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ROMAN
LIFE AND MANNERS
UNDER THE EARLY
EMPIRE

By
LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER

Authorized Translation of the Seventh Enlarged
and Revised Edition of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*

by
LEONARD A. MAGNUS, LL.B.



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Author's Preface to the Seventh Edition

THE text of this edition of my *ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS* is essentially the same as that of the sixth edition ; but, at the request of my publisher, the footnotes and *excursus* have been omitted, and many passages have been supplemented, shortened, corrected or amplified ; the sections on Christianity and the belief in immortality have been in part revised. I have to acknowledge the help afforded me by several scholars whose criticisms have suggested to me many of these alterations, viz. Messrs. A. Conrady, O. Crutz, O. Cuntz, O. Hirschfeld, Chr. Hülsen, Br. Keil, J. Kromayer, Ad. Michaelis, K. J. Neumann, W. Oechsli, E. Schürer, W. Spiegelberg.

Strassburg.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DATES, HISTORICAL AND LITERARY, DURING THE EMPIRE

A.U.C. 723 —31 B.C.	Battle of Actium, September 2.	The Epodes of Horace (born 65 B.C.)
A.U.C. 724 —30 B.C.	Death of Marcus Antonius in the beginning of August. Egypt a province.	C. Cornelius Gallus (elegiac poet, born 69 B.C.), in the autumn Governor of Egypt. Virgil (born 70 B.C.) completes and publishes the <i>Georgics</i> .
A.U.C. 725 —29 B.C.	Octavian returns to Rome and triumphs, August 6-8.	Propertius (born about 49 B.C.) writes elegies.
A.U.C. 727 —27 B.C.	Octavian receives the title of Augustus (January 16); probably at the beginning of the summer goes to Gaul, and towards the end of the year to Spain.	Marcus Terentius Varro dies (born 116 B.C.). Livy (born 59 B.C.) writes the first book of his history from 27-25 B.C.
A.U.C. 728 —B.C. 26	War against the Cantabrians and Asturians, 26-25 B.C.	Cornelius Gallus dies.
A.U.C. 729 —25 B.C.	Aulus Terentius Varro conquers the Salassi in the Graian and Pennine Alps. Marcus Vini- cius conquers Germanic tribes in Gaul. Agrippa builds the Pantheon. Augustus returns to Rome through Gaul (end of 25 B.C.).	
A.U.C. 730 —24 B.C.	Revolts among the Asturians and Cantabrians, and their removal to the plain, 20 or 19 B.C.	
A.U.C. 731 —23 B.C.	Augustus ill, cured by Antonius Musa. Agrippa leaves Rome. Marcus Marcellus dies.	
A.U.C. 732 —22 B.C.	Towards the end of the year Augustus leaves Rome for Sicily.	Virgil reads Augustus the 2nd, 4th and 6th Books of the <i>Aeneid</i> .
A.U.C. 733 —21 B.C.	Augustus goes in the middle of the year to Greece, and winters at Samos. Agrippa marries Julia.	
A.U.C. 734 —20 B.C.	Augustus goes in the spring to Asia and again winters at Samos.	

A.U.C. 735 —19 B.C.	Augustus returns on October 12 to Rome.	Virgil, September 22, dies at Brundisium.
A.U.C. 737 —17 B.C.	Secular games.	Tibullus (born c. 54 B.C.) dies at end of year.
A.U.C. 738 —16 B.C.	Augustus, on hearing of Lollius' defeat goes to Gaul and stays there until 13 B.C.	Horace writes the <i>Carmen Saeculare</i> .
A.U.C. 739 —15 B.C.	Tiberius and Drusus defeat the Vindelici Rhaeti and Norici.	Propertius dies.
A.U.C. 740 —14 B.C.		Vitruvius about 14 B.C. finishes his <i>Architectura</i> .
A.U.C. 741 —13 B.C.	Augustus on July 4 returns to Rome.	Agrippa's Commentaries about this time.
A.U.C. 742 —12 B.C.	Agrippa dies in his fifty-first year. 12-10 B.C. Tiberius' campaigns against Pannonia, and Drusus' against Germany.	
A.U.C. 743 —11 B.C.	Octavia dies. Consecration of the Marcellus Theatre.	
A.U.C. 744 —10 B.C.	Augustus with Tiberius and Drusus in Gaul.	
A.U.C. 745 —9 B.C.	Drusus dies. Tiberius' fourth campaign against Pannonia and Dalmatia, and extension of the frontier to the Danube.	Livy's last book (142) ends with the narrative of this year's events.
A.U.C. 746 —8 B.C.	Augustus goes with Tiberius to Gaul: Tiberius undertakes his first campaign against the Germans. Maecenas dies.	
A.U.C. 747 —7 B.C.	Tiberius' triumph over the Germans. Second campaign against Germany.	Horace dies November 27. Dionysius of Halicarnassus finishes his <i>History of Rome</i> .
A.U.C. 748 —6 B.C.	Tiberius goes to Rhodes and stays there until 2 A.D.	
A.U.C. 750 —4 B.C.	Death of Herod, King of Judaea.	
A.U.C. 751 —3 B.C.	Birth of Christ (according to Julius Africanus, between 3 and 2 B.C., according to Cassiodorus and Clemens of Alexandria).	
A.U.C. 752 —2 B.C.	Julia banished to Pandataria. The birth of Christ, according to Eusebius, Photius, Epiphanius, Zonaras, Orosius.	Ovid (born 43 B.C.) publishes the <i>Ars Amatoria</i> 2 or 1 B.C.
A.U.C. 753 —1 B.C.	Gaius Caesar goes to the East.	
A.U.C. 754 —1 A.D.	Renewal of war with Germany.	

A.U.C. 755 —2 A.D.	Tiberius back at Rome. Lucius Caesar dies at Marseilles.	
A.U.C. 757 —4 A.D.	Gaius Caesar dies. Tiberius adopted on June 27, opens the third campaign against Germany, returns in December to Rome.	Asinius Pollio dies at the age of 80.
A.U.C. 758 —5 A.D.	Tiberius forces his way to the Elbe. Famine at Rome up to 8 A.D.	
A.U.C. 759 —6 A.D.	Tiberius prepares to combat the Suevi under Maroboduus, but is forced by an insurrection to Pannonia. Judaea a Roman Province.	Ovid ends, before his banishment, the <i>Metamorphoses</i> and the first six books of the <i>Fasti</i> .
A.U.C. 760 —7 A.D.	War in Dalmatia and Pannonia under Tiberius and Germanicus.	
A.U.C. 761 —8 A.D.	Pannonia mostly subdued.	Ovid in his fifty-first year banished to Tomi; begins the first book of his <i>Tristia</i> .
A.U.C. 762 —9 A.D.	Conclusion of the Dalmatian War. Defeat of Publius Quintilius Varus in the Teutoburger Wald at the end of the summer.	Manilius begins a didactic poem on astronomy after 9 A.D.
A.U.C. 763 —10 A.D.	Tiberius on the Rhine.	
A.U.C. 764 —11 A.D.	Tiberius and Germanicus over the Rhine.	Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus dies at the age of 72.
A.U.C. 765 —12 A.D.	Tiberius goes again to Germany.	Completion of the <i>Res gestae divi Augusti</i> (<i>Marmor Ancyranum</i>).
A.U.C. 766 —13 A.D.	Germanicus in the spring on the Rhine. His campaigns there, 13-16 A.D. Augustus dies on August 19 in his seventy-sixth year (born September 23).	The philosophic school of the Sextians under Augustus and Tiberius.
A.D. 14-37	Tiberius (born 712-42 B.C.).	
14	The appointment of officials transferred to the Senate.	
15	Insurrection of the legions in Pannonia and Germany.	
17	Triumph of Germanicus, May 26.	Livy dies, 17 A.D. Ovid dies 18 A.D.
19	Germanicus dies at Antioch on October 10.	Strabo (born about 63 B.C.) finishes his work not before 19 A.D. Dies 24 A.D.

Chronological Table

A.D.		
23	Sejanus, Praefect of the Praetorian Guards, removes them to Rome.	
26	Tiberius leaves Rome.	Under Tiberius :
27	Goes to Capri.	Celsus, author of <i>De Medicina</i> . The fabulist Phaedrus.
28	Christ's teaching begins.	
29	Livia dies at the age of 86. The Crucifixion (according to majority of ancient authorities).	
30		Velleius Paterculus' <i>Roman History</i> .
31	Fall and death of Sejanus October 18.	Valerius Maximus writes soon after Sejanus' fall (ix. 11. 4.).
33	Agrippina dies.	First writings of L. Seneca (born shortly before 1 A.D.) under Tiberius and Caligula.
37	Tiberius dies on March 16.	
37-41	Gaius Caesar Caligula (born 12 A.D.).	The elder Seneca (born 54 B.C.) dies about 39 A.D.
39		Apio in Alexandria. The cynic Demetrius in Rome.
40		Philo as ambassador of the Alexandrian Jews in Rome.
41	Gaius murdered January 24.	
41-54	Claudius (born 10 B.C.).	Under Claudius, the geographer Pomponius Mela. Seneca banished to Corsica, 41-49. Recipe-book of the physician Scribonius Largus about 47 A.D.
42	Paetus and Arria die.	
43	Subjection of Britain.	
47	Secular games.	
48	Messalina died.	
49	Claudius marries Agrippina.	Under Claudius or Nero the Panegyric on Calpurnius Piso.
50	Adopts Nero. Cologne founded.	
53	Nero marries Octavia.	
54	Claudius dies on October 13.	Calpurnius, author of eclogues during the early years of Nero's reign.
54-68	Nero (born 37).	The satiric poet Persius 34-62. Lucan 39-65 (after 64 in disgrace).
54	Narcissus dies. Seneca and Burrus at the helm of state.	

A.D.s		
55	Pallas degraded. Britannicus dies.	Seneca writes his letters after his degrading from Court, 62, and dies in 65.
57	Pomponia Graecina arraigned.	
59	Agrippina dies.	
60	Corbulo victorious in Armenia.	
62	Burrus dies. Nero marries Poppaea. Pallas dies.	St. Paul in Rome 62-64 ? Josephus (born 38) in Rome 64.
64	Nero at Naples. Fire of Rome, July 19-25.	The Stoic Musonius Rufus, Epictetus' teacher, banished in 65.
65	Discovery of Piso's conspiracy.	Demetrius, the cynic, in Rome at the death of Thræsea Paetus, 66.
66	The King of Parthia, Tiridates in Rome. Nero's journey to Greece. Outbreak of the Jewish War.	The Stoic, Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, banished. Under Nero Columella (<i>De Re Rustica</i>) before 65.
67	Nero gives Greece liberty. Returns at end of year.	Lucilius (<i>Aetna</i>), Petronius (<i>Saturae</i>).
68	Revolt of Vindex and Galba. Nero murdered July 9.	
68-69	Galba, Otho, Vitellius. January 2 the German legions call Vitellius to the Empire. Galba dies on January 15, 73 years old. Otho dies, April 16 or 20, after battle of Bedriacum 37 years old. Vitellius, before July 18, enters Rome. Vespasian proclaimed Emperor, July 3 at Caesarea. Battle in Rome and Capitol burned. Vitellius dies December 22, in his fifty-fifth year.	Quintilian comes with Galba to Rome.
69-79	Vespasian (born 9 A.D.).	
70	September 8 Jerusalem captured. October 1-15 Vespasian comes to Rome.	Quintilian, first teacher of oratory.
71	Triumph for Judaea in June. Titus co-Emperor.	70-75 about, <i>Periplus Maris Erythraei</i> .
73-74	Vespasian and Titus Censors.	Banishment of philosophers from Rome 71-75 (except Musonius Rufus).
75	Temple of Peace built, and the Colossus of the Sun.	Josephus writes his <i>Jewish War</i> about 75.

A.D. 77		The Elder Pliny (born 23) hands Titus his <i>Natural History</i> .
78	Agricola in Britain.	Plutarch (born about 46), under Vespasian, begins his shorter writings.
79	Vespasian dies June 23.	
79-81	Titus (born December 30, 39). Eruption of Vesuvius and burial of Herculaneum and Pompeii August 24.	The elder Pliny dies.
80	Epidemic and fire in Rome. Games 100 days at Rome at the consecration of the Flavian amphitheatre (Colosseum).	
81	Titus dies September 13.	
81-96	Domitian (born 51).	
81-82	The Capitol rebuilt.	Statius writes the <i>Thebais</i> (80-92); publishes the <i>Silvae</i> (91-96).
82-83	Campaign against the Chatti.	Martial (born 38-41) publishes the first eleven books of his <i>Epigrams</i> 85/86-98; leaves Rome 98; died, at the latest, 104.
85	Agricola recalled from Britain.	
86	Foundation of the <i>Agon Capitolinus</i> .	
85-86	Dacian War.	
88	Secular games (September).	Tacitus (born 54) Praetor. Plutarch (88-89) gives lectures on philosophy.
89	Dacian Triumph (prob. end of year).	
92	Sarmatian War.	
93	Agricola dies. Domitian again in Rome.	Quintilian's <i>Institutio Oratoria</i> 93-95. Banishment of philosophers from Rome 93.
94		Josephus finishes <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> . Silius Italicus, <i>Punica</i> .
95	Execution of the Consul Flavius Clemens.	
96	Domitian dies September 18. Wall built to protect Decumate Lands, by Flavian Emperors, principally Domitian.	
96-98	Nerva.	
97	Revolt of the Praetorian Guards. In autumn Trajan adopted.	Dio of Prusa returns after Domitian's death from long journeyings: in Trajan's favour. Tacitus writes the <i>Agricola</i> and <i>Germania</i> (in begin-
98	Nerva dies January 25, 72 years old.	

A.D.		
		ning 98). The younger Pliny (born 62) publishes his letters (97-108).
98-117	Trajan (born 53).	
99	Trajan returns to Rome from Cologne.	
101	First Dacian War. Trajan leaves Rome end of March.	Panegyric of the Younger Pliny September, 100.
102	Peace with Decebalus and Triumph.	Juvenal (born about A.D. 60) between 112 and 116 begins the publishing of Satires; dies about 140.
104-5	Stone bridge over Danube.	
105-107	Second Dacian War.	
106	Conquest of Arabia Petraea.	Epictetus teaches under Trajan in Nicopolis, Arrian his pupil. Tacitus about 106-7 busied with his <i>Historiae</i> . The Younger Pliny governor in Bithynia and Pontus. Correspondence with Trajan (111-113) and persecution of the Christians; died soon after 113.
113	Column of Trajan erected in Forum of Trajan. Trajan goes to the East in October.	
114	Campaign in Armenia.	
115	Campaign in Mesopotamia. Earthquake at Antioch, December 13.	Plutarch's <i>Lives of Great Men</i> written under Trajan.
116	Trajan marches to Ctesiphon and to the Persian Gulf (late summer).	
117	Insurrection of the Jews. Trajan dies August 7 or 8.	
117-138	Hadrian (born 76).	
117	Hadrian abandons Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Trajan's conquests.	
118	Hadrian (beginning of August) in Rome.	Suetonius (born 77) <i>Lives of the Emperors</i> (120).
121	Leaves for the Provinces.	Flavius Arrianus, publisher of Epictetus' lectures, Consul between 121 and 124.
122	Hadrian in Britain. Wall begun.	
125/6	Hadrian's first stay in Athens.	
126/7	Hadrian in Rome.	
128/9	Hadrian in Africa.	

A.D.		
129/30	Hadrian's second stay in Athens.	
130	Hadrian in Egypt. Death of Antinous.	
131/2	Insurrection of the Jews. Hadrian in Judaea until 134.	Salvius Julianus' <i>Edictum Perpetuum</i> 132.
134	Hadrian returns to Rome before May 5. Rome and Tibur decorated.	
135	Aelius Verus adopted.	The orator Marcus Cornelius Fronto and the Sophist Herodes Atticus (101-177) Consuls 143.
138	Verus dies on January 1. Antoninus adopted February 25. Hadrian dies July 10.	
138-161	Antoninus Pius (born 86).	Appian's <i>History of the Civil Wars</i> . Claudius Ptolemaeus at the observatory in Alexandria. The Sophist Aristides (born 129), ill about 152, until 172.
142	Scottish Wall begun.	Apuleius (born about 124) writes at Rome the <i>Metamorphoses</i> (151-155) in Africa, the <i>Apologia</i> (158 circa).
147	Celebration of A.U.C. 900 with magnificent shows.	The Neoplatonist Maximus of Tyre. Gaius, the jurist (110-180), <i>Institutions</i> before 161.
161	Antoninus Pius dies March 1.	
161-180	Marcus Aurelius (born 121). L. Verus co-Emperor to 169.	
162	Vologases III attacks Armenia. Lucius Verus in Antioch (end of year).	
162/3	War in Armenia.	
165	War with Parthia.	
166	Peace with Parthia. Mesopotamia Roman. Roman legates or commercial travellers in China. Marcomanni, Quadi, Iazyges invade Roman territory.	Lucian (born about 115-120) writing 155-180.
167/8	The Oriental plague in Rome (introduced by Lucius Verus' army).	Second visit of Galen (born about 129) to Rome, 169 onwards. Lucian's <i>Peregrinus Proteus</i> , and <i>On the Writing of History</i> 165.
169	Lucius Verus dies at Aquileia.	Justin Martyr dies 165/6.
174	Marcus Aurelius in Rome. The Miracle of Rain of the Legio Fulminata.	
175	Revolt of Avidius Cassius.	

A. D. 176	Marcus Aurelius in the East. Return and triumph on December 23.	Artemidorus' <i>Book of Dreams</i> .
177/8	Persecution of the Christians in Gaul.	Pausanias' fifth book 174/5; the tenth, 179/80. Marcus Aurelius' <i>Meditations</i> , 172-174. Aristides (129-189 <i>circa</i>), <i>Sacred Speeches</i> . Gellius, <i>Attic Nights</i> . Celsus <i>ἀληθῆς λόγος</i> , 177-180. Oldest Latin Bible (Itala) perhaps in Africa in second half of second century.
178	Marcus Aurelius and Commodus go to the war in Germany. Earthquake at Smyrna.	
178/9	Invasion of the Costoboci in Greece.	
179	Victory over the Marcomanni.	
180	Marcus Aurelius dies at Sirmium March 17.	
180-192	Commodus (born 161).	
185	Perennis dies.	
189	Fall of Cleander.	
191	Fire at Rome.	
192	Commodus dies December 31.	
193	Pertinax (dies March 28, 67 years old). Didius Iulianus (dies June 1, at the age of 61).	
193-211	Septimius Severus (born 146). Caracalla co-Emperor after 198	
193	Severus in Rome. Dissolution and re-organization of the Guards.	
194-6	Siege of Byzantium.	
194	Pescennius Niger dies.	
195	Campaign in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Adiabene.	Tertullian (145-220).
196	Caracalla Caesar.	
197	Clodius Albinus dies at Lyons. Severus departs for Parthian campaign.	
198	Caracalla Augustus, Geta Caesar.	Titus Flavius Clemens of Alexandria's <i>Stromata</i> under Severus. Galen dies 201.
199	Massacre at Ctesiphon. Severus Parthicus Maximus.	
202	Severus returns by Syria and Egypt to Rome. Abgar IX (179-214/16) of Osroene, possibly at Rome, later converted to Christianity.	
203	Severus' Arch and the Septizonium.	Cassius Dio, 201-222, engaged on his <i>History of Rome</i>

A.D.		
204	Secular games.	Ammonius Saccas, founder of the Neo-Platonic School, teaching at Alexandria.
205	Plautianus dies, January 22.	
208	Severus departs for war in Britain.	
209	Invasion of Caledonia.	
210	Restoration of the Wall of Antoninus Pius. Lowering of the currency under Severus; silver alloyed 50 to 60 per cent.	Papinian, the jurist, as Praefect of Praetorians after Plautianus; dies 212.
211	Severus dies February 4, at York.	Origen (born 185) teaches at Alexandria (203).
211-217	Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus (Caracalla) born 188.	
212	Geta and Papinian die. The Roman suffrage granted to all peregrini by the Constitutio Antoniniana.	Oppian's <i>Cynegetica</i> .
213	Caracalla in Gaul.	
214	Caracalla on the Main defeats the Alemanni and winters in Nicomedia.	
215	Caracalla in Antioch and Alexandria (massacre).	
216-217	Parthian War. Caracalla in Edessa.	
217	Dedication of Thermae of Caracalla. Caracalla dies (April 8) near Edessa.	
217-218	Opellius Macrinus.	
217	Julia Domna dies. Romans defeated at Nisibis.	Philostratus publishes <i>Life of Apollonius of Tyana</i> (after 217).
218	Macrinus dies about June 11. Peace with the Parthians at a ransom of 50,000,000 denarii. Foundation of Catacombs of Callistus, bishop of Rome, 217-222.	
218-222	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Elagabalus (born 201).	Domitius Ulpian, Praefect of the Praetorians, dies 228. Paulus, Praefect of the Praetorians, 229. Cassius Dio Consul still engaged on his <i>History</i> , 230-234.
219	Elagabalus comes to Rome.	Claudius Aelianus (writer of <i>De Natura Animalium</i> , etc.), flourishes under Elagabalus.
221	Alexander Severus Caesar.	
222	Elagabalus dies in March.	

A.D.		
222-235	M. Aurelius Severus Alexander (born 205).	
227	Artaxerxes (Ardashir) Lord of Persia from 224, overthrows the Parthian Empire, and founds the Sassanid Empire.	
230-233	War with Persia.	
234	War in Germany.	
235	Alexander dies in March.	
235-238	Maximin. Gordian raised to throne March 16; dies April 6. Maximin attacks Italy, March-April. Election of Maximus and Balbinus (April 16). Maximin dies June 17. Maximus and Balbinus die July 23.	Marius Maximus writes <i>Lives of Emperors from Nerva to Elagabalus. The Refutation of the Heresies</i> of Hippolytus about 235. Censorinus <i>De Die Natali</i> , 238.
238-244	Gordian III (born 223).	Herodian's <i>History</i> (180-238). Plotinus, the Neo-Platonist (born 205) marches with the Roman Army to Persia (in Rome 244; dies 270).
242	War with Persia.	Origen writes <i>Against Celsus</i> 248; dies 253.
244	Carrhae and Nisibis won back in spring or summer. Gordian dies.	Cyprian (200-257) Bishop of Carthage, 248.
244-249	Philippus Arabs.	Diogenes Laertius' <i>Lives of the Philosophers</i> .
248	Thousandth anniversary of foundation of Rome.	
249	Philip dies at Verona in the autumn.	
249-251	Decius Traianus. Great persecution of the Christians.	
250	Persistent epidemics.	
251	Decius dies on campaign against the Goths.	
251-253	Gallus and Volusianus Caesar.	
253-260	Valerian and Gallienus.	
256	The Franks invade Spain. Dacia lost, but for fortresses.	
257	Aurelian's victory over the Goths.	
258	Postumus rival Emperor in Gaul.	
259/60	Valerian captured by Sapor.	Porphyry (born 233) attends Plotinus' lectures in Rome (263-8).
260-8	Gallienus.	
264	Odenathus of Palmyra, Governor in the East, recaptures Nisibis and Carrhae.	
266/7	Odenathus and Postumus die.	
268	Tetricus rival Emperor in Gaul. Gallienus dies in March. Claudius.	

A.D.		
268-270	Conquers the Goths.	Herennius Dexippus, author of a history up to 271.
270	Egypt reconquered by Probus towards end of year. Aurelian.	
270-275	Rome surrounded with walls.	
272	War with Zenobia of Palmyra after December, 271. (Capture of town spring, 272; its destruction after the revolt in spring, 273).	
273	Zenobia captured.	
274	Tetricus conquered. Triumph of Aurelian. The Dacian fortresses abandoned.	Longinus dies 273.
275	Aurelian dies.	
275-276	Tacitus.	
276	Florianus.	
276-282	Probus.	
282-284	Carus, Carinus and Numerianus	
283	War with Persia. Carus dies December 21.	
284-305	Diocletian.	
285	Battle of Margus in the spring. Carinus dies. Maximian made Caesar, May 1,	
285-286	Augustus, April 1. War with Bagaudae in Gaul.	
287	Carausius' Revolt in Britain.	
290	Peace with Carausius. Court-ceremony amplified. Hierarchy of officials.	
292	Galerius and Constantius Chlorus nominated as Caesars. Empire divided into four parts.	
293	Carausius dies.	
296	Britain reconquered by Constantius.	Arnobius, <i>Adv. Nationes; Itinerarium Antonini</i> , end of third century.
296/7	Persian war under Galerius.	
302	Edictum de pretiis rerum venalium. Triumph of Diocletian.	
303	Persecution of Christians. Celebration of Vicennalia in Rome.	Porphyry's <i>Life of Plotinus</i> 301.
304	Diocletian in Ravenna January 1.	
305	Diocletian's Baths built. Diocletian's abdication in Nicomedia. Maximian's abdication at Milan May 1. Diocletian at Salonae (Spalato). His palace there.	

A.D. 306	Constantius Chlorus dies; succeeded by his son Constantine. Maxentius' usurpation.	
307	Licinius raised to purple at Carnuntum.	Lactantius' <i>Institutiones Divinae</i> 307-310.
310	Maximian dies. Galerius' Edict of Tolerance.	
311	Galerius dies.	
312	Constantine's victory at the Milvian bridge. Maxentius dies.	Collection of the <i>Lives of the Emperors</i> in this epoch.
313	Religious Edict of Milan. Diocletian, Maximin dies. Licinius Lord in the East.	
324	Licinius dies.	
324-337	Constantine sole Emperor.	
326	Crispus dies.	
327	Fausta dies.	
330	Consecration of Constantinople May 11.	
337	Constantine dies.	<i>Itinerarium Burdigalense (Hierosolymitanum)</i> 333

A.D. 337-361	Constantine II. Constantius. Constans.	Iamblichus (pupil of Porphyry) dies about 330.	Firminus Maternus, 336/7, <i>De Mathesi</i> ; after conversion, 346/7, <i>De errore profanarum religionum</i> .
357	Julian conquers Alemanni at Strasburg.	Eusebius (Bishop of Caesarea 315) continues his <i>Chronicle</i> to 325, then the <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> and <i>Life of Constantine</i> ; dies 340	Aelius Donatus, the grammarian and rhetor in Rome about 350. Palladius on Agriculture?
361-363 363	Julian (born 331) dies June 27.	Original of <i>Expositio totius mundi et gentium</i> 350-353.	District gazetteers of Rome: <i>Notitia</i> , 334-357; <i>Curiosum</i> after 357.
363-4	Jovian.	Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea study at Athens 355. The Sophist Themistius Senator at Constantinople 355; teacher of Arcadius 387.	S. Aurelius Victor's <i>Caesars to Death of Constantine</i> . Eutropius' <i>History</i> down to 364, dedicated to Valens. Julius Obsequens' <i>List of Prodigies</i> ?

A.D.			
		Libanius (born 314) in Antioch after 352, dies 392/3.	
364-375	DIVISION OF EMPIRE. Valentinian I in the West.		Hilarius, Bishop of Poitiers, dies 368.
364-378	Valens in the East.	Himerius (316-368) Julian's Secretary 362.	Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari dies 371.
375-383	Gratian.	Julian's <i>Caesares</i> , and anti-Christian writings 362.	Rufus Festus Avienus, geographical poems.
383-392	Valentinian II. Theodosius I (ruler of East after 379). Sole Ruler.	Basil dies 380 Gregory dies 390.	D. Ausonius Magnus (310 - 390, Consul 379), <i>Mosella</i> 370.
392-395	Arcadius in the East.	Chrysostomus dies, 407.	Damasus (305-384) a Christian poet.
395-408		Nonnus, poet at beginning of fifth century.	<i>Notitia Dignitatum</i> (a Byzantine manual of State) end of fourth century. Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (about 340-402), <i>Præf. urbi</i> 384/5 <i>Speeches and Letters</i> (two-thirds of latter 395-402).
395-423	Honorius in the West (at first under regency of Stilicho).	Eunapius (born 346) continues Dexippus' history down to 404, and writes <i>Lives of the Philosophers</i> .	Ammianus Marcellinus (330-400), <i>Roman History from 96-378</i> .
406	Visigoths in Gaul.	Olympiodorus' <i>History of 407-425</i> .	Flavius Vegetius Renatus dedicates work on the <i>Art of War</i> to Theodosius I between 384 and 395.
410	Rome sacked by Alaric.	The philosopher Hypatia murdered at Alexandria 415.	Ambrosius (340-397) Bishop of Milan 374.
415	Establishment of Empire of the Visigoths.	Plutarch, head of the Neo-Platonic School at Athens, dies between 431 and 435.	St. Jerome (340-420) translates the Bible into Latin 390-405 (whence the present Vulgate), and translates and complements the <i>History of the World</i> of Eusebius down to 378.
430	Vandals rule in Africa.	Syrianus succeeds him.	Rufinus (345 - 410) translates Origen and Eusebius.
		Proclus succeeds him (412-485).	Aurelius Prudentius, a Christian poet, 348-410.
408-450	In the East Theodosius II.		

A.D.			
425-455	In the West Valentinian III.	Socrates' <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> of 306-439.	Paulinus (353 - 431) Bishop of Nola 409.
451	Attila defeated by Aetius at Châlons.	Priscus ambassador to Attila 448, writes the Byzantine History up to 474.	Claudianus, a poet at the end of fourth and beginning of fifth century.
452	The Huns in Italy.	Zosimus, <i>History from Augustus to 410.</i>	St. Augustine (354-430) Bishop of Hippo 395. <i>De Civitate Dei</i> (after 410).
453	Attila dies.		Sulpicius Severus (365- 425) finishes his <i>Chronicle of the World</i> 403.
455	Rome taken by the Van- dals.		Macrobius writes the <i>Saturnalia</i> at end of fourth or beginning of fifth century.
456	Avitus.		Marcianus Capella, <i>Artium Liberalium ix Libri</i> , about 400.
457-461	Maorianus.		Rutilius Namatianus' poetical descriptions of travel, 416.
461-465	Libius Severus.		Orosius' <i>History of the World</i> to 417.
465-467	Ricimer.		<i>Law of Citations</i> , 426.
467-472	Anthemius.		Salvianus, about 450, <i>De Gubernatione Dei</i> .
473	Glycerius.		Apollinaris Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont 469/70; poems and letters.
474-475	Iulius Nepos.		Boethius, Consul 510, dies 525; <i>De Conso- latione</i> .
475-476	Romulus Au- gustus.		Priscianus, grammari- an at Constantinople about 500.
476	End of Western Empire.		Cassiodorus (480-575), Secretary to Theo- doric, writes a chronicle up to 519.
492-525	Theodoric King of Italy.	Johannes Lydus au- thor after 522.	Tribonian (dies 545) edits the <i>Pandects</i> 530-33, and the <i>Co- dex Iustinianus</i> .
527-565	Justinian Em- peror of the East.		Isidore Bishop of Seville 570-640, writes <i>Ori- gines</i> , xx books.

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CHAPTER I

THE CITY OF ROME

EVEN at the close of the regal period, Rome, as marked by the Servian wall, although considerably enlarged, was little more than a modern country town. Agriculture and cattle-breeding were still carried on inside. The homesteads were mostly of wood and clay, and thatched with straw. The unpaved streets raised clouds of dust in the summer, and, in the winter, were a sea of mire.

The faults in the construction of later Rome were attributed in antiquity to the haste with which the town had been rebuilt after its destruction by the Gauls 390 B.C. The city was irregularly divided, its streets were narrow and tortuous, and the houses crowded. Tiled roofs came in very gradually; shingled roofs were general up to the war with Pyrrhus (284 B.C.)—a proof of the wooded wealth of Italy at that time, which Rome afterwards rapidly consumed in the building of her leasehold houses, lofty, joisted and liable to fires. Rome was slowly ceasing to look like a village even before 310 B.C. The wooden booths of the butchers in the Forum had yielded place to money-changers' offices, but the improvements were so tardy and isolated that, even at the Court of Philip of Macedon, the anti-Roman party was still able to scoff at the ugliness of Italy's capital: neither its private houses nor its public buildings were beautiful. These then for the first time began to be architecturally adorned. Basilicas were erected in place of the booths. A row of stone markets of similar architecture arose round the principal lines of the Forum. In 185 B.C. Marcus Porcius Cato began a reform, followed by Fulvius Nobilior and Sempronius Gracchus in 180 and 170. In the censor's year, 179—a year memorable in architecture—Cato gave Rome a large central market for articles of food, with a domed slaughterhouse in the middle and sale-rooms radiating from it. Quintus Metellus Macedonicus (Consul in 143), built the first 'marble temple,' but probably out of stolen columns and pieces.

At a much earlier date—possibly soon after the second Punic War—the dismantling of the fortifications of Rome had disposed of one of the chief obstacles to the extension of the town, and, even under Sulla, it became necessary to push outwards the sacred boundary (the Pomerium). After the time of Sulla, Rome became statelier, inasmuch as the Tabularium (of which fragments exist in the Senators' palace) and other fine edifices were built, but the lie of the streets and frontages remained the same. In 63 B.C. Rome was poorly paved, had zig-zagging hilly streets, tall houses, narrow alleys, and could not compare with Capua, *altera Roma*, the city of the plain, which even in Domitian's time did not stand far behind the capital. Augustus' Rome was a city grown up anyhow. During the five-and-thirty years between Sulla's death and Caesar's murder (78–44 B.C.) Rome had bedecked herself with many magnificent buildings, public and private, in which generals, officers, civil servants and business-men exhibited their riches, and loot from East and West, gained in that epoch of conquest. In the year 44 B.C. there were over one hundred palaces in Rome. Cicero, a quarter of a century afterwards, thought he might call Rome a beautiful and richly adorned city, even though, in Plutarch's opinion, the Roman edifices before the Empire were not comparable with those of Pericles at Athens; and Suetonius is doubtless right in saying that Augustus found the city of Rome unworthy of her imperial dignity.

Under Augustus Roman architecture received a tremendous impetus. The feeling of security, which returned with universal peace, increasing prosperity and population; the great influx of capital, and the lowering of interest from 12 per cent., in 29 B.C., to 4 per cent., not to speak of the Emperor's personal endeavour to endow Rome with the splendour commensurate with the world's sovereign city, were the main causes. He first had the matchless Carrara marble used in huge quantities in building. Most of the improvement of Rome was on a generous scale, in public places and monuments; but many regulations and widenings of the chaotic streets (largely consequent on the ornamentations) were also made. Further, the firm resolve of the monarch reacted also on grandees, capitalists and contractors, so that very soon many gorgeous private houses and palaces sprang into being, and overshadowed the older buildings. At the

solidity of a Piso's palace Augustus was rejoiced ; he was building, he said, for Rome's eternity.

Augustus' wish and example for the architectural reorganization of Rome had no less swift and impressive results than the incentive of some modern rulers in modern towns. At Naples the reign of the Spanish viceroy Pietro de Toledo (1532-1553) heralded a new era of architecture. Sixtus V (1585-1590) impressed his mark on Rome. Gustavus Vasa's rule (1523-1560) secured Stockholm more stone houses than any other northern European city, even London ; his policy was followed out by John III (1568-1592) : in 1582, 429 out of the 658 houses were stone. To the precedent set by Louis XIV after 1661 Paris owed two new cities round St. Sulpice and the Palais Royal, both superior to the old town. In Moscow, where, towards the end of the seventeenth century, roughly carpentered wooden houses were on sale in the markets to replace the hundreds or thousands burnt down, the example of Count Golitsyn's new palace had a great effect ; whilst he was at the head of affairs (1682-1689) no less than 3,000 stone houses were built. Augustus the Strong found Dresden a little city of wood, and converted it into one of stone, the prettiest, according to Lady Montagu (1716) in all Germany. Warsaw redeemed herself from her poverty-stricken condition under Stanislaus Augustus, when he chose the city for his capital, and, together with his magnates, enriched it with numerous palaces and public buildings. Berlin was improved under Frederick William I and Frederick II at great public cost, and private building was also enforced : later, at the close of the Seven Years' War, there was a very brisk epoch of building. Similarly, too, Rome received from her first monarch a new architectural garb, and 'from a city of brick became a city of marble'. Thirty years after the battle of Actium Ovid speaks of 'the Golden Rome, that holds the treasures of the conquered world'. Yet the streets of Rome were altered or improved only to a very slight extent under Augustus. For under Tiberius the complaint was raised that the great height of the houses and narrowness of the streets allowed of no protection against fire, or possibility of escaping to the other side of the road in case of collapse. Nero's fire (in 64 A.D.) owed its enormous extent mainly to 'the narrow tortuous streets and over-heavy houses of old Rome.'

A new Rome arose from the ashes of Nero's Rome, which was burnt down on the anniversary of the Gallic fire, when three out of the fourteen quarters were laid low in six days, and only smouldering remains were left of seven. The houses were now fire-proof up to a certain height, and made of Gabinian and Albanian stone, intervals were left, and less height allowed, the districts were made regular, the streets straighter and arcaded. At Nero's death (68 A.D.) these operations were naturally not completed. Vespasian found the city marred by the ruins of fires and fallen houses and an inscription of 71 A.D. boasts of his having repaired the neglected streets of former ages, at his own cost.

Yet even the new town (which was more than two-thirds of the whole) did not wholly remedy the old evils. Authorities agree that even after the great fire houses were very lofty. Juvenal says there were windows, whence objects in the streets were but dimly seen. If one were to add to the extent and compass of Rome the height of the houses, says Pliny, no city in the world were as great. In compass Alexandria was larger (in the year 74 Rome was calculated to be 13,200 paces, and Alexandria 16,360); but in this town the houses were not as tall. Aristides says in his Laudation of Rome (145 A.D.) that even as a strong man lifts others up over him and carries them, so Rome bears cities on cities, raised above herself. Were they outspread on the plain, the whole breadth of Italy from sea to sea were one continuous city. As a fact, the motives for piling up storeys were as strong as ever: the site for Caesar's Forum had cost over £875,000 compensation to tenants and ground landlords. Rome had loftier houses than modern capitals. Whilst at Berlin the Building Ordinances of 1860 allow only 36 feet, in a street of the same width, as the maximum height, and only corresponding increases, and at Vienna only 45 feet (at the most four storeys) and at Paris at the most 63·6 feet to a street of similar width, Augustus at Rome fixed the maximum height of the frontages at 70 Roman feet, which gave room for six to seven storeys; Trajan reduced this to 60 Roman feet, that is about five or six storeys. Neither regulation was much regarded; neither extended to courtyards and the backs of the houses; which, no doubt, were built much taller: Martial tells of a 'poor devil whose attic is two hundred

steps up'. These heights were independent of the breadth of the street, an aspect in which Rome lagged behind modern capitals. Whilst in Berlin the average breadth of streets is 70 feet, in Rome the larger streets were only 16 to 19 feet, that is, less than the least on the Paris scale of 24 feet, where the houses may be only 36 feet high. The fashionable street, the Vicus Tuscus, at Rome, had a pavement of only 13 feet 6 in., the Vicus Iugarius only 16 feet 6 in. If Tyre (according to Strabo) had really taller houses than Rome, it was the consequence of its insular position.

Long and straight streets were to be found in the Campus Martius, such as the Via Lata corresponding to the southern part of the Corso, and that answering to the Via de' Coronari, which leads from the Ponte de Sant' Angelo to the Piazza Colonna ; some also in the other parts, like the Vicus Patricius (Via Urbana) and the Alta Semita (Via del Venti Settembre) ; but the constant rise and fall of hill and valley made them few, especially as the valleys were mostly occupied by the Fora and other public places. Such magnificent vistas, as Antioch and Alexandria could show with their great parades, miles long and in rectangular blocks, Rome never had. In consequence of the lie of the town, the ancient lines have been preserved in mediaeval Rome, down to the days of Sixtus V, and even to the present date. The torn fragments of the plan of the Capitoline city, referable to the beginning of the third century, show an almost equal number of remains of straight, right-angled, and irregular districts, and indicate (no mere chance) the greatest diversity in the breadth in the streets.

Further, the architectural effect of the streets of Rome would be spoiled in modern eyes by some peculiarities of ancient style : frontages, that often swerved from the straight line, windows of irregular shape or isolated in the upper storeys, unequal heights of different parts of the same houses, and the frequency of buildings adjunct or jutting, a cause of the narrowing of the liveliest streets. The ground floors had no spaces opening on to the street, and the street walls never had windows. Where there were arcaded fronts, traffic might pass along them ; but this could only be in the broader streets. In the narrower roads, taverns, booths, shops, workshops and drinking establishments were built into the

street, as even in the business-streets of Pompeii every house has booths with shop tables fixed against the street wall. In the turmoil of the Roman streets the inconvenience of their obstructions by these projections made itself so sensible occasionally, that some relief had to be found. All Rome, says Martial in 92 A.D., had become one big tavern, all the streets were taken possession of by dealers and tradesmen, butchers, publicans and barbers; the thresholds of the houses vanished. There hung chained upon the publican's stakes, flasks of wine, or in the midst of the thickest traffic the barber might be working; sooty, smoking cooked-meat shops took up the whole breadth of a street; and Praetors had to make their way in the muddy carriage-road. Domitian restricted the tavern-room, and streets now widened from mere paths into roads fit for traffic. Yet the wooden projections from the houses remained numerous, as is expressly indicated by Herodian in a description of a street-fight between the mob and the Praetorians in the year 237 or 238; any fire originating in them, was by them quickly spread over the whole town. In the year 368 the City Praefect Praetextatus forbade balconies and bow-windows altogether, because of their danger of fires, especially as they had curtains.

But, despite her deficiencies in streets and site, Rome was peerless. Claudian could still aver that Heaven could show nothing fairer; that no eye could see her immensity, no heart feel all her beauty, no tongue sing all her praise: and, one hundred years later, Fulgentius, the African, cried out, as he saw her: 'How beauteous must the New Jerusalem be, if this earthly Rome be so gorgeous!' A panegyrist of Rome (Callinicus of Petra in Arabia) in the third century compares the deprivation of those who have not seen her to that of the blind, who do not know the sun; he only who knows Rome dare aver he has lived; his lot is more apart from all others, than that of the consecrate and the polluted. The marvellous thing was the enormous, unresting turmoil of a cosmopolitan population, the confusion and enchantment of a really universal intercourse, the magnificence and number of the public places, and the tremendous size of the city. From what aspect, asks Aristides, could a complete view be had of so many heights covered with buildings, or so many valleys converted into towns, or so much land made into one

city? Wherever one is, is the centre. And, actually, any one looking down from the height of the Capitol, lost count in this whirr of palaces, public buildings and monuments, stretching forth beneath him over hill and dale, endlessly. The ruined desert of to-day towards the Albanian Hills, the home of malaria, was then a healthy plain, all built over with streets that teemed with life. On no side was the town bounded in any sense; no landmark was there to signify where Rome ended and a new realm began. The outskirts continued into the Campagna, and gradually ate up the numerous villages and places of the neighbourhood, and the suburbs were lost in new sites of beautiful country-houses, temples and monuments. The marble peaks, gables and cupolas shone up from the dark green of the parks and gardens.

The public places on the Campus Martius were the most spacious, and as magnificent as any. Strabo has given us a picture of the impressiveness of Augustus' marble city. The broad plain enclosed by the sinuous stream, on its immense surface room for vehicles and riders and gymnasts, its sward ever green, public buildings and monuments all about, rounded off with parks and avenues: all this was a view, an essential of life, the centre, to which the remainder of the town was a mere addition. But, enter the city itself, and see the *Fora* outspread in succession, cased in with temples and colonnades, the Capitol and its erections, the Palatine and the Colonnade of Livia—and what had been seen without might well be forgotten. Such a town, Strabo concludes his description, is Rome. Any losses in the fires under Nero and Titus were replaced or restored, and the original foundations enlarged. The whole of the Campus Martius could be traversed under the cover of colonnades; the entire length of the ten principal porticos of the ninth *Regio* (Circus Flaminius) has been estimated at 4,500 metres, and the area protected from sun and rain at 27,500; the whole comprised about 100,000 square metres, and about 2,000 columns. Pliny says that in every single one of her wonders Rome was sovereign, but her entirety and the collection of them in a single spot created a second world in size. In the latter days of the Republic, the colossal wall of King Servius, fifty feet broad, the huge buildings beneath the Capitol and the system of cloacae had been an object of admiration;

the cloacae had (as Pliny says) seven main subterranean arms meeting at one point, and the strong fall swept all objects down ; its vaults resisted the most enormous pressure from above, collapses and earthquakes. In Pliny's time, the most magnificent buildings were Julius Caesar's Great Circus, the Forum of Augustus, the Basilica of Paulus, restored by him with columns of Phrygian marble, and the Diribitorium of Agrippa in the Campus Martius with a roof of a size up till then unseen, and finally Vespasian's Temple of Peace.

During the fifty years from Vespasian to Hadrian Rome attained her greatest splendour, although the Antonines, and later Severus and Caracalla, did much to beautify her. Caracalla near his Thermae laid the Via Nova, which was pronounced Rome's handsomest street. Yet in the last third of the first, and the first of the second century, edifices followed each hard on the other, works admired by the latest generations, no less than by contemporaries. Ammianus describes the impression Rome made on the Emperor Constantius, who visited it in the year 357 for the first time, and names, in this passage, only buildings of his own day. As the Emperor came to the Forum, the famous centre of the ancient sovereignty, he was dumb with amazement. The Temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian Rock gleamed as with a present deity. The baths seem as huge as whole provinces. The Flavian Amphitheatre, a mighty building of Tiburtine stone, bulks to heights almost invisible to the eye. That splendid round temple of the Pantheon, with its lofty vaulting, the huge commemorative columns, to the tops of which there are steps that lead from the inside, and surmounted with the statues of former monarchs, the Temple of the Goddess Rome, the Forum of Peace, Pompey's Theatre, the Odeum, the Stadium, all these monuments emulate one another in beauty, glory and magnificence. But when he was led to the Forum of Trajan, and saw this building, probably unparalleled on earth, and admired even by the Gods, he stood still, and let his mind wander through the gigantic space, undescribable in words, unrealizable again by man.

The considerable remains give us, on the whole, an insight into the plan of imperial Rome. A basilica of huge dimensions, and behind it the hundred foot column commemorative of the Emperor's deeds, formed the background and ideal centre for an open square ; this area was, to one entering from the

Forum of Augustus, bounded on the right and the left by pillared halls, and behind them symmetrical semi-circular buildings mounted up on the one side to the declivity of the Capitol, and on the other to that of the Quirinal, the latter only decorated with an equestrian statue of the Emperor. The Basilica was a market-building on columns; its central room was probably two-storied, surrounded by a double hall, and, in the direction of the Capitol and the Quirinal, bounded off by semi-circular alcoves,¹ had the same breadth (25 metres) as the later basilicas of St. Peter and San Paolo fuori; its wooden ceiling was tiled in bronze, and granite, home and foreign marbles were squandered on it. On both sides (East and West) of the column the buildings of a Greek and Latin library probably stood; behind the column (to the North) a temple to Trajan, built by Hadrian, completed the view. In the course of time Trajan's forum became filled with statues of veteran civil servants, especially in gilded bronze, the pedestals of which (from the time of the Antonines down to the sixth century) have survived. 'Besides this, all the eaves of the surrounding halls and basilicas were covered with golden horses and trophies, statues of barbarians, prisoners or mourners (some of which have survived on the Triumphal Arch), and other works in gold and porphyry; the extant frescoes were in a luxuriant and bold style; thus, a clear picture of the truly royal splendour may be formed, presented by this vigorously symmetrical public square.'

Our first comprehensive descriptions of the city of Rome and her fourteen Regions date back to the middle of the fourth century; two almost identical redactions of an official survey made between 312 and 315 and apparently based on a plan of the city. These documents have two supplements, the first of which catalogues the public monuments under several heads (6 obelisks, 8 bridges, 11 thermae, 19 water channels, etc.), and the second totals up the monuments to be found in the fourteen regions: these are, 2 circuses, 2 amphitheatres, 3 theatres, 4 gladiatorial schools, 5 *ναυμαχίαι*,² 36 marble arches, 37 gates, 290 storehouses and warehouses, 254 public bakehouses, 1,790 palaces, 46,602 lodging-houses, etc. In the Calendar of Polemius Silvius (448 A.D.) seven

¹ *Exedrae*: on their use see Tyrrell and Purser, *Correspondence of Cicero*, ii, p. 272.

² 'Mock sea-fights'; hence, places where such were exhibited.

principal ' marvels ' of Rome are set out, evidently to counterpoise the seven wonders of the world. The seven marvels (no doubt very variously given) are : the cloacae, the aqueducts, the Flavian Amphitheatre or Colosseum, Domitian's Odeum, the Thermae and the view from the top of the Janiculum (by the Acqua Paola), whence, then as now, the guides made visitors gape at the Seven Hills and Rome outstretched.

But it was not only this incomparable splendour of her architecture that made Rome a city of marvels. The wanderer through her endless realm saw on every hand objects to enthrall his attention. Everywhere was his gaze held fast by the work of the elder and the newer art, which decorated the whole town with a labyrinthine completeness. The walls of the atria and temples glistened with the varied hues of the mural paintings and pictures, and their rooms, as those of the baths, like the streets and the squares, were filled, even as late as the fourth century, with bronzes and marbles. Then there were still 3,785 bronze statues of emperors and generals, which would have brought up the whole number of the public statues to more than 10,000. Add to these the private collections, and some conception may be formed how, two hundred years later, after no few ravages, Cassiodorus could say, that Rome's walls were denized with a second population of stone and bronze. And everywhere the buildings were intercepted and defined by green gardens and parks, and at all seasons were these flourishing and fresh. The Esquiline was covered by the gardens of Maecenas, Pallas, Epaphroditus, Torquatus, as though by a huge park : the gardens of the Acilii, of Lucullus and Sallust, occupied the whole surface of Monte Pincio and the neighbouring valleys. And the spacious environs of the palaces enclosed gardens, with splendid ancient trees, wherein birds twittered : especially lotus-trees were favourites in town gardens, on account of the shade they afforded. The six lotus-trees in the garden of Crassus the orator, which in 92 B.C. were valued at as high a price (3,000,000 sesterces) as the palace itself, were destroyed only 150 years later in Nero's conflagration. Even from the roofs and balconies flowers and bushes made the air odorous. Especially on the right shore of the Tiber, and the surrounding hills, gardens partly imperial, were spread out. Many were open to the

public ; further, in the Campus Martius, avenues of laurels and planes, densely shaded, invited pleasant walks ; in the gorgeous Colonnade of Livia (situated on the level between the north-west side of Trajan's Thermae and the church of Santa Lucia in Selci), the foliage of one huge vine, trellised up in the open, provided shadow for passers by. Gordian III had designed below the Monte Pincio on the Campus Martius a large garden with plantations of laurels, myrtles and box-trees, one thousand feet long and five hundred feet wide, intersected lengthwise by a walk, to be paved with mosaics and fenced with rows of cylindrical pedestals surmounted by statuettes. On the two sides lengthwise, columned halls were to finish the design, and along its breadth, on the one side there was to be a Basilica and summer baths, on the other side winter baths. This plan was not, however, executed, and under Constantine the space was filled up with private gardens and buildings.

But perhaps ancient Rome's proudest decoration was the multitude and beauty of her water-works, which were also invaluable for the health of the inhabitants and compensated many disadvantages of site and building. The mountain-springs were conducted into the city in underground pipes or on mighty arches (under Nerva comprising a length of 300 miles), and poured down in waterfalls out of artistic grottoes, or spread out like ponds in broad and richly decorated reservoirs, babbling up in gorgeous fountains, whose cool fragrance freshened and purified the summer air. A consideration of the mass of the water diverted to public use for baths, ponds, canals, palaces, gardens, suburban country-houses, of the distances traversed, of the mason work of the arches, the hills bored through and the levelled valleys, would, says Pliny, convince any man that nothing more wonderful had been made on earth. Galen also reckoned among Rome's principal advantages her many and beautiful springs, the water 'of which in none is evil-smelling, harmful, filthy or hard'. The entirety of the sources provided, after Frontinus almost doubled their yield, never less than 675,000 cubic metres. This water supply was constantly increasing down to the third century, and made recreation in the great public resorts not only enjoyable and healthy, but also induced a ceaseless addition to the numbers of the public baths and

wells, the baths being universally accessible at the low rate of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a visitor. The Gazetteer of the fourth century says there were 856 baths, eleven *thermae* besides, and of swimming-baths with well-supplies (in Nerva's day 591) 1,352. Many of these swimming-baths were decked with works of art (such as Agrippa's, with a watersnake), and named after them; e.g., the spring of Orpheus, Ganymede, Prometheus etc.; a conical structure flooded with water from above, popularly called 'The sweating pillar'. The ruin of this last bath, and the magnificent ruin of a monumental spring, called the Trofei di Mario, are the sole relics of this 'evidently luxurious splendour'. Further, the second supplement of the Gazetteer speaks of fifteen *Nymphaea*, or well-houses, in which water flowed or rose, no doubt richly ornamented; these the so-called grotto of Egeria may help us to realize, as *Acqua Paola*, *Fontana di Trevi* and *di Termini* may the swimming-baths and their decorations of pictures. The *Septizonium* of Severus (first wholly destroyed by Sixtus V) a three-storied, architectural glory, by the south-west corner of the Palatine, resting on pillars, consisting of three almost semicircular parts, enclosed on both sides by projecting wings, seemed to have been a 'three-fold *Fontana Trevi*'. 'He who, in the hot season, has seen the people rest from their labours at these artificial cascades, and, in the evening, breathe the freshening mountain air among these stone erections which have sucked in and give out anew the midday-glow, may well understand the pride with which people in Nerva's day might boast they had effaced the causes of Rome's former leaden and pernicious atmosphere.' 'The crowning feature, however, of the whole system was the provision of private houses with running water.' After the Water-board in 11 B.C. became imperial, contracting-out of enterprises for the water-supply of private individuals wholly came to an end, and every man could obtain leave, without any regard to the nature of the consumption, of having his house supplied and, in Strabo's lifetime already, 'almost every house in Rome had reservoirs, supply through pipes and abundant fountains'.

Every enjoyment and luxury then known was made accessible through the world-wide commerce of Rome, which filled her markets, shops and warehouses with the most splendid and laborious works of industry and art from among all

peoples. Pliny calls the Tiber 'the gentle buyer of all that is produced on earth'. 'In Rome the merchandise of the whole world could be had all together': Spanish work and Chinese silk, brightly-tinted glass and fine linen from Alexandria, wine and oysters from the isles of Greece, cheese from the Alps and sea-fish from the Black Sea. In warehouses and shops healing herbs from Sicily and Africa lay in stock, and Arabian spices and scents, pearls from the Bahrein islands and emeralds from the Urals, fine-grained boards of costly timber from the Atlas, and blocks of coloured marble quarried in the farthest provinces; the colossal extent of this last importation may be gathered from the discovery of a warehouse of marble on the Aventine. 'To you', says Aristides in his Laudation of Rome, 'there comes from all lands and seas what the seasons bring forth and the climates produce, what rivers and lakes and the handicraft of Hellene or barbarian make. Whoever, therefore, wish to view all this, must either journey through the whole world or stay in this city. For the work and toil of other folks is ever here at hand and in excess. So many merchantmen come here from all lands during the entire summer and winter, that the city seems a general workshop of the entire world. So many freights from India and Arabia Felix are here to be seen, that it would almost appear as though henceforward the trees of those countries are stripped, and those races must come here to Rome to demand what they need of their own products. Costumes from Babylon and jewels from the depths of barbarian Asia arrive here more in number and with greater ease than they would be shipped from an island in the Archipelago to Athens. In short, all that trade and ships may bring reaches Rome, all that agriculture earns and mines bring to the upper light, and all the products of every art, all that is born and grows on earth.'

In fact, everything at Rome conduced to the feeling of being the centre, a world-state whence, as from some lofty tower, the whole earth could be surveyed. From the farthest boundaries, a ceaseless flow of news, 'borne as it were by birds', reaches the seat of universal empire, so that the Emperor who sat there on his throne, could rule the whole by letter. From the principal places the Emperors

received (anyhow at times) continuous reports from day to day; Caligula used to read those from Alexandria in preference to all others. Whether in Upper Egypt the rain had fallen, or in Little Asia there had been an earthquake, whether the legions on the Rhine were mutinous, or the Parthian Court had changed its tone towards Rome; soon afterwards such topics were discussed on the Forum and the Campus Martius, at feasts and social parties. Any rare and unheard-of freak of Nature was instantly sent to Rome and there exhibited. Artists came from all countries to show their skill and their prowess, or to vie in the great competitions for the wreath; poets and orators, philosophers and men of learning, to be openly heard. The most capable and enthusiastic of the youth of all lands flocked from their provincial obscurity to the gleam and splendour of the City of the Universe 'on which the looks of gods and men were turned', which offered ambition its largest scope, and erudition and study, recreation and enjoyment the most glorious opportunities.

In the halls and rooms of numerous libraries (put by the Gazetteer at 28) the devotee of knowledge and literature could gloat at his will on costly parchment and papyrus-rolls; in the circles of the learned, assembled there and in other public resorts such as the Temple of Peace and Trajan's Thermae, he might light upon incitement and help of every kind, and a mass of material for his researches, such as would elsewhere be unobtainable: in the lecture theatres he could listen to the discourses of the masters of every craft. Great projects in literature, which could nowhere else be carried out under such favouring circumstances, and in some cases nowhere else at all, doubtlessly attracted men of learning from abroad to long stays at Rome, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus, even in Augustus' days. Splendid institutions were at the disposal of the humblest in the imperial thermae for his recreation and delectation; and in them, in all seasons, baths of every kind, from swimming-baths to steam-baths, and apartments of more than royal magnificence set aside for his physical exercise, intercourse and pleasure. The older thermae (of which those of Nero seem to have been the most luxurious, as they are frequently taken as types of regal splendour) were, in size at least, surpassed by those of Caracalla and Diocletian.

The statement that Nero's thermae had 1,600 marble bath-seats, whilst those of Caracalla and Diocletian had almost double that number, emanates from the same official source as our Gazetteer and its supplements. Every marvel, however, of this city of marvels, was eclipsed by her spectacles on the stage, in the circus, in the arena ; there what fantasy's wildest stretch might imagine, was actualized into an overwhelming reality.

Yet the greatest of Rome's spectacles was her population, which, as Seneca says in the early years of Claudius, overflowed the houses of the boundless city ; there would the gleanings of the world be trampled down, and the streets had to provide space for a stream of men and women, proceeding to three separate theatres, and men were crushed under foot if any obstacle hindered the rushing cataract of mortality for one instant. The last incident of this sort recorded is perhaps due to a recollection of an earthquake in the year 51, in the course of which the panic flight caused a crush in which the weaker succumbed. The narrow and tortuous streets of prae-Neronic Rome would have made such accidents doubly dangerous, yet only two catastrophes on extraordinary occasions are reported. When Caligula was strewing money in front of the Basilica Julia, in the fight thirty-two men, forty-seven women and a eunuch came by their death ; during the night a crowd thronged into the circus and disturbed his slumbers ; he had them cudgelled, and twenty knights, twenty women and an enormous number besides were killed. Further, we have it from an inscription that a woman and a boy of thirteen were caught in a crowd on the Capitol and so died.

This throng in the streets and squares of Rome was very much mixed. The more Rome became the centre of the world, the stronger became its centripetal attraction to all nations. Even Cicero called Rome a community formed of the fusion of the peoples. But the real immigration in mass from the provinces began after the overthrow of the Republic, and in varying force, scarcely diminishing, however, until Constantine, overflowed Rome, and blended her blood with that of every race of the ancient world. Lucan calls Rome a city whose life is alien born, fused with the dregs of all nations ; and Herodian in the third century calls her

population variegated and commingled, and the Emperor Constantius also stared at the sight of the Roman people: 'how swiftly every type of man on earth congregates at Rome'. And, as she went on, she became more and more of a 'common city', the 'hub of the globe', the 'inn of the world'; and one of her Greek adorers, Polemo, the sophist (in the first half of the second century), called her, in a happy phrase, a '*multum in parvo* of the world'.

And this medley derived additional colour from the many strangers that went and came. Roman courtesans received (according to Martial) visits from Parthians, Germans, Cilicians, Cappadocians, Egyptians, Nubians, Jews, Dacians, and Alani. At especial functions, such as the great spectacles, the number of foreigners reached extraordinary heights. Even at Augustus' spectacle of a naval battle (2 B.C.), Ovid says the whole world was in Rome; at the consecration of the Flavian amphitheatre (according to Martial) spectators foregathered from the farthest regions, Sarmatians and Sigambrians, Arabians, Sabaeans and Aethiopians. But, ordinarily, strangers thronged in Rome, the irresistible lodestar to all men's passions, the 'generous pay-mistress of virtue and vice', and the most promising field for adventurers and scamps of every kind. The righteous man and reliable, says Martial, could find no security there; no hope of making his fortune was there for any one who were not a pimp, or a toper, an informer, who would not seduce his friend's wife, or earn the love-fee of ancient beldames, or sell idle tales near the royal palace, or let himself out to musical geniuses as their *claque*.

In this wise at Rome the gabble of a hundred speeches might be heard, the shapes and garbs of every race rubbed shoulders. Moorish slaves led elephants from out the Emperor's stables. There a troop of blond Germans of the Emperor's Life Guards was exercising in gleaming armour. Here Egyptians, with shaven heads, in sweeping linen robes were carrying the goddess Isis in procession. Behind a Greek professor a young Nubian was carrying his scrolls of books. Oriental princes in tall mitres and broad motley garments with their suite pacing silent, solemn through the crowd; tattooed savages from Britain staring their eyes out at the marvels of the new world all about them.

Sometimes an unusually foreign procession in the streets would arouse general attention ; these would be ambassadors from some far-off barbarian land, its name scarce known, come to offer the Emperor their subjection or voluntary alliance. Such might be legates from the Cimbri and Charydes of Jutland, of the Semnones to the East of the Elbe, from the tribes of the South Russian steppes up to the other side of the Don, ambassadors from Media and Parthia, from the Cherkessian and Georgian chieftains, from headmen in Britain, and princelets of Fezzan, and embassies from India ; one of those last, the tale ran in Rome, had been four years on the way.

The population of Rome can only be approximately estimated. The variations were great ; but, in general (except at times of plagues or civil wars) from Augustus to Trajan it steadily increased, and scarcely declined until the great epidemics under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. It may be taken at not less than a million, and during the two first centuries, considerably more.

Thus enjoying this luxury of privileges, excitements and sights, it was the highest and the lowest classes in the world-city that prospered the most. The vast majority of the male free population were wholly or partly kept at the expense of the State : the aristocracy had a realm and opportunities for a princely existence never since or elsewhere realized. The seamy sides of Roman life were felt most by the middle class. The prices of all articles of food were very high in comparison with the cheapness in the *municipia* of Italy and the provinces. Above all the housing problem in Rome was more urgent than in modern capitals, because there the possibility of extending the environs of the municipal area was diminished by the lack of sufficient means of communication with the centre by public conveyances ; even carriages inside the city were forbidden to private individuals, except in the evening. A disproportionately large part of the area available for building was monopolized by the few in consequence of the waste of space in the plethoric architecture of the day, and a very considerable portion was swallowed up by the public places, such as the imperial *fora*, which took up six hectares, as well as by the traffic regulations and extensions of the streets. The transformation and decoration

of Rome by the Caesars enhanced the scarcity of housing, as did Napoleon III's improvements at Paris. A further adjutory cause of the increase in price of dwellings was the habit of speculation in house property (which Crassus had practised in great style) and the monopoly of the proprietors, in consequence of which houses, like English lodging-houses in the big towns, were let and then sub-let, and the large middlemen's rents had to be paid by the occupiers. In the Pandects, for example, the lessee's profit is reckoned at more than 30 per cent., and the sublessee's at 20 per cent.; in reality, no doubt, the profit was greater. In Caesar's time lodging-house rents in Rome, on the average, seem to have been four times as heavy as in the other towns of Italy. The lower class families seem at Rome to have paid 2,000 sestertii, in Italy 500 (*c.* £21 15s. and £5 10s.), annually for their homes. Yet in Rome prices under the pressure of events, as stated, and with the growing claims of society, must have risen even higher, even though Juvenal's assertion may be exaggerated, that a house and garden in Sora Fabra-teria or Frusino could be bought for no more than the annual rent of a dark room at Rome.

But the prices of other necessities of life were also very high, and such as those of wood and food scarcely to be had by the poor; 'nothing in Rome was for nothing'; and, further, every man who did not belong to the lowest class, of all, was ever forced by circumstance to keep up a needlessly high standard of life. Custom demanded of the less wealthy a certain extravagance of outward appearance, beyond their means, especially of business-men. To eat off earthen-ware was ungentlemanly; or to go out without one's toga, and, for many, without a retinue of clients and slaves. Pretentious poverty, wasteful starving were the general lot; frauds and bankruptcies the order of the day. Martial says (86 A.D.): 'You see that man there sauntering gracefully along, in a fashionable cloak of violet purple, and with his train of clients and pages and his new sedan-chair. He has just pledged a ring at Cladus the usurer's for eight sestertii to pay for his supper'. Juvenal, some forty years later, remarks that to go bankrupt, for most people, costs them no more than to move from one quarter to another. Shame is unknown. If the money they are squandering before their

creditors' eyes be running out, they are off to Baiæ to glut themselves on oysters, and are only sorry they must absent themselves one year from the Circus. The specious glamour of Roman life was in as great contrast with the provincial simplicity and unostentatiousness of the *municipia*, as the sterner moral tone of the towns of Upper Italy was with the corruption and unrestrainedness with which Rome, so far from hushing up her orgies, celebrated them in offensive publicity.

Rome was one continual city of noise and bustle. Horace had complained of the turmoil going on night and day, the scurry and crowding of the streets from whose 'torrents and tempests' he hastened to escape into the chaste solitude of the Sabine hills. But during the first century population and activity increased apace, reaching its zenith, perhaps, in the days of Martial and Juvenal. Before daybreak the bakers would be hawking their loaves, and the shepherds, coming into the town from the surrounding districts, their milk: then the infant schools would begin intoning the alphabet, and with hammer and saw the rasping workshops were set going. Creaking waggons would haul huge blocks of stone and trunks of trees, with the weight of which the ground would quake, heavily laden beasts of burden jostled the foot-passenger; on all sides jolting and knocks and trampling, a fine confusion in which pickpockets reap their advantage. Here, says Martial (100 A.D.), the money-changer clatters Nero's bad coin down on his dirty table, and there a workman is hammering Spanish gold on an anvil. A procession of raving priests of Bellona is shrieking uninterruptedly; a shipwrecked sailor, with a fragment of the wreck wrapped up in his hand, is begging alms; a Jewish lad, sent out by his mother to beg; the call of a bleary-eyed pedlar from the other side of the Tiber, offering sulphur-matches for broken glass. Jugglers, some with trained animals (Juvenal speaks of a monkey riding a goat and swinging a spear), Marsian snake-eaters and snake-charmers are calling for spectators for their craft. Pedlars, peddling old clothes, linen and what-not, carriers of pea-flour and smoking sausages, butchers with a reeking quarter of beef, and the foot, the guts, and the blood-red lung,—each, to his own screeching tune, proclaiming his own wares.

And, of nights, no less noise. In the spacious palaces, their sleeping apartments far removed from the street, sleep and quiet might be had ; so much the worse in the lodgings. The rattling of the travelling-coaches, which might not enter the city for the greater part of the day, awoke the soundest sleeper, as they turned the sharp corners of the narrow streets. And then the roaring of troops of vagabond ruffians, and moonlighters of either sex (and amongst these sometimes women of high rank, such as Julia the daughter of Augustus), or lovers' serenades, striving to obtain admission to their lady by entreaty or force.

And when every door was bolted to, every tavern closed and silent, then the empty unlit streets were both strange and dangerous to the solitary walker. Funeral processions might be met by night bearing the dead of the poor to the pyre.

Although Rome after the year 6 A.D. had a police force of seven cohorts of one thousand men each (which also served as fire-brigade), and patrols with their torches no doubt marched through their districts all night long, yet thefts and burglaries were common. Pliny says that the windows at which people of small means had otherwise put out flowers and leaves, were shuttered off even by day, because of the 'evil robberies of countless multitudes'; probably, after the Civil War, in the year 69 A.D., insecurity was greatly augmented. Juvenal describes house-owners as using their slaves as night-watches; Cassius Dio mentions that they carried bells and so signalled to one another. Robbers used not seldom to make assaults, from which, according to Tibullus, the grace of Venus shielded lovers. Many were threatened with the daggers of a bribed bandit; such thronged to Rome, when their lurking-places in the Pontine marshes and the pine wood south of the Volturnus were occupied by soldiers. And further risks attended the poor man who lighted himself home with his candle-stump, or let a single slave light him on, should he encounter a young nobleman who was returning from some late feast with a great following and many torches. To do mischief at night in the streets was a standing pleasure of the gilded youth. The wretched men who crossed their path were held up, tossed on outspread mantles (a soldiers' joke), or otherwise maltreated. From the roofs tiles would

fall ; from upper windows basins of water be poured down, or broken crockery thrown down, to crash and shatter on the pavement.

More serious still were the dangers to which lodgers were exposed. Most of the lodging-houses were jerry-built by speculators, an attractive but risky game ; it might be very profitable, but for the frequent fires that consumed the capital. The contractors, therefore, no doubt aimed at building in such a style as to make a few years' rental exceed or at least repay the capital expenditure. They exploited the ground, not only by building as many storeys as possible, but also by cutting down the size of single rooms, and reducing repairs to the least possible ; a manner of building, which also, on its part, considerably increased the danger of fire. 'The thin partitions and walls of these piled-up lodging-houses provided no sufficient protection against heat or cold, and were made of wood or panels ; lattice-work was in especial favour ; it looked seductive from the outside, and thus answered the speculator's purpose all the better ; but it materially warped the solid fabric, as the walls would tend very easily to burst or split.' 'Part of our dread', says Seneca, 'arises from our roofs ; even in the pictured rooms of the great palaces, panic ensues, if a crackling be heard'. A great many of the lodging-houses were crumbling ; the most urgent repairs were neglected or scamped ; the agent propped up a tottering wall, or painted a huge rift over, and assured the occupants they could sleep at their ease, all the time that their home was crumbling over their heads. Even in the latter days of the Republic collapses, as well as fires, were the daily fare of Rome. Catullus jeeringly says beggars were fortunate in not having to fear either. Strabo says both of these dangers were ceaselessly imminent ; the dread of them drove nervous folks from Rome in Trajan's time, and later centuries presumably did not alter these conditions. Symmachus, in a letter, adds, as a piece of news, the fact that a collapse in the Via Traiana has cost the occupants their lives.

The fires, in the modern Rome of stone and brick almost an impossibility, were in ancient Rome, not only frequent, but infinitely more dangerous on account of the style of building, the height of the houses, and the narrowness of

the streets, the many wooden fore-houses and rear-buildings which fed the flames, and spread them with terrific rapidity. Throughout the domestic history of Rome, besides the numberless little fires, there is a succession of general conflagrations, and the hills were continually having their levels raised by the old wreckages. In the year 6 A.D., a series of extensive and ruinous fires forced Augustus to institute his Fire Brigade of 7,000 men; but the reform effected (the means of extinguishing were so very imperfect) was very slight. Under Tiberius two great fires occurred: in the year 27 Mount Caelius was set on fire, in 37 A.D. the Aventine, and the contiguous portion of the Circus; Tiberius, on both occasions, as far as he could, made good the damage, which in the second instance amounted to 100,000,000 sesterces (£1,087,500). And Caligula, also, in the beginning of his reign, compensated many for the damage wrought by fire. In the conflagration of Nero, 'besides a countless number of lodging-houses, many palaces of the generals of old were lost, with their treasure of foreign booty, and many temples consecrated by the Kings, and in the Gallic and Punic Wars, and many important relics of antiquity'. 'The riches won by so many victories, the masterpieces of the arts of Greece, the ancient and uncorrupted works of great writers'—these were irreparable, however beautiful the resurrected city might be. After this devastation, under Titus, there followed a fire which raged for three days and nights in the Campus Martius. Pliny considered these fires a retribution on luxury, though luxury, nevertheless, continued hoarding its priceless food for the flames. Martial says (90 A.D.), glorifying Domitian's new erections in place of those destroyed in this last fire, that Rome renewed her youth in the flames like the Phoenix, and prays Vulcan henceforth to spare the city, which appertained to Venus as well as to Mars. Under Antoninus Pius a fire ravaged 340 homes. Gellius states how, whilst once (at this same epoch) as a young man accompanying the orator Julianus home with his pupils, they saw a lodging-house of many stories on fire, near the Mons Cispius, and the destruction soon spread over the whole neighbourhood, at which one man remarked, that, house-rents being so high, he would long since have invested, if some preventive against Rome's continual fires could have been devised. In the year 191 A.D., under Com-

modus, the second most terrible fire (after Nero's) broke out near the Temple of Peace, and annihilated the warehouses of Egyptian and Arabian goods, and then crossed over to the Palatine. All efforts to restrict it were futile; it only sank for mere lack of further nourishment after levelling to the ground a large portion of the city, and devouring numberless treasures; the great libraries on the Palatine were burnt, and a store in the Via Sacra, containing some of Galen's books. The Capitoline plan of the city (about 203-211) shows the new erections of Severus and Caracalla in replacement or restoration of those destroyed. The fire, above-mentioned, which broke out in the street fight of 237 or 238, also laid low a great area of the city. Under Carinus an extensive fire in the Forum forced Diocletian to rebuild it and the houses round it.

Besides fire and the danger of collapse, Nature also, at varying intervals, threatened to overwhelm Rome. Earthquakes, often accompanied with inundations, recurred; as in the years 5, 15, 51, 59 and 68 A.D. The Tiber, too, often overflowed its banks, and nowhere so far inland as at Rome, an experience, too, of modern Rome. 'Both above and below Rome', says Moltke, 'the valley of the Tiber is about $1\frac{1}{8}$ miles broad. Between the Aventine and the southern foot of the Janiculum, where the wall to-day begins to decline, the hills are nearly one thousand paces high. Here there must naturally be a congestion, when after heavy rains in the hills, the Tiber, the Nera, the Velino, the Anio and the Paglia and other tributaries are flowing in torrents'. The Emperors did not neglect anything in the management of the stream and its bed. Augustus set up a department for this purpose, and had it continuously administered by consulars. In the year 15, a futile discussion was held in the Senate on the sources of the rivers and lakes which fed the Tiber. An inscription at Ostia records that, in the year 46 A.D., when the harbour was building there, Claudius had delivered Rome from the danger of floods, by digging channels from the Tiber to the sea. Trajan, also, in the first half of his reign, laid a draining canal, possibly the one still in use; but, in spite of this, in the year 108 or 109, the river overflowed the flat country far and wide, and when the Anio also was flooded, the devastation spread further still. And so in spring or autumn

the waters of the Tiber, despite all efforts and precautions, inundated the low-lying parts of Rome, and reached higher levels, thrust backwards as they were by storms, and swollen by rain, until they destroyed the old wooden bridge, and carried away in their impetuous surges men and animals. For days whole districts were knee-deep in water; only the higher storeys emerged, and were accessible by boats, which carried food to the secluded occupants. And when the stream sank anew into his wonted channel, the undermined houses collapsed, and plagues and famine followed: famine, because the inundations had rotted the full stores of corn at the wharves (as Plutarch expressly says happened in the year 69). And Gregory of Tours also tells of a flooding of Rome in which incidentally the stocked corn belonging to the Church was destroyed.

Ancient Rome suffered more from the disadvantages of a riverine position than modern Rome, as the low levels have since been raised by the accretions (in the Campus Martius by two metres, and the Forum by six to twelve), whilst the height of the river has not risen in the same proportion. This circumstance naturally contributed no little to the frequency of inundations in antiquity. Historians have doubtless only recorded the severest of them, and these imperfectly, as five under Augustus (27, 23, 22, 13 B.C., and 5 A.D.). In 27 B.C. access to the new theatre of Cornelius Balbus could only be had in boats; in 5 A.D. for seven or eight days traffic was by water, and the number of deaths and collapses something considerable. Under Tiberius there are two floods mentioned, 15 and 36 A.D. One of the greatest was in March 69, when the waters were forced back by the mass of the ruins and covered loftier places, generally secure even when the floods were highest, and swept away many in the streets, and overtook others in booths and bedrooms. Otho, whose march was delayed by this irruption, found the road at a distance of twenty Roman miles (18½ English miles) encumbered with fallen buildings. From Nerva to Marcus Aurelius, too, no reign went by unmarked by at least one great inundation.

Nor was the river the only cause of famine at Rome. The utmost forethought on the part of the Emperors could not allay deficient supply and consequent appreciation in prices,

for the over-populated city was entirely dependent on imported grain. And then disturbances arose. One reason that private commerce could not absolve this need, was that the contributions in kind, which were imposed on the corn-lands, left but little over for export. Egypt paid her double-tithe, in the form of a four months' supply of the needs of Rome ; the province of Africa (under Vespasian) for the remaining eight months. Further, private commerce could not compete with the fisc, which sometimes used to sell below cost price the corn it received partly as tribute, and partly as purchase by its agents : consequently private corn-market speculations, however much encouraged by the Emperors by the granting of honours and privileges, failed of practical effect. The Emperors made most liberal provision for a sufficiency of corn. A special service of vessels for Egyptian corn was instituted in the Early Empire, and under Commodus, one for African corn. Claudius extended Ostia, Rome's principal harbour, at enormous expense, as it had been impossible to land there in the winter, and appointed there a cohort of the Roman fire-brigade to protect the warehouses. Trajan added another harbour, and Portus, this new town, flourished and rivalled Ostia, on account of its better position. The magazines at Rome were ever growing larger in the course of time, and Tiberius, in a message to the Senate in the year 32 A.D., reminds the Senate of the great excess in the importation of corn as against that in the time of Augustus, and specifies the contributing provinces. Under Trajan the stock was so great that, when the Egyptian harvests failed, Rome exported to Egypt. And under Marcus Aurelius, corn was distributed by Rome amongst the Italian cities. Severus left a seven years' supply at his death. But still during the first two centuries, were the government good or bad, appreciations in price recurred again and again, partly because the stocked supplies rotted, or were destroyed by fire or water (in the year 62 Nero threw the mouldy grain into the Tiber, in order to satisfy the populace as to the sufficiency of the supply : yet the price did not go up, though 200 grain-ships were sunk by storms at the harbour's mouth, and 100 burnt in the river) ; partly, also, because of embezzlements or frauds on the part of the employers. An instance of such malversations is afforded by Dio ; in the year 189 prices, already high,

were raised by the Praefect of Corn, Papirius Dionysius, in order to render the Imperial Chamberlain, Cleander, whose defalcations had been the principal cause, even more hated of the people. During the years 5-8 a famine occurred, partly through the flooding of the Tiber, partly through bad harvests, and the price of grain went up to five or six times the ordinary sum: an adult's monthly ration (5 modii or $43\frac{1}{2}$ litres), ordinarily selling at 5 denarii, was sold at $27\frac{1}{2}$ denarii, an unprecedented event. All slave-families and bands of gladiators, all strangers except physicians and teachers, even some slaves privately owned, were expelled from the city; Augustus and others dismissed most of their domestics. Yet only through extraordinary exertions was a rising averted. In the year 19 prices again went up. Tiberius, yielding to popular clamour, fixed a maximum price for corn, and paid the corndealers two sesterces more per modius. In the year 32, again, high prices almost caused disturbances. The Emperor was away at Capri and the mob vented its complaints in unusually riotous fashion. The diversion of many transports to the building of Caligula's bridge from Baiae to Puteoli (39 A.D.) injured shipping to the extent of again raising prices in 41 A.D.; and Claudius was thereby forced to extend the harbour at Ostia. Bad harvests had the same consequence once more in his reign, in the year 52. Only fifteen days' provision was in hand; a tumult broke out, and Claudius himself scarcely escaped the rage of the populace. Fortunately the winter was mild, and the incitement given to shipping and the corn-trade by the Emperor's large subsidies had a favourable effect. In the year 68 just before Nero's death there was famine, and the ill-will of the people was increased by the news of the arrival of a ship from Alexandria with Nile-sand destined for the Emperor's wrestling-school. In the year 69 there was a terrible flood and famine, furthered by lack of industry and general insecurity as already described. From between Hadrian to Commodus (under Hadrian the famine apparently spread over the whole or the greater part of the Empire) Rome was visited at least once by scarcity and dearness of food. And, as time went on, matters did not amend. Ammianus, for example, never omits, when speaking of Rome, to note the success of the Praefects in the corn administration, or

their failure ; mostly the latter. On such occasions, even in the Early Empire (as under Augustus), it became customary to expel foreigners *en masse*, and a favourite resource, so as to lessen the numbers of mouths to feed.

And the seeds of ravaging epidemics were of old fostered in this soil. The unhealthiness of the situation of Rome is well known. The network of canals in the limestone hills, lessening the moistness of the soil and therewith malaria in a great degree, seems in antiquity to have benefited the Campagna more than the city, where the isolation of the fever germs scattered in the soil by the pavements and foundations of houses of any sort can only have been imperfect. There, says Ammianus Marcellinus, as though to signalize the world's capital, disease wreaks greater harm, and all the leechcraft possible falters at the task of relief. Fever had been adored as a goddess very early, the fever ever endemic to Rome ; according to Galen, it was the two and a half days' attack which was most prevalent. And, where the inhabitants were so closely packed together, infection must have been easy and limitless. Medicine found plenty to study. One form of distortion of the shoulder Hippocrates observed four times at Rome, and nowhere else ; true, one street in Rome was more populous than many of the cities Hippocrates had visited. The inhabitants of the town were uniformly pale. Martial, writing to one Domitius, says that after his journey in Upper Italy, his pale-faced friends will scarcely recognize him, and will envy him his rosy cheeks ; but, however sunburnt he return, Rome will soon whitewash his fresh tourist's complexion. A heavy atmosphere hung over the city, from the smells of the many smoking kitchens, the vapours of which were blent with clouds of dust ; the first step outside the city seemed a positive relief. Frontinus' reforms of the drainage and water-supply may have allayed the mischief of the bad air ; it was impossible to get rid of it.

Both in republican and imperial Rome great epidemics followed one another, often at terribly short intervals, and claimed innumerable victims. Under Augustus throughout Rome and Italy desolating plagues prevailed in the years 23 and 22 B. C. At the great plague in the autumn of 65 A. D., neither sex, nor rank, nor age were spared ; the houses teemed with

dead, and the streets with hearses. Thirty thousand burials are recorded in this single autumn in the books of the Temple of Libitina, the goddess of death, where the undertakers had their meeting-place and storehouse; yet this can only be a fraction of the whole. For, not only was the provision at this temple insufficient for great epidemics, but slaves and the poverty-stricken would scarcely have been buried there, at any rate when the mortality-rate was so high. And, on the eruption of Vesuvius (79 A.D.) a devastating disease broke out at Rome 'greater than any had been'. On many days some ten thousand deaths were registered on the daily lists (*ephemerides*)—out of which, later at least, statistics of the ages of the deceased were drawn up. This number is not incredible, as in Palermo (which then had 168,000 inhabitants) from July 3 to July 13, 1837, more than one thousand died daily, and on the 10th, 1,803.

But the most frightful of these epidemics was that which broke out in Babylonia, and in 162 A.D. was already ravaging Ionia. It was brought back from the East to the West in the train of the army of Lucius Verus; it raged longer than any other, and spread the farthest, not only in Rome, but throughout the ancient world, through a very large portion of the Roman Empire up to Gaul and the Rhine. It unpeopled the camps of the legionaries, and stripped the whole of Italy of her population to such an extent that villages, cities and fields became masses of ruins or wooded deserts after their cultivators and inmates had perished. In the year 167 or 168 the plague reached Rome, and seized upon many thousands, no few from the highest ranks. The corpses were carted out of the city in heaps: Marcus Aurelius had the dead of the poor buried at the public expense. Galen says the plague was very similar to that described by Thucydides; in both the bodies of the diseased were covered with black pustules; they had a severe cough, were hoarse and their breath stank. The plague (Petechial typhus or small-pox?) continued for many years, now more, now less virulent; at the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 A.D.)—who himself perhaps died of it; on his deathbed his thoughts were preoccupied with its ravages—it was still active, and the disease which raged at Rome under Commodus (about 187–189) may well have been its dying spasm. According to Dio, 2,000 men

and women died of it at Rome on one day. And then even the rumour that springs up so easily when a plague is laying mankind low, was industriously circulated, that men had been instigated to spread it by means of poisoned needles.

These many evils, various and horrible, served ever anew to remind even 'Rome golden, holy, eternal' of Varro's truth, 'God made the country and man made the town.'

CHAPTER II

THE COURT

I. ITS INFLUENCE ON FORMS AND MANNERS

JUST as the imperial dignity at Rome arose from out of the private orders, so too the imperial court fashioned itself at the outset, in establishment and forms, as also in its membership, after the noble households. At first there was little to distinguish it from the great Roman families; later it gradually approximated to the type of ancient royalties. The repeated efforts of several emperors, sometimes genuine, to restore it to its former civic simplicity only delayed the process of evolution, which was consummated in the third century, largely under the influence of the East, then become irresistible.

But, on the other hand, the Court reacted in many ways, first on the manners and formalities of the upper ranks, and even on their domestic arrangements, and then increased the range of influence. Next the opinions and principles of the monarch, when decisively expressed, his tastes and amours, or those of his family or favourites, set the tone for Rome as is only possible in an unlimited despotism. And not for Rome only. There was a certain truth in the well-known proverb that the world apes its ruler. With individual emperors, institutions, customs and ceremonies also changed. Only such a philosophic view as that of Marcus Aurelius could see an eternal similarity through this kaleidoscope of incongruous epochs. For, to his eye, all had already been, and to-morrow might again be, the Court of Hadrian and Antoninus; Philip, Alexander, Croesus; the stage was all the same, only the actors shifted. Ever and anon the same frantic, the same transitory aims, under a Vespasian or a

Trajan—the same spring-time of exertion, the same autumn of failure ; time and oblivion swallowed all, and would soon swallow up the present. Yet he who would not steadfastly look away from the phenomena of life and reality, ever learned anew, how swift and sweeping were the changes, or rather revolutions, induced by each change in the highest circle. Often enough was this uttered by contemporaries. ‘ We are like putty ’, said Pliny the Younger in the Senate in Trajan’s presence, ‘ moulded to every shape at the Emperor’s will, and following his every lead : our ambition is to endear ourselves to him, and win his approval, a prize denied to those dissimilar from him ; our continuous pliability has brought the whole world to the pass of living the manners of one man. The Emperor’s life is a censorship, of life-long duration ; in his wake we guide our steps, and after him we walk ; only an example, no command even, is requisite’. And Herodian says ‘ that the subjects hasten to adapt their life to the monarch’s ’.

Such transformations were most striking when a stern and severe Court followed on one or more extravagant reigns. Thus banquets, which were at their height of luxury in the period from the battle of Actium to Nero’s death, became more moderate later ; a result, as also the greater purity of morals, attributed by Tacitus to Vespasian’s old-world simplicity of life. Subservience to the Emperor and the desire of emulating him was more potent than the fear of law or punishment. No less sharp is the contrast between the courts of Commodus and Pertinax ; no less prompt its effect ; the general imitation of Pertinax’s economies, says his biographer, produced a general cheapening of prices in Rome. And Alexander Severus’ reign was also, because of his manner of life, a censorship : the grandees of Rome imitated him, the nobles’ ladies his wife.

A similar spirit of emulation was provoked by the Emperor’s intellectual tendencies and interests. Nero, twice before his accession, and in the first year of his reign, gave exhibitions of oratory : a tremendous enthusiasm for rhetoric followed, and Rome teemed with teachers of the art, which had never before flourished to such an extent ; and many, through their skill, raised themselves to senatorial rank and the highest honours from the lowliest beginnings. And it may confidently

be assumed, though nowhere recorded, that Nero's passion for music had a like effect: musical rulers, says Plutarch, produce many musicians, just as emperors, who favour literature or gymnastics, add to the number of authors and athletes. And, under Marcus Aurelius, the enthroned philosopher, lovers of wisdom and science increased and multiplied, especially that specious kind, which under this mask hoped to win position and riches. Lucian loves portraying—almost to the point of becoming tedious—the manners of these mock-philosophers, swarms of whom then pervaded Greece: there, as he tells us, in every street and square, shaggy beards, scrolls, big staves and shabby cloaks were to be seen in throngs. Rude and uneducated men bought libraries in the hope of attracting the Emperor's attention and gaining great advantages. One such man is the butt of a special satire of Lucian's. His descriptions can hardly be exaggerated; and a fact narrated by Galen speaks even more eloquently than all else for the influence of the imperial example, and cannot be suspect in any wise. Marcus Aurelius used to take a dose of theriac daily, an antidote esteemed as a panacea as well. During his reign, this drug was manufactured for the rich in so huge quantities that the ingredients in it almost vanished; for, says Galen, it is wonderful how the rich ape every doing of the Emperor, or anyhow wish to appear so to do. After Marcus Aurelius' death, the demand for theriac at Rome instantly ceased. Naturally, too, the Emperor's favourite dishes found a ready sale, such as, under Tiberius, an edible root, imported by him every year from Germany, and African grapes preserved in smoke, which he preferred to those from Velletri, formerly in vogue; and mullet became popular, because Julia, his mother, ate it. Nero 'made garlic respectable', as he took it on certain days of the month with oil, and no other dish, to improve his voice. Probably, too, Marcus Aurelius' short hair, and Lucius Verus' long hair, determined the custom, not only at their courts (as Galen testifies), but also in wider circles; just as the short hair of Charles V (a preventive of headache), and, later on, the curls of Don Juan of Austria, which fell behind his ears and temples, created in their day the prevalent fashion.

Thus the conditions in the higher sections of society more

or less faithfully mirrored the manners of the Court of the day ; though such shifting phases are all the more superficial.

II. THE OFFICIALS, FREEDMEN AND SLAVES OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSE

§ I

The Court, more narrowly defined, consisted of the domestics and officials attached to the Emperor and his family, who were already very comprehensive and carefully gradated. In a wider sense, it included the so-called friends of the Emperor.

For the greater part of the first century, the Emperors, like private individuals, used their slaves and freedmen as assistants and representatives in the administration of their revenues and institutions, and generally in the conduct of business, as well as for personal service. Though the object was to preserve to the imperial court the character of a citizen's house, yet here and there an opposite motive entered in, not incompatible with this would-be ordinary life. Very soon these officials of the imperial house, however lowly their origin, however subordinate and despised in their proper rank, attained an actual power, raising them above the noblest born. The nature of Caesarism, in evolution even, exacted a certain deliberate system of disregard and levelling of distinctions of rank, not only in order to break the resistance of the aristocracy, but also to make manifest that the imperial will was all-powerful, alone sufficient to raise the meekest ; to show that from that height all subjects were equal. In unambiguous language Tacitus remarks that amongst the Germans freedmen are seldom influential in the home, and never in the State, except amongst peoples governed by kings : but there they surmount the free and the noble ; whereas, elsewhere, their subordination is the proof of freedom. This ruthless contumacy of the new royalty in face of tradition and law, even the first Caesar exhibited. He made slaves supervisors of the mint, handed into their hands the receipt of public tribute, and appointed the son of a freedman, Rufinus, his former page, to the commandership of the legion he left in Alexandria.

Yet, as the development of the imperial system advanced

and forms and institutions were shaping themselves to absolute monarchy, the House and Court offices, partially at least, began to be invested with the sway and importance of State offices, only open to those born free and noble. The preservation of the feint of private life was henceforth impossible and undesirable; the service of autocracy by the raising of the humble no longer necessary. And so the imperial freedmen were thrust forth from some of the principal Court posts, and the knights replaced them. Freedmen were only employed in public business in subordinate positions, and restricted to personal service. After this alteration they were still sometimes very powerful, but in another capacity. In the first century the nature of their power consisted partly in the importance of their office; in the second and third in their personal influence at Court, real or imaginary. The freedmen who ruled in Claudius' name were the principals of the Imperial Finance Committee, of the Secretariate and the Petition and Grievance Department; at Commodus' Court, the all-powerful freedmen were the chamberlains.

The growing consequence and importance of the Court service and House-offices provides, therefore, an infallible index for the advance of the autocracy, which started out with the outward forms of the Republic, and concluded in a stereotyped and Oriental absolutism. The State departments, in the first century bearing the external shape of inconspicuous House-services, although their holders ever since Claudius had been the most mighty State officials, were already in the second century distant ambitions for the bureaucracy of the knights, only attained after long administration of important posts, and stages on the way to the highest places accessible to them.

Up to the reign of Vitellius freedmen were the absolute possessors of the Court-offices, and, in this capacity, after Caligula, the holders to an extent of supreme authority. Vitellius was the first to grant these positions to the knights. Yet the nominations wavered for some time, partly because the decisive fact was the Emperor's whim, and his predilection for submissive and obedient servants rather than men of rank, and also because from amongst the freedmen there rose to light especially capable and tested individuals. Under Domitian two of the three important offices above were

occupied by freedmen—the Secretariate and the Department for Petitions and Grievances. But in his reign and those of Nerva and Trajan, a knight was set over the Secretariate; under Trajan, a freedman as well.

Hadrian was the first to draw a hard and fast line between the administration of the empire and of the Royal house, formally withdrawing from the latter its private character, and replacing the freedmen by an imperial bureaucracy with magisterial powers; the establishment of this order was the sole hope of dealing with the vast problems that had grown up. In all of the upper administrative posts knights replaced freedmen, especially in the three chief departments, which were formally converted into departments of State. Henceforth the holders of them climb up, mediately or immediately, to the highest positions in the universal empire, such as the vice-royalty of Egypt and the praefecture of the Praetorium at Rome. The same proposition holds true of the Imperial Finance Department; subject to the anomaly of this post, even when it was so lofty a step on the rungs of the imperial service, being held by freedmen. But, apart from such anomalies being incidental to the essence of absolutism, considerations of business ability and trustworthiness outweighed others in the selections of these officials, and the possibility of promptly coercing any signs of disloyalty was of especial importance. It is this point that Maecenas emphasizes (according to Dio) in his address to Augustus, as a reason why it was so advisable to appoint freedmen in financial administration.

After freedmen had been wholly or almost wholly deprived of these posts, the office of Lord High Chamberlain (*a cubiculo, cubicularius*) was their means of gaining authority. The evolution of this office characterizes the later Empire, just as the growth of the other departments that of the Early Empire. Influential as the chamberlains had been at all times, their outward dignity was at first very low. It was the permeation of Eastern customs that first lent a high rank to the Prefect of the Holy Chamber (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*, his new title). In the last century eunuchs usually held the post, a significant symptom of the perfect easternizing of the Roman Court. Men like Eusebius and Eutropius did not merely enjoy a more undisputed sway in Byzantium

and Ravenna than Pallas or Narcissus at Rome ; lawfully they ranked with the highest officers of State.

But before considering these offices more narrowly, the position occupied by the imperial freedmen, as such, apart from the service, must be examined, and the sequence of alterations followed, which they constantly underwent during the first two centuries.

Throughout this period the East, as the countries of ancient civilizations, Greece, Little Asia, Syria and Egypt, almost entirely supplied and completed the domestic service of the Emperor, as well as of the great Roman palaces. The North and West provided most of the Emperor's personal life-guards ; Greece and the East was their favourite hunting-ground for their service, personal and financial ; and thus these peoples, the scum of mankind in the view of the proud Roman, attained the highest positions. The Orientals were, as one of them (Herodian) remarks, shrewder and more astute.

How the Romans despised the Greeks is well known. Caesar calls them deceitful, shifty, and rendered servile to the point of adulation. Their unvaracity met harshest blame, and, no doubt, made men unjust to their lively artistic imagination. Further, their representatives at Rome were often unworthy of ancient Greece. Juvenal, in a well-known passage, characterizes them as quick-witted, over-eloquent, everywhere at home, willing at demand to come forward as professors, artistes, drilling-masters, soothsayers, rope-dancers, physicians or conjurers, past masters in the arts of flattery and hypocrisy, born actors, astoundingly impudent, and in their choice of means unscrupulous, and shameless. In this sketch of a loathing pen, the excellencies, which still adorned the sunken nation, are forgotten, such as their instinctive nicety (for which Philostratus praises the Ionians especially), their higher and fuller civilization, their charm, inventiveness and business ability, which had made them as indispensable at the Courts of Persepolis and Susa as then at Rome.

The Syrians were deemed clever, dowered with tastes and gifts for drollery and satire, unstable and ready, but also crafty and faithless. The Egyptian appeared to the Greeks and Romans a curious mixture of contradictory qualities,

mostly unpleasant and sly; 'aegyptizing' to the Greeks meant underhand dealing. The Alexandrians were especially noted for their intellect and perspicacity; their wit was said to be instant and bitter, full of obscenity and gibes; their speeches were considered unmatched for impertinence and shamelessness. The Egyptians in general were stigmatized as vain, conceited, insolent and boastful, fitted alike for deeds heroic, or slavish thralldom. They were luxurious and lustful, but endured the rack with wonderful steadfastness. Hot-tempered and tetchy, eager to pick quarrels, ever greedy for novelty (as their carmagnoles showed) and therefore tumultuous and revolutionary. They were also envious, reticent, sly and obstinate, as was made apparent in their religious fanaticism. Tacitus calls Egypt a province torn asunder and unsteady on account of its superstitiousness and lack of restraint. And the fellahs of to-day exhibit surprising similarities with the descriptions of the ancients, namely, craftiness and wiles, endurance and stiff-neckedness, conceit and quarrelsomeness, envy and mendacity, and love of satire and gibe.

The fates of these imperial servants, often their masters' rulers, were sometimes the most singular of the strange events of this eventful time. Often their introduction to Rome had been on the platform where cheap slaves stood with whitened feet, and were inspected and handled by purchasers. They passed from hand to hand, suffered every degradation of slavery, before entering the monarch's home by sale, gift or inheritance, or being as freedmen transferred into it. Talent, adaptability or fortune turned their master's eye on them, and raised them from that bottomless sea of servitude, some promptly and suddenly, some slowly and gradually. Many of them have made inroads on the world's stage, and cut their names deeply on the tablets of history. Of others again we learn from monuments: they rose from humility to heights of service, their careers, if less brilliant, were more secure, more honourable and distinguished. To follow their story is not uninteresting. Like instances of such attainments of splendour and might from the lowliest origins, are afforded perhaps only by eighteenth-century Russia. The consort of the Empress Elizabeth, Count Razúmovski, had, in his boyhood, herded cattle; Menshikóv, Peter the Great's

confident, had sold tarts in the street. Kutaisov, one of Paul's favourites, was a Turkish orphan, captured by the soldiers at the siege of Bender, brought from the camp to the court, to do scullion's work; he rose to be boot-black, then the chamberlain and barber of the grand duke, and ended by becoming equerry, count, a knight of all the Russian orders, and an opulent magnate, and ever contrived to remain in the Emperor's graces; and yet the master whom he still shaved, used to whip him at will to the last.

The position of the freedmen, in so far as it was dependent on the relation to the Emperor, the respect and power they enjoyed as the servants of his house, outside his service, naturally varied with the monarch's personal tastes and principles of government. Limited though their extra-official influence may have been under good governments, yet it was by no means slight, as the following survey will show, under the best; it must not be forgotten, moreover, that our knowledge is derived from isolated facts, only from such as aroused general attention.

Augustus, who officiously deported himself as a private individual, was uncompromisingly severe towards his slaves and freedmen in Rome, if they allowed themselves, in view of their position in his house, any liberties. They had greater licence in the provinces. Licinus, the Gaul, one of Caesar's former slaves, ruled in his own country as imperial commissary for some time with absolute sway, and extorted enormous sums. He is notorious for dividing the year into fourteen months as regarded monthly payments, as November and December were the ninth and tenth (as their name shows) and two new ones (called Augustean) had to be added. Despite the petitions of the Gauls, and Augustus' ill-will, he escaped with the sacrifice of a large sum, and had so much over that his wealth was spoken of in the same breath as that of Crassus and Pallas. His towering marble tomb on the Via Salaria, a monument builded for eternity, was a landmark for bitter reflections for later generations. And it is noteworthy that Herod, King of the Jews, who left Augustus 1,000 talents in his will, directed 500 to be given as legacies to the wife, children, friends and freedmen of Augustus.

Tiberius was of a nature too aristocratic, knowingly and publicly, to allow freedmen any influence on his wishes. 'His

slaves were modest, his family contained few freedmen,' is Tacitus' comment on the first half of his reign. Later, after the death of Drusus, this and much else changed. Egypt, the most important imperial province, was, after Sejanus' death, entrusted to a freedman, though only temporarily. Herod Agrippa, the King of the Jews, almost ruined himself with his presents to Tiberius' freedmen, whose support he thus purchased; one of them Thallus, a Samaritan, was in a position to lend him 1,000,000 denarii; and yet the greatest of them was another freedman, Euhodus. Nomius, a third freedman of Tiberius, Pliny cites as the owner of one of the largest and most valuable tables known, made of pure citron-wood, whilst Tiberius only had an inlaid one.

But the frightful anomaly of publicly putting at the helm of the world-state a half-lawful and despised class, and letting them decide the most momentous issues, only really began under Caligula. Callistus, a private individual's slave, was sold, became a slave of the Emperor, and, as his favourite, gained practically an equal autocracy and enormous wealth. Seneca often saw his former master vainly beg admission at Callistus' door. At his request, in the year 39, Caligula consented to abandon the persecution of Domitius Afer, consul in 39, an orator he disliked. Though a participant in the conspiracy against Caligula, Callistus kept his position under the succeeding emperor.

The *saturnalia* of the freedmen were celebrated in the reign of Claudius. In Seneca's pasquil on the deification of Claudius, at his entry in Elysium, all those present, he says, must have been his freedmen, as no one regarded him in the least. Callistus, Pallas and Narcissus, 'brave and crafty men', made the Emperor's home the seat of Empire, and themselves the participants. They, and the other freedmen, with Messalina as their accomplice, juggled at their fancy with civic rights, offices, governorships, reprieves and even capital sentences. Besides these names Suetonius mentions Boter as the lover of Claudius' first wife Urgulanilla, and father of their daughter Claudia; also Posides the eunuch, the Procurator of Judaea Felix, Polybius, the literary adviser, and Harpocras. Both of the last and Myron, Amphaeus and Pheronactus, in Seneca's pasquil, receive their former lord, in the underworld; he had sent them in

advance, so as never to lack for servants. Pliny names a very rich eunuch Thessalicus, originally a freedman of Marcellus Aeserninus, who, however, to gratify his ambition got himself adopted by the household of Claudius: he was the first to transplant the ever-green plane-tree from Crete to Rome and his villas there.

Nero's freedmen possessed no less power. Polycletus, one of the most infamous pilferers at his Court, was in the year 61 despatched to Britain to arbitrate between the Legate and the procurator of that province, and also to quench the smouldering embers of revolt. With a tremendous retinue he repaired to Britain, the terror of the armies and laughing-stock of the barbarians, who failed to understand the power of a freedman, could not grasp how a host of men and a victorious leader could cringe to a slave. Another freedman of Claudius, Helius, was, at the beginning of Nero's reign, administrator of the imperial demesnes in the province of Asia, and in the year 54 was employed by Agrippina to assassinate Junius Silanus, pro-consul of that province. Nero, for the period of his journey to Greece (66/67) left him at Rome in absolute sway; he could issue edicts of confiscation, death and exile against knights and senators even, without any reference to Nero; so that Rome, in Dio's words, was subject to two Emperors; which were the worse, none could say. In the year 62 a detachment of men, under the command of a centurion, was sent to murder Rubellius Plautus, and the direction of it was entrusted to Pelago, a eunuch, with a train of halberdiers like the slave of a sultan. Of the two heads of the department of Petitions and Grievances Doryphorus (a boon-companion of Nero's debaucheries, whom he afterwards poisoned) and Epaphroditus, Epictetus the philosopher's master (who was instrumental in Nero's suicide), we shall speak later on.

Galba had those favourites of Nero, for whose punishment popular hatred clamoured the most, executed; namely, Polycletus, Helius and Patrobis (who in the year 66 had conducted the gorgeous games and spectacles in welcome of Tiridates, the King of Parthia, at Puteoli). Yet Halotus, one of the most fiendish of them (perhaps the eunuch who acted as cup-bearer when Claudius was poisoned), Galba not only let go scot free, but also appointed to a very high procuratorship. He was contemptibly submissive to his own freedmen; as

before, the Court became a chaffering-place for taxation or exemption, the punishment of the guiltless or the acquittal of the guilty in return for pelf or favour. The most influential of them was one Icelus, a man of the dirtiest antecedents, whose only virtue lay in subservience to his lord. The right of wearing a gold ring was given him, and thus knightly rank; he was spoken of as a candidate for the Praefecture of the Praetorium. He, too, abused his power for the most reckless pilfering. Otho had him executed, and restored Nero's freedmen and procurators, a source of general consternation. To his own freedman Moschus he handed the command of the fleet in the Civil War, and the commission of keeping a watchful eye on the demeanour of the upper classes.

From depths as low as Icelus, Vitellius' freedman Asiaticus climbed up to a position of equal might in his reign. He had been maltreated by his lord, ran away in disgust, and maintained himself at Puteoli by selling a liquor relished by the vilest of the lower classes; he was caught, again won his master's graces, again embittered him; his master's anger made him sell the slave to a peddling merchant of gladiators; then he bought him back and at last set him free. On the first day of Vitellius' accession, he was raised to knightly rank; in four months he had fared like the most depraved freedmen of the preceding reigns. His career terminates with that of his master, he being probably crucified. Of the freedmen of the first two Flavian emperors little is known. According to Philostratus Apollonius of Tyana advised Vespasian to curb the freedmen's spirit; the greater their lord, the less should they be. According to Suetonius it was believed that Vespasian promoted the most rapacious to procuratorships, so as to sentence them afterwards, and confiscate their augmented properties. One of his freedmen, Hormus, a man of ill-fame, who had proved himself active in the Civil War, and responsible for the razing of Cremona in 71, was made a knight. Under Domitian freedmen again were given important offices and great power; the chamberlains Parthenius and Sigerus were personages of great weight at his Court.

