperta foro,
Subdita qua Veneris facto de marmore templo
Appias expressis aera pulsat aquis.
Illo saepe loco capitur consultus Amori,
Quique aliis cavit non cavet ipse sibi.¹

The allusion to the lawyer in the last lines shows that tribunals were held in the Julian Forum, or in some building opening upon it, perhaps the Basilica of Paullus.² After the construction of the Forum of Caesar, the older area was sometimes distinguished as the Great Forum.³

Tribunals
in the Ju-
lian Forum.

It is not proposed to describe in detail the other

Other
Fora.

⁷¹⁰ Nec Caesaris dictatoris quenquam alium recepisse dorso equus traditur; idemque humanis similes pedes priores habuisse: hac effigie locatus ante Veneris Genetricis aedem. Plin. N. H. viii. 64.

Utebatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis et in modum digitorum unguis fissis, quem natum apud se cum haruspices imperium orbis terrae significare domino pronuntiassent, magna cura aluit nec patientem sessoris alterius primus ascendit, cuius etiam instar pro aede Veneris Genetricis postea dedicavit. Sueton. Jul. 61.

¹ Ovid. Ar. Am. i. 81; ib. iii. 451; Ovid. Rem. Am. 659.

² Causas, inquis, agam Cicerone disertius ipso,

Atque erit in triplici par mihi nemo foro.

Mart. Ep. iii. 38-4. Sueton. Aug. 29. (Note 714.)

³ Dio Cass. xliii. 2; Notitia in Reg. viii. See Appendix.

CHAP. imperial Fora, but a few words may be added with
VII. respect to their position and principal monu-
— ments.

Forum
Augustum.

There can be little doubt that the Forum of Augustus lay to the north of that of Julius, and to the south-east of the great improvement of Trajan. This Forum was the result of the need still felt of larger accommodation for judicial business than was afforded by the Roman and Julian Fora. It was formed, like the latter, on ground previously occupied by private dwellings; and was opened, like that Forum, in a hurry, and without waiting for the completion of the temple of Mars Ultor, which was its great ornament. This temple had been vowed by Augustus in the war against Brutus and Cassius, but was not dedicated until B.C. 2. It was appointed to be the place for taking the opinion of the Senate upon wars and triumphs;⁷¹⁴ and must, therefore, have been of con-

Temple of
Mars
Ultor.

⁷¹⁴ IN . PRIVATO . SOLO . MARTIS . VLTORIS . TEMPLVM . [F]ORVMQVE
AVGVSTVM . [EX . MANI]BIIS . FECI . Monum. Ancyr.

Publica opera extruxit . . . Forum cum aede Martis Ultoris . . . Fori extruendi causa fuit, hominum et iudiciorum multitudo, quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus, etiam tertio indigere; itaque festinatus necdum perfecta Martis aede, publicatum est, cautumque ut separatim in eo publica iudicia, et sortitiones iudicum fierent. Aedem Marti bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat. Sanxit ergo, ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petitori hinc deducerentur, quique victores reddissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferrent. Sueton. Aug. 29.

Και νεών Ἄρεος Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποίησεν. Dio Cass. liv. 8. Velleius, ii. 100, 2; Macrob. Sat. ii. 4.

siderable size, a fact which is directly testified by Ovid.

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Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores,
Templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro.
Et Deus est ingens et opus ; debebat in urbe
Non aliter nati Mars habitare sui.

The ruin with Corinthian columns in the Via Bonella is recognised as a fragment of this temple, the grandeur and beauty of the remains being the principal evidence of their identity.

The words of Dio, which appear to place the temple in the Capitol, have given rise to the supposition that there were two temples of Mars Ultor built by Augustus, a supposition which is supported by the fact that one of the medals of that emperor contains what looks like the representation of a round temple, with the letters MAR. VL. This conclusion is adopted by Niebuhr, and by Becker, who thinks that it is confirmed by the words used by Ovid in speaking of the dedication of this temple :

Supposed
second
temple
of Mars
Ultor.

Nec satis est meruisse semel cognomina Marti ;
Persequitur Partha signa retenta manu.

* * * * *

Rite deo templumque datum nomenque bis ulto,
Et meritus voti debita solvit honor.⁶

But, as the words of Dio appear really to relate to the great temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum,

No sufficient
evidence
of a second
temple.

⁷¹⁵ Ovid. Fast. v. 551. Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 24. (Note 656.)

⁶ Ovid. Fast. v. 579, 595. Niebuhr. Besch. der Stadt Rom. iii. 1. 281 ; Becker, Handbuch, i. 371.

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in which, according to Suetonius, the standards were to be dedicated, it is not improbable that a mistake has been caused in this passage by the dislocation of words which are properly applicable to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. And the verses of Ovid do not seem to imply that two temples were built, but rather that one temple was doubly earned. The coin still remains to be explained ; but perhaps Canina's interpretation of it is the true one, that it represents the interior of a temple with a semicircular tribune or apse. This seems the more probable, as the curved lines of the entablature rise at the two ends, instead of falling, as would be the case if the exterior of a circular temple were seen in perspective.

Wall of
the Forum
Augustum.

The back of the temple of Mars Ultor is placed against a lofty wall, which appears to have separated the Forum Augustum from the crowded district in its rear. Close to the temple is an ancient archway, now called Arco de' Pantani, through which the modern traffic passes at a considerably higher level than the original street, which led into the neighbourhood of the Suburra. It has been well suggested that the object of this high wall was to protect the valuable monuments of the Forum from the frequent risks of fire.⁷¹⁷

Arco de'
Pantani.

⁷¹⁷ Becker, Handbuch, i. 370. Tacitus speaks of the absence of such impediments in the part of the city burnt in the fire of Nero. Neque enim domus munimentis septae vel templa muris cincta aut quid aliud morae interiacebat. Tac. Ann. xv. 38.

The Forum constructed by Domitian and called Forum Transitorium, Forum Nervae, or Forum Minervae, lay to the south-east of that of Augustus. Its site was formerly marked by the considerable ruin of the Temple of Minerva which existed apparently until the seventeenth century, with the south-east side of its portico opposite to the so-called Colonnacce, the two Corinthian columns still remaining in the Via Crocebianca.⁷¹⁸ This Temple, erected by Domitian, was dedicated by the emperor Nerva, A.D. 97, whence the second name of the Forum, which was also sometimes called after the goddess.⁹ The name Transitorium or Pervium was probably given to it because the great thoroughfare called the Argiletum passed across it. The so-called Colonnacce support an entablature rich with sculpture, over which is a figure of Minerva in high relief. This monument formed part of the decoration of the wall of the Forum, which in the time of Alexander Severus was surrounded with statues of the deified emperors, either equestrian or nude figures on

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Forum
Transi-
torium.
Temple of
Minerva.

The Colonn-
acce.

⁷¹⁸ See p. 247, Note 675.

⁹ Excitavit . . . forum quod nunc Nervae vocatur. Sueton. Dom. 5. Abdicavit (Nerva), dedicato prius foro quod appellatur Pervium, quo aedes Minervae eminentior consurgit. Aur. Vict. Caes. 12. Martial, Ep. i. 2, 8. The inscription preserved by Gamucci from the ruins of the Portico is as follows :

IMP . NEEVA . CAESAR . AVG . PONT . MAX
TRIB . POT . II . IMP . II . PROCOS

See also Palladio, Architettura, iv. 8.

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 Janus Quadri-
 frons.

foot.⁷²⁰ Another chief monument of the Forum Transitorium was the Temple of Janus Quadri-
 frons. The completion of this monument is cele-
 brated by one of the poems of Martial.¹

Forum of
 Peace.

The Forum Pacis probably lay to the south-
 east of the Forum Transitorium. The contiguity
 of these two Fora is shown by Martial's descrip-
 tion of the address of one of his booksellers.

Limina post Pacis Palladiumque forum.²

Temple of
 Peace.

Templum
 Pacis, foro
 proximum.

The magnificent Temple of Peace, to which the
 Forum formed a sort of close, was dedicated by
 Vespasian in his eighth consulate, A.D. 77. Sue-
 tonius has been generally understood to state that
 that emperor built the Temple of Peace next to
 the Forum Romanum.³ But no topographer has
 found a place for it corresponding to this descrip-
 tion, and it may be suggested that the words *foro*
proximum should rather be translated "next to
 her Forum," that is, adjoining the Forum of Peace.
 It has been supposed that this area had not the
 name of Forum until a later time, but Martial
 counts it among the four Fora which surrounded
 the Temple of Janus Quadrifrons.

⁷²⁰ Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 28.

¹ Martial, Ep. x. 28. (Note 630.)

² Martial, Ep. i. 2, 8.

³ Fecit et nova opera, templum Pacis foro proximum. Sueton.
 Vesp. 9.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Οὐεσπιανοῦ ἔκτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίτου τέταρτον ἀρχόντων, τὸ
 τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος καθιερώθη, ὃ τε κολοσσὸς ὠνομασμένον ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ
 ἰδρόθη. Dio. Cass. lxvi. 15.

Nunc tua Caesareis cinguntur limina donis,
Et fora tot numeras, lane, quot ora geris.⁷²³

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The ruin known in the last century as the Temple of Peace has been assigned by modern antiquaries to the Basilica of Constantine.⁴

The temple, which is said to have been the largest and most beautiful in Rome,⁵ was burnt down in the reign of Commodus,⁶ and there is no direct evidence of its having been rebuilt. It is named however among the monuments of the fourth Region, to which it gave its name, in the Notitia of the time of Constantine, and appears to be mentioned by Trebellius Pollio as an existing building in the middle of the third century.⁷ It seems to have been a ruin in the time of Procopius, about A.D. 550.⁸

History of
the Temple
of Peace.

There are some ancient walls existing behind the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, at the foot of which, on the north-east side, near the north corner of the Basilica of Constantine, the fragments of the Marble Plan of Rome, now in the Capitoline Museum, were found in the sixteenth century, and some additional fragments were dug out in 1867.⁹ These walls and those of the church

Buildings
at the back
of the
Temple of
Romulus.

Marble
map of
Rome.

⁷²³ Martial, Ep. x. 28, 5. (Note 630)

⁴ See Chapter VIII., p. 282.

⁵ Μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον γενόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔργων. Herodian, i. 14. Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 24. (Note 656)

⁶ Dio Cass. lxxii. 24. (Note 777.)

⁷ Treb. Poll. xxx. Tyrann. 31.

⁸ Procop. Bell. Goth. iv. 21.

⁹ The first discovery was made during the papacy of Pius IV. (1559—66) It is mentioned by Gamucci, in his *Antichità di Roma*,

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probably
placed in
the Forum
of Peace.

itself, which appears to occupy an ancient site, do not square with the Via Sacra, but are parallel with the lines of the imperial Fora. It may be concluded that they belonged to buildings contiguous to the Forum of Peace;⁷²⁹ and the Map of Rome was not improbably placed beneath a Porticus on the south-west wall of this Forum. It

published in 1565, and by Panvinius, in an introduction to his *Antiquae Urbis Imago* (Spicilegium, Mai, viii. 654), both of whom state that the plan had originally been affixed to a wall. Flaminio Vacca in 1594 gives the following account, as having been an eye-witness of the discovery:—*Mi ricordo aver veduto cavare dietro alla Chiesa di SS. Cosma e Damiano, e vi fu trovata la pianta di Roma profilata in marmo; e detta pianta serviva per incrostura al muro: . . . ed al presente . . . si ritrova nell' antiquario del Cardinal Farnese.* F. V. in Nardini, *Roma Antica*, iv.

In 1673 Bellori published engravings of 167 fragments, with notes, which are reproduced in Graevius, *Thesaurus*, iv. Bellori mentions that Fulvius Orsinus had a copy of them on paper, which was afterwards placed in the Vatican library (Cod. Vat. 3439). It is believed that Bellori copied the drawings of Orsinus, but he does not appear to have done so very accurately. Seventy-four out of these 167 fragments have been lost.

Those which remained, with restorations of the lost portions, were placed in 1742 by Benedict XIV. on the walls of the staircase of the Capitoline Museum, in twenty groups, together with six groups of fragments which are not included among those copied by Bellori. It is stated, however, by Piranesi that many of these last are broken pieces of the missing fragments. Piranesi engraved the whole in his *Antichità Romane*, 1756. Those discovered in 1867 will be found in Mr. Parker's *Archæology of Rome*, ii. plates 43, 44.

Prof. H. Jordan has engraved all the original fragments still existing, with fac-similes of the Vatican drawings and the engravings of Bellori for the lost portions, accompanied by a critical account of the whole, in his *Forma Urbis Romae Regionum XIII.* Berlin, 1875. See also Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 198.

The fragments relating to the Forum itself are given before, p. 26.

⁷²⁹ See before, p. 249. The Temple of Romulus was not built upon these lines, but faced the Sacred Way. Rossi, *Bull. Christ.* 1867, p. 66.

appears to have been made during the joint reign of Severus and Caracalla.⁷³⁰ The building whose remains exist at the back of the wall, from which the fragments of the map are supposed to have fallen, had an arched entrance to the south-east, in a lane which appears to have led from the Sacra Via to the Carinae.¹ This building has not been identified. The *Sub Velia*, which must have been about this site, contained in early times, according to tradition, the residence of Publicola, and in the time of Livy and Asconius possessed a

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Temple of
Vicapota,
qu.

⁷³⁰ See before, p. 184. The scale of the plan is said by Canina to be about 1 in 250. According to Jordan (*Forma Urbis Reg.* p. 14) it was as nearly as can be ascertained 1 in 300. Canina supposes it to have formed the pavement of the Temple of Romulus, and not to have been affixed to a wall. Becker (*Handbuch*, i. p. xii.) appears to share the same opinion, and adopts the view of Canina that the plan was intended to be looked at from north to south. Becker and others interpret Vacca (see note 728) to mean that it was discovered on a wall either inside the church or behind it. Vacca seems rather to imply that the fragments were found by digging at the foot of a wall behind the church, as were the later fragments in 1867, and that the conclusion that they had served for the facing of the wall was an inference from the position in which they were found. The word *dentro* has been printed for *dietro* in Vacca's memoir by Fea (*Miscell.* i. 1), which appears to have contributed to cause some confusion on this point. At the place where the fragments were found in 1867 the original marble pavement was still *in situ*, twenty feet below the present level of the soil.

Prof. Jordan in his *Forma Urbis* (p. 9) abandons the opinion which he had previously held (*Monatsb. der Preuss. Akad.* 1867, p. 545) that the plan had been a pavement, and concludes that it was certainly affixed to the wall in the rear of the church. The orientation he considers still in doubt, only that it was not a northward or westward one. Perhaps the difficulties of this question may be most nearly reconciled by supposing the top of the map to have been a little south of east.

