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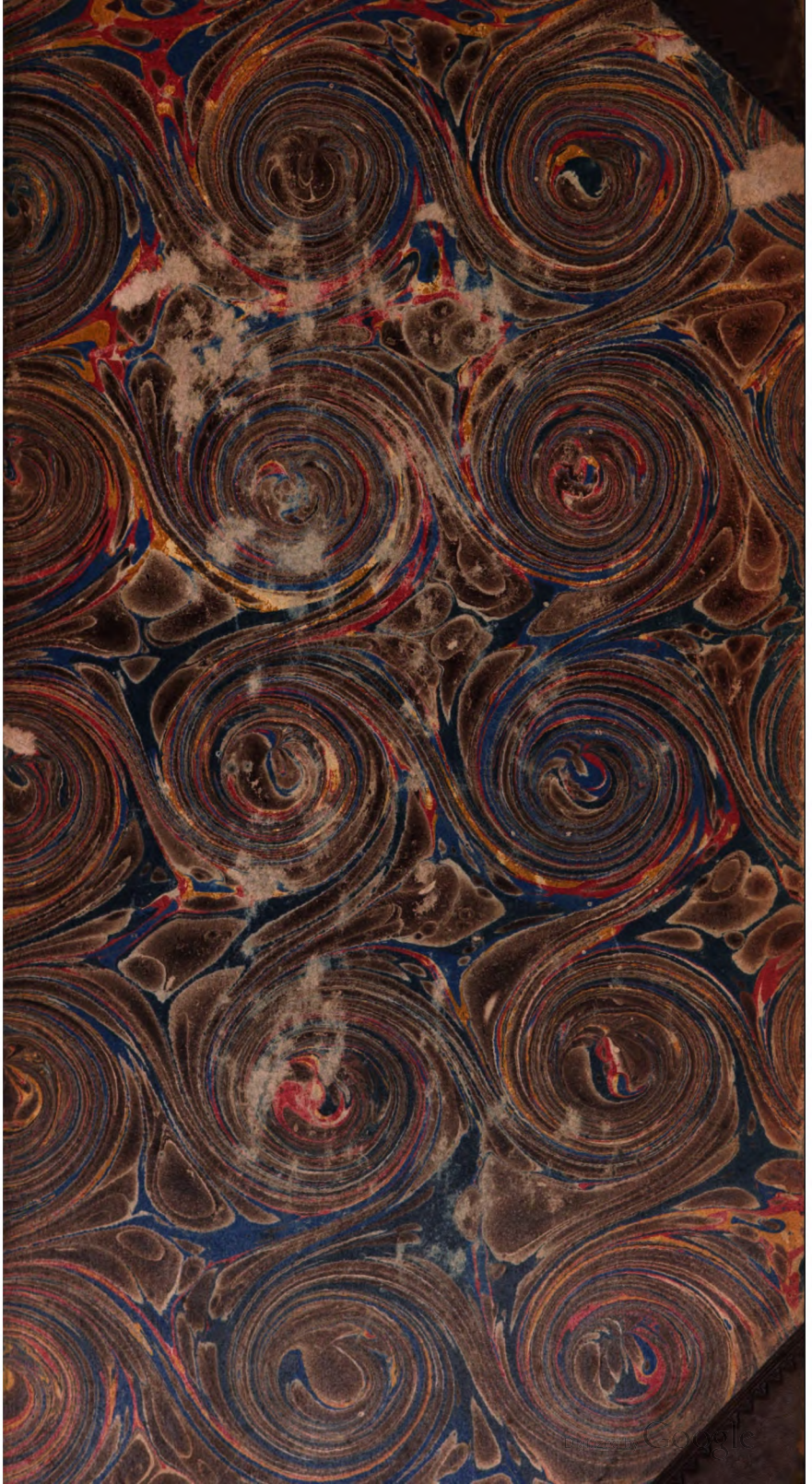
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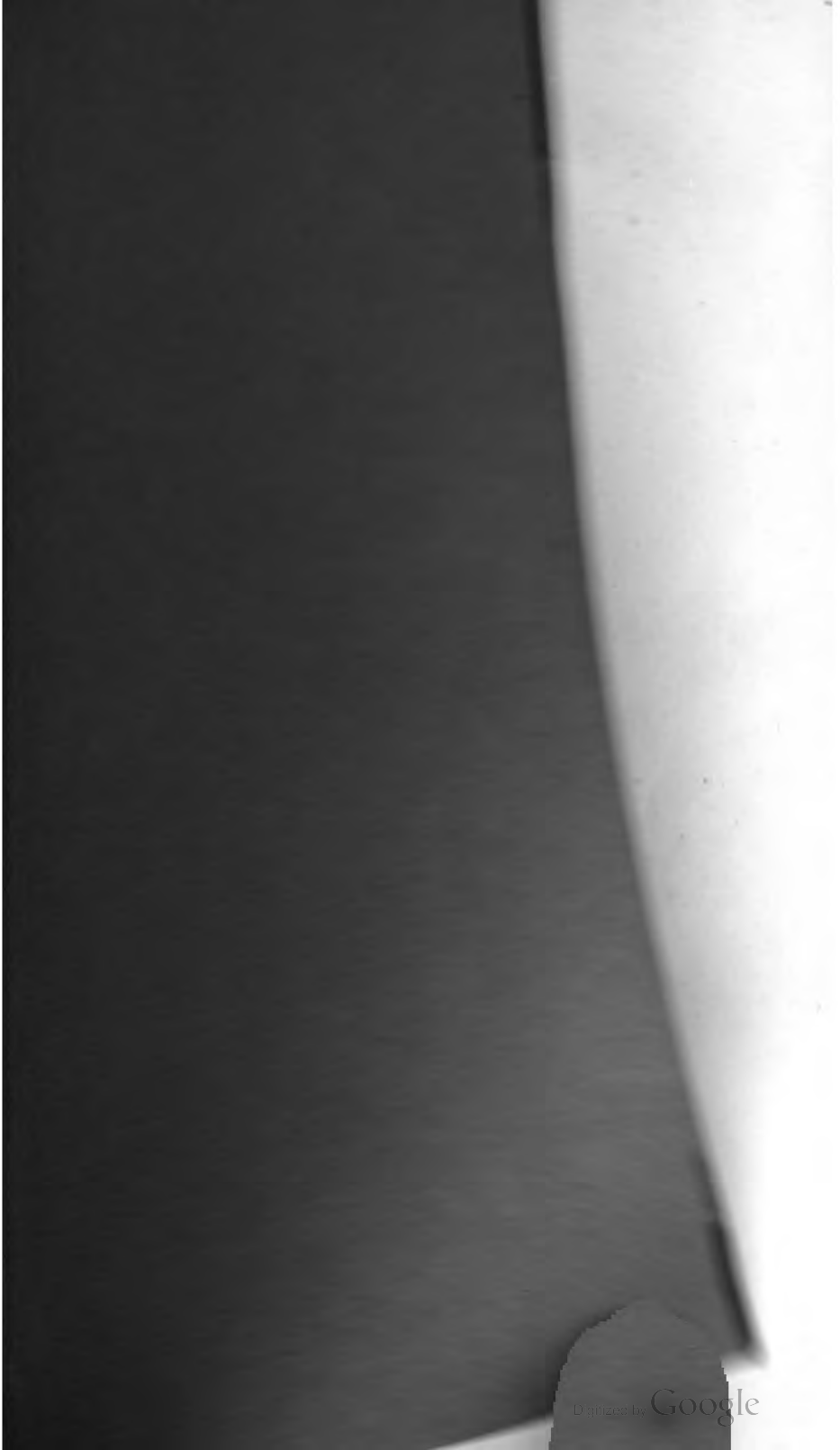
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THE

TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

ROME;

INCLUDING THE RECENT DISCOVERIES MADE ABOUT THE FORUM AND THE VIA SACRA.

BY

THE REV. RICHARD BURGESS,

CHAPLAIN TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND CONGREGATION AT ROME,
AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD AYLMER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

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LONDON:
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New-Street-Square.

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TO HIS GRACE,

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS,

&c. &c.

My Lord Duke,

In presenting this work on ancient Rome to your Grace, I thankfully acknowledge the flattering manner in which my desire of dedicating it to you was gratified.

Conversant and familiar as you are known to be with the various branches of learning and science, I am confident that any work of a literary character could not be more favourably introduced to the notice of the public than under sanction of your Grace; but the peculiar satisfaction it affords me arises from your special knowledge of the subject treated of in the following pages. It was whilst you

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were encouraging and promoting the study of antiquities at Rome that I first had the honour of becoming acquainted with your Grace, and of observing your extensive local information on the subject in which I was then engaged; I ventured at that time to congratulate myself on the prospect of offering to you the result of my observations, feeling that independently of any classical merit you might judge the work to possess, you would well know how to appreciate the labour and researches especially required for accomplishing it.

I remian,

My Lord Duke,

With sentiments of high esteem,

Your Grace's

Most faithful and obedient Servant,

RICHARD BURGESS.

London, August 16. 1831.

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PREFACE.

THE ruins and topography of Rome, ever since the revival of letters, have been considered by all learned men as a subject worthy of much attention, and tending greatly to illustrate the Latin classics: indeed, the Roman antiquaries, during the last three centuries, may be said, in more senses than one, to have not "left a stone unturned." The first of them did little more than repeat the traditions of their forefathers, adding those popular passages from ancient authors which relate to the memorable scenes of Roman valour, rather than determine names and localities. Of this class of writers, Camucci, Biondo, Fulvio, may be mentioned as the most useful: Fauno, Mauro, Fabricio, and a host of others, have also their merits. But especially, being more free from controversy than their successors, they generally set down the things as they saw them, without offering their own conjectures; and thus, many ruins that have long since disappeared, are preserved in their notices and descriptions. On the other hand, as they reasoned but little upon the authenticity of the monuments, they adopted the popular name

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without much enquiry into the propriety of it; and hence many strange errors were consecrated, and a store of contention laid up for posterity. The learned Panvinio may be placed at the head of another school: under him and Marliano the study of Roman antiquities became an important branch of literature: under Santo Bartoli and his ally Bellori, together with Palladio, Serlio, and others of the architectural department, it became a science; and, finally, was embellished and recommended to the lovers of the fine arts by the genius of Piranesi.

Nardini, doubtless, surpassed all his predecessors in diligence of compiling; and he may be said to have framed the creed of the Roman antiquary: but, in point of learning and just criticism, he was far inferior to the Jesuit Donatus; and had it been desirable to translate any work upon ancient Rome into the English language, perhaps none would have so good a claim upon the author of the following Dissertations as that of Donatus: Boissard is too prolix; Panciroli and Fabricio too short; and even Venuti, though the last, too dull and imperfect.

But besides the authors who have written upon the Topography and Antiquities of Rome in general, there are those who have treated particular branches of the subject. Justus Ryckius wrote a learned treatise upon the Capitol alone: Gorio produced a folio volume upon a single columbarium: Fabretti and Albert Cassio bestowed many years of labour and much erudition upon the

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aqueducts: Bianchini spent his fortune and his life in endeavouring to illustrate the Palatine hill: some have dwelt upon the theatres and circuses: others have described the "thermæ:" and often the fragments of a column, a few bricks, or a mutilated inscription, have given rise to volumes of ephemeral controversy; and this has had the effect of deterring many from studying the monuments of ancient Rome.

Besides these writings, there are the chroniclers of antiquities, and the collectors of inscriptions; not the least useful class of authors: among the former, Flaminius Vacca takes the lead: Aldoandrini and Santa Bartoli have contributed to the stock; and Ficoroni has worked his "Vestiges" into a quarto volume.

Mazocchi, Marini, and others, have carefully collected the epigrams and dedicatory inscriptions throughout Rome, which had survived the disasters of the middle ages. In this manner a prodigious mass of erudition was accumulated; until, towards the close of the last century, the study of Rome and its antiquities had been carried as far as learning could take it; for it would be difficult to point out a passage in any ancient author, which serves to establish a topographical fact, that had not already been collected by the antiquaries of the two preceding centuries. Something more was now required to give a new impulse and an additional interest to the subject. The system of excavations adopted by the French, and continued by the popes after their restoration, effected this.

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Much new light was thrown upon many of the ancient monuments; and the labours of the old antiquaries (scattered over a vast surface) were again dragged from their obscurity. Periodical publications were set on foot, — the Academy of St. Luke overwhelmed with dissertations, — the artist and the architect resumed the pencil and the compass. With the aid of all those learned treatises, which descend like an inheritance to the Roman "literati," it might have seemed an obvious task for some one of them to have given a complete and interesting account of Rome; but for the execution of a work of this nature, which should serve at the same time as a guide to the stranger, perhaps the antiquaries of Rome are the persons the least adapted; for being deeply engaged in the investigation of what generally eludes the enquiries of common observers, and frequently intent upon a favourite system on which their reputation is made to depend, they will not condescend to instruct the ignorant; and when it is considered that Venuti's "description" has been thought worthy of being reprinted as a good compendium of the antiquities, it will be enough to show the poverty of that class of publications.

It is true there are Itineraries framed with much discrimination, which may serve as elementary books in a cursory view of Rome; such, for instance, as the Itinerary which Professor Nibby has compiled according to the method of Vasi, and which contains as much information as could well be conveyed in so small a compass: it has

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also been thought expedient to republish Nardini with notes and illustrations; — but, independently of these works being inaccessible to the English reader, they are either too much or too little for arriving at that degree of antiquarian knowledge which a winter resident desires; nor are they of a nature to engage the attention of the generality of readers: the work which must do this ought to be something between the dry researches of an antiquary and the jejune information of an itinerary; it should make the subject subservient to history, and open up as many sources of useful information as it is capable of discovering.

The author of the following Dissertations, finding no such work written in the Latin and Italian languages, had frequently occasion to complain, as well as to hear others complain, of this deficiency; but it still remained to see whether any of our learned English travellers had supplied it.

Who does not admire the inimitable remarks of Forsyth? who does not see that Mr. Hobhouse, had he illustrated the whole of ancient Rome, instead of "Childe Harold's" selections, would have taken away the reproach from our travelling *literati?* Mr. Burton would have written the work to be desired, had he spent more time in Rome, made a different arrangement for more general topography, and left the churches to "classical tourists." Yet these are the only works, if we except Lumisden, which illustrate, with any degree of learning, the topography and antiquities of Rome, — insufficient as guides, incomplete as trea-

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tises, as the authors themselves would be ready to acknowledge.

The design of the following work, therefore, is to supply the deficiency in this branch of our classical literature; to investigate, with the aid of all that has gone before it, the site of ancient Rome; to give a fair, an impartial account of the ruins; and to settle the claims of conflicting names, without entering into endless discussions, or leaning to particular theories; to connect, as much as possible, the monuments with the history of Rome; and to direct the learned reader to the proper sources for extending his knowledge on the subject: and so far, it is hoped, the work may be found useful, even to those who have not visited the "eternal city." It is, however, more especially designed for the use of those who have either seen or intend to see Rome; and on this account it is presented in the form of Dissertations; and the reader is supposed to be stationed on the several localities: the plan of the whole is more fully developed in the third Dissertation.

It is not intended as a substitute for the common itineraries, but rather as a companion to them; for there is very little said upon the many interesting objects which the modern city presents: an index will, therefore, be appended, to combine with the arrangement of the most popular guide-books.

Besides an alphabetical index, a third will be added, in which the monuments will be classed in chronological order. The architectural terms oc-

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casionally introduced may require some apology; they are, however, generally either of the most popular kind, or else they are explained. It has frequently been found expedient to use Latin or Italian words; but any thing that might have the appearance of being too learned for an ordinary reader has been kept as clear of the text as possible, and will stand apart for the use of those only who may wish to study the ruins of Rome more critically.

The numerous notes are not written with any view to make a display of learning; but in a subject of this nature the authorities of ancient authors are indispensable, and many of them are found in writings which do not come within the usual routine of classical reading. The public libraries of Rome, Florence, and Geneva have furnished the editions of the authors from which the quotations are taken; and this will explain why the same editions are not always cited; but where the change occurs, it is marked by a special reference. The author has no wish to assume the credit for labour which does not belong to him; for although he has seldom taken an authority at second-hand, yet most of them were already collected by the antiquaries above mentioned; and if he has sometimes indulged in a few reflections, they were suggested on the very spot, in those moments when the mind is glad to moralise upon the result of its enquiries, and to take refuge in its own sentiments.

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The Plans which accompany the Dissertations and some of the smaller sketches, are made by Signor Pardini, of Lucca, architect. It will suffice to examine the restorations of the Temple of Venus and Rome to judge of the talents and ingenuity of that gentleman, to whom the author is so far indebted, that, without his obliging assistance, perhaps, the following Dissertations would never have been accomplished. The kindness and friendship of Mr. Engelhart is also to be gratefully acknowledged, in supplying several of the sketches and impressions of the medals.

If the author has succeeded in his undertaking, he may, perhaps, lay some claim to the merit of industry; but the success must be attributed to the advantages he has had of a residence of several winters in Rome, and, consequently, of access to the best sources of information. He might appeal to the indulgence of his readers on the score of this work being but the production of his leisure hours, and frequently liable to long interruptions; — he might plead his more important occupations, to which the topography and antiquities were at all times subordinate; but with things like these the public have little concern. In the present day, when both men and their works stand or fall by their own merit, it would be equally superfluous in an author to magnify the difficulties and importance of his subject, or to attempt to extenuate the faults which appear in the execution. If the following Dissertations be found to answer the design,

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and to justify their pretensions, they are of a nature to be permanently useful, and will be appreciated; if not, they will share the fate of many other productions, which appear for a day, but to be consigned to oblivion.

ROME, *April* 11. 1831.
No. 85. *Piazza di Spagna.*

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THE

TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

ROME.

DISSERTATION THE FIRST.

ON GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY (FROM THE TOWER OF THE CAMPIDOGLIO).

" A world is at our feet as fragile as our clay. "

BYRON.

THE greatest part of the population of Rome is now comprised within the limits of the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*). Three of the seven hills are covered with buildings, but are only thinly inhabited; the district " beyond the Tyber," including the " Borgo," contains the rest of the Roman people; the other parts of ancient Rome are left in that solitude, which is so well adapted to the imposing ruins. The surrounding country, called the Campagna of Rome, has been happily designated " a marble wilderness," through which the Tyber flows (reckoning from the mount Soracte to Ostia) for about a distance of fifty miles.

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The Capitoline hill may be almost said to divide the ancient from the modern city. From the top of the high tower which stands upon it, is a panoramic view of Rome and the Campagna: here we propose to take a station, for the purpose of making our first topographical survey, to trace the outlines of the seven hills, and to point out the successive enlargements of the city.

The landscape, which is about to offer us so many interesting details, will probably be already impressed upon the memory of most of our readers: they can easily dispense with our tribute of admiration; and to those who may be induced to read our Dissertation on the spot, it would be equally superfluous. The glowing tints which gild the stately palaces and ruins, — the magic light which plays over the undulated Campagna, and mingles with the deep blue shades of the Alban hills, — the interest which is accumulated from the history of full 2000 years, and spread, like the genius of the place, over every vineyard, hill, and valley, — will not easily be effaced from the recollection of those who have stood, or may stand, on the Campidoglio; and if at a distance from the scene they read the "Topography and Antiquities of Rome," it will be with a zest which those, who only know Rome from descriptions, can scarcely be supposed to experience. It is for the former class of readers, and for those who will actually follow us in our topographical enquiries, that this work is chiefly designed. Perhaps to others, unless they read with an object beyond that of merely being amused, we may often appear tedious: we shall, nevertheless, endeavour to make the dissertations useful even to

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those who have never visited Rome. The reader, however, is generally supposed to be on the spot, as we now suppose him to be standing on that side of the tower of the Campidoglio which fronts the hills of Albano. It was intended to confine our observations within the limits of the city; but we can scarcely cast our eyes over the Campagna without enquiring for the boundaries of Latium and the Sabine territory; it will be convenient to point out those first, for they are supposed to have included towns which were in existence long before the foundation of Rome.

The Tyber, which is seen so conspicuously from the Campidoglio, winding towards the sea, divides the country known to the ancients by the name of Etruria, from the more popular district of Latium: hence that celebrated river in the neighbourhood of Rome is called by the poets, indifferently, a river of Latium, or of Etruria.[1] Our business at present is only with that portion of it which lies between its junction with the Anio, about three miles east of Rome, and its confluence with the Mediterranean at Ostia. This outline, of about twenty miles in extent, has always been considered as one fixed boundary of Latium; in other respects, its limits were gradually enlarged with the first conquests of the Romans.

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[1] "Cultor LATII per opaca silentia Tibris
Labitur." *Faliscus, Cynegeticon*, v. 38.

——— "Adoptatusque, *Tuscis*
Gurgitibus puer innatasti."
Papin. Stat. Lyricum ad Septim. Severum.

These passages are also accurately descriptive.

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The first Latium * comprised only the little kingdom of Latinus, extending along the sea coast from the Tyber to the stream of Numicus. In the direction of the Basilica of St. Paul's, as viewed from our station, was its most ancient capital, Laurentum; and at an increased angle of about twenty degrees may be found the direction of Lavinium. The modern names of Torre Paterno and Pratica have succeeded to the sites of those long-lost cities; and trackless woods and marshes now cover the scenes of the last six books of the Æneid.[2] The country of the Rutuli was situated beyond the Numicus, between the sea coast and the skirts of the neighbouring hills: the village of Ardea, distant but five miles from Pratica, preserves the ancient name and situation of the city of Turnus.

It may be difficult to define whether we are now tracing those vestiges of antiquity by the light of authentic history, or by the more dazzling though less steady light of tradition and poetry; but the task is so pleasing, that we are willing to yield to any uncertain guide which promises to help us to delineate the scenes of Virgil's narrative. We may, therefore, now follow the "boy Ascanius" from the Lavinian shores to the more celebrated capital, which gave birth to Rome itself.[3]

The highest summit in the chain of hills before us is the Alban mount, now called Monte Cavo: half way between that summit and the plain on the west, may be discovered the modern Albano:

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* See Note A, at the end of the Volume.

[2] Compare *Virg. Æn.* lib. vii. et viii.; and *Strabo*, lib. v.

[3] Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. in princip.

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a little more to the left, the lake lies concealed in its volcanic basin, and its borders are marked by a darker shade of wood, and the more conspicuous edifices of Castel Gandolfo. It was on the long ridge, bordering the southern part of the lake, where the son of Æneas is said to have built Alba Longa [A. C. 1152]; but it can hardly be said that a vestige of that long-lost city may be traced.[4] The fourteen kings of Alba Longa are of doubtful authenticity; and, whatever acquisition of territory might be made by them, Rome was at length enabled to wrest from the rival state its dominions. Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome, reduced Alba; Ancus Martius built the port at Ostia; and Tarquin the Proud comprised in the second Latium, Gabii, Ardea, and penetrated into the country of the Volsci, which lay beyond the Alban Hills.[5] Algidum, Tusculum, Labicum, and other towns of great antiquity, were added to the territory of Rome with much labour; and it will now be necessary to mark the limits of the country properly called by the Romans — *Latium Antiquum.*

The Anio has its source among those higher mountains which appear to the left of the Alban hills, in a direction that may be marked by looking over the basilica of Santa Croce; it becomes a river at Subiaco[6], fetches a compass beyond the mount Guadagnolo, and reaches Tivoli at the dis-

[4] Nevertheless, the Abate Ricci has written a quarto volume upon it.

[5] Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. passim.

[6] Vide *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 12.

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tance of about fifty miles from its source. It continues to flow through the Campagna, from Tivoli to its junction with the Tyber, dividing (in this distance of about nineteen miles) Latium[7] from the Sabine territory. Thus, a portion of the two rivers with the sea coast form three of the utmost boundaries of Latium Antiquum. It is not so easy to define its limits at any given period towards the south. We learn from Pliny that ancient Latium, properly so called, extended along the sea coast, from the Tyber to Circeii (now S. Felice), being a distance of fifty miles.[8] At a subsequent period, Latium advanced as far as the Liris, and even to Sinuessa[9]; thus joining Campania and the ancient country of the Samnites.[10] It is probable that,

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[7] "Aniene, qui et ipse *navigabilis* Latium includit a tergo." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

[8] "Latium antiquum a Tiberi Circeios servatum est M. passuum L. longitudine: . . . . et ultra Circeios, Volsci, Osci, Ausones; unde nomen modo Latii processit ad Lirin amnem."— *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

But Strabo computes the distance from Ostia to the Mons Circeius to be 550 stadia; differing from Pliny by about eighteen miles! Pliny, or his text, may be often justly charged with inaccuracy in measurements; but in the present instance he is correct. Compare *Strabo*, lib. v. tom. i. p. 350. edit. Amstelod. 1707, and the *Carta Peutingeriana*. The error of Strabo has escaped the notice of Alberti, but not of Cluverius, who, as usual, sets about correcting the text. Vide *Cluv. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 992. edit. 1719.

[9] "Oppidum Sinuessa extremum in adjecto Latio," &c. — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

[10] Νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἡ παραλία μέχρι Σινουέσσης ἀπὸ τῶν Ὡστίων Λατίνη καλεῖται, πρότερον δὲ μέχρι τῆ Κιρκαίᾳ ἐ μόνον ἐσχήκει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ τὴν μεσογαίαν δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐ πολλὴν, ὕ-ερον δὲ καὶ μέχρι Καμπανίας διέτεινε καὶ Σαννιτῶν καὶ Πελιγνῶν καὶ ἄλλων τῶν τὸ Ἀπέννινον κατοικούντων. — *Strabo*, lib. v. p. 353. edit. Amstelod.

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long before the time of Strabo, the several distinct nations which had exercised the valour of the Romans in their first conquests were blended in the general name of Latini.[11] Independent of the tribes who dwelt about the Alban hills, and the Aborigines in the plain nearer Rome, we may enumerate the Rutuli, the Volsci, the Equi, the Hernici, and the Ausones. The situations of the two former have already been intimated; the Equi dwelt along the roots of the mountains extending from Tibur to Præneste; the Hernici inhabited more towards the south, and the source of the Anio; and the territory of the still more distant Ausones reached to the Liris: this country, therefore, in its full extent, may more properly be designated the New Latium, or the Latium of the Empire.[12]

The ancient country of the Sabines comprehended all that territory lying between the Anio and the Tyber; as far as those two rivers, with the mountains for a base, form nearly an isosceles triangle: the extremities of that base may be conceived to lie beyond the mount Guadagnolo, and a little to the east of the mount Soracte[13]; at

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[11] Νῦν δὲ ἅπαντα Λατίνων ἐστὶ μέχρι Σινουέσσης, ὡς εἶπον. — *Strabo*, lib. v. p. 353. edit. Amstelod. p. 355.

[12] Ptolemy the astronomer, who lived in the age of Antoninus Pius, includes in Latium the town of Formiæ, now Mola de Gaeta. Vide *Claud. Ptolem.* p. 61. edit. Frankf. 1605.

[13] The Mons Soracte, now piously corrupted into Saint Oreste, cannot be mistaken; its dark blue ridge stands isolated from any other mountain; but it is seldom seen in the manner the poet has immortalised it: "Altâ nive candidum." It would rather appear that Horace is describing the unusual appearance of a very severe winter, as if he had said, —

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these points the rivers suddenly diverge, and continue nearly in opposite directions; the vertex is at the junction of the rivers, which takes place, as has been observed, at the short distance of three miles from the city [14]: the Sabine territory, therefore, approached nearer to Rome than any other of the neighbouring countries; and this may easily account for the first wars of Romulus being waged against that people, which ended in the two nations being united under one king.[15] [A. C. 747.] We shall now proceed to point out some of the most celebrated places of Latium, as they may be discerned from the tower of the Capitol.

We have already left the scene of Virgil's "epic war," in the dreary country that extends along the coast of the Mediterranean; and the eye has been directed to the Monte Cavo, on which stood the temple of Jupiter Latialis. To this summit the minor triumphs ascended *, to perform the usual sacrifices, and the Via Numinis, as the initials

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"Vides, ut [*etiam*] alta stet nive candidum
Soracte," &c. *Hor. Carm.* lib. i. 9.

[14] The Sabine territory, as well as Latium, was extended towards the Hadriatic, far beyond the limits here assigned to it, before Strabo wrote. Sabina, says that geographer, was a narrow country; but measured from Nomentum to the Vestini 1000 stadia (125 miles) in length: it was also rich in olives and vines. (Vide lib. v. p. 349.) He says as much of the fertility of Latium, except about Ardea and towards the Pontine Marshes, where the *mal'aria* reigned.

[15] "Sabinique et Romani unus populus efficerentur." — *Eutrop. Rer. Rom. in Romulo.*

The same author deduces the origin of the Roman prænomen from this union. *Ibid.*

* See Note B.

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V. N., still legible on the pavement, testify, may be followed for several hundred feet in uninterrupted preservation. This conspicuous object was seen over the whole of Latium, and might be considered as the joyful sign of home to the mariners approaching the port of Ostia.[16]

Beneath the summit of the Monte Cavo, but inclining to the left, the eye reposes upon a green plain, which is readily contrasted with the surrounding woods: this plain is commonly called the camp of Hannibal; not, surely, because Hannibal ever had his camp there; but because, according to Livy, the Romans placed a garrison on the Alban mount, when the Carthaginian hovered about the walls of Rome.[17] The modern village of Rocca di Papa, seen at the same time with the plain, has been supposed, from its relative situation, to occupy the site of the citadel of Albano.[18]

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16 ——— "Tum gratus Iulo,
Atque novercali sedes prælata Lavino,
Conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen
Scrofa dedit," &c. *Juv. Sat.* xii. v. 70. &c.

17 "Præsidia in arce, in Capitolio, in muris circa urbem. In monte etiam Albano atque arce Tusculana ponuntur." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvi. cap. 10.

18 When the Gauls were repulsed, and driven by the Romans beyond their own encampment, they made for the most conspicuous citadel; that was, says Livy, the Arx Albana: "Quod editissimum *inter æquales tumulos* occurrebat oculis, Arcem Albanam petunt." Lib. vii. c. 24. It would be of little service to the spectator on the tower of the Campidoglio to give any critical account or description of Latium, further than is necessary for pointing out the most remarkable and visible objects: an accurate account or description of that nature would require more bodily labour, and perhaps more patient investigation, than the topography and antiquities of Rome itself. Signor Nibby's *Viaggio Antiquario* will, however, be consulted with much pleasure and advantage.

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Above this village, still keeping our direction towards the Anio, rises another summit, more distant and little inferior in height to the Alban mount; that is the mount Algido, beyond which was the town of that name, belonging to the Equi. This mount was crowned by the temple of Diana[19], and is celebrated in ancient song as the coolest retreat in the neighourhood of Rome[20]: the snow fetched from the cavities near the top of the Algido, still supplies the luxury of the Eternal City. A little within the hills that intervene between Albano and Frascati are the modern villages of Marino and Grotta Ferrata; and in passing from one to the other, may be traversed the Vallis Ferentina, so renowned in the first ages of Rome, where the diet of the Latin states assembled to discuss the interests of peace and war.[21] The town of Frascati, which adorns the nearest eminence in the chain of hills, cannot be mistaken; its imposing buildings, at the distance of twelve miles, must already have attracted the attention of the spectator; but it does not occupy the site of the ancient Tusculum: that city, which is inseparable from the immortal name of Cicero,

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19 "Vos lætam fluviis, et nemorum coma,
Quæcunque aut gelido prominet Algido,
Nigris aut Erymanthi
Silvis," &c. *Hor. Carm.* lib. i. 21.

20 "Nam quæ *nivali* pascitur Algido
Devota, quercus inter et ilices,
Aut crescit Albanis in herbis
Victima," &c. *Hor. Carm.* lib. iii. 23.

21 Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 50, 51.; et *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. ii. cap. 45. et seq. tom. i. p. 237. edit. Oxon. 1704.

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was situated near two miles from the modern town, and not much below the mount Algido. A new interest has been given to Tusculum, by the excavations lately made amongst its ruins; but the antiquary still seeks in vain for the veritable scene of the Tusculan Questions.

The hills of Frascati, amongst which we may include the Monte Porzio[22], gradually decline towards the territory of the Equi; but before they close with that undulated plain, there is distinctly to be seen, on their last and lowest eminence, the village of La Colonna. It is concluded from a passage in Strabo[23], and from an inscription discovered on the spot[24], that here stood the ancient Labicum: this was one of the towns in the neighbourhood of Rome, which Coriolanus got possession of when he waged war against his country; and the muse of Virgil revived its waning fame in the days of Augustus.[25]

In the plain which lies between the hills we are now leaving and the mountains we shall soon arrive at, are to be traced the vestiges of many

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[22] This mount and the village upon it are said to derive their names from the villa of Marcus Portius Cato, which was situated in that neighbourhood. See *Viaggio Antiquario*, vol. ii. p. 59.

[23] Lib. v. tom. i. p. 362.

[24] *Fabretti de Aquis, &c.* diss. iii. p. 176. Rom. edit. 1778.

[25] Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. ii. cap. 39.

" Et picti scuta Labici."

Virg. Æn. vii. 796.

A few years before, Cicero had represented it as nearly depopulated.

" Nisi forte te Lavicana, aut Bovillana, aut Gabina vicinitas adjuvabat; quibus e municipiis vix jam qui carnem Latinis petant inveniuntur." — *Cic. pro Plancio*, cap. 9. Compare Note B at the end of the Volume.

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p aces which shine in "Livy's pictured page;" but in the dull uniformity of that part of the Campagna, no object can be fixed upon, at this distance, to mark their situations: the lake Regillus, where the Tarquins sustained the fatal defeat; Gabii, the scene of their stratagem; and Collatia, connected with the name of Lucretia and the liberty of Rome, are still sufficient to attract the curiosity of the stranger, and to give employment to the antiquary.[26] The town that appears at the greatest distance upon the declivities of the Prænestine mountains, twenty-five miles from Rome[27], is Palestrina. The modern name, and the ruins of the famous temple of Fortune, nearly of equal extent with the town itself, indicate the site of the ancient Præneste: this was a favourite retreat of Augustus[28], and therefore has not been left unsung by his obsequious bard.[29] The names of La Rocca and Monte S. Pietro have been applied to the summit on which might have stood the citadel; and it may be distinguished from our station far above the

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[26] All these ancient towns had their respective territories; so that we continually read of the Ager Tusculanus, Labicanus, Gabianus, &c. They might answer to the modern "Commune."

[27] Tibur, says Strabo, is 100 stadia from Præneste; and Præneste is twice that distance from Rome: this makes about twenty-five miles. Tibur, he adds, is somewhat nearer Rome. Vide lib. v.

[28] "Itinera lectica, et noctibus fere, eaque lenta ac minuta faciebat, ut Præneste vel Tibur biduo procederet." — *Suet. in vit. Octav.* lxxxii.

[29] "Vester, Camœnæ, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos; seu mihi frigidum
Præneste, seu Tibur," &c.
Hor. Carm. lib. iii. 4.

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town itself. The citadel of Præneste, coupled with the names of Sylla and young Marius, will recall to memory the bloody history of the Social War.[30]

We may now pass along the chain of barren mountains for a distance of near fourteen miles; and the wearied eye will repose with pleasure upon the fresh hills and olives that adorn the environs of Tivoli[31]: here, the Anio reminds us that we have arrived at the boundary of Latium; for, in that direction, the country never extended beyond. Tibur, the resort of the rich and powerful Romans, its villas, its landscapes, and its ruins, have often been described.[32] The ravages of late years made by the "præceps Anio," and the works of Pope Leo XII., may have a place in future descriptions; but in this rapid survey of the Campagna of Rome we are only pledged to point out boundaries and celebrated spots — there is Tivoli: —

——— "And where yon bar
Of girdling mountains intercepts the sight,
The Sabine farm was till'd, the weary bard's delight." [33]

The country beyond the Tyber, as was observed, had the name of Etruria, but the view of the Cam-

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[30] See *Ferguson's Roman Republic*, ch. xiv.

[31] Almost all that remains of the γῆ διαφερόντως ἐλαιόφυτος καὶ ἀμπελόφυτος of Strabo. Compare Note 14. p. 8.

[32] "Et præceps Anio, ac Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis."
Hor. Carm. lib. i. 7. &c.
If any one would know what the cascades were, Gray's animated description should not be forgotten. See his Letter, dated Tivoli, p. 172. 12mo. London, 1821.

[33] *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, canto iv. stanza 174.

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pagna, towards the north, is intercepted by the Janiculum, the Vatican, and the Monte Mario. The Montes Cimini are partially visible behind the latter, and the distant Soracte may serve to indicate the limits of Etruria, and the Sabine territory[34]: to trace the outlines of the seven hills, we must turn again towards the south.

It would seem both the most natural and useful method, to take this view of the seven-hilled city in chronological order, if we could really ascertain the periods of the several additions to the city of Romulus; but this, as well as most events which took place under the kings of Rome, is clouded with that uncertainty which hangs over the origin of all nations. If we say the Cælian was added by Tullus Hostilius, upon the authority of Livy[35], we have equally the authority of Dionysius to assert, that it was added by Romulus himself[36]; whilst Tacitus, differing from both, says it was only joined to the city by Tarquinius Priscus.[37] The same

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[34] See *Virgil. Æneid.* lib. vii. 696. Sickler's map of the Campagna di Roma may be consulted, for want of a more accurate one; his Pantogramma will be used with more advantage. Sir Wm. Gell's map has appeared since this observation was made, and it may eventually supersede Sickler's.

[35] *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 30. Livy is followed by most of the later historians. Comp. *Sextus Aurelius Victor de Viris Illust.* in the *Hist. August.* p. 715., Hanoviæ edit. 1611; and *Eutropius in Tull. Host.*, &c.

[36] Vide *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. ii. p. 109. tom. 11. Oxoniæ, 1704.

[37] *Tacit. Annal.* lib. iv. c. 65. Strabo differs again by ascribing the Cœlian Hill to Ancus Martius. *Strabo*, p. 358. tom. i. &c. "Sed," to adopt the language of Livy, "hæc et his similia, utcunque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine." — *Liv.* præfat.

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discrepancies may be observed in almost all the accounts of the rest: but, to a mind not too fastidious, these difficulties will be easily removed; for when these authors assign their different periods to the successive enlargements of the city, it can mean no more than that, as need required, continued portions of territory were granted for the use of an increasing population; and Romulus might assign one part of the Cælian hill to his lawless banditti, as well as Tullus Hostilius appropriate another part of it for his conquered Albans.[38] Without therefore entering into these inexplicable niceties, in the investigation of which there is little pleasure, and less information; we will incline towards the preponderance of authority, and not depart from a received opinion, unless a better can be fully established.

There is at least the satisfaction of setting out with the unanimous consent of all ancient writers — that Rome was originally confined to the Palatine hill.[39] Those confused masses of ruins, lying

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[38] These conclusions are warranted by the following passage: —

"Cælium montem *intra mœnia clausit* [i. e. Tullus Hostilius], numero et potentia crescente Roma." — Vide *Messala Corvin. lib. de August. Progen.* p. 696., *Aug. Histor.*, &c.

[39] Tradition will carry us far beyond the times of Romulus. (See the *Origo Gentis Romanæ*, in the *Hist. August. Scriptor. Minor. &c.* p. 705. &c.; and *Virg. Æneid.* lib. viii. 337. &c.) Romulus only built upon the ruins of the city of Evander, and the Palatine derived its name from a city of Arcadia. The etymology of the names given to the seven hills is for the most part unsatisfactory; but even Varro (lib. iv. *De Ling.*) must here yield to Pausanias (lib. viii. cap. 43. p. 688. Lipsiæ, 1696.), who, by an easy rejection of the letters *l* and *n* from the word Pallantium, forms Palatium (palace).

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beyond the Forum, nearly at our feet, announce the fallen grandeur of the palace of the Cæsars. An accurate historian has traced for us the outline of the city of Romulus * : — " He began to mark out the limits of his city, from the Forum Boarium, so as to comprise within it the great altar of Hercules." This Forum, which received its name from the very circumstance, (in memory whereof the brazen statue of an ox (*bos*) was placed in the midst of it,) is ascertained beyond a doubt. Down on our right, close by the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, may be observed the square top of a small ancient monument: the inscription, still legible upon it, sufficiently proves that *there* was one communication with the Forum Boarium.[40] The great altar of Hercules was so near to this forum, that it is said by Ovid to be in that part of the city which had its name from the ox.[41] The gilded statue of Hercules, now in the Museum of the Capitol, was discovered not far from that angle of the Palatine hill[42] which is nearest to the monument we have just pointed out; add to this, the direction which Romulus took, to plough the fur-

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* See Note C.

40 See Dissertation VII.

41 " Constituitque sibi, quæ Maxima dicitur, aram,
Hic ubi pars Urbis de bove nomen habet."
Ovid. Fast. lib. i. 587. &c.

Dionysius is still more accurate: —

Ὁ δὲ βωμὸς ἐφ' οὗ τὰς δέκατας ἐπεθύσεν Ἡρακλῆς καλεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Μέγιστος ἐστὶ Βοαρίας λεγομένης ἀγορᾶς πλησίον, κ. τ. λ. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. i. cap. 40. *De Rom. Antiq.*

42 " Statua di bronzo dorato, quasi colossale di Ercole, trovata nel xv. secolo, dietro la Bocca della Verità, fra questa chiesa e S. Anastasia." — *Itinerario, &c. da Vasi*, tom. i. p. 77.

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row round his city, and the altar of Hercules may be safely placed near the church of S. Anastasia.[43] If we may now for a moment indulge in a pleasing conjecture, it is natural to suppose that Romulus would begin to mark out his city at or very near the spot where the auspicious fates had preserved his helpless infancy: thus might we already lay the scene of the she-wolf and the twins, the Lupercal and the Ruminal fig-tree; but perhaps the spectator may still think those things are more charming in the page of Livy, or in the lays of Virgil.[44]

The founder of Rome "continued along the roots of the Palatine hill to the altar of Consus."

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[43] Virgil seems to place the great altar of Hercules so that Æneas and his people were seen from it when they landed. (*Æneid.* viii. 102. &c. 271. &c.) Taking the "*velabrum*" into consideration, it will be difficult to fix it any where but on the declivity of the Palatine hill. This celebrated object has been a subject of much controversy; but a French translator of Juvenal settles it at once:—"On voyait auprès *du Cirque Flaminien* un grand autel que le roi Evandre avoit autre fois élevé en l'honneur d'Hercule!" — *J. Dusaulx, traduction de Juvenal, Sat.* x. note 17.

[44] As the Lupercal and the Ruminal fig-tree probably never had any existence except in the fancy of the poets, it seems of little consequence for indulging in a similar fancy, whether they can be placed with more certainty near the church of S. Theodoro or S. Maria Liberatice. The tradition, however, was respected as late as the time of Tacitus (*Tacit. Ann.* lib. xiii. cap. 58.); and it seems the Ruminal fig-tree was then in the Forum. The curious reader may consult *Bartholomeo Marliano, Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. ii. cap. 12.; *Alexander Donatus de Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. ii. cap. 18.; *Nardini de Rom. Antica*, tom. iii. p. 150.; and, finally, the summing up of the evidence by *Signor Nibby, Foro Romano*, p. 82. But compare the *Origo Gentis Romanæ*, in the *Hist. August.* p. 711.

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Tertullian informs us that this altar was at the first Meta or goal of the Circus Maximus[45]: if so, we are certain of the line which is now pursued; for it will be clearly understood that the Circus lay between the Palatine and Aventine mounts; and, upon the most accurate calculation, the altar of Consus must have been at the distance of 364 or 365 feet from the "Carceres" of the Circus[46]; that is, from near the said church of S. Anastasia, and along the western side of the hill. From the "Ara Consi," which Tacitus chooses as the object to indicate the direction on the western side, we are led to follow the plough of Romulus, "to the ancient Curiæ," or senate-house. This was a distinct object from the senate-house in which the important affairs of the republic were discussed.[47] From the adjective "*veteres*," it would seem to have been an antiquity in the days of Tacitus, but it must have had a place on the southern side of the hill, or else this delineation of our author is calculated to mislead. The antiquaries, not sufficiently attending to the distinction which is made by Varro, and perhaps induced by a passage in an ancient writer[48], were accustomed to consider the Hostilia Curia as being on the Cælian hill, and

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[45] *Tertullian de Spectaculis.* See *Burgess's Description, &c. of the Circus near Rome*, p. 99.

[46] For the accurate measurement of the Circus Maximus, taken from Dionysius, see *Adam's Roman Antiquities*, p. 311.

[47] "Curiæ duorum generum: nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas, ut Curiæ Veteres; et ubi senatus humanas, ut Curia Hostilia; quod primus," &c.—*Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. p. 37. edit. Scaliger. 1581.

[48] *P. Victor de Regionib. Romæ.*

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in the neighbourhood of the church of S. Gregorio, whose front is easily distinguished from our station beyond the Palatine hill. They were, perhaps, more correct in placing the "Curiæ Veteres," which Tacitus no doubt distinguishes from the "Curia Hostilia," near the arch of Constantine.[49] It seems hardly necessary for our present purpose to examine whether their conjectures be accurate or not; for it is obvious that the two southern extremities of Romulus's city were respectively at the church and arch above mentioned.[50] The third side of the Palatine is marked by our guide by the "sacellum Larium," which seems to have been another popular altar or chapel. The diligence of Nardini has only found one passage to give locality to this object. Solinus says that Ancus Martius dwelt at the top of the Via Sacra, where the temple or sacred house of the Lares was.[51] Whatever may be the exact direction of the Via Sacra, the top of that celebrated street will fall somewhere upon a line drawn from the arch of Titus to the farther wall of the church of S. Francesca Romana[52]; so that the site of the "ædes Larium" may be said to coincide nearly with a part of the church itself. Romulus is traced as far as the Roman Forum,

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[49] The "Curia Vetus" was in the tenth region or district of the Palatium. *Idem.*

[50] But compare *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 6.; *Marliano, Topograph. &c.* lib. ii. cap. 10.; *Pancirolli, Descript. Urb. Rom. Reg. X.*, apud Grævium, tom. iii.; and *Biondo, Italia Illustrata*, lib. ii. carta 32.; and, finally, see *Nibby, Foro Romano*, p. 56.

[51] "In summa sacra via, ubi ædes Larium est." — *Solinus Polyhistor de Orig. Urb. Rom.* cap. ii. p. 153. Basil. edit.

[52] See Dissertation VI.

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and the circuit may be completed by an imaginary line drawn from the three columns, standing near the northern corner of the hill, to the church of S. Anastasia. Having thus pointed out the form and limits of original Rome, it will be observed with what reason it was sometimes called the "Roma Quadrata[53];" and perhaps its form ever served as a model for the impregnable camps of the descendants of Romulus.[54]

It is said, whilst the founder of Rome occupied, with his followers, the Palatine hill, Tatius the king of the Sabines, after the first success of the Romans, had his abode on the Capitoline. The Forum might then be wood or common, forming a natural barrier between the two rivals.[55] Following, therefore, tradition at least, for our chronological succession, we have now to describe the limits of the hill on which the modern Campidoglio stands. The Capitoline hill was the least of all in extent, but greatest in fame and importance.

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[53] "Et quis extiterit Romæ regnare quadratæ?"
Ennius, quoted by Festus.

It would seem, too, that a model of the original city was preserved on the Palatine hill. See the *Regionary* of *Victor*, and consult *Donatus* in *Grævius*, tom. iii. p. 479.; compare, also, *Julius Solinus de Orig. Urb. Rom.* cap. ii.

[54] See *Ferguson's Roman Republic*, b. i. ch. i. p. 7. 4to edit.

[55] Τὸ δ' ὑποκείμενον τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πεδίον, ἐκκόψαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκυῖαν ὕλην, καὶ τῆς λίμνης, κ. τ. λ. . . ἀγορὰν αὐτόθι κατηστάντο ἥ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι διατελοῦσι, κ. τ. λ. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. ii. cap. 50.

——— "Passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro, et lautis mugire Carinis."
Æneid. viii. 360. &c.

The description of the poet is now thought to be again applicable to the Campo Vaccino.

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Its oval form may still be distinctly traced in a circumference of about 4000 feet. Near the arch of Septimius Severus, which we look immediately down upon, Romulus opened his Asylum.[56] Beginning from thence, so as to exclude the arch, we may sweep a curve along the foot of the hill which will touch upon the Forum of Trajan, and comprise the church of Ara Cœli, with the whole basement of rock on which it stands. The sepulchre of Bibulus, which cannot however be seen from the Capitol, must be left without the line[57], which is to be continued along the foot of the hill by the modern steps of the Campidoglio: the other end of the ellipsis may be described by including in a similar curve to the former, the Palazzo Caffarelli, with the adjacent gardens; that is to say, the whole extent of the Tarpeian rock. The height of that celebrated object cannot be estimated from the top of the Capitol. At present it will suffice to complete the circuit of the hill by running along the Piazza Montanara, comprising the ruins of those temples at our feet, and returning to the imaginary grove of Romulus[58]. The Capitoline hill, it will be observed, exhibits two summits, separated by a valley which is called by antiquarians the *Intermontium*. The square building of the Tabularium, or depository of the public archives, was situated in the valley, and the tower of the Campidoglio is built upon its solid walls. The two eminences were crowned by the citadel, the

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[56] *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. 10.

[57] See the reasons alleged in Dissertation II.

[58] "Hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum Retulit," &c. *Virg. Æn.* viii. 342.

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Capitolium, the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and other popular objects; but the ancient splendour of the Capitol will merit a more full and accurate description in the circuit of the eighth region [59].

If the Aventine mount was inhabited by Remus, it has already had a claim to priority [60]; but from the most authentic records it does not appear to have made a part of the city until the time of Ancus Martius: it is, however, convenient to give it the third place in this survey, in order to pass more freely from the west to the east side of the city.

The Aventine [61] begins at the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, whose high square tower is well seen in the low ground on our right, designated the Velabrum, and which retains its ancient name. The mount continues in a direction with the Tyber, until it turns with the Strada di Marmorata, which passes under a rude brick arch, called the Arco di S. Lazaro: this road, continuing

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59 See Dissertation VII.

60 "Remus montem Aventinum, hic [scilicet Romulus] Palatinum occupat."—*Jornandes, Series Regum, &c.* cap. viii. p. 1058. *Hist. August.*; but he copies *L. Florus;* for see lib. i. cap. 1. Biondo thinks that the city of Romulus comprised the mounts Palatine, Capitoline, and Aventine; because Livy mentions the other five (in which he includes the Janiculum) as added afterwards. Vide *Biondo, Italia Restaur.* lib. i. carta 72. &c.

61 There was a tradition that Aventinus, a king of Alba, once occupied this hill (*Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. i. cap. 71.); and hence the derivation. But Varro (*De Ling. Lat.* lib. iv.), after disposing of the two words "avibus" and "adventu," chooses advectus:— "Itaque eò ex urbe qui advehebantur ratibus quadrantem solvebant."

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to the Porta S. Paolo, leaves the bastion of Pope Paul III. on the left, placed on a commanding eminence of the hill. Neither of those two objects, which might serve as boundaries on the west, can be seen from the Capitol; the view being intercepted by the churches and convents of S. Sabina and St. Alessio. The pyramid of Caius Cestius, though too distant to mark the outline of the hill, may serve to direct us to the valley which separates the Aventine from another eminence not to be as yet included under the same name; for that eminence, which is crowned by the churches of S. Saba and S. Balbina, probably formed no part of the city of Ancus Martius; and Dionysius allots no more than eighteen stadia, *i. e.* two miles and a quarter, for the whole circumference of the Aventine hill.[62] The valley, therefore, which runs in a direction from the pyramid of Caius Cestius to the church of S. Gregorio, will mark the southern boundary of the Aventine, *properly so called.* This valley once afforded a direct communication with the Porta Ostiensis and the Circus Maximus, instead of arriving at that part of the city by the circuitous direction of the modern road. The obelisk brought from Egypt by Constantius, and erected in the Circus, and which now adorns the Piazza di Laterano, was conveyed to its destination in the direction we have described.[63] The circuit of the

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[62] *Dionys. Halicarn. de Antiq. Roman. &c.* lib. iv. cap. 26. This circumference of more than two miles corresponds to the actual measurement of the Aventine, as we have defined it. Vide *Le Mura di Roma, &c., da Signor Nibby*, cap. i. p. 52.; and *Brocchi del Suolo di Roma, &c.* p. 37.

[63] See Dissertation IV.

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Aventine hill may now be completed by a line drawn parallel to the western side of the Palatine, supposing the upper extremity to be in a transverse direction with the church of St. Gregory; and the lower at the tower of the "S. Maria in Cosmedin." The more distant summit already alluded to, and which overlooks the baths of Caracalla, was doubtless comprised in the enlarged city of Servius Tullius[64]; but the name of Aventine does not seem to have been applied to it, until after the age of Augustus.[65]

There was an ancient tradition that the Aventine hill had been polluted by being made the tomb of the murdered Remus[66]; and therefore the avenging gods forbade it to be taken within the precincts of the sacred city; and, according to an ancient writer[67], it was only in the time of the emperor Claudius, that it really became a part of

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64 "Cujus is est tractatus ductusque muri Romuli, tum etiam reliquorum regum sapientia, definitis ex omni parte arduis præruptisque montibus," &c. — *Cicero de Republica*,' lib. ii. cap. 6. edit. Maii, Romæ. Vide Dissertation II.

65 This is to be concluded from the measurement given by Dionysius, who wrote in the age of Augustus. See Note 62. above.

66 — "Acerba fata Romanos agunt,
Scelusque fraternæ necis;
Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus cruor."

Hor. Epod. vii. 17.

Ἀποθανόντος δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῷ Ῥῶμῳ, νίκην οἰκτίστην ὁ Ῥώμυλος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀλληλοκτονίας ἀνελόμενος, τὸν μὲν Ῥῶμον ἐν τῇ Ῥωμορίᾳ θάπτει. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. i. cap. 87. Compare, also, *Seneca de Brevitat. Vit.* cap. 4., and *Festus* on the word *Remuria*, lib. xvii.

67 *Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic.* lib. xiii. cap. 14.

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Rome. But whatever meaning may be applied to the words of Aulus Gellius, the whole can amount to no more than an intimation of some religious act performed by the emperor, for the purification of this polluted ground; for it was certainly inhabited as a part of the city, from the time of Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome. That king, according to Livy, gave it for the accommodation of the Latins, after his conquest of their country.[68] [A. C. 639.] He moreover added to the city, that part of the Janiculum which is directly opposite. The king joined these two mounts by a wall and bridge, the celebrated Pons Sublicius. "He added the Janiculum," continues the historian, "not because he wanted more space for his city, but lest an enemy might at some time avail himself of so advantageous a post."[69] The issue proved his fears were not groundless; for Porsenna pitched his camp on the heights of the Janiculum, when he espoused the cause of the Tarquins against the infant republic. These, then, are the scenes of those exploits which adorn at least the page of ancient history.[70] If the waters of the Tyber are not above their usual level, the foundations of the bridge of Horatius Cocles may still be seen, to kindle the memory of his heroic deed. "If this bridge be not defended," exclaims the intrepid Roman, "quickly will ye see more

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[68] *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 13.

[69] "Aventinum novæ multitudini datum, &c. . . . Janiculum quoque adjectum; non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. id non muro solum, sed etiam, ob commoditatem itineris, ponte Sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, conjungi urbi placuit." — *Liv.* lib. i. cap. 33.

[70] *Liv.* lib. ii. cap. 13. &c.

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enemies in the Aventine and Palatine hills than now crowd the Janiculum." There the heroine Clœlia swam the Tyber; there also is the scene of the hardy fortitude of Mutius Scævola.

The doubtful origin of the Cælian hill has already been glanced at.[71] Its form is triangular: the angles N. E. and N. W. are visibly marked at the Colosseum and the church of St. Gregory. Three conspicuous objects will direct the eye in continuing the circuit, — the Villa Mattei; the church of S. Stefano Rotundo; and the Basilica of the Lateran, crowned with its colossal statues. The ground upon which that sumptuous edifice now stands, together with the adjoining palace and buildings, seems to be artificial, and the natural hill still visibly tends (in a direction from the Villa Mattei) to form its third angle, so as to exclude all that ground.[72] The Cælian, therefore, in all probability originally extended no farther than the hospital of the Lateran; but, taken in the fullest extent, its vertex may be conceived to fall in the middle of the valley or furrow between the Basilicas of Santa Croce and the Lateran. The circuit will thus be completed by returning to the Colosseum, passing the churches of SS. Pietro and Marcellino, and S. Clemente. The valley we have just alluded to, comes down to the Colosseum, and, with some interruptions, may be said to spread itself in branches about the roots of the Cælian and the

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[71] See, also, *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. ii. cap 50. p. 109. tom. i. edit. Oxon.

[72] This will be more manifest in making the circuit of the Cælian hill.

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remaining three hills. Antiquaries, according to their fancy, have allotted different portions of it to the ancient Suburra, a notorious street or district of Rome, and where Julius Cæsar lived in an humble habitation before he appeared in public life.[73] In a closer survey of the city, we shall endeavour to fix its situation less vaguely. There is some mention in a few of the ancient authors, of a Cæliolus, or diminutive Cælian; but, in spite of conjecture, it cannot be ascertained where it was[74]; and as it is remarkable for nothing that we know of, it would scarcely be worth the trouble of any further investigation.

This is, perhaps, the only hill about the derivation of whose name authors are agreed: it took its appellation from Cælius Vibenna, an officer, who once inhabited some part of it, whether he came to assist Romulus against the Sabines, or to succour Tarquinius Priscus.[75] It was also called Querquetulanus, from the quantity of oak trees that

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[73] "Habitavit primo in Suburra, modicis ædibus." — *Suet. Vit. Jul. Cæsar.* cap. xlvi.

[74] A hill, called the Monte d'Oro, situated between the villa Mattei and the church of S. Giovanni in Porta Latina, is usually taken for the Cælius Minor. See *Fabricio, Descrip. Urb. Rom.* cap. iii.; and *Marliano, Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. iv. cap. 8. Nardini wanders about the place until he loses himself in conjecture. (*Roma Antica*, vol. i. p. 109.) There was nothing left, therefore, for Signor Brocchi, but to go to the other extremity of the hill, between "S. Giovanni in Laterano" and the "Porta Maggiore." Vide *Brocchi, Memoria del Suolo, &c.* p. 46.

[75] Compare *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. and *Tacit. Ann.* lib. iv. cap. 65. The Cælian was added to the city, according to Livy, by Tullus Hostilius, who also had his dwelling upon it. *Liv.* lib. i. cap. 30.

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grew upon it; but the name of Lateran has prevailed in modern times; so called from a senator, Lateranus, who had a splendid house upon it in the time of Nero.[76] It was once in agitation to call it "Augustus Mons," in honour of a popular act done by Tiberius; for, a great conflagration taking place during his reign, in which the property of many individuals was destroyed, he restored to the sufferers the full amount of their loss.[77] The intention, however, does not appear ever to have been carried into effect. Pollio writes, that in his time the splendid house of Tetricus, in which he had feasted the emperor Aurelian after having graced his triumph, existed on the Cælian hill.[78] Ecclesiastical records say that the first Christian emperor there submitted to the rite of baptism[79]: but whatever scenes may have been acted in this part of the Eternal City by the men of imperial Rome, they have been far eclipsed by the annals of priests and the more modern councils of the Lateran.

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[76] It was near the Lateran house where Marcus Aurelius was born. "Natus est Marcus Romæ, sexto kalendas Maias, in monte Cælio in hortis. . . . Educatus est in eo loco in quo natus est, et in domo avi sui Veri, juxta ædes Laterani." — *Julius Capitolinus, Marc. Ant. Philosoph.* cap. 1.

[77] *Sueton. in vita Tiberii Cæs.* cap. 48.

[78] "Tetricorum domus, *hodieque* extat, in monte Cælio, inter duos lucos contra Isium Metellinum, pulcherrima, in qua Aurelianus pictus est, utrique (scilicet patri et filio) prætextam tribuens," &c. — Vide *Treb. Pollio. Triginta Tyran.* cap. 24. in *Tetric. junior.*; and *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, ch. xi., towards the end.

[79] See *Baronius, Annal. Ecclesiast.* in A.D. 324. p. 180.; and comp. *Anastasius, Bibliothec. de Vitis Pont. Rom.* p. 39. tom. 1. edit. Romæ, 1718.

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The Esquiline hill is more extensive than any of the rest, and its form more irregular and difficult to delineate: its numerous sinuosities will not permit us to continue far in any one direction; but several objects may be pointed out, which will serve to give a general idea of its outline.

A little beyond the Colosseum, but towards the left, are seen the ruins of the baths of Titus: from hence we must ascend the valley of the "Suburra," to the farthest point of the Cælian hill, already indicated, between the basilicas of the Lateran and the S. Croce: from thence the eye may wander towards the N. E., until it is attracted by the dome-shaped ruin called the temple of Minerva Medica; observing, however, that this is farther than ever the Esquiline could be said to be a hill. Continuing across vineyards past the church of S. Bibiana and the villa Gaetani, we shall arrive at the twin cupolas belonging to the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore. This splendid edifice will serve to mark the boundary of the Esquiline, as it extended towards the two remaining hills. In returning again to the baths of Titus, we shall find in the way the church of S. Pietro in Vinculis, which is distinguished by the arcade and grass-grown court, seen in a direction with the Tor de' Conti. Near to this church may be seen the flank of another, of less magnitude and grandeur, called S. Francesca di Paola. It is probable these two buildings may occupy the summit to which the Clivus Virbius led, and that immediately between them was the Vicus or street called Sceleratus, — the scene of Tullia's impiety, when she caused her chariot wheel to pass over the body of her father,

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as she ascended to his house on the Esquiline hill.[80] We are informed by Varro that this hill had several distinct eminences, as is still the case, and which may be the reason why it is generally found written in the plural number. The two principal were called the Mons Cispius and the Mons Oppius[81]: the latter is thought to be the one which rises between the churches we have just pointed out and the baths of Titus; the former the eminence on which stands the church of S. Maria Maggiore: there is, however, no classical interest in either of these localities to induce us to examine them any farther.[82]

From the manner in which this part of the city is mentioned in the earliest writers, a strong suspicion is excited that the mal'aria has infested Rome from time immemorial. Livy informs us, when Servius Tullius added two hills to the city, he at the same time enlarged the Esquiline; and in order to induce others to inhabit it, he inhabited it himself[83]: and perhaps the very word from which it derives its name indicates a thicket that was held sacred for a wise purpose.[84] Before Mæcenas

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[80] "Quum in domum reciperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit; flectente carpentum dexterâ in Virbium Clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur, &c. Sceleratum vicum vocant." — *Liv.* lib. i. cap. 48.; and see *Plan of Ancient Rome.*

[81] *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv.

[82] The curious reader may consult *Nardini, Roma Antica,* lib. iv. cap. 3.

[83] "Addit duos colles; Quirinalem, Viminalemqu e. inde deinceps auget Esquilias; ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat." — *Liv.* lib. i. cap. 44. See also *Dionys.* lib. iv. cap. 13.

[84] Quisquiliæ, Esculi, Querquetulanus, whatever etymolo-

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dignified it by his house and gardens, it was thought the most fit place in the city for the burial-ground of slaves; and the usual "Cippus," placed upon it, announced a clear space of 1000 feet in length and 300 in breadth.[85] The two chiefs of the Latin Muses have however shed a lustre over the cinerulent soil, the one by having had his abode upon it, the other by his sepulchre. The same Ælius Donatus, who directs us to the neighbourhood of Naples for the tomb of Virgil, says also that he had his house near the gardens of Mæcenas.[86] There are other circumstances which seem to confirm the authority of this writer; and it would not be extravagant to suppose that Virgil lived at no great distance from where we now see the ruins of the baths of Titus. We are also told by Suetonius, that Horace was buried near the tomb of Mæcenas at the extremity of the Esquiline hill.[87] As

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gists please, all imply that this was originally a wood. See the same remark applied to the woods of Nettuno, in *Forsyth's Italy*, p. 242.

[85] "Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat: hæredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
Aggere in aprico spatiari; quo modo tristes
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum."
Hor. Sat. lib. i. viii. 12. &c.

Compare also *Propertius Eleg.* "Disce quid Esquilias," and *Juvenal, Sat.* xi. 51.

[86] "Habuit domum Romæ, in Esquiliis, juxta hortos Mæcenatis." — *Ælius Donatus, in vita Virgilii Poetæ.* Some think Ælius Donatus is not the author of this biographical sketch. It is probable that Virgil would follow his patron to his new residence and "*novi horti.*"

[87] "Humatus et conditus est extremis Esquiliis, juxta Mæcenatis tumulum." — *Suet. in vita Horat.*

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the sepulchres were without the city, and by the side of the public road, this intimation will lead us in the direction of the Via Prænestina; which, branching out from behind the church of S. Maria Maggiore, passed by the vineyard in which stands the temple of Minerva Medica. In passing from the foot of the Esquiline hill to that of the Quirinal, two conspicuous objects will meet the eye,—the Tor de' Conti, a square brick building of the middle ages; and the strong walls which formed the enclosure of the Forum of Augustus.

A portion of the Quirinal hill[88] has evidently been cut away, to make room for the level of Trajan's Forum: to trace its curved outline, therefore, we may begin at the column which is perfectly visible from the eastern side of the tower. By the church and Piazza dei SS. Apostoli it takes a northern direction, so as to include the gardens belonging to the Colonna palace and the whole of the papal palace, which with its dependencies and gardens occupies the highest part of it. The extremities of the Quirinal hill may be marked by the churches of S. Susanna and the Madonna della Vittoria[89], whose belfries are just visible over the Palazzo Ruspigliosi, and near the large granary made out of the baths of Diocletian. In returning again to the spot from whence we set out, it will be necessary to touch at those baths, or rather the

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[88] According to Dionysius, the Quirinal was first enclosed by Numa Pompilius. Καὶ τῆς πολίως τὸν περίβολον αὐξήσας τῷ Κυρίνῳ λόφῳ, τέως γὰρ ἀτείχιστος ἦν. — *Antiq. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. 62.

[89] Behind those churches begins the "*agger*" of Servius Tullius.

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Piazza delle Termine, which occupies a part of their site. It is also observable, that in descending to the lower extremity of the hill, a curved line must be described in order to preserve the form of a spire, as the Quirinal is shaped: this will direct the eye to the trees in the garden of the Villa Miollis, the buildings about the church of SS. Domenico and Sisto, and particularly the brick tower called the Torre delle Milizie; so that there is left for the base of this long narrow hill little more than the space intervening between the Piazza dei SS. Apostoli and the southern extremity of Trajan's Forum.

The temple of Quirinus was the distinguishing object in ancient times upon this hill.[90] But if the prodigious fragment of a cornice now lying in the Colonna gardens has furnished Palladio with the true proportions for re-creating the temple of the Sun; that building, said to have been erected by Aurelian, must have eclipsed every other that adorned or does adorn the Quirinal.[91] The pope is the modern Atticus of the hill; but the vast

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[90] "Tura ferunt, placentque novum pia turba Quirinum.

. . . . . .

Templa Deo fiunt, collis quoque dictus ab illo,
Et referunt certi sacra paterna dies."

Ovid. Fast. lib. ii. 507. &c.

Ἱερὸν μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐστι κατεσκευασμένον ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Κυρίνῳ προσαγορευόμενῳ δι' ἐκεῖνον. — *Plutarch. in Romul.* p. 12. edit. Basil. 1533.

Some vestiges of the temple of Quirinus are to be traced in the garden of the Jesuits annexed to the church of S. Andrea à Monte.

[91] *Palladio, Archit.* lib. iv. cap. 12. p. 41.; and *Serlio, Archit.* lib. iii. p. 80.: but see Dissertation VIII.

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extent of his palace exceeds by far the paternal house of the wealthy Roman with all the pleasant grove attached to it. Cornelius Nepos seems to intimate that this friend of Cicero had his habitation in one of the most eligible quarters of the city[92]; and the Monte Cavallo is still considered one of the most healthy situations of Rome.[93] Varro and Festus agree that the Quirinal derived its name from a tribe of settlers of the city of Cures, which came to Rome in the time of Tatius or Servius Tullius; but Paul the Deacon traces the names of Quirinus and Quirites to the Sabine spear which Romulus carried in honour of his holy alliance.[94] It only now remains to point out the seventh hill of Rome.

The Viminal is more difficult to recognise as a hill from the Capitol than any of the rest. Although found by actual measurement to be twelve feet higher than the Monte Cavallo[95], it is necessary to

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[92] "Nam domum habuit in colle Quirinale Tamphilanam [so named originally from a certain Tamphilus], ab avunculo [Quinto Cæcilio] hæreditate relictam, cujus amœnitas non ædificio sed silva constabat. Ipsum enim tectum, antiquitus constitutum, plus salis quam sumtus habebat: in quo nihil commutavit, nisi si quid vetustate coactus est." — *Corn. Nepos, in Attico*, cap. 13.; and *Cic. de Legibus*, lib. i. sect. 1.

[93] *Itinerario di Roma da Vasi, &c.* edit. Nibby, p. 278.

[94] "Propter hanc etiam societatem cum, Sabinorum more, Romulus hastam longam ferret, quæ eorum lingua QUIRIS appellabatur, Quirinus est dictus: Romani vero sive a quirĭbus, id est hastis longis, sive a Quirino, Quirites nominari cœperunt." — Vide *Paul. Diacon. Hist. Miscell.* lib. i. cap. 7.; and compare *Sext. Pomp. Festus de Verb. Signif.* lib. xv. p. 415. edit. Delphin.; *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. edit. Scaliger. 1581; and *Plutarch in Romulo*, p. 12. edit. Basil.

[95] The court-yard of the Palazzo Pontificio is 148 French feet above the level of the Tyber; the floor of the church of S.

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approach it before the fact can be recognised; it lies between the Esquiline and Quirinal hills, and as we now stand, is to be looked for between the baths of Diocletian and the cupolas of S. Maria Maggiore. In that direction at some distance may be observed a hill whose top is crowned by a few trees and a sitting statue. That is the highest point of the mound or agger thrown up by Servius Tullius for defending the eastern side of the city, and it runs chiefly behind the Viminal hill.[96] From this extreme point of direction we may descend to the valley crowded with habitations below the church of S. Pietro in Vinculis; and, distinguishing at the same time the low ground beneath the gardens of the Villa Miollis, we shall be enabled to see the Viminal rising behind the Strada de' Serpenti. Thus the Quirinal, reaching at its curved extremity, almost to the Esquiline hill, excludes the Viminal from the margin made, as it were, by the two contiguous hills to the plain of the city. The most conspicuous object upon it is the

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Lorenzo in Pane Perna is 160 feet. (See *Brocchi, Memoria del Suolo di Roma*, &c. p. 211.) Travellers frequently leave Rome without being able to find the Viminal hill! because they have never been in the gardens behind the church of S. Lorenzo; from which had the fair authoress of "Rome in the Nineteenth Century" attempted to descend to the vineyard below, she would have found it no *joke*. See *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. i. letter xviii. p. 277.

[96] Although the Viminal hill is no longer to be distinguished beyond the Strada Felice, it was originally thought not unworthy to be compared in extent with the Esquiline. Τῇ τε πόλει προσέθηκε δύο λόφους, τόν τε Οὐϊμινάλιον καλούμενον καὶ τὸν Ἰσκυλῖνον, ὧν ἑκάτερος ἀξιολόγῳ πόλεως ἔχει μέγεθος. — *Diony.* lib. iv. c. 13. p. 209. tom. i.; and compare *Liv.* lib. i. c. 44.

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church of S. Lorenzo in Pane Perna, with its adjoining buildings and vineyards. The simple circumstance of the "*vimines*" (osiers) which once grew upon this mount seems to have given it the name.[97] Adjacent to its utmost boundaries on the east was placed the scene of many a revolution and bloody quarrel; for who has read of the murdered emperors of Rome, and has not also been astonished at the unbounded licence of the prætorian camp?[98]

The hills of Rome are chiefly composed of volcanic granular tufa[99], and on the declivities of some of them are found occasional veins of pumice stone: the greatest part of the Capitoline, however, is lithoid tufa, which resembles the peperine stone of Albano; and the same material is found in some parts of the Cælian hill, and also on that part of the Aventine which overlooks the Tyber. The plains or valleys amongst the hills are chiefly of siliceous-calcareous sand; but argillaceous substances are very prevalent in the soil of Rome. Protecting deities were assigned to the hills and different quarters of the city.[100] We may already allot the Capitoline hill to Jupiter, the Palatine to Apollo, the Aventine to Diana, the Quirinal to

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97 "Viminalis a Jove Viminio, quod ibi aræ sunt ejus, aut quod ibi vimineta fuerunt." —*Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. p. 15.; and *Juvenal Sat.* lib. iii. 71.

98 See *Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. v. &c.

99 See the Plates appended to *Brocchi's Description, &c. of the Soil of Rome.*

100 "Hinc Janus movet arma manu, movet inde Quirinus,
Quisque suo de colle Deus," &c.
C. Silius Italicus, Bell. Pun. lib. xii. 718.

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Quirinus, and perhaps the Esquiline with the Suburra might be patronised by Priapus.[101]

Thus have we before us the seven-hilled city, and the narrow territories of the infant republic: The present walls of Rome are much beyond the limits we have now laid down. The mistress of the world made laws for her provinces, and acquired all her glory when she confined herself to these sacred precincts; her suburbs at a later period extended for many miles[102], but this was fatal to her austere virtue. Emperors built over the Campus Martius, and wealthy citizens extended their gardens over the Monte Pincio; but these were the seven hills which Servius Tullius surrounded by a wall[103], and enclosed on the east by his celebrated "agger."[104]

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101 *Martial, Epig.* lib. xi. 78. *Hor. Sat.* lib. i. 8.

102 *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 5. p. 40. edit. Basil. 1539.

103 Ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐπὶ λόφῳ ἐνὶ τείχει περιέλαβεν εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη διελὼν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων ταῖς μοίραις τὰς ἐπικλήσεις. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. iv. cap. 14. p. 210. tom. i.

The names of the four districts in this first general division of Rome, were Palatina, Suburrana, Collatina, Esquilina. *Idem.*

104 "Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem; ita Pomœrium profertur."—*Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 44.

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DISSERTATION THE SECOND.

FROM THE TOWER OF THE CAMPIDOGLIO (CHIEFLY THE NORTH SIDE).

"Quid? vos pulcherrimam hanc Urbem, domibus, et tectis, et congestu lapidum stare creditis? Muta ista et inania [*vel* inanima] intercidere, et reparari promiscue sunt." — TACIT. HIST. lib. i. cap. 84.

IN the general survey that has now been taken of the seven-hilled city and its environs, we have already recognised the gradual increase of Rome and its dominions, from Romulus to the last of the seven kings; and perhaps the spectator who has read of the achievements of the warlike kings of Rome, wonders at the sight of the confined scene on which they were acted; indeed, the lofty style in which those ancient wars are related, the blending together of gods and men, (a licence says Livy, that is granted to antiquity,) has thrown an imaginary glory around the scenes we are now considering, which it were almost a pity to dissipate by coming in contact with the places themselves. Tiberius thought that majesty was more respected when it was less exposed to the public gaze; and perhaps the same may be said of the poetical charm afforded by Latium and Rome, to him who has contemplated at a distance, but never visited, the banks of the Tyber. Yet

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who would not come and see? and although some feeling of disappointment may at first prevail, it will gradually give way to the interest which the discovery of truth affords, by identifying the monuments and places which time has not effaced, with the accounts of them that have reached us through so many generations.

The first Rome we have seen was limited to the Palatine hill, and could scarcely have been a mile in circumference. At the death of Romulus it had received an acquisition both of space and population; for the Sabines who inhabited the Capitoline hill were comprised within the walls which subsequently surrounded the two hills and the Forum.[1] We read of the gates of Romulus, with twice as many names; and then an addition of two more, called the Janualis and Carmentalis. The latter can be placed, upon good authority, near the foot of the Tarpeian rock; and it is supposed, naturally enough, that the Janualis corresponded to it on the opposite side of the Forum: but to enter into a discussion of the three doubtful gates of Romulus[2] would be a task as tedious as unprofitable; it seems indeed *impossible* to reconcile the

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[1] Νομὰς δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας οὐκ ἐκινήσε τῶν φρατριῶν ἐξίας, κοίνην δὲ κατεσήσατο παντῶν μίαν, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Καπιτωλιῷ καὶ τῷ Παλατιῷ χωρίῳ, συμπεπολισμένων ἤδη τῶν λόφων ἐνὶ περιβόλῳ, καὶ μέσης ἀμφοῖν οὔσης τῆς ἀγορὰς ἐν ᾗ κατεσκευάσαι τὸ ἱερόν· — *Dionys. Halicarn. de Antiq. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. 66.

[2] Mugonia, Libera, Saturnia, Janualis, Carmentalis, Romanula, Pandana, and more than these, are to be found in and about the first city: but as there are by far too many gates to suppose they could ever belong to a city of the extent we have described, antiquaries have agreed to assign several names to the same gate: this opens a wide field for conjecture.

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various accounts or traditions which the ancient writers gave of them[3], and a plan of the original city laid down upon the best *conjectures* is all that can be offered, it will be consulted with more pleasure at least than a discordant number of antiquarian opinions. Not so must we dismiss the city as it was left by Servius Tullius; for here the enquiry becomes important: it is to trace the figure and extent of Rome in all her greatness, from the very beginning of the republic, to the commencement of the fall of the empire, a period of 800 years; for until the time Aurelian, A. D. 269, the city itself[4] never exceeded the limits assigned to it by the last but one of the kings.

But in endeavouring to trace the direction of the walls of the ancient city, it may naturally be asked, if there are any monuments or vestiges still remaining to assist us in the enquiry. We are obliged to confess that the materials to which we might with confidence appeal, if they existed, are very scanty, and some of them doubtful: we may, however, adduce the following arguments: —

There is no instance, that we know of, of a sepulchre being allowed within the walls of the

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[3] The following is an instance: —

'Ρωμύλος μὲν 'Ορθωσίῳ Διὶ παρὰ ταῖς καλεμέναις Μυκωνίσι πύλαις, αἱ φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, κ.τ.λ.—*Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. ii. cap. 50.

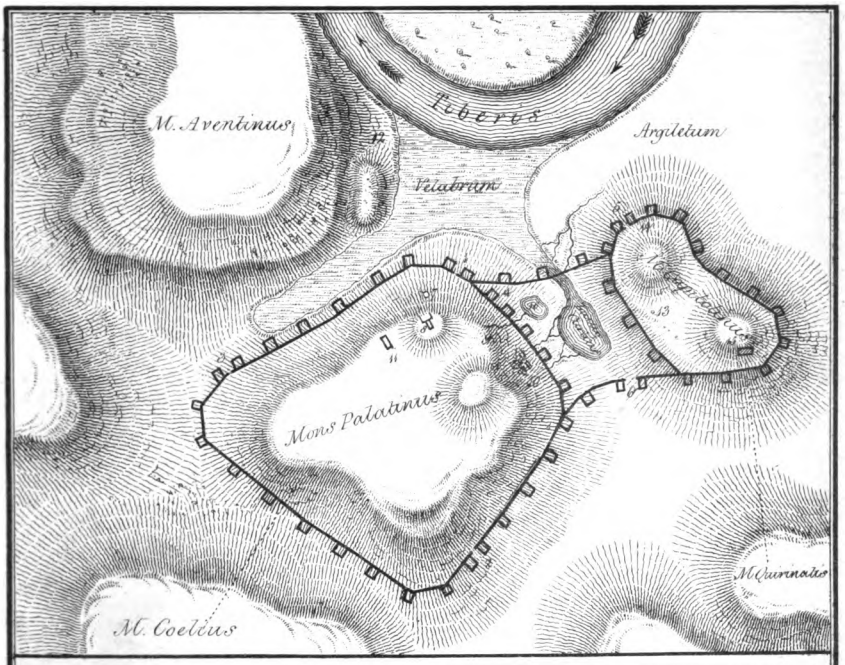
"Tarquinius Priscus ad Mugoniam Portam *supra summum novam viam.*" — *Solinus*, lib. ii. *de Orig. Rom.*

N. B. The Via Nova joined the Velabrum. Vide *Nibby, Foro Romano*, p. 91.

[4] It will be necessary to distinguish between the city as limited to the Pomœrium, and the circuit of Rome.

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3. Porta Trigonia.
4. Porta Romanula.
5. Porta Carmentalis.
6. Porta Ianualis.
7. Ara Maxima.
8. Templum Jovis Statoris.

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ET
TATII.

Index
9. Lupercal.
10. Ficus Ruminalis.
11. Domus Romuli.
12. Spelunca Caci.
13. Asylum.
14. Rupis Tarpeia.
15. Templum Jovis Peretrii.

C. Hullmandel's Lithography.

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city, conformable to the laws of the twelve tables[5]: those now found within are so for the obvious reason of the present walls having been extended since the tombs were built. Hence, the sepulchral monument of Bibulus[6], already pointed out as near the Forum of Trajan; the tomb of the Scipios, which was discovered within the present Porta Appia; and, we may add, some others which have been recognised near the temple of Minerva Medica, were all without the city of Servius Tullius. A milestone, which now adorns the balustrade of the modern Capitol, and which was found on the Via Appia, may afford some light in assigning limits to the old walls in that direction: but the most satisfactory objects remaining immovable are the traces of some walls under the Villa Barberini, and the vestiges of the mound, or "agger," which defended the eastern side of the city. It is frequently intimated in the ancient authors, that the old walls continued with the outlines of the hills[7]; for in this manner, according

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[5] "Hominem mortuum, inquit lex in duodecim tabulis, in Urbe ne sepelito neve urito." — *M. T. Cicero de Legibus*, lib. xi. cap. 58. edit. Genevæ, 1659.

Plutarch, indeed, writes that those who died in their triumph had their ashes carried into the city and deposited there. (*In Quæst. Rom.* 79.) It was granted to Fabricius to be buried in the Forum. Eutropius says, Trajan alone, of all the emperors, was buried within the city; but there does not seem to have been *any sepulchre* erected within the walls. On this subject consult *Cicero de Legibus*, lib. ii. towards the end.

[6] We must not be dazzled with the poetical antiquities of Madame de Staël, *Corinne*, liv. v. cap. 1.

[7] "Clauditur ab oriente aggere Tarquinii Superbi, inter prima opera mirabili. Namque eum muris æquavit, qua maxime

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to ancient tactics, the city would be most effectually fortified. It is only, therefore, where the hills become doubtful, or where they are interrupted by plains or valleys, that any great difficulties will arise. Such, notwithstanding, are all the vestiges or materials with which we are furnished from the ravages of time for proceeding with this enquiry: but it is easy to call in the aid of those passages accidentally scattered over the writings of antiquity; and when both fail to assist us, it may be allowed to hazard some conjecture.

The walls of Servius Tullius, on this side the Tyber, began and ended at the river: and here it will be necessary to take our station on the north side of the tower, looking in a direction towards the Palazzo Farnese.

It is not the least formidable part of this undertaking, that, in a circuit of little more than five miles and a half, we have to encounter the names of more than thirty gates.[8] Such a number can never be supposed to have been in use at any one time: there is, indeed, a passage in Pliny*, which, if the text be correct, declares the number of gates, at the time the author lived, to be thirty-seven; but so

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patebat aditu plano. Cætero munita erat præcelsis muris, aut abruptis montibus, nisi quod expatiantia tecta multas addidêre urbes." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 5. Compare *Dionys.* lib. iv. cap. xiii. and *Cicero*, as quoted above.

[8] The curious reader may see an enumeration of all the gates of Rome in *Marliano, Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. i. cap. 6.; and in *Panvinio, Descript. Urb. Rom.* p. 267. apud Grævium, tom. iii.; and finally, in *Piale's* edition of *Venuti, Introduzione*, p. ix. But Signor Nibby, in his work on the walls of Rome, has enumerated of ancient and modern gates seventy-seven names!

* See Note D.

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that twelve were to be reckoned *once*, or *at once*, and seven of the old gates not to be reckoned at all, having ceased to exist. The conclusion to be drawn from the various attempts to explain this passage is, that it is quite unintelligible; and therefore Panvinio and Marliano[9] propose to read "xxiv" instead of "xxxvii." Assuming this as the true reading, Pliny may be understood to say, there were in all twenty-four single gates, which were to be considered at once as twelve, because the gates were double, like the present Porta S. Paolo and the Porta Maggiore.[10] The other seven old gates belonging to the original city of Romulus and his immediate successors (three or four of which Pliny had just mentioned[11]) were not to be taken into account, because they were either become useless or ceased to exist. By thus limiting our enquiries to twelve gates, the task will perhaps be more easy, and certainly more pleasing; for where the very light which we look for to guide us becomes obscurity, it can neither be profitable nor agreeable to lose ourselves in conjecture, more especially when the objects sought for are of little interest or importance; and such are some of the gates of ancient

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[9] Apud Grævium, tom. iii. pp. 227. and 67. respectively.

[10] Professor Nibby remarks, that the gates of Troy, Thebes, and Athens, and, he might have added, of Babylon (*Herodot.* lib. i. cap. 187.), were probably double gates, because they are generally mentioned in the plural number. He compares also the 24th verse of ch. xxiv. of the Second Book of Samuel. Vide *Le Mura di Roma*, p. 64. note 87.

[11] "Urbem tres portas habentem Romulus reliquit, aut (ut plurimas tradentibus credamus) quatuor." — *Plin.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

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Rome, whose names are only to be found in obscure authors, or in the lucubrations of an etymologist.

There was a gate called Flumentana, which, as the very name imports, was near to the river.[12] We learn further, it was so situated as frequently to be subject to injury from the inundations of the Tyber[13]; but this is absolutely all that is known about its identical situation. The Porta Carmentalis rests upon better authority: it is, indeed, supposed to have had a place in the improved city of Romulus; but in the succeeding city of Tullius, its position is determined by the unequivocal concurrence of ancient writers. As this will become a subject of enquiry in another place[14], the position of the gate in question will now be taken for granted, according as it is laid down in our Plan of Ancient Rome. Looking from the north side of the Campidoglio, it may be conceived to lie at the extremity of the hill on our left; that is, on the side corresponding to that garden which is known by the special name of the Rupe Tarpeia, and is visible from the tower. Any one will easily imagine that a gate so placed could only be the second after the P. Flumentana,

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[12] "Flumentana, Porta Romæ appellata quod Tiberis partem eâ fluxisse affirmant."— *Sext. Pomp. Festus de Verb. Signif.* lib. vi.

[13] "Aquæ ingentes eo anno fuerunt, et Tiberis loca plana urbis inundavit circa portam Flumentanam, etiam collapsa quædam ruinis sunt," &c. — *Liv.* lib. xxxv. cap. 9.

"Tiberis infestior equam priore impetu illatus urbi, duo pontes, ædificia multa maxime circa portam Flumentanam evertit." — *Idem*, cap. 21.

Cicero, in one of his epistles to Atticus (lib. vii. cap. 3.), intimates that Cælius had got possession of a house near the Porta Flumentana, which had been the property of Hortensius.

[14] See Dissertation IX.

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unless it were an advantage, in a fortified city, to crowd the gates unnecessarily. The first gate, therefore, near the river, and the second in the position now indicated, being an interval of six or seven hundred feet, will fix the first portion of the imaginary fortifications of Servius Tullius.[15]

Having thus found a beginning to the ancient walls, we must now be guided by the hills. The outlines of the Capitoline are so manifestly preserved, that we may proceed from the supposed site of the Porta Carmentalis, without interruption, to the other extremity of the hill. Such a line will pass through the Via Tor de' Specchi, along the foot of the balustrade of the Campidoglio, and to the bottom of the Via Marforio. At this point, the tomb of Bibulus will assist us; which, as before observed, is to be left without the city; and the direction of the Via Flaminia here assigns at once the position of another gate. It may seem very probable that the celebrated road of the Consul gave its name also to the gate from whence it proceeded; yet some antiquaries have here contended for the Porta Flumentana, which was so frequently injured by the overflowings of the Tyber![16] The Via Flaminia was moreover a triumphal road, by which the conqueror approached the city from the north: hence, the gate in question has also been called, and with much more propriety, the Porta

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[15] Consult the Plan of ancient Rome.

[16] See *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. i. cap. 19.; but Signor Nibby justly observes, — "Ove il Tevere non potè mai pervenire, altrimente avrebbe coperto Roma sopra i tetti." — *Le Mura di Roma*, p. 129.

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Triumphalis.* These, however, are names which in all probability prevailed over others originally given by Servius Tullius.

From the site of the *Porta Triumphalis*, the walls tended to regain the direction of the next hill; but so as to comprise the ground afterwards occupied by Trajan's Forum. This will bring us into the Strada della Pilotta and the precincts of the Colonna Palace. To continue the city of the republic as far as the gardens of Sallust, would only be to repeat the curved outline of the Quirinal hill, and to place a fourth gate at the bottom of the Via Quattro Fontane, adjoining the Piazza Barberini. Through this gate was an immediate ascent to the summit of the hill, in a direction with the temple of Quirinus[17]; and we are furnished with some authority from Festus for calling it the Porta Quirinalis.† We read also of a Porta Salutaris, so called from its vicinity to the Temple of Health.[18] It is intimated, particularly on this side of the city, that the gates had each several appellations.[19] The name of the hill generally prevailed for the principal gate leading up to it[20]; but this does not prevent the one in question from being

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* See Note E.

[17] Vide Dissertation VIII.; and for the direction of the walls and the positions of the several gates, consult the Plan of Ancient Rome.

† See Note F.

[18] In *Liv.* lib. xxviii. cap. 5.; Festus on the words *Porta Salutaris*; and *Varro De Ling. Lat.* lib. iv.

[19] Compare the passage cited in Note F., and the references in the preceding note.

[20] For example, Esquilina, Viminalis, Cælimontana, Pinciana, and others.

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also called the Porta Salutaris; and if we suppose the gates were double, it will still better account for the variety.

Beyond the Villa Barberini, on an eminence which overlooks the site of Sallust's Circus, the form of the city takes a turn at nearly a right angle, and there begins the "agger" of Servius and Tarquin. At that angle was situated another gate, called Collina, so named from the artificial hill (*Collis*) which defended that side of the city the least fortified by nature. As the "agger" will be described better in tracing the fifth and sixth regions[21], it will suffice now to observe, that it enclosed the city, from the place just pointed out, for nearly a mile, which will lead us behind the baths of Diocletian, and the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore. Under the middle of this "agger," upon the authority of Strabo, we place a gate *[22], which will fall not far from the sitting statue already pointed out in our first dissertation. Upon the most accurate survey, the "agger" is found to end near the church of S. Antonio Abate, and with equal accuracy the Porta Esquilina is fixed near the arch of Gallienus.[23]

We have hitherto been guided chiefly by the visible outlines of the hills; but from the Porta Esquilina, for near a mile, we shall have to proceed

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[21] Vide Dissertation VIII.

* See Note G.

[22] Ὑπὸ μέσῳ δὲ τῷ χωμάτι τριτη ἐστὶ πύλη ὁμώνυμος τῷ Ὀυϊμεναλίῳ λόφῳ. — *Strabo*, lib. v. cap. 3.

[23] From this gate proceeded two roads, leading respectively to Præneste and Labicum. (*Strabo*, lib. v. cap. 3.) This piece of topography has been confirmed by excavations.

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without any such direction. The next point that can be fixed upon, with any degree of certainty, is the south-east angle of the Cælian hill. It will be recollected upon what authority the vertex of that hill was said to fall near the hospital of the Lateran, and we now here introduce the eighth gate, called, after the hill, Cælimontana.* In retracing our steps to the site of the Porta Esquilina, we find a line may be drawn by the church of S S. Pietro and Marcellino, and behind the Sette Sale, which will bear upon the margin of a low hill. Without a capacious curve, almost incommensurate with the rest of the old city, it would be difficult to draw any other line with the advantages of an eminence required; nor does it appear how the Via Prænestina, which proceeded from the Porta Esquilina, could otherwise be reconciled with the surviving traces of its direction. From these things, the limits we have assigned to the old city, on the south-east side, will at least appear to carry an air of probability.

From the Porta Cælimontana we proceed[25] with-

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* See Note H.

[25] We might, indeed, here stay to examine the merits of several gates which claim a place on this side of the city; for instance, the Porta Fontinalis, which first of all was placed on the Via Appia, then transferred beyond the Tyber near the Corsini palace (*Marliano de Rom. Topograph.* lib. ii. cap. 9., and *Panvinio, Descrip. Urb. Rom.* p. 258. tom. iii. apud Grævium); more recently brought into the valley between the Quirinal and Capitoline hill (see *Introduzione alla Topographia di Roma*, in Venuti, edit. Piale, Rom. 1824. p. 9.); and, finally, stationed by Signor Nibby near the Lateran! (*Mura di Roma*, p. 178.)

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out interruption, according to the outline already described of the Cælian hill; comprising the convent of the Quattro Coronati, the church of S. Stephano Rotundo, and the Villa Mattei. We are thus led to recognise the north-west angle of the Cælian, below which began the Via Appia. This, consequently, fixes the position of the celebrated Porta Capena, which we mark without fear of contradiction.

The walls are now to be carried across a narrow valley to take the direction of the Aventine hill. This will bring us to the eminence immediately overlooking the baths of Caracalla, and consequently will exclude from the circuit the whole compass of that stupendous building. We shall have another opportunity of remarking that Caracalla, in erecting his baths, made a new street; and therefore, not unlikely, might draw the walls round the new buildings. But farther than this the old city never extended, nor can it be supposed to have come within the eminence now about to be comprised; for according to the principles observed infounding those walls, a commanding height could never have been left unfortified at the very gates of the city. Above the western angle of the baths we place another gate; and of the two names mentioned by Varro, and intimated in the regionaries, we prefer the more popular one of the Porta Nævia. This gate has travelled, in the minds of antiquaries, round a large portion of the city; but from the authorities above cited, especially where the street of that name is placed in the twelfth region, to which the baths of Caracalla belonged, its position may

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be assigned here with some degree of certainty.[26] At a little distance from the supposed site of the Porta Nævia, our circuit will come in contact with an angular point of the present walls of Rome, and from thence by an elliptical curve will come to the valley of communication between the Porta S. Paolo and the Circus Maximus. At no great distance from the bastion of Pope Paul III. may be placed our eleventh gate, which, with some show of reason, may be called the Porta Ostiensis; because its direction corresponds with the vestiges of the Via Ostiensis lately discovered near the pyramid of Caius Cestius. Varro, however, imposes upon us an obscure name of Laverna, which it is better to assume along with the former, than to contend in the dark for a victory.[27] It now only remains to complete the figure of the city on this side the

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[26] The second gate alluded to in this place is the Rauduscula, which, according to Varro, was a brazen gate; and the ancient word for brass was Raudus. It is mentioned so closely in conjunction with the Porta Nævia, that in all probability it was contiguous to it. (Vide *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 34.) The two gates gave names respectively to two streets, which are mentioned in the regionaries, and on the more faithful monument of the "Base Capitolina." (See an account of these authorities in the following Dissertation.) The wanderings of Panvinio, Donatus, and other antiquaries of that day, to find the Porta Nævia about the P. Esquilina, when the two streets above mentioned are found in the twelfth region, are highly reprehensible. An interest is given to the Porta Nævia in reading *Liv.* lib. ii. cap. 6.

[27] "Hinc (*i. e.* after the Porta Nævia and Rauduscula) Porta Lavernalis, ab ara Lavernæ, quod ibi ara ejus deæ." — *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 34.

This passage alone has rescued the Porta Lavernalis from oblivion.

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river, by returning with the Aventine hill to the Strada Marmorata. Beneath the church of S. Alessio was situated the Porta Trigemina, whose name and position seem to have remained until a very late period of the empire.[28] It would be in vain to attempt to discover the gates belonging to the "Transtyberim," either at the period to which our attention is now directed, or subsequently: probably, in the first instance, there were none. The Porta Portuensis could not exist before the time of Claudius, for it was named from Portus which he built.[29] The "Porta Septimiana," even if its position were agreed upon, is confessed to be of still more modern date. The site of the "Porta Janiculensis" is a mere conjecture of Panvinio. Cicero, indeed, informs us there was a Via Aurelia[30], and we know there was a gate of that name. It is uncertain, however, says Biondo, whether the gate gave a name to the road, or the road to the gate;[31] and although conjecture would fix it on the brow of the Janiculum, yet in the time of Belisarius, according to Procopius, it was within a stone's cast

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[28] Frequent mention is made in the ancient authors of the Porta Trigemina, and in the catalogues of Victor and Rufus, who lived as late as Valentinian and Valens, it is found in the region of the Circus Maximus.

[29] *Suet. in Vit. Claud.* cap. 20. Vide *Nibby, Viaggio Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 319.

[30] "Aurelia Via profectus est (Catilina)."— *Cic. Orat. in Catilin.* ii. sect. 6.

"Tres ergo, ut dixi, viæ ad Mutinam sunt; a supero mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia."— *Cic. Philipp.* xii. sect. 22.

[31] Vide *Biondo, Roma Restaurata, &c.* lib. i. carta 25.

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of Hadrian's tomb.[32] The materials are often scanty in making our researches in ancient Rome, but in no instance are they equally so as in what relates to the Transtyberim. Scarcely a hint is to be gathered from all that is left us of ancient lore, and we are obliged to retire in confusion. But on *this* side the Tyber, such was Rome, according to our knowledge, as left by the kings [A. C. 509], and continued through the republic. The whole affords, exclusive of any walls beyond the river, a circumference of about six miles.* We are now to enquire whether the city received any additions until it was so effectually enlarged by the mighty walls of Aurelian.