A substantial change in the position of the imperial freedmen came in with Nerva and Trajan. Yet the tone in which

Pliny the Younger praises the newer modes of government shows that they retained no little authority. 'Most of the princes', he says, 'were both lords over citizens and slaves of freedmen, who became the guiders and controllers of their counsels, their ears, and their tongues; the purveyors or rather granters of Praetorships, priesthoods and consulates. To your freedmen you may well give honour, but as freedmen; you may believe that for them to be upright and honest is merit enough. For, as you know, great freedmen and little princes go together. And, above all, if you only have about you such as are dear to you or your father and all good men, you can fend them off, bid them betake themselves to their own rank, not yours: and they rank all the higher in that we do them every honour, unsolicited'. And Pliny also tells how at the indictment of Eurythmus, a freedman and procurator of Trajan, for forgery of a will, the parties dreaded appearing in the case; and Trajan finely observed: 'He is no Polycletus, nor am I a Nero'. Hadrian is said not to have stickled at wooing and bribing Trajan's freedmen, so as to secure his own adoption. He himself aimed at his freedmen remaining unknown, and their wishes having no weight with him; he used to say that all previous emperors had had to bear the burden of their freedmen's vices, and was severe against those who made boast of their influence over him. Antoninus Pius, too, repressed his freedmen, and effectually destroyed the power of the courtiers by personally keeping himself well informed, and preventing them from selling their information. But Marcus Aurelius was too gentle to be able to shatter the dominance of Geminus and Agaclytus, two freedmen high in his co-regent's favour: he even suffered Verus to marry the latter to the widow of his cousin Annius Libo (Consul in 128, died as governor of Syria in 176), and deigned to be present at this wedding, so repugnant to his principles. After Verus' death he dismissed his freedmen on honourable pretexts, except Eclectus, who afterwards murdered his son. Under Commodus the freedmen ruled as arbitrarily as ever under Claudius; and one of them, Cleander, actually was Praefect of the Praetorium, the highest dignitary next to the Emperor. Pertinax drew on himself the deadly hatred of the courtiers by his energetic measures against their excesses, and their venom

contributed not a little to his fall. Severus was also stern with the freedmen, but, under Caracalla, whose fortunes they shared, their power was all the greater. And the reign of Elagabalus heralded in fresh freedmen's *saturnalia*.

Though, occasionally, after violent revolutions, the entire domestic service of the imperial house was changed, for the most part it went on from reign to reign unaffected, and all the members might easily acquire an experience enabling them 'to veer their course to every wind'. Tacitus says of Graptus, who exercised an evil influence over Nero, that a life at the Court from Tiberius onwards had made him thoroughly conversant with the ways of Empire. One Claudius Etruscus had died at the age of ninety under Domitian. His father had been taken under Tiberius in his boyhood to Court, served under ten emperors, with only, it seems, one slight intermission of disgrace. Of his sovereigns six had died violent deaths; their blood-stained reigns had wiped out many an ancient family; and the face of the earth had been shattered and re-shaped: and, all this while, the old freedman went on in undisturbed enjoyment of his position, and his enormous wealth, and died in his bed. And so, too, hundreds grew up and rose to eminence in the palace, accommodating themselves to one sovereign after another, outliving one after another; if they had only told their tale!

But the higher they climbed, the more unsure was their foothold. As the historical survey indicates, many came by their fall, as soon as their riches awoke the Emperor's avarice (Nero had several rich old freedmen poisoned), or if their power was too overweening for him and the other favourites; when they attached themselves to the chiefs of the defeated side in throne or palace revolutions: their sharing in momentous deeds and resolves might prove momentous to themselves; for often was it their word that decided the issue of conspiracies against the Emperor, or the choice of his consort or heir.

The riches that streamed into them, in consequence of their vantage-ground, lent them their main strength. At this time to be as rich as a freedman was proverbial, and few could measure themselves with these servants of State. Narcissus had 400,000,000 sesterces (£4,350,000), the largest sum in one man's hands known to antiquity, and Juvenal

calculates his wealth as equivalent to that of Croesus and the Persian king: Pallas had 300,000,000 (£3,256,250), Callistus, Epaphroditus, Doryphorus and others scarcely less immense sums. When Claudius complained one day over the deficit in the imperial exchequer, it was said in Rome that, if he were to enter into partnership with Narcissus and Pallas, he would have a surplus. Epictetus tells a tale of Epaphroditus that a petitioner once fell at his feet, and bewailed his ill-luck; he had only 6,000,000 sesterces (£65,250) left; and Epaphroditus expressed his surprise at any one bearing such poverty in patience. It will be seen, too, that less prominent men were very rich. Apart from their profitable appointments, both in the provinces and in Rome, they had many opportunities of augmenting their possessions, without directly plundering, or extorting: for they had control of moneys in the imperial household; and they could skilfully avail themselves of circumstances. To mention only one point, naturally, every such employee saw he was paid for any assistance, real or otherwise, he might give in order to bring a request to the Emperor's ear and exercise influence direct or indirect on his decision. On one journey of Vespasian's the mule-driver dismounted, ostensibly to shoe his animals, in fact, to give a man the opportunity of petitioning the Emperor. Vespasian asked what the fee was for the shoeing, and claimed his share. Disseminating news as to the Emperor's speeches, intentions or moods was a very good speculation; often these costly titbits were only rumours (*fumi*); Martial already speaks of the 'traffic in empty rumour at the Emperor's palace' as a business: and later biographers regard the word almost as a mere technical term. Alexander Severus had one of his servants hanged for selling 'smoke' about him to a soldier for one hundred aurei, and, at his orders, his friend Verconius Turinus was smoked to death at the stake in the Forum of Nerva for making a livelihood in this way; a herald shouting the while, that he who lived by smoke, must die by smoke. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius kept better order at their Court, and none of their friends or freedmen 'sold' a word of what they said or did, 'as had been the custom of the Emperor's servants and courtiers'. New regulations were ever being made against this trade in false tales, and prove how impossible it was

to allay the evil permanently. A picture of Elagabalus' time in the childish wise of these biographies describes the dealing of one of his favourites and is fairly applicable to the greater part of the history of the Empire. Aurelius Zoticus, the son of a Smyrnaean cook, sold 'all the Emperor said or did, under false pretences, hoping for boundless wealth. He used to threaten one man, lavish promises on another and deceive them all. On leaving the Emperor's presence, he would tell them all singly: "I said this of you", or "I heard that of you", or "our fate will be that . . .". Such are some men who are admitted to the familiarity of the Emperor, but abuse the honour of both bad and good rulers. The folly or simplicity of the purblind Emperors let them grow fat on such scandalous swindles'.

The vast riches of the imperial freedmen enabled them to outbid the Roman aristocracy in luxury. Their palaces were the most pretentious in all Rome; that of Posides, the eunuch, outshone the Capitol, according to Juvenal, and all that was rare and costly on earth was squandered on its decoration. The poor man fears nothing, the poet says; but Licinus the rich is all a-tremble for his Phrygian pillars and statues, his beryl, tortoise-shell and ivory in his palacerooms. In a dining-room built by Callistus, a freedman of Caligula, Pliny saw thirty pillars of oriental alabaster; four smaller columns of alabaster had been erected by Cornelius Balbus in Augustus' reign in his theatre as a great curiosity. The 'Baths of the Freedmen' were proverbially gorgeous, and the most splendid must have been those of the imperial freedmen. In the bath constructed by Etruscus, the son of an imperial freedman, marbles in frequent use, though costly, were discarded as too common, and the rarest only used in quantities; the ceilings gleamed with designs in glass mosaics, and from silver pipes the water gushed into silver vessels. Their parks and gardens were the largest and most beautiful in the city, their villas the most palatial in the environs. Would any menial of Nero's (the expression with which the hated and despised freedmen were designated), asks Pliny the Elder, have been content a little while ago with a garden of two acres? In Rome the parks of Pallas and Epaphroditus on the Esquiline were famous. Martial says that the garden in the palace of Entellus (a freedman

of Domitian) must be exalted above that of Alcinous ; there the purple grape ripened under glass, despite the wintry cold. But these freedmen also bedecked Rome and other cities in the monarchy with magnificent buildings of public utility. Cleander, the mighty freedman of Commodus, diverted a portion of his wealth to the erection of houses, baths, and 'other institutions, to the advantage of individuals and whole cities'. At various places, inscriptions record imperial freedmen as builders of temples, thermae and other great works, or the statues or honours awarded them in commemoration of their munificence. Their refined luxury out-rivalled that of voluptuous connoisseurs. One of Caligula's freedmen copied his master in having essences mixed with his bath-water. A hot well at Baiae was named after Posides, Claudius' eunuch, who discovered it, or made it fashionable. Patrobius followed the example of Alexander's generals in importing Nile-sand for his gymnastic exercises. Their mortal remains and those of their families were interred with oriental pomp ; colossal monuments, adorned with every art, covered over their ashes ; boastful inscriptions testified to all posterity how great they had been. Those on Pallas' grave (he died in 62 A.D.), recording the honours offered him by the Senate, all of which he would not accept, could forty-three years later (107 A.D.) so irritate Pliny the Consular, as to blind him to their humour.

The freedmen, sprung from races loathed and stained with the ineffaceable stigma of slavery, were despised and abhorred by the aristocracy of Rome, the descendants of immemorial families of great repute : and yet to these freedmen, who rightly ranked lower in many an aspect than a free-born beggar, the noblest had to pay homage and allegiance, because they were the omnipotent servants of the Emperor. For imperial freedmen ranked no higher than any others of their order, and the promotion some might receive from Emperor or Senate entitled them at the most only to the rights of the second rank, even if—what was very rare—distinctions pertaining to the first were added. The most common honours awarded, in the first century even, were the rank of knight by the conferring of the Golden Ring, and in dealing out this much, the Emperors seem to have been very sparing ; only the most deserving and prominent

favourites were selected, and the honour was not cheapened by excessive distribution. Thus Nero conferred knighthood on Pallas, Galba on Icelus, Vitellius on Asiaticus, Vespasian on Hormus and the father of Claudius Etruscus. At the same time, a new knightly surname was given them: thus Icelus was titled Marcianus, and Elagabalus' chamberlain, Aurelius Zoticus dubbed Avitus after his master's grandfather. If Narcissus had the insignia of the office of quaestor granted him, and Pallas those of the praetorship, this is accountable for by the anomalies of this dominion of the freedmen: it was to enable both to sit in the Senate. When Claudius gave all his procurators jurisdiction in fiscal matters, he thereby, says Tacitus, put the freedmen who superintended his private estate on an equal footing with himself and the law. Narcissus and Parthenius (the chamberlain of Domitian) even carried an officer's sword, a privilege belonging, not even to senatorial proconsuls, only to the generals appointed by the Emperor; it was perhaps as evidence of military authority over the Palace Guards. Claudius deigned to allow his freedman Harpocras to use a sedan-chair in Rome, and to organize public spectacles, but this was possibly a right appertaining to any free and responsible person. One military distinction (a blunted lance) Claudius with his usual tactlessness conferred on his eunuch Posides at the British triumph. The tutor of Lucius Verus, the freedman Nicomedes, before receiving this and other honours, had been raised to knighthood.

Thus (except for short periods) the outward distinctions of the servants of the Emperor were quite modest; in exteriors, their subordination socially and politically was to be kept intact as against the aristocratic dignitaries of the monarchy, with their high-sounding names, and show of pomp. In reality, the relations were reversed: the slaves, so deeply despised, had the satisfaction of 'receiving the admiration and envy of the free and the noble', of seeing Rome's greatest cringe to them: few were they who dared treat them as servants; one such was Laterannus (beheaded under Nero in the year 65) who retorted on Epaphroditus' inquiries: 'If I wished, I would speak to your master'. For Pallas his smug flatterers devised a genealogy tracing him back to his namesake, the King of Arcadia; and, in return for the

condescension wherewith this descendant of the kings of old preferred the good of the State to his own ancient rank, and deigned to serve his prince, it was a Scipio who in the Senate proposed a vote of thanks. In the year 52 A.D. one of the Consuls moved that Pallas be granted the insignia of the praetorship and the large gift of 15,000,000 sesterces; Pallas accepted only the insignia. Thereupon followed a decree, that, fifty years afterwards even, Pliny the Younger blushed with shame and indignation to read. The Senate had already voted a considerable sum to this worthy patriot, and, the more his gentle spirit recoiled, the more persistently did they beseech the Emperor, the Father of his Country, to induce his treasurer to accede to their own wishes. But the Emperor, at Pallas' wish, and in his name, still declined the gift; and the Senate recorded that they had voted, as a matter of desert and for their own satisfaction, these honours to Pallas, and that, even herein, they loyally would not wrongfully withstand in any wise their monarch's will. This decree was publicly exhibited, engraved in bronze (probably on an office of the imperial exchequer), beside a statue of Julius Caesar in coat of mail; in it the owner of 300,000,000 sesterces was belauded as an example of stern disinterestedness. Lucius Vitellius, the father of the Emperor of that name, a man of very high position—at any rate, even in his day, a past-master in the art of servility—poured libations to golden pictures of Narcissus and Pallas, as his house-gods. Polybius often shared the walks of the two Consuls. And even Severus had to return to the Senate a decree of honour to his freedman, Euhodus, with the comment that it was scandalous for the Senate to pass such votes on a servant of the Emperor.

The strongest evidence for the position attained by these former slaves is that they could marry the daughters of noble and even imperial families, and this at a time when aristocratic pride in ancient lineages was at its height, at a time when the law forbade the female descendants of senators to the fourth generation to be engaged to or marry freedmen; an enactment, dispensable at will by the Emperors, like the corresponding law, that senators might not marry freedmen's daughters. Felix, the brother of Pallas, the well-known administrator of Judaea, was the husband of three princesses:

the first was Drusilla, a granddaughter of Antonius, and Cleopatra; the second, Drusilla, a daughter of Herodes Agrippa; the name of the third is unknown. Nor did his descendants feel any shame of their ancestry. An inscription at Pola dedicated to one of his great-grandchildren, Lucius Anneius Domitius Proculus, expressly says of this boy of senatorial rank that he was a great-grandchild of Antonius Felix. The mother of Claudius Etruscus, a woman celebrated for her beauty, was the sister of a consul who commanded in the first Dacian War (86). Antistia Priscilla, the wife of Abascantus, Domitian's freedman, also came of a noble family. Agaclytus married the widow of Annius Libo, a cousin of Marcus Aurelius, as has been already said. These facts are chance survivals; but they justify the assumption that alliances between imperial freedmen and noble families were no rarity.

Every circumstance then combined to enhance to the utmost the complacent pride of these self-made men who had risen from the depths, and their insolence was the more defiant and open in proportion to the contempt with which they were regarded by those born in freedom and high rank. Once on the stage the verse was declaimed, 'Nothing more loathly than whipped curs in luck', and every eye turned on Polybius, who shouted back, 'The same poet also said, "Kings came of men who herded goats"'. Pallas, who did not conceal his sombre self-confidence even in the presence of Nero—who owed his throne to him—and at the last made himself intolerable, was arraigned in 55 A.D. for high treason. Some of his servants were named as accomplices: he replied he ruled his house by hints and signs, more specific orders were given in writing: he would not degrade himself by speaking to them. And, though their over-weeningness reached its height under Claudius, it was always very great, and any who dared confront them could be sure of general support. One of these probably rare incidents is recorded in Plutarch. An imperial freedman, who had just come into his fortune, was behaving snobbishly and rudely at a banquet to a philosopher, and ended by asking him why both black and white beans made a yellow stew, a question the latter countered by asking why black and white thongs produced red welts. Martial in one poem praises the demean-

our of the freedmen of Domitian, but is scarcely more reliable than in his other laudations of this reign. Up till then, he says, the servile refuse of the sovereign had been loathed and the insolence of the Palatine a byword. But now the Emperor's men were universally loved, every man's family-friends, so gentle and considerate were they, so quiet their life, so modest their manner. No freedman had any individuality, except his master's; and this was the character of the imperial court. And the greater the arrogance of the imperial freedmen, the more effective would be their occasional condescension; Epictetus expressly mentions their friendliness as one of the things likely to wrest every secret from a man bent on externalities.

§ 2

In the administration itself the freedmen seldom held high positions; before Hadrian's reorganization, knights were regularly appointed to them. Thus the directors of the more important tax offices, for example, the 5 per cent. death-duty, were mostly knights. Still there were exceptions, partly in pursuance of imperial arbitrariness, partly because the only standard was personal fitness. The supervision of finance in the imperial provinces, and the raising of the revenue in the senatorial, was entrusted to freedmen; but more frequently they were departmental or subaltern officers of their superiors; the directors of the imperial camps (*procuratores castrenses*, an office important because of its close relation to the person of the Emperor) were for the first two centuries systematically freedmen; as also the procurators of the waterways of Rome, even after Hadrian had designated this post for the knights. In the wide and many-sided administration of the imperial estates, which, as time proceeded, expanded enormously throughout the entire Empire, and gradually assumed the character of Crown property, freedmen retained the direction of single parts, even after the superintendence of the whole had been transferred to the knights as procurators. Often they managed the imperial mines and quarries, afforestations and estates, and the parks, villas and palaces of Italy and the provinces, as, for example, Marcus Ulpius Euphrates was the procurator of Pausilypum (Posilipo near Naples), which passed into the private inheritance of the Emperor from the estate

of Vedius Pollio. The freedmen who, after Claudius, had the business control of the gladiatorial and animal shows, had under them a large staff of men; a procurator, for instance, was specially set over the moneys devoted to the maintenance of the elephants. Of the salaries attached to the offices accessible to freedmen, we only know that of one, the procurator of the Roman waterways: this was 100,000 sesterces (£1,087 10s.). An imperial freedman, Euphrates, returns thanks (in an inscription at Lanuvium) to the 'genius of the place', for having enjoyed a yearly income of 100,000 sesterces, presumably an increase of salary.

As the freedmen, in matters of finance, so seldom received high rank, it is rather surprising that, for the whole of the first century, they remained in possession of the three posts of which Claudius so increased the importance, Finance, Petitions and Grievances, and the Secretariate—and at intervals, even in the second century. The reason is plainly that what was requisite was not personal rank (as for governorships, especially in the provinces), so much as reliability, submissiveness and aptitude.

In the imperial Finance Department (*a rationibus*), all the receipts of all the imperial exchequers were pooled and the total disbursements published. How extensive the operations of this department were is indicated by Statius' poem, written at the commission of the son of Etruscus to commemorate his father's life (a work which has already been made use of in several instances). Etruscus' father may have lacked an ancient lineage, says the poet; but fortune compensated him in large measure. No man from out of the crowd could be his master, but only they whose liege servants are the sunrise and sunset. Of that much he need not be ashamed, for, were there no law or discipline, what on high or below could exist? The dance of the stars, the moon and the sun obey set laws, Hercules and Phoebus had been thralls!

This Etruscus was born in the second decade of our era at Smyrna, came, at a very early age, to Rome to Tiberius' Court, and was manumitted by him (i.e. before 37 A.D.): under Caligula he maintained his position, and had a humble place in his retinue on his journey to Gaul: under Claudius his elevation began: under Nero, he underwent no change—he had steered his craft successfully. In the year 55 perhaps, when Pallas

resigned, the administration of the Holy Chamber (the Imperial Exchequer) was entrusted to him. The receipts from Iberian and Dalmatian gold-mines, African and Egyptian harvests, the pearl fisheries of the Eastern Seas, the revenues from Tarentine herds, and Alexandrian manufactories of transparent crystal, from the forests of Numidia, and the ivories of India ; whatever the winds from every point of the compass might waft in, he, and only he, administered. And the disbursements he must also assign. Through his hands there passes the daily food of the armies, the demands for the Roman distributions of corn, for the erections of temples, the construction of waterways and harbours, the adornment of the palaces of the Emperors, the statues of the gods and the mint. He has little sleep, and little time for meals, none for banquetings. Pleasure is not for him. Under Domitian (84) he fell into disgrace, but was only punished by relegation to the coast of Campania, whither his son accompanied him. In about 89 or 90 he was forgiven. Shortly after his return to Rome, he died (about 92 A.D.), nearly ninety years old. His grave was fragrant with flowers, the rarest essences scented his funeral urn. Painters and sculptors busied themselves to perpetuate the features of this whilom slave in the most precious materials ; the two most celebrated poets of his day wrote elegies on him, and have preserved his name and fate to posterity.

The office of Petitions and Grievances (*alibellis*) was politically of far less consequence. Under Claudius it was administered by Polybius, of whom repeated mention has been made, to whom Seneca as an exile in Corsica addressed his well-known and undignified *Consolation* at the death of one of his younger brothers. One ground for relief Seneca finds in the fact of the nature and importance of his work, which would preclude from giving way to his anguish : ' You must hear so many thousands of men, decide on so many petitions. To be able to lay before the mind of the supreme ruler such a vast mass of matters, streaming in from the four quarters of the world, in proper order, you must raise your own spirits. You who hear so many weep, must not yourself weep. To dry the tears of the many who are in peril and beseech the mercy of our gracious Emperor, you must first dry your own tears'. And, besides this office, Polybius was also Literary Counsellor to the Emperor. Amongst other things he had made paraphrases

of Virgil and Homer, and Seneca says, that, as long as the force of the Latin tongue, and the charm of the Greek, shall survive, so long will Polybius live among the spirits of the mighty. And this tone dominates the entire work. He is the only one of the powerful courtiers whose friendship is not merely advantageous, but also pleasurable. With his ease in gaining wealth, the only profit he purposes to himself is to despise wealth. He is universally respected; his luck raises no envious tongue. And so on.

Further, the Literary Counsellorship (probably instituted by Claudius) seems to have been a large, constant and well-staffed office at Court. In the fourth century, a second director (*adiutor*) is mentioned, with a salary of 60,000 sesterces. After the second century, it was regularly reserved to the knights. One Sextus, whom Martial requested to find room for his poems in the imperial or Palatine Library, was apparently both librarian and Literary Counsellor to Domitian. For he, the eloquent worshipper of the Palatine Minerva, was permitted to enjoy the intimacy of the god (the Emperor), and to watch the beginnings of the prince's works, and his secluded thoughts. In the third and fourth centuries a high official, a knight, was the principal conductor of the office of Literary Adviser.

The Secretariate (*ab epistolis*), the imperial Chancery, had two departments, Greek and Latin, each, beyond all doubt, under a separate head. But the supervision of the department in the first century was always apparently vested in one supreme authority. For the omnipotent Narcissus, who held the Secretariate under Claudius, can hardly have been subordinate, nor as such would he have held his place beside Callistus and Pallas. Under Domitian as well, the one official *ab epistolis* had the conduct of the whole. Statius describes the imperial secretary of his day, Abascantus, as being engaged in correspondence with the whole Empire, countries where Greek and where Latin prevailed—even a poetical account dared not contain any crude inaccuracies. Yet in the second century a change took place, perhaps in conjunction with Hadrian's general official reorganization. No doubt the Latin section was now made independent of the Greek, a separation eminently desirable in view of the frightful pressure of business. According to Statius no department in the 'holy' house was

busier, especially as the continual concentration of the government would augment the extensiveness of the work in this office more than in any other. And the staff must have increased more and more. One of the reforms of Julian the Apostate consisted in dismissing a number of useless scribes, who perverted their office into a system of scandalous blackmailings and extortions.

Statius dedicates this poem of his to the freedman Abascantus after the death of his wife, Antistia Priscilla, 'as he was ever unrelaxing in his efforts to serve the interests of all concerned with the Holy House, in so far as his weakness allowed, for he who loyally revered the gods, must also love their priests'. The Emperor, with his perspicuity into character, recognized the abilities of Abascantus even as a young man, and laid on his shoulders this titanic burden, the scarce bearable weight of this office of world-wide consequence. Abascantus now had to despatch into every land the monarch's orders, to steer through the currents and utilize the resources of the Empire, to receive the tidings of victory from the banks of the Euphrates, the Danube and the Rhine, or the news of the progress of the arms of Rome in the farthest lands, even in Thule. For never was the plume, the betokener of defeat, borne by the messengers, but they always brought the laurel-crowned lances of success. He decided on military promotions, and announced who is to be made centurion, or tribune, who is to have the command of a cohort, or squadron of cavalry. He must inquire whether the Nile-floods will ensure a good harvest, whether in Africa the rains have fallen, and infinite are the matters he must investigate; Mercury or Isis never had so many errands. Abascantus, in his panegyrist's view, was unmoved by his promotion; he was still calm, upright and modest; no Apulian or Sabine yokel more sober in eating or drinking. But he must have been very rich. According to Statius, Priscilla on her deathbed made her husband swear he would put up, in her name, a golden statue of the Emperor, on the Capitol, of 100 pounds (£4,500). Her funeral was royally magnificent. Every fragrance from the East was poured over her dead body, which rested on pillows of silk, wrapped in mantles of purple: it was embalmed and buried on the Via Appia near the Almo. Her grave was a palace, where her form was reproduced in the shapes of

different goddesses, in bronze as Ceres and Ariadne, in marble as Maia and Venus the Chaste. Its remains can still be seen.

The director of the imperial secretariate had also to be an educated man. The Emperor's letters and the rescripts of his agents had to be drawn up in the sovereign's name and in a form worthy of his majesty. Their calligraphy had also to be perfect. The names of some freedmen, which were no doubt conferred on them by their masters in consideration of their occupations, indicate literary culture and scientific knowledge : such as Tiberius Claudius Philologus, Titus Flavius Ilias, and perhaps Flavius Hermes. Naturally and probably such men would be made librarians ; thus Dionysius the grammarian of Alexandria, and son of Glaucus, succeeded the Stoic Chaeremon as school surveyor at Alexandria, and later became librarian and imperial secretary at Rome.

As the repute of this office, as of all the imperial offices, rose, especially after its restriction to the knights, it may be assumed that only known men of literary reputation were invested with it. Titinius Capito, who held it under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan, is reckoned by Pliny the Younger as one of the ornaments of his age, the restorer of the senescent literature ; he also wrote verse. Under Hadrian Suetonius became the imperial secretary ; he was already known as a learned and prolific writer, and his biographies of the Emperors are noticeable for their tone of precise and sober exactitude ; his over-confident manner to the Empress Sabina lost him the post. But in the second century, the control of the Greek section seems to have been the ambition of the Greek rhetors and sophists in a quite remarkable degree. They strove for the imperial confirmation of their literary fame, and for something more, for the brilliant post with its prospects of higher and remunerative promotions. The rhetor Avidius Heliodorus, who held it under Hadrian, obtained the governorship of Egypt, and his son Avidius Cassius dared reach out for the purple.

Yet how could such men who idolized eloquence as man's highest aim, not deem it a great advance, to be recognized by the Emperor as the first of living stylists, if thus appointed ? This at least was their view and that of their friends : their enemies asserted the Emperor could make them secretaries, but not good stylists. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, according to the Atticist Phrynichus, had nominated the rhetor

Cornelianus the principal of their Greek chancery, as being a man of the highest standing in the learned world, and the most eminent of all. Phrynichus praises him as an orator of a pure and classical expression, the only professor of rhetoric, who brought his art back to its ancient and standard form; he made the imperial court really Hellenic and Attic; he taught others correctness not only in expression, but also in action, look, voice and attitude. Therefore—the Atticist continues in a ridiculous vein of exaggeration—the Emperors considered him worthy of the highest department of State, and entrusted to his keeping all Greek affairs, set him beside themselves to watch, and made him nominally secretary, really co-regent. Evidently the pride of the imperial chanceries of that day was no less than that of the papal chanceries at the Renaissance, and epistolary style esteemed no less by the sophists than by the humanists of the fifteenth century. Antipater of Hierapolis, the sophist, was the tutor of Severus' sons, and principal of his chancery, and Philostratus remarks of him that none wrote the imperial despatches better; he spoke in a manner worthy of the Emperor, like an eminent actor correctly interpreting his piece. His letters exhibited clearness, a lofty range of thought, apt expression, and a proper terseness, the special ornament of a letter. The sophist Aspasius of Ravenna, imperial secretary possibly even under Caracalla, was the subject of a letter from Philostratus on the epistolary art. For his imperial despatches had too many purple patches, and too little preciseness. The Emperor's letters should not be couched in ornate and rounded periods, but should declare his purpose, and ambiguity must also be avoided when he sets forth laws, in which their own clearness should be the true interpreter.

§ 3

The imperial chamberlains, as has been remarked, began to be prominent much later than the palace officials of whom we have spoken. They were the heads of a large staff, consisting partly of slaves, partly of freedmen (but never of the free in the Early Empire), and had varying degrees of access to the Emperor's person: this may be the meaning of their 'first' and 'second' stations. Their great number may be gauged from the fact that a special service for their sick was

organized, and (from inscriptions of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius' times) for their supply of corn. Obviously a deft handling of opportunities would at all times have given them power. Cicero even boasts that he was not, for any purpose, approachable, when Proconsul of Cilicia, through his chamberlains, as had been usual in the provinces. Bontems, the first of Louis XIV's four valets, 'saw the whole Court at his feet, even the princes, the ministers and the proudest of the nobles'.

The example of Helikon, the Egyptian, at the Court of Caligula, instances the importance of the chamberlain even in the Early Empire. Our authority is Philo's report on the embassy of the Alexandrian Jews, in which, after oriental fashion, he is designated as the 'right-servant' or 'bodyguard'. Helikon was first a slave of a private individual, from him received a general education, and was presented to Caligula. At his Court he rose to the rank of principal bedroom attendant, and thus came into the directest contact with the Emperor. 'For, when Gaius was playing ball, taking exercise, at his bath and at his breakfast, and retiring at night, he was with him; so that he had the ear of the Emperor at his leisure, and on all occasions more than any other man.' According to Philo he owed his influence largely to his national gift for wit, jests and merriment, which he always spiced with Egyptian malice: he thus, heading his troop of Egyptians, infected the Emperor with his own inborn and developed hatred of the Jews. It was said he had been bribed by the Alexandrian ambassadors, to prejudice the Emperor against the Jews, partly with money, partly with the promise of honours to be awarded him should he come to Alexandria in the Emperor's retinue. The Jews, for their part, had attempted to retain him, but in vain; no one dared approach him, on account of the general haughtiness and brusqueness of his demeanour. Whether he was a freedman or, as Philo calls him, a slave is uncertain, very possibly a slave. Claudius had him executed.

At the Court of Domitian, the two chamberlains Parthenius and Sigerus were most important personages. Martial thus describes an old buffoon, who was making himself a byword with his Court relations: 'ten times a day, he will run up the street to the palace and talk of nothing but Parthenius and Sigerus'. Of the two, Parthenius held the higher rank: Suetonius gives him the later title of 'Praefect of the Bed-

chamber': he was so much in Domitian's favour, as to receive from him, as has been said, the right of carrying a sword. Martial begs him to hand a copy of his fifth book to the Emperor: 'you know the seasons of Jupiter's gaiety, when his own native geniality shines out, and does not reject suppliants'. Parthenius and Sigerus had an active part in the murder of Domitian, and the raising of Nerva to the throne, with whom Parthenius continued in favour. And now his hand could not be idle. He had to read so many requests, that he had no time over for the Muses, otherwise he would have devoted himself to his own Muse; for, Martial says, he was an excellent poet. Martial in the year 88 congratulated him on the fifth birthday of his son Burrus, and, in 93, received a gift from him of a fine toga, which was unfortunately worn out in 94. He now requested him anew, if he had time, to recommend his poems to the Emperor; without much prospect of success. When in the year 97 the Praetorians demanded the punishment of the murderers of Domitian, and killed them despite Nerva's refusal, he is said to have fallen.

But, one hundred years later, the position of the Emperor's chamberlains was very different. Already, as in an oriental despotism, they had their ranks and were the omnipotent mouthpieces of their sovereigns, all the more, as Commodus had been accustomed by Perennis the Praefect, to live a life of pleasure, and, for the most part, was away from Rome. Hence his freedmen ruled as they liked. The first of them, Saotos, a Nicomedian, was powerful, and made the Senate vote his native city the right of holding a periodic festival and building a temple to the Emperor. Cleander displaced him, and handed him and others over to the executioner. Cleander was a Phrygian, brought to Rome as a slave and porter; he was sold in the open market, entered the palace and rose to be chamberlain. As such his power was unparalleled—in one year he appointed five-and-twenty consuls, and by means of extortions of every kind piled up an enormous fortune. After, partly at his instigation, the Praefect Perennis had been sacrificed to the fury of the soldiers, he filled and deposed for a time all these offices at his will—the offices standing next after the Emperor's—and finally assumed them himself with two others. As Praefect he carried the officer's sword, the sign of military command, a distinction seldom awarded to

freedmen, and hence was nicknamed by the people 'the belted freedman'. He was said to have aimed at the supreme power. At last, at a time of famine, the hatred of the populace burst into flame, and Commodus abandoned him (189); he and his principal supporters fell, and his head was carried about Rome on the point of a lance. The last chamberlain of Commodus was the Egyptian Eclectus. When he saw that his life was in peril from his moodish master, he plotted his murder with the Praefect Laetus and his favourite concubine, Marcia, raised Pertinax to the throne and died at his side in valiant fight with the soldiers.

Severus' chamberlain, Castor, whom Dio calls the best of the imperial staff, was murdered by order of Caracalla. Probably he held the same influential post under Severus, as had Festus, the chamberlain under Caracalla (*a memoria*). Of Elagabalus' favourite and chamberlain, Aurelius Zoticus, mention has already been made.

Besides these important officials of the Court, the Court actors and dancers should be mentioned. They were not always freedmen of the Emperor, but it is typical of our epoch that their rôle in his palace was often by no means insignificant. Amongst the numerous comedians of the Court, the pantomimes took first rank, as the upper classes were passionately addicted to this species of scenic representation, the women even more than the men; often did its greatest professors enjoy the Empresses' favour. The waking thought, says Epictetus, of no few people is to whom in the palace shall he send a present, how he can ingratiate himself with the dancer, or turn a slander on one into a gratification for another. The names and a part of the careers of some of the most famous pantomimes have survived. Pylades, the Cilician, founded this branch of the ballet, and credited himself with Augustus' gratitude for diverting the popular mind to the stage; he seems to have been his freedman; and the beautiful Mnester, Caligula's favourite and Messalina's constrained lover, Tiberius' freedman. He and Messalina were executed together in the year 48. Paris, the comrade of the debaucheries of Nero, who had him executed in the year 67, was a freedman of his paternal aunt, Domitia. Whether the Paris who exercised so much control at Domitian's Court was his freedman, is unknown. Another Pylades, a darling of Trajan's, was manumitted by Hadrian.

One Apolaustus, the second of that name, had been Trajan's freedman, as also a third Pylades, freedman of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The first must have been an important personage at the Court of Commodus, as he was involved in Cleander's fall and executed. Agilius Septentrio, 'the first pantomime of his day', was a freedman of Commodus, brought up by his mother Faustina, and, at his imperial patron's inducement, a public actor. The dancer Theocritus, appointed by Caracalla to a high military command in Armenia, had been a slave of Commodus' chamberlain Saoterus. The verses of Juvenal are said to be directed against the second Paris, and thereby to have later on drawn on him the anger of another pantomime, and, in consequence, his banishment: 'what the princes cannot do for you, a dancer will; it is idle to visit the palaces: a Pelopea creates praefects, and a Philomela tribunes'.¹

And other stage artists are sometimes mentioned as influential at Court. Apelles of Ascalon, the most celebrated tragedian of his time, was Caligula's regular companion and adviser, and 'did all such things in full freedom as men of that stamp venture on, once they attain to power'. The Jewish ambassadors of Alexandria were of opinion that he, as an Ascalonite, would be their born foe, after Helikon the chamberlain, and inflame the Emperor against them. But, afterwards, he fell into disfavour, it is said, because he hesitated in replying to Caligula's question, which seemed the greater, he or Jupiter. Caligula had him flogged, and congratulated the sufferer on his melodious shrieks, agreeable even then. Through the instrumentality of the mime Alityros, a Jew high in Nero's graces, Josephus was presented to the Empress Poppaea at Puteoli and, through her intercession, obtained the release of some Jewish priests, whom the procurator Felix had sent to the Emperor in chains. Latinus, the mime, a master in his art, was a favourite of Domitian and proud of Rome knowing him as the 'servant of his Jupiter' (the Emperor). He reported to the Emperor the day's occurrences, and, as an informer, was feared.

Of the host of the remaining servants, the pages and boy-loves at least deserve mention. The name of Antinous is sufficient to remind us of the importance they might attain.

¹ Pelopea and Philomela are names of plays.

Martial and Statius vied in glorifying Carinus of Pergamus, the beautiful freedman, a eunuch and cupbearer of Domitian, who, as Martial says, of a thousand Ganymede-like servants was his Emperor's favourite. 'Dear boy', Statius addresses him, 'so oft chosen to hand the nectar and to touch that all-powerful right hand, which the Getae, Persians, Armenians and Jews, long to grasp!' When he first wished to have his flowing locks shorn, Venus with her Cupids hastened down to help him. They enwrapped him in a silk mantle, cut his hair with the points of two arrowheads, perfumed them with fragrant scents, and placed them in a golden bejewelled case, and sent this and a similar mirror to Aesculapius at Pergamus.

In a room on the slope of the Palatine towards the Circus, on the walls of which some pupils of the Pages' school have recorded their removal to the Court, inscriptions are found. These show that boys from the most outlying countries were here assembled (such as the Crimea and North Africa). Amongst these scribblings (perhaps of the epoch of the Antonines) the name of the 'believer Alexamenos' can be traced; his schoolmates mocked his Christian faith in a drawing roughly scratched into the stucco: he is praying to a crucified figure with an ass's head; the Greek legend is 'Alexamenos worshipping his God.'

§ 4

Of the women, slaves or freed, in the palace, naturally mention is seldom made; but some characteristic facts deserve mention. The Jewess Acme (Hacma is Syrian for clever) was Livia's slave, and heavily bribed by Herod the Great's illegitimate son Antipater, to join an intrigue against Herod's sister Salome. A letter from her to Antipater was intercepted, and she paid for her action with her life. Otho, the future Emperor, paved his way to a close friendship with Nero through an influential freedwoman of the Emperor, and did her every honour. To attain his end, he pretended love for her, in spite of her considerable years. A modern parallel suggests itself. At Louis XIV's Court, there was one Nanon, an old servant of Mme. Maintenon, and thus of great consequence: princesses deemed themselves happy to chance to speak to her; ministers, whilst working through Mme. Maintenon, bowed to her; the Duchess du Lude in 1696 won

her prize of becoming lady of honour to the Duchess of Burgundy by paying 20,000 thalers to Nanon, and this, too, after one evening, on which the King had been speaking of her with decided disapproval. 'Such is Court life' was the remark of the Duc de St. Simon.

It follows that the most powerful would be the Emperor's concubines. When Messalina was being effectively accused to Claudius, Narcissus induced two especially favourite concubines of the Emperor, Calpurnia and Cleopatra, by means of promises, gifts and prospects of greater influence, to further the enemies of the Empress. And sometimes the concubines might for a while bewitch the sovereign, but there was never a mistress-rule in the Roman Empire, a fact attributable, perhaps, to the old-world relations of the sexes, so utterly different from modern conditions.

The first Emperor to condescend to such an amour was Nero, then in his nineteenth year, and his choice fell upon the slave Acte, a Little-Asian, and the affair was so revolting that Annaeus Seneca, Praefect of the Night Watch, had to avow himself Acte's lover. The Empress-mother was enraged at a *liaison* with a slave, which threatened her influence; the older friends of the Emperor encouraged it in hope of working off his lusts in a harmless fashion. Nero's passion for Acte was so great that he even thought of marrying her; and men of consular rank were willing to swear to her royal pedigree from the Attali. But others soon supplanted her, and, last, Poppaea. She survived Nero, and, with two of his old nurses, did him his last honours, with a magnificent burial, which cost 20,000 sesterces. Some records of her large household of slaves and freedmen have come down; specifying two chamberlains, a runner, baker, eunuch, and a Greek vocalist. Drain-pipes inscribed 'Claudia Acte, the Emperor's freedwoman', have been found at Puteoli and Velitrae in her villas there, and tiles stamped with her name at her potteries in Sardinia.

But Caenis, the mistress of Vespasian, held her master all her life, by other qualities than youth and beauty. She had been manumitted by Antonia, the mother of Claudius, who employed her as a secretary, as she was remarkable both for fidelity and memory. Vespasian, whose early love she had been, after his wife's death, took her back. She must then have been nearly forty years old, as, before the death of

Sejanus (October 31) she was Antonia's confidant, and Vespasian's wife, Flavia Domitilla, died at the earliest in 52 (which was the date of Domitian's birth). The Emperor treated her as his lawful wife. All the more offensive must Domitian's budding insolence have seemed, who held out his hand to her to kiss on his return from a journey; she had offered to kiss him. Her influence on the Emperor gained her enormous wealth; she was even said to be Vespasian's means of accumulation. 'For she received money from all sides in return for the offices, procuratorships, commands, priesthoods, even imperial responses that she sold. For Vespasian never took life, but rather gave life for money. She was the receiver; Vespasian was supposed to connive.' She did not enjoy her power for long; she died in the first year of Vespasian's reign. Recently on the Via Nomentana a votive altar was found, dedicated to 'the manes of Antonia Caenis, freedwoman of the Emperor, their good patron', erected to her by one of her freedmen and his three children. And Antoninus Pius even was so much under the sway of a concubine, that gossip attributed to her the appointment of the praefect of the Life Guards, possibly Lysistrata, the freedwoman of his wife Annia Galeria Faustina. Marcus Aurelius, after his wife's decease, took a daughter of one of his procurators as concubine, rather than give his children a stepmother.

Panthea of Smyrna, a love of Lucius Verus, is indebted for most of her celebrity to the enthusiastic allegiance paid to her by Lucian, the wittiest author of that day, during a short visit of his to Smyrna in 162. Her beauty—so runs the work dedicated to her—can only be described in terms of the excellences of all the masterpieces of the Greek brush or chisel; she combined them all; her voice was embodied harmony; her singing more tuneful and melodious than the nightingale's; Orpheus and Amphion would listen to her and hush: she plays the cithar with no less art; she has an intense poetical feeling, and an intimate acquaintance with the works of the historians, orators and philosophers. She is an Aspasia in her experience and insight in politics, in the sharpness and quickness of her intellect; rather a greater Aspasia, in proportion as the Roman Empire excelled the Athens of Pericles: comparable to Theano, the wife of Pythagoras, Sappho or Diotima. And repeatedly is she praised for her kind and gentle spirit,

her affability and responsiveness, her true faith towards her lover. Fortune has not spoiled her ; with those who frequent her she moves on equal terms and unconstrainedly : her friendliness is the more attractive, as coming without any trace of haughtiness, from one so highly placed. And the manner of her coming proves her lofty position ; a brilliant retinue of maidservants, eunuchs and soldiers guarded her person. And, as possibly, the beauteous lady may have found this libation of praise over-plenteous, Lucian thinks fit to indite a second glorification, repeating the former but belauding her modesty as well. Panthea seems to have gained Verus' life-long love and survived him many years. And she forms the motive of one of Marcus Aurelius' pessimistic reflections on the vanity of earthly gauds. ' Does Panthea or Pergamus still sit by their master's coffin ? It would be perfectly ridiculous. Or Chabrias and Diotimus by Hadrian's ? And if they did, would the dead know of it ? And did they know of it, would they be glad ? And were they glad of it, would their favourites be immortal ? Was it not their doom, to suffer old age, and then to perish ? And what should their masters do if their loves died ? All is idle and fleeting ; an empty and rotting husk.'

The harem of Commodus comprised three hundred women and three hundred love-boys, and the position of favourite was won by Marcia for her beauty and mastery of courtesanship, some said, by magic. She maintained this rank for nine years. She was a former concubine of Ummidius Quadratus, who was executed in 183 as an accomplice in Lucilla's conspiracy. Commodus liked seeing her as an Amazon, calling himself Amazonius ; and in this costume, wished, for her sake, to appear in the arena : her picture is preserved to us on a coin, on which his head appears next to the head of a beautiful woman with the Amazon's shield. She received the honours of a lawful wife, and all the insignia of an Empress, except having fire carried in front of her. One word from her, and the Christians condemned to the Sardinian mines were set free : she was a Christian, or inclined to that faith, as had been her foster-father, Hyacinthus the Eunuch, the priest in the Roman Community, and several freedmen of the Court, and had a connexion with Victor, Bishop of Rome. In vain did she beseech Commodus on the last day of his life, on her knees and

in tears, to abandon his intention of taking up his residence in the gladiatorial school: she only excited his anger, and he decided to have her killed. Marcia learned of this accidentally, and forthwith concerted the Emperor's murder with two others, who had been condemned for the same reason, Laetus the Praefect of the Praetorium and Eclectus the freedman, who is said to have been her lover. The Consul Falco denounced her and Laetus as Commodus' comrades in profligacy at the first sitting of the Senate after the murder, but Pertinax absolved both on the ground that they had been forced to obey against their natural goodness. Didius Julianus had Marcia and all those concerned in the conspiracy against Commodus executed.

§ 5

Even the slaves of the palace were influential personages. They, too, might be very rich, their favour had to be solicited and their insolence endured. Such are the slaves Seneca refers to, as footmen or slaves of even lesser consequence, whose kiss is considered a privilege by some people, who go into their park in their sedan-chairs for this purpose. Hadrian saw a slave of his walking between two senators, and cuffed him for going in step with those whose slave he yet might be. One ground of the suspicion entertained against his brother-in-law Servianus was the fact of his having treated the palace slaves. But these examples of imperial severity seem to have been exceptional; otherwise they would scarcely have been expressly mentioned, as in the case of Claudius. 'How is it', asks Epictetus, 'that a man becomes suddenly intelligent, if he superintend the imperial privy? Why do we at once say 'What a sensible fellow that Felicio is!' I would rather have him dismissed from his privy and his sense. Epaphroditus had a shoemaker whom he sold as worthless. Later on, the fellow managed to get bought by some one in the palace, and became the Emperor's shoemaker. You should have seen the respect Epaphroditus paid him. 'How is the worthy Felicio? I have the highest regard for you.' And one of us asking 'What is Epaphroditus doing', the answer would be, 'taking counsel with Felicio'. And elsewhere the philosopher observes: 'If life were to be the gift of Felicio, I would rather die; he is unbearable with his pride and slavish insolence,

But few dared entertain this view. A Numenius or Symphorus would have suppliants for favours kissing his hands, passing half the night outside his bedroom door, sending presents, to gain his support: even candidates for praetorships and consulates would woo him. Nero's able barber Thalamus and his cupbearer Pythagoras were spoken of in Rome full twenty-five years after his death.

As oriental customs after the third century thrust their way in, the imperial household became more and more multifarious. According to Libanius Julian the Apostate found in it 'one thousand cooks, one thousand barbers, even more cupbearers, and hives of table servants and eunuchs'; scarcely an exaggeration if, for example, the numbers in some sections of the household of the Sultan Abdul Aziz be considered, viz. 5,005 officials and servants, 409 watchmen and porters for the twenty-one grandees' houses, 359 cooks and 351 gardeners, etc. And of these palace servants 'not one' did not use his place as a means of defrauding, intimidation and pilfering; 'not one' who did not aim at owning land, driving his own gig, being a master, no less a one than his own, not content with mere wealth, but hankering after an esteem that should mask his slavery.

Only a few, of course, in this enormous throng, could become personally known to their master; often enough would ambitious souls be foiled, to the exultation of their fellows. The fabulist Phaedrus, as an imperial freedman, was at home with the servant-class, and tells the following tale not unwillingly. When Tiberius on his way to Naples was stopping at his villa at Misenum, and taking a walk in the park, one of the better-class slaves there employed ran and leaped about before the Emperor on all the paths he took, with his apron on, in gay clothing and well-shaved. At last Tiberius signed to him, but to tell the joyous hastener that his pains might have been spared: 'the honour of a box on the ears from my hand (the customary symbolic blow at manmissions) is not to be so easily purchased'.

Amongst the principal slaves were the *Dispensatores* (accountants, paymasters and intendants); not only at Court, but also in the many estates in Rome and the provinces. The *dispensator* of the Armenian War at its close purchased his liberty of Nero for 13,000,000 sesterces, a fact Pliny mentions as an atrocity. How large the earnings of the *dispensators* generally were, may be appreciated from the fact

that Otho could extort from an imperial slave for whom he had obtained such a post under Galba, 1,000,000 sesterces. A slave of Claudius, Rotundus, formerly the property of Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, and *dispensator* in Hither-Spain, possessed a silver vessel weighing 500 pounds, to make which a special workshop had been built, and many of his train, smaller ones. In a *columbarium* on the Via Appia near the tomb of the Scipios, there is a gravestone of a principal *dispensator* of Gallia Lugdunensis, a slave of Tiberius. It was erected to him by sixteen of his slaves (*vicarii*) who accompanied him on his return to Rome, during which he died. Such a retinue gives a perspective of the size of the whole household. There were three secretaries, two butlers, two chamberlains, two cooks, two walking attendants, a physician, a wardrobe keeper, a man of business, steward, and one unspecified.

§ 6

But not all the indispensable attendants of the Court could be freedmen or slaves; least of all, artists or scientists. Amongst these servants, but not slaves, of the palace, physicians, astrologers and the tutors of the princes are the most frequently mentioned.

The teachers in the imperial family were often eminent men. Seneca was a senator, when summoned to educate the eight-year-old Nero; and perhaps the same may be said of Fronto, when he took in charge the instruction of Marcus Aurelius (then Marcus Annus Verus) and Lucius Verus (then Lucius Commodus). Generally, it may be assumed, men of great reputation in their branch were selected; Quintilian had been for twenty years a teacher of rhetoric at Rome, before Domitian entrusted to him the care of his sister Domitilla's grandchildren. The famous Theodorus of Gadara was Tiberius' teacher of oratory. Amongst the teachers of Marcus Aurelius were the sophists Alexander of Cotyaeum and Herodes Atticus. When the teachers were of less standing they would be taken into the palace. When Augustus made the famous philologist Verrius Flaccus the tutor of his grandchildren, he took him and his whole school into his house, with a yearly salary of 100,000 sesterces. Apollonius the Stoic, whom Antoninus Pius chose to educate the future Marcus Aurelius,

and summoned from Chalcis, refused to enter the Tiberian palace where Marcus Aurelius lived; the pupil must come to the master, a request accorded by the heir-apparent. Pertinax made his son frequent the public schools and gymnasia; he was acting quite exceptionally. Three royal tutors attained the Consulate: Seneca in 57, Fronto in 143, but only as *suffecti*, and Herodes Atticus, 143, with the full rank. Consular insignia were bestowed on Quintilian at the instance of Domitian's cousin Flavius Clemens, and on one Titianus, perhaps the teacher of the younger Maximinus.

A medical staff was a part of the imperial household, and very numerous, owing to the many palaces and estates and servants' apartments, and the medicine of the day was highly specialized. Nevertheless the selection of physicians was based on confidence and confidence on professional skill; and the medical servants of the palace would only be employed for slight and subordinate occasions. In the Early Empire the physicians received a yearly salary of 250,000 sesterces. Quintus Stertinius considered he was making a personal sacrifice in accepting double this sum, as he proved that his town practice brought him in 600,000. His brother, Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, received from Claudius the same amount, and both, after exhausting their property in great improvements of the town of Naples, left 30,000,000 sesterces, whilst another imperial physician, Arruntius, alone left as much. After the death of Demetrius, the physician, Marcus Aurelius, then on the Danube engaged in the German War, inquired of the head of the imperial finance department which doctor was actually in the imperial pay, and on hearing that it was Galen, who had all the time superintended the preparation of the drugs, directed he should also make the theriac. Under Alexander Severus, only one Court physician received a salary, and the rest, some six or seven, only their board. In the last centuries of the old world, the imperial physicians (*archiatri sacri Palatii*) took a high rank, confirmed to them by Theodoric.

Generally speaking, the physicians at the Court of Rome were Greeks, such as Tiberius' doctor, Charicles, and the two of Nero, both named Andromachus, the elder being a Cretan; Trajan's physician, Crito, who accompanied him on his German campaign; Hadrian's physician, Hermogenes; Marcus Aurelius', Demetrius; and Galen, the physician of Commodus. In

return for their work, these Court doctors probably received Roman citizenship, if not originally possessing the suffragium, like Titus Claudius Alcimus and Titus Claudius Menecrates. Antonius Musa, a freedman, was rewarded with a statue, and the golden rings, and exemption from taxation for himself and his associates, in return for curing Augustus in 22 B.C. Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, an Asclepiad of Cos, the physician of Claudius, was both medical adviser and holder of a palace situation; he secured himself, his brother and his uncle, the *civitas* and the military tribunate or knighthood, and for himself the important military post of *praefectus fabrum*, as well as the distinction of the wreath of gold and the lance at the British Triumph 43 A.D. (no doubt he had accompanied Claudius in his campaign); for his native island, exemption from taxation as well. His grateful fellow-countrymen erected a statue to him and, in his memory, struck coins bearing his effigy. He is said to have been Agrippina's accomplice in the murder of Claudius. His monuments record his titles; he was not only, as usual, 'the Emperor's friend', but also 'the friend of Claudius', and, after Claudius' murder, 'the friend of Nero'.

The enemies of the medical craft imputed to them the habit of poisoning, of committing adultery with wives of princes, to whom their practice gave them free access. According to Pliny, Vettius Valens of Ariminum (where monuments of his family are still extant), a famous physician under Claudius, was Messalina's lover: 'he and she were executed together in 48, also Eudemus, who attended Livia, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, and connived at her adultery with Sejanus, and himself cohabited with her'. Naturally the imperial physicians enjoyed some higher reputation with their colleagues at Rome. Galen boasts of having restored the rhetor Diomedes, who lived in Sandal Street, to health in a very short space of time, whilst the Court doctors failed to understand his illness and treated it wrongly.

Nor were astrologers likely to be lacking at the Court; they were mostly Greeks or Orientals. True, astrology conjured up peculiar dangers for a throne. Their prophecies would awake sleeping passions, stir mischief into life, and convert the dreams of faith into success through fatalism. Seneca, ridiculing the astrologers, says, that every day and every hour had been foretold by them as that of Claudius' deification. Otho's courage,

after Galba had adopted Piso, was not allowed to falter by the soothsayers and Chaldaeans, who beset him ; one Ptolemaeus especially had forecast his survival of Nero and his accession, and now claimed credit for the fulfilment of the half of his prediction. The Chaldaeans, according to a Christian writer of the third century, bring ruin on monarchs, by filling the rulers with fear, and the ruled with audacity. Hence there ever ensued new edicts against astrology, and periodic expulsions or penalties against the Chaldaeans, always in vain. Nearly all the Emperors made astrologers their counsellors, and an initiation into the secrets of this superstition was attained by many of these monarchs. Tiberius was noted for his reserve ; but his Court ascribed a boundless influence to the astrologer Thrasyllus, his inseparable and life-long companion. Vespasian was particularly addicted to this superstition, and accorded Barbillus, an astrologer of Ephesus, the institution of a periodical festival at his native town, often mentioned in inscriptions as the *Barbillaea*, a privilege that fell to the lot of no other town. This same famous astrologer it was, whose advice to Nero, at a visitation by a comet in 65 A.D., made him have several of the aristocracy beheaded, so as to forefend the imagined danger. And Poppaea, too, had much secret conference with many astrologers, who had been her 'unhappy aids to her imperial marriage'. Often the fate of princely houses lay in Chaldaean hands. Tiberius had many killed, after ascertaining their hour of birth and therewith their character and coming career. Caracalla too consulted the horoscopes of the leaders of his court, so as to gauge their disposition friendly or hostile ; and, on this evidence, awarded death or honour. An individual in whose horoscope the Chaldaeans read a throne, had generally no choice but to suffer his own death or contrive the Emperor's. The death of Nerva is said to have been determined beforehand by Domitian for this reason, and only averted by a kindlier astrologer who made the Emperor believe Nerva had but few days to live.

III. THE FRIENDS AND COMPANIONS OF THE EMPEROR

Knights or senators, who attended the Emperor personally, were called his friends. They were preferentially invited to

the imperial privy council, formed under Augustus out of senators. Tiberius 'requested of the Senate, besides his old friends and intimates, twenty of the most prominent statesmen to act as his advisers in public business'. Amongst the later Emperors, the appointment of a similar council is not reported, save of Alexander Severus. But in the decision of matters of weight, military or political, the Emperors usually took into counsel eminent senators or knights and naturally their friends especially. The men of rank (*proceres*, almost all consulars, besides the two praefects of the Praetorium) are repeatedly called Domitian's 'friends' by Juvenal in his account of how Domitian hurriedly summoned them to his castle at Alba to advise: 'as though he wished to intimate news of the Chatti or the savage Sicambri, or some shocking event on the other side of the world', but really to consult as to the best fashion of dishing up a big sea-fish.

But, whilst such systematic transactions of a special council in emergencies seem sadly infrequent, Augustus and all the later Emperors respected the ancient tradition of not deciding judicially before gathering their friends and advisers, and hearing their views. Such an assembly was convoked by Claudius and comprised twenty-five senators and sixteen consulars. Up to Trajan this council remained unorganized. After Hadrian, however, the members of the *consilium*, called the *consistorium* under Diocletian, met as regularly appointed councillors (*consiliarii Augusti*), and if in this council the Emperors selected the advisers for every separate occasion, and jurists were naturally preferred, the friends and companions of the Emperor must always have been numerous, especially those from the ranks of the knights. Probably, too, the palace and Court officials would have been attached from an early date: 'after the end of the second century, the praefects of the guard even took a prominent part'.

Partly as members of this political council permanent or provisional, partly unofficially, the friends would exercise much influence on the changing governments: examples are—to mention no others—Maecenas and Agrippa as the friends of Augustus, Sejanus of Tiberius, Seneca in Nero's earlier period, and Tigellinus in his later. They were esteemed as the men who determined the matters of the greatest moment, and very often did, in fact. When, in Nero's first year, the

Parthian War broke out, Rome awaited the names of the generals in order to judge the quality of Nero's friends. Marius Maximus, the biographer of the Emperors, even said the security of the State lay rather with the goodness of the Emperor's friends than in the Emperor's virtues: the evil-minded man might be reined in by many good, but against many evil one good man could not prevail. Dio of Prusa, in one of his paraenetic addresses to Trajan, says the ruler's truer eyes are his friends: through them his sight could pierce to the ends of the world; they are keener ears that let him know all he need; more useful tongues and hands, which could converse with all humanity and never fail of any project, which could effect much at the same time, give many synchronous counsels, and be omnipresent. And he, with his high powers of reward, could choose the most reliable and capable. 'For who can grant more honours? who depute with more authority the conduct of a war? From whom might greater distinctions flow? Whose board is more honourable? Were friendship to be bought, who has a greater superfluity of wealth, so that none could return the like?' His friends' advice nearly induced Trajan to adopt not Hadrian but Neratius Priscus. Antoninus Pius 'decided no provincial or State matter, without consulting his friends and formulating his despatches in accordance with their views'. And as his end drew nigh, he summoned his 'friends and praefects', confirmed to them Marcus Aurelius as his heir, and recommended them to him. Marcus Aurelius always discussed questions of war and peace with the *optimates*, his view being that it was better he should bend to so many good friends, than they should surrender their wills to his!

And the Emperor's friends were respected and dreaded. Pliny the Younger says, as a young man, he undertook an action (under Titus or Domitian) against the mightiest statesmen, and the friends even of the Emperor! 'I will become a friend of the Emperor's', says Epictetus, 'and then no one will dare tread too near'. The power conferred by this position was often abused. The biographer of Alexander Severus describes his friends, to whom he entrusted both home and foreign affairs, as models, because they did not exhibit his catalogue of faults and vices and wrongs, generally attributed to men of their standing. This list includes thieving, ambition, evil propensities, lust, cruelty, circumvention of their

sovereign, whom his friends used to scoff at, and cheapen by their venality, mendacity and fabrications.

These 'friends', even in the Early Empire, soon came to have formal distinctions, which crystallized round the old Roman practice of the morning receptions in the great houses. In the early Republic even Gaius Gracchus and Livius Drusus are said to have organized their party, by dividing it into three sections; the first of which they received in private, the second in larger numbers, and the third in assembly. This distinction of 'friends of first-class and second-class admission' obtained at the Court: men were entitled to a 'first or second greeting', and thus officially inscribed, alive or dead, as one of the offices or honours he had held. The personal relation to the Emperor, and not mere rank, was the determining factor. Friends were, in the first place, kinsmen and the friends of his youth, and, after them, the most eminent senators, such as the *Praefecti urbi*, consuls and consulars, and lastly younger men, at the beginning of a career, which thus portended a brilliant future. In this way Lucan attained the quaestorship, after being summoned from Athens by Nero, and admitted amongst his friends, and Otho (born in 32), the future Emperor, made himself a high place amongst them as a companion of Nero's debaucheries about the year 55, before holding the quaestorship. And from the second order, also, the Emperors would choose their attendants: Augustus may have given knights power and influence by preference, such as Proculcius, Sallustius Crispus, in order to lessen the importance of the Senate: the practice continued, after the reason had ceased. The highly placed praefects of this order, such as the governor of Egypt, the praefect of the Praetorium, and the sub-praefects of the nightwatches, who also controlled the fire-brigade and police, and were subject to the City Praefect, and the praefect of the Corn Supply so essential to Rome, were *ex officio* friends of the Emperor.

As time went on, the title of Friend of the Emperor became indissoluble from certain high offices, and meaningless. In a rescript of Severus and Caracalla in the year 201 an immunity was granted to the citizens present and future of a certain town in Moesia, 'subject to their being declared proper recipients of the citizenship of Rome by our friend the Consular Legate for the time being'. But perhaps in the first years of Marcus

Aurelius all consular legates already bore the title of 'Friend of the Emperor'. An inscription of 163-165 A.D. informs us that the two reigning Emperors had restored a road near Abila through Julius Verus, praetorian legate of the province of Syria and their friend; it was doubtlessly set up by the legionary tribune who conducted the work. And during the first centuries there were degrees of this title. In the legal style of the fourth and fifth centuries the three highest officials (*praefectus praetorio*, *praefectus urbi*, and *magister militum*) have the title of *parens*; other officials of the first rank (such as the *magister officiorum*, and the *comites rerum privatarum* and *sacrarum largitionum*) those of *frater*: lesser officials, such as a consular of Picenum, a praefect of Egypt, are only addressed as *carissime* in the documents preserved. The beginnings of these official addresses can be traced in Trajan's letters to Pliny the Younger, as imperial legate in Bithynia, who is always addressed as 'dearest', and in Commodus' appellation of the praefect of the Praetorium as 'father': and doubt becomes certainty when Severus in 222 addresses the jurist Ulpian as the praefect of Corn as his 'friend', and as praefect of the Praetorium in the same year as 'father' (*parentem*). Didius Julianus, at his first reception of the Senate and the knights distributed the titles of 'son', 'brother', 'father' wholesale, according to the ages of the assembly. Further, it would follow of itself that the title of 'friend' would be more frequently bestowed by the Emperors on others than assumed by individuals or conferred by any third party, a fact confirmed by the business style and by the inscriptions.

The friends were often invited by the Emperors to their repasts, as, for example, by Hadrian: Antoninus extending this to ordinary as well as great occasions. Marcus Aurelius reckons among his father's precepts, the obligation of not compelling his friends to dine with him, and showing no disfavour to those who abstained: but what his self-esteem deemed a merit, was taken in evil part, and in the absence of the friends from the society and banquets of the Emperor, a fresh aggravation given to Court pride. Alexander Severus used to have some friends to dinner uninvited. The service of the friends, some of whom, even in Rome, lived permanently or for a time in the palace, was deputed to a certain section of the staff (*a cura amicorum*).

On every journey or expedition the Emperors used to select some of the friends to accompany them (*comites*), and this retinue (*cohors amicorum*) is exactly similar to that of the Republican proconsul. Hence the Emperors could only have 'comrades' in the technical sense, when they journeyed outside Italy, and when Caligula summoned a 'cohort of friends' to escort him in light Gallic carriages on his triumphal procession over the bridge of ships built from Baiae to Puteoli, he was acting the part of the imperator returned from his campaigns. Lucius Verus was provided by Marcus Aurelius with a train of imperial friends of senatorial rank, on setting out for the Parthian War. Of course this great honour of selection was a virtual command, but Marcus Aurelius put no pressure on his friends in this instance, as he himself remarks. Galba, as a member of the cohort of Claudius, enjoyed the rare honour of having the expedition delayed one day since he was ill.

On the journey the friends lived with the Emperor, or provision was made for their housing: Vespasian accompanied Nero on his journey to Greece, fell into disgrace and was banished from the common home. In the imperial camp a special place in close vicinity to the imperial tent was staked out for his suite. They were paid during their journey. Even in Cicero's day it had become customary for a proconsul to afford his officers and retinue a largess proportioned to their rank and length of service. One mark of the parsimony of Tiberius was that he (as prince) gave his escort on his travels and campaigns no fee, but only the daily pay in the stead of their food. Once only did he give a largess in money, the means being found by Augustus: the first-class received 600,000 sesterces each, and the second 400,000. And complaints were raised at the meanness of Augustus' gifts to his friends. Caligula's travelling companions found their necessary expenses ruinous. The retinue was a weary burden for the regions it traversed; a fact vouched for by the comparison Pliny makes between Domitian and Trajan. For Trajan 'had no tumults, no insubordinate grumbings over the quarters: all shared the same provender, and the escort was kept in strict discipline'. Antoninus Pius, who never travelled outside Italy, remarked that, however sparing the prince, the retinue was none the less a burden on the provincials. X

The work of the Emperor's escort was assigned by the

Emperor. In the field, they did military service; and, after a successful campaign, received their share of the distinctions awarded. But their usual function was to assist their sovereign in judicial and administrative matters, a privilege not accorded to the knights but to the senators and quaestors, and even to young men, who had just made their first bow in the Senate.

The Emperors treated the friends to a certain extent with the usual social courtesies, and like private individuals, in so far as their affability, real or pretended, permitted. At the beginning of his reign Tiberius used to attend the courts on his friends' behalf, and frequent their sacrificial feasts: visit them in their illnesses without his guard, and even delivered the funeral address for one of them. Claudius, however, never paid his visits unattended by his guard, a precedent that became the rule with few exceptions, e.g. Trajan. When Galba the Emperor dined with Otho, Otho, apparently to do his guest honour, gave every man in the cohort on guard a gold piece. Nero, who at the beginning of his reign bestrewed his friends with gifts, incited in them a corresponding extravagance, when dining with them, or otherwise: such a banquet would cost more than 4,000,000 sesterces in roses alone. He had a doctor summoned from Egypt to tend his friend the knight Cossinus, who lay ill. Severus and Caracalla are praised for the readiness with which they supplied their friends with rare medicaments, unpurchasable by private individuals and stored in the imperial palace. The sociability of Trajan was particularly admired: he would join in his friends' hunting-parties, drinking-bouts, enterprises, consultations and jests, visit them when sick (emphasized by Ausonius), even, as already said, without his guard. He was, says Pliny, really loved by them, as he really loved them; he even denied himself his own desires, so as to fulfil theirs. He allowed a praefect of the Praetorium to retire contrary to his own wish, and thus 'an unimaginable event occurred, that, of two conflicting wills, the Emperor gave way to the friend'. And Hadrian condescended further in quest of popularity. He visited the sick among knights and freedmen in Rome, consoled and counselled them, and attended his friends' banquets. At the *saturnalia* he used to exchange gifts with them, send them presents of game, drove with them in fours and went to their palace in and out of town; a knight is described in an inscrip-

tion as 'guest-friend of the divine Hadrian'. One of his friends, Platorius Nepos, escaped scot-free, for refusing his house, when ill, to the Emperor. Antoninus Pius and Alexander Severus frequented their friends' banquets: the latter the sickbed, not only of friends in the first and second orders, but even of those humbler placed. Some Emperors took a rebuke or reproach of their friends in good part. Vespasian permitted his friends a great deal of free expression, and brooked astonishingly much from Licinius Mucianus. When Antoninus Pius once asked his friend Valerius Homullus (consul in 152), whilst visiting him, whence he had the porphyry pillars in his palace, the latter replied—for they could only have come from the imperial quarries by the Red Sea—: 'in another's home, one must be deaf and dumb'.

The Emperors used to make very generous gifts to their friends. Nero, as has been said, enriched the first of his friends, immediately after the death of Britannicus (55). Men who claimed respect were blamed for dividing their booty of palaces and villas at such a time amongst themselves. Seneca was especially intended in this attack; in 62 A.D. he defended his immense riches in a letter to Nero, countering his critics by saying he could not refuse his prince's offerings. Now he will put them at the Emperor's disposal, an offer the latter refused in a conciliatory letter, and bade him retain all he had received, gardens, rents, and villas. According to Pliny, Trajan, also, at his accession, freely distributed the most picturesque estates, and regarded 'nothing as his own, unless his friends possessed it'. Hadrian's munificence was unsolicited, and invariable. Antoninus Pius made use of his large private property, on his accession, in largess to the army and his friends. Marcus Aurelius was especially generous to the friends of his youth, and in inverse proportion to the offices he could bestow. Severus paid his friends' debts: more than this, his 'nature, passionate in love and in hate', showered on them riches and palaces, of which those of the Parthians and Laterani were in the fourth century the most notable in Rome. Of Julian the Apostate's friends the best refused the gifts of 'land, horses, palace, silver and gold', whilst others were avaricious. On the other hand custom demanded that the friends should remember the Emperor in their wills, especially as legacies used to be left to him by all propertied men. Augustus, who laid overmuch stress

on the 'last decisions' of a will, and took no pains to hide his gratification or disappointment, in the last twenty years of his reign, received through bequests from his friends 1,400,000,000 sesterces (£15,000,000), and instituted several friends and relatives as heirs in the third place.

The highest ambition of courtiers was a grievous oppression to philosophical onlookers from without, who regarded the imperial friendship as a lot of supreme misfortune, constraint, disquiet and anxiety. They had to be adaptable to the Emperor's every whim of taste or fancy. Galen tells us that the courtiers of Marcus Aurelius the Stoic, became stoics to the extent of wearing their hair short; Lucius Verus had utterly diverse views, and jeered at this fashion as befitting a mime; long hair came in again. They might not even sleep, says Epictetus. The news arouses them that the Emperor is up and about; fresh excitement and perplexity. They are not asked to dine; more anxiety: they are asked, and dine like slaves at a master's table, fearful of saying something awkward or untoward. And the cause of this fear? Is it a slave's whipping? Nothing so good. Their risk, the danger for so many men in high position, is the loss of their heads. At the baths, in the gymnasium they can have no peace. Who would be so dull or false to himself, as not to bewail every instant of his life as the Emperor's friend?

And actually the position was often not only difficult, but perilous. Ever and again would the sudden headlong fall of the mighty proclaim the insecurity of the favour of princes. Seldom, says Tacitus, is the power of a favourite assured; perhaps satiety seizes the sovereign, who has bestowed his all, or the recipient, who has received his all. Eprius Marcellus, when upbraided in the Senate under Vespasian with Nero's friendship, replied it had been a source of tribulation to him, no less than banishment to others. Seneca says in one work, written under the recent reminiscence of Caligula's sway, that one courtier was asked, how it was he had attained old age at Court, where grey hairs are so seldom seen: it was, he said, because he swallowed insults with a grateful countenance. Often the Emperor in his heart hated his so-called friends, and Domitian's Court was not unique in the 'paleness of the unhappy friendship of the mighty' reflected on their visages. The ill-will and distrust of the princes were easily stirred up; slander

and intrigue had a busy time at Court. Few Emperors had such unassailable confidence in their friends as Trajan had in Licinius Sura, against whom constant calumny was unavailing. For all that Trajan visited him unannounced, let Sura's slaves anoint his eyes, shave and bathe him, and dined at Sura's house. And the next day he retorted on Sura's foes with the remark: 'had he wished to kill me, he could have done so yesterday'. Suetonius praises the constancy of Augustus in friendship, as, despite occasional disturbances in his relationships to them, none was crushed, except Salvidienus Rufus and Cornelius Gallus; they all retained power and wealth to the end. The instance of Fabius Maximus is, however, forgotten; he fell into disfavour only a few days before Augustus' death. On the other hand, out of all the friends and advisers of Tiberius only two or three escaped. Caligula rewarded those who had helped him to the throne with death. In the pasquil of Seneca Claudius is welcomed in the underworld by one of those he had sent to anticipate him with the greeting, 'Hail, murderer of all thy friends'. Hadrian's favour was very mutable. Sometimes he would overwhelm his friends with gifts, sometimes listen to every voice of calumny and spy their doings in their own houses. Those whom he raised he treated afterwards as his foes, and no few perished at the hands of the executioner, or by their own. Julian, in his panegyric of the Emperor Constantius, says that none of his friends could complain of disgrace, maltreatment, loss or deprivation of any kind. Even those who proved unworthy of their promotions were not punished, but only relegated. Some of the imperial friends reached a great age, keeping their positions and dying in harness, and leaving their property to their sons, friends or relatives; others, weary of work and war, lived on in honourable retirement. Many who died young were reckoned among the happy.

The Emperor's wrath was dire and unailing as a thunderbolt. The luckless sufferer was forbidden the palace, according to ancient Roman custom, on a breach of friendship: and such a judgment was felt as the severest condemnation. Decius Junius Silanus was convicted of adultery with Augustus' granddaughter Julia, forbidden the company of his prince, and acknowledged this as a hint and banished himself (8 A.D.). In the year 20 Tiberius permitted his return at the intercession

of his brother Marcus Silanus (consul in 19 A.D.), but informed him he had the same feelings towards him as his father. Silanus lived in Rome, but undistinguished. The victims of imperial disfavour might often fare worse. Cornelius Gallus rose from a lowly walk of life to be praefect of Egypt, and then drew on himself Augustus' displeasure. He was excluded from the palace and his province, and forthwith his supporters deserted him, prosecutors rose up against him, and the Senate in all haste decreed his banishment and the confiscation of his property; he had to anticipate the execution of the judgment by suicide. The Consular Fabius Maximus, one of Augustus' most trusted friends, betrayed a secret to his wife; this came to Augustus' knowledge. He at once manifested his anger, and rumour attributed Maximus' swift death to his own act. Sextus Vistilius, a man of praetorian rank, had been closely associated with Drusus the Elder, and hence was included among the friends of Tiberius. The Emperor forbade him his society, and he tried with his weak hands to open his veins, and then bound the wound up and wrote begging for mercy. The answer was unfavourable, and he again untied the bandages. Vespasian, the future Emperor, was a consular, attending Nero on his journey through Greece, and drew Nero's anger on him for often going away or sleeping whilst Nero sang. At once he was banished from Nero's suite, and Court. Confusedly he cried out, What should he do, where should he go? and one of the freedmen drove him away with a curse. Vespasian, fearing the worst, hid away in a little far-off hamlet, and so succeeded in evading the Emperor's further observation. Sometimes relegation from the Emperor's neighbourhood was an honourable banishment. Nero made Otho, the coming Emperor, once his favoured friend, governor of Lusitania, though he had only been quaestor, and so contrived an undisturbed possession of his wife Poppaea.

Yet, despite their bitter experiences, the atmosphere of the Court almost irresistibly attracted most of those who had lived there. Epictetus tells us of a man, then holding the high office of praefect of corn, who had been once banished. On returning from exile, he asseverated his intention of passing the scanty years that remained to him in peace; Epictetus foretold he would change his mind, as soon as he again breathed the air of Rome. He swore, should he ever set foot in Court again,

Epictetus might think of him what he would. Yet, scarce arrived in Rome, he received a letter from the Emperor, and instantly all his good intentions were blown into thin air, and one busy department after another fell to him.

The Emperor's death scarcely seems to have affected the position of the friends, except if the relation were personal; otherwise they kept their places in the new Court, unless some radical change in polity and persons had taken place. Titus chose friends 'so as to prove indispensable to his successor as well, and the foremost servants of sovereign and State'. The new ruler was also actuated by 'piety' in treating his predecessor's friends as honourably as he could: when the late monarch was deified, his priests were generally chosen from among his nearest friends. This was how Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus proceeded in appointing the priests of Antoninus Pius. Domitian was guilty of a breach of piety when he relegated and persecuted his father's and brother's friends, and Commodus, when he acted in the same way towards those of his father. Revolution certainly brought about the fall of those friends who were intimately associated with the Emperor: thus Severus had Didius Julianus' friends banned and executed immediately after the death of their patron. But even then it might be that the friends of the fallen monarch maintained their position. One of Galba's most trusted supporters, Marius Celsus, consul designate, was taken up by Otho as his confidential adviser, a piece of astuteness which not only made an adversary into a constant and true friend, but also assuaged the aristocracy. And so, too, Nerva, from over-great clemency, tolerated the presence of Domitian's most unpopular friends at Court. Once one of them, Fabricius Veiento, was dining at Court, and the conversation turned on another abominated personality of the time of Domitian. The Emperor asked, Were he now alive, where would he be? 'Here dining with us', was the answer of Junius Mauricus, who, under Domitian (93 to 96), had been banished.

Sometimes, as has been said, the friends might be playmates of the Emperor's youth. One cause of this was that children of highly placed families and foreign rulers were brought up at Court, generally because this would in many respects be highly advisable. Augustus took, as has been remarked, Verrius Flaccus, the philologist, and his whole school into Court; he had

a large number of foreign princes educated and instructed with his own grandchildren. In this way, Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, was educated with Tiberius' son Drusus, and his son Agrippa at the Court of Claudius. Marcus Aurelius grew up at Hadrian's Court. Claudius instituted the custom of his children sitting together at mealtimes with the sons and daughters of noblemen at the feet of their elders, so that a picture is presented of the children who were educated at Court. Such had been Titus, whose father, Vespasian, had risen to high rank under Claudius through the favour of Narcissus; he was the schoolmate of Britannicus, and learnt the same subjects under the same teachers; they were heart-whole friends, and Titus is said to have tasted the bowl that poisoned Britannicus. Often from these comradeships of youth life-long intimacies developed; out of Marcus Aurelius' most favoured friends, two senators and two knights had been fellow-pupils. An imperial freedman, Publius Aelius Epaphroditus, hygienic trainer of the 'aristocratic youth' (*pueri eminentes*), must have been one of the staff assigned to these Court-trained boys.

IV. THE EMPEROR'S TABLE COMPANIONS

The Emperors availed themselves of the counsel and support of their friends of both orders, principally in matters of business. Permanently or transiently they also summoned to Court a number of persons without regard to origin, for their social qualities and talents, their learning or culture, such as philosophers, erudites, poets, artists, according to the tastes of the reigning sovereign, as well as more or less professional jesters. These imperial companions (*convictores, συμβιωταί*, friends only in a less technical sense) were often foreigners, especially Greeks; to this class belonged, for the most part, the physicians, astrologers and tutors already mentioned. Generally they were paid: Lucian says one of the philosophers, then in greatest repute, accepted a salary for giving the Emperor his society, and had to pay for it, by being obliged, despite his years, to accompany him on his journeys, like an Indian or Scythian slave. Perhaps the model for the Roman Court had been that of the Diadochi, at which philosophers were regularly maintained.

At the Court of Augustus, amongst other Greeks, the philosopher Didymus Areus of Alexandria, an Eclectic, was the most in

favour: he was the intimate and constant comrade of the Emperor, and his petition after the Battle of Actium secured the forgiveness of the Alexandrians. Seneca calls him, as against Augustus' consort, the continual companion of her husband, 'to whom all the secret emotion of your hearts is known'. He is said to have decided Augustus on the murder of Caesario, the son of Caesar and Cleopatra. The sons of Areus, Dionysius and Nicanor also stayed on in a similar position at the Court; Augustus employed them to extend his knowledge of Greek literature; Nicanor is perhaps the man glorified in a contemporary inscription at Athens, as being approved as a new Homer and Themistocles by the people, the Areopagus and the Six Hundred, for redeeming the island of Salamis, pledged in some hour of need, and for being an epic poet. Areus introduced Xenarchus, a peripatetic of Seleucia in Cilicia, and he, too, retained an honourable position all his life. And Athenodorus of Tarsus, the Stoic, who had been Augustus' teacher in Apollonia, spent some time at his imperial pupil's Court, Augustus wishing to testify his faithfulness, and only acceding to his desire to return home on condition of one year's postponement. There was also Nicolaus of Damascus, a learned and intellectual Aristotelian (a many-sided and prolific writer and poet, the author of a drama in Greek on the modest Susanna), who was often at the Roman Court on the business of King Herod the Great, and who was said to have been the teacher of Antony and Cleopatra. He, too, was high in Augustus' favour. Timagenes of Alexandria, the historian, had been brought to Rome in 55 B.C. as a prisoner of war. Seneca the Elder calls him 'happy save for the Emperor's favour', for his unrestrained wit jested Augustus' friendliness away. At feasts and on his walks he gave his humour full scope, directing it against the Emperor and his consort; Augustus at last forbade him his palace, and Asinius Pollio opened his doors to him. A welcome guest of Augustus' was Tigellinus, the singer, both for his mastery of his art and for his conversation; Caesar and Cleopatra had liked him for the same reasons, and his artist's capriciousness was tolerated. Augustus also endeavoured to bring Horace into his circle, but in vain. When Horace refused the post of a secretary, he did not take it ill, but still went on pressing his friendship on him. He wrote to him in these terms: 'use me, as though you sat at my table (*convictor*), which

is what I wished for, as far as your health permitted'—'if you haughtily reject my friendship, I will not pay it back to you in the same coin'.

Tiberius, a man of wide and thorough culture, had a circle of Greeks before his accession, who after that event, shared in the largess distributed amongst all his friends, they receiving 200,000 sesterces each. They remained at his Court, and were asked their opinions; as, for example, when Thamus, an Egyptian steersman, was summoned before him, and reported how the news of the death of Pan had been announced by his fellow-daemons' loud lamentations. Tiberius let these erudites accompany him to Capri, to distract his mind with their converse. One of them was Thrasyllus, the astrologer, who has been already mentioned, and Charicles, the physician, whose advice Tiberius followed, though he was not officially appointed. Charicles, shortly before the Emperor's death, took his hand, as though to kiss it and say farewell, and at the same time felt his pulse. Tiberius noticed this, and, to conceal his weakness, lingered at table, 'seeming to do his parting friend honour'. But Tiberius, who was learned in both languages, found the most pleasure in philologists, whom he loved twitting at table with difficult or unanswerable problems; their learning used to be thus tested, half seriously, half in jest: he would ask, Who was Hecuba's mother; what was Achilles' name as a girl amongst the daughters of Lycomedes; the tune to which the Sirens sang? But these spiteful jests often were terribly earnest. One day he found out that Seleucus, the philologist, had been inquiring of the domestics what Tiberius had been reading, in order to prepare answers in advance: Tiberius first banished him from the palace, and then forced him to commit suicide. Nero's favourites were versifiers, who had to eke out his poetical efforts: he also used, says Tacitus, to indulge philosophers after dinner, in order to set rival principles wagging, and some were found who combined with ascetic manners and pronouncements an inclination to be the monarch's fools. Dio of Prusa was especially honoured by Trajan, and constantly seen in the Emperor's carriage. Hadrian assiduously cultivated a large circle of philosophers, philologists, orators, musicians, painters, mathematicians and astrologers, amongst whom Favorinus of Arelate was pre-eminent. The great Greek philologist Aelius Herodianus, who, for the depth and breadth

of his studies, has been compared with Jacob Grimm, was a friend of Marcus Aurelius, and wrote his theory of accents at the Emperor's orders.

Other entertainers of the Emperor were wittlings, jesters, harlequins and figure-models, who often had to sacrifice their person to amuse. Juvenal says, that a man wishing to live a parasitical life at Court, must endure more than Sarmentus, or the contemptible Gabba at Augustus' table. Sarmentus had been a slave or freedman of Marcus Favonius, who was killed at Philippi. He was of Etruscan extraction, and his beauty and his wit had endeared him at Court. Gabba, according to Plutarch, used to close his eyes at table, so as not to see Maecenas ogling his wife. When a slave attempted to filch his wine, he remarked: 'I am only asleep as far as Maecenas is concerned'. This anecdote is found in Lucilius as well. Martial praises Gabba's wit, but adds, elsewhere, should he, so happy in his patron, return from Elysium, and have a bout of jests with Capitolinus, he would be cried down for boorishness. Capitolinus must have been one of Trajan's fools. Plutarch mentions another of the sort, Battus, and says that Trajan's rough soldier's disposition found the jests of fools more entertaining than nobler converse. Claudius, when living a musty life of retirement under Tiberius, 'cheered his idleness with the society of jesters': one of these, Julius Paelignus, as loathly in body and weak of mind as his master, yet his especial favourite, was given, after Claudius' accession, the procuratorship of Cappadocia. At the Court of Nero Vatinius obtained a rank quite befitting the spirit that there reigned. He had grown up in a shoemaker's booth at Beneventum, ungainly of form, and a farcical jester; as a mockery he was brought to Court. His servility endeared him to Nero; his imputations and slanders of honest men brought him so great influence, that his power and property and harmfulness outdid the most evil at this Court, and ranked him with the most relentless and terrible of Nero's freedmen. Commodus, too, had also enriched some uncleanly jesters with frightful faces and horrible names and ghastly duties in return for their shameless impudence; their names have come down, as Pertinax published them and the amount of their property.

V. THE CEREMONIALS

§ I. THE MORNING RECEPTIONS

One of the friends' privileges, though perhaps attaching only to those of the first class, was to wait on the Emperor in the morning. Fabius Maximus learnt of his disfavour by Augustus' answering his usual morning salutation of 'Hail, Caesar' with 'Farewell, Fabius'. Pliny the Elder, a friend of Vespasian, regularly visited him before daybreak, at which hour Vespasian gave audiences. This right was also a duty, and, if neglected, save on the most urgent grounds, an occasion for severe punishment, although all the Emperors would not be equally stern. Fronto boasts of having the affection of his pupil Marcus the Caesar, though he 'neither paid his visits at dawn, nor daily waited on him'.

Often the senators would pay their suit to the Emperor in the morning, in body or singly, as to the first in their order. Such receptions would take place especially on occasions of festivities or congratulation. When Nero had a daughter by Poppaea in 63 A.D. at Antium, the whole Senate repaired thither, to wish him joy. Of them only Thræsea, the leader of the opposition, was not admitted; he bore this rebuff, which was a warning of his imminent fall, with unmoved fortitude. Augustus never suffered the Senate to wait on him on the day of session, but greeted them in the Curia, and made them keep their seats; and, in his latter days, forbade such attendances. Tiberius used to invite the Senate, at the beginning of his reign, to visit him in a body, so as not to have to face the crush alone. Sometimes, too, the wives and children of the senators would be presented; Augustus is said to have foretold to Galba, who was presented to him when a boy, his future eminence. Amongst those present at Claudius' reception, women, boys and girls are mentioned.

Occasionally the Emperors would receive not only the senators: knights and the third estate might even be admitted. At such functions petitions would be handed in, and the Emperors would be more or less gracious. Augustus once jestingly remarked of a hesitant claimant, 'that he looked as though he were offering a farthing-piece to an elephant'.

To induce Tiberius to leave Rome, Sejanus 'objurgated the importunity of the people and the multitude of the comers'. Nero, in the early years of his reign, was conspicuous for his memory in addressing men of all ranks by name. Vespasian was exceptionally affable. All day long the gate of his residence in the Sallustine Gardens Palace stood open; no one was refused, senator or plebeian. Alexander Severus would only admit respectable persons with good credentials, and proclaimed by a herald that no one guilty of any underhand dealing should greet the Emperor, on pain of death.

The general reception (*publica, promiscua salutatio*) usually, it seems, occurred on festival-days, including the day of accession. Fronto apologizes in a letter to Antoninus Pius for absence on one anniversary: he had had rheumatism. Especially festive was the reception on the first of January. The palace was decorated and the Emperor received and gave New Year's gifts in money or kind (*strenae, étrennes*); Nero was buried in the white carpets threaded with gold used at his last New Year's day. Augustus utilized the money in buying statues, which he distributed throughout the city. In his early years, Tiberius used to return every gift fourfold with his own hands; but, as he came to be pestered all through January with people who could not contrive to come on New Year's day, he ceased giving, and left Rome on every first of January, besides limiting the exchange of gifts to that day. Caligula declared his readiness to accept by an edict, in order to fill his exchequer, and himself took the gifts on the palace terrace, where a mixed throng of all sorts and condition were throwing them in a pile. Claudius, in another edict, prohibited this abuse; but its disappearance was never quite complete.

The Empresses but seldom gave receptions open to whole corporations and ranks at once. Only three, who took an active part in the government, or aimed at claiming a share in the sovereignty, are said to have done so. Livia, according to Dio, was raised above other women, after her son had attained supreme power; and, at all times, let the Senate wait on her, and any others who wished to be presented; and she had this publicly recorded. Agrippina, in the same authority, did as much: under Claudius she was present at the reception of embassies and at other government

functions ; she had a retinue of noble ladies, and asserted her pretensions even under Nero, who in 55 A.D. assigned another house to her, so that there might be an end of her morning-receptions. Julia Domna, the third, was entrusted by her son Caracalla with a part of the government during his absence, and 'publicly received the *optimates*'. At all times, most of the prominent men must necessarily have paid their respects to the Empresses, singly, and the women, beyond all doubt. Alexander Severus forbade women of evil fame to appear before his mother and his wife. Even in the time of Hieronymus there was a crush waiting on the Emperor's consort.

On reception days, in front of the palace, a crowd of men of every standing always assembled, waiting for the announcement that the Emperor would receive. Gellius tells of some conversations of learned friends, like Favorinus, Fronto, Sulpicius Apollinaris and others, during this wait. And on ordinary days the place would seldom be empty. Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus, compares the bustle in front of the palace with the scurry in front of a public bath : some rushing in to do allegiance, others forcing their way out, like the jostling crowds of the bathed and the unbathed. Many were there, on business, or in employ : many, too, desirous of seeing the Emperor leave the Palatine and drive out, or of greeting or petitioning him ; some used to climb the Sacred Hill ten times a day to give others the idea of their having friends at Court.

The reception was in the early morning, the usual hour in Rome for visits. Many would arrive at early dawn. Vespasian, as has been said, would admit even before daybreak, and converse with them in bed, and whilst dressing. The spectacles also began very early ; and the Emperors, to save their subjects a long journey, would often stay overnight in some freedman's house near the theatre, or even for several nights before, or even, as Hadrian, on such days give no audiences.

In the palace there was always a whole cohort of Praetorians (1,000 men) on guard, clad in the *toga* or civil costume, and a sentry was generally placed at the entrance. At least, Dio mentions it as a surprising fact, that no sentry paced the open doors of Vespasian's palace, an example probably

imitated by some of the later Emperors, such as Nerva or Trajan. But when, on January 22, 205, Plautianus was summoned to the palace, to hear his sentence of death, 'the guards at the barrier' admitted him, but shut out his retinue. In the early years of Nero's rule, Agrippina had, besides a guard of Praetorians, a number of German mounted cavalry, for her especial service, as also other members of the Imperial House.

Sometimes, too, the visitors might have to undergo a search for concealed weapons. Augustus even had senators searched, when he purged the Senate and expelled a number of members. Claudius' nervousness brought this practice to its height. Only after many days, and with much trouble, was he persuaded to relax the rule for women, and young boys and girls, and to allow the suite and secretaries of those admitted to keep their style and quill cases. And in the year 47 a Roman knight was apprehended with a dagger on him. To such as were freely admitted, Claudius gave a gold ring bearing his image, an institution that gave rise to great abuses. Vespasian suspended the practice of searching even during the Civil War; Claudius' immediate successors seem to have maintained it. What the later Emperors did is not recorded; in Dio's time it had ceased.

Inside the palace one section of the imperial domestics was engaged in keeping order and announcing and introducing the visitors (*ab admisione, admissionales*). This duty must have required a large staff, in view of the continual embassies from the provinces: Philo mentions one Homilos, who introduced them, and through whom Caligula gave audience to his Jewish embassy; interpreters must also have been included in it. The difficulties incident to admission would have varied with the rulers. Pliny the Younger paints Trajan's receptions as utterly differing from those of Nerva, his predecessor. 'Here we have no bolts and bars, no ascending scale of rebuffs, no endless series of further locked doors after an endless series already passed. In front of you and behind you, dead quiet; and near by you most of all; so noiseless and kindly the proceedings, that the Emperor's palace is a model of peace and restraint to any little or poor home.' Even when oriental pomp was gaining the upper hand, Alexander Severus gave audiences like a mere

senator: the curtains of the imperial cabinet were drawn back; only the servants were present, who waited at the door: 'whilst formerly the Emperor could not be greeted, as he could not be seen'.

Both the Emperor and his visitors came in the *toga* to the reception; a custom observed down to the fourth century. One indication of the change to a military autocracy was seen, when Gallienus, inside the walls of Rome, gave audience, clad in his soldier's costume, or *chlamys*, with bejewelled buckles. Marcus Aurelius and Alexander Severus wore the *toga* even in the other cities of Italy. The Emperor could scarcely appear even before his friends in his tunic, one of Antoninus Pius' greatest breaches of convention. Yet Marcus Aurelius had been taught by Junius Rusticus 'not to go about indoors in the *toga*, or do similar unbecoming acts'. Nero outraged custom by receiving the senators in a flowery tunic and a muslin scarf: for, says Dio, in such matters even, he violated the decencies of life by publicly appearing in an ungirdled tunic. Commodus received the Senate in a tunic of white silk and gold threads with sleeves. Caracalla spread the use of his favourite dress, a long Celtic tunic, whence he derived his nickname, amongst the people, and made them come before him in this garb. Macrinus proposed making a similar propitiatory gift in his son's name.

In Republican days friends of the first class were received singly: how far this obtained during the Empire we do not know. On occasion, apparently, single audiences were abused for the spreading of false reports; hence Alexander Severus would receive no one except his praefect Ulpian without witnesses, and the other friends only in assembly.

Friends, at least those of the first order, were kissed by the Emperor; thus Otho received the 'usual' embrace on the morning of Galba's last day on earth. This fashion came in under Augustus, and was restricted to the *optimates*. For, we are told, in the middle of Tiberius' reign, an infectious facial disorder broke out in Rome, attacking, so Pliny says, neither women nor slaves, neither the middle nor the lower classes, but only the *proceres*, who spread the disease by kisses. Tiberius, too, fell a victim. Even in Galen's day, there existed 'Tiberius' Anti-Scab Pastils': Tacitus specifies, as one of his motives for leaving Rome, his facial disfigurement with

ulcers and plasters : a consequence, perhaps, of this disease, which was treated with caustics that left scars, according to Pliny, uglier than the disease itself. Whether the edict of Tiberius, prohibiting the 'daily kiss' at Court receptions, was occasioned by this outbreak, remains uncertain. The manner of Valerius Maximus' justification of the Emperor's proceeding proves its unpopularity. 'The kings of Numidia are not to be blamed for following their people's example and never kissing. For the practices of the highly placed must be exempt from the imitation of the mob, to preserve due reverence.' From the aristocracy kissing spread down into the lower classes. In Domitian's time, or perhaps earlier, it was universal, and Martial is always voicing a complaint that in Rome kisses seem inevitable.

Possibly the grandees of Rome derived this utterly new custom from the East. At the Court of Persia, kinsmen were privileged to kiss the King, and Alexander took over many institutions of the Persian Court, amongst them the right of kissing the King as an honour ; the Seleucids and Ptolemies carried the practice on. Under Caligula 'the barbaric custom of prostration was introduced, and this last assault made on the spirit of Roman freedom', and thus such milder imitations of oriental forms can hardly surprise us, when they were not in direct opposition to Roman manners. The father of the Emperor Vitellius prayed to Caligula on his return from Syria, as to a god, with veiled head, throwing himself on the ground. Caligula, 'a being to orientalize a free state into Persian thralldom', made Pompeius Pennus, the old consular, kiss his gilded left pearl-slipper, in return for the gift of his life. This reverence was accorded to him by others of their free will ; as, for instance, by Pomponius Secundus the Consul shortly before he was murdered ; and the fact that prostration had become common is evident from Claudius' prohibition of it. Domitian demanded unmanly reverences ; for Pliny praises Trajan for not requiring his fellow-citizens to embrace his knees, and not returning their kiss with his hand. The jurist Publius Juventius Celsus was accused in 95 of conspiracy against Domitian, and, in the secret audience he asked for, adored him as Lord and God. Yet Domitian cannot have gone as far as Caligula. Epictetus says he would regard compulsion to kiss the Emperor's feet

as direct tyranny. Elagabalus again required the adoration of a Persian king, a custom abolished by Alexander Severus. Later on cringing reverence gained more and more vogue, and, in the last days of the Empire, the imperial kiss was a high honour seldom awarded.

Senators, as the Emperor's peers, also could claim the honour of the imperial kiss. Pliny thus describes Trajan's entry into Rome as Emperor : ' Every one was glad that you greeted the Senate with a kiss as you had left them ; and acknowledged the foremost of the knights with a personal address, with no one to prompt you, and that you greeted your clients almost first of all, and added signs of confidence '. Presumably, these differences of greeting obtained also at the Court receptions ; except in so far as knights who held the highest offices, or were made friends, enjoyed the same honour as the senators. Tiberius' formal prohibition of the custom has been mentioned. Caligula 'kissed very few. To most, even the senators, he gave his hand or foot to kiss. And therefore those he kissed thanked him publicly in the Senate, though they saw him kissing pantomimes every day'. Nero manifested his hatred of the Senate in that on the day of his return from Greece, and also when setting out, he refused to kiss or return their salutations. Such breaches of custom were the more offensive, the more insignificant the honour became, and the more commonly it was bestowed on senators. Agricola, on his return from Britain, was received with designed coldness, yet Domitian, despite his monarchical haughtiness, which Pliny censures, embraced him, though he did not allow him to converse. Embraces were, no doubt, bestowed according to individual standing. Marcus Aurelius testified his regard for his intimate friend Junius Rusticus, whom he twice made consul, by kissing him before the praefect of the Praetorium, who had the first claim ; Julianus, who held this praefecture under Commodus, and was murdered by him, was often publicly embraced by him and called *Parens*. Further, no doubt, it was physically impossible to deal this honour out to all those present at a reception. Fronto tells how his imperial pupil, Lucius Verus, admitted him first into his bedroom, to be able to 'kiss him uninviciously', and, characteristically enough, expatiates, how he, to whom the Emperor had entrusted mouth and speech to educate, had a peculiar

claim to his kiss ; kisses he esteemed an honour due from mankind to eloquence.

As a rule, the Emperors would show the greatest politeness to the first order in the State at public receptions : and any designed disrespect to them would be the more keenly felt. If Caesar received the whole Senate, offering him decrees of honour, seated, it would be taken as a discourtesy and returned with loathing : it had been a primitive right of the Senate to remain sitting round the magistrate, whilst the other citizens stood up. Augustus was courtesy itself, and Tiberius adulation even ; the only Emperors in the two first centuries whose behaviour showed ill-will towards the Senate were Caligula and Nero, perhaps also Domitian and Commodus. According to Pliny, at Domitian's receptions, there was an air of hesitation, as though one were running a mortal danger ; the salutations done with, all was flight and solitude ; terror and menace hung about the gateway, affected the admitted no less than the excluded. The Emperor had a terrifying aspect, and none dared meet him or approach him. But Trajan received all affably : waited for them, devoted much of his busy day to conversation with them ; his visitors arrived untroubled, merry and at their own pleasure ; or, if detained at home, an apology was hardly needed. This condescension made the functions much longer ; Antoninus Pius in his later years used to fortify himself with a crust. Pertinax was 'courteous to all his visitors and interlocutors'. Alexander Severus made the Senate remain seated at receptions. But Caracalla, at his winter quarters in Nicomedia, would let them wait one whole day in front of the palace, and then not receive. Dio considered Elagabalus indecent in his receiving the senators in bed.

§ 2. THE PUBLIC MEALS

Besides the public audiences, the Emperors also instituted frequent public banquets (*convivia publica*), open to large numbers. Claudius was the first to have a guard set at them, a custom continued down to Alexander Severus' day. A knight Pastor, whose son Caligula had executed, was soon after invited to a public banquet and 'lay there as the hundredth guest'. Claudius loved these huge dinners,

at which never more than six hundred were assembled. Alexander Severus disliked them, as resembling eating in the Circus or theatre. To these functions the third estate would be invited, besides the senators and the knights. Augustus used to select among ranks and persons with the utmost care, and never asked a freedman to his table, except Menas, and him only after the rights of freebirth (*ingenuitas*) had been conferred. He wrote that he once asked a man in whose country house he once stayed, a former orderly. The exclusion of freedmen by Augustus points to laxer indulgence by the later Emperors to a class that was ever rising in power and esteem.

Further, the senators did not always sit with the knights at the Emperor's board, but often by themselves. Otho, in the first days of his reign, dined eighty senators, some with their wives together. And, generally, senators' wives often apparently took part at these banquets. Caligula used to invite the noblest even without their husbands, and send those who suited him letters of divorce in the absent husbands' name. Claudius at table once asked Publius Scipio why his wife Poppaea Sabina, the mother of Nero's consort, was not there; she was in prison and, at Messalina's instigation, driven to suicide. Pertinax, on the day of his accession, invited the principal men of the Senate (*proceres*) and the magistrates to table, a custom (*consuetudo*) disused by Commodus. At these dinners, too, the Emperors would be very courteous to the Senate and the consuls especially. When Tiberius received them, he would welcome them at the door, and personally see them out. Hadrian, too, received them standing up. Tiberius, on dismissing his guests, would stand in the middle of the *triclinium* with a *lictor* beside him, and bid each farewell separately.

An invitation to the imperial board was an honour even to the highest placed. Tiberius, who loved lulling his victims' suspicions, raised Drusus Libo to the praetorship, after deciding on his death, and repeatedly asked him to dine. Vespasian, as has been said, publicly thanked Caligula for the honour before the assembled Senate, but showed himself manifestly and extravagantly servile. Martial declares, were he to receive simultaneous invitations from Domitian and Jupiter, he would not waver one minute, even were the

mount of Olympus nearer than the Palatine. The poetical fame of Statius, who had been crowned at the feast of Minerva, ensured him his invitation, and he vented his gratitude at his first 'Holy Banquet' in a long flowery poem. He believed he had been sipping nectar with Jupiter; that this day was his real day of birth, the threshold of his existence. He could scarcely realize that he had been privileged to behold, whilst at his cup of wine, the Emperor's face, and to sit at the same table. Caligula was apprised that a rich provincial had bribed the slaves who carried the invitations with 200,000 sesterces, so as to secure a place: and, so far from being angry at the high price the seat fetched, made him next day buy some trifle at an auction at the same figure, with the message that that day he should dine with the Emperor at the Emperor's own invitation. Sometimes at these mixed assemblies untoward incidents would occur. At a banquet of Claudius, a guest of Praetorian rank, Titus Vinius (who attained great influence under Galba) was suspected of stealing a golden cup: he was asked next day and given an earthenware one.

Every emperor behaved differently to his guests. Augustus used to display the greatest courtesy, move them to conversation if they whispered or were silent, and provided distractions in the shape of lectures, dances and jugglers: he would come in late and leave early, but never allow the guests to be disturbed. Titus' banquets, too, were social and not extravagant. Of Domitian's there are two opposite delineations; one of Statius, already mentioned, who seems intoxicated at the honour, and one of the Younger Pliny, who makes fun of the haughty treatment of the senator. Statius paints the gorgeousness of countless rooms of costly marble, the immensity of the halls, the ceilings too high for the eye to reach, the gilded wainscoting: at which the Emperor seated the senators and knights at many tables. But for the rich meal, the citron-wood tables with ivory feet, the army of servants—for these he has no time: Him, Him only he gazed at, kindly mitigating the radiance of his majesty. And so on. Pliny draws a different picture of Domitian gormandizing alone before midday, and sitting among his guests as spectator, showing every sign of satedness; he had the dishes thrown rather than placed in front of them; with a forced semblance

he got through a common meal with them, and then retired to his private carouses. But Trajan's feasts were noticeable more for his friendly amiability than for the ostentation of gold and silver and delicate cookery : at his table no perversions of oriental superstition, no obscene licence, only a kindly exhortation, decent jokes and the honour due to knowledge. He delighted in common meals, engaged all in conversation, and what his affability prolonged, his moderation shortened. (Actually, this was not one of Trajan's virtues : he was a hardened toper.) When Pliny and others were summoned to the imperial council at Centumcellae, Trajan invited them every day to a dinner which was simple for a prince. Sometimes music might be performed, sometimes the night was passed in agreeable conversation. And gifts were made at the parting. At Domitian's table the guests had been liable to unfriendly or even ignominious treatment. Once he invited the first among the senators and knights to a banquet, where the hall was draped in black, the servants like black spectres, the courses served in funeral black dishes, and by every guest his name inscribed on a tablet lit by a hearse-candle. And after the guests went back home in alarmed expectancy of a sentence of death, they were given precious gifts. Elagabalus used to lock his friends up, when they were drunk, and send among them wild beasts, who had had their teeth drawn : many died of fright ; less noble friends he would seat on air-cushions and have them pricked.

The fare provided by Augustus was very simple ; three courses or six at the most ; Tiberius, desirous of inculcating parsimony, made them almost stingy ; but the economical Vespasian gave costly dinners, so as to create a demand for the sellers of food, whilst making his own meals scant and severe. Pertinax, in some measure, diminished the enormous wastefulness of Commodus' banquets. Alexander Severus, at all meals, great or little, observed the same simplicity. The general Roman custom of serving guests according to their rank did not apparently obtain at the imperial table, as Hadrian, to foil the embezzlements of his culinary officers, ordered the dishes served up at the last of the tables to be given to him.