¹ See Chapter VIII. on the Sacra Via, pp. 284, 304.

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temple of Vicapota or Victory.⁷³² This temple may have been rebuilt by Vespasian, or one of his successors, at the edge of the new Forum.

Forum of
Trajan.

The Forum of Trajan, the last in date and most magnificent in design of all the imperial Fora, is the only one the plan of which can be to any great extent traced from the remains existing on the present ground. This has been carefully done by Canina. The architect employed upon this great

Forum
Ulpium.

work was Apollodorus of Damascus.⁷³³ It included, in the first place, on the side nearest to the Roman Forum, a large open area, having at the north-east and south-west sides a semi-circular termination. The buildings which bounded the semi-circle towards the Quirinal were constructed against the side of the hill, and remain in a ruined condition to the present day behind the houses of the modern Foro di Trajano. It is said that these ruins were formerly known as the Baths of Paullus Aemilius, and that this designation is preserved in a corrupted form by the name of the neighbouring street, Via Magnanapoli.⁴ Next to the Forum Ulpium was the Basilica Ulpia, part of the ruins of which have been excavated in the present century. This building appears to have been terminated at each end, in the directions of the Quirinal and

Basilica
Ulpia.

⁷³² Liv. i. 7; Ascon. ad Cic. in Pis. 22. See Chapter VIII. on the Site of the Velia, p. 302.

⁷³³ Dio Cass. lxi. 4.

⁴ Becker (Handbuch, i. 382.) derives this from a supposed inscription, *Magnanimi Pauli*; it comes more probably through some vernacular form of *Balnea Pauli*, *Bagno di Paolo*.

Capitol, with semi-circular tribunes, now lost under the modern débris and buildings.⁷³⁵ Beyond the basilica is the Column of Trajan, which indicates by its height the level of the soil removed by the stupendous excavations required to unite the older Fora with the Campus Martius.⁶ The ashes of its founder were deposited in a golden urn under the column.⁷ North-east and south-west of the column were two buildings, which probably contained the Greek and Latin Libraries founded by the emperor.⁸ The great temple dedicated to Divus Trajanus by Hadrian probably stood further to the north-west, in the direction of the Campus Martius, where some colossal granite pillars have been dug out near the column. There is some evidence of the Forum of Trajan having been commenced or designed in the time of Domitian. The execution of the work probably occupied the whole period of Trajan's reign, A.D. 98-117.⁹

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Column of
Trajan.

Ulpian
Libraries.

Temple of
Trajan.

There are two local names connected with the neighbourhood of the Roman Forum on the north-

Lautolae,
Lautu-
miae.

⁷³⁵ See before, p. 256.

⁶ SENATVS.POPVLVSQVE.ROMANVS IMP.CAESAR.L.DIVI.NERVAE.F.NERVAE TRAIANO.AVG.GERM.DACICO.PONTIF MAXIMO.TRIB.POT.XVII.IMP.VI.COS.VI.P.P AD.DECLARANDVM.QVANTAE.ALTITVDINIS MONS.ET.LOCVS.TAN[TIS.OFER]IBVS.SIT.EGESTVS Inscription on Trajan Column. See also Dio Cass. lxxviii. 16.

⁷ Dio Cass. lxxix. 2.

⁸ Dio Cass. lxxviii. 16; Gell. xi. 17. One of these buildings appears upon a fragment of the Capitoline plan.

⁹ Adhuc Romae a Domitiano coepta fora atque alia multa plusquam magnifice coluit. Aurelius Victor, Caes. 13. Hieron. i. 443; Spart. Hadr. 19. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 379, 380.)

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eastern side, which ought not to pass altogether without notice.

Lautolae
at Janus
Geminus.

Hot
springs at
Janus.

The word Lautolae appears in the pages of Varro as the name of a locality close to the Janus Geminus ; and its etymology, *lautolae a lavando*, is associated by that author with the tradition of hot springs having once existed at the spot.⁷⁴⁰ The same tradition is alluded to in the story which Ovid tells of the god Janus having repulsed the Sabines at his gate by an outburst of sulphureous waters.¹ Connected with this spring there was, according to Varro, in ancient times a marsh called the lesser *Velabrum*, as the larger extent of marshy ground on the other side of the Forum near the Circus Maximus was known as the Greater Velabrum.

*Velabrum
minus.*

Lautulus
in the Ca-
rinae, *qu.*

Later authors have attached the name of Lautulus to a different locality. The epithet *lautae* applied by Virgil to the district called Carinae² seems to have led Servius, or some preceding interpreter of the poet, to place the Lautulus, and the scene of the miraculous repulse of the Sabines, in that district ;³ although in another passage Servius tells the story in connec-

⁷⁴⁰ Lautolae a lavando, quod ibi ad Ianum Geminum aquae caldae fuerunt. Ab his palus fuit in minore Velabro, a quo, quod ibi vehentur lintribus, Velabrum, ut illud maius, de quo supra dictum est. Varro, L. L. v. 32 (43).

¹ See before, p. 224.

² Virg. Aen. viii. 360. (Note 2.)

³ Lautae Carinae. Alii, quod Romani Sabinis instantibus fugientes eruptione aquae ferventis et ipsi liberati, et hostes ab insequendo repressi : aut quia calida aqua lavandis vulneribus apta fuit, locus Lautulus appellatus est. Servius ad Virg. Aen. viii. 361.

tion with the locality of the Temple of Janus, which in his time was undoubtedly in the Forum.⁷⁴⁴

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We have seen that Macrobius relates the same miracle as having occurred at a gate, afterwards called *Porta Janualis*, at the foot of the Viminal Hill.⁵ And Paulus Diaconus describes *Latulæ* as a place outside the city.⁶

Becker has concluded that the real situation of the Lautolæ was under the Carinae, and thinks it probable that the original Janus Geminus of Numa was there, though afterwards rebuilt on the Forum; and that Livy's *Janus ad infimum Argiletum* and Varro's description of the objects in the neighbourhood of the Janus Geminus refer to the former site.⁷ The connection established by Martial between the Argiletum and the Suburra appears to be Becker's chief reason for looking in this direction for the *infimum Argiletum*. It should be remembered, however, that, by the testimony of Martial, the Argiletum appears to have extended westward as far as the Forum of Caesar;⁸ and the *infimum Argiletum* would be found rather in the low ground near the Forum than at the foot of the Viminal Hill, where Macrobius places his *Porta Janualis*, which latter situation would be rather described as *summum*

Becker's opinion as to the site of the Lautolæ and Janus.

Site of the *infimum Argiletum*.

⁷⁴⁴ Servius ad Virg. Aen. i. (Note 612.)

⁵ Macrob. i. 9. (Note 615.)

⁶ Latulæ, locus extra urbem. Paulus Diaconus, in Fest. ed. Müll. p. 118.

⁷ Becker, Handbuch, i. 352.

⁸ Mart. Ep. i. 118, 9; ii. 17. See before, pp. 245, 246.

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Argiletum. If this be so, Livy's Janus at least is the Janus of the Forum. It is of course admitted that Ovid's tale of the Janus Gateway and miraculous spring has most distinctly its "local habitation" at the foot of the Capitol.⁷⁴⁹ And it is to be observed that Varro gives his explanation of the word *Lautolae* among a group of terms connected with the objects in the neighbourhood of the Forum. It can scarcely be denied that the impression left on our minds by the older writers is exclusively in favour of this locality; and if we transfer the earliest Janus and the *Lautolae* to the *Carinae*, or to the foot of the *Viminal Hill*, we must abandon the impressions derived from Varro, Livy, and Ovid in deference to the authority of Servius and Macrobius.

Prison of
Lautumiae.

The prison called *Lautumiae* is noticed by Varro in immediate association with the prison of the Kings. He connects its name with the *Latomiae* of Syracuse, and also with the supposed pre-existence of a stone quarry on its site.⁵⁰ The latter supposition, whether founded on fact or not, would lead us to place it at the foot of one of the hills, but its site is not otherwise known. Livy mentions it in reference to the detention of hostages and prisoners of war.¹ It appears to

⁷⁴⁹ Ovid. *Fast.* i. 261. (Note 614.)

⁵⁰ *Carcer a coercendo . . . Quod Syracusis, ubi simili de causa custodiuntur, vocantur Latomiae, et de Lautumiis translatum, quod hic quoque in eo loco lapidicinae fuerunt.* Varro, *L. L.* v. 32 (42).

¹ *Liv.* xxxii. 26; xxxvii. 3.

have been a less rigorous prison than the Carcer, for when Julius Sabinus was brought from the Carcer before the Senate, he begged, as an indulgence, to be transferred to the Lautumiae.⁷⁵²

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The word Lautumiae also occurs in Livy, and I believe in Livy only, in another sense, designating a locality in Rome. The *atria* bought as part of the site of the Basilica Porcia are said to have been in *Lautumiis*.³ And in another place the same historian speaks of a fire in which the Lautumiae were involved.⁴ The latter passage may either refer to the prison, or to the locality in which the *atria* above mentioned were situated. This locality must have been at the back or side of the Basilica Porcia, supposing that monument to have faced the Forum. But, as the Janus Geminus adjoined this basilica,⁵ the Lautolae of Varro, which were close to the Janus, but are not spoken of as in the Forum, must also have been at the side of the basilica. This seems to lend considerable probability to the supposition of Canina, that the place called Lautumiae, in the passage of Livy relating to the Basilica Porcia, is the same as that called Lautolae by Varro.⁶

Locality
called
Lautu-
miae.

Lautumiae
and Lau-
tolae the
same place.

⁷⁵² Seneca, Controv. 27.

³ Liv. xxxix. 44. (Note 594.)

⁴ Liv. xxvi. 27. (Note 135.)

⁵ See before, p. 231.

⁶ Canina, Foro Romano, pp. 267, 319.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SACRA VIA AND THE VELIA.

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—
Sacra Via.

THE Roman antiquaries inform us that the term Sacred Way was applicable to a road leading from the Sacellum of the goddess Strenia, in or near the Carinae, to the Capitoline citadel ; but that in its ordinary use it was understood only of a part of the route, namely, the slope between the Regia at the end of the Forum and the top of the first ascent, where was the house of the Rex Sacrificulus.⁷⁵⁷ This highest point of the Sacred Way (in its ordinary and more restricted sense) was known by the name of Summa Sacra Via.

Summa
Sacra Via.

Origin of
the name.

The origin of the name Sacred Way was variously explained. Popular tradition seems to have connected it, like so many other localities of the neighbourhood of the Forum, with the story of

⁷⁵⁷ Ceroliensis a Carinarum iunctu dictus Carinae, postea Cerionia, quod hinc oritur caput Sacrae viae ab Streniae sacello, quae pertinet in arcem, qua sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in arcem, et per quam augures ex arce profecti solent inaugurare. Huius Sacrae viae pars haec sola volgo nota quae est a foro eunti primore clivo. Varro, L. L. v. 8 (15).

Sacram viam quidam appellatam esse existimant, quod in ea foedus ictum sit inter Romulum ac Tatium : quidam quod eo itinere utentur sacerdotes idulium sacrorum conficiendorum causa. Itaque ne eatenus quidem, ut vulgus opinatur, Sacra appellanda est a Regia ad domum Regis Sacrificuli, sed etiam a Regis domo ad sacellum Streniae, et rursus a Regia usque in arcem. Festus, ed. Müll. 290.

Romulus and Tatius, who were said to have made in the middle of this road their solemn peace after the battle in the Forum.⁷⁵⁸ Virgil places the scene of this treaty before the altar of Jupiter, perhaps in anticipation of the Temple of Stator.

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—
Romulus
and Tatius.

Inter se posito certamine, reges
Armati Iovis ante aram paterasque tenentes
Stabant, et caesa iungebant foedera porca.⁹

And Servius asserts that in memory of this event the images of the two kings stood in the Sacred Way, Romulus towards the Palatine, and Tatius as you came from the Rostra.⁶⁰ These were probably by the Stator temple. The Roman antiquaries rather derived the name from the use of this road by the priests in the solemnities of the festival in honour of Jupiter, which took place on the Ides of every month. The procession on this occasion seems to have passed from the Sacellum of Strenia to the Arx, and the whole of this route was therefore accounted sacred. According to Varro, the Augurs took this way when they left the Arx to perform the ceremony of inauguration.¹

Procession
of the
Idulia.

⁷⁵⁸ The same story was told of the origin of the Comitium. See before, p. 145.

⁹ Aen. viii. 639.

⁶⁰ Ταῦτα ἠμόσαντες καὶ βωμοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἰδρυσάμενοι κατὰ μέσην μάλιστα τὴν καλουμένην ἱεράν ὁδὸν συνεκράθησαν ἀλλήλοις. Dionys. ii. 46. Id. ii. 50. (Note 468.)

Καὶ συνελθόντες Ῥωμύλος τε καὶ Τάτιος εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἱεράν καλουμένην ὁδὸν, κτλ. Appian. Frag. i. 4.

Huius autem facti in Sacra via signa stant, Romulus ex parte Palatii, Tatius venientibus a Rostris. Serv. ad Aen. viii. 641.

¹ Varro, L. L. v. 8 (14); Festus, ed. Müll. 290. (Note 757.)

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Three
divisions
of the Sa-
cra Via.

The Sacred Way, in the larger acceptance of the term, is thus divided into three distinct portions, the first extending from the citadel to the Regia ; the second (the Sacra Via as ordinarily understood), from the latter spot to the Summa Sacra Via ; the third, from the Summa Sacra Via to the Sacellum Streniae.

First di-
vision in
the Forum.

The first portion of the Sacred Way has been already described in the chapters on the Forum. It entered that area by the Arch of Fabius, close to the Regia, and probably shortly after passed under the Arch of Augustus. Its further progress may be traced on the spot. It crossed the Forum in front of the Temple of Julius ; it turned again towards the Capitol before the Temple of Castor, and, continuing in front of the Basilica Julia, passed under the triumphal arch of Tiberius ; it was then carried by the zigzag route called the Clivus Capitolinus into the Citadel. But it must be remembered that it is only in deference to the nomenclature of the ancient antiquaries that the name of Sacra Via is given to this route. It was not in fact known by that name. The hill leading up to the capitol was the Clivus Capitolinus ; the road through the Forum does not appear to have had in ordinary language any distinct name.⁷⁶²

⁷⁶² There is a passage of Pliny in which he speaks of some part at least of the road from the Regia to the Capitoline ascent as the Via Sacra. *Mox Caesar dictator totum forum Romanum intexit viamque Sacram ab domo sua ad clivum usque Capitolinum.* Plin. N. H.