There was an ancient law or custom, derived from the kings, which enabled the conqueror who had made any acquisition of territory to the Roman state to extend the boundaries of the city. But, though many great generals effected mighty conquests, and added to the power of Rome, Sylla was the first who took the advantage of this sacred privilege[33]; Julius Cæsar appears to have had the intention of following the example[34]; but Tacitus

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[32] Τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος τάφος ἔξω πύλης Ἀυρειλίας ἐστὶν, ἀπέχων τῆ περιβόλε ὅσον λίθου βολήν. — *Procopius de Bello Gothic.* lib. i. cap. 22.

* See Note I.

[33] "Et Pomœrium urbis auxit Cæsar, more prisco; quo iis, qui protulêre imperium, etiam terminos urbis propagare datur. Nec tamen duces Romani, quanquam magnis nationibus subactis, usurpaverant, nisi L. Sulla et Divus Augustus." — *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xii. cap. 23.

Dion Cassius says, Julius Cæsar actually enlarged the Pomœrium. Τό τε Πωμήριον ἐπὶ πλείον ἐπεξήγαγε ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁμοία τῷ Σύλλᾳ πράξαι ἔδοξεν. — *De Jul. Cæs.* lib. xliii. But it

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assigns the second addition to Augustus[35], and mentions the enlarging of the city as a remarkable act of Claudius.[37] Nero and Trajan also added to it[38]; and, from an inscription published by Gruter, it appears that Hadrian restored the boundaries which had been profaned by the buildings of the people.[38] All these improvements of the city, however, consisted in restoring or enlarging a consecrated portion of ground about the walls, called the Pomœrium; and it may perhaps be necessary to explain more particularly what that was.

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seems rather to have been only an intention or a plan made known.

" Jam de ornanda instruendaque urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio, plura ac majora *in dies destinabat.—Suet. in Vit. Jul. Cæs.* cap. 44. Compare the passage in Tacitus, cited in the preceding note.

35 Tacitus is confirmed by Dion Cassius: — Τὰ τούτου Πωμηρίᾳ ὁρία ἐπηύξησε [ὁ Αὐγοῦστος]. — *De August.* lib. lv. cap. 6. tom. ii. p. 776.

36 *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xii. cap. 24. See, also, an inscription to that effect, *Gruter. Inscript.* p. 776. tom. i. p. cxcvi.

37 " Pomœrio autem nemini principum licet addere, nisi ei qui agri Barbarici aliqua parte Romanam republicam locupletaverit; addidit autem Augustus, addidit Trajanus, addidit Nero, sub quo Pontus Polemoniacus et Alpes Cottiæ Romano nomini tributæ." — *Vopiscus in Aurelian.* cap. 21.

38
COLLEGIVM
AVGVRVM AVCTORE
IMP. CAESARE DIVI
TRAIANI PARTHICI. F
DIVI. NERVAE NEPOTE
TRAIANO HADRIANO
AVG. PONT. MAX. TRIB.
POT. V. COS. III. PROCOS.
TERMINOS POMERII
RESTITVENDOS CVRAVIT.

Gruter. Inscript. tom. i. p. cxcviii.

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The Pomœrium was not merely a space of territory behind the walls, as the word (*post mœrium*) might seem to denote, but it was a place, says Livy, about the wall, which the Etruscans, anciently, in founding their cities, consecrated, before they constructed their walls. It was forbidden to build within the limits of the Pomœrium, either on the outside or inside of the walls, or even so much as to pass the plough over it.* It was within this consecrated space of ground, which ran round the city, that the augurs accomplished their acts of religion[39], and it devolved upon them to see that the Pomœrium was not encroached upon by buildings.[40] Thus, for many ages did the Romans preserve, by the sanctity of their laws and public sense of religion, what must be defended in modern times by the salutary terror of an armed centinel.

From this description of the Pomœrium, it appears it might be enlarged without removing the walls; and perhaps the additions already enumerated mean no more than as many restorations of the Pomœrium to its ancient limits; but in what degree, or in which part of the city these improvements were made, we are almost equally destitute of information: of Sylla's act nothing is known.[41] Since Augustus rendered the unwholesome Esquiline hill habitable, it may be inferred that his

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* See Note K.

[39] *M. Varro*, lib. iv.; and *Sext. P. Festus, Fragment.* p. 30. *Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att.* lib. xiii. cap. 14.; and *Macrobius*, lib. i. cap. 24.

[40] See inscription given in Note 38.

[41] Panvinio and Donatus have no authority whatever for supposing Sylla to have enlarged the city about the Porta Collina.

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extending of the Pomœrium was in that district.[42] Perhaps Nero was actuated more by his own private convenience; and confined his improvement to the Cælian hill.[43] Trajan no doubt made the space clear for his forum. We are, however, more particularly informed about Claudius Cæsar: his increasing of the city consisted in comprising the Aventine hill within the consecrated boundaries. [A. D. 41—54.][44] It appears, the Pomœrium of Romulus, on the western side of the Palatine hill, had been left untouched through the ages of the republic. But this must not lead us to suppose the Aventine hill was not within the walls; for the undeniable testimony of Livy, Dionysius, and other authors, will not allow us to make such a supposition.[45] Claudius, therefore, extended, or rather transferred, the Pomœrium from the valley of the Circus Maximus to the western side of the Aventine; and thus increased the *city*, but did not extend the walls. The reason why this hill was so long considered as unsanctified ground, however indispensable for the convenience of the city, is told by Aulus Gellius upon the authority of Messala *; because Remus, when he considered on that mount

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[42] See Note 85. p. 31.

[43] See Dissertations IV. and X.

[44] Aulus Gellius found it thus written in a commentary of an ancient grammarian: —"Aventinum antea, sicuti diximus, extra Pomœrium exclusum; post, auctore D. Claudio, receptum, et intra Pomœrii fines observatum."—*Noct. Attic.* lib. xiii. cap. 14.

[45] *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 13. *Dion. Hal. de Rom. Antiq.* lib. 1. cap. 71.

"Septemque *una* sibi *muro* circumdabit arces."
Virg. Æn. vi. 784.

* See Note L.

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the auspices and omens under which he was about to found his rival city, was excelled by Romulus in discovering the will of the gods. And since this act of Claudius may be denominated a religious act rather than any other, it may be concluded that the additions to the Pomœrium made by the other emperors partook of something of the same nature; and until the age of Aurelian, it is in vain to search for any authority which will prove the *walls* to have ever been extended. *

But from this dream of security, when the form and dimensions of the city until the 269th year of the Christian æra seem determined, we are awakened by Pliny, who declares that, taking all together, it was 13 miles and 200 paces round the walls in the time and censorship of the Vespasians. [A. D. 69—79.] [46] This passage is examined and criticised by Nardini with learning and acuteness: he arranges in order all the arguments brought forward in support of the emendation of Cluverius, most of which consist in a vague comparison between the extent of Athens and Syracuse with that of Rome; he then shows satisfactorily enough with the aid of Donatus [47], that Pliny meant to say no more than this: — Rome was 13 miles 200 paces in circumference. The aggregate measure of all the roads (*viæ*) from the Millarium in the Forum to the gates, amounted to 30 miles 750 paces; but taking the aggregate of all the streets (*vici*), to the farthest points of the walls,

* See Note M.

[46] See the passage inserted in Note at the end of the Volume.

[47] See *Nardini, Rom. Antica.* tom. i. p. 43—49.

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they would amount to not more than 70 miles. The latter part of the passage, when the meaning is thus evolved, is calculated rather to blind us the more, than to throw any light upon the magnitude of ancient Rome: but the circumference of the city seems to stand or fall with the credit of the author. Now, after duly estimating the full extent of the ancient city, comprising the seven hills and the "agger" of Servius, and making the most ample allowances for the walls beyond the Tyber, the distance will fall much short of Pliny's 13 miles 200 paces; indeed, scarcely do the present walls amount to that amplitude. To reconcile this, Donatus adds the walls or fortifications peculiar to the Capitol; and Nardini, not disapproving of the conjecture, adds the circumferences of the various towers or outworks, and the sinuosities of the ancient walls, which might be more than those of the present ones: but all these additions, unless they are very much exaggerated, will leave us short of Pliny's measurement, and either the ancient author or the redoubtable antiquaries must yield. In the time of Augustus, it was difficult to say how far Rome extended. It was not, says Dionysius, to be estimated by its ancient circuit, which was gradually disappearing.[48] Such, however, could hardly be the case on the east, the south, and the west; for after the age of Augustus, according to Pliny, the city was limited on those sides by the "agger" and the precipitous hills[49];

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[48] *Dionys. Hal.* lib. iv. c. 13. p. 210.

[49] See Note 7. p. 41.; and compare Note 63. p. 23. Dissertation I.

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whilst, on the northern side, the theatre of Marcellus, the Circus Flaminius, the Portico of Octavia, and numerous other buildings, stood close to the precincts of the Capitol.[50] We are therefore to make the supplement of the 13¼ miles from the Campus Martius, the Transtyberim, and the Pincian hill, which had become so desirable a residence on account of its favourable position and its extensive gardens; nor will such an addition affect the Pomœrium, or city properly so called; whilst the whole, with equal propriety, might be considered the circuit of Rome.[51] It is now time to proceed to describe and define those two objects which made up the improved city of the Cæsars.

From the papal palace to the Villa Mandosi, the Quirinal hill, as its outline has been already described, is separated from the Pincian by a valley; the latter is bounded on the east by the walls of the city, and on the west by the Campus Martius; so that, with the outline of the Quirinal for a base, it approaches to the form of a triangle. It is distinguished by the church of S. Trinità dei Monti and by the Villa Medici; but it is not very obvious how far it extended along the Via Flaminia. It is found in the writings of Suetonius by the name of "Collis Hortuorum[52]," which

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[50] At the very time Pliny wrote, the Portico of Octavia was considered without the city (Pomœrium). See what has been said on the triumphal gate in Note at the end of the volume; and compare *Joseph. de Bello Judaic.* lib. vii. cap. 16.

[51] This distinction between *Urbs* and *Roma* (in the same manner as we are accustomed to distinguish between the *City* and *London*) must now appear most evident.

[52] *Sueton. in vita Neron.* cap. 50.

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intimates it was a pleasure ground. The gardens of Sallust may be said to have bordered upon it, or even occupied some part; Lucullus and the Domitian family are known to have had their gardens there[53]; but there is no reason to believe it was monopolised by those great men. It might be inhabited by citizens of less consequence, and in some directions be populous. It has received the name of "Mons Pincius," as the Cælian acquired that of "Lateranus," because a wealthy senator (but at a late period of the empire) built a splendid house upon it. But so little is known of either Pincius the senator or his palace, that etymologists would invent, if it were possible, some other derivation for the modern name.[54] The celebrity of the Pincian hill was in its zenith when the glory of Belisarius was displayed about its gates, and the palace of Pincius was his residence.[55] In the circuit of the walls, several objects may be pointed out which can still be reconciled with the descriptions of Procopius, and excite the spectator's sympathy for poor Belisarius.

The Campus Martius lies at the foot of the Pincian, the Quirinal, and Capitoline hills, as the

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[53] See *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 23.

[54] Chiefly ecclesiastical writers, who find a church once stood on the hill called S. Felix in Pincis. See *Nardini, Rom. Antica*, lib. 4. cap. 7. This, however, may easily be the Senator Pincius transformed into a saint. The house of Pincius is certainly mentioned by Cassiodorus: — "Declaramus ut marmora quæ de domo Pinciana constat esse deposita, ad Ravennatem urbem," &c. — Lib. iii. epist. 10. Compare *Anastasius in Silverio*, and the anonymous author in Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, tom. iv.

[55] See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. xli.

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latter have been especially traced by the walls of the ancient city; and it spreads itself to the banks of the Tyber. This celebrated plain is, indeed, supposed by some to have been of much greater amplitude than this; and among those who so judge is Piranesi. He supposes that the Campus Martius extended as far as the Pons Milvius.[56] His chief authority is derived from Strabo, who has so eloquently described this part of ancient Rome; and it may here be necessary to insert that geographer's description of it.[57] "The plain," says he, "adorned by nature and art, is of wonderful extent, and affords an ample and clear space for the running of chariots, and other equestrian and gymnastic exercises. It is in verdant bloom throughout the year, and is crowned by hills which rise above the Tyber, and slope down to its very banks. The whole affords a picturesque and beautiful landscape, which you would linger to behold. Near to this plain is another of less magnitude; and all around it are innumerable porticos and shady groves; besides three theatres, an amphitheatre,

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[56] *Le Antichità Romane*, tom. 1. *Indice ossia spiegazione*, p. 7.

[57] Τούτων δὲ [κατασκευῶν] τὰ πλεῖστα, ὁ Μάρτιος ἔχει Κάμπος, πρὸς τῇ φύσει προσβαλὼν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς προνοίας κόσμον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πεδίου θαυμαστὸν ἅμα, καὶ τὰς ἁρματοδρομίας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἱππασίαν ἀκώλυτον παρέχων τῷ τοσούτῳ πλήθει, τῶν σφαίρᾳ, καὶ κίρκῳ, καὶ παλαίστρᾳ γυμναζομένων· καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ἔργα, καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος πόαζον δι' ἔτους, καὶ τῶν λόφων στεφάναι τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆ ποταμοῦ μέχρι τῆ βείθρα σκηνογραφικὴν ὄψιν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι, δυσαπάλλακτον παρέχουσι τὴν θεάν· πλήσιον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ πεδίου τούτου, ἄλλο πέδιον, καὶ στοαὶ κύκλῳ παμπληθεῖς, καὶ ἄλση, καὶ θεάτρα τρία, καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον, καὶ ναοὶ πολυτελεῖς, καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις· ὡς πάρεργον ἄν δ' ἔξαιεν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. — *Strabo, Geograph. cum notis Casaubon.* lib. v. tom. i. p. 361. edit. Amstelod. 1707.

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and various temples contiguous to each other; so that the rest of the city appears only an appendage to it." It is manifest, from this description, that there were two plains, the lesser[58] of them covered with those noble public edifices which Strabo describes. The three theatres he allŭdes to, are universally acknowledged to be, respectively, of Pompey, Balbus, and Marcellus, because these objects are all mentioned as being in the "regio" of the Circus Flaminius; and the situations of two of them, if not the third, are ascertained beyond a doubt.

The theatre of Marcellus must, of all edifices in the Campus that we know of, have been the nearest to the walls of the old city; and we read of no building beyond the mausoleum of Augustus. Between these two extreme objects it would not be difficult to enumerate porticos, circuses, baths, and other edifices, so as to crowd the space which has now become the most populous part of Rome. And if, upon the most indisputable authority, we could so fill up with buildings the whole extent of that plain, embraced by a capacious curve of the Tyber, it may very reasonably be enquired, where the space would be found for the verdant plains that contained such numbers of the Roman youth. Were the games and equestrian exercises to be confined within the unequal portions of ground left between the buildings? or were the chariots to

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[58] We are authorised in making a distinction between the two plains.

"Te quæsivimus in *minore Campo*
Te in Circo, te in omnibus libellis."
Catullus ad Camerium, carm. lv.

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dash against the sacred precincts of the royal monument and the walls of the stately Pantheon?[59] Now, the lesser plain, which Strabo saw thus adorned with splendid buildings, could be no other than the space lying between the mausoleum of Augustus, or the Ripetta, and the theatre of Marcellus. There can be no doubt that, previously to the erection of all those edifices, the exercises of the Campus Martius were confined within the limits of the field of the Tarquins[60]; nor would we contend against those ancient authors who so accurately define this original ground.[61] But in the

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[59] The places for exercise must have been free and open spaces to have continually preserved the freshness and verdure spoken of by Strabo, and so frequently celebrated by the poets: —

"Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
Æque conspicitur gramine Martio."
Hor. Carm. lib. iii. 7.

"Tunc ego me memini ludos in gramine Campi
Aspicere, et dici lubrice Tibri tuos."
Ovid. Fast. lib. vi. 237.

See also *Ovid. Fast.* lib. iii. v. 519., and *Cicero de Oratore*, lib. ii. cap. 71.

[60] Pomponius Lætus remarks, that the original Campus Martius, which had been in the possession of the Tarquins, lay about the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina.

P. Victor enumerates eight plains or campi in Rome: the Viminalis, Esquilinus, Agrippæ, Martius, Codetanus, Bructanus, Lanatarius, Pecuarius; and one more beyond the Tyber, Campus Vaticanus. In the "Notitia" they run thus: Viminalis, Agrippæ, Martius, Codetanus, Octavius, Pecuarius, Zanatarius, Brytianus. Vide *Notitia Imperii, &c.* edit. Ludg. 1608.

[61] "Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. ii. cap. 5. The historian then proceeds to relate the manner in which the island of the Tyber was formed. Whether the story be true or not, we have the popular opinion as to where the

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study of ancient Rome, the changes and increases which time and luxury effected, as these things have done in all other cities, must surely be taken into the account; and it is natural to suppose, that as a theatre or a portico[62] occupied the place which was once devoted to the field of Mars, the games would be transferred to a convenient distance. By a careful attention to the passage of Strabo, it appears he is approaching Rome from the Pons Milvius. He first arrives at the ample Stadia and grassy plain, adapted for the exercise of arms, and then proceeds towards the Capitol. Moreover, the "crowns of hills," which form, as it were, the counter-barrier to the large plain, can be no other than the Monte Mario and a portion of the Janiculum. The intention which Julius Cæsar had of increasing the city to the Pons Milvius by turning the bed of the river along the foot of the hills, is a collateral evidence that there was public ground beyond the present walls.* In the region of the Circus Flaminius we read of an object called the

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field of the Tarquins was. The original Campus Martius, therefore, may have extended from the theatre of Marcellus to the Palazzo Farnese. Compare *Dionysius Halicarn.* lib. v. cap. 13. and consult *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. i. cap. 8.

[62] If Gallienus had finished his Porticus Flaminia, he must almost have excluded the exercises even from the larger plain. "Porticum Flaminiam usque ad pontem Milvium et ipse paraverat ducere, ita ut tetrastiche fieret, ut autem alii dicunt pentastiche, ita ut primus ordo pilas haberet, et ante se columnas cum statuis secundus, et tertius et deinceps διατεσσάρων columnas." — *Trebellius Pollio in vita Gallienorum*, cap. xviii.; yet this work was planned before Aurelian: proof enough that the Campus Martius was open and free beyond the present walls.

* See Note N.

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Equiria. "The Equiria," says Varro, "was named from the running of horses, which took place in the Campus Martius on a fixed day;" and we are informed by Festus that those games owe their origin to the founder of Rome.[63] The Equiria, according to Ovid, was bounded by the vast windings of the Tyber; which Piranesi thinks can hardly be applied to as much of the river as flows past the *limited* Campus Martius; and therefore he would extend this celebrated plain to the Pons Milvius. A few reflections, founded on these arguments and authorities, will enable us to complete the general survey of Rome on this side the Tyber.

The walls of ancient Rome did run along the foot of the Capitoline and Quirinal hills: in the age of Augustus it was often difficult to distinguish the original limits of the city, especially where buildings had arisen near to the walls. The original Campus Martius was covered with buildings, from the capitol to beyond the Pantheon of Agrippa; and the Pincian hill was an enviable situation for gardens and pleasure-grounds. This extent of hill and plain gradually grew into the city, and even excelled the city itself in magnificence. When Pliny, therefore, wrote, in the time of Vespasian, it was comprised in the circuit of Rome. Beginning from the northern extremity of the "agger," we now include the Monte Pincio, and the Campus Martius, as far as the environs of

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63 "Altera gramineo spectabis Equiria Campo
Quem Tiberis curvis in latus urget aquis."
Ovid. Fast. lib. iii. 519.

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Augustus's tomb.[64] We shall thus acquire an additional circuit of about three miles and a quarter, which, added to the former, will produce nine and a quarter English, or ten Roman miles 100 paces. Of the fourteen wards or regions into which Rome was divided, one lay beyond the Tyber, and consequently must come into this calculation: it was, according to P. Victor, 36,438 feet in circumference; the "Notitia" has 33,488.[65] Three hundred and eighty years before the former of these measurements was taken the Regio Transtiberina might be of less magnitude: however that may be, it is easy to supply from hence the three miles still wanting to complete the circuit of Rome as given us by Pliny.

With regard to the extent of the Campus Martius beyond the mausoleum of Augustus, it is impossible to say how far it was carried. The villas about the Pons Milvius were private property[66], and where that begun public ground must end. It were equally as unfounded a conjecture to limit the field of Mars by the present walls as to extend it to the Ponte Molle.

Combining the testimonies of two ancient writers

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[64] This is meant to include the Campus Minor (see the description of Strabo already inserted), but we can have no pretension to draw the exact line: the Muro Torto is a doubtful guide.

[65] The nature of these documents, so frequently alluded to, will be explained in the following Dissertation.

[66] "Occulte ad pontem Milvium pervenerunt; atque ibi in *proximis villis* ita bipartiti fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset." — *Cicero in Catalin.* Orat. iii.

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with a modern discovery (which will be more particularly noticed hereafter[67]), we find the middle or widest part of the Campus Martius was considered to have been where the church of S. Carlo al Corso now is. If we suppose that this was said with reference to its extent from south to north, the limits would be pretty accurately defined between the two extreme conjectures just alluded to; but if the walls of Aurelian approached any thing near to the circumference assigned to them by Vopiscus, the whole of this space will seem only a trifle: but we are not yet prepared to treat of the magnitude of Rome in her greatest splendour. It has already been observed, that the view into Etruria is intercepted by the Janiculum, the Vatican, and the Monte Mario. Preserving our station on the northern side of the capitol, we may now turn our attention to that part of the city which is still designated by the modernised appellation of "Trastevere." From the church of S. Pietro in Montorio, to the villa which crowns the summit of the Monte Mario, is measured along the ridge of those picturesque hillsa distance of about three miles: it appears the whole came to be comprehended under the name of Janiculum[68]; but it admitted also of two other names to designate

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[67] See Dissertation IX., on the Mausoleum of Augustus.

[68] It must be the Monte Mario which Dionysius calls the Janiculum, distant about sixteen stadia from the city. *De Antiquit. Rom.* lib. ix. tom. i. p. 558. Oxoniæ, 1704. In another place he calls the Janiculum twenty stadia from Rome. *Ibid.* lib. ix. p. 548. Compare also *Martial. Ep.* lib. iv. 64.

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certain portions of it.[69] We learn there was an ancient tradition that Janus, king of the Aborigines, contemporary with Saturn, who then inhabited the Capitoline Hill, founded a city opposite to the residence of Saturn, and dying, left his name to the hill he had built upon.[70] The Janiculum, therefore, properly so called[71], comprised the site of the church of S. Pietro in Montorio and the present Corsini gardens: as Ancus Martius joined it to the Aventine by a bridge and a wall, lest an enemy should make it a citadel for attack, it is natural to conclude that the first wall would enclose the bridge, and run up to the summit, which

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[69] *Vaticanus* and *Clivus Cinnæ*; the former sometimes used in the plural number.

[70] "Hæc duo præterea disjectis oppida muris,
Relliquias veterumque vides monimenta virorum.
Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem:
Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen."
Virg. Æneid. viii. 355.

[71] L. Albinus, in the great sack of Rome by the Gauls, made his wife and children descend from their vehicle to accommodate the Vestal Virgins. Their journey was to Cære, and they went through Rome ("viâ quæ Sublicio ponte ducit ad Janiculum,") on the road which led to the Janiculum by the Pons Sublicius. "In eo clivo," adds the historian, "quum L. Albinus .... conspexisset." It does not seem difficult to follow the direction up to the Montorio and the Porta Janicolensis. A mutilated inscription, relative to this circumstance, was found in the upper part of the Pantheon:—

. . . ADERENT . CAPITOLIV . . .
. . . STALES . CAERE . DEDVXIT
. . . QVE . RITVS SOLLEMNES NE
. . . RENTVR . CVRAI . SIBI . HABVIT.
. . . ERATA SACRA . ET VIRGINES
. . . XIT.

See *Fabretti de Aquis et Aquæduc. Dissert.* i. cap. xviii.; and compare *Liv.* lib. v. cap. 40.

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it was desirable to preserve from the possession of an enemy: on the other hand, since nothing more was to be effected than a mere defence of the city, — for the king, it is said, did not want space for his subjects, — it is also deducible from this passage[72] that his walls would only enclose a narrow space of territory, extending from near the Pons Sublicius, or Ponte Orazio, to the Montorio, and descending again to the river at the Ponte Rotto; for the island did not exist in those days. Such a circuit of wall would at once defend the passage of the Tyber, and cover the three important hills of the city. We do not find that Servius Tullius made any addition to the "*Transtyberim.*" Aurelian might have comprised in the circuit of his walls the additional bridges of the island and the "*Pons Janiculensis,*" and, for any thing we know, the tomb and bridge of Hadrian. The remains of a wall of the age of Honorius may still be traced from near the present Porta Portese, by the brow of the hill, to the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Corsini.

The summit of the Janiculum was seen from the "Comitia," or place of popular assemblies, in the Campus Martius.[73] At the earliest period of the

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[72] See also *Dion. Halicarn.* lib. iii. cap. 45.

[73] This principle of the constitution was religiously observed, — That no citizen should appear in arms within the sacred precincts of the city.

"Centuriata autem comitia intra pomœrium fieri nefas esse, quia exercitum extra Urbem imperari oporteat, intra Urbem imperari jus non sit, propterea centuriata in Campo Martio haberi exercitumque imperari præsidii causa solitum, quoniam

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republic, when the Romans were surrounded by foes, and feared that whilst they held those assemblies the enemy might come upon them unawares, they placed some of their citizens upon the Janiculum to guard the place, and to watch for the safety of the state: a standard was placed upon the top of the hill; and the removal thereof was a signal for the assembly immediately to dissolve, for that the enemy was near.[74] This act, which had its origin in utility to the commonwealth, afterwards dwindled into a mere ceremony: it was, however, made subservient to the designs of factious citizens in those times when there was no danger to the city but from its intestine discords; and the tearing down of the standard more than once put a stop to the proceedings of an ambitious tribune.[75] The standard which commemorated the pristine virtue of the republic was no more reared for any good purpose on that hill when the virtue decayed: and Tacitus mournfully confesses that the last spark of liberty was extinguished when Tiberius caused the Comitia to be transferred from the Campus Martius to the immediate control of the Palatine council.[76] We may now proceed to that

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populus esset in suffragiis ferendis occupatus." — *Lælius Felix*, as cited by *Aulus Gellius*, *Att. Noct.* lib. xv. cap. 27.

[74] The origin of the standard is related by *Dion. Hist. Roman.* lib. xxxvii. tom. i. p. 129., edit. Hamburg, 1750.

[75] See *Dion. Hist. Rom.* lib. xxxvii. p. 129.

[76] "Tum primùm e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt. nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quædam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant: neque populus ademptum jus questus est," &c. — *Tacit. Ann.* lib. i. cap. 15.

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part of the Janiculum which is better known by the name of the Vatican.

The ancient etymologists agree that this hill draws its name from something connected with prophets or prophecies[77] (Vates, Vaticiniâ); but the faint light which classical history throws over it has been completely eclipsed by the splendour of ecclesiastical records. We do not know that it ever formed a part of the city until Pope Leo IV. thought fit to fortify it[78] through fear of the attacks of the Saracens. From the year 848 that part of Rome has been called the Civitas Leonina, from the name of its papal founder; and though now the noblest and most magnificent portion of the eternal city, in the time of the empire it was reputed the most unhealthy quarter of the Transtyberim, if not of Rome[79], and only renowned for the bad wine produced from its vineyards.[80] The Mons Vaticanus formerly must have meant more space than what is now covered by St. Peter's and

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[77] *Aulus Gellius*, lib. xvi. cap. 17., and *Sext. Pomp. Festus*, edit. Delphin, p. 586.

[78] *Anastasius in Vita Leon.* IV.

[79] "Postremo, ne salutis quidem cura: infamibus Vaticani locis magna pars tetendit; unde crebræ in vulgus mortes." — *Tacit. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 93.

[80] "*In lautum Invitatorem.*

. . . .

Imputet ipse deus nectar mihi; fiet acetum,
Et Vaticani perfida vappa cadi." *Martial.* lib. xii. 48.

"*In Ammianum bibentem vinum pessimum.*

Cælatus tibi cum sit, Ammiane,
Serpens in patera Myronis arte,
Vaticana bibis: bibis venenum."

Ibid. lib. vi. 92.

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the buildings of the Vatican; for when applause was given to Mæcenas in the theatre of Pompey (situated near the Ponte Sisto), the sound was re-echoed by the Vatican mount.[81] To suppose this to have been where St. Peter's stands, is too much even for poetical license and flattery; we should, therefore, extend the Vatican mount over the gardens of the convent of S. Onufrio, which are marked by the stately oak tree that shades the grave of Tasso. Baronius, in his Ecclesiastical Annals, labours to apply the name of Vatican to the hill more properly called the Janiculum: the cardinal's object is to defend the tradition, that St. Peter was both crucified and buried in the Vatican hill.[82] It is no part of these Dissertations to uphold or contradict the pious traditions of the church; and perhaps the religious zeal of an indefatigable and learned writer is entitled to some

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[81] *Hor. Carm.* lib. i. 20.

[82] Eusebius and other early ecclesiastical writers say, that St. Peter was crucified on the Vatican mount; and the monks of the convent belonging to the church on Montorio still show the very spot where his cross was fixed, round which Bramante has erected a small temple. It was therefore necessary for the learned cardinal, in order to reconcile tradition with the ecclesiastical historians, — or, in other words, to point out the very spot, — to prove the Janiculum to be the Vatican also; which he sets about by first proving what is true; viz. the Vatican to be a part of the Janiculum. He thinks too that even the appellation of "Mons Aureus" is not so called from the colour of the sand, as it is generally supposed, but from the golden or noble deed which was once there performed! Vide *Annales Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 663. Did Mr. Forsyth speak satirically or ignorantly when he wrote — "St. Peter died in the cloister of this convent?"

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respect from the stranger who thus invades the scene of his labours.

If the Vatican mount was without the limits of the old city, much more was the last hill that closes our northern aspect, the Monte Mario: this appellation is entirely modern, and bears no affinity to the ancient name, which was "*Clivus Cinnæ.*" Upon this lofty eminence Martial seems to place the villa of his uncle Julius, from whence he had a view of the whole of Rome and the Alban hills, at the same time that he could see the "Saxa Rubra" on the Flaminian Way.[83] For the classical appellation we are indebted to an inscription discovered on the road, which, from its sloping position, is called Clivus; but other account of this we have not. This same inscription[84], however, and which is always the best authority of all, informs us, the remains of the ancient road now in good preservation for a considerable way was a triumphal road. It has been traced through the valley which lies beyond the mount to join the Via Cassia (now

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[83] *Martial. Epig.* lib. iv. 64. [*De Hortis Martialis.*]

[84] This valuable inscription was found in 1554, upon the Monte Mali as it was then called, and in the vineyard of Vincenzo Macarini: it was written on a marble tablet. The whole is published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum of Gruter*, tom. ii. p. 1081. The following is as much of it as needs here to be inserted: —

MONVMENTVM . QVOT . EST . VIA . TRIVMPALE †
INTER . MILIARIVM † SECVNDVM . ET . TERTIVM
EVNTIBVS . AB . VRBE . PARTE . LAEVA . IN CLIVO
CINNAE . ET . EST . IN . AGRO . AVRELI . PRIMIANI
FICTORIS . PONTIFICVM . C . C . V . V . ET . APPELLA
TVR . TERENTIANORVM . IVXTA . MONVMENTVM
CLADI QVONDAM PROCVLI.

† *Sic.*

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the modern road into Tuscany), near the post-house of La Storta: some slight remains of the usual material of Roman roads are to be seen on that spot; and the whole enables us to trace the steps of the triumph for nearly nine miles, as the conqueror arrived from the maritime Alps and Liguria. Whether the procession had come along the Via Aurelia, or had left the Via Cassia at the place alluded to, it first appeared to the eyes of those who crowded the Campus Martius on the summit of the Clivus Cinnæ; it descended and crossed the Tyber by the bridge, whose foundations are still to be traced a little below the Ponte St. Angelo; it would then move through the Campus Martius towards the Capitol. There were other roads by which the triumphs approached the city; but a procession moving in the direction we have now delineated must have been by far the most imposing.

It may now be convenient, before descending from our station, to point out a few memorable spots beyond the Tyber.

When L. Quintius Cincinnatus was called from his rustic labour to assume the office of dictator, we are informed by Livy he was ploughing his four acres of land beyond the Tyber, opposite to the very place where, in the historian's time, was the Navalia. A boat was prepared, at the public expense, to convey him across the river; and he was conducted to his abode amidst a great concourse of spectators.[85] We are further informed

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[85] "Spes unica imperii populi Romani, L. Quintius, trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum *ubi nunc navalia* sunt, quatuor

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by Pliny that the dictator's fields were situated in the Vatican, and were called the Prata Quintia.[86] As here is all the information remaining to us, the enquiry resolves itself into this: — Where were the "Navalia" in the time of Livy? It cannot be denied, that the vessels arriving at Rome *up the river* disposed of their cargoes beneath the Aventine hill, thus avoiding the inconvenience of passing under the Pons Sublicius; but, it is certain, the ground opposite to the Strada Marmorata could never be said to be "*in Vaticano:*" thus our two ancient authors are set at variance with each other. But, independently of this Navalia, or station for ships, there was another for the convenience of those arriving from the Sabine territory down the river. Nardini and other antiquaries[87]

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jugerum colebat agrum quæ Prata Quintia vocantur. . . . Dictatorem cum legati gratulantes consalutant, in urbem vocant, qui terror sit in exercitu exponunt. Navis Quintio publice parata fuit, transvectumque tres obviam egressi filii excipiunt, inde alii, &c. . . . . Ea frequentia stipatus, antecedentibus lictoribus, deductus est domum, et plebis concursus ingens fuit." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. iii. cap. 26.

[86] "Aranti quatuor sua jugera in Vaticano, quæ Prata Quintia appellantur, Cincinnato viator attulit dictaturam." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xviii. cap. 3.

[87] *Roma Antica*, tom. iii. p. 371. Edit. Roma, 1819. The arguments of Nardini are conclusive against those who would place the Prata Quintia near the Pons Sublicius. Why a boat, prepared at the public expense, to convey the dictator across the river at the only place where there was a bridge! How could he be so ignorant of the state of affairs in the city who was within both sight and hearing of it, if his possessions were near the Ripa Grande; besides, the "nunc Navalia" implies the landing-place for ships had been changed; and what so probable as that all vessels should come into the heart of the city, as the population spread itself on the northern side? The

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suppose the second landing-place to coincide with the present Porto di Ripetta[88]; nor does it seem improbable that this place might ultimately be considered more convenient for disembarking goods than even under the Aventine hill. Now a portion of land situated opposite to the Ripetta may very properly be said to be in the Vatican territory: and whilst it would be affectation to attempt to fix upon any particular spot for the *Prata Quintia*, confining the space between the Fort St. Angelo and the Ripetta will reconcile the only two passages left to guide us in this particular.

The next topographical enquiry worthy of attention is the site of Julius Cæsar's gardens. When Horace went from the Via Sacra to visit his friend, who lodged near the gardens of Cæsar, beyond the Tyber, he passed by the temple of Vesta.[89] If antiquaries are in any degree correct about the position of that temple[90], we may conclude the poet meant to pass the Pons Sublicius. Suetonius

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modern antiquaries have, however, only renewed the arguments and opinion of Donatus, *de Urbe Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 13.

88 When Piso arrrived at Rome from Narni by water, he landed at the Ripetta. "Nare, ac mox Tiberi devectus, auxit vulgi iras, quia navem TUMULO CÆSARUM adpulerat; dieque, et ripa frequenti, magno clientium agmine ipse, feminarum comitatu Plancina, et vultu alacres incessêre." — *Tacit. Annal.* lib. iii. cap. 9. See Dissertation IX. and X., in Reg. XI.

89 "Ibam forte Via Sacra . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . quemdam volo visere, non tibi notum;
Trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Cæsaris hortos.
. . . . . .
Ventum erat ad Vestæ."

Horat. Sat. lib. i. sat. ix.

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informs us those gardens were about the Tyber[91]; and we further learn from Tacitus, that the temple of Fors Fortuna stood in the gardens which Julius Cæsar bequeathed to the Roman people.[92] Fabricius places this temple near the church of S. Cosimato.[93] Nardini fears to decide between the Porta Portese and the P. Settimiana. The little authority here advanced inclines to favour the former position, coinciding nearly with the spot marked out by Fabricius: thus we conclude the gardens of Cæsar occupied the present site of the parish of S. Maria in Orto, whose traditional name may be a collateral evidence to the truth of this topography.

The Fabii and the Scipios, who considered virtue as essential to the welfare of the republic, would have blushed to witness the first Cæsar *there* in the unlawful embraces of an Egyptian queen[94]; and not without indignation did the Roman peo-

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91 " Populo hortos *circa* Tiberim publice, et viritim trecenos sestertios, legavit." — *Suet. in Vit. Jul. Cæsar*, cap. 83.

92 " Ædes Fortis Fortunæ Tiberim *juxta* in hortis, quos Cæsar dictator populo Romano legaverat." — *Tacit. Annal.* lib. ii. c. 41.

P. Victor also registers the templum Fortis Fortunæ in the Regio Transtyberina: this temple was built by Servius Tullius (*Varro*, lib. v. cap. 3.), who also built the temple of Fortuna Virilis, in or near the Forum Boarium. It is no bad conjecture that these two edifices stood opposite to each other on the banks of the river." — *Nardini, Rom. Antic.* tom. iii. p. 335. and 255.

93 *Fabricius, Descriptio Urb. Rom.* apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 427.

94 *Cicero's Epistle to Atticus*, lib. xv. 15. Consult also *Middleton's Life of Cicero*, vol. ii. p. 205.

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ple look upon those gardens as the scene of their master's disgrace, and the grave of their liberties; whilst the three hours' attendance in the anti-chamber of the dictator wofully discovered to Cicero that the equal rights of the citizen were lost in the imperial deportment of the conqueror of Gaul.[96]

Upon evidence still less convincing shall we attempt to point out the gardens of Geta: they are, indeed, connected with some important events in ancient history; but now "the double night of ignorance and ages" begins to fall around our footsteps. In the regionary of P. Victor we find the gardens of Geta in the "Transtyberim." Spartian writes that Severus, before going to the armies on the Rhine, laid out some spacious gardens[97]; and we know he constructed some works beyond the Tiber: the gate called after his name may be supposed to have been in that part of the city improved by him[98], if we knew where that was.

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[96] Yet it appears the dictator was polite.

"Ego dubitem quin summo in odio sim, cum M. Cicero sedeat, nec suo commodo me convenire possit? Atqui si quisquam est facilis, hic est, tamen non dubito quin me male oderit." — *Cicero ad Atticum*, lib. xiv. epist. 1.

[97] "Proficiscens ad Germanicos exercitus hortos spatiosos comparavit, cum antea ædes brevissimas Romæ habuisset et unum fundum." "In these gardens the emperor set an example of frugality (but it proved in vain) to his sons. His meal was sparing, and his couch was the ground. Caracalla was then five years old, and divided some apples that were set before him with his playfellows, giving them liberally of what he had. 'Don't be so extravagant,' says Severus: 'thou art not in possession of royal treasures.' — 'But I shall be,' replied the boy." — *Spartian. in Vitâ Sep. Severi*, cap. 4.

[98] "Opera publica ejus præcipue Romæ extant, Septizo-

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Upon the best conjectures, the Porta Septimiana was near the Palazzo Corsini. Donatus supposes, and Nardini is unwilling to contradict him, that the gardens of Geta were near the villa Farnesina, and consequently about the site of the Corsini palace.[99]

The interesting objects comprised in the general survey which has now been taken from the tower of the Capitol will merit a more detailed and attentive description; but whoever desires to study with advantage the remains of the ancient city, should refer each particular object to some general plan of this nature. It seems also but a small part of the study of antiquities to visit those remains of ancient grandeur as mere curiosities, without applying them to the illustration of those writings the knowledge of which forms so essential a branch of every liberal education; and even the enthusiasm which is sometimes kindled in the classical mind

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nium et Thermæ Severianæ, ejus denique etiam Jani in Transtyberina regione *ad portam nominis sui*, quorum forma intercidens statim usum publicum invidit." — *Spartian. ibid.* cap. xix.

The "horti spatiosi" mentioned in the preceding note might be bequeathed by Severus to his younger son Geta, or even called by his name during the lifetime of his father. As Geta had no opportunity of laying out gardens, it is fair to identify the "horti Getæ" with the "horti spatiosi" prepared by his father. It is very probable those gardens were annexed to the demesne of the imperial palace, which may in some measure account for the passage in *Herodian*, lib. iv. p. 139. Καὶ τὰ βασιλεία διελόμενοι [scilicet, Caracalla et Geta], ἐν πλατείᾳ καὶ πόλλῃ οἰκήσει, καὶ πάσης πόλεως μείζονι, καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἑκάτερος διάγοι ὡς βούλοιτο. See a note in *Gibbon's Roman Empire*, about the beginning of chap. vi.

[99] Compare *Donatus, de Urbe Roma*, lib. iii. cap. 23.; and *Nardini, Româ Antica*, tom. iii. p. 342.

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may be excused in a person who visits, but for once in his life, the city which has ruled the world, and nourished the geniuses of Scipio, Cicero, and Virgil. And scarcely will the spectator, whose apprehensions are less lively when he has taken this review of a world no more existing but in the annals of mankind, descend from the Campidoglio without a degree of interest excited by the scenes whose parting glory still sheds a light around them.

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DISSERTATION THE THIRD.

ON THE VIA APPIA AND ITS ENVIRONS; WITH SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

" An tu egressus porta Capena, quum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?" — CIC. QUÆSTION. TUSCULAN. i. cap. 7.

THE investigation of truth is a delightful exercise for the human mind, and often the hope of but a partial discovery of it is sufficient to encourage research. Happy, indeed, is it for us that this precious pearl does not tarnish by time, nor lose its beauty though discovered through the obscurity of ages. If this were so, how often must the laudable task be relinquished of endeavouring to search it out; and, consequently, of how much that is really valuable must mankind be deprived. We are far from being deterred from this enquiry by the difficulties to be encountered in prosecuting it; nor should we think, in the subject we are about to enter upon, to arrive at the truth without a patient investigation: for such have been the ravages of time and war, such the desolation made by rapine and plunder, such the intestine divisions of Rome when she had lost her imperial majesty[1], that very

[1] Such are the causes of the decay of Rome enumerated by Mr. Gibbon (*Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. last, vol. xii.). Lord Byron

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few of her ancient remains can now be recognised without the skill of the architect or the learning of the antiquary. Far, however, should this be from justifying the clamours that a fashionable indolence would raise against the study of antiquities: for this pursuit, like every other, only becomes a subject of disgust or ridicule when it wanders through the intricacies of a dry criticism, or bedecks its objects with the ornaments of fancy. It is the peculiar aim of these Dissertations, neither to torture the evidence which the light of antiquity may afford, nor to magnify it by an extravagant imagination. And it will, in the first place, be necessary to give a concise statement of the materials which are left to guide us in this closer survey of the topography and antiquities of Rome.

During the ages of the republic, the distribution of the city into four tribes as made by King Tullius remained unaltered[2]; but when Augustus became

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has seized upon them (*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto IV. 80.), and Mr. Hobhouse ably illustrated them (notes of the Fourth Canto to stanza lxxx.).

[2] Servius Tullius named his four tribes or districts, not from their origin or any casual circumstance, but from the parts of the city which they inhabited. Those who lived in the plain places about the Cælian Mount he called the Suburran tribe, because it was under the ancient city, (or, as Varro says, called from a village Sucusanam!) The second district was the Esquilian, which comprehended all the hills or eminences known by the name of Esquiliæ. The third occupied the Quirinal and Viminal hills, and was called Collina. The fourth comprised almost all the space which the three ancient tribes of Romulus occupied; viz. the Palatine and Capitoline hills, with the Forum: it was called Palatina. For a more detailed account of this division of Rome, see *Onuphrio Panvinio, Urb. Rom. Descrip.* lib. i. p. 74.

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sole master of the empire, he materially changed the face of the city, as well as the condition of the state. It was the boast of that prince in his last moments, that he found Rome of brick and had left it of marble[3]: and it must be allowed, in many respects, he added much to the convenience of the city. Amongst other improvements he divided Rome, — including, of course, the four districts of Servius Tullius, — into fourteen wards or "regiones*;" and, according to the testimony of Pliny, those "regions" contained 265 "compita," which in modern terms may be called "squares" or "places." In the great conflagration of the city which happened in the reign of Nero, we are informed by an historian that, out of fourteen regions, three were entirely destroyed, seven partially burned, and only four remained untouched by the fire.[4] From hence it appears this division of Rome remained the same in the age of Tacitus; and the fourteen regions are traced down to the time of Hadrian: for there is now existing at Rome a marble altar dedicated to that emperor by the "Vicomagistri," or inspectors of the streets of the fourteen regions.† From Hadrian to Valentinian,

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3 "Urbem neque pro majestate imperii ornatam, et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo, ut jure sit gloriatus, marmoream se relinquere quam lateritiam accepisset." — *Suet. in vita Aug.* cap. xxix.

* See Note O.

4 "Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur: quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres solo tenus dejectæ; septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semiusta." — *Tacit. Ann.* lib. xv. cap. 40.

† See Note P. The fourteen regiones are mentioned by *Lampridius, in vit. Alex. Sev.* cap. 33.

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a period of 250 years, we lose sight of the internal arrangements of the city; but the regions seem to have remained as Augustus left them.

In the reign of Valentinian and Valens, Publius Victor, a man of consular rank, made a catalogue of all the public buildings, streets, &c. contained in each region; and he enumerates fourteen regions.[6] About the same period Sextus Rufus, also a person of consular dignity, wrote a second catalogue of the same nature, which was first published by the learned and laborious Panvinio: the manuscript, however, was mutilated, and some of the regions are entirely wanting.[7] A third catalogue of the public edifices, both of Rome and Constantinople, is included in a general "Notice" of the eastern and western empires which was written at a later period, and was brought to light in the sixteenth century. The valuable documents of Victor and Rufus are generally known by the name of the "*Regionaries*;" and the latter, being an anonymous production, is usually called the "*Notitia.*"[8] The

[6] The MS. of P. Victor was first published by Manucio, and afterwards by others; but Panvinio published it in its best form, and made several emendations of it. Vide *Onuph. Panvinio*, lib. iii. *Comm. de Rep. Rom.* p. 114.

[7] Rufus wrote several works, which are all lost except this Regionary, and a small treatise on the progress of the Roman Empire up to the time of Valentinian. It can hardly be decided whether he or P. Victor wrote first. They seem to have been contemporaries, and to have flourished about the year 360. The regions entirely wanting in Rufus are the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth. Those defective are the eighth, ninth, and eleventh. The lacunes, however, are supplied by Victor, and the whole arranged by Panvinio. That learned Augustine first published the Regionary of Rufus in 1558.

[8] The title of this work is "*Notitia dignitatum omnium, tam*

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enumeration of objects contained in it is much more brief than the Regionaries, and it sometimes differs from them; but the number and the names of the regions are the same in all. The altar dedicated to Hadrian as above mentioned affords also much valuable information; for on the sides of it are written in small characters (which are now scarcely legible, but have long ago been accurately copied and published by Gruter,) the names of the magistrates who presided over the streets of five of the regions, and also the names of all the streets contained in them: this monument, the most ancient and authentic of all, is known by the name of the "*Base Capitolina.*" * Now from the Regionaries, the "Notitia," and the "Base Capitolina," antiquaries gather a great portion of their materials for arguing upon the ruins of Rome. Not content, indeed, with as much as these authentic documents afford (which, taken individually, are certainly insufficient), Panvinio, Merula, and lastly Nardini,

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civilium quam militarium, in partibus Orientis et Occidentis." The author appears to have lived not earlier than the beginning of the fifth century; because, in the description of Constantinople, he enumerates some works of Honorius: nor could he have written much later than that period; for Theodosius ordered all heathen temples and worship to be put down (see *Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. xxviii.). This work is illustrated with unenviable patience by Panciroli, who himself confesses the unsatisfactory information it affords, by applying to it this line: —

"Inconsulti abeunt sedemque odêre Sybillæ."

It was published at Lyons in its best form in 1608, with the commentaries of Panciroli, the additional notes of Rhuardesius, and the indices of Marani.

* See Note Q.

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have ransacked old monuments and ancient authors to find a temple, a bath, or a portico that might be added to the imperfect regionaries.[9] Wherever a legitimate inscription, the best evidence time can leave us, has been found, — wherever the situation of an edifice, as described by ancient authors, cannot be mistaken, it is fair to admit the object into the authentic list; but any thing else would inevitably lead us into that labyrinth of argument which we are already pledged to avoid. In addition to the materials already described, some partial light may be derived from the fragments of the marble plan of Rome found towards the close of the sixteenth century, and now incrusted in the wall of the staircase ascending to the museum of the Capitol.[10] There has also been rescued from oblivion a document of the eighth century, supposed to have been written by an intelligent German who visited Rome at that period, and made a catalogue of the principal edifices then existing. It contains also several valuable inscriptions and much

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[9] The lists thus swelled are placed by Nardini at the head of his respective regions.

[10] These fragments contain the ground plans of some temples, porticos, &c. but are so broken that it is impossible to make use of them with reference to a whole. They were found behind the church of SS. Cosma and Damiano, and had served for the incrustation of a wall. (Vide *Memorie di Flamin. Vacca*, No. 1.) The work is supposed to have been executed about the time of Septimius Severus. In our plan of ancient Rome, we have given the only two fragments that may be made use of with certainty and advantage. Piranesi has engraved every fragment; and they are also introduced into the plan of ancient Rome published by *De Romanis* and *Signor Antonio Nibby*, 1818, entitled *Vestigie di Roma Antica.*

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curious information on the state of the walls of Rome: this is generally quoted under the title of "The Anonymous of the Eighth Century."[11] Some ecclesiastical records (of less authenticity indeed, because more distant from the source,) may often be consulted with advantage; such as the "Mirabilia Romæ[12]" and the "Ordo Romanus." Anastasius the librarian, who wrote in the ninth century, may be placed at the head of these minor authorities. The traditional name of a heathen temple preserved in that of a church has often served to identify a ruin when all other proofs have failed.

Since such is a general statement of the materials left to throw light upon the antiquities of Rome, it may naturally be enquired how they are to be

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[11] This manuscript was found in the convent of Einsiedlin by Mabillon, and published by him in his "*Analecta Vetera*," tom. iv. p. 483. Paris, 1685. It contained, besides the catalogue of public edifices at Rome, some notes or abbreviations ascribed to Julius Cæsar, which were found to coincide with those already given by Valerius Probus and Petrus Diaconus. The inscriptions, to the number of eighty, are most of them found in Gruter; but sometimes incorrectly given. Mabillon speaks as to the date of the MS. "Ante annos octoginta scriptus." Sometimes this work is quoted under the title of "The Anonymous of Mabillon." It is also published with commentaries in the *Prolegom. ad Vitas Roman. Pontificum, in Anastasius*, tom. ii. p. 124. edit. Rom. in folio, 1718.

[12] This is a description of Rome made in the thirteenth century, by an anonymous writer, and is known under the title of "Mirabilia Romæ." (See *Montfaucon, Diar. Italicum*, cap. 20. p. 283. edit. Paris, 1702.) It has been re-published in the *Effemeridi Litterarie di Roma*, 1820, p. 378., accompanied by some useful notes: it is, however, to be used with great caution, for the writer often betrays great ignorance; and, amongst other inaccuracies, calls the temple of Antoninus and Faustina (still bearing the inscription) the temple of Minerva!

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applied, or who shall trace out the limits of the long lost regions. It is here to be remarked, that each region is distinguished by a name [13], generally derived from the most popular object contained in it; most of which objects either remain immoveable, or can be fairly ascertained. Moreover the circumference of every region is given in feet: the streets, houses, baths, &c. are so enumerated, as greatly to assist us in recognising the position and extent of each district; and their respective limits are generally ascertained by the surviving monuments, sufficiently authenticated, according as they are registered in the contiguous regions.

Various methods have been suggested for studying the antiquities of Rome: for those who have but a short time to bestow upon this subject, nothing can be more convenient than the common Itineraries. For those who wish to trace the progress and decline of architecture and art, the monuments should be classed in chronological order or divided into the three periods — of the kings, the republic, and the empire.[14] If, however, a work were accomplished upon that plan to serve as a guide to the student, it would, if strictly conformed to, be often difficult to adopt; for none but an inhabitant of Rome would think of visiting a ruin and leaving another close by it, until he went a distance of

[13] See *Plan of Ancient Rome*, Index III.

[14] This is the method suggested, or rather approved, by Mr. Forsyth, who thereupon takes occasion to lay heavily upon Itineraries and Guide-books; yet, who ever visited Rome without finding the benefit of Vasi or Fea's Itineraries? particularly as the former is now published with the corrections and improvements of Signor Nibby.

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two or three miles to see the next that came in chronological order: this inconvenience will, in some measure, apply to the method proposed to be adopted in these Dissertations, viz. of seeing Rome by regions. In order to lessen the inconvenience, we shall not confine ourselves to the fourteen divisions as they stand in numerical order; but where the objects are few or unimportant in any region contiguous to the one under immediate consideration, they will be classed together, so as to prevent the necessity of a frequent recurrence to the same quarter of the city. A chronological margin or index will easily supply the defect which must arise from thus taking a space in preference to single objects; and in a second index the whole may be classed so as to present the form of a common Itinerary.

The first of the fourteen regions of Augustus is denominated "Porta Capena." In the general survey of the city we formed some idea of the position of that gate, but it will be necessary to define it more accurately before we enter upon the district to which it gives the name: our station, therefore, will now be taken at the southern angle of the Cælian hill, and within about 350 paces of the church of SS. Nereo and Achille.[15] To this point of the Appian way Fabretti measured a thousand paces from the milestone which was found in the Vigna Naro, a little without the present Porta

[15] The spot here alluded to may be more accurately marked by observing where the stream of water called the "aqua Crabra" runs parallel with the road, and where the ascent to the church of S. Balbina begins.

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S. Sebastiano.[16] We are informed by Strabo, that *very near to Rome* the Via Latina branched out to the left from the Via Appia[17]; which expression fitly applies to the old road beginning near the succeeding church of S. Cæsareo. An accurate observer will not fail to remark, that the position here assigned to the Porta Capena will fall in a line with the walls of the ancient city; which, running along the foot of the Cælian hill, passed this narrow valley, and regained the direction of the Aventine. It must, however, be remarked, that after the construction of Caracalla's Baths this gate probably no longer remained in its original position. We read, that when the emperor erected that stupendous building, he added some space to the city by making a new street; and it is natural to suppose he would enclose the space occupied by his baths within the city, and thus transfer the Porta Capena near the intersection of the Latin and Appian roads.[18] Placed thus at the beginning

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[16] "Respondet denique ad unguem locus Nostræ Capenæ loco ubi reperta fuit columna milliaria lapidis I." Nor will he allow the "physical possibility" that the milestone might not be found in its place. Vide *Fabretti de Aquis et Aquæduct.* dissertat. i. p. 24. edit. Romæ, 1788.

[17] Μέση δὲ αὐτων ἡ Λατίνη, ἡ συμπιπλούσα τῇ Ἀππία κὰτα Κασίνον πόλιν διεχέσαν Καπύης ἐννέα καὶ δέκα σταδίυς, ἀρχέται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Αππιᾶς ἐν ἀριστέρα ἀπ' αὔτης ἐκτρεπομένη πλησίον Ῥώμης, εἶτα δὶα Τεσκελάνε ὀρῶς ὑπέρβασα. — *Strabo, Geograph.* lib. v. tom. i. p. 362.

[18] That Caracalla thus increased the city seems to admit of no doubt. "Idem [Antoninus] viam novam munivit *quæ est sub ejus thermis*, Antoninianis scilicet, quâ pulchrius inter Romanas plateas non facile quidquam invenias." (*Spartian. in vita Antonin.* cap. ix.) This new street could be nowhere but in the direction of the Via Appia, to answer at all to the expression made use of by Spartian; and that the city was enlarged we

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of the first region, either at the site of the ancient gate, or at the less vaguely marked point of concourse of the two ancient roads, we may take a general view of the district which is to form the subject of this Dissertation.

On our right its limits are defined by the Baths of Caracalla; for they are registered in the twelfth region. On the left hand it is bounded by the Cælian; for all the objects on that hill are found in the second region. It is therefore manifest this district lay chiefly without the old walls of the city; but how far it extended along the Appian way is not easy to ascertain.[19] The most distant object from the place where we now stand, found in the Regionaries, is the rivulet Almo, which will occur at the distance of about three quarters of a mile beyond the Porta S. Sebastiano; but, as many interesting objects are found beyond the Almo, we shall outstep the utmost boundaries assigned to this region.

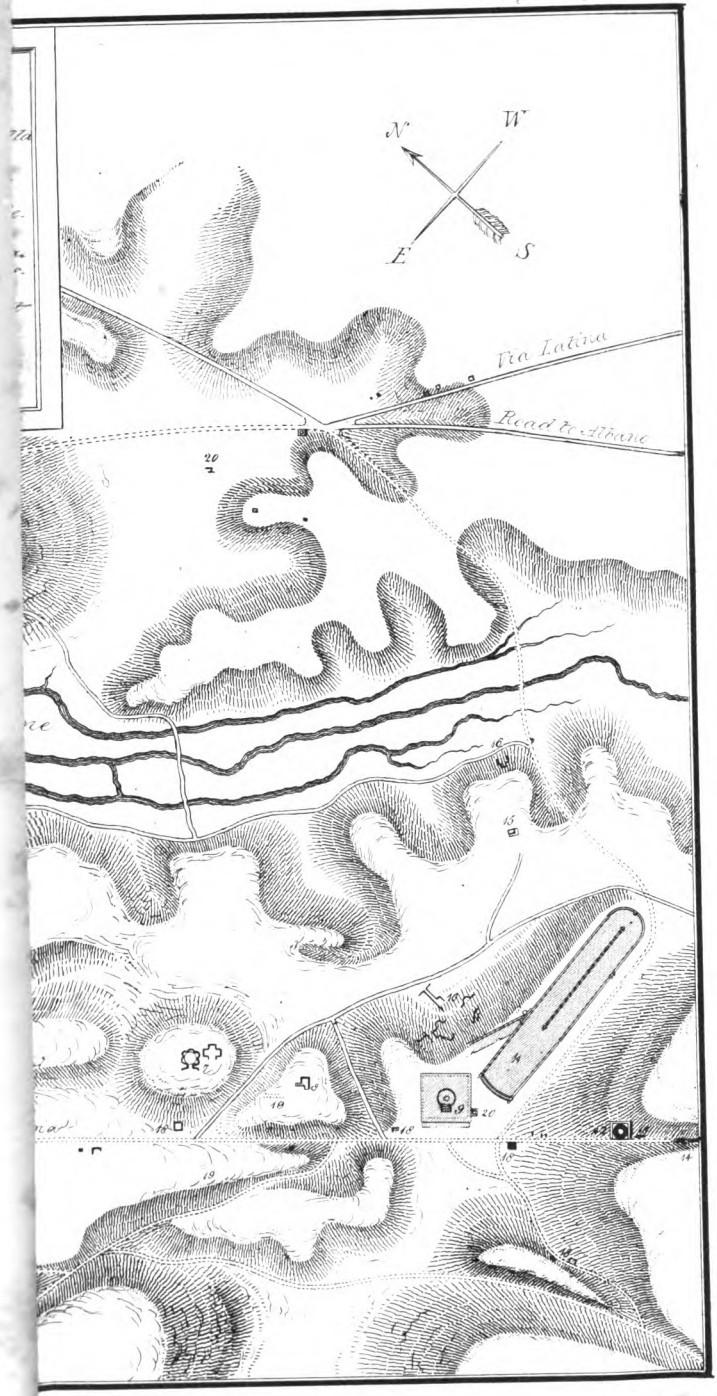
In a circuit of twelve or thirteen thousand feet it

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know from another testimony: — "*Aucta Urbs* magno accessu Viæ Novæ, et ad lavandum absoluta opera pulchri cultus." (*Sex. Aur. Victor de Cæsaribus*, cap. xxi. p. 743. *Hist. August.* Hanoviæ, 1611.) Upon these authorities, we need not hesitate to place the Porta Capena after Caracalla's time (A. D. 217.) near the church of S. Cæsareo.

[19] The whole circuit of the region, according to Rufus, was 13,223 feet; Victor has 12,222; and the Notitia, 12,209: from the site of the Porta Capena to where the Almo crosses the road is about 1½ miles. This region, therefore, must have been very narrow, comprising little more than the immediate precincts of the Via Appia; nor could it extend in length further than the Almo, otherwise the circuit would have exceeded the greatest of the measurements given of it.

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Plan of the Via Appia and its Environs near Rome with the Indications of the ancient Monuments now existing
1. Tomb of the Scipios discovered in 1780
2. Monument called the Arch of Drusus
3. Sepulchre of Priscilla.
4. Large equilateral Monument once thought to be the Tomb of the Scipios
5. Tomb of the age of the Republic
6. Columbarium of the age of Augustus
7. Two small Temples
8. Pinnacles which were discovered in the Columbarium of Livia Augusta.
9. Large Temple with 100 enclosure.
10. Ruins probably of a Villa.
11. Circus commonly called the Circus of Caracalla
12. Tomb of Caecilia Metella.
13. Fragments belonging perhaps near the spot
14. Remains of the ancient Via Appia.
15. Church of S.t Urban believed to be a Temple of Bacchus
16. Castle commonly called the Pantanis Capovis
17. Small Temple commonly called Il Sepolcretto
18. Sepulchre about which nothing is known
19. Columbaria of the same uncertainly recently discovered.
20. Ruins for which one was to appear
Scale of Ancient Roman Feet
N
W
E
S
Via Latina
Road to Albano
Via Appia Nuova called the Maranine
Via Latina
Porta Latina
Via Appia
The Almo
Valley supposed probably the Valley of the Marcia and Juvenals farm
The Almo
Via Appia
Via Ardeatina
The Almo
Lith.d and &c Lithography

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contained nine streets, upwards of 4000 insulæ, or plebeian habitations, and 121 houses adapted for ease and luxury. Out of all these things, together with the temples, baths, pools of water, and places of public resort*, we are reduced to ponder over a few shattered tombs and a mutilated arch. The discovery, however, of the tomb of the Scipios has repaid much of the loss; and as it is about half a mile distant from the station we now quit, something in the interval may be said upon the celebrated road which leads to it.

There remains not the shadow of a doubt that the ancient direction of the Via Appia is preserved in the road which leads to the ruins called Roma Vecchia, distant about five miles from Rome: it is indicated by the remains of sepulchral monuments continually occurring on each side of the way. It must ever have been confined in the valley through which we now pass. It is bestrode by an ornamented if not a triumphal arch; and, for the last and surest proof of all, we shall find many vestiges of its original pavement. This road was first constructed by Appius Claudius the censor[21], 310 years before the Christian era: it was, indeed, repaired by the Emperor Trajan[22]; but, about nine

* See Note R.

21 It was made in the year of the city 442. Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. ix. cap. 29. There is an inscription in the Florentine gallery which also attests the fact; but the regular form of the letters, and the marble on which they are written, too luxurious for that age of Rome, show that it is spurious.

22 Καὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτους χρόνους τά τε ἕλη τὰ Ποντίκα ὠδοποίησε λίθῳ, καὶ τὰς ὁδὸς παροίκοδόμησας δὲ γέφυραις μεγαλοπρεπέσταις ἐξεποίησε. — *Epitom. Dionis. Joannis Xiphilin.* lib. lxiv. p. 1132. tom. ii. edit. Hamburg, 1752.

There

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hundred years after its foundation, the secretary of Belisarius saw it in all its pristine solidity. So durable is "the queen of roads[23]," that between Rome and Capua may often be seen the very foundations and materials of which it was built: it will be so seen near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella. The substructions in the valley of Aricia are still the wonder of posterity: it traversed the Pontine marshes by the well-known places of the Three Taverns and Appii Forum; and the first town in the Neapolitan territory is built amongst its everlasting silex stones. The description given of this road by Procopius, in the sixth century of the Christian era, may here be seasonably inserted: — "To traverse the Appian Way[24]," says that his- "torian, is a distance of five days' journey for an active traveller; and it leads from Rome to Capua. Its breadth is such that two chariots may meet upon it, and pass each other without interruption; and its magnificence surpasses that of all other roads. For the construction of this great work, Appius caused the materials to be fetched from a great distance, so as to have all the stones hard and of

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There are several milestones remaining along the Pontine marshes, with inscriptions like the following: —

IMP . CAESAR
ETC. ETC.
TRAIANVS
IMP . VI . TRIB . POT . XIII.
SILICE SVA PECVNIA STRAVIT
XLVIII.

From which it appears Trajan repaired this road in the 104th year of the Christian æra.

23 "Appia longarum teritur regina viarum."
Statius, lib. ii. carm. ii. 12.

24 *Procopius, de Bello Gothico*, lib. i. c. 14.

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the nature of millstones, such as are not to be found in this part of the country. Having ordered this material to be smoothed and polished, the stones were cut in corresponding angles, so as to fit together in jointures without the intervention of copper or any other material to bind them; and in this manner they were so firmly united, that in looking at them one would say they had not been put together by art, but had grown so upon the spot. And after the wearing of so many ages, being traversed daily by a multitude of vehicles and all sorts of cattle, they still remain unmoved; nor can the least trace of ruin or waste be observed upon these stones; neither do they appear to have lost any of their beautiful polish; — and such is the Appian way." Twelve centuries since the time it was so have not entirely defaced it; and perhaps the children of ages yet to come may tread the pavement of the Via Appia. Still, no more shall the conqueror be seen moving along this road to enter the city in triumph; nor will the steps of the temple ever again be crowded to welcome the return of a Cicero from exile[25]: the solemn stillness which now pervades the precincts of the Appian way is more appalling than the

[25] "Ad urbem ita venit, ut nemo illius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus fuerit, qui mihi obviam non venerit, præter eos inimicos quibus id ipsum non liceret aut dissimulare aut negare. Cum venissem ad portam Capenam, gradus templorum ab infirma [melius infima] plebe completi erant; à qua plausu maximo cum esset mihi gratulatio significata, similis et frequentia et plausus me usque ad Capitolium celebravit. In Foroque et in ipso Capitolio miranda multitudo fuit." — *Cicero ad Atticum*, lib. iv. ep. 1.

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thunder of Pompey's triumphant chariot, which once shook its pavement[26]; and the solitude withal, which seems to increase at every step, effectually proclaims the more durable conquest of time. But the cypress tree announces the sepulchre in which were entombed the ashes of the Scipios.

In the year 1616 was discovered the first indication of this interesting monument; viz. an inscription, written upon peperine stone in reddish characters, and which is now preserved in the Barberini library.* It was generally believed by the antiquaries of that day to be spurious, which might be the reason why no further search was made, until a second inscription was turned up in the year 1780.† Encouraged by this new discovery, the excavators relinquished not their labour until they had restored to light the illustrious ashes concealed for so many generations. The intimations of Livy[27] and Cicero[28], as to the situation of the Scipios' tomb, were then understood; and the Porta Capena brought within the present walls of Rome. The illustration of this sepulchre fell to the lot of Piranesi: he attempted to make a ground-plan of it; but his creative genius could do no more than

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[26] The famous triumphs of Cæsar and Pompey, one of which lasted two days. The Via Appia was a triumphal road; and it is very probable they entered Rome by it. For an account of these triumphs, see *Ferguson's Roman Republic*, book iii. ch. 4. and book v. ch. 2.; and compare *Pliny, Nat. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 26.

* See Note S.

† See Note T.

[27] "Et Romæ extra portam Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres statuæ sunt, quarum duæ P. et L. Scipionum dicuntur esse, tertia poetæ Q. Ennii." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxviii.

[28] See the motto to this Dissertation.

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give a representation of several recesses, cut at irregular intervals out of the natural tufo.[29] He found six "sarcophagi," more or less perfect, in their original places; and several recesses hollowed out of the rock, appropriated for containing more bodies. Only one place was found seemingly adapted for a cinerary urn; which circumstance confirms the remarks of Cicero[30] and Pliny[31], that the Scipios were not accustomed to burn the bodies of their deceased relations. The modern entrance into the sepulchral cave is nearly opposite to the ancient one: and in descending we may observe on our right a specimen of the natural rock, which has either originally prevented regularity in the ground-work, or prevents us now from ascertaining it. Most of the recesses above alluded to lay also on the right in thus descending: and after passing several of them we shall arrive at some walls of brick, which have been

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[29] *Piranesi, Monumenti degli Scipioni publicati nell' anno* 1785. Lanzi, Labruzzi, Piroli, Visconti, have all contributed to illustrate this monument.

[30] *Cicero de Legibus*, lib. ii. cap. 22. tom. iii. p. 219. edit. Geneva, 1743, in usum Delphini.

[31] "Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti: terra condebantur. At postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovêre, tunc institutum. Et tamen multæ familiæ priscos servavêre ritus: sicut, in CORNELIA, nemo ante Syllam dictatorem traditur crematus." (*Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. vii. cap. 54.) But Sylla was interred in the Campus Martius. Some bones were found in the "*sarcophagi*" of the Scipios, which more than 2000 years had not entirely dissolved: they were carefully collected by the Senatore Angelo Quirini, who transported them to the banks of the Brenta. "The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now." The fact, but not the poetry, may be questioned.

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recently built for the purpose of sustaining the tufo above. The inscriptions now to be read over the respective depositories are faithful copies of the originals, which have been all transferred to the Vatican; and are to be seen, along with the perfect sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus and the small laurelled bust, in the Sala del Torso.[32] At the end of our subterraneous descent is the ancient entrance into the sepulchre, which is turned towards the Via Latina, and probably communicated with that road by a narrow footway or "diverticulum." The ingress was by a vault, which led to a solid-built arch, composed of eleven blocks of peperine stone: upon this rests a plain cornice, on which was discovered the Doric base of a column, indicating a second story; but nothing of the upper part remains.[33] At the distance of about forty Roman palms, on the same side of the tomb, was found a second entrance, which seems to have been cut afterwards for some local purpose: not improbably might it be made when this sepulchre passed into the possession of others. In retracing

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[32] Models of this sarcophagus are now dispersed all over Europe, and consequently the inscription; besides which, and those already given, there were found other nine inscriptions. The small bust has been thought by some to be of the poet Ennius, because he was buried in the sepulchre of the Scipios, and the laurel may indicate the honour of the poet; but it has been more justly observed, that the bust is too young to represent "old Ennius."

[33] A burial-place of this description, which comes nearest to our subterraneous vault, was called an Ipogæum, ὑπὸ γῆς. Sepulcrum was a general denomination for all sorts of tombs. Mausoleum was a word imported to express the height of magnificence.

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our steps to the light, we shall find an additional building of brick. The vestiges of a stair-case lead to three chambers, two of which may be entered with safety. The construction of these rooms is not of a very inferior kind; but the remains of the stucco betray an advanced period of the empire. The various inscriptions, bearing the names of unknown persons[34], doubtless belonged to this more recent building; and perhaps necessity, rather than ambition, might prompt the intruders thus to mingle their ashes with those of the Scipios.

Three triumphal arches are placed by Sextus Rufus in the region of the Porta Capena. Those of the Emperors Verus and Trajan are lost for ever; the arch of Drusus alone remains, if that be his arch standing before the Porta S. Sebastiano. The senate, according to Suetonius, decreed a marble arch with trophies to be erected to Drusus across the Appian way[35]; at the same time that

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[34] The following may serve as a specimen: —

CORNELIO TACITO
QVI VIXIT ANNIS DVOBVS
MENSIBUS X DIEBVS
II. HORIS X FECIT.
LVCRETIA TACITA
MATER FILIO . B . M.
ET SIBI ET SVIS . POS
TERISQVE FORVM.

[35] "Præterea senatus, inter alia complura, marmoreum arcum cum tropæis Via Appia decrevit, et Germanici cognomen ipsi posterisque ejus." — *Suet. in vita Claud.* cap. 1.

This Drusus was the father of Claudius Cæsar, the successor of Caligula. His mother was Livia, whom Augustus married when she was pregnant, and Drusus was born within three months after the marriage. This gave occasion to the following verse being handed about: —

Τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ τρίμηνα παιδία.

Suetonius, ibid.

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other monuments were erected to his honour on the banks of the Rhine and on Mount Amanus in Syria.[36] The victories which he gained in Germany[37], and the arduous conquests effected by him in the Rhætian Alps, raised the young hero to the honour of a triumph before he was thirty years of age, and to the more durable honour of being sung in one of the most celebrated odes of antiquity.[38] There is a medal extant which confirms the account of Suetonius: it represents an arch supported by four columns, and relieved by four niches or windows; a small pediment is placed under a heavy attic, and the whole surmounted by an equestrian statue between two trophies.[39] By

[36] "Arcus additi Romæ et apud ripam Rheni et in Monte Syriæ Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum ac 'mortem ob rempublicam obiisse.'" — *Tacit. Annal.* lib. ii. cap. 83.

[37] "Et mortem et nomen Druso Germania fecit."
Ovid. Fast. lib. i. 597.

[38] "Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem, et Vindelici," &c.
Horat. lib. iv. carm. 3.



[39] The above impression is taken from an original medal at Rome. Those given by Bellori and Donatus are erroneous: they represent a triple arch with no pediment at all, of a strongly marked Doric order, and without any ornament. Vide *Bellori in Numis. Cæsarum* XII. *in Claudio*, p. 35. tab. 1. edit. Romæ, 1730; and *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 16.; and compare *Fabretti de Aquis, &c.* tab. 12.

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comparing the medal with the arch, allowing for the injury the latter has received, there is certainly a resemblance, particularly in the higher part of it. Upon the authority of Suetonius, therefore, and the medal, we are to conclude this to be the arch of Drusus; for, unfortunately, no authentic inscription has been discovered on the monument.[40] It has been very much disfigured by Caracalla in bringing over it his aqueduct, of which a small part is standing. Antiquaries have compared the arch of the aqueduct acknowledged as such, at the Porta S. Lorenzo, with this; and they might also have added in the comparison the honorary arch of Dolabella and Silanus, which clearly existed before it was appropriated by Nero to his aqueduct. It seems to have been no uncommon thing when an arch crossed a public road to ornament it, or adopt it as a triumphal arch, by inscribing upon it the name of the person honoured. If Fabretti is right in supposing this to have been part of an aqueduct built by Augustus, then, in all probability, the method was adopted in the case of Drusus' arch.[41] Some artists recognise in the

[40] Some inscription has been dreamed of by Venuti's editor (vide note A. in tom. ii. p. 16. *Antichità di Roma da Venuti, &c.*), but no such thing will be found in Mabillon's Anonymous. Certainly none of the three inscriptions said to have been read on the Porta *Papia* (perhaps the Porta Appia), belong to Nero Claudius Drusus; and who can divine the "arcum recordationis" means the arch of Drusus? See the laboured commentaries in *Anastasius, Bibliothecarius, Prolegom.* tom. ii. p. 124. edit. Rom. 1752.

[41] The opinion of Fabretti should have great weight. He calls the original aqueduct the Octavian, and supposes Augustus chose this convenient part of it for the honour of Drusus,

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shattered cornice the elegant sculpture of the Augustan age; but Piranesi could see nothing in the whole of this fabric but the hasty patchwork of Caracalla. It is manifest indeed, from the entablature on the southern side, that it has never been a finished work: it is mainly built of travertine stone, but the architect has not been sparing of marble. The two remaining columns are a fine specimen of African marble: on the front, towards the city, a piece of the cornice is left; and the pediment is still distinguishable among the ivy and brick-work. The material immediately about the key-stone is neither of the same regular construction, nor the same cutting, as the vault itself: all which things favour the opinion of Piranesi.[42] However, being originally the arch of Drusus, — perhaps too formed out of an aqueduct,— and subsequently cut and altered by Caracalla, to suit his

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reducing it to a triumphal arch. The following accurate dimensions throw confidence into his remarks: —

"Specus aqueductus ad recentem Portam S. Sebastiani, quem Octavianum esse credimus, latus ped. ii. et semis. Altus usque ad curvaturam fornicis, ped. v. Fornix ipse, ped. i. unc. iii. Latera hinc inde crassa, ped. ii. unc. x." — *Fabretta de Aquis et Aqueductibus*, Dissert. I. p. 33. et tab. 12. Edit. Romæ, 1788.

[42] Il monumento è composto di spoglie di altri edifizii ed è rimaso imperfetto in alcuni de' suoi ornamenti. I moderni scrittori suppongono per l'arco di Druso, ma non lo avrebbero supposto tale, qualora avessero osservato nommeno lo speco del condotto che tuttavia si vede sullo stesso monumento, quando l' andamento del condotto medesimo nel residuo che rimane dell' angolo esterno della mure urbane." — *Piranesi*, tom. i. p. 18. note 142. edit. 1756.

But the ingenious artist is in this instance overruled by presumptive evidence.

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purpose, may account for a great number of the incongruities. The Porta S. Sebastiano is seen in perspective through the arch; and the whole has often afforded a pleasing subject for the pencil of the artist. A few paces more will bring us outside the walls of the city.

Without the Porta Capena stood the large and elegant temple of Mars, which seems to have been the most celebrated public edifice in this region. It was founded in the 368th year of the city, the grateful offering of T. Quintius, the duumvir, for the successful issue of the Gallic war.[43] Thirty-seven years after this event, the city was alarmed by another attack of its formidable enemy; and Popilius Lænas, the colleague of L. Cornelius Scipio, ordered the youth to assemble in arms, without the Porta Capena, at the temple of Mars.[44] It was at some distance from the gate; because two ædiles once paved with square stones a path leading from that gate to the temple.[45] It could not, however, be at a greater distance than where we are about to endeavour to ascertain its

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[43] "Eo anno ædes Martis, Gallico bello vota, dedicata est a T. Quintio duumviro sacris faciundis." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. vi. cap. 5.

[44] "Nam quum ingentem Gallorum exercitum in agro Latino castra posuisse nunciatum esset, Scipione gravi morbo implicito Gallicum bellum Popilio extra ordinem datum. Is, impigre exercitu scripto, quum omnes extra Portam Capenam ad Martis ædem convenire armatos juniores jussisset, signaque," &c. — *Tit. Liv.* lib. vii. cap. 23.

[45] "Semitam saxo quadrato a Porta Capena ad Templum Martis straverunt." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. x. cap. 23. Parisi, 1822. The word "semita" indicates this was a footpath only, a great road being "Via." See *Nibby's Treatise delle Vie degli Antichi. Nardini*, tom. iv. app. cap. 1. sect. 1.

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site; for the festival which was held in honour of the god at this his shrine might be witnessed by a spectator at the Porta Capena.[46] Since no traces of this celebrated edifice remain, it may seem superfluous to have displayed this short account of it; but, not without some authority, it may be supposed to have stood in the first vineyard that occurs without the gate, on the right-hand side of the road. In that vineyard an inscription[47] was found, which shows there was once a clivus, or declivity of a hill, dedicated to Mars, which the senate and Roman people ordered to be reduced to a plain, and which probably afterwards preserved the title of the Plain of Mars. We would thus fain believe that in the Vigna Nari stood the

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[46] "Lux eadem Marti festa est, quem prospicis extra
Appositum *tectæ* porta Capenæ viæ."

The emendation of Fabretti of the dubious adjective *tectæ* for *dextræ* is approved by Professor Nibby, and judiciously applied by him to the subject in question. Vide *Nardini de Rom. Antica*, tom. i. p. 143. note 1.

[47] This inscription was observed by the anonymous writer of the eighth century: —

SENATVS
POPVLVSQVE
ROMANVS
CLIVOM
MARTIS
PECVNIA PVBLICA
IN PLANITIAM
REDIGENDVM
CVRAVIT.

Fabretti (*de Aquis, &c.* dissert. i. p. 35.), judging from the orthography of the words "clivom" and "planitiam," supposes this to be an inscription of the age of Augustus, alleging that he had seen DIVOS IVLIVS; but he might also have read at the Porta S. Lorenzo RIVOM AQVAE of the time of Vespasian. We do not, therefore, know when this hill of Mars was levelled.

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sacred building in which were treasured up the pledges of gratitude which the soldier carried there on his safe return from war.[48] A statue of the same god stood on the Via Appia, and probably in or near the temple. This statue on one occasion announced, by a miracle, the calamity which was impending over the state.[49] But if we are wholly indebted to this single ray of light for assigning the probable site of the most celebrated temple in the first region, where shall we seek for the temples of the Muses, of Honour, and Virtue, of Apollo, and a number of others, on which no such light appears, but which once adorned the precincts of the Appian way? Often have antiquaries grasped at these shadows, and as often have they eluded the attempts at discovery: at the same time, it would be easy to surround our footsteps with the NAMES of monuments and places consecrated in the page of early history. Several tombs, for instance, without the

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[48] "Armaque quum tulero portæ votiva Capenæ
Subscribam, 'Salvo grata puella viro.'"
Propertius, lib. iv. Eleg. 3. v. 71.

The custom of hanging up votive offerings is still continued in all the churches of Rome and Italy.

[49] Previous to the calamities brought upon the state by the unfortunate Flaminius, this statue was seen to perspire . . . "Mavors telum suum concutit, et per idem tempus Romæ signum Martis Appia Via ad [melius ac] simulachra luporum sudasse."—*Tit. Liv.* lib. xxii. cap. 1. The head of S. Pancrazio the martyr, which is preserved as a relic in the Lateran church, sweat blood for three days successively whilst the Basilica was burnt by heretics. These analogies in prodigies and religious customs are curiously traced by *Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome, &c.* Miscellaneous Works, tom. iii. See also some in *Forsyth's Italy*, art. *Leghorn*; but consult *Blunt's Vestiges of Ancient Customs, &c. in Italy.*

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Porta S. Sebastiano have been successively called the tomb of Horatia; but that which is most commonly so named by the peasants is the one on the left hand of the road, about half a mile distant from the gate. But so far from announcing the rude sepulchre of that early age, it must have been one of great magnificence; the very "diatoni," or key-stones, are marble; and there lie scattered around it several "sarcophagi," mutilated statues, and fragments of marble, which still serve to indicate its pristine splendour. Here all is enveloped in the obscurity of ages; and the time-worn masses of stone will still continue to mock the enquiries of the stranger. * Our interval of uncertainty may now be filled up with a general view of the sepulchral monuments which once stood along this celebrated road.

The ancients considered a tomb in a much more important light than we either can or ought to do. So feeble, indeed, were their hopes of living in another state of existence, that they generally looked forward to this honour as the only blessing that awaited them after death. [50] Hence we so frequently discover on monumental inscriptions the anxiety the individual had, during his lifetime [51], to provide a place of burial for himself and his dependants, free from incumbrances and in-

* See Note U.

[50] "Æternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.
His dictis curæ emotæ, ...
. . . . . gaudet cognomine terra."
Virg. Æn. vi. 382.
This honour has proved durable.

[51] H V S F,—*i. e.* Hoc vivus sibi fecit, — frequently occurs on sepulchral inscriptions.

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trusion[52]: and we cannot wonder that the rich, under those circumstances, should have bestowed so much wealth in erecting their private monuments, and the warrior so much care and toil in gaining this as a public honour from his country.[53] The argument which Cicero uses in his Tusculan Questions[54], to show that great men who exist no more on earth are still to be accounted happy, is, that their proud monuments perpetuate their fame to posterity, and announce their glory to every passing traveller. In placing their tombs, moreover, by the sides of the public roads, the ancient Romans accomplished two objects, respectively adapted to flatter their pride and support their renown. The foreign ambassadors, in approaching the city, were struck with the splendour and public spirit of the commonwealth; and the Roman youth, in having these immortal honours always before their eyes, aspired to emulate the valour of the illustrious dead. "When thou hast gone out of the Capena gate," says Cicero, "and beholdest the sepulchres of Calatinus, of the Scipios, of the Servilii, and the Metelli, canst thou deem the

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[52] The usual initials, H.M.H.N.S (Hoc monumentum hæredem ne sequeretur), show they did not even trust to their successors the disposal of the burial ground; and the "Pedes in fronte et in agro," so frequently occurring in inscriptions, demonstrates the individual's anxiety for preserving the monument.

[53] Also amongst the Greeks this was the crowning honour. See *Herodotus*, lib. i. cap. 30.; and *Demosthenes de Corona*, p. 348. edit. Aureliæ Allobrogum, 1607, in folio. Οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη.

[54] Lib. i., *De Morte contemnenda*, passim.

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buried inmates wretched?" Of the four sepulchres mentioned by Cicero, one (perhaps two) has been satisfactorily brought to light. The tomb of the Scipios has already been considered. The remains of that of the Servilii were discovered as lately as 1808. The tomb of Calatinus still lies concealed; and, except the proud tower of Cæcilia Metella serves to point out at least the site of the family burial ground, the ashes of the Metelli also may be lost for ever.[55] The tomb of Q. Cæcilius has shared the same fate, notwithstanding the local indication of Cornelius Nepos[56], that it was near the fifth milestone on the Via Appia. With it also are irrecoverably lost the ashes of the friend and correspondent of Cicero. Some monuments of less importance have also been brought to light in modern times; for instance, opposite to the tomb of the Scipios is a vineyard in which vestiges and inscriptions have been seen relating to the burial places of the families of the Manilii and the Furii.[57]

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[55] Signor Nibby and other modern antiquaries distinguish between the family sepulchre of the Metelli and that of Cæcilia Metella, between the Servilii and M. Servilius Quartus. There are more reasons for admitting the former distinction than the latter. It is, however, probable they were both respectively in the same burial-ground or enclosure.

[56] "[Pomponius Atticus] sepultus est juxta viam Appiam, ad quintum lapidem, in monumento Q. Cæcilii avunculi sui." — *Cornel. Nepos in vita T. Pomp. Attici*, in fine.

[57] Visconti, Labruzzi, Guattani, and others, have published the inscriptions, or illustrated every thing that affords the least interest in these doubtful vestiges. Most of them have no longer any existence, except in the illustrations of those authors; for a list of references to which, see *Appendice alla 1 Reg. in Nardini*, tom. i. p. 176.

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These afford, indeed, little matter either for description or argument, and therefore we only name them. In pursuing the Appian Way, we shall find some "columbaria" of greater interest; and in this wide field for reflection, where vestiges of mortality occur at almost every step, the catacombs of S. Sebastian may complete the mournful scene. These objects have been named prematurely, to bring them all into view as sepulchral monuments: but we are now arrived at the little stream of the Almo.

This classical rivulet does not run further from its source to the Tyber than about five miles, and therefore Ovid called it "cursu ille brevissimus Almo."[58] It may be traced up from this point to near the ruins called Roma Vecchia, through the valley Caffarella, and may be followed past the Basilica of S. Paul, near which it enters the Tyber. To the mouth of this stream the priests of Cybele brought the statue of the goddess once a year and washed it in the waters, together with the sacred utensils used in her worship *: the ceremony was attended with sacrifices and music; the hoary priest who presided was clothed in his shining vestments; and the shouts of religious revelry echoed along the banks of the Tyber. The source of this stream is now called "il santo lago," and the water is accounted effectual for the removing of some maladies. The ancient name of Almo was preserved until the seventh century; for it is mentioned in the writings of Gregory VII.[59]

[58] *Ovid. Metamorph.* lib. xiv.

* See Note X.

[59] "Adjicientes etiam eidem cessioni hortos duos inter Ty-

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There was also near the Porta Capena a lake or stream sacred to Mercury, where the petty merchant repaired to offer his vows to the god of gain. He filled his urn at the stream, and took the water home with branches of laurel; he dipped the laurel in the holy water, and sprinkled himself with it and all that belonged to him, using a form of words for the occasion [60]: this water is no longer to be recognised. It has sometimes been confounded with the aqua crabra which has been already mentioned.

A few paces beyond the Almo is a ruin on the left-hand side of the road, which has been called the tomb of Priscilla. It is true a poet has celebrated the conjugal affection of a certain Abascantius, who interred his wife before the city where the Appian Way branches out, and where Cybele haunts the stream of the Almo.[61] The

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berim et Porticum ipsius Ecclesiæ, euntibus a porta civitatis parte dextera, quos dividit fluvius Almon." — *S. Gregorii in Regis. Epist.* lib. xii. et ix.

[60] "Est aqua Mercurii portæ vicina Capenæ,
Si juvat expertis credere, Numen habet.
Hic venit incinctus tunicas mercator, et urna
Purus suffusa quam ferat haurit aquam
Uda fit hinc laurus, lauro sparguntur ab uda
Omnia, quæ dominos sunt habitura novos,
Spargit et ipse suos lauro rorante capillos,
Et peragit solita fallere voce preces."
Ovid. Fast. lib. v. 673.

[61] "Est locus ante Urbem, qua primum nascitur ingens
Appia; quaque Italo gemitus Almone Cybele
Ponit, et Idæos jam non reminiscitur amnes.
Hic te, Sidonio velatam molliter ostro,
Eximius conjux (nec enim fumantia busta
Clamoremque rogi potuit perferre) beato
Composuit, Priscilla, toro."
Statius, Sylvæ, lib. v. carm. 1.

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"Notitia" registers in the first region a private bath of Abascantius; and an inscription produced by Marliano shows a person of that name was keeper of the temple of Neptune, (which was in the Circus Flaminius, and a freedman of Augustus: if these three intimations regard the same individual, Priscilla might have been interred with splendour, and the ruin before us is of the Augustan age.

Opposite the small church of the "Domine quo vadis" are the remains of another sepulchral monument[62], which must have been of prodigious magnitude: it has lost its appellation since the discovery of the real tomb of the Scipios, for which it was so long mistaken. Piranesi made several engravings of it[63] under the false idea of its origin; but he lived to see the error detected, and illustrated with equal skill the veritable sepulchre of the Scipios. The monument is crowned by the ruins of a modern tower, which shows it to have been used as a fortress in the feudal times of Rome: it has originally stood upon a large square basement, upon which was placed a second to give the proper form to the building. Upon this foundation was erected a round

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[62] This has also been called the tomb of Priscilla, as answering equally well the description of Statius. There is some account of a body having been found in one of these tombs, and a lamp burning! and an inscription; all which are involved in doubt by *Ferrarius, de Lucernis Sepulchralibus*, p. 13. & 14. He takes his account from Licetus, and Licetus from "Alexander ab Alexandro," who declares no inscription was found at all. Vide *Fortun. Licet. de Antiq. Lucern.* lib. iv. p. 268. edit. Patavinii, folio, 1662. The subject has furnished out several pages, and modern antiquaries have not yet relinquished it.

[63] *Antichità, &c.* tom. ii. tav. xxviii. edit. Rom. 1756.

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mass faced with travertine stone, with twelve niches disposed around it for containing statues. It was covered by a circular roof, which also served for supporting a cupola; the cupola, in all probability, gave the form to the modern tower. The whole is now deprived of its ornaments; but pieces of "cippi," urns, &c. have been found in the niches disposed around it.

The road which now branches off to the right is supposed to be the Via Ardeatina[64]; perhaps it should rather be called a road of communication with that Via and the Via Appia. Remains of tombs and vestiges of pavement sufficiently indicate that it is an ancient road.

The Appian Way inclines a little to the left, and after following it for a few paces we may observe the remains of a stupendous monument[65], whose foundations appear at intervals along the left margin of the road and under the modern wall. The magnificent construction of the sepulchral chamber, which announces the age of the republic, may be seen by entering the vineyard and descending into the ruin by the ancient entrance. Somewhat further on the same side of the way is the towering but deformed mass of another sepulchre unknown. At a further distance of about 200 paces is to be seen one of those receptacles for the ashes of freedmen and slaves which every rich Roman provided for his dependants, called a columbarium: it is blended with the habitation of

[64] See the arguments of Nardini, *Rom. Antica*, tom. i. p.168. but it would exceed our limits to follow them.

[65] See plan of the Via Appia and its environs, No. 5.

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the Vignarolo, and scarcely wears the aspect of a ruin. Its remains consist of three chambers or apartments, in one of which may be traced six rows of small niches for the urns to stand in: fragments of marble and imperfect inscriptions lie scattered around it[66], some of which declare the usual prohibition from encroaching within the prescribed limits. This is believed by some to have been the columbarium of the slaves of Augustus: upon what authority such an opinion is founded may be difficult to conceive, except the construction be made to resemble that of other works of the Augustan age.[67]

The succeeding monument, which has also been reduced to a modern habitation, appears to be of the republican age: two small Corinthian pilasters

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[66] On the edge or fillet of a marble fragment was seen the following: —

IN FRONTE, Ped. VIII. IN AGRO, Ped. VIII.

But in a subsequent visit, made in February 1826, all the fragments alluded to had been removed.

[67] Piranesi (tom. ii. tav. xl. xli. xlii. edit. Rom. 1756,) has illustrated this monument in three engravings: he gives first the ground plan of the whole; second, an external view of the building as it now appears; and third, an internal view of one of the sepulchral chambers. He has carefully observed every part of this ruin, and introduced into the second plate the modern steps made in the ancient walls: it is spoiled of all its sculpture and every morsel of marble; the stucco lies buried in the earth; no one inscription is left in its place, for they have all fallen together with the stucco. The ancients did not hollow the walls of the sepulchre for the purpose of receiving the inscription; since with them it was of the greatest consequence to preserve the ashes of the dead as long a time as possible: the inscriptions therefore, being thus placed in the stucco above their respective urns, fell with the first decay of the interior wall.

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of brick, and the entrance into the sepulchral chamber, being flanked by travertine stone, induce us to assign this early date to it.

In the field behind the "Osteria dei Pupazzi[68]" are two monuments, not sepulchral, but manifestly small temples: the one is circular, containing five niches, and the sixth served for the entrance. The main niche is (as usual in temples) opposite to that entrance. The roof has been a small dome, of which the middle is now fallen in. About the niches are windows; and there are vestiges of a portico left. The other is of an angular form; and on each side is a niche, one of which has also served for the entrance. Both these ruins are of the same age and work, and perhaps not much earlier than the age of Constantine. The columbarium of the liberti of Livia Augusta was discovered in the last vineyard on the left of the way before descending to the church of S. Sebastian.[69] Numerous inscriptions, which served to

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[68] *Pupazzi*, so called from the numerous fragments of bas-reliefs stuck in the walls of the house: some appear like the heads of *boys* or children.

[69] This columbarium was discovered in 1726. Antonio Gorio has illustrated it with twenty-one engravings, and as many explanations as amount to a folio volume of 250 pages: he entitles it, *Monumentum sive Columbarium Libertorum et Servorum Liviæ Augustæ et Cæsarum.* The name of "*Livia*" is fully justified by the inscriptions; "et Cæsarum" may be by the reasoning of Gorio. Piranesi has published the inscriptions in the most convenient form, amounting to more than 300, more or less perfect. The building originally had two stories, the first having five rows of niches for the cinerary urns, the other four; several sarcophagi came out of it. See *Gorio* (as entitled above), and *Piranesi*, tom. iii. tav. xxi. to xxxix.

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identify the spot, were found, and may now be consulted in the gallery of the "Museo Capitolino."[70] There is nothing remaining of the building itself. In this wide field of uncertainty, we are glad to seize upon any thing to direct our wandering footsteps; otherwise it might have been superfluous to make any mention of an object which is now lost for ever.[71]

During the winter of 1828–9, the Duke of Buckingham made an excavation in a vineyard situated on the right-hand side of the Via Appia, in ascending from the S. Sebastiano to the Gaetani fortress. His grace found a sarcophagus in excellent preservation, several medals, and much mosaic, which had served as the flooring of the sepulchral chambers. The Marquis of Chandos

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[70] To give but one example: —

LIVIAE . LALAGÈ L
M . LIVIVS SABINVS . F
VXSORI SVAE . OLLAM
DEDIT EIQVE LIVIA
TERPNI ET . SATVRINI
LIB . SECVNDA DEDIT

LIVIA MENOPHILLE
SABINA L CHLOE
M . LIVIO SABINO FIL SVO
OLLAM DEDIT.

Lumisden, whose work on the antiquities of Rome is too little known, hazards a conjecture that the Lalage mentioned in the first part of the tablet may be the Lalage of Horace, lib. i. ode 22.

[71] The antiquaries are justly indignant at the total destruction of this interesting monument: we may adopt their language: — "Non può rivolgersi senza orrore alle memorie degli scavi. Quelle antiche rovine, che il tempo teneva ascose nelle viscere della terra, veggono appena la luce che sono diroccate della avarizia. Nella barbarie ebbero pur sorte i sepolcri de' Liberti di Livia, giacchè almeno, prima de essere distrutti, furono per cosi dire eternati in tante replicate incisioni." — *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 17. edit. Rom. 1824, presso S. Piale.

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had excavated about the same place, several years previous, with still greater success.

In all these vineyards along the road, particularly on the left, vestiges or ruins of tombs may be traced: it would weary description to go over them; but it will not be irksome for the stranger to visit them, who may discern upon the spot the various fragments, inscriptions, and ornaments which announce so many different periods of art, and afford so much instruction in the rites of ancient sepulture.

THE CHURCH OF S. SEBASTIAN AND THE CATACOMBS.

As this church is an isolated object of its kind, it may be thought expedient in this instance to introduce some account of the popular saint, his church, and the celebrated catacombs.