The imperial table scarcely excelled private banquets in respect of the fare, but in the dishes, the state and the service, a difference that scarce can have arisen before the end

of the first century, and varying at various times. Information is scant and incidental. Caligula, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius (to cover the cost of the war with the Marcomanni), all held great auctions of the imperial valuables, such as golden, crystal and myrrhine cups. Later on, Marcus Aurelius allowed the purchasers to return the articles at the same price, not, however, forbidding them, and the *proceres* especially, to dine in the same state linen, and with the same plate as he, and to use golden antimacassars on the dining sofas: the first subject to avail himself of this permission is said to have been Elagabalus. Hadrian was the first to cover the tables with golden or embroidered coverlets; Elagabalus imitated him and had the coming dishes worked in as their design. Alexander Severus would have only simpler ones with scarlet stripes. Gallienus had them threaded with gold. The use of gold plate at table was an imperial privilege, reserved to private persons by Tiberius in the year 16 for sacrifices. Aurelian expressly granted such a licence.¹

The guests, as at the morning receptions, used to appear in the *toga*, at any rate up to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, whose guest, Septimius Severus, came in the *pallium*. A *toga* of the Emperor's was given to him; this was taken as a foretoken of his accession. But, probably, the use of the Roman state-costume lingered on to late times. Senators and knights wore their purple stripe on the tunic, and magistrates their *insignia* of office. In the year 70 a banquet of Otho was interrupted by military uproar, and the magistrates cast aside their robes, so as to escape unnoticed. During the banquet, the *toga* probably was allowed to hang down from the shoulders, a manner attributed to Hadrian by his biographer. Soldiers never regularly came in uniform until the second half of the third century.

¹ In dress, too, in course of time, the imperial servants became distinguished. Domitian, as a prince, was angry at his brother's son-in-law clothing his servants in white, and quoted in disapproval: οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω; which is mentioned as an instance of his uncivil haughtiness. Marcus Aurelius had learnt from his father that one could live at Court without life-guards and special garb, or indeed any pomp. But this *étiquette* came in later. Aurelian is said, when emperor, not to have altered his slaves' costume. Gold seems to have marked Court dress; Alexander Severus, who aimed at simplicity, would not let his servants, even at public meals, appear in gold, or have any gold at table. As late as about 350, tunics stitched in gold were part of the special costume of imperial servants.

CHAPTER III

THE THREE ESTATES

I. RANK AND BIRTHRIGHTS

ANCIENT Rome made between citizens, freedmen and strangers, a stern division, which the evolution of the Republic had already weakened and destroyed. The more universal her Empire became, the more did foreign elements stream in, first from Italy, and then from the provinces, and swamp the vanishing descendants of her original founders: aliens and their children, the posterity of freedmen, forced their way in even into the higher ranks and the highest offices. To this process of dissolution and admixture the levelling effect of absolute monarchy was added, in which all subjects were, to a certain extent, equalized. Yet, despite these tendencies, the consciousness of a better inborn right, which is felt by all privileged classes, might become less keen, but could never wholly die out; rather would it always renew and reshape itself. Ranks, classes, nationalities were no longer segregated in the same way; the transitions from one sphere to another were from time to time variously bridged over, and constantly alleviated; but it followed necessarily that all new-comers into a higher community would soon share the feelings of elevation with their new peers, and of a superiority to the class out of which they had emerged. Thus, despite the reversal of the old institutions, the old differences, in some measure, still subsisted; rather did the monarchy renovate and increase them. Such was the new regulation of names in the Empire. Very probably Augustus even issued distinct directions in this matter, and established clear verbal differences between the free and the freed. Henceforth an ordinary slave would have one name, a State or imperial two, and the freedmen three; but the name of the tribe,

together almost certainly with the franchise, was withdrawn from them, and reserved to the free-born, who might have four names or more.

Not only the freedmen, but their sons as well, as before, ranked below the free-born; their grandsons became equal. The promotion of their sons to the Senate and the magistracies was always esteemed an abuse; Claudius even admitted a freedman's son into the Curia only on condition of adoption by a knight: Nero excluded them altogether for a long time, and deprived those admitted by his predecessor of their offices. Tiberius in 23 A.D., by an Edict, formally declared the sons of freedmen inadmissible to knighthood, a rule often infringed by Augustus (one of his friends Vedius Pollio, the knight, was a freedman's son): in time exceptions multiplied and annulled the rule. But still freedmen's sons were rarely admitted to the highest offices, though instances had occurred in the later Republic and under Augustus. Of such descent had been the tribune, in 25 B.C., Gaius Thoranius, who made a good impression by allowing his father to sit beside him in his place of honour at the theatre. A few such attained the higher offices in the course of the first century. One Larcus Macedo, who, oblivious (according to Pliny) of his servile descent, treated his slaves cruelly and haughtily, was praetor, some year before 101 A.D. But, even at the close of the second century, no sneers were spared at his humble origin, for 'war always brought such scum to the top', when Pertinax, a freedman's son, reached the consulship for his military services.

Freedmen might gain repute through individual pre-eminence in rank or wealth, but never could attain social equality with the free-born. The free-born man, for all his humble bows and cringing flatteries, never lost his sense of superiority: 'on your birthday', so Martial addresses a rich freedman, 'the Senator and Knighthood may dine with you, but not one of them, Diodorus, asks whether you still are alive'. Only good looks, he says elsewhere, could make a freedwoman preferable to a free-born maiden, or a slave to a freedwoman. Yet then, socially, freedmen had unquestionably advanced since the day of Augustus: Court *étiquette* in the first century precluded them from the imperial board, and Horace might be stigmatized as a 'freedman's

son', despite the broadmindedness of Maecenas who declared the irrelevance of the father's standing to one of Nature's gentle-born.

Somewhat higher in the scale of disdain did Rome place the conquered provincials. The provincial was brought to the Roman slave market, sold, and manumitted, and in his new-born citizenship of Rome deemed himself above his 'tribute-paying' fellow-countrymen, who were liable to poll-taxes, in ancient times a badge of servitude, as well as those assessed on their property. The lower estimation in which the provinces stood in comparison with Italy, is seen in Tacitus' remark that the praefect of Ravenna, Clodius Quirinalis, oppressed Italy with his harshness and lusts, 'as though he were in a mere subject land'. In his political will, Augustus directed a sparing use of the citizenship, so as to conserve the distinction of citizen and provincial. The *decuriae* (jury lists) were restricted to knights, and contained 3,000 names, 2,000 of whom had half of the wealth; and ordinary provincials were only admitted under Claudius, even then and later excluding 'new citizens'—i.e. by grant, not by birth—and the lists were prepared from amongst Italians by preference, and next out of Latin-speaking provinces. 'No Egyptian juries' runs a placard at Pompeii. Seneca, the Spaniard, exhibits the full Roman haughtiness in ridiculing Claudius, who squandered civic rights and the *toga* amongst Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards and Britons. The Parcae cut his life's thread short, just to preserve a few *peregrini*. When grants were made wholesale to corporations and classes, an individual bestowal became a distinction, rare, except under Claudius, and the more honourable.

Amongst provincials, the West was in greater repute than the East, where the utter diversity of race served to foster the prejudice. But the Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans, and other 'wild barbaric folks', were but slowly Romanized, and reluctantly and late accorded these rights. Cicero asperses with bitter words the credibility of the witnesses cited from Narbonese Gaul against Fonteius the Praetor, the principal of whom was Induciomarus, the chief of the Allobroges, as barbarians, whom no thought of the hallowedness of the oath, no religious fear could terrify from giving false testimony; were the jury to lend credit to such foes of Rome, rather

than to the Romans settled in that province? Caesar, when he invested some 'half-barbaric' Gauls with the *civitas* and brought them into the Senate, outraged public opinion, which shrank at the very thought of the influx of the 'transalpine, trousered' populations. A public request was issued not to show the new senators the way to the Curia, and on the streets the people sang :

Lately victims in his triumph, now they're for the Senate ripe ;
Lately wearing Gallic breeches, now they wear the purple stripe.

These Gallic senators were probably deposed by Augustus, yet, as early as 40 B.C., a foreigner, for the first time, became consul, though only to fill up a blank ; this was Cornelius Balbus, a Spaniard of Gades, whom astuteness and wealth had furthered in the Civil War ; the first, as Pliny the Elder says, of foreigners, born moreover at the pillar of the world, to have got the honour our forefathers denied to the inhabitants of Latium : and he was always scoffed at as the man of Gades, or the man of Tartessus, and ever denied admission to the Senate. His nephew, Balbus the Younger, also became consul after his victory over the Garamantes in 19 B.C., and built the third stone theatre in Rome. Narbonese Gaul was regarded more as a portion of Italy than as a province, and its inhabitants, even in the Early Empire, often attained senatorial office. Vienne, 'that great and brave colony', as Claudius calls it, was the first, and perhaps the only town, to send representatives to the Curia. Valerius Asiaticus, of Vienne, one of the greatest of his day, was twice consul, and resigned the office the second time (46 A.D.) in the vain hope of thus circumventing enmity and malice. Pompeius Vopiscus, of Vienne, had the consulate conferred on him by Otho in 69 A.D. Besides these Viennese, the names of senators from Nîmes (Nemausus), Forum Julii (Fréjus) and Tolosa (Toulouse) have come down. In the year 49 A.D. senators were allowed to visit their Narbonese estates without asking for furlough.

In the year 47 the chiefs of new Gaul began agitating for the senatorial offices ; they had been Romanized for one hundred years, and only Lugudunum (Lyons) had been favourably excepted. Yet strong opposition was offered. Italy,

it was objected, poverty-stricken as she was, could still provide a senate for her capital. Were not Veneti and Insubres admixture enough? What privilege would remain over for the scanty survivals of the nobility or poor senators of true Latin blood? The rich scions of the tribes vanquished a century ago would soon supplant their conquerors. Citizens they might become, but do not cheapen senatorial and magisterial dignities. It required the outspoken will of Claudius to stifle the protests. At Lyons, his native city, a bronze tablet still exists, containing a fragment of the learned speech he delivered on this occasion. Incontestably, he said, Italian senators were to have the preference over provincials, whose claims to a rank they might adorn must not be spurned. The Aedui (between the Saône and the Loire), first received the senatorial rights, and others perhaps individually in the remaining districts. The father of Gaius Julius Vindex, an Aquitanian 'of royal descent', was a Roman senator.

Other provincials can only have been in the Senate exceptionally, and grudgingly, as interlopers. Tacitus makes Seneca of Corduba in 63 send Nero a confession of his unworthiness, so as to disarm evil tongues: often, he says, he has weighed the question, how he, a knight and provincial, dare rank with the primates of the State; how he, with his mushroom growth, dare soar to a height with an aristocracy of ancient fame. After the decimations of the Civil War, Vespasian further restocked the benches of the Senate from the provinces, and ever found in them his best support. When Trajan, a Spaniard, ascended the throne, the voice of conservative Rome could no longer openly jeer at the Western lands. And under Trajan (in 115) Quintus Lusius Quietus, a Gaetulian sheikh, born not in Africa, the province, but near an obscure and distant frontier, became consul. He had distinguished himself in the Dacian and Parthian Wars as a cavalry leader. In the second century no few senators were African. Fronto (consul in 144) met many fellow-countrymen from Cirta (Constantine) in the Senate.

And then Greeks and Little-Asians could no longer be fairly excluded: the latter were held in scant respect, and had no part in the reverence paid to Greece, the mother of Roman culture. Phrygians, says Cicero, are the better for their weals; a Carian makes the best desperado; 'the last of

the Mysians' expressed supreme contempt; Greek comedy made its stock-slave a Lydian. Shall a man, Juvenal makes a born Roman exclaim, impress his seal in front of me, have a higher place at table, whom the same wind wafted to Rome with imported Damascene plums and Syrian figs? Is it for nothing our youth has been nurtured on Aventine air and Sabine fruit? And he, the son of an Aquitanian freedman, saw and despised the 'knights of Asia, Bithynia and Cappadocia, who had come to Rome as bare-footed slaves'. Martial, too, looked on it as the irony of fate, that a noble poet should starve, because he was not a 'burgess of Syria or Parthia, a knight from out of the Cappadocian slave-stands, but a mere native of the people of Remus and Numa'. Alexander Severus was ashamed of being a Syrian and fabricated himself a Roman family-tree.

From the Early Empire onwards, however, Greeks and Little-Asians took high rank in the Roman knighthood. Vedius Pollio, a rich knight and a friend of Augustus, came from Caesarea in Bithynia. Vespasian and Titus during their censorship (73 and 74) were the first to admit the most prominent of these settlers in larger numbers to the Senate. Tiberius Claudius Atticus, of Athens, in Nerva's reign became enormously rich through a treasure-trove, and was twice consul (the first time about 104); his son, the great sophist, Herodes Atticus, is recorded in the consular *fasti* of 143 A.D., and his grandson Tiberius Claudius Bradua Atticus in 185. In fact, in the first century, literary fame was a sure key to inspiring favour, as is shown by the many great Greek sophists and writers who became consuls. Scions of princely houses might also be thus distinguished, as, for example, under Trajan, the Commagenian Gaius Julius Antiochus Philopappus. The second and third century contain most of the inscriptions mentioning Greek and Little-Asian senators or consulars.

Few other Orientals entered the Senate before the third century. The consular Flavius Boethus, a zealous Aristotelian, and a friend of Galen, was born in Ptolemais in Phoenicia; but, after Caracalla and Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, their numbers increased. Such was Odeinathus, prince of Palmyra (died in 251), father of Odeinathus, the husband of Zenobia, and of Septimius Heyranus. He attained

consular rank. No Palestinian Jew is known to have reached Senatorial rank before the fourth century, when Hieronymus speaks of Jewish senators, though Josephus mentions some as being knights. The senatorial knight Tiberius Julius Alexander, was a nephew of Philo the philosopher. Philo, in Nero's last years, the governor of Judaea, was an Alexandrian renegade Jew 'of a rich and famous family, allied to Caesar, who had rendered distinguished service in the Parthian War on the general staff, a rank he also held in Titus' Jewish War': in the interval, he had been praefect of Egypt.

Dislike of the Egyptians was even stronger than hatred of the Jews. Only the citizenship of Alexandria might entitle them to that of Rome, nor often: seldom might they become knights: two hundred years of subjugation had to pass by ere Caracalla made the first Alexandrian, Coeranus, a senator and consul. Even in the fifth century did the rest of Egypt lack all right to senatorial office. Juvenal's spleen was aroused at the nationality of Crispinus the Egyptian, who became 'first of the knights', perhaps praefect of the Praetorium, and a Court-favourite.

In the later centuries, too, Romans naturally retained a preference over foreigners in the elections to the higher offices, as Dio testifies, when he makes Maecenas state it as the bed-rock of the imperial system that the curule offices and the consulate should be held by Romans. This rule was honoured, even in the breach. Pescennius Niger, one of the rival Emperors of Septimius Severus, said he intended to govern Rome by Romans. Rome's disdain of strangers, her contempt of everything extra-mural, lasted to the end, and then even the mob made the theatre resound with its loud bigotry.

The Italian, the Latian even, was deemed but somewhat better than the provincial; as a senator he was an upstart, and his children were not easily forgiven for their ancestry. Antony, the aristocrat, reproached Octavian for his mother being born at Aricinum. 'One might take it', says Cicero, 'he was talking of a woman of Ephesus or Tralles. You see how we are prized, we who come from the *municipia*. And yet how many of us do not?' And he had blue blood often enough dinned in his ears. Catilina dubbed him 'an import'. But Tiberius, as Claudius says in his address,

incorporated the flower of Italy's *municipia* and *coloniae* into the Senate. But whilst revolutions might destroy, society be transformed, this disdain was ever there, deep-rooted in the nation's soul. One hundred years later Tacitus found Rome no less uplifted over the cities of Italy than in Cicero's time, despite that the Flavians of Reate had held the sceptre, and Nerva the Narnian, and Trajan the Spaniard. And his views are the more striking, as he can scarce have been more than a knight. He accompanies the tale of the adultery of Livia, the wife of Drusus, with Sejanus, a knight from Volsinii, with the remark : ' She, Augustus' niece, Tiberius' daughter-in-law, Drusus' wife, shamed herself and her lineage with adultery with a mere municipal ! ' The second marriage of Julia, the granddaughter of Tiberius, with Rubellius Blandus, he considered an utter degradation for a princess, for many still remembered her husband's grandfather, a knight from Tibur, though Rubellius Blandus had been consul. Suetonius tells of how Caligula, in a letter to the Senate, impugned the descent of his great-grandmother Livia Augusta, as her maternal grandfather had been a councillor at Fundi. Suetonius defends her against this imputation, as Aufidius Lurco undeniably held high office at Rome. One hundred years later, Marcus Aurelius espoused his daughter Lucilla to Claudius Pompeianus, the son of a Roman knight of an obscure family at Antioch ; but this need not be ascribed to a change of social view, but to the philosophic breadth and rare unprejudice of that Emperor : he selected his sons-in-law not from the first men in the Senate, but according to individual capacity. Further, neither Lucilla nor her mother Faustina were satisfied at the match, not merely since the bridegroom was no longer young.

These facts serve to illustrate the feelings of rank between the senators and the knights : but the division between the two classes did not cover that between Romans and municipals. Knights are celebrated on their monuments by their clients or themselves, as ' a senator's father ', a ' senator's grandfather '. A quarrel once arose between a knight and a senator, and Vespasian's ruling was that senators might not be insulted, but their insults might be met, a decision, according to Suetonius, that the dignity rather than the legal standings differed. Martial describes the first two estates

as the 'Knights and Lords Senators'. The terms of senatorial titles will be later on dealt with.

In criminal law both orders were privileged, as were also soldiers, veterans, town councillors in imperial cities, and so sharp was the distinction that a man of rank might be degraded to a plebeian. They might not be flogged, tortured in evidence, pressed for labour and mines, crucified or thrown to gladiators or animals in the Circus. An insult from a plebeian to a senator or knight was severely punished. In social intercourse the gap between the knighthood and the lower middle-class was great, and a chasm existed between the first and third classes: the following fact is illustrative. A senator of praetorian rank was, under Domitian, accused of a somewhat dubious transaction, and chose voluntary banishment rather than certain condemnation, and, to maintain himself in Sicily, had to teach oratory. On entering the lecture-room one day, he began declaiming, 'O Fortune, thou raisest the meek and humblest the strong! Thou makest professors into senators, and senators into professors'. Pliny the Younger says this sentence was so full of bitterness and gall, that he believed he became professor, just to be able to say it. And identically with Pliny the Senator, Juvenal the Knight made out the contrast of the two classes as extreme. 'If thou, Fortune, wiltst, thou makest a rhetor a consul, or a consul a rhetor.'

II. THE SENATORS

The Empire was accepted either of the troops or the Senate; in either, legitimation came from the Senate, which also might depose, as often happened. To the Senate, the Emperors were only *primi inter pares*, and fellow-senators; except Caligula, Nero, Domitian and Commodus, they all endeavoured during the first two centuries more or less to maintain this relation. Herodian cites an apologetic letter of Opellius Macrinus (217) on his election, begging no repugnance may be felt at his having been a mere knight, for nobility was nothing without excellence; and the blue blood of Commodus had benefited the Senate as little as the lawfulness of Caracalla. Emperors of high descent were more violent rulers than humbler men. Those who received the Empire

from the Senate, regarded themselves as its debtors, and sought to acknowledge its favour by their acts.

Augustus was the first to establish a legal senatorial caste and hereditary peerdom, by restricting competition for curule office and the consequent seat in the Senate to the nobility or families, whose ancestors had held such offices. Those not born into this order might be admitted in two ways, the granting of senatorial rank to young men, or the exceptional creation of senators of one of the three subclasses (*adlectio*): both forms were used by the Emperors, and when the censorship fused in the general imperial authority, new creations were in the ordinary prerogative. Such ranks were hereditary, tenable even by the wives, and the agnate line to the third degree.

The ancient senatorial families must have been very few at the dawn of the Empire; extinction (as with the Atilii, Metelli, Curii, Fulvii), outlawry and death in the Civil Wars—the triumvirs proscribed either 130, or 300 senators and 2,000 knights—disappearance in the Early Empire, as with the Aemilii Scauri, or penury, with the Hortensii, all were active causes, losing them their family rights and submerging them utterly. These gaps were filled up, as set out. The seedhouse of the Senate was the knighthood of Rome and her colonies and towns, and her provinces, whence 'new men' found their way up into the Senate, in virtue of birth, wealth or merit. Rutilius Gallicus, who, according to Statius, did long service in the field under Nero, attained the consulate, under Domitian became City Praefect, and gave his family a lineage of nobility. He must have been of knightly descent, despite the elevation of his father into the Senate. The knights who were not senators had no hard and fast means of ennoblement. Practically, at least later, the command of the Guard conferred, on retirement, a claim to a seat in the Senate, in some measure an honourable dismissal.

And men of the third estate, even at the beginning of the Empire, could rise through fortune, merit or favour to the first. During the Civil War, Octavian raised Salvidienus Rufus, a man of no family, nor even a senator, to the consulship. Talent and his friends helped Curtius Rufus, a man so humble as to be called a gladiator's son, to the quaestorship: subserviency towards his superiors, and truculence to

his underlings, enabled him to gain the consulate, and pro-consulate of Africa. Tiberius, who gave the praetorship to him rather than to his noble competitors, excused his smirched birth, by saying, 'he seems to me a man self-born'. And many other such 'self-made' men owed their eminence to the readiness in fulfilling the imperial will, especially as informers in cases of high treason. Through the favour of Sejanus, Junius Otho, originally a teacher of oratory, was appointed senator, and his unscrupulous zeal carried him through to the praetorship; and the same influence raised both Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus from the depths of poverty to high rank, vast wealth and great power, gained by unconscientious use of their extraordinary ability. Military service could win the low-born a seat in the Senate. According to Dio, Maecenas advised the admission of the most distinguished officers, though they had begun as centurions: but a mere soldier of the rank and file, a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, should never become senator. Thus careers like that of Oclatinus Adventus must have been very rare: he had begun as a common soldier (even a hangman's assistant, according to Dio); without a tincture of culture, rose up to the Praefecture of the Praetorium; Macrinus made him City Praefect: in 218 he resigned this post to become consul. The first known senators who commenced life as centurions, are the Emperor Pertinax, and Pescennius Niger, the rival of Alexander Severus.

It is hardly credible that freedmen should have been admissible to the Senate before the time of Commodus, whilst forbidden access to the first rank in all the *municipia* and colonies: Cleander, the favourite of Commodus, was the first to make freedmen senators and patricians. Under Caracalla the deposition of a former slave, Marcius Agrippa, who had once been the hair-curler of his mistress, from a high knightly post to a senatorship and praetorship was a kind of degradation. Elagabalus used to make 'freedmen into governors, legates, consuls and generals'. Alexander Severus was proportionately stricter, and would not even make them knights.

Even the early Emperors, as has been said, admitted the sons of freedmen; their more distant descendants encountered less difficulty. Even in the middle of the first century

many senatorial families were thus descended. It was said the Vitellii came of a freedman cobbler; his son made a fortune by investment in building-lots and State agencies; he married a baker's daughter, who bore him the first member of the family, who became a knight, and then imperial financial councillor: his four sons were senators: one of them was three times consul and censor, and was the father of the Emperor Vitellius. Tiberius' famous teacher of rhetoric¹ was of servile descent; his son was, under Hadrian, a senator. Claudius, who was by no means exclusive, conferred the purple stripe on a freedman's son, only on condition of his being adopted by a knight; and similar ceremonies may have been the rule. Nero would not accept any freedmen's sons, and deprived those admitted by former Emperors of their offices. Later on, they may have held them, if only under the cover of friendly aristocratic competitors. Even Valentinian, Valens and Gratianus had to issue rescripts, declaratory that freedmen's sons should not be excluded from the rank of *clarissimi*.

The upstarts and new men in the Senate became more and more, and the ancient nobility continuously died out; Juvenal refers to the fusion of the nobility, and Apuleius, in 166, to the fewness of the old stock: but the old families became all the prouder of their genealogies, and were looked upon with ever-increasing respect. The hall-mark of the aristocracy was the right of setting up ancestral pictures in the *atrium*. Reverently did a stranger betread houses in which fading paintings of triumphing generals in the four-horsed chariots covered the walls, and smoked masks of the ancestors filled the *atrium*, their names, their honour and their deeds inscribed below. 'Ancestral pictures and inscriptions' were popularly admired, as in the time of Horace. The Middle Ages, the modern epoch and ancient Rome were at one in loving 'great lords who bore great names worthily', and they were proud to share in the radiance of their native aristocracy. Juvenal's rhymed platitudes on the true merit that lies in virtue and not in blood, provide a needless reminder of the generality of the opinion he was combating. How highly they were esteemed by the people is shown by Tacitus' account of the trial of Aemilia Lepida in the year 20. Her late husband, Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, was

¹ Theodorus of Gadara.

accusing her of introducing a changeling and other serious offences. Despite her evil repute and her guilt, the splendour of her descent from the Aemilii and Sulla and Pompey won her the general sympathy. When she, with a retinue of noble ladies, prayed her ancestors for protection in the theatre of Pompey, the people burst into sobs and curses, that a lady, who had been the intended of Lucius Caesar, and the prospective daughter-in-law of Augustus, should be sacrificed to a man so humble of birth, but influential owing to his childless old age. Seneca, moralizing in the same tone as Juvenal, does not only absolutely admit that in competitions for the high offices the nobles secured them for many profligates in preference to meritorious 'new' men, but adds this happened 'not without reason'. Thus his ancestors, Verrucosus Allobrogicus and the three hundred Fabii, obtained for Fabius Persicus (consul in 32) his election to the highest priesthoods, in spite of his notorious vices; and Scaurus, who had been consul in 115 B.C., and the *princeps* of the Senate, assured his descendant Mamercus Scaurus (who died in 34), a man of like ill-fame, the consulate. Tacitus praises Tiberius for regarding the nobles in the early part of his reign in distributing the honours; and Pliny Trajan for preferring them, Domitian out of fear and mistrust not having ventured to select them. Officially then, and administratively, and everywhere, noble descent was a great advantage, and an asset, even if possessions, on which rank and pre-eminence were based, might be actually valued at a higher rate.

And the history of many families that flourished even under the Empire was venerable. True, few were left in the first century of those who could point to eight hundred years of senatorial rank from Romulus or Brutus; some there must have been, for fifty families were known at the close of the Republic, who claimed Trojan or Alban lineage, both pre-Roman. In a manual of Greek dialogues for teaching purposes, there occurs the sentence: 'I will visit a senator who can trace his descent back to Romulus and the Aeneadae'. Such were, above all, the Julii, who in their funerals had the images of Aeneas, Romulus and the Alban kings carried in the procession. The Quintilii (of whom came Varus, who fell in the Teutoberg forest) were of Alban descent. The Antonii and Fabii made Hercules their first

ancestor, the Aelii Lamiae, Lamus, king of the Laestrygones. The Calpurnii Pisones derived their race from Numa; Gnaeus Piso, the head of the house under Tiberius, would scarcely allow of the Emperor's precedence, and looked on his sons as inferiors. Generally, pedigrees extending into the world of fables were not rare; Greek erudites would willingly elaborate them. A work dedicated to Quintus Vitellius, the uncle of the Emperor, whose origin was according to others so low, ascribes his race to Faunus, king of the Aborigines, and Vitellia, a goddess locally worshipped. It was perfectly well known that Vespasian's grandfather had come from Reate, and had been a centurion in the Civil War, and his father had been a tax-farmer; but an attempt was made to trace the Flavii back to a companion of Hercules; Vespasian himself laughed at it. The Emperor Galba, who was of the ancient and noble house of the Sulpicii, had an ancestral tablet put up in his *atrium*, recording his paternal ancestry up to Jupiter, and his maternal line to Pasiphae, the daughter of Minos. Even those who, with the incredulous, abandoned these pedigrees, or themselves bemocked them, at other times found them serviceable, and could use them, without being ridiculous. Thus Julius Caesar in his funeral oration for his aunt Julia celebrated her descent from Ancus Marcius on the one hand and Venus, the grandmother of Iulus, on the other. Manius Acilius Glabrio, too, whom Pertinax designed as his successor (he was consul for the second time in 186), traced his descent to Aeneas, as did the family of Marcus Aurelius to Numa. Herodes Atticus boasts of his wife Annia Regilla, the sister of Appius Annianus Bradua (consul in 160), that she was of the princely blood of Anchises and Venus, whilst Herodes' own tree remounted to the Aeacidæ: in Greece families were frequently ascribed to heroic founders. The *acta* of the Arval priests gives very splendid lists of the noble names who constituted the College. At one sacrifice made by Caligula in the end of May, 39, only three members present had been ennobled by Augustus, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, Gaius Caecina Largus (consul in 42) and Annianus Vinicianus. The others were Paulus Fabius Persicus, Gaius Calpurnius Piso (already mentioned), Marcus Furius Camillus ('the last scion of Veii's conqueror'), Appianus Junianus Silanus, and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of Nero;

the ancestors of the last two had often 'worn the Republican purple'. During the Republic the Domitii Ahenobarbi counted six consuls, and two under Augustus, two censors and two triumphs. No *gens* could rival the Claudii for tales of fame; their beginnings were lost in the early Republic; they had twenty-two consulates, five dictatorships, seven censorships, seven great and five petty triumphs to their score, besides many illustrious men and women, mighty for good or for evil; their measureless pride and unbending sternness was hereditary. Further, old pedigrees were valued highly to the last days of the Empire.

The custom of adding new names to the original, besides retaining both the original and the adoptive, under the Julian and Claudian reigns was rare: after the Flavian epoch, when 'new men and new ways came into power', frequent. Adoptions and quasi-adoptions, the use of the maternal besides the paternal names, from sheer family vanity, and for other reasons, swelled the nomenclature of the Roman nobles: under Trajan men like Quintus Pompeius Falco had more than ten names: and his son, Quintus Pompeius Senecio (consul in 169) no less than thirty-eight.

But princely wealth was a more common ornament of senatorial families than ancient lineage. Opulence and senatorial rank were interchangeable terms. Gnaeus Lentulus the augur, under Augustus, possessed 400,000,000 sesterces, the largest private capital known in antiquity. Two hundred million even was enormous; Vibius Crispus possessed this amount, and Martial uses 'richer than Vibius Crispus' as a superlative. But fortunes of three hundred or more were not rare amongst the senators. Tacitus mentions a letter of Nero to Seneca, who was very rich, that many, his inferiors in desert, were wealthier, as, for example, Lucius Volusius Saturninus, who died as City Praefect, in 56, at the age of 95; not to speak of freedmen. Epirus Marcellus, too, from his poor beginnings amassed no less. The annual income of such properties would have been nearly as much as the revenues assigned by Olympiodorus to the richest Roman families at the beginning of the fifth century, viz.: £243,600. Capital bore, as above remarked, high interest, and even land-investments brought in more than 6 per cent. A capital of 300,000,000 (£3,262,800) at 7 per cent. yielded £228,396 yearly.

Doubtless the old Italian senators possessed large Italian estates. When provincials were legally admitted (106-7 A.D.), Trajan enacted that suitors for curule offices should lay out a third of their property in Italian land, so as to have a vested and not a passing interest. Marcus Aurelius fixed the proportion for foreign-born senators at one fourth. It must have been the practice to purchase in several counties at once, that untoward weather might not affect the whole of the income, and all climates and lands might be home. Even in Horace's day Sardinian cornlands, Calabrian beehives and pastures there and in Cisalpine Gaul, 'a thousand acres of Falernian vines', and estates on the banks of the Liris, all might be one property: one hundred years later, herds from Parma (worth 600,000 sesterces annually), Etrurian estates worked by thousands of slaves in chains, vineyards at Setia, and properties at Hybla, the home of bees, in Sicily. Marcus Aquilius Regulus, a prominent man under Nero and Domitian, owned estates in Umbria, Etruria, at Tusculum, on the road from Rome to Tibur; Pompeia Celerina, the mother-in-law of Pliny the Younger, at Oriculum, Narnia, Carsulae and Perugia. The Aurelii Symmachi in the second half of the fourth century possessed three palaces at Rome and one in Capua, fifteen villas near Rome or on the fashionable coast-towns, such as Ostia and Lavinium, and in the hills (Tibur, Praeneste, Cora), in the Gulf of Naples (Formiae, Cumae, Bauli, Baiae, Puteoli, Naples, and on the Lucrine lake); properties in Samnium, Apulia, Sicily and Mauretania. Senators, as officials, would often buy provincial estates. After Trajan's edict provincial suitors for curule offices would sell in the provinces to buy in Italy. Gordian I 'owned more provincial estates than any subject'; his world-spread possessions, made Probus, the praefect of the Praetorium (386 A.D.), world-famous. A decree of Arcadius and Honorius has reference to senators who lived at Rome, but owned lands in scattered and distant provinces. Provincial senators would naturally have properties in their own provinces. In A.D. 49 those hailing from Narbonese Gaul obtained permission to visit their estates without leave, a privilege already obtaining for Sicily. Rubellius Plautus had inherited estates in Asia, and Flavius Ursus, a favourer of Statius, besides at least four in Italy, in Crete and Cyrene. In Nero's day half of Africa

belonged to six great landowners, and, under Domitian, in Africa and elsewhere, private property not only equalled but often excelled in size the municipalities, containing peasants' villages and a little town around the manor-house ; some of these wealthy owners must have been senators. Seneca did not exaggerate in speaking of vast stretches cultivated by slaves in fetters, cattle-ranches wider than kingdoms and provinces ; or when Columella speaks of realms their sovereigns could never ride round. Everywhere no lake whose waters did not reflect some great palace, no gulf by which their villas did not stand ; from every lofty height over land and sea, their roofs glittered. Their palaces in Rome had royal forecourts, high *atria*, rich baths, libraries, galleries, peristyles, groves of laurels and planes, fountains, drives and walks ; were as extensive as county-estates, were 'like cities' ; if as large as the whole property of Cincinnatus (four acres) they were deemed too petty. Martial calls his patron Sparsus' Petilian palace a kingdom : from the ground floor there was a view down on the highest peaks of Rome : it was a *rus in urbe*, and the vintage greater than from a Falernian hill. Inside the portals there was room enough to drive in light carriages : no noisy streets, no too importunate daylight could disturb sleep.

A great house of old, then, with its thousands of slaves and freedmen of all nationalities, was a little and almost self-sufficient state ; the inmates consumed its resources, maintained and furthered its prosperity : they also supplied some of the needs furnished nowadays by industry : the ennoblement and beautifying of life in art they also supplied, as well as some of the advantages of applied science. There were also many wholly or partially dependent, who were there nourished ; many, too, who owed to their patron's munificence their stay and help in life, and many who saw their better days renewed. Slaves, on their manumission, generally received a donation more or less generous. Martial instances one of 10,000,000. The families, too, of dependents and clients received gratuities and protection. And a freedman of Cotta Messalina, a friend of Tiberius, celebrates, on his tombstone in the Via Appia, how his patron often gave him sums amounting to the knightly census (400,000 sesterces), educated his children, provided paternally for his sons, conferred a military tribunate

on his son Cottanus, and paid the expenses of that tombstone.

About the year 50 the highest place and the greatest influence amongst the old nobility had fallen to Gaius Calpurnius Piso, who headed the conspiracy of 65 against Nero, to win the throne, and lost his life. Caligula had banished and Claudius recalled him, reinstated him in his property and made him consul: his mother's inheritance still further increased his. Every aptitude for popularity he possessed, stateliness and handsome features; he was affable, even to strangers, eloquent and ready to defend the oppressed, not sternly moral, a lover of joy even to excess, fond of pomp and generous to extravagance, skilled alike in poetry and the cithar, in games with balls and dice and in combat. He helped knights and senators whom misfortune made poor, and aided annually a number of men of the third estate in gaining the knighthood. For a generation after his death, his generosity was the poets' theme.

After Nero's reign, the position of the aristocracy altered. In replacement of the old families, partly ruined, partly extinct, a new and increasing generation of Italians and provincials arose, who remembered their days of poverty and practised a parsimony, which Vespasian initiated. Domitian, too, by himself served as a reminder to the grandes not to excel in splendour, generosity or retinues; it was only under Trajan they dared again freely 'give, increase little incomes and distribute their surplus'. And Martial was right in wishing back the days of the Pisos and Crispuses, Senecas and Memmii. Then, he says, many friends there were who would confer on their client the golden ring (in other words, give them the 400,000 sesterces or knightly census); not so now; happy is he whom a knight of his house befriends.

But, even then, the life of the senators was brilliant and gorgeous, and a revenue insignificant for a senator would be no small one. At the beginning of the fifth century houses of the second class had an average income of 1,000 to 1,500 pounds of gold (£45,625 to £68,510). Pliny the Younger, who could scarcely support his state, gives us some inklings of the balance-sheet of a senator in Trajan's time, neither very rich nor very noble. His family came of the municipal nobility of Comum: at the age of twenty-seven, he climbed the first rung, and was quaestor, and ascended the ladder quickly, at thirty-eight, 100 A.D., being appointed consul by

Trajan. His three marriages probably augmented his wealth, which for a municipal was considerable; the inheritance of his uncle, his work as heir administrator, no doubt brought him much wealth indirectly, e.g. by legacy, as he refused rewards and gifts. As praetor, he economized in the spectacles. His property was mostly highly profitable vineyards, but he diminished the income by his solicitude for his agents and purchasers. He also lent money on interest. Near Tifernum Tiberinum, in Etruria, he possessed lands rented at more than 400,000 sesterces; at Comum, where he sold an inherited estate worth 900,000 for 700,000 sesterces, and at Beneventum: also several villas on the Lacus Larius (Lake of Como), and one by Laurentum, all fitted up, as he says, modestly and comfortably. About the year 101 he was intending to buy an estate for 3,000,000, and had to borrow from his mother-in-law. His economical management enabled him to be generous towards clients and friends in need, and he collected no few letters in testimony. He presented his nurse with a little estate worth 200,000 sesterces, and the same sum to a relation on her marriage, whose apparently large debts he remitted after her father's death. A fellow countryman of his, for whom he obtained a centurionship, received from him 40,000 as his outfit, and another, a schoolfellow, was advanced 300,000 sesterces, to qualify him for knighthood: Martial obtained from him travelling-money on his return to Spain, in return for a eulogistic poem. In the city of Tifernum Tiberinum, where he was patron, Pliny had a temple built at his own expense, and gave a banquet at the dedication: a temple of Ceres was collapsing in one of his estates, and, instead of repairing it, he built a new and beautiful building with a hall of columns: he ordered four marble pillars, and marble to adorn the walls and floor, and a statue of the goddess to be made. His father had left the Comenses 40,000 sesterces, to pay for the distribution of oil annually at the Feast of Neptune in all the thermae and in the theatre; Pliny, imitating him, gave large sums to his native city, eloquent of his 'Italian local patriotism'. He presented the city of Comum with a library worth 1,000,000 and invested 100,000 to maintain it; and offered to pay a third of the fee of a rhetorician in that town. And again he gave 500,000 sesterces to provide for free-born

boys and girls ; the interest, 30,000 (at 6 per cent), was to be derived from land, to be transferred to the community and then acquired by the heirs. And in his will he left the town an unknown sum for the erection of *thermae*, and for their furnishing at least 300,000, for their upkeep the interest on 200,000 ; as well as capital amounting to 1,866,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ sesterces to provide for a hundred freedmen of the testator, and, in remainder, to pay for an annual carouse for the whole community of *Comum*.

Such were, then, the means at the disposal of a poor senator ; evidently the senatorial census of 1,000,000 (about £10,875) must have been the minimum sum at which a suitable state could be maintained by a single individual only. Larger properties may well have been found in the middle classes at Rome ; Martial makes one braggart boast of an annual income of 3,000,000 from his lodging-houses and properties, 600,000 from his herds from Parma, besides money out at interest. Prosperous municipals even and provincials often obviously possessed (as their legacies and gifts prove) more than the senatorial census. The father of Apuleius left two millions, the father of Herennius Rufinus in Oea (according to Apuleius) three, the widow Pudentilla, whom Apuleius married at Oea, four. In the colony of Petronius, one of the *honoratiore*s inherits thirty from his father, and Trimalchio is made to leave as much, for he lost three millions in a shipwreck, gained ten on a more fortunate voyage, and hoped to marry as much again. Nero scattered amongst needy senators, and Vespasian gave indigent consuls 500,000, the half of the senatorial census.

Members of this aristocracy were all alike on a lofty eminence, scanned by all eyes, unable to evade the manifold claims made on them from all sides, without *opprobrium* or falling short of the standard of their rank. Horace was glad of his humble birth, which relieved him of a wearisome burden. He had not to busy himself with money-making and visiting, and could travel by land without trains of horses and waggons and livery-men. A praetor at Tibur with only five slaves, carrying culinary articles, had made himself supremely ridiculous. The poor poet was far more comfortable than the glorious senator. And senators have to dress up to their rank. As late as Hadrian when broad cloaks (*lacernae*) and

sandals were usually worn in the streets, senators might only decently have the cumbrous *toga* and high-laced shoes. Tiberius deprived one senator of the purple for having moved to a garden-house before July 1 (the general time of moving), so as to rent an empty dwelling more cheaply. A man who only pays 6,000 sesterces for rent, Velleius then wrote, hardly counts as a senator. As a fact, the comparatively simple standard of the day is shown in that a senator in so expensive a town as Rome could rent a house at £65 5s., at a time when the acreages of the palaces were complained of. But, after Tiberius, luxury became frightful, the Emperors inciting and heading it. Vespasian restored economy. Senatorial families vying in extravagance and pomp, in palaces, decorations and retinues, exhausted the most boundless properties, and no few sank into debt and poverty.

To maintain their rank was expensive enough; an official curule career still more so. The outlay was enormous, especially the necessary public games. The Megalensian Games cost the praetor (end of the first century) 100,000, and even then were scanty; other games 20,000: the year of honour might cost more than half of the senatorial census. Should a poor friend approach him for 100,000, to admit him to the knightly census, the reply would be, he wanted the sum for Scorpus and Thallus, his charioteers, and would be glad enough to be able to draw his purse-strings in. But, asks Martial, were not such an outlay better than for horses and a saffron-sprinkled stage? The same author remarks that a cautious woman would obtain her divorce before her husband became praetor, as he might well ruin himself, and, in Juvenal's phrase, become 'his horses' prey'.

Whilst the senators were constrained to such expenses, they were hampered in the means of increasing their wealth. Business and travels hindered the administration of their estates. Men of high rank, says Epictetus, could pay little heed to their own affairs; they must travel afar, as commanders or in subservience, to defend the arms of justice, or wield the arms of war; without they had been sent to the most diverse lands, they might never attain the prizes in their career. Such was the official life of Julius Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus. He was born at Marseilles in 39, and there grew up: at the age of nineteen served his first campaign

in Britain ; in the year 61 came to Rome and married. His quaestorship he entered on December 5, 63, in the province of Asia. In 66 and 68 he was tribune and praetor at Rome. Vespasian gave him the command of the twentieth legion, which was quartered in Britain : on his return in 73 he was made governor of Aquitania for three years. In 77 he became consul, and in 78, as consular legate, went for the third time to Britain, achieved its conquest, in seven years, up to the Forth and the Clyde. After his recall, he lived a retired life at Rome, refusing, in view of Domitian's perilous jealousy of him, the governorship of Asia and Africa, one of which would have fallen to him by lot. His career was, in no wise, exceptionally full of vicissitude : the leisure left to senators for their own affairs after official requirements can be imagined.

Further, they were legally debarred from all business. Julius Caesar had re-enacted the old Claudian law of the time of the second Punic War, that no senator or senator's son might own a ship of more than 300 amphorae (12 tons or 240 centner). Hadrian enacted that no senator, in his own name or otherwise, should farm taxes, a mere renewal of the old Lex Claudia, prohibiting them all public contracts and speculation : at the Games of Mars Ultor and the Apollinarian and other votive Games, they were allowed to provide horses for racing, only to make these games more reputable. But these interdictions could be easily evaded by conducting business under another's name, or by joint commercial enterprises, or by conducting financial businesses in the names of freedmen and slaves. Thus Vespasian embraced commerce, after his proconsulship in Africa, to gain the necessary means for his social standing, and Pertinax in Liguria similarly used his slaves. Money-loans at interest were allowed, but these failed to satisfy most of the senators ; in the year 33, a financial crisis obliged the government to intervene, and the whole Senate was perturbed, as they were one and all concerned in usurious dealings. These transactions were mostly in the provinces, where the rate of interest was higher than in Italy, generally at about 8 to 9 per cent. Thus Seneca had to force a loan of 4,000,000 on Britain, and his sudden call for it caused the revolt of 60 A.D. In his last years, through his agents, he was negotiating in Egypt, and the corn-fleet regularly brought him news of his monetary affairs. When Antoninus

Pius, as a senator, lent his money at the low rate of 4 per cent., it was to help as many as he could of his peers and a mark of his unselfishness.

But most of the senators invested in land and slaves. Slave-labour could be very profitable; they would do business and handicrafts, and they could be let out. And land, too, was used industrially for such purposes as sandstone, minerals, tiles, potteries and other manufactures. The manufactory of large dry-goods was common amongst the great land-owners, the Emperors and their families and noble ladies derived much income from tile-factories. The names of the two brothers Gnaeus Domitius Tullus, and Gnaeus Domitius Lucanus, two of the richest senators under Domitian, are often found stamped on tiles; tiles, too, of quite different and independent fabrics. Domitia Lucilla, the daughter of Lucanus, who was adopted by his childless brother, inherited both of their estates and the manufactories, and left them to her daughter (of the same name), from whom the Emperor Marcus Aurelius inherited them. And other manufactories were carried on on great estates. Pertinax, as consular, expanded a felt-factory in Liguria he had inherited from his father, by buying further land and erecting new buildings: and himself spent three years there, using his slaves to sell the products. Landowners whose property was adjacent to the highways built inns, and got from the Senate the right of holding fairs and markets there.

Apart from these kinds of industry, senators had the advantage of paid posts, often very remunerative, in the army, the administration and the provinces. A young nobleman who had raced away his whole ancestral inheritance might still hope for a cohort: a tribune was paid 25,000 sesterces (over £270). Legates, who governed the imperial provinces, and had been consuls and praetors, and proconsuls, the governors of the senatorial provinces, also had fixed salaries: the proconsul of Africa receiving 1,000,000.

Extortion, too, though not as gross as under the Republic, often enriched provincial governors. The Senate itself—a body too predisposed to condone its own members, and very open to bribery, was the Court before which they had to appear. Seneca says in bitter irony: 'The provinces were plundered, and judgments knocked down to the highest

bidder', no remarkable fact, as the purchases could be resold by the *ius gentium*. Pliny the Younger, in the years 100 and 101, was taking up the cause of Baetica and Africa, which in one year had been harried and pilfered by Marius Priscus and Caecilius Classicus, their proconsuls. Classicus died before trial, but had left a catalogue of his extortions, and written to a Roman mistress of his, that he was returning free of debts, having sold part of the Baetici, and so released 4,000,000. Priscus was convicted of executing the innocent for money. Under another legate a provincial bought the flogging of a Roman knight, his condemnation to the mines, and his strangulation in prison for 700,000; his dandified middleman in the business, the legate, exacted, as his commission, 10,000, 'to buy scents and pomades'. The legate was not expelled from the Senate, and only punished by being passed by in the allotment of provinces. Marius Priscus, banished from Italy, retained wealth enough 'to find consolation in the wrath of the gods'. Even under Trajan, such barbarous and notorious misgovernment could be highly condoned; its frequency in the overtaxed provinces is well vouched for. Tiberius used, on principle, to make conscientious holders of governorship continuous; as power also incited avarice, inversely to the length of duration. He compared the provincial to a fly-blown wounded fox, who would not have his blood-suckers blown off. Whether this permanency did alleviate is questionable. Quintilius Varus entered Syria poor, and, after nine years, during which he became rich, left it poor. When the 'extraordinary moderation and abstemiousness' or 'guiltlessness' of Vitellius' and Otho's administration is lauded, proof sufficient is given of the exceptionality of it. Any province that applied to an advocate at Rome to take up its cause was sure to be one which had been plundered out and out. Juvenal exhorts one great nobleman, when his province fell to him at last, to show his helpless allies some consideration, as their very marrow had been sucked out. The victims got no good of the condemnation of their oppressors, for law exhausted the prosecutor's purses, and a Pansa had to be paid for punishing a Natta's robberies. Verres and his contemporaries withdrew the greater portion of an immense opulence. There was nothing left but a few yokes of oxen, some herds of mares, a few

little estates and the statues of the house-gods. Should the suite of the governor be blameless, should no curly-locked boy barter legal decisions, were his wife free from debt; if she did not, harpy-like, tear through the cities and carry the circuits by storm, this much merit might outweigh the most ancient lineage. 'Poor State', the claimant Avidius Cassius writes: 'the prey to the greed of all its rich!' For the over-gentle Emperor should execute freely, and restore order: were men who believed provinces were given to them by Senate and Emperor, as the only source of carousals and gold-mines, to be appointed proconsuls and legates? 'Yet, be their riches ever so great, if the gods are just, the fisc will absorb them!'

Less wealthy senators, unwilling to serve in the army, unable to bear the expenses of public life, might serve as advocates: the fees for defence had been successively reduced to 10,000 sesterces, but these enactments were easily evaded, and popular advocates earned large sums. But the many, especially in the first century, who abused their talents as accusers in trials for high treason, were still more highly paid; thus did Regulus, Vibius Crispus, Eprius Marcellus, gain their immense fortunes. Regulus received, as his reward, the consulship from Nero, a priesthood and 7,000,000; under Domitian he had prospects of continuing the business and realizing a sum of 120,000,000. Vibius Crispus, the Croesus of his day (under Domitian), had 200,000,000 and Eprius Marcellus 300,000,000.

It is hardly possible that the legal lore of senators, to whose ranks the great jurists of the first and second centuries belonged, was a direct source of income. Indirectly, the influence, honour and esteem of it advanced them to highly advantageous posts, such as those of imperial councillor (after Hadrian a paid and permanent office), the City Praefecture, which was held by the great jurists Pegasus (under Vespasian and Domitian) and Salvius Julianus (under Hadrian). The consulate even fell to the lot of no few great jurisconsults of the first two centuries. Antistius Labeo is said to have been of too independent a mind to receive or accept it, as also Aulus Cascellius. Ateius Capito, Labeo's rival, was more pliable, and was consul in 5 A.D., as Marcus Cocceius Nerva in 22 A.D., Gaius Cassius Longinus in 30, Caninius Rebilus (who died in 56) at an unknown date, Caelius Sabinus in 69, Pegasus

perhaps under Vespasian, Neratius Priscus about 83 A.D., Publius Juventius Celsus under Trajan and again in 129, Salvius Julianus twice under Hadrian, Pactumeius Clemens and Marcus Vindius Verus in 138.

Often then lawful and honourable earnings could not meet the great social outlay, and, as might be expected, senators were constantly in direst need. Some were forced to sell themselves as performers in the public games, especially under Nero. When Vitellius was sent to Germany by Galba as consular legate, he was so hard pressed that he had to pledge a pearl his mother wore in her earring, let his palace for the rest of the year, and leave his wife and children in a common lodging-house: hardly could he bluff his thronging creditors. At Nero's death, Otho owed over 200,000,000. Many possible senators remained knights rather than be liable to such burdensome honours, or had to be forcibly ennobled. One Surdinius Gallus in 47 repaired to Carthage to escape the infliction of the honour; was ordered home by Claudius to sit in 'golden chains'. Other knights who refused Claudius degraded.

And very constantly did senators beseech imperial aid, or their own degradation. Generally, the Emperors willingly afforded relief to their former colleagues, and gladly took thought for the conservation of families of ancient fame: but, whilst their efforts could not wholly supplement, their readiness would vary. Augustus was very generous in this respect, and in 4 A.D. brought the property of eighty senators up to 1,200,000 sesterces: and one senator whose 4,000,000 of debt he had paid off, wrote complaining that he was passed over. Tacitus informs us that Tiberius retained the virtue of generosity to the last, and as his last: yet the superabundance of requests obliged him to grant help only in cases of poverty proved to the satisfaction of the Senate: he thus scared many claimants. Thus to Propertius Celer, who already had been praetor, he gave in 15 A.D. 1,000,000, as he was known to have inherited poverty. Marius Nepos, another senator, requested the payment of his debts: Tiberius made him name his creditors, then paid the amount, but added a severe reprimand. Hortensius Hortalus, a grandson of the orator, was enabled, by Augustus giving him 1,000,000, to found a family and prevent the famous name dying

out. Hortalus, in 16 A.D., accompanied by his four sons, appeared in the Senate and begged for relief of his penury. Tiberius brusquely refused; offensively doled out 200,000 to each son, and would hear no more of them. The family sank and vanished. Spendthrifts he either expelled from the Senate, or he accepted their resignations. One notorious evil-liver, Acilius Buta, who used to turn night into day, after drinking his huge fortune up, announced himself as impoverished: Tiberius told him he had woken up too late in the day. In the beginning of his reign, Nero scattered broadcast gifts of half a million to poverty-stricken families; for example, to Valerius Cotta, his fellow-consul in 59, and to Aurelius Cotta and Haterius Antoninus, though they had consumed their inheritance. Vespasian, too, was very generous, made up the amount of the census and gave needy consulars annual incomes of half a million. Hadrian distributed to senators, when innocently bankrupt, moneys proportionate to their families, sufficient for their state and often for life. Not only his friends, but even men of most evil fame received subsidies for the curule offices: he also aided women, probably only of senatorial rank. Hadrian, as praetor, under Trajan, had received 2,000,000 for the spectacles. Antoninus Pius, following the same practice, lent Gavius Clarus, who, on his scant net inheritance, had undertaken the quaestorship, the aedileship and the praetorship, funds out of the imperial purse to meet the expenses of the praetorship, and was repaid in full. Fronto, a close friend of Clarus, writing to Lucius Verus, says that he, were he better off, would willingly help him to meet his senatorial dues. Customarily senators would assist their impoverished colleagues for the honour of their rank: such had been the royal generosity of Gaius Calpurnius Piso.

The first order of the State seems to have acknowledged a limited obligation of mutual assistance; thus friends and even more distant colleagues would give and take contributions for the games. Julius Graecinus (the father of Agricola), who was executed under Caligula, refused the moneys sent to him with this object by the consulars Fabius Persicus and Caninius Rebilus on account of their evil name, whilst accepting from others: Seneca regards this slight as a kind of censorship. If a notable man's house was burned down, Juvenal says

the whole aristocracy would be in mourning, the praetor would suspend public business, contributions would flow in so richly as to make fires almost profitable speculations : but the poor man, whom a fire deprived of all his goods, got shelter and help from no one.

The custom of many scattered legacies was so general as to be a regular source of revenue for most senators. Pliny the Younger congratulates himself on so often being named together with Tacitus. Unless the testator was a special connexion of one of them, they would be named jointly for equal sums, as probably in the will of Dasumius (109 A.D.). Further gifts between man and wife were exceptionally legalized, if for the purpose of maintenance or gain of rank, and the ease with which senators, and noble senators especially, married money, is illustrated by a tale of Suetonius. His second beautiful and rich wife had forced herself on Galba's father, despite his ungainly dwarfishness. And, as a rule, a purple stripe was a woman's great ambition.

There was one great lure in the senatorship, outweighing the many burdens and the many delicate restrictions, which lent one great sense of their high dignity and consciousness of being the aristocracy of the world : this was their monopoly of the Republican offices. Then even, stripped of all their ancient might and meaning, the glamour of these offices dazzled the eyes of the keenest and the best. In the later Roman world, one most remarkable feature is how this wretched shadow of bygone greatness could for centuries replace the reality that had passed away, could arouse all the old reverence, and resistless fascination. This feeling was ineradicable ; down to the very end of all, surviving Rome herself, the consulate remained man's highest prize. In her tottering nonage, when it had become a mere gaud, Julian called it ' the supreme honour ' ; in the sixth century, when it was a mere senseless name, it ranked as ' the supreme good, the greatest honour in the world '. All the less surprising is it if, in the young Empire, a Tacitus even looked on the consulate as the loftiest ambition, when it was not altogether functionless, and when its tenures by the Emperors were ever making it more splendid. He concludes his summary of Agricola's career thus : ' He had attained a triumph and the consulship ; could Fate vouchsafe him more ? '

And how far the vanity of less gifted minds could persuade itself that these functionaries were all they seemed and portended, is strikingly manifested by the way in which Pliny the Younger speaks of the tribunate, the least and most foolish of them all. He found it incompatible with his year's tenure of this honour to act as advocate. 'It makes all the difference, at what the tribunate is valued, as a mere fiction, a name devoid of real honour, or as an inviolable power, which no one should limit, not even the possessor. When I was tribune—I may have been wrong—but I believed I was somebody, and thus would not act as advocate in the Courts: first, because I deemed it unseemingly that he should stand and all others sit, before whom all must stand and give way; and that he, who can command silence, should be interrupted by the waterclock, and that he, whom none may contradict, should hear insulting speeches; speeches he must be weak and leave unavenged: or strong and seem contumacious.'

The first senatorial office, the quaestorship, was, after Augustus, preceded by a complex of offices, known as the *vigintiviratus*. Further, every aspirant to curule rank had to do officer's services, the lowest age being eighteen: originally, before entering the *vigintiviratus*, sometimes after; which became the general rule. One term of service, for at least a year, was required. After Tiberius they served only as legionary tribunes. All the Emperors, up to and including Gordian, insisted on this preliminary service.

The obligatory succession of Republican offices had been the quaestorship, praetorship and consulate; between the first and second Augustus inserted another, comprising the two aediles and six new ones, and the ten tribunes; hence there were four degrees of senators, consulars, praetorians, tribunicii (among whom aedilicii are included) and quaestorii. Each rung had to be ascended; but the patricians, who could only hold the two curule aedileships, were allowed to pass direct from quaestorship to praetorship. The twenty *vigintiviri* became the twenty quaestors, out of whom the sixteen aediles and tribunes were selected; after passing patricians over, the aediles and tribunes became praetors, of whom there were sixteen to eighteen, eighteen being assigned under Claudius and remaining the normal until Hadrian. These figures prove the double tendency to make every senatorial aspirant

praetor at least once, and to present only sufficient candidates to fill vacancies, or, in other words, make the senatorial selection illusory. In practice, the Emperors used to dispense from the *vigintiviratus* and nominate senators to the ranks of *tribunicii* and praetorians without holding office. The caprice of the Emperor dictated the Senate's freedom of choice.

The consulate, the highest ambition, after Nero at least, was in the gift of the emperor; the consuls were increased in number. After A.D. 2, if not before, the consulate was generally for only six months; the year of office a distinction very rarely granted, save to members of the reigning family, the last instance being A.D. 52. Augustus and Nero generally appointed four consuls a year: Caligula and Claudius at will. In the year 69 there were three Emperors, Galba, Otho and Vitellius, and fifteen consuls. Six months' consulates are heard of no more: four months, two months was the arbitrary duration, two months mostly in the third century: Cleander, the chamberlain of Commodus, in one year nominated fifteen consuls. The Augustan order of honours stood firm for over two hundred years.

Between every tenure there had to be an interval. The lowest age for the quaestorship was, after Augustus, twenty-five, and thirty for the praetorship, for the tribunate twenty-seven, and the consulship thirty-three. There were exceptions, especially the right accorded by Augustus to the Senate, to release one year of the interval for every living child the competitor might have.

The correspondence of the numbers of the three lower grades assured quaestors of success in their further promotions, and besides the dispensation of patricians from the third there would doubtless often be an ample supply of qualified candidates, as the Emperors used to confer the rank, irrespective of the office. The censorial prerogative enabled the Emperors to range the senators more and more in these three orders of officials who had not served any of the three offices. The numbers of these were, later on, very great. This *adlectio* or promotion carried with it all political rights and pre-eminences derived from the real magistracies, namely, the right of competing for the higher posts.

Besides this real promotion by the Emperor the Senate could also simply confer the *insignia*. Such grants plainly gave

mere outward form and semblance, neither the right to compete higher, nor a seat in the Senate; only qualifying those who could already vote in the Senate, to vote with the rank whose *insignia* he bore, and, at public festivals, to appear in their company. The holders of the *insignia* had a merely titular dignity: those appointed by the Emperor, or holders of office, had the real privileges. Claudius, in vain, begged Tiberius for the consulate, and only received the consular *insignia*. He sent in a second urgent request, and was told Tiberius would give him fifty gold pieces to spend at the *saturnalia*. When Nero was blamed by his friends for neglecting Octavia, he said she must be content with her *insignia* as consort.

Sejanus was the first knight to receive such a grant (A.D. 19) on his appointment as praefect of the Praetorium. These praefects henceforth regularly received the same consular *insignia* (after Nero), as did the praefects of the Nightwatch, and other influential favourites, who were knights, and also imperial procurators, and, under Claudius, even imperial freedmen. Such decorations were also conferred on independent princes, as, for example, Agrippa, King of the Jews, under Caligula, received praetorian, and, under Claudius, consular *insignia*, and his brother Herod (under Claudius) the praetorian. As with modern decorations, the higher grants tended to supplant the lower.

The three lower offices were also filled by the Emperors, though originally in part only: they would advise the Senate what appointments would be legally valid; the rest were the nominees of the Senate. After Nero, the Emperors appointed all of the consuls, and the shortening of the tenure enabled them to spread rewards for merit or servility more broadly, and assure the submissiveness of more senators: and a new distinction of rank grew up, as the consulate for the first two months was more of an honour than for later periods of the year. The increase in number of the annual consuls rendered the censorial appointment of titular consulars superfluous, a practice which came in in the third century, first under Opellius Macrinus, and often after Diocletian. But beyond a second or third grant of the consulship imperial favour could not go, nor could ambition hanker higher; such a distinction was rare; Hadrian and his two predecessors were

lavish with it, even to non-members of the imperial house. The last subject to have a third consulate was Hadrian's brother-in-law, Julius Ursus Servianus (134 A.D.). Trajan used to confer this triple honour, not only for military service, as before, but also for civil. Pliny says that Verginius Rufus attained the utmost honour, short of the Empire, having been consul three times (the first two being in 63 and 69). A second term of office, a more frequent bestowal after the Flavian epoch, and especially under Hadrian, Caracalla and Alexander Severus, was also a great distinction.

The magistracies, now practically bared of their ancient significance, now assumed a new garb and a new value; they betokened a higher rank, and, as evidence of imperial favour and satisfaction, were eagerly sought after. Formerly (that is, under Domitian), Pliny the Younger remarks in his speech returning thanks to Trajan for the consulate, the zeal of even the best would be chilled by a certainty of the Emperor's ignorance or neglect of their doings (especially in the provinces); now, the prospect of promotion and fame could spur on every one to keener emulation with a more individual scope of action. At last, honourable desert in a lower office would be the best recommendation to a higher. In 103 or 104 Pliny requested of Trajan a vacant Augurate, as a proof of his good opinion of him: it was granted, and in reply to a letter of congratulation, he says that to be able to secure the honour on so slight pressure is really a good sign. Servility saw in promotions by imperial favour an irrefragable evidence of personal worth. A knight, who, after the fall of Sejanus, was indicted because of his friendship with him, defends himself before the Senate, saying: 'Not for us is it to doubt of whom thou raisest and why: to thee the Gods have given the supreme judgment; to us the virtue of obedience. We only see the result, who receives from thee honour or wealth, the power to hurt, the might to help. Unallowable is it to pry into the Prince's secret thoughts, perilous and vain'. Every higher step set the aspirant above some of his fellows, and nearer the throne. Thus the offices of Republican name had got the reality of monarchical dignities.

It may be seen at first sight, how this artificial scheme of titles, dignities and decorations, with its careful and obvious

gradations, answered the purpose of guiding the ambition of subjects in a direction profitable to the monarch. The success of it is shown by the importance attributed to all of the honours, and to the titular ranks as well as the active. The *insignia* by themselves would be conferred only exceptionally, at festivities and Court ceremonies. Alexander Severus contemplated—but never carried his intention out—designing robes for all imperial and curule honours.

Thus the curule offices were the goal of restless desire and unquiet effort; one rung once climbed only showed the next, and roused the longing for it. Ambition, says Seneca, ever makes unsatisfying what had been the keenest wish. For the tribunate no one is grateful; every tribune hankers after the praetorship and then the consulate, and then the consulate again. The greatest exertions were made for the consulate. Many, says Seneca elsewhere, live all the years of their life to have one year named after them. To add one name to the list of consuls, and then to rule Numidia and Cappadocia, says Martial, a senator will in the early morning visit sixty houses. To become consul, says Epictetus, you must cut off your sleep, run about everywhere, kiss hands, wait about at strange doors, do and say what no free man would, give presents daily even.

The acquisition of every office involved similar pains, visits by the candidate and his supporters and recommendations. When Sextus Erucius Clarus the Younger was fighting for the tribunate, Pliny the Younger was in great commotion, as his own repute was in some danger. He had won of the Emperor Clarus' senatorship, quaestorship and the right of competing for the tribunate, and, if Clarus failed, he would seem to have deceived the Emperor. Hence from house to house did he go, and from office to office, beseeching his friends, endeavouring all he could through favour or rank to enlist support. When Julius Naso became a candidate, Pliny begged his friend Minucius Fundanus (consul in 108) to hasten to Rome and work with him to this end. It seemed to him to be his election over again, and a rejection of Naso would be his own. Acknowledging a letter of recommendation from Tacitus (who was out of town), he says that a recommendation of Naso was the same as one of himself; would he write further letters? To exhaust every legal

means was a candidate's glory. When the young Julius Avitus was named aedile and died before taking office, Pliny praises him for his indefatigable electioneering. But the honour of office would often conduce to humiliating intrigues and servility. Columella, a knight in Nero's day, preferred the modest lot of a country gentleman to the loftiest official eminence, if gained by the tortuous roads of cringing and shamelessness and waste. Ambition, says Seneca, through unworthy ways leads to worship. Promotion was but too often the guerdon of the informer; its price the blood of innocents and the fall of families. In the year 27 a plot was made by three ex-praetors to ruin Titius Sabinus the knight; they were striving for the consulship, 'the keys of which were held in Sejanus' favour, and that could be won only by crime'. Bribery was rampant at Court and in the Senate. Messalina and Claudius' freedmen formally trafficked in offices. Fabricius Veiento was accused in 62 of selling his claim on Nero for promotion or similar grants. But even a Vespasian did not stickle at selling offices and dignities. In 107, a *senatus consultum* announced that candidates should not 'treat', give dinners, banquets, nor money to election agents, a practice hitherto clandestine; treating had been public: and Trajan, at the instance of the Senate, legally limited the allowable expenses.

The election itself down to the end of the first century was delivered orally in the Senate; after Trajan, secretly, and was deemed an important and earnest act. 'At the last election', Pliny the Younger writes, 'on some voting-tablets all manner of jokes and even obscenities were found; the Senate was shocked and consigned the malefactors to the imperial displeasure. What would a man do at home, who could play such pranks on so serious an occasion and time?' The fortunate were as proud as the disappointed were envious. In the year 16 a proposition was made to elect magistrates for five years, and rejected by Tiberius: with the one year's term, the defeated were hardly consolable, and the victors flushed with triumph; a five years' term would make both evils unendurable! Seneca often speaks of the impossibility of sating every desire: 'no one', he says, 'rejoices as much to see many behind him, as he is oppressed with the sight of one in advance. Ambition errs in never

looking backwards'. For 'new men' the day of curule-honour attained was epoch-making. The favoured of fortune would be embraced by his friends, his hands kissed by his slaves, his house illuminated; he ascended the Capitol to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and this, too, was done in his home. Any one who attained a higher rank ennobled his whole family and left his heirs the prospect of newer and greater honours, and a right to them. Tacitus says of Lucius Volusius Saturninus, that, though of ancient lineage, his family was only praetorian; he made it consular. 'If the son of a consular, who has received the triumphal *insignia*, be made thrice consul', says Pliny the Younger, 'it is no elevation, only his family right'. Vitellius was induced to aim at the Empire by the legate Fabius Valens, who pointed out that his father had been thrice consul and censor and colleague of an Emperor; such a lineage laid on him the sovereign's dignity, and robbed him of a subject's security.

There exist other evidences of the reputed importance of these official ranks. Pliny recommends Minncius Fundanus to select as his quaestor during his consulship young Asinius Bassus, with a praetorian father and several consular kin. Calvia Crispinilla, a woman of doubtful fame, according to Tacitus, married a consular, and gained the city's esteem. Quintilian lost his ten-year-old son, a boy of great promise, whose adoption by a consular had paved his way to the honours; he had been destined to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle, a praetor. Writers, whether senators, like Pliny the Younger, Seneca and Tacitus, or not, carefully point out the rank of their friends. On monuments of senators painful accuracy is shown in inscribing their offices in sequence of tenure, even when quite irrelevant. Thus in an inscription set up at Comum after the death of Pliny the Younger, besides a catalogue of his endowments and legacies to his native city, all his offices, from the highest to the lowest, are set down, and the pedestal of a bronze statuette he put up in the local temple of Jupiter was to contain his full titles 'should his friend and agent think good so to do'. In Greek inscriptions, relationship with senators and consulars is expressly set out.

In Republican days, senators had the privileges of wearing a broad purple stripe on the tunic, and the senatorial shoe laced

halfway up to the knee, of having the front seats at spectacles : imperial legislation and tradition at various times conferred, in addition, some other rights. Thus an edict of Augustus of 36 B.C. gave senatorial officers the right of wearing a purple garment as organizers of spectacles. The covered sedan-chair, first used by Claudius, was, in the third century, a consular privilege. About the same time, carriages came into use at Rome ; up to then they had been forbidden ; and Alexander Severus gave senators the privilege of having silvered coaches. In the course of the second century the usual courtesy title of a senator, *clarissimus*, was used to designate men, women, boys and girls, all members of this aristocracy, in a shortened form after the proper name.

In virtue of his censorial powers, the Emperor could degrade senators. Reason might be condemnation, evil fame, loss of property, as well as more specific and occasional motives. Tiberius in 25 erased Apidius Gallus Merula from the roll, for not complying to the Augustan regulations, and, in 32, Junius Gallio, for proposing that the Praetorian Guards should after dismissal have the knights' seats assigned to them ; it was mere servility, but Tiberius imagined it an effort to win the army over. In 53 the Senate expelled a member, incited by Agrippina to bring a false accusation against a distinguished man, who committed suicide. More often resignation would be voluntary. In 52 Claudius in a speech praised those whom poverty drove into willing resignation, and expelled some whose lingering added the vice of impudence to the crime of penury.

Generally expulsion was regarded as a severe blow : seldom borne with the equanimity of Umbronius Silio. He in the year 44 was recalled from the governorship of Baetica (South Spain) by Claudius and degraded from the Senate, on the pretext of having neglected the army in Mauretania, in fact, because of the animosity of some freedmen. Umbronius forthwith had all his possessions collected and exhibited, as though for sale ; he actually would only sell his senatorial robes, thus showing he had lost nothing of any consequence. Further members expelled could recover their rank under a new Emperor : Galba in 70 reinstated three who had been degraded by Claudius and Nero for extortion, and Marcus Antonius Primus thus punished by Nero for forgery.

III. THE KNIGHTS

Every senator was purely Roman ; his creation implied his release from all liability to his native town. Foreign senators, too, were to regard Italy as their home ; not as a mere sojourning : hence the regulations of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan as to investing one third or fourth of their property in Italian land. On the other hand, the knighthood was cosmopolitan, at any rate after Caligula, though many settled in Rome as members of the jury ; that monarch, to stay the diminution in numbers of that rank, included in it every eminent man in every province, an example followed by Vespasian. In the provinces, as in the *municipia*, the knights were the aristocracy, and their esteem may be understood from many inscriptions, e.g. that of one Manlia Secundilla in a city of Mauretania, whose brothers and *avunculi* were Roman knights : it was set up by her husband Quintus Herennius Rufus, who was also a knight. Provincials and municipals whose sons were thus dignified, would be as proud as knights who could boast of having fathered senators. Censorinus says in his dedication to Quintus Caerellius (238 A.D.), that his knighthood had raised him above mere provincials.

Of military origin, the knighthood became a wholly civic rank. In the later Republic even a knighthood signified little more than the qualification for service in the cavalry, and was practically hereditary. In 67 B.C. the Lex Roscia legalized the customary census at 400,000 sesterces, at which it remained in the Empire. Innocent or not, any falling below this sum forfeited the rank, together with its privileges of the gold ring, the purple stripe on the tunic, and the seats at the theatre. The father of Herennius Rufinus became bankrupt at Oea (possibly a relative of Quintus, or the same man) : ' he lays aside the gold ring and the symbols of his rank, and makes a composition with his creditors '. The grandparents of Statius the poet (at Naples) could not muster up the necessary sum, and his father, as a child, had to give up the purple and the golden *capsula*, which children of knights and senators wore as necklaces. ' You have for so long ', says Martial to one Macer, ' given rings to girls, that you have none left for yourself '. Spendthrifts lose their ring, and Pollio must beg with bare fingers.

In the Empire, too, knighthood was not hereditary: the censors, and ever more and more the Emperor, used regularly to grant the equestrian horse, though seldom to boys, save after the second century. The number of life-long grants was limitless. Even under Augustus at the annual parade of the knights (a custom maintained into the fourth century) on July 15, at which all entitled would not attend, five thousand took part in the ceremony.

The equestrian horse was generally bestowed only on families with an ancient title; but men of no birth could also have it, as Tiberius' stringent exclusion of freedmen's sons (23 A.D.) was soon relaxed: it is not strange then that sons of pandars, gladiators, fencing-masters (who might be free-born) in Trajan's day sat among the knights. But even freedmen, subject to a fictitious adoption, might receive from the Emperor the golden ring and the full rank. The first Emperors were sparing of these grants, according them only to those freedmen of theirs most deserving or most in favour. Of these enough has been said. Thus Augustus honoured Titus Vinus Philopoemen, who had sheltered his proscribed patron, and Menas, the deserter from Sextus Pompeius, and his physician Antonius Musa. Soon after Philippi, Horace's anger was stirred at seeing one of these freedmen strutting about on the *Via Sacra* with a *toga* six yards long, and driving on the *Via Appia* with ponies, sitting on the knights' benches in the theatre, and being a legionary tribune. More lavish were such grants under the Flavian emperors: Pliny says that, under Vespasian, men who were yesterday slaves, to-day might have leapt into the second rank; a thing unprecedented: the sign, whereby knights were distinguished from the free-born, now confused them with the unfree. Later on, before the beginning of the third century, perhaps soon after Commodus, the golden ring did not, except under special imperial license, carry with it full rights of knighthood, nor full *ingenuitas*. The standard of honour exacted varied. One claimant, presumably rebuffed in consequence of an action for calumny, on a second application, was told by Hadrian that those who desire the ring must be above suspicion.

Although a seat in the Senate was incompatible with the equestrian horse, the senatorial career regularly set out with

the knightly services and offices, both for senators' sons, and for young men adopted into senatorial families. Both classes of future senators wore the distinguishing senatorial mark, the broad purple stripe, and were a special division of the knighthood, provisionally included.

The knighthood had ceased long ago to serve in the army, but were still organized in *turmae*, and, as such, turned out on solemn occasions, such as funerals and the annual parade on July 15. The *seviri equitum Romanorum*, the six leaders of these squadrons, were appointed by the Emperor, mainly out of the senatorial knights, and the princes, who wore the *toga virilis*, but did not as yet sit in the Senate, led them as the *principes iuventutis*. To this limited extent the knights were an organized corporation, but the essential unity of the Senate they never had, nor was it ever ascribed to them.

Gaius Gracchus (122 B.C.) had conferred on the knights the exclusive right of being *iudices*: thus they were the only jury down to the end of the Republic (except from 80-70), and in matters civil and criminal under the Empire: from their ranks the lists were drawn. Augustus released the senators from the obligatory service on juries, enacted by the *Lex Aurelia* (70 B.C.) and by Caesar (46 B.C.), and assigned to the knights the first three *decuriae* of jurors (about one thousand in each). Augustus added a fourth, and Caligula a fifth, consisting of specially competent men, possessing half of the knightly census. The lowest age limit was fixed at thirty; by Augustus at twenty-five. Under Augustus only Italians were admissible, later on, Latin-speaking provincials (numerous instances are found in inscriptions for Africa, Spain and Gaul, very few for the Danubian countries and still fewer for the East): and, further, only citizens by birthright. Such were the jurors for the first two hundred years.

The legal qualification for service as commissioned officers was the proof of the conferment of knighthood by the Emperor. In the cavalry service (*militia equestris*) there were, at least, three regular ranks: the praefecture of an auxiliary division, the tribunate in a legion or cohort (both ranking equally), and the praefecture of an auxiliary cohort. Under this head there also comes the stationary command (*praefectura castrorum*), and perhaps many other ordinary and extraordinary officers' posts. There were no age-limits, and military service was

less tied up than the civil. Further, soldiers who attained the highest centurionate of the legion, were often given the equestrian horse, and the entry of veterans into the officers' ranks was favoured in the Early Empire ; later, when government relied more and more on the populace, these veteran promotions fell into a class apart.

➤ Augustus had made service as officers compulsory on the knights. After Claudius' reign, and certainly after 100 A.D., they were obliged to hold three officers' posts ; after Severus, four. The duration of the several services is uncertain ; they might remain several years in one. To be appointed to the six months' post of tribune or praefect (which was equivalent to a year's service) was an envied promotion. Senatorial knights, on entering the Senate at the age of twenty-five, lost the right of being officers, and only had to serve once. The Augustan order of seniority remained in force until about 250 A.D.

For a long time, service in the army was an essential preliminary for the equestrian civil service. Augustus entrusted to the knights all offices personal to the monarch, such as the finance, and departments of home and war administration, less noble and more responsible, besides the new provinces, auxiliaries and fleets. As procurators (superintendents of finance and administration), knights were used in Rome and in the provinces, and, even in the senatorial provinces, as receivers of all revenues ; in the imperial provinces, as principals of the fisc ; and, after Claudius, as independent administrators or officials with supreme criminal jurisdiction. The other procurators had jurisdiction only in finance, and this much only after Claudius. From such posts knights in the course of the second century gained access to the administration of the imperial household, formerly held by freedmen, namely the Secretariate, the Department of Grievances and Petitions, and the Treasury. The highest posts were the praefectures of Corn and the Police and Fire-brigade of Rome, the governorship of Egypt, and the command of the Praetorian Guards, which was divided between two praefects during the first two centuries : there were also the praefectures of the imperial fleets at Misenum and Ravenna and the imperial post. Soon after Tiberius' reign, the praefects of the Guard ranked first after the monarch himself, as the commanders

of his personal life-guards, and often enough the makers and unmakers of their masters; besides, they more and more represented the Emperor in criminal and civil jurisdiction. Thus this praefecture became a vice-Empire, and was viewed as the second greatest earthly power by the writers of the third century.

These high positions naturally only fell to the lot of the few, and to attain a procuratorship was no small honour, which raised the holder's family into the equestrian nobility. The career was very profitable, and the high salaries determined the ranks of this hierarchy. Fronto recommends the Greek historian Appian, who was then engaged in legal work at Rome, to Antoninus Pius for nomination into civil service: Appian, he says, desired the post, not out of ambition or desire of a high procuratorship, but to invest his old age with a position of honour. The legionary tribunate could be held at eighteen, and was generally entered on by young knights at or about this age: the salary was 25,000 sesterces (£270). One of Hadrian's reforms of army discipline was the forbidding of beardless tribunes. Salaries of procurators were proportioned to their rank and importance. The largest was 300,000, the income of the chief of the Finance Department, the chiefs of the Secretariate and the Petitions receiving only 200,000, as also the director of inheritances that fell in to the Emperor. The principal provincial procurators received 200,000; the others 100,000 or even 30,000. 100,000 was also the salary of the directors of the Privy Purse, the Mint, Roman waterways, the great school of gladiators, public buildings, the Food Commission, and the postmaster-general. Assistants, sub-procurators, and sub-praefects received 60,000, and also the clerks of the State Council, the under directors of the Imperial Literary Department, provincial postmasters-general, the procurator of corn at Ostia, and (in the second century) the professional director of all the imperial libraries. The salaries of praefects must have been gradated similarly to those of the procurators.

An equestrian career was as varied as the senatorial. A tablet dedicated to Lucius Valerius Proculus at Malaga (perhaps his native city) describes his career; somewhere he was praefect of the cohorts and legionary tribune, then praefect of the flotilla of coastguards at the mouths of the

Nile, then procurator of the province of the maritime Alps (from Genoa to the Varus), and, at the same time, charged with the log of the legionary reserves, and then, in succession, procurator of Baetica, Cappadocia, Asia, and the three Gauls: and, after serving at Rome as head of the Finance Department and praefect of Corn (under Antoninus Pius), praefect of Egypt. Seneca's friend Lucilius, was, at the time of Seneca's correspondence with him, procurator of Sicily: he had been in service in the Graian and Pennine Alps, in Dalmatia and North Africa. The career of Pliny the Elder is incompletely known: he was born in 23 at Comum, in 45 led a division of cavalry in Germany; then, perhaps, became procurator in Spain; in 52 was in Rome amongst Vespasian's Friends; then held several procuratorships, one perhaps in Africa; in 79 died during the eruption of Vesuvius as commander of the fleet stationed at Misenum. His long career as advocate and his literary occupations must have precluded him from higher posts at the age of fifty-six, despite his Emperor's friendship. These officials might be very enthusiastic: one Gaius Turranius, who was dismissed by Caligula from his procuratorship at the age of ninety, lay prone on his bed, and bade his servants raise a *conclamatio* as though for a dead man. He was not satisfied, until put back into his old harness. As a contrast to such indefatigability, Sulpicius Similis may serve; he, under Hadrian, requested dismissal from his unwilling praefecture of the Praetorium, and lived his seven remaining years in country retirement; and inscribed the years of his life as seven.

The *centuriones primipilares*, as has been said, could get an officer's commission, and enter on the official career; but there were none immediately admitted before Marcus Aurelius, and, after him, instances are rare.

'On the one hand, during the second century, more and more stress was laid on military service, and, in the third, the civil service was an epilogue to a long military career, and the administrature treated as a provision for officers past service; on the other hand, a purely civil service grew up, leading to the same posts of procurators and praefects.' Hadrian's thorough reforms increased the numbers in the various branches of the service; freedmen were now, on principle, excluded from subordinate posts: hence the larger

demand necessitated a less vigorous qualification, as the officers who had served their time would be too few. Hadrian created a civil service, independent of the military, and with it an officialdom conversant with the facts and the rote of business. The apprentice stages were various: subordinate posts in the Food Commission, the Highways, the Inheritance-duty, the Imperial Fencing-schools, the levying of recruits, Roman public libraries and the Literary Office. A legal training was a great recommendation to promotion, considering the expanding jurisdiction of procurators and praefects. Hadrian organized his Council (*consilium principis*) principally out of professional jurists, especially of knights, for legal purposes of all sorts, and the praefecture of the Praetorium was totally changed, for 'jurisprudence took a foremost place, no longer the counterpart and complement of military service, but its full equivalent'. Even before the third century, knowledge of law had been the principal requisite for the praefecture of the Praetorium; its holders had been the great jurists Paulus, Ulpian and Papinian, and Herennius Modestinus had been praefect of Police. Volusius Maecianus, the counsellor of Antoninus Pius, and the Friend of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, was probably praefect of Egypt, or judge in Alexandria; Tarrutenius Paternus, under Commodus, had been praefect of the Praetorium. Equestrian jurists commenced their official career as paid assessors to provincial governors, pleaders to Praetorian praefects, assistants in the Council of State, lower officials, or in the Attorney General's Office (*advocatus fisci*), established by Hadrian, to aid the procurators in contentious cases relating to the fisc. Septimius Severus came of a knightly family at Leptis in Africa, was entrusted with this office by Marcus Aurelius, and soon made a senator; his successor as *advocatus fisci* was Papinian, who was in the same reign promoted to be head of the Department of Petitions and Grievances, and afterwards praefect of the Praetorium; he made Paulus and Ulpian his assessors. Opellius Macrinus, after his knighthood, also became *advocatus fisci*, and apparently ascended the official ladder in the usual way up to the praefecture of the Praetorium; previously he had been procurator of the Privy Purse. Probably in the second century, amongst jurists of equestrian rank, members of the imperial council could be

chosen from amongst former distinguished Attorneys General, and then further promoted. A fragmentary inscription informs us that a jurist of the third century first became imperial councillor at a salary of 60,000, then held a priesthood; and, after that, received 100,000 sesterces; he was afterwards appointed Commissioner of Food for the Via Flaminia (from Rome to Rimini), postmaster-general, and, at the last, imperial councillor at a salary of 200,000. Law might pave the knights' way to the Senate; e.g. Lucius Fulvius Aburnius Valens: this must have been frequent in the second century.

An edict of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus divided equestrian officials into three classes: the first was the praefecture of the Praetorium, its holder being styled *vir eminentissimus*; the second, all other praefects (including the heads of the Finance and Petitions Departments) with the title *vir perfectissimus*; thirdly, all *procurators*, called *viri egregii*. Beneath them were the knights not in the service, the more eminent of whom were styled *splendidi* or *illustres*. *Viri eminentissimi* and *perfectissimi* down to the third generation were privileged in criminal procedure, in action and in penalty. These titles, unlike the *clarissime*, seldom, if ever, were hereditary.

Knights often held the principal subordinate post, influential and well-paid, of *scriba* or book-keeper to the aediles and quaestors. Horace, who had been legionary tribune, bought himself such a position, as did Sarmenius, who, under Augustus, played a knight's rôle. Non-equestrian officials of this class were often made knights.

By the Augustan regulations the priesthoods of the *Curiones* and *Luperci* were tenable by both knights and senators: knights had exclusive right to the lesser *Flaminatus*, the *pontificatus* and *tubicinatus* and all Latin priesthoods, of which the *Caeninense* was the most important and the *Laurentinum* the least; this last knights of no standing, and (after Commodus) even freedmen might often hold. These priesthoods were esteemed as imperial favours, and valuable as conferring certain immunities.

Knights entitled to be senators often preferred to remain in their own order, so as to enjoy either the leisure of an unofficial life, the large profits of business, or the reality of

power in office or at Court, rather than have the tinsel glory and burdensome pomp of the senatorial dignities. Thus Quintus Sertius Niger declined the broad purple stripe offered to him by Julius Caesar, to live the philosophic life. The rejection of senatorial rank and precedence was a sore point with these haughty aristocrats. Tacitus the senator characteristically reflects on Lucius Annaeus Mela, the brother of Seneca the philosopher and father of Lucan, that his perverse ambition withheld him from competing for the Curia, so as to have equal influence, as a knight, with consulars; also, to make his imperial office a shorter cut to a fortune. Cornelius Fuscus, in early youth, had abandoned his senatorial rank 'for pelf'. On the other hand, Pliny the Younger praises some knights, unambitious, money-loving, or perhaps merely idle. Minucius Macrinus was raised by Vespasian to the rank of praetorian senator against his will; he preferred the leisure of the knight to the troublesome dignity of senator. Maturius Arrianus and Terentius Junior were of the same opinion. How knights were ennobled (the first instance being 19 A.D.) has been described.

Apart from these gradations, knights differed much in social position, income and family. All self-made men, risen through favour or military merit, were looked down upon by those who had, if not long knightly lineage, at least an inherited rank. 'Roman knight and son of a Roman knight', so runs an inscription at Misenum on Lucius Aemilius Pertinax Acceianus. Ovid gloried in his ancestral dignity; his knighthood was no mere personal desert of war or fortune; Persius pronounces it no reason for boastfulness in being able to strut past the censor at the Parade in the *Trabea* (the knight's robe) and being the thousandth scion of an Etruscan family.

The difficulties and indignities of knights too poor for their station, or too idle or incompetent for work, are dealt with in Martial's poems: he owed his elevation to his tribunate. He was always being referred to the favour of rich patricians, and never stickled at begging from them or the Emperor: his wishes were modest, he requested a good cloak and a fine *toga*: this last he received from Parthenius, the imperial chamberlain, and he sang his gratitude in two poems, to celebrate its newness, and mourn its shabbiness. To earn

his daily bread, year in, year out, he condescended to the lowest cringings of a client. His Muse was suborned to every man ; one of his most belauded friends, Pudens the centurion, never even attained his aim of knighthood ; Martial also wrote epitaphs for other centurions. The 400,000 sesterces scarcely supported life. Juvenal says they were a living wage and no more ; but, if double or treble the sum did not suffice, then the wealth of a Croesus or Narcissus would not. Some Roman knights had to live on bran-bread and sour wine ; and the many, who under the Julian Emperors disgraced their order by public acting and combats, can scarcely have so done, save under hardest pressure of need ; amongst those knights who appeared in Nero's spectacles, only a few were reputable and rich.

But there was also great wealth, in the provinces, the *municipia* and in Rome ; thus Persius the poet, of a Roman equestrian family at Volaterrae, left 2,000,000 ; Columella, probably a knight, of Cadiz, possessed land at Caere, Ardea, Carseoli and Alba. Vedius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, and owner of the great estate of Pausilypum (Παυσίλυπον), now Posilippo, was descended of freedmen ; his vast palace at Rome, 'larger than many cities', was, after his death, demolished to construct the Colonnade of Livia. Generally, the Emperor's equestrian friends were very wealthy. The bankers also belonged to this class—Augustus once as censor admonished them for borrowing at low rates and lending at high—also merchants (mostly engaged in sea-trade and shipping), manufacturers, tax-farmers, purveyors, directors and partners in companies and mercantile enterprises (e.g. the providing horses for the Circus). Seneca speaks of a 'splendid' knight, Cornelius Senecio, whose ability in business had enriched him, and whose death cut his career short : his money was invested on land and sea ; he found no industry amiss, and also farmed taxes. But investment was mostly in land. According to Quintilian, most of the jurors were landowners. The advocate must not seek terseness at the cost of intelligibility, or they would not follow his arguments.

Men unqualified often posed as knights. At the Court of Augustus one Sarmentus, an Etruscan, a freedman or a slave (according to Horace, of a lady, according to others of Marcus Favonius, who died at Philippi), gained so much favour with

his wit that he could appear as a knight. Once, when sitting at the games in the equestrian benches, the populace sang jeering songs at him. A trial for unlawful assumption of the title ended, thanks to his supporters, in an acquittal. In 23 A.D. Gaius Sulpicius Galba, as aedile, complained in the Senate that even publicans wore the golden ring; this was forthwith forbidden and the prohibition sharpened next year by the *Lex Visellia*. During the censorship of Claudius (47 A.D.) the knight Titus Flavius Proculus prosecuted no less than four hundred persons, freedmen having their property confiscated as well. Under Nero few freedmen dared so presume: Trimalchio, in Petronius, wears a ring half-gilded on one side, and on the gold set with iron stars. Martial never mentions such proceedings: but often speaks of Domitian's Edict (circa 89), prohibiting unqualified use of the equestrian benches, a practice condoned up to then. But richly dressed men, loudly commending these ordinances, would still intrude in these seats; they were recognized, and removed, and 'knights could at last sit at ease, and in their proper dignity, free from the pressure of the vulgar'. Martial and Juvenal use the expression *vernae equites* for such false pretenders, and they must have been a standing feature of Rome. Martial wrote an epigram on a barber who was decked by his mistress with a knight's feather, was accused, condemned and fled to Sicily.

IV. THE THIRD ESTATE

§ 1. RICHES AND POVERTY

Rome was mainly peopled by the 'third estate'; in this class the proletariat formed the majority; it lived on the '*panem et circenses*', the generous distribution of which was ever inflating its numbers. The great distributing of corn gave only the majority of the male freemen the barest livelihood, and thus in the over-big over-rich city, there was also poverty and need. The poor man, says Martial, may well be a Stoic, and despise his life; it was no merit of his. Their dark rooms, two hundred steps up, were not as high as a man's stature. Their hearth was cold, a jug with a broken handle, a mat, a heap of straw, an empty bedstead, was their furniture; a short *toga* by day and night their only

protection against the cold ; vinegar-wine and black bread their food. Bread, beans and turnips (the workman's lunch), lentils, onions, garlic, peas (one *as* bought a good meal), and fish, were their diet ; leeks and a boiled sheep's head, or a smoked pig's head, was luxury. On July 1, the usual day for moving, many poor families might be seen, driven out by the estate-agent, after he had taken all their best property in distraint ; with what was left they were sent into the street, ' a first of July disgrace ', says Martial. A pale-faced man, exhausted with frost and hunger, the ' Irus of his day ', and three women more like megeras, dragging a bedstead one leg short, and a table two legs short, and other rubbish, a horn lamp and lantern, broken crockery, a rusted coalbox, a pot stinking of fish, an old wreath of black fleabane (esteemed a cure and hung up in bedrooms), a piece of Toulouse cheese, string to support the absent leek and garlic, a pot filled with a cheap depilatory. Why should they seek a dwelling ? the poet asked ; they could live free on the bridge. Bridges, steps, thresholds, inclines, were, as in modern Rome, the beggars' resorts : there, and in the *fova*, their picture of woe, their rags, and their maims and wounds (blind men led by a dog), sought to awaken pity : their hoarse voices intoned petitions for alms. Their refuge in the cold rain of December might be an open archway ; their dog their sole friend, and their food dog's bread (bran-bread) ; their wealth a staff, a blanket or a mat, and a knapsack ; their salvation solitary death.

Not all the poor were so poor. Some might be well off, by some vicissitude, such as raised slaves. Clesippus, a hunchbacked ugly slave, who had learnt fulling, was bought by Gegania at auction as part of a lot with a Corinthian candelabrum ; he became his mistress' lover, and her heir. When a rich man, he worshipped, as his god, his saviour candelabrum. Such careers were not rare under the Emperors. Licinius Sura, the friend of Trajan, had a love-boy Philostorgos, whose wealth irritated a friend of Epictetus ; the philosopher rejoined that Fate was not to blame, but he would not purchase wealth at that price. Juvenal had to see his former barber become owner of many country-houses, and be as rich as a lord ; and Martial look on at a freedman shoemaker, who used to pull up old skins with his teeth, living in luxury on his former patron's Praenestine estates. Former horn-players

in gladiatorial touring companies often themselves came to give gladiatorial games, as also did, under Domitian, a shoemaker at Bologna, and a fuller at Modena. (Modena was a centre for fulling and wool-making). Such pieces of luck were few: but often did dirty dealers or auctioneers make more than advocates. 24,000 sesterces seems to have sufficed for a modest livelihood for one. Juvenal's Naevolus wishes for 20,000, and a little silver, not finely wrought, but not too simple, two strong Moesian slaves, to clear his way to the Circus, and two skilful artisans, to earn him something. This poverty would be bearable.

§ 2. INDUSTRY! CRAFTS AND TRADE

There was no unemployment at Rome for the willing worker, however poor. There was no export trade, and little manufacture, except perhaps of some military articles: a union of such catapult-makers is known of. The imports were enormous, and Rome was the principal exchange of the world. Transporters of wares on the river, which Pliny calls 'gentlest bearer of the world's traffic', stevedores, warehouses and their staff, the many middlemen, employed thousands as sailors, divers, weighers, clerks, agents, commissioners and porters; and in the exchange, besides the great bankers, there were many little money-lenders. The usurer flourished in Rome. Ambrosius' description may well literally be antedated: in him, usurers systematically fleeced rich young men; either by loans, or by inducing them to purchase valueless goods: they would lend on old family estates, and dun hard, if necessary, exacting newer and severer terms.

The underlings in trades and crafts were mostly slaves and freedmen working for their master, possibly on commission. The rich supplied many of their own needs through their slaves. A Yorkshire inscription in a tavern runs: 'Hail, oh god of this place; slave (*servule*), be zealous at your goldsmith's work in this inn'. But the need of providing the huge population with the necessary living wage, and the various and exigent luxuries of the rich, kept many independent handicraftsmen and dealers at work. But most of these even must have been freedmen, as the slaves would live

for themselves on what they had learnt for their masters, and as the poor free contemned such employment.

Scanty as the sources are, the crafts and trades of Rome may be reconstructed. The gazetteers of the early fourth century mention 254 bakeries (fifteen to twenty per *regio*, and twenty-four in one) and 2,300 oil-shops. Foodstuffs gave employment to thousands: and there were special markets for cattle, pigs, corn, vegetables, fish and delicacies; clothing-trades, dwellings, furniture were also amply catered for.

The complex division of labour incident to highly developed industrialism entailed a large populace engaged in the trades and the crafts. Many such workers of single articles formed guilds. From the ancient guild of the shoemakers, dating back to Numa, there had seceded the bootmakers' guild, which Alexander Severus reorganized. Sandal-makers there also were sufficient to name a street, slipper-makers, ladies shoemakers and other specialists in this craft, all similarly organized. Trajan reorganized the bakers' union, and, besides this, many special pastries had their proper guild. The copper-smelters were specialized into potters, makers of candelabra, lanterns, weights, helmets and shields: the ironmakers into fabricants of locks, knives, axes and hatchets, scythes and swords. Under Augustus a guild of ladder and stepmakers (*scalarii*) had been formed. The restoration of works of art in metal busied modellers, founders, polishers, gilders, sculptors, chisellers and machine-workers; jewelry workers in pearls and diamonds; besides the guilds of gold and silversmiths, there were ringmakers', goldbeaters' and gilders' unions. St. Augustine compares the lesser gods, with their very limited power, to the craftsmen in the Streets of the Silversmiths, where every completed work has passed through many hands, where the mastery of the whole is hard to learn, and the special part easy. As in the nineteenth century, colonies of similar workers congregated at Rome and elsewhere in Italy in special districts.

The division of labour was most complex in art: the enormous demand for the unique products resulted in a large manufacture of them. The mural decorations of Pompeii, as also at Rome and elsewhere, point to decorators' guilds, in which painters of houses, of arabesques, flowers,

animals and scenery worked together. In the sculptors' yards of Rome (mostly in the ninth *regio*, between the *Porticus Europae*, the *Circus Agonalis* and the *Via Recta* ; also perhaps near the marble-wharves) statues were often transformed, even new heads put on : in the Pandects it is observed that a legacy of a statue held good, though an arm had been substituted before the testator's death. Tombstones were a special branch of work : in Petronius Habinnas is a stoneworker, of whom Trimalchio orders his monuments. In the Pandects a partnership for restoring gravestones is mentioned, one member giving the capital, and the other his ability. Some workers specialized on *genii*, their yards stood behind the Temple of Castor ; and others in eyes of some coloured material. This manner of production, together with the frequent employment of slaves, led to a great cheapness of statues, portraits ranging up from 3,000 sesterces. Similarly, expanding trade caused specialization : thus, lupine-sellers were a special branch of vegetable-dealers : in drugs, colours, salts, essences, toilette accessories, there were many special guilds ; and so, too, amongst the tailors for cloaks, mantles, summer garments, etc.

These very heterogeneous industries were carried on in the most frequented parts : at the end of the first century the nuisance of the shops which projected from the house-fronts had to be inhibited. Streets were named after their occupants, e.g. the streets of the corn-merchants, harness-makers, sandal-makers, wood-traders, glaziers, salve-dealers, scythe-makers. Such congregation was no doubt involved by the specialized labour, as St. Augustine observed. The *Via Sacra*, one of Rome's principal highways, was the Bond Street of Rome, containing, according to inscriptions, besides purveyors of luxury, jewellers, metal founders, and sculptors, a dealer in colours, a flute-maker, and a writing-teacher. Ivory dice might there be bought, and ' Caietan ' cord (really from Gaul), crystal balls, peacock feather fans, and other ladies' articles, fruit for dessert and crowns for the toppers at banquets. Rome's best shops, however, at about 100 A.D., were in the markets, surrounding the *Saepta* of the Campus Martius. There fine slaves were to be had, large citron-wood table-tops, ivory, banquet couches inlaid with tortoise-shell, ancient bronze statues, crystal and *murrha* vessels, silver beakers of

antique design, collars of gold set with emeralds, big pearl earrings, as well as less expensive wares. Other shops for luxury were in the *regio Tusca*, and in the arcades surrounding the Circus.

The shops and taverns in all their breadth opened on to the street, and were closed in with linen curtains, covered with notices or paintings: they also had signboards. Some tablets in relief have been preserved, which were either signs, or they may have decorated the shopkeepers' tombstones. On a ham-dealer's sign, there are five hams ranged arow. Two of these advertise two branches of a tailor's firm for men and for women; the design is a man or woman and their retinue examining proffered articles. One such sign represents a hare, two wild boars, and several large birds hanging on the wall; and a young girl bargaining with the mistress of the shop; both figures' costume, bearing and execution show the refining influence of Greece, like other examples, such as funeral monuments, which testify 'how much more general than in modern days, even in later antiquity and the lower ranks, was the need of beautifying life by art, and leaving posterity some record and remembrance'. Thus workmen would have tombstones depicted with scenes from their lives; there is one relief, a well-known group of the three Graces, and a matron fully clothed, her dress drawn over her head: the inscription is '*to the four sisters*'; it must have been the sign of a shop or inn, or, maybe, bawdy-house. A Greek-Latin book of dialogues contains the following: 'I am going to the tailor. How much does this pair cost? One hundred *denarii*. How much is the water-proof? Two hundred *denarii*. That is too dear; take a hundred. Impossible; I have to pay so much for it wholesale. What shall I then give? What you like. [To the slave or attendant] Give him 125 *denarii*. Shall we go to the linen-merchant?' Bargaining was customary, as Juvenal witnesses: a schoolteacher must expect a deduction from his salary, like a dealer on his rugs and bed-linen.

It is almost only from such reliefs and inscriptions that we get some insight into the lives of these many workers. They remind us how little we know: one inscription at Hierapolis in Great Phrygia of the second or third century, records a society of purple-workers founded for mutual support,

another in Sardes, 459 A.D., a quarrel—such as frequently arose among the Mauri in the Eastern Empire—between men and masters (*ἐργοδοται καὶ ἐργολάβοι*): the former had discontinued a building-operation. The Roman *mimi* and *atellanae*, which borrowed their scene from these social strata, are unfortunately lost, and Petronius' *bourgeois* are South Italian only. The extant literature is entirely from a sphere which had more contempt than interest for the lower orders, the men who, day by day, tucked in their tunics behind the counter, or stood in apron and cap by their bench in the workshop, where nothing noble could be made, only the daily bread earned—where cheap goods were sold at 50 per cent. profit, be they hides or fragrances; for them profit was the best of scents. People of higher standing were no more connected with even the uncleanest business (e.g. the letting of houses and property for brothels) than are Russian grandees with the cheap spirit-stills; the transaction of such affairs by slaves and freedmen left them untainted: little tradesmen were taunted for their innocent cupidity. Pliny says that tailors watched the sinking of the Pleiades, on the 11th November, to see if it were cloudy—a sign of a rainy winter—or bright—a sign of a rough winter; and to judge whether to raise the price of cloaks or underclothing: he sees in this a cheating disposition. Workmen received, if satisfactory, a small extra wage called *corollarium*.

Workmen and small tradesmen were the most conservative class, as every revolution, riot, or civil war spelt their ruin. Cicero, enunciating a sempiternal truth, says: 'Most of the innkeepers desire peace. Their livelihood depends on their custom, which involves calm: every time they are closed, they lose, and what if they are burnt down?' This was what happened in street fights. In the combat between the people and the Praetorians, 237-8, the latter, pelted from the roofs, set fire to the closed doors of inns and houses. It was usual to see in inns, shops, workshops and offices badly executed busts, almost caricatures, of the reigning Emperors. On the imperial birthdays and festivals in the Emperor's honour, and other occasions, taverns were decked with laurels and lighted up: on days of imperial mourning they were closed.

The medieval guilds had their patron saints; the Roman

their tutelary gods with their holy days. Most general was the 19th March, the foundation day of the Temple of Minerva, protectress of all craft and art guilds, on the Aventine: later on, the festival was prolonged till the evening of the 23rd March. According to Ovid, spinstresses, weavers, fullers, painters, shoemakers, sculptors, doctors, schoolmasters (and their pupils had holidays) took part in it. The 9th of June (the Day of Vesta) was celebrated by millers and bakers; donkeys were wreathed with flowers and loaves, and mills were garlanded. The guild of musicians (especially flautists), who played at acts of public worship, had their feast in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and, on the 13th June, crossed Rome in masks and disguised (generally in female garb), intoxicated, singing parodies set to ancient tunes. At such industrial festivals processions were common: one picture at Pompeii represents a procession of carpenters, and figures of men sawing, and others similar were carried about by the younger men. At Rome and elsewhere the guilds had a regular part in great processions, such as triumphs and imperial arrivals, and flaunted their flags bravely: no doubt they had their own banner bearers. A marble tablet found at Ostia contains a monthly list of members of an association (one a woman), and their contributions, the interest on which, at 12 per cent. went towards a common celebration of all their birthdays. One general festival of the common people (March 15) was the day of Anna Perenna, a goddess of the year, held in an orchard at the first mile-stone on the *Via Flaminia* (not far from the Porta del Popolo). The girls sang very free satires of ancient origin; men and women lay down together on the grassy shores of the Tiber, in the open, or in huts, or improvised tents of reeds covered with their *togas*. There they had drinking-bouts, and prayed for as many years as they drew spoons from the bran-pie; sang theatrical ditties, capered about, and returned home, riotously supporting one another, the mockery of all who came their way.

The guilds also provided for funerals: but most of the poor, who could not raise the money for their own burial, contributed monthly to death-funds, which admitted free-men, freedmen and slaves, and assured the members proper exsequies, generally in the *Columbaria*: these were huge vaulted buildings with rows of pigeon-holes. Such associations

also had their standing festivals, and celebrated the birthday of their patron deity (the dedication-day of his idol) with a banquet. Amongst the extant statutes of such associations, those of the 'Adorers of Diana and Antinous' at Lanuvium (Città Lavigna) of 133 A.D. give an interesting glimpse into the nature of these mortuary guilds, and an idea of their festivals. By way of preface is the warning: 'Do thou, novice, first read the statutes, and have heed not to encumber thyself or thy heirs'. New members paid an entrance fee of 100 sesterces, and an *amphora* of good wine: the annual contribution of fifteen sesterces was paid in monthly sums of five *asses*. 300 sesterces were allowed for individual funerals, except for suicides, fifty being reserved for the procession and distributed at the pyre. Grievances were to be dealt with at general meetings, so as 'on feast-days to carouse at ease'. Carousals were organized by four members appointed for every year; they had to provide covers or pillows for the couches, hot water and dishes and four *amphorae* of good wine, and a loaf of two *asses* and four sardines for every member. The expenses of the meals were probably met out of the interest of a capital sum given by some benefactor: wine could scarcely have been insufficient, as besides initial contributions, slaves on manumission had to give an *amphora*. There were six drinking-bouts a year; at the two principal ones, the birthdays of Diana and Antinous, the president, who was elected for five years, and received double portions, had to distribute oil at the public bath before the banquet. He also had to offer wine and incense at all feast days. At the end of his term, if he had administered well, he received one and a half times his share. Any one, who, at a feast, quarrelled and left his seat, was scolded four sesterces; any one guilty of abusive language, twelve; any one who insulted the president, twenty. When Christianity made inroads among these small tradesmen, many would not immediately renounce the benefits of these associations. In the letters of Bishop Cyprianus of Carthage, one Martialis is accused of 'frequenting the disgusting banquets of an association and by its means burying his children in heathen fashion in unhallowed graves'.