The Sacred Way commonly so called, the Sacred Way of the Roman poets, orators, and historians, was the route from the Regia to the Summa Sacra Via. The whole extent of this famous road is only about an eighth of a mile. Leaving the Forum at the Arch of Fabius its course ran in a direction rather south of east.

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Second division, the Sacra Via of classic authors.

The first building on the right hand was the Regia, the topography of which has been already discussed.⁷⁶³ The site which has been assigned to this monument is opposite to the Church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, constructed on the ruins of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. Of this temple the hexastyle Corinthian portico remains almost entire, with ten monolithic columns of the marble called Cipolino, and a frieze of white marble adorned with griffins and candelabra. The entablature is inscribed in two lines :

Regia.

Temple of Faustina.

DIVO . ANTONINO . ET

DIVAE . FAVSTINAE . EX. S. C.

The upper line has rather the appearance of subsequent addition, and the temple was probably built by Antoninus Pius in honour of his wife Faustina, who died A.D. 141,⁴ though some doubt

xix. 6. Between the time of Caesar and Pliny the Sacred Way, as distinct from the Forum, had been extended by the building of the Temple of Julius.

⁷⁶³ See pp. 118—125.

⁴ Tertio anno imperii sui Faustinam uxorem perdidit, quae a Senatu consecrata est, delatis circencibus, curribus, atque templo, et flaminicis, et statu is aureis et argenteis. Capitolinus, Ant. P. 6. One

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has arisen upon its attribution, inasmuch as her daughter the younger Faustina and her husband M. Aurelius Antoninus (called M. Antoninus on his later coins) were also deified.

Nova Via.

At the eastern corner of the Regia the Nova Via probably branched off to the right, leading in a short distance to the Porta Mugionia at the north corner of the Palatine.⁷⁶⁵

Temple of
Jupiter
Stator.

At the commencement of the Sacred Way, as we learn from Plutarch, stood the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which was probably on the eastern side of the Nova Via, facing the Regia and the Capitol.⁶ This temple was of considerable size. In its cell the Senate was convened to hear Cicero's denunciation of Catiline. The orator's expression,—*hic munitissimus habendi Senatus locus*,⁷—seems to imply that it offered greater facilities for defence than the Curia, partly perhaps because it was not open to the Forum, being separated from it by a narrow street, which rose in the direction of the temple, in front of which there appears to have been a small open Place,⁸ probably on this occasion occupied by the consul's

of the medals of Faustina exhibits a hexastyle temple with the legend
DEDICATIO . AEDIS.

⁷⁶⁵ See Chapter IX.

⁶ Ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σησίου Διὸς ἱερόν, ὃν Σπάτωρα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἰδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνόντων. . . . Plutarch. Cic. 16. The site of the Temple of Stator is further discussed, in connection with the Porta Mugionia and the Nova Via, in Chapter IX, pp. 311—318.

⁷ Cic. in Cat. i. 1.

⁸ See p. 321.

supporters. In the time of Vitruvius it was a peripteral temple with six columns in front and eleven at the side. If, as is now generally believed, Vitruvius' book is of the time of Augustus, the temple so described was burnt down in the great fire of the reign of Nero.⁷⁶⁹

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On the left, in ascending the Sacred Way, was a small round temple, which still exists, and forms a vestibule to the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. This monument appears to have been long traditionally known as the Temple of Romulus,⁷⁰ and has been identified with great probability as a temple consecrated by the emperor Maxentius to his son Romulus, who died before him.¹ A coin struck in honour of Divus Romulus

Temple of
Romulus.

⁷⁶⁹ Tac. Ann. xv. 41. (Note 290.)

⁷⁰ Qui basilicam SS. Cosmae et Damiani martyrum via Sacra iuxta templum Romuli, sicut hactenus cernitur, venustissime fabricavit. Ioh. Diaconus in Vita S. Gregorii, i. 1.

Hic fecit basilicam sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani in urbe Roma in loco qui appellatur via Sacra iuxta templum Romuli. Anastas. in vita papae Felicis IV.

S. Laurentius de Mirandi; juxta eum, ecclesia S. Cosme, que fuit templum Asili; retro fuit templum Pacis et Latone; super idem templum Romuli. Mirabilia Urbis Rome, Jordan, Topogr. ii. 636.

Ascendit ante asylum per silicem ubi cecidit Simon Magus iuxta templum Romuli, pergit sub arcu triumphali Titi, etc. Processionale in Mabillon, Museum Italicum, p. 294.

¹ See a monograph by Signor de Rossi in the *Bulletino Cristiano* for 1867, p. 66, accompanied by a sketch of the elevation and plan of this edifice, by Ligorio, from the Vat. Cod. 3439, p. 40. Over the drawing is written, by the same hand, or that of Pauvinius, *SS. Cosma et Damiano, IMP. CAES. AVGVSTVS MAXIMVS TRIVMPH., ita ub alio latere. PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS in medio*. These inscriptions appear by the drawing to have been upon the entablature of the temple, and confirm the identification of the building. See Aur. Vict. Caes. 40. (Note 774.)

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has on its reverse the representation of a circular temple.

Lane leading to the Carinae, by the Velia.

To the east of this temple a lane appears to have branched off to the left, forming a shorter route to the Carinae, which were reached in this direction by crossing the north-western base of the hill called Velia. Traces of the lava pavement of this lane may be seen to the south-east of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, at the foot of a wall of ancient masonry which appears to have belonged to some building connected with the Forum of Peace.⁷⁷³

Basilica of Constantine,

Further on, upon the same side of the Sacra Via, was the great basilica erected by Maxentius and named after Constantine,⁴ of which the ponderous ruins remain. The last column was removed from this basilica by Pope Paul V. to the Piazza of Santa Maria Maggiore, where it may still be seen. The basilica extends as far as the top of the street. These ruins were called in the last century the Temple of Peace, and the modern street behind them now bears that name. Piranesi pointed out how unlike they were to a temple,⁵ and Nibby identified them with the Basilica of Constantine.⁶ This identification does not exclude the possibility that the site is that of the

not on the site of the Temple of Peace.

⁷⁷³ See pp. 268, 303.

⁴ *Cuncta opera quae magnifice construxerat (Maxentius), Urbis fanum atque Basilicam, Flavii meritis Patres sacravere. Aurelius Victor, Caes. 40.*

⁵ Piranesi, *Le Antich. Rom.* 35.

⁶ Nibby, *Foro Romano*, p. 189.

Temple of Peace, which was destroyed by fire in the reign of Commodus.⁷⁷⁷ But there is no ancient authority for placing that temple in the Sacred Way, and if it had been situated upon that route it would probably have been so described. On the other hand there is some evidence that the Basilica of Constantine occupied the site of a building of the emperor Domitian, called the Spice Warehouses, which appears to have been burnt down at the same time as the Temple of Peace.⁸ Before the Basilica of Constantine the lava pavement of the Sacred Way is now visible for some distance, until it is lost under the church of Santa Maria Nuova, the front of which stands upon the Summa Sacra Via.

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*Horrea
Piperata.*

Summa
Sacra Via.

The south side of the road, opposite the Basilica, has not been excavated, and it is not known what buildings were upon it above the Temple of Stator. A lane branched out of the middle of this side of the Sacra Via into the Palatine, since Asconius tells us that the house of Scaurus, the step-son of Sulla, was in that part of the Palatine which was reached by going down the

South side
of the
Sacra Via.

House of
Crassus,
Scaurus,
Clodius,
and Caecina.

⁷⁷⁷ Πῦρ τε νυκτῶρ ἀρθὲν ἐξ οἰκίας τινὸς καὶ εἰς τὸ Εἰρηναῖον ἰμπεσὸν τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων ἐπενεύματο, ἐς τε τὸ Παλάτιον μετewρισθὲν εἰσῆλθε, καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσε, ὥστε καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ τῆ ἀρχῆ προσήκοντα ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα φθαρῆναι. Dio Cass. lxxii. 24. Herodian, i. 14. See before, p. 267.

⁸ Dio Cass. lxxii. 24. (Note 777.) Domitianus . . . horrea piperataria, ubi modo est Basilica Constantiniana, et forum Vespasiani. Catal. Imp. Vienn. 243. Ronc. Hieron. i. 443. Ronc. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 379, 443.)

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Sacred Way and proceeding by the nearest lane to the left.⁷⁷⁹ This magnificent house appears to have been the same as that which had formerly belonged to the orator Crassus, famous for its beautiful lotos trees and for its *atrium* adorned with four columns of marble of Hymettus, which were replaced in the time of Scaurus by marble columns of a much larger size.⁸⁰ An adjoining house had been built by Cn. Octavius, Consul B.C. 165, and had been thought so magnificent as to assist his pretensions to the first consulate held by his family. This was acquired and pulled down by Scaurus, and the space added to his own mansion.¹ It was probably the same house which was purchased by P. Clodius from Scaurus a few months before the death of the former,² and for which he gave 14,800,000 sesterces, an extravagance worthy of being compared, according to Pliny, with the folly of kings.³ The palace of

⁷⁷⁹ Demonstrasse vobis memini me, hanc domum in ea parte Palatii esse, quae cum ab Sacra via descenderis et per proximum vicum qui est ab sinistra parte prodieris posita est. Possidet eam nunc Largus Caecina, qui consul fuit cum Claudio. In huius domus atrio fuerunt quatuor columnae marmoreae insigni magnitudine. Asconius ad Cic. p. Scauro.

⁸⁰ Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 2, 3.

¹ Cn. Octavio qui primus ex ea familia consul factus est, honori fuisse accepimus quod praeclaram aedificasset in Palatio et plenam dignitatis domum, quae quum vulgo viseretur, suffragata domino novo homini ad consulatum putabatur. Hunc Scaurus demolitus accessionem adiunxit aedibus. Cic. Off. i. 39.

² Erat domus Clodii ante paucos menses empta de M. Scauro in Palatio. Ascon. arg. ad Cic. pro Mil.

³ Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 24, 2.

Scaurus was at a later date in the possession of C. Caecina Largus, consul with the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 42, who in Pliny's youth used to take a pride in showing the lotos-trees of Crassus.⁷⁸⁵

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It is in this part of the Palatine that we must place the house of Cicero, which commanded a view of the city, and was approached from the Forum by the Sacred Way.⁶ It appears to have been in the direction of the Regia, since Cicero was alluded to by Vettius, in his denunciations from the Rostra, as a neighbour of the consul, that is apparently of Caesar.⁷ Cicero's house was bought by him from one of the family of Crassus,⁸ but was not the house of Crassus the orator. It had been built by M. Livius Drusus, the Tribune, and seems to have been the same house of which the story is told, that, when the architect suggested a plan by which it might be less overlooked from the neighbourhood, Drusus told him rather to make it all open to view, so that his fellow-citizens might see what was the life he led. After Cicero's death it belonged to Censorinus. It was not absorbed in the buildings of Augustus, but in the time of

House of
Cicero.

⁷⁸⁵ Asconius ad Cic. p. Scauro (Note 779); Plin. N. H. xvii. 1.

⁶ In conspectu praeterea totius urbis domus est mea. Cic. pro domo sua, 37. Id. Har. Resp. 8, 33. (Notes 791, 832.) Plutarch. Cic. 22. (Note 18)

⁷ Me non nominavit, sed dixit consularem disertum, vicinum consulis, sibi dixisse, Ahalam Servilium aliquem aut Brutum opus esse reperiri. Cic. ad Attic. ii. 24.

⁸ Cic. Ep. ad fam. v. 6.

CHAP.
VIII.House of
Catiline.

Paterculus was the property of Statilius Sisenna.⁷⁸⁹

The house of Catiline, which was also in this neighbourhood, was included in the palace of Augustus.⁸⁰

House of
Clodius.

Immediately above the house of Cicero, on the slope of the hill, was the mansion of Clodius, a different house apparently from that already mentioned as purchased shortly before his death. Cicero threatens, in a flourish of oratory, to raise his own roof so that Clodius may not have a view of the city he desired to destroy. It appears that his life had been attempted by Clodius not far from this spot.¹

Regions of
the Sacra
Via and
the Pala-
tine.

It is probable that the Augustan division of Regions followed on this ground the traditional boundary of the Palatine city. The Sacra Via and the buildings upon it, including the Temple of Jupiter Stator, and probably the other monuments on the south side of the street, were included in the fourth Region with the Forum of Peace and the Suburra ; but the district lying south of the Sacred Way beyond the buildings actually abutting upon it was considered to be a part of the Palatine, which constituted the tenth Region.

⁷⁸⁹ Plutarch. *Reip. gerend. praecepta*, ed Reiske, p. 194; Velleius *Paterc.* ii. 14.

⁸⁰ Sueton. *de Gram.* 17.

¹ *Tollam altius tectum ; non ut ego te despiciam, sed ne tu aspicias urbem eam quam delere voluisti.* Cic. *Har. Resp.* 33. *Haec intentata nobis est, haec eadem, longo intervallo conversa rursus est in me ; nuper quidem, ut scitis, me ad Regiam poene confecit.* Cic. *p. Mil.* 14.

The Sacred Way, as it was originally formed, lay in a natural hollow between the Palatine hill on the one side and the steep ascent of the Velia on the other, being the easiest route from the low ground of the Forum to the ridge which united these two hills. Its whole course was a slope of rather rapid incline. Hence Horace's expression in allusion to the triumphs which passed down the Sacred Way towards the Capitol:

Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via.⁷⁹²

Hence also the synonym, *sacer clivus*, used by Horace and Martial.

Concines maiore poeta plectro
Caesarem, quandoque trahet feroces
Per sacrum clivum, merita decorus
Fronde, Sygambros.³

The steepest part of the ascent was before the round temple which has been identified as that of Romulus. This rise in the Sacred Way seems to have acquired in the time of Constantine the name of Mons Romuleus, possibly from the temple which had been lately built upon it.⁴

⁷⁹² Hor. Epod. viii. 7.

³ Hor. Od. iv. 2, 34; Martial. Ep. i. 71, 5.

⁴ Coepit Pignenius ascendere per clivum viae Sacrae, ante templum Romuli. Acta S. Pignenii (Nibby, Foro Romano, p. 180). Processionale. (Note 770.)

Fuit denique hactenus status in pede montis Romulei, hoc est ante Sacram viam intra templum Faustinae advecta ad arcum Fabianum, quae haberet inscriptum, Gallieno, etc. Trebellius Pollio, Salonin. i. (Hist. Aug. Script. ii. 244). Servius speaks of a statue of Romulus in the Sacred Way. (Note 760.)