S. Sebastian was a soldier in the reign of Diocletian, and was instructed in the Christian faith by S. Caius Dalmatinus, Bishop of Rome. By order of the emperor, who was indignant at his obstinacy in persisting in his faith, he was pierced with arrows by his fellow-soldiers, until they stuck so fast upon him that he seemed like a man covered with bristles.[72] In this situation he was left, supposing him to be dead; but Irene, who went by night to the place, in order to perform in secret the pious obsequies over his body, found him alive: and he afterwards appeared on a certain day on the Palatine hill, and had once more an opportunity of bearing evidence to the faith before the emperor. Diocletian then ordered him to be led into the Hippodrome and beat to death (according to the

[72] "Hirsutus" is the word used by ecclesiastical historians. This is a favourite subject for painting.

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venerable Bede): his body was taken into the Cloaca Maxima, and suspended by a hook. His ghost appeared by night to Lucina, a Roman matron, and revealed to her where his body might be found [73]; at the same time desiring it might be conveyed to the "Cœmeterium" which was near the "footsteps of the apostle [74]," generally allowed to be the church of "Domine quo vadis" [in *Actis Martyr.* cited in *Rom. Subterr.* tom. i. p. 454.]. All this was done. The body of the saint was not left here to rest, but was carried to the Vatican by Pope Gregory, except some part of it which passed into France [75]: but Pope Honorius, in 1218, restored it to its former depository. It now lies under the altar of the chapel in this church, which is dedicated to the saint; the recumbent statue placed over it is the work of Antonio Giorgetto.

This Basilica is said to have been founded by Constantine: it is more certain that it was made into its present form by Cardinal Scipio Borghese. It contains little that is interesting, but much that is curious to relate. The sanctuary, which is over one of the middle altars, is full of relics: the stone with the prints of Christ's feet, which he left in appearing to Peter at the "Domine quo vadis;" one of the arrows with which the saint was pierced; the column to which he was bound. In a casket are part of the relics of 174,000 martyrs, and 46 popes martyrs; some of the thorns with which Christ was crowned in his passion!!&c. Descending to a subterraneous chapel under an altar, is a pit in which were found the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul [76]: they had been deposited here by

[73] I am not responsible for the authenticity of this account; I go no further than *Baron. Annal. Eccl.* tom. ii. p. 661.

[74] Vestigia Apostolorum instead of Apostoli (*in Actis Martyr.*) creates some difficulties; for a solution of which, and an account of the catacombs, the reader may consult *Roma Subterranea*, tom. i. p. 455.

[75] *Baron. Annal. Eccl.* tom. ix. an. 827.

[76] The following inscription is read over the chapel alluded to:—

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some Greeks, who having stolen them from the Vatican church, and being detected in making off with their booty, threw them into this pit, where (tradition says) they lay for 200 years. Two fine busts of the apostles are placed upon the altar sculptured by Niccolo Cordieri.

The extensive caverns or catacombs found about Rome owe their origin to the large excavations which were made by the Romans for obtaining pozzolana, a useful material much employed by them in buildings: such excavations were made without much labour, and perhaps extended by the yielding nature of the material itself. There can be no doubt but the Christians were the first inhabitants of these dreary regions, when, during those dreadful persecutions under the emperors, they were driven to find a place of refuge from the fury of their oppressors: and it would certainly appear, from the distribution of these dark labyrinths, that the poor creatures had appropriated certain parts of their habitations for the burying of their dead. Whatever we may think of the histories which tradition or fanaticism in later ages may have produced, we are compelled to be serious when we enter these gloomy abodes, and witness those traces of persecution and mortality, and tread upon the ashes of those who suffered in such a cause. This Cœmeterium, from its vast extent, is called the catacombs of Rome; although there are many others of considerable magnitude. But in ecclesiastical history it is usually called the "Cœmeterium Callisti." Anastasius in his life of Callistus, who, according to the Romish calendar, was Bishop of Rome in the beginning of the third century, says, "Fecit [i. e. Callistus] aliud Cœmeterium Via Appia, ubi multi sacerdotes et

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"*In hoc loco qui dicitur ad catacombas corpora SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in puteo sub altare aliquamdiu jacerunt ob quorum venerationem eadem singulis diebus concessa est indulgentia quam S. Silvester Papa in Ecclesiis ipsorum Apostolorum est elargitus eandem successores ejus in festis duplicibus et in quadragesima duplicarunt*, 637 A. D."

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martyres requiescunt, quod appellatur usque in hodiernum diem Cœmeterium Callisti[77];" which is, doubtless, to say that Callistus reduced it to use. It is said, and that with some appearance of truth, that these subterraneous caverns are twenty-two miles in circumference, and even some of the passages extend as far as Ostia and Albano. It is not to be supposed but there were Pagans buried here as well as Christians; but almost all the monumental inscriptions which have been found belong to the latter. The following remains, short but satisfactory:—

Santo Martyri Maximo.

There is another, written in old Gothic characters, upon a slab of marble, which when deciphered runs thus:—

Hic quondam reconditum fuit corpus
Beatæ Ceciliæ Virginis et Martyri.
Hoc opus fecit fieri reverendissimus
Pater Dominus Gulielmus Archepiscopus
Bituricensis Anno Domini MCCCC.

But most of the inscriptions that have come out of these subterraneous regions are to be seen in the Vatican.

Some vaulted rooms seem to have been appropriated for the more dignified dead: these are usually explained to have been destined for popes. The bishops or popes seem to have been distinguished by sarcophagi; but these, however, of terra cotta, as appears from the fragments still to be seen: indeed, the scarcity of marble here announces a simplicity, or rather poverty, unknown to the heathens. We may trace small chapels also in these catacombs; the one called the chapel of S. Phillippo Neri is one of those in the best preservation. The most common method of interring seems to have been by hollowing out niches or recesses in the walls, and then closing up the interred body with brick or mortar. Small holes may be seen where lamps have been placed to throw a faint light

[77] Vide *Anastat. Bibliothecar.* tom. i. p. 18. edit. Rom. 1718.

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in these dreary abodes. The author of this description was more than half an hour in the catacombs, and experienced no ill effects from the air within them.

The most noble and best-preserved monument along the Via Appia is the round tower, which has already attracted the attention whilst pondering over the less conspicuous objects. From the church of S. Sebastian we ascend to the tomb of Cæcilia Metella; and, in order to form a just idea of its magnificence, we will take our station in front of the inscription, and upon the ruins of the modern fortress. This mausoleum rises upon a square basement, composed of a mixture of broken materials, as flint, brick, &c. called by Vitruvius "ad emplecton[78]:" the whole is consolidated by key-stones, or "diatoni[79]," which are now seen to project from the crumbling mass. The circular tower resembles the tombs of Augustus and Hadrian; and the facing is firmly constructed of the finest travertine stone. Above the inscription are the well-preserved remains of a cornice with elegant festoons, all in marble, with the "metope" of the heads of oxen, which gives to the monument the vulgar name of Capo di Bove. The ox's head without the triglyph does not warrant us in calling the order of architecture Doric: from

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[78] "Altera est quam ἐμπλεκτὸν appellant, qua etiam nostri rustici utuntur. Quorum frontes polliuntur, reliqua, ita uti sunt nata, cum materia collocata alternis alligant coagmentis." — *M. Vitruvius Pollio de Architec.* lib. ii. c. 8. p. 58. edit. Lugd. 1552.

[79] "Et præter cætera interponunt [scilicet, Græci] singulos perpetua crassitudine utraque parte frontatos quos διατόνους appellant qui maxime religando confirmant parietum soliditatem." — *Ibid.* p. 58.

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the general appearance of the whole, it ought, indeed, rather to be considered Corinthian. The other remaining ornaments consist of two figures designed for trophies; a human figure placed between two oblong shields; and a sitting figure, in the posture of a captive bound: probably in the corresponding part of the wall, which is now defaced, were other decorations of a like kind. The inscription[80] leaves us at no loss to know for whom this proud tower was raised. Cæcilia Metella was the daughter of Quintus Metellus, who gained the surname of Creticus for his conquests in the island of Crete. He gave his daughter in marriage to the rich but unfortunate Crassus, who perished by treachery in a war against the Parthians, and afforded a cruel and ungenerous revenge to his conqueror Orodes.[81] As he died fifty-three years before Christ, and probably before that time had either laid the bones of his wife within this fortress, or built it for her out of his abundance before he entered upon the chance of war, it has now stood for nearly nineteen centuries.

The entrance into the sepulchral chamber is, as usual, turned from the road; the solid portal remains perfect, and is built of peperine stone. When standing within the mighty walls, which seem to have been built for eternity, we are struck with the diminutive circumference of the interior: the diameter of the whole may be estimated at

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[80] CAECILIAE
Q . CRETICI . F
METELLAE . CRASSI

[81] *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Crassus*; *Appian. in Parth. Bell.*

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about sixty-four feet, whilst that of the sepulchral chamber does not exceed fifteen feet, leaving twenty-five for the thickness of the walls. A sarcophagus of white marble, which now stands in the court of the Farnese palace, was found within it, and is supposed by some to have contained the ashes of Metella: there is, however, a modern appearance about it which ill accords with the age of the monument. The Scipios' tomb had evidently passed into the possession of others; and perhaps the same fate attended the more splendid sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella.

The walls of the fortress surrounding this monument are the work of the middle ages, and the result of the factions which in those days distressed the unfortunate city. The arms of the family of the Gaetani are still seen sculptured upon the ruins; and the fortifications joined to the tower, as the strong place of defence, must effectually have blocked up the Appian way.[82] A subterraneous communication has been discovered between the

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[82] It was a common thing in those unhappy times to convert an ancient monument into a fortress. The Annibaldi seized upon the Colosseum; the Colonnesi, the tomb of Augustus; the Frangipani, some of the arches in the city. Vide *Annal. Eccl. Baron. ann.* 1167.; *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 355. and cap. 8. p. 360.; and *Fea, Dissertaz. sulle Rovine di Roma in Winkelmann*, tom. iii. p. 330—369. et vers. finem, 4to edit. Rom. 1784.

Previous to the Gaetani the Servilii had possession of the tomb of Cæcilia Metella: it was taken from them by the Emperor Henry VII., and given to a brother who had married one of the Colonna family. After the death of the emperor, which happened in A. D. 1313, the Colonna faction had possession of it. See the authorities for these things cited by *Fea, Dissertaz. &c.* p. 331. note B.

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tomb and the adjoining catacombs, which was probably effected, or at least adopted, by the Gaetani when they intrenched themselves within this fortress. The wars of that age contributed much to ruin the ancient monuments of Rome. This strong-built tower is one of the few objects which have survived the ravages of time and war; and perhaps may still remain when Rome itself shall be no more.

In January, 1824, an inscription[83] was found near this spot on a section of marble in three pieces: the substructions of a monument, to which it might have belonged, were also discovered in the excavation; and if we had an opportunity of estimating the circle, of which the three pieces of marble formed a section, and could compare it with the apparent magnitude of the basement, a mausoleum might be imagined not unworthy to be compared with the one now standing. Several other inscriptions, fragments of marble, pieces of cornices, were also found, and have been gathered together and built up into a wall placed against the ruined fortress. The intention may have been to exhibit the probable form and magnitude of the sepulchre to which they belonged. At the same time was discovered the pavement of the ancient

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[83] The following was copied on the very day it was discovered: —

T. CRUSTIDIUS T. F. FABRISO
PRAEF. EQUIT. VIXIT ANN. XIX.
EX TESTAMENTO PRO PARTE DIMIDIA.

Parte dimidia]. Compare *Hor. Sat.* iv. lib. ii. 100.

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road, which still bears witness to the truth of the description of Procopius.

The reflections which must now be excited in the mind of a spectator will multiply as he continues along the Via Appia; at every step he will see vestiges of sepulchral ruins, and contemplate with awe the solitude of the Campagna. Two miles from the tomb of Cæcilia Metella may be seen the restored sepulchre of Servilius already alluded to. The inscription [84] which identified the spot was discovered by Canova in 1808: he put together the scattered fragments, and thus also erected a monument to himself. There is nothing to describe; it merely affords the interest of knowing the spot in which were interred the ashes of one of the principal families of the republic. We have wandered far from the limits of our region; the solitary country now offers an interesting but mournful scene. Beyond the sepulchre of Servilius we shall see a succession of shattered tombs on each side of the road [85]; and perhaps we might be tempted to visit the ruins of Roma Vecchia.[86] The

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[84] M. SERVILIVS QVARTVS
DE SVA PECVNIA FECIT.

For a particular account of this excavation, see the *Memorie Encicloped.* tom. iii.

[85] Some mosaics and statues were discovered amongst those tombs in the year 1824. An excavation made here generally produces something of interest.

[86] Roma Vecchia is a name usually given by the peasants to any mass of ruins they see in the country, there being a tradition amongst them that Rome either once extended as far, or actually stood there. A Signor Antonio Riccy has written a whole essay to prove these ruins to have been the Pagus Lemo-

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stupendous aqueducts at a considerable distance, branching out across the Campagna, excite our wonder: and amidst this vast solitude, though within five miles of the city, we shall scarcely hear the sound of human voice or footstep. The fresh hills of Tusculum and Albano may relieve the dreary prospect; but, in looking towards the Latium coast, or even back towards the city, we shall only be moved by the desolation which spreads itself around us.

We return to the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and descend to the vineyard enclosed by the walls vulgarly called the "Scuderia di Caracalla."

For whatever use this building was designed, the construction shows it to be of the same age as the adjacent ruins, and its contiguity may seem to indicate it was an appendage to the Circus. As the first region could not have extended beyond the Almo, it is in vain to attempt to draw from the regionaries a name for this object: hence the appellation of "Mutatorium Cæsaris[87]," which has so often been applied to it, may be safely rejected. As the games of the Circus were preceded by a procession composed of a numerous train of magistrates, priests, dancers, &c.[88], it is not an unreasonable conjecture that this was the place of their

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nius, a place vaguely mentioned by Festus only of all the ancient authors remaining. Such labour is surely in vain.

[87] "Mutatorium potest appellari quod eam Cæsar *mutaverit!*" — *C. Panciroli, Descrip. Urb. Rom.* apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 324. edit. ut supra.

[88] See *Burgess's Description of the Circus on the Via Appia, &c.*

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rendezvous.[89] In the city, the Pompa Circensium proceeded to the Circus Maximus from the capitol: sacrifices, in all probability, were previously made in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus to the gods of the Circensian games; and hence, perhaps, the use of the magnificent temple situated in the midst of this spacious enclosure. The surrounding corridor consisted of an outer wall of considerable height, and an inner line of buttresses, of which there are also some remains. These were supported by pilasters, on which rested arches; the whole thus forming an open arcade. In the circuit of the whole there occur four entrances, still to be traced; viz. two in the east side nearest to the "carceres" of the Circus, one on the north, and the fourth in the south-west corner.[90] In the southern corner of the enclosure there exists a piece of wall of reticulated work, which has evidently been made previous to the large edifice. To the same period belongs, in all probability, the pavement which is to be seen in the adjoining habitation, and which affords an admirable specimen of the "opus spicatum" of Vitruvius.[91] The fabric to which these

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[89] Mr. Forsyth (see *Remarks on Italy*, art. ROME, *Works of the Empire*) supposes this to have been a *serapeon*. As a supposition this is worthy of a good place amongst the rest; but nowhere in Rufus and Victor is the passage to be found with which the acute observer endeavours to support his opinion.

[90] This edifice was first engraved by Serlio (lib. iii. p. 69.), then by Palladio (lib. iv. cap. 22.), but more accurately by Uggeri. See tav. i. fig. 2. in *Bianconi dei Cerchi, &c.* edit. Rom. 1789, in folio; and for the supposed elevation and details, tav. xii. and the three following.

[91] *Vitruv.* lib. vii. cap. 1. p. 259.; but see the annotations of

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vestiges have belonged, having interfered with the design of the architect in constructing the corridor, was made subservient to the general plan; whilst the small monument, shortly to be mentioned, not thus immediately interfering, was suffered to remain untouched.

The temple in the midst forms a circle, except in the part towards the Via Appia, which is intersected by the rectangular portico; around it are disposed, at regulated intervals, six small windows; a minor entrance nearly corresponds to the traces of a doorway or egress on the side nearest the Circus. There is nothing remarkable in the interior of the temple except the solidity of the construction, and the perfect regularity of the plan. The whole of this building occupies a space of near 3000 square feet[92], and has become the secluded domain of a "vignarolo."

A small tomb in the shape of a pyramid, adjoining the northern side of the corridor, seems to have been respected in erecting this great edifice near it. The curious little building has a double wall, and receives light from two small windows on two opposite sides above the "LOCULI:" there is a place for a sepulchral urn still visible, and also small receptacles for "OLLÆ," like a columbarium.

After having examined the remains of the Circus,

Philander on the "opus spicatum," in verb. Vitruv. "sive ex spica testacea."

[92] According to Uggeri, the space enclosed is 312 French feet by 250; breadth of the corridor or arcade, 22 feet; diameter of the temple, including the walls, 106 feet; the Pronaon about 70 feet square.

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and the nameless ruins adjoining[93], we may proceed to the deserted church of S. Urbano.

The Roman Catholic religion has not proved the greatest enemy to the edifices of ancient Rome. The Pantheon, the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the elegant little building on the Tyber, as well as this, remain to show that the popes had rather convert a heathen temple to a Christian church than raze it to the ground. The intercolumniations of this edifice have been walled up; and although the columns are thus half concealed, and the portico in consequence totally disfigured, perhaps the whole owes its preservation to the pious act of Urban VIII. As early as the year 222–30, it is said, a canonised pope had an oratory underneath it which lay concealed for fourteen centuries, until his remote successor reduced the building to its present form and dedicated it to S. Urban.[94] As an ancient temple we have to choose out of three titles, all equally destitute of classical authority, — the Muses, Honour and Virtue, Bacchus. The first of these names was adopted by the antiquaries of the sixteenth century, upon the mere supposition of this district being consecrated to the Muses[95]: but as the "Ædes Camænarum" is found within the first region, this was not the temples of the

[93] See *Description of the Circus, &c.*

[94] Vide *Roma Subterranea*, tom. i. p. 453. and 488. edit. Rom. 1651. The authority for these remote traditions is generally obtained from the "Acta Martyrum," a *MS.* which is in the pope's good keeping. The subterraneous room, which the saint is said to have used, is to be seen beneath the altar, and has been painted with some grotesque figures, and inscribed with the letters S. VRBANVS.

[95] Panvinio seems to have given the watch-word for this the-

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Muses, or the regionaries must be abandoned. The second title rests upon the opinion of Piranesi, supported by the feeble authority of a bas-relief in the middle of the vaulted roof, which represents two persons in the act of sacrificing with uncovered heads, a ceremony observed in the service of the deities Honour and Virtue.[96] The same argument would prove the temple to have been dedicated to Saturn or to Hercules[97], in whose worship a similar ceremony was observed. The Vicus, or street called Honour and Virtue, which is found in the first region, might indeed lead to the temple of that name; but the circumstance rather diminishes from than adds authority to the opinion of the artist: but when we are informed by Livy that M. Marcellus dedicated a temple to Honour and Virtue near the Porta Capena[98], this is at once decisive, for we are now three miles from the ancient site of that gate. The "temple of Bacchus" rests upon

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ory: "Item lucus Egeriæ quem Camænis Numa sacravit." — Vide *Onuph. Panvinio Urb. Rom. Descrip.* lib. i. p. 11.; also *Nardini, Roma Antica,* tom. i. p. 161.

96 Vide *Plutarch, in Quæst. Rom.* xiii.

97 Vide *Macrobius, Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. 10. and lib. iii. cap. 6.

98 That the temple of Honour and Virtue "was a double temple, like that of Venus and Rome" near the Colosseum, is most probable. There were also such temples among the Greeks — πρός τε Παλλάδος διπλοῖς Ναοῖς (*Sophocles, Œdipus Tyrannus,* v. 20.); but this fact is not so clearly deduced from the words of Livy. Marcellus the elder could not obtain leave from the pontiffs to dedicate a temple to two divinities; and that which the son dedicated was only the temple of Virtue. The conclusion rather rests upon the authority of Symmachus, whom Nardini has quoted. Vide *Rom. Antica,* tom. i. p. 150. and *Signor Nibby's note* (1.); but compare *Liv.* lib. xxiii. cap. 25. and lib. xxix. cap. 12.

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the authority of a marble altar, still to be seen in the portico, or entrance of the church. Upon this altar may be read an inscription to Bacchus, made under the priesthood of a certain Apronianus.[99] If the altar was found on or even near the spot, we should have the satisfaction of one of the best proofs that can be afforded to authenticate a ruin; but vestiges of other temples have been discovered in this place, and who shall say the altar of Bacchus did not belong to some of them? Notwithstanding this difficulty, which must be allowed to be the slightest of any yet mentioned, the appearance of an altar, which, from its small size, is adapted to the building, bearing a genuine inscription, and found at least in the neighbourhood, we can scarcely refuse to admit the superior claim which the name of Bacchus has upon this Christianised temple. The ground plan is rectangular, and its portico has been supported by four marble columns of the Corinthian order. In the terms of architecture, this temple is called a "Prostyle[100]" from the circumstance of having columns only in front: it has been ascended to by steps which are now buried. The marble cornice, which still rests upon the columns; the attic, with the cornice of brick running round the whole, are the work of an age when the art of sculpture must have been in a

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[99] The inscription reads thus:—

ΕΣΤΙΑΙ ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΥ ΑΠΡΩΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ.

It may also be added, that the altar has stood where it ow stands for three centuries at least.

[100] Vide *Vitruvius de Architect.* lib. iii. cap. 1. with the annotation of Philander.

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flourishing state; and not much later than the age of the Antonines [101] could such specimens of the art be produced. The two bars of iron, which may excite enquiry from their situation, are a part of the repairs made by Urban VIII.

The interior retains some of its ancient stucco and vestiges of some bas-reliefs, especially the one observed by Piranesi. On the frieze are represented various implements of war; and the vault is adorned with coffers such as are commonly seen in the roofs of ancient buildings. The paintings which decorate the walls are of the eleventh century, and afford a curious specimen of the art at that period. On the left of the portico stands the fragment of a wall partly detached from the temple: some have thought to recognise in it the remains of the dwelling appropriated for the *ædituus*, or keeper of the temple; but it is the work of a very different age, and assimilates to the construction of the walls about the adjacent Circus. With these observations, we may now dismiss an object which a learned writer designates, amongst some other things, as the "antiquaries' despair [102]," and for which we can find no title more appropriate than the temple of Bacchus.

At the foot of the hill on which this church stands passes the Almo, and near its streams is the moss-grown grotto where many a pilgrim has in-

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[101] The name of Faustina stamped upon a brick has not escaped the observation of Piranesi: it has even furnished a conclusion.

[102] See *Hobhouse's Notes on Childe Harold*, canto iv. stanza 115.

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dulged his fancy. The fountain of Egeria has, however, dwindled into a name; and since the mutilated statue which still remains within has been discovered to be a male form, the classical nymph has given place to the *genius* of the passing stream. This grotto is now called in the Itineraries by the convenient name of Nymphæum: it is hollowed out of the hill, and the main vault at once forms the cave and supports the earth above it. It is chiefly built of reticulated work, and has been richly ornamented with marble and stucco. In the principal niche is the reclining statue alluded to above, and which seems to denote, by its posture and sculpture, the river god. On each side of the vault are three niches, making seven in all, independently of the flanking arches, forming as it were the vestibule. A person heartily disposed to admit only the nine Muses may adjust as many niches; but an impartial observer will be at a loss how to dispose of some smaller ones which will still remain unoccupied. Water continually distils through the perforated caves around it, and there are traces of small conduits in various places.[103] When the moss and the shrubs drooping over the arch from the turf above begin to grow green, and the climate of spring warms the Campagna of Rome, this fountain still affords a grateful retreat to the weary spectator of the Via Appia.

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[103] The Abbate Fea has lately caused an excavation to be made at this place. The result shows that there have been small reservoirs about the grotto; and, from the number of conduits, they may have been made for fountains: but the grotto of Egeria seems gradually growing into the convenient name of a bath.

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We are told by an historian there was a grove which a fountain, issuing from a shady grotto, watered with its never-failing spring. Here Numa, unaccompanied, used to resort to consult his goddess; and he consecrated the grove to the Muses, because they had joined their grateful council with that of his spouse Egeria.[103] Such an intercourse as this, and such an enchanting spot, could never have been more than the "sweet creation of some heart;" and therefore the labour of the antiquary may seem to be vain[104]: for, whatever the grove or fountain of Egeria might originally be, — in the time of Juvenal they were lost amongst the miserable huts of the poor despised Jews.[105]

In the well-known lines we are now alluding to* (the only passage[106] remaining on record to throw any light upon this locality), we find the poet in the first place describing the immediate

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[103] "Lucus erat quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aquâ: quò quia se persæpe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deæ inferebat. Camœnis eum lucum sacravit, quod earum sibi concilia cum conjuge sua Egeria essent." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 21.

[104] *Cicero de Legibus*, lib. i. sect. 1.

[105] Or, as Achaintre supposes, the *Christians*, who were at that period frequently confounded with the Jews.

* See Note Y.

[106] The passage sometimes quoted from *Symmachus* (lib. i. epist. 21.) looks something like an imitation of Juvenal — "Sed enim propter eas *Camœnarum* religio *sacro fonti* advertitur:" and it certainly would have been a long way to have sent the vestal virgins four miles to fetch water (see *Plutarch. in Numa*, cap. 13.); and therefore Donatus, with great gallantry, places the fountain of Egeria at the foot of the mount Aventine. *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 13. But, however, Juvenal is positive as to *the* sacred grove and fountain of the goddess being at the Porta Capena.

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environs of the Porta Capena, which in his time stood near the southern angle of the Cælian hill; and he complains of the little respect which the avarice of the Romans paid to the hallowed scenes of antiquity. He then descends into the valley of Egeria, in which were several grottos, originally hollowed out of the natural tufo, but then bedecked with marble ornaments. How far the poet and his friend might walk during a conversation of at least an hour, we leave antiquaries to conjecture; but if they chose "to wander where the Muses haunt clear spring or shady grove," the populous vicinity of the Porta Capena was ill adapted for such a solitude. Why, therefore, might not the valley of Egeria at that period have reached hither? and why should not this grotto be one of those mentioned by Juvenal?[107] It is true, the visionary spouse has had full possession of it for three centuries; but she is now fast retracing back her steps to the primitive scene of her nightly conferences.[108]

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[107] The reasonableness of these conjectures is made apparent in the illustrations of *Childe Harold*, canto iv. stanza 115.; but the "epitaffio" which Flaminius Vacca read on the pavement of this grotto can have been nothing more than some modern inscription written upon the authority of antiquaries, and who seem to have transported the scene of Ovid's metamorphose from the lake of Nemi to this valley. See *Memorie de Flaminius Vacca*, note 83. *in Nardini*, vol. iv.; and compare Note 112. p. 135.

[108] Vide *Le Mura di Roma da A. Nibby*, p. 188. with notes 270. and 271. The arguments alleged by the learned professor in the place here referred to may be easily adjusted with our view of the subject; that will be, only to bear in mind that, as the city encroached upon Egeria and the Muses, they gradually retired into an apt solitude; and therefore from the Capena gate, says Juvenal, "in vallem Egeriæ DESCENDIMUS."

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In returning towards the city there is to be seen, on the right, a small edifice of brick, whose elevation is turned towards the Almo. This object partakes of all that uncertainty which has clouded our footsteps since we left the Appian Way; but it is curious enough to be put in mind that such a whimsical god as Rediculus should ever have been invented. There is no reason why this building should be called the temple of the god Rediculus; but there is some reason why it should not. We find that such a temple existed somewhere on this side of Rome, and was erected on the spot where Hannibal, dismayed at some ominous sight in approaching the city, returned (quia redierit) to his camp. * Pliny has described the "Campus Rediculi" (in which, no doubt, stood the temple,) as being two miles from the city on the Via Appia, but on the very contrary side of the road to this [109]: and comparing the situation of the first milestone on the Via Appia [110] with the words of Pliny, we should rather be induced to seek for the plain and temple of Rediculus in the level ground opposite the church of "Domine quo vadis."

This elegant little fabric is much admired, and some would fain believe it to be of the age of the republic; but an acute observer is convinced that so much ornament, lavished on so mean a

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* See Note Z.

[109] Alluding to a procession which went out of the gate, the author says, it continued as far as the pile "qui constructus dextra Viæ Appiæ ad secundum lapidem in campo Rediculi appellato fuit." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. x. cap. 43.

[110] See the former part of this Dissertation; and consult the plan of the Via Appia.

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design, betrays an age as late as Septimius Severus: its form is nearly square, and there is great variety in its construction.[111] The small brick columns on the southern side are octagonal, but the contiguous and corresponding sides are supported by pilasters. The columns and pilasters are made of a different-coloured brick, to contrast more strikingly with the wall itself. Most of the ornaments still remain sufficiently well preserved to testify their original elegance: the entrance has been towards the Via Latina, or the west, as appears from the vestiges of a doorway, and the position of the small windows on each side of it. The basement of the portico is partly remaining, which shows it was ascended to by steps, and has been a "prostyle." The interior exhibits one simple square room, with small windows disposed around it: underneath are some vaults, which now serve for stalls for cattle. There is a rage for calling all unknown ruins, especially when situated within the precincts of an ancient road, by the convenient name of tombs: but, in every respect, this appears to have been a temple. It is similarly situated, with regard to an ancient road, to those "ædicolæ" we have already seen near the Osteria dei Pupazzi, and to another existing at the Tor de' Schiavi. These small temples, or chapels, might serve as places of devotional exercise for those passing and repassing to the city.

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111 For this object, as well as the temple of Bacchus, Piranesi's engravings may be consulted, and the still more accurate details and plans of Uggeri (*Gio. Pittores*, vol. iii.); also Guattani (*Roma descritta*, vol. ii. p. 44.).

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In the course of this Dissertation, we have had some examples of the difficulties to be encountered in a rational study of Roman antiquities; and we have rather endeavoured to divest the subject of groundless theories than to establish others equally destitute of foundation. It may, therefore, have been frequently observed, that where the evidence carefully collected from its source has not been conclusive, or might have furnished a conclusion according to any one's fancy, we have abstained from pronouncing an opinion with that authority which, in the eyes of those capable of discerning our pretensions, would only have thrown ridicule on our labours, and perhaps have led those less qualified to investigate such evidence into error and delusion: but when the nature of the subject has been fairly stated, and classical recollections have been awakened, it would be difficult not to indulge occasionally in theory and imagination. Here, therefore, the thoughts may wander from the aërial beings of the poets to the heroes whom the historian and the sepulchral monument have saved from oblivion—from Egeria and the Muses who fled from hence to yon dark blue hills of Albano [112] on

[112] "Deflevêre Numam. Nam conjux, urbe relicta,
Vallis Aricinæ densis latet abdita sylvis;
Sacraque Oresteæ gemitu quæstuque Dianæ
Impedit. Ah! quoties Nymphæ nemorisque lacusque
Ne faceret, monuêre!" &c.

. . . . . .

Non tamen Egeriæ luctus aliena levare
Damna valent: montisque jacens radicibus imis
Liquitur in lacrymas: donec pietate dolentis
Mota, soror Phœbi gelidum de corpore fontem
Fecit, et æternas artus tenuavit in undas."

Ovid. Metamorph. xv. 487.

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the wings of fancy, to the tombs of the Scipios and the Servilii; and in returning to the site of the ancient Porta Capena, we may speculate upon the generations yet to come through which shall endure the monuments of the Appian Way.

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DISSERTATION THE FOURTH:

COMPRISING REGIO XII. CALLED PISCINA PUBLICA, AND REGIO II. CALLED CÆLIMONTANA.

" Non his juventus orta parentibus
Infecit æquor sanguine Punico."
HOR. CARM. lib. iii. ode vi.

IT was the opinion of an eminent moral philosopher, that luxury, " as it supplies employment and promotes industry, assists population." Without stopping here to enquire under what circumstances such an end is desirable, it is to be feared that luxury, in most cases, gradually undermines the foundations of national greatness. If, indeed, it were possible to confine a disease within prescribed limits, the theory that wealth is most easily distributed by luxury might be established; but we have now before us the example of a mighty empire, which teaches mankind a different lesson. The ease and indulgence in which the senator lived soon prevailed in the camp and in the city, and promoted inglorious repose instead of industry[1]: and when a more hardy race of men attacked the enervated citizens of Italy, whose ancestors would have blushed to own themselves vanquished,

[1] See on this subject the ample treatise of John Meurs *de Luxu Romanorum.*

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they sunk ignobly before the arms of the barbarian. But this degeneracy had already begun when their Juvenal, not less a philosopher than a poet, remarked, that a luxury had invaded the city more cruel than arms.[2] Nothing, perhaps, contributed more to this evil than the baths or thermæ, those mighty edifices which the emperors erected for the use and amusement of the people: and the survey of this twelfth region will help us to form some idea of the magnificent indolence of the Roman people.

The twelfth region was 12,000 feet in circumference, and extended northward to the circular end of the Circus Maximus and the contiguous side of the Cælian Hill. It comprised all that space now covered by those ruins of Caracalla's baths; and took in, no doubt, the eminence which overlooks them, and which is crowned by the church of S. Balbina[3], and separated by a valley from the proper Aventine Hill.[4] In that valley must have been situated the Piscina Publica[5], which gave the name to this district.

A piscina, according to Festus, was a place ap-

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[2] *Juvenal. Satyr.* vi. 291. et seq.

[3] Without this addition it is impossible to make out a circuit of 12,000 feet; upon which measurement P. Victor and the Notitia exactly agree. At the same time we are at a loss to define precisely the respective limits of the twelfth and thirteenth regions.

[4] See Dissertation I.

[5] Defertur (scilicet, obeliscus) in vicum Alexandri tertio lapide ab urbe sejunctum: unde chamulcis impositus, tractusque lenius, per Ostiensem portam, piscinamque publicam Circo illatus est maximo." — *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvii. cap. 4.

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pointed for swimming and such like exercises[6]; and it seems that, from some peculiar advantage of situation, or an easy supply of water, the public swimming-school was first constructed here.[7] In the time of Festus, however, it was dried up; and perhaps the road which afterwards communicated with the Porta Ostiensis and the Circus Maximus passed over the place which had once been covered with water: but the circumstance left a lasting name to the region.[8]

This twelfth district contained, within a circuit of about two miles, a great number of inhabitants. We find from P. Victor (for in Rufus the whole region is wanting) it was divided into twelve streets, with 2486 insulæ, 114 great houses, besides a vast number of private baths and pools. Out of all these things, a few nameless substructions may, indeed,

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[6] "Piscinæ publicæ hodieque nomen manet, ipsa non extat ad quam et natatum et exercitationis alioqui causa veniebat populus; unde Lucilius ait: pro obtuso ore pugil piscinensis res est." (*Pomp. Festus*, lib. xiv. in verb.) The curious reader may consult Scaliger's explanation of the proverb.

Martial also informs us of the use of the Piscina: —

"Piscinam peto, non licet natare."

Epigram. lib. iv. 44.

[7] We should be induced to believe, from various passages in ancient authors, that there was abundance of water about the Porta Capena. We have already enumerated the Almo, the aqua Mercurii, the aqua Crabra, all running near this quarter of the city. The whole business of the state in year of Rome 537 was carried on in this district. "Prætores, quorum jurisdictio erat, tribunalia ad Piscinam Publicam posuerunt, eò vadimonia fieri jusserunt, ibique eo anno jus dictum est." — *Liv.* xxiii. c. 32.

[8] Compare Notes 5. and 6. above.

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be discovered upon the hill; yet only one object absolutely remains to lead us to the twelfth division of Rome: but no one ever visited without astonishment that one object — the stupendous ruins of the baths of Caracalla.

It may safely be affirmed that the Thermæ[9], or public baths, began and ended with the empire: the hardy veterans of the republic were content to bathe themselves in the waters of the Tyber, or to wash their limbs in the cool stream or fountain. It is true that even Scipio indulged in the luxury of the bath[10]; but his establishment partook of the simplicity of his times, and consisted in a single room no more than sufficient for the useful purpose: and if Sergius Orata made some innovations in this respect[11], it was not until the age of Au-

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[9] The word thermæ, from θερμαὶ, *calores*, might imply merely warm baths; but the cold bath also was necessary to complete the establishment.

[10] At his villa at Liternum, which Seneca says he saw in all its original simplicity. "Balneolum angustum tenebricosum ex consuetudine antiqua, non videbatur majoribus nostris caldum nisi obscurum, ... abluebat corpus laboribus rusticis fessum. . . . . Et nunc quis est qui sic lavari sustineat?" In Seneca's time the people would have nick-named such a bath as Scipio's a "blattarium." I regret that this epistle of Seneca's is too long to insert in a note; for, in telling us what Scipio's bath was not, he informs us what the others were: how ornamented, how luxurious the common people had grown. In short, says the philosopher, "Eo deliciarum pervenimus, ut nisi gemmas calcare noluimus." — *Seneca, Epist.* lib. xiii. 86.

[11] "C. Sergius Orata pensilia balnea primus facere instituit: quæ impensa, levibus initiis cœpta, ad suspensa calidæ aquæ tantum non æquora penetravit." — *Valerius Maximus*, lib. ix. cap. 1.

This personage seems to have invented other luxuries besides the bath. "Sergius Orata, qui primus balneas pensiles habuit,

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gustus the baths began to rise with such magnificence. Agrippa first taught the Roman people this refined indulgence, when he bequeathed to them the edifice he had erected for this purpose in the field of Mars, some remains of which we shall see when we arrive at the celebrated Pantheon. The minister of Augustus was followed by Nero in these great works; and then by Titus, the ruins of whose palace and thermæ still cover a large space on the Esquiline Hill. We find also in the regionaries, as well as in other ancient writers, that baths were constructed by Trajan, Caracalla, Diocletian, and even as late as Constantine; besides others of less magnitude, which bore the names of private individuals. P. Victor, indeed, enumerates no less than sixteen of these enormous establishments; and Panvinio has added, without fear of contradiction, four more.[12] If we join to these the baths of the senators and wealthy citizens, the porticos, the Nymphæa, and other places of public resort for the amusement of the people, we shall no longer wonder at the rapid degeneracy of the warlike Romans. In the time of Augustus, the practice of bathing was encouraged amongst the poor by the facility with which it might be accomplished; for

primus *ostrearia* in Baiano, locavit, primus optimum saporem *ostreis* Lucrinis adjudicavit. (*Macrob. Sat.* lib. ii. cap. 2.) See also *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. ix. cap. 54., who says this mercenary gourmand lived in the time of Crassus, perhaps about the 656th year of the city. The pensilia balnea are explained by Biondo, as "sopra terra sospesi, e cosi in alto che si posseva per di sotto andare;" that, in short, they were built upon arches and had vaulted roofs. Vid. *Cic. apud Non.* viii. 24., and *Rull.* ii. 35.

12 Vide *Onuph. Panvin. Urb. Rom. Descrip.* p. 106.

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a person might bathe for the smallest piece of coined money.[13] In process of time, the indulgence was promoted by the example of the emperors themselves: Hadrian bathed in public with the meanest of the people, which could not much contribute to the dignity of the empire.* The philosophic Antoninus became sensible of the evil, and endeavoured to reform the vices which these establishments had introduced: he forbade the profligate custom of both sexes bathing together, and curtailed other abuses which were the consequence of departed modesty.[14] The abandoned Commodus might lament the severity of his father's laws: he bathed seven times a day, and even took his meals in these public places.[15] So inveterate, indeed, had the custom grown, that the virtuous Alexander Severus bathed publicly, and returned to his palace in his bathing-dress[16]: and if the grave and virtuous Cato could have seen the Emperor Gallienus amusing himself in the public baths with old men, women, and children[17], he might

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[13] . . . . "Dum tu *quadrante* lavatum
Rex ibis." *Horat. Sat.* lib. i. 3.
See also *Juv. Sat.* vi. 446. Little boys did not pay any thing. *Juv. Sat.* vi. 446.

* See Note A A.

[14] Vide *Jul. Capitolin. in vita M. Antonin. Philosoph.* cap. 23.

[15] I have not exaggerated the biographer's account. "Lavabat per diem septies atque octies, et in ipsis balneis edebat." Vide *Ælium Lamprid. in vit. Commod.* cap. 2.

[16] See Lampridius in the *life of Alexander Severus*, cap. 42., the whole of which will afford the reader much amusement and information.

[17] "Lavit ad diem," says Trebellius Pollio of this profligate, "septimo æstate, vel sexto hieme, vel secundo, vel tertio. . . .

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have sighed for lack of the virtues even of an Antony or a Cæsar. It was not, however, altogether for this sordid purpose that these magnificent structures were raised: at the Thermæ the poet recited his verses, the orator pronounced his declamations, the philosopher had his audience, and the artist his crowds of admirers. There were rooms set apart for athletic exercises of every description; walks shaded with trees, to imitate the bowers of the Grecian academy; spacious areas, where thousands of spectators beheld the youthful sports; besides the libraries, the exhedræ, the vestibules, and other places, decorated with the finest objects of art and the most costly materials; fountains adorned with statues and precious marbles.[19] But, to come more particularly to the ruins we are now about to examine, it may be necessary, in the first place, to state the short account which may be gathered, from ancient writers, of this work of Caracalla.

The son of Severus left Rome about a year after the murder of his brother, and he never returned to it. As that event took place in the year 212, we may conclude the baths were begun not later than that period.* An historian has celebrated the

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Præfecti et magistri omnium officiorum adhibebantur conviviis et natationibus; lavabant etiam simul cum principe. Admittebantur sæpe etiam mulieres cum ipso pulchræ et puellæ, cum illis anus deformes; et jocari se dicebat cum orbem terrarum undique perdidisset." — *Trebel. Pollio de Gallien. duob.* cap. 17.

[19] Guattini thinks that the Thuilleries at Paris, the Villa Reale at Naples, the Flora at Palermo, may be put in some comparison with this wonderful fabric; but how he would compare "Foxal di Londra" I am at a loss to conceive.

* See Note B B.

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magnificence of this structure, and given some description of the principal room, called the Cella Solearis: it was the wonder of the architects of Spartian's time, and they declared that not any thing could ever again be made like it.[20] It was overlaid with cancellated work of brass or copper, which, from the resemblance to the lacing of a sandal, is supposed to have given the room its designation. It seems that Caracalla left the work incomplete; for we find in Lampridius that his successor, Heliogabalus, added the porticos which were wanting[21]; and, finally, Alexander Severus finished the mighty undertaking.[22] Eutropius and Aurelius Victor respectively glance at the baths, without offering any account or description of them[23]; and, finally, we are told by Olympiodorus that they contained, for the use of the bathers,

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[20] "Opera Romæ reliquit thermas nominis sui [*i. e.* Thermæ Antoninianæ] eximias, quarum cellam solearem architecti negant posse ulla imitatione qua facta est fieri; nam et ex ære vel cupro cancelli super positi esse dicuntur, quibus cameratis tota concredita est, et tantum est spatium ut id ipsum fieri negent potuisse docti mechanici." — *Spartian. in M. Aurel. Caracall.* cap. ix.

[21] "Et lavacrum quidem Antonini Caracallæ dedicaverat et lavando et populum admittendo, sed porticus defuerant, quæ postea ab hoc sub dicto Antonino extructæ sunt et ab Alexandro perfectæ."—*Ælius Lampridius in Ant. Heliogab.* cap. xvii.

[22] "Antonini Caracallæ thermas additis sortitionibus perfecit et ornavit." — *Ibid. in Alex. Sever.* cap. xxv.

[23] The ancient authors seem at a loss for words to express the magnificence of these baths, although they give no description of them. "Opus Romæ *egregium* fecit lavacri quæ Antoninianæ appellantur." — *Eutropius in Caracall. de Rom. Rer.* lib. viii. Spartian also calls them (*in vit. Sever.* cap. xxi.) "*thermas magnificentissimas.*"

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1600 seats of polished marble.[24] From these scanty accounts of ancient authors, we may pass to the indefatigable antiquaries and architects of modern times[25], and finally to the late excavations[26], which have corrected many erroneous conjectures, and at the same time enabled us to distribute with greater certainty the various uses for which the edifice was designed.

It was observed by Piranesi[27], that all the thermæ at Rome were made uniform in the disposition of their parts, and in their situation with regard to aspect: the distribution of the uses are also the same, and they vary but little in the general form or outline; so that the remains of one may frequently be applied to supply the defects of another.[28]

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[24] Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ λούτρα δημοσία παμμεγέθη· αἱ δὲ Ἀντωνίαναι οὕτω καλούμεναι εἰς χρείαν τῶν λουόμενων καθέδρας εἶχε [εἶχον] παρακείμενας χιλιὰς ἑξακόσιας, ἐκ μαρμάρου κατεσκευασμένας ξεστοῦ, αἱ δὲ Διοκλητίαναι ἐγγὺς διπλασίους. — *Olympiodorus in Bibliothec. Photii*, p. 114. Edit. August. Vindelic. 1601.

[25] See *Memorie per le belle Arti del.* 1786, p. 242., for a plan produced from a Sienese MS. which was made by Sangallo; but Serlio published the first plan. Vide *Opera, &c.* lib. iii. p. 88. Palladio the second, with some additions and variations; *Terme*, tav. ix. x.; *Piranesi, Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. tav. 60.; and of the present age, Guattani, Uggeri, Piroli.

[26] These excavations were made chiefly in the spring of 1826, by the Count Velo of Vincenza, who generously undertook them at his own expense. Monsieur Blouet, of the Royal French Academy at Rome, has made a new plan of the whole, with several elevations upon a large scale, and which are well worthy of attention. The plan we now offer was subsequently made by Joseph Parδini.

[27] *Piranesi*, tom. i. tav. 40.

[28] Compare the plan of Diocletian's baths in Dissert. VIII.

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The baths of Caracalla, comprising the outworks, were one mile in circumference. Underneath the extensive compartments, to which the small room marked thus (*) gives immediate access, are the substructions and cellarage of the building, and not, as Piranesi and others supposed, the ground floor, or first story interred, in which were the baths! The first story, properly so called, consists in what is now visible. There was, indeed, a second or upper story, destined probably for the numerous slaves and attendants employed about the establishment; but of it little more remains than sufficient to indicate the fact. The principal design of the whole building, therefore, is evidently to be traced, which we now proceed to illustrate as it is laid down in the annexed plan, — beginning with the outworks towards the Via Appia.

A. Magnificent portico, forming the prospect towards the Via Nova, or new street, made by Caracalla: the access to this part of the ruins is by a vineyard joining the public road.

B. Separate bathing-rooms, probably destined for the use of the common people.

C. Anti-rooms for the bathers to undress in, called, in a more dignified situation, " Apodyteria."

D. Small staircases for ascending to the platform: halfway up those steps are traces of something like receptacles or caldrons for heating water. A conjecture.

E. Principal staircases for ascending to the said platform.

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F. Walls called *Xysta* [29], probably planted with plane-trees, and where the common people had permission to go as far, perhaps, as the small compartments extended to.

G. *Exedræ*, in which there were seats, and where philosophers held their conversations.

H. *Hypæthræ* [30], or passages open to the air, communicating with

K. The *Palæstræ*. [31]

I. Vestibules.

i. Staircases conducting to the level of the main platform.

j. *Triclinia* [32], or retiring-rooms for taking refreshments, &c.

k. Small staircases for descending to the cellarage of the *Thermæ*.

L. Philosophers' schools or academies, where public lectures were delivered.

M. *Ambulacra*, or piazzas, formed not unlike the cloisters of an abbey or monastery.

N. *Hypæthræ*. The whole of these circular outworks, or hemycyclia, may be collectively called the porticos, and perhaps were those made by Heliogabalus.

O. and P. Rooms destined for the attendants or "balneatores:" the former, O., have two stories; and in the thickness of the walls are cut staircases for ascending to the top of the building; and from

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[29] "Faciunda autem xysta sic videntur, ut sint inter duas porticus sylvæ aut platanones, et in his perficiantur inter arbores ambulationes, ibique ex opere signino stationes." — *Vitruvius de Architect.* lib. v. cap. 11.

[30] "Proxime autem xystum et duplicem porticum designentur hypæthræ ambulationes, in quas per hyemem ex xysto sereno cœlo athletæ prodeuntes exercentur." — *Vitruvius, ibid.*

[31] "In Palæstris peristylia quadrata sive oblonga." — *Ibid.*

[32] Vide *Plin. Epist.* lib. v. 6.

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the others, P., are steps in the angular parts for ascending to the great reservoir.

Q. The grand *Xystus*, or *Arena*, into which the youth came forward from the surrounding schools and apartments, to exhibit before their friends sitting in

R. The *Theatridium*. In one of the vineyards which now occupy the site of this Xystus was recently discovered a group of small columns laid prostrate, and apparently, if restored to their original basements, would form a circular temple. At the same time was found a little bronze statue of proportionate dimensions, which has disappeared. The position of this object was such in the Arena as to require, for uniformity's sake, another corresponding; and thus they might have served as Metæ in the foot-races which took place in front of the Theatridium. We conceive the plebeians were excluded from this part of the Thermæ.

S. Large reservoirs with upper stories.

T. The aqueduct which conveyed water for supplying the whole establishment.

U. The cistern, or the *Piscina Limaria*, where the water was first received and purged before it passed into the reservoir.

V. The canal by which the water was conducted from the said cistern to the reservoir, by the outlet v v, and again distributed from the emissaries x x for the final use of the baths.

We now come to the internal arrangement ;

X. Principal entrances.

Y. The two vestibules, or side-rooms, belonging to the large " Natatio." (See E'.)

Z. *Apodyteria*, or undressing-rooms, whence the clothes were taken into.

A' The rooms where the *capsarii* took charge of them. The inferior ornaments which these small apart-

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ments have had, and the staircase (*a*) for ascending to the top, are proofs that the menial train occupied them; as also,

B′ C′ Rooms where the *Aliptæ* anointed the bathers, or the *Unguentarii* perfumed them: hence the rooms were called *Unctaria*. And as those marked C′ were near the adjoining Peristyles (see V′), the wrestlers might repair thither to use oil and powder for sprinkling, which constituted the rooms called *Connisterium* and *Elæotherium*.[33]

D′ *Diætæ*, i. e. refreshing-rooms, or for conversation after the process of bathing, &c.

E′ The *Natatio*, or *Piscina*, or *Frigidarium*; that is, the place appointed for cold bathing. This compartment was supported by four immense columns on each side, and separated from the two retiring-rooms, Y, by other columns of less magnitude. Some idea might be formed of the real depth of this reservoir during the late excavations, which showed it to have been much below the level of the surrounding rooms. From this *Piscina* the baths of the plebeians towards the Via Appia below were probably supplied with water.

F′ The great room called the *Cella Tepidaria*, with the warm baths, or *Tepidaria*, in the four recesses.

G′ These basins, with two columns marked before each, are several feet deep, with steps for descending into them: in one may still be observed evident traces of the conduits. Some of the marble coating still remains on the wall, and even some of the flooring, which is not tesselated like the rest, but plain, adapted for the pavement of a bath. In the centre of the sides of this Cella Tepidaria were two recesses, which contained two immense circular

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[33] Compare *Plin. Epist.* vi. lib. v., *Vitruv.* lib. v. cap. 11., and *Ovid. Metamorph.* ix. 36.

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basins, in which they could bathe. This was the *Baptisterium*, meaning a cold bath, but differently taken to that in the Natatio. This central room, taken independent of the recesses for baths, was comprehended under the name of *Sphæristerium*[34], where there was ample space for carrying on various bodily exercises. It was also supported by eight immense columns, like the Frigidarium, and has been highly ornamented at each end.

H′ Were two dependent rooms, which, with the one just described, occupied a space of 300 feet by 100. Taken thus in its whole extent, it may be called the *Pinocotheca*[35] — a place where works of art were exhibited. Under the same denomination comes the adjoining division.

I′ Which was, perhaps, a Tepidarium for the women. From the Cella Tepidaria they passed to

J′ The *Calidarium*; as also the women to

K′ The *Calidaria Muliebria*, which, according to Vitruvius, ought to be placed in the same quarter as the "Virilia," or those of the men, so that the same stove-room, or Hypocaustum, might serve for both[36]; in which case

L′ Were the *Vestiaria*, where the habiliments, whether used by men or women, were kept; and the same rooms are conveniently situated for retiring to after the hot bath.

M′ May be considered as the *Ephebium*, where the youth were taught their exercises; from thence they passed into

N′ A compartment open to the air, where they took their lessons in fair weather.

Q′ The passages of communication, answering to the "Concamerata Sudatio" of Vitruvius, leading to

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[34] Vide *Plin.* epist. vi. lib. v.
[35] Vide *Vitruv.* lib. vi. cap. 5.
[36] *Ibid.* lib. v. cap. 10.

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R′ The "*Sudatorium*," or sweating-room. It ought, according to the same writer [37], to be joined with the *Tepidarium* and the *Laconicum*, or stove, which, situated in some part of it, communicated heat to the whole.

S′ Reservoirs.

T′ Compartments and courts for the general service of the Thermæ, which, from the construction, evidently served for heating the water to be distributed among the adjacent rooms. Underneath those nearest to the Calidarium was situated the *Hypocaustum*.

V′. Large open Peristyles, in which were performed the athletic contests, as the mosaic pavement discovered in 1826 seemed to indicate; for in the semicircular recesses (Hemicyclia) P., separated by the portico O, were represented full figures of "Athletæ," "Discobuli," &c. A few had their names written over them, as IOBIANVS. Some of them had wreaths in their hands, others palm branches. The lateral compartments belonging to the Peristyles had also mosaic flooring, but of another pattern; the rectangular spaces surrounded by columns had also a tesselated pavement. The Hemicyclia might possibly be used for philosophical assemblies, and for distributing the prizes to the Athletæ.

V′ These retiring rooms were probably Ephebia, for the immediate convenience of the Peristyles, called also Palæstræ.

X′ Lateral entrances, which in modern terms might be named porters' lodges.

h Apertures by which the subterraneous apartments received light.

p. Small stairs for ascending to the tribunals and the terraces.

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[37] Vide *Vitruv.* lib. v. cap. 10.

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y. Small stairs for ascending to the upper parts above the Mount Aventine.

z. Idem, conducting to the upper terraces, by one of which the ascent at present is still practicable.

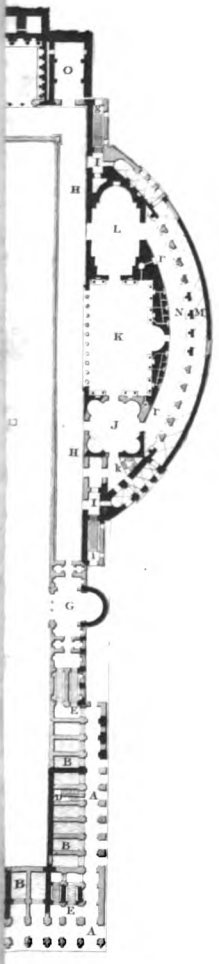
r. Idem, for going down to the subterraneous parts.

It will be noticed, that the places *supplied* in our plan are delineated in lighter tints; all that appears in black lines remains.

One of the three rooms marked E′, F, J′ must be the celebrated Cella Solearis, which we conceive was neither so called from its copper roof, worked like a laced sandal (solea), nor from its royal privilege of having a throne in it (solium), but because it received a great part of its heat from the sun (sol); being exposed to a southern aspect for that purpose, according to the precepts of Vitruvius, and left open at the top. Under these circumstances, we suppose the round room J′ to have been the "Cella Solearis" (vel) "Soliaris;" for there are many things connected with the form and position of that room to give it such pre-eminence which the other two, and above all the Natatio, cannot have.

A written description of these immense masses of brick-work must necessarily be meagre; and the spectator will, with greater pleasure, make his own observations upon the materials therein employed. We shall merely direct his attention to the various fragments of precious marbles which the Conte Velo of Vincenza turned up in his excavations; to the numerous channels in different parts of the building, admirably adapted for conveying water from the roofs; to the traces of the windows, particularly in the rooms communicating with the Arena; to the vestiges of a second story most manifest over the "Cella Solearis." Moreover, a

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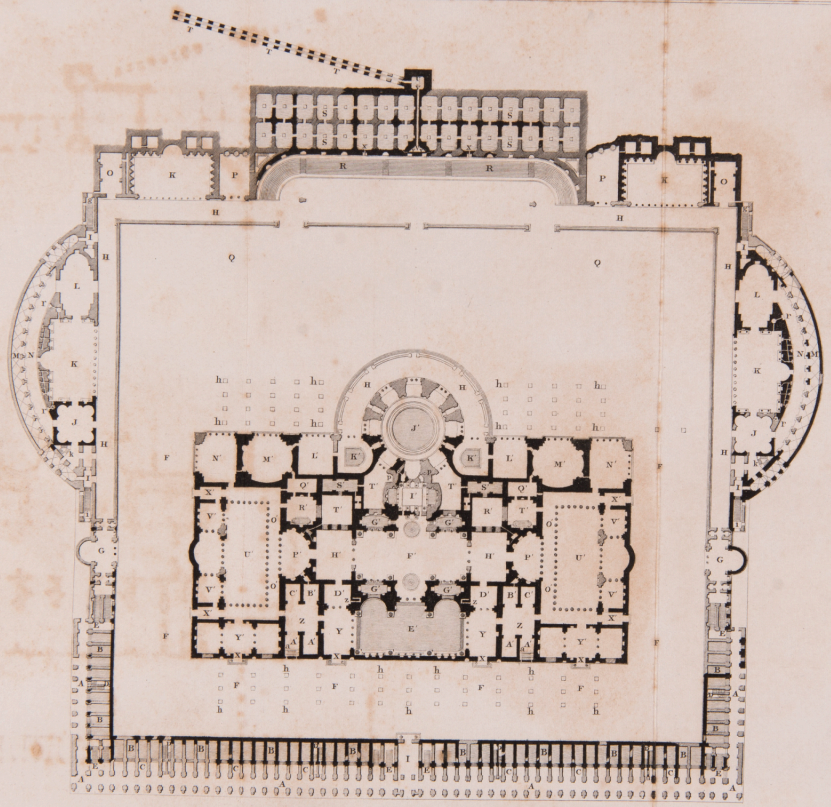


1000 English feet.

400 French metres.

Engraved by T. Higham & J. Cleghorn.

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General Plan of the Baths of Antoninus Caracalla in Rome.

Scale of 10 20 30 40 50 100 200 300 400 500 1000 English feet.

Scale of 5 10 20 30 40 50 100 200 300 400 French metres.

Joseph Pardini Arch.t Rome, 1830.

Engraved by T. Higham, & J. Cleghorn.

Published by Longman, & Co. Paternoster Row, London, July 1, 1831.

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person desirous of increasing his knowledge in the progress and decline of Roman building, will observe the forms of the bricks, the quantity of the cement, and the disposing of materials, compared with the works of earlier and later periods; and perhaps the most frivolous visitors of a sight-seeing community will find something to amuse or arrest their attention in the ruins of Caracalla's baths. Our wonder is increased at "the magnificence of a coarse ruffian," when we add to this description the things that have formerly been found in these ruins; — the celebrated Farnese Hercules[38]; the Glycon; the bull, now in the museum at Naples; the Torso Belvedere; Atreus with the son of Thyestes behind his shoulders; the two fine urns of green and iron-coloured basalt, in the "Cortile" of the Vatican Museum.[39] The nephew of Paul III. found also columns, statues, bas-reliefs. Besides smaller objects, as cameos, intaglios, small statues of metal, medals, lamps, &c., he found the Flora, and the two gladiators, together with a quantity of busts; the two large granite basins now in the Piazza Farnese[40], and the granite column at Florence already mentioned. In more recent times were found some large tiles, with very elegant bas-reliefs upon them, in some of which Venuti ob-

[38] The head of this Hercules was found in a well in the Trastevere, and the legs near Frattochie under Marino. See *Barthemely, Mem.* No. 77.

[39] See also *Aldrovandi, Memor.* No. 14. 19. 31., and *Fea, Miscellan.* p. 65. note (d).

[40] See *Flaminius Vacca, Memor.* No. 23. corrected by Nardini's editor, and the remarks in consequence. *Nardini*, tom. iv. p. 13. note 6.

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served triumphal arches, represented with trophies and quadrigæ, the deities of the capitol, &c.[41] With this enumeration, which perhaps comprehends but a fraction of the original decorations, we leave this mighty monument of Roman grandeur.

Were it only for obtaining one of the most picturesque views which Rome affords of her ruins, we should ascend to the vineyard behind the church of S. Balbina. The lofty walls that rise about this mouldy sanctuary stand upon a prodigious basement, wearing the appearance of having once been a strong fortress: it has been faced with blocks of peperine stone, of which the best specimen is seen at an angle looking towards the Palatine hill. Other ruins lie beneath this shattered basement, which have received the convenient appellation of substructions: but there are vestiges of water-courses among them, and other appearances of a reservoir. If, after the Piscina Publica (which could not have been very far from hence) was dried up, something of the same kind, upon a less scale, was substituted in its place, it is not impossible but these ruins bearing upon the valley beneath may have belonged to them. We shall, indeed, find vestiges of buildings at almost every step; but all is darkness and confusion. It could add nothing to our knowledge of ancient Rome to search and go over them; but it will increase our ideas of its magnificence to imagine what all these things must once have been.

In the vineyard overlooking the baths of Caracalla, and near the church of S. Balbina, was found

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[41] *Venuti, Antichità di Roma,* tom. ii. p. 35.

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an imperfect inscription, which was produced and filled up by Donatus. From this we gather, that in the time of Trajan a wealthy individual had here some private property, where, in all probability, he had made his groves and gardens sacred to Sylvanus, the deity of health. * A votive altar, and two other inscriptions relating to the same god, were also found in this neighbourhood, which have caused some antiquaries to conjecture that the temple of Sylvanus, collated into the thirteenth region, stood upon this eminence. [42] We must still, however, maintain this to be the twelfth region, especially as Frontinus seems to point here to the "horti Asiniani," agreeably to the record of P. Victor. [43] The inscription and the ancient writers being compared will mutually illustrate each other, and help us to conclude that beyond the limits of the Aventine region this hill, in the time of Trajan at least, was in possession of a few wealthy citizens, who spared no expense in adorning their gardens and pleasure-grounds.

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* See Note C C.

[42] Venuti, tom. ii. p. 42., mentions the inscriptions and votive altar; but, to adopt the words of Nardini, tom. iii. p. 302., "Che del tempio di Silvano dal Vittore nuovo registrato si possa conchiudere io non veggo." Besides, there is no "*ædes Sylvani*" whatever mentioned in the genuine regionary, nor yet in the "Notitia."

[43] "Anio Vetus . . . pervenit in regionem Viæ Novæ ad hortos Asinianos." — *Frontinus de Aquis, &c.* art. xxi. p. 75. No. 1. Edit. Patav. 1722. The Via Nova was the new street made by Caracalla (see Dissert. III.) near his baths. Compare also *Fabretti, de Aquis, &c.* dissert. i. cap. 13. p. 30. In the twelfth Region P. Victor registers the "horti Asiniani," supposed to have originally belonged to Asinius Pollio, of whom *Virgil. Bucol.* eclog. iv. &c.

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The second region, called Cœlimontana, measured 12,200 feet in circumference, and scarcely extended beyond the limits of the Cælian hill: its confines, therefore, will be accurately enough ascertained by tracing the outlines of that hill as they have already been laid down in the general survey of the ancient city. In this district there were eight streets, above 3000 insulæ, and 123 houses; so that it was more populous than that of the Piscina Publica. It contained a proportionate number of private baths and pools [44], and places of public resort. Out of all the objects enumerated in the long catalogues of Victor and Rufus, it cannot be ascertained that one remains. The ruins of the temples may be involved in the materials of churches; and vestiges of the camps and palæstræ might possibly be traced in nameless substructions. The "regia T. Hostilii," and the "Alban mansions," may lie concealed in gardens, or beneath convents; but we must be content to know that such things *once existed* on the Cælian hill. We are not, however, reduced to despair because, in this instance, the regionaries must be abandoned; for the most conspicuous objects still remaining, but not therein mentioned, may be verified upon

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[44] It is to be observed that baths and fountains, and even temples, were become almost necessary appendages to every great man's house, so that it became a proverb: — "One house is a city, and thousands of cities make up Rome." For this, *Olympiodorus in Photii Bibliothec.* p. 114. Ὅτι ἕκαστος τῶν μεγάλων οἴκων τῆς Ῥωμῆς, ὡς φήσιν, ἅπανλα εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὁπόσα πόλις σύμμελρος ἡδύναλο ἔχειν· ἱπποδρόμον καὶ φόρες καὶ νάες καὶ πήγας καὶ λούτρα διαφόρα, διὸ καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἀπεφθέγξαλο.

Εἷς δόμος ἄςυ πέλει, πόλις ἄςεα μυρία τεύχει.

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other competent testimony; and we shall be unwilling to pass over any ruin without applying as much of that testimony as we are able, and as may serve to illustrate it.

From the steps leading up to the church of S. Gregory is an imposing view of the stupendous ruins of the palace of the Cæsars. Those arches projecting from the mass towards the Cælian hill were the termination of an aqueduct, which may still be partially traced for nearly two miles: it began from the lofty frontispiece of the Claudian aqueduct at the present Porta Maggiore, where its admirable construction of brick-work will be best seen and appreciated; and as a specimen of work which the ancients called "lateritia[45]," of the age of Nero, Rome at this day offers no parallel. From the Porta Maggiore, the arches may be followed in continued preservation to near the "Santa Scala," and again partially across the Piazza Laterano: they will be seen again in the deserted Via S. Stefano, and finally in the Piazza Navicella, near which place, as a continued aqueduct, it ended. But from the place where Frontinus says it thus ended there began other branches, which conveyed the water to the Palatine and Aventine hills, and

[45] Nardini fancies this fine brick-work was originally covered with masonry like the Claudian aqueduct, at which Fabretti is justly surprised, and inserts this sound quotation: — "Cum ergo, tam magna potentia, reges non contempserint lateritiorum parietum structuras quibus et vectigalibus et præda sæpius licitum fuerat, non modo cæmentitio aut quadrato saxo sed etiam marmoreo habere, non puto oportere improbare quæ lateritia sunt structura facta ædificia dummodo recte sint perfecta." Vide *Vitruv. de Architect.* lib. vii. cap. 8. et *Fabretti de Aquis, &c.* dissert. i. cap. 10.

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even beyond the Tyber [46]; of which branches, we presume, the arches before us are the remains of one, but made or repaired after the time of Nero. The great work thus described was known by the name of the Neronian arches, doubtless because it was first constructed by Nero for the purpose of conveying water to his golden house and extensive gardens. Its original appellation does not seem to have long survived the tyrant; for it appears by an inscription, which proves Septimius Severus repaired the aqueduct, that they were called the Cœlimontane arches [47]; and, although originally erected to gratify the pride and luxury of one man, must subsequently have become one of the most useful works in the city. Its utility alone, perhaps,

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[46] Frontinus is the only authority for this aqueduct; but the following are precious words for antiquaries: —

"Finiuntur arcus earum [scilicet, Claudiæ et Anienis] post hortos Pallantianos unde in usum Urbis fistulis deducuntur, partem tamen sui Claudia prius in arcus qui vocantur Neroniani ad spem veterem transfert, hi directi per Cælium montem juxta templum Divi Claudii terminantur, modum quem acceperunt aut circa ipsum montem aut in Palatium, Aventinumque et Regionem Transtiberinam dimittunt." — *Sex. Julii Frontin. de Aqueduct. Urb. Rom. Comment.* art. xxi., *cum notis et emendat. in verbis "hortos Pallantianos," et in sententia "ipsum montem."*

[47] This appears from an inscription which may be seen at length in *Gruter*, tom. i. p. 187. "Imp. Cæs. L. Septimius Severus," &c. The last three lines only are necessary to be here inserted: —

ARCVS COELIMONTANOS PLVRIFARIAM
VETVSTATE CONLAPSOS ET CONRVPTOS
A SOLO SVA PECVNIA RESTITVERVNT.

An ancient document attests the locality of the inscription itself: — "In aqueductu ante hospitalem Sancti Johannis *olim* affixa." — Vide *Fabretti de Aquis et Aqueductibus*, dissert. i. cap. 9.

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saved it from sharing the same fate as the overgrown palace which covered a great portion of three of the hills of Rome. This account of the Neronian aqueduct, whose imposing ruins will frequently meet the eye in making the circuit of this region, will render any recurrence to the subject unnecessary, except some local observations.

The church of S. Gregory was founded after his death upon the site of his paternal mansion, and where he himself had previously erected the church of S. Andrew, and a monastery.[48] Of that church there still remains a part of the "tribune" to be seen behind the chapels, which contain the celebrated fresco paintings. This ruin bears a date as early as 597 A. D. Gregory was descended from the ancient and noble family of the Anicii[49]; and if, as his biographer declares, the monastery was founded upon his own house, we may, perhaps, here recognise the site of the Anician palace. As late as the sixth century the Anician family is

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[48] "Septimum intra Romanæ urbis mœnia, sub honore Sancti Andreæ Apostoli, juxta Basilicam sanctorum Joannis et Pauli, ad clivum Scauri monasterium, in proprio domate fabricavit." — *Vit. S. Gregorii a Joanne Diacono*, lib. i. cap. 6. Edit. Paris. 1619. It is difficult to conceive why Mr. Gibbon should have cited this passage so different from the true reading (see *History of the Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. xlv. note 68.), unless, to use his own expression, he wished "to melt down" the "proprio domate fabricavit."

[49] For the history of the Anician family, consult *Gibbon's History*, ch. xxxi. M. Anicius Gallus was tribune 506 U. C. The first consulship in the family was in the year of the city 593; and for the genealogy of the Frangipani family, descended from the Anician, see *Alberto Cassio, Memorie di S. Silvia*, cap. v. p. 43.

N. B. The Forojuliensian branch was surviving in 1752.

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mentioned with respect, and through seven centuries had maintained the honour of nobility.[50] In the time of Gregory, it is probable, the riches of the palace had been taken away by the Goths; but an ample patrimony must have been left to the saint, to enable him to found seven monasteries out of his own resources. One of them stood on the site of the palace itself, which confines us to mere topography; but yet the curious antiquaries have thought to recognise, amongst the substructions in the vineyard of the monks, some vestiges of the family mansion of Gregory the Great. The declivity upon which one of the seven monasteries was founded was anciently called the "clivus Scauri;"[51] and on that part of the Palatine hill which faces this ascent must have stood the house of L. Æmilius Scaurus[52], the same who built the Milvian

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[50] *Cassiodorus, Variar.* lib. x. epist. 10. and 12. We are interested in the family and paternal house of the "Bishop of the West," for he sent Christianity into England.

[51] S. Gregory himself, who lived at no distant period from the authors of the Regionaries, is our authority.

"Proinde quum inter te Candidum Abbatem Monasterii S. Andreæ Apostoli positi in hac urbe Romana, in clivo Scauri, agentem utilitates ejusdem Monasterii, et Maurentium gloriosum magistrum militiæ." — *Epist. B. Gregorii*, lib. vii. epist. 13. It does not concern us to know the dispute between the abbot and the captain.

[52] Scaurus demolished the house of his neighbour Cn. Octavius, that he might have room to enlarge his own (*Cic. de Officiis*, lib. i. cap. 39.). Both Pliny and Asconius mention the five marble columns which adorned the atrium of Scaurus's house; but the latter also fixes its locality. "Demonstrasse vobis memini me hanc domum in ea parte Palatii esse, quæ cum ab Sacra Via descenderis et per proximum vicum qui est ab sinistra parte prodieris posita est, possidet eum nunc Longius Cæcina," &c. — *Asconius in notis Oration. pro Scauro.*

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Bridge, and constructed the Via Æmilia. He also left his name to one of the streets of Rome. A "clivus" generally denoted a paved street or road with any ascent, however gentle: such, we shall see, was the Clivus Capitolinus, the Clivus Victoriæ, and such was the Clivus Cinnæ, or Monte Mario. Nothing curious or very interesting could result from ascertaining, if it were possible, the exact direction of the Clivus Scauri; but such things as these, as far as they may be known without a tedious and unsatisfactory research, form important features in a topographical view of Rome; and this "Clivus Scauri" will, moreover, recal to the memory of the classical reader one of the most illustrious families of the republic.

In ascending to the church of "SS. Giovanni e Paolo," we pass under some arches of brick, which are nothing more than works of the middle ages, constructed, probably, for the better support of some adjacent buildings; and then succeed some arches of an inferior description, for which no use is assigned. But we are now to examine the ruins extending along the base of the Cælian hill, from the above-mentioned church to very near the Colosseum.

A part of the convent of the Passionists is built upon some solid arches of unfinished stone; the flank of the first is seen before entering the gate which leads into the lower vineyard. But, having entered, we shall find there remain eight of those immense arches, with their pilasters and cornice of the same material. This building, which was thought by the old school of antiquaries to be the Curia Hostilia, has yielded to the more probable

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appellation of the Vivarium of Domitian, which in modern terms would be called a "menagerie." The idea is chiefly derived from the nature of its construction.[53] In excavating the first story, which is now interred, it was discovered there was no communication from one arch to another; the interior walls of the arches rested against the hill, which was built up by a wall, and hollowed out into grottos. In the upper story, now visibly remaining, it will be observed that the arches have been laterally closed, but had small portals of communication, of which a specimen may be seen in the flank of the third arch. As no traces of jambs or hinges can be found, it is supposed these square apertures were grated with iron: and thus the lower story is assigned for wild beasts, and the upper for birds of prey. The opinion receives further confirmation from the building being situated not far from the Amphitheatre; and from the resemblance of those arches to some of the unfinished parts of that edifice: the same reasons would assign the work to the age of Domitian. There is, indeed, no account of that emperor[54] having built such an appendage to the Colosseum; but, since Vespasian and Titus had scarcely time to finish their great undertaking, it is most probable this work would devolve upon their successor.

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[53] *Venuti, Antichità di Roma*, part i. ch. 8. p. 253.

[54] Domitian restored a great number of buildings which had been destroyed by fire. He erected a temple on the Capitol to Jupiter Custos. He built the temple of the Flavian family. Also he made a Stadium, an Odeum, a Naumachia; but a Vivarium is not found amongst his works, as related by *Suet. in vit. Domitian*, cap. v.

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Behind the Vivarium is a descent into some subterraneous caverns, which, whether for the sake of procuring materials for building, or for any other purpose, have been formed by manual labour: the marks of instruments are every where visible in the original tufo. The water distilling from above has formed several small lakes, and, in some places, is commencing the formation of stalactites. Not far from the entrance, and immediately above the first lake, is to be observed an aperture, which has been perforated from above, and designed for the purpose of letting down objects into the caverns. In this particular there is a close resemblance to the Mamertine prison, which induces us to suppose this was a prison for the condemned gladiators. In this region there was a place called the Spoliarium[55], which, as is intimated by Pliny the younger, was "a cruel receptacle" for those adjudged worthy of torture[56]; and the proclamation of the senate after the death of Commodus shows, that "the gladiator butchered in the Spoliarium" was a well-known phrase.[57] If we had to form an idea of the cruelty of the emperors, and the inhuman treatment of the condemned gladiators, it would be enough to receive the impression from these gloomy recesses,

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[55] Victor and Rufus have Spolium Samarium, the Notitia, Spoliarium Samarium; which reading is confirmed by the authors cited in the following notes.

[56] "Nunc templum illud nunc vere ædes, non spoliarium civium, cruentarumque prædarum sævum receptaculum," &c. — *Plin. in Panegyric*, cap. xxxvi.

[57] "Gladiatorem in Spoliario" is several times repeated in this proclamation. Vide *Ælium Lamprid. in vita Commodi*, versus finem.

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where the light of day has never come, and from whence the cries of the wretches could scarcely reach the ears of the Roman people. That this was the scene of such misery, no one can pretend positively to assert; but it is not improbable, both from its connection with the Vivarium, and the collateral testimony afforded by the regionaries. We may now ascend to the delightful gardens of the convent, where the palm tree flourishes, and the verdure grows upon the square platform moulded by the ruins beneath it.

We are told by Suetonius that Nero made, as an appendage to his "golden house," a reservoir like unto a sea, and which was set round with buildings, so that it resembled a city.[58] In these ruins we may, perhaps, recognise the gigantic work here spoken of. First, the Neronian arches are said to have ended near the temple of Claudius; and that temple (situated on the Cælian hill) was almost destroyed in executing the works of Nero.[59] In these gardens we see where the aqueduct finishes, and at the same time may be observed some additional arches of a date posterior to Nero's work, and which, perhaps, are some of the repairs made by Septimius Severus.[60] But where the aqueduct is thus seen to terminate, and consequently where it poured out its waters, is situated this large re-

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[58] "Item stagnum maris instar, circumseptum ædificiis ad urbium speciem." — *Suet. Nero*, cap. xxxi.

[59] "Divique Claudii [templum fecit] in Cœlio monte, cœptum quidem ab Agrippina, sed a Nerone prope funditus destructum: item amphitheatrum urbe media." — *Suet. Vespasian*, cap. ix.

[60] Compare Note 46. p. 158.

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ceptacle: if, therefore, we can find any positive indications of this fabric having been adapted to contain water, the words of Suetonius will be strictly applicable. The Cælian hill originally sloped towards the site of the Colosseum: consequently, in order to build a reservoir, it was necessary to raise the whole to the same level. Standing on a projecting mass of ruins, formed by the north-west angle of the building, we can easily discern this artificial formation of the hill; and along the western side remain, in good preservation, the niches and "hemicyclia" which have originally adorned it. By descending into the vineyard beneath the garden, it will be remarked that the niches are separated from the mass behind them by means of narrow corridors, in order, no doubt, to preserve them dry, and render the ornaments secure from the injury of water. The small intervening niches, generally three in number, are evidently of a subsequent date to the larger ones, and probably designed as mere buttresses for supporting the whole mass. Although this part of the edifice alone remains in a sufficient state of preservation to give a just idea of its magnitude and construction, it is easy to imagine that the side opposite the Palatine hill was uniformly constructed; but there is some difference in the elevation which faces the Colosseum. There is also another detached ruin, which, we presume, has been a minor receptacle for the water falling from above: there are still to be seen in it the traces of channels for admitting the water; and there are two rooms, resembling those in the "Sette Sale," peculiarly adapted for that purpose. From this minor

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reservoir the water fell again into some others which occupied the site of the Colosseum, and were called the "stagna Neronis."[61] In this manner, we have traced the water from the aqueduct through the great reservoir into this minor receptacle, and, finally, how it was poured into the lake below: thus forming, in all probability, two magnificent cascades.[62] These conjectures are further confirmed by a nearer inspection of the materials made use of in works of this nature; for in one place remains a specimen of the incrustation or flooring used by the Romans in aqueducts and reservoirs. This consists of a triple substance, composed of opus signinum, opus spicatum, and opus musivum, and which is conformable to the precepts of Vitruvius.[63] To these remarks we may add the discoveries of Cassio: he found this immense ruin furnished with wells, a channel or specus all along

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[61] "Hic, ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant."
Martial de Spect. ep. 2.

The "*stagna*" mentioned here cannot, I think, be identified with "stagnum maris instar," &c. of Suetonius; for compare Note 58. p. 164.

[62] I believe this idea was originally suggested to me by Professor Nibby; and I take this opportunity of acknowledging, once for all, the assistance I have so frequently received from that gentleman (vivâ voce), and the readiness with which he has always communicated to me the result of his learned researches.

[63] Vide *M. Vitruv. Pollion. de Architect.* lib. vii. cap. 1. On the word signinum, see *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 4.; and conf. *Bernardino Baldo de Significat. Verbor. Vitruvian.*; conf. etiam *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. cap. 12. On the spicatum, or as in Vitruvius, "testa spicata," vide *annotat. Philandri in verb.* and *Baldo.* Musivium is not a Vitruvian word; he mentions for it "pavimenta — sectilibus seu tesseris," on which words see *Philander.*

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the top, and a *Euripus*, or place for a stream of water, running round the base.[64] In the convent of the Passionists is preserved a leaden pipe, which somewhere conveyed twenty-three pounds of the Claudian water. Not far from the Vivarium of Domitian were found four marble seats, which probably stood in some of the niches on the north-west side; and they are now to be seen in the Palazzo Mattei. If, therefore, we have manifest indications of this large basin having contained water, not less are the proofs that it was set round and adorned with building; and consequently, applying the words of Suetonius, we recognise the "stagnum," or large reservoir of Nero. Nor is it surprising that a work of such utility should, like the aqueduct, be suffered to remain, whilst the overgrown palace moved the just indignation of the Roman people. Vespasian, in all probability, made it subservient to the Amphitheatre; and, perhaps, it was this easy supply of water which enabled Domitian to give a representation of a naval combat in the Colosseum.[65]

The Piazza Navicella is situated 144 French feet above the level of the sea[66]; and our access to it is either by the "Via" of the same name, or by continuing to ascend from the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Before entering the piazza by the latter direction are some ruins, consisting chiefly of broken arches, not to be confounded with the

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[64] Vide *Alberto Cassio Corso delle Acque*, tom. ii. num. 15.; and *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* part i. cap. 8. p. 255.

[65] *Sueton, in vita Domitian*, cap. iv.

[66] *Brocchi del suolo di Roma Memoria*, p. 211.

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Neronian aqueduct, nor to be assigned for any specific use. Adjoining these unknown ruins is an arch built of travertine stone, still bearing an ancient inscription. The letters are somewhat defaced, as well as the original form of the arch disfigured by the aqueduct subsequently brought over it; but the work erected by the consuls will probably survive the buildings of the emperor. Panvinio has cited this inscription to prove * there was such an office as that of "Flamen Martialis," or sacrificing priest of Mars: but why Silanus should have annexed this title to his name in a consular inscription becomes a matter of enquiry, because it was uncommon so to do. There was upon the Cælian hill a place for public exercises, called the "Campus Martialis," which served instead of the more extensive field of Mars, when that part of the city was inundated by the Tyber.† It has, therefore, been conjectured (as no use can be assigned for this arch, not even a triumph), that this was an entrance or road leading to the Campus Martialis; and for that reason the consul annexed his title, which bore the identical epithet. However vague may be the supposition, in such conjectures there is often information to be gathered; and had it not been for two words in this inscription, we should perhaps have neither mentioned the office of Flamen, nor the temporary field of Mars. A pyramidical meta, now existing in the Villa Casali, and found not far from thence, may vaguely point to the site of the Campus Martialis; although the meta, without a shadow of authority, has been as-

* See Note D D.

† See Note E E.

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signed by some for the use of the stadium of Domitian.[67]

The two Romans whose names are still legible on this ancient stone are both mentioned by Tacitus: the mute stone might have been eloquent in the praises of Dolabella, the last of a noble family who sustained the dignity of consul, had not the pen of the faithful historian recorded his degeneracy. Dolabella and Silanus were consuls under Augustus, in the tenth year of the Christian era.[68] In the reign of Tiberius, Silanus held the office of proconsul of Asia; and, at the instigation of the jealous emperor, was falsely accused of extortion. His slaves were put to the torture to obtain evidence against him; Asia was ransacked for witnesses[69]; and Silanus saw his defence would be unavailing: but it ill became the colleague of his former consulship to stand forward as his most virulent accuser, and become the vilest flatterer to be found in an obsequious and servile senate.[70]

In the Piazza della Navicella have been found

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[67] Since this Dissertation was written the meta has disappeared — removed from the only place where it was an object of interest!

[68] The Cornelius Dolabella here treated of must not be confounded with the son-in-law of Cicero of that name, who was advanced to the consulship by Julius Cæsar. The "Fasti Consulares" fix the consulship of Dolabella and Silanus in the year we have stated: —

AN. URB.	A. CYC.		A. C.
763.	49.	Dolabella et Silano Mer. xxiii.	10.

Fasti Consular. auctor. anonymo.

[69] *Annal. Tacit.* lib. iii. cap. 67.

[70] "At Cornelius Dolabella, dum adulationem longius sequitur, increpitis C. Silani moribus, addidit, 'ne quis vita probrosus et opertus infamia,'" &c. — *Tacit. Ann.* lib. iii. cap. 68.

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inscriptions, which, in conformity with Victor and Rufus, seem to fix the locality of the "Castra Peregrina."[71] This was a camp or barracks (if we may use a modern term) for the German or other foreign soldiers that might be stationed in the city: the emperors had occasionally such as guards of their person.[72] The form and construction of the camp are lost for ever; and although we might with safety say it was near this spot, yet it were in vain to attempt to trace a single vestige. It was in the Castra Peregrina where the fierce Chonomar, King of the Germans, languished in a miserable exile, after he had been taken prisoner by Julian at the famous battle of Strasbourg.[73]

From the garden belonging to the Villa Mattei, whose new possessor is "the Prince of Peace," may be well observed the bold outline of the Cæ-

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71 "Castra Peregrina," says Panvinio, "erant in Cœlio monte prope ædiculum S. Mariæ in Domnica, ut ex his inscriptionibus liquet quæ in ejus area aliquot annis ante inventæ sunt." He then inserts two inscriptions, in both of which are found the word PEREGRINORVM. They are adopted by Nardini; and Professor Nibby, in his note appended, has added another, which was found in the Vigna Casale, and at present exists in the Collegio Romano. Compare *Panvinio, Urb. Rom. Descript.* lib. i. p. 78., and *Nardini*, lib. iii. cap. 7. p. 202. tom. i.

72 For instance, Caligula. "Mox Germani corporis custodes, ac nonnullos ex percussoribus, quosdam etiam senatores innoxios, interemerunt." — *Suet. in vit. Caligulæ*, cap. lviii.; compare also *Tacit. Hist.* lib. i. cap. 6.

73 See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. xix. towards the end, and note 74. He quotes Ammianus for the form and character of Chonomar; but we must add the following, for the sake of togographical testimony: — "Et diebus postea paucis ductus ad comitatum Imperatoris, missusque exinde Romam in Castris Peregrinis quæ in monte sunt Cœlio, morbo veterni consumptus est." — *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xvi. cap. 34.

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lian hill, and with it the western limits of the second region.[74]

The lane leading down to the Via Farratella has every appearance of an ancient road: it is, perhaps, contemporary with the "Porta Metronis," with which it seems to communicate. This gate is now closed, admitting underneath it the stream called the "aqua Crabra." At this point, the walls of Rome approach very near the site of the most ancient city; and it is an advantageous position for recognising the direction of the walls of Servius Tullius, as we supposed them to have extended on the south side of Rome.

The curious and interesting church of S. Stefano Rotundo bears so many marks of antiquity in its columns and construction, that antiquaries have always been fain to class it among the monuments of ancient Rome. Fulvio first called it, without hesitation, the temple of Faunus[75]; and it is so called in the "Mirabilia Romæ."[76] Succeeding writers named it the temple of Bacchus; and, finally, the temple of Claudius, because Frontinus says the Neronian arches ended near that temple[77];

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[74] There are several things in this villa highly deserving of attention, independently of its beautiful situation. See *Vasi, Itinerar. Seconda Giornata.*

[75] "Il tempio di Santo Stefano rotundo nel monte Cœlio, il quale anticamente era il tempio di Fauno capripede." See *Paulo del Rossi's translation of Fulvio*, carta 66. Such also was the opinion of Biondo. See *Roma Restaurata*, lib. i. sect. 80.

[76] Vide *Effemeridi, Litterarie di Roma*, 1820, p. 378.

[77] Nardini detected this error. Vide *Rom. Antica*, lib. iii. cap. 7.; and note 5. page 74. in *Frontinus*, edit. Padova, 1723; and compare Note 46. p. 158.

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but we have already seen the termination of those arches in the garden of the Passionists; and, consequently, have assigned to the temple of Claudius a position more probable near the reservoir of Nero. The three heathen names are furnished out of the regionaries[78], being the names of the only three temples which stood upon the Cælian hill. But, after admitting that the columns of the interior belonged to some ancient building, we may be content with fixing a very early date to this edifice as a Christian church; and if Simplicius was pope in 467 A.D., when he dedicated the Basilica of S. Stephen on the Cælian hill *, then have we nearly 1400 years to throw an air of venerable antiquity around it. Not less shall we respect the walls which have remained to preserve the memory of the monastery of S. Erasmus.[79]

From the Porta Metronis the Via Farratella leads to the Piazza Laterano; but, from the church of S. Stephen, we arrive by following the direction of the aqueduct. In ascending by the former road, the attention will be attracted by masses of brick-work on the side of the Cælian hill, for which antiquaries have in vain sought a name.[80] It will

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[78] "Templum Bacchi, templum Fauni, templum Divi Claudii." — *Sextus Rufus.* Victor and the Notitia have only the latter. Vide *Panvinio, Commen. de Rep. Rom.* lib. iii. p. 114.

* See Note F F.

[79] "Sed et in monasterio Sancti Erasmi situm in Cœlio monte," &c. — *Anastasius in vita Adeodati*, A.C. 669. *apud Scriptores Rerum Italic.* tom. iii. p. 141.; and compare *Biondo, Roma Restaurat.* lib. i. cart. 82, 83.

[80] Something has been said about the house of M. Aurelius and Philippus Augustus; but the conjectures are now abandoned.

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be also remarked that the road is cut through other ruins, which are equally unknown, but which show how the ground on which the buildings of the Lateran stand has been raised by the accumulation of decayed buildings. In the solitary Via S. Stefano will be remarked the solid construction of the aqueduct; and, with a little discernment, the repairs of Septimius Severus will be easily separated from the original work of Nero. And thus arriving at the Basilica of the Lateran, we shall endeavour to bring into one view what remains to be mentioned in the second region, and the numerous vestiges which continue to elude the research of the antiquary.

The Lateran derives its name from a wealthy senator, Plautius Lateranus, who is mentioned by Tacitus as one of the conspirators against Nero, and for which he suffered death.[81] His magnificent house, which was besieged by the emperor's orders[82], was, in all probability, confiscated, and subsequently became an imperial domain[83]; but the name of the senator is immortalised.

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[81] *Tacit. Annales*, lib. xv. sect. 49. & 60.

[82] ——— "Jussuque Neronis
Longinum, et magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
Clausit, et *egregias* Lateranorum obsidet ædes
Tota cohors." *Juv. Sat.* x. 15

Mr. Forsyth applies these lines (ridiculously enough) to the colossal statues which encumber the attic of the Basilica.

[83] The tablet of metal containing the "Lex regia," in which the senate confers the imperial power upon Vespasian, was found on the site of the Basilica, and may afford a slight intimation of the Lateran house being his residence or property. This "Lex regia" is preserved in the museum of the Campidoglio.

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From the time of Nero, we lose sight of the Lateran house for about a hundred years: it is then mentioned by Capitolinus as being near the abode of Annius Verus, the grandfather of Marcus Aurelius.[84] It was finally made subservient, by Constantine, to the use of the church; for he is said to have built his Basilica upon the site of it.[85] There can be little doubt that the more sumptuous edifice, reared by the popes in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, occupies the same site, as appears both from casual discoveries and a most constant tradition.[86]

The house in which Marcus Aurelius was born, and which he afterwards inhabited, was, as we have observed, near the Lateran palace. His equestrian statue, which now adorns the Campidoglio, was found near the Scala Santa; and it is obvious the ground now covered by that consecrated building is raised by an accumulation of ruins. From these things we may, at least, draw some topographical inference.* We must be content with knowing that the house of Tetricus, in which Aurelian feasted, *once existed* on the Cælian hill. Still more vague is the site of the habitation designed for the hostages of

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[84] *Capitolin. M. Ant. Philosp.* sect. i. p. 289. Edit. Lugd. Batav. 1671. 8vo. Compare also the *Letters of M. Aurelius to Fronto*, lib. ii. epist. 1. Edit. Maii.

[85] Vide *Nicephorus Callistus, Ecclesias. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 49. p. 520. tom. i.; and consult *Baronius, Ecclesias. Annales in S. Sylvester.*

[86] Two leaden pipes have been found, on both of which is read the name of Lateranus. See also *Memorie di Flaminia Vacca*, No. 121.; and *Biondo, Rom. Restaurat.* lib. i. cart. 86.

* See Note G G.

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the Parthians [87], the house of Philip, and the public Thermæ. In the second region are also registered two schools for exercise, the Ludus Matutinus and the Ludus Gallicus. Panvinio has produced several inscriptions relating to them, most of which mention a procurator and a physician as belonging to the establishments.[88] In the third region, whose limits with the second here become doubtful, are mentioned three other schools, with the respective epithets of Magnus, Mamertinus, Dacicus. Of the former, the plan is preserved in the Pianta Capitolina [89], which gives it a grain of interest. The adjective Matutinus naturally suggests the school for morning exercises; but, perhaps, Gallicus and Dacicus may intimate the peculiar style of riding taught in the respective schools.*

To meet the names of the objects here enumerated, without wandering too far from the limits of our region, we may, in the first place, point to the ruins already observed on the side of the Cælian hill from the Via Faratella, and those succeeding in the Vigna "Sancta Sanctorum." Below the hospital of the Lateran was discovered, in 1780, a room divided into four partitions, which were painted with some figures in the attitude of servants serving up a banquet, and which have been beautifully published by Cassini.[90] Here we would

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[87] *Nardini, Rom. Antica,* tom. i. p. 210.

[88] *Onuphrio Panvinio, Urb. Rom. Descript.* lib. i. p. 80.

[89] See the map entitled *Vestigie di Rom. Antica,* fragment No. 13.

* See Note H H.

[90] "Pitture antiche ritrovate nello scavo dietro l'ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano, nel orto spettante al pio luogo Santa

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fain recognise the house of Tetricus.[91] About the "Baptistery of Constantine" are other substructions; and built into the walls of the adjoining chapels are some fragments of a cornice, of exquisite workmanship, resting upon two disfigured columns of porphyry: these, we conceive, belonged to the old Lateran palace. Under the Corsini chapel, within the Basilica, have been found busts, altars, and precious marbles, which, doubtless, adorned the same edifice.[92] At the church of SS. Pietro and Marcellino have been disinterred fragments of a large wall, blocks of travertine, and pieces of leaden pipes, which induced Piranesi to believe here were the Thermæ Publicæ.[93] In the same place, at a depth of twenty Roman palms, was found an old road, which probably tended towards the ancient Porta Cœlimontana. The bronze tablet, on which is written the ancient "senatus consultum" of the time of Vespasian, and now to be seen in the museum of the Campidoglio, was found near the "atrium" of the

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Santorum," edit. Rom. 1783, in folio. Fragments of granite columns, marbles, and a centaur of bronze were previously discovered on the same spot.

[91] The pictures found were seven in number, representing slaves in long robes in the act of carrying dishes garnished for serving up a banquet; the memory of Aurelian's feast was preserved in painting in the house of Tetricus.

[92] *Venuti, Antichità di Rom.* part i. cap. 8. p. 239.

[93] *Venuti, ibid.* p. 237. The editor of Venuti (*ibid.* p. 255.) thinks the great reservoir of Nero on the Cælian hill might subsequently be reduced to baths, and called the Thermæ Publicæ, to avoid the odious name of Nero. The remark is somewhat ingenious; but the Arcus *Neroniani* are mentioned by Frontinus.

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Lateran church; and in restoring the edifice were discovered some deep caves of pozzolana, proving this eminence to have been without the old walls.[95] The lofty convent of the Quattro Coronati is also founded upon ruins — not those of the Castra Peregrina, as Biondo thought[96]; nor dare we think it conceals the site of the Alban mansions. The convent itself was founded by Pope Honorius I., and therefore claims an antiquity of 1200 years, and in its present form wears the venerable aspect of more than seven centuries.[97] Thus might we wander in this ample field of conjecture: but if the evening tints have touched the Alban hills, or tinged the aged arches of the aqueduct, it may be more engaging to contemplate the scene from the steps of the Mother Basilica.

The obelisk reared in the piazza, including the basement and the cross, is 153 Roman feet high, and is one of the most famous Rome possesses. According to the recent discoveries, it sets forth the glory of the Pharaoh Thoutmosis III., called Meri, the same who was the Mœris of the Greeks, so renowned for the formation of the lake which promoted the agricultural prosperity of Egypt.[98]

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[95] *Venuti, Antichità di Roma,* p. 240. note A.

[96] *Roma restaurat.* lib. i. cart. 81.

[97] Vide *Anastas. Bibliothec. de vitis Roman. Pontif. ap. Scriptores Rerum Italic.* tom. iii. p. 137. A. C. 626. The work of Pope Honorius was utterly destroyed by Robert Guiscard; and the convent, as it now stands, was made by Pasqual II. A. C. 1112. *Muratori, Scriptores, &c. ibid.* p. 360. *Ex MS. Pandulph. Pisan. in vit. Paschalis II.*

[98] *Champollion's Apercii,* translated in the *Oriental Herald* for September, 1827, No. xlv. p. 456. I have since been informed that M. Champollion has read the name of the Pharaoh

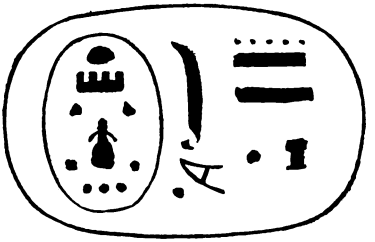
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It was brought from Thebes to Alexandria, down the Nile, by Constantine. Constantius fulfilled the designs of his father; and, in a vessel provided with 300 oars, transported it to the Tyber, and landed it three miles below Rome in the year 357. With considerable labour it was set up in the Circus Maximus[99], and, in the course of time, was involved in the ruins of that edifice. Sixtus V. found it interred twenty-four Roman palms deep, and broken into three pieces. Under the direction of the architect Fontana, it was taken up, and erected before the new Lateran palace, in 1588.[100]

It is now approaching to 800 years since Robert Guiscard laid waste with fire and sword the Lateran district as far as the Colosseum[101]; and in that devastation were probably involved the edifices we have sought for in vain. The waste is now reple-

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who was drowned in the Red Sea in following the Israelites on the Lateran obelisk; and that he was Thoutmosis the Seventh, king of the eighteenth dynasty! This is his hieroglyphic name, which a friend of mine copied from a Scarabæus brought from Egypt: —



[99] *Ammian. Marcellin.* p. 176. Edit. Lugd. Batav. 1693. 4to.