Indications are to hand of social and intellectual culture in this class, naturally not over great; as the bad grammar and spelling of their inscriptions show. In Gellius, a gram-

marian calls an unknown word 'plebeian and vulgar'. Yet lines from Virgil, whose popularity perhaps exceeded Shakespeare's, were in every one's mouth, abused and misused. A sign of a venison-dealer is inscribed from the *Aeneid* :

Whilst shadowy mountains
Rise to protect wild deer and stars circle still round the Pole-star,
Ever shall live thy name, thy honour, thy glory, eternal.

They also attempted original verse. One inscription laments the loss of a thirteen-year-old slave, the darling of his master, probably a goldsmith :

Skilled was his hand in the art of finishing necklaces finely,
And to enclose in hand-wrought gold bright glittering jewels.

Their manners, no doubt, left something to be desired. Hucksters in salt-fish were said, by a Graecism, to snuffle with their elbows, and their boys were unusually vulgar. Masters not unfrequently abused their disciplinary powers against their apprentices, even if free; one such clumsy pupil had his eye knocked out with a last. In the civic life of Pompeii, apprentices were not insignificant. Amongst the city election placards posted on to the walls, there is one written by the apprentices, and another by one Saturninus, '*cum discentes*' (sic). Some inscriptions on graves faithfully record the good qualities of the deceased. One freedman goldsmith, 'a master-maker of Clodian jars', is eulogized by his patron, as one 'who insulted no one, never thwarted his patron. He always had a mass of gold and silver and was never avaricious'. The tombstone of a freedman pearl-dealer on the *Via Sacra* begs the passer-by not to injure the grave where the bones of a man rest who was good, merciful, and a friend of the poor. One Lucius Nerusius Mithres, according to the hexameters on his tombstones, which are an acrostic of his name, was well known in the Holy City for his conscientious business habits as a goat-skin dealer, and for having, as a contractor, rendered all his dues to the fisc, and made equitable bargains. He had prospered, built himself a marble house, helped the indigent: and his great desert he deemed his building a burial-place for all his freedmen and freedwomen and their heirs.

Workmen often made an extra income by rearing and

training birds, though necessarily in competition with professional rearers. Manilius mentions trainers who traversed the town with caged birds, all their possessions being one sparrow. In these accounts, few as they are, workmen are several times mentioned as owners. A poor shoemaker had trained a raven to congratulate Augustus: the purchase was declined, as Augustus had sycophants enough already: but the bird repeated at the right time his master's complaint: 'All my trouble's gone for nothing', and was bought at a high price. A barber on the Forum had a magpie, which imitated musical sounds and men's and animals' tones: one day a stately funeral procession stopped in front of the barber's house, and the *tuba* blowers played a long piece. The magpie was silent awhile; envious magic was suspected: then she sang the whole of the funeral music from beginning to end. In the reign of Tiberius a raven flew out of a nest in the Temple of Castor into a shoemaker's opposite, and the master taught it speech. The raven learned to fly every morning to the rostrum, to address Tiberius, Drusus and Germanicus by name, to greet other passers, and was the wonder of all Rome. The owner of a shop near by killed it (on the pretext of anger, as it had dirtied a pair of new shoes), and the enraged people drove the murderer out of the district and afterwards murdered him. The bird was solemnly borne by two Moors to a pyre on the Via Appia, followed by a multitude with wreaths. Pliny, on the authority of the *Acta diurna*, dates this on the 28th March, 35.

§ 3. MISCELLANEOUS CRAFTS, ARTS, AND PURSUITS

(i) *General*

Not only handwork and shopkeeping, but many other, often profitable, businesses were considered ungentlemanly. The poor free-born man of liberal education spoke contemptuously of men who grew rich by the undertaking of funerals, bakeries, bathhouses, the farming of river and harbour dues, public works, the clearing of the *cloacae*, or as auctioneers of rubbish or priceless wares, and through other businesses.

Two employments were so vile as to disqualify (by a law of Caesar's) for election to city offices: those of undertakers and public criers (*praecones*). *Praecones* were used for all

purposes of publicity, e.g. to proclaim lost articles, runaway slaves; but their main function was auctioneering, and the close connexion of this business and that of the public jesters may have caused their disrepute. But this fact made it very profitable: for public auction in Rome included, in part, our commission-agencies, which effected the sale of the superfluities of an inheritance, or the raising of a sudden loan. In the stead of the business-man, a professional middleman came in, the *coactor argentarius* or *exactionum*, so called from his having to dun for single demands: a profession in general disesteem. For his trouble and risk he received 1 per cent. on the price: and the quantity of the work explains the lowness of the rate; it might be more in especially troublesome business. Horace's father had been a *coactor*, and profits were then as low as those of a public crier; but by about 50 A.D., in consequence of greater facility and promptitude in transfers, both made larger profits. Strabo says houses were constantly changing hands. Arruntius Euarestus, an auctioneer who angled successfully in the troubled waters after the murder of Caligula, was (according to Josephus) as rich as the richest, and powerful then and after. In Martial a maiden is wooed by ten poets, seven lawyers, four tribunes and two praetors, and, without further thought, espoused to an auctioneer. Nor foolishly. A boy, if he is to make his way, ought not to study or poetize; rather should he ply the cithar or flute, or, if long-headed, the hammer or architect's rule.

Architecture Cicero collocates with medicine as a useful art, and of all arts the most respectable: it was also the most profitable. Under Augustus (according to Vitruvius) even the profession was so overcrowded that they had to advertise themselves, and many were incompetent. The demand increased owing to the numbers of erections, public and private, necessitated in part by fire and collapse, in part by the building mania of the rich: the smallness of the city was compensated by the endless possibilities of the country.

Excepting for some famous and highly paid artists, little is known of the despised sculptors and painters. Musicians might make much: the economical Vespasian paid Terpnus and Diodorus the citharists 200,000 for their performances at the rededication of the Theatre of Marcellus. Teaching

was profitable: and the salaries of distinguished singers and citharists awoke the envy of the learned. 'Learn', says Juvenal to the rhetorician, 'the fee Chrysogonus and Pollio make for teaching rich children the cither, and you will tear up Theodorus' manual'. Nero and Domitian patronized music more than any others. Under Domitian Martial wrote as above, and that he was going to return from Forum Cornelia to Rome, as a citharist. Art, too, like music, paid well, if popular, especially acting and dancing, and also fencing and circus-driving.

The learned professions were relegated, like the arts and their appliances, to the third estate, or to slaves. Galen selects, as noble departments, medicine, rhetoric, music, geometry, arithmetic, accountantship, astronomy, grammar, and law; to which sculpture and painting may be added. The last two, as employments, brought in the quickest returns: hence Lucian was apprenticed to his uncle, the sculptor. The learned professions required laborious and unremunerative preparation for years, and 'hard it was, for men in poor circumstances, to rise' (Juvenal). There is some information as to their position in life.

(ii) *Teachers, Rhetoricians and Advocates*

During the first centuries, the teaching profession had no assured position, nor the esteem of an official security. Education was in the Early Empire not regarded as a matter of State, and, in the second century, to a very slight extent, being, if anything, municipalized. Up to then education was a private concern, and only fostered by the immunity of teachers from town rates. This is confirmed by a communal decree, recently discovered, in South Portugal; there a school was maintained or being proposed. Elementary schools must have existed even in small provincial towns; only the larger cities had secondary schools in the sciences, or in the highest subject, viz. oratory. Hence children were sent to a larger town or to Rome for a good education. The school, kept by the elder Statius at Naples, received pupils from Lucania and Apulia; the school of one Flavius in Venusia, to which the big boys of influential centurions daily went with their slates and pencases, could not satisfy the paternal care of Horace's father: despite his poverty, he sent his son to Rome

to be educated along with knights and senators. In the first years of Trajan, Como, having no teachers of rhetoric, had to betake itself to Milan, until Pliny the Younger proposed to contribute one third, together with the families interested, so as to pay a teacher at his native Como. He could not quite consent to promise the whole amount to the town, as municipalized schools were often in the gift of electioneering committees. As in this case, applicants used to go to Rome to gain practice, and, armed with letters from the great men of Rome, give public exhibitions of their ability to speak and to teach, in competition for the post. Gellius was present at such a probationary recitation at Brundisium of a Roman-trained orator. He read out a passage from Virgil very badly, and asked the listeners to question him. One of Gellius' questions completely nonplussed him.

Antoninus Pius assigned salaries, payable by the communes, to rhetoricians and philosophers in all of the provinces, and enacted their immunity from civic burdens in a decree; nominally applying to the League of Cities in Asia, but really to the whole Empire. In the larger cities there might be ten physicians, five rhetors, and five grammarians; in the smaller, seven, four, and four respectively, and in the smallest five of the first, and three of the two last. This allowance was obviously marginal, and wholly insufficient for cities, like Ephesus and Smyrna, two of the largest in the Empire; hence in rhetoric and grammar alone, these few official teachers must have been largely privately supplemented. Gellius often speaks of grammarians, in great repute at Rome as teachers, and never refers to the official teachers: were there any such in the *Athenaeum* founded by Hadrian, they must have been incomparably few in comparison with the private tutors. And the public positions in the other cities were much sought after. The tombstone of a Latin grammarian at Tritium Magallum in Tarragonese Spain mentions as an extraordinary fact his official appointment by the city at the age of twenty-five. Teachers might also receive decorations, as did a Latin grammarian at Verona, a knight who was given the *insignia* of a *decurio*.

The grammarians, or teachers of the two languages and the poetical contents of each, often took single pupils and resident posts, or kept private schools, as the more prominent of them

usually did ; as Quintilian says, they deemed themselves worthy of a larger theatre, and left mere pedagogy to the weaker brethren. But, for high fees, they would also take private pupils. Marcus Aurelius was ever grateful to his great-grandfather for his never having been to a public school, and for having had such a tutor, on the true calculation that, for this purpose, no expense could be too great. It was always men of lower standing who took up the teaching profession ; and at Rome, freedmen, *peregrini*, provincials, who, consequent on Julius Caesar's grant of the franchise to teachers, flocked thither. Many of them came from Greece and the East, as Greek was eagerly learnt at Rome.

Most of the teachers followed no inner call, but only the need of bread, as may be gathered from the fact that, of the most famous and learned grammarians or philologists of Rome in the first century, several (on the authority of Suetonius) only chanced on this occupation, or came to it as a makeshift. Many built up their knowledge, as slaves or freedmen in the service of erudites, or as pedagogues accompanying a boy to school. The famous Orbilius had been servant to a magistrate, and then served in the foot and the horse. Marcus Valerius Probus of Berytus, who was even more renowned, only took to linguistics after losing every chance of a subaltern's post. A third had begun as a prize-fighter, a fourth as a clown. Pertinax, the future Emperor, however, the son of a freedman wood-dealer, exchanged this profession, unsuitable to him, for military service.

It was universally held that a teacher's bread was hardly won. Ausonius says that no grammarian was ever happy, and that an exception to this rule would be an offender against grammar. The work and conditions were severe, the gain scanty ; few were those consolable by the feeling that it was a lofty and royal calling ' to instruct the witless in good manners and holy knowledge '. The lessons began at or before day-break : the teacher had to be up and about, long before the smith or the weaver, to breathe air sullied by the boys' lamps, which begrimed the busts of Horace and Virgil in the schoolroom. The number of school hours varied, but, with the authority of Ausonius, was usually six. Galen tells a tale of a grammarian Diodorus, who was subject to epileptic fits, unless he took nourishment during this time, and, on his advice, took, at the

third or fourth hour, bread soaked in wine, which restored him. But, in Greek-Latin schools, the pupils at midday went home for their early meal, changed and came back for the afternoon. The usual entering age, according to Paul of Aegina, whose rules more or less define the practice in the early centuries and in the West, was six or seven; geometry, grammar and gymnastics begun at twelve; the years from fourteen to twenty given to higher mathematics and philosophy and the severer exercises. The teacher's worst task was to keep discipline among the excitable and fidgety boys, whose moral education he had to supervise like a father. St. Augustine repents, in his Confessions, his schoolboy sins: his fear of making a mistake was greater than his endeavour to rid himself of envy of those of superior social standing. He was always deceiving his pedagogues, teachers and parents, loved playing with nuts, balls and birds, seeing pantomimes and acting them.

Many schoolboy scrawls have been found on the walls in Pompeii. We also have a schoolboy's Will of Sir Jack Porker (Marcus Grannius Corocotta), a great favourite with the 'curly-haired legions'; the victim before immolation at the cook's knife-blade leaves his father Sir Boar-Larding (Verrinus Lardinus) thirty measures of acorns, his bristles to the shoemakers, his ears to the doves, his tongue to advocates and babblers, and so on: his tombstone is to be engraved in golden letters, 'Sir Jack Porker lived 999½ years; one half more would have made him a Millenarian'. As now, so then; school-wit is the same, the same little wars between boy and master, the same boyish gibes. A Greek collection of anecdotes has preserved us the following schoolboy story. An elementary teacher tells one boy: 'Dionysius, attention! No fooling!' The boy replies he wasn't doing anything: the master rejoins, 'take it for next time'. Quintilian says one of the reasons of the preferability of school to home teaching is the formation of friendships and the incentive of equal rivalry. Others maintained that school-life corrupted morals, though boys of good family were accompanied there by their pedagogues: the reputation of the teachers was also often impugned. Discipline was enforced by the cane and the whip: only a minority (one of them Quintilian) took a humane view, condemning corporal punishment. The hardships of the teacher

were often aggravated by the pretensions of the parents, over whose unreasonableness and over-fondness of their boys Orbilius wrote a whole book of complaints. School-dust, at least, was a curse from which teachers in Rome were free, as they taught in spaces open or half-open, on flat roofs, or in the courtyard adjoining the street, separated from it by a curtain. The summer holidays lasted three to four months, for, in the summer, Martial says, boys, if healthy, could learn enough of themselves. There were, besides, many festival days. Private tutors, especially Greeks, complained, often not unjustifiably, of all kinds of maltreatment and humiliations, and that they scarcely earned enough to pay shoemaker or tailor: whilst Romans asserted that, in the houses of the rich, these foreigners were preferred to them, and intrigued and wormed themselves to the effective sovereignty of the home.

Grammatical instruction at Rome was poorly paid. Juvenal gave 500 sesterces (5 gold pieces) as the fee for a year of eight months' work: but even thus the earnings for thirty scholars was only 15,000 sesterces (£163 2s. 6d.), without deductions for rent, etc. Good teachers were, no doubt, better paid: some may have had more pupils, some less: Martial makes one petition the Emperor for the Privilege of Three Scholars, instead of Three Children. In Diocletian's tariff the monthly fees for reading and writing are fixed at fifty, for arithmetic or shorthand seventy-five, for Greek and Latin and Mathematics 200 denarii (then worth less than 4s.). The competition was great; at the close of the Republic, there were twenty schools at Rome. Many schools were held in partnership, and older teachers (e.g. the friend of St. Augustine, Verecundus at Milan) employed assistants. Schoolmasters, generally, as Ovid says, but for a few great exceptions, drew very small incomes. Marcus Verrius Flaccus and his whole school was taken in by Augustus into the Palatium, and he received 100,000 sesterces (or £1,087 3s. 0d.) for teaching his grandchildren. Remmius Palaemon derived an income of 400,000 from his school, and no less from his private property, built in the first instance on his profession, and increased by a tailor's business and agricultural profits. Thus he, with the help of an expert, made a neglected vineyard at Nomentum (which he bought for 600,000) realize in less than eight years 400,000 on the vintage, and sold the

estate in ten years at four times the price of purchase to Seneca, who was a zealous cultivator of the vine and often mentions this estate. Epaphroditus of Chaeronea, a teacher in Rome from Nero's reign to Nerva's (he died at the age of seventy-five) owned two houses at Rome and a library of 30,000 volumes of great value and rarity. Grammarians received no other official posts, save as librarians in Rome and Alexandria, the higher places in the Correspondence Department only very exceptionally.

Professors of oratory were, to some extent, in similar difficulties. They, too, had to endure the whims of parents and the indiscipline of pupils, who often preferred dice or tops to the dying speech of Cato, and rubbed their eyes with oil, so as to malingering. Quintilian finds pleasure in recollecting that teachers arranged the class according to the work done; the value set on being top boy proves they were all still boys. Some few may have been older, e.g. Gellius, who attended as a young man. Martial calls Quintilian, as professor of oratory, 'the noblest guide of irresolute youth'. The rhetor Verginius Flavius was banished at the time of the Conspiracy of Piso for his influence over his *iuvenes*. Juvenal mentions that Rufus the rhetorician and others had been beaten by their own pupils. St. Augustine found the Carthaginian boys so wild that he abandoned his school of oratory there and settled at Rome, where discipline was less lax. And, at Rome, he fared so ill that he applied for a post at Milan. Libanius generally received nothing, as his pupils were too poor, or gambled or debauched away the moneys given by their fathers to pay the fees. But rhetoricians received more than grammarians (Juvenal mentions 2,000 sesterces, £21 15s., as the fee): their position was more assured and in greater esteem; the course was higher, taken by adults, and of practical necessity, as choice and flowing speech was the first requisite of culture, and indispensable for many situations and all the higher offices. Professorships of Greek and Latin oratory were then, in Rome and elsewhere, the only municipally paid posts: at Rome the salary was 100,000 (as much as a procurator of the third rank received, and four times as much as a military tribune). The first holder of the State Chair, founded by Vespasian, was the Spaniard Quintilian; he gained great wealth, and, as tutor to the princes, consular *insignia*.

Nero's avowed passion for oratory enabled many teachers of oratory to rise from the lowliest beginnings to senatorial rank and the highest honours. In the first century even, and yet more in the second, some might become imperial secretaries, and thereupon hold the higher offices. One anecdote makes an astrologer soothsay of a boy he would become a rhetor, a praefect and a provincial governor. Hence, this profession would be embraced by knights: Blandus, under Augustus, is the first instance, freedmen having, up to that time, been the only givers of an instruction deemed dishonourable in an acquisition held in highest repute. Rhetors would often be knighted by the Emperors: thus, Dionysius of Miletus was knighted by Hadrian, made procurator in several provinces, and awarded the honour of the public meal at the Museum in Alexandria. Philostratus also mentions a sophist, Heliodorus, who with his sons was given the *civitas* by the Emperor (? Severus). No such tales are told of grammarians. After the second century, not only Rome, but nearly all the other cities and towns appointed rhetors, and the number of students at Rome increased considerably; for, being armed with recommendations from the famous teachers of Rome, they could most easily gain official posts in Italy and the provinces. Pliny requests Tacitus to select from his many admirers young men suitable to teach rhetoric at Comum. Fronto applies to his son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus for a recommendation for Antonius Aquila the rhetor to a public professorship in Gaul, in the cities of which teachers of Greek rhetoric held public appointments at the time of Strabo. Lucian boasts of being one of those, who held a highly paid post.

The Courts of Justice afforded a more profitable theatre to the rhetorician than the lecture-room; not every capable teacher could be an advocate, but many, like Quintilian, combined both, or passed from the one to the other, selecting the profession of teaching as a more peaceful occupation for old age. The great qualification for advocates was then eloquence, the special object of the jurist's ambition, to which the study of the law was subservient. Most of the professional *advocati* were simply rhetoricians, and employed *pragmatici*, or legal advisers, on both sides. Of these *pragmatici* mention will be made.

Advocacy was the obvious road of success to plebeians with brains and ambitions: 'the *toga* was the means of advance', and worn by advocates and clients: Quintilian is called by Martial the ornament of *togati*. In Italy and the provinces this was the profession of the talented and ambitious (e.g. Lucian and Apuleius): in Petronius the freedman will make his son an advocate, if not an auctioneer. Advocacy and law were the most honourable civil callings, and the only ones accessible to the third estate and reputable to knights and senators; the former was the only ladder to success for low-born talent and fortune; by it Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus attained the Consulate, the Friendship of the Emperor, and great power. The authors of this epoch, Seneca, Suetonius, and the elder Pliny, were knights and began at the bar: Pliny the Younger, who pleaded in his nineteenth year, and Fronto, as senators, still remained true to advocacy.

Famous advocates lived in great state; their roomy and decorated *atria* daily crowded, their names in every one's mouth, courted by the rich and the mighty, sought for by strangers from districts whither their fame had penetrated. In their houses and the vestibules stood their statues (mostly erected by grateful clients), and even equestrian figures of them. Their steps and their portals were decked with laurels commemorative of forensic victory. A great crowd would follow the triumphant pleader home, whilst the acquitted parties shaved their heads, as a sign of a danger escaped, and repaired to a temple to thank the gods. And what if advocates gained neither rank nor office? Their doors were besieged by parties, and guarded by janitors, and they gained wealth, in no dishonourable fashion. Besides these great advocates there were, of course, many small ones, too glad to devil four speeches for a piece of gold, with a commission to the *pragmatici*, scarce able to pay their rents. Country clients generally paid in kind. The rows of jars of fruit in the storeroom of a great advocate would be the gift of some fat Umbrian defendant; hams and casks of salted fish a recollection of a Marsian client; in Martial a Picenian sends his advocate a little box of olives for the Saturnalia, a set of seven glasses in coarse Saguntine work, and a red striped napkin: Juvenal mentions as fee five bottles of country wine, and so on. On the other hand, Martial implores clients to spare his friend Restitutus

the advocate such gifts on his birthday ; for a boastful shopman by the Porticus Agrippae would send him purple cloaks ; a defendant in a suit for a drunken fight, dinner costumes ; the young woman, who has just divorced her husband, would herself bring genuine jewels, and the old connoisseur a fine piece of marble.

The profession was very overcrowded, and advocates had to resort to advertisement of all sorts. To attract attention through an air of prosperity they always walked about with big bundles of documents, richly dressed, with retinues of slaves and clients round their sedan-chair ; they hired valuable rings to put on during the interview, so as to extort higher terms. They would bid their clients retail the facts to their assistant, or meet them ' only on the day of hearing, thus to seem pressed with work, or to make a show of instant perspicuity'. For their speeches they would demand a very generous measure of water, wander far afield with much irrelevance, in an action for a lost hen mouth and intone and gesticulate about Marius and Sulla, the wars with Carthage and Mithridates, and their hoarseness would involve much alleviation. They did not stickle at hiring applause, and secured a fine escort home. Yet, even thus, fortune sometimes could not be bought : many had to suspend payment and betake themselves to Gaul or Africa. No few prostituted their eloquence to any and every cause ; many, piratically (in Quintilian's phrase) settled their fees in advance. Martial specifies 2,000 sesterces (£21 3s.) as such a fee, the client to pay half if he lost. Philostratus mentions that the famous sophist Polemo undertook an action in Sardes, on which the entire property of a rich Lydian depended, and exacted two talents (£472 2s.) as his fee. But the judges, too, occasionally sold their decision ; as actions might be prolonged even twenty years, and survive the original parties, besides consuming their property, Martial recommends payment as cheaper than litigation. Often, too, advocates ' prevaricated ', i.e. were bribed by their opponents to present a bad case ;—though the penalty, if discovered, was disbarring. Hence advocates were abused as a ' venal race ', and their wives said to derive from their husband's greed for pelf, a greed for food. A further cause of disesteem was their habit of abusing not only their opponents (often at their clients' request), but their opponent advocate as well. Lucian

stigmatizes advocacy as indissociable from deceit, lying, impudence, and pushfulness. The picture Ammianus Marcellinus draws of all who live by litigation is even more lurid. Pettifoggers and wranglers were so many that their enemies compared their oratory to the yelping of dogs. Their lively gestures were mocked at: a dumb jester of Tiberius boasts, in his inscription, of having been the first imitator of the advocates.

(iii) *Jurisconsulti*

The *jurisconsulti* ranked as high as the advocates; Quintilian mentions, as a favourite school-essay, 'which of the two, a lawyer or a soldier, is of higher standing?' But law, whilst offering knights and senators a road to the highest positions, offered lesser folks something inferior to advocacy. Quintilian says jurisprudence was practised mainly by disappointed barristers; Libanius says only the slow-witted took to poring over the heavy parchments of juristic lore. But it was profitable enough to attract many of the third estate. One of Petronius' *bourgeois* gives his son a collection of red-backed books (*codices*), to 'learn a little law for home use', as 'it spelled money'. Juvenal says that in the lowest classes men were found capable of unravelling knotty points of law: in one of his satires, a father, goading his son on to work and earn, gives him a choice of advocacy, study of law and a centurionship.

Jurisconsulti also made money as teachers, as only few young men can have been introduced to the law by high professors of it, and been able to dispense with paid instructors. Very many took up this study; provincials, Greeks even, flocked to Rome for this purpose. Most of the great jurists were provincials. Gaius came from Little Asia, Papinian from Syria, Ulpian from Tyre; Cervidius Scaevola, Modestinus, Callistratus, Marcianus, Tryphoninus, were all from the Greek Orient; Salvius Julianus, and perhaps Tertullian, from Africa. Jurists of lower rank took fees for their courses; but Masurius Sabinus (under Tiberius), who began poor, and was knighted only at the age of fifty, would not accept fees, but let his pupils support him. Ulpian mentions payment as the usual thing: it was preliminary to the course, as it could not be legally enforced afterwards. In Rome jurists were exempt from becoming *tutores* and other burdens, but not in the provinces.

In the first half of the second century, if not earlier, *stationes* were scattered throughout Rome, at which jurists gave public instruction and advice in law. Gellius (it was when he had abandoned the school for the law, about 160) says that the favourite question at these stations was whether a quaestor could be summoned by a praetor. Pompeius Auctus, who, according to Martial, 'sat in front of the Temple of Mars Ultor'—i.e. had his 'station' there—was 'deeply versed in law and skilled in the use of the *toga*'—i.e. both a *pragmaticus* and an advocate—and remained up to ten o'clock. The right of giving *iuris responsa* was first limited by Augustus to imperial nominees, and their written and sealed opinions were binding in Court. Other jurists' opinions had a merely scientific and theoretic significance. But ordinary jurists even could hardly fail to have many clients, as soon as they attained some fame; these would arrive at cock-crow and, no doubt, pay for the opinion. Ammianus, who severely censured the jurists of his day, says they charged even for yawns; and made matricide venial if their client were rich enough. A jurist was essential to any litigation, and he, not the advocate, was the principal person: tombstones bear the legend, 'may pettifoggers and jurists avoid this monument', so much might they tamper with testamentary directions. Claudius liked giving *responsa*, and his reliance on advocates rather than jurisconsults proved his incompetence. In Seneca's pasquil the advocates bewailed his death as the termination of their saturnalia, and the *pragmatici* crept forth again, like resurrected corpses, thin and ghastly.

Sometimes jurisconsults (e.g. Paulus) acted as advocates, but only exceptionally, their usual function was to advise. Quintilian, anxious to degrade jurisprudence and uplift oratory, speaks of these *pragmatici* as mere onhangers of the advocates, the powder monkeys to the real combatants. Libanius says, that in the good old days, before lawyers were so unduly esteemed, they had to wait humbly on the advocate's command to recite the law. This occupation was only taken up by smaller jurists, at low fees, from country clients, often in kind; such as a sack of corn, millet or beans.

Jurists also earned by drafting notarial or other written documents, such as petitions, deeds, contracts and guarantees. They could be punished (in the provinces by the governors)

by exclusion from the Forum or inhibition of legal practice ; specifically they might not draft deeds or petitions or depositions ; or have their register in the public archives of original documents, or sign, witness or draft wills, a large part of their business. Nero confiscated the goods of those freedmen of his who did not testify their gratitude to the Emperor, and punished the lawyers who drew up the offending wills. Non-jurists even would draft wills, as it was a profitable business. A scribe at Venafrum boasts on his tombstone of having made out wills for fourteen years without a jurist's assistance, and a schoolmaster at Padua of proficiency in will-making. A *testamentarius* of Gades, Quintus Valerius Litera, seems to have derived his cognomen from his business.

Finally jurists often held the post of assessors to judicial officers, who, in Rome and her provinces, were, from Republican times downwards, bound to associate legal persons in making their decisions ; and these would often be the determining influence ; Seneca says that Praetors gave the sentences dictated by their clerks. This custom in the Empire, together with the bureaucracy, ever took more defined shape, and long before the third century, judicial magistrates (in Rome the *Praefectus Urbi, Praetorio, Vigilibus*, the Consuls and Praetors, in the provinces the governors) were legally bound to have one or more judicial assessors. Josephus says in his polemic against Apio, of the early second century, that the holders of highest posts showed their ignorance of law in this universal custom. The right of the assessors to some fee (acknowledged as early as Trajan) was expressly legalized in a rescript of Antoninus Pius. Up to the end of the second century, these fees were agreed upon between the provincial governors and their assessors : after the third were directly paid from the Treasury. In Rome there were agencies for placing young lawyers, after their apprenticeship, as magistrates' assessors. At the end of the second century, if not before, it was usual to appoint to judicial offices, only men with experience as assessors, and candidates learnt in the courts from the lowest upwards.

(iv) *Medicine*

Medicine was, up to the last, largely in the hands of freedmen and slaves ; Justinian authorized the maximum price (sixty gold-pieces) for slaves thus trained, eunuchs fetching

only fifty. Jurists constantly speak of the services due from physicians' trained freedmen; thus, they had to visit their patrons' friends gratuitously. Patrons could also prevent their freedmen from setting up a competing practice, and, with this object, compel them to accompany them on their own visits.

Free-born physicians at Rome were mostly foreigners. If permanent residents, Julius Caesar enfranchised them, as also teachers: Augustus extended this by conferring civic immunity. Romans, according to Pliny, rarely learned this profession. Most of them were Greeks and Orientals, especially Egyptians, and men summoned to Rome to cure diseases endemic in their own country. The principal of these were eruptive (the Bible speaks of the 'boils and blains of Egypt'): Galen speaks of the commonness of elephantiasis. Under Tiberius there was a plague, imported from Asia, and Egyptian physicians were brought to Rome, to cure only this disease: they returned with great profits. Nero summoned an Egyptian physician to cure a friend of a herpetic eruption. A recollection of this condition of things is preserved in an Arabian legend of modern Alexandria, of a spring that cured leprosy, and the King of the Rumi, who searched for it. At Rome patients felt more confidence in foreign physicians, though, especially in the Early Empire, there were no few good Roman practitioners at Court. Scribonius Largus, Claudius' physician, accompanied, as he says, 'our God Caesar' to Britain. Vettius Valens, another of his doctors, was a knight, a dignity conferred on other Court physicians, e.g. the freedman Antonius Musa, who cured Augustus by cold-water treatment, after all other physicians had abandoned the case. Galen mentions several medical men who invented drugs; some are Roman, such as Valerius Paulinus, Pompeius Sabinus, Flavius Clemens. Such names are common on oculists' stamps, and, in the Western provinces, most of the doctors were not Greeks.

Strabo is the first authority for the communal appointment of doctors for cities outside Rome; such as Massilia, and other cities of Gaul. Antoninus Pius defined, for the Province of Asia, the number of communal physicians, who were to enjoy immunity, as ten for the large cities, seven for smaller ones, and five in the smallest. This immunity, extended by Vespasian and Hadrian to the provinces, allured many to

medicine. Probably, after the second century, most cities appointed communal doctors, and Galen mentions that, in many places, large, roomy, well-lighted halls (*ιατρεία*) were assigned to them, as offices. In the larger towns, doctors formed *collegia*, e.g. at Beneventum; these guilds would normally, as at Turin, have a common cult of Aesculapius and Hygieia; and, in Greek cities, they might often be priests of these deities. Inscriptions of two cohorts of police (*vigiles*) at Rome in 210 A.D. record that every cohort (of 1,000 men) had four physicians attached, ranking as the last subordinate officers. If the same proportion held good for the legion, the number must have been twenty-four, all called legionary doctors. All divisions, too, had their special medical officer. To the British fleet, there was a special oculist attached. One Marcus Ulpius Sporus was first physician to two corps of cavalry, and then official physician to the town of Ferentinum. Physicians, as the staff of legions, city and praetorian cohorts, had to be Roman citizens, and Caesar's grant of the franchise to all doctors may have been induced in part by considerations of hygienics. On Trajan's column two physicians appear armed like soldiers, busied in binding up wounds and extracting arrows.

The title of *archiater* (Head-physician) was borne by imperial physicians, the first to be so called being Claudius' physician Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, and Nero's Andromachus: the ordinance of Antoninus Pius may have conferred the title on city doctors in Greece and Little Asia: as also in Italy, where we find a knight of Beneventum, who was also the first official of the commune, and in Pisaurum a freedman, in Aeclanum a Greek, in Venusia a Jew. The origin and bestowal of this title is uncertain, as also when it first became, as it was in the fourth century, an official rank, with its proper emoluments and privileges: in Galen's day it was in some way a superior medical post. A decree of Valentinian I A.D. 368 to the City praefects directs the appointment of fourteen *archiatri* for the fourteen regions, besides the Athletic Society (*Porticus Xysti*) and the Vestal Virgins, to whom doctors had been assigned: they were to receive salaries, treat the poor, but might also take fees. Vacancies were to be filled by the remaining *archiatri* carefully selecting a candidate, and proposing him to the Emperor, 'worthy of their college, their *archiatria* and

the imperial judgment'. A decree of 370 A.D. makes such an election valid only with the assent of the seven seniors of the order: the new officer ranked last, and all were promoted one degree.

From medical writings the methods of practice are recorded with much more detail than the information extant for the other professions: the chief of these is the comprehensive work of (?) Claudius Galen, one of the most prolific writers of all times. Born at Pergamus about 128 or 129, he studied medicine at Smyrna, Corinth and Alexandria, from 156-7 and 161-2 was gladiatorial physician at Pergamus, then passed three years at Rome, from 162-6, when he returned to Little Asia. On the summons of both Emperors, he repaired to Aquileia in the winter of 168-9, refused Marcus Aurelius' offer to accompany him on his German campaign, was physician to Commodus as a boy at Rome, and died in 198 or 199. How extensive his practice was, may be estimated from the fact that in one summer (probably at Rome) he had four hundred serious cases. The number of his free patients, who were not confined to their beds, was about three to four thousand a year.

In antiquity there were no examinations and little responsibility: hence many unqualified practitioners thrust themselves into a lucrative profession, such as shoemakers, carpenters, dyers or smiths, just as unsuccessful doctors became corpse-bearers or professional gladiators: at any rate, Martial scoffs at such, who in their new occupation practised the old one still. Amongst these quacks, makers of salves and officinal wares rank high. Galen says that most so-called physicians of his day could hardly read, and warns his colleagues of the necessity of good grammar in addressing patients: such physicians also would know nothing whatsoever of rhetoric and philosophy. Thessalus, an apprentice of his father, a weaver, as a doctor under Nero gained great vogue, and said all his knowledge had been won in six months. His example inspired others. Physicians were accompanied by their pupils on sick visits. Martial says that, once when he was ill, Symmachus with one hundred students attended him, and their two hundred ice-cold hands gave him fever as well. Philostratus says that Philiscus was attended by Seleucus of Cyzicus and Stratocles of Sidon and over thirty pupils.

Perhaps, too, the large number of practitioners necessitated

many specialists (who abounded in Egypt) apart from assistants, who plucked healing roots, concocted drugs, bandaged, clystered, bled and cupped. No one, says Philostratus, can be a universal physician ; there must be specialists for wounds, and fevers, and eyes, and consumption. Most numerous of these were the oculists : over one hundred seals are extant, and there was a branch of operators. Caligula's freedman Gaius Julius Callistus owned amongst his slaves more than one accomplished oculist. Galen boasts of having cured an eye-trouble by ordinary treatment, despite the existence of many 'so-called' oculists. Ear-doctors, dentists and others, too, are known of who treated fractures, fistulae, uvulae. Martial speaks of a number of Roman specialists in the year 95 : thus Cascellius draws or stops teeth ; Hyginus burns away over-long eyelashes ; Fannius treats dripping uvulae innocuously ; Eros erases slaves' brands ; Hermes is the best doctor for fractures.

There were women's doctors, and female physicians ; these were mostly midwives, though they also treated women's diseases. One Valeria Verecunda's tombstone preserves her title of 'first medical wetnurse of her *regio*'. According to Soranus, a good midwife went through a complete medical training. She had to be able to read, so as to learn the theory as well ; must not be avaricious, that she might not sell means of abortion, nor superstitious, lest some dream or omen should make her careless. Galen observes that hysterical women called themselves thus from hearing the word on their female doctors' lips. Juvenal makes a fat Lydian woman treat sterile women with a savoury drug ; and Galen mentions an Antiochian woman's plasters for the spleen, dropsy and gout.

Surgeons specialized more than any. According to Plutarch they worked with physicians without impinging on the other's territory. According to Galen, at Rome none but surgeons operated : a rule he himself there followed. He also says he was consulted in all interesting cases by the physicians of Rome and Ostia and Portus, so that he saw every extraordinary case of distortion of the shoulder. But surgery, too, was more minutely subdivided. Galen specifies the operations for fractures and stone, and the sewing together of the eyelids. Alcon the surgeon, put by Martial along with Symmachus and Dasius, the principal physicians of Rome,

'mercilessly cut incarcerated ruptures, skilfully treated the bones'. Implements for fistulae operations, and others have been found at Pompeii and elsewhere. Anaesthetics were administered in the form of mandragora juice or atropin (also used as a sleeping-draught). A tablespoonful ($2\frac{1}{2}$ per cubic inch) was a sufficient dose to produce sleep; the mere smell was enough with some men. For the purpose of couching cataract, the pupil was enlarged by *anagallis*.

No exact line could be drawn between theory and practice in medicine, but a distinction was recognized between empirical and advanced study, when professors were called medicinal 'sophists', 'sitting on high chairs and overwhelming their hearers with abstruse lore', but quite incompetent practically. People generally reckoned any one who dealt with curatives theoretically from a book a sophist.

Roman physicians, at the top of their profession, made large salaries. Wealthy men had their own family doctors. According to one tale of Galen, a rich man with an estate near Rome requested him to treat one of his stewards, who was going blind, as the family doctor, as an adherent of Erasistratus, would not consent to bleed. Family doctors received fixed salaries. Quintus Stertinius (the brother of Gaius Stertinius Xenophon), in reply to Claudius, proved his income from private practice as amounting to 600,000 (£6,525 10s.). In the Pandects a legacy is noticed for future annual payment to a doctor after his patient's death. Such fees were paid on the first of January. But special high fees were charged for individual cures. Manilius Cornutus, ex-praetor and legate of Aquitania, agreed to a fee of 200,000 for scab; the same sum was charged by Charmis of Massilia to a rich provincial for a second treatment. Galen received from Boethus, a consular, later on governor of Palestine, 400 gold pieces (£435) for curing his wife. His income was also increased (like other famous doctors') by consultations outside Rome, by letter; from Asia, Gaul, Spain and Thrace for eye-troubles: he answered pertinent questions, sent the drugs, and thus restored to health many whom he never saw. We still possess his advice to the epileptic son of one Caeciliannus, framed on consultation with the family doctor, Dionysius. The salaries of Court physicians have been mentioned. Crinas of Massilia left 10,000,000 (£108,750), after spending an

equivalent amount on the walls of his native city and similar projects. Claudius condemned Alcon the surgeon to a fine of 10,000,000, which he earned back in exile in Gaul, and during the first few years of his return to Rome. Possibly, however, modern fees are higher. In 1787 even Hunter took two guineas for a consultation and four for a visit; in Berlin about 1800 Heim made 12,000 thalers a year; the incomes of Brodie and Wright in 1851 were about £10,000, and Billroth's at Vienna, in his first year, 12,000, or 15,000 gulden. In little places in antiquity practice was proportionately remunerative, as the inscription of the freedman Publius Decimius Eros Merula at Assisi, 'clinical doctor and operator of the eye', shows. He paid 4,000 for his manumission, for his appointment as *sevir* to the city exchequer 2,000; 30,000 on statues in the Temple of Hercules, to the paving of the streets 37,000, and owned 520,000 on the day before his death. One Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis in Lycia gave his services free there; his fortune had been built up by practice in Alexandria, Rhodes and Athens; he erected a temple to Aesculapius and Hygieia in his native city, gave the statues and spent 60,000 on the Feast of Aesculapius in doles and bouts. Pliny says competition, and not delicacy, reduced medical fees, which they demanded and got at the bedside, and calls it 'taking rapacious advantage of the imminence of death'. Ulpian says: if an oculist by using harmful remedies nearly blinds his patient, and induces him to sell him his property under the proper value, the provincial governor is to decree restitution for this *incivile factum*. A decree of 370 A.D. recommends the communal *archiatri* 'rather honourably to relieve the poor, than slavishly serve the rich. We allow them to accept what the restored offer them, but not what the sick promise in desperation'. The author of a pharmacopoeia compiled in the first half of the fourth century from Pliny's *Natural History* had fared ill on his travels at the hands of his various doctors. Their greed made them undertake what they could not effect, and sell the cheapest stuffs at famine prices, prolong illnesses, curable in short time, to secure large fees. It was to arm himself against their like, that he put together many of the most usual medicaments.

Galen gives very definite counsel as to medical relations with the patient. His visits should be long or short, as his patient wished, whom he must not irk. Some doctors clumsily

awake and irritate a patient by long speeches or noisy tread ; such things must be avoided. He must show tact, not blurt out the truth, like Callianax the Herophilean,¹ who answered a patient's complaint at his imminent death ' Patroclus also died '. Some made themselves odious for rudeness, some contemptible for servility. The doctor must avoid both extremes, be affable, sensible and dignified. A suitable theme for conversation is Hippocrates' maxim, that the cure depends on three factors, the sick man, his sickness and the physician. If the patient aided the doctor, both would overcome the sickness. Some patients must be enlivened with anecdotes. The doctor must deport himself properly, not be pompous, affected, or cringing. The golden mean must be followed, but the patient should be humoured, if he has dislikes in dress or style of hair : thus short hair was worn at the Court of Antoninus and long at that of Lucius Verus. Doctors should not reek of garlic or onions. One fellow-countryman of Galen smelt of wine, when visiting a rich man who had fever. His patient bade him stand further away, as the smell was overpowering. Quintus brusquely replied that he had to stand the far worse smells of the sick-room. Many doctors acceded to their patient's every wish, giving them cold water, snow-cooled wine, baths, whenever requested. True, they thus found a ready key to many doors. They grew rich, had much power, and often had pages given them as pupils. The rich were the most rebellious patients ; best avoided altogether, says Galen ; but doctors had, willy-nilly, to put up with their whims. Whilst disapproving of mere submissiveness, in special circumstances, the physician might, against his better knowledge, indulge the patient in some comparatively harmless trifle ; doctors, if loathed, are not obeyed.

The patient is docile, said Hippocrates, if he regard his doctor as a miracle or demi-god. At Pergamus, patients consigned to Aesculapius' Temple would undergo the severest orders, abstain from all drink for a fortnight, and do what no mere doctor could have induced. And his best spell was correct diagnosis and true prediction. Galen used to tell the nature of the disease, wherever possible, without questioning the patient. Often, had he, like Erasistratus, felt by the quickening of the pulse that love was at the bottom of the

¹ Follower of Herophilus of Chalcedon.

trouble, if the beloved came into the room, and the same magic helped Galen to discover the bad conscience of a rich patient, who, contrary to orders, had taken certain remedies, and in pills, so as not to discolour the tongue, but stoutly denied the charge. These tales gratify Galen exceedingly, and he claims that, 'thank God he had never once made a false diagnosis or prediction'. He discusses Hippocrates' saying that the physician should help, or not retard the patient, and says he, at least, never took the latter course. But whilst he laid much weight on his diagnosis, others thought they were no doctors, did they not, immediately after entering the sick-room, gird themselves, lay a plaster on, or make a fomentation, or a clyster, or bleed. Such should bethink themselves of the maxim of Hippocrates, not to bare their elbows; even advocates, and doctors all the more, should avoid appearing like prize-fighters.

Medical quackery occurred in all shapes, from the thoughtful frown in trivial cases, to the theatrical operation before a multitude. Celsus says only playactors should prank themselves out. Galen observes that theriac was often of great service, but people who recommended it for weak sight and poor hearing were mere hawkers. A certain amount of publicity was usual in antiquity. Doctors gave advice, sold and dealt out remedies, performed operations, in booths and shops opening on to the street, and treated cases as they came in, put-out shoulders, swelling, headaches and what not. The most incompetent were zealous to deck their offices with ivory boxes, silver cupping-glasses, and knives with golden handles. Epictetus says matters went so far, that the doctors asked their patients to step in.

Probably, too, physicians often gave public lectures, as Galen at Rome in the Temple of Peace; disputations might take place there. Shortly after his first arrival at Rome, Galen quarrelled with several elder doctors of the school of Erasistratus on a case when bleeding seemed to him essential; on the next day, his fellow-countryman and pupil Teuthras read Erasistratus' books out before 'all the philosophers', and proved that his treatment often caused death unnecessarily, and challenged the old school to a public disputation. Their sense of dignity, however, would not let them argue with a younger man. But, as Galen used to give daily lectures on

questions put to him by his auditors, he had to debate Erasistratus' contention. He dictated this discourse, at Teuthras' wish, to a slave: it was published without his knowledge, and converted the Erasistrateans to his views. Galen also tells us of how a theoretician or sophist, after maintaining an impossible position in a lecture, and being publicly applauded, slunk off, to avoid Galen's refutation. Next day Galen handed it in, and it was unanswerable. Even charlatans took to public dissertations on the organs and functions of the body, and their pretended knowledge won them patients.

No epoch lacked its distinguished doctors, and of them many, especially the Greeks, were authors. One Hermogenes of Smyrna in seventy-seven years wrote seventy-seven books (seventy-two on medicine). A Court-physician, Tiberius Claudius Menecrates, wrote 156 books in support of a new logic of medicine. Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis in Lycia, celebrated in his inscription as the first of physicians of all times, wrote medical and philosophical books in prose and verse, and bore the name of the Homer of medicine; he left his works to his native city, to Alexandria, Athens and Rhodes: in Rhodiapolis, besides other honours, he was awarded a statue τῷ τῆς παιδείας ἀνδριάντι.

Up to the twelfth century, north of the Alps, and, in ancient days, south of them, the pharmacopoeia had an altogether different meaning, as apothecaries, who regularly prepared drugs, scarcely existed. In Germany, they were hardly found in little towns before the end of the eighteenth century: thus Hufeland in Weimar (1783), 'as then usual', himself made and dispensed his pills and powders. In antiquity dealers in salves, drugs and groceries also sold medicines: the *aromatarii* were a guild at Rome; there were, besides, travelling hucksters and swindlers. From such shops, Pliny the Elder complains, doctors often bought the remedies, instead of exercising their proper profession of making them. The ingredients they scarcely knew, and, should they desire to make up written prescriptions, would be cheated by the salesmen. Many doctors bought plasters and drugs ready-made. Galen also groans at the frauds of those 'cursed dealers', and says they, too, were innocent victims of the collectors of herbs, who brought saps and flowers and fruits and sprouts into the towns. But the ingenious make-ups of these men

would deceive the greatest experts. Galen, in his younger days, had been a pupil under a man who forged balsam, Lemnian earth, white flowers of zinc and other rare drugs to perfection, and earned thereby largely; Galen, however, would not have his methods known, and fall into the hands of the unconscientious; he rather hoped to incite the young, by his writings, to investigate and discover the working of the healing plants for themselves. Any one who would have the command of all medicaments, must understand what are the useful parts of plants, animals, metals and minerals, and be able to distinguish genuine examples and forgeries.

But these important articles were seldom genuine, if merely imported: for security's sake, they should be specially got from the proper regions through reliable friends, and, if possible, a lifelong supply. Galen made several journeys for this purpose, and annually received regular despatches of such stuffs from many provinces, partly through friends, partly through the provincial governors, from Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Cappadocia, Pontus, Macedonia, Gaul, Spain and Mauretania. He once went to Lemnos to get Lemnian earth, and to Cyprus for her metals. In Cyprus his friendship with the imperial procurator of the mines at Soli enabled him to secure copper vitriol, copper vitriol water, cadmia, vitriolic ore, and white flowers of zinc, in quantities sufficient, not only for lifelong practice, but for distribution. Litharge he discovered between Cyzicus and Pergamus. He could not discover the river Gagates in Lycia (whence came the jet), though he coasted all along Lycia. From the Dead Sea he fetched asphalt and certain porous black inflammable stones: he went to Palestine, mainly, to get balsam, which grew in an imperial demesne at Engaddi in Judaea, and was only sold by the fisc. On his return, he had the luck of meeting a train of camels, bearing Indian aloe and lycium to Phoenicia, and of obtaining the latter pure, the impure material being unknown there. Many drugs had to be preserved in oils. But dealers sold not the old oil required, but swine-fat mixed with common oil, a very plausible composition; and the commercial pure oil was usually not old and had not the requisite qualities. Galen got oil from his father, who had kept it stored, and was ever renewing his supplies, which were thus perpetual, even should he live to be a centenarian.

Physicians, in so far as climate permitted, cultivated the medicinal plants (as also in the sixteenth century Germany). Pliny complains of the experts of his day, who withheld their knowledge, contrasting it with the unstinted spirit of old, that searched every cranny and every peak, marked the nature of every root, and utilized what even the kine would not browse on. In some Greek works the pictures would be inaccurate, or descriptions only, or mere names be given: Pliny, however, had seen, with his own eyes, nearly all the medicinal plants in Antonius Castor's botanical garden (perhaps a freedman of a daughter of Marcus Antonius), the great botanist of his day, a writer on plants and cultivator. He had reached the age of a hundred without a single illness, and showed no signs of senility.

At Rome the imperial house had ample private stores of the curatives from all countries of the best quality. Sicily every summer sent her supplies, as did Africa and Crete (where the Emperors subsidized the collectors, 'who sent their medicinal stuffs carefully packed and labelled'): wicker baskets were there filled with herbs, partly for the imperial apothecaries, partly for sale in Rome. Galen mentions imperial slaves who caught adders, whence drugs were made. All the resources of this store were at Galen's service, as Court-physician. He could select the old Falernian of the proper year, from the long row of clay bottles, each duly labelled, or similarly the honey from Hymettus. The wooden cases of cinnamon dated back to Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and among them was a box four and a half yards long, containing a whole cinnamon-tree. Other stuffs must have been there in similar quantity (such as the balsam of Engaddi): Pausanias incidentally mentions that the valuable oil of Thitorea, used for salves, was sent to the Emperors.

Besides being able to get drugs, physicians had to know how to prepare them, and a good collection of recipes was an indispensable qualification, often the only one. Scribonius Largus, the Court-physician under Claudius, compiled such a book at the instance of his patron Gaius Julius Callistus the freedman, who gave it into the 'divine hands' of his master. The author imagined the gift of healing to be knowledge of the means of healing. Even if Asclepiades—as falsely reported—had cured illnesses without the use of drugs; a doctor who

did not possess two or three essential medicines for every evil stood in a very bad way. For medicaments defined medicine, and to excel in this knowledge, no effort should be shirked, and persons consulted, who, unconnected with the scientific study, often succeeded, where doctors failed. Thus Scribonius got one very successful cure of colic from an old hag in Africa, and a remedy for snake-bites from a stuff Sicilian huntsmen carried in their belts. His teacher Apuleius Celsus made up a remedy against hydrophobia, and sent it every year to his native place Centuripae in Sicily, where there were many mad dogs; but it only alleviated. But Scribonius was apprised that in Crete an old man from some barbarian land had been shipwrecked, and received a fee for a thoroughly effective remedy: he learned from Zopyrus, a physician from Gordium (who came to Rome on an embassy and stayed with him), that it consisted in a piece of hyaena-skin wrapped up: he instantly got it; but, he remarks, had fortunately not had occasion to use it. Ambrosius of Puteoli mentions as a remedy against stone a stuff that must be pounded with a pestle that had no iron in it—a superstitious cure he does not vouch for. Most of his remedies—one of them a toothpowder used by Messalina—he approves through personal use, and very few only on the oath of his friends.

A great part of Galen's writings, too, deal with the preparation of drugs. He wanted to enable the practitioner to substitute, if necessary, for the requisite drug, as many were helpless without their stores. Many medicaments were very much compounded, e.g. theriac (which was used until the nineteenth century) was made of sixty-one constituents, dried adders being one of them. The number of supposed medicinal stuffs was incalculable; some were loathly, such as bugs and centipedes. Galen is amazed at the recommendation by Xenocrates of Aphrodisias (circa 60 A.D.) of human brains and flesh and liver and blood as cures, considering the formal prohibition of cannibalism. The same authority prescribed certain secretions from the human body, and from hippopotami and elephants. Roman doctors, like Serenus Sammonicus—and Germans in the seventeenth century—prescribe excrements. Galen loathes such means, but says they may work well, e.g. for dangerous swellings of the throat the excrement of a boy externally applied, provided the patient was not informed

of what was being done. And further such remedies should be reserved for sextons, mowers, and people of no standing, who were no better than donkeys and might be similarly treated.

Medical books also touched on poisons and magic drinks, love-philtres, dream-inducers or means of tying up an adversary's tongue in Court. These Galen disregards, as also deathly drugs, in which experiment is crime. One man had two doctors who offered honey for sale, tasted it, and fled—to die. Some drugs also emptied the body of blood and thus induced death. According to a story Galen tells; in his youth, a man from Bithynian Thrace (near Byzantium) accidentally discovered a herb, which had this effect. He was arrested, and, on his trial, stated he had first experimented on a pig's liver, and then successfully applied it to the next man he met and on many others, and so killed them all. On the rack, he said he had not disclosed it to any one: but it was growing everywhere, and he was led blindfold to execution, for fear he might point it out on the way.

Poisons and antidotes were largely used and a large part of medical experiment. Nero's physician Andromachus, the inventor of theriac, in a long poem exalts it as a panacea against all poisons and for the most various diseases. Hence many took it every day as a preservative, for example Marcus Aurelius, but especially all well-hated men. Scribonius catalogues the effects of most of the well-known poisons, such as hemlock, opium, henbane, gypsum, litharge, whitelead, and their antidotes, one of which was a panacea invented for Augustus by Marcianus.

Many abused their science and dealt in cosmetics: such was the Court-physician, Crito, who wrote four books on the subject: Galen only retails the prescriptions for the retention of beauty. It were unworthy of him to detail depilatories, fragrances for clothes or rooms.

As the opinion obtained that the dearest stuffs were the most efficacious, and the rich, therefore, would have nothing cheap, his apothecary's business was extremely profitable to the practitioner. One rich man, whose slave Galen had cured of a dangerous tumour, asked for the recipe, saw that its ingredients were cheap, and demanded something not fit for beggars. Galen taught him a more expensive one, and he then experimented on free men and slaves, and acknow-

ledged his indebtedness to Galen for his great successes. Of the two kinds of storax Galen recommended the commoner and cheaper as a rule, and the rarer for emperors and the plutocrats of medicine. Laxatives were made needlessly costly and expensive.

The processes of popular drugs were kept secret. Claudianus, a friend of Galen, found in an inheritance, a parchment book containing a remedy for premature baldness, which, he knew, had been highly successful: but it was expressed in symbolic language, which Galen could scarcely puzzle through. Scribonius Largus gives a 'wonderful remedy for pains in the breast'; it was long known but popularized by Paccius Antiochus (a physician whom Galen often mentions): it was very efficacious and a good investment for a doctor. He prepared it with locked doors, and mystified his assistants by telling them to pound many unnecessary powders. After his death, the recipe was given, at his wish, to Tiberius, who deposited it in the public libraries, just as, later on, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius ordered the like publication of the works of Marcellus of Side.

Drugs used to be labelled with their names, their inventors, and their objects, or even the name of a patient for whom it was intended, or on whom it had worked well. Galen gives some instances. 'A drug of Berytus, used by Strato of Berytus for watery eyes, Instantaneous'; or 'Eye-salve tried by Florus on Antonia, mother¹ of Drusus, after the other doctors had nearly blinded her'. 'For scab. Pamphilus found it very profitable at Rome, when scab on the chin was raging.' 'Ointment for gout, made for Patroclus, imperial freedman,—safe cure.' 'Ointment, by Pompeius Sabinus (called the 'expensive' ointment) for Aburnius Valens (perhaps the famous jurist) for diseases of the hip, gout, trembling and nerves.' Or euphonious names would be given, such as 'ambrosia', 'nectarium', 'anicetum' (*ἀνίκητρον*), Phosphoros, Isis, Galene (the name given by both Andromachi to their theriac), 'parrot', 'phoenix', 'swan' (from its colour). The labels were written on the packets or the skin drawn over them; Galen mentions that adders' poison if kept in a tin box ferments and bursts; or on a string attached. Only *collyria* or eye-salves were stamped, and sent out dry, in

¹ The text of Galen must be wrong: Antonia was the wife, not the mother, of Drusus.

square sticks. About one hundred and fifty stone seals of oculists have been preserved, in England, France, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands, in Italy only three, 'containing the names of the physician, the object, the drugs, the ingredients, and mode of dissolving (in eggs, water or wine)'.

This profession, unreservedly open, exposed to such temptation, must have included bad characters. Martial makes a physician steal the medicine-spoon. Poisoning and adultery were ascribed to doctors, or a 'feverless' murder of the husband. Greed, extortion, the spirit of rivalry between the many schools, mutual animosity leading to abuse at disputations and at the bedside, or to fights, were frequent accusations: they were said to be too cocksure, even as against an Apollo or Aesculapius, and envious to the point of slander, persecution or murder, especially as envy was fostered in Rome by the hugeness of the profits. His colleagues' hatred drove Galen from Rome; it grew in proportion with his patients' admiration of him: Lucius Martius, a fine character, whom Galen cured of melancholy, says his voice sounded like the priestess's from the golden tripod. The worst and most general vices of the profession were quackery, ignorance, and practical contempt of theoretical training.

The chief schools were the Dogmatics, the Empiricists, Methodics, Pneumaticists and Eclectics: besides them there were many others, named after their founders, such as the Erasistrateans. Tiberius Claudius Menecrates, the Court-physician, wrote an 'illuminative work on logic in 156 books, for which many great cities passed decrees of honour on him' and his Roman adherents put a monument up. Or these schools might name themselves after their method of cure, e.g. *οἰνοδόται* (wine-givers), or water-physicians: hydrotherapia became the fashion in Rome under Augustus through Antonius Musa, and under Nero through Charmis of Massilia. Charmis used to prescribe cold bathing even in the winter, and dip his patients in large baths: aged consulars were treated by him, who, as Seneca says, 'made an affectation of their torpidity'. Feuds were severe and vituperative; Galen inveighs against the 'simpleton' Thessalos and 'the asses from his herd', against 'the wooden-headed methodists'. No science, says Pliny, is more variable; Vettius Valens, the Court-physician, founded his new school, to be succeeded by Thessalos

with his absolute innovations, and mad polemics against all former doctors : on his tombstone he calls himself ' tyrant of medicine '. He was the head of his profession ; no charioteer or pantomime had a larger retinue ; yet Crinas of Massilia dethroned him, throwing on medicine a specious semblance of truer care and honesty, by associating it with astrology, and settling meal-times by the planets. And he too gave way to Charmis, so that three incompatible theories of medicine in succession ruled Rome. ' Beyond all doubt ', Pliny continues, ' their craze for novelty was simply ambition ; the patients were their pawns ; the sickbed the scene of their independent quarrellings : the tombstone, which says death was due to the too many doctors, tells the truth. Daily a new-fangled science ; daily are we blown about at the wayward mercy of the talents of Greece. Any voluble person has powers of life and death over us, just as though thousands of peoples did not live on without doctoring, as Rome did for six hundred years ; though she was no inapt pupil in the sciences and hungered after medicine until experience sickened her of it '.

Asclepiades of Bithynia, a talented man, in the latter days of the Republic, took up the teaching of rhetoric, and, finding it unprofitable, all at once turned to medicine. He inculcated a new diet, mainly based on expediency, but very adaptable to the patient's mood, and what with the grossest quackery—he revived the dead—brought it about that nearly all obeyed, as Pliny says, his laws, to fill his coffers, as though he were descended from on high. His fame even reached King Mithridates, who summoned him to his Court. Asclepiades declined, but sent a copy of one of his works on medicine. He won his bet with Fate ; that, were he ever ill, he would no longer deem himself a physician, and died, at a ripe old age, of a fall from a ladder. Magic was a great part of his success. He asserted he knew of herbs that could dry up rivers and lakes, open locked doors, put armies to flight and provide a purse of Fortunatus.

Magic and medicine had much in common, and was employed by doctors in good faith. The prodigious superstition which antiquity welded into medicine infected most of the practitioners. The most universal belief amongst all (not only amongst physicians) was in an antipathy and sympathy throughout all Nature ' in the friendships and hostilities

of things dumb and unconscious'. According to Pliny, medicine was the science of these antinomies. Thus Nature had created remedies easy of discovery and abundant; but expensive rarities and their mixtures had been begotten by human fraud and greed. Dioscorides too recommends sympathetic remedies: his pharmacopoeia obtained for sixteen hundred years as the oracle of medicine, as to this day in Turkey. He also tells of how men, when digging up hellebore, for use in such diseases as epilepsy and madness, ought to stand up and pray to Apollo and Aesculapius, and take heed not to be overlooked by a passing eagle, for this spelt the digger's death. Jasper in any form was serviceable as an amulet, and, tied round a woman's loins, quickened birth. But eagle-stone retarded birth and should be given to women, who desired this, to be tied round the left arm; if taken thence, and bound on to the thigh, birth would be pangless. Galen says that jasper was a cure for abdominal pains. A prescription of Nechepsos, King of Egypt, made some engrave on it, a snake with a wreath of stars. But Galen's experience was that the charm worked well, unengraved; he had a necklace so made that the stones touched the pylorus, and this proved successful. He had been an unbeliever in spells, but had been converted, whereas the Pythagorean mystical numbers, as applied to the theory of critical days, seemed to him nonsense. For what should the seven Pleiades, or the seven Mouths of the Nile, have to do with the fact that, on the seventh day, inflammation of the lungs or the chest entered on the critical stage? It happened just as often on the other days. Ulpian says that enchanters, or exorcizers, must not be deemed physicians, though many proclaim the good effects. Exorcizing of demons was an ancient practice in Egypt, and practised by the Jews as well. Sceptics of magic would not easily doubt the astrology which, especially in Egypt, was the foundation of therapeutics, and esteemed indispensable by many doctors, or non-doctors. One physician, Decius Servilius Apollonius, who, according to his tombstone, died at the age of ninety-three, had prophesied this astrologically. Galen too believed the phases of the moon exercised much influence on the things of earth and approved the discovery of the Egyptian astrologers, that the positions of the moon in regard to the good and evil planets determined the condition

of patients. For example, if, at birth, the good stars were in the Ram, and the evil in the Bull, diseases are at their worst, if the moon be in the Bull, in the Lion, in Scorpion or Aquarius; whereas, no danger need be apprehended if the moon is crossing the Ram, the Crab, Libra or Capricorn. Any one who neither observed these phenomena, nor believed others' observations, was one of those blatant sophists, who ask for reasons of the obvious, and do not strive to proceed from proven facts on to unknown ground.

(v) *Astrology*

Astrology was a profession, illegal, often prohibited under severe penalties, but for the most part tolerated, in as far as the Emperor's person or matters of State were not touched. Amongst the teachers subsidized by Alexander Severus, by the grant of lecture-rooms and the appointment of sons of poor free families as scholars, *haruspices* and astrologers were included, besides rhetors, grammarians, doctors, mechanics and architects. Caecilius Argicius Arborius, the grandfather of Ausonius, clandestinely practised his art of astrology: he sealed up the tablets of his grandson's horoscope, but his daughter broke them open. St. Augustine in his youth lent much confidence to soothsayings, but was convinced of their falsity by an older friend, who had chosen star-gazing as his profession, thoroughly mastered it, and then turned to medicine on conviction of its untruth. But Firmicus Maternus (an author of about 350 A.D.), in disgust at the 'currish' quarrelsomeness of advocacy, and its risks, took to research in things divine and heavenly, i.e. astrology, so as to purge his soul from the contaminations of evil society. He, apparently, did not adopt astrology as a lucrative profession, but mentions astrologers in his book as the professional men. The professional tax raised from the astrologers of Alexandria was called the 'Fools' Tax,' because it was the clients who really paid it. Astrology does not seem to have declined in repute during the Empire. Astrologers, mainly Greeks, Orientals and Egyptians, at the palaces of the Emperors or the grandees, were constantly to be seen, intimate confidants, and advisers or inciters in enterprises of peril; hence often involved in cases of high treason.

Pammenes (circa 40 A.D.) was an astrologer of fame, whose

art created him many friendships : in the latter years of Nero he was relegated to an island, and there received messages and questions, and a yearly grant from the Consular Publius Anteius. Another relegate to the same island got hold of Pammenes' secret documents and in 66 denounced Publius Anteius and Ostorius Scapula for their correspondence with him : both anticipated condemnation by suicide. Astrology was the aristocratic form of prophesying, like psychical research nowadays, in comparison with fortune-telling from cards. Artemidorus, the dream-interpreter, despised sooth-saying from the countenance, the form or the hand, dice, dishes, sieves, cheese and fire, and even ghosts, as vulgar, and would only acknowledge dreams, entrails, the flight of birds and the constellations as authorized modes ; he also doubted horoscopes. But horoscopes were the favourite species of prophecy in all ranks of society, high and low : besides the ' holy ' pretentious prophets, in Rome there were many starbook makers, especially in the Circus, who made out horoscopes at a vulgar price. They would also forecast the weather, as certain changes in the wind occurred on certain days, a fact Columella disproves in a pamphlet. They would tell the farmer how his crops would turn out, or a merchant what chance his business stood, or the heir-in-waiting when a rich testator would die. The last would be the most frequent inquiry, and the answers suited the askers' books : Galen says the rich only troubled about astrology as a forecast of legacies. Engaged couples inquired of astrologers what would be a lucky day for a wedding, builders for the laying of the foundation-stone, and travellers when they should start ; the fee for such a consultation on one occasion was a hundred denarii (£4 7s.). To remove every possible doubt, astrologers would demonstrate their absolute knowledge of their clients' past. Trimalchio says his astrologer had recalled things he had himself forgotten, and told him ' your friendships will not prosper. No one will be grateful. Your wealth is great. You are taking an adder to your bosom ' ; but, adds Trimalchio, ' I have still more than thirty years to live, and a fortune waiting '.

Firmicus Maternus in his work on astrology (written at the instance of Mavortius Lollianus the proconsul and dedicated to him 354 A.D.) is at pains to present his science as innocent, elevating and enlightening, and one that none but those pure and holy as

priests should pursue. His admonitions to budding astrologers illustrate their faults and dangers. The initiate into the Holy teaching, he says at the end of the second book, must be like unto the image of God, and ever wear the crown of truth. He must be affable, and approached without dread ; modest, sober, frugal, content with little, that mere self love may not dishonour divine art. He, the priest of the Sun and the Moon and the other gods, who guide the plot of earth, must aim at behaving worthily of his model. His answers should be publicly made ; the questioner should be warned to ask nothing unseemly. Questions as to the condition of the State and the life of the Emperor he must pass by : both are criminal ; the latter impossible, for the Emperor's fate depends not on the zodiac : the lord of the world, his doom is supremely guided ; he is one of the gods set by the One God to perfect and maintain all things. So the *haruspices* confessed that no godhead they could invoke could explain the superior godhead of the Emperor. The master of all ranks and conditions is himself a god in power and station. Should any thus inquire, he should not be objurgated, but gently reproved and corrected. But he need not inform against an impious inquirer ; otherwise he might be implicated in the guilt of treason, and of bloodshed the priest must be pure. He should have a wife, a house, many and true friends, not be a hermit, yet abstain from all dissension and wrongful acts, and be careless of gain, a stranger to savage passion, have no joy in others' enmities, moderate in all things. He should flee from sedition and seek friendship, and always be blameless ; not perjure himself, or practise usury, or make others' loss his gain. He must not accept or promise on oath, not seem to beseech the gods for paltry things. To those astray, and his friends, he must point the right way, and save them from evil. Never should he partake of offerings at night, speak to any one secretly, but in full daylight exercise his godly art. In his horoscopes he must not dwell too closely on men's vices, but show some reason ; not make the hostile stars a personal reproach. He must hold himself aloof from the temptations of the shows, so as to avoid seeming a partisan ; God's priests must not be fond of pleasure. Arrayed in this armour of virtue, let him proceed, and, thus only, study the following books on the stars and the lot of man. No soul prejudiced and seared

with evil passions can embrace the Divine lore ; an impious mind injures itself thereby. Spotless, pure, and true he must do his holy work, and purity avails him more than knowledge. In the proem to the fifth book, Firmicus makes an impassioned prayer to God the Almighty, the ' Father and Mother of all beings, Father and Son in one kinship '. May God regard it kindly, if the author is moved by a higher impulse and a pure will to explain the courses of the stars and their influence : ' For Thy Romans have I written these books, so that, when all things have been rendered in their tongue, this may not be the only exception '. Then he prays the stars, the Sun and the Moon to forgive his intrusion into their secrets ; for no villainous curiosity or spirit of impiety impelled him ; only a spirit strong in the Divine inspiration, whereby he had to uplift to the Temples on the Tarpeian Rock what seers of Egypt had brought to light.

§ 4. AGRICULTURE—THE MARINE—SUBORDINATE OFFICES— MILITARY SERVICE

(i) *Agriculture*

This occupation Columella exalts over military service or the marine, commerce, usury, advocacy, clientship. Land in Italy only paid 6 per cent. ; hence, when interest under Augustus sank to 4 per cent., prices rose and land became a favourite investment. But little poultry, vegetable or fruit-farms, the crops of which were readily saleable at Rome, were rented higher : some fruit-trees near Rome earned 2,000 sesterces a year (£21 2s. 6d.) and flowers also paid well. In 227 A.D. a vegetable gardener on the road to Ostia paid 26,000 sesterces as rent. Such high prices induced many investors, including most of the landowners, to draw ground-rents in the shape of interest on small holdings : the *coloni* under the Empire throughout the realm formed a considerable part of the population, and sometimes (as their inscriptions prove) reached great prosperity.

Small holdings, were then, as now, in Italy, almost universal, and large holdings were only a mass of small ones. But, in the course of time, small rent-holders supplanted both small properties and even proprietary management ; Pliny the Elder, when he said that the large estates had ruined Italy

and the provinces, can only have been thinking of the replacement of peasant proprietors by peasant leaseholders. He was exaggerating even in this point, as usual, as is shown by two bonds, touching on Trajan's provisions for the education of the children of the free poor, for whom lands (at about twelve times their value) were mortgaged, in the neighbourhood of Veleia (near Parma) and Placentia, and near Beneventum. At Beneventum, peasant ownership still prevailed: out of fifty owners of mortgaged lands there are only two large owners (their estates amounting to 451,000 and 501,000 sesterces), nine owners of lands worth from 100,000 to 400,000 sesterces, the rest all having smaller estates (the Roman acre of 252 hectares of cultivable ground being valued at 1,000 sesterces). In Aemilia a far greater proportion of the former small holdings had been monopolized, 'as the rich country on the Po attracted capital, more than did the Hirpine Hills'. There out of 52 owners, half only possessed lands worth less than 100,000, and about as many estates varying from 100,000 to 400,000, and a fifth larger estates, three in this last category owning lands worth more than a million.

Vines were the most profitable form of cultivation. Seven *iugera* of vine-lands with the slave service, vine-stocks and the inventory, together with interest for the two years of waiting, cost 32,480 sesterces (£353 10s.), and Columella says this capital yielded 18 per cent., if well cultivated, not to mention the cuttings from the vines, so that despite bad years, expenses of management and accidents, the capital yielded a good profit,⁷ as the earnings of Remmius Palaemon show.

(ii) *The Marine*

Less certain, but more profitable was the Roman commercial marine, the flag of which was seen in every sea. According to Manilius' *Astrology* (circa 14 A.D.), the Crab initiated and favoured sea-trade. Those born under this constellation spread their over-sea goods through city and country, looked out for the accidental destruction of corn, and trusted their fortunes to the winds. The world was their vendor and their purchaser; unknown lands and unseen sunrises served them and their needs. Trimalchio, whose

wealth had thus been gained, ascribes his luck to the Crab. A corn-merchant (from an inscription on a statue erected at Praeneste 136 A.D. by his son) was well known in Rome and respected for his honesty: he made his purchases partly in Etruria and Umbria, but 'used eagerly to visit the safe havens of weary mariners'. The extent and variety of Roman commerce, which went far beyond the boundaries of the Empire, its dangers and its winnings, will be later examined in detail.

(iii) *Subordinate Offices*

The most sought after were the subordinate posts under the magistrates and priests. These were open to freedmen, and by them almost entirely filled. They were paid, and could be permanent, despite the yearly tenure of their superiors. These *apparitores*, on retirement, might sell their position to a successor. Hence, even in the Republic, these practically permanent officials had rights of corporation into *decuriae*, and, under good imperial government, this system of protection won their guild a certain amount of power. Almost exclusively they were the aristocracy of the freedmen. Trimalchio wishes to have it inscribed on his tombstone, that, had he wished, he could have entered any of the Roman *decuriae*.

The most reputed and best paid of them were the secretaries and treasurers, the *scribae*: but only the *scribae* of the quaestors were incorporated (into three *decuriae*) and those of the curule aediles (into one): both bodies being principally engaged in the administration of the *aerarium* (the Treasury and the Record office) and with the public book-keeping. With magistracies of one year, naturally, the substantial control would be with the permanent under-officials; and they could, through their knowledge of the law, of the accounts and the archives, and office regulations, not unfrequently lay under obligation the cities of Italy and of the provinces, which returned the favour in the form of civil rights and decrees of honour. But this high service was comparatively seldom in freedmen's hands: though they were not excluded: their sons were admissible, but knights also aspired to these posts. Just as the corpse of Augustus was borne on the knights' shoulders, the body of Drusus

the Elder was carried by the *decuriae* of the *scribae*. Vitruvius mentions the house of a scribe Faberius on the Aventine in whose peristylia the walls were covered with cinnabar.

Next to the *scribae* among the *apparitores* ranked the *lictiores* of the various magistracies, who formed three *decuriae* with a committee of ten. Sometimes they might be influential. To one consular lictor of the guild of the Divers and Fishermen of the Tiber (whose patron he was) a monument was set up, as he inaugurated a service of boats. Sons of over-lictors (*lictiores proximi*) are often knights. More powerful than the lictors was their fellow-officer and substitute, the *accensus*, whom the magistrate selected out of his own freedmen, to be his personal companion or intimate even. To one Lucius Licinius Secundus, who held this post under his patron, Licinius Sura, the powerful friend of Trajan, during his three consulates (98, 102 and 107 A.D.), at least thirteen statues were set up at Tarraco, by individuals and by corporations.

Lower than the lictors in this progression stood the *viatores* (messengers), mostly freedmen and meaner folk, but some quaestorian *viatores* were knights. The lowest of these were the *praecones* (criers), whose unesteem sprang from their opprobrious office. The inscriptions mention only freedmen and bastard *praecones*. Manilius' *Astrology* assigns an especial constellation to the talents requisite for these various dignities. Any one born under it knows his city, and as *praeco*, acts as broker to the state auctioneers; as *viator* or *lictor* arrests wrong-doers; as *scriba* cites State debtors. Further, *apparitores* of low standing often had a trade or handicraft, such as tailoring, oil-selling, pearl-dealing, or metal-founding.

(iv) *The Army*

Military service was the occupation most preferred by the people. The garrison of Rome, which under Vespasian consisted of nine Praetorian Cohorts, later of ten, and three or four City Cohorts (in all 13,000-14,000 men), was drafted solely from the free, but the militarily organized Fire Brigade (who were the night-watch and police, about 7,000 in all) from freedmen. The rank and file of the Roman garrison had higher pay and standing than the legionary privates. Service in the City Cohorts was for twenty years, at a

denarius a day, the Praetorian Guards receiving two denarii a day. Largess was a matter of right on special occasions. Claudius initiated the custom of purchasing their support, by promising them, at his accession, 15,000 sesterces a man : other emperors yearly, or at intervals of five or six years, used to make distributions.

But not only these advantages, the prospects of promotion and pension, the pleasure of soldiering induced men into the ranks : there was also the increasingly high social position. Like the higher ranks, soldiers were exempt from relegation to the mines or the rack. In a poem written about the beginning of the second century in praise of the army, the excesses permitted to the Guard are mentioned. Any assault by a Praetorian might neither be warded off nor judicially punished, and, in the court-martial of the regiment, no witness or evidence would be obtainable. Pertinax made the Praetorians furious, by forbidding robbery and violence.

In the provinces, the troops were no less arrogant. The legions were mainly raised by levies, but many entered voluntarily, induced by poverty and hatred of a regular life : preferable to them was twenty years of rough camp-life (from 17 to 37, under Hadrian until 42), unmarried, and often in the wilds on the frontiers. This long period of service no doubt hardened and uncivilized them : and the stinting of their pay emboldened them to rob. Quintilian warns the advocate not to censure whole classes at once, or, at least, to add something in extenuation. Soldiers may be greedy, but naturally do not rate their life cheaply ; impudent, as more familiar with military than civil life. The biographer of Pescennius Niger awards him special praise for repressing his soldiers from forcing gifts of oil, wood or labour. A tale in Apuleius' romance illustrates their arbitrariness. A legionary private in Macedonia met a gardener riding an ass, and brusquely addressed him unintelligibly in Latin. No answer was returned, and the soldier characteristically knocked him off his mount, and despite the victim's apologies, was going to appropriate the animal with violence. Entreaties are met with threats : the gardener simulates death, is robbed, and flew to a neighbouring town and shelter. Thither the soldier follows him, and conspires revenge : he and his comrades accuse the gardener of stealing a silver ornament of

the procurator, and the gardener is condemned and executed.

The most coveted regiment was the privileged body of the Praetorians; younger sons of the *honoratiores* and high officials of the *municipia* served in it as privates. But the admission was tardily granted; only the strongest and tallest were selected, and none accepted who was not at least five (Roman) feet ten in height. Any one falling short, be it by four inches, was drafted by Hadrian into the City Cohorts. Into the City Cohorts sons of freedmen were admitted, as were citizens of the City Tribes, who ranked between the full citizens of the country tribes and the freedmen, this class never entering into the legions or the Guard. Augustus gave these *tribules* of the second order no further right than to join the City Cohorts. The Roman garrison, however, was, at first, recruited only from Rome and Italy, under Tiberius from Etruria and Umbria, from the Latin cities and ancient Italian *coloniae*, which were first enfranchised 90 B.C. By the time of Claudius, Transpadanians were also admitted. Next candidates from provinces outwardly latinized were allowed in, such as men from Macedonia, Noricum and Spain, which, according to the tables of the Praetorian Guard, under Severus then amounted to 23, 18 and 13 men respectively, Pannonia contributing 11, Narbonensis 6, and Dalmatia 5. From this select force Africans, natives of the Greco-Semitic East, and the barbarian parts of the Danube, of Rhaetia, extra-Narbonese Gaul, Germany and Britain, were excluded, but such men could serve and the Africans especially in the City garrison, cohorts and fire brigade. In the second century the large majority of the Praetorian Guards were still Italians; the fragments of their lists show, 119/120 A.D., 102 Italians to 10 foreigners; 141/142 A.D., 36 Italians to 4 foreigners; 143/144 A.D., 260 to 12; * 153/156, 47 to 2; 172/178, 60 to 15. So, too, with the City Cohorts; in a list of 197/198 A.D. there were only 16 foreigners in 172 men. Severus in 193 A.D. disbanded the Praetorians and reorganized them, and roused great discontent by incorporating veterans from all the provincial legions, thus filling the city with soldiers of savage semblance, rough manners and barbarous tongues. Now the Guard consisted mainly of Illyrians, Africans and Syrians. Their monuments, in bad grammar and poor writing, show how

little their barbarous nature was affected or polished. 'Here lies Laudator', runs one inscription of a centurion of the Guard, 'a simple, honest man, whom Sassina bore; whom Aquileia lays to rest; who faithfully led a century of a Praetorian Cohort not of a barbarian legion'. The youth of Italy, debarred from the accessible service in the City, turned gladiators and bandits.

A man who started *ex caliga* (from the rank and file) could rise to be centurion, a position of considerable command. The *primipilatus*, or highest centurionate, was only gained by few, by those whose long military career under different suns, assailing the camps of the Moors and the fortresses of the Brigantes (in Britain), had earned them, unkempt, unwashed, this right in their sixtieth year. At this point veterans retired. They were called *primipilares*, and formed a special class, specially privileged and respected, and generally enjoying a fair competence on retirement; if they were not made knights, their sons always were; and, if veteran centurions in the cities of Italy and provinces set the tone, *primipilares* would be even more eminent. Augustus conferred on all centurions in honourable retirement the *toga* with the purple stripe and the rank of *Decurio*. Generally *primipilares* would hold the highest offices in the cities, and be the patrons of the communes, and by the Emperors be selected as civil officers and commissaries to city administrators (*curatores*). Further, as trustworthy men, they would be employed on important messages and services.

Moreover, the centurionate might be the stepping-stone to further advancement, in a two-fold fashion. Young men of the third, or second order even, began their military career, by imperial permission, as centurions, and, after serving three equestrian ranks (the praefecture of the cavalry, the tribunate of a legion or cohort, and the praefecture of an auxiliary cohort, and under Severus a fourth position as well), either left the service with the title of a *tribus* or a *quatuor militiis*, or, as procurators entered the administration, there to advance higher still. Knights, beginning service with this non-equestrian centurionate, temporarily lost knighthood, hoping to gain the honourable and well-paid officers' command, and the highly salaried procuratorships.

Besides this, soldiers who had risen to the *primipilatus* were

encouraged, in the Early Empire even, to enter the officers' career; the legionary tribunate being the next step, and after that the *praefectus castrorum*. Often they were appointed tribunes of the City Cohorts, but seldom praefects of the auxiliary cohorts. Later on the *militiae equestriis petitores*, as they were called under Commodus, formed a special class, to which young knights might belong, but which gradually came to consist only of veterans, and these mainly Praetorian. This class, too, if knighted at a comparatively early age, might attain the highest posts of knighthood or even the Senate; though this ennoblement is not found before the end of the second century. No few names have come down, of whom it is known that they rose in one or other of these ways.

§ 5. CLIENTS

During all epochs in the history of Rome, the number of men living by clientship, wholly or partially, must have been very great. Tacitus, in describing the feeling at Nero's murder, emphasizes only two classes, the mob of the Circus and the theatre, and the uncorrupted adherents of the great houses, the clients and freedmen of the banished and condemned. This division may be incomplete, but it illustrates the extent and significance of *clientela*. The *clientela* of old was a *pietas*, a sacred obligation; its later echo a mere relation of master and servant. The ancient client was, as Ennius testifies, the faithful follower and even confidant of his patron, who protected him: now he had become a scurvy, ill-paid attendant in his lord's or 'king's' retinue.

In the later Republic, the old relation might survive, as in Horace's description of the Consular Lucius Marcius Philippus, and Volteius Menas. Philippus takes Volteius, for his personal qualities, into his house, acting on information that he was a man of small estate, but blameless and merry, and that his society would relieve the overstrained business man: as a companion, he makes him his daily associate, and gives him a wherewithal to live. But soon this personal relation came to an end, with the increasing number of the clients, and the ceremoniousness of their position. The Republican tradition of every distinguished man having a retinue commensurate with his rank, to fill his *atrium* every morning, to accompany him on all public occasions, and

generally to invest him with splendour, became more and more common, more and more exacting, even on less wealthy men of business: all must have their clients, surrounding their sedan-chairs, refuting any imputation of petty commerce; and a great number of needy men was at the cheap disposal of the train of a rich or eminent man, or of the Emperor. Each service had its fee, generally paid in kind or in money to buy food. And competition was always lowering the pay. In Martial's day, clients complained of the close-fistedness of the great, and cast envious gazes on the generosity and affability of the Mummii and Pisones, the Cottae and Senecas of the olden times. The spirit of aristocratic pomp and patronage had changed: and, even if antiquity may have been enhanced by regretful memory, at least one contemporary of Martial and Juvenal did find the condition of clients a miserable one.

Besides the regular fee in kind or money, clients received other occasional benefits, such as a casual invitation to an empty place at the patron's table, a rare and valued recognition of long service; or, perhaps, presents: a worn-out cloak, a shabby *toga*, sometimes a thousand sesterces, or a few acres of land, as a final requital of lifelong attachment (wherever Martial mentions the meanness of the rich to their poor friends, he is thinking of the clients). Such was Martial's little estate of Nomentum, perhaps out of Seneca's property. In one of his last Roman poems, he indulges in comic exaggerations of the diminutive size of an estate given him by his friend Lupus. It was smaller than the flower bed outside his window; a cricket could cover it with its wing, too short for a cucumber to lie straight in, its harvest might fill a snail-shell, its must a nut-shell. Others found it wiser to appoint old clients to the supervision of their estates, 'fee'd henchmen', says Columella, 'too old to do daily service', and wholly incapable of conducting what they superintend. Sometimes the patron gave his clients and freedmen free lodgings; but loans, guarantees, legal help and general protection seem to have been regularly expected and received. Paetus Thrasea was impugned for devoting more time to the private interests of his clients than the public affairs of State. But, as a rule, clients made a poor living; many were fed on great expectations; 'few', says Martial, 'got much in the *atria*

of the great ; most were pale for hunger '. Yet many again sought the service, even of poor men : ' how much stupidity the Roman *toga* covers up ! '

In Martial's day, clients were paid the wretched sum of 6½ sesterces a day, barely sufficient, with other advantages, to support a client, and this had to be laboriously earned. The most arduous task, and the most essential, was to wait on the lord or king every morning, and to help to supply the social requirement of a full *atrium*. This would be in the first and second hours. But clients had to be punctual, if anything, to wait for admission, however far they had had to come : generally they started in the dark to visit friends on the way, who did not return the call ; often having no time for sleep or digestion. According to Juvenal, ' as soon as the stars begin to dim, or whilst tardy Boötes is still moving in the heavens, the poor client rises from his bed, in haste forgets to lace his shoes, anxious lest the host of visitors have already run their orbit '. And Martial, too, bitterly complains, that, in return for his little poems, he demands little more than to have his sleep out ; and he may not ; these endless troubles in this ill-paid service drove him out of Rome, and, at home, he found repose once more. A further inconvenience was this : the client had to present himself to his patron in the *toga*, the costume of state and ceremony : it was a hot, cumbersome cloth cloak, disused more and more at Rome after the beginning of the Empire, and soon to be the garb of the clients only, and no slight expense, as in summer four or more even would be worn out. In this accursed *toga* they went their ways, before daybreak, in streets empty, save for bakers, who were hawking their goods, their first customers being boys, going lamp in hand to school, or meeting roysterers coming home from a late feast. Wind or hail or snow, no inclemency that deterred others, might deter them. Add to this the dirty streets, the long distances, for many had to pay several visits, and, as the day advanced, the obstruction of the growing traffic, and the dangers in the narrow tortuous streets from the overladen waggons. These daily inconveniences in themselves made this mode of life intolerable : Martial makes one client plead gout to excuse himself from the daily visit.

This early call, being their principal obligation, gave them

the names of *salutatores* and *togati* ; but many had to work on most of the day, or even all day long, in the *cortège* of their lords, following or preceding his sedan-chair, accompanying all of his visits whatsoever, at the tenth hour repairing with him to the *thermae* of Agrippa ; whilst they had to take their baths at the Baths of Titus, a half-hour's distance. They had to elbow themselves forcibly through the crowd. If their lord was travelling into the country or abroad, they had to be in readiness to take an empty place in his chariot. Were he reciting his poems, they had to give, by gestures or otherwise, the signal for the applause of his audience ; were he pleading in Court, the collective bravoës of the *togati* manifested, as Martial says, the eloquence, not of the orator, but of his scullions. Once an especially patient client was dining with the hot-tempered orator Caelius Rufus, and still found it hard to keep the peace. At last the continual assents wearied Caelius, and he exclaimed : ' Do say no, once at least ; so that people may know we are two people here ' . Nor was their work always innocuous. Sometimes they had to be the tools in plots, the discovery of which spelled ruin to all participators. In the year 55 Junia Silana used her clients Iturius and Calvisius to implicate Agrippina in Nero's eyes in an attempt on the sovereignty. The conspiracy failed and brought banishment to Silana, and relegation to the clients. In Pompeii clients agitated in the city elections of their patrons. Sometimes the clients of a great house combined, to set up in his *atrium* a statue of their patron in his honour.

Not only from the lord, but from his slaves as well, clients had to endure bitter humiliations. Columella calls their profession the lying 'bird-catching' of the 'paid visitors', who swarm about the threshold and learn from hearsay how their king has slept. For often the slaves vouchsafe no reply ; often must he be repulsed by a chained porter and lie outside like a dog. If they had some urgent business, and could not afford to be put off by usual pretexts, of the master being out, or being shaved, or busy in preserving the first hair shorn from some favourite slave, then they must bribe the haughty slaves, who thus derived much tribute from the scant earnings of these poorer clients. And, after getting through the half-opened door, once inside, they still

had to face 'the pride of the announcer and the frown of the chamberlain', and make greater efforts still, to gain admission. Usually, the great man received the greetings in a preordained order, and made no return salutation. 'How many', says Seneca, 'still wearied out from yesterday's debauch, will only yawn a haughty half-heard answer to the poor men, who interrupt their night's rest, to wait on a stranger?' It was a condescension to remember the humble visitor's name. But the client had to meet his patron with the greatest reverence, to address him as lord and king, were he not to fall into disfavour, and lose the desired reward. The patron showed his 'friendship' at most, by freedom from restraint in his client's presence. Often lifelong service would change nothing in this respect. The 'happy friends' only understood being enraged, and thereby profited, for hatred is cheaper than generosity: the Roman grandees easily put up with the loss of a client; and clients were often burdensomely officious to their patrons. But the patron who exacted slavishness could expect no love.

Their greatest humiliation was, however, at table. Juvenal's fifth satire deals with this; the general accuracy of his description is confirmed by Martial and others. In many houses clients and other humbler diners were accommodated very differently from the masters of the house and his guests, in food and drink. Their lower standing was made painfully evident. Pliny the Younger warns a young friend against such a combination of luxury and meanness; at one house where he had recently been entertained the wines for the guests, the 'lesser friends' and the freedmen were of distinct brands. Pliny, in the course of conversation, remarked that at his table, all, including the freedmen, fared alike: his neighbour remarked that it must be costly: Pliny rejoined that he drank the same as his freedmen, not his freedmen the same as himself. Martial makes the patron dine off Lucrine oysters, the finest mushrooms, a flounder, a fat dove or thrush, whilst the client had watery mussels, bad mushrooms, poor fish, and a magpie that had died in its cage; the client drank new Sabine out of glass, the master an old vintage out of a *murrha* vessel; *murrha*, says Martial, being opaque and obscuring the liquor. And yet the rich marvel that friendships no longer exist, like those

of Pylades and Orestes—who shared the same food. To have love, they must follow a piece of advice of the Stoic Hecaton, mentioned by Seneca ; they must show love themselves. Juvenal paints a similar picture. The patron drank out of costly vessels : but if such a glass were given to a client, he was closely watched and the jewels counted, or he was given a broken earthenware jar. The fairest youth of Little Asia waited on the lord : on the client some African runner, or bony-handed Moor, an ill fellow to meet of nights. Slaves demurred to obeying or tending an old client, and were jealous of his sitting while they stood. They would hand him stale bread ; the good white bread was for the master, and the client was repulsed if he ventured to touch it. The lord had a lobster, asparagus, and fine oil ; the client a Tiber fish, with lamp-oil. The client dare not drink his lord's toast ; dare not open his mouth, for fear of ejection, must acquiesce in being the laughing-stock of his lord or his guests. The author of the *Encomium* on Piso says that the poor clients had thus to earn their scant livelihood, and says of his patron's house that there 'nobody's insult would arouse general laughter'. In the fifth century, Valerianus, a Bishop in Gaul, expresses indignation at the giving of broken dishes to poor guests, at their beards being plucked, their chairs being taken from under them, and their being provoked to fight, so as to amuse their host.

Epictetus confirms these descriptions, mentioning the hubbub and morning visits as characteristic of Rome. A client should show equanimity, if not invited to a feast, or being given a back seat. The few honoured paid dear in morning visits, bearing the patron company, and flattery. Any one seeking access to a rich man must expect to be repulsed or shown the front door, or to have to kiss his hands.

Few facts are known as to the *clientela* of the second century, though no change need be looked for, despite the vanishing of the old aristocracy after Nero's reign, and the rise of new municipal and provincial families. In the second and third centuries, the number of noble families was probably undiminished, and, no doubt, these mushroom senators derived no fewer advantages from riches and influence than their aristocratic predecessors. The clients had the same duties. Fronto says that Gavius Clarus the senator, from youth onwards, showed the

same readiness to oblige him as a faithful and zealous freedman. Galen makes out a prescription for the many, whose unquiet life forced them before daybreak to knock at their patron's gates; who often arrived in a sweat, and then took cold, who attended others at their bath, and accompanied them home; themselves bathing and dining in haste. Tertullian repeatedly reprobates the cringing patience of these slaves of the belly, these thralls of rich favourers. Lucian's *Nigrinus* seems to show that the barrier between clients and patrons had broadened, and one side was slavish, and the other domineering: he may be rhetorically inexact. But essentially nothing had altered since the first century. The clients still had to rise at midnight, run about the entire city, be shown the door by slaves, and bear the most unseemly abuse. And the rich still strutted about in purple, poked out their beringed fingers, and were tastelessly, needlessly ostentatious; their accosters had to be content with a stare and a word from a follower. Prostrations even did they demand, like the Persians; when they are near, men must bow to them, and when they are afar, must humiliate their souls and wear lowly garments; and kiss their breast or their hand, and be envied this honour. And the reward was a contemptuous entertainment, the guests being often, unwillingly, forced into drunkenness, and going back home, cursing their host, loathing his stinginess, and hating their humiliation. Then in the street-corners, they would begin to vomit, next day be ill in bed, and have doctors—if they had time at all to be ill.

Most of these willing slaves were men of low standing, 'people with ragged cloaks', as Juvenal says: generally freedmen acted as clients to their patron, or even soldiers. Claudius prohibited soldiers from waiting on senators, but more out of fears for the stability of his throne. Lucian, too, speaks of the crowds of soldiers, who would not wait in the *queue* but elbowed their way through. Many, too, who had been better off, kept up a scanty old age in this fashion. Such were Junia Silana's clients, Iturius and Calvisius; they, after consuming their whole fortune, at their patroness's behest aided the indictment of Agrippina. Even men of education could be forced by hunger to mingle with these rude retainers, such as Publius Egnatius Celer the Stoic, a client, and afterwards the accuser of Barea Soranus,

Martial, a knight, and the youthful author of the *Encomium* on Piso. According to the latter only few houses had literary or scientific men as clients: he was fortunate in his lot. For Piso had no pleasure in crowds of boors, who could only offer mere service, and had only wit enough to precede and make room for their lord. In his house the poor friend was not contemned, and the client not downtrodden.

But, especially in earlier times, when clients were more than paid footmen, patrons, too, had some responsibility and grievance. Many had no leisure from their crowds of clients, or, as Horace says, had to slip out by a back door, whilst they waited in the *atrium*; a course Seneca deemed crueller than refusal. Their requests he had to listen to; they gossiped anywhere and everywhere of his family secrets. They brawled at his table and fought with his freedmen. At the *Saturnalia*, on New Year's Day and his birthday, they brought little presents, serviettes, spoons, wax lights, paper, baskets of Damascene plums, angling thus for larger returns. The poor man, says Martial, is most generous to his rich friend, when he gives him nothing. But the speculation did not always come off: 'the patron's gold was seldom heard rattling'. Instead of his expected rent money, the client might receive a flask of wine, a hare or game. Every slave also claimed his share, or commission on the present he carried. Eight brawny porters, says Martial, on the *Saturnalia*, dragged a number of articles into his house, scarcely worth thirty sesterces in all; one slave could far easier have carried five pounds of silver. And then the poor man had to extol the gift to the skies, whilst his was contemptuously cast aside. At the feasts of the *Saturnalia*, all the clients were entertained at once, and Lucian almost literally reiterates all Juvenal's complaints at their treatment at table, but adds that their behaviour often justified it.

§ 6. THE FREEDMEN

In conclusion it must again be pointed out, that the importation of slaves in masses from every part of the Empire, as well as from beyond, out of whom every year hundreds or thousands were freed and entered the third estate, rendered the population of Rome extraordinarily cosmopolitan. Of the tombs that line both sides of the military roads from

Rome, more than half belong to freedmen. The 80,000 citizens whom Caesar settled in various places beyond the sea, seem to have been mostly freedmen, as was certainly the fact in Corinth. Some indication of the extent of manumissions may be gathered from Augustus' restriction of testamentary manumissions—and he limited them as far as he might—to one hundred. Further, free provincials were always immigrating in masses, especially from the South and the East, and thrusting the original Romans out. Lucan even calls Rome a city filled with the scum of every nationality. Rome, said the Romans of the second century, was Greek, but populated not from Greece, but Little Asia and the East; the Orontes (the chief river of Syria) had flowed into the Tiber. Athenaeus (circ. 300 A.D.) says that the cities in Rome were innumerable; whole provinces, such as Cappadocia, Scythia, Pontus, were there settled. The huge number of Orientals may be gauged by the numbers of the Jews. An embassy of Herod to Augustus was accompanied by 8,000 Roman Jews: in 19 A.D., 4,000 freedmen of military age were deported to Sardinia for 'infection with Jewish and Egyptian superstition'. The volume of immigration increased: the true Roman free-born decreased by commixture; in 24 A.D., a revolt of slaves was anticipated, and Rome felt serious apprehensions at the limitless growth of her slave-class, and decline of the free-born *plebs*. Augustus limited legal manumission and recommended to the Senate and his successors the same advice, 'so as not to fill the city with all sorts and conditions': but freedmen multiplied and Rome's population was heterogeneous and chaotic.

The freedmen foreigners were often very wealthy. Their riches were in part derived from service in great houses, in which Greeks and Orientals ingratiated themselves, or made themselves indispensable or dreaded as acquainted with shameful secrets. In part their opulence came from their Oriental industry and skill in commerce. Juvenal makes one rich freedman, his Euphratian birth-mark betrayed by the pierced lobes of his ears, demand precedence over praetors and tribunes; for he had five shops that brought him in 400,000 a year. Trimalchio tells of how he, as a boy, came from Asia to Rome and was for fourteen years his master's darling, and on a very good footing with his mistress; and

he was not in the habit of boasting. Thus, by the grace of the gods, he became master of the house; he was made co-heir with the Emperor, and a senatorial fortune left to him. But contentment is not human; so he went into business, built five ships, freighted them with a wine, then worth its weight in gold. Unfortunately they all stranded, and Neptune drank up 30,000,000 sesterces. But nothing deterred him: he built bigger and stouter ships; loaded them with wine, bacon, beans, perfumes and slaves: in one voyage made 10,000,000, bought back all the property of his former master; built a palace at Naples; at last owned more than his native city; retired from business, and now let his freedmen earn for him. His tombstone was to be inscribed: 'a self-made millionaire: I have left an estate of 30,000,000 and never heard a philosopher'. His fellow freedmen are 'people to be respected': one of them began on nothing, as a carrier of faggots, and now has 800,000; another's credit is momentarily shaken, but has been worth a million. Petronius does not exaggerate, he draws from life. Demetrius, a freedman, is said to have left 4,000 talents (£943,050); and Didymus and Philomelus, the richest men at Rome in the time of Domitian, must have started as slaves. Freedmen's wealth was proverbial at Rome, even in the Early Empire, as also their tastelessness and impertinence and ostentation. Of Calvisius Sabinus, whose riches were as great as his ignorance (he was consul in 26 A.D.), Seneca remarks he had a freedman's properties and proprieties. On freedmen's tables vessels glittered, 'on which a whole silver mine had been expended'. In their baths, statues, columns, waterfalls abounded, all decoratively useless. The mirrors for their daughters' vanity cost more than the dowries of the daughters of the statesmen of old. In sybaritic luxury they excelled the most eminent: in all the greater contrast stood their vulgarity and ignorance. They, who once had feared the whip, who now plastered weals and brands over, or bribed physicians to silence, to take the marks out,—they were now to be seen in snow-white *togas*, Tyrian purple, scarlet shoes of the finest leather, their fingers gleaming with jewels, their hair scented, and on the front benches of the Theatre of Marcellus. Their predilection was to treat their betters with disdain. The rich freedman

was the type of the common upstart, shameless and boastful. Zoilus in Martial represents him, like Trimalchio : he wears heavy rings, almost as heavy as his former leg-irons ; uses a monstrously big sedan-chair : malingers to show off his Egyptian bolsters with purple coverlets and scarlet quilts : enjoys the costliest wines and foods himself, whilst giving his guests common stuff and leavings : his snoring at table must be respectfully listened to, in silence : any one happy at such a feast the poet deems worthy of his beggar's bread. The self-complacency of this class was increased by the sight of the power of their peers at Court, and the reflection of that Court-glory on themselves : their sons and grandsons often attained high posts as knights and senators ; even in Nero's reign many such families were of servile descent.

But beside this ostentation of these former slaves, no few showed a nobler pride, the pride of the low-born but able, as against the *fainéant* rich. Cicero, in the heyday of aristocracy, dared only hint at the superiority of the middle-class : 'the nobles in their excess of good and evil quite outdo our potentialities'. Two hundred years later, when the nobles had been depressed by monarchy, Juvenal accentuates the value of the lower orders. 'Catilina and Cethegus, with all their blue blood, aped the Gauls in attempting to fire the Capitol and had to be curbed by the ignoble new man of Arpinum, who, at Rome, had been only an obscure knight before ; free Rome hailed him *pater patriae*. And another man of Arpinum it was who had earned his daily bread in the Volscian mountains, when weary of working on others' soil ; and he later swung the centurion's whip on to a soldier entrenching but idly. And he, as consul, checked the Cimbri and saved the panic-stricken city. Hence his noble colleague was only awarded the second laurels, when the ravens flew over the battlefield, and fed on the gigantic Cimbri. The Decii, in name and soul plebeian, were the accepted sacrifice of the Nether Gods. The last good King of Rome was the son of a slave ; the sons of Brutus the consul traitorously opened the gates to the banished tyrants, and were loyally betrayed by a slave. However far your family-tree go, your first ancestor was a shepherd or a robber, one who found refuge in Romulus' camp. In splendid palaces indecent Andalusian songs and dauces are found seemly.

Dice and adultery are the shame of the humble, the sport of the great ; the guilt of the cobbler and glory of the noble. From the depths emerge the eloquent, who defend the ignorant nobility, who solve the riddles of the law, and the martial youth who, under the eagles, guard the Euphrates and the Rhine : the nobles are as useless as the armless busts of Hermes, with only an ancestry to boast of, and devoid of sound sense.'

But how strength arose from out the lower ranks, and the weaker upper orders sank and decayed : how the three orders of societies, to a certain extent, regularly interchanged in constant succession, this fragmentary account from few and scattered sources can give no sufficient idea.

CHAPTER IV

ROMAN SOCIETY

THE interaction of Society on Court and Court on Society has already been mentioned, but can only be imperfectly described, in part only conjectured. *Clientela* corresponds most closely to the Court ceremonial of visits. And the *officia* or social obligations were very various and could not be disregarded by any one in Society, and least by the prominent members: ceremony, developed and extended, became subject to stricter regulations.

I. As in great houses, receptions were held in the early hours of the morning. The Roman day assigned all business to the daylight, and in the afternoon brought it to an end at the principal meal; hence the dawn only was left for most social obligations. Every morning, then, the Roman palaces re-echoed to the sound of many feet; the clients, in dirty *togas* and cobbled shoes, clattering up even earlier, in such numbers even as to cause an obstruction in the street. Sedan-chair carriers, in red mantles, like soldiers, would hurriedly carry a rich man along; he would be enjoying some sleep behind drawn curtains, and his clients walking all around him. The well-known cry of the lictor would be audible, making room for a consul, and, to the lictors with their *fascēs* and the servants who knocked at the doors, preceding the high dignitaries in purple *togas*, the crowd would give way. Or a needy Greek applying for the position of teacher in a noble house, and overdressed—beyond his income—imitating the costume and tastes of his patron, would come by; or, in the days of Marcus Aurelius, a Greek philosopher in a rough cloak and long beard, anxiously trying through a slave to secure an invitation to the table; or a senator, ambitious for a consulate, a knight soliciting a

legionary tribunate—all, as Plutarch says—like a swarm of flies round the coveted honey. Seneca remarks, no doubt from experience, that many seldom visited men to whom they owed gratitude, and, to avoid seeming clients, succeeded in being ungracious. At the door stood the porter with a long stick; his goodwill generally had to be bought; sensible men, says Seneca, regarded him as a toll-collector on a bridge; others forcibly broke their way in, answered him gruffly, or begged his master to give him a whipping. People of lesser standing were simply shut out.