CHAP.
VIII.
Physical
topogra-
phy of
Sacred
Way.

Sacer
Clivus.

Mons
Romuleus.

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VIII.

Horace, in
the Sacred
Way.

The Sacred Way is agreeably associated with the habits and daily life of Horace. He describes himself going down it in the morning, absorbed in his thoughts or in his verse.

Ibam forte via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
Nescio quid meditans nugarum, et totus in illis.⁷⁹⁵

Later in the day he frequently passed through it to take his evening walk in the Forum.

Fallacem Circum, vespertinumque pererro
Saepe forum.⁶

Routes to
the Pala-
tine by the
Sacred
Way.

Branching to the right upon the ridge at the top of the Sacra Via, a street, the pavement of which is for a considerable distance open to view, conducted into the very heart of the Palatine hill. The Sacred Way thus led by various routes to different parts of the Palatine. First the Nova Via led out of the beginning of the Sacred Way to the Porta Mugionia and the western side of the hill.⁷ Then, the lane already mentioned led to the house of Scaurus and probably to other mansions on the north slope. And finally the street upon the ridge formed the easiest ascent to the great buildings of the Flavian emperors. Hence the Sacred Way (in its popular and restricted sense) was primarily the road from the Forum to the Palatine.

Inde sacro veneranda petes Palatia clivo.⁸

Cicero leads his prisoners from the Palatine to

⁷⁹⁵ Hor. Sat. i. 9, 1.

⁶ Hor. Sat. i. 6, 113.

⁷ See Chapter IX.

⁸ Martial. Ep. i. 71, 5.

the Forum down the Sacred Way⁷⁹⁹. Vitellius in the Forum, intent on abdicating empire in the Temple of Concord, is forced by his friends back to the Palace by closing every other route except the Sacred Way.⁸⁰⁰

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The house of the Rex Sacrificulus, mentioned by Festus as the limit of the Sacra Via as commonly understood, must have been in the Summa Sacra Via, but its site is unknown. The Aedes Larum was also in the Summa Sacra Via, and it is not improbable that the house of the sacrificial king adjoined this temple, the shrine of the guardian deities of the city, where the king Ancus Martius is said to have dwelt;¹ as the residence of the Pontifex Maximus, the traditional palace of Numa, was next to the temple of Vesta. The temple of the Lares was situated on the line of the boundary of the Palatine city, the Pomerium of Romulus as laid down by Tacitus,² and was

Summa
Sacra Via.
House of
the Rex
Sacrificu-
lus.

Aedes
Larum.

⁷⁹⁹ Plutarch. Cic. 22. (Note 18.)

⁸⁰⁰ Maior hic clamor obsistentium penetibus privatis, in Palatium vocantium. Interclusum aliud iter, idque solum quod in Sacram viam pergeret, patebat; tum consilii inops in Palatium rediit. Tac. Hist. iii. 68. Compare Dio Cass. lxxv. 20.

¹ Ancus Martius (habitavit) in summa Sacra via, ubi aedes Larum est. Solinus, l. Compare Nonius, xii. 531. (Note 856.)

² Inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox ad Curias veteres, tum ad sacellum Larum; forumque Romanum et Capitolium non a Romulo sed a T. Tatius additum urbi credidere. Tac. Ann. xii. 24. Some modern editors, including Orelli, read *sacellum Larundae*, relying upon a passage in Varro (L. L. v. 10, 22) where he says, that, according to the annalists, Tatius vowed a temple, among other deities, to Larunda. But this does not show that any temple of Larunda existed in Varro's day, still less

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therefore in all probability on the southern side of the *Sacra Via*, in the direction of the Palatine hill. This temple was rebuilt by Augustus,⁸⁰³ and was probably maintained as long as the old religion had any influence. Some remains of it may perhaps be found, and that with no considerable excavation, in the open space near the south side of the church of *Sta. Maria Nuova*. Close to the temple of the *Lares* was an altar of *Orbona*.⁴

Market at
the *Summa
Sacra Via*.

The *Summa Sacra Via* appears, from what we see of the pavement near the church of *Santa Maria Nuova*, to have spread into a broad paved area. Here probably was a sort of open market for the sale of flowers, fruit, and other petty articles.⁵ Ovid alludes to this merchandise.

Dum bene dives ager, dum rami pondere nutant,
Afferat in calatho rustica dona puer;
Rure suburbano poteris tibi dicere missa
Illa, vel in *Sacra* sint licet empta via.⁶

And in another place he speaks of the skilful

that it was on the line of the pomerium, whereas the Temple of the *Lares* certainly existed in imperial times, having been rebuilt by Augustus, and, being on the *Summa Sacra Via*, must have been on or near the limits of the ancient Palatine city.

⁸⁰³ AEDEM . LARVM . IN . SVMMA . SACRA . VIA FECL. Mon.
Ancy.

⁴ Ideoque etiam publice Febri fanum in Palatio dicatum est, *Orbonae* ad aedem *Larium*. Plin. N. H. ii. 5.

⁵ Huiusce, inquam, pomaria summa *Sacra via*, ubi poma veneunt contra auream imaginem. Varro, R. R. i. 2. The golden image is not known. *Cloelia's* statue was of bronze, and may possibly have been gilt. Dionys. v. 35. (Note 864.)

⁶ Ovid. de Art. Am. ii. 263.

hands that were employed in tying up garlands before the temple of the Lares.

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Lucifero subeunte Lares delubra tulerunt
Hic, ubi fit docta multa corona manu.⁸⁰⁷

Propertius also mentions the trifles that might be bought here,

Quaeque nitent Sacra vilia dona via.⁸

Beyond the summit of the Sacra Via, and extending back nearly as far as the Colosseum, is a vast platform with a ruined building in its centre, which has been recognised by modern antiquaries as the Temple of Venus and Rome, originally founded by Hadrian.⁹ This site had been previously occupied by the palace of Nero, which reached from the Esquiline to the Palatine Hill, and, having been burnt down in the great fire which occurred in that emperor's reign, was rebuilt upon the same site on a still more splendid scale and called the Golden House, apparently on account of the quantity of gilding used in its exterior.¹⁰ The vestibule, which was designed to contain a colossal bronze statue of the emperor, —according to Pliny a hundred and ten, and according to Suetonius a hundred and twenty feet

Temple of
Venus and
Rome.

Golden
House of
Nero.

Colossus.

⁸⁰⁷ Fast. vi. 791.

⁸ Propertius, ii. 24. 1. Numerous sepulchral inscriptions have been preserved recording the location in the Sacred Way of various trades, especially goldsmiths and jewellers. Orelli, Inscr. 4148, -9, -55, -6, -92, -3, 4292, 4302, 7244; Gruter, mxxxiii. 1.

⁹ The identification was first made by Nardini. Roma Antica, p. 130; Id. ed. Nibby, i. 286, 296. ¹⁰ Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 16.

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VIII.

Flavian
Amphi-
theatre.
Baths of
Titus.
Colossus.

high,—probably faced the top of the Sacred Way. The extent of the building is said to have been so great, that the portico, which was of triple depth, was a mile long. Behind the palace was a large lake surrounded by buildings; and on the Esquiline the ground was cleared for an extensive park.⁸¹¹ A great part of the space appropriated by this selfish extravagance was devoted by Vespasian and Titus to public uses. The site of the lake was occupied by the Flavian Amphitheatre, and the Baths of Titus were placed on the gardens of the Esquiline.² The Colossus, with some change in the design, was completed after Nero's death, and dedicated to the Sun, the head being surrounded with rays. Some said that the face retained the likeness of Nero; others that it had

⁸¹¹ Nero Antii agens non ante in urbem regressus est quam domui eius, qua Palatium et Maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Tac. Ann. xv. 39.

Domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, quam primo Transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque Auream nominavit. . . Vestibulum eius fuit in quo colossus cxx. pedum staret ipsius effigie: tanta laxitas ut porticus triplices milliarias haberet: item stagnum maris instar circumsaeptum edificiis ad urbium speciem, rura insuper arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum. Sueton. Ner. 31.

² Hic, ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus,
Et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,
Invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis,
Unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus.
Hic, ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.
Hic, ubi miramur, velocia munera, thermas,
Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.

Martial. Spect. ii.

that of Titus.⁸¹³ It was fixed in the reign of Vespasian, A.D. 77, on the site originally prepared for it at the top of the Sacred Way; but the palace of Nero appears to have been pulled down, and the ground, when Martial wrote, was occupied by scaffolding and engines, connected perhaps with the work of the new amphitheatre.⁴ The Colossus was removed to a new position, probably to the great pedestal still existing close to the Colosseum, by the Emperor Hadrian,⁵ who chose the magnificent site now left vacant at the top of

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Hadrian's
Temple of
Venus and
Rome.

⁸¹³ Romam accitus est (Zenodorus) a Nerone, ubi destinatum illius principis simulacrum colossum fecit cx. pedum longitudine, quod dicatus Solis venerationi est, damnatis sceleribus illius principisi. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 18.

Ὁ τε Κολοσσός ἀνομασμένος, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ ἰδρύθη. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ τε ὕψος ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἱ μὲν τὸ Νέρωνος οἱ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Τίτου ἔχειν. Dio Cass. lxvi. 16. In the *Curiosum*, Reg. IV. the Colossus is said to be 102½ft. in height. See Appendix.

Colossi refectorem insigni congiario magnaue mercede donavit (Vespasianus). Sueton. Vesp. 18.

Inde sacro veneranda petes palatia clivo,
Plurima qua summi fulget imago ducis;
Nec te detineat miri radiata colossi
Quae Rhodium moles vincere gaudet opus.

Martial, Ep. i. 71, 5.

⁴ Martial Spect. ii. (Note 812); Dio Cass. lxvi. 16. (Note 813.)

⁵ Transtulit et colossum stantem atque suspensum per Decrianum architectum de eo loco ubi nunc templum Urbis est, ingenti molimine ita ut operi etiam elephantes xxiv. exhiberet. Et quum hoc simulacrum post Neronis vultum, cui antea dicatum fuerat, Soli consecrasset, aliud tale Apollodoro architecto auctore facere Lunae molitis est. Spartian. Hadr. 19. (Hist. Aug. Script.)

The modern name of the Flavian amphitheatre (in the form *Colisaeus*) is first found in an English author, Bede. (Nibby, *Foro Romano*, p. 229.) Some have supposed that it was derived from the neighbouring Colossus.

CHAP.
VIII.Criticism
of Apollo-
dorus.

the Sacred Way for his favourite monument, the double Temple of Venus and Rome, said to have been designed by the prince himself. Dio Cassius tells a story about the building of this temple which possesses a great topographical interest, as confirming the assumed site of this monument. The emperor, when his work was already in progress, submitted his drawings to the architect Apollodorus of Damascus, who had designed the Forum and other buildings of Trajan. The professional architect did not disguise his opinion of the designs of the imperial amateur, pointing out that the statues were too large for their cells, and that the principal building ought to have been raised higher, so as more completely to command the Sacred Way. This arrangement, he observed, would have necessitated a vast sub-structure, which should have been made hollow, and would then have been signally useful both for storing the machinery of the amphitheatre and for preparing it out of sight for immediate use. The conclusion of the story is so tragic, if we admit its credibility, as to cast a shadow over the memory of Hadrian. The amateur is said to have first banished the artist, and afterwards to have put him to death.⁸¹⁶

⁸¹⁶ Ὁ δὲ ἀντεπέστειλε περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ, ὅτι καὶ μετέωρον αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπεκνωμένον γενέσθαι ἐχρῆν ἔν' εἰς τε τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν ἐκφανέστερος ἐξ ὑψηλοτέρου εἴη, καὶ ἐς τὸ κοῖλον τὰ μηχανήματα ἐκδέχοιτο, ὥστε καὶ ἀφανῶς συμπήγνυσθαι καὶ ἐξ οὐ προεΐδοτος εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσάγεσθαι. Dio Cass. lxi. 4. Spartian. Hadr. 19.

The vast terrace occupied by this monument was surrounded by a portico or colonnade.⁸¹⁷ The double temple in the centre contained two cells with tribunes or apses placed back to back, and decastyle porticoes facing in the two directions towards the Forum and the Amphitheatre. The porticoes are represented upon coins of Hadrian. The central building, being placed at some distance back from the Summa Sacra Via, must have appeared to a spectator approaching it from the Forum somewhat sunk behind the surrounding colonnade, and probably in this respect the criticism attributed to Apollodorus was not without foundation.

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This temple appears to have been completed or restored by Antoninus Pius, on whose medals, as well as on those of Hadrian, it is represented, and

History of
the double
temple.

⁸¹⁷ The recent discovery of a fragment of the Capitoline Plan, representing the Porticus Liviae as a large area surrounded by a portico, has tempted an English antiquary to fit it to this locality. (Parker, *Archæology of Rome*, ii. p. 86.) It may be worth while to observe, first, that no other site but the present, lying between the Sacra Via and the Amphitheatre, answers to Apollodorus's criticism of the temple built by Hadrian; secondly, that the Porticus Liviae was in the third Region of Augustus (Curiosum and Notitia, Preller, *Regionen*, pp. 6, 7), whereas this site lies in the fourth, and on the boundary of the tenth Region; thirdly, that the fragment of the Plan of the Porticus Liviae corresponds neither in the building delineated in the centre of the area, nor in the streets and buildings surrounding it, with the ruins found on and near this site; and, fourthly, that the Porticus Liviae, built by Augustus, subsisted in the time of Constantine, whereas this site was almost certainly occupied during part of the interval between these periods by the buildings of Nero.

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rebuilt by Maxentius after destruction by fire.¹⁸ In later times it was commonly called *Templum Urbis*.⁹ The ancient worship of both deities was still maintained in it when Prudentius wrote his first book against Symmachus, about A.D. 400.²⁰ It appears to be this temple whose roof Claudian describes as glittering on the Palatine hill, and to which the nations bring their petitions.

Conveniunt ad tecta deae quae candida lucent
Monte Palatino.¹

The bronze plates, probably gilded, with which the temple was covered, were removed by Pope Honorius I. with the consent of the emperor Heraclius, to be placed over the basilica of St. Peter.²

Arch of
Titus.

At the west corner of the great platform of Venus and Rome stands the Arch of Titus, with

¹⁸ Maxentius imp. ann. vi. Hoc imp. templum Romae arsit et fabricatum est. Catal. imp. Vienn. p. 248. Ronc. (Becker, Handbuch, i. 443.) Aurelius Victor, Caes. 40. (Note 774.)