[100] The obelisk is now 144 Roman palms in length, without reckoning the base or pedestal (see *Vasi's Itinerary*, tom. i. p. 166.); but it has probably been shortened in fitting the pieces together.

[101] Vide *Rerum Italic. Scriptores*, tom. ii. part i. p. 313.

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nished with a few habitations, the convent of the Quattro Coronati, the church of SS. Pietro and Marcellino, and the sumptuous Basilica of the Lateran, with its appendages: and if the Norman could now revisit the scene, he might wonder at the magnificence of the popes, whilst he recognised the traces of his own destructive labours. But we may rather be inclined to contemplate the obelisk, which takes us back to the Pharaohs and to the glory of the Egyptian Thebes, — which proclaims the extensive dominions of Rome, — and finally celebrates her fallen grandeur, which could furnish out of its ruins such a durable and stupendous monument.



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DISSERTATION THE FIFTH:

COMPRISING TWO REGIONS; VIZ. REGIO III. CALLED ISIS AND SERAPIS MONETA, AND REGIO V. CALLED ESQUILINA WITH THE VIMINAL HILL.

Εἷς δόμος ἄρτυ τέλει, πόλις ἄρτια μύρια τεύχει.

OLYMPIODORUS APUD PHOTIUM.

WHEN the valour and discipline of the Romans were acknowledged and felt in all the world, and their senate was called an assembly of kings, Rome could boast of no grandeur or ornament except the virtue of her citizens. As that hereditary virtue, which influenced the senators to live in a modest and frugal manner, began to decline, the magnificence of the city began to rise: and when at length the glory of the republic was swept away, it seemed as if the Cæsars were left but to emulate each other in erecting monuments to its mighty shade. The empire became the grave of the republic; and although in contemplating those monuments we see the works of the emperors, yet we insensibly imagine that we behold in them the greatness of the consuls. In vain do we attempt to separate true glory from virtue; nor are we equally shocked at the cruelty of Sylla and the wanton barbarity of Nero. The tomb of the Scipios unites all the qualities we look for in a

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monument of antiquity. The golden house of Nero, if even it existed to astonish our eyes, would disgust our feelings when we turned to ask its use, and the name of its author. It is to avoid the nausea which would follow the contemplation of such an object, however astonishing, that we wish to refer whatever is great to something that is noble: and, fortunate enough for this laudable sentiment, two of the most splendid works of Rome were erected by men whom we almost identify with the most virtuous of the consuls. We make these reflections with reference to a survey of the third and fifth regions; and perhaps they may accord with the feelings of some who look with us upon the ruins scattered over the Esquiline hill, the painted vaults under the baths of Titus, and the mighty walls of the Colosseum.

The two regions, taken together, will comprise a main portion of the uninhabited ground lying within the walls of the city. The fifth is so extensive, and its limits so interwoven with the third, that it would be difficult to delineate the boundaries of each. In the third region our attention will be chiefly confined to two things, the Colosseum and the baths of Titus; in the fifth will be found a variety of objects of minor importance, and more doubtful nomenclature: but the space of more than four miles in circuit, which we are now about to go over, will be best considered by blending the two districts together, and calling the whole the Esquiline hill. The extreme points will lie at the Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme and the Villa Strozzi in length, and at the temple of Minerva Medica and the Colosseum in breadth. This space,

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which was once crowded with 150,000 inhabitants [1], in which were twenty-three streets, containing 5,657 insulæ and 340 great houses [2], — which was adorned with numerous temples, and, according to a modern writer, not less than seven groves [3], is now peopled by a few peasants who cultivate the vineyards [4], and a few solitary "custodi" of the deserted villas. It is here where we are left to ruminate when we have retired from the noise of the modern city, without going beyond the walls of Rome. It is on the green pathway which leads from the Lateran to the Basilica of S. Croce, between the walls and the arches of the lofty aqueduct, that the mind enters into another sphere of thought, and becomes a portion of the solemnity around it.

Within the precincts of the monastery of "Santa Croce," there remains the outer wall of half an amphitheatre. Since the time of Honorius, as is probable [5], it has formed a part of the city walls.

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[1] The calculation of the Abbé Brottier is here adopted, who reckons about twenty-one inhabitants to each insulæ, and eighty to each house or palace. We shall have occasion to examine this estimate more closely in another place.

[2] Compare the Regionaries of Victor and Rufus with the "*Notitia.*"

[3] "See the "Carta Fisica del suolo di Roma," appended to the work of G. Brocchi. In that map are the names of all the groves and their localities, assigned with great ingenuity, but with too much precision to inspire confidence.

[4] The cultivated grounds within the city are called "Vigna," or Orto. Vegetables, especially broccoli, are the chief production; they generally present the appearance of large kitchen gardens.

[5] The probability rests upon the inscription still legible over the neighbouring "*Porta Labicana,*" from which it appears that

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On the outside may still be traced its style of architecture and its elevation: these consist in a continuation of arches supported by half columns of the Corinthian order, surmounted by a second row of pilasters. The arches thus walled up may be easily distinguished from the original construction, which is worthy of the age of Caracalla. Some of the ancient stucco is still visible in the vaults; and the brick-work shows itself most perfect in the remaining fragment of the upper story. In the cavities beneath the arena have been discovered bones of wild beasts *; which afford sufficient indication of the use for which this building was designed. Recently the monks of the convent have excavated some of the foundation arches, and in so doing have turned up pieces of various marbles, showing the edifice has been richly ornamented. As there is only one amphitheatre registered in the fifth region, there can be no doubt of this being the "Amphitheatrum Castrense[6];" and, by an obviou connection of circumstances, it is easy to conceive why it was erected here. It became the policy of the emperors to prevent the soldiers as much as possible from mixing with the citizens: such an intercourse more than once proved dangerous, and

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the walls were renewed in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, — a subject we shall afterwards treat of more particularly.

* See Note II.

[6] It is singular that this amphitheatre should have been fixed upon by the old antiquaries for that of Statilius Taurus, which stood in the Campus Martius: but thus it is marked by *Buffalini*, in his *Plan of ancient Rome; Biondo, Roma restaurat.* lib. i. cart. 87. edit. Venet. 1543.; *Panciroli's Descrip. Urb.* apud Grævium, tom. iii p. 108.; *Marliano, ibid.* p. 201.

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even fatal, to the Cæsars. The Prætorian camp was situated at the extremity of this region, and, until it became part of the walls, was, like this amphitheatre, without the city. By an easy passage from the Viminal to the Esquiline hill, the Prætorian guards might enjoy the sports of the Romans without entering the city to mingle with the crowds of the Colosseum. The "Amphitheatrum Castrense," therefore, may be translated an amphitheatre for the use of the camp, without supposing the adjective to convey any idea of the nature of the games performed in it.[7]

In the other vineyard adjoining to S. Croce, and which is enclosed by the city walls and the Claudian aqueduct, are the remains of a once large edifice, of which nothing is left standing but its elliptical end; and in that may be traced the form of the tribunal of a Basilica. It has successively acquired the names of the "Sessorium[8]," the temple of old hope (Spes Vetus), and the temple of Venus and Cupid. Anastasius, in his life of S. Sylvester, says, the church of Santa Croce was built upon the Sessorian palace[9]; but as the word "palatium"

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[7] See *Sueton. in Tiberio*, cap. 72.; the application of the passage by *Nardini, Rom. Ant.* tom. ii. p. 15.; and the close following of the Itineraries. *Vasi*, p. 180. edit. 1824, and *Fea's Description*, vol. ii. p. 69.

[8] *Borrichi*, apud Grævium, tom. iv. p. 1543. *Montfaucon, Diar. Italic.* cap. viii. p. 111.

[9] "Eodem tempore fecit Constantinus Augustus Basilicam in Palatio Sessoriano, ubi etiam de ligno sanctæ crucis Domini nostri Jesu Christi posuit, et auro et gemmis conclusit, ubi et nomen Ecclesiæ dedicavit, quæ cognominatur usque in hodiernum diem, Hierusalem." — *Anastasius, Bibliothec. de vitis Pontif. Rom.* p. 45. sect. 41. tom. i. edit. Rom. 1718.

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was frequently applied in the lower ages to any great building [10], there is nothing to be concluded from Anastasius upon the nature of this edifice. A solitary scholiast of Horace points, somewhat vaguely, to this corner of the city in mentioning the Sessorium [11]; but it is rather deducible, from the phraseology of Anastasius, that Constantine founded the Basilica of S. Croce upon the very site of the Sessorium, in the same way as the Lateran house was involved in the building of the first Christian church. Attributing this ruin to the temple of "Spes Vetus," rests solely upon a passage already cited from Frontinus, which shows that such a temple did exist near where the Neronian aqueduct began. The "temple of Venus and Cupid is supported by a more constant tradition [12], and a statue which was found near the spot. This statue now exists in the Belvedere of the Vatican, a Venus with a Cupid at her feet; but the head is distinctly recognised to be that of Salustia Barbia Orbiana, the wife of Alexander Severus. Upon the pedestal is an inscription betokening that she consecrated a temple to Venus.[13] There is no such

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[10] *Montfaucon, Diar. Italic.* cap. xx. p. 299.

[11] *Acron. in Horat. Sat.* viii. lib. i. 14. As this is all the evidence Nardini could collect, we may despair of adding more. Vide *Rom. Antica*, tom. ii. p. 12.

[12] *Baronius, Annal. Ecclesiast. anno* 324. No. 105.; *Ibid. Notæ Binii et Labœi.*

[13] Ficoroni has given the inscription incorrectly; it is really read thus:—

VENERI FELICI SACRVM
SALVSTIA HELPIDVS. D. D.

See *Visconti, Museo Pio Clementino*, tom. ii. tav. 52.

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temple as that of Venus and Cupid mentioned in the third or fifth regions, nor any temple to Venus alone, except one which is known to have stood near the gardens of Sallust. Having thus examined the antiquarian vocabulary, in which we seem to have lost all we knew, it remains but to form some idea of the ruin as it stands. The masses projecting from the main design do not correspond, and consequently forbid any attempt to trace the ground plan any further than the tribunal: but, as far as that goes, it can give no other idea than that of a Basilica. Some traces of a cornice may be observed in the exterior wall; and in the upper part is discovered a jar, which betrays an age of building when heathen temples were no longer built. In this particular, the ruin may be compared with the Tor Pignattara, the sepulchre of the mother of Constantine, situated on the Via Labicana, about three miles from the Porta Maggiore; and, not unlikely, the ruins we are now considering are the remains of a Basilica used as a Christian church, under the auspices and protection of Helen.

In the time of Belisarius, the Romans called a portion of the walls near the Porta Prænestina the "Vivarium," or place where wild beasts were kept for the shows of the Amphitheatre. It was enclosed by a slight wall, which, together with the defence of that part of the city, afforded but a feeble obstacle to the attacks of the Goths.[14] The situ-

[14] Οὕτω τε ἀμφὶ πύλην Πραινεστίναν ἐπὶ μοῖραν τοῦ περιβόλου ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι Βιβάριον καλοῦσι, καὶ ᾗ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιμαχώτατον μάλιστα, πόλλῳ στρατῷ ἦει. — *Procopius de Bell. Goth.* lib. i. cap. 22. p. 41. edit. Venet. 1729.

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ation of the Vivarium may be easily recognised where the walls of the city make the abrupt angle from the Porta Maggiore; and, although it might be urged that the direction of the Claudian aqueduct was a sufficient reason for giving them this turn, the words of Procopius, added to other testimonies, seem to be positive. An inscription has been found in which mention is made of the Vivarium and the Prætorian cohorts as if they had the charge of it.* It is probable each amphitheatre had its own vivarium, which might frequently be furnished from this as the principal one: the relative situation of the "Amphitheatrum Castrense" returns with its tribute of testimony to our remarks. In making, therefore, the circuit of this vineyard under the walls, it is clear the rectangular space, which may be distinctly recognised, has been so formed for some special purpose; and in the corner, from whence the walls go to join the Amphitheatre, has manifestly been made a breach, which has been hastily repaired by large stones taken from the Claudian aqueduct. In this and similar instances we see the effectual attacks of the Goths, and the successful defence of the general of Justinian. Here it was where Vitiges pressed so hard upon the officers of Belisarius, that their general was obliged to quit the Porta Salara to bring them succour.† Seldom, indeed, shall we approach the walls on this most defenceless side of the city without discovering some traces of the valour and activity of Belisarius.

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* See Note KK. † See Note LL.

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In going from hence towards the aqueduct may be seen a subterraneous wall, which has probably formed part of a vault or den; and thus, from the general aspect of the ground, and the ancient repairs of the walls in various places, added to the evidence which the historian affords, we shall retire satisfied of this being the situation of the Vivarium; and not without astonishment shall we look upon the solid arches of the Claudian aqueduct. In a cloister now deserted, close by the Basilica, and forming part of the habitation of the Vignarolo, are several sepulchral inscriptions, which have probably come from some neighbouring Columbaria *; and near to them are some other uncertain ruins. Some have ventured to call the brick walls which come in contact with those of the city, further remains of the Sessorium; upon what authority it has already been stated.

Across the path in the Villa Conti there are some remains of a reservoir, which doubtless belonged to the baths of Helen, the mother of Constantine. This is learned from an inscription found on the spot, which, though mutilated, still preserves the two important words — "Helena" and "Thermæ."[15] This reservoir is a rectangular building, originally divided into twelve regular and equal compartments, of which eight remain, and

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* See Note MM.

[15] D. N. HELENA VEN. AVG. MAT. . .
AVIA BEATISS . . . . . .
THERMA . . . ISTR . . . . .
Montfaucon, Diar. Italic. cap. viii. p. 110.
This inscription, as supplied by Ficoroni, is now placed in the museum of the Vatican, above the large porphyry sarcophagus.

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communicate with each other by arches. The walls are incrusted with the calcareous deposit, as in the "Sette Sale" belonging to the baths of Titus. The regular form of the building is best seen by ascending to the top, where it will be observed how one of the divisions has been put to its pristine use by the present possessor of the vineyard. That which seems to have been the front is broken into large niches, which have probably been adorned with statues: that front is turned towards another ruin, upon which a modern habitation has been erected, and, from its relative position, appears to have been the place appropriated for the baths themselves. Several vaulted rooms are still to be seen, and one, from a slight repair, is perfect. A quantity of the "opus signinum" remains on the top, and about the building are scattered fragments of granite columns and marbles, indicating the nature of the ornaments once belonging to it.

Further down the Strada Felice is the entrance leading to the Villa Altieri; but, in continuing our circuit to the Porta Maggiore, we shall pass under one of the arches of the Neronian aqueduct, upon which were the inscriptions. They were probably engraven upon bronze; for the places which they once occupied seem to bear marks of plunder. The large inscriptions over the Porta Maggiore relate to the aqueducts of Claudius; but they will be reserved until we come to take a general view of those stupendous works of the Romans.

Before leaving this corner of the city, some satisfaction may, perhaps, be derived from endeavour-

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ing to adjust the whole by more general topography. From the sepulchral monuments discovered in the vineyard we are next to see, and for other reasons afforded [16], it is evident that all this ground was without the walls of the city until the time of Aurelian. This rendered it convenient for gardens and pleasure-grounds; and we have an intimation that it was used as such by the Emperor Heliogabalus. When that effeminate tyrant meditated the murder of his adopted successor, he withdrew, it is said, to the gardens of "Spes Vetus," in order to despatch his messengers with greater secrecy. [17] But when no one could be induced, on his account, to execute so great a crime, the evil turned upon himself; the enraged soldiers found him in those gardens in the act of preparing a chariot race, but anxiously waiting to hear the tidings of his cousin's death. Terrified at the sudden approach of the soldiers, he hid himself in a corner, and shrouded himself in a bed-cover, and, by the intercession of a præfect, was for a season spared. Some traces of a Circus without the present walls were distinctly recognised by Fulvio

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[16] See Dissertation II. on the walls of Servius Tullius.

[17] "Nec defuit tamen furor usque ad exitum voti pessimi, nam ei percussores immisit. Et hoc quidem modo ipse secessit ad hortos Spei Veteris, quasi contra novum juvenem vota concipiens relicta in Palatio," &c. — *Ælius Lampridius in Antonin. Heliogab. Hist. August.* tom. ii. p. 66. edit. Florent. 1725.

"Et pars in Palatium, pars in hortos in quibus erat Varius, ire tendunt. . . . Inde itum est in hortos ubi Varius invenitur certamen aurigandi parans, expectans tamen intentissime quando eidem nuntiaretur consobrinus occisus. Qui subito," &c. — *Lampridius, ibid.*; see *Donatus, Rom. Vet.* lib. iii.

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and others[18]: but the circumstance which gives locality to the "Horti Variani," is knowing that the "Spes Vetus" was near the beginning of Nero's aqueduct.

The inscription which was brought to light by Ligorius *, and the statue of Salustia Barbia, afford sufficient intimation that Alexander Severus succeeded to the possession of this ground; but we have no knowledge into whose hands it came afterwards, until the time of Constantine. Ecclesiastical history is loud in the praises of the mother of the first Christian emperor; and here are the traces and monuments of her piety[19]: her palace, her church, and her tomb have sanctified the precincts of the Porta Maggiore; and Santa Croce ought to kindle in our minds a purer remembrance than the ruins of the temples of heathen gods and goddesses. We may thus be furnished with some general idea of the substructions, walls, and fragments which lie over the vineyards in this southern extremity of Rome, and, from the beginning to the end of the third century, may trace amongst them the works of the emperors, and the subsequent establishments of Saint Helen upon their ruins.

Amongst the hillocks, or artificial mounds which in this neighbourhood wear that appearance, we are directed by some topographists to look for the

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[18] *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 18.; but see *Ligorio*, lib. dei Cerchi. The obelisk which belonged to the Circus is now finally placed upon the Monte Pincio.

* See Note NN.

[9] *Martinelli*, *Roma ex Ethnica Sacra*, p. 94—98. and 328. edit. 1653, 8vo.

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"agger" of Tarquin. Venuti thought he recognised it about the intersection of the Via Labicana and Via di S. Croce, not far from the Basilica of that name [20]; whilst others, with equal reason, have fixed it in the "Orto Serena," lying more towards the north. These positions are chosen to agree with a passage in Dionysius, who says the "agger" of Tarquin was made in that part of the city which looks towards Gabii [21]: but such a direction may equally apply to the more certain "agger" of Servius Tullius. [22] It becomes, therefore, a question whether there were two works of this nature or one. Strabo and Livy attribute the work to Servius Tullius, without making any mention of Tarquin; and again, Dionysius and Pliny assign it to Tarquin, without making mention of Servius

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[20] *Venuti, Antichità di Rom.* tom. i. p. 234. He points to that eminence over which the Neronian arches pass, in the place we have designated. The "porta inter aggeres," says the same antiquary, proves there were more aggeres than one. But was there ever such a gate? or where is the authority for it? for Strabo's words are clearly rendered by Fabretti, — "Tertia Porta Viminalis *sub medio est aggere* (*De Aquis*," *&c.* dissert. iii. p. 131.); *Strabon. Geograph. Rer.* lib. v. p. 362. tom. i. Edit. Amstelod. 1707.

[21] Μάλλον δὲ ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐνεργὸς ἦν, καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαβιοὺς φέροντα τοῦ περιβόλου διὰ πολυχειρίας ἐξωχύρου, τάφρον ὀρυξάμενος εὐρυτέραν, καὶ τείχος ἀνεγείρας ὑψηλότερον, καὶ πύργοις διαλαβὼν τὸ χώριον πυκνότερον. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* tom. i.; *Antiq. Rom.* lib. iv. p. 243. edit. Oxoniæ, 1704.

Upon which Fabretti justly observes, the three adjectives of the comparative degree imply that something had been done before. With regard to the position of the "agger," Pliny says nothing more than that it defended the eastern side of the city, and yet calls it the agger of Tarquin. — *Nat. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

[22] Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 44.

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Tullius. Cicero only mentions one artificial hill between the Esquiline and Quirinal hills; so that, in fact, we find the "agger" was begun by Tullius and finished by Tarquin, as will shortly be made more evident. Fabretti has interpreted the words of Dionysius to that effect; and as to any vestiges of the "agger" of Tarquin, we may, in this instance, entirely confide in the observations of Signor Brocchi[24]: he, like Donatus, could see no traces of it.

The two sepulchral monuments before alluded to lie on each side of the path, which, in the villa whose entrance is at the head of the Via Maggiore, leads to the temple of Minerva Medica. The Columbarium on the left hand of the path consists of two subterraneous chambers, properly disposed for containing a great number of cinerary urns. An inscription, which was found over the entrance in 1736, discovered the sepulchre to have been made by Lucius Aruntius, a consul under Tiberius, for the use of his freedmen and slaves[25]: the other, on the right, contains but one chamber now visible, but which, however, is in such perfect preservation as to complete at once our knowledge of an ancient columbarium. By the help of a lamp we may discover the regular rows of urns, with several of the original inscriptions, as they were

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[24] *Brocchi, Suoli di Roma*, p. 144.

[25] *Ficoroni, Vestigie di Rom. Antic.* lib. i. cap. 17. p. 119. edit. Romæ, 1744; and see *Piranesi*, tom. ii. tav. 7—15.

"*Aruntio* et Enobarbo Coss. A. U. 785. A. C. 32. Mar. xxvi." — *Fasti Consulares, auct. anony.*

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placed near eighteen centuries ago: it has never been ascertained to what family this monument belonged.[26] Sepulchres were usually built on each side of a public road; the position of these two is such that a road might conveniently pass between them. In this vineyard have been discovered vestiges of an ancient road[27]; and this direction being preserved, it will coincide with the old Via Prænestina, which, as well as the Via Labicana, originally issued from the Porta Prænestina. This gate, as we shall see, stood at the end of the "agger" of Tullius, and was near the arch of Gallienus.

Close joining to the wall of this vineyard, contiguous to the Via Maggiore, is a nameless ruin, which consists of several vaulted chambers: about it may be traced small channels for conveying water; and, from its general appearance, it has been adjudged to be one of those places of retreat and refreshment called Nymphæa. Piranesi, who let nothing go unnamed, marked it down as the Nymphæum of Septimius Severus[28]; nor is that supposition any better supported by which it is made the "Lacus Promethei," because such an object is placed by Victor and Rufus on the Esquiline hill.

In the same vineyard are the picturesque remains of a dome, fast yielding to the efforts of time. From

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[26] *Piranesi*, tom. ii. tav. 16—19. But the most perfect sepulchral chamber now existing at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, is in the Villa Rufini, about two miles without the Porta Pia, on the right-hand side of the road.

[27] *Venuti, Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. p. 217, 218.

[28] *Piranesi*, tom. i. p. 16. No. 125.

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its elevated situation, it is one of the most conspicuous ruins in Rome: it served us as a landmark from the tower of the Campidoglio, and it is seen from the open Campagna when the rest of the ancient city is hid from the eye. It is curious to trace the nomenclature through which this object has passed: Biondo and Fulvio first introduced it as the Basilica of Caius and Lucius[29], which Augustus erected in honour of his two nephews. Nardini hardly durst venture to pronounce it the temple of Minerva Medica; but Fabretti, Ficoroni, and a host of others, adopted that title. Venuti[30] advances his share of argument for calling it the temple of Hercules Callaicus. Guattani thinks it was a place of rendezvous, perhaps, for physicians; and, lastly, the Abbate Uggeri has gone to Milan to seek for another opinion, which is approved of by Professor Nibby.[31] Uggeri, judging from a similar edifice at Milan, now the church of S. Lorenzo, but which is known to have been part of a bath, thinks this ruin once belonged to an establishment of that nature. Out of all these names that of Minerva Medica has prevailed, and must prevail, until another shall be established upon better authority.

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[29] Compare *Sueton. in vit. Octavii*, cap. 29. It is marked in Buffalini's plan of Rome as the "Basilica et Porticus Caii Lucii Augusti nepotum, facta ab eo," and the figure is made conformable; but it is very clear that Buffalini restored edifices according to his fancy.

[30] *Antichità*, tom. i. p. 213. But, unfortunately for Venuti's argument, the temple of Hercules Callaicus, which is identified with Brutus Callaicus, was situated in the Campus Martius; for see the note of Piale.

[31] Vide note in *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 22.

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We find in the regionaries there was an object upon the Esquiline hill called Minerva Medica, and Rufus adds the word Pantheum.[32] The statue of Minerva with the emblem of medicine found here, although not a convincing proof, yet added to the intimation just cited, is surely something; and the statue of Esculapius, also discovered on this spot, rather supports than detracts from the supposition. This building may not unfitly be called a Pantheon; because its shape resembles the Pantheon of Agrippa, and its niches were formed for the accommodation of several statues.[33] From the memorial of Flaminius Vacca[34] it appears, that Venus, Pomona, Esculapius, Hercules, Adonis, Antinous, a Faun, and some of the train of Bacchus, — all had a place in this receptacle; and although, as far as the evidence of a mere statue goes, it might have been the temple of any of these, none of them have the additional testimony of Sextus Rufus, who assigns a Pantheum on the Esquiline hill to Minerva Medica. These arguments are not collected with the hope of putting the matter beyond a doubt, but they may contribute to preserve the name of this edifice, which has been assailed without success, and which rests upon

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[32] Minerva Medica Pantheum. — *Rufus de Regionib. Urb. in Panvinio.*

[33] It is pushing objection too far to say this dome is decagonal, and that of the Pantheon round; and therefore the word Pantheum avails nothing: but it is more than probable that the Roman temples dedicated to all the gods were of a circular form, whatever the Greek Pantheon might be.

[34] *Memorie,* appended to *Nardini,* No. 17.

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as good authority as many of the antiquities of Rome. The Pantheum of Minerva Medica, therefore, is of a decagonal form; measures about eighty feet in diameter; and is disposed into nine large niches, the tenth side being left for the entrance.[35] Above every niche and the door-way has been a window: there are some traces of a cornice running round the whole. The original uniformity of the interior might thus be easily restored, but it would not be so easy to build up the exterior. Behind the side opposite to the entrance, of which nothing remains but the spring of an arch, are the vestiges of some buttresses and projecting walls, which do not seem to have ever extended much further than their present appearance indicates: these may, indeed, have formed part of an "adytum" or shrine behind the principal niche. We see no traces of a portico, so essential to a temple; but there is no reason to suppose there never was such a thing: and as, in any case, a temple meant a place inaugurated and dedicated on a religious account, there is nothing which militates against the name of a Pantheum dedicated to Minerva Medica.

The church of Santa Bibiana is said by Anastasius to have been built near the palace of Licinius[36]; and an inscription in Gothic characters, now existing in the portico of the church, further

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[35] See *Uggeri, Journées Pittoresques*, tom. i. p. 91.

[36] *De vitis Pontif. Romanor.* tom. i. p. 79. edit. Rom. 1718, in 4 vols. folio. The church was built in the time of Pope Simplicius, A. D. 467—481. according to the same Anastasius. Nardini is unable to decide whether the "Palatium" belonged to Marcus Licinius Crassus or to Licinius the emperor; but see *Roma Antica*, lib. iv. cap. 2. tom. ii. p. 23.

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informs us, that here was the road by which people went to the place anciently called Ursus Pileatus. Rufus mentions a street of that name in the fifth region; and its situation is hereby ascertained. Some have supposed this street to have had its name from Ursus Togatus, a person who invented the "pila vitrea," or playing with glass balls[37]; but this subject is rather a matter of curious speculation than of instruction and interest.

The six arches seen from the portico of this church are the remains of an aqueduct which brought the "aqua Julia" from the present Porta S. Lorenzo into the city; and, in continuing along the Via S. Bibiana, we shall see further remains of it on the left, before arriving at the church of S. Eusebio: we shall then stay to examine the mass of ruins commonly called the trophies of Marius. Tradition alone has sanctioned this name[38], arising from two sculptured marbles which once stood within the niches belonging to this ruin. These two trophies now adorn the balustrade of the Campidoglio: one

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[37] This supposition is drawn from a singular inscription now existing in the sacristy of St. Peter's. The curious reader may see it illustrated by *Torrigi*, apud *Grævium*, tom. xii. p. 394. He may discriminate, with Professor Nibby, between the two adjectives derived respectively from pilum and pileum, comparing *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxiv. cap. 16. not. 4. edit. Paris, 1808, 12mo.; and finally, with regard to the invention of the "pila vitrea," may reconcile to the inscription a passage in *Seneca*, *Epist.* lvi. cum notis Lipsii.

[38] And a vague tradition it is.

"Tropæa C. Marii de Jugurtha, deque *Cimbris* atque Theutonis, olim a Sulla disjecta, restituit."—*Suet. in Jul. Cæsar*, cap. 2.

This place was formerly called by the people Cimbro or Cimbria!

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of them has a cuirass, with its ornaments and shields, together with the figure of a young barbarian bound as a captive; upon the other are sculptured various instruments of war. It must, however, be allowed, that martial implements and a captive prisoner will represent the actions of any conqueror; and it is probable these trophies would be placed here by the person who caused the building to be erected or repaired.[39] As it was once a vast fountain, or "Castellum aquæ," it must have been contemporary with or subsequent to the aqueducts that supplied it: but what aqueducts did supply it, is a question we may despair of solving after the volumes that have been written on the subject.[40] Piranesi found, by accurate measurement, the level of the channel now to be traced to coincide with that of the "aqua Julia," one of the three waters which entered the city at the present Porta S. Lorenzo, and which was conveyed here in an aqueduct to which the six arches we have just passed belonged. It has already been observed, that Nero took a portion of the "aqua Claudia," and consequently of the Anio Novus (for in his time they were mixed

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39 Nardini produces the mutilated inscription which was found under one of the trophies by Celso Cittadini: —

IMP. DOM. AVG
GER PER
CRE LIB

40 Consult *Frontinus de Aqueduct.* art. 20. p. 72. with notes in edit. Pad. 1722; *Fabretti de Aquis, &c.* diss. i. cap. 11.; *Montfaucon, Diar. Italic.* cap. viii. p. 108.; *Nardini, Rom. Antic.* tom. ii. p. 27.; *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* part i. cap. vii. p. 189—193.; and *Piranesi*, tom. i. p. 26. No. 230.

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together), for the supply of the Cælian hill and his own house; and Fabretti cannot see how the rest was to be disposed of, if it did not come to this "Emissarium." There is no apparent reason for supposing that both these ingenious authors are not right; for this building was surely commodious enough for the reception of many streams of water, and indeed could scarcely have been constructed merely for receiving a part of the "aqua Julia." No situation could be more convenient for a general reservoir than this; for, as the Porta Esquilina then existed, it was at the entrance of the city, from whence the water might easily be distributed through the streets in pipes. It is true the level of the "aqua Claudia," taken at the Porta Maggiore, is sixteen palms above the channel in this ruin (the only objection that has been urged against the opinion of Fabretti); but as it could not be difficult, in the course of three quarters of a mile, to lower a stream of water by twelve or thirteen feet, the objection seems of little force. We conceive, therefore, this ruin to have been a receptacle for two streams of water; the one formed by the "aqua Julia," and the other by the "aqua Claudia" and the "Anio novus" united. As to the two trophies, it is the opinion of Winkelmann[41], which is supported by the imperfect inscription, that they belonged to Domitian;

[41] *Storia dell' Art.* tom. ii. lib. xi. cap. 3. Nevertheless Bellori, in his observations on the column of Trajan, finds so striking a resemblance in the sculpture of the trophies to that on the pedestal of the column, that he judges them to be of the time of Trajan. Piranesi thinks they were erected by M. Agrippa in honour of Augustus.

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others have contended for the name of Trajan, comparing the sculpture with his column; but none have ever supposed them to be the trophies of Marius. For the better understanding of this monument, we have annexed a plan of it, and the restored elevation. Whether it be called a "Castellum aquæ," or an "Emissarium [42]," or a "Saliens," it must equally be denominated in modern language a fountain: an excavation made some years ago, by the students of the French academy, sufficiently established this point. The elevation here presented is, in a great measure, authorised by a drawing of the ruin made in the middle of the sixteenth century [43], before the trophies were taken away, and when some of the architectural ornaments were remaining. The ground plan as given in fig. 1. may be traced, by ascending the ruins through the modern habitation in which they are embodied. The water, being first divided by the round projecting buttress, was distributed into five channels, and then through as many issues poured itself into a reservoir, as represented in fig. 2.: the aqua Paola, behind the church of S. Pietro in Montorio, must very much resemble what this ancient fountain

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42 "Ad Castellum sive Emissarium, ut vocat Gruterus" (tom. i. p. 274. n. 5.). *Fabretti de Aquis, &c.* dissert. i. cap. 11.

43 *Dell' Antichità di Rom.* lib. iii. p. 100. per Bernardo Gamucci, edit. Venet. 1565. The antiquaries of those days were honest; with regard to the drawing here referred to, the author says, — "Il mio intendimento è di rappresentare solamente le cose che addesso appariscono, e non come anticamente doveano essere."

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was. The embellishments introduced into our elevation are most of them obvious, but none without authority, or the greatest probability. About this ruin, and in the neighbouring vineyards, have been found some of the most celebrated statues of antiquity—the Adonis or Meleager of the Vatican, and the Discobolus; the Seneca of the Villa Borghese, besides those already mentioned as belonging to the Pantheum, Minerva Medica.[44] Combining those precious relics with the substructions and more apparent vestiges frequently occurring in the adjoining gardens, but which it would be in vain to attempt to illustrate, we may acquire some idea of the splendour of the Esquiline hill.

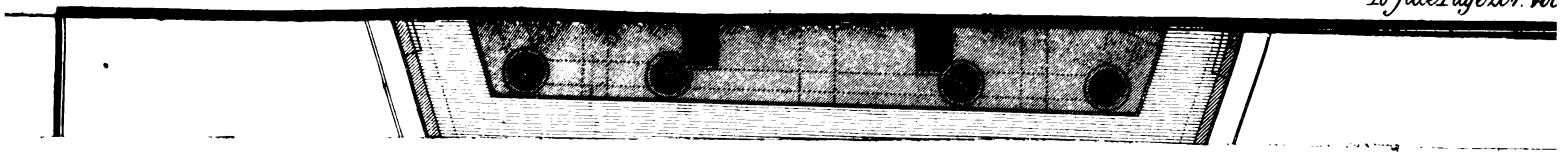
The "agger" of Servius Tullius, to which we have already alluded, may be traced down to the "Arco S. Vito;" but it will not be manifest to the eye of a stranger without entering the Villa Negroni, which lies behind the church of S. Antonio Abbate. This surprising work of the kings was not only a banking cast up, but also strengthened and built up with stone. Some remains of this work were discovered by Santo Bartoli[45], which consisted of a wall more than twenty Roman palms broad of peperine stone. The highest part of this mound is now crowned by a sitting statue, in ascending to which there is an advantageous view of the eastern side of the city, with special reference to the walls of Servius Tullius. The "Campus

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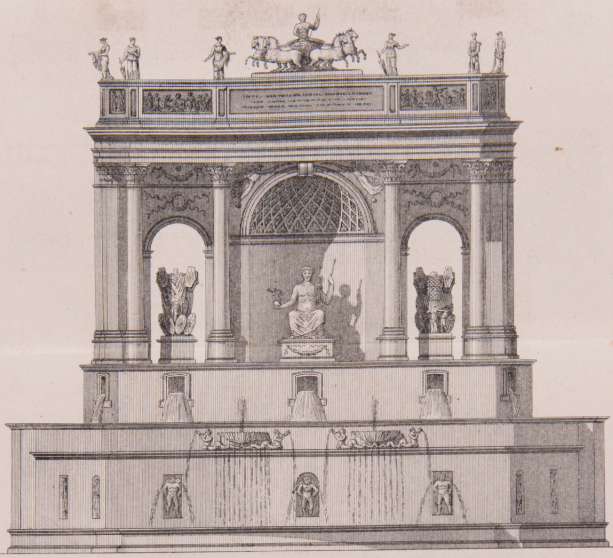
[44] *Memorie di Flaminius Vacca*, No. 84, 85. and 109.

[45] His memorial was published by the avvocato Fea, *Miscell. Filolog. Critica, &c.* i. 249. There is nothing to be seen of this wall at present.

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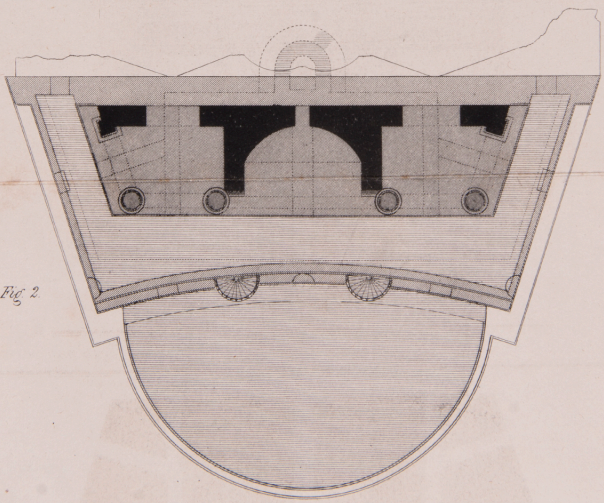


Fig. 2.

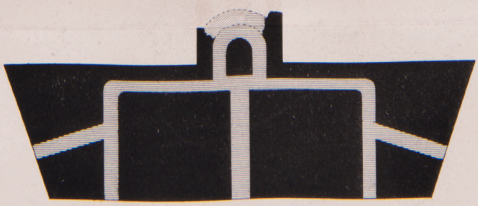


Fig. 1

Plan and restored Elevation of the ancient Fountain commonly called the Trophies of Marius.

English 0 10 20 30 40 50 100 Feet

C. Tullmandel's Lithography

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Viminalis sub aggere," so called by P. Victor, is doubtless the level ground lying at our feet about the Villa Strozzi, whilst the relative position of the Prætorian camp may be seen in an angle made by the walls at some distance towards the north-east. Dionysius gives us for the measurement of the "agger" nearly seven stadii in length, more than a hundred feet wide, and thirty in depth or height.[46] Strabo says its length was about six stadii[47], *i. e.* three quarters of a mile: between six and seven stadii will accord with the distance that may nearly be traced with the eye from our elevated station, beginning at the Villa Barberini. The "agger" is now cut and levelled by the Via Pia, but it appears again behind the baths of Diocletian, and continues to the gate by which we entered the Villa Negroni: it may then be observed to gradually fall away, until it reaches the church of S. Vito. The banking alone was the work of Tullius, but the building was done under Tarquinius Superbus: the "agger" is, therefore, indifferently called by the name of either.[48]

The Arco S. Vito is to be identified with the arch of Gallienus: it is built of travertine stone, and supported by pilasters of the Corinthian order, and bears also some indications of a heavy construction. Upon the frieze is the following inscription: —

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[46] *Dionys. Halicarn. Antiquat. Roman.* tom. i. lib. ix. p. 595. edit. Oxon. 1704.

[47] *Strabonis, Rer. Geographic.* tom. i. lib. v. p. 362. edit. Amstelod. 1707.

[48] See p. 192. with notes appended.

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GALLIENO . CLEMENTISSIMO . PRINCIPI
CVIVS . INVICTA . VIRTVS
SOLA . PIETATE . SVPERATA . EST
ET . SALONINAE . SANCTISSIMAE . AVG.
M. AVRELIVS . VICTOR
DEDICATISSIMVS
NVMINI . MAIESTATIQVE
EORVM.

There is no mention made of an arch erected to Gallienus in any of the ancient authors extant: the inscription, therefore, becomes at once the history and the proof. That emperor who could revel in his pleasures whilst his empire was invaded, and who never appeared in arms but to ward off his personal danger[49], was surely not entitled to a triumphal arch; nor does the phraseology of this dedication imply that it was one. It has been denominated by the most accurate of travellers a mere gateway[50], and we have already intimated how the agger of Servius Tullius ended within a few paces of it. Topographists have made it nearly coincide with the position of the ancient Porta Esquilina, from which issued the two roads leading respectively to Labicum and Prænestæ.[51] If any use is to be assigned to an arch standing so near a gate of the ancient city, we should call it an auxiliary or lateral entrance belonging to the Porta Esquilina. The name of Salonina, the chaste wife of a most profligate husband, sheds a lustre over that of Gallienus; otherwise we should not linger a

[49] See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. x.

[50] See *Forsyth's Remarks on Italy,* art. "Works of the Empire."

[51] Strabo, as in Note 47.

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moment in contemplating a monument in Rome which has nothing to give it an interest except the antiquity of nearly 1,600 years. In more modern times, it has been better known as the Arco S. Vito. The chains and keys suspended over it[52] are said to have been brought from Viterbo by the Romans, as tokens of conquest during those petty wars which turned the cause of freedom into ridicule: and if we have just recognised the trophies of Domitian or Trajan, which betokened some conquest on the banks of the Danube, we now see a meaner token of some victory on the neighbouring banks of the Tyber.[53] Such, in a few centuries, was the reduced scale of Roman glory.

The adjoining church of S. Vito is handed down by tradition with the words "in Macello" added; and it is said by Anastasius that Liberius founded the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore near the Macellum Libiæ[54] (which, doubtless, should be read "Liviæ)." "Macellum Livianum" is mentioned by Rufus in the fifth region, and the testimonies

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[52] They are now (April, 1828) taken away. This description was written in 1826.

[53] The inhabitants of Viterbo yielded up some territory to the Romans, and the chains and keys here alluded to were brought from the Porta Salsicchia of that town, as appears from the authorities carefully collected in note 1. of *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 43. Similar trophies are those chains hung over the entrance of the harbour at Genoa, and those on the columns of porphyry before the Baptistery at Florence, which remind us of the cruel petty wars of the middle ages. Vide *Histoire des Repub. Italiennes, par Sismondi*, vol. vi. p. 199. ch. 42. anno 1354; *ibid.* vol. vi. ch. 47., and vol. viii. ch. 60.

[54] *De Vitis Pontif. Rom.* tom. i. p. 57. edit. Rom. 1718, A. C. 352—366. In the margin of this edition, here cited, is read *Liviæ.*

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above cited seem to point to this place: perhaps the word, indicating a butchery, may form part of the origin of a tradition which points out this neighbourhood as the scene of early martyrdom. The church of S. Vito contains a stone on which were slaughtered many Christians.[55] Santa Prassede is represented in the middle of her church, as squeezing from a sponge the blood of the martyrs she had carefully collected. Nardini, and still more firmly Alberto Cassio, believe the church of Santa Prassede to be founded upon the baths of Novatus[56]; and to their authority the opinion of Martinelli seems to have yielded, who thought those baths to lie under the church of Santa Pudenziana.[57] The Thermæ Novati are also registered in this region, and derive some interest from the name. Seneca dedicated one of his works to Novatus, with whom may, perhaps, be identified the owner of the baths. It is the opinion of those who illustrate ecclesiastical antiquities, that the same Novatus, or his brother, was one of the early Christians "in Cæsar's household."

It is said the church of S. Maria Maggiore stands

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[55] "E un antico cippo sepolcrale Pagano, che ancora conserva l'antica iscrizione. Quelli che illustrano le antichità Christiane potranno conciliare questo punto." — *Nardini, Rom. Antic.* tom. ii. p. 41. note 1.

[56] The account of Pudens, Novatus, S. Praxedis, and Pudentiana, is found in a MS. now published in the Vatican, but published by *Cassio, Corso del' Acque, &c.* tom. ii. p. 280. That the baths of Novatus were made into the church of S. Prassede, see the same *Cassio*, tom. ii. p. 277.

[57] *Martinelli, Roma ex Ethnica Sacra*, p. 286. and 288. edit. 1653, 8vo.

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near the site of the temple of "Juno[58] Lucina," and that the beautiful marble columns which now adorn the interior of the Basilica once belonged to the temple: of this there is no proof. The column which stands in the Piazza, upon its disproportionate modern basement, was taken from the temple of Peace; and the small obelisk which is seen on the declivity of the hill behind the tribunal once adorned the mausoleum of Augustus.

The church of S. Pudens and S. Pudentiana stands in the valley which separates that part of the Esquiline hill we have now left from the "Viminal," which begins to appear in a vineyard above. Pudens is said to have been a person of power in the time of Nero, and a Christian: it was therefore easy to suppose that he received S. Peter into his house upon the Apostle's arrival at home.* Be this as it may, the church of S. Pudens and his daughter is built upon an ancient edifice, and a considerable quantity of tesselated pavement now serves for the flooring of the side aisles: there are also several ancient columns of moderate dimensions preserved within the pillars of the church. Underneath are several vaults, which have of late years been excavated: they seem to have belonged to the foundations of the original church, and are perhaps built upon other ruins, but of what nature or extent it is impossible to say; the greater probability is, they are not the baths of Novatus. There remains, therefore, the received tradition of

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[58] *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. i. p. 184.

* See Note O O.

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the house of Pudens.[59] Faint as is the light of ecclesiastical records on those early traces of Christianity, and uncertain as tradition so remote must ever be, it is yet by no means unedifying for the Christian, much less a subject of ridicule, to reflect upon these earliest scenes of holy zeal and piety, and combine the little evidence there is left with probabilities. The inscription in the chapel of S. Peter with a name very like Pudentiana was brought from a distant cemetery, and is of a Christian character, but it has no pretensions to any antiquity so remote as the second century.

In order to make the circuit of the Viminal hill, let us ascend the Strada Quattro Fontane until we arrive at the Via Vitale. Leaving the baths of Diocletian on our right, and descending by the road last mentioned, it will be observed we have on our left an eminence of considerable elevation, separated from the Quirinal hill by a valley of no small extent: this was anciently called the "Vallis Quirini[60];" and from hence was the ascent by a large flight of steps to the temple of Quirinus, of which there are left some vestiges in the garden of the Noviciate college. The north side of the Viminal hill, thus seen from the Via Vitale, has been built up by an immense wall,

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[59] *Baronius, Annales Ecclesias.* tom. ii. p. 205. anno 159. edit. Luccæ, 1738, and p. 227. ann. 165. *ibid.*

[60] This appears from Juvenal: —

——— "Officium cras
Primo sole mihi peragendum in Valle Quirini."
Sat. ii. v. 132.

See also *Ovid. Fast.* lib. iv. 373.

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originally of peperine stone. Some remains of it will be seen by approaching the hill through the adjoining vineyard, as also some masses of brick-work and reticulated tufo, which have subsequently been placed against the huge blocks of stone. In some places they seemed to have served for no other purpose but for a support to the falling hill; but in others they have manifestly formed the vaulted rooms of some edifice; and because the church of S. Lorenzo in Pane Perna is said to have been built upon the baths of Olympias, these ruins are attributed to that edifice. "Thermæ Olympiadis" are found in the fifth region. With a greater degree of certainty we may recognise, on the side of this hill, the site of the baths of Agrippina; for here were found two statues of Bacchus, on whose bases were written "In lavacro Agrippinæ."[61] Hadrian repaired a bath (lavacrum) of Agrippa; and, by a slight variation of the reading, it has been identified with the one in question.[62] In this same place was also discovered the level of ancient Rome, at a depth of twenty Roman palms; a fact which may assist us in estimating the original height of the Viminal hill, and the magnitude of the supporting walls. The vineyard above these substructions belongs to the church and convent of S. Lorenzo. The church stands on the summit of the hill, which is found to be 160 feet above the

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[61] *Venuti, Antichità di Rom.* tom. i. p. 182.

[62] Hadrian let the original inscriptions remain upon the monuments he repaired. "Romæ instauravit Pantheum, Basilicam Neptuni, sacras ædes plurimas, forum Augusti, *Lavacrum Agrippæ*, eaque omnia propriis et veteribus nominibus consecravit." — *Ælii. Spartian. in vit. Hadrian*, cap. 18.

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level of the sea: the height of the Esquiline is seventeen feet more; the Quirinal about the papal palace is twelve feet less.[63] Our circuit is to be continued by descending to the lower end of the Via Vitale, where it makes an angle with the Strada de' Serpenti. Continuing along that street until its intersection with the Via Pane Perna[64] and Via Magnanapoli, we shall easily understand the relative positions of three hills with regard to each other: for the ascent on the left leads to the church of S. Lorenzo, which, we have already observed, stands on the summit of the Viminal hill; the ascent on the right leads to the Torre delle Milizie, which stands on that part of the Quirinal overlooking the forum of Trajan; and a branch of the Esquiline hill is situated in front, as we look towards the Colosseum. It is that part of the Esquiliæ, usually called "Mons Oppius," which yet remains to be visited: but, before commencing to examine it, we shall find it not inexpedient to ascend to the gardens behind the convent of S. Lorenzo, in order to complete our observations on the Viminal hill and the Vallis Quirini. We have been

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[63] These measurements are given with scrupulous exactness in *Brocchi, del Suolo di Roma, &c.* p. 212.

[64] Pane Perna is supposed by some to be a corruption of *Perpennie*, the prænomen of an individual who lived in the time of Constantine. An inscription bearing the name was found at the church of S. Lorenzo; but Nardini's editor (tom. ii. p. 47. note 1.) insinuates that the god Pan may have something to do with the etymology. "Non già da una iscrizione," says Ficoroni, "ma bensi dal *pane* è *presciutto* che davasi ai poveri, commutati al presente in un pranzo che si da loro una volta l' anno." — *Vestigie di Rom. Antic.* lib. i. cap. 18. p. 123.

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thus minute in describing these outlines, because the Viminal is the least easy for a person unacquainted with Rome to understand; but, when thus accurately surveyed, will be found to be as strongly marked as any of the seven hills.

From the church of S. Lorenzo we shall descend the Viminal hill, by the Via Pane Perna, to where that street forms an angle with the Via Urbana; which, in continuation with the Via Pudenziana, separates the Esquiline from the Viminal hill. After recognising the point from whence we set out to make this contour, we may continue along the Via Urbana; and at the end of that street, if tradition has been faithful, was situated some part, at least, of the ancient Subura. There has been a diversity of opinions with regard to the position of the Subura: Panvinio first placed it between the Cælian and Palatine hills, beginning at Constantine's arch[65]; and he continually calls the street, which in his time bore the name, the "falsa Subura." Biondo, curiously enough, took the Viminal hill for it[66]; but Fulvio brought it down to the valley beneath.[67] Nardini entered the lists with Donatus[68], and insisted upon the Subura having been in the valley which separates the Esquiline from the Cælian hill: Montfaucon adjusts the argument[69], but takes a decided part with neither. Nardini is servilely followed by Venuti, and Venuti is confuted by his editor, who accuses Pirro Ligorio of having

[65] *Onuphrio Panvinio, Urb. Rom. Descript.* lib. i. p. 69.
[66] *Biondo, Rom. Restaurat.* lib. i. cart. 22.
[67] *Antichità della Città di Rom.* lib. ii. cart. 70.
[68] *Roma Antica*, lib. iii. cap. vi.
[69] *Diarium Italicum*, cap. ix. p. 131.

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altered the text of the Regionaries[70]; but, taking the text as it stands in Nardini, we have the Subura mentioned by one or the other in the second, third, and fourth regions.[71] The anonymous writer of the eighth century places it where tradition has preserved the name.[72] S. Gregory names the church of S. Agatha "in Subura[73], which church we left on the right of the Strada de' Serpenti, and near the Via Magnanapoli. Anastasius more faithfully designates this church by placing it *above* the Subura[74], as it actually stands upon the declivity of the Quirinal hill. Now, as there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of these testimonies, we can trace the Subura from beyond the Colosseum, at least, to the Via Leonina: and therefore we suppose the name to have been generally applied to a continuation of streets immediately under the Esquiline hill[75], in a direction

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70 *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. i. p. 244. note B.

71 "Lupariæ in Subura." — *Reg. II. P. Victor.* "Caput Suburæ." — *Reg. III. Sex. Rufus.* "Subura." — *Ibid. P. Victor.* "Suburram." — *Reg. IV. Notitia.*

72 "Laurentii in Formonso, ubi ille assatus est. Iterum per Suburam, Thermæ Trajani ad vincula." — *Mabillon, Analecta Vetera,* tom. iv. p. 507.

Also, "Sanctæ Agathæ in Diaconia, Monasterum S. Agathæ." — *Ibid.* "Monasterium S. Agathæ, SUBURA." — *Ibid.* p. 510.; which, if Nardini had read, he would have spared himself the trouble of a long argument in *Roma Antica,* tom. i. p. 191.

73 *S. Gregorii, Epist.* xix. lib. iii.

74 "Et in monasterio S. Agathæ Martyris, super Suburam." — *Anast. in vit. Leon.* iii. p. 293. edit. Rom. 1718; compare also the anonymous of Mabillon, as cited in Note 72. above.

75 "Cedere namque foro jam non tibi deterius, quam
Esquilias à ferventi migrare Suburra."
Juvenal, Sat. xi. 50.

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which may be followed from the church of S. Clemente down to the Colosseum; and, after some interruption about the temple of Hadrian, may be resumed near the ascent from the Tor de' Conti to the church of S. Pietro in Vinculis, and continued past the S. Maria ai Monti to our station at the end of the Via Leonina.

We shall now ascend to the church of S. Franceso di Paola, and by walking round the green platform we shall meet the ascent just alluded to, leading up to the portico of the S. Pietro in Vinculis. This road goes down towards the Roman Forum, and is in the direction of the ancient Clivus Virbius: for the Vicus Sceleratus was in the fourth region, and must have communicated with the Clivus Virbius, and by another street (the Vicus Cyprius) with the Roman Forum.[76] The feeble light to aid us in this piece of topography is chiefly derived from a well-known passage in Livy[77], wherein the historian describes the scene of Tullia's impiety. Considering, however, that the street which preserved in its name the memory of that atrocious deed[78] communicated with the declivity leading up

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[76] "Ciprius a Cipro. . . . Prope hunc Sceleratus, dictus a Tullia," &c. — *Varro*, lib. iv. cap. 32.

[77] *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 48. cited in Dissertation I.

[78] Οὗτος ὁ στενωπὸς ὄλβιος καλούμενος πρότερον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ μυσαροῦ πάθους ἀσεβὴς ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, κατὰ τὴν πάτριον γλῶτταν, καλεῖται. — *Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom.* lib. iv. tom. i. p. 233. edit. Oxoniæ, 1704.

Στενωπὸς ὄλβιος in this passage is the same as Clivus Virbius in Livy; called also by Solinus (*De Consecrat. Urb.* cap. ii.) Clivus Urbicus, and by Festus (in verb.) Orbius. Dionysius, we observe, identifies it with the Vicus Sceleratus. If even that were the case (which, however, is not countenanced by Livy,

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to the Esquiline hill, and that the said street was in the fourth region, that declivity, or Clivus Virbius, could not be other than some ascent from about the Via de' Conti to the church of S. Pietro in Vinculis: and again, as the Vicus Sceleratus succeeded to the Vicus Cyprius, the latter could be no other than a street communicating with the Roman Forum somewhere behind the Carinæ; that is, where tradition has preserved the name in a small church, or Oratorio, situated in the Via del Colosseo. The latter part of this statement is borne out by the testimony of Dionysius.[79] As the attempt to state any thing more definite upon this subject would be attended with little success, so would it contribute but little to our instruction and amusement.

The Via di S. Pietro in Vinculis may almost be taken as a common limit to the third and fifth regions; and we may now follow that solitary road as far as the church of S. Martino ai Monti. The ruins into which the church of S. Sylvester was embodied belonged to the baths of Trajan; so that we are already within the borders of the third region.[80] The remains of the old church may be

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and is at variance with Varro: see Notes 76, 77. above), it will not obscure our topography; but Nardini (*Rom. Antic.* tom. i. p. 328.) has shown that Dionysius, in this instance, wants discrimination.

79 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τῆς πόλεως χωρίῳ τὸν ἁγνισμὸν ἐποιήσαντο ἅπαντες Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσιν ἱερόν. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ τῷ φέροντι ἀπὸ Καρίνης κάτω τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Κύπριον ἐρχόμενοις στενωπόν, ἔνθα οἵ τε, κ. τ. λ. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* ibid. lib. iii. p. 154. tom. i.

80 "Iisdem temporibus constituit B. Sylvester in urbe Româ titulum suum in Regione III. juxta Thermas Domitianas, quæ cognominantur Trajanæ; id est, titulum Sylvestri." — *Anastas. Bibliothec. de vitis Pontif. &c.* p. 104. apud *Scriptor. Rer. Italic. Murator.* tom. iii. edit. Mediol. 1723.

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seen by descending below the present one, which is newly ornamented. Subsequently were built those square brick pillars which deform the original work. It is, indeed, most probable that we see now nothing more ancient than the work of Pope Symmachus, who entirely re-made the church towards the end of the fifth century.[81] These ruins are not of an extent or a nature to require description[82]; nor can it be supposed that the "Thermæ Trajanæ" were any thing else but a continuation of the baths of Titus, although it is manifest, both from inscriptions[83] and the regionaries[84], that they were distinctly known by the epithet of Trajanæ. They are consecrated in ecclesiastical history as the scene of two councils, in which the heresies of the third and fourth centuries were condemned.[85] It was at one time doubtful whether these baths should hand down to posterity the name of Domitian or of

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[81] "Intra civitatem Romanam, Basilicam Sanctorum Sylvestri et Martini a fundamentis construxit, juxta Thermas Trajanas." — *Anastasius, ibid.* p. 124. *in vit. Symmachi.*

[82] These ruins are published after the designs of Palladio. *Terme*, tav. v. vi. &c. p. 18.

[83] The following was found on the spot: —

IVLIVS FELIX CAMPANIANVS
V. C. PRAEFECTVS URB. AD. AVGENDAM
THERMARVM TRAIANARVM
GRATIAM CONLOCAVIT.

The Thermæ Trajanæ are also mentioned in the inscription alluded to in Note 37. to p. 198.

[84] Both Victor and Rufus have Thermæ Titi, and immediately followed by Thermæ Trajani. The *Notitia* still more clearly shows the whole was one establishment: "Thermas Trajanas et Titianas." Vide *Panvinio, Urb. Rom. Descript.*

[85] Vide *Baron. Annales Ecclesias.* tom. iii. p. 277. edit. Antwerp, 1624, in A. C. 324. Silvestri Pap. II. Constan. Imp. 19.

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Trajan[86]: the former, doubtless, laid the foundation for extending the mighty work of his predecessor; but the task of finishing it, and, finally, the glory of a name, was reserved for Trajan. In the time of Leo X., two statues of the young Antinous were found amongst these ruins, in a place called the Adrianello, which has given rise to a supposition that Hadrian also added to the baths.[87] But, even supposing he merely ornamented them, the progress of the work may be traced from the ninth consulate of Domitian to the time of Hadrian, about a space of twenty-eight years[88]; whilst, in the short space of two years and nine months, Titus finished the Colosseum, and built his palace and baths near it.[89] Connected, however, as these ruins are with the baths of Titus, properly so called, we may consider them as involved in the same history, but not in the same plan. The ground-work of Titus's baths may be traced so as to exhibit a rectangular space, with "exhedræ" and other outworks resembling those of Caracalla: but as the remains are partial, and scattered over a number of vineyards, we must be content to see them in detached parts, and refer to the general plan of the whole. For the better understanding, however, of

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[86] See Note 80. to p. 214.

[87] *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. i. p. 200. See also *Lumisden's Ancient Rome*, p. 193.; but he misquotes Nardini.

[88] Vide *Cassiodor. Consules, cum commentar. Cuspiniani*, p. 412. edit. Basil.

[89] "Amphitheatro dedicato, thermisque juxta celeriter exstructis, munus edidit apparatissimum largissimumque."— *Suet. in Tito*, cap. vii.; and compare *Aurelius Victor de Cæsaribus in Tito.*

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those ruins, which we shall find *anterior* to the baths of Titus, it may be expedient, in the first place, to state as much as can be collected from ancient authors touching the history of the Esquiline hill.

Before * the Augustan age, the Esquiline hill was either deserted or left for the meanest of the people to inhabit: something of the nature of a "mal'aria," we suspect, was the cause; but Horace furnishes us with another reason — that the Esquiliæ was a public burial-ground, where the dead bodies of slaves, without having undergone the process of burning, were promiscuously deposited: from this circumstance the whole neighbourhood was infected. Mæcenas having obtained possession of the ground, turned it into gardens, made it a healthy and agreeable situation, or, what is more likely, rendered it fashionable. It is certain those pits into which the dead bodies were thrown could not be allowed within the city; and Horace further intimates that the "agger" was a part of the ground improved by Mæcenas. The public burial-ground, therefore, we conceive to have been situated about the Villa Gaetani and the church of S. Eusebio; and, therefore, the gardens made by Mæcenas extended thus far behind his house, which was situated where Titus afterwards reared his baths. If the scholiast Acron by "Thermæ" means the baths of Titus, the latter part of his commentary is not strictly true; for then those offensive sepulchres would have been in the very heart of the city. Mæcenas was buried at the extremity of the Esquiline hill: this might be in his own gardens; and, therefore,

* See Note PP.

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we strongly suspect that the large sepulchral monument which is now made into a modern habitation, situated in the Orto Altieri, and not far from the church of S. Eusebio, is very near, if not some corruption of, the tomb of Mæcenas. His house and extensive gardens were bequeathed to Augustus[90], and thus came by heritage into the possession of Nero. That emperor, not content with the whole extent of the Palatine hill, continued his house as far as the Esquiline, making the buildings of Mæcenas subservient to his use. By comparing the words of Tacitus with those of Suetonius, it is to be gathered that Mæcenas's house was situated on that part of the Esquiline hill which comes nearest to the Palatine: and thus we are enabled to identify the ruins, so celebrated for their Arabesque paintings, with the house of Mæcenas embodied in that of Nero. Upon all this Titus formed the area of his baths, paying little regard, as might be expected, to the enormous palace of the cruel tyrant. In forming our idea of the figure and extent of the baths, we must consider the anterior fabric which comes in a transverse direction as subterraneous, and which Titus, in all probability, rendered useless.[91] Thus prepared, and with continual reference to the ichnography delineated in our plan of ancient Rome[92], we may first go

[90] . . . Τῶν τε οὖν ἕνεκα ἰσχυρῶς αὖλον ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ κληρόνομον αὐτον. — *Dion Cass. Hist. Rom. LV. in Cæs. Aug.* tom. ii. p. 777. edit. Hamburg, 1752; see also *Suetonius in vita Tiberii*, cap. xv.

[91] In the annexed plan, exhibiting the two buildings involved in one, we have delineated all that belongs to the more ancient *in darker tints.*

[92] See *Plan of Ancient Rome*, index ii. art. 45.

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round the outworks, and also see the little that remains of the building within the area.

The separate ruin (a) was the large reservoir for the use of the whole establishment, and is commonly called the *Sette Sale:* it consists, however, of *nine* compartments, communicating with each other by passages disposed obliquely, and thus adapted to lighten the pressure of the water against the several partitions.[93] The walls retain the incrustation deposited by the water when the baths were in use, not less than thirteen centuries ago.

(b) Ruins belonging to the fabric anterior to the baths, as appears both from their line of direction and the similarity of their construction: this seems to be the farthest extent of the building towards the east. In the walls is to be seen a channel for conveying water (according to the opinion of De Romanis [94]) from the hill, so as to preserve the rooms from humidity.

(c) Hemicyclium, forming part of the outworks of Titus's baths, and corresponding to those marked (d) (e) at the northern and southern angles. The one marked (d) stands in the Via Polveriera, not far from the church of S. Pietro in Vinculis, and was converted by the French into a gunpowder manufactory. From the other, (e), (which, together with the adjacent vaults, now forms a sort of terrace) is an advantageous view of the ruins, so as to enable us to form an idea of the whole extent of the area.

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[93] De Romanis observes, that the position of the Sette Sale being symmetrical to the more ancient ruins, that reservoir was *first* constructed for the use of the original fabric. *Descrizione Archit. delle Camere Esquiline*, p. 7.

[94] *Camere Esquiline*, p. 14. art. 7. and 8.

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(f) Rooms in the *direction* of the ancient fabric frequently alluded to, but somewhat differing in their construction, and exhibiting no traces of ever having been painted; which renders it probable that they were originally of Nero, but, in making them subservient to the area of the Thermæ, were re-constructed.

(g) Ruins belonging to the same fabric, and subsequently made use of for supporting the area of the baths. For the same purpose the substructing arches (h) were built; and they are easily observed to be in a uniform direction with the *outworks* already described.[95]

(i) The remains of the interior part of the baths, which, by a reference to the plan of Caracalla's, may be easily adjusted. In the same vineyard, where the ruins approach nearest to the Colosseum, will be observed the circular form of the Theatridium, with some traces of the seats: underneath it are the rooms containing the Arabesque paintings, which yet remain to be described.

No account whatever of this edifice has reached us, nor do we know what fate it shared during the middle ages: in all probability it first suffered in the devastation made by Robert Guiscard, towards the end of the eleventh century; and again in the thirteenth century, under Brancaleone the Roman senator.[97] Three hundred years ago Raphael and Giovanne da Udine penetrated into the rooms which Titus had filled up and made subservient to his great work; and the discovery of the paintings enabled those men to restore an art which had

[95] Compare also, at the corresponding letters, the *Plan of the Thermæ, &c.*

[97] Vide *Muratori, Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. x. p. 508.

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been lost for so many centuries. It is not known when or wherefore those places were subsequently filled up; but they were discovered anew in 1774, and the pictures faithfully delineated by Mirri. Partial excavations were afterwards made for the sake of arriving at more of the paintings; but in the year 1811, and continuing until 1814, a great number of rooms were disinterred and laid open. Various fragments of marbles and ornaments of every description were discovered, and architects were enabled to understand the nature of the fabric. Palladio, Piranesi, and others[98], have, indeed, made plans of the baths, but none have so faithfully illustrated the two buildings involved in one as De Romanis.[99] It is with the help of his drawings that we are enabled to lay down the following plan and explanations touching that part of the baths to which the above remarks are chiefly applicable: —

1. General outline of the *Thermæ Titianæ*, founded upon the ancient fabric.
2. The elevation wall of the said fabric, originally adorned by a colonnade, of which some slight vestiges are remaining in the compartment marked (*) with an asterisk.
3. Foundation vaults, &c. subsequently placed against the said elevation for sustaining the Thermæ.
4. Massive wall, which determines the limits of the above-mentioned fabric on this side; but is of a construction entirely different from any of the rest, being a mixture of materials *ad Emplecton*. It is

[98] *Palladio, Terme*, tav. vii. and viii. p. 20. *Serlio de Architett.* lib. iii. p. 92.

[99] *Le Antiche Camere Esquiline, disegnate ed illustrate da Antonio de Romanis*, edit. Rom. in folio, 1823.

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supposed to have existed even prior to the ancient fabric, and to have been adopted as a supporting wall for it, as well as for a substruction of the hill.

5. Remains of some apartments apparently contemporary with the substructing vaults near them, but for which no specific use can be assigned.

6. Area of an open court, or inner garden, surrounded on three sides by columns, whose positions are indicated; the whole subsequently occupied by substructing arches for the Thermæ. In the midst was a reservoir or fountain, which is still visible. From this court the surrounding apartments received their light: it is properly called the *Cavædium.* [100]

7. Principal apartments, which yet retain traces of their original magnificence. The largest, which is opposite to the reservoir or fountain, may be considered as a *Triclinium*, or summer banqueting room, whilst those on each side marked with an obelisk (†) may have been used for a like purpose in the winter [101], having a direct southern aspect. The chamber marked with a cross (+) is commonly said to have contained the famous group of the Laocöon; but of this there is no authority more positive than that the said group was found near the Sette Sale! [102] All these rooms were splendidly painted, and the ground-works of each of different colours.

8. Apartments supposed to have been reduced to private

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[100] *Vitruvius de Cavis Ædium*, lib. vi. cap. 3. In a house at Pompeii a fountain is similarly situated in a Cavædium. See *Mazois, Ruines de Pompeii*, par. ii. tav. 11. "Cavumædium," says Varro, "dictum qui locus tectus intra parietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad communem omnium usum." — *De Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 33. See *Pompeii descritta da Bonucci*, p. 89. edit. Nap. 1827.

[101] *Camere Esquiline*, p. 29., where De Romanis ought to have made use of Vitruvius's "Cava ædium displuviata," as evidently applicable to this subject.

[102] *Camere Esquiline*, p. 32.

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habitations in the interval which elapsed between the relinquishing of the old fabric and the epoch of the Thermæ. Some staircases which conducted to the second stories still remain; also some paintings on the walls, from which the conjecture as to the *date* of those private habitations is chiefly derived.

9. Oratorio of S. Felicita. *Vide* Signor Guattani's illustration of this Christian chapel in the *Memorie Enciclop.* ann. 1816.
10. Reservoir, or cistern, made for the convenience of the private habitations above mentioned.
11. Corridor of communication, enclosing the fourth side of the Cavædium, first discovered in 1813. On the vault are some of the most celebrated of the Arabesque paintings; and on the walls are traced two snakes[104] with a basin placed between them, above which is a curious inscription written on the stucco.
12. Corridor (commonly called) of Rhea Sylvia, so named from the painting which is to be seen on the vault, representing the conception of Romulus.[106]
13. Separate apartments belonging to the original fabric, and which have been richly ornamented.

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[103] The Avvocato Fea has also illustrated this Oratorio, which is supposed to have been used for Christian worship as early as the seventh or eighth century. The calendar which was found written on the stucco is an object of interest and curiosity. See an engraving of the same in *De Romanis*, at p. 12.

[104] A line in Persius shows us that this was the usual notice for our "Commit no nuisance:" —

——"Hic, inquis, veto quisquam faxit oletum.
Pinge duos angues, Pueri, sacer est locus; extra
Meite." Sat. i. 112.

DVODECI^{M} DEOS IIT DEANA^{M} ET IOVEM
OPTVMV^{M} MAXIMV^{M} HABEAT IRATOS
QVISQVIS HIC MIXERIT AVT CACARIT.

[106] For these paintings see the work of *Mirri*.

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14. Space in which probably existed a second Cavædium of the form of a trapezium, and which was afterwards occupied by vaults for sustaining the baths. Of the surrounding buildings, in which there seems some confusion, the

15. Large square room, and the other (16.) of still more curious construction, are worthy of observation. It has been found impossible to adjust the corridors (17.) with the rest of the building; because it has evidently extended beyond the limits of the Thermæ. Over the space, 18., where they cease the old fabric is lost; so that we are, no doubt, indebted to the circumstance of its having been made the foundation of Titus's works for as many of the rooms as are preserved. It is to be remarked of our plan of the *Thermæ Titianæ*, that the white ground indicates the excavations made in 1813.

We may now turn our undivided attention to the history and description of the Colosseum.

The design of erecting an amphitheatre in the middle of the city originated with Augustus; but it was left for Vespasian and his son to accomplish.[107] It was erected on a spot which had previously been covered with the pools belonging to the "Golden House" of Nero.[108] The nature of the ground is a fluviatic substance of siliceous-argillaceous sand[109]; and it stood so low, with reference to the three converging hills contiguous,

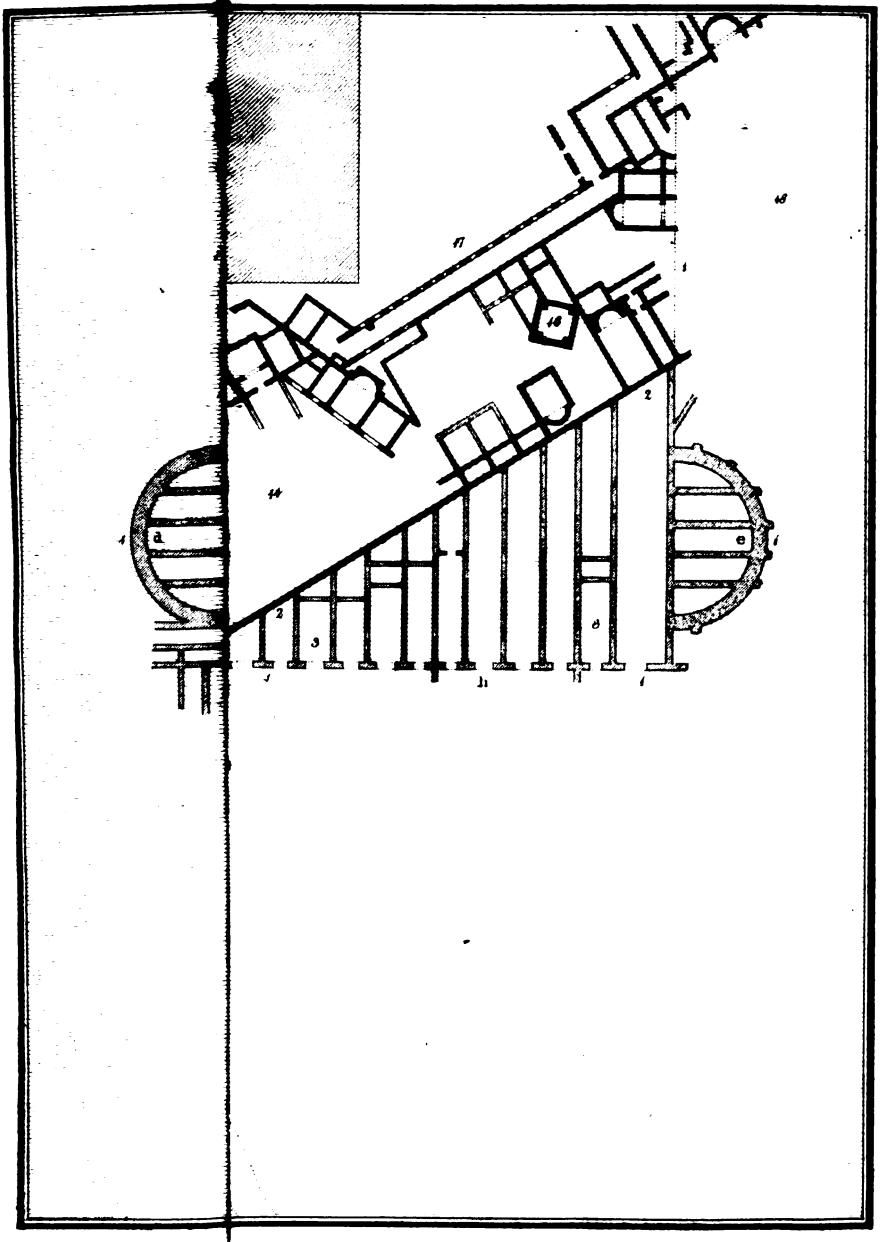
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[107] "Item amphitheatrum urbe media, ut destinasse compererat Augustum."— *Suet. in Vespasian.* cap. ix.; et vide *Aurel. Victor de Cæsaribus in Vespasian. et Tito. Cassiodor. in Chronic. Domitian.* ii. *et Rufo Coss.*

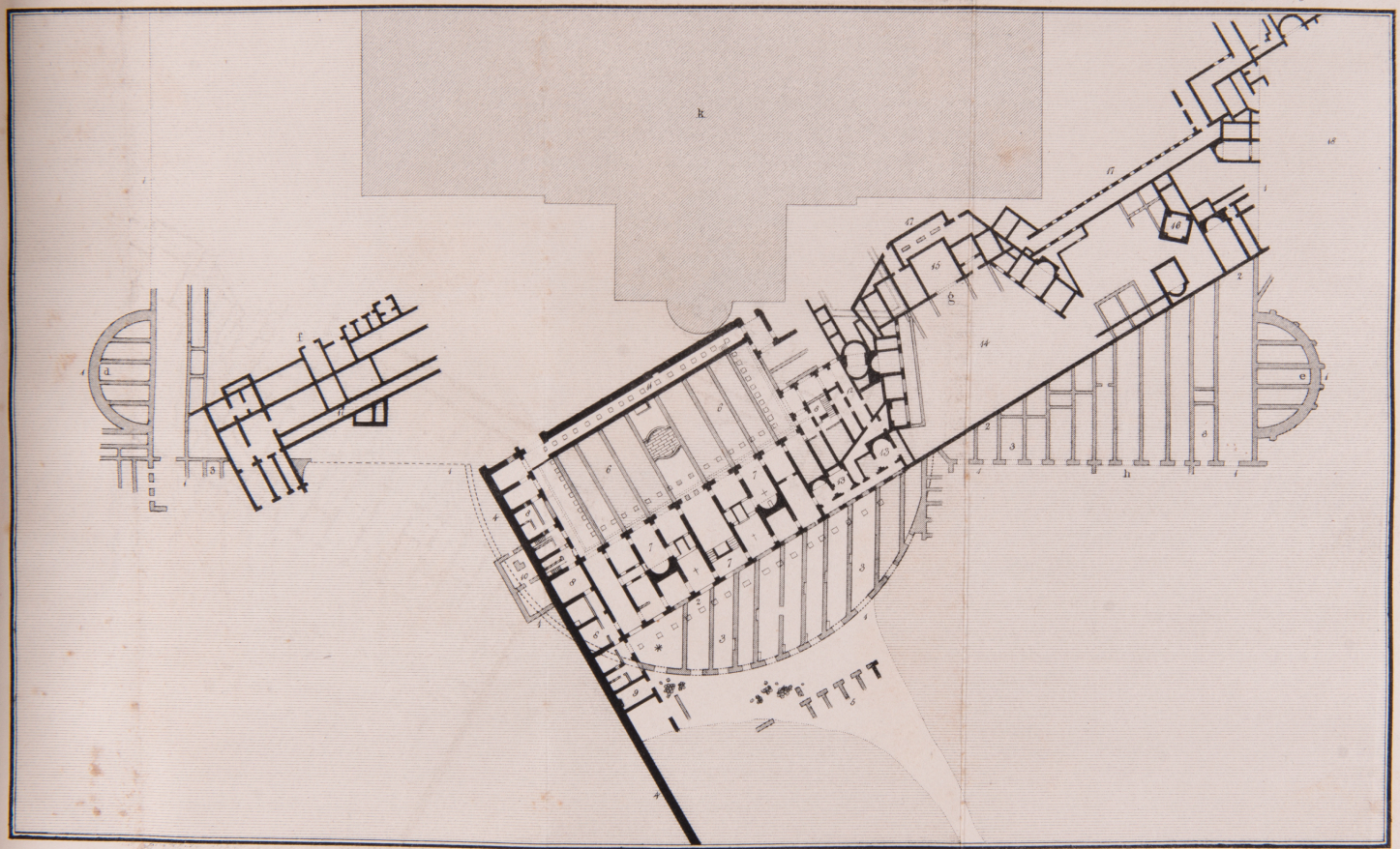
[108] *Martial de Spectac.* epig. ii. Conf. *Suet. in Nerone*, cap. 31.

[109] Vide *Carta Fisica del suolo di Roma da G. Brocchi.*

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C. Hullmandel's Lithography

English 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 Feet

Thermæ Titianæ &c.

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that a number of drains were necessary for keeping the ground in a fit state; of which some, having been recently repaired, are still used for the same purpose. The late excavations have exposed the level, from which the spectator had originally to look up to the top of the mighty walls; which inclines us still more to excuse the hyperboles of the ancient writers, comparing the "huge mass" to the pyramids of Egypt, calling it one of the wonders of the world[110], and affirming that the human eye could scarcely attain to its summit![111] Vespasian, having finished the war in Judea, commenced the building of this amphitheatre, which, in successive ages, bore the name of his family (Flavian). It has been said he employed several thousand Jews in the work; a supposition founded most probably upon a chronological coincidence, viz., the ending of the war and the beginning of the building. An inscription[112], now existing in the subterraneous chapel of the church of S. Martina, has also given rise to an opinion, that a certain Gaudentius, a Christian and martyr, was the architect; but this inscription has every appearance of being spurious. It appears, from a medal extant, that Titus dedicated the edifice in the last year of his short reign, which corresponds to the eightieth year of the Christian era. As the Jewish war was finished in 75 (supposing the work to have been set about immediately after the restoration of

110 *Martial. de Spectac.* Epig. i.

111 "Amphitheatri molem solidatam lapidis Tiburtini compage, ad cujus summitatem ægre visio humana conscendit." — *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xvi. cap. 10.

112 Vide *Muratori, Thesaur. Inscrip.* tom. iv. p. 1878. n. 4.

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peace), it must have been begun and finished within the space of five years.[113] It has been calculated by a French traveller, that the labour alone would cost 17,000,000 of francs [114]; and King Theodoric thought a copious river of wealth, sufficient to have supplied a city, must have been employed to make such an edifice.[115] At the dedication, which lasted for 100 days, 5000 wild beasts were exhibited and slain [116]; and to this incredible number Dion Cassius seems to add 4000 head of cattle or victims for sacrifice.[117] Titus also overflowed the arena with water, and represented, in a naval combat, the battle which Thucydides relates to have taken place between the Corinthians and Corcyreans.[118] Something was probably left for

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113 Mezzobarba (*Imp. Romanor. Numismata*, edit. Mediol, 1683, p. 126.) thinks the dedication took place A. D. 79, to agree with Dion Cassius's Chronology; but the most accurate calculations bring it to the year 80. See *Pitisci Lexicon Antiq. Roman*, in verb. *Amphitheat.* p. 86. edit. Venet. in 3 tom. folio, 1719. Medals with the head of Vespasian in his ninth consulship and Titus' seventh, seem to have been struck in *anticipation*; but the emperor dying before the dedication was accomplished, it devolved upon his son, and then other medals, with Titus Cos. VIII., were struck on the occasion.

114 *Barthélemy, Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, vol. xxviii. p. 583.; and *Voyage d'Italie*, p. 390. No. x. app.

115 *Cassiodor. Variar.* lib. v. cap. 42.

116 According to Suetonius, the 5000 wild beasts were all slain in one day (*in vita Titi*, cap. vii.); nor does Dion Cassius say any thing to the contrary. See the reference below in Note 118., and compare *Eutropius*, lib. vii.

117 Τὸ γὰρ θέατρον αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνος ὕδατος ἐξαίφνης πλήρωσας, εἰσήγαγε μὲν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ταύρους, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χειροήθη δεδιδαγμένα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πράττειν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ· εἰσήγαγε δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ πλοίων, καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκει, ὡς οἱ μὲν Κερκύραιοι οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄντες ἐναυμάχησαν. — *Diony. Hist. Rom.* tom. ii. lib. lxvi. p. 1097. Compare *Thucyd. de Bello Pelopon.* lib. i. c. 29.

118 Τὸ δὲ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν, τὸ δὲ Βαλαναῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ

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Domitian to finish; and we find that he also exhibited a naval fight and other magnificent shows in it[119], and perhaps built the Vivarium on the Cælian hill[120] as an appendage. At the celebration of Hadrian's birth-day, 1000 wild beasts were exhibited, and the gladiatorial shows continued for six days: 100 lions, and as many lionesses, at one time lay stretched on the arena.[121] The building suffered by fire, as it would appear, in the time of Antoninus Pius, by whom it was repaired.[122] [A. D. 138—161.] Commodus constructed a subterraneous passage, through which he might go, unseen, from the Palatium to the arena, which became the scene of his follies and disgrace. The passage may still be seen, with some stucco remaining on the vault, on that side of the Colosseum nearest the Cælian hill. It was

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ἱέρωσας, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησε· γέρανοί τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐμαχήσαντο, καὶ ἐλέφαντες τέσσαρες· ἄλλα τε ἐς ἑνενηκοντάχιλια καὶ βοτὰ καὶ θήρια ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ γυναικὲς οὐ μέντοι ἐπιφανεῖς συγκατειργάσαντο. — *Dion.* lib. lxvi. tom. ii. ut supra.

119 " Spectacula magnifica assidue et sumtuosa edidit, non in Amphitheatro modo verum et in Circo, ubi præter solemnes bigarum quadrigarumque cursus, prælium duplex etiam equestre ac pedestre commisit, *at in Amphitheatro navale quoque.* Nam Venationes gladiatoresque et noctibus ad lychnos, nec virorum modo pugnas sed et fœminarum." — *Suet. in Domitian*, cap. iv.

120 See Dissertation IV. p. 162.

121 *Dion Cass.* lib. lxix. p. 1156. tom. ii. edit. Hamburg, 1752. and *Spartian. in vit. Had.* cap. vii.

122 *Julii Capitolin. Ant. Pius*, cap. 8. p. 266. tom. i. edit. Lugdun. Batav. 1671. Mezzabarba, in his large volume " *Delle Medaglie*," gives a medal which represents a building not unlike the Amphitheatre, and thinks it was struck in commemoration of the repairs done by Antoninus Pius, having the superscription PVELLAE FAVSTINAE. Vide *Oper. citat.* p. 211.

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there where a certain Claudius Pompeianus, or as Herodian, who relates the same fact, calls him, Quintianus[123], attempted the emperor's life; but the premature words of the assassin, — "The senate sends thee this!" turned the vengeance of the tyrant upon himself and the Roman people. The cruelties and extravagance of Commodus were emulated by Caracalla[124]; and it may seem as if heaven at length interposed to put an end to the bloody scenes of the Amphitheatre. During the short reign of Macrinus, and whilst they were celebrating the festivals of Vulcan, it was struck by lightning [A. D. 218.]: and Dion Cassius, who witnessed the conflagration, informs us[125] that it was burnt from top to bottom, — that all the upper gallery, which perhaps comprised a construction of wood-work, raised on the top of all we now see[126], was consumed; also all the seats;

123 Compare *Dion in vita Commodi*, lib. lxxii. p. 1205. tom. ii. and *Herodian*, lib. i. p. 12. edit. Stephan. 1581; and see *Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. iv. almost at the beginning. Dion Cassius designates the passage by these words, Τῆς εἰσόδου στενοχωρίαν· Herodian says, Ὁ δ' ὑποσας ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου εἰσόδῳ (ζοφώδης δὲ αὕτη, καὶ λήσεσθαι ἤλπισε) γυμνώσας τὸ ξιφίδιον. Lampridius (*in vit. Commod.* cap. iv.) relates the fact, and agrees with Dion Cassius in the name, but does not mention the place where the attempt was made. Amm. Marcellinus (lib. xxix.) says more vaguely, "in amphitheatrali cavea," and agrees with Herodian in naming the person Quintianus.

124 *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxvii. p. 1292. tom. ii. edit. Rom. 1718. in 2 vols. folio.

125 *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxviii. p. 1332. ibid. On the same day there was an inundation of the Tyber, so that the Forum and all the neighbouring streets were deluged, and several persons taken off by the flood." — *Ibid.* p. 1333.

126 "Vidimus in cœlum trabibus spectacula textis
Surgere, Tarpeium prope despectantia culmen."
T. Calpurn. Sicul. Bucol. eclog. vii. 23.

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and notwithstanding the quantity of water which was brought to extinguish the fire, added to the abundance of rain which fell in the thunder-storm, the building was so effectually destroyed, that for several years it could not be used for exhibitions. The two succeeding emperors, Heliogabalus[127] and Alexander Severus[128], restored it; but we hear of no more shows exhibited in it until the Emperor Philip celebrated the Secular Games, in the 1000th year of Rome [A. D. 248]. On that occasion all the animals were destroyed which Gordian III. had collected for his Persian triumph[129]; amongst which we may enumerate thirty-two elephants, sixty tame lions, thirty leopards, ten cameleopards, twenty wild asses or zebras, ten elks, besides 1000 pair of gladiators, which the historian, in his enumeration, unceremoniously places between ten hyænas and an hippopotamus. It is, however, more than probable that Philip made but little use comparatively of the Colosseum; for Cassiodorus, in alluding to the subject, mentions the Circus Maximus and the Campus Martius, but not the Amphitheatre, as the scene of this pompous display.[130] Whatever might be the extent of the

127 *Ælii Lamprid. Antonin. Heliogab. vit.* cap. 17.

128 *Ibid. in Alexand. Sever. vit.* cap. 24. But perhaps these restorations were incomplete or inadequate; for there was a question in the senate at the time Maximus and Balbinus were elected, A. D. 238., "de exædificatione Amphitheatri." Vide *Capitolin. in Max. & Balbin.* cap. i.

129 "Nam omnia hæc Philippus exhibuit secularibus ludis, et muneribus atque Circensibus, quum millesimum ab urbe conditâ annum in consulatu suo et filii sui celebravit."—*Julii Capitolin. Gordian. Tert. vit.* cap. 33.

130 *Cassiodor. Senator. Chronicon*, in tom. i. p. 364. edit. Venet. in 2 tom. folio. *Cassiod.* Opera, 1729.

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damage done to the edifice in the reign of Decius [131] [A. D. 254], the triumphs of Aurelian [132] and Probus, which both took place within twenty years after, furnished the arena with a profusion of wild beasts.[133] It is said of the latter, that he let loose 100 male lions at once, whose roaring shook the walls of the Amphitheatre, but which were all killed on the spot: 100 African leopards, and as many from Syria; 100 lionesses, and three times as many bears, were all destroyed; but 300 pair of gladiators afforded a still more grateful spectacle to the Roman people.

The shows of Carinus and Numerian, [A. D. 284.], even more magnificent, have found a poet to celebrate them [134]; and perhaps our own historian has given them another stroke of embellishment.[135]

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131 Eusebii Chronicon, D. Hierony. Interpret. in A. D. 254. sub Decio. "Romæ Amphitheatrum incensum."

132 "Sequentibus diebus datæ sunt populo voluptates ludorum scenicorum, ludorum Circensium, *venationum*, *gladiatorum*, naumachiæ." — *Flavii Vopis. Div. Aurelian vit.* cap. 34.

133 Vide *Vopisc. in vit. Prob. Imp.* cap. xix. *cum notis Salmasii in verb.* "Qui omnes contificiis interempti sunt." Tom. ii. p. 674. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1671.

134 Vide *T. Calpurn. Sicul. Bucol.* Eclog. vii. He puts his description into the mouth of a rustic, who, having returned home to the country, relates the wonders he saw in the Amphitheatre. Lipsius (*de Amphith.*), Scaliger (*in Animadvers. ad Euseb.*), and Tristan (*Commen. Hist.* tom. iii. p. 313.) think those shows were given by Carinus only; but Ulisius (*ad Nemes. Cyneget.* v. 65.) and Salmasius (*ad Vopis. Carin.* cap. 19.) suppose them to have been exhibited by Carus and the two Cæsars Carinus and Numerian. I adopt the simple authority of Vopiscus: — "Memorabile maxime et Carini et Numeriani hoc habuit imperium, quod ludos Romanos novis ornatos spectaculis dederunt." — *In vit. Carin. Imp.* cap. 19.

135 See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, ch. xii. A. D. 284. Sep. 12.

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They were, indeed, the last which either poet or historian might think worthy of being celebrated. There is a letter extant, written by Maximus, a præfect of Rome when Crispus and Constantine the younger were consuls [A. D. 320], from which we learn the Colosseum was struck by lightning[136]: probably the damage was inconsiderable; because when Constantius arrived at Rome, in 357, Ammianus Marcellinus gives us to understand it was perfect.[137] The story of Alypius, related by S. Augustin[138], indicates that, about the year 390, the shows of gladiators were still carried on in it, although prohibitory laws had been enacted against them.[139] Very soon after, however, they were finally abolished, through the zeal of Telemachus, a monk from the East.[140] [A. D. 404.] In the excavations that have been made of late years, two inscriptions have been found, which throw some light on the state of the edifice during the fifth century. From the one bearing the earliest date, and which is now standing not far from the hermitage, we learn that Lampadius, a præfect of Rome under Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., repaired the steps and renewed the arena, together with some

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136 Vide *Marangoni delle Memorie sacre e profane dell'Anfiteatro Flavio*, p. 43. edit. Romæ, 1746.; et *Codic. Theodosian*, lib. xvi. tit. viii. as cited by Professor Nibby, *Del Foro Romano, &c.* p. 225.

137 Lib. xvi. cap. x.

138 *Confession.* lib. vi. cap. 8.

139 *Codic. Theodosian*, as cited by *Nibby, del Foro Romano*, p. 226.

140 See *Hobhouse's* notes to the Fourth Canto of *Childe Harold*, on stanza cxli., with references thereto appended.

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other restorations. From the second, which is seen on the right hand in entering the platform by the common passage, it is inferred [141] that an earthquake had thrown down the Podium and destroyed the arena; but the whole was adjusted at the expense of Basilius, who was præfect of Rome, as it appears, in 486. It may also be safely inferred from this inscription that the Amphitheatre had received no irreparable damage during the dreadful sack of Rome by Alaric.[142] In 519, Theodoric's son-in-law gave a pompous show of wild beasts in it to celebrate his consulship [143]; and from about that period to the date of modern history we lose sight of it. "Rome had something else to think of," says Marangoni, "than her shows and her amphitheatrical games during the successive ages in which she was oppressed by the hard yoke of the Goths and Lombards until the times of Charle-

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[141] There is, indeed, a duplicate of this inscription standing opposite the other, but less legible; they run thus:—

DECIVS MARIVS VENANTIVS
BASILIVS V C ET INL PRAEF
VRB PATRICIVS CONSVL
ORDINARIVS ARENAM ET
PODIVM QVAE ABOMI
NANDI TERRAE MO
TVS RVIN. PROS
TRAVIT SVMPTV PRO
PRIO RESTITVIT.

Discovered in 1810.

[142] See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. xxxi.; and *Baronius, Annales Ecclesiast.* A. D. 410.

[143] Vide *Muratori, Annali d'Italia,* anno 519.; and compare *Cassiodor. Chronicon,* in fine.

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magne in the eighth century."[144] Some writers[145] pretend that Theodoric was the first who allowed the stones to be removed for building with; but there is, on the contrary, reason to believe that he actually restored the building[146]: and bearing in mind the celebrated passage of the venerable Bede, written in the eighth century[147], we shall be disposed to attribute the first dilapidation to the destructive hands of Robert Guiscard.[148] [A. D. 1084.] He utterly destroyed the greatest part of the city which lay between the Cælian and Capitoline hills; and as the pope's nephew had taken refuge in the Septizonium, which was situated nearly opposite the church of S. Gregory, the nearest parts of the Colosseum would naturally be the most exposed to the ravages of fire and sword[149]: and those are the

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144 *Marangoni, delle Memorie, &c. dell' Anfiteat. Flav.* p. 43. edit. Rom. 1746.

145 *Martinelli, Roma ricercata nel suo Sito Gior.* vi.; *Lucio Fauno Antiq. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 12.; and *Biondo, Roma Instaurat.* lib. i. cap. 3.

146 *Maffei*, lib. i. cap. 5.; *Cassiodor.* lib. v. *Varior.* ep. 24.: *Ibid.* lib. iv. ep. 51. For the letter of Theodoric refers to an amphitheatre of Catania.

147 "While stands the *Colisæus*," &c.; any body will supply the rest. But why called Colisæus, or Colysæum, if, as it is generally admitted, this name was given to it from its colossal magnitude, or from the Colossus of Nero which stood near it? Bede is the first writer we know of who makes use of this appellation; the ancients only called it *Amphitheatrum*, or *Theatrum*; but surely he ought to have written *Colosæus*. Oral tradition has been more faithful; the Romans call it *Colosseo*.

148 "Et majorem Urbis partem Cælium inter et Capitolium sitam evertit [scilicet, Guiscardus]."—*Baron. Annal. Ecclesias.* anno 1084.

149 *Ibid.* tom. xi. p. 564. sect. v.; and *Annalist. Saxo. apud Eccard*, tom. i. p. 583.; *Order. vit.* lib. vii.

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parts which have been destroyed from time immemorial.[150] To the Norman succeeded those ages of battle and murder which most of all affected the monuments of Rome.[151] The Flavian amphitheatre became a fortress and a dwelling-place for the Frangipani faction, in whose possession it was in 1130, and served as a refuge for Pope Innocent II. and his brothers. This same family retained it, with some interruptions, through two centuries: their title to it was chiefly disputed by the Annibaldi family, who on one occasion prevailed by the influence of the Emperor Frederic II.; and finally, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, they were left in undisturbed possession of it. It was again given up by them to the Emperor Henry VII., and thence passed into the hands of the senate and people of Rome. They converted it, in some measure, to its ancient use, by an exhibition of bull fights, which took place on the 3d of September 1332. A legate of Urban V. complains that he could find no purchasers for the stone of the Colosseum except the Frangipani family; and in the same century it was agreed among the factions of Rome, that the materials should be common to all who wished to use them. Perhaps the remark of Poggio applies to this period, when he says the materials, meaning of course the marble, were mostly reduced to lime by the folly of the Romans. At the same epoch, Professor Nibby thinks the holes which now disfigure the walls were chiefly

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150 *Poggio, Fiorentin. de Varietate Fortunæ*, lib. i.

151 Vide *Donat. de Urb. Rom.* lib. iv. cap. 8., apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 827.

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made in pillaging the gramping irons.[152] In the year 1381 a portion of it was assigned for an hospital; and traces of some paintings may still be discovered where it was.[153] About the middle of the fifteenth century the monks of the convent of S. Francesca Romana enclosed it for themselves by two walls; and perhaps at that time the neighbouring ground was consecrated, and those interments took place which were lately discovered in excavating the basement of the temple of Venus and Rome. Twenty years later Paul II. employed the stone which had fallen to build the palace in the Piazza di Venezia, which now belongs to the Austrian embassy. His example was followed by Cardinal Riario, who built the Cancellaria out of it; and by Paul III., who built the Farnese palace. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it began to be used for religious purposes. The plan of the city of Jerusalem, which is seen in the interior over the arch by which people usually enter, belongs to that period. Sixtus V. wished to turn it into a woollen manufactory, but, after spending 15,000

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152 Whoever wishes to trace the history of the Colosseum thro ughthe middle ages more accurately may consult the authorities collected by Professor Nibby (chiefly from *Muratori, Rer. Italic. Scriptores*) in his *Foro Romano*, cap. iii. p. 229—235.; and the Abbate Fea's *Dissertazione sulle Rovine di Roma*. In a treatise written by Monsignor Suaresio, edit. 1651, entitled *Diatriba de Foraminibus Lapidum in Priscis Ædificiis*, he brings together seven different opinions of authors respecting those holes; and Poggio, in *Novo Thes. Antiquit. Rom. Sallenge*, tom. i. p. 502.