The *atrium*, where receptions were held, was a columned hall with an aperture in the ceiling, and, in noble houses, very capacious. There were benches for those who had to wait: on New Year's Day, 31 A.D., a sofa in Sejanus' palace broke down under the weight of the multitude that came to congratulate him on his consulship; it was taken as an omen of his imminent fall. The rooms were gorgeous, lofty, and huge, shining with marble; ancestral portraits covered the walls; the lackeys in magnificent livery: a mass of splendour, likely to dazzle the unsophisticated stranger. The principal slaves and freedmen had to be managed or bribed: the *Nomenclator* or announcer required long written lists, despite his selection as a good memorist. As at Court, visitors were divided into first-class and second-class: inside there were many doors open, but to the few, friends or favourites; fewer still could enter the reception-bedroom and be at the levee: most were greeted in the *atrium*. When Plautianus (Cassius Dio says) summoned his friends before the rest, one Coeranus followed them to the last door: this was shut in his face, but he secured the desired impression. Court-receptions were very similar. The door of Sejanus was as thickly beset as the palace: no one but feared he might come late or not be seen: senators paid homage to his clients, and courted his freedmen and porters. Plutarch says that one who has a great crowd to greet and attend him is deemed rich in friends. In 62 A.D., Seneca, to disarm Nero's suspicions, abandoned his splendid manner of living, and the morning-receptions. Great advocates enjoyed this satisfaction of seeing the most eminent visit them. When the reception was over, a great wave seemed to roll out of the palaces.

The custom of patrons holding morning-receptions and going out accompanied by their clients continued until the end of the Empire. Tertullian (circ. 200 A.D.) says that competitors for an office used to assure themselves of a place in all the *atria*, by waiting during the night. Firmicus the astrologer (circa 350) speaks of people who visit every house they can. St. Jerome in his letters from Rome (382-385) says: 'I am ashamed of the many visits we make or receive', and Symmachus (about the same time) also speaks of the nightwatches outside the doors of the rich. St. Orientius describes (circ. 450 A.D.) how an applicant gets up before daybreak, waits outside the rich patron's portals, falls asleep, or is moved on forcibly by the lictor, unless he bribe the porter. Sidonius Apollinaris praises two distinguished consulars who always went out with a numerous following of clients, because access to them was easy and inexpensive. Paulinus of Périgueux in a poem (A.D. 460) describes his honourable escort of humble clients.

Not only formal visits, then so many more than now, but a number of festive occasions, requiring the presence of guests, took place in the early morning. Such were the assumption of the *toga virilis*, betokening a boy's maturity physical and political. The Emperor Claudius, who during his boyhood had been persistently slighted, celebrated the usual sacrifice on the Capitol, and was carried there at midnight without the usual company, to avoid publicity. At weddings, too, the houses of both parties swarmed with guests before daybreak. Thus, too, betrothal feasts were celebrated in the first and second hours of the day, so that those invited lost the night's rest needed for digestion. But the rule requiring all who had any connexion with a new magistrate, to attend on his day of inauguration at daybreak was especially strict; the solemn procession of the friends, relatives and clients to the Capitol attending consuls or other dignitaries is often mentioned. Hadrian used to attend his new consuls and praetors on such occasions; and Verginius Rufus, the great patron of Pliny the Younger (he was thrice consul: his death occurred in 97 A.D.), used to come to town on every new elevation of Pliny, though he generally refused such functions. Corellius Rufus (died circ. 97 A.D.) also used to accompany Pliny the Younger on such occasions.

Pliny formally apologizes to Valerius Paulinus for his absence on the day of his consulate: the letting of his estates was occupying his personal attention. This letter shows what a slight non-appearance was considered. Many, too, says Martial, took pleasure in these duties, and were seen in the retinue of any and every new consul or tribune; and Ammianus Marcellinus observes that pedantic critics of history thought all the names of persons should be catalogued, who formed the new City Praetor's retinue.

Other multitudinous functions, such as funerals, took place later in the day, and persons with many social ties found these obligations very consumptive of time, whilst to fulfil all was impossible. Plutarch says, the many friends of any one man may each demand assistance as advocate, or assessor, or commercial advice or presence at a wedding or funeral, all at the same time. Want of memory or knowledge is a better excuse than necessary praetermission of one duty by another, e.g. neglecting a sick-bed visit for a banquet. Martial had to be about before the dawn to pay visits and offer congratulations, none of which were returned. Then he had to witness a document with his seal at the Temple of Diana, had appointments for the first and fifth hours, was claimed by a consul or praetor, or had to listen to poets' effusions all day long. And no one dared refuse to attend the addresses of an advocate or grammarian or rhetor. At the tenth hour (the second before sunset) he came tired to the bath, having no time over to compose. 'It is curious', says Pliny the Younger, 'how in Rome one's account to oneself of every day seems fully made out on every day, but never after that day. The ordinary day is filled up with such functions as the taking of the *toga virilis* by a friend, a betrothal or wedding, a sealing of a will, assistance in Court or Session; all inevitable on that day: all seeming a waste of time on consideration, especially after leaving Rome'. These 'sessions' are judicial: magistrates, praefects, aediles, used to invite their friends to sit as honorary assessors. Pliny also mentions social engagements sufficient to occupy the day. Plutarch and Martial specify other promises, more exacting still, such as the witnessing of wills and deeds. Pliny tells of how one Aurelia put on her best on making her will, and one witness Regulus actually asked for her garments

as a legacy. 'Why', asks Seneca, 'are these dandies invited to seal the will? In order that a man may not deny receipt of what he has received'. The legal making of wills and manumissions required the presence of many witnesses, who were ranged in order of their standing, social and personal. A most rigorous *étiquette* governed the order of guests at table. Seneca calls those fools who get angry at a lower seat being given to them. This order of the semicircular dining-sofas lasted down into the Middle Ages.

Birthday congratulations were another frequent social engagement, as also sick visits and condolences: Regulus, a well-hated man, had all Rome on his heels to condole with him on the loss of his son. So, too, a new official had to be congratulated, or a new provincial governor escorted. An assessorship might last for days, and canvassing for a candidate whole weeks. But recitations by authors were the most wearisome and prolonged obligations: in spring or summer they might take weeks or months: Juvenal puts them in the same category as fires and collapses. On such occasions, clients, friends and the most distant connexions had to attend. Cicero says that to accompany the sons of the least considerable men to the forum to assume the *toga virilis*, men would come from afar, and similar obligations obtained, though perhaps in a less degree, under the Empire. From the desire of assembling very many at such festive occasions, and showing proper gratitude, the custom arose of making monetary gifts, which was established by the beginning of the second century.

In this social whirlpool, self-life became impossible: deeper natures fled into the country to have solitude and freedom; but not all might thus rescue themselves: Seneca is eloquent on the unprofitable and vain life he must lead at Rome. No one, says Martial, has control of his own time in the wayward currents of City life: life is fruitlessly passed away. But busy leisure here found its greatest joy. In the Early Empire even, very many passed their lives in useless ceremonials; as a conspicuous class receiving the new name of *ardeliones*. In his *Astrology*, Book II (temp. Tiberius), Manilius says that those born under a certain constellation will be lively, nimble, indefatigable in rendering services, filling the city like a people, crossing thresholds, friends

of everybody, ceaselessly congratulating in identical words. Another poet under Tiberius speaks of the Roman nation of the *ardeliones*, ever idly busy, ever profitlessly out of breath, useless busybodies, a nuisance to themselves and a bore to others. Seneca compares these men to ants running aimlessly up and down the walls of houses, theatres and *fora*. Their life is one restless inactivity, a semblance of business, devoid of purpose, out of doors by every new dawn, to make the streets more impassable. What they want they do not know; they only propose paying calls, or doing something. One must compassionate them, running about, as though there were a fire, and tumbling into each others' arms. And their object? To pay unreturned visits, to follow a funeral of a stranger, to attend the last suit of a litigious person, or the last engagement of a much-married lady. After these futile scamperings, they come home, not knowing why they have been out, or where; and to-morrow *da capo*. Even old men tottered about Rome, weary and sweating with Rome's kisses: hoary old men, who daily made the circuit of the City, greeted every lady in her chair, every new tribune, every new consul, and ran up and down the Palatine ten times a day, mouthing the names of the favourites of the Emperor. 'Young *ardeliones* have some grace', says Martial, 'old ones have no excuse'. One hundred years later Galen describes the Rome of his day: in the morning every one visiting every one: next, the crowded law-courts in the forum, the tumultuous hangers-on round charioteers and pantomimes; nor fewer who pass the day flirting, gambling, in the baths, toying, and; in the evenings, banquets, not for music and not serious; only for carousals, till dawn breaks anew.

II. At Rome there were many *ardeliones*, but also many genuinely busy for profit, material or otherwise. Pelf was the genius of the noisy, restless striving which daily filled the streets and palaces; one universal chase after money as the original good, whence were derived rank, respect and honour. The complaint was just, that wealth was the sole criterion and the one aim of Rome; for the poor ever sank inextricably deeper (otherwise, says Umbricius in Martial, they would all have emigrated); and, further, Rome was a rigid plutocracy. Hence, says Pliny the Elder, came the downfall of all that lends life real value: turpitude was

the best means of advancement, a goddess served in many individual fashions : but one and all agreed in striving after riches alone : the most distinguished even paid more honour to foreign vices than native virtues. ' Be it ', says Juvenal, ' that to Gold the Fiend we have no temples erected, no altars to the jingling coin, yet Mammon is enthroned supreme God '. Galen, too, complains of the loss of all ideals.

No one, not blind or purblind, could not see how, under specious shapes, there lay mere selfishness and materialism. It was an open secret at Rome that the most wide-awake and zealous of the *officiosi*, or dandies, were professional ghouls-in-waiting, flattering their expected testators, anticipating astrologically their decease, bribing doctors to hasten death on—a reproach hurled by Pliny the Elder against medicine. The extent of this professional fore-measuring of dead men's shoes casts a lurid light on the mendacity of the Rome of that day. Not only adventurers and speculators trod this path to fortune, for the upper classes were unnaturally barren. Even in the Republic, marriage was a burden, undertaken only from patriotic motives. The Civil Wars undermined the crumbling moralities permanently : and the remedies of Augustus could only be superficial, not radical, and failed. In vain he fulminated rewards to matrimony, and punishments to celibacy and barrenness. For the childless had too much advantage in the power of ceding an inheritance : to comfort and calm they could add the pleasure of envy and adulation.

As early as Augustus' reign, this reversionary speculation had become a systematic art, with its adepts and novices. Seneca includes in this class the two senatorial orators Lucius Arruntius and Quintus Haterius. Satire dwelt on the relations between the holders-on and grabbers of inheritances. One of Horace's wittiest poems makes Ulysses ask the shade of Tiresias how he might make up for the damage done by the wooers, and is advised how to qualify to put on dead men's shoes. Every feature of the art is found here, and afterwards is only reiterated, how the huntsman ingenuously tracks his quarry down, and the quarry cunningly offers false baits of hope. Little attentions, great personal services—there was nothing they might not exact, presents of delicacies, fruit, pastry, fish, game, wine : it was an expensive specula-

tion. Martial advises one Fablus not to grieve at the failure of Blthynicus to leave him anything, as his death amounted to an annuity of the 6,000 sesterces he had been every year spending on him. The health of the rich was narrowly observed. If ill, they were sure of the kindest nursing, even of being washed and having their noses blown. If they recovered, prayers and offerings, ex-votos on the temple walls, horoscopes that were cast, and, says Juvenal, sacrifices of elephants and men. If a friend's house suited them, it was promptly given away to them; their losses through fire were amply compensated. Advocates rushed in to defend them in need, and desperate must their cause have been, if they lost. In 58 A.D., Pompeius Silvanus, the proconsul, was indicted for maladministration in Africa. Despite his many accusers, his wealth and childlessness bought an acquittal, but he survived his interested friends. The verses of rich old men were panegyricized: their recitals crowded: such as Annaeus Cornutus (banished by Nero in 68), whose philosophy lectures were packed by students of his material wealth. Their most patent lies were credulously swallowed; at dice they always won; their every frailty was subserved. Ladies never refused their offers. Their *atria* every morning hummed with the most prominent men. Martial specifies as one of the clients' duties to accompany his rounds to ten old crones. A praetor, says Juvenal, in early morning hurries his lictors on, to forestall any competing colleague at Lady Modia's or Mme. Albina's. Difficult as it was to outbid all rivals and vouchsafe a rich man's every whim, it was still harder to keep up a specious disinterestedness. Keen were the wishes for a happy return and a long life, for the birth of an heir; legacies were given, in the expectation of similar bequests; the number of these provisions provoking a law for their invalidity. Many suddenly stopped their benefactions, after ascertaining, from the will, that their object had been gained; but, as Martial says, the meshed-in boar might burst his thongs, if the fodder were withdrawn.

All these despicable servilities might be frustrated by the schemers' own predecease or their being outwitted. The owners wanted to feed the hopes of the hankerers without satisfying them, to prey on their officiousness, and withhold the booty. Ever and again, the promise of a will: wills

were made twenty or thirty times a year. They would pretend illness, cough; Pliny tells of one Julius Vindex—the man who very ably undertook to rid Rome of Nero—who did not hesitate to attract his would-be heirs by using a drug for artificial paleness. 'Tongilius', says Martial, 'has fever every other day: but he really is only hungry and thirsty, and simulates diseases, so as to hook in fat thrushes, pike and barbel; to be able to reckon on supplies of good Falernian and Caecuban'. A past master, even if poor himself, might sometimes secure these advantages of the childless rich, and make a great show of huge estates in Africa, ships coming in from Carthage or somewhere else. Many sanctioned the morality of seeing the biter bit. On the other hand, any one unwilling to have the slur of fortune-hunting cast on him, had almost to avoid the childless rich, and, at any rate, says Pliny, must not offer them gifts.

Writers of every epoch portray the frightful extent of this industry, incredible but for reiteration. Only in one passage is childlessness deplored, in a congratulatory poem of Statius to Vibius Maximus the knight on the birth of a son: 'childlessness, assailed by hostile heirs' avarice, and buried unmourned'. But the numerous pictures of happy barrenness are all tainted with rhetorical exaggeration, then often merely habitual. 'In this city', Petronius (under Nero), transferring the habits of Rome to Croton, writes 'neither science nor oratory is practised, nor can honesty or purity flourish, but all men whatsoever belong to one of two sets, the anglers and the angled. In this city, no one acknowledges children; a man who has heirs is ostracized, and leads a shamed and lonely life. But bachelors without kin are honoured and deemed model men. It is a city, like a field during a plague: corpses and carrion-birds'. The story breaks off at the point when a will is read out, in which the legacies are made conditional on the legatees' publicly carving the testator's body up. And that this condition was not impossible is shown by a fragment of a speech, for, if one close one's eyes, it is easy to see, not the human flesh, but ten millions. And beleaguered men often ate human flesh, without this incentive. That Petronius was only caricaturing facts, is shown by the contemporary complaints before the Senate (A.D. 63) at fictive adoptions by which the childless

secured the rights of fathers: 'for the childless already gained enough by their freedom from cares and burdens, and their popularity'. Seneca even, who often attacked this legacy-hunting (and was often accused of it), could write to a mother who had just lost a promising son: 'One consolation bold but true you have in the fact that with us that childlessness gives more power than it takes away, and solitude confers on old age, whilst depriving it of its support, an influence which will make many simulate hostility to their sons, and even abjure or disown them'. Pliny the Elder says that fortune-hunting was the most profitable occupation, and that a childless condition was a great honour. Tacitus says that it was equally influential in times good and evil, and held up Germany, where this view did not obtain, as an example of uncorrupted morals. Pliny the Younger testifies to one of his friends' great civic virtue in having many sons and being a grandfather even, 'when most deem one single son a burden'. Plutarch witnesses to the same advantages of barrenness. Juvenal, in one of his satires written under Hadrian, expresses lively joy at the rescue of a friend from the sea, and orders a thank-offering: this might, he says, seem suspicious, were the man not the father of three sons, and unlikely to be offered a sick hen or a quail. Under Marcus Aurelius, too, this profession was one of Rome's most obvious perversities. Under Severus, Tertullian describes 'one of the kinds of patience the Devil taught the heathen (in competition with Christian endurance), as that which in snaring the childless endures with pretended affection the labour of a forced complaisance'.

This long list shows how the practice impressed all contemporaries in all epochs, and characterized and illuminated existent social conditions, ceremonies and their object.

Modern Italian custom is paralleled by the ancient habit of meeting in public places, for amusement or business even, in the 'stations', public squares and walks, baths, temples, libraries, book-shops, or barbers' and apothecaries' shops; only in ancient Rome this fashion prevailed much more, in consequence of the mode of life and the multitude and splendour of the public buildings, which were open to one and all. In the later hours of the day, after business was over, men went for walks, into the public paths, lined with

box-trees or laurels and planes, or in the richly carpeted colonnades of statues and paintings. By inscriptions the length of the walk might be estimated. On the green sward of the Campus Martius, all Rome practised gymnastics, ran, rode, played at ball, drilled and wrestled, swam in the yellow Tiber; and success was rewarded with cheers. Just before the dinner-hour the daily bath assembled thousands in the lofty and gorgeous *thermae*. The public spectacles were also social occasions, where select groups of acquaintances met at special places in circles (*circuli*). Martial mentions a poets' resort (*schola poetarum*) and the colonnade in the Temple of Quirinus where his poems were read out, when the listeners were weary of chatter and the Circus. A more leisured company could not be found even in the colonnade of Pompey, of Europa or the Argonauts. In these circles novelties of the day or of literature were discussed. If Caesius Sabinus liked Martial's poems, the poet felt no fear, for 'feasts and *fora*, temples and public places and taverns would soon resound with them, and a copy sent to one man would be universally advertised'. Ulpian, the great jurist, according to Athenaeus, got a nickname which almost replaced his own from the learned questions he volleyed forth anywhere in the streets or shops. If he could live his own life, says Martial, he would choose the Campus Martius, with its colonnades and shady parks as his home, and his baths in the cool *Aqua Virgo* (the conduit, which now feeds Fontana Trevi), and as his occupation, talk and read in the *thermae* and walks.

The only social gatherings of invited guests were the banquets; no others are mentioned, and these banquets took up all of the free afternoon and night. At banquets, entertainments and pleasures as diverse as possible (though varying according to the culture of the host) were given to the guests. Vulgar delights, such as rich freedmen mostly gave best, the clumsy stupid jokes, which made their banquets the mockery of the more refined, have been painted without overcolouring by Petronius, though he transplants his scene from Rome. For guests of taste and breeding Plutarch specifies the best means: the dialogue takes place at Chaeroneia, but is dedicated to the Consular Sossius Senecio, and represents Roman or Roman-Greek customs.

Plutarch also mentions a few unusual entertainments: such as actions of Platonic dialogues, instantaneous artists or moulders of little figures as presents for the *Saturnalia*. In cultivated Society, too, there were various forms of entertainment. At carousals gay Andalusian girls used to dance to the tune of castagnettes and flutes, and accompanied by doubtful songs; clowns and fools indulged in obscenities; children from Alexandria, and trained at Rome, amused the guests with their impertinences; mimes acted in parts that would dishonour the slaves of the honourable. Where decency was more regarded, pantomimes danced, scenes from tragedies and comedies, especially of the newer school, were acted. Plutarch says that there was no need to join in the applause at a banquet if the citharist sang badly, or an expensive actor murdered his Menander. The most usual entertainment consisted in recitals, literary and musical solos and chorus-singing, lyre and flute-playing, often *ad nauseam*: the best party, says Martial, is one without loud music. But the most modest banquets would have their music or declamation; recitals from Virgil or Homer were common. There existed professional declaimers and anecdote-tellers. One Tiberius Claudius Tiberinus, an imperial freedman, in his inscription (which he composed) mentions that his jests made the life of long-drawn banquets, and that he was an expert reciter of the epic poets, and performed publicly in the Forum of Augustus. That the dramatic recitation of scenes from Homer by so-called Homerists in Homer's verses often took place at feasts, is fairly certain. Often the host recited his own compositions.

After the meal, gambling usually followed: the habit often amounted to a dangerous vice, (according to Juvenal) in Trajan's reign, especially in the ranks of the aristocracy, against which he aimed his barbs. There, in front of the statues of the august sires, the descendants gambled all night long and went to bed, when their father's trumpets sounded the *réveille*. Battles were formally waged, the weapons being dealt out by the croupiers; enormous fortunes were won and lost; 100,000 sesterces disappeared, whilst new tunics for the freezing slaves were forgotten. Many, says Galen, devoted as much zeal to dice, as earnest men to science, and showed Stoic endurance in this pleasure-

seeking. St. Ambrose paints the *aleatorum conventicula*, and the applause and laments as men lost or won whole estates. There was a special code of honour in these circles, unflinching obedience: a judgment of the *aleonum consilium* was more feared than a judicial sentence. Suetonius records a letter to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, enclosing 250 denarii: Augustus was an ardent lover of dice and played, not only on the *Saturnalia*, but on other feast days and ordinary days as well: he says he had given each guest so much, in order to play at Odds or Evens. Claudius, too, adored dice, and wrote a book on them.

The conversation at banquets and in society was no matter of indifference to the Emperors, for it was here that public opinion shaped itself. 'I know very well', says Tiberius in a speech to the Senate in 22 A.D., 'that complaints are raised at banquets and in society at the prevalence of luxury, and measures of restriction are being clamoured for'. Society had more importance in many respects in ancient than in modern Europe, as the only vent for publicity, and largely replacing our written and printed divulgation of news. 'There is in Rome', Count Champagny (1804-1882) writes, 'a sort of publicity, unknown to our Northern sedentary habits; which loses power with greater distance, filters but slowly through the provinces, but operates very speedily in the City. Perhaps Rome was every minute better informed of its own doings and thinkings than Paris of to-day. The journals of conversation were not subject to stamps or censors, or police or arrest'. Rome had a written paper; but it was a government organ: the *acta diurna* published what the Emperor thought fit, and no more; disguising fact and abridging reports: Court news, family events in the highest circles, and City reports were also included. Public opinion, as in modern Rome, occasionally found expression in placards on the statues or the walls: or in quick apprehension of the bold insinuations of actors on the stage: or in popular demonstrations at the Circus, where greater licence prevailed. But these scanty inklings roused desire and could not satiate; and forcible suppression in the one spot, whither the news of the whole world flowed in, and where the fate of the world was decided, could only augment guesses, and rumours and surmises and fiction in this 'talkative and interpreting city';

could only foster curiosity and conjecture. Tacitus, even, thought city rumours worthy of inclusion in history. Thus, in 54 A.D., he mentions that, on the eve of a Parthian War, the inexperience and instability of the seventeen-year-old Nero filled some with anxiety, whilst others trusted to his counsellors, Burrus and Seneca: or again, in 70 A.D., that reports of the revolt of the German legions under Galba became more and more frequent, and, in consequence of the popular acceptance of all melancholy news, the Senate despatched an Embassy northwards. In the same year Vitellius entered on his pontificate on the 18th July, the anniversary of the defeats on the Cremera and the Allia, an evil omen to the 'all-interpreting city'. Vitellius' prohibition of conversation on the war only increased it, and spread more disquieting rumours: publicity would have allayed and shown forth the facts. Martial has depicted the professional newsmaker, who knows what King Pacorus is doing in the Palace of the Arsacidæ, knows to the last man the exact strength of the forces on the Rhine and the Danube, can tell the contents of the unsealed despatch from Dacia, and sees the laurel before it has arrived. He knows how often rain has fallen in Upper Egypt, how many ships have sailed from Africa, and the next laureate on the Capitol. 'Spare thy craft', the poem closes, 'and dine with me to-day: on the condition thou tell no news'. Women, too, there were, who knew everything that was going on: caught the last rumours at the City gates, or set them in circulation; were the first to see (November, 115) the comet adverse to the King of Parthia, and could detail all the floods and earthquakes in the farthest East.

Conversation on these topics was allowed: but the absolutism of Rome prevented any mention, save the most cautious and distant, that even touched on home or foreign politics. In one poem of Martial's, six friends are asked to a frugal meal at which any freedom, regrettable next day, was to be avoided: 'my guests may talk of the Blues and the Greens in the Circus, and my cups are not to bring any one to the defendant's dock'. This poem is included in a book published under Trajan, to show that the best government is still despotic: 'freedom of thought and word' was never realized in imperial Rome. This enables us to gauge the

frightful oppressions in the imperial Terrors, when not only the confidential phrase, uttered without malice in the exhilaration of wine, might testify against the speaker, but the destined victims were surrounded with spies, and their every look or sigh or murmur noted down, their thoughts filched from them, so as to punish their guiltless trustfulness with death. Eavesdroppers then made converse almost impossible: 'memory even', says Tacitus, 'would have been lost with speech, could we have silenced our mind as well as our tongues'. In his picture of the trials for high treason, which connect the facts of this period, Tacitus only condescended to brand the higher and more obvious *delatores*, who, by their shameless profession, aimed at pre-eminence: the baleful secret spies and eavesdroppers he passes over with contempt.

Only scattered indications of the scheme of the secret police have come down. Perhaps, as in other imperial institutions, the Persian monarchy provided the model. According to Dio, Maecenas advised Augustus he should have throughout the whole Empire spies to report what should be averted or prevented, but should be cautious in his credence of them. Dio ascribes the same warning to Livia; for spies often denounce the innocent from spite or for bribes, or being disappointed of their blackmail; and often not for overt acts or intentions, but mere words, mere silences, or expressions of feeling. Clandius instructed his spies to inform him accurately as to family circumstances (presumably amongst the knights and senators): they had been remiss. For people, informed against as being childless, unmarried or poor, frequently proved the contrary. One man accused of an attempted suicide, stripped and showed he was unwounded. Nero utilized the brothels and their inmates, to discover who were the visitors: Pliny, in his bombastic manner, says that the result was barbarous, and the City filled with the ghosts of the victims. Soldiers in civil dress as secret police are first mentioned under Otho (69 A.D.); they frequented the houses of the noble and the rich and spread a general panic. 'Precipitate confidence', says Epictetus, 'gives the incautious over to the soldiers. A soldier in civil dress sits by you, and begins to abuse the Emperor: his simplicity allures you to equal frankness,

and chains and prison follow'. Hadrian organized a special corps, the *frumentarii*, as police and then as spies, and maintained a surveillance in his friends' houses. In his reign, this vicious system reached a fearful height. Aristides, in his eulogy on his successor, says that the entire Empire had been oppressed with servile fear; everywhere spies were on the alert; no one dared utter his thoughts; freedom, intellect, and justice were dumb; every one feared his shadow; but the reigning Emperor had banished this horror and restored freedom in full and ample measure. It was in the capital that spies abounded most. Tigellinus caused Apollonius of Tyana to be watched with the Argus eyes of Empire, standing or sitting, silent or speaking, or eating; and noted with whom he ate, and when he made sacrifice. Apollonius himself calls Rome a city all eyes and ears: no reform of state might be dreamed of, unless by a man yearning for death: even in things licit the wise were not too free. Lucian, in his satire on a self-made man, who wished to recommend himself to Marcus Aurelius by the purchase of a library, says he was deceiving himself: the Emperor had many eyes and ears. The upper classes were the most surveyed. Caracalla made the soldiers thus employed answerable to himself alone; only he had jurisdiction over them: they informed him very thoroughly and tyrannized over the senators. The biographer of Alexander Severus says that he appointed competent secret spies, for the hope of the spoils depraved society. In the fourth century, Diocletian reorganized the secret police over the entire Empire: they, intent only on their own ends, persecuted the innocent, and concealed crimes, such as false coining. The comparison Libanius makes of these informers to dogs who have an understanding with the wolves, and the many and passionate complaints of the writers of the day apply equally to the first century. The evil was true to its vile nature, and new only as ramified.

The power of these spies in the milder reigns, as under the Antonines, may have been less: but never, in imperial Rome, was political conversation, in assemblies or public places, permitted. Dread of the lurking informers made caution in conversation essential: Tacitus calls Rome a city in which all is learnt and nothing hushed up. The spread of dangerous secrets was not always evilly intended; impor-

tunity, curiosity, incaution caused a great deal of harm. Seneca attributes this to the many busy idlers of Rome. 'Hence', he says, 'this frightful vice of spying on affairs public and private, and the knowledge of things, neither to be heard nor told with safety'. Seneca's reticent words are noticeable: he never refers to the subject elsewhere. The huge numbers of the clients and domestics of the great houses furthered this gossip; clients and, still more, slaves were said to be chatterers. To blurt out a secret of their master was a greater delight than to steal and drink his Falernian; there was no crime they would not attribute to them, out of spite at some punishment. 'Even though his slaves keep silence', says Juvenal, 'his horses and dogs and lintels and walls will speak: closed windows, stuffed-up chinks, extinguished lights, solitary sleep,—nothing will prevent the nearest publican from knowing what he did at cock-crow'. Martial says one coachman received 20,000 sesterces, for being deaf.

Hence, knowledge of personal doings quickly spread abroad and furnished new matter for gossip. Besides informers, scandal-mongers were active. Cicero even said that in 'a city so full of evil talk' hardly any one could escape calumny; the experience of St. Jerome five hundred years later, who says that each absent guest in turn had his character and habits pulled to pieces. Especially relations between the two sexes were thus treated. Propertius called this the fee women pay for beauty: he and other poets of his day complain at this persistent gossip. Statius, in his poem on the marriage of Stella and Violentilla, says that Rome can at last see the embrace she has been talking about. In this branch the women were especially happy. And, beyond these topics, all these busybodies knew the secret faults of every man; what one man paid for his mistress, and how another man feasted till daybreak, that Titus owed Lupus 700,000; and the luxurious loved having their luxury common talk. Any intestate death of a rich man, or great banquet of a poor man, provided the banquets and *thermae* and theatres and stations with endless matter. Pliny the Younger tells a friend of the death and will of Domitius Tullus, who had outwitted expectation by thinking of his relatives rather than the leeches who were awaiting his decease, and gives

the various opinions held, how some admired his evading his expectant flatterers after all. He concludes: 'This is all that Rome is talking about'. Or new palaces and villas might be the topic, a new tragedy with bold passages, or a celebrated pantomime's last dance, and, above all, the Circus. The Emperors made every effort to divert the people, and the greater the preparations, the greater the success. Passion for the stage, the arena and the Circus was an endemic at Rome, affecting the upper classes as well: gladiators and racehorses (according to an author about 100 A.D.) left Rome no time to think of culture. Remarks on the Circus and the weather (the usual method of beginning) were the stopgaps of the cultivated even. Epictetus recommends little conversation, and no small talk on gladiators, chariot-races, athletes, food and drink, and, least of all, on persons. These were the fop's interests; some of them are touched upon in Martial's description of the dandies of his day. 'You are a good fellow, Cotilus. So they all say. But what is a good fellow? One who has his hair nicely curled, and smells of balsam and cinnamon; who can hum the tunes of Alexandrian and Spanish dances, and sits all day long between the ladies, whispering, writing and reading *billets doux*; who also hates being joggled by his neighbour, and knows also every one's lady-love; one who runs from one party to another, and knows the pedigree of the best racehorse by heart. Is this right, Cotilus? Then it is no easy matter to be a good fellow.'

The principal duty of a host was to see to the guests having pleasant topics of current interest to talk about. Plutarch has enlarged on this art of leading conversation, as the main constituent of social intercourse. He gives examples of proper questions, where an office has been successfully held, an audience had of the Emperor, or the sons of a man have been progressing well, or in unpleasant things, on the defeats of a guest's personal foes. He thought that explorers suffered most from the megalomania of retailing their own experiences; Epictetus cites the boring iterations of an old campaigner in Moesia: 'as I said, I was climbing the escarpment, when . . .' Sportsmen loved questions as to their hounds, athletes on athletics, religious men on the success obtained through dreams or sacrifices by the grace

of God, and the aged were indulged in the liberty of narrating any reminiscence they would.

The art of conducting a lively intellectual banquet was amongst Greeks and Romans in high repute, and important writers tried to inculcate the methods of it. The gorgeous banquets of the rich were held in halls of thirty tables and three hundred guests, where one man might be alone, not knowing any one there: Varro advises the numbers should only scale up from that of the Graces to that of the Muses, and should be chosen with a view to general sociability. Small parties of witty and educated men made confidential conversation thoroughly a delight and a restorative. Cicero said that the Latin *convivium* was an apter word than the Greek *συμπόσιον*, as eating and drinking did not comprise life in common. The pleasure of such a party concealed the immanent self-culture.

But Romans were rather incapable of a heartfelt friendship; Fronto says, in all his life at Rome he never enjoyed this *φιλοστοργία* which he could not translate into Latin, and his imperial pupil Marcus Aurelius includes among the truths learnt from him, that distinguished men were cold-hearted (*ἀστοργότεροι*). But just as Italians of to-day, with all their reserve, are charming, amiability in Rome was common. At banquets especially the southerner displayed his gifts—ready speech and wit, the true Roman salt, specifically ascribed to Rome as 'urbanity'. Cicero thought the old Roman wit was saltier than the Attic; its rarity in its genuine form made it the more valuable, as the old Roman grace was almost merged in a flood of Latin, foreign, and even trousered Transalpine elements.

A born entertainer was eagerly sought after in every portico and theatre. True, conversation was often interrupted by a plethora of recitations, music or theatricals, and the banquetting hall tended to become a stage or lecture-room; and Pliny the Younger says the bored guests were not at fault in leaving early or lounging in wearied attitudes. But, in apt measure, entertainments could direct the conversation; thus recitations from poets bring about aesthetic appreciations, such as women adored. The custom of varying banquets with intellectual sweetmeats must not be condemned by its exaggeration. It rather indicates how this epoch under-

stood the refining of its pleasures. These cultured extras of intellect to a feast were almost universal : even the Trimalchios had them. The pleasant dessert for a society of education and good taste was talks on science, art and literature ; even the rude, says Plutarch, felt and satisfied this want by propounding and solving riddles. Plutarch's conversations, partly at the board of the Consular Sossius Senecio at Rome, partly in his Greek circles, cover a very wide field ; some dealing with the banquet, whether the host should assign his guests their places, or leave them free to select, whether the so-called consular place is the highest ; whether the sea or the land give better food ; whether simple food or made-up dishes are better. Or in philosophic circles, acuteness was tested by such questions as, why A was the first letter ; or which came first, the hen or the egg. Or they might be scientific : why the aged are long-sighted, why snow is kept under blankets and chaff ; whether new diseases can arise and how. Or literary problems might be discussed : why Homer calls salt divine, and only the liquid oil liquid : which hand of Venus was wounded by Diomedé. Or in aesthetics : why anger and sorrow on the stage afford pleasure, and in life even the news of them pain ; how to avoid the degrading effect of ignoble music. Or notable facts might be handled : the birthdays of great men, or Pythagoras' prohibition of eating fish ; whether Jews forbade eating swine out of respect or disgust ; who was the god of the Jews ; why the days named after the planets were in reverse order ; the effect of the evil eye. Learned men might not withstand the temptation of giving an over-exhaustive dissertation on their subject. Lucilius, a Greek poet under Nero, complains of the philologists of the dinner-table, and begs his host not to immolate him to the pedants and word-sticklers of the craft of Aristarchus ; could he be excused to-day from hearing *μητιν ἄειδε θεά* ? Philosophers, too, would, with their severely abstract speculations, torture their fellow-guests, who could not follow them, and relieved themselves with songs, and anecdotes, and things common and trivial. Varro had deprecated such table-manners. Some people, too, wanted to appropriate some impressive philosophic snack for exhibition at the Emperor's table, and studied philosophy and attended lectures, so as to impose

on senators who might be their neighbours; or they would dazzle the guests with a catalogue of monograph-writers on a particular form of syllogism.

Such habits may then have been laughed at, but must have been more usual than they are now. For, in ancient society, culture and intellectual advancement were far more than now the objects of personal intercourse; 'in living exchanges of ideas and gay companionship', and thus the many banquets of learning and philosophy were a kind of academic session. But the consideration of them is not in place here, where only the nature of cultured society has to be considered.

CHAPTER V

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

ALL these dissertations have necessarily been fragmentary, as the sources of information are only occasional: of the life of women also, and then only of those of the upper classes, very little is known.

Roman maidenhood did not last long; as soon as puberty was reached, betrothal and marriage followed. Identical with modern times were the anxious care of mothers, relatives and nurses, the words of endearment (such as birdie, little dove, little crow, little mother, little lady) and the lisping childish language and the lullabies ('sleep, my child, or suck'), rattles and other means of soothing (such as beating the stone that had hit the child), and the many superstitions, at all ages: such as binding on teeth of horses and boars to alleviate the teething, and old wives' simples and amulets against the evil eye. As a preservative against the *strigae*, or vampires, garlic was wrapt up in the swaddling-clothes and hawthorn planted in the windows. A mother, who was passing a temple of Venus, would mumble a prayer for her daughter's beauty and make a vow. The figure of the girls was made artificially perfect. They wore tight stays from early childhood, so as to raise the hips into relief, and nurses' carelessness often produced rounded backs or unequal shoulders. This practice could not have been confined to Pergamus, where Galen observed it most. Terence, in a passage pointing at Roman customs, blames the mothers who made girls weak, with low shoulders and narrow breasts. Any one not thus crippled the matrons call a pugilist, and starve her: thus even the finest natural figures are all as like as peas.

Many mothers gave the whole care of their children to

nurses, slaves and often barbarians. Wet-nursing was the general rule in Greece and Italy, however deplored by philosophers, such as Favorinus and Plutarch; Plutarch's wife certainly did not give suck to her own daughter (who died in infancy). Physicians wrote, giving full directions as to the selection of a nurse: her milk ought to be tested by three senses. And Soranus of Ephesus, a physician in Rome under Trajan and Hadrian, advises the employment of Greeks, so that children may learn the most beautiful of languages, and receive the utmost attention, lack of which so often caused bow-leggedness.

Little girls had, as toys, flowers, coloured stones, shells, amber, balls and nuts (with which in modern Italy many games are still played), and are thus often represented by artists: and dolls, of ivory and terracotta, with movable limbs; examples have been found in the tombs. Plutarch, in a letter to his wife on the death of their daughter Timoxena (she had already lost four sons), mentions an instance of her sweetness, that she used to bring her toys to her nurse to give suck to.

When sated of play, little girls would sit at their nurses' feet, and listen to fairy-tales. Roman fairy-tales began like ours: 'There was, once upon a day, a king and queen . . .' and led the child's mind into the same bright realm of wonder. Roman princesses, too, were 'too beautiful for words': the fairest of three sisters was envied and pursued by intrigue; and, in the end, she too married the fairest prince, whilst the two ugly sisters were consigned to a shameful death. We, too, know the suspense on the child's face, when the princess must perform the three labours, and the sigh of relief at their accomplishment by supernatural aid. When, at the evil mistress's behest, she had to pick out the millet from a huge heap of grain from morning to evening, the ants came and did the work for her. The reeds whispered to her how to pull out tufts from the wool of the wild golden-fleeced sheep, and the eagle fetched her the miraculous water from the dragon's well.

Next came the years of lessons. They were taught womanly work. Embroidery, as a general rule, was a man's occupation. Varro only requires girls to be taught painting, so as to be able to judge carpets and curtains. Spinning and

weaving was the principal subject: for, in old-fashioned houses, clothes were still home-made. Even Augustus' daughters and granddaughters spun and wove, and he wore the work of the hands of his wife and sisters. Quintus Lucretius Vespillo (consul 19 B.C.) in the inscription on the tombstone of his wife Turia praises her above other women for her especial virtues as a spinner. Naturally this obtained less in the aristocracy, and more in the lower and middle classes; even the Cynthia of Propertius, and the Delia of Tibullus, who were not matrons, spun and wove. Tibullus consoles himself, on parting, by imagining the next meeting, how Delia, late at night, by lamplight, will be listening to the tales of an old nurse; how all the maids will have fallen asleep, but she, at the sound of his step, will spring up, with bare feet and loose hair. Columella's grievance that most women were too luxurious and idle to look to the spinning and weaving of the home, shows that the custom was obligatory, though already in decay. Musonius Rufus and Tertullian both specify this duty of women. Inscriptions, belauding women as good spinners, or depicting a loom as their emblem, prove the continuance of this custom, and very late evidence of it is found. Ausonius in his poems on his mother and his nephew's wife did not pass over their 'busy spindle': Symmachus thanks his daughter for a dress sent from Baiae, a fine example of her homely work and her affection.

Daughters in the higher ranks received learned instruction at home; only the smaller people sent their girls every morning to early school, to be disciplined by the master, 'so hated both of boys and girls'; and both sexes were (perhaps up to a certain age only) instructed together. Martial asks: 'is it a poet's ambition to be read out by a hoarse and pompous schoolmaster to an unsympathetic crowd of boys and girls?' The tomb of a schoolmaster at Capua depicts an elderly man on a high seat, on his right a boy, on his left a girl. According to Paul of Aegina, reading and writing should be taught in mixed classes at the age of six or seven. The higher instruction of girls is seldom mentioned, but seems to have been the same as the boys', reading and explaining poets in both languages. Boys and girls, says Ovid, read Menander, though he is nothing but love-stories. Martial

mentions epics and tragedies as poems read in such schools : Claudianus praises Honorius' bride Maria for going on with Greek poets (such as Homer and Sappho) and Roman poets under her mother's guidance. A late Christian poet says that Christian teachers are at fault for letting Virgil, Horace and Terence be read instead of St. Paul and Solomon. Quintus Caecilius Epirota, a freedman of Atticus, and a known and learned man, taught his patron's daughter after her marriage with Marcus Agrippa ; he was suspected of an intrigue and dismissed. The pupil in this case was already married : thus the danger involved in private tuition of boys (according to Quintilian) must have been as great in the case of girls.

Music and dancing formed an important part of girls' education. Catilina's friend Sempronia, who knew the two literatures well, 'danced and sang better than an honest woman should'.¹ Famous musicians, such as Demetrius and Tigellius, in the time of Horace, spent a great part of the day by the easy chairs of their pupils. In an elegy on his fascination by feminine charms, Ovid calls a well-trained voice irresistible, as also an adept lyre-player, or the graceful movements of a dancer. Hostia, the lady of Propertius, was skilled in both arts. Statius praises his stepdaughter as well-trained : she, he tells his wife, will soon find a man, and her excellences deserve it, her playing on the lute, her improvisations of native songs, or her white arms swaying to the dance. But her talent was nothing in comparison with her taste and virtue. On inscriptions the cither sometimes typifies the maid, and the scroll the youth ; the continuance in heathendom of music as the principal female education is vouched for by St. Jerome, who says Christian maidens should have no ear for organ, flute, lyre, or cither. The art of dancing consisted in rhythmical movements of the upper part of the body and the arms ; and then, as now, no little of the grace of the women of Rome was attributable to the national dances. A good carriage was a woman's especial charm, as Ovid testifies, and, as a Republican inscription runs : 'Her speech was fair, and her gait noble'. Of the stringed instruments played by girls, and of some Greek dances, some were condemned as sickly and exciting. Girls used to exhibit their powers of singing. On days of fasting

¹ Sallust.

or festival, choruses of thrice nine noble maidens used to sing in the procession; many a lady, Horace hoped, would remember learning and singing his *carmen saeculare*. At the funeral of Augustus boys and girls of the highest families sang the dirge. At the apotheoses of emperors a chorus of noble boys and women sang encomia, set to mournful and solemn themes, by the hearse in the Forum. In addition, facility in improvising to the lute songs to poetry was common amongst girls and women, as in the case of Statius' step-daughter and Pliny the Younger's wife.

Thus occupied, thus supervised by nurses and pedagogues, the child became a maiden. Pliny the Younger portrays a pleasant, well-educated girl of a great house in his laudation of the daughter of Gaius Minucius Fundanus (consul 107 or 108), who died shortly before her marriage. 'She was not in all fourteen years old, and had the sagacity and dignity of a woman, with maidenly charm and virginal purity. She used to cling to her father's neck; lovingly and simply embrace his friends; love her nurses, pedagogues and teachers, each after his right. She was zealous and intelligent in her studies. She played rarely well. What patience and strength she showed in her last illness.' Twenty years ago, the marble cinerary urn of a young bride was discovered behind Villa Mellini on Monte Mario. She is inscribed as being twelve years, eleven months and seven days old. Pliny puts his date too high.

At an early age, parents sought to assure a daughter a happy and suitable marriage. The lowest age was at the beginning of the thirteenth year; the inscription on the grave of a twelve-year-old child says that she was just ripe for marriage. Often they were introduced to their bridegroom even earlier, but attained the rights of wives only at the end of their twelfth year. A rescript of Severus prevented them from being accused as wives (though they could as *fiancées*) for a previous adultery. Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen they were usually married. Rufus, a physician under Trajan, followed Hesiod in considering the normal age eighteen, but said it was too late in modern days. A woman who was twenty years old, and had not been a mother, became liable to Augustus' provisions against celibacy and childlessness; nineteen full years were the

utmost. The will of the parents was absolute, as it must have been, in view of the *patria potestas* and the inexperience of the young girl. The girl's consent was necessary, but assumed, unless she refused it; which she might do only if the father chose a notoriously disgraceful or unsuitable bridegroom.

Generally marriages were matters of family convenience. A letter of Pliny the Younger indicates the considerations that governed the greater houses in selecting a bridegroom. Junius Mauricus, his friend, had begged him to find a husband for the daughter of his brother Arulenus Rusticus. Pliny suggests a younger acquaintance of his, Minucius Acilianus, who was over thirty, as he had been praetor. Acilianus was born at Brixia in Northern Italy, a conservative district. His father had been prominent among the knights, his grandmother had been a sternly moral woman, and his uncle an excellent character. Mauricus could find no fault with the family. Acilianus himself was a very energetic person, and very modest, of noble countenance, good complexion, handsome, and of senatorial rank. 'Such a man must not be despised; such are the prizes for virtuous maidens. Perhaps, I ought to add, the father is very rich. Perhaps not, considering you and the proposed bride; but yet our modern habits, private and public, are based on wealth, and it should be mentioned. And, of course, if one think of the children, and of a large number, the husband must be in a position to provide for them.' It scarcely needs actual proof that money often determined the selection of the husband. Amongst the boons procurable for cash, Horace counts a richly dowered wife: Juvenal asks, was ever a son-in-law acceptable, if poorer than his bride? Both sides certainly took account of rank and lineage. Agricola married a daughter from the equestrian nobility, and thus gained influence and support.

Generally, men married before Pliny's ideal age. Augustus penalized childlessness for males at the age of twenty-five. Ummidius Quadratus might have become a father at the age of twenty-four; Agricola was one at the age of twenty-three; when Tacitus married his thirteen-year-old daughter, he was scarcely twenty-four, whilst Lucan was twenty-five, when he married Polla Argentaria; Ovid was a 'mere boy' at his first marriage. In Apuleius' romance, a bride is only

three years younger than her husband, to whom she had been engaged from childhood, and grown up with. The few facts extant make marriages of men in the middle and lower classes under eighteen or twenty, exceptions; this accords with Augustus' law. Nowise authorized is any idea of a custom of marrying off half-grown boys. In the senatorial ranks, the holding of the quaestorship (the first step), generally reached at the age of twenty-five, may have been a preliminary condition. Helvidius Priscus was made Paetus Thrasea's son-in-law as a quaestorian. Junius Avitus, who died as aedile designate, had been married one year, and had just had a child.

Often daughters were betrothed in their childhood: these betrothals being negotiated by intermediaries; there is no Latin corresponding to the words 'woo' and 'court'. Marriage-brokers at Rome seem to have had a regular business and their own offices. The spokesmen or young men applied to the parents or guardians of the girl. The betrothal was solemnly and festively celebrated. Pliny the Elder once saw Lollia Paulina (a former wife of Caligula), at a betrothal festival in a not very prominent family, standing under the lamplight sparkling with emeralds and pearls worth 40,000,000 sesterces (£435,000), as she was only too eager to prove by the bills. At the betrothal the principal question was the dowry. According to Artemidorus' *Dream-book*, dreams of children always mean trouble, for to bring them up is troublesome: to dream of a daughter is worse than to dream of a son: for a daughter means a dowry and is a kind of creditor: 'And the daughter's claim is absolute; however great the labour of rearing her, she leaves you with her dowry, like a dun with the amount of the loan.'

A betrothal, however long, did not affect the relations of the pair. They still did not know each other, unless the bride was given to her husband before reaching puberty. Any animal or slave, says Seneca, or every article of clothes or dish is tested before purchase, but never the bride by her groom. Any vices she may have of passion, stupidity, misshapenedness or evil breath are learnt only after marriage. The conception of bride with its hallowed associations was unknown to Greece and Rome. The betrothed, besides other bride-gifts, gave an iron ring without a stone (iron

rings were worn in earlier days as seal rings), and afterwards a gold one as a pledge of faithfulness, but received none in return. When the wedding-day drew near, the *trousseau* and household of the young wife set the house in a bustle. Pliny the Younger sent one Quintilian (not the author), to provide the service and *trousseau*, a present of 50,000 sesterces (£543 1s. 6d.), as he regarded himself as the bride's second father, and Quintilian, though not very rich, was marrying the daughter of a high official; remarking that his contribution was small only in view of Quintilian's reluctance to accept anything larger. Any rich bride must have ornaments and jewelry included in her outfit, generally the gift of the bridegroom. The maiden took leave of her childhood, consecrating her toys and dolls to the patron deities of her younger life; and, at last, came the day on which the mother decked her daughter for the great procession. The principal part of the bridal robes was a square flaming headdress, falling down to her sides and leaving her face exposed.

At dawn the homes of both parties filled with friends, relatives and clients, who also acted as witnesses to the contract. Both homes were festively lit up, especially the *atria*, in which the ancestors' cupboards were opened wide, and decorated with carpets, wreaths and green twigs. The woman leading the bride brought the couple together: they went up to the altar and sacrificed, and offerings were also made in the temples: the streets, through which the bridal procession was to pass, was thronged by the curious, for whom stands might be put up. In ancient days, the bride only entered her husband's house at the rise of the evening-star; but this custom had died out, though torches were always used: bonfires were also lit in the streets. Flutes were heard amid the joyous songs. The bride was lifted over her new threshold, and, in default of a banquet at the bride's home, there would be one, to crown the day, at the bridegroom's, his bride sitting beside him. Augustus endeavoured to restrict the luxury of these feasts; no more than 1,000 sesterces should be spent on the wedding and the after-feast; this sum is too small for the law to have been regarded. The expenses were great, what with the large numbers entertained, the doles to the clients, and the moneys given to the guests in recognition of the honour they

were doing the house. Those desirous of marrying less extravagantly celebrated the rite in the country, and thus, incidentally, escaped the many invitations sent to the young couple. This was how Apuleius and Pudentilla were married at Oea (in Africa); but we may without hesitation assume similar customs in all the provinces and in Rome.

To such young wives marriage must have been a sudden release from surveillance to freedom absolute, and an awakening to an enlarged horizon: for, then as now, girls must have been very much secluded in old-fashioned families. Ovid, it is true, excuses his frivolous poems by saying they are much less bold than the mimes whom ladies and their grown-up daughters go to see; but such can hardly have been in good families. These daughters were almost always, in ancient days, refused access to the dinner-table, to spare their young ears. And, actually, girls left the nursery for the married state, as Pliny's letters to Minucius Fundanus show. From that narrow sphere, they were suddenly transplanted to a dazzling world of splendour, with all its enjoyments and distractions, all of which they might share in for good or for evil.

In their own home, they had great authority. The old Roman paternal family autocracy had broken down at last, and the legalization of women's proprietorship in their dower was their final emancipation. In the so-called free marriage, usual under the Empire, the husband received only the dowry, and that not absolutely: all the rest of the wife's property she had control of, the husband not having even a usufruct. Probably wives utilized this power to make their husbands knights or senators. Martial praises one Nigrina, who divided her paternal inheritance with her husband Antistius Rusticus (who afterwards died in Cappadocia) for showing more affection than Evadne or Alcestis. This unassailability of the wife's property occasionally became the bankrupt's resource. An insolvent would assign his property to his wife, and so cheat his creditors. Apuleius asserts that the father of his accuser Herennius Rufus made such a conveyance when bankrupt, and, thus sheltered by his dishonour, could leave his son 3,000,000.

The stewards of rich ladies, who had charge of the jewels and gold and wine and favourite slaves, were generally proven

freedmen. Often, too, they had their own *procurators*, if possible, lawyers, who would also be counsellors and confidants. The tomb of one Paulina at Sestinum, in Umbria, is erected by her friend and procurator Petronius Justus. Pudens, a learned freedman of Marcus Lepidus (consul 6 A.D.) was procurator to his daughter Aemilia Lepida, the wife of Drusus, Tiberius' adoptive grandson; in 36 A.D., she committed suicide, to escape conviction for adultery with a slave. Pudens, in his inscription, asserts, that, as long as he lived, he watched over her conduct, and kept her as the consort of the prince. Cicero, in his *Pro Caecina*, jeers at Aebutius, who managed the widow Caesennia's affairs, and made her believe him to be indispensable. His real past was known from his daily life, as a great ladies' man, and protector of widows and litigious defender of them: amongst men a silly fool; amongst women a learned, cunning lawyer. It was more suspicious when the procurators were mere dandies. 'Who is that curly-haired mannikin', asks Martial of a cautious husband, 'who never leaves your wife's side, is always whispering into her ear, and supporting her chair? Her business manager? He looks a reliable and stern procurator. In acuteness he would rival Aufidius Chius [a notorious adulterer and jurist]. And he is her manager. You fool, he is managing your business'. And in the mock-trials of young rhetoricians, the 'pretty procurator' was a frequent exercise—as probably in reality. The following case was given for debate under Augustus. 'A man has a son by his wife. She dies. He marries again and has a second son. There is a pretty procurator in the house. The stepmother and stepson often quarrel, and he turns the latter out, who takes a house next door. Gossip tells of adultery between the procurator and the wife. One day the husband is found in his room murdered, the wife wounded, and the intervening wall broken through. The relatives decide to ask the five-year-old boy, who had slept with his parents, who was the murderer. The child points to the procurator. The son and the procurator accuse each other of the crime'. Seneca describes in his book on marriage the young wife's proper retinue, which includes a curly-haired procurator, or rather, lover. Firmicus Maternus the astrologer repeatedly mentions these procurators of rich

and noble ladies, and St. Jerome cautions his Christian friends against going out with curly-haired procurators.

Hence wives so independent—especially when of noble lineage—often lorded it over home and husband. Horace describes the Scythians as originally not giving the rich wife mastery of the husband. ‘Why have I not a rich wife?’ asks Martial; ‘because I do not wish to be my wife’s maid’. He found that the foppishness and overweening ways of spoiled boys were an easier burden than a dowry of a million. And Juvenal thinks nothing more intolerable than a rich wife. To both Greeks and Romans the slipper symbolized the rule of the woman.

Fictitious marriages, too, entered into by poor men for a fee, were not rare, so as to allow the woman to evade the laws against celibacy and enjoy absolute freedom. Seneca mentions this in his book on marriage, and Martial jeers: ‘Your Laelia, your wife within the law, is a very law-abiding wife, Quintus’. Tertullian speaks of the patience such mercenary husbands showed to their rivals, and St. Jerome, of poor men, called husbands, and divorced at the slightest demur. On the other hand, senatorial women sometimes lived in concubinage with freedmen whom they might not marry without losing rank, as senators did with freedwomen. Callistus, bishop from 218–222, authorized such alliances amongst the women in his parish. For women in other ranks to marry their freedmen was less common than for slaves to be freed and made the mistresses of the establishment; the former practice was only legalized in the third estate at the beginning of the third century. A freedman, Tiberius Claudius Hermes, who married his five-and-twenty year-old mistress, and for two-and-twenty years lived with her ‘happily by her favour’, says on the tombstone of his ‘patroness and true wife’, that he owed her his station and repute for all his life long. But an inscription in Aquileia of a slave freed and married by her master runs: ‘I was Anicia Glycera, freedwoman of Publius Anicius. Of my life I have said enough: I secured myself well and won the contentment of a good man’. Augustus’ prohibition of slaves married to their patron getting a divorce against his will was re-affirmed by Justinian.

In society, too, women were independent. In Republican

days, too, they had been free, unlike Greek women, whose highest commendation was 'to occupy their husbands' thoughts, as little as might be, either for good or for evil'; whose frontier was the threshold, crossing which meant risking their position. In early Rome, though domestic virtues were valued in the wife, she had never been secluded. Cornelius Nepos, in the preface to his biographies, contrasts Greek and Roman customs: in Rome any wife could properly attend a banquet, or live in the front of the house and be seen, and watch the spectacles. The gradual breaking up of the family, the cessation of the ancient stern morality, accentuated the tendency, and, under Augustus even, wives were socially almost unrestricted.

The rank and standing of a lady and her titles, privileges and distinctions, were as closely gradated as those of men. Generally they shared the husband's station; but sometimes the Emperors would give women consular rank, with the *insignia*, if relatives and not married to consulars, and might, on rare occasions, leave them with this honour if they remarried a man of lower standing; thus Elagabalus acted with regard to his aunt Julia Mamaea when she married Gessius Marcianus, a knight (she became the mother of the future Emperor Alexander). He also raised the mother of his favourite Hierocles, a Carian slave, to consular rank. The privileges of these ladies consular—according to Ulpian, the wives, not the mothers of consulars—were very great: Ulpian is uncertain whether even a man of praefectorial rank had precedence over them.

When a woman entered the senatorial order, the *conventus matronarum* held an assembly. It was an ancient guild of religious origin, and became the Empress's maids of honour. Agrippina, Nero's mother, after the death of her husband Domitius, had so publicly set her cap at Galba, the husband of Lepida, the future Emperor, that she was arraigned by Lepida's mother at a meeting and beaten. All night, says Seneca, a husband must listen to his wife's reproaches: 'She appears in public richly dressed, and is held in honour: at the *conventus* I am a nobody'. There is scarcely anything known as to the constitution and competence of this guild. It had—like similar bodies in other cities, such as the Ladies' *Curia* at Lanuvium, with its double tables on public festivals,

or at Naples, with its temple and priestess—a *curia*, or meeting-place, on the Quirinal, another in Trajan's forum, where inscriptions have been found; 'Empress Sabina to the Ladies: Restored by Julia the mother of Emperors (Caracalla and Geta) and the troops for the ladies'. Elagabalus had a new building erected on the Quirinal, and enlarged the power of the feminine Senate, and had a number of inquiries on points of etiquette set on foot; what costume befitted women of various ranks; which had precedence, and which had the right of the kiss; what kind of carriage and equipage each should have; which ought to have sedan-chairs, either with silver or ivory, which might have golden or jewelled shoes. Elagabalus' biographer calls these *senatus consulta* ridiculous: Aurelian's biographer says that the latter restored the women their senate, on condition of priestesses having pre-eminence in it, and perhaps the permission given to women to wear red, yellow, white or green shoes, is referable to such a *senatus consultum*. Under Augustus a special dress of honour was allowed to mothers of three children, a special form of the *stola* to all blameless women; and, when the *stola* in the first century went out of use, it lingered on in the title of *stolata femina*, not only granted to mothers, but honorarily as well.

Girls of the higher ranks left the silence and dependence of the home for the full freedom of married life. There they were exposed to every breeze of public influence. The young wife was greeted, even by her husband, with the honourable name of *domina*, equivalent to *donna* or *madame*. At their back, hundreds of hands had to serve. In the microcosm of a great house, with its scattered properties, legions of slaves, and retinues of clients and subjects, her will granted or withheld fortune or even life. Youths and grey-haired men, the learned and the brave, the veterans and noblemen, all sought her favour. Whatever claims to admiration she might have, beauty, wit, talent or education, her position ensured her success. In her new sphere, vanity and urbanity and intrigue were thoroughly at home, passion and flirtation had full play, and temptation was there strong enough to overthrow the strongest. 'Anything assailed by countless desires is insecure', says Seneca; 'one brings his beauty, another his wit, a third his intellect or generosity

to the attack, and a fortress attacked on all sides must give way'. And feminine ambition had a wide field. Very many noble women had, later on, married an emperor.

To estimate the moral condition of women there is no lack of illustrative facts or general criticisms in the successive epochs. Towards the end, pessimism has full sway; but the writers generalize and exaggerate too much. The complaint of female immorality at Rome was of ancient date: 154 B.C., in the censorship of Marcus Messalla and Gaius Cassius, according to Lucius Piso Frugi (consul in 133), Roman modesty was dead. At the time of the last Civil Wars, which caused an utter disruption of moral relations, Velleius testifies irrefutably to the honour of Roman women; he says the sons of the proscribed in the second Triumvirate were faithless, their freedmen somewhat better, but their wives models. Hence the rather incongruous reports of the next generation can be taken with a grain of salt. In 18 B.C. Augustus was legislating against celibacy, and the Senate declaimed against the looseness of morals, and was reinforced by Horace's pathos and Propertius' melancholy and Ovid's impudent jeers. 'Ages rich in sin', says Horace in one of his solemn odes, 'were the first to taint marriage, and family. From this source the evil has overflowed'. 'Sooner', says Propertius, 'will the sea be dried up, and the stars reft from Heaven, than our women reformed. In the East, women are loyal, and widows vie for the funeral-pyre of their husbands. Here wives are faithless, and we have no Evadnes or Penelopes'. 'Pure', says Ovid, 'are only those women who are unsolicited, and a man who is angry at his wife's amours is a mere rustic'. Similar despondencies are reiterated in the succeeding ages, and State regulations were devised to curb the increasing vice. In 19 A.D. a Praetorian woman Vistilia registered herself at the aedile's as a prostitute. She was banished to a rocky island in the Archipelago, and a *senatus consultum* was passed, prohibiting the prostitution of women, whose grandfather, father or husband had been a knight, and making women guilty of immorality indictable by the relatives as of old, if a public prosecutor were lacking. Seneca the Elder held that the corruption had proceeded so far that no credulity could be too great in tales of adultery. Seneca the Younger exalts

his mother for having exceptionally kept conjugal faith. Any one, he says elsewhere, whose amours have not become notorious, and who does not pay a married woman a yearly fee, is despised by women as a mere lover of girls; in fact, husbands are got as mere decoys for lovers. Only the ugly were loyal. A woman content to have only two hangers-on is a paragon. Ladies' days are divided up between their various lovers, and are still not long enough. A relation with a single lover, they call marriage; with none, old-fashioned simplicity. Suetonius says, that when Vespasian came to the throne, laxity had exceeded bounds owing to the lenient administration of the law: the Emperor proposed in the Senate a law, making ladies who had relations with their slaves, themselves slaves. 'Everywhere in the city', says Martial, 'I ask if one woman says no: not one says no, just as though it were a crime or dishonour. Is no one true? Some there are; those who say neither yes nor no'. Tacitus commends the Germans for not laughing at vice, and not making seduction the spirit of the age. Juvenal's sixth satire is a caricature, but, at base, accurate. Marcus Aurelius was obliged to regulate the indulgence of women and noble youths: Cassius Dio discovered that Severus' laws against adultery (passed in his consulship) provoked 3,000 cases, and this only among the consulars and senators in the consular-senator Court.

In the year 211, when Septimius Severus made peace with the Caledonians, the Empress Julia jeered at a chieftain's wife, because of the community in wives: the latter rejoined, that Caledonian women selected the best men publicly, Roman women the worst and clandestinely. The name of an ancient cuckold was a 'horned beast'.

These expressions of opinion may be violent, unconsidered, and harsh; or rhetorically over-coloured, but the facts are significant, and some symptoms show the extent of the vice. Thus great frivolity, due to the arbitrary divorces, was shown in making and abandoning marriages. Under Julius Caesar's Dictatorship, a Praetorian married a woman, unsuspected of any adultery, but divorced two days before: Caesar separated them. Tiberius deposed a quaestor for divorcing a woman the day before the taking of the lots, he having wedded her the day before in order to rank as a married

man, In Martial one woman leaves her husband at the beginning of his praetorship, in January : it was no divorce, but a good speculation. Seneca says, some women counted their years, not by consuls, but by their husbands ; and Juvenal, that some divorced, before the green bays of welcome had faded on the lintels, and they might have eight husbands in five years : Tertullian, that women marry, only in order to divorce : these exaggerations must have a foundation in truth. Quintus Lucretius Vespillo (consul 19 B.C.) erects this stone to his wife Turia (who died 8-2 B.C.) : 'Seldom do marriages last until death undivorced : but ours continued happily for forty-one years'. But even in this marriage, after the death of her only daughter, Turia had proposed a divorce so that her husband might have children by a second—for childless men were under a disability in inheritance. She herself would seek him a new wife, and be a second mother to his children, and a sister or mother-in-law to him, whilst their properties should remain undivided. But the husband passionately refused. Trimalchio, too, congratulates himself on declining the divorce, proposed for the same reason, because of his good nature and love of a Stoic reputation. But most men were less fastidious : Ovid and Pliny the Younger had three wives ; Caesar and Antony four ; Sulla and Pompey five : such cases must have been frequent. A tombstone recently unearthed mentions a seventh wife ; there is no exaggeration in Martial's epigram : 'Phileros, you are burying your seventh wife on your estate. No estate has ever been more profitable'. Women remarried as often. Cicero's daughter Tullia married three times, and Nero was the third husband of Poppaea, and the fifth of Statilia Messalina. Martial speaks of a woman who made six or seven attempts at marriage ; of one who marries eight husbands ; and of a third suspected of murdering seven.

Further, slavery, as everywhere, left its track of immorality very visible in Roman conjugal life, and made the standard of a man's fidelity too lax. Plutarch even says, advising a cultured newly married couple, the wife must not take it amiss, if the husband resort to a *ἐραῖπα* or slave, but be grateful for his working his passions off on another woman, out of respect for her : just as the Persian kings used to dis-

miss their wives from the feast, and call in harlots and music-players for their debauches. And the women, too, took their share of male liberty as a right, or a pretext. Juvenal makes a woman detected in the arms of a slave or knight keep her complexion and say, 'we agreed we should each do exactly as we liked'. And ladies were certain of secret and submissive lovers amongst their slaves, and rarely resisted the temptation. 'Your wife', Martial says in an epigram, 'calls you a lover of girls, and is the darling of her sedan-chairman: you are both in the same boat'. Elsewhere he reckons up the seven children of a certain Marulla, whose faces betrayed as many slaves as their fathers, namely, the Moorish cook, the snub-nosed athlete, the blear-eyed baker, the nice boy of her husband, the narrow-headed long-eared *crétin*, the black flute-blower and the red-haired steward.

A further deleterious effect of slavery on women was the habit of cruelty, increased by the bloody amphitheatre. Juvenal's satires paint, how the moody mistress has her female slaves mercilessly flogged, without interrupting her work, till the floggers drop for weariness, and she harshly commands them to go out: Ovid, too, begs ladies not to scratch the maids who are adorning them, or prick their naked arms. Hadrian relegated a woman for such cruelty to an island for five years, and was the first to forbid slave-murder: until then women might at any time crucify their slaves.

Other corrupting influences for women there also were. The demoralizing effect of the letters of the day can hardly be counted as a cause (such as Ovid's *Elegies* and *Ars Amatoria*) though for flagrancy they could hardly be exceeded, but rather as symptoms of a not universal degeneracy. And with the wholly different standards of decency among women, much was proper, that is now impossible. Leibnitz even could send one of Hoffmannswaldau's most disgusting poems to Sophia, the widow of the Elector of Hanover (the mother of the first Queen of Prussia), and she could copy it out for the Dowager Duchess of Orleans (Elizabeth Charlotte), and every one was delighted with the 'amorous' verses; thus Roman women might well read Martial and Petronius, and stand on a higher moral footing. Martial dedicates his tenth book (which is not lacking in obscenities) to Polla

Argentaria, who was then about forty or fifty, the widow of Lucan, asking her not to be too severe. And the evil effect of immoral art is hard to estimate. Propertius reviles the wall-pictures that shocked the eyes of women and girls, and such pictures are elsewhere mentioned. But moral women seldom were thus exposed : in Pompeii even, a carnival of license, obscene pictures are only found in the brothels. In Paris of about 1750, profligate manners were far worse than in imperial Rome ; there the coats of arms on the coaches were replaced, at great expense, by disgusting pictures : a fashion introduced by the women, whose carriages were the more licentious.

In ancient Rome the worst influences were the 'temptations of the spectacles and excitements of the banquets'. Tacitus significantly says that the pure Germans withdrew their women from both.

The passion for the circus was one of the flaws most cast at the teeth of the Roman women of this day, in all ranks. The wife of a senator eloped with a gladiator, and Juvenal was most surprised at her abandoning the circus and Paris the Pantomime. And Statius, whose wife did not cling to the circus and the theatre, could not make out why she would not leave Rome. For women, as Ovid and others say, went there not only to see, but to be seen. Ovid compares the stream of fashionably-dressed women to ants or bees. It was then their toilette was at its height : when Rome seemed most magnificent, and they found most admirers. Tacitus and Dio think fit to mention the mantle of gold in which Agrippina appeared at the naval fight on the Lacus Fucinus (a sight so remarkable that Pliny thinks it worth mention), and this may indicate the zeal, the self-advertisement, and gorgeousness of the women. Often the feathers were borrowed. In Rome the Italian love of *far figura* was most deeply inset, and thousands wanted to seem more than they really were ; every kind of 'property' could be hired, down to the rings which astute advocates had on to impose on the clients they were defending. Juvenal specifies amongst the things women borrowed, when their purses were empty, clothes, retinue, sedan-chairs (used as seats after the staves were pulled out), an old nurse and a blond maid. In Apuleius' fable, Venus makes Psyche fetch her

the elixir of beauty from Proserpine, in order to fit herself to visit the divine theatre.

The large feminine element at the circus attracted the youth in large quantity. Propertius rejoices at Cynthia's resolve to go into the country, away from the harmful spectacles; and Ovid recommends them as match-making resorts. In the theatre and amphitheatre, after Augustus' regulations, the men could only glance up at the upper seats reserved to the women: but, in the Circus, the sexes were mixed. 'Let such men go', says Juvenal, 'as think well to hallo, to bet high, and sit beside a fashionably-dressed girl'. Acquaintances were easily picked up by the common interest in the performance, and the little politenesses, handing cushions, etc.; and compliments, wishing one were the charioteer the girl admired; was it really hot? etc., etc. To the Christians this assembling of the sexes was the worst feature. 'In the circus', Tertullian says, 'there is nothing more repellent than the sight of men and women in their fineries. Partisanship often caused relations which might grow up into lust: people go there only to see and to be seen'. Clement of Alexandria also found that these assemblies of men and women led to profligacy.

Worse than this was involved in the Circus and the spectacles. There the populace raged madly, but it was more innocent than the theatre and amphitheatre. The *Atellana* and the *mimi* were openly licentious, and attracted the masses, whilst the pantomimic dances represented the most doubtful subjects and drew to them the upper classes: there anything was in good taste, and effeminate minds were tickled with witty obscenities. The Christians had good ground for condemning the theatres; any woman might well leave them sullied. The habit of seeing slaughter and torture in the arena brutalized the soul, and killed its delicate feelings to a nauseous extent.

Women were interested not only in the games, but in the actors personally. Athletes, circus-drivers and gladiators especially carried favour with ladies of the highest rank; the 'ferrum' attracted them like a lodestone, and enchanted fighters, however ugly, into Hyacinthuses: to run away with a gladiator, according to Juvenal, even noble ladies felt no scruples, faced sea-journeys and would even go to the

astounding extent of giving up the games. So, too, stage-singers, vocalists and musicians were beloved of the women, whose passion often led them into the wildest folly: thus, under Augustus, a married lady waited on Stephanio the actor in a page's disguise. Pertinax' wife had a publicly known liaison with a citharist; and rumour said these artists sold their favour dear. The instruments used by famous citharists were bought by their female adorers and worshipped. One noble lady in Juvenal makes a solemn sacrifice to discover whether a celebrated citharist would obtain the crown at the next competition; as much as she could have done for a sick son or husband. Pantomime-dancers, however, enjoyed the most signal favour from both men and women. Seneca, writing in Nero's latter years, says that there were many teachers and many scholars of the art of Pylades and Bathyllus. Everywhere in the city, homes have their private theatres, in which men and women dance, and husbands and wives vie to be the professional's partner. The pantomimes were very beautiful young men, whose art lent them fresh grace. About 22 or 23 A.D., they were banished from Italy, on account of the factions they caused, and their relations with women, who must have been of high rank: otherwise no such ordinance would have been passed. Mnester, the beautiful boy, the most popular pantomime under Claudius, had the favour of the elder Poppaea, the beauty of her day: and his enforced relations with Messalina caused his execution. Paris the Pantomime aroused Domitian's jealousy, and was assassinated in the street; on the spot where he fell, many of his adorers strewed flowers and scents. Rumour connected the murder of Domitian with the passion of his wife for this or some other pantomime. Marcus Aurelius bore Faustina's amours with more tolerance; some of them were said to be with pantomimes. Galen discovered the passion of one Justus' wife for Pylades, as Erasistratus had that of Antiochus for Stratonice. There was no physical reason for insomnia, so he concluded it was mental: her countenance and her quickened pulse betrayed her, when the name of Pylades was pronounced.

Tacitus mentions the temptations of the banquets as well as of the spectacles: but, at the worst of times, the most licentious feasts can never have been so common, that

women could not have avoided them : the spectacles must have created a far deeper disorder. At these extravagant banquets, the same evil influences obtained, as at the theatre ; for music, dancing and theatricals were the usual accompaniments. Obscene songs and plays met the ears of modesty, and the eyes of purity were offended by Syrian and Andalusian dancers, whose depravity could hardly have been less than that of the Egyptian *almés*. Many, says Plutarch, at their feasts present actions and speeches, more intoxicating than any debauchery, and when women and children are present.

Apart from such sensualities, banquets enabled men and women to meet far more conveniently than in the Circus. At them, says Pliny the Elder, greedy eyes are calculating a woman's price, and sodden eyes (of their husbands) sleepily assenting. In one of the most impudent poems ascribed to Ovid, the seduction of the beautiful wife of a simple husband is described ; nominally it is Paris and Helen, but these were current names for such parties ; and the picture is drawn true to the actual life of that day, most realistically. The lover's behaviour at table corresponds to Ovid's advice in the matter. The lady feels the fixed gaze of her admirer, hears his sighs, sees him seize her cup, kiss it where her lips touched it : he makes signs to her with his eyes or fingers, writes in wine on the table, tells love-stories eloquent of his own passion, pretends drunkenness, to make his audacity seem innocent. Further, the old custom of women sitting at table had ceased by Augustus' time ; they lay down, like the men. In the old days, this would have been indecent, but, under the Empire, the old rule was only kept up at the Capitol, when at Jupiter's banquet, Jupiter lay down and Minerva and Juno sat up on chairs. 'It is more important', said Valerius Maximus, 'that the gods keep up the good old customs, than that the women should'.

How far, apart from the banquets, real social meetings of both sexes occurred, we do not know. Men could also converse with women in the public places, walks, colonnades, parks and gardens. In the stead of the page or eunuch, who accompanied his mistress, some lover would hold her parasol. Further, women of the upper classes seldom walked on the black basalt pavements. They were carried about in sedan-chairs, or the huge palanquin borne on the shoulders

of gigantic foreign slaves: the palanquin, especially the covered sort, was the prerogative of the senatorial women, though custom varied and was not absolute. Caesar limited the right of using the palanquin to matrons and mothers over forty years of age, and to certain days of the year: Domitian refused it to women of ill-repute. Sterner custom required thick curtains, so as to baffle the greedy gazers: 'we see nothing blameworthy', says Plutarch, 'in staring fixedly at ladies' palanquins'. But husbands who forbade their wives, 'to exhibit themselves in their chairs to the gaze of any one and everyone', were deemed, as Seneca says, boorish, and tyrannous. With open windows they would peer about in all directions, bowing, and disgracing their position. For in Rome, there were no carriages: in the country, women often drove themselves.

In dress, too, the women of that time showed no more sense of shame, but our information, coming from violent generalizations of such writers as the Senecas and Pliny the Elder, cannot determine the extent of this, especially of the use of the notorious Coan robes; and all the less certainly, as similar complaints were raised all through the Middle Ages and in modern times, e.g. in the tenth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The transparency of female clothing under the *directoire*, with its M^{de}. Tallien, and at Grodno under Stanislaus Augustus, with Marquise de Lulli, can hardly have been exceeded. Then, in Paris, an especially admired toilette, with all the cameos and gold, weighed only one pound. After her, ladies aimed at lightness, and imponderability of costume. Historians of the first centuries decry the fineries and extravagance of female dress, the oriental stuffs (such as silk, byssus, jewels, pearls and perfumes), which may have been extravagant and not restricted to a section of society, but is outdone by modern luxury.

Independence made Roman ladies seek to cast off the fetters of nature and custom and follow male pursuits. Such abnormalities, as Juvenal depicts, may have been rare: such as the women who drilled in gladiators' armour, challenged men in night-long carousals and vomiting of wine, or the women who pleaded in Court. Such emancipations were, as Juvenal says, the exception. More frequent were women with active

public interests. They knew all that was going on in the farthest lands, caught up rumours at the gates, or originated them; retorted sharply on military leaders, and told any street acquaintance all the world's gossip.

The ambition of others, more cultivated, took higher flights: most women in high position naturally sought to lead, directly or indirectly, in the course of politics. Often, as is known, the fate of the Roman world was decided by women; more than one Emperor was more or less the viceroy of his Empress. Even Augustus, one of the greatest statesmen of all times, often took counsel with his clever wife, a Ulysses in female garb, as Caligula called her; and it was reported that he always wrote down what he was going to say to her. To the good done by Eusebia, the consort of Constantius, Julian adds that 'one man was reinstated in his paternal heritage, another pardoned from a merely legal penalty, a third saved from imminent danger of an information, and many received honours and benefits'. Trajan's widow, Plotina, made Hadrian give the president of the Epicurean School at Athens the right of nominating his own successor, and even an alien. Philiscus the sophist secured the chair of oratory at Athens, through Julia Domna. The influence of the Empresses' Court-ladies must also have been very great. Juvenal illustrates how their favour was sought after. He blames the extravagance of Domitian's favourite Crispinus, in buying a six-pound mullet for 6,000 sesterces: as a present to a distinguished lady in a huge paned palanquin, it would have been justified. In both big and little appointments feminine influence would predominate, in Rome and the provinces. Seneca praises his maternal aunt for overcoming her shyness, and helping him to his quaestorship. Gessius Florus owed his procuratorship of Judaea to his wife Cleopatra, a friend of Poppaea. To the Chief Vestal Campia Severina, in 240 A.D., a statue was erected by a man for whom she worked his knighthood, a tribunate of a cohort, and the lapse of one grade in military promotion; and another statue by a man who thus secured the chief imperial librarianship. In Epictetus a dishonest official hopes to escape punishment, for 'we have friends, gentlemen and ladies, of influence in Rome'. Ladies would, in case of need, exploit their sons for this purpose. Some

of the electoral recommendations, inscribed on the walls of Pompeii, are signed by women.

In the provinces the wives of the governors attended the manoeuvres, and, with a bodyguard of centurions, mixed with the soldiery: e.g. the proud Plancina, daughter of the founder of Lyons, Munatius Plancus, and wife of Gnaeus Piso (A.D. 17 Governor of Syria), and Cornelia, daughter of the governor of Pannonia, Calvisius Sabinus (who died in 39 A.D.). Plancina's ostentation was the main argument in favour of Severus Caecina's motion before the Senate, to forbid (A.D. 21) a governor taking his wife with him. The Senate should remember, that the women caused so much of the extortion, and attracted all the riff-raff of the province. They took up negotiations and the provincials had to attend two courts. Women were more domineering and less restrained than men; they became absolute despots of home and law and armies. The motion was not accepted; but later times record such wives as 'harpies clawing for gold, spreading havoc in cities and diets.'

In literary life, too, women took their share; in the upper classes, in their youth, they were educated up to it. Quintilian, in his *De Institutione Oratoria*, says, both parents should be as cultured as possible, not only the father. Martial's ideal woman is rich, noble, erudite and chaste. Ovid, who in his *Ars Amatoria* assures the reader he is speaking only of libertines, but is nevertheless describing women, says: 'There is a small circle of learned women, genuine or specious'. How intense and general the love of literature was in the first two centuries is well known, as also the habit of poetic dilettantism. In Augustus' home, which constantly encouraged literature, the women had to embrace it. To his sister Octavia a philosophic work was dedicated: Virgil read the sixth book of the *Aeneid* to her and her brother: she is said to have fainted at the prophecy of the early death of her son Marcellus. Crinagoras of Mytilene the poet, who was twice (29 B.C. and 26 B.C.) ambassador to Augustus from his native city, was a close friend of the family. His poems on Marcellus and Antonia, her beautiful and virtuous daughter, the wife of Drusus, are extant: one was the dedication to a volume of lyrics, and the other is a prayer for her happy delivery, and others again, on her son Germanicus

(born 15 B.C.). The wife of the tragedian Varius (whose Thyestes Augustus had acted at his triumph and munificently acknowledged) was learned: Perilla, perhaps Ovid's stepdaughter, was a poet. Lucan's wife Polla Argentaria, according to Statius, was highly gifted. In the later Empire, we only know that Agrippina, the mother of Nero, left memoirs, which Tacitus and Pliny the Elder used; and Statilia Messalina, Nero's third wife, after his death became as notable for her intelligence as her riches and beauty, and regularly studied oratory: of Julia Domna, the wife of Severus, more will be said later. The daughter of Nazarius the rhetorician (under Constantine) was her father's equal.

Women, who did not take any active part in literature, at least shared in their husbands' or friends' work and success. Pliny the Younger lauds his wife, for interesting herself in it out of love for him. She read his books through and through, and learnt them by heart. If he gave a recitation she would listen behind the curtain to the applause. She had a system of couriers to bring messages from the court in which he might be pleading. She set his poems to music and sang them; love being her sole teacher. Apt^r expression was a common feminine gift. Ovid recommends women to write love-letters in good but not stilted Latin; for a passion nigh to extinction might be revived, or a lively flame deadened, by beauty's bad grammar. Women's works, if not published, were shown to their friends. Pliny says that an author he knew read out his wife's letters: she might have been a Terence or a Plautus. If they were really her composition, her power testified to the influence of her husband who married her as a girl: for girls' education must have proceeded after marriage in many cases. Women also experimented in speaking Greek instead of Latin, or at least interlarding Greek phrases: in Lucretius' time Greek was the lovers' language; Juvenal says in young girls this might be endurable; after twenty-six, it was intolerable.

But in an epoch of teeming poetasters, poetesses were common, in Greek and Latin, who loved being called Sapphos. Ovid applied this hackneyed compliment to Perilla, whose poetic gifts he endeavoured to develop, as her hearer, teacher and critic. Sulpicia, whose love-letters in verse were included

among those of Tibullus, was probably a granddaughter of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the jurist, and daughter of a friend of Horace's. Hostia, the lady-love of Propertius, was compared to Erinna and Corinna. Persius jeers at these 'poetic magpies' of his day. Of Theophila, the bride of the poet Canius Rufus of Cadiz, Martial, his fellow-countryman, says she was chaster than Sappho and as gifted; he applies the same term to Sulpicia, the wife of Calenus, to whom is attributed a sickly 'Conversation with the Muse'. In those poems of hers which Martial read, she celebrated the joys of happy, unprudish marriage. On the colossus of Memnon there are Greek verses of Caecilia Trebulla and Julia Balbilla inscribed. The latter mentions with pride her descent from Claudius Balbillus (governor of Egypt under Nero, and an author) and a Syrian prince Antiochus; she was of senatorial rank: a statue was put up to her at Rome by the city of Tauromenium, and ascribes to her distinction 'in every virtue and morality and wisdom'. A.D. 130 she visited the colossus in the train of Hadrian and 'the gentle Empress' Sabina, who seem to have liked her verses, and had them chiselled in deep into the hard stone. The honour may have been earned by the plenteous adulation; Memnon is said to have risen before the sun to greet his dreaded master, and much more in this vein. Balbilla's verses show fluency and accurate pedantry in the use of the Aeolic of Sappho, her obvious model.

Ladies, when not poets, were critics, and as such, deemed by Juvenal worse than tipplers. Before they had been five minutes at table, they began to discourse aesthetically on Homer and Virgil, monopolizing the conversation, with a hammer and tong-like effect. They paraded their snacks of knowledge, made quotations from forgotten authors; grammar in hand, corrected their friends' slips. A woman, says Juvenal, may have the encyclopaedia by heart and yet know nothing: Martial, too, mocks the purist woman, and yearns, as his life-wish, for a not too learned wife.

Philosophically inclined women found the greatest hindrances. Old-fashioned Romans discouraged the study, as merely ostentatious (Seneca the Elder, a great conservative, would only allow his wife to read very superficially—a fact the son regrets): and also, as making women impertinent,

and leave the loom and home, to linger on with men, talk learnedly and chop logic. The Stoics held the opposite opinion. Zeno had originally advised the bringing up of boys and girls similarly: Musonius Rufus wrote a monograph on 'whether daughters should have the same education as sons': as did Plutarch 'that women should have a scientific education'. Musonius Rufus wanted to restrict women to moral philosophy, as the indispensable foundation of chastity: Plutarch went further, and, after the Socratic fashion, prescribed astronomy and mathematics as well, as safeguarding a mind filled with the highest ideas from love of vanity, superstition and folly; as making dancing ridiculous for a mathematician, and exorcisms ridiculous to the student of Plato and Xenophon.

As a fact, women often did study these sciences as well, to the detriment of their charm. Plutarch says of Cornelia, wife of Crassus and then of Pompey, that to beauty she superadded the graces of literature, music and geometry; she had attended philosophic courses to her advantage, and was free from the general ill-consequence of becoming a blue-stocking. Cicero's friend, Caerellia, 'fired with zeal for philosophy', made a copy of his *De Finibus* before publication. And spiritual minds might well find consolation in the teachings of the wise, as Livia, at the death of Drusus, in the words of the Stoic Areus. Athenodorus of Cana, another Stoic at the same Court, was privileged to dedicate one of his writings to Augustus' sister, Octavia. Julia Domna, when Plautianus the favourite intrigued her into quarrelling with Severus, devoted herself to philosophy and science. She had mathematicians and rhetoricians all around her; Philostratus, at her instruction, wrote the novel of Apollonius of Tyana. Martial's poetess, Theophila, knew the Epicurean and Stoic systems equally well. In a writing attributed to Galen, Arria, a friend of the author, is mentioned, who was in high esteem with Severus and Caracalla for her earnest study of Plato; possibly the same devotee of Plato to whom Diogenes of Laërte dedicates his *Lives of the Philosophers*.

But, for the most part, it was sheer toying. Horace satirizes the old lady in love, and her Stoic books on silk cushions. In Epictetus' day, Plato's Republic was the fashion, as,

in some measure, laying the foundations of a Utopia in free love and community in women: Lucian asserts some philosophers realized that teaching with their female pupils, but not in Plato's apprehension of it. With Marcus Aurelius the philosopher, ladies took to seeing Greek Dr. Know-alls, rhetors and philosophers, solemn grey-beards, to attend their walks. At table, or at their toilette, they had leisure to be instructed: in the course of a lecture on morality, there were interruptions, a *billet-doux*, swiftly answered by return. These philosophers were taken on journeys as well, kept waiting in the rain, and sent in the last carriage with the dancers, the cooks, and the hair-curlers. Lucian tells of one rich lady who entrusted her Stoic with her Maltese lapdog, which gave birth to a litter under the philosophic mantle.

At all times, most women must merely have played at philosophizing, and some few have discovered a religion in it. The interest of the widow-Empress Plotina in Epicureanism has been mentioned. Plotinus, the founder of Neo-Platonism, stayed in Rome after 244 A.D., and had many devoted female students, some in the higher ranks, amongst them Salonina the Empress; with her and Gallienus' favour, he hoped to found on the site of a lost city in Campania (probably Pompeii) a Platonopolis or Philosophers' State. His opponents frustrated him, and antiquity never had its Icaria. Porphyry, his pupil, married a friend's widow, Marcella, to support her in her struggle with disease and the education of her five children, and because of her great gift for philosophy, into which she had been initiated.

The religious movements of the first century, which increased in the second, and in the third and fourth attained their height, affected women most. These were the last efforts of Paganism to regenerate and oppose the new spirit coming from the East. The old gods gained a fresh lease of their lapsing life, and the new habit of honouring their positive attributes found many votaries, who, in a wild confusion of all religions and cults, sought salvation.

Of these, oriental rites prospered the most. Their pomp and sensual effect, their gorgeous ceremonial impressed the simple; their miracles and mystic initiations were a

revelation, and a road to union with God. These rites especially suited women, and the promise of purity and a hallowed state beyond gained them great vogue. License led to asceticism; the weakness, subject to temptation, sought release through overt atonement.

Thus the yearning of women, especially, to find here a consecration, a cleansing or a consolation, became passionate; unsuperstitious piety (ascribed to one woman on her tombstone by her husband) must have been rare. Plutarch recommends the wife to reverence only her husband's gods, and ban other worships and superstitions, as clandestine offerings would be offensive to any god. These female devotees were blind adherents of the oriental priests. A wandering band of begging priests of the Great Mother might persuade them to offer one hundred eggs to divert the September fever from them to their clothes, or, three times in the early morning, to dip in the half-frozen Tiber and splash about almost naked on their knees for a certain distance. They would make pilgrimages to Egypt to fetch Nile water, if Isis bade them sprinkle themselves with it in the temple. Isis, the goddess of a million names, was, throughout the Roman world, adored as protectress and Lady of Mercy. After 50 A.D. she had many temples in Rome to which pilgrims came in the prescribed linen garb, with dishevelled hair, sang hymns twice a day, were sprinkled with Nile water, observed the fasts, and any other abstention, enjoined by the priests: any default was met with a petition to Osiris and a substantial oblation: a cake or fat goose might assuage the angry gods.

It is no matter of surprise that, when women so frequented the temples of Isis, many abuses sprang up. The whole priesthood, men and women and servants, were accused of being professional prostitutes, and the cult was condemned on this score. An event of 19 A.D. illustrates the happenings inside the temple at Rome. A knight, Decius Mundus, had been wooing a spotless and noble woman, Paullina, in vain. She was a devotee of Isis; the priests of her temple were bribed for 5,000 denarii to persuade her that the god Anubis desired to meet her at night: Mundus appeared in this disguise. Tiberius came to know of the outrage, banished the ringleaders, crucified the priests, demolished the temple

and threw the statue of the goddess into the Tiber. Not only Isis, but any other deity, beloved of the women, saw his temple thus misused: as Juvenal testifies and the Christians also, though they exaggerate in denouncing temples and groves and holy places as places for assignations and criminalities. In the temples, according to Minucius Felix and Tertullian, adulteries are arranged, prostitution practised between the altars, and the incense-laden cells were brothels. Tertullian makes Idolatry thus declaim: 'My sacred groves of pilgrimage, my mountains and springs, my city temples, all know how I corrupt chastity, and magicians and poisoners know, how I encourage vengeance, sweeping the watchmen, informers and accomplices out of the way'. Propertius, too, calls the temples and the circus the main reasons of Cynthia's untroth, and Ovid recommends them and the Jewish sabbaths and the theatre and porticoes for this purpose.

Judaism was spreading more and more in the West, but its proselytes were mainly women, amongst whom was Poppaea the Empress. Josephus calls her a zealous advocate of the Jews, 'for she had religion in her': for this reason she was not cremated, but, in oriental fashion, embalmed with perfumes and buried in the cemetery of the Julii. In A.D. 19, together with the proceedings against the worship of Isis, the first harshness was shown towards the Jews; 4,000 able-bodied freedmen, 'infected with Egyptian or Jewish superstitions', were sent to Sardinia to fight the bandits; the others had to repudiate their practices or leave Italy. The pretext was a fraud, imputed to the Jews, on Fulvia, a noble Roman lady inclined to Judaism, whose Jewish teachers had incited her to send a contribution to the temple at Jerusalem, which they appropriated. Under Domitian, A.D. 88, Martial jeers at the bad breath of ladies who kept the Sabbath.

Christianity, too, inflamed the women, and its emissaries did not underrate the value of feminine susceptibility. At first it affected the lower classes. In the second century, the pagans scoffed that the Christian community consisted of the poor, of workmen, old women, slaves, children and simpletons. Perhaps, however, as in the East, Christianity began to claim feminine votaries in the higher ranks as well. But the assumption that Pomponia Graecina, the wife of

Plautius the consul, the conqueror of Britain, was one of them, rests on very insecure evidence. In 58 A.D., she was accused of the 'foreign superstition', and the judgment left to her husband, who acquitted her. The phrase meant either of the religions persecuted by Tiberius, the Egyptian or the Jewish. She did mourn a murdered relative for forty years and withdrew from society, but pagan women also showed similar life-long attachments. And the ancient Christian tradition knows nothing of her as a convert, whilst the legendary personal relations between St. Paul and Seneca prove on what slender facts they would make distinguished pagans converts. Much more probably she had become a Jewess. It is more possible that Domitian's niece, Flavia Domitilla, became a Christian. She and her husband, Titus Flavius Clemens, were accused of 'atheism'; a charge which had brought to many death or confiscation, for Jewish practices: he was executed, and she relegated to an island. Perhaps, as Renan presumes, many of these victims of persecution were Christian Jews. The hagiologies (composed not before 500 A.D.), which make St. Cecilia (the patroness of music) a senatorial woman, are entirely untrustworthy.

From the death of Marcus Aurelius to the great persecution of Decius was a time of peace for the Church, in which she flourished exceedingly. Under Commodus, whose mistress Marcia was, probably, a Christian, whole noble families were converted: Septimius Severus, in his first years, took senatorial men and women, who were openly Christians, under his protection; Mammaea, the mother of Alexander Severus, is said to have been finally converted by Origen's lectures. These great proselytes created many difficulties for the Roman Church, and even the zealous Tertullian permitted them the gorgeous clothing due to their rank. Callistus the bishop (218-223) allowed girls and widows of senatorial rank, who did not wish to lose it through an inferior marriage, to enter into concubinage, even with slaves, and publicly showed his preference for these illegal and anti-social marriages to alliances with infidels. The monuments in the catacombs contain the names of many noble Roman lady converts. In the crypts of Lucina, the sarcophagus of one Catia Clementina has been found, the wife of Jallius Bassus, a high official under Marcus Aurelius, as also of her daughter, Jallia

Clementina, and her sister or daughter of the same name : inscriptions are also found there of Annia Faustina, Licinia Faustina, Acilia Vera, who belonged to a family related both to the Antonines and to the Pomponii Bassi.

Even though no word had come down of the broken hearts and family divisions, the centuries of conflict between paganism and Christianity would assure them. Origen says that the Christian emissaries ventured to interfere with the most intimate family relations ; that Christian slaves, as the pagans alleged, would seek to convert their master's wife and family, and incite insubordination against fathers and teachers. One incident, narrated by Justin, a Christian author under Antoninus Pius, must have been a common type. One married couple lived very loosely, and the wife became a Christian, but all her new-born zeal and preachings of Hell could not convert her husband : at length, fearing, as his wife, to be tainted with his godlessness, she obtained a divorce. In this case morals, as well as religion, jarred : in most, the diversity of belief, and the pangs of conscience were sufficient to dissolve a life-long alliance ; the number of Christian women who could manage to be 'Christians among the Christians, and heathens among the heathens' (as an inscription runs) could never have been great ; too often 'love and troth had to be weeded out'. Christian writers naturally attribute all the guilt of such partings to the pagans. But the harshness with which Tertullian stigmatizes mixed marriages as improper and irrecongnisable by the community, indicates that the divorces were often enough led up to by the Christian missionaries. Sometimes an equal fanaticism of the pagans might withstand them. Porphyry gives the answer of an oracle of Apollo to a man who asked how he should deflect his wife from Christianity, and what god he should implore : 'Sooner couldst thou write on water, or fly in the air, than change the mind of thy guilty, godless wife. Let her have her will, remain with her empty falsehoods, lament to her god with her faithless lips ; her God whom just judges condemned to an evil death.'

But women then, if religiously the 'leaders in belief', were as obstinate adherents of every old faith as they were susceptible to every new superstition. Of the variegated and innumerable superstitions of these changeful centuries,

men were only influenced to a very considerable extent by one very influential form, astrology. This was also very popular with the women: it was practised more than elsewhere in the upper classes. No astrologer, says Juvenal, is of repute, unless at least once condemned: the star-readers became most celebrated, if they had been involved in some political action, and had lain in chains for long, and been amnestied and relegated to a barren island. Some women, too, were expert astrologers themselves, and consulted the calendar at every turn. Many, too, when they were confined, had a Chaldaean posted on some observatory near at hand, to watch the stars, and to be informed by a gong of the instant when the child was born: he was then to draw up the horoscope at once. St. Augustine tells of two friends of his, so devoted to astrology that they noted down accurately the instants of the births of their domestic animals and the ruling constellations. Once the wife of the one and the slave of the other gave birth at the same time exactly, and under the same constellation. Yet the one remained free, and the other a slave: St. Augustine's belief in astrology was finally destroyed.

But magic, in all its departments and hoaxes and barbarities, was fervently believed in by women. Under the influence of oriental mysticism, however, the character of this superstition became wholly transformed in the second century. In the first, witches, loathly and abominable hags, practised doubtful trades, and procuring: they concocted salves and drugs and philtres for beauty, and dealt in poisons, and were very fond of wine. This profession was too proletariate to suit the educated, and yet was sought by women, who believed in love-philtres: Plutarch even in his *Marriage Precepts* mentions them, though his work was intended for an educated couple.

But, when transformed, magic gained greater vogue. After about 150 A.D., when Neo-Platonism was fore-heralded by Julian the Chaldaean, philosophy became more and more contaminated with theurgy and magic. Apuleius says that the populace associated philosophy with enchantment, and that both magicians and natural philosophers drank more and more of the Pierian streams of the East, the Nile, the Euphrates and the Ganges. Now sodden procuresses

were replaced by pious and holy miracle-workers, who either came from the East, or had spent many years in catacombs of Egypt, or the society of Brahmans; who were passion-free, despised earthly nutriment, went about in white linen, venerable, and welcome guests in great palaces. These later conjurers—no mere hags or witches—made their holiness of life the secret of their power; their humanity was conquered, and, god-like, they had divine powers. Their success was largely due to the women, whom they courted assiduously. They took great care of their personal appearance. Lucian describes Alexander of Abonuteichos, as a stately man, with white skin, a well-tended beard, a mystic's eye, and musical voice: he wore a deceptive wig of graceful locks over his own hair, went about in a white and purple vest and a white cloak, carrying a scythe in his hand, to typify his descent from Perseus. The grace of the ladies was assured to him, even, says Lucian, at the wish of their husbands; and their favour was the aim and the foundation of his position. Perhaps much the same would have been said of Apollonius of Tyana, had Lucian written his life. Philostratus mentions that the tale was that he had loved a beauteous lady in Seleucia in Cilicia, and she gave herself up to him, to be blessed with great children, as he was superhuman: thence sprang Alexander Peloplaton the sophist, an extremely beautiful man. But Philostratus scouts the story as incredible.

Literature prefers dwelling on the frailties and vices of women, as being better copy, than on the inconspicuous virtues; and most of this description is thereby limited to the evil side. But some marriages are described in which man and wife 'in mutual love, and alternative submission lived in harmony; in which the merit of a good wife is greater than the guilt of a bad one', or in which mothers and wives 'were the light of the home'. The principal source for this gallery of good women is Pliny's Letters. He tells of the heroic death of a woman from his native Comum, not less great than Arria. He was crossing the Lake of Como, and a friend pointed out to him a villa jutting out over the water. There the husband, who had been suffering from tumours and boils, showed them to his wife, and asked if she thought them curable. She thought them hopeless; encouraged

him to commit suicide, and was not only his companion but his guide as well; they bound themselves together and plunged in to their death.

History, too, records many great examples of feminine courage in the days of the lowest depths of humiliation and servility. In the Terrors, when women were prosecuted for their tears, they often led men on to bravery, faith and self-sacrifice; just as, under the proscriptions, wives were faithful to the outlawed and sons faithless. In the barbarities of the Julian house, women often preferred to die with their relatives, whom their entreaties could not save; mothers followed their sons into exile, and wives their husbands. Tacitus gives a few instances. Annia Pollitta saw her husband Rubellius Plautus (A.D. 62) assassinated by Nero; she embraced his blood-stained neck, kept the stained robe, and lived on the bare necessities of life, in deep mourning. In 65 Lucius Vetus, her father, was also tried for his life: she in vain besought Nero's mercy and decided to share his fate, as did also Vetus' mother-in-law Sextia. Vetus gave all he had to his slaves, reserving only three beds: on these the three lay and with the same knife cut their arteries, and then each, decently wrapped in a cloak, was carried into the bath. 'The father fixed his gaze on his daughter, and the grandmother on the granddaughter, and they on him; and all prayed for a speedy death.' Fate respected their ages; the two elder ones died first, the youngest last. Servilia, the wife of Annius Pollio (banished in 65 A.D.), was in 66 involved in the accusation of her father Soranus, for anxiously prognosticating the issue of the suit by unlawful magic. Each endeavoured to shift the guilt off the other: both were condemned, with a liberty of choosing the manner of death. Seneca's wife Paulina chose to die with her husband, after the discovery of Piso's conspiracy: both opened their veins, but she was restored to life: 'and lived on several years, faithful to her husband's memory; her paleness showing how near she had been to death'. From an inscription on a rock-tomb at Cagliari the following story comes. Cassius Philippus had been banished to Sardinia (a usual place), and his wife Atilia Pomptilla followed him: he fell ill, perhaps because of the climate, and she resolved to die with him in the twenty-second year of married life: she died, he

survived. Perhaps these sacrifices of life by wives were due to the belief that the Nethergod would accept another life in substitution. A Greek inscription speaks of a new Alcestis, Callicrateia, 'who died for her husband, Zeno; the only man she had embraced, and dearer to her than the light of the sun or her children.'

But most famous of all women, whose courage transcended that of men, is Arria, who plunged the dagger into her own breast, withdrew it, and gave it to her husband, saying, '*Paete, non dolet.*' Pliny the Younger records other not less brave and characteristic sayings of hers. Once both her son and her husband lay dangerously ill. The son, the hope of his home, died; Arria buried him without informing Paetus, and simulated calm in replies to his inquiries: he was resting, had taken nourishment. When tears would break forth, she left the sick-room, and returned with dry eyes and a quiet countenance. To play the mother, after ceasing to be mother, was, in Pliny's eyes, a greater triumph than to show Paetus how to die. In 42 A.D. Paetus was condemned to death for complicity in Scribonianus' conspiracy in Illyria against Claudius. Scribonianus was killed and Paetus brought to Rome. Arria in vain sought to embark with him, as the slave allowed to a man of his rank. She wrote to Scribonianus' wife, who acted as a witness before Claudius: 'Am I to listen to you, alive, after your husband died in your lap?' Her son-in-law besought her not to kill herself, asking her if she wished her daughter to die with him, if he must. She replied: 'Yes, if she have lived so long and so happily as I with Paetus'. This answer made her family all the more anxious. She was watched, and said: 'It is useless: you can make my death hard, but not hinder it'. Thereupon she leapt up from her chair and dashed herself against the wall. She was revived, and said, 'I told you I should find a road to death, easy or difficult'. Posterity was to associate Arria with the faithful wives of heroic legend. On the tomb of a lady at Anagnia, the husband begs her and Laodamia to receive her soul among the blessed assemblage of Roman and Greek women.

Arria's daughter, Caecinia Arria, at the condemnation of her husband Thræsea in 60, wanted to follow her mother's example: he persuaded her to remain alive, and not deprive

her daughter of her only help. The daughter, too, Fannia, was worthy of her mother and grandmother. In 66 B.C., and under Vespasian, she shared the exile of her husband Helvidius Priscus, and after his execution in 93, for his sake, underwent the same punishment for a third time. Herennius Senecio, a friend of Helvidius, wrote his life, and was accused on this account: she acknowledged that she had incited him, given him papers, and denied any complicity of her mother: threats and dangers wrung nothing further from her. Herennius was executed, Fannia exiled and her goods confiscated. She took the book, which had occasioned all this, with her into her banishment, in which she joined her mother, though the Senate interdicted it and ordered its destruction: both returned 97 A.D. Pliny testifies to her charm, and her claims to love and reverence, as a model to future wives.

These facts only refer to women of the upper classes, and even of them give a set of merely fragmentary and isolated pictures. As to the middle classes and the lower, literature is almost dumb. Only their tombstones have been preserved, inscribed by their husbands with their virtues: one quaintly truthful widower says: 'On the day of her death I testified my gratitude to gods and men'. But all tombstone virtues of all women must have been similar, as a long eulogium of Murdia, a lady who was not noble, shows (circa 50 A.D.): 'The praise of good women is always simple and the same: their virtues are Nature's gift, which they treasure up, and are not diverse: sufficient if each be worthy of the same good repute: a woman, whose life has few vicissitudes, can gain no new fame: they needs must strive after the one common object, lest one omission spoil their life. My mother was the more famous; she was, like other women, and not less than they, modest, honest, chaste, obedient, industrious, careful and faithful'. Thus, too, Lucretius Vespillo, the consul, on his wife Turia: 'Why mention domestic virtue and chastity, and submissiveness, geniality, the ready loom, modesty in attire? Or your love to your kin, and my kin, of my mother as of your parents? This is all common with all honourable women'.