⁹ His coss. (Pompeiano et Attiliano) templum Romae et Veneris factum est, quod nunc Urbis appellatur. Cassiod. Chron. Hadr. Urbis templum, forumque Pacis, . . . aliaque inter haec decora urbis aeternae. Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 10.

²⁰ Ac Sacram resonare viam mugitibus ante
Delubrum Romae: colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
More deae, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur;
Atque Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt
Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus.

Prudent. cont. Symmach. i. 218.

¹ Claudian, de laud. Stilich. ii. 227.

² Hic (Honorius) cooperuit ecclesiam (S. Petri) omnem ex tabulis aeneis quas levavit de templo quod appellatur Romae ex consensu pientissimi Heracliei imperatoris. Anastas. Biblioth. in Vita Hon. I.

its sculptures recording his Jewish triumph. It bears the inscription: CHAP.
VIII.

SENATVS

POPVLVSQVE.ROMANVS

DIVO.TITO.DIVI.VESPASIANI.F

VESPASIANO.AVGVSTO

The title *divus*, as well as the relief which represents his apotheosis, shows that the arch was not completed until after the emperor's death. The relief, in which the seven-branched candlestick is a conspicuous object, gave in the middle ages the name of *Arcus septem lucernarum* to this monument. Arch of
the Seven
Lamps.

The account of the ancient remains on and near the Sacred Way given in the book *de mirabilibus Romae*, probably of the twelfth century, affords a curious picture both of the state of the ruins at that period, and of the utter confusion into which the traditional knowledge of the localities had fallen. The Temple of Vesta was still remembered, but whether in connection with its real site is uncertain. The ruins near it, perhaps the temple of Castor, were called the Temple of Pallas, and next to them was what was believed to be the Forum of Caesar and the Temple of Janus, where was a tower of the Cenci Frangipani, possibly on the site of the Temple of Julius; then the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, called the Temple of Minerva, with an arch adjoining it, apparently the Fornix Fabianus; near it the church of S. Cosmas, which was believed to have Medieval
account of
the east
end of the
Forum and
the Sacred
Way.

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been called the Temple of Asylum; at the back of this church the Temple of Peace and Latona, and in front of it the Temple of Romulus; behind the church of Santa Maria Nuova the two temples of Concord and Piety; and near the arch of the seven lamps the Temple of Aesculapius.⁸²³

A second
arch on the
Summa
Sacra Via.

In the sculpture upon the tomb of the Aterii, preserved in the Lateran Museum, there is represented an arch, inscribed *arcus in sacra via summa*, which does not correspond with the Arch of Titus. This may possibly have been one of the unnumbered arches of Domitian.⁴

Streets on
each side
of Venus
and Rome.

The road leading to the right from the top of the Sacred Way into the Palatine has been already mentioned. In the opposite direction there is an ancient street, now uncovered, which led from the Summa Sacra Via along the eastern side of the Basilica of Constantine. From this a narrow lane, turning at right angles to the right, is continued between the great platform of the temple of Venus and Rome and the neighbouring hill, and so reaches the north-west side of the Flavian Amphitheatre at the end of the Via del Coliseo. On the opposite or southern side of the same platform

⁸²³ Ibi est templum Veste, . . . est ibi templum Palladis et forum Cesuris et templum Iani, . . . nunc autem dicitur turris Cencii Frajapanis. Templum Minerve cum arcum adiunctum est ei, nunc autem vocatur S. Laurentius de Mirandi; iuxta eum ecclesia S. Cosme que fuit templum Asili; retro fuit templum Pacis et Latone, super idem templum Romuli; post S. Mariam Novam duo templa Concordie et Pietatis; iuxta arcum septem lucernarum templum Esculapii. Mirabilia, Jordan, Topogr. der Stadt Rom, ii. 636.

⁴ See p. 126, note 324.

an ancient street of greater width now again in use, branching to the left from that leading into the Palatine and passing under the Arch of Titus, leads to the Meta Sudans, the Arch of Constantine, and the south-west side of the Colosseum.

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We have thus two ways leading from the Summa Sacra Via to the Amphitheatre, one passing to the north, the other to the south, of the Temple of Venus and Rome. The latter route is generally identified with the third portion of the Sacra Via. It certainly seems to have been the more important street, and was the route by which the triumphs were conducted from the Circus Maximus to what Horace calls the Sacer Clivus, descending into the Forum. Hence, as the earlier triumphal arches of Fabius, Augustus, and Tiberius were placed upon the triumphal route through the Forum, the later arches of Titus and Constantine are found upon this. But, in our utter ignorance as to the position of the Sacellum Streniae, to which the Sacra Via ultimately conducted, it is useless to endeavour to identify its course beyond the Summa Sacra Via.

Third
portion of
Sacra Via.

The hill called Velia has been placed by topographers in the neighbourhood of the Sacred Way; but the opinion generally received as to the locality indicated by this name requires some correction.

Velia.

The Velia appears to have been one of the original Seven Hills of Rome, and is named by

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Velia, one
of the
original
Seven
Hills.

Velia uni-
ted with
the Pala-
tine;

but a
distinct
locality.

Festus on the authority of Antistius Labeo, a jurist of the Augustan Age, as one of the hills which participated in the ancient festival of the Septimontium, and as having its special sacrifice. The Palatium was another of these hills, and had its own sacrifice called *Palatuar*; and the Germalus or Cermalus was a third.⁸²⁵ Varro mentions the existence on the Velia, at the Temple of the Penates, of one of those shrines of early Roman worship called *Sacraria Argeorum*. He also tells us that the Velia and Germalus were in the fourth Servian Region, united with the Palatine.⁶ From this statement we may conclude that the Velia was not within the natural boundaries of the Palatine Hill, but that it was sufficiently near to make some sort of union possible and convenient. It may be that the hills were united by some defensive works of the early kings, before the greater extension of the city marked by the Servian walls. It should be observed, however, that the Velia was never absorbed in the Palatine, but continued to be treated as a distinct locality ;⁷

⁸²⁵ Septimontio, ut ait Antistius Labeo, hisce montibus feriae; Palatio, cui sacrificium quod fit Palatuar dicitur, Veliae, cui item sacrificium, Faguali [Fagutali], Suburae, Cermalo, Oppio, Caelio monti, Cispio monti. Festus, ed. Müll. p. 348. As an amended reading Müller has *dele* Caelio.

⁶ Quartae regionis Palatium . . . huic Cermalum et Velias con-iunxerunt, quod in hac regione sacriportus est, et in ea sic scriptum est, GERMALENSE . QVINTICEPS . APVD . AEDEM . ROMVLI, et, VELI-ENSE . SEXTICEPS . IN . VELIA . APVD . AEDEM . DEVM . PENATIVM. Varro, L. L. v. 8 (17).

⁷ Cic. Har. Resp. viii. (Note 832.)

the Temple of the Penates, the distinctive monument of the Velia, is never described as in the Palatine; and in the Augustan division of Regions the Velia does not appear to have been included in the tenth Region, which comprised the Palatine Hill.

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The Velia had been in early times, according to the Roman antiquaries, the residence of King Tullus Hostilius,⁸²⁸ but is chiefly known in connection with the story of P. Valerius Publicola. It is narrated that when Publicola, shortly after the expulsion of the kings, was preparing to build a house upon the top of this hill, which is described as a strong position raised above the Forum by a steep elevation, the Romans suspected him of an intention to make himself king. He thereupon abandoned his design, and placed his house under the Velia at the bottom of the hill, upon a site so low that his fellow-citizens might pelt him from the hill above.⁹ After his death he was honoured by the unusual distinction of being buried within

House of
Publicola.

⁸²⁸ Tullus Hostilius (habitavit) in Velia, ubi postea deum Penatium aedes facta est. Solinus, Polyhist. 1. Cic. de Rep. ii. 31. (Note 829.)

Varro de vita P. R. libro primo, Tullum Hostilium in Velis, ubi nunc est aedis deum Paenatum; Ancum in Palatio ad portam Mugiones secundum via sub sinistra. Nonius, xii. 531, ed. Gerlach, Basil. 1842.

⁸²⁹ P. Valerius . . . aedes suas detulit sub Veliam, postea quam, quod in excelsiore loco Veliae caepisset aedificare, eo ipso ubi rex Tullus habitaverat, suspicionem populi sensit moveri. Cic. de Rep. ii. 31.

Aedificabat in summa Velia; ibi alto et munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore . . . 'Deferam non in planum modo aedes sed colli etiam subiiciam.' Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam, et, ubi nunc Vicaepotae est domus, in infimo clivo aedificatur. Liv. ii. 7.

Τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἐπιφθόνῃ τόπῳ κατασκευάσατο, λόφον ὑπερκείμενον τῆς

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Temple
of the
Penates.

Temple of
Vicapota.

Site of the
Velia.

the city, where his sepulchre was near the Forum and under the Velia.⁸³⁰ The site of the residence of Tullus Hostilius, and of the intended house of Publicola on the summit of the Velia, was marked in historical times by the Temple of the Penates;¹ the position of Publicola's subsequent habitation *sub Velia* by a Temple of Vicapota or of Victory.²

The above narrative teaches us to look for the Velia as a hill, overlooking a lower level in the near neighbourhood of the Forum. Relying upon this indication, and upon the connection of the Velia with the Palatine, modern antiquaries, under the guidance of Niebuhr and Bunsen, have given the name of Velia to the ridge which separates the Forum from the valley of the Colosseum, and which is surmounted by the church of Santa Maria Nuova and the Arch of Titus.³

ἀγορᾶς ὑψηλὸν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ περίτομον, ὃν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Ἐλίαν, ἐκλε-
ξάμενος . . . τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ λόφου μετατέθειται κάτω, ἵνα
ἐξεῖη Ῥωμαίους, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησιάζων ἔφη, βάλλειν αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
μετεώρου λίθους, εἴ τι λάβωσιν ἀδικοῦντα. Dionys. v. 19.

⁸³⁰ Dionys. v. 48; Plutarch. Poplic. 10.

¹ Solinus, 1; Varro, in Nonius, xii. 531. (Note 828.)

² P. Valerio Volesi filio Publicolae aedes publicas sub Velia, ubi nunc aedes Victoriae est, populum ex lege quam ipse tulerat concessisse tradunt. Ascon. ad Cic. in Pis. 22. Liv. ii. 7. (Note 829.)

Cicero, in one of his orations, if the received reading be correct, represents the site of Publicola's house *in Velia* as a public gift. P. Valerio pro maximis in rempublicam beneficiis data est domus in Velia publice; at mihi in Palatio restituta; illi locus, at mihi etiam parietes atque tectum. (Cic. Har. Resp. 8.) The early editors have *in villa publica*. *In Velia publice* was a happy emendation of one of the older critics.

³ Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. 249; Bunsen, Beschreibung d. St. Rom. iii. 1, 82; Niebuhr, Hist. Rom. (Eng. transl.) vol. i. p. 390, 499;

This identification is not entirely satisfactory. The gradual rise of ground in this direction does not afford that contrast of level between the Velia and *sub Velia* which is implied in the story of Publicola's habitation. But a more convincing objection is this, that the ridge in question is generally admitted to be the site of the Summa Sacra Via, and no authority is to be found for placing the Summa Sacra Via, or any monument belonging to it, upon the Velia. The two localities are indeed very clearly distinguished by Solinus and in the Ancyran inscription.⁸³⁴

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Summa
Sacra Via,
not the
Velia.

Dionysius in describing the temple of the Penates affords us a clue to a more accurate determination of the position of the Velia. That temple, which was small and dark, though rebuilt by Augustus,⁵ and was said to contain the Penates brought from Troy, existed in the historian's time, not far from the Forum, upon the short way which led to the Carinae.⁶ Now the Carinae lay at the edge of the Suburra, in the neighbourhood of S. Pietro in Vincoli,⁷ and

Velia,
between
the Sacra
Via and
the Carinae.

Temple of
the Penates.

Arnold, Hist. Rom. vol. i. p. 32 n.; Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 162.

⁸³⁴ AEDM.LARVM.IN.SVMMA.SACRA.VIA. AEDM.DEVM.PENATIVM.
IN.VELIA...FECI. Mon. Ancyran.

Tullus Hostilius in Velia (habitavit) ubi postea deum Penatium aedes facta est, Ancus Martius in summa Sacra via ubi aedes Larium est. Solinus, l. ⁵ Mon. Ancyran. (Note 834.)

⁶ Νεώς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέικνται τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πρόσω, κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρινᾶς φέρουσαν ἐπίτομον ὁδὸν ὑπεροχῇ σκοτεινὸς ἰδρυμένος οὐ μέγας· λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν ὑπελαίαις τὸ χωρίον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ κείνται τῶν Τρωικῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες ἀπᾶσιν ὁρᾶν. Dionys. i. 68.

⁷ Varro, L. L. v. 8 (14).

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were approached, somewhat circuitously, by the Sacra Via. The short cut mentioned by Dionysius must have struck off to the left from that road, and arrived more directly at the Carinae by crossing the higher ground at the back of the Basilica of Constantine.⁸³⁷ It is therefore on this ground that we must seek the site of the Temple of the Penates.⁸ The historian adds, according to the ordinary reading of the passage, that the place was called *ἱπελαίαις*. The manuscripts vary as to the name, but it is probable that we ought to read, with Casaubon, *Ούέλαι*, since the temple of the Penates is distinctly placed by other authorities, not under the Velia, as the word *ἱπελαίαις* might suggest, but on its summit.⁹ The locality described as *sub Velia* would be to the north of the Sacra Via, near the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Between the ancient level of the buildings on this spot and that of the ground at the back of the neighbouring basilica there is all the contrast which is found in the old story between the site first chosen by Publicola and that upon which he afterwards built.

⁸³⁷ See before, pp. 268, 282.

⁸ It has been thought that the Temple of the Penates was burnt in the Neronian fire, with the Domus Transitoria and the other monuments abutting on the Sacred Way. (Tac. Ann. xv. 41. Note 290. Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 164.) But I understand the expression of Tacitus, *delubrum Vestae cum Penatibus populi Romani*, to refer only to the Vesta temple and its contents.

⁹ Casaubon ad Sexti Aurelii Victoris Epitomen, cited Dionys. i. 68, ed. Oxon. Compare Dionys. i. 20. The plural form *Veliae* is found in Varro, L. L. v. 8. (Note 826.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE NOVA VIA.