153 *Martinelli, ex Ethn. Sac.* cap. xii. p. 361. There is also an account of the same portion of the arches being turned into a nunnery. Vide *Marangoni*, p. 56. and 57.

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scudi, failed. Clement XI. enclosed the lower arches, and made a saltpetre magazine of the porticoes. An earthquake in 1703 threw down an arch of the second story; and the Porto di Ripetta was made out of the spoil. At length Benedict XIV. secured it from further pillage by consecrating it, and erecting a cross in the middle of the arena. The care which has been bestowed upon it in the present century has compensated, in some degree, the neglect of so many generations. During the dominion of the French the porticoes were cleared and restored to their ancient level, nearly as we now behold them: the nature of the arena was only discovered in 1812, by the architect Bianchi. Pius VII. built the mighty wall which supports the tottering arches towards the south; and Leo XII. began the repairs which we see his successor nobly continuing. Such are the ages and such the vicissitudes through which the Colosseum has past: it is now time to come to some description of it.

The Amphitheatre, an edifice unknown to the Greeks, was invented by the Romans. The original idea was suggested, as Cassiodorus intimates, by joining together two theatres without the stages, so that the people in greater numbers might conveniently witness the exhibitions which took place on the arena.[154] It was originally intended for

[154] "Cum theatrum quod emispherium græcè dicitur, Amphitheatrum quasi in unum juncta visoria recte constat esse nominatum: quo speciem ejus arena concludens, ut concurrentibus aptum daretur spatium, et spectantes omnia facilius viderent, dum quædam prolixitas universa collegerat." — *Cassiodor.* lib. v. *Variar.* Ep. 42.

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gladiatorial shows only, but in process of time the exhibitions were of three kinds: first, the gladiatorial combat called a "Munus[155];" secondly, the fighting with wild beasts called a "Venatio[156];" and thirdly, the representation of mythological subjects by means of wooden machines, called "Pegmata*", probably introduced by Domitian: for all these things the arena and its subterraneous constructions were adapted. The Naumachia, or naval fight, once or twice exhibited in the Colosseum, was not in its proper place. The scenes of bloodshed which took place in the two former descriptions of games principally attracted the curiosity of the Romans; and posterity has wondered how a civilised and enlightened people, not excepting the female sex, could remain within those walls for days together to witness such atrocious spectacles. The early Christian writers exclaim against them with honest indignation. Tertullian calls the amphitheatres "places void of mercy;" and Arnobius[157] says, they were "places of blood in which men might see their fellow-creatures devoured." Knowing that these things

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155 Vide *Tertullian de Spectaculis*, cap. xii.

156 The "Venationes" were of several kinds; on which see the ample illustrations of *Julius Cæsar Bulenger de Venatione Circi*, apud *Grævium*, tom. ix. p. 750. The amphitheatrical Venatio consisted particularly in men fighting wild beasts with clubs, or the wild beasts set to devour one another. *Bulenger, ibid.* cap. v. There is an account (*apud Ruinart. Act. S. Ignatii*) of Trajan having sent S. Ignatius, the Bishop of Antioch, to suffer martyrdom in the Colosseum in this manner.

* See Note Q Q.

157 *Tertullian de Spectaculis*, cap. xix.; *Arnobius, adversus Gentes*, lib. ii.

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are but too faithfully spoken, we shall not be without a subject for reflection to render the echo of our footsteps more appalling as we pace the vaults and walls in examining this stupendous monument.

The form of the Colosseum is elliptical; the length, or major axis, measures 591¼ feet, and the breadth 508¾: it is 1683¾ feet in circumference, and 147 in height.[158] The exterior elevation presents four divisions or stories, of which the three lower are supported by half columns, and the upper one by pilasters. The first is of the Doric order, and is nearly 29 feet in altitude; the second is Ionic, being something more than 37 feet; the third, of equal height, is of the Corinthian order;

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[158] These measurements are taken from Lucangelli's model of the Colosseum, and may be understood as given in English feet; for to cite the measurements given by Professor Nibby (*Foro Romano*, cap. iii. p. 237.) in French feet: —

	Feet.	Inches.
Circumference of the whole	1566	4
Length, or major axis	562	4
Width	466	4

Allowing thirteen inches of our measure to a French foot, and reducing the whole to English feet, the numbers will very nearly accord with those we have here laid down. In Roman palms the Colosseum measures as follows: —

	Palmi.
Circumference	2350
Length	845
Width	700

Vide *Venuti, Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. p. 45. Whoever desires to have a more accurate idea of the Colosseum than can be given in a *written* description, may consult *Serlio, Anchit.* lib. iii. p. 64.; *Overbeke, Avanzi dell' Antica Roma*, p. 370.; *Desgodetz*, cap. xxi. p. 146.; *Fontana, Descrizione e Delineaz. dell' Anfiteatro Flavio;* and amongst the more recent illustrators, beginning with Piranesi, Uggeri, Guattani, Bianchi, Rossini.

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and the fourth, also Corinthian, is 44 feet high. These four divisions make up the 147 feet; to which might be added at least four feet more for what is wanting of the attic. The *consoles*, which are seen to project from the walls in the upper story, were inserted for the purpose of sustaining as many posts; to which were attached the rings and cordage of the *velarium* or covering, which will afterwards be explained. The number of arches formed round the whole exterior amounted to 240; that is, 80 for each of the three first stories: the fourth was relieved by 40 large rectangular windows, disposed between the pilasters. The arches of the second and third divisions were each closed at the bottom by a parapet, on which were placed as many pedestals for supporting statues. We must except the four main entrances at each extremity of the axes, which were probably adorned with equestrian statues of bronze.[159] The four arches here alluded to were nearly a foot and a half wider than the rest: the two situated at the extremities of the axis major served for conducting the machines, wild beasts, and the gladiators immediately into the arena[160]; the remaining two, at the extremities of the axis minor, were imperial entrances. One was connected by a passage of communication with the Palatine hill; and the other, in like manner, with the Esquiline. Of the former entrance nothing now remains, except so far as the secret passage

[159] The medals of the Colosseum afford sufficient authority for these things. See *Vignettes*.

[160] Compare *Capua Vetere, &c. di Giacomo Rucca.* edit. Napoli, 1828. no. 17. § 6. and 7. p. 206.; and vide *Isidor.* lib. xviii. cap. 53.

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made by Commodus may be considered as an adjunct to it; the latter retains some of its original ornament, which consists in very fine stucco; and, from the fragments of marble found about it in the excavations, the arch on the outside appears to have been supported by two columns of pavonazzetto. This entrance was, doubtless, first made use of by Titus [161]: it afforded a direct and separate passage to the emperor's seat, which was raised only a few feet, but *secured* from the arena. The remaining 76 arches (we speak of the first order) were all numbered, so that the spectators might know at once by which to enter in order to be conducted, by the corresponding flights of steps, to the respective places assigned them: two broad steps running round the whole first brought them upon a level with the plinth of the base of the Doric columns. Such *was* the exterior, as the eye surveyed it from top to bottom; and it was entirely built of travertine stone. At present the western and southern sides of the elevation are demolished, and it only exists in its full altitude, as described, from the arch numbered XXIII. to LIII.: round the remainder, the nakedness of the inner walls is more or less exposed, and the lofty arches from time immemorial have perished. The upper division, with the pilasters, is best preserved above the arches number XL. to XLIII. The repairs now in progress begin at one extremity of the axis major, and will have to meet the wall of Pius VII. at the other.

[161] It appears upon the medals seemingly as an adjunct to the Amphitheatre, and communicated, no doubt, with the Thermæ of Titus on the Esquiline hill.

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The interior elevation, beginning from the arena, presented, first, the Podium; then three successive orders of seats for the spectators, called collectively the Cavea; and at the top, the attic with the Velarium, or awning. Under these general terms may be comprised nearly all that is interesting in the Amphitheatre. The Podium [162] was a kind of covered gallery, destined for the use of the emperor and persons of the first distinction. A perpendicular wall, rising immediately from the arena, relieved by recesses and grated windows, formed the front. The emperor, the chief magistrates and senators, the vestal virgins, and the other privileged persons who sat within, could see the games without being seen themselves. A low balustrade finished the top of the Podium, and behind it was a wall of separation from the rest of the Cavea. From the top of this wall rose the first order of seats, twenty-four in number, called Gradus or Subsellia. There was then a second division, consisting of a broad step or landing-place, which was called the Iter [162], running round the whole circumference; and a perpendicular wall, which prevented, as in the case of the Podium, the passage from one order to another. This wall was called the Præcinctio or Baltheus; because it *girded*, as it were, one entire order of the seats. The second order contained sixteen rows; and it was separated from the third by a parapet wall of considerable height, which

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162 For an illustration of this and some other technical terms here made use of, we must be allowed to refer to the "*Description of the Circus on the Via Appia*," &c. p. 34. and notes following, and the references therein contained.

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still partially exists. It was relieved by niches and by windows, which gave light to the corridors behind it; and we may consider this parapet as forming an effectual division between "the senate and the Roman people" and the plebeian multitude. Above the third Præcinctio rose the last order of seats, which is now entirely wanting. These should be distinguished from the others of greater dignity by the name of Spectacula; by which word is meant places, whether the spectators sat or stood, from whence they might witness the games [163]: they had not, consequently, all the accommodation of the Subsellia. The rows of seats, as thus described, all rose upon sloping arches called Cunei, or wedges, because they converged towards the arena, which reduced them somewhat into that shape. [164] The whole Cavea, with the Podium, has been calculated to contain 80,000 spectators seated [165]: but, independently of all this accommodation, there was a roofed gallery above, which overshadowed a part of the Specta-

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[163] *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 35.

[164] Lipsius (*de Amphitheat.*) gives to the word a more extensive signification; his definition merits attention. "Quicquid sedilium dividitur præcinctionum itineribus, et secatur lateralibus viis, in hoc nomen (scilicet, cuneum) venit: nomen datum a forma, quia, re ipsâ, scalarum directio talis, ab imo ordiens, magis diffunderetur in altum redderetque cunei formam."

[165] "Amphitheatrum quod capit LOCA lxxxvii. mil." — *P. Victor in Region. Urb.* Although this number accords with the calculation of Justus Lipsius, Giacomo Rucca, who has lately written a description of the amphitheatre of Capua, thinks it is overrated, and he reduces the number of seats to 34,000, being determined to make *his* amphitheatre as capacious as the Colosseum. *Capua Vetere, &c.* p. 240.

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cula, and appeared from the arena as an open portico sustained by columns.[166] It was probably constructed of wood, and was filled by persons of the lowest description[167]; amongst which were the men employed to manage the Velarium, which will be afterwards explained. The spectator emerged from the interior stairs through a square egress, horizontally formed, and called a Vomitorium: from thence, by a flight of steps, of which there were several all round, at regulated intervals, cut in the Gradus, he ascended or descended to his proper place. These flights of steps were called the Viæ[168], and appeared conspicuously in the elevation. In a crowded assembly those who arrived late stood in the Viæ. If this circumstance be considered, and the upper gallery be taken into the account, together with the number of persons necessarily engaged about the arena, it will not be too much to suppose that 100,000 souls have sometimes been contained within these walls.

Behind the Cavea were the corridors, passages, and all that construction of arches which formed the body of the edifice, and occupied all the space between the seats and the outer walls. As the steps gradually ascended, this space necessarily became contracted, as if one should represent (taking a section) the area of a right-angled triangle, where

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166 This is pretty apparent upon the medals.

167 "Venimus ad sedes ubi pulla, sordida veste,
Inter fœmineas spectat turba Cathedras."
Calpurnius, eclog. vii. 27.

168 See *Description of the Circus on the Via Appia, &c.* p. 34, and 36.

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the Cavea would be taken for the hypothenuse, and the outer wall for the perpendicular. At the base (that is, behind the Podium), there was room enough to admit of a double portico or Ambulacrum, which ran round the whole building: the exterior one formed the elevation of the first story, as we have seen it without; and the second was joined to the Cunei of the first Subsellia. The succeeding story equally admitted of two Ambulacra, although inferior in altitude to those of the ground floor: these were not only necessary for giving access to every part of the Amphitheatre, but they served for shelter, and for the "ambulations" of the Roman people. Some of the staircases, or Scamnæ, by which they ascended to the Vomitoria, are still to be traced. In the third story (that is, behind the parapet wall already described), the arches were much lower, and the space was reduced to one corridor: part of it was occupied by the steps, or Scalaria, for ascending to the Spectacula, and which were made upon a different plan to the Scamnæ; not projecting forward, but joined against the wall in a double flight, thus.  The corridor in question received light through the windows in the parapet wall. Passages of this description in the upper parts of the building were called the "Fornices" and the "Spatia fornicata."[169] Seneca seems to designate the upper seats by "summa Cavea," at the same time indicating that the inferior orders of people occupied them.[170]

[169] Vide *Juvenal*, sat. iii. 65.

[170] *Seneca de Tranquill.* cap. xi. p. 607. edit. Genevæ, omnia

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To ascertain and adjust the observations that have now been made upon the Cavea and its dependencies, it will be necessary to ascend upon the ruins by the staircase which has been made for that purpose near the hermitage: we may traverse the Ambulacra of the second story, and mount as high as the parapet wall. "Arches on arches!" at every step the magnitude of the Colosseum seems to grow upon us; and having gained the highest point that is practicable, the eye will comprehend at one glance the plan of the whole Cavea. The Cunei of the first order remain nearly all round; the second order, though less perfect, sufficiently exhibits the graduated ascent. The plebeian Spectacula have fallen down, and left the majesty of the mighty walls naked, save that occasionally we may discern the traces of the Scalaria by which they ascended to the top. The attic is, of course, demolished; and near the cornice may be discerned stones employed in the rearing of the outer wall which had been cut for other purposes, pieces of cornices, and even columns, betraying haste and confusion, at variance with the regular and compact construction of the rest of the building.[171] Wherever the travertine stone has been faced with marble, or covered by any contiguous buttress, there the labour of masonry has been economised; so that the stones appear to have been first inserted in

opera Senecæ in folio, 1628. "Fœminis ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari solenne olim erat, *nisi ex superiore loco* spectare concessit." — *Suet. in vit. Octav.* cap. xliv.

[171] But see *Forsyth's Remarks on Italy*, art. *Rome*, Works of the Empire.

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their rough state, and worked afterwards as far as was necessary. Besides the travertine and peperine stones, we shall find tufo, bricks in great quantity, and pumice used in the building, besides the precious marbles which served to ornament the most dignified places of the Amphitheatre. It would, indeed, appear now to surpass the resources of any nation in the world to collect such a mass of materials, independently of producing the skill and labour which should put them together. We have now to speak of the Velarium. As there is no description whatever left us of the manner in which this awning was contrived, it can only be drawn from conjecture: but that conjecture, which is now universally approved, seems to be most obvious and probable.[172] Upon those Consoles which we have already observed in the exterior elevation were placed as many posts, headed and girt, as we may suppose, with brass or iron: they reached above the cornice, and were finished at the top with rings. To those rings were attached cords which were drawn horizontally, converging like radii towards a centre; and they were fastened at the concentrating end to a cord, encompassing, as it were, an elliptical space in the air corresponding to the arena, which was consequently uncovered: this cord or girth in the middle was sufficiently sustained by the converging ones.

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[172] The plan we have here adopted for the Velarium is that proposed and illustrated by Lucangelli. The Conte Carli (*Antich. &c.*) had made another supposition, but not more ingenious. Uggeri and Guattani's conjectures are not in opposition to Lucangelli. See *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. i. p. 54.

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Along the latter ran the rings attached to each section of the canvass, called the Vela, which might be drawn backwards or forwards at pleasure, with the facility of drawing a curtain. Perhaps some skill, too, was required in the managing of the cordage; for we find that sailors were expressly employed for the purpose.[173] The Velarium was probably constructed on the same principle in all the theatres and amphitheatres; for we read of Caligula, for his amusement, sometimes ordering the "vela" to be drawn back during a scorching sun when all the people were assembled, and it was forbidden for any one to move from his seat.[174] Lucretius intimates that the Vela were all painted different colours, and when fluttering in the wind produced a charming effect over the Cavea[175]: but Julius Cæsar, in an amphitheatre constructed of wood, was once extravagant enough to shade the spectators by curtains of silk.[176] It now only remains for us to make some observations on the arena. The oval platform in the middle of the Amphitheatre on which the

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173 "Populum Romanum a *militibus classiariis qui vela ducebant in amphitheatro* interimi præceperat." — *Ælii Lamprid. Commod. Ant.* cap. xv.

174 "Gladiatorio munere, *reductis* interdum flagrantissimo sole *velis*, emitti quemquam vetabat." — *Suet. in Caligul.* cap. xxvi.

175 "Et volgo faciunt id lutea, russaque *vela*,
Et ferrugina, cum magnis intenta theatris
Per malos volgata, trabeisque trementia fluctant:
Namque ibi consessum caveaï subter, et omnem
Scenaï speciem, patrum, matrumque, deorumque,
Inficiunt, coguntque suo fluitare colore."
Lucret. lib. iv. 73. edit. Keat. Lond. 1824.

176 *Dion Cass. Hist.* lib. xliii. cap. 1.

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shows were exhibited was covered with SAND, to prevent the combatants from slipping; and hence it was called the "*Arena.*" The Colosseum, *in its present state*, offers nothing remarkable in this particular; but, in the excavations of 1812 and the two following years, the architect Bianchi discovered several subterraneous walls and divisions[177], of an inferior construction indeed, because they were probably the repairs made by Basilius in 486, but sufficiently indicating that the arena had been a moveable platform; and if any antiquarian controversy should have arisen on the subject, the amphitheatre of Capua seems to set it at rest. In that stupendous ruin, the walls and partitions of the arena run parallel to the axis major, or with the line of the Podium.[178] There are also a number of small rectangular compartments, with apertures on the surface of the arena corresponding; intended, no doubt, for confining the wild beasts in until it was time for them to emerge to the public view.[179] Herodian, indeed, informs us[180] that the lions, which were laid prostrate by the unerring

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[177] Vide *Osservaz. sull. Arena e sul Podio dell' Anfiteatro Flavio del Professor Lorenzo Re, co' desegni del Architetto Signor Bianchi*, edit. Rom. 1812.

[178] Vide *Capua vetere, ossia Descrizione, &c. di Giacomo Rucca*, tav. ii.

[179] These small subterraneous rooms were called *caveæ*. "Neque enim erat bestiarum impetus ille qui esse *e caveis egredientibus* solet." — *Vopisci Probus Imp.* cap. xix. *cum notis Salmasii in verb.* They were no doubt fitted up like *cages*, and so *caveæ* may be translated, especially when we consider the following passage: — "Utque detentæ in caveis bestiæ, tetro pædore acerbius efferatæ, evadendi spe *repagulis versatilibus* illiduntur." — *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xvi. Lucangelli has invented a machine which looks very like the "*repagula versatilia.*"

[180] *Herodian. in vit. Commod.* lib. i. p. 25. edit. Stephani, 1581.

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darts of Commodus, sprung from the subterraneous parts of the arena. When all these apertures were closed, and the passages were covered over, the platform was complete. The poet Calpurnius[181], celebrating the games given by Carinus, mentions the cleaving asunder of the arena, and the wild beasts rushing forth. Seneca speaks of the showers of perfumery which sprung from beneath the middle of the arena, and ascended to the top of the Amphitheatre.[182] Something of the capabilities of the arena may also be conjectured from the naval combats given by Titus and Domitian[183]: and, upon the whole, we may conclude that the immense preparations carried on in these subterraneous places required many hundred persons to effect them; and that the arena of an amphitheatre was calculated to produce, with facility and promptitude, a great variety of representations. In the amphitheatre of Capua, the compartments and partitions have all a free communication one with another. All the discoveries made by Bianchi in the arena of the Colosseum are in conformity with the things we have now cited.

His words are, Λεόντων δέ ποτε ἐξ ὑπογαίων ἑκατὸν ἀναῤῥιφθέντων, κ. τ. λ.

181 "Ah! trepidi quoties nos descendentis arenæ
Vidimus in partes, ruptaque voragine terræ,
Emersisse feras, et eisdem sæpe latebris
Aurea cum croceo creverunt arbuta libro." *Eclog.* vii. 46.

182 "Numquid dubitas quin sparsio illa, quæ ex fundamentis *mediæ Arenæ* crescens in summam amphitheatri altitudinem pervenit, cum intentione aquæ fiat?" — *Seneca, Nat. Quæst.* lib. ii. cap. 9.; et conf. *Æli. Spartian. Adrian. Cæs.* cap. xix., *cum annotat. Casaubon. et Salmas. in verb.* "Balsama et crocum per gradus theatri." Conf. et *Senec.* ep. 90.

183 Compare Notes 117. to p. 220. and 118, 119. to p. 127.

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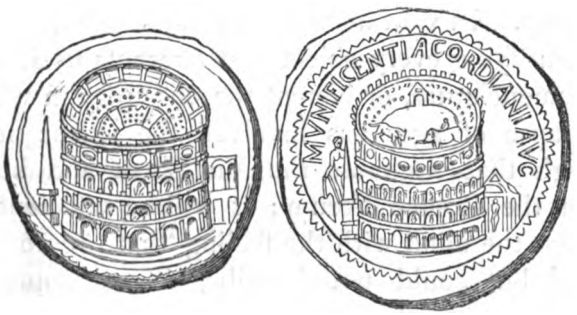
The present level must be considered as above the original surface of the arena; consequently we do not see the height of the Podium. Lucangelli, who made the celebrated model of the Colosseum, estimated the original height at fifteen feet nine inches. If we give implicit faith to this measurement, it will be easy to arrive at the original level. The Podium, as it now exists, only exhibits the brick-work of an inner wall broken into square niches: it is of an age posterior to the rest of the building, and was perhaps the work of some of those restorers mentioned in the inscriptions already cited.[184] Still more changed if possible is the aspect of the arena: the fourteen stations of our Lord's passion are placed at regular intervals around it; and there is the rustic pulpit, from which the Capuchin friar vociferates the praises of the martyrs who have stained the original arena with their blood. Between the stations or chapels are set up various fragments of columns, blocks of marble, pieces of shattered cornices, broken statues, and remnants of other architectural ornaments. A broad pathway runs through the middle; the rest grows green with grass. The cross reared in the centre offers, to whosoever shall devoutly kiss

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184 The discovery of Signor Bianchi gave rise to volumes of controversy, not only on the depth of the arena and the height of the Podium, but also on the genuineness of the substructions. The Avvocato Fea would not allow them to be any thing else than works of the middle ages, perhaps made by the Frangipani family! The Professor Nibby is unwilling to decide between those "*valorosi atleti*," as he calls the controversialists; but, however, he gives the state of the combat. See 1 *Appendice alla* 3 *Reg. in Nardini*, tom. 1. p. 244. &c.; and for a succinct account of Bianchi's discoveries, consult the *Memorie Enciclo-ped. sulle Antich. e Belle Arti di Roma per il*, 1817. p. 121.

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it, the liberal recompense of 100 days' indulgence. The "Roman holiday," which was celebrated in human blood, is now kept by the innocent representations of the benevolent Sacconi; and nothing more guilty, it is hoped, will ever again be brought upon the arena. Oft have we sat upon some lofty arch as the setting sun threw its golden tinge over these mighty walls. We have re-peopled the deserted Cavea with an imaginary assembly of those who delighted in slaughter, whilst contemplating the pious procession parading the transformed arena; and seeking some consolation for the ravages of time and the inhumanity of our species (let it not be thought strange to say), we have found it in the devout audience of the barefooted friar and the exemplary society of the Sacconi. The veneration which nearly eighteen centuries have thrown around the vast ruins must, in any case, be felt; but, comparing the Flavian amphitheatre, in all its blood-stained glory, with its present decay, consecrated to a harmless purpose, we may retire from its walls fully impressed that the Colosseum, since the days of pagan Rome, is upon the whole improved.



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DISSERTATION THE SIXTH.

ON THE FOURTH REGION, CALLED VIA SACRA, OR TEMPLUM PACIS; PRECEDED BY A DESCRIPTION OF THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

"Tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis; ut non sine caussa ex his memoriæ ducta sit disciplina." — CICERO DE FINIBUS, lib. v. in proem.

IT was a question once asked in an assembly of statesmen and philosophers, whether *this* was a natural impulse of the mind or inspired by some delusion — "that, when we come into those places in which we understand great men anciently flourished and acted, our impressions are more lively than they would be by merely hearing of their exploits or reading their writings?" If there be any vestiges of antiquity sufficiently venerable to inspire such a sentiment, — if there is a spot upon earth still capable of making such impressions, — it is that which we are now about to tread upon and examine. In vain do we complain of the difficulty of identifying every object that presents itself with its nomenclature, or lament the obscurity in which the lapse of ages has involved the ruins: it is enough that we cross the Via Sacra and hover about the Roman Forum; it will be sufficient to impress the mind with the feeling that Cicero suggested but could not describe, if we approach

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the site of the senate-house, which awakens the recollections of the patriotism of a Cato, or the Rostra, which bring to our remembrance the last defenders of the liberties of Rome.

The triumphal arch of Constantine stands on the borders of the third, fourth, and tenth regions, and it is doubtful to which of the three it properly belongs[1]: it may, therefore, be considered as an isolated object, and will be most conveniently introduced here before entering upon the region of the Via Sacra.

The road across which this arch is erected was, anciently, a direct communication between the Via Sacra and the upper end of the Circus Maximus. In the excavations made under Pius VII., some of the original pavement was discovered, and which has lately been made still more visible: this encouraged the wavering topographists to designate the way a "Via Triumphalis."[2] Its original direction is preserved in the road which now leads from the arch to the church of S. Gregory.

When we see the exploits of Trajan sculptured on a monument erected in honour of an emperor who lived 200 years posterior, and contrast their

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[1] It is not mentioned at all in the old Regionaries. Panvinio has collated it to the fourth region, *Descriptio Urb. Rom.* p. 81. edit. Frankfort, 1597; Nardini (*Rom. Antica*, tom. iii. p. 148.) appends it to his other catalogues of the tenth, and is followed by the modern antiquaries.

[2] Whether we suppose the triumph to have passed through the Circus Maximus, or to have moved along the *Via Appia*, it must have fallen into this road to reach the Via Sacra; but, after leaving the arch of Constantine, there is no following it to the capitol without being stopped at every turn by some antiquary.

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masterly style of workmanship with the rude figures that are meant to indicate the achievements of Constantine, our enquiries are naturally directed to the original materials.

Trajan had two triumphal arches in Rome; the one stood in his Forum, and the other in the first region, probably across the Via Appia.[3] The stolen materials here employed either came from one of those arches, or else this was a third, of which we have no account left, erected in honour of Trajan, but adopted by Constantine, and disfigured to suit his purpose. It will be expedient, in the first place, to set this question at rest. Several years after Constantine triumphed Constantius arrived at Rome, and, in visiting the splendid works of the city, was particularly struck with the magnificence of Trajan's Forum. The words of Ammianus Marcellinus[4], who gives the description of it, afford at least a negative proof that the triumphal arch, which must have formed one of its chief ornaments, could not at that time have been despoiled; nor can it be supposed that Constantine would have so far outraged the genius of art, even in its expiring hour, as to have plundered in the eyes of the world one of the most splendid monuments of

3 P. Victor enumerates the triumphal arches in the first region thus: — "Arcus Divi Veri Parthici, Arcus Divi Trajani, Arcus Drusi."

4 "Verum cum ad Traiani forum venisset, singularem sub omni cœlo structuram, ut opinamur, etiam numinum adsensione mirabilem, hærebat attonitus," &c. — *Amm. Marcellin. Hist.* lib. xvi. p. 609. edit. Basiliæ, ann. 1518.

The historian makes no mention of the triumphal arch being destroyed; a thing which, of all others, must have been a matter of observation had such been the case.

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Roman grandeur. Flaminius Vacca saw some remains of a triumphal arch near Trajan's pillar in the sixteenth century, and observed some figures of captives similar to those now standing before this attic: he was inclined to believe there were four such arches originally in the Forum[5], a visionary idea which is now abandoned. The testimony of that antiquary, therefore, may in some degree contribute to prove that the arch of Trajan had been respected by Constantine at least; since, at so remote a period, there were still left some ruins and even bas-reliefs. The arch of Trajan in the first region, if we are to give credit to the Regionaries, was standing at a still later period; but there are not the same reasons for supposing Constantine not to have taken away some of the sculpture, nor is there any authority to say he did so. Now there is something more positive in the opinion that Constantine adopted the arch as it stood, and added his rude bas-reliefs; for, first, the architectural design and the general execution is a specimen too pure for that degenerate age. It is true (as our intelligent traveller has observed[6]), the design might be stolen as well as the materials; but why did they take a less chaste model for the arch of Septimius Severus? It is the misfortune of decayed or moderate genius, that it will seldom condescend to imitate except where it can conceal the copy under an appearance of originality. There is, moreover, an expression in the inscription, ARCVM TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT, which is not without

[5] *Memorie di Flaminio Vacca*, art. ix.

[6] *Forsyth's Remarks, &c.* p. 143. edit. London, 1816.

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authority: if the senate consecrated to the victorious emperor "an arch already distinguished by triumphs," it must have existed previously to such consecration. It is further to be remarked, that the position of the additional bas-reliefs is not such as any architect would have chosen for displaying the achievements of the conqueror in whose honour he erected the monument. If it be objected that such a triumphal arch is not mentioned in any of the ancient writers, it may suffice to answer — neither are those of Titus and Septimius Severus. In short, such are the reasons for believing that Constantine adopted the arch of Trajan, and, for aught we know, enriched it where it was deficient with the spoils of that other arch which stood on the Via Appia. The Abbé Barthélemy delivered a similar opinion[7], and was followed by others, from whom the modern antiquaries seem unwilling to dissent.[8] If the indignation of the spectator is roused against the imperial cheat, who might experience a secret pleasure in depriving his predecessor of one monument of his envied fame[9], what will he say of Lorenzino de Medicis, who stole away the heads of seven of the large statues? *

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[7] *Voyage d'Italie*, lettre xvii. Rome, 1756, p. 108. edit. Paris, 1801.

[8] *Venuti, Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. p. 24. note B.; *Nibby, Foro Roman.* p. 246.

[9] "Fuit vero ultra quam æstimari potest laudis avidus, hic Trajanum herbam parietariam, ob titulos multos ædibus inscriptos, appellare solitus erat."—*Sex. Aurel. Victor. Epitom. in Hist. August. Florentiæ*, 1723, pars ii. vol. i. p. 483. Compare *Amm. Marcellin.* lib. xxvii. cap. 3.

* See Note RR.

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or of a pope, who took away one of the eight columns of Giallo antico, though it were even to support an altar in the Lateran church?[10] * The inscription, as well as one of the bas-reliefs, shows that the arch was adopted after Constantine had subdued his rival Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. Under the two words INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS an erasure has been detected, from which it has been inferred, that at the time the arch was dedicated the emperor had not embraced Christianity; but that when he did so, the original words were effaced to make room for an expression more conformable to Christian language. The words VOTIS X . VOTIS XX, which are twice repeated, mean the vows that were offered up by the emperor for ten and twenty years for the preservation of the empire; a custom derived from the policy of Augustus, and continued by his successors as a mere ceremony.[11] We now come to a description of the ornaments.

There are on each front of the arch[12] four

[10] Clement VIII. took away the column; and it was restored, as well as the heads of the statues, by Clement XII., but not of the same material. A fragment of one of the original figures, representing the Dacian captives, is now in the court-yard of the Capitoline museum: it consists of the two legs and the lower part of the body.

* See Note SS.

[11] Sometimes these vows were made only for five years, and then they were called "vota quinquennalia," abbreviated in inscriptions by VOT. QQ. The origin of this ceremony is explained by Dion Cassius (*Hist. Rom.* lib. liii. p. 505. and 507. edit. Hanoviæ, 1606).

[12] See the engravings of Santo Bartoli, with Bellori's illustrations, in the work entitled *Veteres Arcus Augustorum*. Only it has been observed, "Non si può perdonare Santo Bartoli l'aver

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square reliefs, and as many more of a circular form, which all relate to Trajan's actions: the two tablets in the interior of the main vault, over which are written the words FVNDATORI QVIETIS, LIBERATORI VRBIS, and those on the flanks of the arch, on the attic, are also of Trajan; and if we add seven of the columns, the eighth being modern, and the Dacian captives which stand before the attic, the rest of the sculpture is of the age of Constantine, and shows how completely the art had degenerated in the space of two centuries and a half. On the northern elevation, beginning at the angle nearest the Colosseum, the first square relief represents the Emperor Trajan proceeding in triumph to the portico of a temple, which probably means that of the Capitoline Jove [13]; the emperor may be supposed to be returning victorious from his Dacian war.[14] Rome, personified by an Amazon, and accompanied by two figures betokening "Peace and Plenty," conducts him on his way; and Victory, in the act of placing the laurel on his brow, flutters around him. In the next tablet Trajan is about to raise a half-naked female figure, which is leaning on a wheel, and stretching forth her hand for succour: this is an allegorical representation of the repairing of roads and bridges, as appears from the medals extant [15] which were struck on those occa-

migliorate, nelle sue incisioni, le goffe sculture de' tempi Costantiniani, tradendo la verità," &c. — *Venuti, Antichità*, tom. i. p. 24.

[13] Vide *C. Plin. Sec. Paneg. Trajano dict.* in verb. "Tu delubra non nisi adoraturus intras," &c.

[14] Τραϊανὸς δὲ τά τε νικητήρια ἤγαγε καὶ Δακικὸς ἐπωνομάσθη. — *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxviii. p. 1127. cum. not. sect. 80.

[15] Vide *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata, &c. per Caro-*

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sions; the two figures standing near the emperor, one of which holds in his hand a roll, are supposed to mean the engineers or architects employed in the work. We know from Dion Cassius, and the milestones which still remain in the Pontine marshes, that Trajan completely repaired the Via Appia [16], and added the new branch which led from Beneventum to Brundusium [17]: this was certainly a proper subject for the arch which stood across the said road, and perhaps this very bas-relief belonged to it. In the third square Trajan appears as the father of his people, extending relief to an indigent crowd of women and children, who approach him in the attitude of supplication: in this particular, he is supposed to have copied the example of his predecessor Nerva.[18] The succeeding bas-relief represents Trajan sitting upon a chair of state, whilst a person is brought into his presence

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lum Patinum, p. 177. edit. Argentinæ, 1671, in folio; and compare *Dion Cass.* lib. lxviii. cap. 7. p. 1124.

[16] *Dion Hist. Rom.* lib. lxviii. p. 1132., and *Inscrip. apud Gruter*, cxcix.

[17] Vide *Inscrip. apud Panvin. Fast.* p. 217.

[18] Casaubon (*in vit. Marc. Antonin. Julii Capitolin.* cap. xvii.) observes that the emperors, when in want of money, frequently sold the imperial ornaments or furniture by auction. Nerva did so, but gave the produce to the poor. Vide *Dion Cass.* lib. lxviii. *in vit. Nervæ*, p. 1119. Trajan seems to have copied him in the charitable deed too servilely. "Circumfertur sub nomine Cæsaris tabula ingens rerum venalium; quo sit detestanda avaritia illius qui tam multa concupiscebat, cum haberet supervacua tam multa." — *Plin. in Panegyric. Trajan.*

"Et quanto majorem infantium turbam iterum atque iterum videbis incidi . . . dabis congiaria si voles," &c. — *Ibid.*

We must suppose Trajan applied his money in the same way as Nerva did.

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as if for the purpose of receiving judgment. There is an account of his having deprived Parthamasiris, King of Armenia, of his dominions; and this may be a representation of the act.[19] The subjects of the four round reliefs relate to the hunting of wild beasts, and the sacrifices attending thereon, which are easy to recognise in their respective meanings. Passing round to the southern elevation, and continuing to read the bas-reliefs from left to right, we see Trajan again represented on a throne, and in the act of placing the diadem on the head of a foreign prince. This is supposed to coincide with the account given by Dion Cassius of Parthamaspes, King of Parthia[20]: the ceremony is witnessed by Roman soldiers carrying the military standards. The same historian informs us that Decebalus, the warlike King of the Daci, nearly succeeded in cutting off his enemy by stratagem. He despatched some of his creatures to Mysia, with orders to kill the emperor privately; but one of the assassins was seized upon suspicion, and, being brought to trial, confessed the plot.[21] We are supposed to have this transaction represented in the second bas-relief; and the tree which is there introduced indicates that the conspirators were seized in a forest of Mysia. Next succeeds a very common subject on monuments of this nature — the emperor or general haranguing his soldiers. And, finally, we have a representation of the triple sacrifice called Suovetaurilia, which was performed once every five years,

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[19] *Dion*, lib. lxviii. p. 1135.
[20] *Ibid.* p. 1145. [21] *Ibid.* p. 1128.

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or Lustrum, for the purification of the city[22]: the ox, the sow, and the ram are all discernible on the bas-relief amidst the throng. The subjects of the four circular reliefs are similar to those on the other front; but the two large relievos on the flanks of the arch more especially call forth our admiration: the artist seems to have plunged into the heat of the battle, and transferred the spirit of the living hero into the mute stone. Just beneath those master specimens of art, an idea has come to the birth of Constantine's masons which they have not had strength to bring forth: they have represented their master's dominion over the eastern and western empires by the chariots of the rising and the setting sun, or perhaps the moon! The carved frieze which girths the middle of the arch represents Constantine, surrounded by the senators in their robes, addressing a public assembly, giving a largess to the people, his triumph after the defeat of Maxentius, the battle at the Milvian Bridge[23], the assault of a strongly fortified town, most probably Verona[24], and the triumph of Crispus the emperor's son, who waged a successful war against Licinius in the east.[25] After verifying all these subjects,

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22 The *Lustrum* was an institution of Servius Tullius. "Suovetaurilibus lustrare" was to perform the ceremony of leading the three animals thrice round the assembly of people, and then offering them to Mars. See *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 44.; and compare *Festus* in verb. *Solitaurilia.*

23 See *Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. xiv. A. D. 312. October 28.

24 "O miserabilem Veronensium calamitatem, quos non tam tua quam intestina satellitum pressit obsidio." — *Panegyr. Const. Aug. dictus auctor. anonym.*

25 See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. xiv. towards the end.

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there will still remain the pedestals and the minor vaults, where the rude hand is still more visible. Taken, however, as a whole, there are but few monuments of antiquity which in interest and magnificence can compare with this.

The general outlines of the fourth region are strongly marked by the three hills which nearly enclose it. Beginning from Constantine's arch, it extends to the Forum of Nerva inclusive, but takes a curvilinear direction beneath the Esquiline and Quirinal hills, making at the same time a branch which runs under the Viminal [26]: it then returns so as to include the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, to that angle of the Palatine which overlooks the Forum; and is completed by returning to the original point, through the arch of Titus. After thus defining its limits, it may be observed, that the circumference is the least of all the fourteen regions; and it seems to have escaped the notice of the topographers, that whilst such is the case, the measurements given of it in the Regionaries exceed most of the others. But as the text differs in them all, we may conclude, in this instance, they are all erroneous; for whereas 13,000, 14,000, and even 18,000 feet in circum-

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[26] In the *Vestigie di Roma Antica*, edit. 1818, the *position* of the Vicus Sceleratus, which Rufus enumerates in the fourth region, is perhaps correctly laid down; and then it is excluded from the *limits* of the region to which it belongs! We have gained about 2000 feet for the diminutive district (see plan of Ancient Rome) by correcting this topographical error. The church of S. Maria ai Monti may be considered as the extreme point in the direction of the Viminal hill.

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ference is assigned to this district[27], it will be difficult, with every allowance for sinuosities, to make out more than 8000 or 9000. Within so small a space, however, there stood many objects of interest and magnificence; and amongst the streets of ancient Rome the Via Sacra was pre-eminently distinguished. The region contained 2,758 insulæ, 138 houses, eight streets, and nine temples; to which might be added forums and basilicas, and things of less importance. Out of this list not a little still remains to excite the curiosity of the stranger, and to exercise the patience and learning of the antiquary.

The first object within the limits of the fourth region is a small ruin of brick-work, whose original shape resembled a *Meta* of the Circus. This was anciently a fountain for the use and ornament of the adjoining amphitheatre, as appears from several medals extant, which represent it as an appendage to that edifice[28]: it is called by Victor and Rufus the Meta Sudans, or "sweating goal." The epithet is supposed to be taken from the perpetual issue of foaming water; or, as Andreas Fulvio imagines[29], because it contributed in abundance wherewithal to satisfy the thirsty crowds assembled for the games of the Colosseum. It was surmounted, as

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[27] "Regio in circuitu continet pedes xviii. millia." — *Sextus Rufus.*

"Regio in ambitu continet pedes xiii. M. alias xiiii. M. — *P. Victor.*

"Continet pedes tredecim millia." — *Notitia.*

[28] Engravings of some of those medals are given in *Nardini*, tom. i. Nos. 6. & 7.

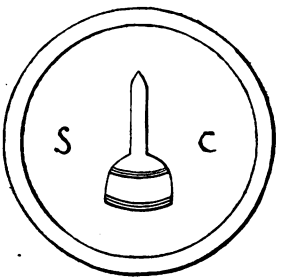
[29] *Fulvio delle Antichità di Roma, &c. tradotto per Rosso*, carta 137.

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some say, by a statue of Jupiter; and if the water conveyed up the cavity, which is still visible, was made to issue out at the top, the ancients must have had a more perfect knowledge of hydraulics than is usually allowed them. Indeed, since the last excavations, the whole construction is manifest: we see the channels which conveyed and carried off the water, and also the circumference of the reservoir, which, very like a modern fountain, received the falling streams. It was probably supplied with water from the large reservoir of Nero on the Cælian hill. It was first erected by Titus[30], and its original form is preserved on the reverse of a medal of that emperor[31]; it was repaired or renewed by Domitian[32]; and it is men-

[30] See the following notes; and consult the ground plan of Hadrian's temple. Our description was written before the *thorough* repair which this ruin has lately undergone!

[31] Vide *Imperator. Romanorum Numismata, &c. per Carolum Patinum*, p. 149., where this medal is well delineated and illustrated: it will suffice to give a rough sketch. The superscription round the head of Titus is, IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. VIII.



[32] "His Coss. [scilicet, Domitiano IX. et Clemente II.] insignissima Romæ FACTA sunt opera, Forum Trajani, Thermæ Titianæ, Senatus, Ludus Matutinus, Meta Aurea, *Meta Sudans*, et Pantheon." —Vide *Cassiodor. Consules cum Comment. Cuspinian.* p. 412. edit. Basiliæ.

It is evident that *facta* means *renewed.*

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tioned, under its classical appellation, in an ecclesiastical record as late as the twelfth century [33]: the brick-work attests a good age of building, and affords an additional proof of its antiquity. Seneca mentions a Meta Sudans near his own dwelling, where noisy people assembled and disturbed him. (A modern picture of this may often be seen near the principal fountains of Rome.) But Seneca is speaking of Baiæ [34], and his words have been erroneously quoted to show that the Meta Sudans existed before Titus: they rather show the name was generally applied to a certain description of fountain.

We have now to trace the ground-plan of an enormous temple, whose substructions extend in length from near the Meta Sudans to the arch of Titus, comprising all that space now occupied by the church and monastery of S. Francesca Romana, and exhibiting an elevated platform in front of the Colosseum. In the middle of the site still exist some striking ruins of the interior of the fabric, consisting in two large niches or tribunals, reversed to one another, together with a portion of the lateral walls and the vaults. The recent excavations have attracted the special attention of the antiquary and the architect to these ruins, and

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[33] *Ordo Romanus*, anno 1143.

[34] See *Seneca, Epist.* lvii. with the notes of Lipsius. He says he had got accustomed to the noise, and regarded it as *the waves of the sea*, which seems to indicate he was writing from Baiæ. The beginning of the following epistle renders it still more positive. Nardini is puzzled with the passage (vol. i. p. 305.), as well he might if he did not consider Seneca as writing from *Baiæ*.

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have equally excited the curiosity of the stranger and indifferent Roman; so that, if such a term may be used without a solecism, the temple of Venus and Rome is now *the fashionable antiquity* of the city. It is not, however, on this account that we are about to give it more than an ordinary share of attention, but because it furnishes us with materials for acquiring a general idea of an heathen temple, and points us to a period when the arts ascended the throne [35], and the world was subservient to the imperial architect and sculptor.

Apollodorus having built the Forum of Trajan, and thereby excited the envy of Hadrian, was driven into exile on some frivolous pretext. The emperor, in order to convince him how easily his services could be dispensed with, sent him his own architectural design of the temple of Venus and Rome, which he was building, desiring to have his opinion upon it. Apollodorus answered, that he ought to have made it more lofty; and with subterraneous accommodations for receiving, as occasion might require, the machines of the adjoining amphitheatre, and for giving it a more imposing aspect towards the Via Sacra. That, as to the statues (in a sitting posture), they were so disproportionate, that if the goddesses desired to get up and walk out, they would not be able. The architect, as may be supposed, paid the penalty of his criticism with his head. From this account, given by Dion Cassius [36], the position of the temple is

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[35] *Spartian. in vit. Hadrian.* cap. xiv.; and *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxix. p. 1151.

[36] *Histor. Roman.* lib. lxix. p. 1153.

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identified with these ruins. It is moreover enumerated in the Regionaries in the fourth region, and seems to have been called, indifferently, "Templum Urbis," "Templum Veneris," or "Templum Romæ et Veneris;" the first was perhaps the more common appellation. It is mentioned by a minor poet[37] as being before the Via Sacra; and, except the authority of medals, this is all the classical notice we have of it. In Spartian and Marcellinus[38] it is barely mentioned; but the former equally points to the environs of the Via Sacra. Although we are thus without any written description of this edifice, sufficient remains to afford a just idea of its splendour, and to exhibit the true form of, perhaps, the finest temple Rome ever possessed.

Signor Guiseppe Pardini, architect of Lucca, the author of the annexed drawings, has remarked, with great ingenuity, the particularities of the ground-plan and elevation. It is to him we owe the architectural observations which will now be

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37 "At sacram resonare viam mugitibus ante
Delubrum Romæ, colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
More deæ, nomenque loci, ceu Numen habetur,
Atque Urbis, Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt
Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus."
Prudentius contra Symmach. lib. i. 214.

38 *Spartian. in Hadrian.* cap. xiv.; and *Marcellin.* lib. xvi. cap. 10. They both call it "Templum Urbis." "His consulibus [scilicet, Pompejano et Atiliano], templum Romæ et Veneris factum est, quod nunc Urbis appellatur." — *Cassiodor. in Chronicon*, A. D. 135.

But the *Chronicon* of Eusebius makes a difference of three years. "Templum Veneris ab Hadriano Romæ factum, A. D. 132." Vide *Chronic. Trium Illustrium Auctor. &c.* p. 169. edit. Burdigal. 1604.

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introduced, following the vestiges which he has so accurately delineated.

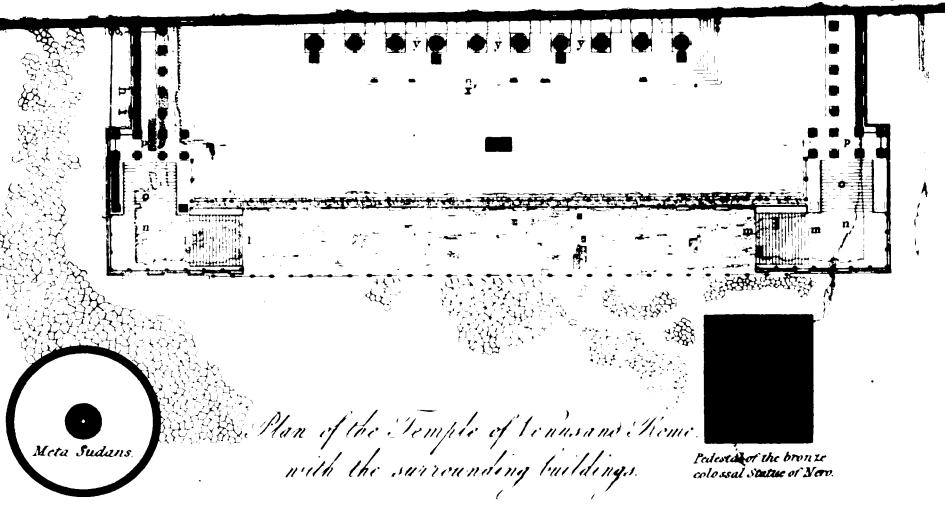
The inaugurated ground was surrounded, except the main front, by a portico of grey granite columns, amounting to nearly 200 in number, of which several fragments are lying in different directions, showing the lower diameter of the shafts to have measured 3 feet 4 inches; and consequently the height of the columns to have been about 37 feet.

The flank of the basement, extending from the arch of Titus to the Meta Sudans, is cut into portions of different lengths, forming their several platforms so as to maintain the general level of the portico against the natural declivity of the ground. Being thus constituted, these graduated areas [see letters (a, b) (b, c) (c, d) (d, e) (e, f) (f, g) (g, h)] served as the receptacle for a solid construction of blocks of travertine, one of which still remains as a specimen in its original place (at the letter i), and the marks of several others are left in the mass formed "ad Emplecton;" making it appear, from measuring each block, that the whole width of this foundation was 14 feet 4 inches. Along the whole of this side there are no traces of steps, or of any ingress to the sacred enclosure.

The aspect towards the Colosseum must be considered as the grand elevation of the temple; before it was left a clear rectangular space, raised about eight inches above the original level, which was secured by a barrier or palisado. At each extremity remain the skeletons of two large staircases, compassing a width nearly equal to the rectangular space described [see the letters l, m]:

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Plan of the Temple of Venus and Rome with the surrounding buildings.

Joseph Pardini Arch.t Rome 1830.

Engraved by W. Roberts

Published Sept.1 1831. by Longman, Rees, Orme & Co. Paternoster Row London.

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these conducted to a landing-place (n), from which rose a second flight to complete the ascent to the consecrated enclosure [see letter o], and to the entrance of the lateral porticoes [marked p]. There were thus in all 34 steps, divided into two flights, effecting an altitude of 26 feet. The facing of those stairs being entirely demolished, we have nothing left but the internal mass deformed; but embodied with it are some brick walls of a good construction, and which, as they must have existed prior to the temple, are supposed to have belonged to the golden house of Nero. To form a correct idea of this noble elevation, it is first necessary to obviate a difficulty which occurs in the surprising altitude of the basement comprised between the two flights of steps. Signor Pardini supposes it was relieved by a division; for, however large the columns were which formed the front of the portico of Venus's temple, they would have appeared out of proportion on such a high and massive foundation. On this principle the restoration in the annexed drawing has been made, which is sufficiently consistent with the medals, and confirmed by similar examples to be found in ancient buildings. It is natural to enquire the meaning of those openings which are perforated in the basement, at irregular intervals and of unequal dimensions. Some suppose they contained immense blocks of stone for strengthening the foundation, and that, during the middle ages, they were extracted for the sake of the material. Now, when the excavations of 1828 were made, it was found that this had been a burial-ground; and we saw several coffins of terra cotta disinterred, which

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had been put into the basement, and a quantity of human bones were turned up. For this reason, and from the irregularity of these apertures, as well as because they do not extend along the whole front, it is better to suppose they were made for some purpose of sepulchral vaults during the middle ages; and, consequently, have nothing to do with the original formation of the building. The mass was formed "ad Emplecton," but no doubt covered with travertine stone, as may be seen from some traces near the staircase at the west angle. The whole was then faced with marble, to give it that noble appearance suitable to such a temple. This being the case, we are not to suppose the granite columns to have come in front of this elevation, but merely an upper parapet, between which and the portico proper might be placed a colossal statute or altar. These particulars will be understood by reference to the elevation in its present state, and the same restored. In front of the steps at the east angle was discovered that square mass, faced with brick, which has been pronounced the pedestal of Nero's colossus. Several pieces of bronze were gathered up in the excavating; and we shall have occasion to recur to the subject when we come to consider the direction of the Via Sacra.

The third side of our colonnade presents a construction somewhat different to the corresponding one already described. Along two thirds of the length, beginning from the east angle, are discovered traces of a wall [see letters r, s, t, u, v, y, x, z], which served for the substruction of the ancient street; this street is about seven feet above

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the level of the inaugurated platform; and some of the old pavement of it is still visible in its place [marked a′ b′]. The remainder of this flank is built of the ordinary materials "ad Emplecton," which seems to have had a facing of travertine stone, to serve at the same time as a foundation for the outer wall. The width of the portico or colonnade is also detected along the whole of this side by continual vestiges, which indicate more or less the foundations of the columns [see letter c′]; and thus the width of the colonnade *laterally* is shown to be comprised between a line of columns and an exterior wall. At the northern angle of the platform we find ourselves about eight feet above the level of the pavement of the above-mentioned street.

The fourth side exhibits much irregularity, and is constructed in a different manner from any of the rest. For the first forty feet (marked d′, e′), the internal mass bears marks of having been built up with travertine stone, and which, perhaps, extended further than can now be traced. The solidity thus given to this portion seems to announce a portico or ingress, in uniformity with those at the extremities of the main elevation. Near the walls of the church of S. Francesca (at the letters f′ g′) is a piece of an ancient fabric, of uncertain date and use, built of triangular bricks, and forming part of those other ruins near it: it interrupts the line of the basement, which, up to this point, preserves an altitude of about seven feet. After the first forty feet above mentioned, is discovered a gradation, which rises within two feet four inches of the level of the portico, and is twelve

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feet longitudinally measured (see d′ h′): its construction is of brick, and continues in the same altitude, parallel with the basement, up to the very walls of the church (at the letter i′), and in all probability continued still further. Combining this gradation with the fragment of a wall (at l′), calculated to serve as the foundation of the portico, it is concluded the granite columns continued also along this side, but with a double row, as will better appear from the nature of the steps existing near Titus's arch; for they are such as an open portico would obviously require. The remainder of this side nearest the arch advances twenty-five feet further towards the Forum; and the flight of steps of which we speak must have been originally thirteen in number, and were of marble. There still exist portions of six steps in succession; and where the marble fails it is supplied by travertine stone (as at m′ n′). Before the six steps is a small clear space flagged with travertine (see o′), which has been secured by a palisado or parapet, as appears from the marks of the supporters, at equal distances (denoted by the letter p′). Various fragments of this parapet, which was of marble, have been found on the spot. The flight of steps near the arch of Titus was interrupted and cut by a solid brick construction of thirty-eight feet in length (see q′ r′), which is very similar to the forty feet (d′ e′) already described; observing, however, that the former was further within the outline of the basement. Near the above-mentioned brick-work is a drain or sink for receiving rain water (see s′). Now, in order to adjust the two portions of this side, which seem incongruous, let it be con-

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sidered that the anterior fabric (perhaps part of Nero's house), made subservient to the structure of the temple, extended as far as halfway under the church of S. Francesca, and at that point cut the flight of steps which began at the arch of Titus; that, after an ascent of ten steps, there was a landing-place (denoted in our plan by the letters t′ u′), which, being too confined towards the pre-existing ruins, considerably contracted that part of the basement. The entrance into the open portico was by ascending three steps more, and thus arriving on the great platform. In this manner the whole of the "inaugurated ground" was properly isolated from every surrounding object.

But having frequently made use of this expression, it may be expedient, before proceeding to view the interior of this edifice, to explain the meaning of it, and to offer such other general remarks as may tend to illustrate the subject of heathen temples.

There are several words, such as Ædes, Delubrum, Templum, Fanum, which we usually translate temple, but which nevertheless had each a special meaning as employed by the ancients. Many of the sacred edifices called Ædes were also Templa; but to constitute an Ædes a Templum, it was necessary that it should be inaugurated after the consecration: and if even the building or object was of another form and for a different purpose, if it was inaugurated it was called a Templum; as, for instance, the senate-house (Curia), and the Rostrum.[39] An "Ædes Sacra," therefore, was an

[39] *Aulus Gellius*, lib. xiv. cap. 7. "Rostraque id templum appellatum." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. viii. cap. 14.

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edifice erected for religious purposes, but only consecrated by the pontiffs; the Templum required the intervention of the augur, and was not *necessarily* what we understand by a temple; the word Fanum had more especial reference to the ground itself. Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, but it was only a Fanum; that is, says Livy[40], a spot consecrated for a temple by a set form of words: so that the ground about a sepulchre enclosed and consecrated might be called a fane.[41] They were accustomed to leave a small space in front unconsecrated, into which the people might enter at pleasure; such, perhaps, was the place defended by a slight palisado as described in front of Hadrian's temple: this was the "locus profanus," meaning it was before the fane; but the word afterwards became of more extensive meaning, as it is used in modern languages. There were at Rome a few fanes, as of Carmenta, Febris, Hercules at the Porta Capena, Rediculus on the Via Appia, of Venus Murcia, and one in the Vatican. A Delubrum might either be of the nature of an Ædes or Templum, providing that, independently of the edifice itself, there was an additional area dedicated for religious purposes, or that sufficient space was left between the altars for the priests to accomplish their sacrifices[42]: hence the temples situated on the Clivus Capitolinus,

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[40] "Inque ea pugna Jovis Statoris ædem votam, ut Romulus ante voverat: sed fanum tantum, id est, locus templo effatus, jam sacratus fuerat." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. x. cap. 37. Compare *Cicer. ad Atticum*, lib. xiii. ep. 42.

[41] *Cicero ad Attic.* lib. xii. ep. 35.

[42] *Macrobius, Saturnal.* lib. iii. cap. 4.

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where, as we shall see, there was no room for such area, could not properly be called "Delubra." But there were several at Rome, of which the principal were, of Apollo, of Jupiter Stator, of Juno Sospita, of Minerva. The edifice we are now examining was eminently a Templum; but as there was an area of the above description, it was also called a Delubrum; and because it was a double building, having two aspects, two distinct cells, two areas, &c. it was called in the plural number Delubra. It also comprised the properties of a Fanum[43] and an Ædes; but neither of these words would have been sufficient to express its dignity. Ædes may designate the internal edifice, which we have yet to examine; Delubrum, the open space between it and the outer colonnade; Fanum, the whole consecrated spot on which it stands; and Templum, the dignity of the inauguration.

The first effort of idolatrous worship was to set up a statue upon a pedestal in the open air, and place a temporary altar before it: it soon became expedient to shelter the statue from the effects of the weather, but without concealing it from the eye of the worshipper; and this was the origin of the niche.[44] As the ceremonies increased, and the priests required the use of utensils for sacrifice and a permanent altar, it was necessary that he

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[43] It is called a Fanum by *Aurelius Victor de Cæsaribus in Maxent.*

[44] *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 5, &c.; and *Cic. de Divinatione*, lib. i. sect. 104., for a statue with an altar before it so sheltered constituted the Sacellum (quasi *sacra cella*); but see *Macrob. Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. 7. on the origin of the worship of Saturn in Italy.

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also should be sheltered whilst performing his offices: a roof was therefore raised over a small space. In process of time it was regularly built up and enclosed, and the whole shut in by doors: this was the origin of the Cella. Whilst the priest thus performed the ceremonies within walls, the people assembled in the open air in front of the Cella or Pronaon.[45] To protect the assembly from the heat and rain, a roof was reared over the Pronaon, supported by columns and pilasters. When the sacrifices were more numerous, and to slaughter the oxen and the sheep within walls, and to use the fire and the libations, would have been inconvenient, the altar was transferred to the Pronaon, and the Cella only used for delivering oracles according to the augury from birds and smaller animals. In order now to shelter the people, it was necessary to make a portico. This portico at first was only in the front, which constituted the prostyle; but when more altars were introduced, and the columns were carried round the Cella, it became a peripteros[46]: and this whether the temple was round, like that of Vesta, or of a different figure, like some at Pompeii. If it was rectangular and so surrounded, it was a tetrastyle, &c. When the edifices of the gods had arrived at this state of perfection, architectural ornaments and grandeur, and proportion, were

[45] So, in Greek, ναὸς should be considered as the edifice itself, Ædes, or even the part of it which was closed, Cella; ἱερὸν, the whole inaugurated space, Templum, or in a more comprehensive sense, τέμενος, Fanum.

[46] On the prostyle and peripteros, see the note of Philander on *Vitruvius*, lib. iii. cap. 1. p. 85. edit. Lugdun, 1552.

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studied; the portico was erected upon an elevated basement, to which they ascended by a number of steps; more space was given for the numerous sacrifices and denser crowds of spectators; the elevations were planned with studied magnificence; the Cellæ were adorned with more niches and statues, and precious marble was lavished on the walls; the vaults were fretted into squares, and enriched with gold; and, in short, the temple of Venus and Rome may be considered as a specimen of all these things united. After this digression we now return to our plan.

It is perceived, from some vestiges remaining on the platform at (v′), that it was flagged with white marble; on this rose the peristyle of the temple, upon seven marble steps, which ran round the whole, as may be discovered from various fragments still existing (see x′). The position of the columns of this peristyle is determined towards the Colosseum by two furrows in which they stood (as in the plan at y′ z′); between those furrows were placed some solid masses of travertine stone, which have now disappeared: on the corresponding part towards the Forum may also be recognised some masses of stone in the original site, particularly at (a″), which determine also the angle of the peristyle towards the arch of Titus. Of the large columns which formed this interior portico, three fragments lie scattered about the site: they are of Parian marble, and fluted; and, according to Signor Pardini's calculation, have measured at the lower diameter 6 feet 2·4 inches. The diameters of the columns and the limits of the peristyle being given, it results, from allowing a

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proper intercolumniation, that the flanks had twenty columns each, including the angular ones, and that the fronts had ten, as the four medals represent (see medals in the elevations). According to the calculations here made, it appears the intercolumniations were equal to two diameters of a column; and this Vitruvius calls a systylos; and because the columns in front were ten, it also constitutes the temple a decastylos. The Pronaon of each Cella had four columns and two pilasters, the position of which is recognised by the furrow (z′): the distance between these columns and the line of ten in front is equal to two intercolumniations plus one diameter; and because there appeared this double row of columns in the fronts, and only one row on the flanks, the temple becomes of that class called pseudo-dipteros. But as there were two fronts of uniform construction, it is also an amphiprostyle; so that, in the language of architecture, our temple is an amphiprostyle, pseudo-dipteros, decastyle, systyle.[47]

The lateral walls of the Cella must have had a facing of stone, as much as the thickness indicated in the plan in lighter tints; and very probably the whole of that again had a coating of marble.

The pavement of the peristyle was all of white marble, as may be observed from some original traces (at the letter b″), which also show the pattern. The Pronaon had a flooring of richer material and more laboured design, which may be partially traced among the mastich (encircled by the line c″); and from various fragments of porphyry, paonazzetto,

[47] See *Vitruvius de Architect. &c.* lib. iii. cap. 1.

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giallo antico, &c. that have been found, it appears not only the flooring of the Pronaon and the Cellæ were of those precious materials, but also the inner walls were incrusted with them.

From the Pronaon to the interior of the Cella is another ascent of four steps, and the marks of the flooring already alluded to are easily traced (at the letter d″). Not only was the surface of the whole interior thus richly incrusted, but the sides were adorned by an order of columns of porphyry, as some pieces discovered declare. These columns rose upon a basement equal in altitude to the pedestal of the grand statue in the niche (which stood at the letter e″). The existence of this row of columns is pointed out by the small inlets in the walls adapted for fixing the entablature as exhibited in our plan (vide section in its present state). Between the columns were niches alternately curved and rectilinear for containing other statues; and these niches were again supported with small fluted columns, as discovered from some fragments remaining and the marks in the walls. On each side of the main niche is the appearance of a column, and for the sake of uniformity we must suppose two others, *i. e.* one on each side the ingress within; and as there have been found some pieces of alabaster, it is supposed they were of that material: these particulars, applied to the restoration, are exhibited in the section. The vaults are fretted into rectangular coffers, and richly flowered with stucco. The roofs of the main niches are also worked into coffers of rhombs, and the whole has been gilded, as some slight indications still remain to prove; so that no part of the interior was without

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some covering of gold or precious marble. The Cellæ received light from the doors, which were doubtless of bronze, and perhaps constructed after the manner of Vitruvius's "Lumen Hypothyri."[48]

It is supposed the main roof was of bronze; for Anastasius informs us that Pope Honorius I., having obtained permission of the Emperor Heraclius, covered the whole of S. Peter's Basilica with the bronze tablets or tiles which he took from the temple called Roma.[49] [A. D. 626.] Several pieces of bronze have been gathered up in the late excavations: some seem to have formed part of the utensils used in sacrifice; and it is not improbable the figures in the tympanum of the elevation[50] were also of that material. It now only remains to say a few words upon the restoration of the main front as it is given in our plans.

The embellishments are chiefly regulated by the medal of Hadrian, in which the two triumphal columns appear conspicuous. Among other discoveries in the excavations, are some immense fragments of cippolino, sufficient to show the diameter of the column to which they belonged, and which is calculated at 5 feet 1·4 inches; *i. e.* thirteen inches less than those of the peri-

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[48] *De Architectura*, lib. iv. cap. 6.

[49] "Hic cooperuit Ecclesiam omnem [scilicet, Beati Petri] ex tabulis æreis, quas levavit de templo quod appellatur Romæ, ex consensu piissimi Heraclei Imp." —*Anastasius in vit. Honor.* tom. i. p. 120. edit. Rom. 1718.

[50] A fragment of a bas-relief found near the portico of Octavia is supposed to have represented the front of this temple, particularly the sculpture in the tympanum. It has been illustrated to that effect in the *Effemeride Litterarie di Roma*, fasc. 1. p. 106.

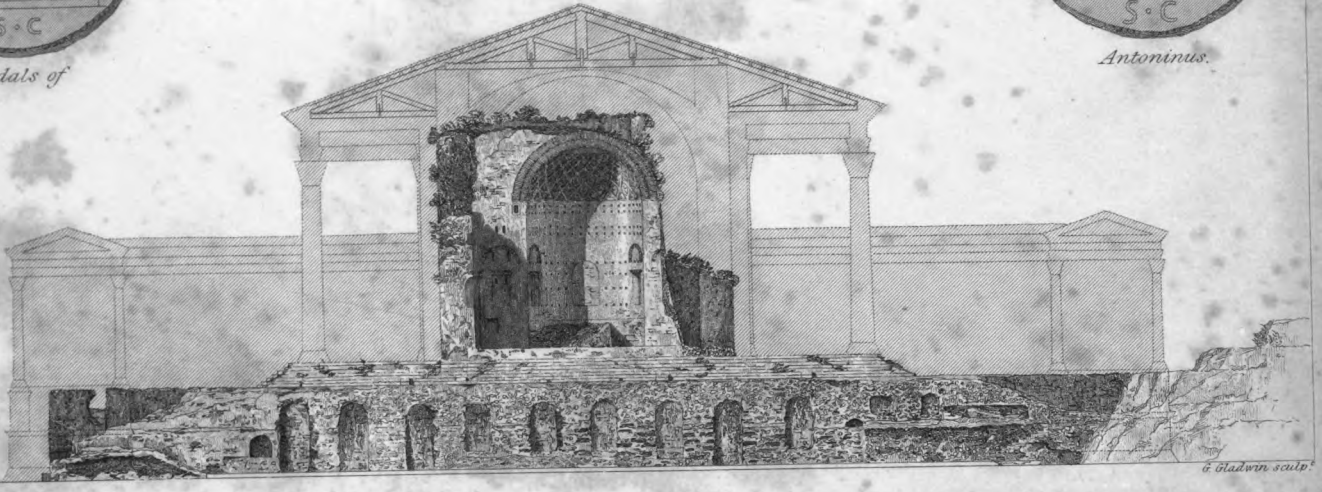
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Medals of



Antoninus.



C. Gladwin sculp.

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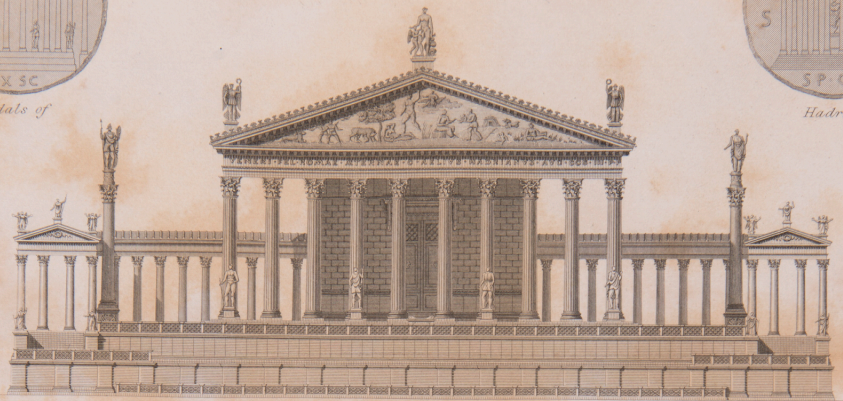
Elevation of the Temple of Venus and Rome (restored)



Medals of



Hadrian.



Scale of 5 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200 250 300 English Feet.

Joseph Pardini Archt Rome 1830

G. Gladwin sculp.

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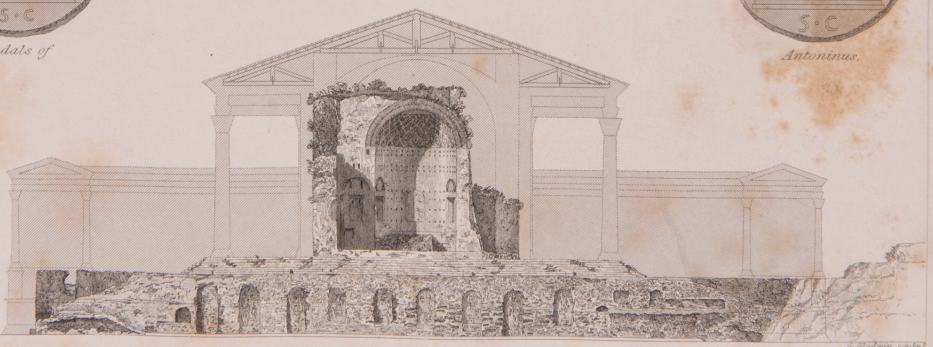
Elevation in its present state.



Medals of



Antoninus.

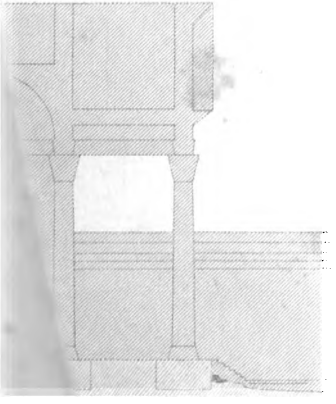


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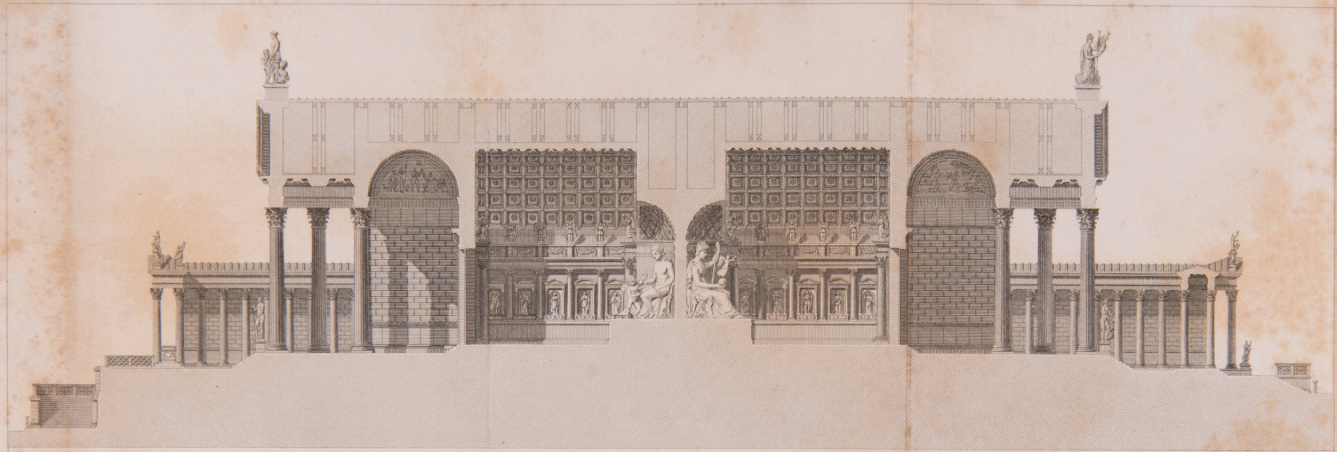
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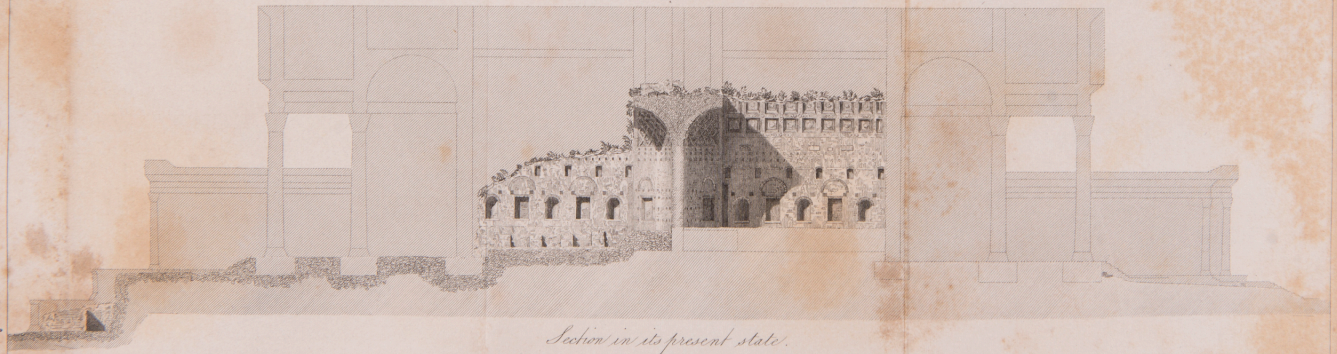


English Feet
100
French Metres

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Section of the Temple of Venus and Rome (restored)



Section in its present state.

Scale of 5 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200 250 300 English Feet.

Scale of 5 10 20 30 40 50 50 French Metres

Joseph Fardini Arch.t Rome 1830. R. Gladwin Sculp.t

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style: these fragments were found together with manifest indications of a pedestal in the middle of the eastern flank, and a single piece of a similar column was seen near the centre point of the side corresponding. To give these pillars an elevated appearance, it was necessary they should rise on lofty pedestals, and those pedestals on some steps, not unlike the column of Phocas; then surmounted by colossal statues, probably of bronze, they would have that conspicuous appearance which the medal exhibits. An allowance ought, however, to be made for the perspective of a medal, in which generally the most remarkable features of a building were introduced without special regard to the proportions: therefore it is, that although these two pillars stood on the flanks of the temple, they appear on the medal as if they were in front. Partly to conform to the medal, and partly to preserve this feature in the elevation, regard has been had by Signor Pardini to exhibit the two columns in his restoration: and thus we imagine any one will now be able to form a correct idea of this once magnificent edifice; and we are not without hope that these remarks may contribute to illustrate generally the nature of an ancient Roman temple.

We have already seen the Meta Sudans and the pedestal of Nero's Colossus in front of the main elevation. We have now to consider the two other objects, which stood nearly in corresponding attitudes before the front towards the Forum, viz. the arch of Titus, and the Basilica of Constantine.

The former, if we except the doubtful monument of Drusus, is the oldest triumphal arch now existing at Rome; and, as a proof and illustration of the

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most important event in the Jewish history, there is not perhaps a more interesting object of antiquity in the world: it is an evidence of the fulfilment of prophecy[51], and a standing monument of the dispersion of the Children of Israel from the time the unconscious senate erected this trophy in honour of the decrees of Providence. The Jew and the Christian must equally feel an interest and linger near the ruin which brings before their eyes the woful history of the siege of Jerusalem.

The short career of Titus is chiefly signalised by the conquest of Judea. The appropriate medals, with the superscription of IUDAEA CAPTA, exhibit the Holy Land under the emblem of a palm tree, with a captive female sitting at the foot of it[52]; a too faithful representation of the daughter of Jerusalem which has long sat and wept in the dust. We do not, however, find in the ancient writers any mention made expressly of this arch[53], except some such conclusion may be drawn from a few words in the epitome of Dion. That historian informs us[54], that after the destruction of Jerusalem, Vespasian and Titus did not (according to the usual practice) assume the title of the conquered country (in this case Judäicus), but they had triumphal arches decreed to them; but the inscription, which is still conspicuous on the monument, speaks for itself:

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[51] *Daniel*, ch. ix. 27.; *St. Luke's Gospel*, ch. xxi. 20—25.

[52] *Bellori in Numismat.* (*Vespasian*), *&c.* p. 62. edit. Roma, 1730, folio.

[53] It is enumerated by Sextus Rufus amongst the objects of the fourth region, "Arcus Titi."

[54] . . . Ἀψῖδες τροπαιοφόρες ἐψηφηθήσαν. — *Dion Epitom. Joan. Xiphilin. Vas.* x. p. 217. edit. 1592.

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the senate and the Roman people erected it in honour of the son of Vespasian. From the apotheosis of Titus, which is represented in the middle of the vault (the emperor conveyed on the back of an eagle), and from the word "DIVO" or deified, which appears in the inscription, it has been fairly deduced that the arch was not built until after his death: but comparing these emblematical proofs with the passage from Dion Cassius just alluded to, we may conclude more accurately that the honour was decreed, and the arch begun, during his lifetime; but not finished until after his death, which was so premature.* Josephus minutely describes the triumphal procession of Vespasian and his son; and, amongst other trophies carried before them, the spoils which had belonged to the temple at Jerusalem were conspicuous. "There was the golden table," remarks the historian, "which weighed many talents: it was constructed upon a different principle from any thing in use amongst us now. In the middle was the main stem which rose out of the base; from this proceeded smaller branches, very much resembling the form of a trident, and on the top of each of them was a lamp worked in brass: there were seven such in all, emblematical of the seven days of the Jewish week. The law of the Jews was the last of those spoils in the procession." At the end of seventeen centuries, it is easy to recognise in a piece of sculpture the description of Josephus: two of the seven lamps (lychni) that were on the tops of the branches are preserved, and the rest may more or

* See Note T T.

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less be faintly traced.[55] Before the candlestick is borne the table which Josephus mentions, but gives no description of in his account of the triumph; but he does in another part of his writings. "The legs (or feet) of the table were[56] perfectly finished in the lower half, like those the Dorians put upon their couches; but the upper half of them were worked square." Now the only foot of the table that is or ever has been visible seems to terminate like a paw; the upper part of the legs, if ever they have been square, are now no longer visibly so, but the edges may have been worn off by time; nor can we recognise any traces of the rings to the feet, according to the directions given to Moses.[57] The two utensils placed upon the table are called by Reland "Acerræ," censers; and he dedicates a chapter of his work for showing their original form.[58] In front of the table are also seen two trumpets crossed, which equally answer the de-

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[55] The κρίνα σὺν ῥοΐσκοις καὶ κρατηρίδιοις (*Joseph. Antiquitat.* lib. iii. sect. 7. p. 111. edit. citat.), which (as in *Exodus*, ch. xxv. 31.) is translated "flowers with knops and bowls," belong to the *ornaments* of the branches, but the lamps at the tops were made for *use*. (*Exodus*, xxv. 37.) These ornaments are now so corroded, that it is in vain to attempt to apply any description to them. It is singular enough that Mr. Burton (in his excellent remarks upon Titus's arch, *Antiquities, &c.* p. 205.), in so doing, should call Alexandrian cups like modern saucers, because they were narrow at the bottom and broad at the mouth.

[56] Ἦσαν δ' αὐτῇ πόδες, τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἡμίσους ἕως τῶν κατὼ τελέως ἀπηρτισμένοι οἷς Δώριεις προστιθεῖσι ταῖς κλίναις ἐμφερεῖς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνατείνον τετραγώνοι τῇ ἐργασίᾳ. —*Antiquit.* lib. iii. sect. 6. p. 110.

[57] *Exodus*, ch. xxv. 26. Josephus also mentions the rings. *In loc. sup. citat.*

[58] Vide *Reland. de Spoliis Templi Hierosolym.* cap. xi.

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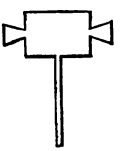
scription of Josephus[59]; and as he informs us the originals were made of silver, we may safely identify them with the form of those used by Moses for "the calling of the assembly and the journeying of the camps."[60] Such is the representation of the spoils of the Jewish temple contained in this most interesting bas-relief. The objects themselves were, after the triumph, deposited by Vespasian in the temple of Peace; and their history may in some measure be traced to the sixth century.[61] On the

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[59] *Antiquit.* lib. iii. cap. 2., which from Epiphanius is thus rendered: — "Tubæ ex argento factæ quæ est hujus modi. Longitudine quidem habens pene cubitum, est autem angusta fistula cantatoria calamo capacior, præbens latitudinem quæ conveniat ori ad susceptionem spiritus, et classico sono vicina est quæ Hebraica lingua vocatur Asosra; factæ sunt tales duæ." — *Reland de Spoliis, &c.* p. 124.

[60] *Numbers*, ch. x. 2—11.

[61] See *Burton's Antiquities*, p. 206.; and *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, ch. xxxvi. Compare p. 287. of this Dissertation.



The three banners formed thus, which we see borne aloft in the procession, were usually carried in triumphs, and no satisfactory account has been given of what they really were; but most probably the title of the triumph (as, for instance, IVDAEA CAPTA) was inscribed upon them, or else the list of cities and districts subdued or taken by the conqueror. Upon such a banner, perhaps, Julius Cæsar wrote his celebrated motto; for thus Suetonius, — "Pontico Triumpho inter Pompæ Fercula trium verborum prætulit titulum: Veni, Vidi, Vici." (*In vit. Jul. Cæsar.* cap. xxxvii.) They seem to have had their origin from the triumph of Romulus: "Spolia ducis hostium cæsi suspensa fabricato ad id ante Ferculo gerens in Capitolium ascendit." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 10. But Romulus's ferculum was merely the trunk of an oak tree hewn into some shape for suspending the armour of King Acron from (*Plutarch in Romulo*): from this circumstance Jupiter obtained the epithet of Feretrius. Thus Romulus had no other "titulus" but what was designated by his ferculum; but in the course

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corresponding bas-relief appears the emperor in his triumphal car drawn by four horses, and preceded by Romans wearing laurel wreaths and carrying the fasces; the first of them holds a palm branch in his hand: behind the car is a Victory in the act of placing her crown upon the head of the conqueror. The vault is ornamented with square coffers and roses, and the apotheosis of Titus in a square relief. In one place the vault seems to have been rent by the removal of a gramping iron. In the front towards the Forum, the late restorations leave but two halves of the original columns and some of the basement. The two Victories under the key-stone are disfigured by time; but in the hands of one of them is left a wreath and a palm branch. On the other front the two original columns have suffered, but their elevation is preserved; and this side of the arch altogether has sustained less injury than the other, for nearly all the cornice and the attic are entire: a vestige of a window or door has served as a model for restoring the rest. On the frieze are some puny figures of warriors leading oxen for sacrifice; and the figure of an old man conveyed on a table or slab, may be an allegorical representation of the river Jordan. On the consol, or ornament of the key-stone, is left the figure of a Roman warrior almost perfect.[62]

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of time the "tituli" were introduced independently of the spoils carried on "fercula" (as the table and candlestick in this bas-relief are carried): these banners, therefore, were the "tituli."

[62] The new inscription is a good specimen of such-like Latinity:—

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In approaching the stupendous ruin which stands at the fourth angle of Hadrian's temple, it will be necessary to familiarise our ideas once more with the sacred edifices of the gods. Here we find no elevated basement on which the building is reared, — no portico which either surrounded it or even passed in front, — no cella which was enclosed by walls, whilst the rest was a colonnade, — nor any of those properties which constitute a temple. Why, therefore, is this building commonly called the temple of Peace?

An edifice with that title was erected by Vespasian after the final subjugation of Judea [63], and many things connected with it are of great interest. It was magnificent beyond description: it was enriched with a profusion of pictures and statues, such as called forth the admiration of Pliny [64] and other authors. Within it were deposited the golden objects already described, taken from the temple at Jerusalem; whilst the law and purple veil of the sanctuary were preserved in the imperial palace. In the sack of Rome of 465, these sacred objects fell into the hands of the Vandal king Genseric, who carried them to Carthage. Belisarius recovered them in his conquest of Africa, and took them to Constantinople; and, by a strange vicissi-

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INSIGNE RELIGIONIS ATQUE ARTIS MONUMENTUM
VETUSTATE FATISCENS
PIUS SEPTIMUS PONTIFEX MAX.
NOVIS OPERIBUS PRISCUM EXEMPLAR IMITANTIBUS
FULCIRI SERVARIQUE JUSSIT
ANNO SACRI PRINCIPATUS EJUS XXIII.

[63] *Josephus de Bello Judaico*, lib. viii. cap. 5.
[64] *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. cap. 10.; *Ibid.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 7.

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tude, they were again transferred to Jerusalem to the Christian church.[65] It is suspected they afterwards passed into Persia through the hands of Chosroes, who took the holy city in 614; and many are unwilling to believe that they have yet ceased to exist. The temple of Peace remained in all its glory for about 110 years; it was then completely, destroyed in the great fire which took place under Commodus.[66] [A. D. 191.]

The words of Herodian[67] seem to forbid any further enquiry into the remains of this celebrated building. — "By the slight earthquake and the thunderbolt which followed it, the whole of the sacred enclosure was consumed, which was the most splendid object the city then possessed." From the security it afforded, it was the richest of all temples in offerings of gold and silver; and every one had deposited in it whatever he possessed most valuable. Some conjectured that the loss of the temple of Peace was a sign of war. Claudius Galenus, the celebrated physician, who witnessed the conflagration, equally declares that the whole edifice was entirely consumed[68]; and his voluminous writings, which were laid up in his shop situated in the Via Sacra, also perished in the flames. Procopius saw the temple in ruins in the sixth century, having so lain for ages (he

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[65] *Procopius de Bell. Vandalic.* lib. i. cap. 5., and lib. ii. cap. 9.

[66] *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxii. p. 1224.

[67] *In vit. Commod.* lib. i. p. 22. edit. Stephan. 1581.

[68] Βιβλίων . . . . ἐγκαταλειφθέντων δὲ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν ἀποθηκῇ, μετὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν, ἡνίκα τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος, ὅλον ἐκαύθη. — *De Medicament.* lib. i. cap. 1.

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says)[69], ever since it was struck down by lightning; and when Marcellinus enumerates the objects which attracted the special attention of Constantius, he mentions the temple of Hadrian and the Forum of Peace[70], but no temple of that name; neither has P. Victor inserted it in his catalogue[71]: hence it appears that the temple of Peace was effectually destroyed, and never again rebuilt. A solitary passage in Trebellius Pollio[72], who wrote in the fourth century, might raise an argument, but it would not invalidate this conclusion. Moreover, the situation of Vespasian's temple does not correspond to the ruined edifice before us—for it is said to have been built *very near to the Forum;* but as it was also in the Via Sacra, it must have come near the temple of Antoninus.

The rectangularly-formed edifice to which these imposing ruins belong occupies a space of about 300 feet by 230; it was divided into three aisles or naves. The original entrance was by a portico or corridor, on the side parallel to Hadrian's temple (a a)[73]; and at the corresponding end was a tribunal (b), which is now embodied in a granary. The vaults of the two side aisles were supported by massive walls and pilasters; the middle vault,

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69 . . . Ἧκει διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἣν φόρον Εἰρηνῆς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι· ἐνταῦθα γάρ πη ὁ τῆς Εἰρηνῆς νέως κεραυνοβλήτος γενόμενος ἐκ παλαιοῦ κεῖται. — *Procop. de Bello Gothic.* lib. iv. cap. 21.

70 *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xvi. cap. 10.

71 The fourth region, nevertheless, preserved the denomination of "Templum Pacis;" and it is easy to see how the error of the repetition has slided into the text of S. Rufus. Vide apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 28.

72 *Triginta Tyrann. Victoria*, sect. 31.

73 See the ground-plan of this edifice in the plan of the Roman Forum, No. 3.

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higher by one third than the other, was reared upon eight large fluted columns of white marble, one of which existed in its original place (c) in the time of Camucci[74], and was afterwards taken away by Pope Paul V. in 1619, and set up in front of the church of S. Maria Maggiore, where it now stands. The corridor above mentioned was narrow, and only rose to about one third the height of the building; the level of it was two steps below that of the adjoining original pavement. It is not certain whether it had columns before the pilasters or not. The entrance was at first by a single opening (at d), which was flanked by two windows corresponding to the main nave, by two more corresponding with the side aisles, and by two others opposite the buttresses of the aisles; thus presenting six windows in front, not unlike the elevation of a modern church. This corridor is now nearly destroyed: the alcove (e) at the end is of a much later construction, and has been used for a Christian chapel. The window opposite the existing aisle, as well as the adjoining one, has been closed up; and a staircase afterwards made for ascending to the terrace formed over the portico, as may still be recognised (see f). This communicated with another staircase (at g), which conducted to the top of the building. For comprehending this construction, it is necessary to enter the garden behind the ruins, and ascend them. In the inner wall of the portico were five doors, which gave immediate access into the interior; viz. three into the main nave, and one each into the aisles. Each

[74] As appears from a sketch entitled "Tempio della Pace." *Antichità di Roma, &c.* lib. i. p. 37.

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of the three vaults of the aisles was lighted by six arched windows, *i. e.* three below and three above. The main nave was lighted by six additional "lunettes," situated directly above the vaults, and by three windows towards the front. Two thirds of the building is now entirely destroyed; the buttresses alone remaining to mark the original plan. The aisle which still exists presents three naked vaults, fretted into octagonal coffers; and over the whole spring the arches, tending to form the great central roof. In all these particulars we see nothing else but the form of a Basilica; and it may, perhaps, be necessary to explain what that properly was.

Any thing distinguished for its splendour was called by the ancients "basilicum," or kingly[75]; and an "Ædes Basilica" might originally be a magnificent edifice of any kind: but when those spacious halls were erected about the forums for the administration of justice, the word "Ædes," or "Aula," or Porticus," was dropped, and only the adjective "basilica" applied to them by distinction; which then, of course, became a substantive. The first building of this description was made by M. Porcius Cato, in the 566th year of the city[76], and was called the Basilica Porcia. The justice-hall built by Pompey near his theatre was called "Regia[77]," exactly synonymous with the Greek word Basilica.

Vitruvius has left many precepts for the con-

[75] Vide *Pitisci Lexicon Antiquitat. &c.* in verb. *Basilicum*, tom. i. p. 266. edit. Venet. 1719.

[76] *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxix. cap. 44.; and compare *Plutarch in Caton. Minor.* p. 761.

[77] *Suet in Octav.* cap. xxxi.

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struction of such edifices; and Pompeii affords a perfect exemplication. A Basilica was not only used as a court of justice, but also as a rendezvous for merchants and money-changers.[78] It was necessary there should be a tribunal where the judge or prætor sat; but so formed, in a recess or hemicyclium, that the judicial proceedings might not be interrupted by the noise of an exchange. Hence Vitruvius cites as a good example the hemicyclium in a Basilica of the Forum, which was forty-six feet in width by fifteen in breadth; "so that the merchants in the Basilica might not interfere with those who had business with the magistrates." On each side of the tribunal were places called "cornua," or wings[79], where persons of distinction might stand or sit near the judge: so that a Basilica was both a court of justice and an exchange. There were in all twenty-one in Rome[80]; and their form was well adapted for Christian churches: many of them were afterwards used as such. They not only preserved the original name, but transmitted it to all other churches built after a similar model. Hence we see in almost all the churches a main tribunal at the end where the great altar stands; and in many of the old Basilicas a narrow portico in front, and in every respect, except the Latin cross, constructed like the building we are now examining.

It will be observed in the middle of the northern flank, that a large niche, or tribunal (see h), has

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[78] *Vitruvius de Architectura*, lib. v. cap. 1. p. 170. edit. citat.

[79] *Tacit. Annal.* lib. i. cap. 75.; compare also *C. Plin. Epist.* xxxiii. lib. 6.

[80] *Pitiscus in Lexicon*, ut supra, p. 264.

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been made at a subsequent period, as appears from the cutting of the windows in order to make room for the recess; and in front of it two columns have been placed: these supported an immense entablature, of which those astonishing fragments we now see lying near the spot formed a part. Directly opposite to this niche a second ingress was made, formed into a sort of portico (see k); the three lower windows were then made into doors; and it was necessary to add a flight of steps, which may still be traced from the level of the ancient pavement in front. This portico was adorned by four columns of porphyry, about three feet in diameter, as appeared from fragments found on the spot. The buttresses have lately been built up to preserve the ground-plan of the building, and the whole enclosed by the care of the government, under the inspection of Professor Nibby. To that learned antiquary we assign the merit of having proved that this building could not be the Temple of Peace, a name it had so long usurped; that it is a Basilica, will also appear sufficiently proved; and, finally, that it is the Basilica of Constantine, enumerated in the catalogue of the fourth region, is most probable, though not proved: and here we are inclined to discriminate. In Aurelius Victor we have mention of a Basilica which, having been erected by Maxentius, was afterwards dedicated by the senate to the "merits of Flavius" (Constantine).[81] In a piece of the vault which fell down

[81] "Adhuc cuncta opera quæ magnifice construxerat [scilicet, Maxentius], Urbis Fanum, atque Basilicam, Flavii meritis Patres sacravêre." — *De Cæsaribus*, cap. xl. p. 433. tom. ii. edit. Amstelod. Traject. Batav. 1733, in 2 tom. 4to.

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from these ruins in 1828, there was found a valuable medal of Maxentius; so that we arrive at a probability very near to demonstration of this having been the Basilica dedicated to Constantine. That emperor, after the defeat of his rival, would very probably finish and adopt many of his works, and could experience no difficulty in affixing to them his own name. The additional tribunal, and the portico with four porphyry columns, were perhaps made by Constantine. The fragments of the above-mentioned entablature exhibit a decline of sculpture which marks the age; the brick-work, if compared with other edifices in Rome, will confirm the date; and the Basilica Constantini of the Regionaries comes opportunely to our conclusion. From all these things, the new appellation seems to triumph; and the argument to be raised from the bricks with the stamp[82] of the Domitian furnace is insufficient to disturb it.

It is now time to endeavour to adjust some of the ancient streets[83], especially the celebrated Via Sacra, which passed through the fourth region.

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[82] See the letters stamped on those bricks (EX FIG. DOMITIANIS MINOR, and OPVS DOLIARE EX PRAED. DONN.) discussed in the *Enciclopediche sulle Antichità, &c.* per 1817, Ottobre, p. 116., and argued into a "troppo leggiero argomento," by A. Nibby, *Dissertazione del Tempio della Pace, &c.* p. 20. stamp. in Roma, 1819. Tradition alone pleads for the old name, and that seems to have had a powerful effect on Nardini. "Il Tempio della Pace ove fosse, non è chi non sappia; la tradizione universale l'ha additato sempre senza alcun dubbio." — *Rom. Antic.* tom. i. p. 278. We shall often have occasion to remark that tradition is an able ally, but a blind leader.

[83] There were eight in all, thus enumerated by Sextus Rufus:

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The street properly called the Via Sacra began near the Colosseum, and ended near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, where it communicated with the Forum by the arch of Fabius, which will be described in the ensuing Dissertation: the beginning of the street was called the "Caput;" the top of the ascent, which the ground still indicates, was called the "Summa;" and the end, or where it reached the Forum, was the "Ima Via Sacra." This is all that can be affirmed of the celebrated street and its direction with the unanimous consent of topographists: if we come to any thing more specific, we must contend for it. The temple above mentioned being allowed to stand in the "Via Sacra," we may advance a few steps from the supposed site of Fabius's arch without interruption. To proceed any further towards the Colosseum we are obliged to call in the aid of Anastasius, who says that Pope Felix V. made the church of SS. Cosmas and Damiano, in the place which is called Via Sacra, near the temple of Rome or Romulus; and in another place he calls the church "in Via Sacra." The church exists to speak for itself, but the words of the ecclesiastical historian[84] will not prevent us from sliding off a

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Vicus Sceleratus,
—— Eros,
—— Veneris,
—— Apollinis,
—— Trium Viarum,
Vicus Anciportus Minor,
—— Fortunatus Minor,
—— Sandalarius (independent of the Via Sacra).

Apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 29.

[84] "Hic benignissimus Præsul (videlicet Paschalis Papa A. D. 817), fecit in Ecclesia beatorum Martyrum Cosmæ et Damiani in Via Sacra." — *Anastas. Biblioth. in vit. Paschal.* tom. i. p. 326. edit. Rom. 1718, in 4 tom. folio.