The sphere of woman was thus conceived in the middle classes at all times: hence these inscriptions may be grouped

together apart from the diversities or uncertainties of place and time and rank and position. Inscriptions, describing the 'rarest, sternest, most incomparable wives', may be generous of superlatives, but only indicate for what woman was prized. One Republican inscription makes the stone speak: 'Short, wanderer, is my message; halt and read it. The loathly stone covers a lovely woman. Claudia her parents called her: she loved her husband; bore him two sons; one she left on earth; the other the earth now covers. She was of proper speech and noble gait, kept her house and spun. This is all. Go'. For women to have had only one husband (the *univirae*) was a merit, rare in those days of early marriages and easy divorces and remarriages. One imperial freedman celebrated the example of his wife's chastity, and herself giving her sons suck: another widower lauds his wife, as the 'nurse of senators'. Often a deep affection may be thus recorded. One inscription runs: 'Here lie the bones of Urbilia, wife of Primus. She was dearer to me than life. She died at twenty-three, beloved of all'. Or again: 'To my dear wife, with whom I passed eighteen happy years: for love of her, I have sworn never to remarry'. One wife who died at the age of twenty-five is made to wish her daughter may learn from her how to love a husband. One monument put up by a widow is inscribed (as are many others): 'What I had hoped my husband would do for me, I have done for him'. One common tomb of man and wife was put up by the widow, who, after thirty-five years of married life, would lie by him in death. '*Vale, consolatio mea*' another widower inscribes his wife's stone. On the monument of a freedman and a freedwoman, the only words are: 'I am awaiting my husband'. The words 'never have I endured aught from her of evil save her death', or 'never have I had an ill-word from her', became a mere form. Elsewhere we find husbands mourning their wives with whom they lived 'without strife', 'without anger', 'unwearied'. An imperial freedman praises the absence of desire in his wife. A widower says that to laud his wife sufficiently, he ought to inscribe her virtues in letters of gold. An imperial chamberlain who had come to Carthage (perhaps in Hadrian's retinue) erected a monument to his wife who died there at the age of seventeen, 'because she

followed him to Africa': a similar eulogium is given to a wife at Rome for a similar proof of faithfulness. A Roman inscription runs thus: 'To a virtuous wife, and careful house-mistress, the desire of my soul, who has been with me eighteen years, three months and thirteen days. I have lived with her without one complaint, but now I complain to her *manes*, and either demand her back of the Nethergod (for she has lived with me in unison up to the fatal day), or I beg of thee, Mevia Sophe, to put an end to my intolerable solitude, if indeed there be departed souls. Stranger, may the earth rest lightly on thee, if thou disturb naught: if thou do, mayst thou be hateful to the gods; the earth lie heavy on thee, and the underworld refuse thee'. Often even the hours, not only the days and months, of marriage, are recorded; in consequence of the habit of carefully calculating the hours of birth for astrological purposes, these accurate figures are very common and prove the enormous vogue of this superstition. Thus Pliny tells of how Verania (the widow of Piso, who was adopted by Galba) fell ill, and answered Regulus' question as to the hour of her birth: he forthwith cast a horoscope for the length of her life. A widower in Lyons begs those who read his wife's tombstone to go to the Baths of Apollo and bathe there, as he had done, and wished he still could. A widow recommends her husband to the Nethergods, and begs them to send his ghost up to her at night-time.

The domestic virtues usually celebrated are their good house-keeping and spinning. An imperial slave, a *dispensator* in Lower Moesia, says of his wife: 'she was the patron-saint of my home, my hope and my life. Her wishes were mine; her dislikes mine. None of her secret thoughts was concealed from me. She was a busy spinner, economical, but generous to her husband. She did not delight in eating, save with me. She was a good counsellor, prudent and noble'. A huge sarcophagus in which another small one was found, is thus inscribed in clear letters:

AMYMONE, THE WIFE OF MARCIUS, RESTS HERE: GOOD WAS SHE AND FAIR:
A BUSY SPINNER, A GOOD HOUSEWIFE, CHASTE, MODEST, AND PIOUS.

Unfortunately these inscriptions have not more individual tone, and thus withhold many a glimpse into women's inner

lives. History records from her conning-tower only those women who rise above the mass ; whilst a history of morals, in seeking to combine disconnected impressions, with the utmost quest of truth, cannot escape being merely subjective.

CHAPTER VI

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

I. COMMUNICATIONS BY ROADS

(i) HEINRICH STEPHAN (who died in 1897), who was one of the greatest authorities on modern modes of intercourse, has said : 'Most of the realms of the ancient Roman Empire had better connections and conditions than ever afterwards or even now'. This chapter will show how much the ancient world owed, in the matter of facility of intercourse, to the Empire, an epoch 'calumniated rather than known', and how far the Middle Ages, and even modernity, is inferior. Travelling throughout most of the Roman Empire was easy, swift and secure to a degree unknown until the beginning of the nineteenth century ; occasions for changing residence were far more numerous than to-day, and water and land alike alive with trade and travel. 'The deep ruts on the hard basalt Roman ways, even those remotest from Rome, testify to this traffic'. In the North and West of the Empire there was less vigour than in the nineteenth century : in the South and East very much more.

And also the Empire gave two and a half centuries of peace, only occasionally and locally interrupted ; a condition since unrealized. Contemporaries acknowledged these boons of peace, and security and regularity of intercourse. An inscription at Halicarnassus celebrates Augustus as 'the saviour of humanity, whose Providence fulfilled and outbid the prayers of all men : land and sea are at peace, and cities flourish in lawful government, unity and prosperity in all things'. All provinces at all periods raise this paean to the world-peace. The accession of the Caesars to the sovereignty of the earth had stripped Envy of his destructive

power, banned all baleful influences into the farthest deserts, and concentrated all the kindly genii from land and sea within the confines of the Empire. As the shape of the earth had set a term to the anarchy of conflicting atoms, Rome had similarly stayed the endless confusions of incessant warring states ; she had united peoples and dynasties into one organization of peace, one unbreakable ring. In the first two centuries after the death of the first Caesars the imperial revenue rose rapidly, and peace secured prosperity. Hill and dale were cultivated ; the mercantile marine increased, and trade between all countries. Nowhere were there wars or battles or bandits or pirates. This was the majesty of the *pax Romana*, which made Rome a sacred home, an eternal source of life, a secure anchorage : as though the gods had renewed the life of the world ; all peoples prayed for the eternity of this gift of Rome.

More enthusiastic even than these utterances of Philo of Alexandria, Appian of Alexandria, Plutarch of Chaeronea, and Epictetus of Hierapolis in Phrygia, or Pliny, was Aristides of Smyrna in his eulogium on the first Antonine and the world-state. 'Could not every man go whither he would, without fear ? Are not all harbours busy, are not mountains as safe as cities ? Is there not the same charm in all fields, whence Dread has vanished ? There are no streams impassable, no locked gulfs. The earth is no longer iron, but clad anew for a feast. Hellenes and barbarians may wander from their own homes to arrive at their own homes ; the Cilician Gates, the narrow sandy roads to Egypt through Arabia present no terrors of mountain pass, torrents or savages : to be the Emperor's subject, to be a Roman is the one talisman. Homer had said, "The earth is common to all" ; it was now realized. You have measured the earth, bridged the rivers, and made roads through the mountains, peopled the deserts, and ennobled all things. The world need be no more described ; no laws or customs retailed ; for you have been the leaders for every one, have opened every gate and given every man his freedom, to see all with his own eyes. You have conferred equal laws on all, and repealed conditions entertaining to the mind, and intolerable in reality ; and merged all nations into one family.' The speech closes with a prayer 'that this city

and empire flourish eternally, or until iron float in the water, and no blossoms bloom in the spring.'

The Christians, too, with all their hostility to civilization, did not fail to appreciate its material advantages. Tertullian, writing about 290 A.D., says 'the world is more cultivated and richer than before. Every place is accessible and busy. Smiling fields have replaced deserts, and corn-fields the forests; lambs have driven away the wolves, and the sand has been made fertile, rocks broken, swamps drained: there are as many cities as there once were hovels. The islands are not barren nor the cliffs terrifying: every nook teems with ordered life'. Tertullian even thought that overpopulation was a coming evil, and plagues and famines a necessary remedy.

Yet eulogy, if ever justified, was deserved by the Roman system of communications, with its web of roads in and round the entire Empire, 'the glorious traces of which, in remote deserts, buried under graves and brambles, in the Sierra Morena or the Eifel, Scotland or Transylvania, on the Euphrates or the great Syrtes in Africa, monumentally recall to the wayfarer the greatness of Rome'. 'This elaborate network of roads increased public security, made agriculture more secure, facilitated touring and commerce, eased the working of the administration, made settlements possible, and quickened the spread of culture.' The ruin of these ancient universal links, the loss of the idea even of such a complete system, explain many misconceptions of Roman civilization, such as the rarity of travelling in the later Empire.

Naturally not all the Roman roads, or even the majority, were comparable with the oldest and most famous one, the Via Appia (built by Appius Claudius 312 B.C., from Rome to Capua). This 'queen of roads' in the sixth century aroused the wonder of Procopius, the Byzantine historian, who calls it a sight not to be missed. This was broad enough for two carriages to pass at breast and built of a stone not found in the neighbourhood and used for mills. The smooth, sharp-hewn blocks fitted together to a nicety, uncemented and unmetalled. Despite the traffic of centuries, the surface was unbroken, even preserving its first polish. To this day some stretches of exposed pavement of basalt polygons still hold firm. The mile between Beneventum and Aeclanum,

built under Hadrian, cost 100,000 sesterces (£1,087 10s.).

Procopius shows that this breadth was unusual. The Appian Way was, on the average, between twenty feet to fourteen feet: most roads were smaller. People then rode for the most part, or had two-horsed carriages, and a small track would be sufficient. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Italians regarded roads 'as broad as a coach' as an improvement; such were built by Philibert Emanuel of Savoy, Cosimo de' Medici and Gregory XIII. The traffic on the narrow Roman roads can never have been as great as that on the roads of Central Europe of to-day.

The construction of the Via Appia, defying time, no less than its breadth may have distinguished it from the rest. A great length of it was not plastered, but only gravelled over.

The great system of roads started from Rome with five principal radii. The first, to the South, went on the Via Appia to Capua, thence, by Forum Populi and Thurii, to Ad Columnam (ad Traiectum) whence the passage to Messana took one hour. Hence a road along the North coast of Sicily went by Panormus to the busy haven of Lilybaeum (near Marsala, about forty miles), whence boats ran to Carthage; the voyage of over 1,100 stadia taking twenty-four hours or more. In good weather sailings were made from Portus Augusti at the mouth of the Tiber, or Puteoli to Carthage. Carthage was linked on to Tingi (Tangiers) by a Western road, whence a ferry sailed to Belone (Bologna) in Spain, a voyage of 220 stadia, about four hours; and by an Eastern road to Alexandria, whence there was a connection with Asia over the isthmus of Suez on the main road to Antioch. From Alexandria, there was the Nile and two roads on either bank, running up to Hiera-Sykaminos, the frontier of Aethiopia. On the right bank Coptos was an important junction, whence roads started to the two harbours on the Red Sea for Indian and Arabian commerce, Myos Hormos and Berenice.

The great road to the East also ran along the Appian Way to Capua, whence two roads bifurcated to Brundisium. The voyage to Dyrrhachium or Aulona (800 stadia) lasted twenty-four hours. From Dyrrhachium, the great Via Egnatia went straight through Macedonia and Thrace to Constantinople (c. 500 miles); at that point two roads branched off,

crossing North Greece on the West and the East, and meeting at Athens. In Thrace a by-road from the Via Egnatia led to Gallipoli on the Thracian Chersonese. From Gallipoli the crossing over the Hellespont to Lampsacus (sixty stadia) lasted about one hour. From Lampsacus the road traversed industrial Asia and its seats of ancient civilization, to Antioch (*c.* 600 miles from Constantinople); and from Antioch roads diverged East to the Euphrates and South to Syria and Palestine, 'in a then prosperous and populous country of famous towns', and thence over the isthmus of Suez to Alexandria, where it met the East African main road.

With the North there were three lines. The Via Flaminia (the modern Corso, crossing the Tiber at Ponte Molle) went by Narni and Spoleto to Rimini, whence the Via Aemilia went by Bologna, Modena, Parma, Piacenza to Milan (87 geographical miles). At Modena a road diverged, which at Verona met the road north of the Po and running parallel with it from Milan to Aquileia, by Bergamo, Brescia, Verona and Vicenza. Generally fast traffic went from Rimini along the coast to Ravenna, thence by water over the Seven Lakes, the lagoons of the Po, to Altinum, a staple-town for Italian commerce with the North: of this once prosperous city a few remains can be seen under the water of the lagoons near Venice. From Altinum, it went to Aquileia, the centre of Italian trade with the Danube. From Aquileia roads in Istria led to Pola, and through Dalmatia to Dyrrhachium; thence North-West through the Carnian Alps to Vipitenum (Sterzing am Wipthal), where this road met the one from Verona to Veldidena (Wilten near Innsbruck), and to Augsburg; and thence, North-East by Emona (Laibach), Poetovio (Pettau), Sabaria (Stein am Anger), Scarabantia (Ödenburg), to Carnuntum on the Danube, where the March flows into it at Hainburg. From this point, the road went up to the Danube to Vienna and Lauriacum (Lorch bei Enns) to Regina Castra (Regensburg), and down the Danube to Aquincum (Alt-Ofen). The great road from Aquileia to Constantinople went by Siscia (Sissek), Sirmium (Mitrovič), Serdika (Sophia), Philippopolis and Adrianople (1,128 Roman miles). From Constantinople there was a crossing over the Bosphorus to Chalcedonia, whence a main road went by Nicomedia, Nicaea, and Ancyra, with many branches into inner Little Asia.

The Via Aurelia, the second great road of Italy, ran along the West coast by Centum Cellae (Cività Vecchia), Pisa, Luna (East of Spezzia) to Genoa. Thence, as the Via Julia Augusta, it passed over the mountains, where the name of the Tropaea Augusti, erected after the subjection of the Alpine tribes 6 or 7 B.C., is preserved in Turbia; and so on to Nice, Marseilles and Arles, and Narbonne. From Narbonne there were two roads to Tarragona through the Col de Pertus (in the Pyrenees), and by Barcelona, or on the imperial road named and partly re-planned by Augustus through the pass of Puicerda, by Ilerda: this crossed the Ebro at Tortosa, and ended at Cadiz by the East and South coast.

Milan was the centre for Roman intercourse with the North and the West, by the Via Flaminia and the Via Aemilia. From Milan ran most of the Alpine roads, the building of which was the anxious care of Augustus after 15 B.C., and of his successors. The three main routes were over Mont Génèvre, the Great St. Bernhard and the Little St. Bernhard; the Mont Cenis was disregarded. Whether there was a Roman road over the Simplon is uncertain; if any road was built in the later Empire, it was only for local use. For the Gotthard 'the Schöllenen pass was impassable' until 1236. Of the Bündner passes the Romans used only the Julier and the Splügen: the way over the Splügen, perhaps only a mule-track, kept to the sunny heights of the left shore, and did not enter the dark Via Mala. In the Tyrol the oldest road (built 15 B.C.) led North from Trent, and the Claudian Way; later through the Reschenscheidegg: the first mention on inscriptions of the direct Brenner Pass is 195 A.D.

Of the Roman Alpine roads in the West (excluding those over the maritime Alps) the one built by Augustus 'with monumental bridges, hollowed-out ways and careful supports' over Mont Génèvre and the one over the Little St. Bernhard were passable: of the centre roads, the one over the Julier and Brenner, in the East the one over the Odra (Birnbauerwald): this was the lowest pass (520 metres), utilized in Strabo's times for the freighting of goods to Nauportus (Oberlaibach), whence they were shipped to the Danube; it also went by an equally low pass by Aquileia to Tarsatica near Fiume on the Gulf of Quarnero. But other passable

Alpine roads there also were, such as that from Zuglio (Julium Carnicum) over the Pleckenpass into the Drauthal, still deeply rutted. In Strabo's time the Great St. Bernhard was still impossible for carriages: later there must have been a road; as in 69 A.D. legions crossed it even in the winter. In 47 A.D. this road and the Claudian Way through the Tyrol was built, and garnished with milestones. 'It is very doubtful whether the Alps were ever as much pierced and crossable at any time before the end of the nineteenth century, as they were under the Roman Empire.' The Roman engineers showed great circumspection. Of the road over the Julier, some pieces are in excellent preservation, accurately aligned, with big terminal stones and a roadway of nine to eleven feet. The gradient is never more than 15 per cent. The turnings are broad and made the road very usable.

Yet the wheeled-traffic over the Alps must have been very slight, as the roads were narrow (1.5 to 3.5 metres). Julian says that only one carriage and one mule-team could force their way through. They were also very steep: the ancient road up the Maloia Pass (1,811 metres) had three bends, the later one nine, and the modern one twenty-two. Except from May to September, when most of the passes were free from snow, passages across the Alps must have been difficult and dangerous. Ammianus describes men, animals and waggons slipping about in the spring on the road over Mont Génèvre in the snow-water, the carriages braked back by ropes pulled by the men and the animals. In the winter, it was all ice and snow; and stakes were put up to mark the road, and the abysses; and these signals might be snowed over or pulled down by torrents; guides had to be used. Greater dangers even, apart from avalanches, which often overwhelmed whole caravans, were involved in these narrow tracks, perilously on the edge of precipices, passable only by native men and animals, who were not giddy.

The busy road by Susa and Mont Génèvre was the shortest way from Milan to Arles (395 Roman miles); by Aosta and the Little St. Bernhard was the road to Vienna (308 Roman miles): the same road led to Strassburg (545 Roman miles) through Geneva and Besançon; from Aosta over the Great St. Bernhard, Martigny, Vévey, Basel-Augst to Strassburg, and so to Spiers, Worms and Mainz was 409

Roman miles ; or over the Splügen to Bregenz, and to Bâle or Augsburg ; or from Verona, over the Brenner, Wilten, Partenkirchen to Augsburg. From Augsburg roads went on to Regensburg, East to Lorch bei Enns, and there met the Vienna road, and West to the Neckar ; from Mainz to Trèves and Cologne, Nijmegen, Utrecht and Leiden ; and West to Rheims. Rheims was connected with Lyons, the centre of South Gaul, and Orleans, the centre of West Gaul, and also with Paris and Rouen ; as Lyons was with Strassburg and Bordeaux, where the Western Pyrenaean roads converged. The great road to Britain went by Rheims, Soissons, Amiens to Boulogne (Portus Gesoriacum) and the crossing was to Richborough (Rutupiae), lasting eight or nine hours for the 450 stadia. Britain, as a Roman province, had its network of roads, the principal points of which were Camulodunum (Colchester), London, and Eboracum (York), all interconnected with themselves and the ports, and extending as far as the Wall of Hadrian, the Northern frontier of the Empire.

A probable estimate of the total lengths of the road-system (as far as our knowledge allows) has not been made out. The pilgrim-route of 333 A.D. from Bordeaux by Arles, Milan, Aquileia, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Ancyra, Tarsus, Antioch, Tyre, Caesarea, Jerusalem, is about 680 geographical miles. A journey from Hadrian's Wall to the Aethiopian frontier (Hiera-sykaminos) would be about 1,000 miles. A tour from Alexandria to Leptis, Carthage, Caesarea, Cadiz, Cordova, Barcelona, Lyons, Rheims, Boulogne, Dover, London, the Scottish frontier, and back by Dover, Leiden, Cologne, Mainz, Strassburg, Milan, Verona, Aquileia, Sofia, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Ancyra, Antioch and Alexandria would be about 1,824 miles.

A comparison of the system of roads in the Mediterranean lands, and on the Lower Danube, in the later Roman Empire, with conditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, would be unfavourable to modern times. The greatest retrogression in civilization, and in roads, is still to be seen in the huge realms under the barbarous sway of Islam.

In Africa there was one long coast-road from Tangiers (Tingi) by Carthage to Alexandria. Eastern Mauretania had a close network of roads centring at Sitifis (Setif) ; as

also Numidia, at Cirta (Constantine) in the North-West, and Theveste (Tebessa) in the South-East; and Proconsular Africa, in which the main roads met at Carthage, Hadrumetum (Susa) and Thenae (Tine). In both latter provinces, the roads stretched far inland. In Numidia the Djebel Aurès was surrounded by roads, connecting it with its lower heights on the North at Lambaesis (Lambessa), by Bescera (Biskra) and the oases. General St. Arnaud in 1850, when he passed the defile of Kanga, pronounced impassable by the natives, thought he was the first pioneer. But an inscription in the middle of the pass showed him that in 145 A.D., a division of the third legion was quartered here. On the way to the Oasis of El Kantara, the torrential Wadi Brenis is still crossed by a Roman bridge. These roads were mostly designed by the Emperors of the third century, and executed by the soldiers; that from Theveste to Carthage of 19,174 Roman miles was constructed in 123. Other roads were often laid out by the smaller towns even. Forts were put up at intervals for public security. In Tunis, under the French Protectorate, there were only mule-paths, excepting for three or four short roads: Morocco has no roads as yet.

In Egypt, and Asiatic and European Turkey, the main roads were from Sirmium (Mitrovič) to Singidunum (Belgrade) and Serdica (Sofia) to Constantinople (712 Roman miles). In the wilder parts their remains are still visible; near the great cities and populous parts, they are used for building purposes, called 'Latin Way' near Nish (Naissus), and 'Trajan's Way' near Sofia and elsewhere. The inhabitants of Ichtiman have a fable that the plastered road was laid down in ancient times for a princess, who might not betread the bare ground. The road between Philippopolis and Adrianople was still used by the Crusaders at the end of the twelfth century. On the Roman road depicted on Pentinger's map from Philippopolis over the middle of the Haemus to Novae (Svistov) the road can still be traced.

Greece in 1833 had no carriage-roads at all. In antiquity she could afford to neglect her roads (as she also did her drains and water supply), as the coasting-vessels compensated the lack. But to the Romans she owed her two great Northern roads: Hadrian linked these with the Peloponnese with a carriage-road from the dangerous mule-path by the

Sciron cliffs (a great engineering feat, wonderful even to-day). Further, in this barren province, even the Emperors did but little in road-building.

In Italy, too, at any rate in the South, such a complete system of roads, as existed in antiquity, was not revived for long afterwards. In the nineteenth century, the former kingdom of Naples scarcely had any, and practically no bridges: in the Basilicata in 1846 the King of Naples lost himself on a military promenade with many thousands of his adherents, and vanished for fourteen days. Sicily in 1872 had '09 kilometers of roads to the square kilometer; to this day, travelling inland is difficult, and the devastating *fiumari* (unknown to Roman times) make long détours necessary. But, under the Empire, there were over one thousand Roman miles of roads, linking all the coast-towns, and Agrigentum with Panormus, and Syracuse with Catana, and Termini with Panormus. In Sardinia, where a guide must now be had, there were 1,000 miles of road: in Corsica, where Rome only held the East coast, 100.

In Spain there were side-roads in all directions from the main road by the East and South coast from Barcelona to Cadiz. In the South Seville and Cordova, in the North Saragossa and Astorga, in the West Merida were the principal centres. From Merida, as to this day, the principal connection with Lusitania and Lisbon was by Badajoz, Coimbra and Braga. A splendid Roman road, near Calzada de Oropesa (a part of the road from Toledo to Merida) aroused the admiration of J. G. Rist in 1806, as being in strange contrast with the prevailing desolation, with its solidity that pointed to happier days. 'Spain in 1830 had only the main roads from Madrid to Bayonne, Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, Seville and Lisbon, and a few provincial roads, from Valencia by Barcelona to Perpignan, from Burgos to Valladolid; these were possible for carriages: all else was a wilderness. From Madrid to Toledo, the largest town in a twenty-five-mile radius, there was a service of conveyances, that went, as they best could, in open fields.'

The large volume of traffic in the Empire must have made maps and lists of stopping-places an absolute need. A chance discovery of 1852 shows how common they must have been. On the floor of the Baths of Vicarello on the

Lago di Bracciano, four silver vessels were found, shaped like milestones, engraved with the full itinerary from Gades to Rome. These vessels, of different ages, must have belonged to Spaniards, taking a cure at these waters, and leaving these as pious offerings. The different dates of them imply a continuous manufacture, and Spain can hardly have been exceptional in this respect. And goldsmiths and silver-smiths would hardly have engraved their jars in this fashion, but for a great demand. Possibly these lists were often guides to the sights and historic interests, a kind of ancient Baedeker. The Pilgrim-guide of 333 A.D., from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, gives a very complete Biblical history referable to the several places, and historical, natural and general notes, especially for the neighbourhood of Jerusalem: e.g. at Bordeaux that the ebb and flow of the Garonne was visible from about 100 leagues; or of Viminacum, that Diocletian there killed Carinus; or at Libissa (Djebize) near Nicomedia in Bithynia, that it was there that Annibalianus, the African King, was buried; or at Andavilis, near Tyana, that race-horses were bred there: of Tyana again, that Apollonius the magician was born there: Pella is mentioned as the birthplace of Alexander the Great: and of the halting-place of Euripides, that the poet was buried there; and, lastly, of Caesarea in Palestine, that, three miles away, was a hill, Syna, with a spring, curing barrenness. And the *List of Halting-Places of Antoninus* (drawn up under Diocletian) contains much the same matter; it catalogues the Greek islands and connects with them the various legends of gods and heroes.

(ii) Augustus' institution of a State post was only intended for government business. It was carried on by military couriers: imperial messengers had their route mapped out into *mutationes* (changes of horses) and *mansiones* (night-quarters). Distances were reckoned by *mansiones* (about 25 Roman miles apart): one inscription, found at Asolo near Treviso, makes a widow travel fifty *mansiones* from Gaul to visit her husband's grave; as from Bordeaux to Aquileia was about forty *mansiones*, she must have come from North or North-West Gaul. At the *mansiones palatia* or *praetoria* were afterwards built for the use of governors or emperors. Private individuals might be allowed the use of the State

Post by *diplomata*, granted at first by the *procurator*, later, only under severe restrictions, by the Emperors. The expenses fell on the localities at first, without any relief. Nerva released Italy from the burden, and Septimius Severus charged the Post to the fisc; Hadrian having already made it a State institution. But it was a severe obligation for the provincials, to the last. Part of Hadrian's reforms was the replacement of freedmen by knights as superintendents of the Post at Rome, with a salary of 100,000 sesterces (*praefecti vehiculorum*); district surveyors received 60,000, but were first appointed by Septimius Severus. In the fourth and fifth centuries there were three grades of postal service. Despatches were carried by couriers, who led a second horse besides riding their own. Persons were conveyed by express carriages (*redae*), drawn by horses or mules: transports of war materials and goods on ox-waggons. River-boats and mail-packets also lay ready to expedite letters and persons. From an inscription it is known that a freedman of Hadrian was *procurator* of letters by the post-ships stationed at Ostia (*naves vagae*).

This State Post, like so much else in the Roman Empire, was copied from Persia, and hardly used at all for private purposes. But the success of these regular public services could hardly fail to incite private individuals, at least, when the demand was urgent, in the larger towns, and on the main roads. Traces of these private posts have been preserved in Italy. Jobbers of four-wheeled and two-wheeled carriages (*redae, cisiarii*) and draught-animals (*jumentarii*) formed guilds in several cities of Italy, which often combined: as [in Tibur, the guild of the *jumentarii* with that of the *cisiarii* (named after Hercules, who was adored at Tibur). In Praeneste the guild of the *cisiarii* was formed in Republican times. Travellers mostly used *cisiarii* (such as were the *sedie* used in Italy throughout the eighteenth century): *redae*, a sign of greater wealth, were often, as a writer of the fourth century remarks, liable to accidents. In a parody of Catullus, ascribed to Virgil, one Vetturinus Sabinus, 'most sung of mule-drivers', is bemoaned for boasting that 'no noisy cart could beat him on the road to Mantua or Brixia: not even his rival, Trypho, could deny this'. Caligula, during his stay in Gaul, sold all his imperial furniture, and took

over all the carriages on hire to fetch it from Rome. Many men thus could not attend the courts and lost their suits. Guilds of *jumentarii* are found in Mediolanium, Ariminum, Forum Sempronii (Fossombrone), Tuder (Todi) : of *cisiarii* at Praeneste, Caes and Pompeii, and of both at Tibur : it is probable, therefore, they were general in Italy and the main provincial towns. As in the towns there was no driving, their occupations must have been the forwarding of travellers. Their ranks were at the gates : in the larger cities, there must have been several guilds, stationed at the gates and in the principal streets. Thus at Mediolanium, the guild of the *Vetturini* had its place at the Portus Jovis and the Portus Vercellinus ; in Forum Sempronii at the Gallic Gate (the road to Senogallia), in Caes at the Stelatina Gate. They could either change carriage and horse from station to station, or, like their modern successors, use the same carriage continuously. These last were called *muliones perpetuarii*. Seneca in his pasquil on the death of Claudius compares Hercules, wandering through the world, with a *mulio perpetuarius*.

II. THE SPEED OF TRAVEL BY LAND AND SEA

The State Post on long journeys went five (Roman) miles an hour, including delays ; from Antioch to Constantinople (747 miles) was about six days. Travellers on hired carriages counted this pace as very rapid, as the bargainings at the different stations lost them time. Caesar, whose speed was extraordinary, travelled from the Rhône to Rome in eight days. By the list of stations, from Rome to Arles through Toscana and the Maritime Alps was 796 miles ; Suetonius must intend this journey in speaking of Caesar's rapidity in traversing 100 miles in a hired waggon in twenty-four hours. Swifter somewhat than Caesar was the messenger who bore news of the murder of Sextus Roscius to Ameria, fifty-six miles, on a two-wheeled carriage in ten hours by night ; but this short stretch only required two changes of horses. Icelus brought news of Nero's murder to Galba in Spain, travelling in June, 68, from Rome to Clunia in under seven days ; an extraordinary performance. The voyage from Ostia to Tarraco at the best took five days (Pliny the Elder

counts four days as the shortest passage known between Spain, probably Tarraco to Ostia) ; and there was the distance from Ostia to Rome. As Icelus arrived before sundown of the seventh day, he must have made the 332 miles between Tarraco and Clunia in under thirty-six hours. Cervantes considers twelve days from Naples to Barcelona fortunately little. From Barcelona to Toledo was made in six days on post-horses. The courier who rode with the news of the murder of Maximinus from Aquileia to Rome went yet faster : with changes of horses, he arrived in four days ; if he went entirely by land, he must have ridden 130 to 140 miles a day. Vitellius at Cologne received in the night of the 1st and 2nd January, 69, the news of the insurrection at Mainz of the 4th and 22nd legions against Galba : the messenger ran 108 Roman miles in twenty-four hours, or one geographical mile in thirty-five to thirty-eight minutes. The report of the procurator of Belgica on this revolt reached Rome before the 10th January. The couriers had then travelled from Mainz to Rome (by Rheims, the procuratorial residence), 1,440 miles in all, in less than nine days, or 160 miles per twenty-four hours. The swiftest journey known is that of Tiberius to Drusus from Ticinum (Pavia) into Germany, through the country of the Chatti, just subdued : he covered 200 miles with only a guide and several changes in twenty-four hours. Statius says that Baiae could be reached from Rome in a day on Domitian's road (built A.D. 95) by Sinuessa, but only a courier could have covered 141 miles in fourteen hours. Ordinary travellers would stay overnight and be three or four times as long. The carrier of a letter to Cicero took less than ten days from Dyrrhachium to Rome ; the 360 miles from Brundisium eight to nine. A comfortable time to Brundisium would be ten days, and from Tarraco to Bilbilis (224 miles) five. Rutilius Lupus, Cicero's friend, reached Rome from Mutina in six days, a distance of 317 miles. News of the Battle of Forum Gallorum (between Mutina and Bononia) on the 15th April, 43 B.C., reached Rome on the 21st. Hence, it seems, travellers with *vetturini* did forty to fifty miles a day. According to Procopius, walkers did 210 stadia or twenty-six or twenty-seven miles a day, the distance from Athens to Megara, a standard for Procopius' many itineraries on foot. Thus he estimates five days from Rome to Capua (124 or 136 miles). Longer

distances were covered in shorter times : Damis, in Philostratus, goes from Rome to Puteoli in three days (141 miles). Cicero at his Pompeian villa received letters from Rome in four or five days, at most in three : the messengers must have gone on foot. Short journeys on foot of twenty miles were readily undertaken by people involved in legal actions. Probably walking was as usual as driving. In the sixteenth century, in spite of the many roads built by Gregory XIII, Cosimo and Emanuel Philibert, 'as wide as a coach', carriages were seldom used, until the end of the century. In ancient Italy, waterways were also available. From Placentia by boat on the Po to Ravenna took about forty-eight hours.

Sea-voyages were limited to the spring, the summer and the early autumn. In the late autumn, ships came home or harboured abroad. From the 11th November to the 5th March there was no sailing ; on that day, by the reformed calendar, the feast of the 'ship of Isis' (the patroness of sailors) was celebrated all along the Mediterranean coast, with solemn processions, the consecration of a ship, and its sailing abroad. Then all the ships, drawn up on to land, were trolleyed out. No one, except in urgency, risked a winter voyage, though the sea was not absolutely uncrossable ; for avarice made men continue to court the sea in winter, as of old, when fear of pirates drove them to it. But, apart from mercantile enterprise, official transports of documents, legates or prisoners and relegates must have been considerable, even in the winter. Ovid had to embark for Tomi in a stormy December. Avilius Flaccus, the Praefect of Egypt, was, in the early winter of 37, brought as a prisoner to Rome, and had a bad passage. Cicero travelled in B.C. 50 from Actium to Brundisium from the 9th to the 25th of November, remaining at Corcyra till the 23rd, on account of the weather : many who had set out before were shipwrecked.

Coast-dwellers were overfond of practising the rights of wreckage, despite of the efforts of the Emperors (such as Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) : the inhabitants of the Cyclades were especially keen. They used to sell their victims as slaves ; a *dispensator* of Calvisius Sabinus (consul in 26 ; died 39) was shipwrecked, sold and branded as a slave. Manilius mentions divers for lost treasure : fishermen often set up false beacons to lure ships to their

doom. This was done on dangerous coasts, such as the Hollows of Euboea to the East by the promontory of Caphareus. Shipwrecked men were a large contingent of the beggars at Rome, and a class of the recipients of Christian alms.

Pirates, after the world-peace, scarcely existed in the Mediterranean, if ever, only in disturbed times; such as the Jewish War, when a number of fugitive Jews fortified at Joppa and made the seas between Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt insecure for a long time. In distant seas the Roman fleet could not quell the pirates, in the Indian Ocean or the North East of the Black Sea.

Voyages were made by preference on clear, starry nights. The steersman steered by the stars, to whom the passengers made worship before starting. Such voyages are often mentioned. Philostratus says that there was a regular evening service from Puteoli to Ostia, lasting three days, stopping probably in the mornings at Caieta and Antium (a populous port in Cicero's day). To Stabiae from Rome by sea took four days. From Brundisium to Corcyra or Dyrrhachium and back, in good weather, took a day, as did from Brundisium or Hydrus (Otranto) to Aulona (Valona). In 50 B.C. Cicero selected the route from Cassiope in Corcyra to Hydrus. From Rhegium to Puteoli, St. Paul sailed with a favouring South wind in one day; but in Philostratus, with a good wind, Apollonius and Damis took three days to go from Puteoli to Tauromenium through Messina. A regular route was from Sicily over the open sea to Cyllene in Elis: with very favourable conditions, Cyllene could be reached from Syracuse, or Corinth from Puteoli, in six or even five days.

In journeys from Italy to the Aegaeon, Attica and Little Asia, travellers landed at Lechaeon crossed the isthmus on foot or in carriages, and embarked at Cenchreae. Nero's canal through the isthmus—he selected the best line, the one opened in 1893—was only partly completed. Herodes Atticus also intended a similar venture.

Propertius thought of crossing the isthmus by land; and Ovid, on his way to Tomi, did so, and bought or hired a new ship *Minerva* at Cenchreae. Avilius Flaccus was also forwarded to his island of relegation, Andros, in the same way. Galen returned from Rome to Little Asia with a friend

from Gortyn by way of Corinth : the friend sent his slaves and his luggage by water to Athens, and hired a carriage, and, with a few slaves, made his way there by land through Megara. Aristides made his return journey in September, 145, from Rome by sea. The ship had a bad passage from the start : at the North-East of Sicily, Peloris, was driven to land, and was tossed about in the straits of Messina : in two nights and one day they got out into the Adriatic and into a quiet sea, but only landed at Cephallenia with difficulty. Then, against Aristides' advice, they sailed from Patrae at the equinox, and the journey was stormy. They crossed the Isthmus by land, reached Miletus in four days : fourteen days in all. The Peloponnese was often circumnavigated, as an inscription of a merchant, Flavius Zeuxis, at Hierapolis in Phrygia, shows : he had shipped from the Peloponnese to Italy seventy-two times : it was notoriously dangerous. In September, 111 A.D., Pliny the Younger came back that way, as he writes to Trajan from Ephesus. Thence he was going to travel to Bithynia along the coast, partly by sea, on account of the heat, and partly by carriage, because of the contrary winds.

A voyager, desirous of avoiding the sea from Italy to Asia, might go by land through Thrace and Macedonia (on the Via Egnatia from Apollonia in Greek Illyria to the Hebrus in Thrace), as many did. Galen's second journey to Rome and back was along this route. On his way to Rome he wanted to call at Lemnos and availed himself of a ship sailing from Alexandria Troas to Thessalonica : but under the misapprehension that Lemnos, like the rest of the Aegaeon islands, had but a single city, he landed at Myrina, on the West coast, instead of Hephaestias on the East, where he could have seen fuller's earth in preparation. The captain could not wait for him ; so he postponed the visit until his return : he then, from Philippi in Macedonia, crossed the 120 stadia of sea to the other coast, went to Thasos (200 stadia), Lemnos (700) and Alexandria Troas (700). Aristides, in 144 A.D., made his way back to Rome by the Via Egnatia. Rain-storms beset him, and frost and snow and tempests. The Hebrus was frozen over, the ice broken to make passage-room for boats ; the fields flooded in all directions ; inns were few, and their rooms gave forth more water than the heavens.

Yet he travelled faster than the imperial messengers. Most of his slaves followed slowly after. He found his own guides, where necessary: no easy task, for they fled like savages at his approach, and had to be coaxed or forced. In Edessa he fell ill, and in one hundred days had reached Rome. A part of his beasts of draught died on the way; the rest he sold. The records of St. Ignatius the Martyr mention his starting in the late autumn or winter from Seleucia by sea to Smyrna and Troas; thence, by land through Macedonia to Epidamnus, and thence by sea to Ostia: the account, if false, is based on probabilities. Ovid went from Corinth to Samothrace, whence, as he says in an elegy, it was a mere step to Tentyra (near Trajanopolis). Hence he wished to reach Tomi by land via Thrace and Moesia, whilst his *Minerva* sailed along the Hellespont and the coast of the Black Sea. How long he was on the way is not known: in an epistle he says a letter from or to Rome took six months: this is no standard. The news of the death of Gaius Caesar at Limyra in Lycia on the 21st February, 4 A.D., reached Pisa on the 2nd April.

From Lake Maeotis merchantships with good winds reached Rhodes in ten days; thence, it was four days to Alexandria, and ten days down the Nile to Aethiopia: as Diodorus says, in twenty-four days one could sail from the coldest to the hottest zones. Galerius the Praefect reached Alexandria on the seventh day after leaving the Sicilian Straits: Valerius Maximus, a praetorian senator, went from Puteoli in nine days. In the monsoon season, travellers to Syria from Italy preferred the route over Alexandria to the direct one from Brundisium, a long and difficult journey: especially as Alexandrian ships had the reputation of being swiftest and best-steered; it was thus that Agrippa, King of the Jews, travelled at Caligula's suggestion. Yet to make the sea journey even shorter, Alexandria might be reached circuitously through Greece, Little Asia and Syria. In a charter of a ship, 200 days is required for a voyage from Berytus to Brundisium and back. This includes the long and frequent stoppages of a merchantship. A letter from Cassius to Cicero, sent from near Apamea in Syria, reached Rome in less than fifty days; but one from Antistius Vetus to Balbus took 100 days from Syria. A letter from the Tyrian factory in Puteoli, sent on the 23rd July, 174, reached Tyre on the 8th December, in

107 days. Cicero's son at Athens received a letter from his father forty-six days after it was sent: another took only twenty-one days, which was considered very little. A letter of Tiro to Cicero from Patrae reached Brundisium in fifteen days: letters from Britain in twenty-three twenty-seven or twenty-nine, from Africa in twenty-two, although Cato the Elder, as is known, showed in the Senate a fig plucked three days before at Carthage. The news of the battle of Munda (N.E. of Malaga), on the 17th March, 45 B.C., reached Rome only on the 20th April. Pliny gives a few figures of quick passages to some of the Western Mediterranean ports. Ostia to Gades took seven days; Tarraco to Ostia four; Narbonese Gaul (Forum Julii) three; Africa two, even in mild weather: Alexandria to Marseilles in merchantmen took thirty days. To reach Utica from Narbo in five days, and Alexandria in seven, was a fast voyage.

Ships occasionally had contrivances for measuring their mileage, and Vitruvius describes them. There is material enough to estimate the average sailing-speed. Marcian of Heraclea, the geographer, remarks that these sea-distances (in *stadia*) were very diverse; it was best to draw a mean between the highest and the lowest. A ship with a good wind might do 700 *stadia* a day; a swift cruiser even 900. Scylax of Caryanda makes 500 a day the average, on a long journey. The night-time is not included, for Herodotus and others expressly say that, at midsummer, a ship could do 700 *stadia* by day and 600 by night. A voyage from the mouth of the Phasis to the West coast of the Black Sea direct took nine days and eight nights; a distance of 11,100 *stadia*. According to Aristides, a ship under a strong wind could in twenty-four hours do 1,200 *stadia*, as he could testify. From the time of Herodotus to that of Marcian (400 A.D.) speed remained the same, between 1,000 and 1,500 *stadia* (25-37½ geographical miles, or 100-150 sea-miles) in twenty-four hours; or $\frac{1}{24}$ - $1\frac{3}{4}$ geographical miles per hour. This accords with all the facts of early and late antiquity. According to Diodorus the journey from the Pityusae to Gibraltar took three days and nights; to the African coast twenty-four hours, to the Spanish coast one day; from Majorca to Spain, a day. Strabo mentions the distance from the promontory Κριού Μέτρωπον in Crete, according to Eratosthenes

as 2,000 *stadia*, or two days and two nights. From Samonium, (the N.E. point of Crete) to Egypt was three or four days and nights, eighty miles (according to Strabo 5,000 *stadia*). From the Caletii at the mouth of the Seine to Britain was one day. In voyages on the East African coast, South of Cape Guardafui, the veering winds made only 400 or 500 *stadia* a day possible. Pliny's record voyages are at the most 140 sea-miles to twenty-four hours, or six an hour: the same pace as that of the *Novara*, on its sail from Valparaiso to the Atlantic equator.

III. LAND JOURNEYS

The methods of travelling are occasionally mentioned. Simple wayfarers walked with their mantle pinned up, or with modest baggage bestrode a mule or a horse; but the poorer even seldom without one slave at least. If the traveller drove, the slaves followed in a second carriage, at all events on longer journeys. Seneca once was seized with an impulse to make a poor man's journey. He and a friend, Caesonius Maximus, carrying all their luggage on them, went with so few attendants that one extra carriage was sufficient. They rested on the bare earth, a mattress under them, and one rain-mantle as sheet and one as coverlet. Their meals were of the simplest, and were made ready in less than one hour: dried figs were invariable, and their tablets always at hand to note down impressions. He drove in a peasant's waggon, his mules just moving along, the man guiding them barefoot, not because it was summer, but as his habit. These two days of Arcady had taught him how superfluous much of ordinary life was. Yet an uneasy envy overtook him, at the sight of a gorgeous equipage; he was ashamed that so poor a vehicle should be thought his. These feelings are explicable in this millionaire and consular: for senators and knights to travel without retinue and piles of baggage was unique: this luxury obtained even under the Republic. On a journey to Lanuvium with his wife, Milo took all his singing boys, besides his slaves, male and female. Caesar, on his campaigns, carried mosaic floors with him: Antony's journeys were

like a travelling circus, with his huge coach, the carriage drawn by lions, and the ostentation of gold.

This luxury was far exceeded under the Empire. Nero always had a suite of a thousand carriages; his mules had silver shoes, his muleteers scarlet liveries, his outriders and runners were gorgeously clad: Poppaea had her horses harnessed with gold, and had 500 asses with her, so as to bathe in their milk every day: in the retinue of Eusebia, the wife of Constantius (353), there were 'coaches of all sorts, inwrought with gold and silver and bronze'. The upper classes vied in imitating this luxury, as Seneca shows: many of these fashionable plutocrats were only rich on their journeys, and deliberated whether, after their insolvency, they should hire themselves out as gladiators or fighters with animals. Gaily-dressed Moors, Numidian outriders and runners cleared the way. Well-fed mules, if possible alike in colour, or the little fat but swift Gaulish horses, drew the waggons, and palfreys followed for riding. The beasts of burden were covered with gold or purple trappings, with golden bridles and bits: the travelling-carriages were filled with gold or silver figures, and might be worth many estates; curtains of silk or other rarities, plate of gold and crystal and myrrha; works of art, too delicate to be shaken, and carried; such was the pomp: and, of course, a huge court of love-boys, with masks to protect their faces, and so on. Rich provincials even travelled in this fashion. Polemo, the sophist of Smyrna, travelled with hundreds of beasts of burden, horses, slaves, leashes of hounds, and his own Phrygian or Gaulish horses with silver harness.

This inordinate luxury was always being adapted to useful purposes. To facilitate reading, instead of papyri, written on one side and held in both hands, compacter parchment books were used. Martial recommends the reader, to make his poems a real *vade mecum*, to purchase such a miniature parchment edition; for to have such a Cicero on a journey was almost the same as having the writer himself. One could also write: Pliny the Elder always took a shorthand writer with him, and to keep his hands warm in the winter, allowed him long sleeves. Sleeping-carriages there also were (*carruca dormitoria*): in the Pandects, the problem is raised, whether a legacy to a wife included the mules and the

sleeping-carriage. Claudius, a devotee to dice, had a suitable table put up in a travelling-carriage. Commodus had contrivance for flexible seats, to avoid the sun, or enjoy the breeze, and pedometers and horometers were also used.

Noble ladies generally travelled in palanquins. Antony, according to a letter of Cicero (49 B.C.), had his mistress Cytheris thus borne beside him, and seven other palanquins bore the seven mistresses of his friends. Julia, the daughter of Augustus and wife of Agrippa, was once at night on the way to Ilium, and was almost drowned with her carriers by a rising of the Scamander. Agrippa, furious at the neglect of her by the townsmen, fined them 100,000 *denarii*, though they had not been advised of her approach; but it was remitted at the intercession of King Herod, through Nicolaus of Damascus.

Slavery, and the lack of inns, account for these gorgeous and complete travelling arrangements. The rich man, with hundreds of slaves, could carry his palace with him everywhere, and some service had become habitual to him. Local inn-keepers could not cater for such luxurious tastes, especially as the warm Southern air made such shelter unnecessary. But there also were some good, or even high-class hotels, where the traveller might well stay on. Epictetus compares those who, instead of proceeding to their true home of philosophy, linger in the wayside resort of oratory, to a traveller who remains at a comfortable inn, and delays his journey home, and forgets his first object, losing himself in the many fine halfway houses. In populous commercial or pleasure cities or seaside resorts, there would be numerous good hotels, e.g. as Strabo says, at Berenice in Upper Egypt on the Red Sea, the staple market for India and Arabia. Strabo says that the inns on the canal at Canopus supply all the needs of the luxury of the district, and mentions the one at Carura, on the frontier of Phrygia and Caria, where there were hot wells. But most inns were probably third-rate, but not because they catered for the poorer classes. They are even now inferior in the South, since the southerner is easily satisfied in the matter of lodging; which was perhaps the case even more in ancient times. But travellers who sought only a bed and a meal and shelter were well contented; and on such these inns thrived, for the number

of people carrying tents and all their own conveniences with them must have been very small.

Officials, judges and their suite, and soldiers had quarters provided for them by house-owners, according to their positions, their leisure and their wealth : but Vespasian released philosophers, grammarians, rhetors and physicians from this burden. The man on whom these visitors were billeted had to put up with their rude behaviour. Pliny tells of the inhabitants of Hippo Diarrhytus in Africa, who killed a wonderful tame dolphin, to escape the officials who came to see it. When Cato of Utica was preparing to appoint provincial officials, he always sent his baker and his cook the morning before to select his quarters. They quietly entered the town, looked for some family friend ; and, if none were to be found, chose an inn, rather than burden a private individual ; were there no inn, they applied to the city council and cheerfully accepted the quarters assigned by them : but their calm and polite demeanour often brought them scant courtesy. Even great men could only have halting-places of their own sufficient for short journeys in Italy ; such as Cicero had at Anagnia, Atina, Frusino, Lanuvium, Sinuessa, and was negotiating for at Terracina.

Hence, for the majority of travellers, there must have been inns in Italy and the provinces. A commercial traveller included hotel-bills, as well as fares in his expenses. Aristides the *rhetor*, on a journey from Smyrna to Pergamus, used inns, though he must have had many friends. He started on a summer noon, sent his luggage in advance, and about sunset reached an inn by the river Hermus ; but the rooms were insufferably hot, and he went on. Late at night he reached Larissa, and fared little better, and midnight found him at Cumae, where all was locked up. So he still travelled on, and at cockcrow arrived at Myrina, caught up his slaves, who were standing ready to start in front of one of the inns ; he tried to rest on a bed in the vestibule, obtained admission into a friend's house, and at daybreak journeyed on to Gryneum, rested at Elaea in another inn, and next day reached Pergamus. In traversing Thrace, an uncivilized and untravelled country, he must have had other difficulties besides the wintry season.

But even there there were inns. 'How glad', says Seneca, 'we are, at the sight of shelter in a desert, a roof in a storm, a bath, or a fire in the cold, and how dear they cost in inns'. Julius Caesar with his friend Gaius Oppius was crossing a forest: Oppius fell ill, and Caesar gave up to him the only little inn there was, and slept on the bare ground. The Good Samaritan had an inn near him. Towns invariably had many inns; even Bethlehem had one. Sometimes the communes undertook the service. At the Springs of Clitumnus, the town of Hispellum (Spello) was presented by Augustus with a piece of land, and erected a bath and an inn. Municipal enterprise often embraced hotels: such a *hospitium adventorium* was found by Gaius Arunceius Cotta in an unknown colony, together with a bath for slaves. In Calama, in North Africa, the *curator* of the town, about A.D. 400, converted a waste spot, at his own expense, into a civic hall and hotel.

In larger towns, there was a choice of inns. Plutarch warns travellers against false shame making them select the worse inn, or give ear to an importunate host. Land-owners of property adjoining a main road built inns, kept by their freedmen as agents; and this used to turn out profitable. The fisc, in wilder and more solitary parts, used to put such houses up. In 61 A.D. Nero ordered the *procurator* of Thrace to put up *praetoria* for the use of officials: in 136 A.D. Hadrian had his new road along the Red Sea amply fortified and provided. At such *stationes* there were inns, named after the station. The *Acts* mention the Station of the Three Inns, on the Via Appia, near the Pontine Marshes, a name given to a station on the road from Dyrrhachium to Byzantium; on the *Via Latina*, the third station from Rome was called 'To the Gay', an inn mentioned by Strabo. Several other stations were similarly named, either because they alone provided accommodation, or because they were attached to *mansiones* erected and maintained at the public expense: these, also, may, if there were room enough, have been available to ordinary travellers on terms.

The signs of inns were often animals, a camel (mentioned by Artemidorus), or an elephant led by a pygmy (an inn belonging to one Sittius at Pompeii), or the cock from Tarra-gona at Narbonne. A *Station* between Utica and Carthage

was called 'The Cock'; other names were 'The Great Eagle', 'The Little Eagle', 'The Snake', 'The Great Crane', 'The Sword', 'The Wheel', 'The Olives'. These tabards often promised friendly service, baths, and comforts; in Italy, often, 'after Roman fashion'; one favourite commercial hotel at Lyons, with Apollo and Mercury on its sign, runs: 'Here Mercury promises gain, Apollo health, Septumanus [the owner] meals and rooms. Any one coming in will be the better for it; stranger, look to where you stay'. At one inn at Antibes, we read: 'One word, wayfarer: come in: a copper-tablet [the tariff] tells you all'. The host or hostess greeted the travellers, and recommended their house. In a poem ascribed to Virgil, a Syrian hostess, with a Greek head-dress, is dancing drunkenly a castagnette-dance in front of her smoky tavern, and inviting the guest on his weary ass in, promising him the coolness of her shady arbour by the babbling brook, even at the season when the trees are humming with grasshoppers, and lizards flee the heat: she will give him a meal of cheese, yellow plums, mulberries, grapes, gourds, chestnuts and apples, wine of this year's vintage, wreaths of violets, roses, lilies and rural music: Ceres, Bacchus and Amor as well shall befriend the guest.

The ordinary inns (only of which mention is made) did not invite a long stay: the company was low, grooms and muleteers; Vitellius, before ascending the throne, affected affability and frequented them. Plutarch, as a means of health, recommends constant loud speaking, and says that the jeers of sailors, muleteers and hosts at inns should not deter. Apollinaris Sidonius' description of the interior of a 'greasy tavern' could easily be antedated. The smoke from the kitchen filled it, and oppressed incomers; on thyme-wreathed porringers the sausages could be smelt: the steam and clatter of pots and pans and chanting of the guests. The pillows, stuffed with reeds, instead of feathers, teemed with fleas and bugs; from the ceilings lizards and spiders would drop down. Prices might not be overhigh. In the days of Polybius, in the lowlands of Lombardy, inns were cheap: there were no bills, but an inclusive rate of half an *as* ($\frac{1}{2}d.$). A relief, dating from imperial times, at Aesernia in Samnium (Isernia), represents a man, in touring-costume, leading his mule,

bargaining with his hostess : the legend is that the bread is one *as* ($\frac{3}{4}d.$), dessert two *asses*, service two *asses*, hay two *asses*, wine free. The two *denarii* paid by the Good Samaritan for one day's expenses, must have been more than sufficient, as they were also meant to cover medical treatment. Possibly travellers (as to this day in Greek khans) brought their own food with them, to be cooked at the inn.

Further, inns were often brothels. Jurists are constantly mentioning that the servants at inns, in town or country, consisted of cheap girls, and that inn-keepers were unproffessed pandars. A rescript of Alexander Severus directed that a slave sold on condition of non-prostitution, might not be bought for such an inn. The law that there could be no adultery with barmaids, was made by Constantine in 326 not to apply to the hostess, provided she did not serve the guests herself.

As pandars and for other reasons, inn-keepers had an ill-repute. On the lists of the police-soldiers, they were inscribed with thieves and gamblers. They lied and cheated, adulterated the wine (Trimalchio says they were born under the Sign of Aquarius) and stole the oats provided for the mules. According to Artemidorus (a great traveller) to dream of bronze or iron foreheads was a good omen for publicans and toll-keepers ; thorns especially good for publicans, toll-keepers and robbers who gave false weights, and stole by force or craft. Galen says that human flesh tasted very much like pork, and was often dished up by unscrupulous publicans ; he had been credibly informed of a very palatable dish, in which a finger-bone was found : the travellers left in instant disgust, and the owners had subsequently been convicted of presence at a human slaughter-house. The landladies were often reputed witches, as once in Apuleius. St. Augustine says that they would put a Circean drug into their cheese, turning their guests into conscious mules, and restoring them only on conditions. And publicans were liable for loss suffered by guests in their houses.

Toll-keepers were proverbially dishonest ; perhaps largely in fact. Smuggling was common and conscientious officials even were obnoxious. ' We object to customs officials ', says Plutarch, ' not when they examine open wares, but when they finger the insides of bags ; and yet this is their legal

duty'. Rhetorical mock-cases hardly accord with the facts. One of them ran: 'On all articles, except necessities for travel, there is a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The official is entitled to examine the baggage, and confiscate all undeclared dutiable goods: he may not touch women. A woman had 400 large pearls in her bosom. The official asks about them. She says he may search her: he refuses, she passes the barrier, and he stops her and demands the pearls'. Soldiers' goods were toll-free, and this privilege might be granted by imperial favour. Trajan awarded it to Polemo the sophist of Smyrna, on land and sea, and Hadrian to his descendants.

Worse than the exactions of the tolls and the cheatings of the publicans was the frequent insecurity of travelling. The police force was partly in the hands of the communes. In the Western portion of the Empire, we find a city force (*praefectus arcendis latronibus*) at several places, such as Nyon (near Bingen): in the East the *Irenarchi*, who commanded the local militia of the *diogmitae*. Further, in all provinces, military posts were disposed by the central authority, under subalterns, up to the rank of centurions, and the governors were directed to make forays against breakers of the peace. But, says Cassius Dio, brigandage is as eternal as human nature.

Brigandage was worst in the frontier provinces. An inscription in Nether Pannonia (in the County of Stuhlweissenburg, Székes-féjervár) says that Commodus in 185 A.D. fortified all the banks of the Danube against robbers. In the tombs in Dacia, three (near Mehadja and Cernets) record the murder of two men and a woman by robbers; two were revenged. Monuments to persons killed by bandits have been found in Upper Moesia (at Orachovats), Darmstadt and Trèves. The roads in Africa, despite the castles, were often most insecure, as Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, shows; he says that a report that an inn had been seized by robbers, made travellers avoid it. An engineer of the third legion stationed at Lambessa, summoned to build a tunnel to Saldae (Bougie) in 152 A.D., says he fell on robbers on the way, and was stripped and wounded. Lucian mentions that there were many robbers in Egypt at the time of the Prophet Alexander of Abonuteichos. The Nile swamps near Damietta were the lurking-place of the *bucoli*, a savage people, known to Eratos-

thenes: the novel of Heliodorus describes their wild life on barks and islets. Under Marcus Aurelius, they threatened Alexandria, and Avidius Cassius could hardly subdue them. They gave trouble, later on, to the Khalifs.

Not only frontier provinces, but mountainous and half-civilized districts abounded in brigands. The monuments at Salona in Dalmatia record the murder of a ten-year-old girl for her jewels, and the seizure of a man. Spanish inscriptions mention two deaths at the hands of robbers. The Gospels show that Judaea was not scatheless for travellers. It is not known how far the Herods and the Romans succeeded in weaning from brigandage the population of the East Jordan land, the Hauran and the cavernous Trachones. The constancy of robbery in Little Asia, which is mountainous and a desert in its interior, is explicable by the smallness of the garrisons, except on the frontier. 'The Pamphylians', says Strabo, 'still practise robbery: the Mysian Olympus has huge oak forests and almost inexpugnable strongholds in them: in my time, Cleon, the robber, kept a band there'. Galen tells of a robber, who worked at Coracesion in Pamphylia, and used to cut off his victims' legs. Isauria became a highwaymen's country, after the third century: thenceforward, and under the Byzantines, it preyed on Southern Little Asia. An inscription mentions the conquest of robber bands on the Hellespont by Titus Valerius Proclus, an official of Drusus Caesar, the son of Germanicus. Under Hadrian, a brigand Tilloboras occupied Ida near Troy and made forays thence. Despite the exertions of Hadrian and his successors, the roads of Achaia and the adjoining countries were made insecure, and the fortunate brigand chieftain is one of Lucian's lower class types. The many tales of robbers in the romance of Apuleius in Lucian's time must have been borrowed from reality. In Sardinia, in Varro's time, most fertile districts could not be cultivated for fear of robbers, and 6 A.D. a formal war was declared against them: 19 A.D. Tiberius sent 4,000 freedmen, 'infected with Jewish and Egyptian superstitions', to fight them. According to Strabo the mountain-dwellers of Corsica lived on loot, and were more savage than wolves. Prudent travellers in unsafe districts would follow in the suite of high officials, ambassadors, quaestors, or proconsuls, or secure an escort:

Lucian got two lance-men as escort from his friend the governor of Cappadocia, to accompany him to the sea.

But even the most civilized and peaceful regions were sometimes harried. In 187 A.D., a deserter, Maternus, formed a band and terrorized the whole of Gaul and Spain, burning villages and farms, even attacking great cities, setting the criminal free, and ravaging at will. He evaded the troops of Commodus, and escaped to Italy, designing to murder the Emperor : he was betrayed and executed.

In Italy insecurity was greatest, after the civil wars : armed highwaymen appeared publicly and made a night-journey from Rome to Tibur perilous. Augustus erected forts at suitable places, but the evil was not altogether allayed, and Tiberius had to extend them. Highwaymen, when caught, were tortured to death, torn asunder by wild beasts ; their corpses hanged, as warnings and ' consolation to the victim's kin ', at the spots of their evil trade (as was done in the Papal States up to 1819) ; they were left on the gallows or crucified, or, especially in mountainous districts, left by the roadside, as carrion for the birds, or the curious physician. Galen saw a skeleton of a robber, who had fallen at the hands of his intended victim : the inhabitants would not bury him ; and in two days, so much flesh had been torn away, as to make the remains very instructive. But, even in Italy, brigandage died hard, if at all. At night torches were used (and thrown away at daybreak : hedges were thus sometimes set on fire), and any bearer of valuables trembled at the shadows. Houses were also burgled ; Pliny the Elder tells how Caelius a senator lay sick at Placentia, was attacked by robbers and guarded by his dog. About 106/7 Pliny the Younger was ordered to inquire after a senatorial knight, all trace of whom had been lost near Otricoli : it was feared that he must have fared like a fellow-countryman who had set out with a sum of money to provide for his centurionate ; he and his slaves had utterly disappeared, possibly at their hands. Highwaymen sought not only booty, but also ransom, both in Italy and in the provinces : many a helpless wanderer vanished for ever into one of the huge *ergastula* of large landowners. In daytime even, armed bands drove off herds. Marcus Aurelius, in a letter of his boyhood to Fronto, tells of how he and his company

gave the impression of being robbers to some shepherds; and how he spurred into the flock and was cudgelled for his pains. The Pontine Swamps and the long sandy Gallinarian Forest (the Pineta) were the most dreaded: Sextus Pompeius, during the war with the Triumvirate, organized robber-bands there. The various forays into them only dispersed the bandits temporarily, even into Rome.

Civil wars and unrest were not the only causes. Severus' raising of the Praetorian Guards out of non-Italian troops forced the martial youth of Italy to become gladiators or highwaymen. Towards the end of his reign, one bandit, Felix Bulla, harried all Italy, at the head of 600 comrades, and defended his position for two years stoutly. His cunning and his bribes ensured his not being seen, or found or arrested, despite the price put on his head. He learnt from all who were leaving Rome or landing at Brundisium, who they were and what they had: from most, he simply took a little: the artisans he detained awhile, paid them and released them. Two of his men were captured and condemned to the lions: he personated the chief district officer, who required men for his spectacles, and successfully obtained his own men back. A centurion was sent to capture him, and Bulla enticed him into an ambushade. On arrival, he revealed who he was, shaved the centurion's head, and sent him back with the message, that, if masters treated their slaves better, there would be no robbers. Many imperial slaves, badly paid or unpaid, were in his ranks. Severus made a last and vigorous effort, sent a tribune of the Imperial Guard with a large detachment of cavalry, to capture him at all costs, dead or alive: he was betrayed by a mistress, and caught asleep in a cave. Papinian the jurist had to try him and asked him why he was a bandit. He retorted: 'Why are you a praefect?' He was torn asunder, to a herald's call, by wild beasts, and his band easily captured. For, says Dio, in him was the strength of the six hundred. Proculus in 280 A.D. was a claimant for the throne, a descendant of a great rich robber family near Albenga, on the Genoese Riviera, and commanding 2,000 armed slaves. Ghosts, lovers and robbers were the favourite themes of light literature, especially robbers: Apuleius extols the 'brave, steadfast, faithful robber of the better sort'. And, so great was

the interest in them, that Arrian wrote the biography of Tilloboras.

These many names of robbers throughout the entire Empire extend also through several whole centuries. Corresponding collections from European history for the last three centuries would furnish a longer list from the ampler material. Up to 1816 highwaymen made the road from London to Dover perilous; in Western Germany there were great bandits, and Dick Turpins have furnished romances, and this is scarcely a century ago. We may then doubt whether even in the nineteenth century the regions round the Mediterranean and the Lower Danube were not, and are not now, more insecure than in Roman times, excepting Greece and Moslem countries altogether. In Hungary of to-day the roving good-fellow and robber *Bétyár* are still the subjects of popular legend and fancy. In 1852 Bismarck might not ride from Szólnók to Ketskémet without an escort, for the region was a hive of bandits, on the undrained and impenetrable swamps of the Theiss; bands of fifteen to twenty, well armed and well mounted, attacked Court and commoner alike. At Szegedín in 1873 800 robbers and murderers were convicted and 1,500 accomplices on the lists. Out of a population of 157,000 in the district of Zara in Dalmatia, between 1851-1863, 2,659 trials for public violence were held, 1,919 persons maimed, and 507 murdered. In Verlikka one in twenty-one was a murderer. The history of the Italian Camorra and Mafia since 1799 would fill volumes; nothing but the eradication of their causes can destroy them, despite the continual efforts since 1860. In Corsica in 1851 there were 200 bandits, and as many living in Sardinia, as refugees. Spain in 1830 was absolutely unsafe. All the chief posts, except those from Barcelona to Perpignan, had to purchase their liberty. The great busy road from Seville to Cadiz was impossible without a strong escort between San Lúcar and Puerto Santa Maria. No one, save in dire need, ventured on the road between Gibraltar and Cadiz; yet on it, in the summer of 1830, thirty-five people were plundered in eight weeks. Even in some of the great cities life and property were insecure. In Seville, every night had its murder. In Malaga murderers were immune. Forty years later things were not bettered. In the winter of 1869 a little bathing town in the hills of

the South was assailed and sacked by bandits, and eighteen visitors killed. In 1842, seven years after the close of the Civil^W War in Portugal, in the kingdom of Algarbia, 100 *guerrilhas* or Miguelistas (really mere highwaymen) kept 3,000 of the regular army in check in the valleys of the Serra de Monchique. Cassius Dio's prophecy, that banditry will not cease as long as human nature remains the same, has been true for the South of Europe.

IV. THE NATURE OF THE TRAFFIC

§ I. THE TRAFFIC OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

What has been said as yet of Roman communications shows that the huge extent of the Empire involved ready and thorough linkage. Centralization of government and jurisdiction necessitated uninterrupted services between every province and its capital, and Rome. The governors were constantly corresponding with the Emperors, as Pliny's correspondence (as Consular legate of Bithynia 111-113) with Trajan proves, though he may have been exceptionally punctilious: procurators and imperial officials in the provinces were always in communication with departments at Rome, or the Emperor. Officials or ambassadors extraordinary were always starting, escorted from the moors of Scotland to the Atlas, from Syria to the frontier stations of Germany. 'Highly placed men', says Epictetus, 'and senators, cannot rest at home, but, in command, or under command, in war or civil or legal duty, must always be travelling'. The higher officials only gained their posts after many years of varied voyages. At all epochs very many provincials had to come to Rome personally to prosecute their claims. Martial mentions one journey to Rome, to gain the Privilege of the Three Children; Epictetus another, to obtain the governorship of Cnossus in Crete. Persons accused in the provinces of a capital offence, and there not subject to the jurisdiction of the governors (such as senators, the higher officers, and municipal *decuriones*) were sent to Rome—a frequent sight.

Embassies from the towns, and provincial diets met at Rome at all times; when the Jewish deputation from Alex-

andria came to beseech Caligula, Philo, a member of it, says that ambassadors from the whole world were also in waiting. Greek and Roman inscriptions often record the voluntary undertaking of embassies to the Emperor as a meritorious civic duty: great extravagance was shown in them: Pliny the Younger mentions that Byzantium every year sent a deputy to congratulate Trajan armed with a sum of 12,000 sesterces (£130 10s.), and another deputy to the governor of Moesia, with 3,000 (£32 12s. 6*d*). Pliny proposed, and Trajan accepted the exchange of these greetings by letter; Vespasian limited the bearers to three. The occasional residences of the Emperors on campaigns or travels became similarly busy. Augustus stayed two years at Tarraco (26–25 B.C.) and two at Samos (21–20 B.C.): we know of an embassy from Lesbos and from India, and can surmise many others. The earthquake at Antioch in 115 A.D., whilst Trajan was there, shook, as Dio says, many other cities, and the whole Empire; it killed many who had come on legal or commercial business, or as sightseers.

Freedom of travel on perfect and safe roads induced a ceaseless movement amongst no few of the subjects: the firmness of this huge world-Empire of over 100,000 square miles united the lands, and made migration common. Any business, unprofitable in one province, might be resumed elsewhere. The father of Vitellius the Emperor was born at Reate, farmed the import tax of 2½ per cent. in Asia, and subsequently had dealings in Helvetia, where he died. Rome received and gave out many emigrants; the provinces, too, were closely inter-related. Greeks and Little-Asians were schoolmasters, e.g. Asclepiades of Myrlea in Turdania, or rhetors, e.g. Lucian in Gaul, or doctors (like Alexander the Phrygian, reckoned by Eusebius among the martyrs at Vienne and Lugdunum), painters and sculptors (like the master-founder Zenodorus, among the Arverni, i.e. Clermont, under Nero); and so on, throughout the West. King Herod of Judaea had Gauls and Germans in his bodyguards. Jews settled everywhere in the Empire, and were in active communication amongst themselves and with Palestine. From their congregations deputies duly brought gifts to Jerusalem at the proper times: at Passover, from all parts of the world, Jewish pilgrims fared to Jerusalem.

The Christian communities were also closely linked: in 177 A.D. the Churches of Lyons and Vienne sent news of their martyrs to their sister Churches in Asia and Phrygia. No town had not its foreigners: even Corsica, barren, savage, rocky, had more foreign residents, according to Seneca, than natives.

War, also, tore thousands from their homes, drifted them through many lands, and settled them at last very far from their homes: and this too, even after Hadrian's reform of local recruiting had diminished the former distant and expensive transplantations. Only a few provinces like Egypt and Africa could themselves provide the whole of their garrisons. The army annually drew 20,000 recruits, and consisted of 300,000 men on a twenty-five year service, and the provinces, requiring less defence, or more martial in their inhabitants, had to supply the surplus. Tacitus mentions that in 65 A.D. levies for the legions of Pannonia, Moesia and Dalmatia were made in Narbonese Gaul, Africa and Asia. The legions on the Western frontier were generally supplied from the West, and those on the Eastern from the East; and, unlike others, never changed camps. But the officers were sent anywhere and everywhere. Not only the high officers, senators or knights, but also centurions were shifted from legion to legion, from province to province: some centurions served in from five to ten legions or in other troops. When Vettius Crispinus was made legionary tribune, Statius asks, is he to go to Africa, Pannonia, the Danube, Judaea or Armenia? For the most part legionary levies were made in the Senatorial provinces with city civilization. The soldiers of the Rhenish, Dalmatian, and African legions came mostly from Narbonensis, Africa and Macedonia: these countries required no garrisons, and Hadrian levied them for the Praetorians. Similarly the fleets were recruited from Egypt, Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Pontus and Thrace in the East; Dalmatia, Sardinia and Corsica in the West.

Reasons of economy and health required the employment of soldiers in their own country: other reasons limited the practice. Provinces, practically ungarrisoned, had to send their men to less secure regions: the East supplied all the bowmen for the West as well; and political motives also

came in. Lands, recently conquered or unruly, were garrisoned by foreign troops. In Britain, only one of the numerous divisions of cavalry and cohorts of infantry there raised, was there stationed: in Rhaetia, of the eight native cohorts only two; in Pannonia, a soldier's letter of 60 A.D. names seven of the cohorts, of which five were Spanish and two Alpine. In Dacia in 110 A.D. troops from Ituraea (in N.E. Palestine), Spain, Thrace, Gaul, Rhaetia and Britain were stationed under one command; in Rhaetia in 107 A.D. Spaniards, Lusitanians, Italians, Thracians, Slavonians, Gauls, Batavians and Britons. In the military cemeteries, the most diverse nations lie together: inscriptions of officers and men in Mainz show them to have come from the Rhine, Holland, Brabant, Hungary, Carinthia, Styria, the Tyrol, Dalmatia, Rumelia, Syria, Spain, France, and Italy, North and South.

Service in the Guard was for sixteen years at the least, in the legions for twenty, in the auxiliary corps for twenty-five, in the fleet for twenty-six: the men, after dismissal, might return home, especially if home were near their last garrison-duty: generally veterans settled and married in their last province. Augustus, after the battle of Actium, founded twenty-eight military colonies in Italy, and in 14 B.C. many others in Spain, Narbonese Gaul, Africa, the Mauretanas, Sicily, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Pisidia and Syria. Later Emperors followed the same policy, aiming at thus ensuring peace against foes from within and without. Claudius settled veterans at Cumae, Cologne, Sicum in Dalmatia, Camulodunum in Britain, and the two Mauretanas: Nero in Capua, Tarentum, Nuceria and Antium; Vespasian at Aventicum, Deultum in Thrace, Pannonia and Palestine. The Praetorians were generally assigned lands in Italy, and the legions in the provinces: thus the Fifth and the Tenth were settled at Corduba and Augusta Emerita in Spain, the Second in Cartenna (Mauretania), the Twenty-second at Patrae, the Fifth and Eighth at Berytus and Heliopolis (Syria).

Nerva was the first Emperor to found colonies to relieve the civil population, and bought up Italian land for 60,000,000 sesterces (£650,000) in Italy. The colonization of Dacia in 106 was exceptional: Trajan transplanted 'countless

multitudes from the entire Empire': he thus repopled the devastated country. Of these non-military colonists of Dacia, we know of Dalmatian gold-miners, above all the expert Pirustae, settled round Abrudbanya: Pannonia furnished most of the miners, most of the incomers were Syrians and Little-Asians: like modern Transylvania, there was a medley of nations. Yet, despite this civil colonization, Dacia remained 'a military frontier peopled by soldiers and veterans; and the cities which grew up with security show their original settlement by veterans, sutlers and the usual camp-followers'.

This universal system of veteran colonies manifestly Romanized and assimilated the provinces, and the constant transplantations quickened intercourse all the more.

Correspondence by letters in the Empire showed more vigour than might be expected from the lack of a letter-post; as the correspondence of a Galen proves. During his stay at Rome, he was consulted for ophthalmia from Asia, Gaul, Spain and Thrace by letter; asked pertinent questions, and sent the remedy, and cured his unseen patients, and through them others. Every year, too, he received parcels of medicines, from friends, or through the imperial or senatorial governors of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Cappadocia, Pontus, Macedonia, Gaul, Spain and Mauretania. In Augustus' time, Roman booksellers sent books oversea to Spain and Africa; and more difficult transports were also effected. In one case water from a medicinal spring at Santander was sent; this must have been frequent. Pliny's account of live geese being imported from Boulogne over the Alps, proves an active commerce between the provinces. Fruit trees from Italy were exported to the provinces very quickly: four years after the conquest the cherry was being cultivated in Britain. Animals, the wildest and the biggest, were imported into Rome and other great cities in masses for the games. At the end of the fourth century, in the Circus at Antioch, Spanish horses were used: this indicates that the best horses for breeding and racing, the Cappadocian and the African, must have been most extensively trafficked in.

§ 2. COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE

(i) *The Journeys*

The imperial roads promoted travelling in general, and commerce in especial. In their scope was one of the portions of the earth, which was more prosperous and civilized than ever before or after. Free trade never had a wider field, with a single empire and currency. 'The Roman penny under the Republic was the only legal coin, accepted in Italy and in Spain and Syria. Augustus' reform consisted in making all legal payments in *denarii*.' Egypt alone exceptionally used *drachmae* as legal tender. In the Western half of the Empire the penny was the only silver coin; in the Eastern the old silver mintage subsisted as well. The imperial copper also obtained throughout the whole Empire, but in the East was hardly used, local moneys replacing it. In gold, there was only the imperial coinage.

Beyond the frontiers, too, Roman moneys extended. Under Claudius an embassy from Ceylon came to Rome, headed by a freedman of Annius Plocamus, farmer of the custom-duties in the Red Sea. He had been circumnavigating Arabia, and been driven on to Ceylon, and there had made a chieftain court the friendship of Rome: whose wonderful *denarii* had all the same weight, but different effigies. 'But Nero debased the silver coinage, and the barbarians had little occasion for further wonder.' The free Germans, who preferred silver as more convenient to their commerce, after that date, accepted payment in the old worn-down Republican pennies, with a chariot on the reverse; and the coins dug up show that the old Republican penny was better currency than the early imperial coin which was as good, obviously because it could readily be distinguished from Nero's.

For foreign commercial enterprises the greatness of the World-Empire assured its subjects protection. Cicero says that the magic words *civis Romanus* were of service to any Roman stranger anywhere in the world, amongst barbarians, however remote, Indians or Persians. Merchants of that day found their road ready paved to all three continents, and went on these easy roads to greater and more manifold prosperity. To a degree now impossible commerce had the world in fee, and the profits of Europe were great to the

same extent as they were superior in civilization. Modern European commerce reckons on 10 per cent. profit in Europe, 29 per cent. outside, 35 per cent. in India, 33½ per cent. in Java, 58 per cent. in China and 66 per cent. in Japan, but Roman profits must have been still greater. The peace of the world was assured, many new provinces were there to be exploited and money had a quicker circulation, and the expansion of the world-trade was the main reason of the greater wealth of Imperial than Republican Rome, which Pliny the Elder characterizes as comparatively poor. Our scanty information of the marine and land commerce still furnishes an idea of its extent, vigour and variety.

The merchant of those days had to travel much more, and personal negotiation was essential where now a letter suffices. Knowledge of men and things had to be personal, 'just as in the Middle Ages, before the first regular posts, German merchants had personally to travel to Antwerp, Brussels, Amsterdam, Angsburg, etc.'

'Hasten, merchant', Horace says, 'in order that none forestall thee in the havens, that thou do not lose the iron of Cibyra and the aromas of Bithynia'. 'Hurry', writes Persius, 'get salted fish, tow, beaver's cod, ebony, incense, Coic silk-flowers from the Black Sea, be first with the camel's load of pepper'. Juvenal speaks of 'voyages to Cilicia and Crete for saffron, raisin-wine'. And Horace makes the roving merchant traffic from sunrise to sundown, from Arctic zones to the Tropics, and even sail in the winter. A poet slightly later makes the merchant hawk his capital of foreign goods through the cities, anticipate great losses of corn by fire, and then set his ships a-sea. To the world he sold the world's goods, had commercial relations in unknown lands, and every new sun was to be gold for him. 'Very many', says Pliny, 'embark for gain on any sea that is opened'. An inscription, by chance preserved, of a merchant of Hierapolis in Phrygia, Flavius Zeuxis, celebrates his seventy-two sailings by the Peloponnese to Italy, and suggests the many perilous mercantile voyages. The Talmud mentions voyages of Palestinian Jews to Rome and Spain. Horace says that the merchant adventured into the Atlantic three or four times a year, and Gades had especially lively commercial relations with Italy. An inscription of Galus Octavius

Agathopus at Puteoli records this as his resting-place after many wearisome journeys East and West.

The Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Atlantic teemed with Roman ships. 'Look', says Juvenal, 'at the harbours and seas filled with great keels, more peopled than the land; greed lures great squadrons of ships, not only in the Archipelago and Africa, but far beyond Calpe [Gibraltar] to where the sun sinks hissing in the waves'. 'Day after day', says Aristides, 'merchant ships and merchants sail both seas [the Mediterranean and the Atlantic], and to Britain, not only officials and troops go, but countless private people'. Under Augustus even, to whom several chieftains had done homage, the Romans went to Britain as though to their own country, and, under Domitian, the harbours of Ireland were known to commerce.

The conquest of Egypt opened up a new era to Roman commerce; the road to East India. 'Merchants', says Pliny, 'have learnt the shortest way, and commerce has brought India near to us'. Hippalos was the Egyptian sailor, who, under Nero, discovered the South West Monsoon to India: the wind was named after him. From Alexandria in the height of the summer, up the Nile, to Coptos took twelve days, with a good wind. At Coptos the goods were laden on camels, and the caravans went North-East to Myoshormos in six days, or South-East to Berenice, a busy harbour-town with warehouses and caravanserais, in twelve days. In Strabo's day, the first route was used; in Pliny's only the second, as the way to Arabia, India and Aethiopia; Roman garrisons lined the route. The caravans crossed the Upper Egyptian desert at night, steering by the stars, the days being too hot, from well to well, resting by day. Under Augustus wells or cisterns were laid by the Roman soldiers at suitable points on the roads to Myoshormos and Berenice. From Myoshormos, in Strabo's time, 120 ships sailed through the Gulf of Arabia to India, with archers on board to guard against pirates: some, the *Ascitae* of South Arabia, used poisoned barbs. In Pliny's time, thirty days from Berenice brought the ship to Ocelis in Arabia at the South end of the Red Sea, or to Cane on the South coast of Arabia; whence it was forty days to Muziris on the coast of Malabar (? Mangaluru): pirates and other reasons deterred them from stopping there;

they went on further South to Barace (Barygaza). The ships were speedily lightened and loaded: in December with the North-East Monsoon they returned to the Red Sea, and thence with the South wind, which prevailed as far as Berenice. Alexandria to India is now eighteen days: it was then ninety-four; the journey there and back took six months from the summer solstice to February.

The merchants of Italy and the West cannot imaginably have left the Greeks and Egyptians the monopoly of this profitable trade. Horace's words bidding the merchant gird himself to sail to the farthest Indies must be taken literally: Seneca, too, philosophizing on the minuteness of the earth, said only a few days lay between farthest Spain and India, a hyperbole which must have had some basis in fact. Pliny the Elder's knowledge of the natural features of Further India shows it was then visited by Greek and Roman merchants, whose written or verbal tales he incorporated. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, an Alexandrian *portolano*, is preserved, which describes the East coast of Africa up to the promontory of Rhaptum (? Kilva), beyond Zanzibar, and including the coast of Malabar, and dates from the first years of Vespasian. Dionysius, the author of a description of the earth in verse, under Hadrian, says, he is neither a merchant, nor a sea-farer, and does not go through the Indian Ocean to the Ganges, 'like the many who stake their lives for vast wealth'.

Ptolemy's Geography of about 150 A.D. proves a great development of Roman commerce with India. He had 'reports at hand giving distances in *stadia* not only from the promontory of Cory (the sea of Caly) to the mouth of the Ganges, and thence to the Golden Peninsula, or Malacca, and thence to Cattigara (Hanoi in Tonking). The numerous Greek translations of Indian city-names in Ptolemy (mostly in Taprobane or Ceylon), prove a lively intercourse of Greek and Egyptian merchants in these places: probably they settled there as they did in South Arabia or the island of Socotra. Ptolemy knew where the Indian harbour Simylla lay with respect to the gulf of Barygaza, from men who had 'shipped there frequently, as well as from Indian visitors'. In the Punjab and Further India, Roman coins are found, imperial gold coins, late Republican and early Empire *denarii*

and Alexandrian *tetradrachmae*. Strange to say, the most common is a penny of Augustus with the effigies of his two adoptive sons Gaius and Lucius, for the most part plated; possibly this coinage was designed for India, where *denarii*, good or bad, could not be as readily distinguished. In the ruins of Mantotte in Ceylon, coins from Augustus to the Antonines have been found. Beyond Ceylon and Cape Comorin coins are only rarely found. Thirty years ago, a hoard of gold coins of the late Empire was discovered at Calcutta.

China, for Pliny and Strabo, lay at Tokharistan, which still belonged to the Greek-Bactrian Empire; there the silk-caravans reached the limit of the known world. The embassy from Ceylon to Claudius, according to Pliny, told the same tale as our merchants, that goods to be bartered were laid on the banks of a stream, beside the silk, and the Seres, if satisfied, took the wares away. But Marinus of Tyre, the geographer (at the latest, of the first half of the second century), had received from a Macedonian merchant, Maes, who was called Titianus, a description of a caravan road to China: he had organized an expedition to Issedon, a town in China. The route cannot be absolutely determined. The caravan set out perhaps North-East from Balkh to Hissar, thence East through the hills to Surkhab, to the beginning of the ravine of the Comedi (Carategin). Just beyond the pass, where the hills fell, lay the Stone Tower, a place much visited (? now the Ruins of the Fortress, Daraut-Kurgan): in the same latitude 43° lay the place due East, Kashgar, whence the China caravans started. Thence they proceeded to the Chinese capital, possibly Si-ngan-fu. In the province of Shan-si, sixteen Roman coins from Tiberius to Aurelian have been discovered. According to Chinese reports, Rome exported carpets, glass, metals, coloured stuffs, jewels, amber, corals and drugs. Further (according to a Chinese work on plants imported oversea) Canton must then have been open to foreign commerce.

Chinese official chronicles have some details on China's relations to An-Si (Parthia) and Ta-Tsin (the Eastern Roman Empire, and especially Syria). In 120 A.D. the King of Parthia sent Syrian jugglers and musicians to the Court of China; they acted before King An-ti on New Year's

Day, 121. In October, 166, an embassy from An-Tun (Marcus Antoninus), the King of Ta-Tsin, came by sea by Tonking to the Emperor Huan-ti. According to the Chinese chronicle the Kings of Ta-Tsin had long wished to send embassies to China, but the An-Si prevented direct silk-trade, wishing to retain the monopoly of negotiating it. These 'ambassadors' may have been merchants, self-styled officials; their gifts were not imperial in character; such as elephant's teeth, rhinoceros horns, tortoise-shells. In 284 a so-called embassy from Ta-Tsin gave the Emperor of China 30,000 rolls of paper, probably a company of Syrian or Alexandrian merchants. Chinese writers also speak of two embassies from China to Ta-Tsin which did not reach their destination. One Kan-Ying, sent in 97, only got as far as the Persian Gulf. In 226 A.D. a Syrian merchant was presented to the Emperor of China, and accompanied back to Ta-Tsin by Chinese officials; the latter was to give the King of Ta-Tsin (on the Syrian's advice) ten male and ten female dwarfs, but he died on the way. But China knew something of Ta-Tsin, of its use of glass in architecture, of the great roads, and post (which China also had), of the lions and tigers which abounded in Mesopotamia, and also of the Pygmies and Amazons who lived South of Ta-Tsin. Of An-tu (Antioch), the capital of Ta-Tsin, they knew it consisted of four walled towns, with a great wall all round, and that there was a clock with a golden ball that fell at every one of the twelve hours.

The North of Europe was known to Rome by the amber-trade. The Baltic coast had long been explored; and Pliny tells us of a voyage there in the first century. Under Vespasian there still lived a Roman knight, who had been sent there to purchase amber in large quantities for a gladiatorial exhibition. From Carnuntum (Petronell near Vienna) he reached the Baltic coast and discovered, for the first time, it was 600 (Roman) miles from Carnuntum. This tour may have been unique: middlemen managed the amber-trade. And other articles must have been got from the North, for Roman coins and fabrics (especially in bronze) are found all over North Germany, from West Prussia to Hanover, and Denmark and the South of Norway and Sweden. These finds point to a long and lively intercourse with the Roman world,

and their distribution along the great rivers and the natural fords into higher and drier regions indicates which were the commercial roads. In Silesia the oldest hoards have been discovered, dating from the Republic: thence the road led South by Moravia and Bohemia into the Empire and to the Adriatic.

In East Prussia Roman coins are found partly singly and partly in hoards (which was taken before as a proof of a direct amber-trade); but they can hardly have come there before the end of the second century, probably in consequence of the migrations, the first of which came to light in the war with the Marcomanni. For the tombs in which these coins are found must be assigned to this date, and new forms of decorative articles appear with them.

The Northern trade of the Roman is established by countless finds of stuffs and coins over all this wide area, and demands not only a long commercial route far beyond the frontiers, but also a large number of temporary settlements in barbarian lands; but only one case is mentioned in literature, in Tacitus. In 19 A.D., he says, Roman hucksters and merchants pierced through as far as the stronghold of the chief of the Marcomanni, Maroboduus (Boihemum or Boiohemum in Bohemia), attracted by the freedom of trade, secured by a special treaty, and by commercial greed; finally settling in a hostile country and forgetting their own.

The regularity of these long journeys in the first two centuries makes voyages of Roman, Egyptian and Greek merchants on smaller scales beyond the frontier normal. In Strabo's time, even, fleets went from Alexandria to farthest Aethiopia, and the Land of the Troglodytes. Coptos, in Upper Egypt, teemed with merchants, who travelled into Aethiopia and India. Diodorus describes the Ichthyophagi of South Arabia on the authority of Egyptian merchants, who had landed on that coast. Pliny makes the journey from Ptolemais Therōn (on the Aethiopian side of the Red Sea) to Adule, the principal harbour of the Troglodytes and Aethiopians (in an inlet South of Massowa), last five days: at Adule ivory, rhinoceros teeth, hippopotamus skins, tortoise-shell, monkeys and slaves were imported. But merchants travelled yet farther; to the harbour of Isis, ten days from Adule (South of the Babelmandeb strait),

where the Troglodytes brought myrrh; to the harbour of the Mossyli (opposite to the South Arabian coast), a staple for cinnamon and cassia. Rhaptum, near Zanzibar, was the farthest point South known to Egyptian merchants; and in Vespasian's time ships sailed there from Muza in South Arabia. Roman merchants were the first to explore as far as Charax Spasinu (near the mouth of the Tigris) and report on the distance from the Persian Gulf: they may have journeyed there from Palmyra in caravans (*συννοδιαί*); evidence is extant for the second and third centuries. At Petra in Arabia Athenodorus, the friend of Strabo, found Romans amongst the strangers there congregated. The inhabitants of Socotra, the island of Dioscoridis (near Cape Guardafui), were, according to the *portolano* of the Erythraean Sea, a mixture of Arabians, Indians, and Egyptian-Greeks, there engaged in commerce.

Before Caesar's conquest of the 'long-haired Gauls', Romans had entered Gaul, from Narbonensis and from Italy over the great St. Bernhard—the pass was dangerous and the tribes demanded a high fee—and even as far as the savage Belgae. Italian merchants in Gaul trafficked most and best with wine, transported by river, and by waggons: a cask of wine bought a Celtic slave. During Caesar's campaigns, at all the greater towns, such as Cenabum (Orleans), Cabillonum (Châlons), Noviodunum (Nevers), there must have been Roman trade-settlements of earlier date; in the late Republic at all foreign trade-stations there were such, e.g. Delos, Alexandria and Cirta in Numidia. The Campaign of Marcus Vinicius, in 25 B.C., against Celtic tribes was caused by the barbarians murdering Roman merchants. On the East coast of the Black Sea, Trajan established a chain of forts. Arrian, at a well-chosen castle at the mouth of the Phasis to guard the shipping, found a garrison of 900 select troops; and had a moat dug from the foundations of the fortress to the river, to protect such veterans and merchants as lived outside.

Dioscurias or Sebastopolis was the staple-town for Caucasia; seventy or even three hundred languages were said to be spoken there; Roman merchants had to employ 130 interpreters; under Hadrian it had a Roman garrison; in Pliny's time it had been devastated. In the harbours of the Sea

of Azov there was a lively trade between the civilized lands and the steppes of South Russia.

Thus trade from all parts of the Empire followed the eagles ; merchants and soldiers were fellow-pioneers. Their lanes of booths and huts (*cannabae*) quickly clustered round the camps, soon to become cities. Commerce was thus a great Romanizing agent. Ammianus Marcellinus remarks that Aquitaine, the part of Gaul first opened to Roman trade, was the least resisting to Roman culture. There is much evidence as to how swiftly and energetically merchants seized on provincial trade and often monopolized it. Narbonese Gaul, fifty years after the conquest, was full of Roman citizens and merchants; without their aid no provincial did any business ; every penny passed through their books. The murder of Roman merchants in Pannonia in 6 A.D. (fifteen years after the conquest), as in 26 A.D. amongst the Treviri, was the signal of revolt. In 88 B.C. Mithridates ordered the murder of every Italian in Asia (which had been a province for forty years) : 80,000, or even 150,000 are said to have been slain. Most of this population must have been commercial ; twenty-two years later Cicero speaks of industrious merchants of all ranks engaging in business or investing in Asia. In 46 B.C. there were at Utica 300 Roman bankers and wholesale dealers ; in the neighbouring towns of Thapsus and Hadrumetum there were Roman commercial companies. London in 61 A.D. (eighteen years after the conquest) was thickly peopled with merchants ; and many of the 70,000 massacred citizens and allies must have belonged to this class. The *conventus* of Roman citizens consisted mainly of merchants : and for the first two centuries in the Eastern provinces were an established institution, raised by their privileges and importance to great authority in the towns.

Beside these Italians, many provincials settled in the seat of their new businesses. An inscription at Celeia (Cilli) (under Antoninus Pius) was subscribed for by 'Roman citizens of Italy and other provinces in Rhaetia'. Inscriptions at Augsburg speak of merchants of Lyons, Trèves and Bourges. At Aquileia, a tomb of a man of Cologne has been found, who thence traded with Dacia : at Gythion in Laconia that of a shipping agent from Nicomedia, resident in Cyzicus :

at Pola, the tomb of a clothes' dealer from Gaul ; at Celela (Cilli) that of an African merchant. At places like Aquileia, the great staple-town for the through-traffic from the North-East provinces to Italy, the East, and Africa, the merchant-population must have been cosmopolitan.

The most numerous, however, were the Orientals. Berytus, Damascus and other Phoenician and Syrian cities had factories at Puteoli. Tyre, in the fourth century still the greatest commercial city in the East, had one at Puteoli, and one at Rome ; the latter was directed by the Tyrian Senate to pay 10,000 *denarii* to the former for expenses. At Perinthus a statue was erected by the Alexandrians there. There and at Tomi on the Black Sea (where they put up an altar to Serapis, and to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus), and in all great towns, Alexandrian commerce abounded. The centurion who accompanied St. Paul to Italy found an Alexandrian ship sailing there at Myra in Lycia. The Syrians were the most common. As regards the Jews the absence of evidence for any commercial settlement can hardly be accident. Syrian merchants and factories occur everywhere, in Italian harbours, such as Portus, Naples, Ravenna, and Puteoli especially. A Spanish inscription at Malaga records a president of the Syrian college ; according to his tomb, set up by his father, a Syrian merchant, Aurelius Flavius, died at Sirmium ; another, Teym-ibn-Saad, a former burgess and councillor at Canavat in Syria, did business from Aquitaine to Lugdunum ; at Apulum in Dacia has been found a votive stone set up by two Syrian merchants to Jupiter. All Syrians mentioned in Western inscriptions may be presumed to be merchants. The foreigners buried at Concordia, a little country town in North Italy (in the fifth century), are all Syrians, mostly Apameans ; and all the Greek inscriptions at Trèves are Syrian. 'To the present day', says St. Jerome about the end of the fourth century, 'commerce is the genius of the Syrians, compelling them to wander through the whole world, and, even now, when the Empire is held by barbarians, driving them to seek wealth in the midst of armed camps'. In the language of the fifth century, or, at least in Gaul, 'Syrians' (like 'Lombards' in the Middle Ages) meant bankers. Salvianus speaks of the many merchants and 'Syrians', who owned

the greater part of most of the cities ; Apollinaris Sidonius, describing the topsyturvydom of Ravenna, says that the priests lend money and the 'Syrians' sing psalms. In the Life of St. Geneviève (about 450 A.D.) merchants travelling from Gaul to Antioch are mentioned ; and in the sixth century, there were still settlements of Syrian merchants in Gaul. St. Gregory of Tours speaks of those at Bordeaux and Paris, and clearly distinguishes them from the many Jews. When King Guntram on the 4th July, 585, entered Orleans, he was greeted with songs in Latin, Syrian and Hebrew. In 589 the Council of Narbonne ordained that on Sunday, no Goth, Roman, Syrian or Greek or Jew do any labour. Syrian wines were in favour in Gaul in the fifth and sixth centuries, especially those from Gaza, Sarepta and Ascalon. Charlemagne even employed Greeks and Syrians to correct the Gospels.

(ii) *The Distribution of the Goods*

On the actual distribution little evidence is extant, but sufficient to show that any goods could be transported to any good market, anywhere. Rome was the place most fully supplied ; the wares of all climes and seas and crafts were all assembled there. Aristides says Rome and Corinth ever had a superfluity of the world's work : and, at Alexandria, snow only might not be had. And, according to Libanius, Antioch with its ready market, attracted ships from all parts, laden with all that was best. Other great cities were as amply furnished. Arelate (according to a document of 418 A.D.), by land and sea and river, got wares from the East, Spain, Gaul and Africa.

Articles, found only at a few places, partly outside the Empire, were everywhere on sale. In the Gazetteer of the World of the fourth century, Alexandria is mentioned as the sole distributor of paper ; in the sixth century, paper and other Egyptian goods, such as roots and herbs, were exported to Marseilles, and, no doubt, other Mediterranean harbours. Amongst the valuables exported from Alexandria, the fourth-century Gazetteer mentions spices, no doubt comprising incense, which was in universal demand. Tin, an essential constituent of bronze, was then only known in

Spanish Galicia, West Gaul, the Sorlingian Islands and Cornwall, but was in stock almost everywhere. In the early seventh century even, Alexandrian ships sailed direct to Britain, to barter corn for tin; tin was exported again to India and exchanged anew. The cheapness of amber is shown by its being worn, in Pliny's time, by Lombard peasant women, in necklaces, as amulets against swellings of the throat. In the days of Diodorus even, the products of the ironworks of Elba were scattered all over the world. Many, then, of the Roman-made weapons, so common in the graves of the North from Silesia to Scandinavia, may have come from the smithies at Puteoli; but most came from the semi-civilized frontiers, though some of the Northern finds have the Italian hall-mark. In Denmark, Switzerland, Hanover, Pomerania, England and Scotland, stewpans, bearing the name of Publius Cippius Polybius (or Polybus), have been found, shaped like those at Pompeii: and some of one Nigellus' fabrics at Fünen and the Savoy. Besides the potteries in the Greek Islands (Cnidos, Rhodes and Thasos), which had wide sales, in Roman times potteries arose in Pergamus, Saguntum, Arretium and Mutina (Modena), also exported in every direction, with their famous hall-marks. Lyons also had a brisk trade in clay articles, extending all over Gaul, England, Upper Italy, the Alps, the Tyrol and Hungary, all with the same hall-mark. Alexandria manufactured glass in all the shapes of the imported clay fabrics. The linen of the famous factories of Scythopolis, Laodicea, Byblus, Tyre and Berytus, according to the fourth-century Gazetteer, was also exported everywhere; and so too, says Procopius, the silk of Berytus and Tyre. The tariff of 301 A.D., issued by Diocletian for the East, specifies mostly oriental goods, and some Western fabrics, sold in the East; such as Italian wines (seven sorts), sausages and hams, African carpets, mantles and dresses from Gaul (e.g. the Nervian fabrics; Tournay still is a weaving town), and Numidian, Rhaetian, British clothing: Gallic linen, Tarentine and Asturian wool. In Laodicea Nervian mantles were imitated. According to Galen, so-called Falernian wine was exported everywhere; but, Campania being so small, the dealers must have manufactured something similar. Lastly, of the luxuries of the table, fish sauces came from

Cartagena (*garum sociorum*), tunny-fish sauce (*muria*) and others from Antibes and Byzantium; and from Spain fresh jars of quince-jam went to Rome: one grocer of Reate dubs himself 'Dealer in all transmarine goods'.

§ 3. TRAVEL IN GENERAL

Not only change of residence, official tours, military marches and commercial voyages, but many professions compelled constant travelling. The absence of posts and a press and ancient customs further increased the need.

Very many travelled to gain knowledge. To learn from one's own eyes was more usual than now; for ancient methods taught much more through actual sight; and book-lore was rarer and less perfect. Hence the learned (such as Posidonius, Diodorus, Strabo, Apio, Pausanias, Dioscorides, Apuleius and Galen (who insists on the need of doctors travelling much) required long tours; and less eminent men, too, would wander far a-field to widen their scope. 'The most famous philosophers', says Cicero, 'spent all their days travelling: very many never returned home'. Plutarch's friend, Cleombrotos of Sparta, a rich and leisured man, travelled, for knowledge' sake, visiting even the Troglodytes, the shrine of Ammon, and the shores of the Red Sea. And Cleombrotos, an honourable and high-minded man, could tell unblushingly of a prophet on the Red Sea, who spoke Doric, whose voice was only heard of man once a year: such were the travellers' tales of that time, as to places scarce visited. For personal interviews travels would be undertaken; Galen says he made many voyages by land and by sea, to meet all of the pupils of Quintus the physician. Artemidorus of Daldis, the dream-reader, who was very much in earnest for his science, visited Greece, Italy, Little Asia, and the Islands, to know as many colleagues as possible, and learn from them.

But youth was the time to travel and leave home. Young men regularly left their parents' house to be better educated elsewhere. 'Shall young men leave home and parents and friends and kin', Epictetus asks a sophist, 'to hear you splitting hairs, and to say Oh! at your perorations?' Every province and district in the more civilized parts had its academic

city, to which students came from far and near. Scopelianus the sophist was begged to found a school in his native city Clazomenae, and so raise its fame. Cremona and Mediolanium in Cis-Alpine Gaul were much frequented, as Augustodunum in the region of the Aedui. Carthage in Africa, Apollonia in Epirus and Marseilles were more than provincial cities: at Marseilles Romans went to study. From 6-2 B.C. Tiberius, whilst at Rhodes, was a zealous student: the school was much patronized in later ages as well. In the Asiatic provinces, Tarsus in Cilicia had most students (in Strabo's time, only natives), and, according to Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana was there educated; thus, too, Antioch, in Syria, was in Cicero's days a centre for learned men and learned studies, and, above all, Smyrna, which taught the youth of Little Asia, Greece, Assyria, Phoenicia and Egypt. 'All the Muses who descend to man', says Aristides, 'haunt Smyrna: she teems with her own sons and with foreigners: the town is the hearth of learning for the Continent'. But Rome, Alexandria and Athens surpassed all. Athens owed her throng of foreign students to her schools of rhetoric and philosophy, and her training-home for men (the *Ephēbi* Institute), which was visited largely from the semi-Greek lands, North and South, where it was a glory to have passed through the recognized Hellenic school. In the third century, it was found that Attic had been corrupted by constant intercourse with young Thracians, Pontines and other barbarians. Sometimes there were more foreign *ephebi* than native: in 55 A.D., 114 of the former. Under Marcus Aurelius students came from the entire East, from Arabia and Mesopotamia, Libya and Egypt. Athens and Rome (and, later on, Constantinople), with their State-paid chairs, most resembled the modern German University.

On the other hand, both teachers and students of all kinds led a migratory life. Rhetors and sophists found the nearest road to fame and wealth in educational and lecturing tours. Lucian was intended for a sculptor, but chose oratory: in his *Dream* he makes both court him: Sculpture suggests that her service gives him a fixed home: elsewhere Rhetoric declares she married him, had been a faithful wife, and brought him a dowry of honour and prosperity on his tours in Greece, Ionia, across the sea to Italy, and at last even

in Gaul. The most celebrated teachers then wandered far a-field, as Philostratus' biographies show, very much like the lecturers of the Renaissance. Aristides is excepted by Philostratus, as not travelling much, as having visited only Italy, Greece and Egypt. They began their courses with a panegyric of the city they were staying in; and to the eminent, statues would be thus locally erected: Apuleius congratulates himself that mean towns even granted him this honour.

Not only amongst the rhetors and sophists, but amongst physicians and grammarians the *circulatores* or *περιδευταί* were distinguished from the resident. The physician, Publius Scribonius Primigenius, a freedman, says, on his tombstone, that he was born at Iguvium, had travelled much, and been famous for his skill and his reliability. Quacks also perambulated in this fashion. When there was no post and no press, charlatans obtained most vogue by travelling and making personal acquaintances, as did Apollonius of Tyana, and Alexander of Abonuteichos, who used to send out emissaries in advance, to hawk his fame.

Artists were mostly always on the road. The craving for the artistic side of life throughout the whole Roman world is evidenced by the countless ruins of artistic work in every province; and the huge demand could only have been satisfied by 'colonies, expeditions, swarms or clouds of artists, and artists hovering about, ready to settle down anywhere'. One inscription of a wandering sculptor, Zeno of Aphrodisias, is extant, who, trusting to his art, visited many cities; statues, bearing his name, have been found at Rome and Syracuse.

Actors, musicians and athletes made constant tours, in troops, or singly; especially in Greece and Little Asia, where the smaller towns even had their periodical *ἀγῶνες*; the West imitated them more and more. Even in Demosthenes' day, the cult of Dionysus attracted numberless votaries, and later ages did not fall behind. These 'Dionysian' artists formed regular corporations, dedicated to Dionysus, which played in certain places, or toured about: an Athenian company is mentioned at the end of the fourth century B.C. in an Amphictyonic decree. In the Hellenistic age, drama flourished most in Ionia. The greatest of all the companies there was that of Teos, the City of Dionysus: in Strabo's

time it had moved to Lebedos, and celebrated annual festivals there, and all the sections touring about Greece and Little Asia met, sacrificed and competed. In the Empire these companies amalgamated into one, which selected Dionysus, or the New Dionysus the Emperor, as its patron. The theatrical synod at Nîmes was called after Trajan, and is the same as one found in a later inscription 'the Holy Hadrianic Synod of the Honourers of Hadrian, the New Dionysus': it sent decrees to Ancyra in Galatia and Aphrodisias in Caria (one of 127 A.D. was unearthed): it is there called the synod of the artists of the realm (*ἀπ' οἰκουμένης*). Under Antoninus Pius it was called 'The Great Sacred Antonine Traveling Company of Artists of the whole Empire, honouring Dionysus and the New Dionysus, Antoninus Pius'. It had many sections, some staying for a longer or shorter while at the same place, especially Rome. The athletes, too, formed companies, which often united with the Dionysians. As members of these unions, or independently, famous actors, musicians and athletes regularly toured through Greece, Little Asia and Italy, as their numerous inscriptions show. One Marcus Sempronius Nicocrates says in an epitaph of his own composition that he had been a musician, poet and cither-player, and, above all, member of a synod; his travels by land and sea had given him much trouble. Actors and athletes would often be given the freedom of the cities where they aroused enthusiasm. One Aurelius Charmus, a famous singer, a citizen of Philadelphia, Nicomedia and Athens, won the laurel at all the sacred competitions, from the Capitoline to that of Antioch. An athlete, Marcus Aurelius Asclepiades, a citizen of Alexandria, Hermopolis, Puteoli, Naples and Elis, a senator of Athens, and citizen and senator of many other cities, says he performed in three countries, Greece, Italy and Little Asia; as a poet of the Early Empire says of Glycon the Pergamene pancratiast. A list of buildings, put up by a Corinthian priest, Publius Licinius Priscus Juventianus (? circa 200), mentions inns for athletes, who from the whole world came to the Isthmian games. Festival-givers often invited artists of every kind from the towns most famous, e.g. in the fourth century, charioteers from Laodicea, mimes from Tyre and Berytus, pantomimes from Caesarea, flute choruses

from Heliopolis and athletes from Ascalon. Of course, gladiatorial companies made tours. Of the transport of wild animals over enormous distances to the *venationes* I shall speak later.