"NEW STREET," Nova Via, was one of the most ancient thoroughfares of Rome, and was connected with monuments of the most primitive time. The contrast between the name and the fact is observed by Varro.³³⁹ Its position is a subject of antiquarian conjecture, upon which recent excavation has not added much to our knowledge. It does not, however, appear impossible to place the matter in a somewhat clearer light than that in which it has hitherto stood.

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The principal facts, known from ancient authors, respecting the situation of the Nova Via, are the following.

i. The highest part of it, Summa Nova Via, was under the windows of the traditional residence of King Tarquinius Priscus, which was itself at the Mugionian Gate of the Palatine city and close to the Temple of Jupiter Stator.⁴⁰

Summa
Nova Via.

³³⁹ Varro, L. L. vi. 7. (67.) (Note 138.)

⁴⁰ Tarquinius Priscus (habitavit) ad Mugoniam Portam super summam Novam viam. Solinus, i. 24.

Ex superiore parte aedium, per fenestras in Novam viam versas, habitabat enim rex ad Jovis Statoris, populum Tanaquil alloquitur. Liv. i. 41.

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IX.

Aius Locutius.

Communication with Forum.

Porta Romanula.

Infima Nova Via.

Nova Via, on north-western slope of the Palatine.

Velabrum.

ii. The Nova Via passed between the Grove of Vesta and the altar of Aius Locutius, which was in the Nova Via and above the Temple of Vesta.⁸⁴¹

iii. There was a communication in Ovid's time between the Nova Via and the Forum.²

iv. Not far from the lowest part of the Nova Via was the Porta Romanula, which appears to have been reached by steps abutting on this street.³

v. The lowest part of the street, Infima Nova Via, extended to the Velabrum and that part of the base of the Palatine Hill which looked towards the Aventine.⁴

Of the various localities thus connected with the Nova Via, there are some of which the sites are themselves matters of speculation, while others can be placed without difficulty. When we know that the lowest part of the Nova Via was in or near the Velabrum, that in another part of its course it was not far from the Temple of Vesta, that it had a communication with the Forum, and that it passed under two several gates of the ancient Palatine city, we must conclude that it was a street running along the north-western base of the Palatine Hill. The site of the Velabrum is still marked by the

⁸⁴¹ Liv. v. 32, 50; Cic. de Div. i. 45; A. Gellius, xvi. 17. (Note 848.)

² Ovid. Fast. vi. 395. See before, p. 109.

³ Varro, v. 34 (46); vi. 3 (58). (Note 845.)

⁴ Varro. v. 7. (14); vi. 3. (58). (Note 845.)

Church of San Giorgio in Velabro, under the western corner of the Palatine; according to Varro it was in ancient times a marshy lake, and the Nova Via led to the traditional spot where people embarked in boats to cross from the Palatine to the Aventine.⁸⁴⁵ Naturally the lowest part of the street, Infima Nova Via, was here, and from this point the roadway must have risen along the base of the hill. We are expressly told by Varro, that at the lower part, near the Porta Romanula, the Nova Via was outside the ancient Palatine city;⁶ and it appears to have been still outside where at its highest point it reached the Porta Mugionia, which was above it.⁷ Deferring the consideration of the position of these two gates, we may first fix some other points in the Nova Via.

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Infima
Nova Via.

Nova Via
outside the
Palatine
city.

Cicero informs us that the altar of Aius Locuens was to be seen in his day within a fence opposite to the spot where a mysterious voice of warning had been heard from the Grove of Vesta

Altar of
Aius Locu-
tius.

⁸⁴⁵ Aventinum . . . ego maxime puto ab advectu; nam olim paludibus mons erat ab reliquis disclusus; itaque eo ex urbe advehebantur ratibus, quous vestigia, quod ea qua tum [ibat] dicitur Velabrum, et unde ascendebant ad infimam Novam viam locus sacellum labrum. Velabrum a vehendo. Varro, L. L. v. 7 (14).

⁶ Hoc sacrificium (Accae Larentiae) fit in Velabro, qua in Novam viam exitur, ut aiunt quidam, ad sepulcrum Accae, ut quod ibi prope faciunt Diis Manibus Servilibus sacerdotes; qui uterque locus extra urbem antiquam fuit non longe a Porta Romanula. Varro, L. L. vi. 3 (58).

⁷ Solinus, i. 24. (Note 840.)

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Grove of
Vesta.

before the capture of the city by the Gauls, and that the Grove of Vesta reached from the foot of the Palatine to the Nova Via;⁸⁴⁸ and we learn from Livy that the Sacellum of Aius Locutius was in the Nova Via above the Aedes Vestae.

We may conclude that the Grove of Vesta was in the near neighbourhood of the temple and other buildings connected with the worship of that goddess, but separated from them by the Nova Via. The site of the temple has been placed beyond reasonable controversy by recent explorations, which have disclosed its circular base at the south-eastern extremity of the Forum. The houses of the Vestals appear to have been on the eastern side of the temple, and to have closed the Forum in this direction.⁹ Immediately in the rear, under the existing road and the façade of Santa Maria Liberatrice, ran in all probability the Nova Via, and behind the Nova Via, on the steep slope of the Palatine, now occu-

⁸⁴⁸ *Exaudita vox est a luco Vestae, qui a Palatii radice in Novam viam devexus est . . . Ara enim Aio Loquenti, quam saeptam videmus, exadversus eum locum consecrata est. Cic. de div. i. 45.*

M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis, se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae, vocem noctis siléntio audisse. Liv. v. 32.

Expiandae etiam vocis nocturnae . . . mentio illata, iussumque templum in Nova via Aio Locutio fieri. Liv. v. 50.

Φήμης ἰδρύσατο (ὁ Κάμιλλος) καὶ Κληδόνοσ ἐκεῖ παρὰ τὴν Καινὴν ὁδὸν ὄπου, κτλ. Plutarch. de fort. Rom. (ed. Reiske, p. 265.)

Nam sicut Aius, inquit (M. Varro in libris divinarum), deus appellatus araque ei statuta est, quae est infima [qu. in summa] Nova via, quod in eo loco divinitus vox edita erat. A. Gellius, xvi. 17.

⁹ See before, pp. 110, 118.

pied by the church and its inclosure, spread the Garden or Grove of Vesta. On this spot were found, in the sixteenth century, traces of the sepulture of Vestal Virgins.⁸⁵⁰

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The Grove of Vesta was probably filled with worshippers during the celebration of the Vestalia, which occurred yearly on the 9th of June. It is with reference to this festival that Ovid mentions the communication which appears to have been recently made in his day between the Nova Via and the Forum, and by which he returned from witnessing the ceremony.¹ It is probable that this is the road of which the extremity has recently been uncovered in the Forum between the Temple of Castor and the houses of the Vestals, for whose more convenient access to their dwellings it was probably constructed, at the same time that other additions to their accommodation were made by Augustus.²

Communi-
cation with
the Forum.

Opposite the Grove of Vesta, the Nova Via was at a level considerably above the Forum, and continued at the higher level until it passed the Mugionian Gate, below which the Summa Nova Via was situated.³

Summa
Nova Via.

Close to this gate appears to have existed a house which was associated with the names of the later kings, and of which the site at least was remembered in imperial times. Here Livy places

House of
Tarquin.

⁸⁵⁰ See before, p. 118, note 295.

¹ Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 395. See before, p. 109.

² See before, pp. 109, 124.

³ Solinus, i. (Note 840.)

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IX.

Temple of
Jupiter
Stator.

Mugionian
Gate.

the scene of the death of Tarquinius Priscus, and of the efforts of his wife Tanaquil to secure the succession to Servius Tullius. Her address to the people is said to have been delivered from the windows opening on the Nova Via. The situation of the house of Tarquinius is indicated to the readers of the Augustan age, not by reference to this old gateway, but by the proximity of a more imposing monument. The king lived, says Livy, at Jupiter Stator's.⁸⁶⁵ So Annius Fetalis, an author cited by Pliny, places the vestibule of the house of Superbus (by which we can hardly understand a different house from that assigned by Livy to Tarquinius Priscus) opposite the temple of Jupiter Stator.⁶ The position of this temple at the Mugionian Gate is abundantly confirmed by other authorities.⁷ In order therefore to determine the position of the Summa Nova Via and of the Mugionian Gate, it is necessary to consider the question of the site of the Temple of Jupiter Stator.

⁸⁶⁵ Liv. i. 41; Solinus, i. 24. (Note 840.) Livy's *ad Statoris* might seem to apply to the Regia; but, if he had meant so well-known a monument, he would have named it; and the passages of Solinus and Pliny point to a distinct traditional house of Tarquin.

⁶ Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 12. (Note 85.) Ancus is said to have dwelt in Palatium at the Mugionian Gate, near the road to the left. (Ancum in Palatio ad portam Mugiones secundum viam sub sinistra. Varro, in Nonius, xii. 531.) According to Solinus, the residence of Ancus was in the Summa Sacra Via at the *aedes Larum*. Solinus, i. (Note 801.)

⁷ Ῥωμαλλός μὲν Ἰδρύσατο ἱερὸν Ὀρθωσίῳ Διὶ παρὰ ταῖς καλουμέναις Μυκωνίσι πύλαις, αἱ φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ. Dionys. ii. 50. Liv. i. 12

It has been the fashion of modern antiquaries to place this celebrated temple in or near the Summa Sacra Via ;⁸⁵⁸ and it has also been placed by Signor Rosa, the able director of the excavations at Rome, far within the modern inclosures of the Palatine Hill. No satisfactory proof can be found of either position, and there is good ground for believing that the temple of Stator was close to the Forum, at the bottom of the Sacred Way. The principal argument deduced from ancient authors upon which Becker relies for placing the Temple of Stator near the Summa Sacra Via is founded on a comparison of the authorities proving that the equestrian statue of Cloelia was erected at the top of the Sacred Way⁹ with a somewhat obscure passage of Pliny, which is

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Temple of
Stator
misplaced
in Summa
Sacra Via.

Argument
in favour
of this
position.

Equestrian
statue of
Cloelia in
Summa
Sacra Via.

⁸⁵⁸ See Becker, *Handbuch*, i. 112 ; Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 161 ; *Smith's Dict. Geog. art. Roma*, ii. 727.

⁹ Cloelia virgo, una ex obsidibus . . . dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit . . . Romani novam in femina virtutem novo genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere. In summa Sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo. Liv. ii. 13.

Equestri insidens statuae in Sacra via, celeberrimo loco, Cloelia exprobrat iuvenibus nostris pulvinum ascendentibus, in ea illos urbe sic ingredi, in qua etiam feminas equo donavimus. Seneca, *Consol. ad Marciam*. 16.

Ἀνάκειται δὲ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν πορευομένοις εἰς Παλάτιον ἀνδριάς αὐτῆς ἔφιππος, ὃν τινες οὐ τῆς Κλοιλίας ἀλλὰ τῆς Οὐαλερίας εἶναι λέγουσιν. Plutarch. *Popl.* 19.

Ἀνάκειται γοῖν ἔφιππος εἰκὼν γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς λεγομένης, ἣν οἱ μὲν τῆς Κλοιλίας οἱ δὲ τῆς Οὐαλερίας λέγουσιν εἶναι. Plutarch. *de Virt. Mulier.* (ed. Reiske, p. 28.)

Cui data est statua equestris, quam in Sacra via hodieque conspiciamus. Serv. ad *Aen.* viii. 646. Dionys. v. 35. (Note 864.) Varro, *R. R.* i. 2. (Note 805.)

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Statue in
vestibule of
Tarquin.

thought to show that this statue stood opposite to the Temple of Stator.⁸⁶⁰ The validity of the argument depends upon the true meaning of this passage, in which, after alluding to the statue of Cloelia as an early work actually existing, Pliny adds, that Annius Fetialis on the contrary asserted that the equestrian statue, which was (in Annius' time) opposite the temple of Stator in the vestibule of the house of Superbus, represented Valeria the daughter of Publicola.¹ It is argued, that, as this famous female equestrian statue was, by Livy's testimony, in the Summa Sacra Via, and, by the testimony of Annius, in the vestibule of Tarquin's house opposite the Temple of Stator, the Temple of Stator and the house of Tarquin must have been on or near the Summa Sacra Via. This argument cannot be met, as has been suggested,² by supposing that Pliny spoke of two clearly different statues, one of Cloelia, the other of Valeria, since he introduces the opinion of Annius as contradictory to the tradition about Cloelia's statue; and the difference of opinion about the statue on the Sacred Way, which some supposed to represent Cloelia and some Valeria,

⁸⁶⁰ Becker, Handbuch, i. 112.

¹ Equestrum tamen origo perquam vetus est, cum feminis etiam honore communicato. Cloeliae enim statua est equestris . . . E diverso Annius Fetialis equestrem, quae fuerit contra Iovis Statoris aedem in vestibulo Superbi domus, Valeriae fuisse Publicolae consulis filiae. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 13.

² Dict. Geog. art. Roma, ii. 728.

is twice mentioned by Plutarch.⁸⁶³ But Pliny's language, while it implies that the statue mentioned by Annius was, or might be, the same as that generally known as Cloelia, also indicates that the site in which Annius found it was not the ordinary or actual site of Cloelia's statue, which he probably thought too well known to be mentioned. If, as Pliny seems to have believed, it was the same work, it must have been placed for a time in the vestibule of Tarquin's house.

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IX.
Argument
answered.

Dionysius, who spent twenty-two years in Rome, from B.C. 30 to 8, did not find the statue of Cloelia in its proper place upon the Sacred Way, and was told that it had been removed on the occasion of a fire which had broken out in some neighbouring buildings.⁴ But Seneca and Servius at a later date speak of it as actually to be seen on the Sacred Way,⁵ and Pliny describes it as still existing in his own time. Its disappearance, therefore, during the residence of Dionysius at Rome was only temporary. Possibly it may at that very time have been removed for safety to the vestibule of the house of Tarquin. However this locality of the statue referred to by Annius may

Statue of
Cloelia, not
found by
Dionysius
in the
Sacred
Way,

but after-
wards re-
stored.

⁸⁶³ Plutarch. *Popl.* 19; *Id. de Virt. Mulier.* (Note 859.)

⁴ Κλοιλία δὲ τῇ παρθένῳ στάσιν εἰκόνας χαλεῆς ἔδοσαν, ἣν ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φερούσης οἱ τῶν παρθένων πατέρες. Ταύτην ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔτι κειμένην εἶρομεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὅτι ἐμπρήσεως περὶ τὰς πλησίον οἰκίας γενομένης ἠφανίσθη. *Dionys.* v. 35.

⁵ Seneca, *Consol. ad Marciam*, 16; Servius ad *Aen.* viii. 646. (Note 859.)