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little towards the Palatine hill, if we are so disposed; so that the question to be decided is this: after having passed the temple of Antoninus, and approaching the church above mentioned, did the Via incline towards the Palatine hill to gain the arch of Titus; or did it pass over the site of, and afterwards wind round, the Basilica of Constantine, and so continue along the flank of Hadrian's temple to where the pedestal of Nero's colossus has been discovered? And again, whether those large buildings which we have now examined and described caused any alteration to be made in its primitive direction; and if so, was that direction any thing different from the two alternatives just proposed?

The great, and indeed the sole, authority for ascertaining the spot where the Via Sacra began is a passage in Varro.[85]

The Carinæ (a magnificent street or assemblage of fine houses), in the fourth region, joined, he says, the Cælian hill, except that there intervened a place called the Ceroliensis; and this was situated about the Minervium, where people ascended to

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" Hic fecit (Felix IV.) Basilicam Sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani in Urbe Roma, *in loco qui appellatur Via Sacra*, juxta Templum Romuli: vel juxta Templum Urbis Romæ."— *Ibid. in vit. Felic.* iv.

[85] Cum Cœlio conjunctæ Carinæ, sed inter eas quem locum Ceriolensem appellatum apparet.... Ceriolensis quatriceps circa Minervium qua in Cœlium montem itur, in tabernola est. Ceroliensis a Carinarum junctu dictus Carinæ; postea Ceronia, quod hinc oritur Caput Sacræ Viæ ab Streniæ sacello, quæ pertinet in arcem, qua sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in arcem, et per quam augures ex arce profecti solent inaugurare. Hujus Sacræ Viæ pars hæc sola vulgo nota, quæ est a Foro eunti proximo clivo." — *De Ling. Latin.* lib. iv. cap. 8.

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the Cælian. This Ceroliensis, considered as a part of the Carinæ from its junction therewith, was afterwards called Cerionia; because here the Via Sacra took its beginning at the chapel of the goddess Strenia.

To apply this passage to the ground, is simply to say that the "Caput Sacræ Viæ" was somewhere about the site of the Colosseum; and whilst the Carinæ would draw us towards the Esquiliæ, the "conjunction" with the Cælian brings us back towards the arch of Constantine: so that the authority of Varro is inadequate to decide the contest, since with it we are equally at liberty to begin the Via Sacra from the Meta Sudans or the colossus of Nero, and it is just the width of Hadrian's temple which separates all antiquarian combatants. Let us now endeavour to succeed a little better with the top of the street.

Ancus Martius dwelt "in Summa Sacra Via," where the "Ædes Larium" is, says Solinus. When Romulus drew his line of fortifications along the foot of mount Palatine, he arrived on the third side at the Sacellum Larium, according to Tacitus.[86] It is not necessary to believe a word of Romulus's history to establish the topographical fact that the Ædes Larium (or Sacellum) was situated at the top of the Via Sacra, at the foot of the Palatine hill; which brings us very near, if not to, the arch of Titus: and that arch placed across an ancient street, with the pavement still visible, leading to the next triumphal arch, and looking back on that

[86] See these authorities applied in Dissertation I. p. 19.; and compare Dissertation X. p.161.

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of Septimius Severus[87] (not to mention the one of Fabius now destroyed), seems to give us a more natural and easy direction for the triumph than any other that could be proposed: for it is hard to suppose that the triumph, after having passed under Constantine's arch (ARCVM TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM), made the circuit of Hadrian's temple by those narrow lanes, with so many angles in so short a space, when there was a more noble and direct communication with the Capitol by the arch of Titus; and to suppose that before the Basilica was erected, the Via Sacra had a different direction, is a gratuitous assumption; and the silence of ancient authors upon such an important change in the city, a strong proof against it. We learn further from Varro, that only that part of the Via Sacra was so called by the vulgar which occurs in leaving the Forum by the adjoining slope (clivus), in conformity with which Martial describes the access to the Palatine by the sacred declivity, alluding no doubt to the same thing.[88]

When the vestal virgins rescued the Palladium from the fire which consumed the temple of Peace, they carried it, says Herodian, to the imperial palace along the Via Sacra[89]; wherein is plainly

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[87] The triumphal procession sculptured in the interior of the arch would alone be sufficient to prove the *direction* of the triumph.

[88] "Inde sacro Veneranda petes Palatia clivo."
Epigram. lxxi. lib. 1.
Compare *Varro*, as cited in p. 296., and *Horace*, ode ii. lib. iv. and Epode vii.

[89] Ἁρπάσασαι γὰρ τὸ ἄγαλμα αἱ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερεῖαι παρθένοι, διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλὴν μετεκόμισαν. — *Herodian*, lib. i. cap. 45. p. 35. edit. Oxon. 1678.

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intimated that the direct road from the temple of Vesta to the palace (considering where the vestibule of the palace was situated) was by the street which led from the Forum to the arch of Titus,—that is, the Clivus Sacer or Via Sacra; and with this the passage in the *Acts of S. Pigmenius*, often cited by topographists, agrees: he began to ascend by the Clivus of the Via Sacra, in front of the temple of Romulus.[90] Another argument may be drawn from the little that is known of Nero's colossus.[91] This was originally placed in the vestibule of his overgrown palace: it was afterwards removed by Vespasian, and placed in the Via Sacra at the time he built the temple of Peace; as if he had removed it in consequence of its having interfered with the building of that temple, which was situated *very near* the Forum. It is further to be observed, that Vespasian destroyed the vestibule above mentioned, and restricted the palace to the Palatine hill. The colossus in this new situation is mentioned by Martial, who intimates that it was *then* in the place where the "atria" of the mad tyrant had stood, and where he had encumbered the public street with his immense constructions. The atrium, as Nardini

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[90] See *Nardini*, tom. i. p. 295.

[91] The materials for this argument are collected from the following authorities: *Suet. in Neron.* cap. xxxi., on which see Dissert. X. p. 172. *Martial*, epig. ii. lib. 1.

Dion Cassius, lib. lxvi. tom. ii. p. 1089. "Et colossum stantem atque suspensum per Demetrianum Architectum *de eo loco in quo nunc* templum urbis est ingenti molimine, ita ut operi etiam elephantes xxiv. exhiberet. Et quum hoc simulachrum, post Neronis vultum cui antea dicatum fuerat, Soli consecrasset." — *Spartian in vit. Hadrian.* cap. xviii.

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justly discriminates, is a more inward part of the building than the vestibulum; and although the latter might extend in Nero's time far beyond the limits of the Palatine, the "atrium" brings us back to it again: but where the atrium was, the colossus stood in the Via Sacra; that is, at the foot of the Palatine, where Vespasian placed it. Spartian is more definite; for he informs us that Hadrian removed the colossus with the strength of twenty-four elephants from the place in which now stands the temple of the city; that is to say, the temple of Hadrian now occupies a portion of the Via Sacra where the colossus stood; and it stood where the atrium of the great palace had been, at the foot of the Palatine hill: this again points to the arch of Titus. A triumphal arch was not used for a common passage, but was generally closed by a barrier or chain suspended from low pillars, as may be now seen at the arch of Constantine, by observing the marks in the two stone pillars where the barrier has been fixed; and the common road was by the side of the arch, or perhaps through one or both of the flanking arches. This latter expedient could not be the case in the arch of Titus, because there was only one arch or vault: this being closed, the people must pass on one side, certainly not on the side of the Palatine hill. By referring to our ground-plan of the temple of Venus and Rome, it will be observed that there was scarcely room for such passage after the said temple was built; that is to say, the temple here interfered with the Via Sacra; and from the place in which now stands the said temple Hadrian transferred the colossus, and then the arch of

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Titus was thrown open for a public passage, as the only way in which Hadrian could recompense the people for encroaching on the Via Sacra. Nardini divined (and it is now proved he was right) that the colossus was finally placed before the Amphitheatre, in a line with the Meta Sudans, so as to be seen not only from the beginning of the Via Sacra, but also from the street which continues from Constantine's arch.[92] This colossus was 120 feet high; but whether it was of marble or of bronze has been a subject of controversy. Pliny (who, as usual, is very obscure[93],) remarks, that "the art of casting in metal was lost, as this colossal statue indicated, because Nero had prepared a quantity of gold and silver, and Tenodorus was inferior to none of the ancients in the art of moulding and carving." Winkelman, detecting, as he thinks, a contradiction in Pliny from a few words which follow the above passage, thinks the colossus was of bronze.[94] Donatus was of a different opinion, which Nardini approves; and, it must be confessed, it is not easy to decide the contest: but in the late excavations a few particles

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[92] *Roma Antica*, tom. i. p. 292.

[93] Vide *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 7.

[94] See this question discussed at length by the Abbate Fea in *Winkelman, Storia delle Arti*, &c. lib. xi. cap. 3. tom. ii. p. 353. edit. Rom. 1783.; and see *Nardini*, tom. i. p. 292. There is also some contradiction in ancient authors about the changes made in the head of the colossus. Compare *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxii. in tom. ii. p. 1222. *Herodian. in vit. Commod.* lib. i. cap. 48., and *Lampridius in Commod.* cap. xvii. But, by supposing Vespasian merely to have added rays to the head of Nero (see *Martial. Epig.* lxxi. lib. 1.), the accounts may be reconciled.

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of bronze were found about the pedestal, and no antiquarian opinion can offer any thing more positive. At first the head of Nero was placed upon it; afterwards Vespasian placed that of the sun; (this must mean, he radiated the head already there:) on which account Martial calls it the "Sydereus Colossus;" for when Lampridius mentions the change made in it again by Commodus, it is said he took off Nero's head and set on his own. But to return to our topography. — We shall conclude our theory on the direction of the Via Sacra by an appeal to the present state of the ground. Let a person take his station near the Meta Sudans: he has to fix upon three distinct points, — Caput, Summa, Ima; of the last there is no question: if the word summa have any meaning, it was the top or highest point of the street. If it be supposed to have passed on the east side of the temple, then the top occurs after a steep ascent of 200 feet, beginning from the pedestal of the colossus; and we find ourselves on an extraordinary pavement, rising eight feet above the level of the temple: then, by a descent of sixteen feet in 200, it reaches the level of the Basilica; and by turning at two right angles, within a distance of 100 feet, regains the direction of the Capitol! But if it be supposed to take the other direction, the summa will be at the arch of Titus, and the remaining part of it will bear some proportion, in distance, to the first ascent. The vestiges of the pavement which occur in this latter direction have the appearance of a solidity and antiquity which those visible on the other side of the temple cannot pretend to; the latter being small stones interspersed

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with mastic, inconsistent with dignity of the Via Sacra.[95] In short, from all these things we conclude, without assuming any dictatorial language, much less showing any disregard for the opinions of those learned men who think otherwise, that the "Caput Sacræ Viæ," was near the Meta Sudans, and the "Summa" at the steps of the temple, very near the arch of Titus; then, by a declivity called the "Sacer Clivus," it reached the Forum by the arch of Fabius; and that this direction was never altered or interfered with, except by Nero's buildings, and afterwards slightly, in the manner we have described, by Hadrian's temple.

The Via Sacra being now brought as far as the entrance into the Forum, *i. e.* nearly opposite the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the next enquiry is, what direction it then took, and whether it then ceased to be so called? It has been already stated, on Varro's authority, that only the ascent or Clivus which occurred in leaving the Forum was called Via Sacra by the common people: but, in a more general acceptation, it extended much further in

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[95] The state of the ground is here described as it was observed in November 1830, and the solid pavement alluded to occurs at about sixty yards' distance from the Meta Sudans, being half-concealed by some old walls that have been built over it. Previously to the year 1830, the whole of that ascent leading to the arch of Titus was paved with ancient silex stones. It is true the direction deviated somewhat from the primitive one, as will appear by the vestiges just indicated, but the material was ancient. It is much to be lamented, in these and all excavations, that the ground is not left and preserved in the state it is discovered.

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other directions. Pliny informs us[96], that Julius Cæsar on one occasion covered or shaded the whole Forum and the Via Sacra from his own house, as far as the Clivus Capitolinus; and both from Varro and Festus[97] we learn the Via Sacra belonged (that is, reached) as far as the citadel, or, as the latter expresses it, from the "king's house" to the "Sacellum Streniæ, which stood at the head; and again, from the king's house, "Regia," as far as the citadel. In this passage the author evidently measures from an object in diametrically opposite directions, taking his station at the "Regia," or place where Ancus Martius dwelt; that is, near the arch of Titus. Thus we see the Via Sacra continued in a more general acceptation as far as the Capitoline hill; and it was said to belong to the citadel, because when it reached the Clivus Capitolinus (as Pliny describes the ascent), being continued, it led up to the "Arx:" and this was the direction the augurs observed when, on certain occasions, they went forth from the Capitol to perform their ceremonies.

The street under the Palatine hill, which Dionysius describes as leading to the Circus Maximus,

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[96] "Mox Cæsar Dictator totum Forum Romanum intexit, viamque sacram ab domo sua ad clivum usque Capitolinum."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xix. cap. 1.

[97] "Sacram Viam quidam appellatum esse existimant quod in ea fœdus ictum sit inter Romulum et Tatium, quidam quod eo itinere utantur sacerdotes . . . sacrorum conficiendorum caussa, itaque ne eatenus quidem ut vulgus opinatur sacra appellanda est a Regia ad domum Regis sacrificuli; sed etiam a Regis domo ad sacellum Streniæ, et rursus a Regia *usque ad arcem*."—*Festus in voce* "*Sacra Via*." Conf. *Varron.* cit. in note, p. 296.

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must also be considered as a branch of the Via Sacra; and this will explain another passage in the same author, wherein the temple of Jupiter Stator is said to be situated at the Porta Mugonia, leading from the Via Sacra to the Palatium; which, as will be shown hereafter, was not far from the church of S. Anastasia.[98] Agreeably to this view, Plutarch mentions the temple of Jupiter Stator as situated at the beginning of the Via Sacra, where people ascended to the Palatine hill.* In the well-known satire of Horace, we find the poet walking along the Via Sacra to cross the Tyber at the Pons Sublicius, which this branch, if we are at all sure about the temple of Vesta[99], seems alone to explain: from all which we conclude, that when the celebrated street reached the Forum, — and so far only it was properly called Sacra, — it continued in one branch to the Clivus Capitolinus; and in another, behind the square brick building supposed to be the senate-house, to the Circus Maximus; the two branches having also acquired the name of Via Sacra: and now to this explanation may be applied the hackneyed verses of Ovid.[100]

The pavement in front of the Basilica of Constantine seems to have formed part of an open space, similar to that at the other end of Hadrian's temple. Further down, towards the Forum, Nardini[101] and others place the Forum of Cupid; and

[98] Compare *Dionys.* lib. i. cap. 79. p. 64. and lib. ii. cap. 50. p. 110.; and see the passages applied in the Tenth Dissertation, p. 152.

* See Note UU.

[99] *Horat. Satyr.* lib. i. 9., and see the Dissertation on the Roman Forum.

[100] *In Trist.* lib. iii. eleg. 1.

[101] *Rom. Antica*, tom. i. p. 312.

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we have in the fourth region a "Vicus Eros," which might be the street leading down to it in front of the Basilica. For the street on the east side of the large temple we are furnished with the name of "Vicus Veneris," — not inapplicable to the honour of the building. As we find the "Vicus Apollinis" in the tenth as well as in the fourth region, it seems evidently to have been a communication with the two. The temple of Apollo, or of the Actium victory, was, as we shall see, on the Palatine hill, in a direction above Titus's arch; and what so probable as that the street passing in front of Hadrian's temple, leading from the fourth to the tenth region, towards Apollo's temple and the libraries, was the Vicus Apollinis? — perhaps the same, or very nearly so, as the "Clivus Victoriæ." Although these are but conjectures, — for of such things it is next to impossible to have proofs, — they will not be without interest in this most dignified portion of ancient Roman ground. We come now to the church of SS. Cosmas and Damiano.

The whole building, which is not large, combines the Basilica made by Pope Felix IV., with an ancient temple made subservient to the entrance. The only authority for deciding what that temple was is a passage in Anastasius already cited [102]; but, before it can be reconciled with the Regionaries, we must correct the text, and read "Remus" for "Romulus"—a nominal distinction, which the ecclesiastical writer was not careful to observe. It would appear, from Sextus Rufus

[102] Vide Note 84. to p. 296.

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especially, that the temple of Remus was next to that of Faustina[103]; and whether this be satisfactory or not, it is all the proof we have to offer for the ancient part of this Basilica having been that temple. It was situated, according to our topography, before the Via Sacra, and might even be said to be in it. Of the work of the pope we shall say nothing, except that it takes us back to a period as early as 526; and Andreas Fulvio read an inscription in the Mosaic which proves its authenticity.[104]

The temple of Remus has been a round building, about thirty feet in diameter; it is now more than half interred. It has had a rectilinear portico in front, upon the principle of the Pantheon; and some remains of one flank of it still exist. It has been estimated that six columns would form the front of the portico; to which those two, of Carystian marble, now standing before the oratorio ("Via Crucis"), with the fragment of an entablature upon them, perhaps belonged. But in that case they cannot be in their original position; for that would take us far beyond the limits of the portico. Indeed, in an excavation made about them in the year 1753, Piranesi was able to convince himself that they were not in their original places[105]; and he thought neither the entablature

[103] Templum Remi.
Templum Divæ Faustinæ
Sex. Rufus.

Templum Remi.
Templum Veneris.
Templum Faustinæ.
P. Victor in Region. IV.

[104] ". . . consagrato da Papa Felice quarto, come appare nel fregio del tempio intagliato di Musaico." — *Fulvio delle Antichità, &c.* carta 190.

[105] *Antichità, &c.* p. 35.; and see *Venuti, Antichità di Roma,*

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nor the capitals which they now bear ever belonged to the shafts. They are, however, so deeply interred, being in all forty-five palms in height, that they must have been placed where they now are at a very early period; and the total restoration of this church effected by Pope Adrian I. may perhaps explain something on this head, as well as the construction of the portal with its doors of bronze. The cornice, which has been taken to serve for the jambs, if it belonged to the temple of Remus, which is probable, exhibits an age of sculpture not earlier than Septimius Severus; and it very much resembles, especially in the astragal, the ornaments on the arch of that emperor. The two columns of porphyry are equally suitable to that age. The Pianta Capitolina was found in the subterraneous church, and perhaps had originally been either as the pavement or incrustation of the walls of the temple. On one fragment are read the names of Severus and Antoninus (Caracalla); so that it is not improbable the temple had, at least, been renewed in their time. The bronze doors are ancient, though now entirely stripped of their ornaments.

Like many of those churches in Rome of high antiquity, this has its crypta, purporting to be the

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tom. i. p. 64. In the view given of this church by Donatus, (*de Urb. Rom.* p. 247.), which was taken before the restoration made by Urban VIII., there appears a third column; so that, in all probability, some of the more early restorers had set up the columns to form an exterior portico. We read in Anastasius, "Pariter et Basilicam Sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani, sitam in tribus fatis . . . a novo totam restauravit." — *In vit. Hadrian.* i. § lxxvi.

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original work of Felix IV. Below this again is his oratorio, said to communicate with the catacombs. A spring of clear water, an altar, a small niche, with some traces of painting on the walls, together with a fragment of a "Requiescat in Pace," belong to the history of the church; but, emerging from the oratorio, we come upon the level of the ancient round temple. To form a just idea of it, the brick pillars, together with the vaults which they support, must be supposed to be away; for these are built only for the purpose of forming the entrance of the Basilica. We must then imagine a cupola with an aperture at the top, and the walls encrusted with the marble plan of Rome: but at present there is nothing remains in the temple of Remus worthy of remark.

The Basilica itself is also built upon the foundations of an ancient edifice; and in a line with one side of it is a piece of wall remarkably solid, constructed of Alban stone, not unlike those walls at the Arco de' Pantani; and this may be the reason why some have desired to press it into the precincts of Julius Cæsar's forum; which, according to our view of the eighth and fourth regions [106], is impossible. If we could suppose that any part of the temple of Peace had been left standing, this fine piece of wall would have a just claim to the distinction. The next object which demands our admiration is the temple of Antoninus and Faustina; on the architrave and frieze is read the following inscription: —

[106] The respective limits of those regions will be discussed more particularly in the ensuing Dissertation.

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DIVO ANTONINO ET
DIVÆ FAVSTINÆ. EX. S. C.

The Regionaries, as well as Trebellius Pollio[107], mention this temple only with the name of Faustina, which intimates that it was originally dedicated to her alone; and the upper line of the inscription is generally allowed to have been written subsequently, when Antoninus was associated to equal honour with his wife. This, however, does not obviate the difficulty which the inscription, as it stands, suggests; for both the Antonines had wives whose names were Faustina, and neither of them survived their husbands. Antoninus Pius required and obtained from the senate (EX. S. C.) divine honours and a temple for his wife. Marcus Aurelius did the same; so that, as far as these incidents occur, the question still remains, "To which of the Faustinas was this temple originally dedicated?" Allowing the temple (which is now the "Dogana di terra") in the Campus Martius to have belonged to Antoninus Pius, this would not settle the point, unless it could also be shown that it was the one originally decreed to Faustina, and that Pius had no other. * The circumstance of Marcus having lost his wife at Halala, at the foot of Mount Taurus (where, Capitolinus says, *he* built her a temple), will never prove that the senate therefore erected no temple to her honour in Rome. Neither of these arguments will influence an impartial enquirer; nor do the Regionaries throw any light at all upon the subject. Our "data" are, therefore,

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[107] *De Salonin. Galliano.* cap. i.

* See Note X X.

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reduced to the inscription itself, to the medals extant, and to the style of the architecture and sculpture. The age of M. Aurelius was, doubtless, a flourishing period of the arts; but the details of his triumphal pillar, as compared with that of Trajan, betrays, as we shall see, a very sensible decline. It was not, therefore, the purest age; but the exquisite chiseling of the frieze and cornice upon this temple, — those griffins, and those candelabra and vases which form the ornaments, — the just proportions of the columns, and all that regards the construction,— are not excelled, and are scarcely to be equalled, in any Roman monument of the kind in existence. This is the first consideration which inclines us to look at the period when the elder Faustina died. (A. D. 141.) Again, there are medals extant of Faustina which exhibit a temple with six columns in front, and a female figure sitting within. These Vaillant does not scruple to assign to the elder Faustina, and unhesitatingly identifies the temple in the Via Sacra with the representation.[108]

The wife of Pius died in the third year of his reign; and, independently of a temple, the senate decreed that her image should be carried in the Circensian pomp, which included the honour of the "Thensa."[109] This is represented on another medal of the same class with the former. On

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[108] Vide *Numismata Imperat. Romanor. per Joan. Vaillant*, tom. ii. p. 166—169. edit. Rom. 1743., ubi, Faustinæ Senioris nummi, &c. AED . DIV . FAVSTINÆ. "Templum pulcherrimum sex columnis adornatum in quo Faustina sedens."

[109] See *Description of the Circus on the Via Appia*, p. 18.

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a third is the dedication of the temple, where there are six columns in front as before, with the letters s. c.; all which things are strictly conformable to the words of Capitolinus [110]: nor can we suppose Vaillant to have been so deceived by these medals, if they really belonged to the younger Faustina. And, lastly, it may be remarked of the dedicatory inscriptions of the Antonines, that those of Marcus are generally distinguished by M. Antonino, Pius being *the* Antoninus; and although this distinction is not invariably observed, if we refer to any collection of inscriptions [111], our remark will not be found destitute of some foundation. We might now proceed to argue on the other side of the question, to the prejudice or advantage of Marcus Aurelius and his abettors: but our conclusion would still be the same; viz. that the temple in question was originally erected in honour of the elder Faustina; and when Antoninus Pius died, he was joined in the deified honours of his wife. And this conclusion will not invalidate the probability of the temple near the Antonine pillar being dedicated, like the column, to Pius, as the inscription given in Marliano seems to prove; for, according to the original intention, the temple in the Via Sacra was in honour of Faustina alone.

In an excavation made before the portico in

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[110] See Note X X. at the end of the volume. It is not known, either from ancient authors or from medals, that M. Aurelius had any temple at all erected to his honour after his death. Compare *Vaillant, Numismat. &c.* tom. ii. p. 174—176.

[111] Conf. *Gruter*, tom. i. p. 257—260., where also will be found a number of inscriptions, in which the names of both the Antonines are connected with "*Faustina.*"

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1810 [112], and which is in a great measure still kept open, the ascent to the temple from the level of the Via Sacra was discovered to be by a flight of steps, twenty-one in number, effecting an altitude of about fifteen feet. The last step, for want of space, joined the very bases of the columns, as may now be traced. There was also before the steps a slightly elevated "profanum," which must have thrown the Via Sacra at a little distance from the building itself. The portico consists of ten columns of Carysthian marble [113]; that is, presenting six in front and three on the flanks: they are of the Corinthian order, and measure about forty-five feet in height. As the temple only has a portico and six columns in front, it is, in architectural terms, a prostyle-hexastyle. The Cella is built of square blocks of Alban stone, and it has been faced with marble. The angles adjacent to the portico were adorned with a pilaster each, of which a capital only remains. The length of the whole building seems to have exceeded the width by at least one third; the entablature, which is

[112] An account of this excavation is given in the "Raccolta delle più insigne fabbriche antiche di Roma e de' suoi contorni," published by Vincenzo Feoli in Rome. The temple is beautifully illustrated in nine sheets, and may be had separately at 50 bajocchi each.

[113] Those marks round the shafts of the columns, which appear as if so many hoops had been forced into the marble, have excited enquiry; and it has been supposed by some that the columns were originally hewn out of the same mass in continuation, and this was a vein in the rock which has yielded to the efforts of time. It is not, perhaps, so ingenious, but it is more probable that the roof of some shed or building in the middle ages has been placed against the columns, and left the marks where the binders were inserted.

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so beautifully executed, is of Parian marble. The letters of the inscription have been of bronze or gilded metal; but these, like the marble facings of the Cella, are gone; and all that now remains is taken under the protection of S. Lorenzo in Miranda.

The Regionaries mention an area of Vulcan where a lotus tree, planted by the hands of Romulus himself, existed, and which spread its roots as far as Cæsar's Forum. It was situated in an elevated place above the Comitium [114], and, according to some writers, as Plutarch tells us, was the spot on which Romulus was slain by the senators. It was not a little renowned for the prodigies which happened on this scene of martyrdom [115], and was used occasionally for holding assemblies. Since it is sometimes called a temple, it is probable it was inaugurated; but, properly speaking, it was a Fanum. [116] As it was in the fourth region, but above the Comitium, which was in the eighth, we are necessarily led to the confines of both. It stood in an elevated position, and at no great distance from Cæsar's Forum. The small temple of Concord made by C. Flavius was within the area, and it was near the Curia. [117] All these things correspond and apply only to the ground lying between the churches of S. Maria Liberatrice and the above named S. Lorenzo.

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[114] *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xvi. cap. 44. *Ibid.* lib. xxxiii. cap. 1.

[115] *Festus*, in verb. "*Statua*," lib. xviii. *Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att.* lib. iv. cap. 5.

[116] Vide *Dionys.* lib. vi. p. 392.; sed conf. *Plutarch in Quæst. Roman.* xlvii.

[117] Compare *Livy*, lib. ix. cap. 34.

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We now leave the Via Sacra, by the street which passes by the flank of the temple, and, turning behind the Basilica of Constantine by the Vicolo del Tempio della Pace, we come into the ancient Carinæ, if tradition be faithful; the name being preserved in a small church of the Virgin, situated in the Via del Colosseo, and near the institution of the "Zitelle Mendicanti." In endeavouring to trace the direction of the Via Sacra, we have already spoken of the Carinæ, and called it a magnificent street, or assembly of fine houses; but etymologists, who delight in a figure of speech, think it meant a part of the Esquiline hill, which appeared in the form of a carina, or keel, reversed. [118] Servius [119], whose authority is something between a disputatious antiquary and a classical author, says the carinæ were buildings made in the form of those keels which were kept within the temple of Earth; perhaps some remnants of the "Spanish Armadas" or "Bucentaurs" of the Romans! A word from Livy at least puts us in the direction. Mentioning the entrance of Flaccus into Rome with his army by the Porta Capena, he describes him to have marched through the midst of the city along the Carinæ to the Esquiliæ [120]; and it is to be noted that the same expression, "Media urbe," is used by other authors to designate the place where the Colosseum stands. The Carinæ,

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[118] Vide *Nardini*, tom. i. p. 224.

[119] *In Æn.* viii. 361. in verb. "Romanoque foro, et *lautis* mugire Carinis."

[120] "Media Urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvi. cap. 10.; and compare *Suetonius* as cited in Note 107. p. 224.

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therefore, occurred before arriving at the Esquiline hill; and the church of "S. Maria in Carinis" comes opportunely to our aid: and considering what Varro says of the beginning of the Via Sacra[121], we are enabled to see this celebrated street in the valley extending behind the Basilica Constantiana, from the Tor de' Conti to the neighbourhood of the Colosseum. It was distinguished by the residences of great men — Pompey, M. Manilius, the Emperor Balbinus, and others[122]; and as some of those houses were, no doubt, magnificent, Virgil bestows a suitable epithet upon the Carinæ. The temple of Earth is said by Dionysius to have been built upon the site of Sp. Cassius's house, in the street leading to the Carinæ; and Livy describes the same site ("area") as being in front of that temple.[123] When, therefore, it was said the Carinæ began at the Tor de' Conti, it was not without meaning that the "Templum Telluris," where the senate so often assembled, was near to that spot; and within the dark recesses of that awful-looking tower we may trace considerable vestiges of an ancient building, which, although too vague to give any positive indications of their original use, we

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121 Consult p. 296.

122 See them enumerated with the authorities cited in *Nardini*, tom. i. p. 317.

123 "Οτι μετὰ τὸν θάναλον τοῦ Κασσιοῦ ἥ τε οἰκία καλεσκάφη, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δὲ ἀνεῖται ὁ τόπος αὐτῆς αἴθριος, ἔξω τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Γῆς, ὃν ὕστερον ἡ πόλις καλεσκεύασε χρόνοις ἐν μέρει τινὶ αὐτῆς, κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φεροῦσαν ὁδον. καὶ τὰ χρήματα, &c. — *Dionys. Antiq. Roman.* lib. viii. cap. 79. tom. i. p. 524.

"Ea est area *ante* Telluris ædem." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. ii. cap. 41.

"Lenæus Pompeii Mag. Lib. . . . docuit in Carinis ad Telluris ædem." — *Suet. de Illust. Grammat.* § 14. cum not. *Vossii.*

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suspect belonged to the Cella of the "Templum Telluris."[124]

The Romans had a custom, whenever their enemies surrendered at discretion, to fix two posts in the ground, and lay a third across them, so that some of the captives might pass under the yoke; and after having performed that humiliating ceremony, they were let go free. The spot where this exhibition took place was situated in the fourth region, and was called the "Tigillum Sororium," in memory of the tragic end of Horatia, and the punishment imposed on the murdering hero. The Romans performed an annual sacrifice on the spot; and Dionysus[125], who relates these things, adds, "it was situated in the lane leading from the Carinæ to the Vicus Cyprius." Considering what has been said of that street, in connexion with the Vicus Sceleratus[126], to which we shall not think it necessary now to recur, the Tigillum Sororium may well be placed in the Piazza delle Carette. It was thought worthy of being mentioned in the Regionaries; and Livy informs us that the yoke (we will call it the consecrated gallows) was ever kept in repair since the judgment of Horatius.[127]

From the Piazza delle Carette, turning by the Via della Croce Bianca, we come to the Colonnacce, which, together with those lofty walls and three

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[124] Vide *Nardini*, tom. i. p. 325. N. B. The *Carinæ*, *Sororium Tigillum*, *Templum Telluris*, are all registered in the fourth region.

[125] *Antiquit. Roman.* lib. iii. tom. i. p. 154. edit. Oxon. 1704.

[126] See Dissertation V. p. 213.

[127] *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 26. *ibid.* lib. iii. cap. 28. *Fest.* in verb. *Tigillum.* Vide etiam *Panciroli, Descrip. Urb. Rom.* apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 337.

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columns about the Arco de' Pantani, are all the objects that remain to complete the survey of our region.

We shall not now attempt to adjust those ruins of the fourth region with the topography of the eighth; but as several forums here come into contact, and so render the limits of the two regions doubtful, the discussion will be referred to our general view of the forums, to be given in the ensuing Dissertation. At present we shall confine ourselves to the Forum Transitorium, registered in the fourth region, and to a description of the ruins above named.

We learn * from Suetonius that Domitian constructed a forum, which afterwards bore the name of Nerva; because, probably, that emperor, during his short reign of sixteen months, finished and dedicated it. It was also called, as Eutropius informs us, Transitorium, and, according to Aurelius Victor, Pervium; which two epithets indicate that it was a thoroughfare. Donatus thinks it was rather so called because of a four-fronted arch of Janus which stood in it, and not because it was a passage to the other forums, as some suppose, alleging that they all might be called thoroughfares in that sense: but without entering into this controversy, which would only be for the benefit of a passage or two in Martial and Statius, it is certain that Nerva's Forum was especially called the thoroughfare; and the best explanation to be given of this name is, that it was a passage from the fourth region, in which it stood, to the eighth

* See Note Y Y.

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region, in which the other principal forums were. It had, moreover, a fourth name applied to it by the poet Martial — Palladium; so called because of a temple which stood in it to Pallas Minerva, a towering and magnificent edifice. Finally, it was adorned with a profusion of statues by Alexander Severus. Now, with these notices (all that can be collected on the subject), we proceed to examine the ruin called the Colonnacce.

From the vast accumulation of soil and rubbish, the two columns, which must be, in the full length, about thirty-five feet, scarcely appear half that above ground: they are of the Corinthian order, and stand in front of a very solid wall, against which have been pilasters, as appears from the capital of one still visible. Upon the columns rests an entablature; and the frieze is ornamented by small female figures, diligently employed in the task of Minerva. We distinguish the goddess Pudicitia, whom Pallas especially patronised, veiled, and in a sitting posture. Some of the virgins are bringing up the calathus to their mistress[128]; others weave the threads[129]; others are measuring the webs with the finished borders of needle-work[130], or weighing out the quantity in balances. In the corners we remark the figure of a youth reclining with an urn of water, perhaps the genius of the Alban lake, where Domitian delighted to celebrate the Quinquatria[131] in honour of Minerva. All these

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[128] *Ovid. Fast.* lib. iv. 435. and *Juvenal. Sat.* ii. 54.

[129] *Tibullus.* lib. ii. 1. 65.

[130] *Ovid. Metamorph.* vi. 55.

[131] *Suet. in vit. Domitian.* cap. iv. and *Dion Cassius in eod.* lib. lxvii. tom. ii. p. 1100.

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details have been carefully delineated and illustrated by Santo Bartoli and his ally.[132] The entablature is surmounted by an attic, forming a square recess, where the mutilated figure of Pallas herself stands. As no further vestiges can be traced behind this wall, it must be considered as the boundary of the Forum on that side; and the columns, pilasters, and sculpture, the internal decorations. There were considerable remains adjoining this ruin before Pope Paul V. demolished them to employ the materials in his fountain on the Janiculum. In the annexed sketch, taken from Camucci's Antiquities[133], we see there were seven columns connected with the Colonnacce by an arch of solid stone: the entablature rested entire upon three of the said columns, with a portion of the pediment; and on the frieze was read the following inscription: —

IMP . NERVA . CAES
TRIB . POTEST . IM

This could be no other than the temple of Minerva. From all which it is sufficiently evident that the Colonnacce belonged to the Forum Transitorium, built by Domitian and dedicated by Nerva.

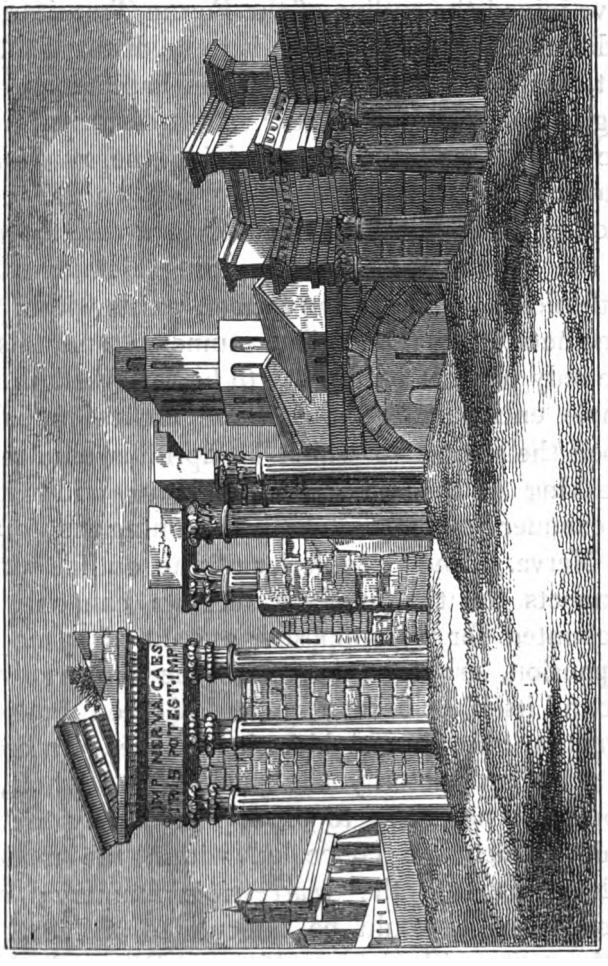
In examining those stupendous walls about the Arco de' Pantani, our remarks will comprise little more than the mere description, referring to the ensuing Dissertation for the arguments and proofs that this was the Forum of Augustus. Among

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[132] Vide *Admiranda Roman. Antiquitat. &c. à Petro Sanct. Bartoli delineata incisa, notis Pet. Bellori illustrat.* edit. Rom. in folio, anno 1693.

[133] *Dell' Antichità di Roma*, lib. i. p. 52.

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the houses situated between the Colonnacce and the Arco just mentioned may be traced an Hemycyclium relieved by niches; and where it seems to have joined the outline of the Forum Transitorium a difference of construction is to be distinguished: but, without descending into the habitations, the beginning of the curvilinear wall is discerned from the Via Bonella, where it joins the roof of a granary. The magnificent cornice on the connecting straight wall cannot fail to arrest the eye of the spectator. A corresponding Hemicyclium, with niches similar to the former, exists within the precincts of the Dominican nunnery; and this is the only piece of uniformity to be remarked in the whole enclosure. Within those niches probably stood the statues to which Lampridius alludes in speaking of the Forum of Augustus, and which Alexander Severus imitated in adorning the Forum of Nerva. Their regularity of the outline which connects the two uniform recesses can only be accounted for by supposing a want of space for expansion, arising either from the nature of the ground itself, or because there had been some obstruction from the neighbouring edifices. In order to trace satisfactorily the plan of the whole, it would be necessary to examine minutely the remains which are concealed within the modern habitations and the *inaccessible* nunnery; and even then it would be difficult to evolve them without the skill of the architect. By a reference, however, to the annexed sketch and explanations, the most ordinary observer will be able to adjust the conspicuous walls with the general outline.

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A A. Outlines of the Forum of Augustus.

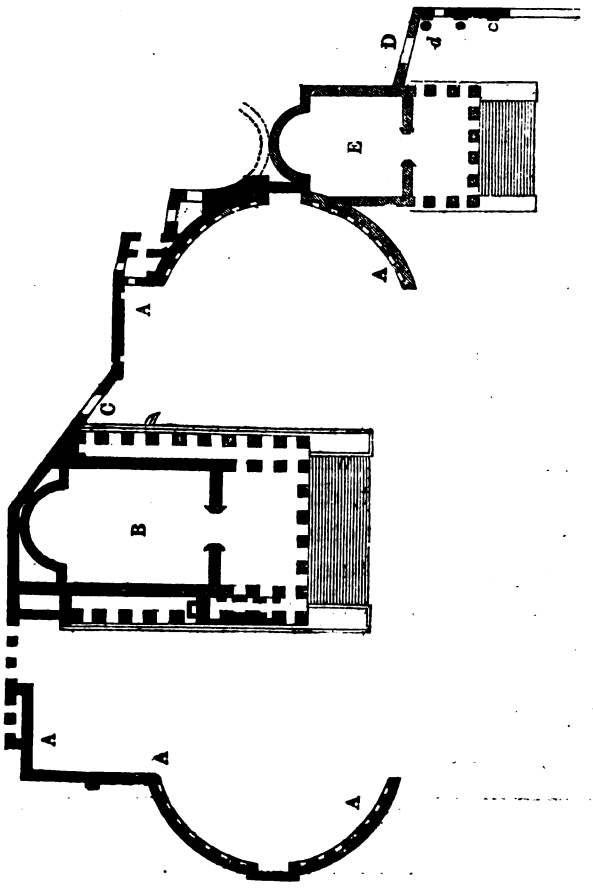
B. Temple of Mars Ultor, according to the conjectures of Palladio.

C. Arco de' Pantani.

D. Outlines of a portion of Nerva's Forum.

d. Two columns remaining of the same, called the Colonnacce.

E. Temple of Pallas Minerva, a great part of which existed with the connecting arch D until it was removed by Pope Paul V. See the sketch of these ruins in page 321. above, as made by Camucci in the year 1500.



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Beginning at the Piazza del Grillo, we may follow these walls with wonder and admiration for a distance of 500 or 600 feet in continuation. They are remarkable for their height, the excellence of the masonry, and the elegant proportion of the cornices, especially as seen from within the Via Bonella. Between the Piazza just mentioned and the Arco de' Pantani there occur four arches, now indeed walled up and half sunk in the earth; but originally designed, we suppose, for entrances, having the appearance of a double portal. Flaminius Vacca relates, that in his time [134], some of the blocks of stone being thrown down in constructing the nunnery, they were found to be held together with gramples of wood instead of iron. The wood was so well preserved, that it might have been made use of again for the same purpose; but no joiner could define of what kind it was. From this circumstance some artists have argued that the wall was built before the age of Augustus, since such materials would have been too common for the magnificence of that emperor and his successors; but the Colosseum will show that the ancients, however magnificent, did not lavish their precious materials where any other would serve the purpose. The "opus reticulatum" was used by every body in the time of Vitruvius [135]; and perhaps wooden grampings were better adapted for peperine stone than iron ones.

The three magnificent columns already mentioned, with the pilaster and the wall behind them,

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134 *Memorie, &c.* No. 89.

135 *De Architect.* lib. ii. cap. 8.

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evidently formed part of the flank of a temple; and Palladio instructs us to complete the side by adding six columns more; the dead wall behind them, with the remains of a frieze, being considered as part of the Cella. That celebrated architect believed this temple to be the "Mars Ultor" erected by Augustus in his Forum; an opinion we shall at once adopt, without entering into the merits of others.[136] The columns, as well as the rest of the architectural ornaments, are of Lunensian marble; and Pope Paul II., who constructed the adjoining monastery, is suspected of having pillaged the temple: for, in the Palazzo di Venezia, some marble of that description has been recognised; which, with the coincidence of time, increases the suspicion. The old antiquaries always considered this as a part of Trajan's Forum, having no other authority than the neighbourhood of the historical pillar: this was evidently an error; and we think it is equally so to bring the Forum of Nerva from the Colonnacce here, thus confounding the limits of the eighth and fourth regions, as will be made more evident in our general view of the Forums.

In the Via del Grillo, behind the houses adjacent to the convent, may be seen other ruins of a different construction to the former, but going so far to fill up the intervening space that we cannot but suppose they were the means of connecting

[136] See the arguments alleged in p. 366, 367. with references in Notes appended; and consult *Piranesi*, tom. i. tav. xxx. p. 52. with *Desgodetz*, cap. xv. p. 158. The bas-reliefs, now too much injured by time, and perhaps by plunder, have been delineated by Santo Bartoli, in his work entitled *Admiranda Romanorum Antiquitat.*

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the Forum of Augustus with that of Trajan. That Nerva's was again joined with them is evident; and we might proceed to annex that of Julius Cæsar, and finally the whole of them, with the Roman Forum: so that, within a space of no great extent, all the forensic splendour of imperial Rome was concentrated. During the 500 years of the republic, the city could scarcely ever get beyond the columns of peperine stone, and the walls of brick and tufo; but when all the power was vested in the hands of one master, these magnificent works were all accomplished within the space of a century. If this be taken as the criterion of national prosperity, then the empire flourished under the Twelve Cæsars and their immediate successors; but since the decay was as rapid as the growth, the fact only points out to us the danger of intrusting the resources of a nation to be wielded by a despot: still it is only under such circumstances that any great public works have ever been speedily effected; and perhaps it is a problem which yet remains to be solved — What degree of public magnificence is compatible with the rights of the citizen, and the durable prosperity of a flourishing nation?

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DISSERTATION THE SEVENTH.

ON THE EIGHTH REGION, OR FORUM ROMANUM.

" Arcus enim et statuas, aras etiam templaque, demolitur et obscurat oblivio, negligit carpitque posteritas; contra, contemptor ambitionis, et infinitæ potestatis domitor ac frænator animus ipsa vetustate florescit." — C. PLIN. SEC. PANEG. TRAJAN. DICT.

——— " Did the conquerors heap
Their spoils here? Yes; and in yon field below
A thousand years of silenced factions sleep —
The Forum, where the immortal accents glow,
And still the eloquent air breathes — burns with Cicero."
CHILDE HAROLD'S PILGRIMAGE, can. XIV. st. CXII.

THE human countenance, like any "graven image or likeness" of it, is, says Tacitus, frail and perishable; but "the form of a mind is eternal:" it is not to be retained or delineated by any *material* representation, however artfully devised, but only by moral (we should like to say spiritual) conformation. It is with some such sentiment as this that we must now meet the thrilling names of the Capitol and the Roman Forum. It will not suffice to gaze on a few ruins, or curiously descry the pavement which has lain for ages beneath the accumulated soil: nor will it be enough to tread the ground once so sacred, where Michael Angelo has covered the wounds and scars of time with his adorning genius. We must surmount the frail and perishable; and, using those shattered monuments but

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as the index which points back through ages, we must realise the periods of virtue and freedom, and then surround our footsteps with the names that are linked with them. It is only when we arrive at this abstraction that we can pronounce with effect — "the Capitolium and the Forum!" and, like the poet, hear Tully's thunder in the glowing air, and Virgil's strain in the balmy breeze.

In the course of our topographical enquiries, the Regionaries of Victor and Rufus have often been acknowledged as our principal guides; but it would have been tedious to have placed at the head of each region the long list of names which indicate so many monuments now irrecoverably lost. It will not, however, be thought superfluous to give one specimen of those singular documents; and, as we have now arrived at the district in which was comprised all that Rome possessed most venerable and important, such specimen may serve as a convenient introduction to this Dissertation.

In the following catalogue, taken from P. Victor (for in Rufus[1] the eighth region is incomplete), the expressions which do not admit of an obvious translation preserve their original form.

1. The "Rostra" of the Roman people, II.
2. Temple of Victory[2], with another small temple of Virgin Victory, dedicated by M. Porcius Cato.

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[1] Vide *Panvinio, Urb. Rom. Descrip.* p. 118. edit. Francofurt. 1597.

[2] I have made no distinction in the translation between "Templum" and "Ædes:" there is a difference, which I hope has been made sufficiently clear in the last Dissertation. "Ædi-

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3. Oratory of the Lares.
4. Temple of Julius Cæsar in the Forum.
5. Golden Victory, *alias* the statue of Golden Victory, in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.
6. The Ruminal Fig-tree and the Lupercal of the Virgin.
7. The Column with the statue of M. Ludius.
8. The Græcostasis.
9. Temple of Ops and Saturn in the street called Jugarius.
10. The Golden Senaculum.[3]
11. The Golden Milliarium.
12. The Horatian Pile, where those things called his trophies were placed.[4]
13. The Senate-house.
14. Temple of the Castors near the Lake of Juturna.
15. Temple of Concord.
16. The Brazen Horse of Domitian Augustus.
17. The Lake of Curtius.
18. Atrium of Minerva.
19. Æmilian School.
20. The Julian Portico.
21. The Arch of Fabian.
22. " Puteal Libonis." [5]
23. The two Januses, a celebrated place for dealers.
24. Palace of Numa.

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cula " may be translated a small temple or chapel; and " Sacellum," an oratory: — perhaps a distinction without a difference.

[3] This was a place where the senate occasionally assembled.

[4] In this and the following article there seems to be some confusion in the *MSS.* In P. Victor it is " Pila Horatia, ubi trophæa locata nuncupantur Curia." Panvinio has omitted the two last words. Nardini has changed *nuncupantur* into *dicuntur*, and made a separate article of *Curia:* him I have partly followed.

[5] This might be rendered the *Prætor's seat;* but it will require some explanation, which will be given in the course of this Dissertation.

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25. Temple of Vesta.
26. Temple of the Gods (Penates).
27. Temple of Romulus.
28. Temple of Janus.
29. Forum of Cæsar.
30. " Stationes Municipiorum."[6]
31. Forum of Augustus, with the Temple of Mars Revenger.
32. Spotless Faith.[7]
36. Little Temple of Concord above the Græcostasis.
37. Basilica Argentaria.[8]
38. The Navel or centre of the City of Rome.[9]
39. Altar of Saturn in the Lake of Curtius.
40. Temple of Titus Vespasian Augustus.
41. Basilica of Paulus with columns of Phrygian marble.
42. The Ruminal Fig-tree in the Comitium, where is also the Lupercal.
43. Temple of Vejupiter, between the Citadel and the Capitol, near the Asylum.[10]
44. Ligurian Street.
45. The Apollo, brought from Apollonia by Lucullus, thirty, *alias* thirty-two cubits high.

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[6] These " quarters or barracks of the municipal soldiers " are mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. xvi. cap. 48., as being about the Forum of Julius Cæsar.

[7] Compare *Horace, Ode* xxxv. book i.

[8] This was probably a public hall allotted for the petty merchants who dealt in silver articles, as the Portico Margaritaria, where jewellery or trinkets might be exposed for sale. It was common to name buildings and places from the kind of traffic that was carried on in them; as the Forum Piscarium, or Fish Market; the Forum Olitorium, or Green Market, &c. See *Adams's Roman Antiquities*, p. 528.

[9] This was probably nothing more than a small spot of ground enclosed and inaugurated, something like the Roma Quadrata on the Palatine hill. Consult *Festus*, lib. xvii.

[10] This title of Jupiter is mentioned and explained by *Ovid. Fast.* lib. v. 445. — a beardless or inoffensive little Jupiter. See *Aulus Gellius*, lib. v. cap. 12.

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46. The Shrine of Minerva.
47. The Chapel of the Goddess of Youth.
48. Porta Carmentalis, towards the Flaminian Circus.
49. Temple Carmentale, *alias* Carmentæ.
50. The Capitol, where the images of all the Gods are placed.
51 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.
52 Temple of Jupiter Tonans, dedicated by Augustus on the Clivus Capitolinus.
53. Curia Hostilia, under the old (buildings).
54. Curia Calabra, where the minor pontiff proclaimed the festivals.
55. The statue of Jupiter Imperator brought from Præneste.
56. Asylum.
57. The old Temple of Bald Venus.
58. The new Temple of Bald Venus.
59. Old Temple of Minerva.
60. The Temple of Nemesis.
61. The old Altar of Saturn.
62. The Germanic Store-houses.
63. The Agrippine Store-houses.
64. A Fountain ?[11]
65. Forum Boarium,
66. Oratory of Patrician Chastity.
67. Two Temples of Hercules Victor, one at the Porta Trigemina, the other in the Forum Boarium, round and small.[12]

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[11] This is rather a conjecture than a translation. Rufus writes, — " Equa cernens quatuor Satyros ; " and Victor, — " Aqua cernens quatuor Scauros." Thus, in the original, it is merely the difference between an *A* and an *E ;* but in the explanation we have to choose between a *Mare* and " *Water.*" The *Notitia* concurs with Victor. I should merely plead for the four satyrs in preference to the four Scauri, and then it would look something like a fountain of the " Buffo " style !

[12] P. Victor must be here understood to say that there were two temples bearing the same title : the one near the Porta

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68. Forum Piscarium.
69. Temple of Matuta.
70. Vicus Jugarius, also Thurarius, where are some altars, *alias* the altars of Ops and Ceres, with the statue of Vortumnus.
71. The Prison close to the Forum, built by Servius Tullius in the middle of the city.
72. Portico Margaritaria (see Art. 37. with the note).
73. Literary Schools.
74. Vicus Unguentarius (Perfumery Street). Compare note on Art. 37.
75. Temple of Vortumnus in the Tuscan Street.
76. Elephantus Herbarius.[13]

Twelve Streets, and as many Chapels.
Forty-eight Vico-Magistri, Two Curators, Two Overseers.
3880 Plebeian Habitations, 150 great Houses.
Sixty-six Private Baths, Twenty-eight Store-houses.
128 Reservoirs, thirty Workhouses.
The Region is 14,867 feet in circuit, *alias* 12,867 feet.[14]

Trigemina belonged to the elventh region; but the one here especially to be named stood in the Forum Boarium.

[13] This probably means a statue of an elephant near which they sold vegetables, and it might also serve as a fountain. (The bronze boar at Florence exactly corresponds to this idea.) See *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 346. and the note of his editor, which vaguely wanders to find where the elephant stood. Things like these acquire importance in a city from mere notoriety. Who would think of making a catalogue of the remarkable objects of modern Rome without mentioning four statues: — Pasquino, Marforio, Madama Lucrezia, and l'Abbate Luigi?

[14] It is impossible, in many instances, to adopt the numbers given in these Regionaries. Where can the space be found about the Forum and the Capitol for 3880 "*Insulæ?*" And it will be seen, when we lay down the limits of this region, that it could not be upwards of two miles in circuit; but num-

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Thus far P. Victor; and, pompous as the list may appear, Panvinio and Nardini, together, have found means to make a further addition of 140 objects; and, indeed, the catalogue as it stands, supposing it to be accurate, is at least incomplete, for it does not include —

The Tarpeian Rock.
The Arch of Septimius Severus.
The small Arch of Severus and Caracalla, in the entrance of the Forum Boarium.
The Temple of Fortune on the Clivus Capitolinus.
The Arch of Tiberius Cæsar.
The Temple of Faith in the Capitol.[15]
The Column of Caius Duilius, and several other things that might be mentioned.

The column of Phocas was erected at a later period. But, abstaining from any further enumeration (for, however indisputable the names that might be added, they would be but names), it is already much if we can say, — *Such was once the district of the Roman Forum*[16]: indeed, we are inclined to suspect

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bers, especially as they were written in the Roman notation, have come down to us with great inaccuracies by the carelessness of transcribers: — this is frequently the despairing case in Pliny's text.

[15] This *may be* the same as the "Candida Fides" of Art. 32.; but we are furnished with this local designation by two inscriptions written on plates of brass, and now existing in the museum at Naples: — they show us the form of a seaman's discharge, and end thus: —

EX TABVLA
AENEA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN CAPI
TOLIO AEDIS FIDEI POPVLI ROMANI
PARTE DEXTE O RIORE.

[16] This portion of our outline will require some further explanation, and I am aware of the responsibility I here incur.

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that the two consular men made some vain parade of the tottering city, and perhaps intended to disguise its decay in an ostentatious display of its splendour. But, although they might be thus liberal in bestowing titles upon objects which scarcely deserved mentioning, there is sufficient collateral evidence to prove that it was not their intention to mislead the topographists; and thus it is we are not without confidence in these catalogues, deprived of which the Roman antiquary's "occupation's gone."

It will now be necessary to trace the boundaries of our circuit. Beginning from near the theatre of Marcellus, the outline of the eighth region must be supposed to run in the direction of the old walls along the Via Tor de' Specchi; and through those streets lying at the foot of the Ara Cœli, — then comprising the Forum of Trajan, but excluding that of Nerva at the Colonnacce, — we must gain the Strada della Salara Vecchia, and emerge from those habitations which are near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. To continue under the Palatine hill nearly as far as the church of S. Anastasia seems obvious; we must then turn towards the western extremity of the Capitoline: this will lead us past the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, including the ancient arch of Janus, which stands before it. Then touching at the church of S. Giovanni Decolato, we soon regain the point from whence we set out.

It will be observed, by referring to our catalogue, that there were several other forums in this district besides the one distinguished by the title of "Romanum." If, therefore, we first dispose of

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those by endeavouring to assign their situations, it will be so much negative proof in store for fixing clearly the limits of the more celebrated one.

Forums were of two kinds; the one for holding public assemblies and courts of judicature, the other for the more homely use of holding markets and public auctions. The Roman Forum was of the former description; and before the intrigues of ambitious citizens began to crowd the tribunals with their retainers, it was found sufficient. But, independently of the popularity to be acquired from a work of public utility, Julius Cæsar first saw the expediency of making some further accommodation of this nature. Out of the spoils of war he built a forum, and expended "H. S. millies," that is, 807291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, in the construction[17]: within it was erected a temple to Venus Genitrix. The statue was sent from Egypt by Cleopatra, together with one of the queen herself, which was placed in the temple, rival-like, by the side of the lascivious goddess. In front of the portico stood the equestrian statue of Cæsar himself: the horse was modelled from his own favourite steed, which had hoofs cleft almost like a human hand; a marvel, in which the skilful augurs could foresee the dominion of the world portended for his master.[18] It

[17] "Pyramides regum miramur opera, cum solum tantum foro exstruendo H—S mille ducentis Cæsar dictator emerit." — *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 15.

". . . . Cujus area super sestertium millies constitit." — *Suet. in Julio*, cap. xxvi.

[18] Vide *Suet. in Jul. Cæsar.* cap. lxi.; *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. cap. 42.; *Appian de Bell. Civil.* lib. ii. p. 492. edit. Stephan. 1592. It was here where the dictator incurred the "inexpiable envy" of his citizens: he received all the conscript

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was of bronze gilt, and even had some *pretensions* to have been made by Lysippus, and modelled from the living Bucephalus [19]; and, after having belonged to Alexander the Great, passed into the possession of the next conqueror of the earth. There is also mention of several splendid paintings and beautiful statues which adorned the "Forum Cæsaris" and this temple of Venus.[20]

As the population and business of the city increased, it was found necessary to have a third Forum. This fell to the lot of Augustus: he had vowed a temple to Mars at the battle of Philippi [21], under the title of Avenger with reference to Cæsar's death; and, in accomplishing this vow, he consulted also for the convenience of the Roman people. His forum was especially dedicated to public trials and the elections of judges, and to the god Mars, whose temple stood within it. He required the senate to repair thither, whenever they had to discuss the interests of war, or the allotment of the provinces; and those generals who returned from conquests were to carry their ensigns of triumph there. Two porticoes were added to it; and it was not without its paintings and other objects of art, which Pliny has thought worthy of mention. Suetonius says the space was too confined; because

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fathers in great state, SITTING before the Temple of Venus Genitrix. *Suet. in vit. sua*, cap. lxxviii.

[19] This hint comes from some adulatory verses of Domitian's laureate, which although Donatus (*de Urb. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. 21.) does not suspect, we may. See *Statius, Sylvar.* lib. i. carm. i. v. 84.

[20] See *Plin.* lib. xxxv. cap. 4.; *Ibid.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 5.; and compare *Dion Cassius*, lib. xliii. p. 356.

[21] *Suet. in vit. August.* cap. xxix.

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Augustus *durst* not encroach upon the neighbouring houses of individuals.*

We might now at once conclude, with regard to the situation of these two Forums, that they were contiguous to the old one, and as far as practicable made into one: but two poets confirm this by calling them the triple or the threefold Forum[22]; and they are frequently mentioned in this close relation to each other. Now, as the temple of Antoninus and Faustina is on the borders of the fourth region, and the Tor de' Conti, as we have shown, equally bordering on the eighth, we have (considering the given site of Trajan's Forum) only the space behind the churches of S. Martina and S. Adriano for situating the two in question. As this carries us towards the Arco de' Pantani, and the irregularity of those lofty walls shows there must have been some such impediment as that mentioned by Suetonius, we must believe the Forum of Augustus to have been within this enclosure. This seems to have been Palladio's opinion; and he thought the three columns which have already been described formed part of the temple of Mars Ultor.[23] For this there is certainly no direct authority; and if it be true that an inscrip-

* See Note Z Z.

22 *Martial. Epig.* xxxviii. lib. iii. and lib. vii. ep. 64. *Statius, Sylvar.* lib. iv. carm. ix. 15.

23 *Opere Architt. di Palladio*, lib. iv. p. 15—23. edit. Venezia, 1570. The medal extant (see an impression in *Nardini*, tom. ii. No. 31.), which represents the temple of Mars Ultor as a circular building, will prevail but little against Palladio's conjecture; for Donatus (apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 633.) shows clearly, from a passage in Dion Cassius, that there was also a temple of Mars Ultor in the Capitol. Compare *Ovid. Fast.* lib. v. 577—595.

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tion with the name of Nerva was once read on the frieze, the whole of our supposition will be much invalidated: there is, however, some confusion about that inscription; and it is not clear, from the father of antiquaries, Camucci, whether the Arco de' Pantani or the Colonnacce be alluded to. But supposing the Forum of Augustus to have been about the Via Bonella, to steer clear of the controversy, that of Cæsar must be brought down to the Via della Salara Vecchia, so as to border on the line of habitations in the Campo Vaccino.* Before the alterations made by Pope Sixtus V., as appears from Bufalini's map, there was no street where the Strada della Bonella now is; but the communication with the places about the Esquiline hill was by a street which issued from the Campo Vaccino, between the churches of S. Adriano and S. Lorenzo in Miranda. This was in all probability the ancient communication, and seems to have had on the left hand the eighth region, and on the right the fourth. The Forum of Nerva, therefore, of which an account has been given, will be necessarily placed about the Colonnacce: for how that forum can be extended to the Arco de' Pantani, and still kept in the fourth region, we cannot easily conceive. And thus the Forum of Augustus, with the temple of Mars Ultor, under all the circumstances, will be very well enclosed by those high walls about the Dominican nunnery and the Arco de' Pantani. Nerva's Forum was the fourth in chronological order; Trajan's, the most splendid of all, the

* See Note A A A.

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fifth: but as there is no difficulty in our topography with regard to it, although it is in the eighth region, it will be more convenient to take it in our next circuit. One difficulty is thus cleared away, viz. the respective limits of the eighth and fourth regions; and the doubtful outline will be established thus: — from the Piazza dell' Grillo along the walls of the Dominican convent, between the Colonnacce and the little church of S. Agatha de' Tessitori, and so emerging near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. Besides this adjustment, it will be observed that we have now occupied the space which lies on the east side of the Campo Vaccino.

The Forum Boarium was of the second description, and is perhaps of equal antiquity with the Roman Forum itself. It lay about the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, as is evident from the inscription still existing on the small arch, which will be afterwards examined. The Piscarium, or fish-market, was of course nearer the Tyber, if even Varro had not told us so.[24] As Rufus has a street of that name (Vicus Piscarius) in the eleventh region, which led no doubt to the Forum, we see in what direction it lay. It was a very suitable neighbour to the Forum Olitorium, which, being in the eleventh region, was situated, as will be shown in another place, about the church of S. Nicola in Carcere. Thus we see that the forums used for markets were at the lower extremity of the Campo Vaccino, and those of the more dignified description were on the east side of it.

Marliano supposed the Forum to be 100 paces

[24] *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 32.

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long and 50 broad, extending in length from the arch of Septimius Severus to the temple of Antoninus and Faustina; and in width, from the said temple to the three columns. It also reached, he thought, to the arch of Titus; but that part was called by another name — the Comitium! His argument for extending it to Titus's arch is grounded mainly on that passage of Plutarch which mentions Poplicola's house as being in the Velia, overlooking the Forum. This was the generally received opinion of the antiquaries of the sixteenth century[25]; and in Bufalini's map we see the area laid out according to this doctrine. Donatus, observing the unequivocal testimony of Dionysius and Livy, who place the Forum distinctly between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, demonstrated the palpable error of his predecessors. The Forum, he affirmed, had its width between the two hills; and, as it was longer than it was broad, its length should be reckoned from the church of S. Adriano, which he calls the temple of Saturn, to the S. Maria della Consolazione, or even further. He justifies these limits by six arguments, grounded on ancient authors; and urges his point by various other reasons. Nardini agrees with the Jesuit, and shows the argument is cumulative, — only he does not allow it to reach quite as far as the Consolazione. * The ground about Titus's arch, espe-

[25] *Marliano, Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. iii. cap. 1. *Panciroli, Descrip. Urb. Rom.* apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 351. *Fabricius, Descrip. &c. ibid.* p. 416. *Lucio Mauro Antichità*, p. 18. edit. Venezia, 1582. *Fulvio, Antichità, &c.* carta 117. It is not the least curious enquiry about the Forum to trace its *antiquarian* history.

* See Note B B B.

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cially when it was discovered to be thirty-two feet above the level of that of Severus, was easily relinquished, and two angles of the Forum peaceably deposed; viz. at the last-named arch, and near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina: but whether this was to be considered the length or the width, still afforded matter for dispute. Some of the modern school of antiquaries have attempted to revive the opinion of Marliano.[25] When the column of Phocas was disinterred, it was remarked the inscription turned its back upon the main portion of Nardini's Forum; and the steps of the building to which the three famous columns belong were found to be in a similar direction. Notwithstanding these subtleties, the excellent treatise of Professor Nibby has evidently triumphed [27]; and it may now be well nigh stamped with folly if any one should still insist upon this slip of a Forum. It is not so easy to fix the boundaries on the side of the Velabrum; and it must be confessed that the particles of evidence are like atoms diffused through a vast expanse, which only form something tangible in the aggregate, and are to be brought together with considerable labour. Vitruvius tells us that the Greeks made their Forums

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[26] *Memorie Enciclopediche per il* MDCCCXVII. p. 46.

[27] This work, "On the Roman Forum, the Via Sacra, and Flavian Amphitheatre, with the places adjacent," has acquired a deserved popularity among the students of Roman topography. The conjectures, as well on the general outlines of the Forum as in the several details, are very plausible; and it would not be easy to add any thing to the mass of authorities which the learned professor has condensed into his pages: — my labour is consequently rendered comparatively easy, and to the Italian scholar superfluous.

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square, but that this figure did not suit the forums of Italy, because of the shows of gladiators which sometimes took place in them: he therefore prescribes the form of a rectangle, whose length should be to the width as three to two; and then gives certain directions about the disposing of the Basilicas, temples, and public offices around it.[28] He does not say the Roman Forum was so constituted; but it is fair to conclude it was. If so, we have now to lay out a rectangular space with these proportions, having one side and two angles given. Such an area will be found, about a diameter drawn from the arch of Septimius Severus, due south to the church of S. Theodoro: but, in assuming this position, we are anticipating the evidence which will be gleaned up in our progress round the Forum.

Juvenal refers to those virtuous and happy times, under "the kings and tribunes," when one prison was sufficient to contain all the criminals of Rome.[29] He alludes, no doubt, to the Mamertine prison, (built, according to Livy, by Ancus Martius,) overlooking or overhanging the Forum.[30] Servius Tullius added a lower cell, which was called the Tullianum.[31] Behind the arch of Septimius Se-

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[28] *Vitruvius de Architect.* lib. v. cap. 1. and 2.

[29] *Juvenal. Satyr.* iii. 312.

[30] "Carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciæ media urbe *imminens Foro* ædificatur." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 33.

Mamers, in the Oscan language, is Mars; as Mamercus or Mamertinus answers to the adjective Martius. See *Festus* in the word *Mamercus, &c.* lib. xi. p. 217, 218.

[31] *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 32. in verb. *Carcer à coërcendo, &c.*

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verus, and on the declivity of the Capitoline hill, we find this monument, of which there can be no doubt, still existing. By the aid of torches we descend under the little church of S. Giuseppe by some modern steps; and we soon arrive at the upper compartment, which is now formed into an oratorio. It is constructed of large masses of peperine stone, put together without cement: it is about 27 feet by 19½, and nearly 14 feet in height, and has evidently been hewn out of the solid tufo rock. Descending by a few steps more, we arrive at the lower cell, or "Tullianum," which is only about 6½ feet high, and 19 feet by 9. It is faced with the same material as the upper one; and it is worthy of remark, as a proof of its high antiquity, that the stones are not disposed with that regularity which the rules of good masonry require: the joinings often coincide, or nearly so, instead of reposing over the middle of the inferior block respectively. It has probably been much deeper than the present level with its modern pavement indicates; the sewer which issues from it is also modern. In the vault we observe a circular aperture communicating with the upper chamber; and it appears the prisoners who were condemned to be strangled or to die of hunger were thrust down by that aperture into this lower cell: and hence the phrase, "to cast into" the lower prison. In this way [32], and perhaps in this very place, died

[32] "Pleminius *in inferiorem demissus carcerem est* necatusque." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 44.

"In eum locum postquam *demissus* Lentulus, quibus præceptum erat laqueo gulam fregêre. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cæpario, eodem modo supplicium sumtum est." — *Sallust. de Bello Catalin.* cap. 55.

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that Quintus Pleminius, who, being a prisoner for sedition, had concerted a scheme with his friends without to burn Rome, that he might be liberated. Here Jugurtha was suffered to die of hunger; and Sallust, in relating how the accomplices of Cataline were strangled by order of the consul Cicero, affords us the following description [33]: — "There is a place in the prison which is called the Tullianum: it is about ten feet deep in the ground, when you have descended a little to the left; it is secured round the sides by walls of stone, and closed above by a vaulted roof of the same material. The idea of it is frightful, from the filth, the obscurity, and the stench." — Allowing for the improvement which has taken place in two of these articles, we cannot but find the description very applicable at this day.

We read too of Sejanus, the minister of Tiberius, who was killed in this prison, and his body afterwards thrown down the "Scala Gemonia," according to a horrid custom. [34] Josephus informs us, that whilst Vespasian and Titus ascended in triumph to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Simon the son of Giora was put an end to [35]; and he adds, "Such was the custom of the Ro-

[33] *Sallust. de Bello Catalin.* cap. 55.

[34] *Dion Cassius*, lib. lviii. p. 885. Conf. *Juvenal. Satyr.* x. 66. and *Tacit. Annal.* lib. v. cap. 9. It sufficiently appears from a number of authorities collected by Nardini (tom. ii. p. 293.), that the Scalæ Gemoniæ were a flight of steps leading down the Capitoline hill to the Forum, not far from the prison. The bodies were dragged out of the prison and up those steps by a hook, and then precipitated down again, in the sight of the people in the Forum. That abrupt ascent behind the S. Pietro in Carcere looks very like the "*Scalæ Gemoniæ.*"

[35] See Note T T.

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mans to dispose of their captives after they had graced their triumphs through the streets of Rome. Whatever be the credit due to the tradition which renders it sacred in the eyes of the modern Romans, the scene which it now presents is of a different and more harmless kind. Numbers of devotees are continually kneeling before the place where they are taught to believe St. Peter and St. Paul were confined by order of Nero, and where the fountain miraculously sprung up for Peter to baptize the gaoler; nay, the very pillar to which the apostle was bound is now shown to the faithful multitude. The people kneel before a number of "ex voto" offerings, which partially cover a piece of the ancient frieze, on which is still read this inscription: —

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

These were consuls in the twenty-third year of the Christian era; and by a decree of the senate it appears they either repaired or altered the prison. The inscription further shows that its front was turned towards the Forum. It was, no doubt, of much greater extent than we now see it; and perhaps more rooms might be found by excavating further into the hill.[36] This was properly a state prison; but there was a second already built as early as the decemvirs[37]: but the time came when the "world" itself became a prison to the offender. "Remember," says Cicero, "where-

[36] Consult *Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, &c.* p. 151.

[37] *Tit. Liv.* lib. iii. cap. 57.; and conf. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 36.

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ever you are, you are equally in the power of the conqueror." The church tradition has caused much more discussion on the subject of prisons than we shall think it expedient to follow.[38]

As there was a street in the fourth region called "Mamertinus," we may well suppose it to have been in the direction of the present Via Marforio, and therefore to have communicated with the Forum.[39] Now, as the Mamertine prison overlooked the Forum, and as all the adjoining space in that direction has been already disposed of, we apply these facts to our general outlines, and thus find one angle of the Roman Forum in front of the prison; that is, at the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus.

Having already described the arch of Constantine, it will not be necessary to dwell upon the construction of this, as the architectural designs are nearly the same in both. Each front is supported by four columns, which are of the composite order, and of Pentelic marble. It bears evident marks of having suffered by fire; and the bas-reliefs are so injured by time, that only in some places can the original style be traced; and when it is recognised, it betrays a woful decline in the art of sculpture. There is no account whatever of this arch, nor any mention of it except what is to be gathered from the inscription and a medal extant: from the former it appears to have been

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[38] See *Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastic.* tom. i. p. 646. A. C. 68., and *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 281. The Abbate Cancellieri has written a treatise on this prison, entitled *Notizie del Carcere Tulliano poi Mamertino, &c.* Roma, edit. 1788.

[39] Vide *Nibby, Foro Romano,* p. 153.

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erected in honour of the emperor's victory over the Parthians and Persians; and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, were associated in his triumph.

The first two lines of the inscription set forth the names and titles of Severus himself[40]; the third, those of Caracalla: but it is observed that the fourth line, consisting of superabundant epithets, has been written over an erasure; and it is easy to see those letters are sunk deeper in the marble than the rest. Spartian relates that Caracalla, after the murder of his brother, "frequently bewailed his loss, and paid honours to his statue;" and in another place he tells us, that he was much affected whenever he heard the mention of his name[41], or saw any monument or statue to remind him of Geta. It was not unworthy of the baseness of that degenerate age to affect to spare the ruffian's feelings; and there are many inscriptions still existing where the name of Geta has been cut out. A bronze tablet in the museum of the Capitol, and a marble one in the Florentine gallery, are two remarkable specimens. We shall also see a similar instance in the little arch near S. Giorgio in Velabro. In the one before us the title P. P., "pater patriæ," in the third line, — which during the lifetime of Severus could not properly be assumed by his son, — has been substituted for ET, and the OPTIMIS FORTISSIMISQVE PRINCIPIBVS for the names and titles of Geta, probably written

[40] "Appellatus est Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus." — *Spartian. in vit. sua*, cap. ix.

The emperor refused the title of Parthicus from political motives; but this inscription shows he had afterwards accepted it.

[41] *Spartian in vit. Caracal.* cap. iii.; and *in Geta*, cap. vii.

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thus: — P. SEPTIMIO GETAE NOBILISSIMO CAESARI, which yields an equal number of letters. From the medal which bears the superscription ARCVS AVGG., dated the seventh tribuneship of Caracalla, — *i. e.* a year after the erection of the arch, A. D. 203, — we learn that the attic was surmounted by a triumphal car, in which two persons appeared[42], drawn by six horses; and there was a soldier on foot on each side of it: also, at the extremities appear two equestrian figures.

The bas-reliefs of the pedestals of the columns and the architectural ornaments are very well preserved; especially a piece of the cornice looking towards the prison. The flanks of the arch are not adorned with reliefs like Constantine's; but in one of them is an internal staircase of marble, by which they ascended to the top. On the fronts of the main vault appear two winged Victories carrying trophies, and under their feet are the Genii of the seasons. In the lateral arches are the allegorical representations of four rivers. But the bas-reliefs will be studied with more pleasure in the engravings of Santo Bartoli, and the details in the designs of indefatigable architects, who have seen with other eyes than we can pretend to.[43] Nevertheless, on the southern elevation we may

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[42] This may seem to render it doubtful whether Geta triumphed or not; but we are to consider Caracalla had the *ordering* of the medal. Spartian increases the doubt, and Herodian diminishes it (see the references in Note 44.); and the curious reader will find the matter discussed in *Nibby's Foro Romano*, p. 116.

[43] Consult *Desgodetz*, cap. xviii. p. 193. *Milizia, Rom. &c.* p. 90., *Serlio dell' Architett.* lib. iii., and *Bellori and Suaresio's* engravings, Degli Archi Trionfali.

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recognise the emperor in his military cloak, making an address to his generals, and surrounded by the standards of the Roman legions. This precedes the assault of the city, probably Nisibis of Mesopotamia, which is discovered in the higher part of the same bas-relief, strongly fortified by walls and square towers. The costume of the barbarians, wherever they appear, is easily distinguished from that of the Romans. The sculpture near the church of S. Adriano is, in some respects, better preserved. The activity of the emperor is represented in laying out a camp, and then in directing the strokes of the battering-ram against the walls of the fortress; but the detail is recognised with difficulty.

On the other front, the square on the right hand of the spectator represents similar actions of the emperor. In one place he is haranguing his soldiers, and then in the act of attacking a large and well-fortified city, which of course is destined to fall into his hands. The remaining bas-relief is in better preservation, and is supposed to exhibit the taking of Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian kingdom; and the river which appears in the corner of the square probably means the Tigris. The barbarians are imploring the mercy of the conqueror, and the suppliant chiefs are suing for peace in his presence; and if there be any thing else which arrests the eye of the curious spectator, he may consult the historians who relate the conquests of Severus, and solve the riddles of the corroded marble.[44]

[44] Vide *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxv. p. 1263., and *Herodian*, lib. iii. 9. 21., and *Spartian, in vita Severi*, cap. ix. and xvi.

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This arch was first excavated under the inspection of Michael Angelo, and also at two subsequent periods. In 1774 several fragments of columns of granite, brescia, and Greek marble were discovered near it, and a pedestal with two inscriptions relating to Diocletian written over others of the time of Lucius Verus.[45] Finally, in the year 1803, as the notice of Pius VII. declares, it was brought into its actual state; and the ancient pavement now points out the footsteps of the triumph as it ascended from the Forum to the Capitoline hill.

Near the church of S. Martina was found an inscription making mention of a "Secretarium Senatus;" which, having been established by Flavianus, a certain præfect of the city, was restored by a successor named Epiphanius.[46] This building is supposed to have been erected for the senate of *Christian Rome*, when the "Curia" of the pagans had either fallen into ruins, or become an object of pious abhorrence. The supposition is founded on the *date* of Flavianus's præfecture (being about the year 400), and a passage in Procopius, who mentions the senate as being near the temple of Janus.* This temple is allowed to have stood at no great distance from the church of S. Martina.

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[45] These inscriptions are published by the *Abbate Amaduzzi in Anecd. Litter.* tom. iii. p. 463. Roma, 1774.

[46] See this inscription in *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 230., or in *Nibby's Forum*, p. 151. If Epiphanius was præfect in the year 412, the fire which had consumed the building might have formed part of the destruction made by Alaric in the sack of Rome.

* See Note C C C.

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About the same spot were found those beautiful bas-reliefs which are now placed in the walls of the staircase of the Palazzo Conservatori. It is easy to suppose again that Flavianus, with his limited resources in a declining state, could only accomplish his object either by transforming some ancient edifice, or at least making use of the materials. In laying the foundations of the church of S. Adriano in 1665, a marble pedestal was discovered, bearing an inscription in which there was mention of a Basilica. The front of the church is built upon some ancient walls, which seem to indicate the form of a large rectangular building. With this idea of a Basilica, we must now seek for a name. Among the fragments of the Pianta Capitolina there is one[47] which exhibits partially the "Basilica Emilia;" and towards the circular extremity is inscribed the word LIBERTATIS. On the flank is a separate building, rectangular and surrounded by columns; and this, by the way, cannot be the "Secretarium Senatus," which was not built until two centuries after the date of the Pianta Capitolina. Emilius Paulus did certainly renew an old Basilica situated in *the middle of the Forum;* and he built a second entirely, making it very magnificent. Cicero, who gives these intimations[48], describes the Forum, in consequence of the new Basilica, as enlarged as far as the Hall of Liberty (Atrium Libertatis); and

[47] See the map entitled Vestigie di Roma Antica (*Framment.* No. 17.).

[48] *Cicero ad Atticum*, lib. iv. ep. 13. This enlarging of the Forum cost nearly 300,000*l.* Compare *Plutarch in Cæsar.* § 37.

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Plutarch darkly intimates that the passage into the Forum for those arriving straight *from the Viminal* hill was by the Basilica Emilia.[49] Putting together, therefore, the word "Basilica" in the inscription; the word "Libertatis" in the marble fragment and in the passage of Cicero, together with Plutarch's hint—and "we feel our way to err;" (and here we shall add nothing about the columns of Phrygian marble, for which the Basilica was celebrated[50], having been employed in erecting the church of S. Paul on the Via Ostiensis!) But if, according to P. Victor, one of the Basilicas of Paulus was in the fourth region, and the other in the eighth, but in the *middle of the Forum*, how could either of them be at the church of S. Adriano?[51] and whether Flavianus established his Christian senate upon or out of the ruins of the Basilica, with the Hall of Liberty, what antiquary can tell? But we must hasten from this obscure corner[52], lest the temple

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[49] *Plutarch in Galba*, § 32.

[50] "Nonne inter magnifica Basilicam Pauli columnis et phrygibus mirabilem." — *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 15.; and conf. *Appian. de Bell. Civil.* lib. ii. p. 443. edit. Stephan. 1592. and *Tacit. Annal.* lib. iii. cap. 72. The idea of those columns having been taken to decorate S. Paul's Basilica is grounded on the aptitude of time and the coincidence of the material, of which now but a melancholy specimen remains.

[51] This is a very natural question for an impartial observer to ask; but a Roman antiquary soon settles it:—"Cicerone la colloca nel mezzo del Foro 'Paulus in medio Fori (it should be Foro) Basilicam,' &c., che corrisponde alla nostra situazione!" — *Venuti, Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. p. 94.

[52] These things, however doubtful, are not without some degree of interest and instruction; and as it is of no consequence to me to establish any particular theory where the materials are evidently insufficient, I have chosen to leave some room

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of Saturn come amongst us and devour all these conjectures!

In following the public walk towards the temple of Antoninus, we are supposed to be moving along the east side of the Forum, having on our left the Forum of Julius Cæsar. As there are no vestiges of antiquity, it is proposed to fill up the space with the "Tabernæ," or shops mentioned by Livy [53], where Virginius found the butcher's knife that saved the honour of his daughter.

Having now had a specimen of the difficulties to be encountered in a survey of the Forum, we shall be glad to arrive at the arch of Fabius: but it only exists in the writings of ancient authors. It is, however, some relief to have the second angle of the Forum, as it were, granted. Piranesi did not scruple to fix the site of this arch [54] in a line with that of Sept. Severus, and opposite the three celebrated columns. Trebellius Pollio [55], in

here for the exercise of the reader's ingenuity. He will have to put into this corner of the Forum (without enumerating the objects now standing there) the Basilica of Paulus, the "Secretarium Senatus," the temple of Janus, the "Trita Fata," the temple of Saturn, &c. The old antiquaries thought a passage in Servius on the 116th verse of *Æneid.* ii. decisive as to the last-named temple being at the church of S. Martina. Nardini, however, transferred it to the other side of the Forum, and with the entire approbation of Professor Nibby (*Foro Romano*, p. 108.). But see the subject resumed in this Dissertation.

[53] Lib. iii. cap. 48. anno Urbis, 305, and lib. xxvi. cap. 27. These were in all probability the same as the "Tabernæ Argentariæ," (for compare *Juvenal. Sat.* i. 104.) which the insulting Annibal set up for public sale. See *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvi. cap. 11.

[54] *Antichità, &c.* No. 249.

[55] *De Salonin. Gallieno*, cap. i. "In pede montis Romulei, hoc est ante Sacram Viam, intra templum Faustinæ advecta ad arcum Fabianum."

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describing the position of the statue of the younger Gallienus, remarks: — "It was at the foot of the mount Romulus, *i. e.* the Palatine, before the Via Sacra, on this side [within] the temple of Faustina brought towards the Fabian arch." "If," says Cicero, in one of his orations [56], "I am jostled in a crowd, and pushed against the arch of Fabius, I do not accuse the person at the top of the Via Sacra, but him who really rushes against me:" an obvious paraphrase on this rhetoric will add — "at the bottom of the Via Sacra." When the populace insulted Cato in the Forum, and tore off his robes, he was dragged, says Seneca [57], from the Rostrum to the Fabian arch: the object of the mob being to take him out of the forum, we have here another hint to the purpose. From these authorities, applied to the present state of the ground, the point of communication with the Via Sacra and the Forum may be laid down with sufficient accuracy. Were it not for this important topography, the name of Fabius might have slept with his long-ago-demolished trophy: not that he was inglorious, for he was a censor; and, returning victorious from beyond the Alps, was rewarded with the title of Allobrox and an honorary arch.[58]

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[56] *Pro Plancio*, § 7.

[57] *Seneca de Constantia Sapientis*, cap. i.

[58] "Fornix Fabianus arcus est juxta regiam in Sacra Via, a Fabio censore constructus, . . . ibique statua ejus posita propterea est." — *Asconius in Orat. con. Verrem*, xi. § 7.

The expression which Asconius here uses, "in Sacra Via," is not quite accurate, because the arch was in the eighth region; yet, as it stood on the very confines, and led immediately into the Via Sacra, the expression cannot be called incorrect. All the authors here cited call the arch a "Fornix," by which they

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Independently of the temple of Janus, to which we have already alluded, there were in the Forum two arches, with a clear space left between them, called "Medius Janus." It was there where the effects of bankrupts were sold, and where usurers and borrowers assembled to transact their business. The only intimations we have as to the position of those Januses are found in Acron, a scholiast of Horace [59], and in P. Victor: they stood, observes the former, before the Basilica of Paulus Æmilius. It has been seen on what slender authority that Basilica is placed at the church of S. Adriano; notwithstanding, we are ready to admit it was on the east side of the Forum. Victor is more definite; in his recapitulation he says, "Januses, faced with marble and ornamented with statues, existed in all the regions: the two principal ones (that is, the two we are now speaking of) were at the arch of Fabius, an upper and a lower one." Whilst, therefore, this authority leads us to find the rendezvous of the usurers near this second angle of the Forum, it brings the Basilica Æmilia out of the crowd we left about the arch of Septimius Severus; which, to say the least, is some relief to our local embarrassment. Let the mid Janus therefore be situated on the public walk before we arrive opposite the three columns. We now turn to that side of the Forum which lies under the Palatine hill.

It can scarcely be said that any one of the monuments remaining in the Roman Forum is

intend a single vault without ornament. The achievements of Fabius may be read in *Florus, Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 2.

[59] In *Ep.* i. lib. ii. *Ibid. Satyr.* iii. lib. ii. 18.; and conf. *Cicero de Officiis*, lib. ii. cap. 25.

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positively known to be what it is called. The temples on the "Clivus Capitolinus" may, perhaps, be considered as rightly named; for it would be too sceptical to doubt the site of the temple of Concord and the remains of that of Jupiter Tonans: but, on the side of the Forum we are now entering upon, the names of the ruins have changed with the theories of antiquaries; and the circumstance of their yet being matter of dispute shows that the proofs are insufficient to establish their identity. This is particularly the case in the once magnificent edifice to which the three celebrated columns belong: it has been the temple of Jupiter Stator, of Castor and Pollux, the bridge of Caligula, the Comitium, Græcostasis, and what not! and now it stands at the last name, which is maintained with the aid of a fragment of the Pianta Capitolina.[60] The title, however, depends much upon its relative position with the adjacent ruin of brick-work, commonly called the "Curia;" but for this there is even less authority, besides getting over the claim which the house of Caligula has

[60] Camucci (*Antichità di Roma*, p. 30.) and the old school of antiquaries took up the name of Jupiter Stator, perhaps, as they found it. Nardini dismissed it along with Caligula's bridge with contempt (tom. ii. p. 151.), and established the Comitium; the temple of Castor and Pollux never at any time prevailed (see *Venuti*, tom. i. p. 75.). Guattani put the columns into the Curia (*Roma*, tom. i. p. 25.), turning Milizia, Palladio, and all such men, adrift. The architect Luigi Canina, who has lately published a new plan of Rome, gives Professor Nibby the credit of having first made the application of the fragment. The letters GRECOST indicate plainly enough what edifice is meant; but the professor is obliged to confess some "piccole differenze" when compared with the vestiges themselves. (See *Foro Romano*, p. 64.)

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upon it[61]: and, in short, so scanty are the materials for affording even the "pleasure of doubting," that the senate-house, and the objects depending upon its position, have either been abandoned in despair, or left to rejoice in the popular name of a "Cicerone." But, before proceeding to bring the evidence of antiquity to bear upon the nomenclature of these edifices, let us first examine the ruins themselves.

The three fluted columns of Greek marble, with the rich entablature fortunately remaining, have furnished architects, ever since the revival of the arts, with a perfect model of the Corinthian order. The entire flank of the building to which they belonged had thirteen such, and the front eight. This portico was reared upon a substruction or basement which was twenty-six feet high, composed of tufo and peperine stone mingled with slighter materials. In continuation with the three columns, the foundation line of the basement is indicated by the mouldings which were found on the spot, and have been adjusted upon the original level. The space so designated will just admit of three columns more, so that, to make up the thirteen, seven more must be reckoned on the line produced the other way: this will bring the extremity a little within the habitations joining the large brick ruin; the end or side corresponding to the front will then be carried across at a right angle, allowing sufficient space for eight columns, and the rectangle contained by these two lines, measuring

[61] This is Piranesi's opinion (*Antichità, &c.* p. 34.), applauded by Venuti's editor, tom. i. p. 71., but by no one else that I know of.

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about 160 feet by 90, will easily be completed. These facts are ascertained by the excavations which were made, in 1817, for the purpose of finding the angles of the edifice; and the places are still left open. The elevation or front, as exhibited in our plan on the section line, was turned towards the east side of the Forum; the marks of the steps are still visible in the mass of the basement: some fragments of them, restored to their places, show they were of marble, as was also the facing of the whole substructing mass. On the mouldings of the basement, which are on the spot, will be observed certain marks indicating the congè of something like a pilaster: the meaning of this is, that the facing of the substructions did not present a uniform surface, but was, as it were, panelled by means of those slight buttresses which some think are the "Scamilli Impares" of Vitruvius.[62] The steps were so constructed that a person might begin to ascend from either side of the elevation until he reached the landing where the lateral branches united with the front one, whence they continued in the same flight to the portico. The marks alluded to as now visible indicate one of the lateral ascents. It is now generally allowed that the portico was a peripteros; and between it and the adjacent edifice was room enough for a passage. It was near those three columns where the fragments of the "Fasti Consulares," now preserved in the Campidoglio, were found in the sixteenth century.

The solid brick walls called the remains of the

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[62] *De Architect.* lib. iii. cap. 3.

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senate-house are blended with the houses of the Campo Vaccino; but not so as to prevent the spectator from distinguishing clearly the form of the ancient edifice. The space which it has occupied must have been about 120 feet square, exclusive of the portico, steps, or ingress of whatever nature that might be; the walls are strengthened by a number of blind arches: some recesses in the walls within have been observed by architects; and there are some portions of buttresses projecting from without. The construction answers to the Augustan age of brick-work. In 1742 a pavement of "giallo antico" was discovered, at a depth of 45 Roman palms: it bore marks of having been touched by fire.[63] This discovery has induced restorers to draw a portico in front of the building, which, if truly represented[64], will bring the fabric a considerable way *into the Forum:* consequently, the words of Suetonius, speaking of Caligula's house ["usque ad Forum"], will hardly be applicable.[65] Besides, the whole is separated from the ruins of the palace by a distance of about 200 feet, and is in no wise symmetrical with the

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[63] *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. i. p. 71.

[64] See the "*Pianta Ristaurata del Palazzo dei Cæsari*" by Constantine Thon (in letter G).

[65] "Partem Palatii ad Forum usque promovit, atque, æde Castoris et Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, consistens sæpe inter fratres Deos medius, se adorandum adeuntibus exhibebat." — *In vit. Caligul.* cap. xxii.

This will be found a most useful passage, with which compare the following: — Τό, τε Διοσκούρειον, τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαΐᾳ ὄν, διατειμὼν διὰ μίσου τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, εἴσοδον δι' αὐλοῦ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως καὶ πυλωροὺς τοὺς Διοσκούρους (ὥς γε καὶ ἔλεγεν) ἔχῃ. — *Dion Cass.* lib. lix. p. 933. tom. ii.

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supposed works of Caligula; nor can we see the great resemblance in the brick-work. Neither can it be supposed that the encroachments of that mad emperor would have been suffered to remain as a disgrace to the city in more virtuous times. Whatever he constructed beyond the limits of the palatine would, no doubt, have shared the fate of Nero's extravagant operations. For these and many other reasons we are obliged to reject the opinion of Piranesi, who would make this ruin part of Caligula's house, which he advanced *as far as* the Forum. This clears the way for the name of the "Curia;" the merits of which, as well as the nature of the object itself, we shall now proceed to examine.

The number of the "Curiæ," or divisions (thirty), instituted by Romulus, is said to have remained unaltered. Each Curia had its chapel or temple for the performance of religious rites: and as they were inaugurated places, the senate might, as occasion required, assemble in them. Hence the word Curia itself came to signify the place where the senate was accustomed to meet.[66] The Curiæ in this sense were, however (according to Varro), of two kinds; the one where the priests took care of divine matters, and the other where the senate took council for human affairs.* Without dwelling upon the Curia Calabra, which is said to have stood near the house of Manlius, on the Tarpeian

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[66] Vide *Pompon. Jurisconsult. de Jur. Origin.* lib. ii. and *Aulus Gellius*, lib. xiv. cap. 7.; and consult *Pitiscus, Lexicon Antiquit.* tom. i. p. 612. edit. Venetiis, 1719.

* See Note DDD.

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rock [67], the Curia Hostilia is that which most frequently occurs in the history of Rome; and Varro instances it as the place where the senate especially assembled, "before which," he adds, "the Rostra stood." This building, as the epithet imports, was thought to have been originally made by Tullius Hostilius [U. C. circiter 100]: in it all the important business of the republic was transacted; for, until the time of Sylla [A. U. C. 702], we read of no change ever made in the original senate-house.[68] It was set on fire when the body of the tribune Clodius was burnt, on which occasion Cicero, in his defence of Milo [69], thus speaks:— "That the shrine of sanctity, of dignity, of deliberation, of public counsel; that the soul of the city, the altar of our allies, the haven of all nations — the spot assigned by the universal consent of the Roman people to the senatorial rank alone — should be committed to the flames — should be utterly destroyed — should be polluted! and this not done by a misguided multitude (although that were a mournful event), but by one who, in the character of a revenger, committed such an outrage for the person when dead, and dared not in the character of a leader attempt any thing for him when alive! Nay, rather, he threw his corpse into the Curia that the enemy, when dead, might set that on fire which, when alive, he had thrown into commotion! Have we ever seen any thing

[67] *Macrobius, Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. 15. But Pitiscus, as referred to above, enumerates all the Curiæ that were used for assemblies in Rome.

[68] *Dion Cassius*, lib. xl. tom. i. p. 254.

[69] *Pro Milone*, § xxxiii.; and conf. *Dion Cass.* lib. xl. p. 253.

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more calamitous, more painful, more grievous than this?" Asconius, in his commentary on this oration, remarks that the body of P. Clodius was burnt with the benches and the tribunals, the tables and archives, of the senate; and the Basilica Porcia, which was close adjoining, was involved in the same conflagration.[70] The mischief was repaired by Faustus, the son of Sylla[71]; but we are not informed in what manner he restored or rebuilt it. Previously they had ascended to it by a flight of steps, as appears from Livy's account of the death of old Servius; for Tarquin carried him, it is said, out of the Curia, and threw him down the steps to the bottom.[72] In all probability the same construction was observed by Sylla's son. It was, however, destroyed a second time, as Dion Cassius informs us, on pretence of erecting a temple on the spot to Eutuchia (Felicity); but in reality to do away with the name of Sylla.[74] It then fell to the lot of Julius Cæsar to lay the foundations of a new senate-house, which was completed by the triumvirs after his death [A. U. C. 711]; and from him it obtained the additional name of Julia.[74]

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70 "Quo igne et ipsa quoque Curia flagravit, et item Porcia Basilica, quæ erat ei juncta, ambusta est." — *Asconius in Orat. pro Milone*, § xxxii.

71 See *Dion Cassius*, lib. xl. tom. i. p. 254.; on which Cicero remarks: — "Equidem Curiam nostram Hostiliam dico, non hanc novam, quæ mihi minor esse videtur, postea quam major." — *De Finibus*, lib. v. cap. 1.

72 *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 18.; and conf. *Dionys. Halicar.* lib. iv. tom. i. p. 232. edit. Oxon. 1704.

73 *Dion Cassius*, lib. xliv. tom. i. p. 383.

74 Τὸ Βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰούλιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθὲν, παρὰ τῷ Κομιτίῳ ὠνομασμένῳ ᾠκοδόμεν, ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο. — *Ibid.* lib. xlvii. p. 504., and lib. xlv. p. 432. Compare *Aul. Gell. Attic. Noct.* lib. xiv. cap. 7.

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There can be no doubt that it was built on the self-same spot where the old one had stood. It was consecrated by Augustus, and also embellished by him[73]; but, except some mention of a statue of Victory and an altar of Augustus, which were removed by the senate under Valentinian II., this is all we know of the Curia Julia. What then are the probabilities that the ruin in question directs us to the spot where the senate assembled? First, the brick-work is conformable to the time of Augustus; secondly, the form of the edifice is adapted to the purpose; thirdly, if antiquaries are at all correct in the general outlines of the Forum, and we assume our third angle at the church of S. Theodoro, the situation answers to the few hints left us in ancient authors, pointing out the Curia as in a central part of the Forum.[76]

The Rostra, from which the orators harangued the people assembled in the open air, stood upon a circular basement; but the top part of it, as appears from a medal[77], was square. On the outside were

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[75] *Dion Cassius*, lib. li. tom. i. p. 654. *Herodian in vit. Gordian.* lib. vii. p. 259. edit. Oxon. 1678.; and *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. cap. iv. and xi.