Feasts and spectacles, at Rome or in the provinces, attracted countless foreign spectators. The Olympian and the Pythian games assembled all Greece, not only as late as the third century, but even under Julian the Apostate: vehicles were scarce at their conclusion. Peregrinus Proteus burned himself to death at the Olympian Games in 165, the most frequented spectacle of Greece; as Lucian says (he visited the Games four times), to advertise the feat thoroughly well.

At such assemblies traders of all sorts, with an eye to profit, met. Dio of Prusa says that pandars with their girls travelled to the autumn meeting of the Amphictyonic Council at Pylae, and elsewhere. Pandars generally travelled much; the wretches go about, says Clement of Alexandria, by sea, with a cargo of girls, instead of wine. Strabo says, that, at Carura, a place much visited for its springs (on the frontier between Phrygia and Caria), an earthquake swallowed up in one inn a whole such troop. Sempronius Nicocrates abandoned music, as he says, to traffic in beauties—also a migratory business.

Further, even the banished and relegated might attend the great festivals, the Mysteries of Eleusis, the Feast of Dionysos at Argos, the Pythia at Delphi, the Isthmian Games at Corinth. Of the religious festivals, the Eleusinian Mysteries attracted Romans even more than any other: Athens was crowded at that season. Next ranked the Mysteries of Samothrace, especially with the Romans, as it was fabled Troy had thence been colonized: hence many Roman generals and officials were initiated, and endowed the shrine. Thus this distant, inaccessible island was a centre of pilgrimage, as is now Athos, especially in the height of the summer, when the festival was held. Inscriptions in Samothrace record ambassadors from Macedonia, Little Asia and Thrace, Crete, Elis and Rome (whose legates are called *mystae pii*), as well as individuals. 'With the same awe as the modern Greek skipper or wanderer gazes at Athos, his ancestor may have sought the high cliff of Samothrace; and, in both places, a priesthood, equally ignorant, similarly gabbling traditionally

holy formulas, may have impressed the people and sterilized, custom, language and art.' To-day only the shepherd's voice is heard.

Besides these, there were other pilgrimages, to Eresos in Lesbos, where the footmarks are carved upon the flag-stones, and inscriptions read 'Remember the brethren'; to Comana in Pontus, whither, at the procession of the great goddess, both men and women flocked, some in pursuance of a vow to offer sacrifice. This place was also the centre of the Armenian trade, and full of *ἐραῖποι*, who mostly belonged to the temple; a little Corinth. And many, like Apuleius, may have wandered from shrine to shrine and sought manifold initiations and propitiations. And never were the oracles of Greece, Little Asia, Egypt and Italy more visited than in the first two centuries.

Voyages for health were also very common. Doctors are right, says Epictetus, to recommend a change of air for lingering illnesses. Lunacy, constant headaches, paralysis, dropsy, bladder troubles, and especially incipient lung diseases, and spitting of blood were thought curable by a change of climate: consumptives were sent from Italy by sea to Egypt or Africa. Galen says many such consumptives returned seemingly cured, and remained in health for some years, but relapsed owing to excesses in living. Sometimes they were advised residence in pinewoods, or milk-cures in mountains overhanging the sea; Galen recommends, for their situation, air, vegetation and cattle, Stabiae (Castellamare, still so used). In the sixth century, even, Mons Lactarius, near Stabiae, was a home for consumptives; Cassiodorus praises 'the good air of the place, its fertility: the sweet herbs, and the healthy milk, which alone suffice to cure'. Anticyra in the Gulf of Crisa was the most famous place for medicinal preparations: it was more visited by patients than the Anticyra at the foot of Mount Oeta, where the best hellebore grew, for at the former it was better concocted. The temples of Aesculapius, Isis and Serapis, with their hospitals, were very much sought.

Bathing resorts were used as much as they are now, and many of the springs had been discovered, such as Baden, near Zürich (as early as 160 A.D. a busy invalid town), and the *thermae* of Teplitz, Ems, Pyrmont, Aix-la-Chapelle contain

many Roman implements. Bath was visited very soon after the occupation, and richly fitted up. Many fine ruins are still there of the temple of the goddess Sulis, or Minerva, or other deities, remains of the baths, several artistic fragments (a 'woman's bust of Domitian's time' amongst them). Almost all the inscriptions and dedications are of the end of the first and beginning of the second century; but the continued popularity of the place may still be inferred, the older buildings being used in reconstructions. Remains of Roman bathing-resorts, often very gorgeous, can be traced along all the Mediterranean coasts, and in Africa, e.g. in Hamam Rirra in Algeria, the Pyrenees, the Carpathians (Mehadia), the Alps and Auvergne. Some of these were also pleasure-resorts, e.g. Baiae, Aedepsus, Canopus. Men also travelled for distraction and recreation.

It will thus be seen that travelling in the Empire was more extensive than in Europe up to the nineteenth century. This impression will be strengthened, after considering tours for recreation and education, the knowledge of which is essential to the student of Roman civilization.

CHAPTER VII

TOURING UNDER THE EMPIRE

I. THE INFREQUENCY AND LIMITEDNESS OF DISCOVERIES—THE GEOGRAPHICAL HORIZON—THE EXTENT AND AIM OF TOURS

THE ease of travelling and the good communications must have been widely felt as an incentive. Voyages were more often then made, to gain new impressions and education than now. Pliny calls human nature 'migratory and curious'. 'Many', says Seneca, 'make sea-voyages, endure long journeys alone, for some remote sight. For Nature, self-conscious of her craft and beauty, made us born admirers : her jewels would be lost in a wilderness'. Very many gladly 'traversed unknown cities, visited new seas, were at home everywhere'. The love of roaming, which drove Hadrian through all his provinces, and urged him on 'to see with his own eyes all he had read of in any part', was very general. 'Despite the insecurity of human life', says the Epicurean Philodemus, 'many, and philosophers even, are fools enough to set aside so many coming years for studies at Athens, so many for Greece or barbarian lands'.

But this does not mean that there were then any voyages of discovery. The desire of exploring the unknown was weak in antiquity, and even fancy scarcely passed the limits of knowledge. At its greatest extent, ancient geography knew nothing of a third of Europe, or of Asia save the South-West, or of Africa save the North; and even on the well-trodden frontiers of the known world, truth could not altogether banish fable, even amongst the learned.

No Columbus dared sail the Western Ocean, which, like the north, was thought, some way off the coast, impenetrable for ships; and Strabo and Aristides thought a continent

between Western Europe and Asia possible, and Seneca thought that, in a few centuries, the ocean would cease to be an unsurmountable barrier, and a new Tiphys would discover lands beyond Thule.

But the Romans attained no more than this vague idea. The history of their navigation shows how little they understood nature as a study. The extent and the frontiers of the great Empire seemed to invite explorations on the high sea. The masters of the world possessed the Iberian, Lusitanian and Mauretanian coasts, yet scarcely knew of the Atlantic islands off North Africa. Some Andalusian skippers made Madeira (about 19,000 *stadia* from Africa), and described to Gaius Sertorius its soft warm climate, fertility and equableness; it was thought and called Homer's Elysium or the Isles of the Blest. Sertorius yearned to retire to this magic calm from the turmoil of war, but was prevented by his followers. No Roman ever after attempted to reach them. Yet the Canary Islands had been described by Juba of Mauretania, the greatest authority on Africa of ancient times (he married a daughter of Antony and Cleopatra), and by Statius Sebosus, a Roman knight of uncertain date. Pausanias obtained facts as to the satyrs from a Carian sailor Euphemus, who, on his way to Italy, had been blown out into the Atlantic, 'where no one sails'. His ship touched an island inhabited by satyrs. They were red creatures with tails, who, without uttering a sound, attacked the women in the ship; one was abandoned to them.

Between 480 and 450 B.C. Hanno the Carthaginian made an expedition of sixteen days beyond Cape Verde, but the knowledge gained became lost or dimmed. Strabo, for instance, denies the existence of the Isle of Cerne (? Agadir) discovered by Hanno. On the Guinea Coast Hanno was on two nights alarmed by the glowing grass and trees, especially near Sierra Leone, where he called the Sagra mountain the Chariot of the Gods. He landed at the Isle of Harang in the Bissão group, and there saw by day only forests, and at night fires, and heard flutes, cymbals, drums and voices: he left the island affrighted. His facts correspond with modern experience: the heat compels the negroes to rest all day, and conduct their noisy festivals at night. An author, followed by Pomponius Mela and the Elder Pliny, possibly

Cornelius Nepos, fused both tales into one fable. But Mela mentions, as his site, the coast South of the Mountain of the Gods, and Pliny the foot of the Atlas on the West coast. This fabulous range was towards the ocean wild and waste, and on the African side filled with shadowy fruitful trees and springs. By day no man was to be seen; the wayfarer sank into awed silence at the terrible sight of hills piercing the clouds and climbing up to the zone of the moon. At night there was a light of many fires and a din of satyrs and Pans, to the banging of cymbals and the sound of flutes. Pliny, confusing the Mauretanian Atlas with the mountains on the Bay of Bissão, apologizes for his vague and contradictory account by pleading the laziness of the Roman authorities in Mauretania: it had been held since 40 A.D.; there were five colonies in it, and the governors vied in penetrating as far as the Atlas. But their indolence in discovery did not prevent them from lying to conceal their ignorance, and such veracious and authoritative tales found ready credence. Suetonius Paulinus in 41 A.D. was the only Roman general who crossed the Atlas, and nothing resulted. He found the lower heights covered with forests of new, cypress-like trees (now called *ar'ar*), and the summits with eternal snow. Beyond the Atlas he marched through deserts of black sand, in which black, burnt-looking rocks rose up, uninhabitable even in the winter through heat, up to the river Ger (*gir* is, in Berber, flowing water), possibly the Wadi Sus, which flows into the sea South of Cape Ighir ($30^{\circ} 31''$ N. Lat.). He learnt of people who lived on dog-flesh in a region full of wild beasts, elephants and snakes, and obviously did not try to attain it.

In the middle of the Continent war and commerce pierced further south. In 19 B.C. Lucius Cornelius Balbus marched from Oea (Tripoli) through a people who lived in huts of salt-rock, and a long chain of black cliffs (now Harudj-el-aswad) into Phazania (Fezzan); he conquered many cities and tribes, and carried pictures of them in his triumph: amongst them, Cydamus (Ghadames) and Garama, the capital of the King of the Garamantes (the Tedas: on the site of the abandoned city of Djerma-Kadim, or Old Djerma). Cydamus ($30^{\circ} 15'$) was an ally of Rome and Constantinople until the Arab invasion. Under Justinian the natives were converted to Christianity: the place was permanently garrisoned; and an in-

scription of the reign of Alexander Severus has been found there. The Roman milestones extended, according to Barth, as far as $31^{\circ} 30'$ N. Lat. On the northern edge of the Hammada Barth discovered several Roman graves, two in good preservation, forty-eight and twenty-five feet high, probably the tombs of commandants of the Third Legion, there stationed. The southernmost of these monuments at Old Djerma ($26^{\circ} 22'$) proves the permanence of these Roman settlements. Pliny says, that the way to them was formerly unknown, as the 'robbers of this people' had covered the wells (discoverable to local experts) with sand, but, that after a war they waged against Oea, a road four days shorter had been found, called 'Past the Head of the Rock': probably because this straight westerly road passed by the declivity of the Ghurian at its steepest. Pliny repeats Herodotus on the Garamantes and Troglodytes of Aethiopia; the Garamantes pastured their calves backwards, and the Aethiopians ate snakes, and talked in hisses like snakes. The trade with both races was mostly in jewels, especially, even in Carthaginian times, rubies and garnets. Balbus, in his triumph, showed a picture of Mount Gyri, with a legend that jewels grew on it. Garama was the starting-point of two Roman journeys of discovery into Africa, of which Ptolemy tells. Septimius Flaccus from Garama in three months reached Aethiopia; Julius Maternus, of Great Leptis, also started from Garama, and, like modern Europeans, under the protection of a Garamantian chief, intent on Aethiopian booty, reached Agisymba in four months, 'where the rhinoceroses meet'; a country at least as far South as the watered valley of the Chad.

'The eternal riddle of Africa', the source of the Nile, Nero undertook to solve by a campaign in Aethiopia. His expedition 'went up the White Nile to the great reed-swamps at the mouth of the Keilak and Gazelle river, where the principal stream was called Kir. Amongst the negro tribes thus discovered were the *Syrbotae* (or dwellers on the Syr (or Kir, to-day Shir); the Medimni or Medin, the Olabi (or Eliab), Simbarri and Palugges (so-called by Aristocreon in Pliny, and by Brun Rollet the Barris and Poludjis).

Nero's explorers brought back tales of misshapen men, earless dwarfs with an extra mouth; but, at all times, the unknown becomes the fabulous. The White Nile up to modern

times has been the home of monstrosities, and the natives made up such tales to terrify the elephant-hunter.

Naturally, the East and India were ever being garnished by phantasy. Lucretius makes an impenetrable hedge of the ivory tusks of 'snake-handed elephants' completely shut India off: Virgil makes its trees loftier than any arrow could fly. Dio of Prusa describes India as a Paradise, on the authority of merchants who had visited its harbours, and little else. There streams flowed of milk and honey, oil and wine; the earth of herself gave nourishment to men; the meadows were aglow with flowers, the trees rich in shade and fruit; the birds sang sweeter than any instrument; a mild warmth lasted all the year round, and men, who knew not of disease, age or poverty, lived for 400 years. The people lived a perpetual festival, but the Brahmans devoted themselves to abstention and contemplation and rigorous asceticism: they drink of the well of wisdom, one taste of which breeds everlasting desire.

And, on the farthest North, legend was persistent. The tale of a happy Hyperborean land of eternal spring, of a half-year day and half-year night, was half-believed in by Pliny. Tacitus says, that, in the North, there was a cold moveless sea of ice, the limit of the world: the sun sinks so near there as to fill the night with radiance and dim the stars, and its splash in the sea had been heard. But the tales of creatures with men's faces and animals' bodies he dismissed. Demetrius of Tarsus, a learned friend of Plutarch, was commissioned by the Emperor to examine more closely the uninhabited islands scattered about Britain, of which some were called Isles of demons and heroes. He visited the one nearest, whose few inhabitants were deemed sacred by the Britons. A sudden squall ensued, and, he was told, a spirit of the mighty ones had gone up. On one of these barren islands lay Cronos, held captive by Briareus, and many spirits as his retinue. The idea of those coasts being the abode of the dead occurs later in various forms.

But travel generally was limited to a narrower part of the known world. Very few, excepting merchants ventured beyond the frontiers of the Empire. Strabo was of opinion that few geographers would have journeyed farther than he; from East to West he had gone from the East of Armenia

to the West coast of Italy, and from North to South from the Black Sea to the frontier of Aethiopia. Pausanias, on his long distant voyages (in Libya, Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Little Asia, Greece, Italy, Sicily), had not met any one who had seen Babylon or Susa. On the Danube, in Trajan's time, except merchants and army-contractors, there were few strangers to be seen. In the Empire, journeys for pleasure or instruction were rarely made in the North, to which Tacitus' phrase in reference to Germany applied: that no one would quit Italy to see such countries.

But in the Western provinces travels for mere sight-seeing were common. Gaul and Spain were thoroughly Romanized, and possessed much that was attractive. Gaul was not Cicero's Gaul, but a land of charming scenery and cultured people. Publius Annius Florus, the African poet, after failing in the Capitoline ἀγών at Rome in 90 or 94, journeyed afar for distraction to Sicily, Crete, the Cyclades, Rhodes and Egypt, then across Italy by land to the Gallic Alps and the pale Northern peoples; thence Westwards to the Pyrenees, as awesome in their height and eternal snow as the Alps. At last he settled at Tarraco. In Spain Gades, where Posidonius stopped a long time, was a popular tourists' resort. Cicero says that to have seen the mouth of the Black Sea and the gulf, first entered by the Argo, counted for something, as did visiting that torrential ocean strait, which divided Europe from Africa. Aristides, too, designed sailing through the pillars of Hercules, but was prevented by illness. Besides the Temple of Melkarth, or Hercules, at Gades, a very ancient Phoenician building of cedar-wood, may have been an inducement.

Provincials, naturally, aimed first at Rome. Florus at Tarraco met some Baeticans who had just come back from Rome. But most Roman travellers went either to Italy and Sicily or South and East, to Greece, Little Asia and Egypt (after Augustus' reign), as the literature shows. These three countries Pliny the Younger calls nearest to the learned. Ovid (born 43 B.C.) had only seen Sicily, Athens and Little Asia. At his time it may not have been usual to visit Egypt (which was made a province in 30 B.C.). In 8 A.D., on his way to Tomi, in a poem he mentions it as a usual tourists' resort, but he was not, as erewhile, on the way to Athens or

Little Asia, or the regal City of Alexander, or the charms of the Nile. Many remarkable sights near Rome, says Pliny, are unknown, or only hearsay; had they been in some Greece or Little Asia, or Egypt or other tourists' country, they would have been visited. Hence, after Italy, these countries were the most frequented.

II. ITALY—VILLEGGIATURE ON THE COAST AND IN THE HILLS—BAIAE

Italy offered many charming little excursions. Seneca describes how short ramblings by sea and land may afford change of scene and allay weariness. The lusciousness of Campania might rouse a desire for the wilder landscapes and woods of Lucania and Bruttii. Sated with these barren regions, the traveller would go to Tarentum, and thence back to the Roman circus and amphitheatre.

But these tours of relaxation were only for individuals. For the mass, in the summer and early autumn all the roads were thronged with Romans, who left the sultry feverish city empty. As summer residences places easily accessible in the hills and on the Latian and Campanian coasts, and the Etrurian, were chosen. The leaders of the Republic had villas in such spots: Cicero had villas at Arpinum, his favourite one at Tusculum, and at Antium, Astura, Formiae, Cumae, Puteoli and Pompeii; Pompey at Alba, Tusculum, Formiae, in Falernium, Cumae, Baiae, Tarentum, Alsiurn, and others. And so, too, with leading men in the Empire. The Aurelii Symmachi in the fourth century had fifteen villas, partly near the City, partly at popular places on the Latin coast and in the Bay of Naples. Martial and Statius give lists of the principal summer resorts; there were always imperial villas at them. Of his own Augustus most frequented those on the sea or the islands of Campania (such as Capri), or in towns near Rome (Tibur, Praeneste, Lanuvium). When Martial was sending his fifth book to Domitian, he was uncertain whether the Emperor was enjoying the view of the lake of Nemi on the one side and the sea on the other from the Albanian heights, or was at Antium, 'where the smooth sea is so near Rome', or at Caieta, Circeii, or on the white cliffs of Terracina with their healthful springs. At Tusculum

there were at least four imperial villas, administered by a special procurator and staff, and at least forty private ones.

Thus, change of scenery was amply provided for, and every season or climate could have its villa. 'In Naples', Marcus Aurelius as Caesar writes to Fronto in 143, 'the weather is good but changeable. The nights are mild, as at Laurentum; at cockcrow, it is as cool as Lanuvium; at sunrise as cold as on the Algidus; the forenoon as sunny as at Tusculum; the midday as hot as at Puteoli; the afternoon and evening temperate, as at Tibur'. The Baiae season was in March and April: Nero invited his mother there for the Feast of Quinquatrus (the 19th-23rd March). In the height of the summer people went to Praeneste, Aricia, Tibur, Tusculum, the Anio, or Mount Algidus, a wooded range of hills extending from Tusculum and Velitrae to Praeneste. Many places (like Pliny's Laurentine villa) were suitable for summer and winter alike: Antium was visited not only in the hot season but in the rainy winter solstice: and the coast of Luna (Spezzia) and of the Maremma was protected by high cliffs, and moderate in both winter and summer. Places in South Italy, such as Velia and Salernum, were winter resorts; but Tarentum, the picturesque and remote, with its mild winter and long spring and generous nature, more so even than in Campania, was the great favourite.

Besides the Roman remains at these places, literature evidences the charm of these *villeggiature*. At Centumcellae (Cività Vecchia), according to Pliny's description, Trajan's magnificent villa stood in the midst of green fields, close on the coast, where a harbour was being built (106-7) and an artificial island of massive stone to dam the breakers and give a good entrance on both sides. Its stone front was then even rising out of the water, splashed by the tossing sea. Breakwaters were afterwards built up to the island.

At Alsium (near Palo), where Pompey, and later on Virginius Rufus (who died in 97), built a villa as a home for old age, there are ruins all along the sea some 450 metres in length, extending inland some 200 metres, with mosaic floors, marble walls, ante-fixes, lead water-pipes, isinglass panes; probably the remains of some imperial castles, separately administered. At this 'charming sea-resort' Marcus Aurelius rested for four days in 161 A.D., and Fronto in a letter gently reproached

him for working hard, instead of basking, sleeping in the sun at noon, sauntering by the shore, or rowing on the calm sea, listening to the measured beat of the oars, and at last, after the bath, feasting royally on mussels, fish and *frutti di mare* and other dainty fare.

At Ostia, a very lively place in the second century, where Varro mentions the villa of Seius, Gellius, one summer evening, was rambling with Favorinus and other philosophers, discoursing on the use of virtue to confer happiness; not many years later, perhaps for the feast of the vintage, Minucius Felix, the Christian, was walking there with a Christian and a heathen friend. They walked to the edge of the winding shore, where the curly waves bespattered their shoes on the sand, saw, where the beached boats were resting on tree-trunks, boys playing ducks and drakes, and at last sat down on the extremity of the breakwater that protected the swimmers, to consider the old and the new morality.

The shore from Ostia to Lavinium (Prattica) is now deserted; but then an intermittent row of country-houses lined it, a series of little towns. At Lavinium there was the villa of Pliny the Younger (of which there is a full description) and an imperial villa, into the cool laurel groves of which Commodus in 188 withdrew to flee the plague raging at Rome.

At Astura, on the island formed by the river Astura at its mouth, was a villa of Cicero's; surrounded by a dense wood, land and sea gave it an air of isolation, where grief might be indulged. It looked out on Antium, and the much-visited promontory of Circe. 'The blue rocky sphinx, visible from all parts, guards the entrance to the Paradise of the South from the Pontine Marshes.' There was an imperial villa there.

But Antium, on its long rocky promontory, was, in Republican times even, and yet more under the Empire, the queen of sea-cities, with splendid temples and palaces, invading the domain of the ocean, a favourite resort of the Emperors: Caligula and Nero were born there. From its palaces come many of the greatest works of art, the Belvedere Apollo, and the Borghese gladiator: its ruins extend over three miles; from the depths of the sea remains of this lost majesty emerge through the transparent water: far and near is the coast strewn with priceless pieces of marble, worn smooth

by the waves and covered with gravel (such as verde and giallo antico, pavonazzetto, etc.).

The bay of Terracina (the gulf of Gaeta) was also lined in with handsome sea-towns, with villas and country-houses in between. Martial once spent the early spring with his friend Faustinus at his villa near Anxur, when the earth was decking herself, and the nightingales were singing. He enjoyed resting there in the sunshine in his tunic, in the park, with brooks around him, on the firm sand on the river bank; with the sunlit heights reflected in the waters, and his bedroom overlooking the sea and the river (the canal that ran beside the Via Appia to Rome). On the Monte Sant' Angelo (Collis Neptunius) the ground floor of a Roman palace with a splendid view is still to be seen. Near Terracina, amongst other 'huge caves, with magnificent buildings in them' (Strabo) was the Villa Spelunca (Sperlonga) between the vine-clad heights of Fundi and the sea, where Sejanus, dining with Tiberius in a natural cave, saved Tiberius' life, at the risk of his own, as the roof fell in.

Next ranked the coast of Caieta, studded as it was with villas, and Formiae, where Martial's friend, Apollinaris, had a villa, enjoyed much more by the domestics than by their master. There a gentle wind stirred the surface of the calm sea and forwarded the gaily painted boat on. A visitor might fish from his bedroom window, lying on his pillows, and the fish-pond was stocked with the most expensive sorts. Sergius Julius Frontinus also had a villa at Formiae; and Symmachus calls the bay the abode of the Graces. Minturnae on the Liris, with the grove and temple of the nymph Marcia, was the residence of Apicius the glutton; and Castricius Firmus, the honourer of Plotinus, also had a house there. On the coast between Cumae and Misenum was the villa of Servilius Vatia, which was described by Seneca: its ruins are still to be seen, with two artificial grottoes, one of which never sees the sun, and the other sees it all day, and a canal from the sea through a plane-grove leading to the Lacus Acherusius, in which fishing went on when the sea was too rough. The pleasures of Baiæ without the disadvantages could there be had.

But recreation and distraction was mostly found in the Gulf of Naples, under the great crater, even in the late

Republic. The road from Misenum to Surrentum was a pearl necklace of cities and villas, almost continuous: the choice of residence was immense. Statius, in his poem to his wife, mentions one part, bidding her leave Rome and come to his abode, where summer and winter were mild, and a calm sea, peace and quiet invited a leisurely life. For there lay Naples, the city of temples and columned public places, its theatres covered and open, where a periodical festival was held, ranking next to the Capitoline. There merriment ruled, and a freedom combining Roman dignity and Greek licence. The neighbourhood was a delightful one: one could visit the shore of Baiæ, or the Sibyl's grotto at Cumæ, or Misenum, or the grape clusters of Gaurus or Capri; from Capri a lighthouse vied with the moon: or the vineyards of Bacchus, and the heights of Surrentum, beloved of the other gods, or the healing waters of Ischia.

These places and others are often mentioned as resorts for relaxation. Many, like Virgil, were glad to leave the bustle of Rome for ever and live in Naples the peaceful and enjoyable, 'the city of idle repose', 'a Greek colony with Greek leisure, games, art and learning, down to the destruction of the prosperity and culture of Italy'. Others retired there after an active life, such as Silius Italicus, who owned several country-houses at Naples, richly decorated with statues and busts. The name of one of the villas has come down; Pausilypon (Sans-souci) has become the name of the hills between Naples and Puteoli: it belonged to Vedius Pollio, who used to feed his lampreys with fat slaves. The tunnel through it was cut by Cocceius at Agrippa's order. Seneca, one day, on the way from Baiæ to Naples, chose the land-route, and escaped sea-sickness to suffer the oppression of the dust of this dark torchlit *crypta Neapolitana*. At Puteoli, a harbour town, a favourite place for building in Cicero's days, Gellius once spent his summer holidays with the rhetor Antonius Julianus, and there the great Greek grammarian Herodian composed his *Convivium*. At Misenum, Lucullus built a lofty villa with a view over the Gulf of Naples and the Tuscan Sea: the Emperors afterwards held it: Tiberius often stayed there, and it was there he died.

The opposite coast, before the first known outbreak of Vesuvius in 79 and its ravages, was quite different in appear-

ance. Except the crater, apparently extinct, the entire mountain was covered with fields and vineyards: the view from Capri, says Tacitus, was splendid, before the changes wrought by Vesuvius. Martial, writing in 88, says, that ashes now covered the finest vine presses; and on those heights, beloved of Bacchus, satyrs had danced, and the cities of Venus and Hercules had stood. Stabiae (Castellamare) was overwhelmed with ashes at the same time; its neighbourhood was used as a residence for patients on a milk-cure. The height of Surrentum must have been most richly garnished with villas: on the South-West promontory stood a temple of Minerva, after whom the Cape is named to the present day. Statius' description of the villa of Pollius Felix of Puteoli between the Capes of Surrentum and Massa, gives an idea of the beauty and splendour of these houses. The wine of this coast stood in comparatively high favour: besides Bacchus, Minerva, Neptune and Venus seemed to have been patron-deities: Virgil invokes Venus to aid him to finish the poem in glorification of her son.

Augustus received Capri from Naples in exchange for Ischia and adorned it with palaces. Tiberius stayed there eleven years (26-37 A.D.). He erected twelve villas, named after the principal gods: a few ruins remain; the fragments of his own residence, the villa of Jupiter, are less scanty: it was at the North End of the island near the foundations of the lighthouse mentioned by Statius. 'What a wonderful sight the beautiful island must have been, adorned with temples, arcades, statues, theatres, and parks and roads, and its heights with marble palaces.' The view from the villa of Jupiter over the whole gulf, and the Gulf of Salerno and the open sea was incomparable.

'Thus all the shore from Toscana to Terracina, from Terracina to Naples, and round the Gulf up to Salerno, was lined with marble palaces, baths, gymnasia, temples, a wreath of Roman splendour. Any one then walking along the beach, and seeing all these abodes of pleasure, competing with the towns, must have rejoiced at the magic of civilization. To-day, on this Elysian coast, there are only the weather-beaten keeps of the Middle Ages, built to guard against pirates.'

Naturally the coasts remoter from Rome, and less accessible, were not as much visited as the West coast: but

they were not left deserted. Scyllacium (Squillace—the Gulf of Squillace in Calabria) is described by Cassiodorus. The town lay grape-shaped on hills overlooking the bay, with views on the blue sea and green fields. It received the full light of the rising sun; the winter was sunny and the summer cool: the fisheries were rich: Cassiodorus had a fishpond there. Out of the town, vineyards, cornfields and olive woods might be seen; it was pure country. The excellent situation made many who came there to rest, visit it and occasion expense to the city council.

On the East coast, there were also magnificent pleasure-resorts and villas. Nero's paternal aunt Domitia owned properties at Baiae and Ravenna; and he poisoned her to secure them for himself. At both places he built pleasure-houses, which were kept up to the days of Cassius Dio. A decision of Celsus the jurist (under Trajan and Hadrian) refers to a tennis-hall being erected in the Park of one Aurelius Quietus at Ravenna, and the repair of the heating-pipes: Quietus went there every summer. 'Altinum, a harbour, between Patavium and Aquileia was, in Martial's time, filled with villas like those at Baiae, and like the canals of the *terra ferma* at Venice: it was so beautiful that Martial wanted to die there, as Horace did at Tibur.' Probably, when Ravenna became a capital after Diocletian, the Adriatic coast was more and more sought after. Cassiodorus praises Istria, a region rich in wine, oil and corn, as the Campania of Ravenna, with its Baiae, more than one Avernus, fish-ponds and oyster-basins. 'The castles (*praetoria*) are strung together like pearls.' Off the coast, there was a chain of islets.

Of the mountains of Italy, both in the Republic and under the Empire, the Albanian and Sabine ranges near Rome were most used as country residences. On to the walls of the Roman villas were built medieval castles and town settlements, e.g. Frascati and Albano; Albano was the camp of the Second Parthian Legion, before the reign of Constantine, and is built up of fragments of villas: Domitian's villa seems to have been near the Villa Barberina between Albano, and Castel Gandolfo. The wild banks of the Anio, also, were lined with country-houses, amongst them, Nero's palace at Subiaco.

Perhaps the most naturally beautiful was Tibur (Tivoli) : its palaces were gorgeous—the villa of Manilius Vopiscus is described by Statius, and is an instance—but the huge villa of Hadrian was the most splendid : it had two wings, East and West, and other sections named after famous places, such as Canopus, Tempe ; three centuries of spoliation and collection (since Pope Alexander VI) have not exhausted the works of art it contains.

BAIAE

Very many travellers started out by the Via Appia, which went straight over the Albanian Hills ; and thence to Campania and Puteoli and Brundisium, Italy's two chief harbours : the fine busy road was also much used for shorter journeys. On it, the rich man, weary of the town, would drive in a frantic hurry to his Albanian villa, there to be bored and return to Rome. On it many a fine lady, with her retinue of men, as Propertius' Cynthia, travelled, ostensibly to do honour to Juno at Lanuvium ; herself the great sight, driving her horses—as women frequently did ; to the poet's disgust a rival of his was accompanying her, in a richly upholstered carriage with silk curtains, and two Molossians with collars leaping alongside. Or some upstart freedman might be showing his expensive ponies. Women also made pilgrimages with wreaths in their hair, and bearing torches to fulfil some vow to Diana at the wooded lake Nemi, 'Diana's Mirror' ; there in the heat of the summer a great festival was celebrated, and water and land alike, day and night, glistened with torches. Young men, too, will have followed Ovid's advice, and availed themselves of this opportunity. The popularity of the spot is vouched for by a settlement of beggars, about the end of the first century, between the Vallariccia and Ganzano.

But now the 'Queen of roads' is a desolation ; on both sides of it stretches the undulating green Campagna, with ruins of arches of *cloacae*, and here and there some dull house. Occasionally, a two-wheeled carriage with piled wine-casks rolls over the ancient stones, or the mounted shepherds of the Campagna drive their droves of sheep and kine, and the dreary song of the field-labourer echoes in the distance

And, beyond Alba and Lanuvium, the Via Appia hummed with life, for travellers streamed to Campania or the Gulf of Naples, a natural Lotus-eaters' land, to seek health, recreation or license. Baiae was the first of the pleasure-cities of antiquity, 'the golden shore of the Goddess of Love, the gracious gift of proud Nature'; her smooth shore was ringed in with green hills. There dwelt the Nereids. There were various natural springs, the hot sulphur baths, built over the springs, being most used. Baiae catered alike gorgeously for the cure of the sick and the pleasures of the sound; in it were many imperial palaces, and each succeeding monarch sought to outdo his predecessor. The most important coast buildings are represented on rough glass ware of the period of decay, with legends such as lighthouse, Nero's pond, oyster pond, the second pond, the wood, the park, probably intended as presents or souvenirs. Villas were built on the heights, or on the shore, or into the sea. They almost always had gardens, which were artificially laid out, and with their alleys of myrtles and planes and shorn hedges occupied much room. There were many shady arbours. A poet finds the place particularly well suited for meetings for Mars and Venus, as Vulcan was kept off by the waters and the Sun could not spy through the trees. A real country home, like that of Faustinus, the friend of Martial, with stacks of corn and vintages, herds of cattle and poultry-yards would have been exceptional at Baiae. The magnificent villas were a city in themselves, and continually extending. At least in the early second century, Old and New Baiae were distinguished (Hadrian died at the former on the 17th July, 117 A.D.). And, later, the town grew yet more; Alexander Severus erected palaces and other buildings, and laid out great ponds of sea-water; for 500 years it was the greatest fashionable resort of the ancient world. In Cicero's time the air was considered unhealthy in summer: the charge is not repeated. Possibly the further building removed the noxious influences; in the sixth century Cassiodorus mentions its salubrity. In time, desolation brought on malaria; but even in the Middle Ages the place was visited. In 1191 Alcadinus, the physician of Henry VI, describes thirty-one baths at Puteoli and Baiae. Petrarch calls this coast pleasant in the winter, but dangerous in the summer.

Boccaccio mentions the liveliness of the spot, and also its immorality. The baths were frequented in the fifteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century; but Baiae was in 1538 destroyed by a subterranean fire.

In antiquity Nature and art vied to make Baiae unique. The incomparable beauty of the situation, the gorgeousness of the palaces, the luxury, the clear air and bright sky, all combined to make the moment delightful; and festivals followed on ceaselessly. On the gentle sea, countless light boats were swaying, sometimes a princely galley; and there were races. Parties were held on board, or on the shore, the guests wearing rose-wreaths; drunkenness was a common sight. From daybreak to sunset the shore rang loud with songs and music. Lovers whispered together on the shore, or were rowed about on the Lucrine Lake or Avernus, or sought the solitudes of the myrtle avenues above Baiae. The cool star-lit evenings induced feasts and outings, and sleep was disturbed by serenades, or rivals' quarrels. The life of Baiae was proverbially dissolute. Varro devoted a special satire to it; he says maidens were common property, and many old men became children and boys girls. Cicero feared ill-fame from visiting Baiae at a time of public misfortune. Seneca calls it the home of vice. Wastrels, whom insolvency had expelled from Rome, squandered their borrowed money here on oysters. Women were constant visitors: many a man, says Ovid, instead of a cure, got a wounded heart. Once, another poet says, the water at Baiae was cold; but Venus made Cupid swim in it; a spark from his torch fell in, and set it on fire: henceforth any bather there falls in love. For female virtue the place was not recommended. Many a love-entanglement, says Propertius, was here solved. Martial tells of a Penelope who arrived at Baiae, and left a Helena; probably not unprecedented. Gellius, and those who sought modest pleasures, preferred Puteoli. But, as Symmachus says, the neighbourhood was not implicated in this license: he lived there 'without songs on boats, without profligacy at banquets'.

III. SICILY

After Italy, Sicily was the nearest place for short excursions; the attractions were its natural wonders, Etna, the mild winter, the beauty and fame of its cities, both historical and legendary. Such was the tale of the Rape of Proserpine at Enna, a meadow so redolent with violets and scented flowers, as to throw hounds off the scent: after this sight, came the gulf out of which Pluto sprang forth, and the ancient Temple of Ceres. In Republican days, Sicily was a favourite touring resort: Cicero says there is scarcely ever a cloudy day. 'Most of you', he is addressing the jurors of Verres, 'have seen the quarries at Syracuse'. Ovid stayed there a long time with his friend Macer. He mentions as the principal sights Etna, the Lakes of Enna, the Anapus, the springs of Cyane and Arethusa, and the Palici; two little, deep, milk-coloured lakes out of which water is continually boiling forth with a strong smell of sulphur and a roar; there oaths were made, as perjuries of such oaths were instantly punished by the Gods. Near by was a richly decorated temple, an asylum for runaway slaves. Caligula, after Drusilla's death, found distraction in sailing along the coast of Campania and Sicily to Syracuse, and enjoyed the several sights, but fled from Messana in sudden panic from the smoke and rumble of Etna. The ascents of Etna will be mentioned later on. Seneca, speaking of the stages to Syracuse, says the traveller first sees the real Charybdis, which is only voracious under an East wind, and the spring of Arethusa, the poets' theme, with its mirror-like, ice-cold water; and next, the quietest and safest of all harbours, defying even the worst of storms; and then the place where the Athenian strength was broken, where the stone quarries with their enormous depth swallowed up thousands; and the huge town, bigger than the environs of many other towns; and the traveller enjoys a mild cloudless winter. Firmicus Maternus, the astrologer, composed his work in Sicily about 350 A.D., and, in the dedication to his friend Mavortius Lollianus, mentions the information on Sicily given by him to Lollianus when on a visit; on Scylla and Charybdis, the eruptions of Etna, the Lakes of the Palici, and whatever else he had read in Latin or Greek of the wonders of the province.

IV. GREECE

The next common mark was Greece. In Greece Rome revered the source of her civilization, and the land of ancient fame, with its glorious past of history and legend. 'Fame stays, but greatness goes', ran a Latin epigram, 'we seek the ashes of the fallen and in the tomb they are sacred'. In Greece, every inch of ground had its association; every step took one past some historical landmark, some monument of supreme art; her cities and temples had been ever visited since the Punic Wars. 'Most of you', Livy makes the Rhodian Embassy in 191 B.C. speak in the Senate, 'have seen the cities of Greece and Asia'. In the autumn of 167 B.C., Aemilius Paulus travelled through Greece to see 'things rumoured great, perhaps too great'. The Roman general visited the most celebrated temples (Delphi, Lebadea, Oropus, Epidaurus, Olympia) and cities (Athens, Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, Sparta, Pallantium, Megalopolis) and places memorable like Aulis, or remarkable, like Chalcis, with its dam over the Euripus: he was most impressed by Olympia, where Phidias' Zeus impressed him as a present deity.

Greece never recovered from its devastations by Rome from 88-33 B.C. Under Roman administration the country revived, and, under the Antonines, the province of Achaia had numerous villages and small towns and 100 larger cities. But some regions, like Aetolia, remained desert, and the more prosperous never reached the level of the Mithridatic Wars. A mere shadow of her former self, her decay seemed to allure Roman visitors all the more. The stillness and solitude enhanced the idea of her great past. Many of her cities were cities but in name, such as Panopeus in Phocis, once proud and populous, in Pausanias' day, a collection of huts, no palace or theatre, no *ἀγορά*, no gymnasium, not even a spring. In Thebes only the citadel, the *Καδμεία*, was partly inhabited, and called Thebes; of the lower city, only the gates and the shrines remained. At other places sheep fed in front of the Council Hall, and the gymnasium was ploughed over, a few marble statues jutting out, or mere pedestals, inscribed with the name of the lost figures. Many other cities were in ruins: the country was unpeopled: in the wildernesses, the traveller, like Dio

of Prusa, might meet herdsmen and hunters who had never beheld a city, knew only their own scattered huts, and, aloof from civilization, had the simplicities of primitive man.

But most travellers visited only cities rich in ruined relics of the past, or that had, under Roman rule, preserved or even increased their grandeur. The prosperity of Athens had been destroyed by Sulla; but in her calm desolation, she was peerless and beautiful. Ovid saw her in her greatest decline, and could imagine what she had been in the fullness of her days: envy, he says, must weep and grieve at the spotless splendour of Athens. Even the unartistic Roman was entranced at the magic of Pericles' Athens: after 500 years, its glory was undimmed: its youth seemed eternal. In the second century the city, which under Trajan was still sunk deep, received a kind of aftermath of life. Hadrian built on the South-East a new 'Hadrian's city', centring round the colossal Temple of Zeus with its 120 columns: he also erected a library with 120 pillars of *pavonazzetto* and a gymnasium with 100 of *giallo antico*. His new water-works, from Cephisia to the new city, were completed by Antoninus Pius in 140 A.D. Herodes Atticus the sophist added further buildings, principally the Odeum at the foot of the Acropolis. Severus, afterwards Emperor, visited Athens as a legionary legate, for the sake of studies, the Eleusinian mysteries, the buildings and antiquity'.

Under Marcus Aurelius Aristides poured forth panegyrics on Athens and Attica. He calls Athens still the greatest of Greek cities and the fairest of all, beautified by Nature and by art. Nature gave her her harbours, her acropolis, and her soft breathing grace; her air, finer in the town than in the country, although all Attica may be known by the brilliancy of its atmosphere. Art gave her the greatest and fairest temples, the masterpieces of sculpture, and the best libraries, and baths and racecourses and gymnasia, all gorgeous: Athens outstrips all other cities, not only in her excellences, but in theirs as well. She lies like an island with a chorus of isles around her. The delight of seeing Attica may be known from merchants or others who constantly visit her, whose soul is uplifted and purified at the sight. The light there is stronger and fuller, as though

Athene, as in Homer, took a veil from the eyes of the comer : on all sides so much, so various beauty surrounds, that walking seems a dance of joy and the voyage a happy dream. Who would not admire the loveliness of the ground stretching from the Acropolis down to the town and the coasts, and partitioned off by the mountains ? Who would not wonder at the glory and charm of those mountains, whose bosoms contain the marble for thanksgivings to the Gods ? Thus the variety of Attica makes her a microcosm, a perfect harmony of land and sea and hill and dale.

Athens attracted the art-lover, the antiquarian and the scientist : Corinth, in her way, was equally seductive. Athens and Corinth differed much as did Rome and Naples of to-day : at Athens, calm and earnestness and the monuments of the past ; at Corinth the noise and bustle of modern pleasure. The situation of Corinth was even more beautiful than that of Athens. From Acrocorinth there was a view, to the North, over the Bay of Crisa to the snow-peaks of Parnassus and Helicon, described by Strabo. One hundred years after its destruction by Mummius in 146 B.C., Corinth was refounded by Julius Caesar as a Roman colony, ¹/₂ Laus Julia Corinthus. As the residence of the governor of Achaia, it shone with new buildings, a colonnade from the harbour of Lechaem to Acrocorinth, mentioned by Statius, a temple of Capitoline Jupiter and many others. Hadrian had a huge aqueduct built from the valley of Stymphalus in the mountains, and erected thermae. It lay on two seas and had two harbours, Cenchreae and Lechaem ; the same wind would permit to sail into the one and out of the other : thus Corinth was a meeting-place for all men, and soon grew rich again, as a market frequented by Greeks at all seasons, a place for festivals, a real metropolis of Greece. In the style of its buildings and its population, Corinth was only half-Greek. The Roman element influenced life and manners, and spread gladiatorial contests and beast-fights all over Greece. The refuse of East and West also met at this point.

Corinth, too, received a panegyric of Aristides at the Isthmian Games in honour of Poseidon. It still was the city of Aphrodite, which, like Homer's belt of Aphrodite, concealed so much beauty, charm and love as to be irresistible, even to the strongest ; also the city of the Naiads,

whose springs bubbled up in all parts, and of the Horae but, above all, the Court of Poseidon, who set her floating in the stream of the world's wealth. In books, too, Corinth was also rich. In all parts gymnasia and schools were to be seen: foreign students also came, such as Galen to hear Numisianus the physician. Her legendary and historical fame was second to none.

After Corinth, the shrine of Aesculapius at Epidaurus was the spot most visited by Romans. Under the Emperors it gained new vogue. The sacred sanatorium was secluded by mountains, and walled off as well. Inside the demesne of the temple, 'the dense grove spread out and guests and patients lay in its shade. In it also were the various sacrificial buildings; the huge ruins testify to its magnificence'. Antoninus Pius extended the conveniences, adding a mortuary and a house for births outside the holy ground, in which none might be born or die. This enclosed valley must have been one of the loveliest spots in Greece, with its decorated temples and banqueting-halls, between the wooded heights, studded as they were with shrines; both a beautiful garden and a rich museum of art, filled with the monuments of the centuries of the fame of the Epidaurian God.

A catalogue of the more celebrated towns, their temples and works of art and treasures, their historical relics, would alone fill a volume: of these, beloved of the friends of art and history, mention will be made later. Aedepsos in Euboea was a pleasure-resort on the sea: it had hot sulphur springs, which are still in use, and was an assembly-place of Greece; Romans also came there, as did Sulla. Aedepsos was liveliest in the spring. Residences with halls and reception-rooms were provided for the guests, and the baths skilfully laid out: land and sea made the banquets on the shore a rare enjoyment. Yet the license of Baiæ did not obtain at Aedepsos; the society and its pleasures were better. Now Aedepsos is buried beneath masses of yellow travertin, deposited by the laden springs, and piled up to a height of 100 feet, a ten minutes' ascent.

V. THE GREEK ISLANDS AND LITTLE ASIA

Most Roman tourists to Greece also visited Little Asia. The islands of the Aegean, desolate and the homes of banishment, could only make the voyager muse on mortality: he would not stay. Relegation to Seriphus, Pholegandros, Gyaros, mere rocks inhabited by fishermen, was the severest punishment: to be condemned to a larger or more hospitable island, such as Andros or Naxos, was a mitigation. Only to visit a friend in misfortune, or to recall the scene of a past exile, would travellers put in at these rocks. When Musonius Rufus was banished to Gyaros, many Greeks sailed there to meet the great philosopher, and, afterwards, to see a spring he had discovered on the waterless island. In a cave in Pholegandros, amongst the names inscribed are some Roman.

Delos, too, once so populous, which was created a free port, as the centre of the trade between East and West between 168-88 B.C., had been ravaged by Menophanes, the general of Mithridates, and never recovered. The Romans restored the island to Athens, who possessed it down into the Late Empire: Pausanias found it depopulated, save for the guard round the temple. Yet Romans, travelling to Asia, like Cicero in 51 B.C., must often have landed there. At Delos the sites of history and legend were visited; the palm seized hold of by Latona, at the birth of Apollo, still shown: Ovid mentions two of them which he saw. And the shrines with their pillared halls, their sacred gifts from kings, the famous horn altar (built by Apollo as a boy) and the statues would all be seen.

Of the larger islands, Chios, Samos, Rhodes and Lesbos would be the most sought: Cicero exalts Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos, as a city, beautiful in its regularity, its architecture and its environs. Agrippa retired to Mytilene to avoid any suspicion of thwarting Marcellus, the Emperor-designate: in 32 A.D., Junius Gallio was not allowed the easy exile of Mytilene. A Roman villa in Lesbos has been discovered in an excellent situation. 'The thick woods, the refreshing sea-breeze, the view of the bay and heights of Asia and the healthy climate, made the island enjoyable, and Mytilene a beloved abode of the Romans.'

But Rhodes, the capital of which was the most important town in Greece, was the main objective of the Romans. Rhodes the splendid, as Horace calls the town, according to Strabo, was unrivalled by any other Greek city : in Vespasian's time, it was the most populous and prosperous in Greece, until the earthquake of about 150 A.D. shattered it utterly. Aristides in a speech warm with the immediate awfulness of the catastrophe, says that the greatest city of Greece has been smitten with the greatest of blows. Just before he had seen her, as splendid, as in her thalassocracy, as new, as if just built, and worthy of the name of the City of the Sun-God. Her harbour was crowded with ships from Ionia, Caria, Egypt, Cyprus and Phoenicia, and the breakwaters extended far into the sea, and her dockyards were from afar like vast fields of swaying corn : the triremes, trophies of ships' heads and other memorials of ancient victories, recalled her freedom and greatness of old. The city rose up in a semicircle from the shore : it had been built in 404 B.C. by Hippodamus of Miletus. Her acropolis was full of gardens and parks ; her streets broad and straight ; the architecture uniform. The strong walls, with their high and beautiful towers, were a special feature, and a landmark at sea ; the space within them so filled that they seemed to wreath the city in. Her temples and shrines teemed with statues and pictures : Rhodes was the only town that escaped Nero's artistic ravages. According to Licinius Mucianus, the town (like Athens, Delphi and Olympia) had 3,000 statues. 'Even after the earthquake', Aristides expatiates, 'what was left of her sculpture would sate many other cities'. Further, the scenery and climate of the island made an acceptable abode to the Romans. Tiberius lived there for seven years, and studied astrology. His house, like the Villa of Jupiter at Capri, stood on a cliff sheer over the sea, from which he used to hurl any companions he suspected. Nero, too, when pretending to abdicate, in order to evade Agrippina's regency, selected Rhodes for his retirement.

In 18 A.D. Germanicus made an unusual tour from Athens through Enboea and Lesbos, the coast of Asia, Perinthus, Byzantium and the Propontis and the Pontus : he was carried by zeal 'to see the places of ancient fame' : but contrary winds prevented him from seeing Samothrace on his

return. The Northern coast and islands were left alone by most voyagers, but 'Ilion, the mother of Rome', was not missed.

Ilion, a small city of Aeolian Greeks (now Hissar-lik, the palaces) was altogether inconsiderable, until the Roman occupation of Asia, a mere village without walls or tiled roofs: but the reputation of being the ancient Troy had never been contested: the inhabitants declared they were descended from Trojan refugees. Pallas Athene, to whom Hecuba and Andromache had prayed, was the patroness of the new town, and Xerxes and Alexander had made sacrifice to her: Alexander was shown, in her temple, the lyre of Paris and the armour of the heroes of the Iliad. The Romans accepted the tradition, and made their mother-city the mistress of the whole coast, immune from taxes, and generally favoured it. Thus privileged, Ilion prospered. In 85 B.C. Fimbria the Marian took Ilion the Sullan city by treachery, demolished the walls and burnt the city down, including the temple of Athene. Even Agamemnon, says Appian, did not do her as much injury: for not a temple or house or statue was left standing: it was asserted that the statue of Athene alone remained unscathed. Sulla gave some privileges to the Ilians; Julius Caesar was very benign to what he deemed the cradle of his race. He increased its territory and confirmed its independence and immunity. In 26 A.D. Ilion and ten other Asian cities vied for the honour of erecting a temple to Tiberius: Ilion preferred her claim as the mother-city of the Julii, but was refused, as only possessing the authority of unquestionable tradition. In 53 A.D. Claudius made Ilion immune from further obligations, especially from contributing troops. Her advocate in the Senate was Nero, then sixteen years old, who affirmed the descent of Rome from Troy, and the Julii from Aeneas. A rescript of Antoninus Pius confirmed its freedom and immunity from the guardianship of non-Ilian children, alleging the fame of the city and Rome's ancestry. This belief was official and general.

A scientific assault was now delivered on the fame to which Ilion owed her new prosperity. Demetrius, a famous philologist, and Hestiaeus, a critic of Homer, contested the identity of Troy and Ilium; asserting that Troy lay thirty *stadia* away

at the 'Village of the Ilienses', now Bunarbashi. Both of them came from neighbouring cities, Skepsis and Alexandria Troas, and may have been actuated by local jealousy: but the attack was dangerous, as coming from the centre of Greek learning, Alexandria. The learned world welcomed this view, and Strabo confirmed it: but it scarcely spread in Greek cultured society, and did not obtain any footing in Rome, whose reverence for Ilium was too deep-seated. Romans loved making pious pilgrimages to every classic spot in the town.

And the inhabitants satisfied this pious erudition. Conscientious tourists, 'crammed with the local antiquities', no doubt, went with their guide outside the town, on to the plain and the sea, to view every place of combat. They were shown where both hosts had encamped; where the Greek ships had lain, and every other spot in the Iliad, such as the fig-tree (according to Strabo, a desolate part with wild fig-trees), the beech, the monument of Ilus, and so on; the cave in which Paris delivered judgment, which Diodorus calls 'godly'. The graves of the heroes who there fell or died were also shown: and, to prove that Anchises was buried at Mantinea, Pausanias says his grave is not shown by the Ilians. At the tombs of Ajax at Rhoeteum, and Achilles, Patroclus and Antilochus at Sigeum, the Ilians offered sacrifice, as, no doubt, many travellers also did, e.g. Caracalla at the grave of Achilles, and Apollonius of Tyana (according to Philostratus). At the tomb of Protesilaus stood the trees which always withered when high enough to catch a glimpse of Ilium and then grew anew. The statue of Pallas, which fell from Heaven and was stolen by Diomedes, the Ilians could not exhibit: it was at Rome, as one of the evidences of the truth of the legend. Other relics were anvils which Jupiter had hung on to the feet of Juno, preliminarily to punishing her.

In Lucan's poem Caesar visits the district after the battle of Pharsalus: the poet, whilst staying at Athens, may have made an excursion out to Ilium and incorporated his impressions. According to him, barren woods and decaying trunks rooted in the palaces of kings and the temples of gods: Pergamus lay lost in a wilderness of shrubs. He saw the rock to which Hesione was bound, and Anchises' room

in the jungle ; the cave in which Paris judged the goddesses ; the spot at which Ganymede was ravished by the eagle ; the rock on which Oenone, the nymph, used to play : no stone without its name. He carelessly stumbled on a dried-up brook, the Xanthus ; and walked heedlessly in the high grass and was warned not to disturb the ashes of Hector. A few scattered stones : no sign of a shrine ; but his guide said it was the altar by which Priam fell.

This coast of Little Asia abounded in attractive scenery. Ionia excelled the climate of Greece. The famous ancient temples were here : at Colophon, which Germanicus visited in 19 A.D. to consult the oracle, and at Ephesus and Miletus ; also the fairest cities, all generously provided with the modern splendours, and baths in especial. Ephesus and Smyrna were the principal of these : they are mentioned by Dio of Prusa, with Tarsus and Antioch, as models for his native Prusa : probably they were the most visited by travellers. Ephesus was a rich commercial town in Asia and the treasury of the country ; under the Romans the capital of the province and one of the most populous and beautiful cities of the world.

But, in Strabo's time, Smyrna had the fame of being fairest of them all, although the streets were dirty and had no drainage. This defect was remedied later, and the city was enlarged and embellished in the first two centuries, and earned its title of the ' first city of Asia in greatness and beauty, the most splendid and the metropolis '. Lucian calls Smyrna the finest of all the Ionian cities : Philostratus the most beautiful under the sun : it was generally designated in inscription as ' the beautiful ', as Aristides, who described it before the destructive earthquake of 178, called it. It rose from the sea like an amphitheatre ; the view from all points was magnificent, from the top there was a panorama of the sea, the suburbs and the town. From within Smyrna was even fairer. The charm was so great that she seemed born, not made. Gymnasia, public places, theatres, temples and their precincts abounded ; baths in plethora ; walks, covered and open ; wells and springs for every house and in excess ; the streets as broad as the squares and straight, at right-angles, with marble pavements, and two-floored arcades. There were also schools of all sorts, native and

foreign ; a superfluity of fighting-contests, spectacles and other distractions ; an eternal competition between the art of man and the art of nature : the climate fine ; in both spring and summer cooled by the Westerly wind : a city, suited to both nations (the Greek and the Roman), for work and for leisure. Scholars from all three continents came to her schools. Scopelianus, a famous sophist of the end of the first century, selected Smyrna (according to Philostratus) as his best centre ; for Smyrna was the chief muse of all the Ionian cities, the bridge on which their strings were set. Great teachers in all sciences were always at hand : Galen, in his twenty-first year (151), went to Smyrna, to hear Pelops, a pupil of Numisianus, and the Platonist Albinus.

VI. EGYPT

The accessible province of Asia might be the starting-point for travels East and South, aiming at pleasure and experience, rather than knowledge. Cyprus was usually regarded not as a touring-place, but as a stage on the way to Syria or Egypt : Titus in 70 A.D. on his road from Corinth to Judaea visited the Temple of Venus at Paphos. He saw the pointed pillar, that represented the goddess, the reliquaries and the offerings of kings and 'all the attribution of the Greeks to their beloved antiquity', and consulted the oracle. In the first centuries but few travelled to Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine, save for business or officially : the curious sights did not compensate the long sea-voyage : before the third century very few Romans or Greeks visited Hierosolyma, which Pliny, after Agrippa, calls the most famous city of the East. Pausanias, exceptionally, had been there and on the Jordan and the Red Sea. Antiochia, the splendid capital of Syria, is mentioned as infrequently in the literature of the first two centuries as Alexandria is frequently : the Elder Pliny only mentions it twice, on Greek authorities, for geographical and botanical purposes.

But crowds went every year from Italy and Greece to Egypt, which had a constant service with Italy in the shipping season. The regular boats went from Alexandria to Puteoli ; and from Puteoli to Rome direct, after Domitian's connexion of it with Sinuessa, was only 141 (Roman) miles. Puteoli

was the harbour of Rome after the silting up of Ostia down to the completion of the new port Portus by Claudius and Trajan. A Greek poet under Augustus and Tiberius, Antiphilus, asks why should Puteoli need such huge breakwaters? The answer is, to contain the fleets of the whole world; in comparison with Rome it was small. Similarly Statius designated this coast as the hostel of the world. Of the ornamental glasses engraved with pictures of Puteoli, and taken home by visitors as keepsakes, two have been preserved (in the mines of Odemira in the Portuguese province of Alentejo and at Piombino): the *pilas* of Puteoli are represented as twenty-five with twenty-four arches: sixteen columns are still left, the so-called Bridge of Caligula. By land they were approached through a gate. Seneca describes all Puteoli streaming out on the breakwaters to meet the Alexandrian corn-ships, and all Campania eagerly hailing the *tabellariae*, or post-ships, that preceded them, with their easily recognizable flags; for they alone, after passing the straits between Capri and the weather-beaten promontory 'whence Minerva gazes down on the waters' (Cape Campanella), might hoist a topsail: all other ships had to lower theirs. The silent harbour of Pozzuoli of to-day was then quick with masts from all Mediterranean lands. The inscription of a *sevir* of the *Augustales* at Lyons points to direct intercourse between both ports: he was a freighter at Puteoli: Strabo shows the enormous extent of the trade of Puteoli and Ostia with Spain in corn, wine, oil, wax, honey, pitch, scarlet and red lead, equal to the African trade. According to Philostratus, ships sailed from Puteoli to Africa, Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Sardinia and beyond. The wharves at Puteoli, in the late Republic, were a profitable investment. In them lay corn from Africa and Egypt, oil and wine from Spain, iron from Elba (this last was collected at Puteoli and other harbours on the West Coast and manufactured; and then exported everywhere), and other raw products of the West, besides Alexandrian stuffs, such as linen, carpets, glass, paper, incense, etc., and the costly wares of the extreme South and East, which passed through Alexandria. An inscription at latest of the Early Empire was put up by merchants who traded with Alexandria, Asia and Syria. Augustus, in his latter days, was once passing by this port, and to his delight received homage

from the crew of an Alexandrian ship: he gave each man forty pieces of gold, on condition of spending them only on Alexandrian goods. Many inhabitants of Puteoli may have been like Gaius Octavius Agathopus, who says he is resting there after many wearisome journeys between the West and the East. There was a strong oriental element, Greeks and Jews and Egyptians and Syrians, and permanent colonies and agencies from the great commercial cities of the East, such as Hierapolis, Berytus, Tyre and many others, with their local worships. On the pedestal of a colossal statue of Tiberius, fourteen cities in Asia are represented, which Tiberius restored after an earthquake in 17 A.D.; Ephesus, Sardes, Cybara, etc.; the *Augustales* of Puteoli, who erected the statue, either came from these towns, or had commercial relations with them. The voyager to the East might anticipate the East in this motley harbour of all peoples and tongues, with their various costumes and wares.

In the shipping season Alexandrian ships of all sizes must have been lying at anchor, from the light swift-sailing vessels to the vast cargo and corn-boats, such as were also built at Nicomedia. Lucian describes such a ship, which was driven by storm into the Piraeus and attracted a curious crowd. The *Isis*, a three-master, must have been 180 feet long, 45 feet at its broadest, 40 feet deep, and had a tonnage of 1,575: she must have been a large ship (which varied from 800 to 1,500 tons), have earned her owner twelve Attic talents a year (£2,829 3s.) or more. She was painted, had on each side of her bow a picture of Isis and other decorations; the visitors, who had never seen anything of the kind before, were taken all over the vessel, and wondered at the masts and sails, the cordage, anchors and windlasses, and deck-cabins, and stared at the tanned sailors with a foreign tongue who clambered fearlessly aloft. Egyptian steersmen were reputed the most seaworthy, and were the most sought after. Aristides puts 1,000 as the largest number an Egyptian ship could hold. The vessel in which Claudius returned to Hadria after subduing Britain was rather a floating palace.

And the biggest corn-ships were smaller than the vessels specially designed for the transport of marble and obelisks. Such was the *Acatus*, the first Alexandrian ship to land at

Ostia under Augustus, carrying the obelisk subsequently re-erected in the Large Circus, now the Piazza del Popolo. Augustus had this monster exhibited permanently in the docks of Puteoli; but, by Pliny's time, it had been burnt down. It is said to have carried 1,200 passengers, the obelisk, and a cargo of paper, nitre, pepper, linen and 400,000 (Roman) bushels of corn. But the greatest marvel in ships, according to Pliny, was the one built, at Caligula's order, to import the obelisk destined for the Vatican Circus (now on the Piazza di San Pietro), and four blocks of the same stone to serve as the pedestal. As ballast it carried 118,750 bushels of Egyptian lentils; its mainmast required four men to span it; it covered almost the whole of the left side of the harbour of Ostia; and Claudius planted three towering piles of mortar on it, to sink it. The ship which brought the obelisk set up by Constantius in 357 in the Great Circus (now on the Piazza del Laterano), according to Ammianus, was gigantic, and employed 300 rowers. Modern times only have surpassed these huge transport ships of antiquity. In the forties even, ships of 1,500-2,000 tons were admired. But the *Persia* (1856), 390 feet long, 45 broad and 83 deep, had a tonnage of 5,400; the *Great Eastern* was 680 feet long, 83 feet broad, took 4,000 passengers besides the crew, and 5,000 tons of cargo.

The average voyage from Puteoli to Alexandria with a good wind was at least twelve days; nine, according to Pliny the Elder, the fastest. An official paper document at Arsinoe is dated the 11th January, 193, by the year of Commodus, whose murder on the 31st December, 192, at Rome cannot therefore have been known. Egypt was to the Romans much farther than America is to us. The route was by Sicily and Malta. Malta, according to Diodorus, was prosperous and had good harbours (as had also Gaulus and Cercina): it was 800 *stadia*, less than a day, from Syracuse. St. Paul sailed from Malta to Puteoli in an Alexandrian ship, which wintered at Malta, 'the Dioscuri'; they stopped at Syracuse and Rhegium.

The lighthouse at Pharos irradiated 300 *stadia* (seven to eight geographical miles) on the dangerous coast of Egypt. It lit up the darkness like a star, and might be taken for one, until daylight revealed the shimmering white marble on the blue sea, and the palms on Pharos came into view. The

lighthouse, the administration of which in Roman times was entrusted to an imperial freedman, lasted on into the Middle Ages, and plays a great part in Arabian legends of Alexandria. According to Benjamin of Tudela (who died in 1173) there was a magic mirror on its peak, revealing hostile ships at a distance of fifty days: a crafty Greek had it shattered to pieces. The historian Makrizi (who died in 1456) says it was originally 400 yards in height: the lower half was square, of white freestone: the upper part octagonal, leaving a man room enough to walk round outside, and the top round. In 1303-4 occurred the last restoration known to history: in 1349 it was demolished: in 1440 its ruins might still be seen. Turkish misrule had removed every trace of it; and now there is no landmark, except in the West, the Arabian Tower, and towards Alexandria, clusters of palms and date-trees and the Column of Pompey.

To the Greek and the Roman visitor Egypt was a new world. The utter diversity of the land of the Nile was, if anything, more enhanced by the contrast with the increasing Romanized uniformity of the West, and the Greco-Oriental assimilation of the East. In Egypt, however, a mummified civilization subsisted, whose hoary years made Greece and Rome seem ephemeral, whose fossilized marvels and secrets stared living modernity out of face. Nature, too, attracted the curious. With awe did the stranger view the holy stream revered as a god, the most famous, who spread the boon of his waters so mightily as to be drinkable even in the sea. His unknown source aroused the spirit of exploration. Lucan makes Caesar at Alexandria say that to solve this riddle he would leave his Civil War. In Lucian's *Ship* Timolaus wishes for a magic ring, empowering him to fly far abroad into unknown parts and see the well-head of the Nile.

The swollen Nile in midsummer converted the whole of Lower Egypt into a lake, out of which cities and other heights arose like islands, and crossed by countless boats, hollowed-out trunks or of earthenware. In a passage written about the time of the annexation Virgil speaks of the blessed folk that live on the shores of the sea of the Nile, and sail on the land in gay boats. The flora and fauna impressed Roman imagination and were copied in mosaics and wall-paintings. On waters, thickly grown over with white lotuses, swamp-birds are seen swimming, or a hippopotamus lurking between

high reeds and bushy plants, or a lowering crocodile, an ichneumon creeping on the bank, a snake writhing along, an ibis with its bent beak preening its feathers, and palms overhanging, with their slim stems and feathery crowns, the thickets. Severus was attracted in Egypt by the strange animals and new scenery. The mosaic of Palestrina best illustrates the interest in the fauna : the upper half represents a barren tableland, containing animals fabulous and real ; the lower half, variegated buildings on the Nile and men in them, is framed in with ibises, water-birds, crocodiles and hippopotami, which are being chased by huntsmen with lances from a boat. A dovecot suggests the commonness of doves in Egypt : in Upper Egypt, conical dovecots are a kind of upper storey to village-huts. Dongola is said to possess garden-houses like those in the Roman paintings of Egypt. The marvels of Egypt were often fabulous : Tacitus never doubted that the phoenix was seen there. Pliny tells of a palm-tree at Chora near Alexandria, which died and was reborn with the Phoenix, and adds, that, at the moment of writing, it had just borne fruit. The pygmies, which were another favourite subject, have been discovered to be existent in the dwarfs of Akka on the highlands near the equator. Philodemus the Epicurean states that there were pygmies at Acoris in Middle Egypt on the East shore. Egyptian architecture and districts were imitated : Hadrian in his villa at Tibur had a Canopus, and Severus apparently a labyrinth and a Memphis.

Nature and the monuments, colossal and ancient, were always alike wonderful in Egypt. Time has destroyed nothing of these artificial mountains of stone, the gigantic temples, the endless rock-passages and caves, the forests of colossi and sphinxes, the countless brilliant pictures and mysterious walls of hieroglyphics. The same new-old amazement has always attracted men. Modern buildings and pictures did not disturb the unity of these superhuman works, but copied the ancient styles.

Further, there obtained in Egypt many customs utterly strange and unique, such as artificial incubators (in hot dung), a practice that aroused the interest of medieval pilgrims on their way to Palestine, and is still carried on, especially at Cairo ; or the mode of clambering up the palms—which

still subsists by slinging a rope round the body and the tree and in this sling making knots by which they ascended ; but, most of all, the strange worships, and, above all, the adoration of animals.

Thus the interest in Egypt has been perennial and identical : at the end of the third century (according to the author of the *Aethiopian Tales*) tales of Egypt ever found attentive Greek and Roman ears, and the listeners did not tire of learning of the pyramids, the graves of the kings and the marvels of this fairyland. Of the Emperors and their families, Germanicus travelled to Egypt in 19, Hadrian in 130, Septimius Severus with Caracalla and Julia Domna in 202 down to the borders of Aethiopia. Titus on his way back from Judaea in 70 visited Memphis from Alexandria : Caligula and Nero intended journeying there : Marcus Aurelius did, and probably Lucius Verus as well.

Alexandria, the capital, was exotic in Egypt. It was a comparatively modern town, built in Greco-Oriental style, like other cities of the Macedonian epoch, as their ruins in Little Asia, Syria and Cyrene show. Napoleon III, through the Court astronomer, Mahmud Bey, of the Viceroy of Egypt, in 1867 instituted excavations, which have thrown a new light on the plan of the town. The results were confirmed by the excavations of 1898-99. Mahmud's street-plan, of the fourth period of the city, though post-Hadrianic, followed the former plans. According to Mahmud the town inside the walls was 15,800 metres round or eighty-six *stadia* : in the 16,375 *milia passuum*, the highest figure among the ancients, the suburbs must have been included. The excavations have revealed a rectangular network of seven main-streets lengthwise, lying WSW. by ENE. and twelve breadthwise, lying WNW. by SSE. The central street lengthwise, which crossed the centre of the city, and led East to Canopus—perhaps called the Canobian Road, or the Corso or *δρόμος*, was the main-street all the way. Strabo says it was thirty-six metres broad ; as a fact, it was not quite twenty. On both sides, to mark off the carriage road, there were colonnades for the thirty *stadia* : traces are left of them. In the roads running parallel the pavement was only 6.65 metres wide. The main-street breadthwise also had colonnades, led from the Sun-gate to the Moon-gate, and had the same

width as the Canobian Road. The road was paved with blocks of hard stone, basalt and limestone, held in by continuous freestone. The twelve main-roads seawards all had covered canals. The stately houses of massive stones all had a supply of running water and flat roofs. According to Strabo the district of the Palaces, with its gardens, the Museum, and the Mausoleum, occupied a fourth part of the Greek city: the Mausoleum contained the body of Alexander the Great in a glass coffin, the gold one having been melted down by Ptolemy Alexander I. Of the many public buildings, the most prominent were the Gymnasium, with colonnades more than a *stadium* long, the Paneum, an artificial hill, mounted by spirals, giving a bird's-eye view of the town. Strabo only mentions the Caesareum or Augusteum incidentally: it was a temple put up by Cleopatra to Antony, and subsequently dedicated to the first Emperor: it may have been afterwards completed. Philo describes it as a great temple with porticoes, halls, libraries, parks, propylaea, full of offerings, statues and pictures and gold and silver. Strabo also passes by the Serapeum shortly: Hadrian, who decorated Alexandria anew, may have extended it. It was a columned court, with the Column of Pompey in the centre, and two obelisks in front: behind the halls were educational rooms, the library burnt down by the Arabs, and in front, a propylaeon with cupola. Ammianus says that, with its huge colonnades, breathing statues, and numberless works of art, it was inferior only to the Roman Capitol: in the Description of the World, written under Constantius, it is mentioned as unique.

In Diodorus' time, the census of Alexandria was 300,000 free citizens. After the Battle of Actium, the town prospered exceedingly, and its commercial and voluptuary advantages attracted immigration: hence in the first centuries the free population must have doubled, and the total been scarcely under a million. The town had to be extended: the desolate isle of Pharos (in Strabo's time), and perhaps the Heptastadion as well, was resettled; and this new town was called Neapolis (a name found in two inscriptions of the second century). The population consisted of Egyptians, Greeks and Jews and a cross-race, mainly of Greeks and Egyptians. The Jewry in Philo's time was two out of the five districts (which

were named alphabetically), but also in the other parts, as their many-shaded synagogues might be seen in all parts of the town : the chief synagogue, according to Jewish authority, a magnificent building, was destroyed in Trajan's reign. Under Nero, the Jews (according to Josephus) were limited to the Δ district. Romans and other Europeans, apart from the strong garrison (which was recruited from the citizens and camp of Alexandria and contained few Occidentals) and the large officialdom, must have been constantly passing through or settling. Then, too, the universal trade brought Africans and Asiatics together from the farthest distances ; an unparalleled meeting of Aethiopians, Libyans, Arabians, Scythians, Persians, Bactrians and Indians.

The harbour of Alexandria was the only safe one on all of the long coast (5,000 *stadia* or 125 geographical miles) between Joppa and Paraetonium. At the mouth of the only waterway of an immeasurably wealthy land, midway between three continents, 'on the threshold between East and West and on the road to India', Alexandria was, as Dio of Prusa remarks, the centre of the earth, the market-place of the remotest peoples. This unique situation made Alexandria the commercial capital, and before the Empire, the political capital, to some, of the world. Later it was the second city after Rome, a rank challenged in the third century only by Carthage and Antioch. But the entry of Egypt into the huge domain of free trade ensured her the best results of her position. Trade instantly increased, and the Alexandrians were all gratitude for the annexation by Augustus ; put up the temple to him, as protector of shipping ; celebrated him, as Lord of Land and Sea, as Jupiter the Saviour, the Star of Greece, whom Jupiter the Saviour had set in the ascendant ; and the Alexandrian mercantile deputation which waited on him in his last days at Puteoli, entered, wreathed and clad in white, as though offering incense to a god, and exalting him as the author of their life, trade, pleasure, freedom and fortune. The imports from Arabia and India alone, six years after the Battle of Actium, was sixfold what it had been under the last Ptolemies ; then twenty ships went annually to India, and in 25 B.C. from Myos Hormos no less than 120 ; from Central Africa imports also increased, and the market for the goods that passed

through Alexandria to Italy and the West must have enlarged with the spread of luxury and civilization in the first century. Caravans and trade-fleets, year in year out, brought treasures from the South and the East, from the farthest lands of fable. The greatest rarities of the world lay there amassed. Gold-dust, ivory, tortoise-shell from the land of the Troglodytes, herbs and scents from Arabia, pearls from the Persian Gulf, jewels and byssus from India, silk from China—all such goods, all of the utmost value, were transhipped hence to Rome, at 100 per cent. profit. In Strabo's time even, the exports exceeded the imports.

This universal trade provided livelihood and wealth to thousands, from the rich merchant, whose ships sailed to the Malabar coast and Puteoli, down to the navvies in the harbour. The looms of Alexandria furnished linen, sought after even in Britain, made from the native flax in various finenesses, and, in the exports to India and Arabia, the national taste of the customers was consulted. No less celebrated, even in the Middle Ages, were the wool-stuffs, with their gay designs, tapestried figures of men and animals for antimacassars, carpets and dresses. The glass-blowers sent out artistic and valuable glass-work in all colours and shapes: the papyrus-makers paper, thick and thin. A paper-manufacturer Firmus, under Aurelian, sought the purple, and boasted his paper would support an army. The oils and essences of Alexandria were also famous. In the incense-works the workmen, to prevent defalcations, had to work with sealed aprons and masks and thick veils, and to leave the shops naked.

This active bustle of industry contrasted with the leisured, unproductive turmoil of Rome, and, together with the medley of faiths and cults, natural to a great harbour, astonished Hadrian on a second visit to Alexandria. 'No one', he wrote in 134 to his brother-in-law Servianus, 'is idle here: every man has his work; even the gouty, the blind and sufferers from chiragra. Mammon is the god of the Jews, Christians and every one'.

The population was correspondingly haughty. Mercantile pride, the knowledge of the indispensability to Rome of the Egyptian corn-supply, were rife. 'If any one praises the Nile', says Dio of Prusa to the Alexandrians, 'you are

as proud, as though you flowed straight from Aethiopia'. Where wealth was prodigious, and millionaires abounded, where the proletariat easily earned enough to lunch on fresh or smoked fish with garlic, on snails, meal or lentils, or on giblet stew in a cook-house, and barley-beer to his satisfaction, luxury and license also prevailed. Egyptian sarcasm in Alexandria became unchecked impudence; emperors and benefactors were not immune, and danger scarcely mitigated the bitter wit. Dio of Prusa congratulates himself on facing the Alexandrians without fearing their so dreaded hisses, jeers and interruptions. Seneca was proud of his (maternal) aunt for being spared calumny for the sixteen years of her residence as wife of the governor of Egypt in a city 'so witty, and ready in abuse of the government'. Vespasian, despite his mildness, was on the point of punishing the Alexandrians for the contumely they showered on him, in consequence of the increased taxes imposed: they called him a salted fish-dealer. Titus interceded, and they cried out to Titus: 'We will forgive him; he doesn't know as yet how to play the Emperor'. 'I have granted this city', Hadrian writes to Servianus, 'all of its requests, its ancient privileges, and new ones as well: they were grateful, whilst I was here, but, as soon as I left, scoffed at my son Verus and Antinous'. Caracalla avenged their sneers in 215 by a frightful massacre.

In Alexandria, too, as Dio remarks, laughter and light-someness were universal, and earnestness and idealism nowhere. There, too, the only interest was *panem et circenses*. Alexandria, even in Strabo's time, had an amphitheatre, but (at any rate 100 years later) the racecourse and theatre were the most popular, and farces, jugglery, animal contests, and, above all, dancing and music were beloved of the people. The Alexandrians were thoroughly musical: the illiterate even detected a citharist's every false note. In wind and string instruments they were especially adept. Alexandrian music, probably a Hellenistic fusion of Greek and Egyptian style, soon became popular at Rome, and strongly influenced Greco-Roman style. According to Dio, vocal and string-music were an infallible sedative for tumult, and the voice and the cither cast a spell over the people. The racing events also led to affrays and fights.

The Alexandrian mob, as a harbour-mob, and as the motley

dregs of the most various nations and cross-breeds, was most inflammable, the least spark setting it on fire and creating a pandemonium in this city of luxury and delight. Demagogues would excite the many and large clubs (*θίασοι*), in which, according to Philo, they vented themselves in orgies of drunkenness and impertinence. The slightest occasion—a greeting unreturned, a distress on the means of livelihood, the refusal of a trifling request, the unpopular punishment of a slave—and mobs collected, weapons gleamed, and stones flew; sometimes these uproars ended in mere street songs, but more often the troops had to be called out. In a description of the Empire in the fourth century, it is said that the governors walk in Alexandria in fear and trembling: popular justice is always ready to commit arson and hurl stones.

Religious fanaticism amongst the Egyptians often caused unrest. Diodorus himself witnessed an incident: a Roman, under King Ptolemy Auletes, unintentionally killed a sacred cat; the awe of Rome and the intercession of the king could not ward off his murder. Under Hadrian, the claims raised by different communities to a rediscovered Apis-bull at Alexandria provoked a tumult. Hadrian reasonably expected to find a commixture of Jewish, Christian and heathen practices; but the sects were also in sharp opposition of faith and race; and these animosities often induced persecutions, like that of the Jews under Caligula, described by Philo, and the conflict of Jews and Greeks in 66. On this occasion Tiberius Alexander, a Jewish renegade, the Praefect, to break the resistance of the Jews, had to make use of 5,000 soldiers, who were passing through, besides the two legions in garrison; 50,000 Jews are said to have perished.

Amongst the various tourists to this peculiar and splendid city, those in quest of health and those in quest of learning may be mentioned. A sea-voyage to Egypt was recommended by physicians to consumptives. The kindly heaven, from which never fell any snow, under which roses bloomed in the winter, and not a day passed without sunshine, where the summer was relieved by the monsoons, might well give some hope to the patient who found the climate of Italy too harsh. Also Alexandrian physicians and medical schools enjoyed the highest repute. Galen says—he studied in Alexandria—that, if only because Alexandrian doctors gave

their pupils actual limbs to handle, students should flock there. A contemporary physician mentions that he had often witnessed the swift and painless execution of criminals by adder-bites. At all epochs young doctors crowded to Alexandria, 'whence health went out to the world'. To have studied there was a recommendation.

The other sciences also had their best teachers and schools at Alexandria, much sought by strangers, mainly from Greek-speaking countries. To the last ages of antiquity, and even later, Alexandria remained a great school of philosophy, music, law, philology, literature, mathematics and astronomy (including astrology, alchemy, magic and occult science, in which Egyptians were the experts). The centre of this university was the Museum or Academy founded by the Ptolemies, and the library, in which countless scribes must have been always occupied, and spread calligraphy and shorthand.

Lastly, religious motives induced journeys to Alexandria. 'Nowhere', says the Gazetteer of the World, written in the reign of Constantius, 'are the mysteries of the Gods so well celebrated, now, as of old'. Serapis, the god so much revered, the great helper, attracted most of the devout. Severus valued his journey to Egypt highly, because he was enabled to pay his court to Serapis, and this was the pretext of Caracalla's visit in 215. Women from all parts of the Empire will also have flocked to the temples of Isis, the goddess most worshipped by their sex, and have filled their bottles with the indispensable and genuine Nile water.

Both to Alexandrians and to strangers, the East coast, with its famous pleasure and bathing-resorts, and, above all, Canopus, to the West of Abukir, was most attractive, and was thronged year in, year out. The banks of the three miles of canal between Canopus and Alexandria teemed with luxurious hotels. A Greek inscription of such an hotel (or perhaps a club) in elegiacs has been preserved in part. These walls, it runs, are always alive with feasts and young men: not trumpets, but flutes resound here; the blood of steers, not of men reddens the earth; clothes, and not weapons, deck us; wreathed choruses, goblet in hand, celebrate at night the god Harmachis. The 'Eleusis', an initiation into Canopian profligacy, had apartments for strangers,

with apparatus for distant views and every comfort : Canobus itself, a place made for pleasure, with the freshening sea-breeze, the murmur of the waves, and the sunny sky, seemed secluded from the world. At Canobus Apio, the Alexandrian philosopher, realized Homer's Elysium. Patients flocked to the famous Temple of Serapis, an especially holy shrine, to receive the oracles in their dreams. But most visitors went to Canobus to debauch ; the town was proverbial for the extent of the practice. Day and night in Strabo's time the canal was full of barques, with companies of men and women. Many of these boats had rooms in them and grated windows, and were overshadowed by the full Egyptian bean (the *Nymphaea Nelumbo*, now extinct, like the papyrus), and the joyous voyagers might be seen feasting amid scents and flowers, or performing lascivious dances to the sound of flutes. Representations of such scenes have been unearthed at Pompeii : the mosaic of Palestrina contains a banquet at which a female flute-player is playing, under a vine stretched across the canal alive with the blossoms of the bean.

But Alexandria and her excitements and spectacles could not allure voyagers like Germanicus who visited Egypt for its antiquities. From the modernity of the capital, a short journey inland on camels, or up the stream, took the traveller from the bustle and splendour to the awesome silence of dateless antiquity. There must have been many conscientious sightseers, like Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus, who crossed from shore to shore, so as to miss nothing.

Most travellers aimed at Memphis next, not as being the second greatest city of Egypt, but for its ancient monuments. The palaces of the Pharaohs might be ruins, and the colonnades of sphinxes leading into the Temple of Serapis more than half buried under the sand ; but time could not sear the Pyramids. From a distance they could be seen lying towards the West on a desolate rocky plain, like hills amid difficult mounds of sand. Their appearance was then altogether different : the stone steps on all four sides were all covered with a smooth surface filled with hieroglyphs, terminating at the apex. The Arabian writer Abdullatif (circa 1200) says that copies of the writings on the two great pyramids would cover more than 10,000 leaves. The abrasion of this outer cloak took place only in the first half

of the fourteenth century; a French pilgrim in 1395 found the process almost complete on the Great Pyramid: in 1440 Cyriacus of Ancona could climb up to the top. As late as 1638 (according to Greaves, an English traveller), the second was mostly intact; and the third one (called the Red Pyramid by the Arabs) as late as the end of the fourteenth century. Natives, from the neighbouring town of Busiris, in antiquity practised the art of climbing the smooth incline, no doubt an exhibition for travellers' benefit: the Arabs did the same in the Middle Ages. The Egyptian priests averred that the depth of the Pyramids underground was equal to their height; a legend told of Marienburg, and, no doubt, of many other extraordinary buildings. Greek and Roman tourists cut their names on to the vanished surface; their inscriptions were seen and copied by pilgrims to the Holy Land in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The sister of Gaius Terentius Gentianus, a high official under Trajan and Hadrian and consul, dedicated her inscription to the memory of her 'sweet brother': she had visited the Pyramids without him, wept for him and left this memorial of her grief. A number of other inscriptions on the claw of a huge lion with a human head beside the pyramid of Khefren were discovered, when the building was excavated.

Another objective was the ruins of Thebes, which stretched for two miles on both shores from North to South. Germanicus went there in 19, and perhaps had the first intuition that Rome might similarly disappear. The orientally coloured report states that, at his request, an old priest read out what was left of the hieroglyphs: the old Theban kingdom had once been as mighty as Rome and Parthia of that time. With a host of 700,000 men, the legend says King Rhamses II (1400 B.C.) had traversed and subjugated Libya, Aethiopia, and a great part of Asia: the various tributes of gold and silver, horses and weapons, ivory and fragrances, corn and other products were specified. To this day, in the ruins of Thebes, there are circumstantial pictures and records of Rhamses' wars and victories, and, in the tombs of his officials, lists of tributes, depicting the gathering of the silver and gold and ivory and ebony into the Royal Treasury: in one tomb the amount of grains on the fields from Kush to Naharain is given as 33,333,330.

The vocal statue of Memnon was also visited by Germanicus, apparently the most attractive object in all Egypt. On the West bank of the Nile was a great field of ruins, which Philostratus in his life of Apollonius of Tyana (possibly after the description of Julia Domna) calls the market-place of a deserted city, strewn with remains of walls and columns, stone seats and statues, destroyed both by man and by time. Out of this whirl of fragments, there towered up two seated colossi of King Amenophis III, visible four hours away. Each was hewn out of a rock sixty feet high, naked to the waist, with a youthful expression, upright, the arms close by the body, and the hands on the knees. Since an earthquake, possibly in 27 B.C., had thrown down the upper part of one of them, leaving only the knees and hands on the throne, visitors to Thebes might behold a strange sight. When at sunrise both colossi threw vast shadows over the silent wilderness, the fallen statue gave forth a note. Strabo, the first to report on it, calls it a slight noise, which might be caused by a tap. Others compared it to a breaking string, to a resonant copper vessel, or even with the human voice. Hence the idea arose it was a statue of Memnon, according to Greek tradition, the legendary builder of these palaces: and the son of the rosy dawn was greeting his mother. When this title of Memnon came into general use is not known: but Apio, the famous Alexandrian savant and charlatan (the author of the anti-Semitic pamphlet confuted by Josephus), has cut his name on it, and records eternally that he had heard Memnon three times. He lived under Tiberius and Caligula. The first author to designate this colossus as Memnon is Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* (completed in 77 A.D.). As the musical statue of the son of the goddess of the rosy dawn the Colossus attracted Roman and Greek tourists. Of the many pilgrims to this sight, some have cut their names, occasionally the date, and other remarks, on to the legs, covering it almost as far as the knees. Of the seventy-two, thirty-five are dated. The first is under Nero, three under Domitian, one under Trajan, most (twenty-seven) under Hadrian: Hadrian's own name, his wife's, and those of several of his following record a visit in November, 130. There are also eight governors of Egypt, and two wives of governors, three commanders of the Thebaid, various officers, two judges of appeal, a priest

of Serapis at Alexandria, a 'Homeric poet' of the Museum, and so forth. The last dated inscriptions are under Septimius Severus. During his residence in Egypt in 202, he had the Colossus restored, a restoration which has lasted to the present day: but the pressure of the heavy blocks prevented the vibration at the sudden change of temperature at sunrise. The statue of Memnon was henceforth dumb, and very soon forgotten.

In many inscriptions, tourists record their worship of Memnon and prayers to him, often in the name of far-away loves, whom they would like to have by them, or in other fashions. The former is the commonest form of tourists' inscriptions in Egypt. They contain a supplication to the national or local gods of the country, under whose mighty protection travellers so far from home wished to be.

In Thebes, after the Colossus of Memnon, Greeks and Romans visited the Tombs of the Kings in the second Libyan range of mountains West of Thebes. The valley of Bab-el-Moluk was, no doubt, the same as now, a desolate home of the dead: 'not a bush, or blade of grass on the bald steep rocks, yellowish cliffs, bestrewn with sand and traversed by dark passages, the haunt of jackals and hyaenas within, and vultures without'. The Tombs of the Kings are rooms, vaults, passages and halls dug deep into the rocks: the Greeks called them pipes (*σύριγγες*). More than a hundred inscriptions have been found here, hastily scratched on by torchlight, or painted over red: they are mostly Roman; those dated ranging from Trajan up to Constantius, and none anterior to the Ptolemies. Most of them are mere names and dates, or exclamations of amazement. 'Those who have not seen this, have seen nothing', runs one Greek inscription in the tomb of Rhamses IX: 'happy they, who have'. A high Egyptian official of finance (about the fourth century) remarks he has stayed long in Rome, and seen Rome and Egypt thoroughly.

Similar inscriptions are found at places on either bank, on temples, obelisks, *πύλωνες*, and so forth, up to the frontier at Philae and Syene, and as far as Hiera-Sykaminos, the Aethiopian frontier and southernmost point of the Empire. Some are interesting; at the ruins of Great Apollinopolis (Edfu) in Upper Egypt, 'Ptolemy, the son of Dionysius,

a Jew, praises God', 'Theodotos, the son of Dorion, a Jew, saved from' (there is a blank for some country): the travellers must have been Egyptian Jews, returned from a long and dangerous journey, and, perhaps, out of regard to pagan companions, giving the expression of gratitude a possibly pagan turn. At Philae, the name of Gaius Numonius Vala is hewn in: with him Horace once corresponded at leisure on the advantages, climatic or otherwise, of Velia and Salernum: he came here in Augustus' thirteenth consulate (2 B.C.) on the 25th March: eleven years later he was killed in the flight to the Rhine after the battle in the Teutoburger Wald.

Of the other tourists' sights in Egypt, only a few can be mentioned here. At all of the shrines the priests were the *ciceroni*. Aristides says that, on his four journeys to Egypt, he left no site unvisited, and measured any place he could not find in books with the aid of the priests and prophets. The priests also showed the holy animals, such as the immortal ibis, mentioned by Apio, at Hermopolis. Diodorus says that much might be told of the steer Apis at Memphis, the crocodile in Lake Moeris, the lions in Leontopolis, the goat at Mendes, the steer Mnevis at Heliopolis; but it would be incredible save to those who had seen them. He expatiates on the distinguished men who waited on them, fed them with the best food, gave them warm baths and scents, laid their splendid beds, got them wives and spent great sums on their burial: in his time, as much as 100 talents (£23,576 5s.). Germanicus also visited the steer Apis, which the priests kept in a special stable: Titus attended the consecration of one. The crocodiles knew the priests by their voices, were taught to follow them, and let them open their jaws, clean their teeth, and dry them with linen cloths: Suchos, a tame crocodile at Arsinoe, used to be fed by tourists with bread, wine, and flesh.

Of the great buildings, besides these mentioned, the labyrinth constructed under the erections in Lake Moeris, was a great attraction. The view of Elephantine and Syene just on the tropics, at the frontiers of Egypt, at the summer equinox was one of the wonderful natural sights. At midday, there was no shade, and obelisks, temples and men, everything that was upright shone in full sunshine: at Syene (Assouan)

there was a sacred spring (now vanished) at the bottom of which the sun might be seen, filling the water to the surface. The Little Cataracts of the Nile above Syene were also much visited. Here the stream at high water flows over a rocky island in the middle of its bed, and is calm on either side. When governors and great men came to see the waterfall, the boatmen rowed up the stream on the West beyond the cataract, and then let themselves be hurled back, without coming to any harm. Aristides, at his request, got a military escort from the Roman garrison at Syene, to force the boatmen to exhibit their skill, and himself joined them. The great cataracts in Aethiopia were seen but by few travellers. Similarly places too remote from either bank were scarcely visited: curiosity could not overcome reluctance to inaccessibility. Aristides went through all of Egypt four times without seeing the 'famous porphyry-quarries on the Red Sea' (now Djebel Dôchan), where, after Claudius' reign, hundreds of convicts worked in the waterless waste, and the scorching sun, to transform the hard stone into columns and decorations for the palaces of Rome.

VII. WHAT INTERESTED ROMAN TOURISTS

As to the places and countries visited by tourists, sources both Greek and Roman are equally available and applicable; but the objects of interest were diverse. Whether the Seven Wonders of the World as such attracted travellers to their sites is, in the absence of information, uncertain. They were certainly put together between 284-220 B.C., in the time of the *Διάδοχοι*, and probably at Alexandria, perhaps by Callimachus, before one of them, the Colossus of Rhodes, was destroyed by an earthquake. Their sites lay in the territory conquered by Alexander the Great, and in a circle round Alexandria; they were Olympia (with Phidias' Zeus), Rhodes and the Colossus, Halicarnassus and the Mausoleum, Ephesus and the Temple of Artemis, Babylon with the walls and hanging gardens, Memphis and the Pyramids. The Colossus of Rhodes was afterwards replaced (according to Martial by Apollo's altar of horns at Delos), and the number seven was thus kept up; yet there is no evidence that they were visited as the Seven Wonders. Pausanias, who travelled

much, had never met any one who had been to Babylon (of which then nothing but the walls remained).

Romans betrayed very little curiosity in the national customs of foreign peoples; because most of the tourist countries had been tinged to a large extent with Greco-Roman civilization, and, superficially, were not peculiar, and, secondly, because the past was thus more interesting to the Roman than the present. The object was, step by step, to trace the monuments and remains of antiquity, and, besides this historical aspect, to come to know as many remarkable sights of all sorts as possible, not so much from interest in them, but for their sheer fame, or literary notoriety, or for the sake of their rarity and strangeness. How far artistic interest did essentially, and interest in nature partly, contribute, is a matter which must be deferred to the end.

§ 1. THE HISTORICAL INTEREST

First of all travellers bent their steps to the temples, as best satisfying their cravings for sights and information. Even little towns, both in Greek countries and in Italy, possessed remarkable temples. Thus Marcus Aurelius writes to Fronto of Anagnia that it is a tiny old city with many ancient monuments, temples and ceremonies. The temples would be the finest buildings, the largest and often oldest and most famous, and command a good view. The interest they could awaken is shown by Philo's description of the great Temple of Augustus at Alexandria. It was situated on an eminence above the harbour, and formed a landmark; it was full of offerings, pictures and statues, and its huge precincts were garnished with colonnades, libraries, halls, parks, propylaea, open spaces, and everything decorative.

The precincts of temples often enclosed, besides numerous edifices, parks and preserves of sacred animals and birds; the visitor to them was 'regaled by the beauty of the many trees, the coolness of the canals and the purity of the air'. According to Lucian's description, the magnificent Temple of Aphrodite at Cnidos was surrounded by a park of fruit-trees, planted for their beauty, which bloomed well and afforded ample shades: they were myrtles, laurels, tall cypresses and planes; the trunks all ivy-clad, with vines and grapes pendant from them. In the shady arbour, amidst the hum of the grasshoppers, seats were placed for the banquets

of the supplicants. At the Temple of Apollo at Gryneum in Little Asia, according to Pausanias, there was a 'splendid park of fruit-trees and other trees delightful of smell or sight'. The Isle of Tenos possessed a remarkable temple of Poseidon, in a grove outside the town with ample provision for sacrificial feasts. Near the Temple of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, near the Euphrates and the boundary of Mesopotamia, there was a large park for the sacred oxen, horses, eagles, bears, lions, and other animals. Often flocks of sacred geese were kept near the temples.

Temples also abounded in dedicatory gifts and rarities, pictures, sculptures and treasures of art, for motives of piety, of safe deposit and exhibition. Augustus' gifts to five temples in Rome (that of Jupiter on the Capitol, of Julius Caesar, Apollo, Vesta and Mars Ultor), out of the booty of war, according to his own statement, cost 100,000,000 sesterces in all (£1,087,500). Pliny the Elder says that dedicating his book to Titus will enhance it, just as many objects gain value through consecration in temples. Libraries used also to be left in this fashion: temples thus became museums, not only for art but for history and natural science; though necessarily chance collections, as embracing and large as modern galleries. The Temple of Apollo at Rhegium (Reggio) once received a legacy of a parchment bound in ivory, an ivory box and eighteen pictures. In shrines at Athens, Delphi, Olympia, Rome, not to speak of others, many of the most celebrated pictures and statues might be seen, and at Rome collections of cut stones. Pompey gave the gallery of gems of Mithridates to the Capitol; Julius Caesar six similar collections to the Temple of Venus Genetrix; Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, one to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus. In Christian churches the tradition continued; and in the Cathedral of Girgenti the so-called sarcophagus of Hippolytus has been preserved, and in that of Siena, the group of the Three Graces.

Natural freaks (as also in Christian churches, e.g. a cayman in Notre Dame at Cimiez) were usually kept in temples. There, according to Pliny, the hugeness of elephants' tusks might be learnt. In Cicero's time the largest examples were in an ancient temple of Juno on a promontory of Malta: according to the inscription, they had been stolen for King

Massinissa without his knowledge, and by him restored; there were also masses of ivory, unworked and carved into figures of Νίκη in ancient style: Verres sacked them all. In the Temple of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, barbarian costumes, Indian jewelry and elephants' tusks were to be seen; all ascribed to the loot brought back by Dionysos, the supposititious architect, from India. Pausanias surmises that the tusks were bent horns, and confirms it by an elephant's skull he saw at the famous Temple of Diana at Capua. The skin and jaw-bone of a snake 120 feet long, killed by catapults by the river Bagradas in the first Punic War, under the orders of Regulus, were preserved in a temple at Rome down to the Numantine War. Hadrian gave an Indian snake to the Temple of Zeus Olympios he built at Athens, and the hide of a bear he had slain to his Temple of Eros at Thespieae. At the Temple of Isis in Caesarea, in Mauretania, in Pliny's time, a crocodile from a neighbouring lake was exhibited: it had been given by King Juba as a proof that the Nile sprang from that lake. Hanno the Carthaginian on the West coast of Africa found and killed three 'hairy savage women', which the interpreter called gorillas (they must have been gorillas rather than chimpanzees). Their skins were kept in the Temple of Juno Astarte, until the razing of Carthage. In the Jugurthine War, the soldiers of Marius lighted on animals like wild sheep, whose gaze was fatal, and called gorgons. Numidian cavalry soon laid several low, and Marius sent the skins to Rome, where they were treasured in the Temple of Hercules near the Ara Maxima on the Forum Boarium. Pausanias saw the skeleton of a whale at the Temple of Aesculapius at Sicyon. At Erythrae, in a temple of Hercules, horns of Indian ants were exhibited (they cannot have been marmots, as the word generally implies). A frequent sight in Greek temples, according to Pausanias, consisted of Indian nuts (probably cocoanuts), and reeds as thick as tree-trunks: Pliny saw the root of the cinnamon tree on a golden plate in a temple built by Livia on the Palatium, in honour of Augustus: in a temple of Aesculapius at Panticapaeum, a dish was kept, which had burst by the water freezing in it. The great crystal, which Pliny had seen, of 150 (Roman) pounds in weight, was given by Livia to the Capitol; as a sample of the black spectrous obsidian

Augustus exhibited in the Temple of Concord four elephants made out of it; Caesar bestowed a breastplate made of British pearls on the Temple of Venus Genetrix.

Curious vessels, instruments and works of art were also to be found in the temples; such as a leaden forceps in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi (showing, according to Erasistratus the physician, that only the lighter and more accessible teeth ought to be removed); or, at a temple in Smyrna, a distorting mirror; at Erythrae two *amphorae* of remarkably thin clay, made by a master and his pupil, vying which could make the finer vessel. Varro saw a flute with four stops in a temple of Marsyas, an obsolete instrument; and St. Jerome mentions a huge bronze ball on the Acropolis of Athens beside the Statue of Athene, used as a test for athletes competing in the *ἀγῶνες*: he was too weakly to move it. Foreign weapons and implements were also stored up in temples: in the temple of Aesculapius at Athens Pausanias saw a Sarmatian breastplate of horse-hooves, and linen breastplates in the Temple of Apollo at Gryneum and elsewhere. A bison's horn cased in gold, part of the booty of the war with the Getae, was given by Trajan to *Ζεὺς Κάσιος* at Antioch.

Freaks of Nature were also occasionally thus treasured up. The Pergamenes had bought a basilisk's skin at a high price, to protect a temple, which was decorated by Apelles, from spiders and birds. At Gnatia, Horace jeers at incense said to burn on an altar without fire; a superstitious Jew might believe such fables. St. Augustine tells of a candelabrum in front of a temple of Venus with a lamp, unextinguishable by wind or rain, and explains it as asbestos or the magic of some daemon inside.

Yet more common were objects of historical interest, relics of great men, of all ages. The sword of Julius Caesar, given to Vitellius, came from a temple of Mars. Vitellius gave the dagger with which Otho had killed himself to another temple of Mars at Cologne: Scaevinus, preparatory to his conspiracy, took a dagger from a temple of Salus or Fortuua, with which to kill Nero: Nero dedicated it to Jupiter Ultor on the Capitol. Varro saw the spindle and distaff of Tanaquil in a temple of Sancus, and a royal garb made by her hands, and worn by Servius Tullius, in a temple of Fortuna at Rome. In the

disused temple of Jupiter Feretrius Augustus could still view the linen breastplate which Aulus Cornelius Cossus had wrested from the King of Veii Tolumnius in single fight, and consecrated. The ring of Polycrates (with a sardonyx) was exhibited at Rome in the Temple of Concord in a golden horn presented by Augustus. King Amasis of Egypt had granted linen armour to the Temple of Athene at Lindos in Rhodes, every cord consisting of 360 threads; Mucianus, the friend of Vespasian, saw it in tatters from centuries of handling. Delphi possessed an iron chair of Pindar. The armour of Masistius, who led the Persian cavalry at Plataeae, was kept in a temple at Athens, together with the sword of Mardonius, the genuineness of which Pausanias doubted. The lance of Agesilaos was to be seen at Sparta; the harness and lance of Alexander the Great at Gortys in Arcadia, and Mithridates' armour at Nemea and Delphi; a candelabrum in the shape of a fruit-tree, part of Alexander's Theban booty, and dedicated by him to Apollo at Cumae, could be seen in the Temple of Palatine Apollo at Rome: of four statues, which had supported Alexander's tent, two might be seen in front of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and two in front of the Regia (the dwelling of the Pontifex Maximus).

But the Heroes, celebrated in poetry, and taught of in the schools, were better known than the historical figures, and their relics more appreciated; the genuineness of them was equally accepted, for tradition ranked with history, even though fabulous in part. And of heroic relics, Trojan remains were the most common and the most valued. They were widely distributed: an egg of Leda, that hung from a temple-roof at Sparta, probably an ostrich egg; an *ēlectron* goblet given by Helen to the temple of Athene at Lindos in Rhodes, said to be the size of her breast; and the ship of Aeneas, preserved down to the time of Justinian at Rome; and at Geraistos in Euboea a ship dedicated by Agamemnon to Artemis: at Cassiope in Corcyra the petrified boat of the Phaeacians. The sceptre of Agamemnon, forged by Hephaistos for Zeus, was to be seen at Chaeroneia, and his shield and sword in a temple of Apollo in Sicyon's *ἀγορά*, where also were the cloak and the armour of Odysseus, the bow and arrows of Teucer, the web of Penelope, the dress of one of the wooers, the rowing-poles and helm of the Argonauts, the

kettle, in which old Pelias had been boiled, the skin of Marsyas, and so forth. In a Lycian temple there was a papyrus letter of Sarpedon: Pliny is only surprised because Egypt then closed her gates on strangers, and papyrus was elsewhere unobtainable. But earlier relics there also were: in Phocis at Panopeus, remains of the clay, whence Prometheus made men, in front of a temple of Prometheus; these remains smelt like human skins: at Olympia an ivory horn of the goat Amalthea, who suckled Zeus; in the Temple of Samothrace cups consecrated by the Argonauts. The same thing might be seen at two places, e.g. the hair Isis tore out in agony at Osiris' death, at Coptos, and at Memphis. Two cities in Cappadocia lay near each other, both named Comana; at both Iphigenia's sword might be seen. The Heroes, on their wanderings, had left relics even in the Westerly lands; or they had arrived in some other fashion. In Gades a golden belt of Teucer was to be seen; at Circeii a goblet of Odysseus, at Capua the loving-cup of Nestor; at Beneventum, Procopius even saw the tusks of the Calydonian boar, slain by Diomedes, the legendary founder: they were three spans long. Even in barbarian countries, reminiscences of Greek legend might be found, brought there by Greek travellers, and clung to by the natives. Thus at the Isle of Meninx (Gerbi), amongst other relics, an altar erected by Odysseus; or, at the mouth of the Phasis Arrian saw an iron anchor of the *Argo*, with an appearance of modernity, despite its titanic size and ancient style. But an ancient stone anchor he accepted as credible. In the Caucasus he was shown the mountain on to which Prometheus was bound. In Procopius' time the city of Apsarus in Colchis lay in ruins; yet the natives exhibited the grave of Absyrtus, the brother of Medea. Joppa in Palestine was reputed the spot at which Perseus released Andromeda: the bones of a sea-monster furnished the excuse to the Greeks and to the Jews, who here placed the landing of Jonah; Scaurus transported these bones to Rome; but, in Josephus' day, the traces of Andromeda's shackles were to be seen, and in Pausanias' time, a blood-stained stretch of water, in which Perseus bathed after the fight.