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be explained, it is impossible to form from Pliny's words any trustworthy conclusion as to the position of the house of Tarquin or the Temple of Stator.

Becker's other arguments are founded upon the passage of Plutarch hereafter cited, which to an ordinary apprehension appears expressly to contradict his position, and upon the natural formation of the ground, which afforded the easiest access to the Palatine Hill by the ridge on which stands the Arch of Titus.⁸⁶⁶ The last argument suggests the probability that there was an ancient entrance to the Palatine by this route, as we have seen that there was a roadway in later times, but does not prove that the Mugionian gate was there.

Dionysius' narrative of the battle in the Forum.

The strongest argument which has occurred to my own mind in favour of the received opinion is derived from the description by Dionysius of the battle between Romulus and Tatius. The events which were believed to have given occasion for the foundation of the temple were the flight of the Romans before the Sabines, and the staying of that flight by divine interposition. Where the battle was stayed the Temple of Stator was erected. We may assume, therefore, that an historian, who in the Augustan age undertook to describe the battle, would have in his mind the position of the temple. Dionysius places the battle-field on the

⁸⁶⁶ Becker, Handbuch, i. 113.

ground between the hostile camps, that is, between the Palatine and the Capitol, the site of the future Forum. He describes the pursuit of the Romans by the Sabines as far as the gates of the city, and the turning of the battle there. The retreat of the Sabines to their camp from this point he represents as difficult, because they were pursued from higher ground, and through a hollow way.⁸⁶⁷ Romulus, he says, afterwards dedicated a temple to Jupiter Stator by the Mugionian gates, which led into Palatium out of the Sacred Way, because it was there that the deity interposed to stay the flight of the army.⁸ The description here given of the Sabine retreat seems somewhat inappropriate to the open level of the Forum. On the other hand it fits not inaptly with the hollow slope between the Palatine hill and the Velia, down which the Sacred Way was carried, and appears, therefore, to favour the supposition that the Mugionian gate was at the top of the Sacred Way. The force of this argument is, however,

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⁸⁶⁷ Καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων χωρίον, κτλ. . . . εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ προτέρῳ χωρίῳ συνελθόντες ἄχρι νυκτὸς ἐμάχοντο . . . καὶ οἱ Σαβῖνοι ἐδίωκον ἄχρι τῆς πόλεως, ἤδη δὲ πλησιάζοντες ταῖς πύλαις ἀπελαύνονται . . . Ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς [οὐκ] εὐπετῆς ἢ πρὸς τὸν χάρακα ἀναχώρησις, ἀπὸ καθυψηλοῦ τε χωρίου καὶ διὰ κοιλῆς ὁδοῦ διωκομένοις. Dionys. ii. 41, 42, 43.

⁸ Ἱερὰ τε ἰδρύσαντο καὶ βωμοὺς καθιέρωσαν οἷς ἠΐξαντο κατὰ τὰς μάχας θεοῖς. Ἐρωμύλος μὲν Ὀρθωσίῳ Διὶ παρὰ ταῖς καλουμέναις Μυκωνίσι πύλαις, αἱ φέρουσι εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, ὅτι τὴν στρατίαν αὐτοῦ φυγοῦσαν ἐποίησε θεός, ὑπακούσας ταῖς εὐχαῖς, στήναί τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπέσθαι. Dionys. ii. 50.

CHAP.
IX.
—Narrative
of Livy.

somewhat weakened when we find that Dionysius in the same part of his narrative describes the site of the Forum itself as a hollow, which was filled up in order to adapt it to its future use.⁶⁶⁹

Livy, in his account of the same fight, is more distinct in confining the battle-field to the site of the Forum. The two indications of locality which he gives are, first, that the Romans were driven back to the old gate of Palatium when Romulus addressed his vow to Jupiter; and, secondly, that Mettus Curtius descending from the Capitol had routed the Romans along the whole area which was afterwards the Forum, and was near the gate of Palatium when Romulus charged and drove him back.⁷⁰ In this description the scene of the rout is measured by the length of the Forum; and, if we were guided by this indication alone, we should have no difficulty in placing the Temple of Stator and the old gate of the Palatine city in the immediate vicinity of the extremity of the Forum most remote from the Capitol.

Narrative
of Plu-
tarch.

Plutarch, telling the same story, places the battle-field in the future Forum between the hills

⁶⁶⁹ Dionys. ii. 50. (Note 1.)

⁷⁰ *Confestim Romana inclinatur acies, fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus . . . Iupiter . . . inquit . . . hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi . . . voveo. . . Mettus Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusus egerat Romanos toto quantum foro spatium est, nec procul iam a porta Palatii erat . . . In eum . . . Romulus impetum facit. Liv. i. 12.*

occupied by the rival nations. He describes the incident of the Lacus Curtius, the flight of the Romans to Palatium, the vow of Romulus, and the rallying of his army. "They stood first," he says, "where now is built the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which may be interpreted Stayer; then, re-forming their ranks, they drove back the Sabines to the now so-called Regia and Temple of Vesta." It will be observed that the narrative never leaves the familiar localities of the Forum.⁸⁷¹

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IX.
—

To come to more direct evidence, the Temple of Stator is expressly asserted by Plutarch, in his life of Cicero, to have been in the beginning of the Sacred Way, as you go up to the Palatine.² The Forum being naturally taken as the starting-point, the beginning of the Sacred Way would be the part nearest the Regia, where the Sacred Way, in its ordinary sense, commenced. And this is made more clear by the words "as you go up to the Palatine." The Summa Sacra Via, if treated as the beginning of the Sacred Way, would be the beginning to persons going down to

Direct
evidence
of Plu-
tarch.

⁸⁷¹ Ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς ἀκρας ὑπὸ τῶν Σαβίνων . . . ὁ γὰρ μεταξὺ τόπος ἐν ᾧ συμπύπτειν ἐμέλλον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λόφων περιεχόμενος κτλ. . . ἔτυχε δὲ . . . ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι τέλμα βαθὺ . . . κατὰ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν ἀγοράν . . . ὁ μὲν οὖν τόπος . . . Κούρτιος λάκκος ὀνομάζεται . . . ἐνέδωκαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ φυγῆ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐχωροῦν . . . ἔστησαν οὖν πρῶτον οὐ νῦν ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στάτωρος ἴδρυται νεώς, ὃν ἐπιστάσιον ἂν τις ἐρμηνεύσειεν. εἶτα συνασπίσαντες πάλιν ἕωσαν ὀπίσω τοὺς Σαβίλους ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν Ῥήγιαν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερόν. Plutarch. Rom. 18.

² Ἰδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων. Plutarch. Cic. 16. (Note 766)

CHAP.
IX.
Ovid.

the Forum, not to those going up to the Palatine. It will be remembered that Ovid places the Temple of Stator before the face of the Palatine hill.

Tempus idem Stator ædis habet, quam Romulus olim
Ante Palatini condidit ora iugi.³⁷³

And in another passage, which will be again referred to, he brings it into close connection with the Regia.⁴

Appian.

The proximity of this temple to the Forum is confirmed by a passage of Appian, in which, describing the contest between Caesar and Bibulus, he says that the latter, after having his fasces broken and some of his officers wounded in the Forum, was compelled by his friends to take refuge in the neighbouring temple of Jupiter Stator.⁵

Stator
Temple
south of
Sacra Via,
next to
Regia.

Thus confirmed, we can have no hesitation in accepting the statement of Plutarch as to the position of the Stator Temple at the beginning of the Sacra Via in the obvious sense which we have attributed to it. The temple was, as we have seen, close to a gate of the Palatine city; it was, therefore, on the south side of the Sacred Way, and, being at the beginning of the street,

³⁷³ Fast. vi. 793.

⁴ Trist. iii. 1. 32. (Note 879.)

⁵ Ἄλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄκουρα ἐπιξήγαγον οἱ φίλοι ἐς τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν τοῦ Κτησίου [Στησίου Gelenius] Διός. Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 11. I have assumed that the reading Στησίου is correct. Compare Plutarch. Cic. 16. τὸ τοῦ Στησίου Διός ἱερὸν ὃν Στάτωρα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. (Note 766.)

we may conclude that it was the next building to the Regia on that side.⁸⁷⁶

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The Mugionian Gate is described by Dionysius as leading into Palatium out of the Sacred Way.⁷ But we have seen from other authors that this gate was above the highest part of the Nova Via, and the house of Tarquin, which was close to it, overlooked the latter street. This collocation of objects indicates that the Nova Via at or near its highest part communicated with the Sacred Way. It is probable that this communication was formed between the Regia and the Temple of Stator, so that the latter was at the corner of the Nova Via, and faced towards the Forum and Capitol. Opposite to its south side would be the vestibule of the house of Tarquin, which would thus turn its side to the Nova Via. Livy's story of Tanaquil's address to the people from the windows conveys the impression that the front of the palace was not in this direction.⁸ Close adjoining was the Mugionian Gate, which must therefore have been at the northern corner of the ancient Palatine city.

Communi-
cation be-
tween the
Sacra Via
and Nova
Via.

House of
Tarquin.

Porta Mu-
gionia.

The position of these monuments, as thus determined, agrees most accurately with Ovid's well-known description of the route from the Forum

⁸⁷⁶ The Stator temple was in the fourth Region with the Sacred Way (Aedem Iovis Statoris, Viam Sacram. Notitia in Reg. iv.) The Regia was probably with the other buildings of Vesta in the eighth, and the Porta Mugionia, as part of the Palatine, in the tenth Region.

⁷ Dionysius, ii. 50. (Note 868.)

In Palatio Mucionis (porta) a mugitu, quod ea pecus in [bucitatum] antiquum oppidum exigebant. Varro, L. L. v. 34 (45).

⁸ Liv. i. 41. (Note 840.)

CHAP.
IX.

Palace of
Augustus
near the
north end
of the
Palatine.

Temple of
Apollo

of Caesar to the Palatine, where, after mentioning the Via Sacra, the Temple of Vesta, and the Regia, he immediately takes a turn to the right and points out the Gate of Palatium and the Temple of Stator. We learn from the same passage of Ovid that the vestibule of the palace of Augustus stood in sight from the same spot, and that the temple and library of Apollo were approached from the neighbourhood by a lofty flight of steps.⁸⁷⁹

The position of the buildings of Augustus near this northern end of the Palatine is confirmed by the fact, that the libraries attached to the Temple of Apollo were burned, with the Temple of Vesta, in the great fire, which in the reign of Commodus destroyed the Temple of Peace and the Sacra Via.⁸⁸⁰ This quarter of the city, with its noble mansions, appears to have escaped the Neronian conflagration, in which the Temple of Vesta and the Regia had perished.¹

⁸⁷⁹ Paruit et ducens, Haec sunt fora Caesaris, inquit;
Haec est a sacris quae via nomen habet;
Hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem;
Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.
Inde petens dextram, Porta est, ait, ista Palati,
Hic Stator, hic primum condita Roma fuit.
Singula dum miror, video fulgentibus armis
Conspicuos postes tectaque digna deo.

* * * * *

Inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis

Ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei.—Ovid. Trist. iii. I. 27.

⁸⁸⁰ Ἡνίκα τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος ὄλον ἑκαύθη, καὶ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον αἱ μεγάλαι βιβλιοθήκαι. Galen. de comp. med. i. 1. Dio Cass. lxxii. 24. (Note 777.) Herodian, i. 14.

¹ Tac Ann. xv. 41 (note 290); Ascon. ad Cic. p. Scaur. (note 779); Sueton. de Gram. 17.

At the end of the Nova Via, in front of the Temple of Stator, there appears to have been either a wide road or a small open Place, since this spot was occasionally used for public sales. The furniture from the house of Pompey was here sold, after his death and the confiscation of his property, by order of Mark Antony.⁸⁸¹ Sales of this nature generally took place in the Forum.² Pompey's house was in the Carinae,³ the short road from which to the Forum probably reached the Sacred Way not far from the Temple of Stator.⁴

CHAP.
IX.

Open Place
in front of
Stator.

Sale of
goods of
Pompey.

The proximity of the Mugionian Gate to the Sacra Via, indicated by the above-cited expression of Dionysius, as well as by its nearness to the Stator temple, which was itself in that street, shows that the gate must have stood near the bottom of the slope of the Palatine hill, probably on the line of the city boundary as sketched by Tacitus.⁵ The limits of the hill are thus brought very near to the Regia, which is described by

Site of the
Porta Mu-
gionia.

⁸⁸¹ *Hasta posita pro aede Iovis Statoris, bona . . . Cn. Pompeii Magni voci acerbissimae subiecta praeconis . . . Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex.* Cic. Phil. ii. 26, 27.

² *Sic par est agere cum civibus, non, ut bis iam vidimus, hastam in foro ponere et bona civium voci subiicere praeconis.* Cic. Off. ii. 23.

³ Sueton. Tib. 15.

⁴ See before, p. 282.

⁵ Dionys ii. 50. (Note 868.) Tac. Ann. xii. 24. (Note 802.) This would agree with Ovid's description of the site of Stator, *ante Palatini ora iugi.* Fast. vi. 764. (Note 873.)

CHAP. Servius as situated at the root of the Palatine.⁸⁸⁶

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—

This extension of the bounds of the Palatine in the direction of the Regia justifies the description of the Forum as lying between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills, a description which misled the older Topographers,⁷ and which, looking at the present limits of the Palatine Hill, appears inaccurate, the great rise of level in the lower ground near the Regia having thrown the base of that hill in modern times considerably further back than its ancient position. It will be remembered that Cicero, who lived on this side of the Palatine, was described as a neighbour of Caesar in the Regia.⁸

Porta
Romanula.

Some few observations remain to be added respecting the position of the Porta Romana, or Romanula. The evidence of classical authors on this point is soon collected. Varro, upon the subject of the ancient gates existing within the later walls, after mentioning the *Porta Mucionis in Palatio*, proceeds to say that another gate was called Romanula, from Rome, and that this gate had steps in the Nova Via at the Sacellum of Volupia ;⁹ and in another place he says, that a sacrifice

Steps in the
Nova Via
at Porta
Romanula.

⁸⁸⁶ In radicibus Palatii finibusque Romani fori. Servius ad Aen. viii. 363. (Note 297.)

⁷ Dionys. ii. 66. See before, p. 2.

⁸ See before, p. 285.

⁹ Praeterea intra muros video portas dici. In Palatio Mucionis . . Alteram Romanulam ab Roma dictam, quae habit gradus in Nova via ad Volupiae sacellum. Varro, L. L. v. 34. (Note 877.)

to Acca Larentia was offered in the Velabrum where one came out into the Nova Via, and that some said this was at the tomb of Acca, like a similar ceremony performed by the priests at a neighbouring spot in honour of the Dii Manes Serviles,—both which localities were outside the ancient city, and not far from the Porta Romanula.⁸⁹⁰

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Porta Romanula, near the Velabrum.