[76] It will be necessary to recur frequently to the two following authorities: — "Curia Hostilia . . Ante hanc Rostra. . . . . Sub dextera hujus [Curiæ] a Comitio locus substructus, ubi nationum subsisterent legati, qui ad Senatum essent missi. Is Græcostasis appellatur a parte, ut multa. Senaculum supra Græcostasin, ubi ædes Concordiæ et Basilica Opimia." — *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 32.

"Erant enim tunc Rostra non eo loco qui nunc sunt, sed ad Comitium, prope juncta Curiæ." — *Asconius in Orat. pro Milone*, § v.

[77] See the impression in *Nardini*, tom. ii. tav. i. No. 17.

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affixed those brazen beaks (rostra) which once belonged to the captured vessels of the Antiates[78]: hence the appellation, which was usually put in the plural number. Julius Cæsar established a second, but he did not remove the old one, as is evident from the words of Dion Cassius and Suetonius, who mention both as existing at the same time[79]; and the Regionary has "Rostra II." A distinction was made between them by the epithets "vetera" and "Julia:" the former was in the middle of the Forum, the latter in front of Cæsar's temple. But the old Rostrum is the most interesting to us; and this, Varro says, stood in front of the Curia, or, as Asconius, near to it. But Dion Cassius places the Rostrum in question in the middle of the Forum; therefore the Curia behind it was also in the middle,—that is, in the middle of the side: for the poet Claudian, who must be alluding to the old Rostra, describes it as overlooked by the imperial palace.[80] It is true, this chain of evidence is

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78 *Tit. Liv.* lib. viii. cap. 12.

79 Προτεθείσης δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ τοῦ δημηγορικοῦ βήματος ἀπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ὁ Δροῦσός τι ἀνέγνω· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐμβόλων τῶν Ἰουλίων ὁ Τιβέριος δημόσιον . . . λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ [Augusto] τοιόνδε ἐπελέξατο.—*Dion. Cass.* lib. lvi. p. 833. tom. ii.

Καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐν μέσῳ που πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὂν, ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον ἀνεχωρίσθη.—*Ibid.* lib. xliii. p. 376.

"Verum, adhibito honoribus modo, bifariam laudatus est; pro æde D. Julii a Tiberio, et pro Rostris veteribus a Druso, Tiberii filio."—*Suet. in August.* cap. ci.

80 "Attollens apicem subjectis regia Rostris
Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque Deorum
Cingitur excubiis."

Claudian. in Consul. Honor. vi. 41.

About the old Rostra were placed the honorary statues of the

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so delicately put together, that it is easy to slip a link, and then the whole is broken: for if the subject be presented in its naked form, the problem will stand thus: — "Given the side of the Palatine hill and the square brick ruin, to find the Curia and the Rostra in the middle of the Forum!!" We must therefore be content with the general bearing of many little incidents, and consider the celebrated Rostra as having stood where those modern buildings project furthest into the Campo Vaccino; and, consequently, the square brick building as the remains of the senate-house. Upon the validity of this conclusion mainly depends the name of Græcostasis, which is now given to the noble edifice of the three columns.

It might appear useless to be following these shadows, if we had not some other object in view besides the mere identity. In meeting the names of buildings which, at any rate, existed in the Forum, we have an opportunity of tracing their history and explaining their use; and it cannot much diminish the instruction thereby afforded us if even the three columns should be pressed into the service of Castor and Pollux. There is sufficient proof that the Comitium was close by the side of the Curia; and, combining a few words in Plutarch with a passage in Festus[81], it will further appear that it was on

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ambassadors who were put to death by Lar Tolumnius, King of Veii (*Cic. Philip.* cap. ix. c. 2.), and of others who suffered on similar occasions. *Ibid.* and *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 6.

[81] "Sacram Viam quidam appellatam esse existimant, quod in ea fœdus ictum sit inter Romulum ac Tatium." — *Festus* in verb. *Sacra Via.*

Ὅπου δὲ ταῦτα συνέθεντο μέχρι νῦν Κομίτιον καλεῖται, κομίρε γὰρ

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the side nearest the Via Sacra. Varro and Pliny[82] point to the same spot in mentioning the Græcostasis; and it has been concluded (with great appearance of truth) that the two objects, though at one time different, were ultimately united in the same building, and called indifferently by either name. Varro further speaks of the Græcostasis as standing on an elevated basement, which, with a fragment of the Pianta Capitolina, suits not ill with the vestiges of this portico. We find among the works of Antoninus Pius a restoration of the Græcostadium[83]; and surely the specimen of architecture which here remains is worthy of that flourishing period. These are the concurring circumstances which justify the name proposed for this noble edifice; viz. the Comitium, or Græcostasis.

The Comitium was originally an open space marked out in the Forum, where the assemblies called "Comitia Curiata" took place for the purpose of electing ministers of religious rites, making laws of a certain description, deciding some

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Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ συνελθεῖν καλοῦσι. — *Plutarch in vit. Romuli*, p. 30. tom. i. edit. Lutetia, Paris. 1624; and compare *Tit. Liv.* lib. xlv. cap. 20.

[82] See *Varro*, cited in Note 76. p. 362. "Flavius vovit ædem Concordiæ . . . ex mulctatitia fœneratoribus condemnatis ædiculam æream fecit in Græcostasi, quæ tunc supra Comitium erat." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiii. cap. 1.

Livy mentions this temple of C. Flavius as being in the "area Vulcani," lib. ix. cap. 46.

[83] *Julius Capitolin. in vit. Antonin. Pii*, cap. viii. It was on this occasion, when the Comitium had become as it were useless, that Professor Nibby supposes it to have been united with the Græcostasis.

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suits, and inflicting punishment on criminals.[84] Livy relates that a roof was first reared over it in the year that Hannibal came into Italy [A. U. C. 542]; and from that time it assumed the form of a building.[85]

The Græcostasis was a place where the senate received the foreign ambassadors in audience; not only those from Greece, as the word itself might import, but from every part of the Roman empire. It had been so completely destroyed by fire when Pliny wrote, that he speaks of it as an object no longer in existence[86]; — so that the "restoration" of Antoninus must have amounted to a new edifice. If ever it was united with the Comitium, it was on this occasion; for, previously to this period, the two things are known to have been distinct. Tacitus relates a wonder which it was said took place under Tiberius: — "The ruminal fig-tree *in the Comitium*[87], which 840 years previously had afforded a shade to the infant twins, withered away, stem and branches! but when it began to bud forth anew the wonder ceased. On the steps of the Comitium stood the statue of Accius Navius, over the very spot where, by the command of Tarquin, the skilful augur had cut the whetstone in two with a razor! and where both razor and stone, they say, were preserved to convince posterity. There, too, stood the statue of Horatius Cocles, which was once struck by lightning; and over the blasted

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[84] *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxii. cap. 57. *Macrob. Sat.* lib. iii. cap. 16.

[85] *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvii. cap. 36.

[86] Consult Note 82. p. 365.

[87] *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xiii. cap. 58.; and conf. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xv. cap. 18. and *P. Victor in Reg.* Art. 42. 329.

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ground was erected the prætor's seat [88], called the Puteal Libonis, because Libo constructed the tribunal. But the Comitium has extended its relics to other ages than those; for, as it was there where the Romans accused of crimes were publicly whipped, the two columns now in the Traspontina, to which SS. Peter and Paul were bound to receive their flagellation, might, Nardini thinks [89], have come from the Comitium! Above the Græcostasis was a place where the senate sometimes met, called the Senaculum; also a Basilica erected by Opimius, and a small temple of Concord made of bronze by C. Flavius, curule ædile in the 449th year of the city. These and a host of other names come crowding about the three columns, and we have still resources for carrying on a contest; only, for want of terrestrial space, we should be obliged to fight in the air. The temple of Castor and Pollux, however, cannot be dismissed so unceremoniously: it contends with the Græcostasis for the three columns; and has successfully beat Jupiter Stator and all his allies out of the field. Two things are certain of this temple: it stood in the Forum [90], and was near enough to the Pa-

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[88] *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 36. *Cic. de Divinatione*, lib. i. § 32. *Porphyr. in Horat.* Epist. lib. i. 19. 139. There are two medals extant of this object, which exhibit it in the form of an altar with festoons suspended in front (see *Nardini*, tom. ii. tav. ii. no. 26.), with some rows of seats at the foot: it would exceed the limits of a note to enter into a discussion of the word *Puteal*. The curious reader may consult *Stephan. Thesau.* in verb. *Puteal*.

[89] *Rom. Antica*, tom. ii. p. 153.

[90] The following are the most useful authorities for ascertaining the position. Consult Note 65. p. 358. "Martius de Her-

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latine hill to be transformed by Caligula into the vestibulum of his house. Cicero, speaking from the Rostrum, tells the audience to look on the *left*, to see the gilded equestrian statue which stood before the temple of Castor: and does not this point to the west side of the Curia? It was, moreover, near the lake of Juturna, and was the neighbouring edifice to the temple of Vesta; and a formidable phalanx of antiquarian lore must be broken through before any one can put the "brothers" in possession of the three columns. It is true, we have no description of the temple to aid our conceptions, and it passed through some vicissitudes. It was founded after the memorable victory gained over the Tarquins at the lake Regillus by Aulus Posthumius, the dictator [A. U. C. 268–274]; and, after about 400 years, was rebuilt by Lucius Metellus. Involved, perhaps, in the burning of the senate-

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nicis triumphans in Urbem rediit; statuaque equestris *in Foro* decreta est, quæ ante templum Castoris posita est." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. ix. cap. 43.

Ὁ τε Νεὼς ὁ τῶν Διοσκούρων, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκεύασεν ἡ πόλις, ἔνθα ὤφθη τὰ εἴδωλα, καὶ ἡ παρ' αὐτῷ κρήνη καλεμένη τε τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἱερὰ, καὶ εἰς τόδε χρόνον νομιζομένη. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. vi. p. 337. tom. i.; conf. et *Strabon.* lib. v. p. 354. tom. i. *Cicero, Philipp.* vi. sect. 5.

——"Fratres de gente Deorum
Circa Juturnæ composuêre lacus."
Ovid. Fast. lib. v. 708.

"Quæris iter? dicam: *vicinum Castora* canæ
Transibis *Vestæ*, virgineamque domum."
Martial. lib. i. epig. 71.

And relating to its history, see *Tit. Liv.* lib. ii. cap. 20. and 42. *Dionys. in loc. sup. cit. Asconius in Orat. pro Scauro*, and *Suet. in vit. Tiberii*, cap. 20. "Dedicavit et Concordiæ ædem; item Pollucis et Castoris, suo patrisque nomine, de manubiis."

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house by the tribune Clodius, it was probably restored with marble materials by Augustus; but Tiberius dedicated it, and put upon it his own name, with that of his brother Drusus. Finally, Caligula disfigured it for his own purposes; but, as it is enumerated in the Regionaries, it must have been restored to its original honour. If so, the brick ruin we call the Curia disowns it; and the three columns occupy a space which no ingenuity could connect with the ruins of the palatine. Besides, where is the lake of Juturna, and the temple of Vesta adjoining? Thus, we are compelled to go towards the church of S. Theodoro: and perhaps the foundations of the temple of Castor and Pollux may, at some time, be discovered in the vineyard between that church and the wall of the Curia.

We now arrive at the third angle of the Forum; and as all the argument here depends upon its connection with the Via Nova, it will, in the first place, be necessary to examine this topography.

Our attention must first be directed to the ground lying on the western side of the Campo Vaccino, comprising the Piazza della Bocca della Verità, with a portion of the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills, and the streets about the churches of S. Giorgio and S. Giovanni Decollato down to the very river. Most of this was originally [A. c. 752] a marsh called the "Velabrum," and was connected with the Tyber, in the manner we sometimes see standing water by the low banks of a river.[91] The name was derived,

[91] Consult the small plan entitled "*Romuli Urbs et Tatii*," p. 40. vol. i.

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according to Varro, from the word "vehendo;" according to others, "vela:" the former alluding to the necessity which once existed of ferrying people across it who would pass from the environs of the Palatine[92] to the Aventine hill; the latter indicating the stalls or tents, shaded with canvas (vela), where oil and vegetables were sold; but more probably because a street or streets, leading that way to the Circus, was covered with sheets (vela) when the procession of the Pompa passed.[93] This marsh extended itself from the "Bocca della Verita" in two branches: the largest of them, called the "Velabrum Majus," penetrated into the valley of the Circus; and the other ran up towards the Capitoline hill, and perhaps reached the Lacus Curtius in the centre of the Forum; and this branch was distinguished by the epithet of "Minus." This alone belonged to the eighth region[94], and is in some measure pointed out by the church and streets, which still preserve the name. It is with much reason supposed to have been drained off by Tarquin, and the ground rendered habitable, which constituted the great utility of the Cloaca Maxima.[95] There was also space for two forums of the commoner sort, viz. the "Piscarium" and the "Boarium:" the latter was

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92 *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. and *Propertius*, lib. iv. 630. 644.

93 See *Macrobius, Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. 6. Compare *Plautus*, cap. iii. 1. 29.; and consult *Burgess's Dissertation on the Circensian Games*, p. 17. *Ovid. Fast.* lib. vi. 405.

94 The "Velabrum Majus" is registered in the eleventh region. But on this subject consult *Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, &c.* p. 4—9.

95 See Vol. II. p. 224.

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connected with the Roman Forum by the "Vicus Tuscus," which must also originally have formed part of the marshy ground. These places we shall shortly endeavour to ascertain with more accuracy. Varro, speaking of the sacrifice which was offered yearly to Acca Laurentia, says, "It took place in the Velabrum, where the passage out into the 'Via Nova' was;" and there are some other words of that writer to the same effect *, showing clearly that the lower extremity of the Via Nova joined with the Velabrum; and this could not be far from the church of S. Giorgio. The supernatural voice, which M. Cæditius heard in the dead of night, proceeded from a spot above the temple of Vesta, where, in Livy's time, there was a Sacellum in the *Via Nova*. But Cicero is still more definite:—"A voice was heard," he says, "not long before the taking of the city by the Gauls, issuing from the grove of Vesta, which sloped down toward the Via Nova from the roots of the Palatine hill; and, finally, Ovid points out the vestal sacrifices in the place "*where now the Via Nova joins with the Forum.*" From all which we clearly deduce that the upper extremity of the street in question was near the church of S. Theodoro; or, in other words, the third angle of the Forum is correctly laid down: and, consequently, the temple and the grove of Vesta, with all its appendages, were in the immediate neighbourhood of that church; the grove lying towards the church of S. Anastasia, as Varro must again be called in to substantiate.[96]

* See Note E E E.

[96] Observe the second quotation in the preceding note, at the end of the Volume. "From the Velabrum begins the *ascent* by

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These proofs are thought sufficient to bring the temple of Vesta to bear upon the church of S. Theodoro itself; for it was originally founded upon the ruins of an ancient building which had been round, as the temples of Vesta always were. Another concurring circumstance is the house (regia) of Numa, which Ovid brings within the precincts of the Vestal buildings.[97] This was probably nothing more than some monument erected on the supposed site of the king's dwelling, and which Horace, under the title of "Monumenta Regis," describes as involved with the buildings of Vesta in the great inundation of the Tyber. Now, the "Regia Numæ," whatever it was, may be shown, independently of its contiguity with the tmple, to have been about the western declivity of the Palatium, as we shall see when we come to the tenth region; consequently (to apply the testimony of Ovid), the precincts of the temple of Vesta, more or less, were about that declivity.

The church of S. Theodoro holds a distinguished place among ecclesiastical antiquities: it is num-

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the Via Nova (or to the top of the Via Nova); there is the grove, *i. e.* the Lucus Vestæ," no doubt; for even Signor Brocchi (*Suolo di Roma*, p. 34.) cannot find a "Lucus Larum."

[97] "Hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet Atria Vestæ,
Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numæ."
Ovid. Fast. lib. vi. 265.

If, however, Servius be considered as sufficient authority (*in Virg. Æneid.* vii. 153.), the Atrium was a separate thing from the *Templum* Vestæ. "Ad Atrium autem Vestæ conveniebatur, quod a Templo remotum." Also P. Victor has, "Regia Numæ," — Templum Vestæ, — and in another reading "cum Atrio" is added. Compare *Horace*, lib. i. ode 2. and *Ovid. Trist.* lib. iii. eleg. i. 29.

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bered among the forty "stational" churches instituted by Gregory the Great, and was raised from its first decay by Pope Hadrian I. [A. D. 772.] But, as it now exists, it is the work of Nicolas V. [A. D. 1451] — rebuilt, no doubt, after the model of the old one: but it is very doubtful whether it stands upon the original foundation. Behind the main altar, in the subterraneous parts, we may distinguish some walls of greater antiquity than those of Nicolas V.; which leads us back at least to the ancient church, and thence may help us to feel our way to the site of the temple on which it was built: but the church must rather be considered as pointing to the form and situation of the temple of Vesta, than as any real representative of it: indeed, the proofs already alleged are amply sufficient to establish the situation; all that regards the church need only be taken as accessory.[98]

There were several temples appropriated to this most solemn worship of pagan Rome; and perhaps the small round edifice near the Tyber, now S. Maria del Sole, was one: but the temple in question, with its grove and consecrated outworks, was that which Numa Pompilius is said to have founded when he established the sacred fire in Rome, and in which was preserved the Palladium.[99] As in most of the buildings of remote antiquity, its dimensions or its details elude our enquiries. The

[98] Vide *Rerum Italic. Scriptores*, tom. iii. p. 11. col. 1132. anno Dom. 1451, and the other authorities brought together by Professor Nibby, *Foro Romano*, p. 74.

[99] Vide *Dionys. Halicar.* lib. ii. p. 122. and lib. i. p. 55. tom. i. and *Lamprid. in vit. Heliogab.* cap. 6.

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roof was covered with bronze of Syracuse [100]; and, in the 544th year of the city, it was only saved from a conflagration by the activity of thirteen slaves, to which the adjoining "Atrium Regium," the Forum Piscatorium, and other places fell a prey.[101] It is more than probable that Augustus repaired the damage done to it by the inundation mentioned by Horace; but in the great burning of Rome under Nero it was completely destroyed.[102] It must, however, have been speedily restored; for we find it again existing at the time of the Otho conspiracy. On that occasion Piso took refuge in it from the fury of his assassins, and was concealed by a slave employed about the worship in his own lodging-room; but afterwards, being dragged forth, was butchered in the very door-way.[103] This shows there were rooms attached to the temple for the accommodation of assistant slaves; and it is very probable the vestals had extensive privileges along the whole of this side of the Palatium. In the beginning of the sixteenth century twelve inscriptions, relative to the Vestal Virgins, were dug up near the church of S. Maria Liberatrice, indicating, as some think, that this was their place of sepulture.* In the fire which took place under Commodus, the temple was so entirely consumed that the virgins were glad to rescue the Palladium from the flames, and carry it to the imperial palace.[104] It

100 *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 3.
101 *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvi. cap. 27.
102 *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xv. cap. 41.
103 *Ibid. Historiar.* lib. i. cap. 43.
* See Note F F F.
104 *Herodian.* lib. v. cap. 15.

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was probably not rebuilt until Septimius Severus came, which augurs no great splendour in the construction. Heliogabalus only profaned it[105]; and thus, as far as we know, it continued until the wakeful fire was transferred in burnished lamps to other altars than those of Vesta.

The lake of Juturna, which Dionysius describes as a deep fountain, was said to be near the temple of Vesta, and also that of Castor and Pollux.[106] Alberto Cassio would make two fountains; and then we must have a third at the "cold Lupercal."[107] But any discussion on this subject would only lead us to a vein of water which seems to have issued from the Palatine hill, and formed one or more pools when it reached the low ground.[108] Some attempts have been made of late to find the source of this water, which could not have been far from the present church of S. Theodoro. Juturna was a Latin nymph, the sister of Turnus; and sick persons used to resort to her fountain to drink the healing waters. If there be any thing in the custom of the women still bringing their sick children and placing them before this church to be cured, it may perhaps date its origin from some traditionary account or late use of this spring; indicating at the same time the site of the Lacus Juturnæ. But this popular superstition is

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105 *Lampridius in vit. Heliogab.* cap. vi.

106 Καὶ ἀπονίψαντες ἀπὸ τῆς λιθάδος, ἣ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀναδίδωσι, λίμνη ποιοῦσα ἐμβύθιον ὀλίγην. κ. τ. λ. as cited in Note 90. p. 368.

107 Vide *Alberto Cassio, Corso delle Acque,* part i. p. 3. edit., Rom. 1756.

108 Consult *Brocchi, Suolo di Roma,* p. 31—34.

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supposed by many to point out rather the temple of Romulus, a name more commonly identified with the site of this round church: there is, besides, a resemblance between the characters of S. Theodoro, a soldier and martyr, and the founder of Rome, who was certainly a soldier. Still greater proof is the bronze wolf, now in the Palazzo del Conservatori, supposed to afford; for it is maintained by some antiquaries to have been found on the very spot, and to be the image mentioned by Dionysius as standing in the temple of Romulus. There are two things which will greatly invalidate, if not annul, this "proof:" first (to use the words of an acute investigator), "it is a mere conjecture where the image was actually dug up[109];" and secondly, the temple of Romulus, which was probably nothing more than an inaugurated area, was at the ruminal fig-tree in the Comitium.[110] It could not, therefore, be at the round church; but the temple of Vesta has been shown to be there, and the Via Nova joining with the Forum; wherefore the proper limits of the Forum have been ascertained.

Let the Via Nova be considered as leading down to the Velabrum and the Forum Boarium at the church of S. Giorgio, and towards the Forum Piscatorium, situated between the two branches of the

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[109] See this subject critically examined by Mr. Hobhouse, in his notes on the Fourth Canto of *Childe Harold*, stanza lxxxviii.

[110] Τὸ δὲ ἄντρον ἐξ οὗ ἡ λιβὰς ἐκδίδοται Παλαντίῳ προσφκοδομημένον δείκνυται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱπποδρόμον φέρουσαν ὁδόν· καὶ τίμενός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πλησίον, ἔνθα εἰκὼν κεῖται τοῦ πάθας λύκαινα, κ. τ. λ. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. i. p. 64.; and compare lib. ii. p. 112.; and *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 8.; *Tit. Liv.* lib. x. cap. 16.

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Velabrum at the Piazza della Bocca della Verità; whilst another road, behind the temple of Vesta, beginning from the Via Sacra, conducted to the "Carceres" of the Circus Maximus; and then let an imaginary line be drawn from the church of S. Theodoro to the S. Maria della Consolazione, to mark the third side of the Roman Forum.

Although there be not a vestige of antiquity left along this boundary, and the vulgar modern buildings deny us the empty pleasure of treading the blank ground, the antiquary is not thereby deterred from filling up the space with some of the most splendid edifices of the Forum, — viz. the Basilica, and temple of Julius Cæsar. Nardini was content with the former; but some pieces of the Pianta Capitolina, marked with the letters "VLIA," have of late years been pressed into the service of the temple: and whilst we admire the ingenuity displayed[111] in the conjectures, we shall have to object to their application; not to the exclusion of the Basilica Julia, but to the temple, for which we shall find another place. The poet Statius is the acknowledged guide. In celebrating the brazen horse of Domitian which stood in the Forum, he describes him with his head towards the temple of Julius, and his tail to the temples of Concord and Vespasian: on one flank was the Basilica of Paulus Emilius, and on the other the Basilica Julia.[112] If,

111 See *Nibby, Foro Romano*, p. 98. followed by *Constantine Thon. Palazzo dei Cæsari e Piant. Ristaurat. Lett.* C′ B′, and finally by *Canina, Indicatione di Roma Antica*, Reg. viii. No. 6, 7.

112 ——— "Hinc *obvia limina* pandit,
Qui, fessus bellis, adscitæ munere prolis,
Primus iter nostris ostendit in æthera divis.
. . . . . .

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therefore, we have rightly found the former at the church of S. Adriano, the latter was at the church of S. Maria delle Grazie, where Nardini fixed it: but this is learned more accurately from Festus; who, speaking of the Lacus Servilius, observes it was at the head of the Vicus Jugarius, contiguous to the Basilica Julia.* We shall soon find the head of that street near the Piazza della Consolazione. To these authorities nothing can be added, except we cite the "Julia Porticus" in the eighth region. But does not the poet, — whose rhetoric, it must be confessed, is too flourishing for a topographist, — equally prove the temple of Cæsar to have been under the Palatine hill? yea, and near the Curia Julia. Ovid describes it as the building nearest to the temple of Castor and Pollux, placed in a lofty situation, and having its aspect towards the Forum and the Capitol[113]: in short, opposite the Clivus Capitolinus, on which the temple of Concord stood. It was built on the very spot where the body of Cæsar was burnt[114]; and we are to

At laterum passus hinc Julia Templa [melius *Tecta*] tuentur,
Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli.
Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu."
Stat. Sylvar. lib. i. § 1. 22.

* See Note G G G.

[113] "Hanc animam interea cæso de corpore raptam
Fac jubar, ut semper Capitolia nostra Forumque
Divus ab excelsa prospectet Julius æde."
Ovid. Metamorph. lib. xv. 840.

"Fratribus assimilis, quos proxima Templa tenentes
Divus ab *excelsa* Julius æde videt."
Ibid. ex Ponto Eleg. ii. 85.

[114] Vide *Appian. de Bello Civ.* lib. ii. p. 848. tom. ii. edit. Amstelod. 1670. 8vo. and *Dion Cass.* lib. xlvii. p. 503. *Ibid.* lib. xliv. tom. i. p. 415.

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recollect that a convenient place is to be found in front of it for the new Rostra![115] It was but a small building, as appears from a medal of it, which, exhibiting only four columns in front, by no means agrees with the supposed ichnography.[116] Now, as none of these local intimations apply to the west side of the Forum, we shall take the liberty of excluding from it the temple of Cæsar: but the Basilica ought to be retained; for, with regard to the street contiguous, Livy prevents any mistake. — "Two white heifers, brought from the temple of Apollo, were led into the city by the Porta Carmentalis, and thence arrived at the Forum by the Vicus Jugarius." This gate will be shown, in another Dissertation, to have been in the Via della Bufala, near the Piazza Montanara. Again, — "A huge piece of rock fell from the Capitol into the Vicus Jugarius, where it crushed many persons to death:" and, in a fire which raged in Rome for two nights and a day, "every thing between the Salinæ and the P. Carmentalis was consumed, together with the Equimelium and Vicus Jugarius." (The Salinæ were under the Aventine hill.[117]) The Equimelium was a spot on which the house of Spurius Melius had stood, but which was levelled with the ground when he attempted to gain undue power in the state, and the place was made public:[118] from all which it

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[115] Consult Note 79. p. 363.

[116] See an impression of the medal in *Nardini*, tom. ii. No. 20.; and compare the *Vestigie di Roma Antica*, from No. 26.

[117] Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvii. cap. 27. *Ibid.* lib. xxxv. cap. 18. *Ibid.* lib. xxiv. cap. 19.; and consult Dissert. X. in Reg. xiii.

[118] *Tit. Liv.* lib. iv. cap. 8. *Cicero pro Domo sua*, § 38.

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is evident that the Vicus Jugarius passed through the Piazza della Consolazione, at the foot of the present Via Monte Tarpeio, and communicated with the Forum at our fourth angle; and in the other direction, continuing by the curved outline of the hill, reached the Equimelium about the church of S. Omobono, and branching off to the right, gained the gate of the city. The "Lacus Servilius," where the heads of the senators were exposed in Sylla's proscription[119], must have been near the "S. Maria delle Grazie;" and the Basilica Julia extended across the modern "Fenili" towards the Via Nova: but, before entering upon the last side of our Forum, we must endeavour to fill up the ground on the west side of it.

The Velabrum has already been described in its whole extent, and how the space was rendered habitable by Tarquin. Not long after, *i. e.* about the period of the siege of Rome under King Porsenna, a district of about half a mile in circuit was assigned for a permanent abode to such of the "Tusci" as chose to remain in the city after the war: it was situated between the Mount Palatine and the Capitol; and, in subsequent ages, a street called the Vicus Tuscus preserved the memory of the ancient hospitality of Rome. This street, as Dionysius describes it, led from the Forum to the Circus.[120] In addition to this, Livy, mentioning a

[119] *Seneca, Tract. de Providentia, &c.* cap. 3.

[120] Οἷς ἔδωκεν ἡ βουλὴ χώραν τῆς πόλεως, ἔνθα οἰκίαν ἔμελλον κατασκευασάσθαι, τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Παλαντίου καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, τέτταρσι μάλιστα μηκυνόμενον σταδίοις αὐλῶνα· ὃς καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ Τυβρηνῶν Οἴκησις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται, κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον διάλεκτον· ἡ φέρουσα δίοδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἱππόδρομον. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. v. p. 292. tom. i. cap. 36.; and compare *Tit. Liv.* lib. ii. cap. 9.

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procession of the Pompa Circensium, says, it stopped a while in the Forum, then continued by the Vicus Tuscus and the Velabrum, and so through the Forum Boarium to the Clivus Publicus, &c.[121] From a few words in Suetonius it further appears, that the usual passage for the triumph from the Circus to the Capitol was by the Velabrum.[122] An ancient scholiast of Horace makes the Vicus Tuscus a passage into the Velabrum; and the poet himself clearly alludes to their contiguity, and gives us to understand that all these places were inhabited by the lowest classes of people; and he calls all the Forums where provisions were sold, collectively, the "Macellum."[123] We have now, therefore, a third egress on the west side of the Roman Forum, which, considering the directions of the Vicus Jugarius and the Via Nova, will naturally be brought to the south end of the Basilica Julia: but before arriving at the Forum Boarium, which took in at least the little arch of S. Giorgio, the Velabrum Minor occurred. The modern city is here too deformed to point this out by any continued outline; but the following objects, with the spaces intervening, may be supposed to cover the site of it: —

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121 "In Foro Pompa constitit, et per manus reste data, Virgines sonum vocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt. Inde Vico Tusco, Velabroque, per Boarium Forum in Clivum Publicum." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvii. cap. 37.

122 "Gallici Triumphi die, Velabrum prætervehens, pœne curru excussus est, axe diffracto." — *In vit. Jul. Cæsar.* cap. 37.

123 *Horat.* lib. ii. Satyr. iii. 226. *cum Scholiast. Porphyr. et Ascon.* As to the statue of Vertumnus (*Propert.* lib. iv. Eleg. ii.), it stood in the Vicus Thuscus, and could see the Forum; but it is of no more use for our Topography (and perhaps not more interesting) than the "Abbate Luigi."

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a portion of the garden behind the church of S. Giorgio, belonging to the nuns of the Tor de' Specchi; the church of S. Eligio de' Ferrari; the church and oratorio of S. Govanni Decollato: consequently, the Vicus Tuscus will nearly correspond to the direction of that Via Fenili which now leads from the Campo Vaccino, and must have entered the Velabrum at about one third of the way down the now-closed alley, called Via di S. Giorgio in Velabro. The Forum Boarium will thus be found to extend from the little arch over that uneven ground lying towards the Bocca della Verità, where, perhaps, it joined on the right with the Forum Piscarium [124]; and as we are now enabled to concentrate the limits of the Velabrum, the Forum Boarium, the extremity of the Via Nova, and the road which continued towards the Circus; — we suppose the four-fronted arch, commonly called Janus Quadrifrons, to have been a thoroughfare for them all, and the small arch near it to have been a passage from the Forum Boarium to the Velabrum: but this Forum never reached to the river, as will better appear in our eleventh region. Livy mentions a fire which *broke out* in the Forum Boarium, and, raging for a night and a day, destroyed all the buildings and shops standing towards the Tyber.* [A. U. C. 560.] That

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[124] This Forum was near the river, according to Varro (*De Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 32.); and Livy, enumerating the objects destroyed by the fire already alluded to (p. 374.), writes, — "Latomiæ, Forumque Piscatorium, et Atrium Regium, ædes Vestæ vix," &c. It must be kept, however, within the limits of the eighth region.

* See Note H H H.

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passage in Tacitus which we have already used in delineating the city of Romulus, shows that the founder of Rome began with his plough at the Forum Boarium, — that is, it was excluded from his limits; and, therefore, neither did it reach the foot of the Palatine hill.[125] Thus, under all the circumstances, it will be found to be *about a diameter* drawn from the church of S. Giorgio to the garden which runs parallel with the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, marked in Nolli's great plan, "Giard. Andosilla." This Forum contained a small round temple of Hercules, and also a statue, which is supposed by some to be the gilded one now in the museum of the Capitol; for it was found in the neighbourhood of the last-named church.[126] Near this temple of Hercules was the "Sacellum Pudicitiæ Patritiæ," but it is not known that a vestige of any of these things remain[127]; but there are the two arches to which we have already alluded.

The Arco di S. Giorgio is of great importance, because of the inscription it bears * with the words

[125] *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xii. cap. 24. This limitation is, fortunately, not disputed.

[126] So Andreas Fulvio intimates, whose expression—"*Al tempo mio fù trovato* un Hercole di bronzo, indorato che hoggi è nel Campidoglio," &c. (*Antichità, &c.* cart. 130.)—must far outweigh Flam. Vacca's "*Intesi dire*, che l'Ercole di bronzo fù trovato appresso l'Arco di Settimio nel Foro Romano," &c. (*Memorie*, No. 3.) But, amidst so many altars and temples sacred to Hercules in this part of the city, how shall the bronze image be given to its rightful owner? See *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. cp. 7.

[127] These objects are mentioned more for the sake of the reader of Livy (vide lib. x. cap. 23.) than any thing else: nevertheless we shall be compelled to take them up again in the eleventh region. "Infandum renovare dolorem!"

* See Note III.

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BOARII HVIVS LOCI, and it is curious, though not admirable, for its sculpture. The petty merchants of the district seem to have built it by subscription in honour of Septimius Severus and his two sons, and their mother Julia; but the name of Geta has been erased, and the place supplied by the words FORTISSIMO FELICISSIMOQVE PRINCIPI. A similar erasure has already been observed upon the triumphal arch at the foot of the Capitol, to which this is posterior, as appears by the date, TRIB. POT. XII. [A. D. 204.] Although professedly a marble arch, the poor merchants have shown some regard to economy: the basement and the cornice at the back are of travertine stone. It is of the composite order, and overcharged with paltry decorations. The pilasters, for they are not columns, are ornamented to excess. Under each capitol is an eagle; somewhat lower down emerge the heads of the imperial family. The principal figure in front is nearly effaced; but on the left of the inscription is a small figure of Hercules, and, perhaps, in a corresponding position was that of Bacchus: for these were the tutelar deities of the family, as appears from medals.[128] On each side of the arch internally are three bas-reliefs: the uppermost represent Victories or Glories supporting a wreath; the lowest exhibit the apparatus of a sacrifice, and the principal compartments the act of sacrifice, made in one instance by Severus and Julia, and in the other by Caracalla alone. Geta was, no doubt, originally joined with him; but his figure has been

[128] *Vaillant, Numismat. Imp. Rom.* tom. ii. p. 113. edit. Lutetiæ Paris. 1692, in 4to.

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erased from the marble. One end of the arch is taken off by the church. On the frieze of the remaining flank we discover instruments of sacrifice, with some other ensigns. The higher relief shows a barbarian captive conducted by a Roman soldier; and just above the basement is left the figure of a man, in the act of driving oxen, which some think alludes to the received tradition that Romulus began at this spot to mark out his city with the plough. We confess ourselves unable to discover the yoke; but as oxen were generally led to the sacrifice, and not driven, there is so far room for the conjecture. This place, however, was, in plain language, a market for oxen[129]; and it is much more natural, though perhaps less captivating, to suppose that the chapmen and drovers of the district were content with the more homely representation of a herdsman driving his cattle to the market.

The four-fronted arch is one of the many which existed in Rome for the accommodation of the public, called by Cicero "Transitiones Perviæ."[130] They were generally placed at the concurrence of two or more streets, or in the middle of an open space; and it will sufficiently appear, from what has been said of the Via Nova, the passage into the Velabrum, the Forum Boarium, and the street continuing towards the Circus, that this one was placed in a "Quadrivium."[131]

[129] "Boarium Forum Romæ dicebatur quod venderentur boves." — *Festus in verb.*

[130] "Ex quo Transitiones perviæ Jani, foresque in liminibus profanarum ædium, januæ nominantur." — *Cic.* ii. *de Natur. Deor.* § 67.

[131] *Juvenal. Satyr.* i. 64.; but compare *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxix. cap. 37.

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These arches served either for shelter or for places where petty dealers exposed their wares for sale. We read of some during the republic which were certainly not made of marble; and consequently this cannot be either of those erected by Stertinius in the Forum Boarium, as Piranesi and some others have supposed.[132] Domitian, it is true, made januses and porticoes in various quarters of the city[133], and so might Hadrian; but this is of a much later date than either of those emperors. It has been observed, that the materials are but the spoils of other buildings; for some indefatigable artists have found their way into the basement, and discovered bas-reliefs on the inverted blocks. Nor has it any better claim to an early age from its architectural proportions: we shall therefore venture to ascribe it to Sep. Severus, and thus account in some measure for the gratitude of the neighbouring shopkeepers. This monument, pervious on all sides, occupies a square space of about 300 feet in perimeter. It is remarkable for its solidity, and for the prodigious size of the marble blocks employed in the basements. Its four fronts are relieved by niches whose tops are formed like a shell. That facing the Palatine hill and the opposite one have each twelve such; the other two have only four each, the rest being blank ones. On all the four consols are remnants of figures. That on the

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132 *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxiii. cap. 27. *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 262. *Piranesi, Antichità*, p. 21. No. 166.

133 Domitian erected such a quantity of these arches, that some wit inscribed upon one of them ΑΠΚΕΙ. *Suet. in vit. ejus*, cap. 13.

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side towards the Palatine, which has perhaps been the most finished, is something like a "Roma Sedens." The whole has been decorated with small columns, of which we see some fragments; and, if we may believe Demonzioso, they were placed before the niches.[134] Every morsel of metal has been removed from the monument; but so solid is the construction, that it has resisted the hand of pillage, borne the weight of the Fragipani tower (which now it bears no more!), and endured the lot of a fortress amidst the turbulent factions of papal Rome. There is a door by which to ascend to the top, as was the case in all arches; but the staircase within has led to various conjectures.[135] It has been supposed, for instance, that the upper compartment was an office used for signing deeds and contracts! It would have been well if such ingenuity could have thrown an interest around the monument of the middle ages, and so prevented the destruction of the Frangipani fortress! Yet much more harmless this, than the scenes which once were acted on the self-same spot:—"Even my age hath seen," says Pliny, "a man and a woman of Greece (or of whatever

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134 *Ludovicus Demontiosius, Gallus Romæ Hospes*, p. 12. edit. Romæ, 1585, in 4to. This work is very scarce, and has unfortunately been overlooked by Grævius in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum, &c.* Annexed to the description of the arch of Janus is a drawing of it, representing four times four columns of the Ionic order on each front, supporting the several niches. (*Ibid.* p. 20.) This monument has, consequently, been plundered since the middle of the 16th century.

135 *Abbate Uggeri, Journées Pittoresques*, tom. ii. *Ichnog.* tav. xiii. *Serlio, Architett.* lib. iii. p. 68. and *Guattani, Roma Antica*, vol. i. p. xxix.

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nation there might be a quarrel with) buried alive in the Forum Boarium."[136]

In returning towards the S. Maria della Consolazione, we may take along with us a circumstance related by Tacitus. When Otho received the intimation from his freedman Onomastus of the conspiracy he had planned being now ready for execution, he left the Palatine hill, where he was assisting in a sacrifice with Galba, and passed through the "Tiberian house" into the Velabrum; from thence he proceeded to the place of rendezvous; this was at the Milliarium Aureum, below the temple of Saturn. Suetonius, relating the same transaction, says he went out at the back part of the Tiberian house, and that his abettors were waiting for him *in the Forum;* and the rest as described by Tacitus.[137] The object of Otho was to get to the appointed place, where he was to be saluted emperor, without attracting the public observation in going: he therefore avoided the Via Sacra and the crossing of the Forum, and arrived at the temple of Saturn by the Velabrum and the Vicus Jugarius. This, however, does not point out where that street communicated with the

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136 Vide *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxviii. cap. 2.; and compare *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxii. cap. 57. The tower of brick on the top of this arch, built by the Frangipani in the twelfth century, was thrown down in the year 1828–9; probably some of the original work has perished with it, for there was no arch without its attic. That fine monument of the middle ages near Titus's arch was destroyed in 1829–30.

137 See *Tacitus, Hist.* lib. i. cap. 27.; and compare *Sueton. in vit. Othon.* cap. vi. We shall have to recur to these passages in treating of the palace of the Cæsars; for which see Dissertation X. Vol. II. p. 165.

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Forum; but, in order to preserve any degree of uniformity, we cannot fix our fourth angle at a less distance from the arch of Sept. Severus than the front of the "Hospitium Mulierum" of the "Consolazione*:" and within this space, under the Capitoline hill, we are to find the temple of Saturn and the Milliarium below it.

The Milliarium Aureum was a gilded pillar set up by Augustus, with the distances from Rome to every principal city in the Roman empire marked upon it; and all we know of its situation is from Pliny[138]: it was stationed, he says, at the head, "Caput," or beginning of the Forum. Wherever that was, there was the temple of Saturn, and *vice versâ*. P. Victor names a temple of Ops and Saturn in the Vicus Jugarius; but this cannot be the celebrated one we are now in search of; for it was positively *in* the Forum, and contained the public treasury of the Romans.[139] The words of Servius are too positive and clear to be set aside; and what is more, they are in harmony with several

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* See Note K K K.

138 "Ejusdem spatii mensura currente a milliario *in capite Romani Fori* statuto ad singulas portas," &c. — *Nat. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

The distances were not measured from this "milliarium," but from the several gates of the city, as is evident from the Itineraries, and the mile-stones that have been found. Plutarch (*in vit. Galbæ*, cap. xxiv.) may seem to assert the contrary; but see the error exploded, apud *Grævium*, tom. iv. p. 1805, edit. Venet. 1732. Nevertheless, as we have said, the distances *were marked* upon the "Milliarium Aureum;" but how any one can cite P. Victor as authority for placing this object in the Vicus Jugarius is to me matter of surprise!

139 *Festus*, in verb. *Ærarium*; and *Plutarch*, as cited below.

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classical writers, as shall be shown. "The bones of Orestes," says the commentator on Virgil, "were brought from Aricia to Rome, and were buried before the temple of Saturn, which is *before the 'Clivus' of the Capitol, near the temple of Concord.*"[140] From Dionysius we learn that an altar of Saturn, which evidently stood within the area of the temple, though the account of its origin may be fabulous, remained in his time at the root of the hill, by the ascent leading from the Forum to the Capitol.[141] Of the three objects which, in Varro's estimation, preserved the traces of the city Saturnia, the fane of Saturn was one; and it was at the "opening of the Clivus[142]:" and when Livy says[143] the Clivus Capitolinus was paved with "silex" from Saturn's temple to the Capitolium, he doubtless means, from the beginning to the end

140 "Ante templum Saturni, quod est ante clivum Capitolini juxta Concordiæ templum." — *Servius in Æneid.* lib. ii. 116.

Even the writer of the thirteenth century, "De Mirabilibus Romæ," affords a good testimony in this instance: — "Templum Concordiæ juxta Capitolium, ante quod Arcus triumphalis, unde erat ascensus in Capitolium juxta ærarium publicum, quod erat templum Saturni." — *Montfaucon, Diarium Italic.* cap. xx. p. 293.

141 Καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῷ Κρονῳ τοὺς Ἐπειοὺς ἱδρύσασθαι μεθ' Ἡρακλέους, ὃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῇ ῥίζῃ τοῦ λόφου κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς φέρουσαν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. i. cap. 34. p. 27.

Τὸν νέων καθιερωθήναι τῷ Κρόνῳ κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον . . . ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. *Ibid.* lib. vi. cap. 1. p. 327.

142 "Quod Saturni fanum *in faucibus* [scilicet, Capitolii]." — *De Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 7.

143 *Tit. Liv.* lib. xli. cap. 27. During the censorship of Fulvius Flaccus and Posthumius Albinus (A. U. C. 578) the ancients called the stone used for paving their streets silex; it is a kind of lava which is still used for the same purpose.

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of the Clivus. Now, as the site of the temple of Concord is satisfactorily ascertained, and as the Clivus of lava-basalt stones exists to speak for itself, by all means the temple of Saturn must have stood near the arch of Septimius Severus, — not at the church of S. Adriano, as Donatus and some others thought (for that would not be *before* the Clivus, nor *near* the temple of Concord), but on the other side of the arch, tending towards the column of Phocas: for if, again, the head of the Forum, where the Milliarium stood, have any meaning, we must not take it in the contrary direction to the river, nor towards the low ground about the Velabrum, but rather at the northern extremity, and where so many authorities conspire to fix the neighbouring Saturn. On the top of the edifice in front were figures of Tritons blowing horns, but having their tails concealed, emblematical of history, which, before the days of Saturn, was in dumb obscurity, but ever since has found a clear voice.[144] This celebrated fane, as was observed, contained the public treasure of the Romans: the quæstors had originally the care of it; but afterwards a præfect was appointed to the office.[145] Ancient rescripts or registers of con-

[144] *Macrob. de Saturnalibus*, lib. i. cap. 8.

[145] *Aulus Gellius*, lib. xiii. cap. 24. But see on this subject the annotations of Torrentius on *Sueton. in Claud.* cap. xxiv. There is a votive altar in a place below the great room of the Campidoglio, said to have been found between the temples of Jupiter Tonans and Concord: it is five years since I copied from it the following inscription: —

DIVAE PIAE
FAVSTINAE
VIATOR. Q . .
AB. AER. SAT . . .

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tracts were also preserved here: and the reason why the temple of Saturn was selected for these purposes was, because, in the days of that old god, there was no such crime as theft; or, as Plutarch meets the question, because, in those primitive ages, avarice and bad faith were unknown amongst men![146] There was also a treasury, more sacred, within the temple ("sanctius ærarium"); it was never to be touched but in the greatest emergency: we find it already instituted as early as the second Punic war.[147] We have been thus minute in treating upon these objects, although invisible, because they were the only ones of any celebrity on this side of the Forum, and have never been fixed with that precision which the ample authorities seem to warrant. From a solitary passage in Tacitus[148], we learn that Tiberius erected an arch of triumph by the side of Saturn's temple, on account of the standards which Varus had lost [A. D. 17.] being recovered by the valour of Germanicus, but under the emperor's auspices. This will give us another object to fill up the space which yet remains as far as to the Vicus Jugarius

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There is notice of another inscription, which shows that Trajan had made his friend Pliny præfect of the treasury of Saturn.

146 *Plutarch, Quæstion. Roman.* p. 275. A. tom. ii. edit. Lutet. Paris. 1624; and compare *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 724, B, C.; and *Macrob. ut supra.*

147 Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvi. cap. 13.; and compare *Cæsar. de Bello Civili*, lib. i. cap. 14.

148 *Annal.* lib. ii. cap. 41. We conceive this arch was placed at the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus, as that of Sep. Severus stands with respect to the "Clivus Asyli." "Propter ædem Saturni" is the expression of Tacitus.

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and if that be not enough, there is the temple of Vespasian and the school of Xanthus, of which we pretend to know nothing except the names: the former is alluded to by the poet Statius, and is enumerated in the Regionary; the latter rests upon the faith of two inscriptions which Fauno saw disinterred near the building with the eight granite columns[149]: and thus we have completed our circuit of the Roman Forum.

The open area of a Forum was generally surrounded by a colonnade, like the one at Pompeii; by which means an air of uniformity was given to the motley edifices which stood behind it. This does not seem to have been the case in the Roman Forum; for no mention is made of any such porticoes, nor have any traces of them ever been discovered. It was not in the general disposition of a street or square that the Romans studied effect; each building gloried in its own proportions and magnificence, but it was of little consequence how it assimilated to its neighbour: the contrary is the taste of modern times; and the result is a fine street, but few buildings of any striking magnificence.

We read of several honorary columns which, at different epochs, were erected in the Forum: the earliest was to C. Menius, who subdued the old Latins; but it had disappeared when Pliny wrote of it.[150] The second in the order of time was the naval pillar of C. Duilius the consul, who gained the first victory over the Carthaginians by sea

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149 Vide *Nibby, Foro Romano*, p. 112.

150 *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 5.

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[A. U. C. 494]. A portion of the inscription has been found, and Michael Angelo has inserted it in a representation of the original column, made on the authority of medals, as it is now to be seen at the foot of the staircase of the Palazzo Conservatori. This inscription is both curious and interesting, on account of its extreme antiquity and the historical fact which it announces: it has called forth the illustrations of many learned philologers, and especially that of Petrus Ciacconius, who has restored the reading.[151]

A column of African marble, twenty feet high, was also set up in honour of Julius Cæsar[152]; and, for a long time, vows and sacrifices were performed at it, the parties swearing by the deity of Cæsar. We read of another erected to Claudius II., and it was crowned by a silver statue of the emperor which weighed 1500 pounds[153]; and, finally, the Corinthian pillar now remaining, which invites our attention before we leave the Campo Vaccino.

This "nameless column with a buried base" had much exercised the ingenuity of antiquaries before the year 1813: at that period the pedestal was disinterred, and an inscription was discovered upon it, showing that Smaragdus, exarch of Italy, in the year which answers to our 608, reared this column, with a glittering statue on the top, to the lasting glory of the emperor. The name had been erased from the monument, as was frequently the

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[151] Vide apud *Grævium*, tom. iv. p. 1810, edit. Venet. 1732. Compare *Pliny*, ut supra citat., and *Tit. Liv. in Epitome*, lib. xxiii.

[152] *Suet. in Jul. Cæs. vit.* cap. lxxxv.

[153] *Trebellius Pollio in Claud.* cap. iii.

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case after the fall of a tyrant: but that of Smaragdus, and the date of his office, leaves no doubt of the column having been erected in honour of Phocas; and in this way the deficiency in the inscription has been supplied.*

This emperor arrived at the throne of Constantinople, through rivers of blood, in the year 602, and imposed six years of cruel despotism upon the eastern empire. The melancholy fate of his predecessor Maurice, and all the imperial family, must excite the sympathy of the spectator who has traced the calamities of that age, and of which this monument will painfully remind him.[154] The extravagant titles which the adulation of the exarch gives to his lord and master, may find their excuse in the custom of modern courts and the superlatives of Italian courtesy: but the felicitations with which the great Gregory hailed the success of a monster are not so easily explained. The emperor Maurice might have favoured the pretensions of the patriarch of Constantinople[155]; but this could hardly be a crime in the eyes of a pontiff who laid no claim to the title of a universal bishop. The privileges and protection which Phocas extended to the church, were, perhaps, the "in-

* See Note L L L.

[154] See *Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. xlvi. A. D. 610.

[155] "Le pape, ravi d'être délivre d'un empereur qui paroissoit favoriser le patriarche de Constantinople, combla de louanges le nouveau prince, afin d'obtenir de lui ce qu'il souhaitoit contre son rival." — *Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique et Historique*, tom. ii. p. 598. H.; where the curious reader may judge for himself how far the accusation be a just one.

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numerable benefits of his piety," which this inscription has immortalised; and the man who gave up the Pantheon to be converted into a Christian church might be considered as entitled to some eulogium. But to return to our description. It was very naturally supposed that the pedestal stood upon the ancient level of the Forum; but in a second excavation, made in 1816[156], it was found to be erected upon a pyramidical mass of a basement, occupying a space of about fifty feet square. It was surrounded by steps, of which we see a flight, of eight in number, still remaining on the western side: they seem to have led up to the foot of the pedestal. The whole exhibits the extreme decline of art, except the column itself, which has been taken from some edifice of the best construction: it is of Greek marble; the shaft is in eight pieces, and it leans towards the Palatine hill, as perhaps it has done from the first. The statue of the emperor, which surmounted the whole, would materially contribute to improve the general effect.

On the same spot were discovered the basements of two other honorary columns, inferior in magnitude to that of Phocas, but bearing marks of a construction which announces no earlier period. The large pieces of granite shafts now lying amidst the wreck (we describe the ground in the state it existed up to the middle of January 1831), have doubtless belonged to the two columns which once stood upon these nameless basements. The nu-

156 This was the excavation made under the patronage of the late Duchess of Devonshire.

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merous fragments of marbles, cornices, dedicatory altars, and even sepulchral stones, which here lie in melancholy confusion, or are inserted in the steps, indicate to us from what resources monuments in the sixth and seventh centuries were raised*, and to what extent ancient Rome has been destroyed by those robberies which began even before Constantine. Here we may see one city rising upon the ruins of another; the materials of ancient buildings serving as the foundations of all: and in walking over the present level of the Forum, we walk over the roofs of the habitations of the middle ages.

The space occupied by the three honorary columns has been flagged with travertine stone; and such, perhaps, was the whole area of the Forum, except in those places which marked the lines of passage from one point to another. Something of this kind appears in the traces of some polygonal stones on the western side of the two basements.[157] This is about ten palms below the level of Septimius Severus's arch; and it is important to notice one fact, viz. that when the pillar of Phocas was erected the Forum was free from incumbrance, and consequently remained in its

* See Note M M M.

[157] Those who contend for the theory of the *little* Forum, think they discover in this pavement the border or limit of it, which would make the whole width about 160 feet, and cut out our Græcostasis and one half of the Tabularium from any participation. We have already had to complain for want of room for our buildings, but what is to be done with a Forum like this! See *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. i. note of Stefano Piale, the editor, marked C.

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ancient state after all the mischief of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals. The anonymous writer of the eighth century gives no intimations of any change; and perhaps the Forum, though shorn of its splendour, preserved its original features until the fearful ravages of Robert Guiscard the Norman.

There were three ways by which to ascend from the Forum to the Capitoline hill: the 100 steps leading up to the Tarpeian rock; the "Clivus Asyli," which began from the arch of Septimius Severus and continued in the direction of the modern ascent; and the "Clivus Capitolinus," to which we have so often alluded, and where we may now tread the original pavement. We shall have to treat more particularly of these several approaches, and show to what part of the Capitoline buildings they respectively conducted: but, before taking our general view of the celebrated hill, it will be convenient to examine the remains of those temples which stand upon the "Clivus Capitolinus," and which Tacitus doubtless indicates by his "temples overlooking the Forum." The popular names of these ruins are now as follows: — For the portico with the eight granite columns, the temple of Fortune; for the three marble columns forming an angle, the temple of Jupiter Tonans; and for the less conspicuous remains, partially overlaid with slabs of various marbles, and to which the many fragments of architectural ornament now lying on the spot belong, the temple of Concord. This latter title is indisputable; and although we may feel obliged to acquiesce in the two former, their claims will

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nevertheless be subject to our criticism in endeavouring to afford some description of them.

Previously to the dominion of the French, the vast accumulation of soil and rubbish concealed almost all that ancient wall of stone which still forms the foundation of the Campidoglio, and nearly arrived at the capitals of the three columns, which yet exhibit the marks of their former interment. The temple of Concord is a still more recent discovery: — in 1817 the Cella and four votive inscriptions were brought to light [158], together with a quantity of marble fragments, pieces of colossal statues, &c. The inscriptions placed the name of the temple beyond a doubt; but in the very last excavations, and which are still (January, 1831) in progress, the magnitude and construction of the Cella have come out more clearly. It has stood upon a solid and lofty basement, which is nearly all that is left for our description. The side of it which is now visible runs parallel with the flank of the adjoining temple, from which it is separated only by a space of eight feet in width, paved with travertine stone. A piece of a brick wall of the middle ages tending to form a vault is attached to the stone-work at the end. The elevation of the wall is interrupted by the loss of several blocks of the peperine stone, thus leaving the interior mass naked; but the

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[158] The most perfect of these inscriptions is the following:—

M. ARTORIVS GEMINVS
LEG . CAESAR . AVG . PRAEF . AERAR . MIL
CONCORDIAE.

This belongs to the age of Augustus. Compare *Dion Cass.* lib. lv. p. 798. tom. ii.

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spectator will easily restore it for himself by adjusting the line on the old foundation, and supposing the whole, which completes a length of about seventy feet, and an altitude of fourteen, to have been faced with marble. After making an angle to evade the wing of the other temple, which will be explained, the substructions, more or less destroyed, continue towards the arch of Septimius Severus, and up to the modern wall which forms the barrier of the ascent to the Campidoglio. A platform of considerable extent being thus raised, upon it was reared the edifice of the temple. Of the portico nothing remains; but we suppose the steps leading up to it, and which are mentioned by Cicero[159], to have been on the flanks like the temple of Hadrian, so that it might be entered either from the Clivus Capitolinus or the "Clivus Asyli." It may have admitted six, but not more than eight, columns in front. The cella was comparatively large, making a rectangular room of about 100 feet by 80, fit for the assembly of the senate. Some of the walls, rising partially to about eight feet, still exist. The exterior was perhaps relieved by pilasters like the temple of Antoninus and Faustina; but the end of the building, which came close to the Capitol, could need no external embellishment. The interior still exhibits many traces of the rich material with which it has been covered; and the elevation of one step seems to mark the ascent from the "pronaon" into the cella. The piece of brick wall which stands at an angle

159 "An equites Romanos amplectetur? . . . qui frequentissimi in gradibus Concordiæ steterunt: qui vos ad libertatem," &c. — *Cic. in M. Antonin. Philippic.* vii. sect. 8.

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with the big tower of Nicolas V., and covers a part of the original marble pavement, has nothing to do with the temple; but it will shortly lead us to another subject. In the mean time it cannot fail to be remarked, that even the modern wall is built upon the rich pavement; so that we have not the cella in its full original extent. Upon the whole, therefore, this temple has reached from the substructions of the Capitol to the brink of the Roman Forum; having on the east side the Clivus Asyli, and on the other the temple we shall next examine. Agreeably to the situation thus verified by the excavations, Festus describes it as placed "between the Capitol and the Forum[160]," and Dion, as near the Mamertine prison[161], — from which, indeed, it was only separated by the width of a street. In a less accurate way of speaking, it might be considered as a building of the Forum itself.[162] It was founded in the 387th year of the city, in honour of that union effected under the dictatorship of Camillus between the plebeians and the nobles, when the former obtained the privilege of having one consul eligible from their order.[163] It was built upon the site of an ancient "senacu-

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160 *Festus* in verb. *Senaculum.*

161 *Dion Cassius*, lib. lviii. p. 885. tom. ii. speaking of Sejanus, Ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν, ἡ γερουσία πλησίον τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν τῷ Ὁμονοείῳ, ἐπειδὴ . . . . θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσατο.

162 Vide *Valer. Maxim.* lib. ix. cap. 7. sect. 4.

163 Ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς μὲν Ὁμονοίας ἱερόν. ὥσπερ ἠύξατο ὁ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Ἀγορὰν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἀποπτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἱδρύσασθαι, κ. τ. λ. — *Plutarch in vit. Camill.* tom. i. p. 151. edit. Lutet. Paris.

Ἐκκλησία means the Comitium; so that, whilst this passage points out the aspect of the temple, it says something in

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lum," and continued to be used occasionally for the deliberations of the magistrates. In the Cataline conspiracy, Cicero convoked the senate thither, when Lentulus and Volturcius, with the deputies of the Allobroges, were introduced.[164] Augustus raised it from its republican simplicity to its imperial magnificence: it is probable he entirely rebuilt it; for we find that Tiberius dedicated it [A. D. 11], and inscribed his own name upon it, together with that of his brother Drusus, though already dead.[165] If it was destroyed in the civil war of Vitellius and Otho, — of which, however, there is no direct proof, — Vespasian must be considered as the restorer; and it is to that period, and later, we must look for its greatest splendour. It contained, amongst other works of art, the group of Battos adoring Apollo and Juno; the sculpture of the Greek artist Bedas; Latona in the act of supporting her two children, Apollo and Diana, the work of Euphranor; the Esculapius and Hygias of Nicerates; the Mars and Mercury of Pisicrates; the Ceres, and other figures made by Sthenis. Of the pictures we find a Bacchus by Nicias, and a Cassandra by Theodorus. These celebrated works of ancient art[166], and all the precious materials which adorned the building, are now reduced, as we have

favour of the theory we have adopted with regard to the three celebrated columns. Compare p. 365. of this Dissertation.

[164] Vide *Sallust. de Bello Catalin.* cap. xlvi.; and compare *Cicero. in Catalin.* Orat. iii. cap. 9.; and *Plutarch. in vit. Ciceron.* cap. xix. p. 869. F. in edit. Lutet. Paris.

[165] *Sueton. in Tiberio,* cap. xx.; and vide *Dion Cass.* lib. lvi. p. 823.; *Ibid.* lib. lv. p. 778.

[166] Vide *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 8.; and lib. xxxvi. cap. 9.

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seen, to a shapeless platform, and a few pieces of oriental marble. It has been made a subject of controversy as to the epoch when this temple was destroyed. The Anonymous of the eighth century, if he is to be relied upon, read an inscription upon it entire; and he mentions a church of S. Sergius [167] which stood at or near the arch of Septimius Severus.[168] We learn from Anastasius that Pope Gregory III. established a deaconry, dedicated to Saints Sergius and Bacchus [A. D. 731—741], in the place where there had formerly been a small oratory.[169] This church was demolished about forty years after by a timorous dean, "on account of his fear of the temple, which was conspicuously situated above it." [170] If by this is meant the temple of Concord, then we have a proof, independently of the inscription of Anonymous, that it was in existence at the end of the eighth century. But others say that Anastasius meant the temple of Jupiter Tonans; that Anonymous read no inscription upon the other; that, in short, the temple of Concord was already destroyed, and the church of S. Sergius built upon its ruins. This latter position cannot

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167 *Mabillon, Vetera Analecta*, p. 361. edit. Paris, 1723, in folio. The inscription runs thus: — "S. P. Q. R. Ædem Concordiæ vetustate conlapsam in meliorem faciem opere et cultu splendidiore restituerunt." It could belong to no other temple of Concord, as will shortly be made more evident.

168 See *Martinelli, Roma ex Ethnica Sacra*, p. 400. edit. 1653.

169 *Anastasius, Bibliothec. in vit. S. Gregor.* iii. cap. 13.

170 "Templi quod situm *super* eam [scilicet, ecclesiam S. Sergii] videbatur." — *Anastas. in vit. Hadrian.* i. cap. 90.

It is to be observed, the belfry of the church rested against the end of the arch, which now wears visible marks of this contact.

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be maintained; for then no temple at all could stand above it: and thus we may at once dispose of the piece of brick wall in the cella which first suggested to us this controversy. Pope Hadrian I. rebuilt this church from its foundations, and greatly enlarged it [171]; and in so doing, he would naturally take into consideration the fear which had caused the demolition of the deaconry, and no longer suffer the heathen temple to domineer over the Christian church: at the same time, he could not but find the materials very convenient for his more sacred edifice. It is to this period [A.D.772], therefore, we are inclined to attribute the first destruction of the temple of Concord; consummated, perhaps, by the fire of Robert Guiscard three centuries later, and the whole laid waste, church and all, by the senator Brancaleone in 1257.[172] Nor can the temple of Jupiter Tonans be supposed to have escaped these vicissitudes; so that at the commencement of the fifteenth century the temples on the "Clivus" were so involved in obscurity, and that of Concord so effectually lost, that Poggio Fiorentino applied the name to the more visible eight granite columns, and knew not of the true vestiges which have been so triumphantly restored to light.

In the course of the present excavations, we have observed fragments of walls less ancient mingled

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171 *Anastasius*, as cited above.

172 Pope Innocent III. rebuilt the church for the second time; but Brancaleone's ravages were half a century later; from which, perhaps, it never recovered, although we read of some canons of S. Sergius under Innocent VI. (1360). It was finally levelled with the ground under Pius IV. (1560). *Martinelli*, as above.

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with the ruins of the temples, particularly before the three columns; and a piece of brick-work is still left immediately under the patched foundation. We have traced similar vestiges nearer the arch of Severus: these we suppose to be as many faint traces of the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, as it was re-founded by Pope Hadrian I. and renewed by Innocent III.

We now proceed to examine upon what authority the temple of Jupiter Tonans assumes its name.

When Augustus, during his expedition in Spain, was once travelling in a stormy night, the litter in which he was conveyed was struck by lightning, and the slave carrying the torch before him was killed on the spot. The emperor, grateful for his narrow escape, vowed a temple to the thundering Jove; which is said, by Suetonius, to have been built upon the Capitol [173] [in Capitolio]. The new worship soon became so popular, that it was found necessary to modify it. For this purpose Augustus dreamt that the Capitoline Jupiter appeared to him, complaining that his worshippers were withdrawn: to which the emperor answered, that he had only intended Jupiter Tonans as a porter to the great Capitolinus; and, shortly after, he crowned the pediment with bells, because these were generally suspended from lodges. Dion relates the circumstance somewhat differently, but observes of the situation of the temple that it occurred before arriving at the Capitol. [174] It is frequently men-

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173 Vide *Sueton. in Octav. August.* cap. xxix.; *Ibid.* cap. xci.

174 Καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βροντῶντος ἐπικαλούμενον ναὸν καθιέρωσε. It was much frequented by the people on account of the novelty,

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tioned by Pliny as being on the Capitol; but P. Victor alone enumerates the "Temple of Jupiter Tonans dedicated by Augustus on the Clivus Capitolinus." Such are the authorities of ancient writers. The front of the building is exhibited on a medal extant with six columns; and the statue of the god, which Pliny mentions as the "chef-d'œuvre" of Leocras [175], is seen standing in the midst. It was long ago ascertained by architectural observers, that this ruin would just admit six columns in front [176]; but the excavations have now put that beyond a doubt. Pliny remarks that the marble walls of this temple were laid in solid masses [177]; and this too coincides with the vestiges that remain: witness the lower mouldings of the substruction parallel to the temple of Concord, and the marble basement of one of the columns. On the frieze is still seen the "Galerus [178]," crowned by lightning, as worn by the "Flamen Dialis," or priest of Jupiter: from all which we see it would be unreasonable to doubt of this being the temple of Jupiter Tonans; for every circumstance that can prove the authenticity of a monument, except the very inscription, is found to answer.

When the French, in 1811, began to disinter

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and because Augustus consecrated it; but especially ὅτι πρώτῳ οἱ ἀνίονλες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνετύγχανον. — *Dion.* lib. lvi. p. 733. tom. i.

175 *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 8.

176 Vide *Raccolta delle più Insigni Fabbriche di Roma da Valadier e Vicenzo Feoli;* and compare *Palladio,* lib. iv. cap. 19. p. 70.; and *Piranesi, Antichit. &c.* tom. i. p. 33.; *Milizia, Rom.* p. 38.

177 *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 6.

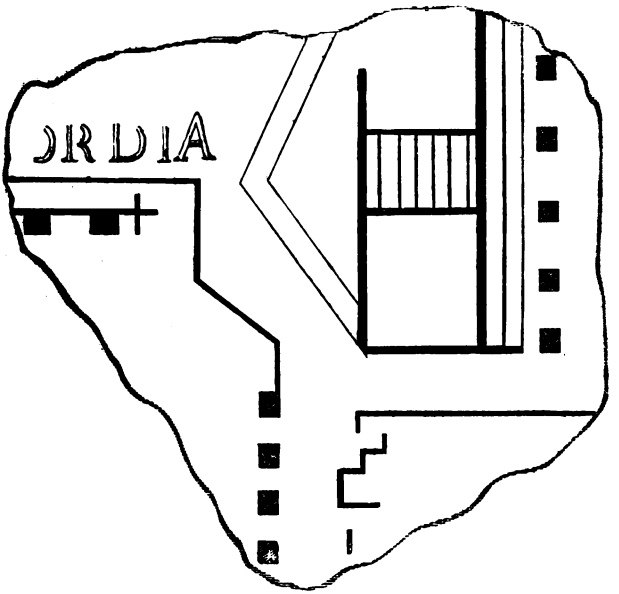
178 "Quam nos 'fausse perruque' vulgo dicimus." Vide *Stephan. Thesaur. in Galerum vel Galerus.*

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these columns, they were, as we have observed, buried nearly up to the capitals, and leaned as if they had been rocked from their foundations by an earthquake. An incision was first made in the ground below, to ascertain upon what the columns stood; and it was discovered that the basements of the two on the flank had been taken away at some period unknown, by means of perforating the ground. They therefore first secured the shafts of the columns by scaffolding, taking off the entablature; then they restored the basements with travertine stone, as they now exist; and, finally, took away the soil, and replaced the entablature: but the original basement of the third column had fortunately survived; and in it were observed the marks of steps ascending by the intercolumniations. Upon this authority the six steps of travertine were put in as they now appear. This expedient is easily accounted for from the contiguity of the paved ascent, which rendered it impracticable to have a flight of steps in front, as would otherwise have been the case. The ascents were, therefore, at each end of the elevation: they first led to a narrow parapet in front of the six columns, and then by the steps of the intercolumniations conducted to the pronaon. The platform was adapted to the inequality of the ground: it required an elevation of ten or twelve feet on the side nearest the cella of Concord, but on the other flank scarcely any substruction would be necessary; consequently, a larger flight of steps was requisite on one side than on the other. We mentioned a wing of this substruction which seemed to interfere with the uniformity of the adjacent temple already described: a piece of a modillion standing in its

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place, on a line of stone, indicates the fact. The temple of Concord, here contracting its width in forming the pronaon, left a small place clear which the Italians call a Piazzetta; and there is still left some of its travertine pavement. It was probably here where the statues of Castor and Pollux stood, the works of Hegias; for Pliny observes they were *before* the temple.[179] This cannot mean in front of it, because of the Clivus. The Piazzetta afforded, at the same time, room for the lateral steps of both temples to expand. Want of space alone was the cause of these expedients; and the whole is sufficiently indicated in a fragment of the Pianta Capitolina, of which we annex a sketch.[180] It will also be found useful in examining the other porticos.



[179] " Et Castor et Pollux *ante ædem* Jovis Tonantis."— *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 8.

[180] The letters are evidently a part of the word CONCORDIA.

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On each flank of our temple it is calculated there were eight columns, which brought the end of the building close up to the foundations of the Capitol; and there is still left much of the brick-work which belonged to the interior of the cella, having formed the main altar and the niche at the end. More than this it would be tedious to describe in writing, without the aid of architectural illustrations: we shall, therefore, refer for the ground-plan of these temples to our "Plan of the Roman Forum," &c. At the same time, the Ichnography and the various fragments have been so accurately and judiciously adjusted, that, to any one on the spot, the buildings on the Clivus will be comprehensible upon a slight inspection. Besides the statues already enumerated, Pliny mentions [181] a celebrated Jupiter of bronze, made by Polycletus. Our attention must now be directed for a moment to the entablature on the frieze of the flank. Besides the Flamen's cap, there are several instruments of sacrifice sculptured; and in front remain the letters ESTITVER, being part of the word *Restituêre*. This naturally suggests the question, Who restored it? From its situation there can be no doubt it suffered in the conflagration of the Capitol, which took place in the civil war of Otho and Vitellius; and therefore we may suppose Vespasian to have made the first restoration. The style of the ornaments and the general construction answer to a no less flourishing period of the arts; but the restorers (for the verb indicates there were more than one) of the second accident or decay were most probably Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla: for Mabillon's Ano-

[181] *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 2.

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nymous (amongst the inscriptions he read on the Capitol) gives one with the names of those emperors joined to the word "RESTITUERUNT." This temple has evidently been destroyed by the plundering hands of the Romans, who, at some period too remote for detection, had taken away the marble either to reduce to lime, or to employ whole in their barbarous habitations!

The remains of our third temple consist in a front portico of eight granite columns, raised on a platform built up of travertine stone, to meet the inequality of the Clivus. On the architrave, which is confounded with the frieze, is read an inscription, bearing that the senate and Roman people restored the building after it had been consumed by fire. This restoration must have taken place at a period when all science and taste in architecture were lost. The columns are of different diameters, and bid defiance to all proportion; the bases are dissimilar in their mouldings; the capitals, purporting to be Ionic, are true to no order, and diversified in their ornaments; the decorations of the frieze in the interior, though rich, are unmeaning; the materials of which the pediment has been built are an ungracious mixture of brick, travertine, and marble; the two side columns are of Egyptian granite, whilst the other six are of grey, — the whole evidently made up of the spoils of other edifices: the foundations only are original, and may be illustrated by the Pianta Capitolina.[182] The direction of the Clivus caused the space in front of the steps (the profanum) to be irregular; and to give it an air of uniformity,

[182] Compare the sketch of the fragment, p. 409.

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the side nearest the Forum was made to correspond; so that it finished in an angle. From hence rose a flight of seven steps, co-equal only with the width of the two middle columns and the space between them. Then succeeded three more, extending along the whole front conducting into the portico. Much of the substruction of these steps still remain. When Poggio Fiorentino first arrived at Rome [A. D. 1431], he saw this temple nearly perfect: he calls it the temple of Concord, and considered it magnificent. He had the mortification to see the Romans destroy all the interior part, and reduce the marble materials to lime. He read no other inscription upon it than that which we now see.[183]

The prevailing name of this ruin is now the "temple of Fortune." An inscription now existing at Præneste, where there was a famous temple of Fortune, apostrophises another as being neighbour to the Tarpeian Tonans; but, as Martial evidently calls the Jupiter Capitolinus by those epithets[184], this inscription affords no proof. A passage in Zosimus referred to by Nardini certainly mentions "the temple of Fortune which was destroyed in the great fire that took place under Maxentius's reign:" but, out of the many edifices consecrated to this universal goddess, who shall say the ecclesi-

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[183] *Poggio Fiorentin. de Varietate Fortunæ*, lib. i. p. 12.

[184] The inscription runs thus: —

TU QUÆ TARPEIO COLERIS VICINA TONANTI
VOTORUM VINDEX SEMPER FORTUNA MEORUM, &c.

And Martial has these words: —

"Hæc servavit avis [scilicet, anser] Tarpeii templa Tonantis.
Miraris?" *Epig.* lxxiv. lib. 13.

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astical historian points to this?[185] Another passage in Clemens Alexandrinus, and the having recourse to it shows the poverty of evidence, talks of the dunghill on which the Romans placed this greatest goddess as a temple not unworthy of her! And the Porta Stercoraria, where the filth from the temple of Vesta was deposited, is said by Festus to have been considered sacred about the middle of the Clivus Capitolinus.[186] Here the "Sterquilinium" of the Greek father must be identified with P. Stercoraria of the grammarian before a shadow of proof can be elicited from such disagreeable testimony. The nature of these authorities, therefore, leave the title of this ruin among the conjectural; but, as any other we might apply would be equally so, it is better to leave the temple of Fortune as it is, only observing that it must have been restored at a far later period than the age of Maxentius. We cannot, however, but notice once more the inscriptions read by the

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[185] Κατὰ καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκπέσοντος πυρός, κ. τ. λ. . . . ὁ τῆς Τύχης ἐφλέχθη ναός. — *Zosim. Hist. Maxent., &c.* lib. ii. cap. 13. p. 145. edit. Jenæ, 1729.

Dion Cassius mentions a "Fanum Fortunæ Publicæ," (*Hist.* tom. i. p. 321.) and this was upon the Quirinal hill. See *Ovid. Fast.* lib. iv. 375. See also what is said of the temples of Fortune in Dissertation IX. on the Eleventh Region.

[186] In the edition of Clemens Alexandrinus's works, (Lutet. 1629,) the passage in question is thus rendered: — "Romani autem qui res maximas et præclare gratas Fortunæ attribuunt, et eam esse deam maximam, in Sterquilinio ei dedicarunt dignum Deæ templum secessum tribuentes." — *Admonitio ad Gentes*, p. 33.

Festus in verb. *Stercus*, and *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. v. cap. 4. With these authorities, if the subject were more inviting, we might arrive at the "Sellæ Patroclianæ," which were "in Capitolio." Vide *Martial*, Epig. lxxviii. lib. 12.; and "Ante Jovis Statuam — Tonantis?" *Id.* Ep. lxxix.

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Anonymous of the eighth century on the Capitol.[187] There were three or four, which he places under one head, numbered 35.: after having given that on the arch of Severus as it is, with the number 34., he reads the words precisely as they now appear upon the frieze; but adds — DIVO VESPASIANO AVGVSTO. If we could believe that such was the entire inscription, then we should have a direct proof that this was the temple of Vespasian; nor would the poet Statius be in contradiction.[188] But it is triumphantly asked by the favourers of "Fortune," — Where is the space for the additional three words? And we may add, Why did not Poggio read them? If they were written upon the pediment in more conspicuous characters, how could Anonymous have brought them in at the end of the minor sentence? He must surely have read them upon the pedestal of some neighbouring statue, or monument, or dedicatory altar! Such are the uncertainties to which the goddess Fortune subjects even her antiquarian pursuers! She will, perhaps, be more auspicious towards us in now attempting to translate a section of the "Histories" of Tacitus[189]: —

"Before Martialis had well got back to the

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[187] No. 34. In arcu Severi. No. 35. In Capitolio.

SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS INCENDIO CONSVMPTVM RESTITVIT

DIVO VESPASIANO AVGVSTO.

Then follow the other two inscriptions already spoken of. No. 36. In arcu Constantini! *Mabillon, Analecta Vet.* p. 361.

[188] Compare Note 112. p. 377.; and see the subject contested in *Varietà di Notizie*, p. 109, &c. against the *Dissertazione, &c. di Stefano Piale*, Rom. 1821.

[189] *Tacit. Histor.* lib. iii. cap. 71.

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Capitolium [from his conference with Vitellius], the soldiers arrived in wild disorder without any one to lead them. Every man acted upon his own suggestion: hurrying past the Forum, and the temples overlooking the Forum, they begin the battle along the opposite hill up to the very outer gates of the Capitoline citadel. There were in those days some old porticos situated on the right-hand side of the Clivus in ascending: getting upon the roofs of these, the assailed overwhelmed the Vitellian party with huge stones and brick-bats. They had no means of defending themselves, having nothing but their swords; and it would have required too long a time to go and fetch engines of attack and missile weapons: they therefore threw firebrands against the projecting portico, and as the flames made them way they advanced; and they would have succeeded in penetrating through the doors of the Capitolium, which were now burnt, if Sabinus [the leader of the Flavian party] had not torn down the statues — those honorary monuments of our fathers — on all sides of him, and blocked up the entrance with them instead of a wall. After this they took possession of the other different accesses to the Capitolium; viz. the one near the grove of the Asylum, and the approach to the Tarpeian rock by the hundred steps. The impetuosity in both directions was remarkable, but it grew nearer and more vehement along the Asylum. Nor was it possible to resist the assailers as they climbed up by the contiguous buildings, which, standing in a commanding position, — as in times of peace people think not of precautions, — were upon a level with the Capitolium. It is here a question whether the assailers

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set fire to the roofs, or the besieged? The latter is the more prevalent opinion, because they would thereby repulse the others in their attempts and their progress. The conflagration thence made its way to the porticoes placed against the temples; shortly after, the eagles supporting the pediment, which were of old wood, took fire and increased the blaze. Thus the Capitolium, with the doors closed, undefended and unplundered, fell a prey to the flames." The historian then breaks out into some expressions of abhorrence at such a disgraceful act, — "that the seat of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, founded by the religious auspices of our ancestors, which neither Porsenna when the city surrendered, nor the Gauls when it was captured, were able to violate, should be destroyed by the madness of party." This is the only classical authority which distinctly points out three approaches to the Capitol from the Forum. At the same time it informs us, that the Clivus Capitolinus, on which the old portico stood, was the direct one. This is now unanimously decided to be the old pavement which passes in front of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, and continues visible for a little way along the flank of the other portico. The present state of the ground does not permit us to trace it farther; but it is impossible to conceive that it ever reached the other piece of pavement discovered near the senators' prison, without making a turn equivalent to a branch from it: for, by a direct communication, it will appear to be too steep for any vehicle to have climbed it. But, waving for the present these topographical difficulties, it will be sufficient to assert that, whatever direction it may eventually be proved to have taken, it led

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immediately to the foremost gates or doors of the Capitoline citadel which Sabinus had to defend; that these same doors closed the "Capitolium," to which there were two other ways of approaching, — one by the Tarpeian rock, the other still nearer by the Asylum; that by the latter passing over the tops of the adjacent buildings, the Vitellian party arrived at and set fire to the Capitolium, "the seat of the temple of I. O. M.;" — and this is all we shall attempt to deduce at present from the valuable section of Tacitus.

The outlines of the Capitoline hill have already been sketched in our general survey of Rome. It was stated to be of an elliptical form, having two summits with a valley between them, which is now fully occupied by the edifices of the Campidoglio. The principal object on the northern summit is the church of Ara Cœli, with its monastery and outworks: it overlooks the Forum of Trajan on the east, and the streets lying between the Piazza di Venezia and the Via Marforio on the north, — the ancient direction of the Via Flaminia. On the other summit stands the Palazzo Caffarelli, with its gardens and dependencies, including the open area at the top of the Via delle tre Pile: it comprehends also the Monte Caprino, with some gardens looking towards the "Consolazione," and sloping towards the Velabrum. On the west and north-west it borders on the Via Montanara and the Via Tor de' Specchi; and at the Vicolo della Bufala, comes within 700 feet of the Tyber. It is traversed in all these directions by several streets ascending and descending, and cannot contain less than 1000 inhabitants.

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This hill is chiefly composed of lithoid tufo, and must originally have worn the appearance of a solid precipitous rock, but much higher than it is at present. We have already mentioned a large mass which Livy states to have rolled down into the Vicus Jugarius; and Biondo, a writer of the fifteenth century, informs us, that in his time a huge fragment as large as a "palazzo" detached itself and fell down.[190] Besides the material already mentioned, there is found granular tufo, argillaceous strata, and sandy substances of different kinds[191]; but all easy to be perforated: hence the number of grottos which have been formed in various directions, perhaps at a very early period. Many of them may still be found[192], and most probably the Mamertine prison was made out of one of the very earliest.

We need not dwell upon the etymology of those words which have already been so often before us; for who has not heard of the Sabine Virgin Tarpeia who betrayed her country for gold? and of the human scull (Caput Oli) which Tarquinius Priscus dug up in laying the foundations of the great temple of Jove? But, before proceeding with the history of the Capitol, it will be necessary to discuss the most popular objects which once adorned

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190 *Roma Ristaurat.* lib. ii. No. 57. Five men were killed in an "Osteria" by this accident.

191 Vide *Brocchi, del Suolo di Roma,* p. 150. and tav. i. fig. 1, 2.

192 See one of considerable extent in the Vicolo della Bufala, No. 8.; another which serves for a capacious barn in the Via Monte Caprino, ascending from the Piazza della Consolazione, No. 29.; a third in the Via della Pedacchia, behind the habitation, No. 10.

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it, and to examine the few vestiges which time and war have left upon this fortress of "the city and the world."

It has been a popular opinion ever since Nardini's time, among those who adhere to his system, that the citadel stood upon the southern summit, and the temple of I. O. M. on the other [193]; because the "Arx and Capitolium" are always mentioned, especially in Livy, as two distinct things, and the Asylum is said to have been between them. It is, however, impossible to admit this without breaking through a formidable array of classical authorities, both of prose writers and of poets; so that, on whichever summit we find the fortress, there also will be the temple. Marliano is perhaps the only antiquary of the old school who ever pleaded for the citadel standing on Aracœli; and he evidently finds some difficulty in removing thence the "Tarpeian Jove" to his proper station.[194] This opinion has been of late years revived by some learned Germans, only they separate the two objects boldly; and in escaping the error of Nardini, who may almost be said to stand alone with his temple on the Aracœli, they fall into the

[193] *Roma Antica*, lib. v. c. 14. After answering seven arguments alleged in favour of the opposite system of Donatus, Nardini's concluding sentence leaves us quite at liberty: "Tutto però sia posto per mero discorso, et per maggior chiarezza della materia, e *lascisi l'elezione* all' altrui piacere!" — *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 317.

[194] Vide *Marlian. Urb. Rom. Topographia*, lib. ii. cap. 1—5. apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 138—145. edit. Venetiis, 1733. The error is ably confuted by Donatus (apud *Grævium, id.* p. 645—648.), who even compels Marliano "to give in evidence."

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equally unsocial mistake of Marliano.[195] Justus Rycquius, who has written a whole volume on the subject, divides the whole mount into three distinctive parts[196]: — the Arx or fortress, into which he puts the temple of I. O. M.; the Saxum or rock, from whence the malefactors were thrown; and the Capitolium, which, he thinks, in a more particular sense, was the name applied to the northern summit. The only objection we have to this distribution is in the nomenclature. Instead of calling the Aracœli summit the Capitolium by special privilege, we would say, "Mons Capitolinus," and apply the name of Tarpeian cliff more generally to the other summit, the Saxum being a bold piece of rock looking towards the Tyber. The Capitolium, in its strictest sense, certainly meant the great temple of Jupiter, with the many other splendid edifices around it. Tacitus has already proved this to us sufficiently; and if more were wanting, we might bring the authorities of

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[195] See *Niebuhr, History of Rome* (translated by Messrs. Hare and Thirwall), vol. i. p. 440. But with due deference to that learned historian, "the older and better topographers who preceded Nardini," (unless by that is meant Marliano) never thought the Arx was where "Aracœli" stands: for see *Lucio Mauro, Antichità di Roma*, edit. 1562, p. 6. & 7.; *Andreas Fulvio, id.* carta 44. edit. in Venezia, 1543; *Biondo, Roma ristaurat.* lib. i. No. 73.; *Camucci, dell' Antichità, &c.* p. 12. edit. Venezia, 1565, in 4to.; and above all Donatus, as cited in the preceding note. Even the Padre Casimiro (*Memorie della Chiesa d'Araceli*, p. 3. edit. Romæ, 1736,) thinks Montfaucon (*Diaricum Italicum*, p. 172.) did prudently "rimettendo la questione ai più saggi."

[196] *De Capitolio Roman. Commentarius*, edit. Lugdun. 1669, 12mo.; vide cap. vii. p. 77.

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Suetonius and Dio.[197] It cannot, indeed, be denied that these names were sometimes taken in a more general acceptation[198]; but that will not affect the propriety of these distinctions.

The point we are next concerned in proving is, that the fortress and the Capitol (the proper "seat of I. O. M.") were both upon the same summit; and for this purpose it will be sufficient to cite, of the prose-writers, these three — Plutarch, Dionysius, and Livy. The former, after correcting the erroneous traditions which prevailed about the origin of a name, observes, that after the death of the Virgin Tarpeia the hill was called Tarpeius, until King Tarquin consecrated the place to Jupiter. Henceforth the name of Tarpeia ceased to prevail, except for the rock from which they threw the criminals; and this they still call now in the Capitol "Tarpeia."[199] If it be alleged that the word Capitol may here be taken for the whole mount, the same writer, a little after, says, "If the temple of Jove was consecrated where the bones of Tarpeia were buried, and they were trans-

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197 "Vi subitâ in Capitolium compulit, succensoque templo Jovis Opt. Max., oppressit [Sabinum et Flavianos]." — *Suet. in Vitellio*, cap. xv.

Ἐμπρησθέντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός· καὶ οὕτως ἐπαναβάντες οἱ τοῦ Βιτελλίου στρατιῶται ἐκείνων τε συχνοὺς ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ διαρπάσαντες πάντα τὰ ἀνακείμενα, κατεπρήσαν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν ναὸν τὸν μέγαν, κ. τ. λ. — *Dion Cass.* lib. lxv. p. 1072. tom. ii.; with which compare *Tacit. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 72.

198 "Præterea," observes Donatus, "promiscue totus mons Arx et Capitolium dictus est, idque Marlianus non negat." — Apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 645.

199 *Plutarch. in Romulo*, p. 28. edit. Lutet. Paris. 1624.

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ported thence, yet the cliff retained the name Tarpeia: and this affords a proof the bones had been near the cliff where afterwards the temple was." Dionysius, still more accurate, speaking of Herdonius, who took possession of the Capitol in the year of Rome 294, says, he approached the city by the place where the Capitolium is, being not quite one stadium (625 feet) from the river. Having entered by the gate called Carmentalis, which was open, and advancing his forces, he took possession of the garrison, and thence proceeded to the citadel, which is contiguous to the Capitolium.[200] In the celebrated account which Livy gives us of the attempts of the Gauls and the valour of T. Manlius, we invariably find him mentioning the Arx and Capitolium as two distinct things, but as always involved in the same danger or success.[201] The house of Manlius was destroyed; and it was henceforth forbid that any patrician should have his habitation in the citadel or the Capitol; and when he was thrown from the Tarpeian rock, it is remarked by the historian, that the same spot, which was the citadel, was the scene of his glory and of his condign punishment.[202] The site of his house was af-

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[200] Προσέχε τῆς Ῥωμῆς κατὰ τετὸ τὸ χωρίον ἔνθα τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐστὶν, οὐδὲ ὅλον στάδιον ἀπέχον τοῦ ποταμοῦ . . . ἀναβιβάσας τὴν δύναμιν εἶχε τὸ φρούριον, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ὡσαμένος, ἐστὶ δὲ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ προσεχής. — *Dionys.* lib. x. cap. 14. p. 611. tom. i.

But Herodian may finish the controversy at once. Συνήλθον οὖν οὐκ εἰς συνήθες συνέδριον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεὼν Καπιτωλίου ὃν σέβεσι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ἀκροπόλει. — Lib. vii. cap. 25. p. 256. edit. Oxon. 1678.

[201] Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. v. & vi. passim.

[202] *Ibid.* lib. vi. cap. 20.

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terwards occupied by the temple and mint of Juno Moneta. If we turn to the poets, the authorities, with all allowance for poetical license, are still more abundant. Manlius is said to be standing before the temple, and in possession of the lofty Capitol, the guardian of the Tarpeian rock [203]; the Tarpeian father is said to thunder from the naked cliff [204]; in a style of prophesy, Silius Italicus describes the golden Capitol on the Tarpeian rock [205]; and Ovid salutes the Tarpeian Jove who holds the citadel.[206] Nor can it be forgotten how clearly Tacitus describes the Capitolium and the Capitoline fortress in one place; whilst Suetonius, relating the same transaction, equally declares that the temple of I. O. M. was set on fire. [207] In short, if it were expedient to bring together all the authorities, nothing can be more clearly established than the fact, that the great temple of Jove, with the adjoining edifices, collectively called the Capitolium, and the citadel, called the "Arx Capitolina," both stood on that part of the mount called the Tarpeian

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203 "In summo custos Tarpeiæ Manlius arcis
Stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat."
Fabled to have been sculptured on the shield of Æneas. *Virg. Æneid.* viii. 652.

204 "Tarpeiusque Pater nudâ de rupe tonabat."
Propert. lib. iv. eleg. i. 7.

205 *De Bello Punico*, lib. iii. 625.

206 "Quique tenes altas Tarpeias Jupiter arces."
Metamorph. lib. xv. 867.

207 See Note 197. p. 421.; and compare *Juvenal, Satir.* vi. 47.
"Obruta Virgo jacet, servat quoque nomina turris
Illa triumphator Jupiter unde tonat."
Cornelii Galli Eleg. 35.

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rock; and that this was the southern summit needs no demonstration. Our difficulty will now be less in finding out the very site of the fortress, and the rock properly so called.

The citadel of Rome was necessarily built for defence against the enemy coming from Etruria or the north: it was not, therefore, turned towards the Forum, but towards the Piazza Montanara. When the courageous youth, Pontius Cominius, undertook to carry a message to the Romans besieged in the citadel by the Gauls, he is said [208] to have floated down the Tyber, and, — at the place where the banks of the river came nearest, and where, in consequence, the Gauls had the least apprehension, and left it unguarded, — by a broken and precipitous part of the rock he got into the Capitolium; that is, the citadel. The attempt made by the enemy at night to surprise the besieged was by the same place, —being led there, as Livy supposes, by the traces of the messenger's footsteps. The historian soon informs us that the rock he meant was at the fane of Carmenta; and Dionysius points out the part of the Capitol nearest the river, at the distance of a stadium. [209] These intimations are sufficiently accurate, independently of

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[208] "Secundo Tiberi ad Urbem defertur, inde qua proxima fuit a ripa per præruptum . . . saxum in Capitolium evadit." *Tit. Liv.* lib. v. cap. 46.

[209] Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. v. cap. 47.; and compare *Dionys.* cited in Note 197. p. 421. The temple, the altar, and the gate, called, after the mother of Evander, Carmenta, were all "pointed out" together. See *Virgil, Æneid.* viii. 336. The site of the P. Carmentalis being determined, the "Saxum Carmentæ" will follow; for see *Solinus, Polyhistor.* cap. ii. and *Plutarch. in Camillo*, p. 148.

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the light yet to be derived from the position of the Porta Carmentalis, and which we shall show, in another Dissertation, to have stood in the Vicolo della Bufala. We may expect, then, to find some vestiges of this solid rock — the "Saxum Carmentæ." In the *very place* to which our authorities would lead us, — that is, the small church of S. Maria in Vinciis de' Saponari, — the hill is too far decomposed and encumbered to afford a specimen; but at no great distance we find the Via delle Rupe Tarpeia, which ascends from the Tor' de' Specchi: there stands a bold piece of lithoid tufo rock, which Ficoroni measured to be 80 Roman palms in height. On the top of it we discover some remains of an old wall, which we cannot doubt to be as old as the age of Horatius Pulvillus [210], but very probably may belong to the original fortifications of Servius Tullius. Although we would point out this as the best example of the "Saxum" on which the fortress was reared, it must be included in the more general name of the Tarpeian Rock: but as we find the criminals were thrown down from that part of the hill which lay towards the river [211], it is here where we must look for the

[210] It is exceedingly probable that these are vestiges of the wall to which Livy alludes in the following terms: — "Eodem anno [*i. e.* U. C. 247] ne privatorum tantum operibus urbs cresceret, Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est, opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum." — Lib. vi. cap. 22.

[211] Ἐβάδιζε [*i. e.* Pont. Cominius] πρὸς τὴν Καρμεντίδα πύλην ἣ πλείστην εἶχεν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὴν ὄρθιος ὁ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου λόφος ἀνέστηκε, καὶ πέτρα κύκλῳ πολλὴ καὶ τραχεῖα. — *Plutarch in Camill.* p. 141. F. edit. citat. Compare *id.* p. 148. C.; and *Tit. Liv.* lib. vi. cap. 20.

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" steep Tarpeian, the promontory whence the traitor's leap cured all ambition." The part of the rock which corresponds to this on the other aspect is in that garden, on the Monte Caprino, where the popular " Rocca Tarpeia " is shown to strangers: and a little more towards the " Consolazione " we conceive the hundred steps to have been cut out, beginning from near the fourth angle of our Forum. The Via di Monte Tarpeia, as it leaves the Piazza della Consolazione, very probably preserves, in some degree, the direction of the "Centum Gradus." The rock upon which the house No. 3. in that street stands, indicates that it has been cut to make way for the ascent; and as this was a difficulty not likely to have been undertaken in the middle ages, we may consider the circumstance a proof of its antiquity. Under all these local bearings, therefore, we shall have the Capitoline citadel extending over that garden belonging to the Duca di Caffarelli, which joins with the Salita di Monte Caprino, the entrance into which is by a door at the end of the area in front of the Palazzo. Our next enquiry is for the site of the famous temple of I. O. M., of which Dionysius has left us a most accurate description.[212]

We are informed that Tarquin, the fifth king of Rome, first laid out an extensive platform, by levelling the rugged and uneven parts of the rock, and building up the space with immense

The fatal rock was also visible from the Forum. *Id.* p. 148. B. Ἐπέταξεν ἄγειν αὐτὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς λόφον, ἐφ' ὃ δὲ τὸ χωρίον κρημνὸς ἐξαίσιος, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἔθος βάλλειν τοὺς ἐπιθανατίους.— *Dionys.* lib. vii. cap. 34. p. 427.

[212] *Antiquitat. Roman.* lib. iv. cap. 61. in tom. i. p. 248.

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substructions; so that an area suitable for such an edifice might, in the first instance, be inaugurated. We shall not dwell upon the purifying of the soil, and the lofty basement upon which the edifice was reared. It was in all eight "plethra," or 770 feet in circuit; being about 200 feet in length, and 185 in width. Its elevation was towards the south; and the portico in that direction had three rows of columns, but only a double row on the flanks. The interior was divided into three cells, parallel to one another; and the walls of separation were common. The cella in the midst was of Jupiter; that of Juno on the left; Minerva's on the right[213], — all under the same roof and ceiling. This description of the temple, however, is as it was rebuilt by Sylla. He replaced the original pilasters of simple stone with the splendid columns of Pentelic marble, which he brought from the temple of Jupiter Olympius from Greece[214]: but there is no reason to suppose he made any change in the original ground-plan.[215] The cells, although under the same roof, had each its own elevation; for we read of the gilded "Quadrigæ" and the twelve glittering shields which adorned the tympanum of Jupiter's cella.[216] This is represented in a medal extant. The statue appears thereon in a

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[213] Compare *Horace*, ode xi. lib. i. 19.; and *Livy*, lib. vi. cap. 29.; *Id.* lib. iii. cap. 17.

[214] *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 6.; and *Plutarch in vit. Publicol.* p. 105.

[215] "Iisdem rursus vestigiis situm est," says *Tacitus*, *Histor.* lib. iii. cap. 72.

[216] *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxv. cap. 41. On which ornaments consult *Rycquius de Capitol.* cap. xxiii.