Visitors stranded in a town without a host generally engaged guides (*περιηγηταί*) or explainers (*ἐξηγηταί*) at the temples,

and, in Greece, in the smallest towns they did not fail. The certainty of their supply is evidenced by Lucian's *True History*, in which they narrate to tourists from the upper world the reasons of the punishments of the damned. Generally priests and temple-servants acted as *ciceroni*; official guides being only found at the largest and most frequented places. Occasionally these might be well-informed men, authors of monographs on their city's antiquities, like a physician and *περιηγητής* at Hermione; but most of them were mere parrot-guides. Their company, now and then required, might often be irksome, especially to cultured men and at places like Olympia and Athens, when they gabbled out their explanations and popularized stories, 'and gave directions as to the art of the place'. Pliny mentions a statue of Hecate: in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus in dazzling marble; the vergers warned tourists not to gaze on it too long. 'If', says Lucian, 'the legends were banished from Greece, guides would starve; for truth is unpalatable'. In one of Plutarch's shorter works a visit is recorded made by a company to Delphi. Nothing could induce the guides to abridge their commentaries on what all had agreed to visit: they read out loud every single inscription, but could not answer any question outside the official patter.

In Greece and Little Asia guides entertained tourists with anecdotes of the heroes, a more congenial subject to all, and more familiar to the educated than historical figures. Roman accounts of travel show this clearly. Pomponius Mela's reminiscences are more mythological than historical. In the *χωρογραφία* (now lost) utilized by Solinus, Nature and mythology are the two features. The lists appended to the itineraries of the archipelago, contain one isolated reference to white marble of Paros, and otherwise merely legend; the birth of Juno at Samos, of Apollo and Diana at Delos, the abandonment of Ariadne at Naxos, and the advent of Dionysus to save her. Greek legends localized in the East maintained themselves well, such as the Memnon myth at Thebes, the Prometheus myth in the Caucasus, the Argonauts at Colchis, and the Perseus legend at Joppa. Tacitus, in his curtailed account of Germanicus' journey in Egypt, does not omit the derivation of Canopus from Canopus the steersman of Menelaus; though Aristides learnt

from an Egyptian priest that the word meant 'golden ground', and had been used ten thousand years before the landing of Menelaus. Yet the tale died hard: Ammianus Marcellinus repeats it.

Both Greek and Roman tourists enjoyed being told on the spot the legends 'a people amorous of its past wove into its grey beginnings'. In the absence of ruins, even traces of antiquity were descanted on. As Aristides says, everywhere talk ran on the bygone: any nook must be the remains of a *τροπαῖον*, a monument, spring, the chamber of Helen or Harmonia or Leda. From the Troezenian Temple of Aphrodite Phaedra gazed down on Hippolytus, who was running on the course: and a myrtle with pierced leaves had been pierced by her in her misery with a hairpin. On this stone in the harbour of Salamis old Telamon had sat and followed with his eyes the ship on which Ajax was sailing to Aulis. At Aulis there was a spring by which the plane had stood, on which, before the eyes of assembled Greece, a snake devoured a sparrow and her brood of nine: a relic of the wood was preserved. Near Sparta, on the road to Arcadia, was a statue of Modesty, where Icarios had overtaken the chariot on which Odysseus was bearing away Penelope: Icarios repented him of his consent and besought his daughter not to leave him: Odysseus bade her choose between father and husband: she veiled herself. Icarios turned back: the statue marked the spot. It was a land where every stone had its saga.

The reminiscences of great men of later times were also sought: Roman *pietas* offered sacrifice at their graves. Thus, in 191 B.C., Manius Acilius Glabrio ascended Oeta, and sacrificed at the Pyre of Hercules. Caracalla imitated Alexander the Great, sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles at Ilium, and Trajan at the house at Babylon where Alexander died. Hadrian restored the grave of Ajax at Troy (it had been laid waste by the sea), and set on the grave of Epaminondas an inscribed stone, sacrificed at Pompey's grave, and worthily restored his tomb. Germanicus sacrificed at all the tombs of the great men that he visited; an epigram of his to Hector's *manes* has survived. Pausanias mentions amongst the tombs shown to tourists in Greece, that of King Codrus on the Ilissus, of Aristomenes of Messenia, of Demosthenes

at Calauria, and others. Every city treasured the memorials of its great men: Thebes possessed the tomb of Pindar and remains of his house by Dirce. But Athens, in this respect, was the richest of all, and the most zealous, a thronged cemetery of greatness.

But the main centres of interest in Greece were the Persian battlefields and camps. On the plain of Marathon, the tombs of the fallen, of Miltiades and the marble trophy were preserved, and, at night, the neighing of the horses and trampling of the hosts might be heard. The ruins of temples burned by the Persians were still seen by Pausanias. Later epochs were also commemorated. 'We saw', Arrian writes to Hadrian, 'the Black Sea from the same spot as Xenophon did and you too'. He replaced the altars of unhewn stone with ungrammatical inscriptions by marble altars correctly inscribed.

The steps of Alexander the Great in Greece and the East were lovingly tracked out. In Plutarch's time an ancient oak on the Cephissos was shown, under which his tent had been spread at the Battle of Chaeroneia, and near it the general grave of the Macedonians. King Mithridates, on his campaign in Phrygia, stayed for the night, for good luck's sake, at the same inn as Alexander. At Tyre a spring was shown at which Alexander dreamed he captured a satyr: a dream interpreted as referring to the taking of Tyre. At Minnagara (on the Lower Indus), the Egyptian merchant in India would visit the spots consecrated by the memory of the Macedonian army, by chapels, altars and encampments and wells. The crypt at Alexandria, in which Alexander's body was preserved in a glass coffin in honey, was probably seen by all the Emperors, who visited it, though forbidden to ordinary tourists. We know of the visits to it of Caesar, Augustus and Severus, who walled it up: but Caracalla also saw it. The Mohammedans revered a so-called tomb of Alexander at Alexandria. 'Just as you', Pliny says, in describing Trajan's distant campaigns, 'are shown the sacred remains of great generals, the time will come when posterity will long to see, and will bring their children to see, the field where you sweated, the trees that afforded you rest, the rocks which protected your slumber, the houses you honoured as a guest': a prophecy fulfilled, accord-

ing to Ammianus Marcellinus, who says, speaking of Julian's march in the valley of the Euphrates, that in the town of Ozogardana the tribunal was shown whence Trajan had addressed his host.

In Italy and the West, in the almost complete absence of legend, memories of Roman history were the only features, zealously sought after. At Laurentum, the encampment of Aeneas was shown, which was called Troy; at Liternum olive-trees, planted by the Elder Scipio, and a huge myrtle overhanging a grotto, where a snake guarded over his *manes*; at Baiae jewelry and a little cloak given to Tiberius as a child by the sister of Sextus Pompeius; at the bottom of the spring of Aponus near Padua dice he had thrown in; at Capri the place whence he flung his tortured victims into the sea; Horace's home at Tibur, and the houses where great men and emperors were born. Augustus was born on the Palatine at Capita Bubula (Oxheads), and that part of the house had been turned into a chapel: but, near Velletri, a little room like a store-cupboard on an estate was reported his birthplace, which in Suetonius' time was haunted and terrified any one who entered without reason and impure intentions. Titus was born in a dark little room at a poor house in the Septizonium, which was kept and shown in Suetonius' time. 'The fortunate home that heard Domitian's first cry, and saw his first attempts at crawling' (Martial) was converted by Domitian into a sanctuary of the Flavii, and gleamed with gold and marble. The house of Pescennius Niger on the Campus Jovis at Rome was visited in Diocletian's time, and still named after Niger. Seneca in the villa of Scipio Africanus at Liternum, comparing the changes of time, did reverence to the *manes* of the great man and his supposed coffin: he saw 'the freestone villa, the walled-in park, towers on either side to guard it, a huge cistern, and near by, outbuildings and plantations, and a small narrow old-fashioned bath-house. In this nook the Terror of Carthage washed himself after field-labour, for he cultivated the land himself. Under this mean roof he stood, on a wretched plaster-floor.'

Historians, of course, aimed at seeing the localities of their subject, and Suetonius was especially conscientious. Appian visited the scene of the murder of Cicero near Caieta,

and Plutarch the battlefield of Bedriacum and the monument of Otho.

Similarly Jews and Christians in Palestine and elsewhere visited Biblical sites. Josephus mentions the remains of Noah's Ark on a mountain in Armenia (placed by others in Adiabene), and the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was turned (he had himself seen it); and, near Hebron, the graves of the grandsons of Abraham and a huge terebinth as old as the world. By the beginning of the fourth century, Christian pilgrimages were common, and no place famous in either Testament was left unvisited. We have as authorities the Pilgrims' Route of 333 A.D. from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and the tale of a noble Gaulish pilgrim of her journey to the Holy places (383-5). The thornbush, whence God spake in fire to Moses, was then in a well-kept garden in front of a church with cloisters round it, and the spot where Moses stood was also shown. At Carrhae in Mesopotamia, the spring at which Rebecca tended the camels of Abraham, and the one at which Jacob gave drink to Rachel's flock were visited; and near them was the huge stone which Jacob lifted off the well. But the Gaulish lady did not see the pillar of salt, but only the place of it; she will not deceive her sisters. But it was visited by a pilgrim from Piacenza in 510 and was still upright; and he says it is not true that animals had sucked it down.

§ 2. ART AS A MOTIVE

History, in the manner described, was the main incentive for Roman tourists, as the following lines of a Roman poet under Nero on the wonders of Etna show: 'To behold beautiful temples with ancient treasures and sacred antiquities, we face the dangers of land and sea; greedily seeking the tales of old lore from folk to folk; now glad to see the Ogygian walls of Thebes, built by two brothers scarce akin: there we live the ancient times, gazing at stones which moved to song and string, and at the altar whence arose the smoke from the double offering; and we wonder at the spot where the Seven Heroes wrought and Amphiaraus was swallowed up. Or the Eurotas and the City of Lycurgus and their devoted company who followed them unto death enchants

us. Or we see Athens, proud in her minstrels and her protectress Athene. Here Theseus forgot to hoist the white signal to his father on his return; Athens, too, bears the guilt of the tragic fate of Erigone, now a famous star: thence was born Philomele, who now inhabits the vocal woods; Procne, who nests on roofs; Tereus the wild, who hops about on bare fields. We gaze on the ashes of Troy, and Pergamus that fell with Hector's fall, see the little mound of the great Hector, Achilles the swift, and the avenger of Hector.'

He, however, proceeds on to art as a further motive: 'Yea, Greek pictures and statues attract many: the *Ἀναδομένη* with her dripping hair, Medea the terrible, with her little ones playing at her feet, the sacrifice of Iphigenia with the father veiled, or some work of Myron. These many works of art make many cross land and sea to visit them'.

Of course, cultured Romans on their travels saw the treasures of art in Greece and Little Asia. Cicero says of Pompey, that nothing could detain him in Greece; he would not even look at the statuary and painting of Greece, which others generally pilfered. Cicero also mentions several works of art stolen by Verres from private owners and from temples, which every visitor had been taken to see. In the chapel of Heius at Messana there was a Cupid of Praxiteles, a Hercules of Myron, two *κἀνηφόροι* of Polycletus. The house, though private, was a general tourists' resort. In Syracuse a picture of a cavalry battle of Agathocles in the temple of Minerva was a principal feature, as at Segesta the statue of Diana, which Cicero as Quaestor also saw. Propertius, in Athens, aimed at studying Plato and Demosthenes and Menander, and also the art and sculpture in bronze and ivory. Apuleius notes his seeing the portrait of Phidias on the shield of Athene on the Acropolis of Athens.

Works of art of universal fame and individually known to any cultured man, such as the larger cities of Greece still possessed even under the Empire, were always and sometimes expressly visited, though many of those mentioned by Cicero as being in Greece and Little Asia had been removed to Rome. In Cicero's time Thespieae was always visited solely for a Cupid of Praxiteles, and, according to Pliny, Cnidos for his Venus, reputed by some the masterpiece of the world. 'You travel to Olympia', says Epictetus, 'to

see the Zeus of Phidias, and deem it ill-luck to die without having viewed it'. This remark is addressed to Greeks, but may well have been applicable to Romans.

But everywhere history and not art was the object of Roman travel; art is only incidentally mentioned. Generally interest in art was superficial, stimulated only by the celebrated name or work. Once seen, and that was all; the tourist, says Tacitus, came and looked at the picture, and went away satisfied. The Roman saw in order to have seen, like modern Englishmen whose interest is mainly historical: Atticus' letter to Cicero on Athens is typical. 'Places', he says, 'containing tracks of those endeared and revered, make a certain impression on us. My darling Athens attracts me, not so much for her Greek buildings and monuments of ancient art, as for her great men, where they dwelled, sat, talked and lie buried'.

§ 3. NATURE AS AN INCENTIVE TO TRAVEL

Nature, much more than art, attracted the Roman: more recreation, says Atticus, is afforded by Nature than by art. But the feeling was very different from that of our days, not direct, but aroused by celebrity, rarity or sanctity.

Its main differentia was its religious character: the ancients attached to remarkable phenomena a divine or daemonic content, which evoked awe. This awe the Greeks personified in myths: to the Italians it remained a strange present mystery, a shapeless 'weaving and swaying of impersonal spirits' pervading all Nature. The religious sense, which felt every single instant the influence of protecting powers, was most excited by free Nature. 'Wherever some intimate place aroused pleasant recollections, or some fine view stirred the soul, some fruitful valley or fertile field provoked the sense of a divine boon, they would erect a simple altar, with a sculptured snake in gratitude to the unknowable *genius loci*.' However much the old religion might have changed in the course of the centuries, the piety of Nature remained alike to Romans and to Greeks, and its evoking causes, ever the same, never lost their hold on man's soul.

One quotation from Seneca may exemplify the many expressions of this religion of Nature to be found in Roman writers

and poets. 'You see a grove. The ancient trees are thickly clustered together; their height and their interlacing foliage shut out the sky, a huge darkness in the open fields. And a bewilderment seizes you, teaches you the presence of a god. Or some deep grotto has been hollowed out by Nature alone, and has eaten its way far into the solid rock; the soul feels a something higher: and it is meet to place altars and reverence the well-heads of great streams, the spot where a torrent bursts forth from the dark earth, where hot springs bubble up, or lakes unfathomable or mysteriously sombre.' In such solitudes, divinity seemed nearer and more present; and, more than in the turmoil of streets, was the religious sense manifested: the twilight of caves or old trees, or enclosed hills, moved the wanderer to involuntary worship. Thus places, naturally beautiful, were frequented not only for their beauty, but to worship the god of that locality.

'Living water, that came to light without man's work, a *caput aquae*, with a *perpetua causa*, as the jurists say, received worship, both in and after Pagan times.' Into these sacred wells offerings would be thrown, coins especially (they are now often found in river-beds and springs), and chapels erected. Thus there was a temple at the source of the Seine at the end of the first century; and a magnificent shrine, built in a semicircle on to the sheer cliff, overlooking 'the loveliest of views' (its ruins are still imposing), was erected over the spring in the Djebel Zaghuan, with its crystal waters: it fed the aqueducts of Roman Carthage, which were probably built by Severus and Caracalla; the Arabs included it in the Wonders of the World. Thus, too, the source of the Clitumnus in Umbria attracted visitors no less by its sanctity than its beauty. From a cypress-crowned hill it welled forth, ice-cold, of a transparent green, reflecting the ashes on either bank, expanding into a navigable stream lined with country-houses. At the sources stood an ancient temple and several chapels (one, reconsecrated for Christian use under Theodosius still exists): walls and columns were covered with inscriptions from the numerous visitors. Caligula once journeyed to Mevania to see the grove and source of the Clitumnus. There must have been many others; the Po, Pliny says, springs from a beautiful well-head.

Of the grottoes the most famous was the Corycian on

Parnassus. Pausanias calls it the greatest and most beautiful he had seen, and another of the same name near Corycos in Cilicia, a huge ravine; Pausanias describes three other great sacred caves in Little Asia. It was not strange if the wonderful stalactites and formations, the drippings of water from the roof, and the subterranean streams in these twilight or torch-light darknesses made the caves seem the dwellings of gods and nymphs, and the noises the music of daemons. The recesses of the Corycian Grotto in Cilicia, according to Pomponius Mela, awed off any one from penetrating them. All the larger caves had their deities and images of them.

Equally natural was the veneration of giant trees. 'Once', says Pliny, 'trees were the temples of the gods, and to this day the simple dedicate a tall tree to a god, and we revere images gleaming with ivory and jewels no more than the awing silence of groves'. In the depths of forests the mysterious fear, which to the ancients signified the approach of godhead, was felt most deeply. Pausanias gives a list of prehistoric trees in Greece, the willow at Samos, the oak at Dodona, the olive on the Athenian acropolis. The palm of Apollo at Delos which Odysseus had revered was said to be standing in Pliny's time; a natural impossibility for the date-palm. The oldest trees in Rome, according to Pliny, were a lotus-tree on the Vulcanal, said to be older than the city, a cypress of the same age, which fell in Nero's latter years, a lotus-tree in the courtyard of the Temple of Lucina (which was 450 years old), itself said to be older, and a few others, besides huge trunks in which several men could stand. Such trees were evidently much visited; amongst them were the pine on Mount Ida (220 feet in height) on which Attalos I of Pergamus had written, and several huge planes. 'What were more to be desired in the barren mazes of rocks in the South, and more to be worshipped and admired, than the tree with full bright foliage on a green-grey trunk, with murmuring brooks at its feet, refreshing the succeeding generations of men?' Pausanias gives prominence to the plane at Caphyae in Arcadia, planted either by Menelaos or Agamemnon. 'Greece derived trees and joy in them from Asia, where the plane and cypress had long been revered by the Iranians and the tribes West of them.' In Aulo-crene in Phrygia in Pliny's time, the plane was shown which

Apollo had selected for its height to be a gallows for Marsyas. One of the largest planes was in Lycia by a spring, no doubt also having its myth; its hollow trunk was eighty-one feet round, and its foliage at the top still spread a broad circle of shade: Licinius Mucianus the consul 'dined inside it with eighteen guests, and rested after the banquet, and acknowledged the view finer than from the gaudy marble halls of Rome'. At Gortyn in Crete was the ever-green plane, under which Zeus had embraced Europa, and celebrated in poems, Greek and Latin, which were perhaps nailed on to it.

Literary fame was a second great advertisement for tours to particular places, just as Jean Paul's Titan popularized the Borromean Isles and Ischia, at any rate up to the forties, and Scott his own highlands. A much-described district would be largely visited: most of the places already mentioned were thus celebrated. Pomponius Mela's account of the Corycian Grotto in Cilicia has a poetical ring, like Pliny's of Tempe, 'on both sides soft inclines rise till lost to view: the Peneus flows through with grassy-green banks, between avenues, with birds singing from the tree-tops'. Tempe was one of the places, imitations of which decorated Hadrian's house at Tibur. Seneca inquired of his friend Lucilius, who had toured through all Sicily, only after the real nature of the whirlpool of Charybdis: he already knew that Scylla was a harmless rock. St. Jerome, in a brief account of his journey from Italy to the East, says he had all the old legends of Scylla told him at Rhegium, of Ulysses' danger-ridden course, the songs of the Sirens and the insatiable maw of Charybdis. 'Travelling', says Seneca in one of his letters, 'will do you good by giving you knowledge of peoples, shapes of mountains, plains extending to unknown lengths, valleys with eternal waters trickling through, or some unusual river, such as the Nile with its summer floods, or the Tigris which vanishes from sight, and re-emerges as broad as ever, or the Maeander, the common-place of poets, with its contortion in and round about itself, but you will not become better or more sensible'. These rivers attract people, not for their beauty, but their greatness, fame or strange qualities. Apollinaris Sidonius, in a letter to a friend, describes his journey to Rome, and tells what famous cities, battlefields, sacred mountains, or poets' streams he has seen. 'As we are born

to lofty things', says the author of the *De Sublimitate*, 'we admire not little streams, however clear and useful, but the Nile, the Danube and the Rhine, and the Ocean'. The disappearance of the Tigris 'into a yawning cleft' and its 'underground flow', real or fabulous courses of other streams, exercised many poets. These quotations are from verses of Nero: Lucan and Dionysius (under Hadrian), the writer of a geography in verse, also deal with the same topics.

Thus we come to the third great attraction, abnormal phenomena. The floating islands in Lake Vadimonis near Ameria, Pliny the Younger says, are passed by, as being in Italy: similar, not more remarkable sights are sought abroad. Romans and Greeks in the West travelled to Gades or the West coast of Gaul to see the tides of the Atlantic, as did Lucian's friend Sabinus in Gaul. Philostratus had also seen these tides, and makes his Apollonius go to Gades for the purpose: he tells the superstition believed to this day on certain coasts, that the soul cannot depart the body except at ebb-tide. Strabo, Apuleius, Galen and Cassius Dio describe a ravine near Hierapolis in Phrygia, out of which carbonic acid came forth, and killed men and animals (except, as they said, eunuchs): they experimented with birds and other animals. This place was much frequented, a building was put up affording a more convenient view: Dio calls it a theatre, and Strabo does not mention it; in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, the sight had been forgotten. Naturally, all spots, whence deadly fumes arose, believed to be descents into the Nether world (Averni, *Χαρόνεια*) were similarly frequented: such was the lake near Cumae still called Lago d'Averno, with its solfatara, and made world-famous by Virgil. To count up only the celebrated real or imaginary freaks of Nature, all more or less fabulous, would be impossible: and sufficient have already been instanced.

Next, an immediate interest in Nature is proved by the well-known Roman love of country life. It may have been occasioned by the insanitary condition of Rome in the summer: but it was also the desire to escape the bustle and dirt of the city, and enjoy the quiet and solitude of the country, to have, as a Greek writer says, 'the refreshing sight of mother earth'; and often enough, man's work seemed mean in comparison with the sempiternal splendour of Nature.

Hellenistic poetry evoked many echoes of this sentiment, and amongst the commonplaces of rhetoric was the contrast of town and country, art and nature, supercivilization and the life of nature. But a true feeling for nature is to be met with in many prominent Roman authors. The country, said Varro, was given by God, and the town was made by man; he preferred the fruit-stores at Scrofa's villa to the picture-galleries of Lucullus. Lucretius, too, was content to lie by the brook on the grass under a lofty tree in smiling weather on the flower-clad lawns, and to leave to others the golden halls of luxuries and lamplight and banquets and lyres. Atticus says in Cicero he could not sate his eye with the view of the islands in the Fibrenus, and despised gorgeous villas with their marble floors and rich panelling: their garden-canal were nothing beside his stream. So Seneca the Elder: 'I can scarcely believe that those who copy in their houses woods and seas and rivers have ever gazed on broad green stretches with a torrential or quiet river; have seen the sea from a height in summer calm or winter storm. Who, after viewing these mighty things, were content with the petty?'

Virgil's description of the happiness of the rustics is well known, 'were they but conscious of it'; as also his longing for the calm, pure, peaceful life of the country, his joy in valleys, refreshed by cool streams, in woods and fields and grottoes and lakes, in the lowing of oxen, and sleeping under the trees; his yearning after the dales of the Spercheus, the theme of Greek verse, and the umbrageous combs of Taygetos and Haemos. And Horace was the most eloquent on this contrast. In the country the winter was mild and the summer cool; and sleep sound; the fragrant grass brighter than bright stones, the natural spring cleaner than the fountain with its leaden pipes. So, too, Propertius praises the splendour of autonomous nature over against trim gardens; the glories of the meadow-flowers, and the clinging strength of the ivy, and the trees in the lonely ravine, the brook in its own path and the pebbly shore. Martial, too, a lover of country-life, is sympathetic towards real ruralities untainted with town. Juvenal deplors the decoration of the grotto of Egeria, and says her godhead was nearer in a clothing of grass than in a mantel of marble. Not only poets, prose-

writers as well celebrate the superiority of Nature to human makings, and dwell on the refreshing glimpses of the silent green, the murmuring river, or the distant view, the songs of the birds and the fresh breeze, where in solitude time may be dreamed away: and, to the Romans, Nature was the true place of birth of poetry and thought.

This love of Nature was evidenced in the plans of the city homes of the rich, in which gardens and views were deemed essential. According to Pliny, Epicurus was the first architect of gardens in town. At any rate, the custom came in at the time of the *Διάδοχοι*, and the feeling for Nature was more or less similar to our own. In laying out houses, this epoch took account of this passion and invented the *Cyzicene rooms*. 'These lay North, had in the middle a door, and on both sides Venetian windows, and from the two *triclinia* in them there was a view into the open. They were evidently designed for the enjoyment of Nature in the summer. Vitruvius mentions them as a part of a Greek house, occasionally, in his time, used in Italy. *Cyzicene rooms* spread in Italy with Hellenistic influence. Pliny the Younger in two gardens had them.' By Sulla's time Roman city houses had gardens and parks. The six lotus-trees in Crassus' garden on the Palatine were in 22 B.C. valued as high as the palace itself, at 3,000,000 sesterces. Cicero's friend Atticus had his house on the Quirinal; it formerly belonged to one Pamphilus; he inherited from his maternal uncle: its main feature was the park. Sallust's exaggerated phrase of palaces built like cities, points to the frequency of large gardens in Rome. Horace, too, makes repeated allusions to little woods and groves between the gaily stuated peristyles: a house with a wide view on fields was highly recommended. The tendency was always to assimilate the city house to the country villa. Martial describes the *Petilian palace*, which was on the highest part of Rome: it was a *rus in urbe*; its vintages better than those from a *Falernian vineyard*; carriage-drives might be had inside the grounds, and sleep was immune from the noise of the streets and the glare of day. In Philostratus, the owner of a large house in Rhodes, which cost twenty-four talents (£5,700) to build, remarks that he need not go out much, as there were walks and groves in it. Even bath-rooms might have distant

views. Seneca observes that the luxurious rich deemed bath-rooms without large windows looking out on fields and seas only fit for moths. Nero's Golden Palace, the type of pomp, was not noticeable for gold and silver, 'a usual luxury', but for its lawns and ponds, and mock-forests and views. A jurist of the second century, writing of charges on estates, says that they consist not in doing something, but in allowing or not doing something, as e.g. that a man need not decorate his house with paintings, or lay out a garden, or arrange a beautiful view.

If this was so inside towns, in the country villas would always be on eminences. Martial praises the villa of his friend Julius Martialis on the Janiculum for its view. All Rome and the Campagna up to the Albanian mountains could be discerned, and all the little towns, the busy main roads, the Tiber up to Ponte Molle with its burden of boats. The position of the Younger Pliny's Tuscan villa can be instanced as the Roman ideal. A broad plain could be seen framed in, like an amphitheatre, by the Apennines: from the loftier peaks old forests clad the slopes, with intervals of corn-fields, vineyards, green flowering meadows, and in the valley the Tiber and many streamlets. This lofty view was a great pleasure; it was more like a picture; and the eye was charmed with variety.

Hardly ever in ancient literature, as we may expect in the South, is a waterless country praised. It was not only the pleasant gaze on the limitless blue of the sea, on the reflections in the lakes, the silvery brooks and streams, and foaming waterfalls that attracted men, but also the cooler atmosphere. Further, in the South, in the absence of water everything is grey and dry; only on the banks is the green fresh, the vegetation luxuriant, the trees shady. 'What is fairer than water?' asks Petronius. The shores of inland lakes, narrow dales with trickling rills and ravines, broad river valleys attracted the lovers of Nature.

The Vale of Tempe, ideal scenery to the ancients, 'unites the charm of the river valley with the wild grandeur of a rocky ravine'. The river Peneios here enters a ravine some four miles long, between steep offshoots from Ossa and Olympus descending sheer down, covered with foliage. Olympus presents but sheer rock, but on the right bank there is a narrow belt of fertile land, sometimes widening

into little plains, containing springs, and covered with grass, laurels, planes and oaks. The river flows through peacefully, here and there forming an islet, varying in breadth to a narrow rock channel, canopied with plane-trees, impenetrable to the sun.

Thus in all descriptions of Nature vegetation and running water are the first constituents. Horace's shady valley in the Sabine Mountains had its main charm in the spring Bandusia with its babbling waters and ancient oak, clearer than crystal and cool even in the dog-days. Catullus loved above all things, 'beyond other isles and peninsulas guarded by Neptune in lakes and waves', Sirmio on Lake Garda: no doubt it was then laid out garden-fashion: there are Roman ruins on it, perhaps of *thermae* of the date of Constantine. Far and wide, says Seneca, there is no lake whereon the villas of the Roman rich do not project, and no river. Pliny exalts Trajan for not copying his predecessors and expropriating other owners, welding all these ponds, lakes and woods into one man's sole domain. On Lake Bracciano there are the ruins of a *Sans-souci* (*Πανσίλυπον*) of Tiberius' time, belonging to Metia Hedonium. Pliny the Younger shows that Lake Como was lined round with villas, as it was in Cassiodorus' time, whose ranting betrays an intense love of Nature. He calls the site of the city of Comum so beautiful, as to have been built for pleasure. The sea is shell-shaped, its borders marked by the white foam, and cased in by high mountains: the shores, decorated *praetriorum luminibus*, with the splendours of its palaces, are belted round with olive-woods. Vineyards hang down from the hills, their ridges crowned with wreaths of chestnuts. Snowy waterfalls percolate into the lake. A Carolingian poet celebrates the beauty of Como, its green grass ever spring-like, the olives on all sides, and laurels and myrtles, granates, damsons and lemon-trees. Less famous scenery, however, had its water-mirrors. Apollinaris Sidonius, in a modern-sounding passage, describes the rivers of Lombardy: 'the Lambro with its bulrushes, the green Adda, the torrential Etsch, the tardy Mincio'; and the oak woods on its shore, with the many singing-birds, and the thickets of reeds, in which the birds nested.

The course of the Anio, 'the most delightful of rivers', was

beshaded with woods, and lined in for all its length with villas, the most famous being Nero's at Subiaco. Tibur with its resounding grotto of Albunea, the fall of the Anio and the grove of Tiburnus owed its celebrity to the waterfall. On the estate of Manilius Vopiscus, described by Statius, were two palaces on either bank, on a calm spot intermediate between two waterfalls. A thick lofty forest came to the verge of the water, which reflected the leaves. It was cool there even in the dog-days, and the July sun could not parch the inner rooms. According to the Elder Pliny the shores of the Tiber were more lined with villas than any other river. Herodes Atticus owned a villa at Cephisia, which is still, through its cool situation, its many wells, gardens, olives, cypresses, planes and silver poplars, an 'oasis in the Attic desert'. There, according to Gellius, there was the shadow of immense groves in the greatest heat, and the melody of streams and birds ever to be heard.

In the manner of the feeling of nature of his time, and, like the Greek sophists, Josephus paints the region of Lake Gennesaret as a 'country of marvellous beauty', extraordinarily fertile, thanks to the well of Capharnaum. So, too, a notable Gaulish pilgrim of the fourth century says she had never seen a lovelier land than Yessen (Goshen), a country of vineyards, balsam, orchards and cultivated fields. Procopius and Luxorius depict the pleasure-gardens Rome erected near Carthage (in which the Vandals debauched at ease), and Luxorius extols the groves full of song-birds, the clear brooks and their mossy banks, the fragrant flowers, and the pavilions and watchtowers rising from the meadows.

But, of all regions, the ancients most loved the seashore: seashores and beautiful scenery were almost synonymous. Ancient poetry and legend is full of eloquent appreciations of the beauty of the seacoast. One passage of Catullus may be reproduced:

Hic qualis flatu placidum mare matutino
Horrificans Zephyrus procliuas incitat undas,
Aurora exoriente uagi sub limina solis,
Quae tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae
Procedunt (leni resonant plangore cachinni),
Post uento crescente magis magis increbrescunt
Purpureaque procul nantes a luce refulgent. (lxiv. 26g. . .)

Ancient art, too, derived much inspiration from this theme, the sea, which to Romans and Greeks was the noblest and fairest sight. 'How mighty', Cicero exclaims, describing the wonders of creation, 'is the beauty of the sea, the view of its hugeness, the manifold isles, and delightful coasts'. It was an inexhaustible and perennial pleasure. Marcus Marius, the friend of Cicero, had a passage broken through on his estate at Stabiae (Castellamare) to gain a free view from his villa on to the gulf in the morning shimmer. Cicero writes to Atticus from Puteoli: 'Do I enjoy the view from the heights more, or the sea close at hand? I do not know. I cannot discriminate'. The letters of Cicero and Pliny the Younger are full of such expressions. Plutarch brings forward as a common saw, that a sail along the coast and a walk on the shore is the supreme pleasure. Libanius, in his panegyric on Antioch, tries to compensate the absence of a sea view by the absence of the seamy side of a sea-resort. The most characteristic proof, however, is Justinian's decision that no one in Constantinople might obstruct the view of the sea, a *πρᾶγμα χαριέστατον*, by buildings less than 100 feet away. Procopius, too, exalting the beauty of the situation on the Hellespont, describes the Emperor's dwellings close on the shore, and the effect of architecture and the mirroring sea.

But the sites of Roman villas testify to this love of the sea, much more than does their literature. The villas lined the whole coast from the Gulf of Spezzia to the Gulf of Salerno and further still. How intensely Romans aimed at enjoying the sea in every fashion, and, the richer at least, built out into the sea; how they multiplied and variegated the views of it is shown by the facts already brought forward, and Pliny the Younger's special account of his villa at Laurentum. There was a dining-room built out on the coast so far, as to be sprayed if the wind were in the South-West. Through the folding doors and the windows (which went to the floor) the sea was seen from three sides. One window of a large room afforded a view of the broad calm sea. The warm sea-water swimming bath also afforded a view, and an upper window looked out on the sea and the coast. From the three windows of an alcove views of sea, villas and coast could be seen together or apart and so on. The villa of

Pollius Felix on the heights of Surrentum gave a view from every window on to Ischia, Capri and Procida, and, above all, on the sea; at sunset 'the shadow of the wooded hills fell on the water and the palaces seemed to swim in the crystal surface'. Of the pleasure resorts on the West coast of Italy, and the North coast of Egypt we have already spoken. Near Old Canobus the foundations of a building might recently be seen, like the Roman villas, built into the sea. Fragments of statues lay about on all sides. In Greece ruins of Roman villas are met with on the coasts.

Such was the nature loved by antiquity and celebrated in literature. But any wild or savage scenery, any majesty, or terrible or sombre monotony they did not admire: valleys and hills and the coastlands were all they liked. Mountains were beautiful, as a graceful definition of the horizon, or framing of the landscape: but there was no charm for them in the hills or the mountains as such, or in the melancholy splendour of a desert; in the enchantment to us of the modern Campagna. Catullus, who was delighted with the peninsula Sirmio on the level shore of Desenzano, would have had not a single word of praise for the Riva and its bare cliffs.

Ancient love of Nature was as intense, but narrower than that of modernity. It is typical of it that *amoenus*, charming, was the most frequent expression of admiration. Quintilian says that *species* or beauty is attributable to the 'level, charming and marine regions'. To these three categories may be added the countries mentioned as the most desirable in Lucian's *Ship*, in which all the pleasures purchasable by a 'Fortunatus' are dealt with, viz. the environs of Athens, the Eleusinian territory by the sea, the land of Sicyon, and 'any shaded, well-watered and fertile part of Greece'. Hermogenes the *rhetor* mentions as examples of things pleasant in description and in actuality 'the beauty of a region, various plantations and kinds of running water', and similar features, recalling somehow the plane by the brook in the Phaedrus. Libanius praises Julian the Apostate for selecting Athens and not Ionia as his residence as Prince, because of the gardens and fields on the shore.

But express disclaimers of the beauty of mountains can be found. Cicero says, as an instance of the power of habit, that we can come to like any region we have long dwelt

in, 'even mountainous and hilly parts'. He makes Atticus, astounded at the beauty of the Isle of Fibrenus, say he had near Arpinum seen only rocks and hills, and wondered how his friend could like it. A further proof of this distaste for the heroic in nature is afforded by the fact that Cicero never mentions the two falls of some twenty-five metres of the arms of the Liris, enclosing the Isola, one being perpendicular, and the other a sharp incline; nor does any one after him. Virgil's admiration for 'Father Apennine', with his swaying rustling oaks and snowy head and confident gaze heavenwards, is derived from a distant view. In his enthusiastic laudation of Italy's beauty, Virgil praises her fertility in corn, oil, wine, herds, her climate, cities, peoples, lakes and seas and mines; of her mountains no single word. Seneca's impugning of Corsica as a horrible rock may be coloured by his dislike of his enforced residence and his habitual exaggeration; but it also shows that that age had no eye for the rich colouration of that island. The suburb of Antioch at the foot of Mount Casius is celebrated by Libanius, because the mountain did not terrify the inhabitants, but lavished all that joy can demand; wells and trees and gardens and blossoms, and song-birds, and a very early springtime.

To the beauty of the Alps the educated world was blind: Livy characterizes the feeling in speaking of the *foeditas* of them. Modern travellers to the desolations of ice near the North Pole have been equally impervious to the majestic terror of the scenery. At a time when every year hundreds and thousands of Romans crossed the numerous Alpine roads, and Switzerland was a Roman land, travellers had no eye save for the difficulties of the narrow mule-paths, the wilderness of ice and snow, and the horror of the avalanches. This lack of sympathy with the enchantment of the terrific in Nature is why 'of the eternal snow in the Alps, ruddy at sunset or sunrise, of the marvellous blue of the glaciers, of the magnificence of the Swiss landscape, no ancient said one word: it is why Silius Italicus describes the Alps as a horrifying barren desert, whilst lovingly dwelling on Italy's ravines and wooded shores'.

Mountain-climblings are very seldom mentioned in antiquity, and their infrequency and failure augmented their severity. They were regarded as ordeals, as Pliny's praise of the elder

naturalists shows, who indefatigably sought for herbs 'even in pathless mountains and remote deserts': and none of the ancients knew of the Alpine plants. Polybius says, in a comparison of the Greek mountains with the Alps, that the former, such as Taygetus, Parnassus, Olympus, Pelion, Ossa, Haemus and Rhodope, required only a day's ascent; the latter required five days. If, therefore, the Greek mountains were often climbed, it may have been for the view. It is possible that the Greeks, after Alexander the Great, took over with the 'inheritance of the Persians', the Persian love of panoramas. Strabo mentions a marble *belvedere* erected by them on Mount Tmolus near Sardes, affording a view of the whole valley of the Cayster. A rather scanty description of the view from Olympus in Apollonius Rhodius may be based on personal experience: 'beneath the nourishing earth was seen and the cities of men and the Holy streams, and on high peaks, and, all round, the sea'. A measurement of the height of Olympus by the plumb-line and instruments by one Xenagoras worked out at 4,814·3 feet. King Philip of Macedon in 183 B.C. undertook the ascent of Haemus, not for the sake of the view, but in the belief that the Adriatic could thence be seen, and the directest road made out. The danger of the expedition made him leave his son Demetrius behind. The summit was reached after great efforts on the third day, and altars were erected to Jupiter and the Sungod. The belief that the Adriatic and the Black Sea could be seen thence was perpetuated. Strabo contradicts Polybius in the matter, but Pomponius Mela re-affirms it. Pliny makes the height of Haemus out at six miles (1·198 geographical miles). 'Those who have ascended to the eternal snow of the summit of Argaeus near Mazaca in Cappadocia, report, says Strabo, 'that two seas can thence be seen, the Issic and the Pontic: but such people are few'. 'Hence', says Solinus, 'it is believed to be inhabited by a god'. But Mount Neptune at the North end of Sicily may often have been climbed, and the view was said to extend over the Tuscan and Adriatic Seas.

The only mountain, unquestionably often ascended, was Etna. Strabo says the station for the ascent was the little town of the same name at its foot. Shortly before his writing, a small company had climbed up, and he gives their account

of the principal crater. But, as Vesuvius was then quiescent, these ascents will have been actuated rather by science than an interest in Titanic Nature. Seneca begs his friend Lucilius, imperial *procurator* in Sicily, to ascend in his honour—he would gladly have done it himself—and inform him how far the eternal snow is from the showers of fire. The poem on Etna, probably by Lucilius, is purely scientific, and says absolutely nothing on the view to be obtained; whilst, nowadays, even in scientific reports of ascents, the view is always described. Hadrian ascended Etna to see the rare sight of the sun emerging from the sea, which from the summit has the appearance of a long crooked streak. The so-called Tower of the Philosopher on Etna, once a large building with several rooms, was found by Fazello in 1541 still to consist in a well-preserved brick edifice; it was certainly of Roman origin, and, according to Gemellaro's theory, built as a night-shelter for Hadrian on his ascent. Mount Casius was climbed by Hadrian and by Julian, as the sun could thence be seen at second cockcrow. From the top of Mount Ida it could be seen before daybreak.

For all these reasons even the later Empire must be denied the sense of the beauty of mountain scenery. If individuals possessed it, there is no evidence of it. Seneca's remark that those weary of the Campanian paradise, seek the wildernesses of Lucania and Bruttii, only confirms the position; for the strength of the desire for change is shown, according to Seneca, in the longing for an absolute contrast. Cicero, in speaking of the magnificence of creation, cites, besides the endless variety of vegetation fed by cool inexhaustible wells, clear streams, and green banks, lofty vaulted grottoes, sharp crags, jutting mountains and limitless plains: but this observation of the beauty of Nature refers to her wonders of size, variety and strangeness; for he goes on to add 'the hidden veins of gold and silver and the boundless masses of marble'. Thus the Roman feeling regarded mountains and rocks as parts and backgrounds of beautiful scenery, and was insensible to the rough, sombre or desolate, the grotesque and savage, as well as the majestic in Nature.

VIII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN FEELING
FOR THE ROMANTIC IN NATURE

§ I

The love of mountainous scenery and the romantic in Nature is to-day so universal and so primary that it has been ascribed to antiquity without or in despite of evidence. It is alleged 'that the epithets wild, savage, horrible might long be used before thought becomes aware what high feelings such scenes arouse; that words and feeling often go apart'. Such a contradiction may exist awhile, but demands strong proof and inexorable reasons.

In general, however, our thesis is undisputed, and accepted as a characteristic of antiquity. To Greeks and Romans, says Humboldt, only the homely was pleasant in a landscape, and not what we call wild or romantic. Yet the love of the romantic was foreign to the Middle Ages, and a long period after the Renaissance, or, at least, found but doubtful and isolated expression until about 1750: its universality is hardly one hundred years old.

In German medieval poetry, Nature is an infrequent theme. In Court heroic poems and lyrics conventional decorative epithets occur, such as the gentle May, the song of the birds, or scenery supplied a foreground. 'From the *Minne-dichter* no one could surmise that the noble poets inhabited and visited thousands of lofty castles in many lands. In the Latin poems of the clerics there is none of the glimpse afar, nothing of real scenery.' 'Knight and poet were blind to Nature's greatnesses, or charms, or colours, to the evening glow in the sky, the finely wrought lines, steep rocks, snow-capped mountains, glaciers, rushing streams, waterfalls.'

Old English poetry contains unambiguous expressions of distaste for the mountains. An ideal scenery depicted by Cynewulf in the eighth century tells of green, flowering fragrant fields, blossoming trees, cold clear brooks and wells: but nothing of 'mountains, hollows, ravines or hills, nothing wild or irregular'. Thus too in *Sir Orfeo*, an epic of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, a beautiful district is brilliant like the midday sun, level, green; no valleys and no hills. Chaucer speaks of sheer cliffs, as horrid chaos,

not the work of an all-wise God ; he is thinking mainly of the danger to mariners : but the phrase, referring to a beautiful garden rich in green and flowers, and the work of man, clearly indicates his preference. In Shakespeare there is no sign of the impression produced by mountain scenery, nor in Cymbeline of its influence on character. Shakespeare seems ' caught by the spell of Nature and her nearest view, as though some Avon thicket with flowers and shadows possessed him. But for the distant he has no single word to say ' (Jacob Burckhardt, 1889).

Dante has the same preference for the broad fruitful plain, and found rocky districts ugly. The monotonous Lombard plain he calls *lo dolce piano*, from Vercelli down to Marzabo ; and, as examples of sheer savagery, he speaks of the road between Tra Lerici¹ and Turbia. But Petrarch had a quicker intelligence for those incomparable shores, despite their steep rocks. He delights in the range by the *riviera di Levante* as charming in its sharp declivities and vegetation, and in the meandering coast of the Gulf of Genoa with its splendid outlines and shifting views. But this larger appreciation is unique even in Petrarch. In 1350, contemplating Lake Garda with its sea-like waves (a reminiscence of Virgil), his eye gazed long on the broad fertile plain to the left. In his description of the Roman Campagna he emphasizes the richness of the hills in flocks wild and tame, the many springs, the tilled fields, the bounty of Bacchus and Ceres, the beauty of the near lakes, rivers and the sea : his admiration of the Vale of Vacluse recalls Virgil or Horace. He is always exulting in his hermitage amid the lowing herds, the bird-songs and the rustling water, the abundant olives and vines and crops. Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), in his inspired description of Italian scenery, says nothing that Pliny the Younger might not have written.

But if medieval literature shows not a sign of a sense for the Romantic in Nature, some few may have had the appreciation of educated Europe, North and Central. ' How far paintings of scenery, which developed fully by the end of the thirteenth century, can be regarded as an index of the feeling for Nature, is a question incapable of a simple reply. The lay and the expert in art do not hold the same

¹ Tra Lerici e Turbia la più diserta, La più romita via. . . . (P. III. 49).

views, as modern landscapes show. The masses of to-day idolize mountain scenery, but art by predilection paints what common opinion deems ugly. The public appreciates such pictures, because the artist reproduces latent beauty to the less sensitive eye of his gazer. The same may have been the case for the older school of landscape painting, and, all the more so, the more we go back in the history of art.'

For this reason alone W. H. Riehl's very instructive monograph *On the Eye for Scenery* must be wrong, in concluding from the practice of German fifteenth and sixteenth century artists of introducing craggy backgrounds, that bare mountainous scenery was esteemed the ideal: not to speak of the rule not being as universal as Riehl thinks. Pure mountainous scenery is only introduced when in character; on pictures of hermits, of the Night at Gethsemane, the Road to Calvary, etc. And the backgrounds are never wide views or agricultural. The artist rather intends a combination of various imaginary sceneries, including rocks. A frequent composition of this sort consists in the rockwork framing in the foreground, and jutting into the horizon behind a designedly level centre-piece. This conventionalism is instanced, by a view of Cologne with sharp crags all round. In these cases the brokenness of the cliffs becomes, partially at least, a mere matter of style. The late Gothic period delighted in sharp, broken, dented lines, both in the arbitrary architecture and the crafts, and the copying of bodies and costume. The same style was thrust upon inanimate Nature. For it is observable that this seeming predilection for mountainous landscapes is far commoner in woodcuts and etchings, and is comparable to the fondness for leafless and contorted trees.

Italian landscape is quite different. Its tone is that of the gay idyll, even in representations of history and the Crucifixion. Leonardo da Vinci is an exception, and is in advance of his time in this, as in much else. He loves mountains, not only his own Apennines with their delicate contours and calm surfaces, but the Alps, which he visited as a man. He puts an Alpine background into the portrait of his fellow-Florentine, Monna Lisa. He may be said to be the first man in the world to sympathize warmly with the wild majesty of the high hills. This comprehension of mountains is something quite different from the interest in their detail in Dürer's

notebook in the Tyrol, or the arbitrary combinations of an Altdorffer, Patinier, or Bles. A few of his pupils tried to imitate him; but this was all the influence he had on the public or on artists.

Italian landscape developed to an equal weight with the figure, and, at last, to independence in the Venetian school, especially in the masters, born on the *terra firma*, Giorgione di Castelfranco, Palma di Bergamo, and Titian. Titian was born in the Alps, and draws mountain-landscapes, though they never dominate, as much as in Leonardo da Vinci's *Monna Lisa*, *Maria e Anna* (at Paris), *Risurrezzione* (at Berlin). He affects a hilly foreground inhabited, with leafy trees, and the mountains afar. Leonardo loves the phantastic or terrifying, but Titian pours into his mighty scenery a feeling of majestic peace and jocund solemnity. His is the harmony taken up by Carracci, Poussin and Claude; he created the classic landscape.

However few or many the lay who realized these first interpreters of landscape, it is certain that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries North and South differed much in their feeling: the one is classical, and the other Romantic. Probably, Northern art, if freely developed, would have created a public with the same tendencies. But the Renaissance spirit conquered the North in aesthetics and in the aesthetics of Nature; Italian art and its pupil French art overcame Germany. The reaction of the German genius in the seventeenth century in the Dutch School, scarcely affected ordinary taste. Even in Holland the realists who had no lack of the romantic spirit did not gain the approval of the majority of the educated; these rather sided with the Italian style. The eighteenth century paid absolute homage to decadent classicism.¹

Travellers were few who visited the mountains before the eighteenth century for scenery's sake; in the diaries of those who were forced to cross them, there are few expressions of admiration. Magister Thietmar in 1217, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, found Mount Carmel beautiful (*visu delectabilis*), 'because it abounded in dales, and was good grazing-ground'. The same qualities awarded a certificate

¹ G. Dehio.

of 'pleasant' to Mount Lebanon from four men who travelled to Jerusalem in 1556; the same view was expressed by Leonhard Rauhwolf (1573-1576), a physician and botanist of Augsburg. Enea Silvio visited Scotland, and speaks of the customs, saying nothing of the scenery. But Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo describes his impression of the Alps on his way through the Tyrol and Arlberg (Mons Aquilae) to the Council of Constance. 'So huge are the mountains and rocks, so manifold and broad the ridges, so awing the peaks and numberless ascents, that one fitly wonders what the mother and shaper of the world, Nature, was thinking of. At the sight of these eternal and unbroken masses, a shuddering and awe (*horror quidam . . . religio*) seized me, which the memory of them still recalls.' Trent he calls an agreeable town 'considering the surrounding country', for above and below, is the plain, and it is well situated on the river. Tramin is a beautiful and rich spot, but *terribiliter* overshadowed by frowning rocks. The Lake of Constance he liked exceedingly.

German pilgrims to the Holy Land generally passed through the Tyrol, especially after the construction about 1480 by Duke Sigismund of Austria of a good road on the traces of the old dangerous one, between Brixen and Bozen, the Kuntersweg (named after a citizen of Bozen, who built it in the fourteenth century). Felix Fabri, a preacher-monk, of Ulm, crossed by the Kuntersweg on both of his pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1480 and 1483 both ways: before and after reconstruction. He says: 'The mountains are very horrible, and one is either in the glare of the sun or the chill of the ice; they stretch up beyond the clouds; but the valleys are very pleasant (*amoenae*), very fertile, and produce all the delicacies (*deliciae*) of the world, a real paradise. They are densely inhabited, and there are also many mines, especially silver-mines'.

In the travels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, horror seems to have been the only or the main feeling produced by the majesty of the mountains. Georg Sabinus (the son-in-law of Melanchthon and first Rector of the University of Königsberg, 1544) speaks in his journey to Trent only of the difficulties and horrors of the Alps, the yawning abysses, huge piles of snow, the cold, the avalanches, the

storms and torrents, which rolled obstructions down. Sebastian Münster shuddered on the Gemmi Pass, and describes the Swiss valleys as pretty, and the mountains and rocks and the Vale of the Rhine as cruel and frightful. So also Samuel Kiechel of Ulm, in his long tours from 1585-1589 aiming at the Holy Land, visited Prussia, Sweden and Poland, but not Switzerland, and returned by Venice and the Tyrol. The mountains impressed him, too, as merely unpassable, and uninviting in contrast with the 'beautiful country'. He was most at home in the garden-like plains, near the Hague, Delft, and Verona to Mantua, all 'beautiful, level or fertile or pleasant'. The Lombardy flats were his ideal. Kiechel speaks of the banks of the Nile and the 'pleasant air, the which, if but Christians dwelt therein, were as pleasant a passage as from Padua to Luza or Fusina to Venice'. Heinrich Schickhart the architect in 1599 accompanied Duke Frederick of Würtemberg to Italy, and 'is glad' on his way back near Nesselwang (between Füssen and Kempten), to leave 'the horrible wearisome mountains, which took ten days to cross'. J. Furttentbach, in his *Novum Itinerarium Italiae* of 1627, characterizes the Splügen, as a 'savage disgusting wilderness'. Opitz travelled far, had been in Transylvania; but in his bucolic poem *Zlatna* never mentions the charm of any scenery. Paul Fleming's poems do not contain one word of nature-impressions in his journey to Persia. Landgrave Ernst von Hessen Rheinfels, in his Travels (from 1636-1642), passes over the sea and the Alps and Italy without expressing admiration, but celebrates Lombardy 'as a goodly land, wherein one fareth as in a garden, and seeth nought but fair corn-land and rows of trees'.

The dwellers in the plains were cowed at the first sight of the terror of the mountains, and the danger of them rendered habituation all the harder: but the hillmen could fully appreciate their own country. For whilst in 1481 the Swiss Abbot Albert von Bonstetten of Zürich describes the Gotthard, as Silius Italicus might have done, in the sixteenth century, Konrad Gesner (1516-1565), the Linnaeus of his time, a physician, naturalist and littérateur, speaks as enthusiastically of the mountains as any modern might. 'As long as I may live', he writes to a friend at Glarus in a letter 'On the admiration of mountains', 'I have resolved to climb at least one mountain

every year, partly to examine the flora, partly for health of mind and body. What a pleasure it is to behold the huge mountains and to stand above the clouds! It awes the soul to be surrounded with the snow cathedral built by the World-architect in a single day! How empty and lowly their life, who crawl about on the level to earn and live for the day; who know not the earthly paradise'. Mount Pilatus or the Brocken (Fracmont, *mons fractus*) attracted him more than the Rigi, as it did others of his contemporaries. The ascent of Pilatus had been forbidden because of the evil spirit of the mountain; up to 1769, it was allowed only conditionally: in 1518 four Swiss (amongst them Vadius and Myconius) made the ascent: a climb repeated by Gesner with three young men, under the sanction of the town of Lucerne: on their return they were feasted. Gesner, in his description of the ascent, says that all the senses are delighted, but the eyes especially. Nowhere is Nature so sublime as on the heights: the panorama extends over meadows, rocks, caves, valleys, ravines, hills, and scenes in all four seasons. It is the healthiest and noblest exercise for mind and body.

The succeeding epochs find only in the Swiss admirers of the Alps. Joseph Jacob Grasser of Bâle says of the Alps in his Latin description of a tour from Frankfort to Italy through Switzerland (1624): 'Here the painter finds colour but Nature out-does art. The ravines, the tortuous paths, the waterfalls, the bridges, the lakes and meadows and huge trees, earth and heaven are ever fresh, ever astounding and interesting'.

Jacob Scheuchzer, town physician of Zürich (1672-1738) from 1702-1711, used with his pupils to tour in the Alps and could 'testify that the wild lonely spots delighted and aroused him more than Aristotle, Epicurus and Descartes. *Etiam hic dei sunt*, as the pagan philosopher said. The measureless bounty, wisdom and power of God is seized and grasped: the Alps are the armoury of the wonders of Nature; and God's own special temple, far above any human architecture.' He, too, exults in the rearing vistas of meadows and glaciers, valleys and hills. But the heart of the Alps was still unknown, even in Switzerland, and traditionally feared. Scheuchzer (whose writings were utilized by Schiller for his *Tell*) believed

the deepest crevices were occupied by dragons, varieties of which he depicted in his *Natural History of Switzerland*. In 1751 the Swiss believed in a sea of ice from Glarus over the Gotthard and the Grimsel to Lauterbrunnen, whence the glaciers were off-shoots. G. S. Gruner of Bern, in his exhaustive three volumes on the *Ice-Mountains of Switzerland* (1760), 'lacks words to express the horror of the great heights'; Guttanen, a pleasant valley, is described as 'combining all the terrors of Nature'.

Travelling, when it revived in the sixteenth century, aimed at utility rather than enjoyment, and only knowledge could be an incentive to dangerous and costly journeys. 'Traveling', said Muret (1526-1585), 'is useful and pleasant; but the wise man follows Horace's maxim, and praises foreign lands from his own home'. But the letters of Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) shows that after 1550 the grand tour was the finishing touch to a gentleman's education: in 1578 he writes from Antwerp to Philip Lanoy at Douai, approving his intention of going to Italy: 'Of old, and nowadays, great men have always travelled'. But the use of any sensible voyage was increased knowledge of manners and customs and constitutions of foreign lands, and a broadening of the mind. He recommends in Italy the places of historical interest, and the study of the social life, and scarcely refers to the country, 'which in Italy is varied and beautiful'.

Similarly, Caspar Stein, a physician of Königsberg (1592-1652), composed an account of his European travels from 1612-1621 in an (unprinted) work, entitled *Peregrinus, sive Peregrinator terrestris et coelestis*. Martin Zeiller, the seventeenth-century Baedeker, published a series of special handbooks for Germany, England, France, Italy, Spain and Hungary, and a *Fidus Achates* (Ulm, 1653, 16^o.) containing 160 itineraries. He, too, only mentions the sights (divided into the three categories of ecclesiastical, secular, and private), and practically only deals with the towns. In the *Mercurius Helvetiae* of Dr. J. Wagner of Zürich, 1701, entitled 'An exhaustive description of all places, cloisters, and castles alphabetically arranged', not a word is said of the mountains. Nature was an incidental pleasure, not worth recording in a guide-book.

Up to the eighteenth century, the mountain-world was

practically unknown to the cultured of Europe, partly as being inaccessible and uncomfortable, and partly the rugged rather frightened than allured. Thus the feeling of Nature, being crippled, was narrowed down by its own limitations.

This is not inconsistent with earlier expressions of liking for distant views of hills. Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) praises a lofty castle and the delightful banks of the Neckar near Heidelberg, and also the panorama of the Alps, visible on the heights near Freising above the rushing Isar. Leonhard Rauhwolf (1573-76) liked standing on the flat roof of a Maronite cloister in Lebanon, and thought it 'the fairest spot, in view of the high snowy mountains; especially at daybreak, with the cedars in sight, and other hills, used as pastures, with the dark deep valley below'. There is no sign of romanticism in this; for the ancients recognized mountains as backgrounds.

A newer feeling is manifested, as J. Burckhardt pointed out, in a letter of Mme de Sévigné, 'who felt the full spell of landscapes near and distant. In many of her letters one may remark her delight in the beauty of trees and woods, the golden autumn-tints, the sunset-hues and the moonlit nights. But on her travels her outlook is widened, and she is almost alone in enjoying the scenery on the lower Seine and Loire, and the outlines of Mont St. Michel. Of the lofty Grignan and Mont Ventoux, which looks out over Provence and Languedoc, she says (3rd July, 1689): '*j'aime fort tous ces amphithéâtres*'. And even in a hard winter when Grignan was all snow (3rd February, 1695): '*nos montagnes sont charmantes dans leur excès d'horreur*': and she longs a painter to depict '*l'étendue de toutes ces épouvantables beautés*'. Addison's Travels (1701-1703) in Switzerland and Italy also betray the awakening of the newer feeling. The tour of the Lake of Geneva, which took five days, aroused his wonder. The views of the Alps from a Carthusian monastery at Ripaille, 'with the many rugged peaks and precipices, filled his soul with a sort of agreeable shuddering at this most misshapen scenery'. He was apparently surprised that the terrible could be beautiful. H. C. Brockes, the author of *The Earthly Pleasure in God* (1680-1747), saw the Alps in 1703, and felt a mixture of fear and delight; he calls the ice-floes gruesomely beautiful: many years later in the

Harz he recognized anew that the rude mountains inspire at once terror and pleasure.

Lady Wortley Montagu (1690-1762) fully understood and liked wild beauty. True, she speaks of the 'frightful precipices separating Bohemia and Saxony, and the horrible Alps so much talked about'. She describes crossing Mount Cenis (25th September, 1718), as a 'prodigious' view of mountains of eternal snow, clouds far beneath her, huge waterfalls whirling confusedly from the cliffs, which would have been 'entertaining' to her, had it not been so intensely cold. In a letter dated the 11th December, 1758, from Venice, she intends visiting the unknown Tyrol, from the reputation of its beauty: she had always most loved valleys set in with high hills. Her favourite spot was Lovere, on Lake Iseo, shut in by unsurmountable hills and enchantingly remote, and she calls it the most beautiful romantic region that she has seen. Whilst sailing down the Danube from Regensburg she enjoyed the kaleidoscope of populous towns and romantic desolations, isolated from all human traffic, and the shores with their delightful variety of woods, rocks and hills, planted with vineyards, cornfields, cities and ruins.

Gray (1716-1771) had the full modern feeling: as his impressions of the Grande Chartreuse near Grenoble show. On the one side, a rock overgrown with trees, on the other a sheer cliff, a thunderous torrent and a deep precipice gave him the sense of the most romantic and marvellous scenery he knew of. Every torrent and rock seemed full of poetry and religion to him; and ought to convert atheists; fancy could easily see spirits there at noon even. According to H. A. J. Munro, a visit to the Lake District filled him with the same sense of the picturesque. Scott is wrong in attributing to Gray in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (chap. i) the expression 'beauty in the lap of terror': he was thinking of Shelley's, 'A tranquil spot that seemed to smile, even in the lap of horror' (*Alastor*).

But as long as Switzerland was a mere stage on journeys and a difficult one at that, such emotions are few and far between. In *Grandison* (1753) the passage from France to Savoy, from spring to winter, was a mere experience of snow and biting cold winds; and everything seemed 'excessively miserable' in that 'worst of lands' Savoy. But less inclement conditions in a hurried journey did not create

a more favourable view. For the most part the ancient feeling reigned unchecked; and to most travellers the Alps inspired only horror. Even President de Brosses (1709-1777) in his *Lettres d'Italie* follows Misson, the author of a popular guide to Italy in four volumes, in seeing only bad cobbly roads, and in preferring the fertile plains: but he shows very little feeling for Nature. He considers French gardens better than Italian, of which few equal St. Cloud and Marly, and the waterfall at Tivoli better than the one at Terni as more accessible.

Thus, too, in the popular description of his travels through Germany, Switzerland and Italy, from 1729-1731 by J. G. Keyssler (a third edition was published in 1776). He makes much mention of natural features, such as the waterfall at Terni, the view of Genoa from the sea, and delights in distant views; but his strongest epithet of admiration is 'pleasant', and he prefers any fertile tilled plain to the most magnificent scenery, which he does not imagine could be beautiful. Thus he extols the monotonous country round Mantua. 'Panegyric falls flat at this fertile plain, planted with rows of trees and vineyards, especially at this season of nightingales. In Italy such scenery is common, and almost ceases to awake surprise. But I am sure that any one accustomed to the hilly Tyrol, Salzburg, the Harz, the Saxon hill-towns, the forests of Thuringia and Pomerania, the sandy stretches of Silesia, or Brandenburg or Mecklenburg, or the moors of Lüneburg or Westphalia, any one from these suddenly transported to the choicest parts of Italy would be supremely delighted.' The Salzburg and Tyrol Alps, the Lüneburg moors and the Mark pine forests are all branded unfertile or ugly and not 'pleasant'.

In 1729 Haller's *Alps* appeared; it was inspired by a great scientific exploration in 1728. This poem was very popular (by 1777 it had passed through thirty editions), and 'attracted the attention of Europe to Switzerland, shedding glory on land and people for half a century. The book heralded in the unbroken succession of tourists to Switzerland, admirers, not only of the singular character of the country, but also of its inhabitants'.

For the next few decades this new attention was concentrated on the customs of the country: for Haller painted

the Arcadia of this people of herds, with the Alps as a general vague background. Haller's diaries of his tours in Germany, England and Holland (1723-1727) show how little the poet admired scenery. His sense of it was most satisfied in Holland, a 'very pleasant' country, with straight canals and avenues, gardens, fields and pastures; where no tree grows beyond its measure, no spot is uncultivated. He is most pleased at the moonlit road in Leiden, a long waterway lined with trees. The road from Amsterdam to Utrecht is 'an enchanted land. Every village, every fen is amid gardens and country-houses, the river is full of swans, the land thoroughly tilled; it is a picture of perfection'. He agrees with Johnson that mountains are 'unnatural protuberances on the face of the earth', and includes hills as well: for Heidelberg he finds 'unpleasant, in the valley of the Neckar, between hills'.

Haller's *Alps* did not make foreign tours in the Alps any more frequent. The Swiss patricians even designed their houses with the garden pavilion looking out on the main building, and the wall shutting out the view of the Alps; just as in Coppet the gardens exclude the view of the Lake of Geneva. Voltaire's room at Ferney did not open on to Mont Blanc, because the snow dazzled his eyes; and he never once essayed the climbing of the Alps he could always see. Klopstock from the 23rd July, 1750, to February, 1751, stayed at Zürich, but to Bodmer's astonishment never betrayed 'any curiosity to look at the Alps from near or afar': he only conceived the idea of a tour in the Alps long after his arrival; it was frustrated by an unusually early fall of snow. Klopstock was an enthusiastic Nature-lover, and his neglect of his opportunities shows that most tourists of that time were content with merely seeing the Alps. Gibbon stayed at Lausanne from the 21st September to the 20th October, 1755, and, after two years, made a journey through Switzerland. Foreign visitors used not to climb and look at the glaciers, though they came to see the marvels of Nature. Gibbon's main interest was in the various constitutions of the republics: he visited the principal cities and their churches, armouries, libraries and chief men: his object was to learn men and customs. Haller's *Alps* contributed only indirectly to the spread of the love of Nature, by advertising Switzerland.

§ 2

Konrad Gesner's enthusiasm for the Alps was thus almost unique; thus, too, the Scottish Highlands were appreciated mainly by their inhabitants. Thomson's warm appreciation in his *Autumn* of the beauty of Caledonia (1729) is similar to the expressions of Burns' poem on the Highlands fifty years later. On the other hand, Captain Burt, who travelled there about the same time, thinks a sandy steppe preferable. Goldsmith ventured so far in 1733 and spoke with disgust of the wilderness: like Haller, he declared the neighbourhood of Leiden incomparable. Johnson in 1773 visited what are now deemed the most beautiful parts and replied, when asked how he liked them: 'Who could like them?' He describes the dreary monotony of the treeless moors and naked hills, as only occasionally varied with a sudden waterfall. 'An eye accustomed to flowery pastures and waving harvests is astonished and repelled by the wide extent of hopeless sterility.'

'The appearance is that of matter incapable of form or usefulness, dismissed by Nature from her care, and disinherited of her favours, left in its original elemental state. . . . It will very readily occur that this uniformity of barrenness can afford very little amusement to the traveller; it is easy to sit at home and conceive rocks and heath and waterfalls: that these journeys are useless labours which neither impregnate the imagination, nor enlarge the understanding.' 'Had Loch Lomond been in a happier climate, it would have been the boast of wealth and vanity to own one of the little spots which it encloses, and to have employed upon it all the arts of embellishment. But, as it is, the islets, which court the gazer from a distance, disgust him at his approach, when he finds, instead of soft lawns and shady thickets, nothing more than uncultivated ruggedness.'

Macaulay, who quotes Burt and Johnson, makes the reason of this blindness their insecurity. This may have been a contributory cause, but Thomson's enthusiasm belies Macaulay's assigning the distaste to this one fact. The German mountains, which Keyssler disdained, were safe and convenient: and modern travellers face danger to see Lebanon or the Cordilleras, or the heart of Africa. Despite Dr. Johnson, according to Isabella Bird, the North American mountains excite fancy and exalt the spirit.

In the early eighteenth century, Romance in scenery was almost unfelt in England. The English officers at Fort Augustus longed to be released and free from the wind and rain of July : for there was no sun, only a dark sky and dun rocks, clouds of rain, ice-cold winds, the roar of swollen waters. De Foe's *Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain* (1724) scarcely contains one reference to the beauty of Nature.

The publication of Ossian's poems in 1760 developed the taste for the Highlands ; they were full of the passion for the sombre and desolate in Nature. Werther replaced Homer by Ossian in his heart and cries out : ' What a new world he guides me into ! I wander on the heath, with the storm piping in my ears, and see it wafting the spirits of my forebears in cloudy shades under the dimming moon ; I hear the mountain stream roar down and in its flow the gnomes groan in their caves, and the laments of the maiden weeping unto death round the four moss and grass-grown stones of her lover's tomb'. This mood was the mood of the Highlands.

The new romance was born, but had to struggle for existence. A hundred years ago the beauty of the Highlands was far from being absolutely admitted : Dr. Beattie (1735-1803) says : ' The Highlands of Scotland are picturesque, but in general a melancholy country. Long tracts of mountainous desert, covered with dark heath, and often obscured by misty weather ; narrow vallies thinly inhabited, and bounded by precipices resounding with the fall of torrents ; a soil so rugged and a climate so dreary, as in many parts to admit neither the amusements of pasturage nor the labours of agriculture ; the mournful dashing of waves along the firths and lakes that intersect the country ; the portentous noises which every change of the wind, and every increase and diminution of the waters, are apt to raise in a lonely region full of echoes and rocks and caverns ; the grotesque and ghastly appearance of such a landscape by the light of the moon ; objects like these diffuse a gloom over the fancy, which may be compatible enough with occasional and social merriment, but cannot fail to tincture the thoughts of a native in the hour of silence and solitude'.

§ 3

Thus, by about 1750, the feeling for the romantic and

terrible in Nature had made some progress, especially in the mountainous lands: but Rousseau was its first real founder and celebrator.

The lake of Geneva, his birthplace, was the aptest place in all Europe to engender a new feeling for Nature. The Northern coasts had already attracted nature lovers; 'the lake of Geneva', says Sebastian Münster, 'is girt round with lovely scenery, especially at Vivis'. The beautiful declivities required the severity of the mountains to complete them. 'Genève', says Misson (*Nouveau voyage d'Italie*, 1702, pp. 239), 'est dans une charmante situation. Tout est agréable aux environs; on peut même dire que la Nature y est magnifique. Le lac, les montagnes, les rivières, les plaines, les coteaux, les promenades, les jolies maisons de campagne; tout contribue à embellir le séjour'. In 1728 Haller and Johann Gesner were looking at the Lake from a terrace at Lausanne: he says, 'ce mélange d'affreux et d'agréable, de cultivé et de sauvage a un charme qu'ignorent ceux qui sont indifférents pour la Nature'. Vévey attracted Rousseau in his boyhood, haunted his memory, and became the theatre for his *La nouvelle Héloïse*. He makes the hero in that novel on his return call this 'rich and fertile country the most beautiful human eye ever saw, a residence superior to any he had seen in his travel round the world'.

Rousseau's love of the country was intense and, if anything, over-coloured by his hermit-life and hatred of super-civilization. Nature existed to him wherever man and his sorrows did not invade. 'She seems', says Julie, 'to withdraw her real charms from men insensitive, who pervert them, whilst in the enchanted region'. 'She flees populous resorts, and lavishes her mighty spells on mountain-peaks and in forests, and on uninhabited isles.' Rousseau was never so happy as when, in the glamour of seclusion, he found some forest glade, unprofaned by the hand of man, no mediator between him and Nature. He could only pray in the open, and his prayer was a devout uplifting of his heart to the creator of kindly Nature, whose beauty he might behold. In the solitude of meadows and woods he forgot the persecutions of men, their jealousies and scoldings, and the evils with which they have repaid his tender disposition.

Rousseau loved untouched Nature, but, most of all, wild

sombre scenery. 'Every one knows', he says, 'my ideal of beautiful scenery. No plain, however lovely, realizes it. I want torrents, rocks, pines, dark woods, mountains, rough paths, and frightful precipices'. And as his melancholy grew, so did this passion for savage solitudes. 'Nowhere did I feel so happy as on the lonely Isle of Peter in Lake Biel. Its shores are wilder and more romantic than those of the Lake of Geneva, as the rocks and forests come down to the shore; yet it is not less smiling. Only the eagle's cry, and twittering of birds and the mountain-torrents interrupt the stillness.'

La nouvelle Héloïse (1761) revealed to the world a new source of enjoyment in the Alps. A marvellous descriptiveness disclosed for the first time the delight of regions where (as St. Preux writes in a letter to his beloved) huge rocks towered over the walker's head, and there were lofty turbulent waterfalls involving him in a cloud of spray, an eternal torrent hollowing out a giddy precipice; out of a twilight thicket or a ravine into the full view of a flowery meadow. What enchanted the traveller in Valais was the commixture of savage and cultivated scenery, and, even more, the contrasts and combinations of all seasons and climates. To this manifoldness he ascribed the new peace of his soul, and felt it as the cause when climbing beyond the clouds to a height whence storms thundered beneath his feet.

La nouvelle Héloïse was also epoch-making in teaching all sensitive and weary souls to find refuge from the petty turmoils of men in the still greatness of Nature. The gospel of the charm of deserts to the sensitive, and their horror to the dull, was propagated. St. Preux, in absolute isolation from his love, found his days as charming as they were sad. 'A torrent of melted snow twenty paces away falling into dirty water and sweeping stones and obstacles in its course. Behind us an impenetrable chain of rocks, in the direction of the Alps or glaciers, covered with age-old ice. Black pine-forests with their sombre shadow to the right; to the left oaks; beyond the torrent, and, at the bottom, the endless lake extending from Pays de Vaud, and crowned by the Jura.'

Rousseau caused the popularization and transformation of the feeling for mountainous nature. The *Nouvelle Héloïse* made subjective appreciations of Nature usual. Nature

was invested with a soul, larger than that of man, and a language and a meaning in her eternal changes: 'in the high hills, and lonely woods and valleys was a dumb reflection of herself'. Rousseau's individualism stood in opposition to German regulations of life, introduced by the *Sturm und Drang* period, and directed attention to a Nature previously neglected. The melancholy broodings of the next generation corresponded with the unclassical romantic in Nature. Rousseau's hermitage at Meillerie was the prototype of the scenery henceforth sought after.

La nouvelle Héloïse and his other writings had the effect of advertising the Lake of Geneva and West Switzerland. In 1763 Justus Möser wrote to Abt, after reading the book, that he might send him back something of these wonderful Alps. In 1779 Goethe almost wept on seeing Meillerie, the 'dent du Chamant' and all the lively scenes of Rousseau's lonely life. In 1788 Meiners made a 'pilgrimage to the theatre of Héloïse, as did all travellers to Lausanne and Englishmen in especial, *Héloïse* in hand'. Coxe's *Travels in Switzerland and in the country of the Grisons* (1776, 79, 85, 86) was the guide-book of that time and followed Rousseau's footsteps.

Coxe's book was translated and amplified by Ramond de Carbonnières (1755-1827), a master of words and an expert on mountains. Coxe discoursed mainly on the plains and valleys, the cities and the customs. Ramond gave first place to the heights which he had climbed. Ramond also attempted to acclimatize Werther in France in his *Aventures du jeune d'Olban* (1777), dedicated to Lenz, and afterwards wrote classic works on the Pyrenees, *Observations sur les Pyrénées* (1789), and *Voyage au Mont Perdu* (1801). Sainte-Beuve says 'that Ramond as the Saussure of the Pyrenees painted quite new canvases: that he wanted men to have the courage of their feelings, and express their great natural thoughts freely'. Nothing mountainous frightens him.

Ramond wrote at an inopportune time, and he is almost forgotten, save in France. So, too, Étienne de Sénancour (born 1770), who described the Alps in his *Oberman* (1804), and was a second Ossian and Werther: his style is mediate between Ruysdael and Salvator Rosa. The discoverer of the charms of the heights after Rousseau was Saussure of Geneva.

Töpffer of Geneva (1799-1846) properly divided the Alps into three zones: the lowest including the hills up to the nut-trees, the limit of Rousseau's explorations; the second more severe and difficult, and desolate; pines and larches grow in it, and there are ravines and torrents; alive with the charm of the wild. The third is the ice-region, with only Alpine roses and hardy bushes in the crevices or bordering on the eternal snow. This third region Saussure discovered. In antiquity and modernity naturalists and botanists were the first to approach and learn to love the Alps.

In 1741 two Englishmen, Pococke and Windham, discovered Chamouny, but for twenty to twenty-five years the place was seldom visited, and only by the English. In Homan's splendid *Atlas Novus reipublicae Helvetiae* (1769) Mont Blanc and the older Montagne Maudite are not found; under the *glacières de Faucigny*, the words 'Here are terrible glaciers and ice-mountains.'

Saussure, an ardent student of the High Alps, began exploring at Chamouny in 1760, and ascended Mont Blanc in 1787. Like Ramond, this indefatigable climber and naturalist was also a master of the pen: his simpler style effectively gives an impression of that scenery, unviewed until then of any mortal eye, and unparalleled in Nature, and communicates to his readers his mixture of terror and wonder. He realized for the first time on those immense heights, with the stars barely illumining the peaks and only marking the distances and the rocks, their brooding silence and fantastic terror: 'I seemed to have survived the universe, and to see its corpse at my feet'. The tale of the dangers overcome made his work inciting to the adventurous.

Besides Saussure, there was also another enthusiast, Bourrit, whom Frederick the Great called *l'historien des Alpes*, who directed attention to Chamouny and the high Alps. He was a painter of Geneva and dedicated his whole life (1739-1819) to the exploration of Mont Blanc: Saussure in 1773 acknowledged his own work as a preparation for these scientific memoirs. Goethe ascended the Rigi before 1775, one of the first foreigners in Switzerland to do so, and heard on his Alpine journey of 1779 with Karl August of Weimar so much of the wonderful Savoy ice-mountains, that he followed Saussure's advice and made an excursion

to Chamouny. In 1784 Gibbon complained Lausanne was not so peaceful; but was invaded by strangers, attracted by the beauty of the Pays de Vaud and the fashion for mountains and glaciers. In 1755 he had toured in the low-lying towns of Switzerland and in 1791 went with Lord Sheffield by Geneva, Chamouny, Col de Blanc (much-climbed for the view), Martigny, St. Maurice, round the Lake of Geneva to Vévey and Lausanne. In 1790 Switzerland, sixty years before almost unknown, became the playground of Europe, and at Chamouny the natives had become wearisomely ready to oblige.

But Saussure interested the many more, who could not themselves see the Alps. Kant was one of his most zealous readers. He never left East Prussia, but recognized 'in the sombre melancholy wilderness of his home the interesting dreariness of a desert'; and 'heaven-high hills, deep crevices and rushing waters' stirred his imagination, in abstracting the idea of the noble in Nature. In his *Criticism of Judgment* he says: 'That nobility does not consist in any natural thing, but in our mind, in so far as we become conscious of our superiority to Nature in us and outside us, as much as is known to us'. He also indicated that agreement was less likely on the noble than on the beautiful. Had he known that the cultured up to the eighteenth century all concurred with the Savoyese peasant who called the lovers of the Alps fools, he would have recognized that the judgment of the noble depends on the direction, as well as on the degree of civilization. If Schopenhauer is right in making the basis of the 'serious and noble more' induced in us by mountains, the fact that their shape is the most permanent line in landscape, their sight could not have been so differently regarded at varying epochs.

It is not pertinent to trace the history of Alpine travelling down to the present day. Literature and art have exercised themselves more and more with the Alps. 'This Science of susceptibility of Nature', says Ulrich Hegner (1822) of Winterthur, 'is neither natural science nor geography, was unheard-of fifty years ago, even in novels or tales of travel, and has grown up mightily in Switzerland, bearing fruits easy to pluck and digest'. Alexander von Humboldt and Karl Ritter have put Alpine science on a sounder basis. Art adventured later into the Alpine field than literature.

§ 4

Thus the change of feeling corresponded with the *Sturm und Drang* period in Germany. Keyssler called the Salzburg and Tyrol Alps as dull as the Lüneburg moors: Meiners' letters on Switzerland (1790) presuppose the supreme beauty of Switzerland, as the most mountainous country in Europe; the difference is absolute. 'These wastes', K. V. von Bonstetten writes in 1780, 'of rocks and ice and forests will please you more than the soulless beauties of the plains'. Nicolai even is filled with this passion. Travelling from Vienna to Munich he writes: 'Nature in her majesty is more inspiring than anything human, and especially in mountainous lands'. In the nineteenth century the beauty of mountains in themselves becomes a general dogma. Moltke knows of only one exception, the Caradja Dag between Frat and Tigris. Mountains, according to Ruskin in a chapter headed Mountain-glory, are created to portray perfect beauty; they combine the elements (form, colour, variety of scene, etc.) infinitely more than the plain, which they excel as does a painted window a white window. They ennoble and inspire mankind, are their school and cathedral. Down to old age he remained true to his adoration of mountains. Lord Avebury also says that mountains are the alpha and omega of scenery.

The survivors of the old generation still demurred. At the end of the eighteenth century, J. C. Füssli, of Zürich, the author of a Description of the Swiss State and Country, thought the Engelberger valley could not be deemed beautiful, 'with its hideous mountains, and lack of gardens, fruit-trees or anything to please the eye'. Foreigners were often of that view. Goethe's father was angry with his son for coming back from the Gotthard without seeing Italy. 'He did not share any affection for those wild rocks, seas of mist and dragons' nests. He remarked as before *vedi Napoli e poi mori.*' Goethe in his old age returned to the older conception. In 1823, in a letter to Nees von Esenbeck, he speaks of his 'useless journeys to Switzerland and his belief that he had done something by seeing mountains'. He calls this the merry paradox of a worthy man. 'When travellers take a delight in climbing mountains, I regard the mania as profane

and barbaric. Mountains impress us with their grandiosity, not with the idea of a Providence. . . . These zigzags and irritating silhouettes, and shapeless piles of granite, making the fairest portion of earth a polar region, cannot be liked by any kindly man.'

But the few of the younger generation who objected to the new enthusiasm were consciously in a minority. Such was Hegel (born 1770), who visited the Bernese Oberland in 1796. He found the roads from Interlaken to Lauterbrunnen oppressive, as the narrow valleys shut out the views of the mountains. He longed for space, and saw only rocks; and was wearied by the eternal roar of the two Litschenen. On the Scheidegg, the Jungfrau and the two Eigers did not arouse the feeling of majesty he had expected. Of the region about the Grimsel hospice he says: 'these dead masses only impress me with a wearisome sense of unalterable fact'. He was most interested in the waterfalls and was very glad to return to Lucerne with its lower hills, the lake and its reflections, which delighted the eye nauseated by grey lofty mountains, without any wide view.

This affirmation of an independent mind remained unknown, for Hegel's diary was not intended for publication. In 1805 Chateaubriand in his *Voyage au Mont Blanc* raised a protest against the admiration of mountains. 'He had seen many in Europe and America, and had always thought their claims exaggerated', an opinion confirmed by a visit to Chamouny. He holds that every landscape requires a background of hills, and spaciousness: no interior mountain views fulfil both necessities. The large objects are too near to be seen in their true perspective, and the mountains are too huge to be decorative. Further, the snowfields obscure the whole region and the sky, which is hardly seen, and is essential as the canvas on which Nature paints: Art appreciates the fact and brings in hills as a background to woods and plains. In moonlight the grandioseness of the mountains can be seen. But if the grandiose and its majesty are lacking in the mountains themselves, so is all grace. Swiss valleys are only comparatively pleasant. The feeling of the mountains is disagreeable, as they are rough and unfertile. Virgil's valleys, the haunts of the Muses, are smiling and charming; his woods are forests of oaks, elms, beeches, not dreary pines,

and his valley is laid in a place of historical and poetical memories: he would hate Chamouny with its glaciers and peaks and the Tête Noire. Antiquity, the source of true inspiration, thought otherwise than Rousseau, and makes mountains the home of pain and despair; as did also Scripture.

Finally, Chateaubriand repeats that, as backgrounds, mountains are essential. 'Their snowy heads, naked sides and huge limbs are hideous from a near view, but marvellous when rounded off in a golden light on a dark horizon. . . . I cannot be called upon to love lanky ridges, crevices, ravines, caves and tortuous Alpine valleys.'

Chateaubriand is right in invoking the ancients, with whom he is in full accord. But we have shown that the feeling for Nature is largely determined by the nature of the home. In a Switzerland or Scotland, love of the mountains comes to birth sooner and more swiftly than among the dwellers on the plain; thus Southerners would be the last to like the Alps.

Thus the contrast between us and the ancients is really that of North and South; and, if so, the modern Italy and the South must still confirm this view. And actually the Italian eye, spoiled by their richer and more harmonious climates, finds mountain-lands vast and depressing. 'There', says Ugo Foscolo, 'Nature rules alone, and sullenly drives forth every living being'. Educated Italians often, if not always, voice this view.

Northerners, who live long in the South, may become infected with the Southern feeling. 'You are satisfying your imagination', the Duchess of Albany writes to Foscolo in 1816, who had retired to Switzerland, 'instead of having it frozen by the snow. It requires a strong inducement to any one born at Zante to live in such a country'. Stendhal, describing Lake Como, says that the distant view of the eternal snow of the Alps gave a necessary fillip of melancholy to the pleasant scenery. Victor Hehn, in his book on Italy, treats of Italian scenery with masterly comprehension, and, as a consequence, dislikes Switzerland. 'For there mountains tower with lofty, desolate, swampy plains, trough-shaped and covered with scanty grass: midden-heaps descending into the valleys, and dreary ridges of stone: mist and clouds

on the flanks, and stone ribs, like the wool on a wether's belly, down to the dark girdles of pines and tumultuously upwards to the cold snow-crests, a picture of shapeless, limitless form; a memory of bygone elemental struggles.' But, in Italy's mountains, 'the hard egoism and proud Titan spirit has been tamed: the shapes are rich and gentle, plastic, wave-like, yet also energetic'. In the Southern Alps are 'the mountains most pleasing to the eye; which have flowing lines, are gay, cut off sharply as against the sky, or swathed in light on the horizon, and send out low tongues to greet the sea'. Any one who has seen Italy can understand that the recollection of the 'lines of the hills, the modelling of the earth, the coloured shores, the resounding sea, and the harmony and self-sufficiency of the classic regions, cannot desert their devotees, and charms them against the North'.

Generally Southerners had a distaste for mountains. Winckelmann was deeply impressed when he first saw the Tyrol Alps. 'Not to have seen this country with my eyes', he writes (7th December, 1755), 'is not to have seen anything wonderful'. He calls the mountains terribly beautiful (20th December, 1755). In the Tyrol, 'Mother Nature is most lavishly great and fertile between her cliffs. Bozen especially is a land of beautiful men. On my return I shall stop here on the way' (1st July, 1756). But, later on, the South captivated him. He is always writing on the magnificent vegetations in the gardens of Rome, the indescribable beauty of the Albanian Hills and the Latian coast, and the Elysium of Porto d'Anzo. For twelve years he gazed on Italian scenery: in 1768, he returned to the Tyrol, and saw no charm in it. Once when Cavaceppi had been with him an hour in the Tyrol Alps, he observed a change in Winckelmann's features. He cried out: 'What a frightful country! Those endless mountains!' This conversion may have contributed to his melancholy on entering Germany. So, too, with Niebuhr. In 1823, after seven years at Rome, he entered Switzerland, and the mountains, rough and shapeless, revolted him: he preferred the Tyrol, which he had seen in 1816 before Italy, like Winckelmann; as a fact, the Tyrol Alps are the more broken. Gregorovius was eight years in Italy, and in 1860 wanted to return on the disagreeable sight of Switzerland. He calls (1862) the Engadin a monster

of coldness and dumbness, and the mountains round the Vierwaldstättersee shapeless. So, too, Rudolf Delbrück travelled to Constantinople, taking from the 3rd May to the 16th June: he says, in his *Memoirs* (II, 1905, p. 296), 'on crossing Switzerland I experienced, and have since confirmed the feeling, that after the colours and shapes of the South, Switzerland does not please. I think of the blue sky, the gleaming sea, and the lines of Corfu, Palermo and Naples'.

§ 5

The character of Southern scenery should then determine the Southern feeling for Nature, in so far as the landscapes are similar. Fernán Caballero says of the view from Carmona in Andalusia: 'The glory and suddenness of this view would be a theme of poetry and literature in other lands. But in Spain taste and love of scenery is scarce; admiration without enthusiasm is the rule. Views are regarded from the classical, and not from the romantic aspect'. Thus this lack of feeling is a lack of romantic feeling; and the fact that Spanish has no native term for glaciers, though the Andes are in Spanish territory, shows a lack of interest in mountainous Nature.

The Eastern world, being more akin with the Southerner than the Northerner, shares the Southern feeling for Nature. The Arabic garden was like the ancient garden, 'all art, all in the rigid oriental form'. They love straight paved walks at right angles, oblong flower-beds with stone settings, and well-trimmed scented bushes at the edges, and straight angular trees: everything stiff and formal, with cascades and marble fountains. In the garden of Chomâravaih, the Fatimite ruler, at Cairo, the palm-trunks had iron plates let in, and pierced with pipes, which shed water from the trunks. On the public places, the garden-beds were arranged in designs. Almonds were grafted on to apricot-trees. In a pavilion cascades flowed from the pillars, and birds nested. Peacocks, guinea-hens and rare birds stalked about in the garden. In a garden laid out by Abd-er-Rahman III (who died in 961) for a favourite slave, near Cordova, avenues of myrtles, laurels, olives and fruit-trees were laid out round translucent lakes. The flower-beds were alive with most

lovely and fragrant blooms : the parks with rare animals ; there were aviaries of bright-hued song-birds, marble baths, a kiosque in the centre on a hill, with a delightful view. The garden of Shah Yehan (1628-1658) at Lahore, called Shalimar, is 'obviously designed by Arabs. In the squares between the walks there are thickets of mangoes, fig-trees, and oranges. Marble balustrades surround the great pond. Marble bridges lead to the marble kiosque in the centre. The marble is as white as freshly fallen snow. Everywhere water and shade. The pond reflects stonework and bushes. And above, the golden Indian sky.'

The ancient Persians laid out round the palaces of kings and satraps parks containing wide meadows and rills and game ; the Persian word *pairidaeza* is the origin of Paradise. This is the style of the parks of Kublaikhan (1214-1294), whom Marco Polo visited. Libanius, also, mentions this palace with all the 'beauty of Persian gardens : it lay by a river, and was full of splendid trees and flowers'. This feeling towards Nature scarcely changed with the ages. Modern Persians still delight in flowery gardens and shady walks and green banks and cool streams. A volcano or snowy ridge or strange mountain formation scarcely arouses their interest. Paradise in the Koran is very similar to Elysium in the Pagan poets ; Virgil may have suggested it : Virgil's Elysium emphasizes the shady avenues, the river banks and the meadows watered by brooks. The four Gardens of the Blessed in the Koran are decorated with trees affording deep shadow, have many rich wells and fruit-trees, which can easily be plucked by the blessed, who recline on gorgeous pillows.

But the Further East has a feeling for nature more akin with ours. In China and Japan, scenery is universally beloved. Marco Polo describes the holidayings of the inhabitants of Quin-Sai (Hang-Chéu-fu) to the neighbouring lake to enjoy the changeful beauty of the scenery. To this day the Chinese give parties to admire a moonlit night, a fine view or a rare flower. But long journeys to beautiful districts are not shunned, and the mountains of Su-Chéu are as frequented as Interlaken. The descriptions of Nature in Chinese poets medieval and modern are strikingly like Matthison and Lamartine. Chambers described Chinese gardens in

1757, and Kent (d. 1748) designed the English garden: Chinese gardens have influenced English. The style introduced under the Ming dynasty, and still in vogue, is far from being regular or stiff. Groupings of rocks and trees are brought in, and lakes framed in with flowers: and there are little bridges and sinuous paths. The names of the enchanting, terrifying and delightful gardens show the strivings of Chinese art after character in landscape. 'A garden', says a Chinese writer, 'is a substitute for man's natural habitation, the ever agreeable fields. A garden should then be the model of all Nature, so as to arouse in the soul similar feelings'.

In Japan, too, the finest views are frequented by visitors, and the sense for nature and art is distributed widely, in the lowest classes even. A man too poor to decorate his home with the snowy peak of Fujiyama and the pear-tree will still have his apricot, his dwarf-cedar, and his little waterfall. They have flower feasts and exhibitions, and landscape-gardening is highly artistic.

In ancient Mexico, the sense for Nature was highly developed. Montezuma's many summer-palaces had large gardens with groups of flowers and trees. Many had artificial rockeries, chases, galleries, ponds with diving-birds. But human figures were made of leaves and flowers, and decoration was mostly tasteless.

Generally any detailed study of the different feelings for Nature will show that every people loves its home-scenery. Scott's wild borderland was ugly to Washington Irving: Scott loved his grey ancestral hills and thought he would die, should he not see them for a year. Every people loves its own nature. The Indians of Mexico have masses of flowers in front of their huts: the Polynesians 'find flowers as necessary as air'. The Indians of Nicaragua, according to J. Fröbel, show more taste in the floral decorations of their dwellings than the Europeans; they choose every most beautiful bloom. The Lithuanian delights most in his native birches and willows, which he worshipped late into the eighteenth century; and plants them round every new building, and will not fell them save in direst need. The mountain-dweller is at home only in his mountains, and the marsh-dweller in his marshes; he longs for his level cornfields and pastures and undefined horizon. So, too, the Southerner

loves his gorgeous Nature. True joy, Dr. Friedrich Preller wrote at Sorrento in 1860, and love for one's own paradise are still alive in modern Italy. A Neapolitan boy alarmed Goethe by his cry of admiration of the Bay of Naples, and apologized, 'Signor, perdonate, questa è la mia patria'. Nansen found the Greenlanders keenly alive to the beauties of arctic Nature. When passing a mountain-peak with a native, Joel, in a Rajak, the sun fell on the glistening snow; and Joel stopped towing and exclaimed 'binne kack' (how beautiful!)

§ 6

These considerations prove that the feeling for Nature of the ancients was more restricted, and altogether lacked the subjective comprehension of her, first spread by Rousseau, which gives Nature a soul, and makes her reflect our soul. Antiquity, however, also lacked the aesthetic appreciation, which sees in Nature an artist's deliberate and individual work. This view is also modern; painting based on it occurs in the sixteenth century, but it was communicated to literature much later. It is found fully expressed in Diderot (in his criticisms on the Salons from 1765-1767), who, describing Vernet's landscapes, appears to speak of real scenery, but uses epithets applying only to pictures. He loved historic landscape above all, and Poussin, as one of its masters: his enthusiasm for Nature was limited, and, like the Roman, shared, as he believed, but by few.

Little as is known of ancient landscape painting, it is certain that, despite the stylistic delineation, its development was too poor to foster an aesthetic description of Nature, such as has arisen in our day. But the principal difference was the complete lack of the effect of light and its modification in air. In Aelian's description of the Vale of Tempe (borrowed from Dikaiarchos), he speaks of the colour, the refreshing green, but never of the atmosphere and its effect: the tone is topographic and plastic. So, too, in the sceneries, described by Apollonius Rhodius, Pliny the Younger, speaking of his Tuscan villa, mentions the *regionis forma pulcherrima*: it seems a picture rather than reality; he has the features of the country in his mind, though he knows its effect depended on the colours. 'All these descriptions give an impression

of implying clear air and full light, which would bring out the plastic qualities.'

Here and there, however, there are expressions of emotion for varying light-effects ; for the clear moon, rippling on the sea, making the water quiver, and refreshing the dewy woods at eventime : for the sea red in the rays of the sun, and the empurpled waves : the dew in the golden morning light, like diamonds on the grass, when pools and streams and the earth give forth mist. But these uncertain pictures, though like modern descriptions of Nature, are all of single scenes. Of the general effect of light on landscape there is no mention ; nor of perspective and the shades between cold moonlight and the hot sunset glow ; nor of the wonderful colours, which wreath the horizon and hills of the South in the morning and the evening, from pink to deep blue. No such expression as ' blue hills ', ' twilight distances ', is found in ancient poetry, to call forth a distinct colour picture, like the one in Faust :

Down on the silenced world to gaze
In the undying evening-glow !
At rest each dale ; the heights a-blaze ;
The silver brook's bright golden flow !

None of the inscriptions of the statue of Memnon mention the effect of the dawn-red on the landscape. Ovid saw Rome for the last time by moonlight : a modern poet would have warmed on this theme : he, discursive as he is, hardly mentions it ; only expatiating on his tearful departure. Tacitus says that in a night combat between the Flavians and the Vitellians, the moon rose behind the Flavians : his object is merely to illustrate the difficulties ; he is not thinking of the picturesque effect, a liberty any stern but artistic modern historian, like Tacitus, would have permitted himself. Virgil compares Aeneas' journey through Hades with a walk through a wood by the deceptive moonlight, and never indicates the artistic pictures. But he lets the Penates appear before Aeneas in full moonlight, to be seen as plainly as possible : he feels nothing weird in moonlight : a modern poet would have had a mysterious twilight.

The same difference may be presumed between ancient and modern landscape, on the authority of Philostratus' descriptions of pictures. 'The ancients laid most stress

on the local and plastic element, and strove after clear significant forms to make an organic whole: the effects of light and air were secondary, and could never have taken the modern primacy.' 'The vague dreamy and mysterious, as obtained by atmospheric effects, is utterly foreign to the sharp and clear classical spirit. Artistic realization of such impressions presupposes a sentimental love of Nature, unknown down to very recent times. Further, the sky in the South is clearer than in the North, and less prolific in these misty effects. Lastly, ancient landscapes could all the less attain the colour reached by realizing atmospheric effects, as artistic grace and plastic perfection, the main object of ancient art, cannot be readily combined.'

The limited travel of antiquity was due to the absence of the Teutonic roving spirit, and also to the slighter feeling for Nature. Only the very few penetrated far into Africa; the islands on the West coast were never visited: fabulous India scarcely attracted the Romans. Every year fleets sailed from Alexandria to the Malabar coast, but the frequent opportunity was in the first two centuries seldom used. Dio of Prusa gives second-hand evidence on India: his informants only sailed in the course of trade, and never went inland. Now and again an adventurous journey might be made: Lucian tells of a young Paphlagonian who studied in Alexandria and was persuaded to go on to India with a boat sailing to the end of the Red Sea. The object was not to see the tropical world, but to learn of the Brahmans, who, like all the barbarian philosophers, had attributed to them extraordinary wisdom, on the authority of a view held in Alexander the Great's time and confirmed by the peripatetics. For this reason Philostratus makes Apollonius of Tyana make a pilgrimage to India: his authorities were oral or written Alexandrian reports. Possibly, after the second century, Greek philosophers occasionally went to India to study under the wise men. Lucian tells this of an Attic cynic, Demetrius. Plotinus, who joined Gordian's expedition to Persia in 242, in order to learn something of Indian and Persian philosophy, managed to escape to Antioch, after the murder of Gordian. The visit of Metrodorus the philosopher (of Persian origin) to India in the first half of the fourth century had the same object: he is said to have

succeeded by his reserve, and his communications of discoveries unknown to them. St. Jerome knew that, according to the Indian gymnosophists, Buddha had been born of a virgin. But these journeys, whatever their number, must have been exceptional; and their aim precluded the study of the tropics.

The infrequency of travels to distant and tropical countries and the lack of incentive to them reacted on each other. Humboldt specifies three great incentives; poetical descriptions of Nature, landscape painting and the cultivation of tropical plants. He was impelled to tropic travel by Georg Forster's Descriptions of the South Sea Islands, and pictures of the shores of the Ganges in Warren Hastings' house at London, and a huge dragon-tree in an old tower in the Berlin botanical gardens.

This chapter has shown how antiquity lacked all three incentives. Descriptions of Nature aiming at reproducing and conjuring up the impressions of a scene, such as excited Forster and Humboldt, are very modern and involve a combination of science and powers of narration. Pictures of scenery, which might excite a desire of more distant lands, in Roman times only dealt with Egypt. Exotic plants were scarcely cultivated. In their hot-houses Romans forced fruits and flowers in the winter. Of the 'foreign trees which will not grow outside their own country', palms in antiquity and in the Middle Ages were commoner than now (except for palm-wood at Bordighera). In 291 B.C. they are mentioned at Antium, and may have been grown in the Greek cities on the West coast, beside temples of Apollo. In Pliny's time they were common in Italy. Petrus de Crescentiis (born in 1230) in his work on horticulture for all classes recommends planting palms (which must have been reintroduced by the Saracens). The fruit-trees from Asia, acclimatized under the first Emperors, apricots, peaches and pistachio, soon became native, but lemons did not grow in the open before the fourth century, whilst oranges and several other plants, now deemed characteristic of Italy, were unknown in antiquity. In gardens there would be a few medicinal and foreign herbs and decorative plants, like the pepper-tree, the incense-bush, the leafy cassia, myrrh and crocus, arranged as little microcosms of tropic vegetation.

The difference of feeling of the present day and antiquity

is most strongly seen in the gardens. In the Augustan and post-Augustan times free Nature found a few spokesmen : but, generally, down to the fourth century artificiality in gardens was the rule. In Pliny's descriptions of his Laurentine and Tuscan villas the gardens are laid out in architectural lines with contrasts of pure country. The garden was divided by terraces, and round spaces (*hippodromi*), and straight or curved walks ; these were marked by clipped hedges of box or rosemary, and occasionally went in steps. Architecture and greenery combined to beshadow the nearer parts, as well as the more distant ; and views were carefully contrived. Decoration consisted of statues of men and animals, ponds, canals, fountains : in Pliny's Tuscan villa the water rose from a semicircular marble bank through pipes, as though forced out by the weight. By all the other seats and the *hippodromus* there were sprays. In the largest gardens, outside Rome especially, there were aviaries, fish-ponds and game parks : peacocks and rare birds were kept. Copies of famous scenery were common, as, for example, in Hadrian's Tiburtine villa ; and also prospect-towers, as were to be found in the Vandals' paradises at Carthage. The trees were fruit-trees, planes, the favourite decorative tree, and evergreens, myrtles, laurels, oaks, cypress and pine. They were placed in avenues or in *quincunxes* or little groups of identical trees. Florentinus (about 200 A.D.) recommends plantations according to kind, in order to bring out the diversities. They were often clipped to strange shapes, a fashion ascribed to Gaius Matius, a knight and friend of Augustus. Box-trees were clipped into names, pyramids and cones ; as were cypresses and other trees : or into imitations of animals ; there were whole jungles and fleets. Dwarf-trees were also popular, and artificial graftings. The flower-beds were mostly of single species, roses, lilies, poppies (especially common), gilliflowers, hyacinths (perhaps sword lilies), anemones, Florentinus advising filling up the intervals between the straight rows of trees with roses, lilies, violets and crocuses. The ground was covered with acanthus, walls, pillars and tree-trunks overgrown with ivy and vines, trellised across and forming shaded walks.

But this artificial style was not the only one : the love of free Nature induced the laying out of parks, as the picture

discovered in 1863 shows, covering four walls of a room in a villa in Prima Porta near Rome; it dates from about the time of Augustus, and faithfully represents a garden. The foreground consists of meadows surrounded with a palisade of reeds and a stone or brick hedge. Behind the brick hedge, straight but for a few curves, there is a graceful wood growing out of a thick underwood of flowers, including palms, laurels, granates, apple-trees, quince-trees and cherry-trees. In the curves of the hedge there are, besides other undistinguishable trees, dark pine-trees, with boughs reaching down to the ground. From the background cypresses are seen towering. The whole park is full of birds; the lawn, the palisade, the flower thicket with larger birds like cocks, and the trees with various small birds. 'The whole artificial jungle has an enlivening and inspiring appearance.'

Though such designs may have been common, the imperial style of horticulture was generally the artificial and architectural, a taste inherited by the Middle Ages. The directions of Petrus de Crescentiis, who knew his ancients well, correspond absolutely. For the gardens of the middle-class, with about three to four *iugera*, he recommends straight rows of fruit-trees, or, in hot countries, cedars and palms, but only trees of the same nature, vines in between, and meadows and summer-houses. Of flowers there is no more mention than in his directions for the 'gardens of kings and great men': for which he assumes an area of twenty or more *iugera* with a stream flowing through. In those in the North a game-park should be laid out; in the South a casino (*palatium speciosum*), which will afford long shadows, and a cool breeze inside in the hottest weather, besides giving a view over the garden and its animals. There must also be a fishpond and an aviary of lattice-work, built over bushes and trees, to be stocked with pheasants, partridges, goldfinches, starlings, nightingales, ousels, and song-birds. In the garden a summerhouse with rooms and halls of trees is to be put up, in which my lord and my lady and his barons may stay in fine weather. The walls are to be rows of quick-growing fruit-trees, or willows and elms, clipped and trained to shape. Or it may be of dry wood overgrown with vines. Further, a number of graftings will afford much pleasure, but in such

a garden the evergreens, the pines, cypresses, cedars and palms are most essential. Every species is to be set separately. Finally, a direction is given to build thick living walls and pinnacles and roofs round garden and court through trees carefully clipped and trained for years. Leon Battista Alberti (1450) established the principles of the Italian garden, and bases his receipts on Pliny.

These prescriptions lasted on well into the sixteenth century. 'The later Italian horticulture does not imitate Nature, but adapts her to its own canons. The main objective is symmetry and division into characteristic spaces. The garden nearest the villa itself is to be surrounded with balustraded terraces and steps, and is rendered architectural by a semicircular ending, by gradation, grottoes and fountains. Valleys and declivities are artificially produced by interruptions, and the straight canals broadened out into basins and collected in cascades, which are to fall through statuary. Or a lower piece of ground is to be rounded off into a circus; or a whole valley or region planted in one single fashion, but must not be wholly rural (e.g. the pine-grove in the Villa Pamfili). Then the straight walls will have vistas of fountains and sculptures, and must be framed in or vaulted over with evergreens: in the first case, hedges of cypress and laurels, in the second oaks. The contrast of free Nature or architecture beyond the Italian garden, of distant hills or views of country and town, or the sea, is a first essential.' This style prevailed in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; was taken up in France, Germany and England and Holland, and ruled supreme, despite Rousseau's protest, far in the eighteenth and nineteenth even. Hegel prefers the architectural garden to the picturesque, in which he thinks the 'purposed purposelessness and forced freedom' tasteless: one can enjoy Nature rectified by man. Goethe, too, extolled the older style (1825), at any rate, in palaces. 'The spacious arbours, *berceaux*, *quinconces* at least allow of society meeting in an orderly way, whilst the English plan of freakish Nature sets them all in collision.'

The attempt to make Nature serve art has dominated the Italian garden from antiquity to the present day; a fact all the more remarkable, as Italian vegetation has been transformed since the sixteenth century by importations

from the East and America. Further, Italian landscape painting, with all the rich art of antiquity and the Renaissance, is still behind the Northern school: it must be admitted that the feeling for Nature has not changed under the Italian heaven, except as far as it has been influenced by Transalpine art.