The only other evidence is that of Festus, who tells us that the Porta Romana was founded by Romulus at the bottom of the Clivus Victoriae, where the ground was formed into a square with steps; and that the name of Roman Gate was principally given to it by the Sabines, because it was the nearest entrance to Rome.¹

Porta Romana in fimo clivo Victoriae.

The allusion to the Sabines, whose connection with the Porta Romanula we may ascribe to a conjecture of the Roman antiquary, appears to refer to the old story of the occupation of the Capitol by Tatius when Romulus held the Palatine, and lends some probability to the position of this gate on the Capitoline or north-western side of the Palatine Hill.

We learn from the above authorities that the gate on its outer side abutted on the lower

Porta Romana at the bottom of the Palatine Hill.

⁸⁹⁰ Varro, vi. 3 (58). (Note 846.)

¹ Sed porta Romana instituta est a Romulo in fimo clivo Victoriae, qui locus gradibus in quadram formatus est: appellata autem Romana a Sabinis praecipue, quod ea proximus aditus erat Romam. Festus, ed. Müll. p. 262.

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part of the Nova Via, near the point where the street entered the Velabrum; and that on the other side of the gate, within the ancient city, there was a road ascending the hill called the Clivus Victoriae. From its position near the Velabrum it is manifest that the Porta Romana, like the Porta Mugionia, was at or near the bottom of the slope and not on the crest of the Palatine Hill. It has been suggested by Becker that it is probably this egress from the Palatine which is meant in the description of Otho's route, when he left Galba sacrificing in the temple of Apollo, and proceeded by the back of the Palatine, through the buildings of Tiberius, into the Velabrum, and so to his rendezvous with the mutinous soldiers at the Milliarium Aureum.⁸⁹²

Clivus
Victoriae.

The site of the Clivus Victoriae is unknown. We may conjecture that, like other roads leading into primitive Italian cities, it was not a street adapted for wheeled vehicles, since the gateway seems to have been approached by steps; and it may therefore have risen by a very steep ascent.

Sacrum of
Victory
above the
Lupercal.

Its name was probably derived from the sanctuary of Victory, which Dionysius describes in connection with the Lupercal, attributing the origin of both to Evander and the Arcadians. The Lupercal was, as we know from the same author, situated under the hill upon the street leading to the Circus. The sanctuary of Victory was on

⁸⁹² Tac. Hist. i. 27; Sueton. Otho. 6; Plutarch. Galb. 24. (Note 92.)

the crest of the hill,⁸⁸³ apparently above the Luper-
cal, and therefore on or near the west corner of
the more elevated part of the Palatine.

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One of the fragments of the Capitoline Plan exhibits a portion of what appears a narrow lane, inscribed [CLI]VVS VICTORIA[E], with buildings on both sides, and some other buildings near, inscribed SEVERI ET [AN]TONINI AV[GG] NN ; which shows that the hill of Victory passed near some constructions of the emperors Severus and Caracalla.

Capitoline
Plan.

Recent explorations within the Palatine have disclosed a street of some length near the north-east side of the hill, running nearly parallel with the Sacra Via, and terminating at its lowest part in an arch near the back of the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice. The arch is at a level considerably higher than the modern church ; and outside the arch are some traces of a road along the north-western slope in the direction of the Velabrum. The arch has been identified by Signor Rosa, the zealous and able director of the excavations, with the Porta Romanula, and the street by which it is approached from within,

Supposed
Clivus
Victoriae
and Porta
Romanula.

⁸⁸³ Δουπερκάλιον . . . ἦν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὡς λέγεται σπήλαιον ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ μέγα . . . ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου τὸ τῆς Νίκης τέμενος ἐξελόντες, κτλ. Dionys. i. 32.

Τὸ δὲ ἄντρον ἐξ οὗ ἡ λιβάς ἐκδίδεται τῷ Παλαντίῳ προσψοδομημένον δείκνυται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππόδρομον φέρουσαν ὁδόν' καὶ τέμενος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ πλησίον ἔνθα εἰκὼν κείται τοῦ πάθους, λύκαινα παιδίους δυσὶ τοῦς μαστοῦς ἐπέχουσα, χάλκεα ποιήματα παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας. Dionys. i. 79.

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with the Clivus Victoriae. And this theory has been adopted by other antiquaries.⁸⁹⁴

It is difficult to reconcile this identification with some of the conclusions to which we have been led by the evidence of ancient authorities. In the first place, it is inconsistent with the testimony of Varro that the Porta Romanula was near the Velabrum. It also involves this further difficulty. The Nova Via passed, as we have seen, near the Temple of Vesta, between that temple and the Grove of Vesta, which was itself on the Palatine slope.⁵ Now the Temple of Vesta has been found in front of the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice at a much lower level. The Nova Via must therefore have been at this point very much lower down the slope of the Palatine Hill than the arch in question, and at some distance from it; and this arch cannot therefore have had steps in the Nova Via, as we know to have been the case with the Porta Romanula.⁶

It may be further observed that the buildings on each side of the supposed Clivus Victoriae have been excavated, and do not at any part correspond with those shown on the Capitoline Plan.

It is clear, therefore, that this identification cannot be accepted. It proceeds, we may also remark, upon a wrong assumption as to the posi-

⁸⁹⁴ Burn's *Rome and the Campagna*, pp. 35, 160.

⁵ Liv. v. 32; Cic. de Div. i. 45. (Note 848.)

⁶ Varro, v. 34 (46). (Note 889.)

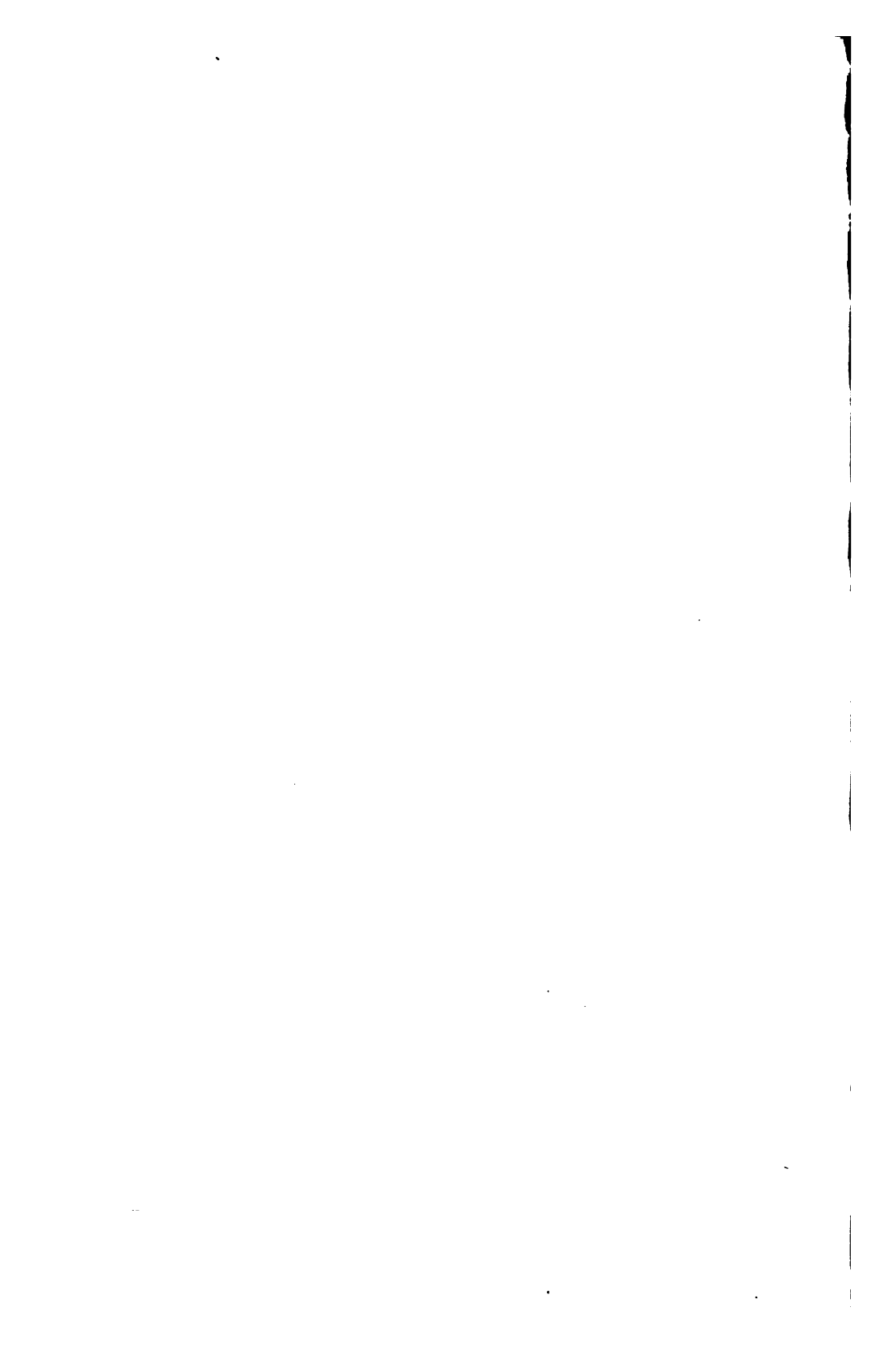
tion of the Porta Mugionia, which has been supposed to have been at the top of the Sacred Way, and at some distance from the north corner of the Palatine, whereas the position which we have been led to assign to it is upon the lower slope not far from this arch, to which probably a steep pathway led from the latter gate.⁸⁹⁷

CHAP.
IX.
—

Our researches in this and the preceding chapter have led us up to the boundaries of Palatium, upon the two sides which were nearest to the Roman Forum.

The topography of the Palatine Hill constitutes a separate subject, into which it is not proposed to enter in the present work.

⁸⁹⁷ See before, pp. 319, 321.



APPENDIX.

Catalogue of the Fourth and Eighth Regions of Rome, from the *Curiosum Urbis* and *Notitia*.

The two slightly differing lists of monuments contained in the fourteen Augustan Regions, which have become known under these names, may be regarded as successive editions of the same work. The former title, *Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIII*, is found in the earliest known MS.; but the latter is derived only from the inclusion of the list in this form in the *Notitia Dignitatum utriusque Imperii*, Basil. 1552. The original document appears from internal evidence to have been compiled in the reign of Constantine. The lists have been printed in various collections of antiquarian matter, and have been edited by Prof. L. Preller (*Die Regionen der Stadt Rom*, Jena, 1846) from several MSS., the earliest of which are, for the *Curiosum* the Vatican Codex 3321 of the eighth century, and for the *Notitia* that of Vienna of the tenth. The two lists are here combined. Words occurring in the *Curiosum* which are wanting in the *Notitia* are printed in italics, and those which are found in the latter, but do not occur in the former, in brackets.

REGIO QUARTA

Templum Pacis

Continet Porticum Absidatum, [*Aream Vulcani*,] *Aura* [*Aureum*] Bucinum, Apollinem Sandaliarium, Templum Telluris, [*Horrea chartaria*,] *Vigilum Sororum* [*Tigillum Sororium*], Colossum altum pedes CII semis, habet in capite radia [numero] VII, singula pedum XXII semis, Metam sudantem, Templum Romae [et Veneris], Aedem Jovis [*Statoris*], Viam Sacram, Basilicam *Novam* [*Constantinianam*] et

Pauli, Templum Faustinae, [Basilicam Pauli,] Forum Transitorium, Suburam, Balneum *Dafnidis* [Daphnidis]. Vici VIII, *Aedes* [Aediculae] VIII, Vicomagistri XLVIII, Curatores II, Insulae II DCCLVII, Domos LXXXVIII, Horrea XVIII, Balnea LXV, *Lacos* LXXI [LXXVIII], *Pistrina* XV. Continet pedes XIII.

REGIO OCTAVA

Forum Romanum Magnum

Continet *Rostras* III, Genium Populi Romani [aureum, et Equum Constantini], Senatum, Atrium Minervae, Forum Caesaris, Augusti, Nervae Traiani,* Templum [Divi] Traiani et Columnnam cochlidem altam pedes CXXVIIS [CXXVIII semis], gradus intus habet CLXXX[V], fenestras XLV, *Cohortes* VI [Cohortem sextam] Vigilum, Basilicam Argentariam, Templum Concordiae et[, Umbilicum Romae, Templum] Saturni et Vespasiani et *Titi*, Capitolium, Miliarium Aureum, Vicum Iugarium, Graecostadium, Basilicam Iuliam, Templum Castorum et *Minervae*, *Vestam* [Minerve et Veste], Horrea [Germaniciana et] Agrippiana, Aquam Cernentem quatuor *scaros* [Scauros] sub *eadem* [aede], Atrium Caci, [Vicum Iugarium, Vicum Unguentarium,^b] Porticum Margaritarium, Elephantum Herbarium. Vici XXXIV, *Aedes* [Aediculae] XXXIV, Vicomagistri XLVIII, Curatores II, Insulae III CCCCLXXX, Domos CXXX, Horrea XVIII, Balnea LXXXVI, *Lacos* CXX, *Pistrina* XX. Continet pedes XIII LXVII.

* *Preller*, Nervae, Traiani. He gives reasons for considering two Fora to be meant. As, however, the Forum of Nerva is included in the fourth Region under the name of Transitorium, and it seems improbable that the same Forum should have been included in two Regions and be mentioned in the two by different names, there can be little doubt that the above punctuation, which is that of the earlier editors, is the true one. See before, p. 249.

^b In one MS. only of the *Notitia*, the earliest, the word Graecostadium occurs twice, between Castorum and *Vestam*, instead of et *Minervae*, and again after Vicum Iugarium (*sic*) et Unguentarium, in this place. It is omitted in the same MS., as well as Vicum Iugarium, before Basilicam Iuliam, for which it has *Juliae*.

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 ERRATA.

- Page 27, note ²².* *For note 168 read note 173.*
Page 42, line 13. *For four hundred read three hundred and forty.*
Page 42, note ²⁰. *For note 162 read note 167.*
Page 42, note ²⁰. *For note 170 read note 175.*
Page 44, line 7. *For B.C. 12 read A.D. 12.*
Page 109, line 8. *For Vestatibus read Vestalibus.*
Page 113, note ²⁷⁸. *For videt read vidit.*