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sitting posture, much resembling the brazen image now adored in St. Peter's, especially in the attitude of stretching forward the foot. We learn also that the head was adorned with a radiated crown.[217] Pope Honorius I. took away the bronze tiles of the Capitol, to make use of for the old Basilica of St. Peter[218]; and this may be the reason why some suppose the statue of Jupiter was also taken away for the same purpose: but to pursue this enquiry would lead us from our subject. In the same cella was a statue of Scipio Africanus. In that of Minerva there was a small chapel of "Youth" (Juventus); above which was a painting representing the rape of Proserpine.[219] The ceilings were gorgeously gilded; the pavement of the finest materials; the doors were of bronze overlaid with gold; and a profusion of statues, and other objects of surpassing art, embellished the whole interior. But as all these things are probably lost for ever, it would be a needless task to endeavour to enumerate them.

As the fortress has been shown to have stood towards the Piazza Montanara and the western

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217 Compare the impression of the medal at the end of this Dissertation with the passage cited by Rycquius from *Plautus in Trinum.* act i. scen. 2. v. 93.

218 I suppose Justus Rycquius (*De Capitolio Comment.* cap. xvi. p. 205.) and Marliano (*Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. ii. cap. 1.) had some other authority for this than Anastasius (*in vit. Honor.* sect. cix. p. 120.). The latter seems to be relating an acknowledged fact: "Tegulas æreas quas Honorius Pont. Max. ad ædem Divi Petri tegendam transtulit, nonnullæ adhuc etiam cernuntur."

219 *Valerius Maximus,* lib. viii cap. 15. sect. 1.; and *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxv. cap. 10.

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declivity of the mount, and as the temple of Jupiter had its front towards the south, we are at once brought to the garden behind the Palazzo Caffarelli, and the highest part of the Monte Caprino. An edifice so situated would be found to face the Palatium, and be conspicuously seen from the Forum: and as Caligula joined the Palatium and the Capitolium by a bridge, in order that he might be nearer Jupiter to hold his pretended conferences[220], we see, by this system, a propriety of position which could never be made to belong to the summit of Aracœli. The Clivus described by Tacitus conducted to the outer or foremost doors of the Capitoline citadel; the same doors which were burnt are said to be of the Capitolium: and, again, the seat of I. O. M. was burnt. We therefore conceive that the paved ascent so often alluded to will be found, if ever the state of the ground admits of verifying the fact, to continue along the side of the hill as far as the Monte Caprino, coinciding in some measure with the present Via di monte Tarpeia. This street was cleared and made habitable by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582: and an inscription now existing on the wall of the house No. 61. sets forth the popular opinion of that period, viz. that this was the way to the Tarpeian seat and to the Capitol. Opposite to this inscription, the road branches off to the right, and leads up to the Monte Caprino; having on the left a small garden, which we suppose to correspond with the front and part of the

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[220] *Sueton. in vit. Caligul.* cap. xxii.

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portico of our temple.[221] By entering into the dark passage at No. 124., just below the open window of the terrace of the Palazzo Caffarelli, we shall discover a portion of a wall of peperine stone, forming at one place an angle; but it will be seen to much greater advantage on the other side, by obtaining permission to enter into the garden of the Caffarelli palace. There will be found a continuation of the said wall for nearly eighty feet; and this we are inclined to consider as a flank of the substructions of the temple.

Fabretti, alluding to these walls[222], and to more vestiges which he saw, considered them as setting the disputed point at rest; and that these were none other than the remains of the great temple. Such a solid construction (for the walls, according to Venuti's measurement, were twenty-five palms in thickness,) agrees with the expression of Dionysius, — "built on a lofty basement." And whatever may be said of those other vestiges, as being constructed with scrupulous conformity to the direction of the natural rock, will apply as well to the foundation of the temple as to the citadel; for Tarquin considered this circumstance in levelling

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221 A church called S. Salvator in Maximio once stood near this very spot. It was generally believed by all the antiquaries of the sixteenth century to preserve in the title some allusions to Jupiter Maximus. It was entirely destroyed in the year 1587. Vide *Albertin. Cap. de Templis, &c.*

222 "Miræ autem substructionis illius templi certissima hodie patent vestigia, postquam Nobb. de Caffarelliis jugum illum inter eorum et Capitolin. Conservatorum ædes medium deprimere cœperunt," &c. — *Fabretti de Column. Trajan.* in addition, as approved and cited by the Padre Casimiro, *Memorie d' Araceli, &c.* p. 3. edit. citat.

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his area.* It was not far from the Palazzo Caffarelli where Flaminius Vacca[223] saw several pilasters of marble, discovered with some capitals so large that out of one of them was made a lion for the arms of the Grand Duke Ferdinand; and out of the others were cut the prophets in the "Capella Cesi" in the church of S. Maria della Pace. It is very probable these were some remains of the long-lost temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Within the proper precincts of the Capitol there were several other buildings besides the great temple: we shall only mention the three following, — the temples of Jupiter Custos, and of Juno Moneta, and the Curia Calabra. When the Capitol was set on fire by the soldiers of Vitellius, Domitian, who was shut up with the Flavian party, narrowly escaped being made a prisoner by concealing himself in the lodging-room of the "ædituus," or keeper of the temple, and then got down into a house near the Velabrum. When his father became emperor he threw down the room of the "ædituus," and, in gratitude, erected a small chapel to Jove (Conservator) Preserver; and he placed an altar within, on which was sculptured the history of his adventure: but when he became sole emperor he built a large temple, instead of the chapel, to "Jupiter Custos." Of the position of this, we can only say that it must have been close to the temple of I. O. M. [erected U. C. 342].[224]

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* See Note NNN.

[223] (*Memorie*, No. 64.) "Dietro il palazzo de' Conservatori verso il Carcere Tulliano, *i. e.* S. Nicola in Carcere."

[224] For this object, see *Tacit. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 74.

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The consecrated edifice (ædes) of Juno Moneta stood in the citadel, on the very spot where the house of M. Manlius Capitolinus had been; and where, also, according to tradition, King Tatius had fixed his abode. It is evident, as far as Livy was acquainted with the subject, confirmed also by an expression in Ovid, that these celebrated objects were on the side o fthe Tarpeian rock whence the criminals were precipitated; that is, as we have already shown, towards the Piazza Montanara.[225] Belonging to this temple of Juno there was a building (officina) where the money was coined: hence the epithet of "moneta," which was applied to the temple[226]; a word which is often read upon old coins. But of the two Tarpeian groves[227], in which the whole was embosomed, we pretend not to give any description.

The Curia Calabra, to which we have already alluded, was a place probably of no great extent, where the minor pontiff was to observe the first

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[225] Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. vii. cap. 28., and lib. vi. cap. 20.; *Solinus de Origin. Urb.* cap. 2.

"Arce quoque in summa Junoni templa Monetæ
Ex voto memorant facta, Camille, tuo."
Ovid. Fast. lib. i. 637.

And compare *Plutarch. in vit. Camill.* p. 148. edit. Lutet. &c. 1624.

We must not forget the cottage of Romulus, a venerated relic of antiquity, which stood, according to Macrobius (*Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. 15.) near the Curia Calabra; and Vitruvius, who points it out as a specimen of the rustic manners of antiquity, says it was "in the citadel." — *De Architect.* lib. ii. cap. i.

[226] *Tit. Liv.* lib. vi. cap. 20.

[227] *Propert.* lib. iv. eleg. 9.; *Cicero, Oratio pro Domo sua*, cap. xxxviii.

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appearance of the new moons, and in conjunction with the augurs, perform certain religious rites. They then proceeded towards the Via Sacra to announce the calendar to their chief, called, in memory of ancient times, the king of the sacred rites.[228] The common people called the whole line of streets through which they passed the Via Sacra, even up to the very citadel, as we read both in Varro and Festus.[229] Nardini is content to have the Curia very near to where now the picture gallery of the Campidoglio is, the ascent nearly coinciding with those steps which lead to the Monte Caprino: thus, he observes, the pontiff would have a free prospect towards the east and the south for observing the new moon.[230] We now see the propriety of considering that piece of pavement which has been found near the senator's prison as a part of the steep ascent which branched from the Clivus Capitolinus: and Livy makes the distinction sufficiently clear[231]; for not only did the censors pave the Clivus with "silex" as far as the Senatulum, whatever that was, but also *above it, as far as the Curia.* This, therefore, was

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228 *Macrobius, Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. 15.; *Festus* in voce *Calabra;* and *Tit. Liv.* lib. ii. cap. 2. et alibi. In an ancient inscription has been found, REGINA SACRORVM.

229 *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 8., and *Festus* in voce *Sacra Via;* but compare Dissertation VI. p. 304.

230 *Roma Antica,* tom. ii. p. 335., with which the modern topographers agree. See *Pianta di Roma Antica del' Archit. L. Canina,* p. 34.

231 "Censores . . . et Clivum Capitolinum silice sternendum curaverunt: et porticum ab æde Saturni in Capitolium ad Senatulum, ac *super id Curiam,* straverunt." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xli. cap. 27.; and see p. 390. note 141. of this Dissertation.

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" the portion of the Via Sacra," commonly so called, " which belonged to the citadel ; " — and such are the topography and antiquities of the southern part of the Capitoline mount.

The modern Campidoglio, by which we mean that pile of building with the lofty tower, is built upon the vast substructions of an ancient edifice, which, in a more general acceptation of the term, was also called the Capitolium. Our attention has frequently been directed to the solid walls of peperine stone behind the temples on the " Clivus," and we have had occasion to remark, that after those temples were built the whole substruction must have been masked by them ; so that it admitted of no ingress along the whole front. It extends the whole length of, and gives the form to, the present Campidoglio, and is still partially visible also on the two flanks, not quite suggesting the form of a rectangle. The elevation towards the Forum measures about 170 palms. The original entrance, which has recently been discovered, is at that higher piece of old pavement before the prison : entering there we shall find a species of continued corridor, formed by confronting arches ; the inner row is the most perfect. Each arch is thirty-three palms in height, and seventeen in width ; some are closed and others open, so as to admit free passages into the compartments which lay behind them. The architectural ornaments are all gone ; for those fragments which we now see there came from the temples on the Clivus. Pope Nicolas V. made a magazine for salt of these vaults, and that is the reason why the peperine stone is so corroded. This place was called

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in the middle ages the "Cancelleria."* We have given the disposition of the interior, as far as is practicable, in our plan of the Forum; but of the elevations we can attempt no description. The corridor and rooms into which there is still access must be considered as the first story, although already so elevated above the level of the foundations. On the outside may still be traced the Doric capitals and some remains of the frieze: above this, no doubt, rose another story, which has now entirely disappeared; and, for any thing we know, there was a third, or at least an attic. Andreas Fulvio copied an inscription which then existed within these walls, much corroded with the salt: it said that Q. Lutatius Catulus caused to be made, at his own expense, this *substruction and Tabularium* [232]; so that this remarkable ruin, all that can be said to remain of the ancient works of the Capitol, was the Tabularium, — that is, the place where the "tabulæ" or plates were preserved on which were engraven the decrees of the senate and people, and all other public proclamations. This was so effectually destroyed in the Vitellian sedition, that Vespasian is said to have been at the pains to search up copies of the "tabulæ" which were lost, to the amount of three thousand.[233] It was

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* See Note O O O.

[232] *Fulvio delle Antichità, &c.* carta 48. When properly corrected, it is thus: —

Q . LVTATIVS . Q . F . Q . N . CATVLUS . COS . SVBSTRVCTIONEM ET TABVLARIVM . EX . S . S . FACIENDVM COERAVIT.

Compare *Plutarch. in vit. Poblicol.* cap. xv.; and *Cic. in Verrem.* iv. 31.

[233] *Sueton. in Vespasian.* cap. viii.

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very probably also called the public Atrium; for such an object is mentioned as in the Capitol.[234] We read also of a library, which, with great propriety, might be deposited in the upper stories.

Between the Porta Carmentalis and the P. Triumphalis, near the tomb of Bibulus,—that is, along the whole of the Etrurian side of the Capitoline hill,—there was no access: consequently, the present ascent to the Campidoglio, the Via delle tre Pile, and the approach to the Aracœli, are all modern. The open area, where the equestrian statue now stands, was originally the valley in which Romulus, after the custom of the Greeks, opened his asylum for robbers.[235] This is said both by Strabo and Dionysius to have been situated between the citadel and the Capitol[236]; and this was the argument which weighed so powerfully with Nardini in placing the temple of I. O. M. upon the northern summit. But the difficulty, which seems at first sight to arise from the solitary

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234 "Atrium Publicum in Capitolio." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxiv. cap. 10.; *Bibliotheca, P. Orosius, Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 16. p. 496. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1738.

235 *Plutarch in vit. Romuli*, p. 22. E.; and *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 8.; *Id.* xxxv. c. 51.

236 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν κτίσιν ἀνθρώπους σύγκλυδας ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἤθροιζεν, ἀποδείξας ἄσυλόν τι τέμενος μεταξὺ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου· τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖ καταφευγόντας, κ. τ. λ. — *Strabo, Geograph.* lib. v. p. 352. edit. Amstelod. cum not. Casaubon. &c. 1707.

Τὸ γὰρ μεταξὺ χωρίον τοῦ τε Καπιτωλίου καὶ τῆς ἄκρας, ὃ καλεῖται νῦν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον, Μεθόριον δυοῖν δρυμῶν, καὶ ἦν τότε τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐπώνυμον, ὕλαις ἀμφιλαφέσι κατ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συνάπλουσας τοῖς λόφοις λαγόνας ἐπίσκιον· ἱερὸν ἀνεῖς ἄσυλον ἱκέταις. κ. τ. λ.—*Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. ii. p. 86. cap. 15.

On the "Lucus Asyli," see *Tacitus*, already cited in p. 415.; and *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 8.; and *Ovid. Fast.* lib. iii. 429.

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passage in Dionysius, will vanish at once if we consider the Tabularium and its dependencies as entitled to be called also the Capitolium: and it is evident that it was so; for the temple of Concord is said to be between the Capitolium and the Forum. And certainly the Asylum, supposing it to have been near the equestrian statue, might with equal propriety be said to have stood between the Capitolium, — *i. e.* the Tabularium, — and the "Arx." On each side of it was a grove; and we have seen how Tacitus mentions one access to the temple of Jupiter as being *near the grove of the Asylum.* This ascent is supposed to correspond with the modern one beginning at the arch of Septimius Severus, — a position we are not at all disposed to deny: but if the first grove occurred, as most assuredly in that case it did, as soon as the side of the Tabularium was passed, and the Asylum with the second grove extended as far as the Via delle tre Pile, then the whole, touching the two sides of the mount, lay between the Capitol and the fortress, without referring the former to the summit of Aracœli. Near to the Asylum it is agreed to place the temple (Vejovis) of the young or beardless Jupiter; and it is to be remarked that Pliny calls it, nevertheless, in the citadel.[237] "In the middle of the Capitoline mount" Nero erected trophies and a triumphal arch, in honour of his victories over the Parthians. This we conceive to

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[237] "Ædes Vejovis inter Arcem et Capitolium, prope Asylum." — *P. Victor. in Region. VIII.*

Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xvi. cap. 40.

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mean "in the Intermontium," and to be synonymous with the "Area Capitolina." [238]

From the arguments and proofs that have now been brought forward in favour of our view of the Capitol, it will appear that the northern summit, which yet remains to be considered, was neither the citadel (Arx), nor the rock (Rupes), nor the Capitolium in any special acceptation; but it was, as we shall see, properly speaking, the hill of the Capitol, or the Mons Capitolinus. The object of greatest celebrity which stood upon it was the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. This, according to the received tradition, was the first temple ever erected at Rome: it was originally built by Romulus, for depositing within the trophies and spoils which he had won from King Acron; and we have the front of it, together with the act of triumph, represented on a medal of the Claudian family. Although it is said to have been enlarged by Ancus Martius, it was but a very small building; for, from the vestiges of it which were traced in the age of Augustus, it appeared to have been no more than fifteen feet in length: but, as the emperor raised it from its ruins, it very probably afterwards became more considerable, both in mag-

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[238] Vide *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xv. cap. 18.; *Suet. in vit. Caligulæ*, cap. xxxiv.; and compare *Aul. Gell.* lib. ii. cap. 10. The appellation of "Intermontium," which is so eagerly caught at for designating this "area," is the solitary Μεθόριον of Dionysius (see Note 236. in page 436.); but the expression is much more faithfully rendered by "interfinium duorum quercetorum." See *Suidas, Lexicon*, tom. ii. p. 118. So that the word "Intermontium" is purely conventional for antiquarian systems.

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nitude and splendour. Dionysius is careful to make the topographical distinction for which we contend[239], when he relates that the temple was built on the "*summit of the Capitoline hill;*" and that is where the church of Aracœli now stands. In another place, when Romulus puts himself in a posture of defence against King Tatius, he is said, by the same writer, to have fortified the Aventine and "that which is now called the Capitoline hill[240]:" and it will here be recollected that the Tyber sufficiently defended the Tarpeian rock. It would not be difficult to point out other passages in which the northern summit is evidently so designated. We do not mean to contend that the appellation was not frequently applied to the whole mount, as was also the name of Capitolium: but, even as late as the time of Suetonius[241], the southern summit was known by the name of Mons Tarpeius; and therefore, in a particular sense, the other was the Capitolinus. Justus Rycqius, and many other antiquaries, place the Athenæum on

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239 Ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου λόφου Διὸς, ὃν ἐπικαλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Φερέτριον, οὐ μέγαν· ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ σώζεται ἀρχαῖον ἴχνος, κ. τ. λ. — *Dionys.* lib. ii. cap. 34. p. 99. tom. i.; and compare *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 10.

"Templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem, ingressum ædem Feretrii Jovis, quam vestutate dilapsam, refecit [scilicet, Augustus]." — *Id.* lib. iv. cap. 20.; and compare *Cornel. Nepos in vit. Attic.* cap. xx.

Marliano speaks the common opinion of the antiquaries of the sixteenth century. "Jovis Feretrii templum in eo loco (ut plerisque omnes consentiunt) ubi nunc est Aracœli." — *Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. ii. cap. 1.

240 *Dionys.* lib. ii. cap. 36. p. 101.

241 *In vit. Jul. Cæs.* cap. xliv.

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this same height; but it is more certain the round temple of Mars Ultor was adjacent to Jupiter Feretrius.[242]

The only vestiges remaining on this part of the hill (except the old columns in Aracœli may be considered such), are some substructions, about forty palms in length, under a modern wall within the precincts of the Franciscan monastery. Towards the Forum, on the declivity of the hill, was the Mamertine prison, which has been already treated of. Behind it, along the rugged descent communicating with the Marforio, we see some remains of other substructions on which the walls of the monks' garden are built: it is not improbable that these may be some vestiges of the "Scalæ Gemoniæ," whence the bodies of the victims of popular fury were cast down headlong, and exposed naked to the insulting mob.[243] It

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242 Concerning the Athenæum, see *Salmasius, Annotat. in verb.* "Quam ego repertam in Archivis." *Trebell. Pollion. in Tregin. Tyran.* cap. x. p. 274. tom. ii.; *Hist. August.* edit. Ludg. Batav. 1671. Of the temple of "Mars Ultor," in the Forum of Augustus, enough has been said in the preceding Dissertation; the other, in the Capitol, was round, as appears from a medal extant. Ἀμελεῖ [Augustus] καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ νεὼν Ἄρεος Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν, καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐποίησε. — *Dion Cass.* lib. liv. p. 737. tom. i.; and compare *Propert.* eleg. x. lib. iv.

243 The body of Sejanus was treated for three days together this brutal manner. See *Dion Cassius,* lib. lviii. p. 885. tom. ii. The same writer points very clearly to the place we have designated. Ἐπειδή τε καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ θύσας, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν κατήιε, οἰκέται αὐτοῦ οἱ δορυφόροι διά τε τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸ δεσμωλήριον ἀγούσης ἐξελράπονlο, μὴ δυνηθέν[lες] αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐπακολουθήσαι, καὶ καλὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν, καθ' ὧν οἱ δικαιούμενοι ἐρρίπτοῦντο, κατιόν[lες], ᾤλισθον καὶ καλίπεσον. — *Id.* p. 880.

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cannot well be supposed that any building of much consequence would be stationed near the scene of such disgusting exhibitions: we must, therefore, ascend up to the monastery before attempting to find room for the many other temples which stood on the Capitol. Independently of the two already mentioned, Rycqius enumerates eleven, which we have not yet even named, besides a variety of honorary and colossal statues, triumphal columns, and trophies of endless victories[244]; but, as not a vestige of any of them, that we know of, has ever been brought to light, we may be content with pointing out the extensive monastery of the "barefooted friars" as a monument of the vicissitudes of human affairs. A recapitulation of the history of the Capitol may now close our Dissertation on the region of the Roman Forum.

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[244] Our "Mons Capitolinus" was, according to Rycquis's notion, the "Capitolium;" in which, however, he includes our "Area Capitolina." Besides the temples of Jupiter Feretrius and Mars Ultor, the Athenæum, and other objects already mentioned, he introduces the following: —

Temples.	Juno Regina.
	Jupiter Fidei Sponsor.
	Venus Ericina.
	Venus Calva II. Vet. et Nov.
Temples.	Fortuna Primigenia.
	Fortuna Obsequens.
	Diana (fortè?)
	Ops.
Temples.	Mens.
	Isis et Serapis.

De Capitolio Comment. p. 87—89. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1669.

Although it would be difficult to find room for all these things at once about the church of Aracœli and the museum, the curious reader may see the authorities for their existence at one time or other in *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 341, &c.; also in *Donatus, de Urb. Rom.* lib. ii. apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 643, &c.

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Tarquinius Priscus was the founder of the Capitoline temple, which he had vowed to erect to Jupiter in the Sabine war. "He might rather be said to have measured out the foundations by the hopes of future greatness, than by the actual resources of the Romans at that period." Servius Tullius, with the willing aid of his allies, continued the work; and when Tarquin the Proud had captured the city of Suessa Pometia, he employed the spoils in accomplishing his predecessor's design. But the glory of the work, says Tacitus, triumphantly, was reserved for the epoch of liberty.[245] The kings were banished, and Horatius Pulvillus, in his second consulship, at length finished and dedicated the Capitol. [U. C. 247.] It was then upon so large a scale, that all the wealth which, in subsequent ages, was lavished upon it, might rather be said to heighten its splendour than to increase its magnitude. We are not informed that it received any injury during the first siege of Rome by the Gauls; and from the consulship of Pulvillus to that of L. Scipio and C. Norbanus are reckoned 425 years. Through all those generations, therefore, it stood firm in the republican strength and simplicity of its peperine stone; and then fell a prey to the flames of a civil war. [U. C. 672.] The victorious Sylla undertook to build a second Capitol upon the old foundations; and he enriched the temple, as we have described, with the spoils of Greece. From this period we may date its splendour: but the only thing which the dictator of the Roman world

[245] It is chiefly from Tacitus that this account from Tarquin to Vitellius is derived. *Historiar.* lib. iii. cap. 72.

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considered wanting to complete his felicity [246] was, that he had not lived to finish his work. The glory of that task devolved upon the consul Q. Lutatius Catulus, who dedicated it in the 676th year of the city; and his name existed upon the Tabularium, as we have already said, until the sixteenth century. It received a considerable acquisition of wealth and ornament in consequence of the foreign victories of those ambitious citizens, whose object it was to court popular favour by a display of their magnificence; and to such an extent was this carried, that Julius Cæsar is said to have stolen out of the Capitol 3000 pounds' weight of gold.[247] Augustus amply supplied this defect with the spoils of Egypt: he carried into the cell of Jupiter alone 16,000 pounds of gold at one time, besides gems to the value of 403,645*l.* sterling.[248] The gifts and "ex votos" were various and valuable beyond those of any shrine in the world; consisting of golden crowns and victories, silver tables, candelabra, vases, and every object of luxurious art.[249] At this pitch of wealth and decoration (such is the unbridled fury of faction!), it was besieged and set on fire in the sight of the whole city. "And what," says the indignant historian, "were the motives of this fight? what was the end to be gained by such a sacrifice as this? Were we contending

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[246] Vide *Plutarch. in Poplicola*, p. 104.; and compare *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 43.

[247] *Sueton. in Cæsar.* cap. liv.

[248] *Id. in August.* cap. xxx.; and *Dion Cass.* li. 665. tom. i.

[249] Consult *Justus Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman.* lib. iii. cap. 5. p. 773. tom. iii. edit. Vesaliæ, 1675.

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in arms for our country?" This took place in the civil war between Vitellius and the Flavian party, of which we gave a full statement in the first instance. [A. D. 70.] Vespasian was the next restorer of the Capitol, and he set the example of clearing away the ruins for that purpose with his own hands.[250] On this occasion it was that he endeavoured to supply the lost copies of the decrees. After being burnt a third time, soon after Vespasian's restoration of it, Domitian finally raised it to the very height of its splendour: not only were the ceilings gilded, but also the very tiles and the doors, besides the latter having additional borderings of thick-laid gold; so that it is said the gilding of it alone cost 12,000 talents, — that is, 1,976,250*l.* sterling.[251] There is no reason to suppose this immense wealth was ever invaded until the calamitous times of Honorius [A. D. 393–402]: then Stilicho, his general, having great need of money, laid hands upon the gold which ornamented the doors. The plunderers, it is said, met with an inscription, which, whilst it encouraged their sacrilege, revealed the impending destiny of the empire: — "These (the doors or gold ornaments) are reserved for an unfortunate king!"[252] "And this," says Zosimus, "the issue proved; for, shortly after, Stilicho miserably perished!" We can hardly suppose the Capitol, above all things, to have escaped the fury of the first Gothic siege of the

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[250] *Sueton. in Vespasian.* cap. viii.

[251] On the authority of *Plutarch in vit. Poblicolæ*, p. 104.

[252] MISERO REGI SERVANTVR. — *Zosimus in Honor. et Theodos. II.* lib. v. cap. 38. p. 616. edit. Jenæ, 1728, in 8vo.

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city[253], which took place only seven years after the death of Honorius; and we are positively assured by Procopius, that amongst the plunder with which they filled the ships of the Vandal King Genseric [A. D. 455], there was one half of the gilded bronze which had covered the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[254] But the spoil never reached the shores of Africa; and the votaries of paganism still fancied they saw the vengeance of their gods displayed in the fury of the elements, when the rich cargo was scattered over the waves of the Mediterranean. It is probable that after the sack of Rome by Ricimer which followed [A. D. 472], and the time of Belisarius [A. D. 537], there was not much of the original treasure left to tempt the avarice of Totila[255] [A. D. 546]: but if it be true that Pope Honorius I. still found some bronze materials in the roof, it proves the temple itself to have survived all the ravages of the barbarians of the north. The Anonymous of the eighth century enumerates a temple of Jove, by which he evidently means the one in the Portico of Octavia; and as he mentions no other, it is fair to conclude that the Capitolium was already in ruins: and thus it appears that the fifth century was the period of its decline; the sixth, of its more obvious decay; and the seventh, of its final ruin. The palace of the Lateran and the tomb of St. Peter now began

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253 *Tornandes de Rebus Geticis*, cap. xxx.

254 *Procopius de Bello Vandalico*, lib. i. cap. 5. p. 189. tom. i. edit. Paris, 1662.

255 The Padre Berti (*Ecclesias. Hist. Brev.* vi. cap. 6. in appendice) writes, that Totila set fire to the Capitol; but he cites no authority for his assertion. Procopius is a safer guide. (*De Bello Gothico*, lib. iii. cap. 22. p. 517.)

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to eclipse the fame of the citadel and the Capitoline Jove; and the new sensation thrilled not less powerfully through the disjointed members of the Roman world. Before the dawn of letters revived a faint light once more upon the Capitol in the person of Petrarch, the genius of ancient Rome slumbered unknown amongst the unintelligible ruins of the Tarpeian fortress. There might still have been found some traces of the great temple even in the thirteenth century, if any one had cared to investigate the monuments of antiquity; and before the renown of the Capitolium finally expired like the last fluttering effort of the fading taper, the tribune Rienzi proclaimed from its summit a transient hour of liberty.[256] [A. D. 1347.] Then no more is it found in the annals of the world; and its squalid appearance in the fifteenth century [A. D. 1480] could almost draw tears from the eye of the stranger.[257] The only compensation he will now find is its association with the name of Michael Angelo; and although the modern edifices be totally unworthy of a site once so august, it is still the kindred genius of art which links the degenerate Campidoglio with the splendid architecture of ancient Rome. It is true, in endeavouring to seize the chain, we fall into a chasm of 1000 years; but the imagination, aided by the "relics of empire," which still exist in the Capitol, will easily span the night which intervenes between the setting and the rising again of the civilising arts of human life. The Capitoline hill unites the localities of the

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[256] *Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall, &c.* ch. lxx.
[257] *Poggio Fiorentino de Varietat. Fortun.* p. 5—21.

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ancient and modern cities; but it seems also to be the spot on which the excellencies of both are destined to flourish, as long as Rome and the Colosseum shall stand; or as architecture, sculpture, and painting shall be considered worthy of the attention of civilised Europe.



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INDEX

OF

THE PLAN OF THE ROMAN FORUM

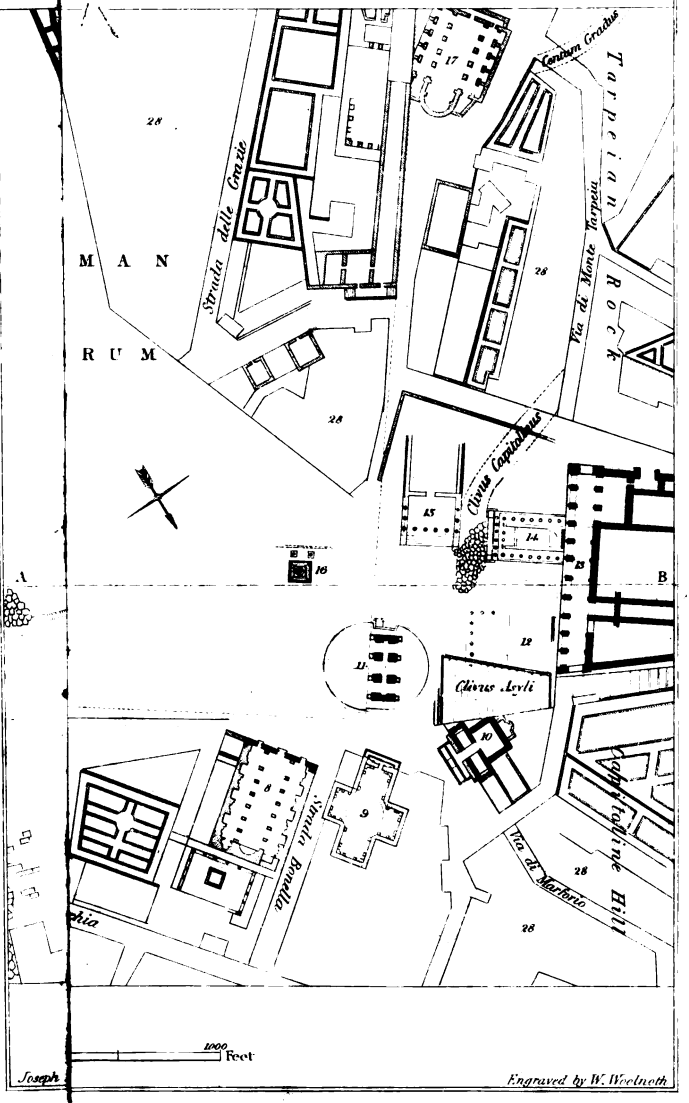
AND THE PLACES ADJACENT.

No. 1. Temple of Venus and Rome.
2. Church of S. Francesca Romana.
3. Basilica, commonly called the Temple of Peace.
4. Temple of Remus, now the church of SS. Cosmas and Damiano.
5. Walls of travertine stone, remains of some building unknown.
6. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, with the consecrated enclosure measured by Palladio, but now covered. *Idem* the church of S. Lorenzo in Mirandis.
7. Site of the Arch of Fabius.
8. Church of S. Hadriano, including some remains of an ancient building.
9. Church of S. Martina.
10. Mamertine prison.
11. Arch of Septimius Severus.
12. Remains of the Temple of Concord.
13. Portico and substructions of the Tabularium.
14. Temple of Jupiter Tonans.
15. Temple of Fortune, or, according to others, of Vespasian.
16. Pillar of Phocas, with two other unknown basements.

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17. Church of the Madonna della Consolazione.
18. Græcostasis, or Comitium.
19. Curia Hostilia vel Julia — the Senate-house.
20. Church of S. Theodora, supposed to be built upon the ruins of the Temple of Vesta.
21. Church of S. Maria Liberatrice.
22. Ruins of the house of Caligula.
23. Other ruins of the palace of the Cæsars.
24. Remains of the vestibule of the said palace, probably of the age of Vespasian.
25. Ruins of the Golden House of Nero.
26. Arch of Titus.
27. Site of the Tower of the Frangipani, built in the ninth century, and thrown down in 1830!
28. Modern buildings.

N. B. The buildings that occur in the section taken on the line A B are, —

The Arch of Titus.
The Græcostasis; the elevation towards the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina being restored.
The Pillar of Phocas.
The Temple of Fortune, with the elevation restored.
A lateral view of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans.
The Portico of the Tabularium.

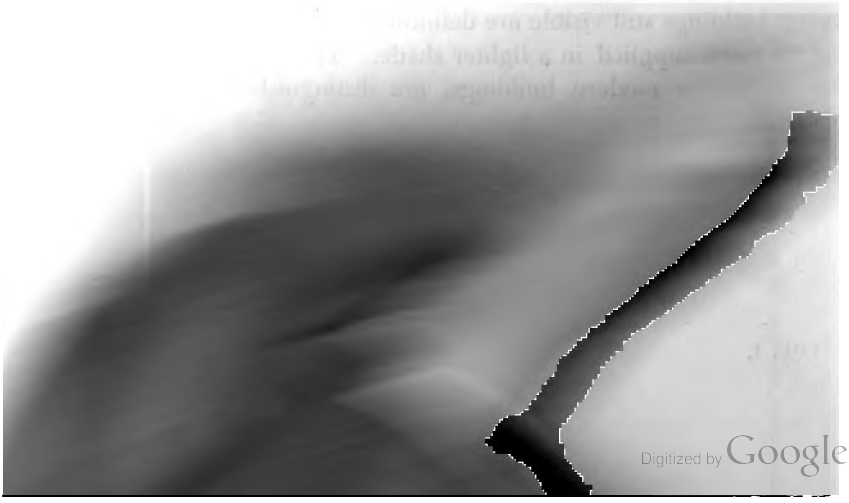
And note further, that in the Plan the vestiges of the ancient buildings still visible are delineated in black lines, and the parts supplied in a lighter shade. The churches also, and other modern buildings, are distinguished by fainter lines.

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NOTES.

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NOTES.

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NOTES.

NOTE A, page 4.

ACCORDING to Ovid's derivation of the word Latium, it is as old as Jupiter himself: —

" Hac ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum;
Cœlitibus regnis ab Jove pulsus erat.
Inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen;
Dicta quoque est Latium terra, latente Deo."
Ovid. Fast. lib. i. v. 235.

But Varro thinks that the name of Latium, from lateo, is derived from the situation of the country, — concealed, as it were, within the Alps and Apennines! Eutropius (lib. i.) agrees with Ovid; and it is easy to see that this was the popular opinion. Vide *Virg. Æneid.* viii. v. 322.

NOTE B, page 8.

When the senate did not think proper to decree the honour of a triumph, the ambitious general triumphed on the Alban mount. The Latin holidays were also celebrated on this summit, when the consuls, newly created, distributed flesh to the Latin people: this was called the " *Visceratio.*" (See *Biondo de Triumph. Roman.* lib. ii., and *Nibby's Viaggio Antiquario*, tom. ii. p. 132.) But if Tertullian is to be believed, the sacrifices made on the Alban mount were not always so innocent; and there is a stain upon the classical spot which not the revolution of ages can wash away. " Ecce in illa religiosissima urbe Æneadarum et Jupiter quidam, quem ludis suis *humano* proluunt sanguine." (Vide *Tertull. Apol.* p. 27.) Upon this passage Franciscus Zephyrus has shown us the benefit of a para-

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phrase: " Sanguis etiam humanus *largè* effunditur." Vide *Paraph. in loco.*

NOTE C, page 16.

" Igitur a Foro Boario, ubi æreum Tauri simulacrum adspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi cœptus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur. Inde certis spatiis interjecti lapides, per ima Montis Palatini ad Aram Consi, mox ad Curias veteres, tum ad sacellum Larium: Forumque Romanum, et Capitolium non a Romulo, sed a Tito Tatio additum urbi credidêre."—*Tacit. Ann.* lib. xii. cap. 24. Some would put the comma after Larium instead of Romanum: the construction of the sentence, and the probability of the case, seem to me to justify the punctuation here given. I have therefore rather followed *Donatus* (lib. i. *de Urb. Rom.* cap. 3.) than Blondus, *Rom. Rest.* lib. i. cap. 72.; and preferred Nardini's reading, *de Rom. Antiq.* lib. i. cap. 2., to that of his editor. *Ibid.* edit. Rom. 1818. Compare also *Dionysius*, lib. ii. cap. 50., and *Sextus Aurelius Victor in Romulo.*

NOTE D, page 42.

The whole of the passage, which we shall have again to recur to, is generally written thus: —

" Mœnia ejus collegere ambitu, imperatoribus censoribusque Vespasianis, anno conditæ DCCCXXVI. pass. XIII. MCC. complexa montes VII. ipsa dividitur in regiones XIIII. Compita larum CCLXV. Ejusdem spatii mensura currente a milliario in capite Romani Fori statuto ad singulas portas, quæ sunt hodie numero XXXVII. ita ut XII. portæ semel numerentur, prætereanturque ex veteribus VII. quæ esse desierunt, efficit passuum per directum XXX. M. DCCLXV. Ad extrema vero tectorum cum castris prætoriis ab eodem milliario per vicos omnium viarum, mensura colligit paulo amplius LXX. M." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

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NOTE E, page 46.

See the arguments of *Nardini*, lib. i. cap. 10. *Roma Antica.*

There is no getting out of the valley between the Quirinal and Capitoline hills without a combat. The Porta Ratumena, Catularia, Flumentana, Triumphalis, and the ancient Flaminia, all contend for a place about the Forum of Trajan; the *first* of these gates is mentioned once by Plutarch, Pliny, and Festus respectively, without any further intimation of its position than that it was about the Capitol: hence some have thought, without any authority for or against, the P. Ratumena belonged exclusively to the Capitol. — 2. The Catularia is vaguely hinted at by the editor of Festus. An ancient interpreter of Suetonius, as doubtful as the P. Catularia, says, " Porta Triumphalis media fuisse videtur inter Portam Flumentanam et Catulariam." There is a sort of presentiment amongst antiquaries that the gate in question was under the Quirinal hill. (See also the additional *labour of Signor Nibby*, *Le Mura di Roma*, p. 135.)—3. The Porta Flumentana has already been disposed of.—4. There was, doubtless, a gate in the circuit of the walls emphatically called the " Porta Triumphalis." (*Cic. in Pison.* cap. 23.) The senate decreed, as the highest honour to the memory of Augustus, that his dead body should be carried out by this gate (*Sueton. in vit. Aug.* cap. 100.): from which circumstance, and the passage in Cicero just referred to, it is to be concluded that the triumphal gate, like the holy doors of the modern Basilicas, was only laid open on solemn occasions. Josephus informs us (*de Bello Judaic.* lib. vii. cap. 16.) that Vespasian, whose triumphal procession was put in order at the portico of Octavia, now the *Pescheria*, approached the gate through which the triumphs always entered the city; from which account, taken along with the funeral procession of Augustus, and the situation of his mausoleum, it is further deducible that the Porta Triumphalis led into the Campus Martius, and therefore might be placed either at the eastern

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or western extremity of the Capitol. Now the triumphs from the north came sometimes on the Via Flaminia; for Martial (*Epig.* x. 6. 3.), joyfully anticipating the return of Trajan in triumph from Dacia, says, —

> " Quando erit ille dies, &c.
> * * * *
> Quando moræ dulces, longusque a Cæsare pulvis,
> Totaque Flaminia Roma videnda via?"

Compare also *Claudius de Laudibus Stilichon*, xxii. 397. A triumphal arch is known to have stood as near to the Capitol as the church of S. Maria in Via Lata; and the tomb of Bibulus still remains to mark the direction of the road. From the arch of Gordian, just alluded to, to the sepulchre placed, as was the custom, by the road-side, seems a natural continuation of the Triumph; if so, the Porta Triumphalis was at the western extremity of the Capitol. But as it was not for common use, at the head of the Via Flaminia was another gate; and of the several names already enumerated we have chosen the most popular one of P. Flaminia, distant from the Pons Milvius, according to the *Carta Peutingeriana*, three miles (Vide *Nibby's Dissert. della Via degli Antichi*, p. 58.), and corresponding to the modern Porta del Populo. After the triumph had entered the city we lose sight entirely of its direction: thus much we know, it paraded in the Forum, and finished at the temple of Great Jupiter on the Capitol. The isolated passages collected by antiquaries to show the route of the procession, rather prove that there was no particular route observed; probably it was at the will and order of the conqueror, as the various positions of the triumphal arches now remaining may seem to imply, and as appears in the triumph of Vespasian. ἔπεμπον τὸν Θρίαμβον διὰ τῶν θεάτρων, διεξελαύνοντες ὅπως εἰὴ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡ θέα ῥᾴων. — *Josephus de Bell. Judaic.* lib. vii. cap. 16. As much as is here written upon the site of one gate might be said of almost all the rest in our circuit of the old walls; but we are loath to weary the patience of the reader.

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NOTE F, page 46.

The following passage will also show how a writer, eighteen centuries ago, was puzzled with a task antiquaries are still bold enough to undertake: —

" Quirinalis porta eadem quæ et Collina dicebatur, ut legimus apud antiquos scriptores: positum autem unius nomen pro alterius nomine reperii, quia initio ita conjunctæ fuerunt ut unam tantum fuisse, quasi id suffragetur quam ideo nominari ait Collinam Santra proxime eam quod collis Quirinalis est. Portam rursum Quirinalem ideo appellant, sive quod ea in collem Quirinalem itur, sive quia proxime eam sacellum est Quirini. unde ut videtur usurpatio facta; et duplex nomen uni, eidemque rei impositum est." — *Festus* in verb. *Quirinalis Porta.*

NOTE H, page 48.

Cicero (in the passage referred to in Note E, page 455. *Orat. in Pison.* cap. xxiii.) leads us to conjecture there was no gate between the Cælimontana and Esquilina. " Cum ego, Cælimontana porta introisse dixissem, sponsione me, ni Esquilina introisset, homo promptissimus lacessivit: quasi vero id aut ego scire debuerim, ut vestrum quispiam audierit; aut ad rem pertineat, qua tu porta introieris, modo ne Triumphali: quæ porta Macedonicis semper Proconsulibus ante te patuit." Panvinio and Fulvio identify the P. Cælimontana with the P. Asinaria, now existing near the Porta S. Giovanni; of the latter antiquary Donatus observes, " In causa afferenda ridiculus magis quam eruditus." — *De Urbe Roma*, lib. i. cap. xix.

NOTE I, page 52.

This distance is measured upon Nolli's great plan of Rome; thus —

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	English feet.
From the supposed site of the P. Flumentana, behind the S. Nicolò in Carcere, to the site of the P. Carmentalis, in the Via della Bufala, near the Piazza Montanara - - -	665
To the foot of the steps of Ara Cœli, passing by the Chiesa di S. Maria, in Vicolo Saponari, and the Oratorio di S. Andrea in Vinci, in the Via Torr de' Specchi - - -	1240
To the tomb of Bibulus, at the bottom of the Via Marforio - - -	665
To the Strada della Pilotta, behind the Colonna Palace - - - -	960
To the vicinity of the fountain of Trevi - -	1230
To the Strada delle quattro Fontane, at the Piazza Barberini - - -	1560
To the vestiges of the old walls beneath the Villa Barberini - - - -	1860
To the site of the P. Collina, above the ruins of Sallust's house - - -	1420
The length of the Agger of Servius to the P. Esquilina - - - -	4850
From the site of the P. Esquilina, near the Arco S. Vito, to the P. Cælimontana, passing by the church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino -	3580
From the position of the P. Cælimontana, near the Hospital of the Lateran, to the P. Capena, by the flexures of the Cælian hill - -	3900
To the corresponding point in the present walls beyond the church of S. Balbina - -	2060
To the site of the P. Lavernalis, beneath the bastion of Pope Paul III. - -	2000
The rest of the Aventine hill to the P. Trigemina at the Tyber - - -	2300
	28,290
The distance intervening on the banks of the river between the P. Flumentana and Trigemina - - - - -	2400
	30,690

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NOTE K, page 54.

" Pomœrium verbi vim solam intuentes, post mœrium interpretantur esse. Est autem magis *circa murum* locus, quem, in condendis urbibus, quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducturi erant certis circa terminis, inaugurato consecrabant; ut neque interiore parte ædificia mœnibus continuarentur, quæ nunc vulgo etiam conjungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateter soli. Hoc spatium quod neque habitari, neque arari fas est, non magis quod post murum esset, quam quod murus post id, pomœrium Romani appellarunt, et in urbis incremento semper quantum mœnia processura erant tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur."—*T. Liv.* lib. i. c. 44.

NOTE L, p. 55.

" Propterea quæsitum est, ac nunc etiam in quæstione est, quam ob causam, ex septem urbis montibus, cum cæteri sex intra pomœrium sint, Aventinus solum, quæ pars non longinqua nec infrequens est, extra pomœrium sit: neque id Servius Tullius rex, neque Sulla qui proferendi pomœrii titulum quæsivit, neque postea D. Julius cum pomœrium proferret, intra effatos urbis fines incluserint. Hujus rei Messala aliquot causas videri scribit, sed præter eas omnes ipse unam probat, quod in eo monte Remus, urbis condendæ gratia, auspicaverit, avesque irritas habuerit, superatusque in auspicio a Romulo sit."—*Aulus Gellius*, lib. xiii. c. 14.

NOTE M, page 56.

The following passage, without any commentary, will place the whole of this subject in its proper light: —

Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τελευταῖος ἠύξησε τὸν περιβόλον τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς δύο τοῖς πενὶὲ προσθεὶς λόφους, ὀρνιθευσάμενός τε ὡς νόμος ἦν, καὶ

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τάλλα τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια διαπραξάμενος. προσωτέρω δὲ οὐκ ἔτι προῆλθεν ἡ κατασκεύη τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἔωντος, ὥς φασι, τοῦ δαιμονίου· ἀλλ' ἔξιν ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἰκούμενα χώρια, πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μέγαλα, γύμνα καὶ ἀτείχιστα, καὶ ῥᾳδίως πολέμιοις ἔλθοῦσιν ὑποχειρία γένεσθαι· καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰς ταῦτά τις ὁρῶν τὸ μέγεθος ἐξετάζειν βουλήσεται τῆς Ῥώμης, πλανάσθαι τε ἀναγκασθήσεται, καὶ οὐχ ἕξει βέβαιον σημεῖον οὗ διαγνώσεται μέχρι πῆ προβαινοῦσα ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ, καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται μηκέτι εἶναι πόλις· οὕτω συνύφανται τῷ ἄστει ἡ χώρα, καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκμηκυνόμενης πόλεως ὑπόληψιν τοῖς θεώμενοις παρέχεται. εἰ δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ δυσευρέτῳ μὲν ὄντι διὰ τὰς περιλαμβανοῦσας αὐτὸ πολλαχόθεν οἰκήσεις, ἴχνη δέ τινι φυλάττονλι κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκεύης, βουληθείη μετρεῖν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κύκλον τοῦ περιέχοντα ἄστυ, οὐ πολλῷ τινι μείζων ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης φανείη κύκλος. — *Dionys. Halicar. de Antiq. Roman.* lib. iv. cap. 13.

The city of Athens, *i. e.* the *Asty*, measured, according to *Thucydides* (lib. ii. cap. 13.), 43 stadii; which measurement is approved and confirmed by Colonel Leake's observations. (see *Topography of Athens, &c.*, p. 368. edit. 1821.) Forty-three stadii, according to the calculation of that accurate observer, will amount to nearly five English miles. Now, Dionysius says the ancient circuit of Rome was *not much more* than this; and the ancient city, as we have defined its limits, including the seven hills, will measure about six English miles, not exceeding the latitude given us in the expression of Dionysius. But, with due deference to the learned author of the "*Topography of Athens*," &c., this intimation of Dionysius has nothing whatever to do with the dimensions taken by the geometrician Ammon at the first invasion of the Goths. Neither can the reading in the passage of Pliny, XXIIIM.CC instead of XIIIM.CC, be justified, with all the learning of Cluverius and Lipsius: for see *Nardini*, lib. i. cap. 6., and *Donatus*, lib. i. cap. 19. The latter says he had seen seven Codices in the Vatican library, one of which was very ancient: they all had XIIIM. except two, which had XIV.!

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NOTE N, page 63.

" Sed casu sermo a Capitone de urbe augenda: a ponte Mulvio Tiberim duci secundum Montes Vaticanos; Campum Martium coædificari; illum autem Campum Vaticanum fieri, quasi Martium campum. Quid ais? iniquam. At ego [ad tabulam], ut si recte possem Scapulanos hortos. Cave facias, inquit; nam ista lex perferetur: Vult enim Cæsar." — *Cicero's Epistles to Atticus*, lib. xiii. ep. 33. This passage conveys more meaning in it than the mere circumstance of enlarging the city; for the " Comitia," or assemblies of the people, were held in the Campus Martius, and, by an ancient law of the constitution, could not be held within the city. Had Cæsar, therefore, enclosed (coædificari) the Campus Martius, he would have enclosed also the assemblies within the city; and therefore he designed, as it seems, to turn the bed of the river from the Pons Milvius to, perhaps, near the island, so as to leave without the enlarged city a Campus for the purpose of the public assemblies: that Campus was to have been the Vaticanus. Now, such a project as this could hardly have been formed if the Campus Martius had been limited to the site of modern Rome; or if this extent of territory, which Cæsar proposed to join to it, had not in a great measure been public property. These things the dictator did not live to accomplish (compare Note 33 to p. 52.). Although Justus Lipsius does not see why Augustus or Nero (both said to have extended the Pomœrium) may not have put into execution the design of their predecessor (*de Magnitudine Roman.* lib. iii. cap. 2.), this could not be; for we find the Campus Martius without the city, or Pomœrium, in the time of Vitellius and Vespasian. Comp. *Tacitus, Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 82. and *Josephus de Bell. Judaic.* lib. vii. cap. 16.

NOTE O and P, page 82.

" Spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit; instituitque, ut illas annui magistratus sortito tuerentur; hos magistri e

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plebe cujusque viciniæ lecti." — *Suet. in August.* cap. xxx. This passage is not found with the words "quatuordecim" [*i. e.* regiones] and "supra mille" [*i. e.* vicos], as Nardini quotes it; but Pliny supplies the defect (see Note D) of the former, the Regionaries of the latter number. (See also Note following.) It is obvious that a "Regio" was a ward or district — but what were the Compita? The ancients called a Compitum a place where several streets met or intersected each other: in these places were statues of the "Dii Lares," to which they sacrificed on the festivals called Compitalia. (*Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. v.) Augustus ordered these festivals to take place twice a year, which before had only been celebrated once. (*Sueton. in August.* cap. xxxi.) Ovid speaks of these gods of the Compita —

"Qui compita servant
Et vigilant nostra semper in urbe Lares."
Fast. lib. ii. v. 615.

In these places crowds of idle fellows collected and nicknamed the passengers. (*Hor. Sat.* iii. lib. ii. v. 26.) "Vicus," as the word will be used in these Dissertations, means a street.

NOTE Q, page 84.

This marble altar, supporting a lion, now stands at the foot of the staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in the Capitol. The inscription in front, in large letters, is as follows: —

IMP . CAESARI . DIVI
TRAIANI . PARTHICI . FIL .
DIVI . NERVAE . NEPOTI
TRAIANO . HADRIANO
AVG . PONTIF . MAXIMO
TRIBVNIC . POTESTAT . $\overline{XX}$
IMP . $\overline{II}$. COS . $\overline{III}$. P . P
MAGISTRI . VICORVM . VRBIS
REGIONVM . XIIII.

Vide Gruter. Corpus Inscrip. p. 249.

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The streets of the regions inscribed are, on the left side, the x. xiii. i.; on the right side, xii. and xiv. This valuable monument establishes the authenticity of the Regionaries; for the streets enumerated in the five regions agree very nearly with the documents of Victor and Rufus. On the back of the altar Gruter discovered traces of letters: and perhaps the rest of the regions might have been there written, as the main inscription announces; but the indefatigable antiquary was not able to decipher them. To every vicus or street are assigned four "Magistri," which in the first region, for instance, were nine times four; over each region were placed two superior magistrates called "Curatores," and two others called Denunciatores. The office of the Curator was to see that the region was not encroached upon by private individuals, and to take care the streets were kept in good order as well as the roads, "*Viæ*," that might pass through the district: consequently the Curator had the power of overhaling the Vicomagistri. The Denunciator appears to have been subordinate to the Curator, but superior to the Vicomagistri; and perhaps his office was to go about the region, and make his reports of any disorder, damages, or encroachments. Each Curator, in all probability, had his Denunciator. (Consult *Panciroli* in the "*Notitia*," and *Panvinio de Rep. Rom.* p. 74.)

NOTE R, page 91.

The first region, according to Sextus Rufus, contained 8 streets (he omits the Vicus Camœnarum, which Victor and the Base Capitolina have), 5 temples (ÆDES), 6 public promenades (AREÆ), 11 pools, and 71 others without names (LACUS), 6 private baths (BALINEUM), 2 bath establishments (THERMÆ), 4 arches (ARCUS), 3 sacred enclosures or edifices (TEMPLUM), 10 chapels (ÆDICULÆ), 4250 INSULÆ, 121 great houses (DOMUS), 14 storehouses (HORREA), 82 private washing places (BALINEÆ PRIVATÆ), 12 workhouses (PISTRINA), an altar of Isis, Mutatorium Cæsaris (?) and the rivulet Almo. Vide *Sex. Rufus in Panvinio, apud*

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Grævium, tom. iii. p. 26. edit. Traject. ad Rhenum. Lugd. Batav. 1696.

It may here be proper to explain what an "Insula" was; it is thus described by an ancient grammarian: — "Insulæ dictæ proprie quæ non junguntur communibus parietibus cum vicinis, circuituque publico aut privato cinguntur; a similitudine videlicet earum terrarum quæ fluminibus ac mare eminent, suntque in salo positæ." — *Sex. Pomp. Festus*, lib. ix. in verb. *Insula*. So that an Insula was an isolated building, or assemblage of buildings, separated from any other by the streets or alleys which surrounded it. After the great fire of Rome, Nero gave orders for isolating the buildings of the new city. (*Tacit. Ann.* xv. cap. 53., and *Suet. in vit. Neron.* 16.) The Abbé Brottier translates Insulæ "des Hôtels," and perhaps we have not a word in our language so appropriate; nor have we any thing to give us so correct an idea of an Insula as those immense houses in Paris, capable of containing a score of families, all using the same court and staircase. Compare the *Description of Panciroli, apud Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 327. Cicero speaks of the rents he derived from the houses he possessed in the city as "Merces Insularum." (*Cic. ad Atticum*, lib. xv. 17.) They were, of course, plebeian habitations.

NOTE S, page 94.

This Inscription is remarkable for its orthography, and its authenticity is no longer doubted.

HONC . OINO . PLOIRVME . CONSENTIONT . R
DVONORO . OPTVMO . FVISE . VIRO
LVCIOM . SCIPIONE . FILIOS . BARBATI
CONSOL . CENSOR . AIDILIS . HIC . FVET . A . . .
HEC . CEPIT . CORSICA . ALERIAQVE . VRBE
DEDET . TEMPESTATEBVS . AIDE . MERETO .

which Sirmondo thus interprets: —

Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ bonorum optimum fuisse virum Lucium Scipionem, filius Barbati, Consul,

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Censor, Ædilis hic fuit atque [others "apud vos"] hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem. Dedit tempestatibus ædem merito.

NOTE T, page 94.

QVEI . APICE . INSIGNE[1]. DIALIS . FLAMINIS . GESISTEI [2]
MORS . PERFECIT . TVA . VT . ESSENT . OMNIA .
BREVIA . HONOS . FAMA . VIRTVSQVE
GLORIA . ATQVE . INGENIVM . QVIBVS . SEI [3]
IN . LONGA . LICVISSET . TIBE . VTIER [4] . VITA
FACILE . FACTEIS . SVPERASES [5] . GLORIAM .
MAIORVM . QVA. RE . LVBENS . TE . IN . GREMIV [6].
SCIPIO . RECEPIT . TERRA . PVBLI
PROGNATVM . PVBLIO . CORNELI .

1 "Qui apicem insignem." 2 "Gessisti." 3 Si. 4 "Tibi uti." 5 Factis superasses. 6 Gremium.

The third inscription runs thus (found the second in order in the excavation of 1780): —

L . CORNELI . L . F . P . N
SCIPIO . QVAIST [7].
TR . MIL . ANNOS .
GNATVS . XXXIII.
MORTVOS [8] . PATER .
REGEM . ANTIOCO [9] .
SVBEGIT.

7 Quæstor. 8 Mortuus. 9 Antiochum.

NOTE U, p. 104.

The following words of Martial have given rise to most of those conjectures: —

"Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta,
Phrygiæque Matris Almo qua lavat ferrum,
Horatiorum qua virêt sacer Campus,
Et qua pusilli fervet *Herculis fanum*."
Martial. Epigram. lib. iii. 47.

"Soror Virgo," says Livy, "obvia ante portam Capenam fuit;" and afterwards, "Horatiæ sepulchrum quo loco cor-

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ruerat icta constructum ex saxo quadrato:" but, in Livy's time, we have seen where the Porta Capena was. The first thing, indeed, would be to ascertain whether the history itself be true. M. de Pouilly found the whole of this story in a fragment of the Arcadicæ of Demaratus, preserved by Stobœus, in a war between Tegæa and Pheræa, two little cities of Arcadia. Three young warriors on each side were chosen to decide the contest; even the sister of the conqueror loved the enemy he had slain, and the enraged brother slew her. Vide *Dissertat. de M. de Pouilly, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. vi. p. 27.

NOTE X, page 107.

" Est locus in Tyberim qua lubricus influit Almo
Et nomen magno perdit in amne minor,
Illic purpurea canus cum veste sacerdos
Almonis dominam, sacraque, lavit aquis.
Exululant comites, furiosaque tibia flatur,
Et feriunt molles taurea terga manus."
Ovid. Fast. lib. iv. v. 335.

Lucan. Pharsalia, lib. i. 600. p. 82. edit. Lugdun. 1728; and compare *Martial* as cited in Note U.

—— " Tuque, o, quæ, vecta per altum,
Sponte Palatinis mutâsti collibus Idam,
Prælatoque lavas Phrygios Almone leones,
Maternis precibus natum jam flecte, Cybele."
Claud. de Bell. Gild. lib. xv. 119.

The ceremony took place on the 6th of the Kalend. April.

—— " Ubi ad diem sextum Calendarum [scilicet April.] quo Romæ Matri Deorum pompæ celebrantur annales, et carpentum quo vehitur simulachrum Almonis undis ablui perhibetur, sacrorum solemnitate prisco more completa."— *Amm Marcellinus*, lib. xxiii. cap. 6.

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I have been informed that the statue of the Virgin Mary was formerly washed in like manner at the same spot, and I think on the selfsame day!

NOTE Y, page 131.

" Sed dum tota domus rheda componitur una,
Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam:
Hic, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ,
Nunc sacri fontis nemus, et delubra locantur
Judæis; quorum cophinus, fœnumque supellex.
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor, et ejectis mendicat sylva Camœnis.
In vallem Egeriæ descendimus, et speluncas
Dissimiles veris; quanto præstantius esset
Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum *?"
Juvenal, sat. iii. v. 10.

* This furnishes the word Tufo, so frequently employed in our dissertations.

NOTE Z, page 133.

" Rediculi fanum extra Portam Capenam fuit, quia accedens ad urbem Hannibal ex eo loco redierit quibusdam perterritus visis." — *Sextus Pompeius*, lib. vi. Combining this passage with Livy's account, we may trace the reconnoitre of the Carthaginian. " Annibal ad Anienem fluvium, tria millia passuum ab urbe castra amovit, ibi stativis positis, ipse cum duobus millibus equitum a portâ Collinâ usque ad Herculis templum est progressus."— Lib. xxvi. cap. 10. If, therefore, Livy's temple of Hercules is the same as that mentioned by Martial (see Note U.) as near the Almo, Hannibal is brought from the P. Collina into this neighbourhood; but then the temple erected in memory of his retreat should at least be placed within sight of the city. " Atque unde proxime poterat, mœnia situmque urbis obequitans *contemplabatur*," (*Livy, ibid.*) which of all places could not be in this valley.

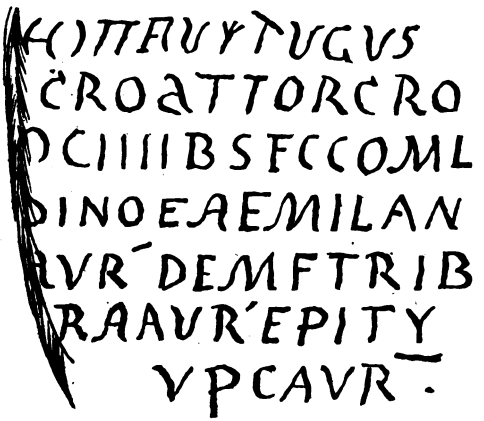
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NOTE AA, page 142.

"Publice et frequenter et cum omnibus lavit," says Spartian, and relates the following anecdote: — "Cum quodam tempore veteranum quendam notum sibi in militia dorsum et cæteram partem corporis vidisset atterere, percunctatus cur se marmoribus distringendum daret, ubi audivit hoc idcirco fieri quod servum non haberet, et servis eum donavit et sumptibus; verum, aliâ die, cum plures senes ad provocandam liberalitatem principis parieti se attererent, evocari eos jussit et alium ab alio invicem defricari." — *Spartian. in vit. Hadrian*, cap. 17.

NOTE BB, page 143.

Aurelius Victor throws some light on the date of these baths. "Atque aucta Urbs magno accessu Viæ novæ et ad lavandum absoluta opera pulchri cultus. Quibus confectis cum Syriam circumgrederetur anno potentiæ sexto moritur." — *De Cæsaribus*, in loco. The six years are, of course, reckoned from the death of Septimius Severus, which happened A. D. 211; so that the *baths* were finished before the year 217. Thus far we are guided by the faint light of history; but, in the late excavations, a fragment of marble was turned up as it had been sent from the quarries, and rudely inscribed thus: —



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It is enough that we are able to decipher in the fourth line the names of the two consuls, Albinus and Æmilianus, who are found (in the *Fasti Consulares, auctor. anonym. e Codice Bib. Cæsarææ*) thus, — Albino et Æmiliano, Coss. U. C. 959. Mar. 3. A. C. 206. See also the *Chronic. M. Aur. Cassiodor.* The three following lines will furnish these words .... AVRelii DEMETRII. B..... Sub cuRA AVRelii EPITYchani Viri Perfectissimi. On which it is to be remarked, that this same Aurelius Demetrius was of the sixth legion, called "Ferrata," which flourished under Caracalla, as appears from an inscription in *Murator. Thes. Inscrip.* p. DCCCXX. 4. and further from Gruter. CCCLXXI. 8. and XLV. 13. So that when Nummius Albinus and Fulvius Æmilianus were consuls, in the year 206, the materials were preparing for erecting the baths of Caracalla. This period coincides within about a year with the date of Severus's triumphal arch; and therefore, in all probability, the Thermæ were begun immediately after his conquests in the East. From all which we conclude, that they were begun and finished, except some outworks, within twelve years, 205—217. Consult *Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.* chap. 6.

NOTE CC, page 155.

The inscription as restored by Donatus: —

NVMINI . DOMVS . AVGVSTAE . ET . SANCTI Silvani SALVTARIS . SACRVM
IMP . CAES . NERVAE . TRAIANI . OPTIMI Princ. Germ. Dacici . IMAGINES . ARGENT
PARASTATICAS . CVM . SVIS . ORNAMENTIS . ET . REGVLIS et basibus ET . CONCAMERATIONE . FERREA.
C. IVLIVS . NYMPHIVS . DEC . ANNALIS . SVA pecunia ponendas curavit DONVMQVE . DEDIT.
IN . TEMPLO . SANCTI . SILVANI . SALVTARIS . QVOD . EST IN. hortis Aventinis et PRAEDIO . SVO . DEDICAVITQ.
IDIBVS . IANVARIIS . L. VIPSANO . MESSALA . Q. Pedone COSS.

See *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 13. p. 250., and *Nardini, Rom. Antic.* tom. iii. p. 301. edit. 1819.

Venuti, in citing merely the fifth line of this inscription, has written SALVATORIS for SALVTARIS, and given the two words "hortis Aventinis" (the conjecture of Donatus) as being in the original inscription. *Antichità di Roma*, tom. ii. p. 43. edit. 1824.

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NOTE DD, page 168.

P . CORNELIVS . P . F . DOLABELLA . COS
C . IVNIVS . C . F . SILANUS . FLAMEN . MARTIAL
EX . S . C
FACIVND . CVRAVERVNT . IDEM . QVE
PROBAVERVNT.

Vide *Panvinio, Descrip. Civitat. Roman.* lib. ii. p. 164., where the learned reader will find an excellent dissertation on the "Flamines" and their office. The Dolabella mentioned in the above inscription also held the office of "Septemvir epulonum," a magistrate of the same rank as Caius Cestius (see Dissertat. X. page 209.); and see an inscription to this effect in *Panvinio*, lib. ii. p. 168.

NOTE EE, page 168.

"Qui [*i. e.* Campus Martius] tamen ejecta si forte tenebitur unda,
Cælius accipiet pulverulentus equos."
Ovid. Fast. lib. iii. v. 521.

Also Paulus in Festus: — "Martialis Campus in Cælio monte dicitur, quòd in eo equiria solebant fieri, si quando aquæ Tiberis Campum Martium occupassent."

With regard to the Campus Martius being inundated, Donatus justly observes, "Id rarum cum rarò inundet Tiberis, præsertim adulto jam Martio." — *Vide Donat. de Urbe Rom.* lib. iii. p. 244. He, however, supposes the Campus Martialis to have been not far from where the Lateran church now is; because that part of the Cælian hill was probably free from buildings! But it is much more probable that the Campus Cælimontanus was situated there, both from the position of the Porta Cælimontana, and the name which that portion of the hill retained until a late period.

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NOTE FF, page 172.

" Hic dedicavit Basilicam S. Stephani in Cœlio monte in urbe Roma." — *Anastasius in vit. Simplicii.*

To fix the dates of the early Bishops of Rome would require a work amounting to a history of their lives, perhaps a more difficult task than that of finding out the temple of Claudius; but whoever is curious about the church of St. Stephen, may consult the references given by *Signor Nibby in his note on Nardini*, tom. i. p. 205.

The " Macellum Magnum" is, however, worth mentioning, whilst examining the numerous columns contained in this edifice. The medal extant of this building (most probably), which we have placed at the end of the fourth Dissertation, shows it was of a circular form; and we have the authority of the Regionaries for its having been in the second region. " E chi sa," says Nardini, " che il Macello non fosse la Chiesa di S. Stefano cosi rotonda? Abbattuti tanti ordini o collonnati dal tempo, o da' Barbari, la consequenza è chi alcun Pontefice lo risarcisse in forma più bassa e poco differente." See *Nardini* (tom. i. p. 215.), who argues upon the superscription of the medal MAC. AVG. There is also to be taken into consideration the analogy between the " Great shambles of Nero" and the " Slaughter-house of Saints."

NOTE GG, page 174.

The Abbate Fea (see *Dissert.*, &c. in *Winkelmann*, tom. iii. p. 410.) supposes that this equestrian statue originally stood near the Arch of Septimius Severus, and is the one mentioned by the Anonymous of the eighth century; and that Clement III., who adorned and enlarged the Lateran palace in 1187, and is said by Reccobaldi of Ferrara, *Hist. Pontif. Roman. in Eccardi* (tom. i. col. 1217.), to have caused a brazen horse *to be made*, transported it to the Lateran. The whole strength of the learned abbate's argument rests upon the *impossibility* of such a statue being

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made at that period; which no one doubts. Now the author of the *Mirabilia Romæ* may have been contemporary with Clement III., and could not have written at a period more distant than one century. The fabulous story which this "Nugacissimus Scriptor," as Montfaucon calls him, relates about the statue in question (see *Diar. Italic.* cap. xx. p. 296.), will not invalidate one strong negative proof, viz., that he makes no mention nor any allusion to this pretended act of Clement III., but evidently believes the brazen horse to have stood in its original place since "the time of the consuls and senators." The brazen horse which the Anonymous of the eighth century saw in the Forum was probably the statue of Domitian (see the Eighth Region of *P. Victor.*), subsequently changed to the name of Constantine. (See the "*Notitia*" in the Eighth Region.) It is, upon the whole, to be believed, that the equestrian statue was found in the spot where it had originally been placed,—that is, in the house of Annius Verus, where Marc. Aurelius was born. (Compare the *Memorie di Flaminio Vacca*, No. 18.) The fabulous history in the *Mirabilia Romæ* at least sets us about examining the sculpture of the brazen horse on the Campidoglio; and by observing the tuft of hair between the horse's ears, it is seen what the anonymous writer means by the "memory of the stork being preserved upon the head." The tuft of hair seems to represent an owl, and it was not uncommon for sculptors to introduce their names into their works by symbols of that description (see Diss. IX., page 118.); and if the artist's name in this case was *Byas* (Βυας), he has effected his purpose. It further appears, from the story of the thirteenth century, that under the horse's feet was a captive bound, probably forming the ornament of the pedestal which is now lost.

NOTE HH, page 175.

"Cur neque militaris
Inter æquales equitat Gallica, nec lupatis
Temperat ora frænis?" *Hor. Carm.* lib. i. 8.

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Which may perhaps be interpreted, " Why does he not ride in the Ludus Gallicus," &c. The ruins which Piranesi has assigned to the Ludus Gallicus may, with some trouble, be recognised in the Villa Astalli, under the Neronian aqueduct; but they can hardly be said to exist except in the Plan of Nolli. As to the line of vaults near the Villa Altieri, they are more like part of a bath or a Nymphæum.

NOTE II, page 183.

Ficoroni gives the following account of the excavation made in his time: — " Il defunto P. Priore D. Bernardino Martignoni Milanese, facendo scavare dentro l'anfiteatro suddetto ridotto ad orto, mi fece avvisato, che avea scoperto l'antica platea, ossia l'arena, onde portandomi colà, e veduto l'antico piano, restai non poco maravigliato, ma più rimasi sorpreso allorche avvissato dal detto P. Martignoni, calai per una scala contigua al muro di fuori sotto la platea, e vidi, che ven' era un altra più spaziosa ripiena di stinchi e d'osse di grossi animali, dal che me fù facile a concepire che erano stati uccisi ne' combattimenti," &c. — *Ficoroni, Vestigie di Rom. Antic.* lib. i. cap. 17. edit. Rom. 4to. 1744.

NOTE KK, page 187.

PRO . S . M . ANTONII . GORDIANI . PII
FELICIS . AVG . ET . TRANQVILLINAE . SABI
NAE . AUG . VENATORES . IMMVNES . CVM . CV
STODE . VIVARI . PONT . VERVS . MIL . COH .
VI . PRAE . CAMPANIVS . VERAX . MIL . COH . VI
PR . FVSCIVS . CRESCENTIO . ORD . CVSTOS
VIVARI . COHH . PRAETT . ET . VRBB .
DIANA . AVG . D . S . EX . V . P .
DEDICATA . XII . KAL . NOV .
IMP . D . N . GORDIANO . AVG . ET . POMPEIANO . C . S .

Copied from Note 1. in *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 18.

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NOTE LL, page 187.

Much pleasure and instruction will be derived from reading the following passage upon the spot: —

Βέσσας δὲ καὶ Περάνιος, Οὐιτίγιδος ἐν Βιβαρίῳ ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένῳ σφίσι, Βελισάριον μετεπέμποντο. ὁ δὲ δείσας περὶ τῷ ἐνταῦθα τείχει (ἦν γὰρ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὡσπὲρ εἴρηται) κατὰ τάχος ἐβοηθεῖ αὐτος, ἕνα τῶν τινα ἐπιτηδείων λίπων ἐν Σαλαρίᾳ· καὶ τὲς στρατιώτας ὁρῶν ἐν Βιβαρίῳ τὴν προσβολὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πεφοβημένες, μεγάλην τε οὖσαν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὑπερφρονεῖν τε τῶν πολεμίων ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θαρσεῖν ἀντικαθίζῃ. ἦν δὲ ὁ ταύτῃ χῶρος ὁμαλὸς κομιδῇ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐφόδοις τῶν προσιόντων ἐγκείμενος. τύχῃ τέ τινι τὸ ἐκείνῃ τείχος οὕτω ἐπιπλεῖσον διερρύηκει, ὡς τῶν πλίνθων μὴ λίαν τὴν ξυνθήκην ξυνίστασθαι. τείχισμα δὲ ἀλλὸ βραχὺ περιέβαλλον ἔξωθεν αὐτῷ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοι, οὐκ ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἕνεκα (οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ πύργων ὀχυρώμα εἶχεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπάλξεις τινὲς ἐνταῦθα πεποίηνται, οὐδέ τι ἀλλὸ, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ ἀπώσασθαι οἷόν τε ἦν τὴν ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν πολεμίων), ἀλλὰ τρυφῆς τινὸς οὐκ εὐπρεποῦς χάριν· ὅπως δὴ λεόντας τε, καὶ τἄλλα θηρία καθειρξάντες ἐνταῦθα τηρωεν. διὸ δὴ καὶ Βιβάριον τοῦτο ὠνόμασαι. οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὸν χώρον, οὗ ἂν τῶν ζώων τὰ μὴ χειροήθη τρέφεσθαι εἴωθεν.—*Procop. de Bell. Gothic.* lib. i. c. 23. *Ibid.*

NOTE MM, page 188.

In one of those inscriptions mention is made of the Ludus Magnus, and of the Armamentarium; thus —

DIS . MANIBVS
CORNELIAE . FRONTINAE
VIXIT . ANNOS . XVI . M . VII
M . VLPIVS . AVG . LIB . CALLISTVS
PATER . PRAEPOSITVS . ARMAMENTARIO
LVDI . MAGNI . ET . FLAVIANICE
CONIVXS.

Compare *P. Victor, Reg. II.* and *III.*, and see Note HH on "Ludi Magni" the notes appended; and for the Armamentarium consult *Nardini, Rom. Antic.* tom. i. p. 205. See also several inscriptions collected by *Montfaucon, Diar. Italic.* p. 114.

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NOTE NN, page 191.

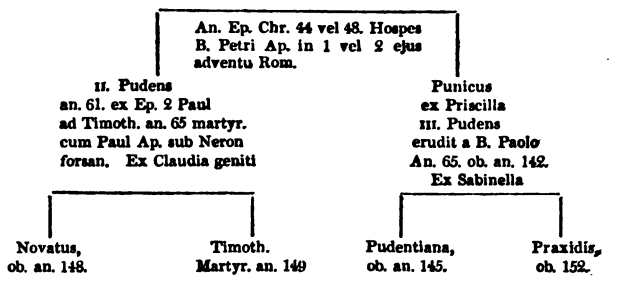
This inscription was found near the church of S. Croce; but the pleasantry of Fabretti almost throws suspicion upon it. *De Aquis et Aquæduct.* Diss. I. cap. xvii. p. 41. The word Lymphæi, which occurs in it, seems to be written for Nymphæi. For see *P. Victor* in Region V. — "*Nymphæum Alexandri.*" —

HERCVLI . CONSERVATORI
INVICTO . COMITI
D . N . SEVERI . ALEXANDRI
PII . VICTORIS . SEMPER
AVG . AC . OPTIMI . PRINCIPIS
M . AVRELIVS . PRISCILLIANUS
V . C . CVRATOR . LYMPHAEI
DEVOT . NVM . M . Q . E.

NOTE OO, page 207.

Cassio, as cited in Note 56. p. 260., exhibits the genealogy of those early Christians thus: —

S. Pudens, Senator Romanus.



NOTE PP, page 217.

The whole of our account and inferences are drawn from the following materials: —

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Horat. Satyr. lib. i. viii. 7—17. And compare Notes in p. 31. " Antea sepulchra erant in loco in quo sunt horti Mæcenatis, ubi sunt modo Thermæ."—*Acron Scholiast.* in sat. viii. lib. i.

Suet. in Tit. cap. vii. — See Note 89. p. 216. *Ibid. in vit. Horat.* — " Non in alia re damnosior quam ædificando. Domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, quam primo Transitoriam, mox incendio absumtam restitutamque Auream nominavit."—*Ibid. in Neron.* cap. xxxi.

" Eo in tempore Nero, Antii agens, non ante in urbem regressus est quam domui ejus, qua Palatium et Mæcenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. . . . . Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus," &c. — *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xv. § 39.

Horti Mæcenatis. — *Victor et Rufus in Region. V.*

" Hic, ubi miramur velocia munera, Thermas,
Abstulerat miseris Tecta superbus ager."
Martial. de Spectac. epig. ii.

By " superbus ager" Martial means the ground taken up with Nero's palace and its appendages.

NOTE QQ, page 237.

The machines were contrived so as to send an object up to a prodigious height; or, by placing it on the top, to let it down with precipitate violence. See *Seneca, Epist.* xc. " Machinatores," he says, " qui pegmata ex se surgentia excogitant, et tabulata tacite in sublime crescentia, et alias ex inopinato varietates." Strabo tells us of a Sicilian robber put upon a Pegma, and let down suddenly into a den of wild beasts, where he was torn to pieces; and he compares the operation to a fall from the top of Mount Ætna into the crater. His words are the best description we have of this kind of machine: — Ἐπὶ πήγματός γάρ τινος ὑψηλοῦ τιθεὶς, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἴτνης διαλυθέντος αἰφνιδίως τε συμπεσόντος κατηνέχθη, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς γαλεάγρας θηρίων εὐδιαλύτους ἐπίτηδες παρεσκευάσμενας ὑπὸ τῷ πήγματι. — *Strabon. Geograph.* lib. vi.

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tom. i. p. 691. Compare also *Cl. Claudian.* xvii. *de Fl. Mal. Theod. Cons.* v. 325., and see *Lipsius de Amphitheat.* cap. xxii. *Martial.* lib. i. *de Spectaculis*, Epigr. 2., *ibid.* Epigr. 18., *et alibi;* and *de Naumachia, ibid.* Epigr. 31. There was a class of gladiators called Pegmares. *Suet. in Calig.* cap. xxvi.

NOTE RR, page 256.

The subject has been deemed worthy of a place in history; but the fact ought not to have put a pope into such a rage. "In questo tempo medesimo [1536] incorse [scilicet, Lorenzino] nella disgrazia del Papa, e nell' odio del popolo Romano per questa regione. Travandosi una mattina nel' arco di Costantino, et in altri luoghi di Roma, molte figure antiche senza le loro testà, Clemente montò in tanta colera che commandò (non pensando che fosse stato egli), che chiunche fosse colui che tagliate l' avesse, eccettuato solo il Cardinal de' Medici, dovesse essere subitamente, senza altro processo, appiccato per la gola; il qual Cardinale andò a scusare al Papa, Lorenzo come giovane, e desideroso, secondo il costume de' loro Maggiori, de' cotale anticaglie; e con grand fatica pote rafrenar l'ira sua, chiamandolo l'infamia e l' vituperio della casa de' Medici."—*Storia Fiorentina di Benedetto Varchi*, p. 509. edit. Colon. 1721.

NOTE SS, page 257.

The Inscription.

IMP . CAES . FL . CONSTANTINO . MAXIMO
P . F . AVGVSTO . S . P . Q . R .
QVOD . INSTINCTV . DIVINITATIS . MENTIS
MAGNITVDINE . CVM . EXERCITV . SVO
TAM . DE . TYRANNO . QVAM . DE . OMNI . EIVS
FACTIONE . VNO . TEMPORE . IVSTIS
REMPVBLICAM . VLTVS . EST . ARMIS
ARCVM . TRIVMPHIS . INSIGNEM . DICAVIT.

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NOTE TT, page 283.

Inscription on Titus's Arch.

SENATVS . POPVLVSQVE . ROMANVS
DIVO . TITO . DIVI . VESPASIANI . F
VESPASIANO . AVGUSTO.

Marliano mentions an inscription (*Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. iii. cap. 8.), found in the Circus Maximus in his time, which more fully records the victory of Titus. After the titular part, it runs thus: — "Quod præceptis Patris consiliisque et Auspiciis, Gentem Judæorum Domuit, et Urbem Hierosolymam omnibus ante se ducibus Regibus Gentibusq. aut frustra petitam aut omnino intentatam, Delevit." — Vide *Gruter. Inscrip.* p. 244.

Titus was living at the time this inscription was written; because there is the distinction between Cæsar and Augustus in it. Donatus (apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 666.) argues the point at great length, as to whether "Divus" was ever applied to any living emperor. The apotheosis seems to have escaped his notice; but he ends by concluding the arch was at least *not* finished during Titus's lifetime.

The following is Josephus's account of the spoils taken from the temple at Jerusalem: —

Διέπρεπε δὲ πάντων τὰ ἐγκαταληφθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ· Χρυσῆ τε τράπεζα τὴν ὁλκὴν πολυτάλαντος, καὶ λυχνία χρυσοῦ μὲν ὁμοίως πεποιημένη· τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐξήλλακτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν συνηθείας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέσος ἦν κίων ἐκ τῆς βάσεως πεπηγὼς, λεπτοὶ δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μεμήκυντο καυλίσκοι, τραισίνης σχήμασι παραπλησίαν τὴν θέσιν ἔχοντες, λύχνον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἄκρων κεχαλκευμένος. ἑπτὰ δ' ἦσαν αὐτοὶ, τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἑβδομάδος τὴν τιμὴν ἐμφανίζοντες. ὅ, τε νόμος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφέρετο τῶν λαφύρων τελευταῖος. — *De Bello Judaico*, lib. vii. cap. 5. p. 1306. edit. Oxon. 1720; and compare *Exodus*, chap. xxv. v. 32.

Domitian was also present at this triumph: it finished, continues Josephus, at the Capitol, after which Simon the son of Giora was strangled. (*Ibid.* p. 1307.) Dion

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Cassius says, Barphoras, which the commentators (lib. lxvi. p. 1081. in verb. "καὶ ὁ Βάρποραϛ") make into Bargioras, *i. e.* the son of Giora.—Compare *St. Matthew*, chap. xiv. v. 7.

NOTE UU, page 305.

Ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰϛ τὸ τοῦ ϛησίου Διὸϛ ἱερὸν ὃν ϛάτωρα Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσιν, ἱδρύμενον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆϛ ἱερᾶϛ ὁδοῦ, πρὸϛ τὸ Παλάτιον [*vel* Καπιτόλιον] ἀνιόνϑων.—*Plutarch. in vit. Ciceron.* p. 868. tom. i. edit. Paris. 1624. Or without the correction which Donatus proposes (vide apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 602.), the passage would be equally intelligible by supposing a beginning or head of one *branch* of the Via Sacra to be in the place we now plead for. It is only in this view that the often cited passage of Asconius seems to be at all intelligible: — "Demonstrasse vobis memini," &c. (Vide Dissertat. IV. p. 160, note 52.) Some remains of this street were discovered about the middle of the last century, "dietro la chiesa di S. Teodoro, assai vicino le mura della villa Farnese." — Vide *Descrizione de' Rioni di Roma del Conte Bernardini, Prefazione*, p. 6.

NOTE XX, page 310.

By comparing the two following passages, it will be evident that the temple which Ant. Pius obtained for his wife was *one*, and that which was erected to himself was *another*: —

"*Tertio anno* imperii sui Faustinam uxorem perdidit, quæ a senatu consecrata est, delatis circensibus atque *templo*, et flaminicis et statuis aureis atque argenteis: quum etiam ipse hoc concesserit, ut imago ejus cunctis circensibus poneretur." — *Jul. Capitolin. in Ant. Pio*, cap. vi.

"A senatu divus est appellatus. . . . . Meruit et flaminem, et circenses, et *templum*, et sodales Antoninionos." — *Ibid.* cap. xiii.

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N.B. The first transaction takes place in the third year of his (Pius's) reign; the second, after his death, *i. e.* at the distance of twenty years.

It seems equally clear that the temple decreed by the senate to the younger Faustina was different to the one erected to her honour by Marcus, at the "*Vicus Halalæ.*"

"Petiit a senatu ut honores Faustinæ ædemque decernerent, laudata eadem, &c. Divam etiam Faustinam a senatu appellatam gratulatus est; quam secum et in æstivis habuerat, ut matrem castrorum appellaret. *Fecit et* coloniam vicum in quo obiit Faustina, *et ædem* illi extruxit: *sed hæc postea ædes Heliogabalo dedicata est.*" — *Capitolin. in M. Ant. Philosop.* cap. xxvi.

As far, therefore, as any proof can be deduced from the above authorities, I conceive the question to stand untouched.

NOTE YY, page 318.

The authorities referred to in this case are the following in order: —

Sueton. in vit. Domitian, cap. v. *Eutropius. Hist. Rom. Breviar.* lib. vii. in fine.

"Mense sexto ac decimo semet eo abdicavat [*i. e.* Nerva] dedicato prius foro quod appellatur Pervium, quo ædes Minervæ eminentior consurgit et magnificentior." — *Sex. Aurel. Victor de Cæsaribus,* cap. xii. in tom. ii. p. 343. edit. Amstelodam, 1733.

Vid. *Donatus de Urb. Vet.* lib. ii. cap. 23.

Martial, indicating the shop where his books were sold, says —

"Libertum docti Lucensis quære Secundum,
Limina post Pacis, Palladiumque Forum."
Epig. 3. lib. i.

But surely the Arco de' Pantani is not "*Limina post*

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Pacis!" And how could Donatus know when Martial wrote that epigram? See *Nardini*, tom. i. p. 321.

"Statuas Colossas vel pedestres nudas, vel equestres, divis imperatoribus in Foro Divi Nervæ, quod Transitorium dicitur, locavit [*i. e.* Alexander Severus] omnibus cum titulis, et in columnis æreis, quæ gestorum ordinem continerent exemplo Augusti, qui summorum virorum statuas in foro suo e marmore collocavit, additis gestis." — *Ælii Lamprid. Alexand. Severus*, cap. xxviii.

NOTE ZZ, page 337.

Sueton. in August. cap. lvi. "Statuas omnium, triumphali effigie, in utraque Fori sui porticu, dedicavit, professus edicto," &c. — *Ibid.* cap. xxxi.

Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 4. and lib. vii. cap. 53. The "Forum Augusti" was among the works restored by Hadrian. *Spartian. in sua vit.* cap. xix. Of this Forum, with its Temple of Mars, Ovid thus sings, —

"Mars venit, et veniens bellica signa dedit.
Ultor ad ipse suos cœlo descendit honores,
Templaque in Augusto conspicienda Foro
Prospicit armipotens, operis fastigia summi
Et probat, invictos illa tenere Deos."

Fast. lib. v. v. 550.

NOTE AAA, page 338.

Speaking of the ruins about the Colonnacce, he calls them "Muraglia d'opera rustica, come il Foro di Trajano, che gliè appresso, notato nel nostro disegno con lettere A." (here he represents the columns near the Arco de' Pantani in the back-ground of his design); "et ancora ne' tempi nostri si leggono nel fregio l'infrascritte lettere IMP. NERVA CAESAR. AUG. PONT. MAX. TRIB. PONT. (*i. e.* POT.) II. IMP. II. PROCOS. et questo luogo hora da vulgari è chiamato in vece

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del Foro di Nerva l'arca di Noe!"— *Camucci dell'Antichità di Roma*, lib. i. p. 52. Comparing what has already been stated of the Forum Transitorium (see Dissertat. VI. p. 318.), the antiquary must mean, the inscription of Nerva was read *on the ruins near the Colonnacce*, and not near the Arco de' Pantani, which he calls the Foro di Trajano; especially when, in another sketch, he gives the three columns and adjacent walls, without any inscription whatever on the frieze. — See the sketch at page 321, and consult also the drawings in *Donatus*, *apud Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 633. fig. 13.

The only passage which points directly to the situation of Cæsar's Forum is the following: —

—— " Hæc sunt fora Cæsaris, inquit:
Hæc est a sacris quæ via nomen habet."
Ovid. Trist. lib. iii. eleg. 1.

To which, however, may be added Pliny's lotos, whose roots spread as far as the Forum of Cæsar, through the " Stationes Municipiorum." *Plin.* lib. xvi. cap. 45. This plant was in the Vulcanale, which, according to the best conjecture, stood before the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, which was in the Via Sacra. (See Dissertat. VI. p. 310.)

Taking Ovid's testimony as above, we have Cæsar's Forum communicating with the Via Sacra, which agrees with our topography. I have to acknowledge, in this labyrinth of Forums, the great help I have derived from a dissertation written by Stefano Piale (the editor of Venuti) published in 1821, with the Architectural Illustrations of Sig. Saponieri. But I do not see what mischief can arise from Anastasius, " Ecclesia B. Hadriani in tribus Foris." — Vide *Dissertat.* p. 15.

NOTE BBB, page 340.

See the arguments of *Donatus apud Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 612., and those of *Nardini*, in tom. ii. p. 138. But we

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must here set down the paramount authorities of the classical authors: —

Κοινὴν δὲ κατεσήσατο πάντων μίαν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Κατιπωλίου καὶ τοῦ Παλατίου χωρίῳ, συμπεπολισμένων ἤδη τῶν λόφων ἐνὶ περιβόλῳ, καὶ μέσης ἀμφοῖν οὔσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἐν ᾗ κατεσκευάσθη τὸ ἱερόν. — *Diony. Halicar.* lib. ii. cap. 66. tom. i. p. 121. and comp. *ibid*, c. 50.

" Tenuêre tamen arcem Sabini, atque inde postera die quum Romanis exercitus instructus, quod inter Palatium Capitoliumque collem campi est complesset. . . . . Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat et effusos egerat Romanos, toto quantum foro spatium est, nec procul jam a porta Palatii erat, clamitans, &c. . . . . Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant prælium." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 12.

NOTE CCC, page 350.

The state of this argument is as follows. Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*, lib. i. cap. 25.) says, " there is a temple of Janus in the Forum before the Curia, a little above the Three Fates, as the Romans call the three destinies. Then follows some description of it. The church of S. Adriano was called, in the middle ages, " in Tribus Fatis; " which appears to be the best reading in Anastasius, (vide tom. i. p. 247. note (*a*).) And in the Ordo Romanus of 1143, the pope's procession to the Lateran passes " sub arcu Triumphali inter *Templum Fatale* et templum Concordiæ;" and there are several other authorities which bear more or less directly upon this point for establishing the Temple of Janus. See *Nardini's Labour*, in tom. ii. p. 215. and tom. i. p. 320. But I may well be excused from entering into a discussion of which that indefatigable writer says, " Sono de' Giani controversie *intricatissime* tragli scrittori."

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NOTE DDD, page 360.

The "Curiæ Veteres" were used by the priests; the "Curia Hostilia" by the senate. "Ante *hanc* Rostra, cujus id vocabulum ex hostibus capta fixa sunt Rostra."— *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 32.

In tracing the Pomœrium of Romulus from the Tower of the Campidoglio, it will be recollected that Tacitus brings us to the "Curiæ Veteres" on the side of the Palatine Hill, which is adjacent to the Cælian. This fact, joined to a passage in Livy,— "*Templumque ordini ab se aucto Curiam* fecit, quæ Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum ætatem appellata est" (lib. i. c. 17.), — will sufficiently prove the following passage in P. Victor (*Regio* II.) to be spurious, except the first three words: — "Regia Tulli Hostilii *templumque quod is in Curiam redegit ordini a se aucto;*" and this explodes the error (see *Nolli's Great Plan of Rome*) of calling the vast ruin on the Cælian Hill, in the garden of the Passionists, the Curia Hostilia!

NOTE EEE, page 372.

The following are the authorities made use of for the "Via Nova," set down in order: —

"Hoc sacrificium (scilicet, Accæ Laurentiæ) fit in Velabro qua in Novam Viam exitur, ut aiunt quidam, ad sepulchrum Accæ." — *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. v. cap. 3.

"Cujus vestigia, quod ea quâ tum itur Velabrum, et unde ascendebant ad Rumam Via Nova [vel, ad summam Novam Viam] lucus est, et Sacellum Larium."—*Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 7. Compare *Cicer. ad Brutum*, Ep. 15.

"Eodem anno M. Cæditius de plebe nuntiavit Tribunis se in Nova Via, ubi nunc sacellum est super ædem Vestæ, vocem noctis silentio audisse," &c.—*Tit. Liv.* lib. v. cap. 18.

"Nam non multo ante Urbem captam exaudita vox est a

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luco Vestæ, qui a Palatii radice in Novam Viam devexus est." — *Cicero de Divinat.* lib. 1. cap. 44.

" Forte revertabar Festis Vestalibus illa,
Quâ Nova Romano nunc Via juncta Foro est."
Ovid. Fast. lib, v. 395.

NOTE FFF, page 375.

Vide *Memorie d' Ulisse Aldroandi, No.* 3. *stampate in* 1556; *publicate dal Avvocato Fea Miscellanea Critica, &c.* Rom. 1790, p. ccvi. Andreas Fulvio (*Antichità di Roma,* carta 118.) says, " There were sepulchres found, and the names of the Vestal Virgins were written over them; and there were more than twelve of them." He then gives two examples, from which we transcribe the following: —

CLAELIAE . CLAVDIANAE . V . V . MAXIM . RELIGIOSISSIMAE . BENIGNISSIMAEQ. CVIVS . RITVS . ET . PLENAM . SACRORVM . ERGA . DEOS . ADMINISTRATIONEM . VRBIS AETERNAE . LAVDEBVS . SS. COMBROBA*. OCTAVIA . HONORATA . V.V. DIVINIS . EIVS ADMONITIONIBVS . SEMPER . PROVECTA.

The rest of these inscriptions will be found in *Gruter.* tom. ii. p. cccx., edit. Amstelod. 1707, in 4 tom., who speaks more vaguely of the spot where they were discovered, as " *In Via Sacra ad radices Palatii.*" The church of S. Maria Liberatrice was formerly called S. Sylvestro in Lacu, which is supposed by some to have reference to the " Lacus Juturnæ;" and, by consequence, the temple of Vesta should be placed here. But why not have reference to the more popular Lacus Curtius (see *Memorie di Flam. Vacca,* No. 2.), or the Lupercal? And as to the inscriptions, we must first know how near to, and on what side of, the church they were found: but even then they *prove* nothing; for a great number of others of the same description have been discovered in various parts of Rome, showing that honorary epitaphs to the Vestal Virgins were most common. — Comp. *Gruter,* tom. ii. p. cccxi, cccxii. At the Campo

* Sic Fulvius, pro, Laudibus sanctissimis comprobavit Octavia Honorata, Vestalis Virgo?

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di Fiore, for instance, was found one of the following tenor:—"*Fl. Pubiliciæ* VV MAX. *merito sanctissimæ ac piissimæ quæ rite et pervigili administratione omnes gradus laude cumulata sacra sua venerata vivit ut seculari ætate ministerio adsit et in futuro perseveret Q. Terentius Rufus*," *&c.*—*Id.* p. cccxi. No. 2. I conceive the opinion of those antiquaries who would have the "Lucus Vesta" near the church above mentioned to be fully entitled to this notice.

NOTE GGG, page 379.

"Servilius Lacus appellabatur ab eo, qui eum faciendum curaverat in principio Vici Jugarii continens Basilicæ Juliæ, in quo loco fuit effigies hydræ posita a M. Agrippa."—*Fest.* in verb. *Servilius.*

From the top of this Basilica Caligula threw money to the people during several days.—*Suet. in vit. ejus*, cap. xxxvii. But it is not necessary to believe, on that account, that he made his bridge pass over it! (*Ibid.* cap. xxii.) Vid. *Euseb. Chronicon.*, No. MDCCCCLXXI.

Jos. Scaliger produces an inscription of Augustus, which, if genuine, proves much:—

FORVM . IVLIVM . ET . BASILICAM . QUAE . FVIT . INTER . AEDEM . CASTORIS . ET . AEDEM SATVRNI . COEPTA . PROFLIGATAQVE . OPERA . A . PATRE . MEO . PERFECI.

The Basilica was restored and decorated with a statue A. D. 378, in the reign of Valentinian II., by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, præfect of the city, as appears from another inscription in *Gruter. Corp. Inscrip.* p. LXXI. No. 7.

NOTE HHH, page 383.

"Incendio *a Foro Boario* ORTO diem noctemque ædificia in Tiberim versa arsêre, tabernæque omnes, cum magni pretii mercibus, conflagraverunt."—*Tit. Liv.* lib. XXXV. cap. 40.

Nardini, anxious to show from this passage that the Forum Boarium did not extend as far as the Tyber,

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reasons foolishly (*Rom. Antica*, tom. ii. p. 258.); and he is not a little puzzled with the two lines in Ovid —

" Pontibus et magno juncta est celeberrima Circo
Area, quæ posito de bove nomen habet."
Fast. lib. vi. 477.

The words " area" and " juncta" of the poet are evidently to be taken with some limitations, unless we would have the Forum Boarium about three quarters of a mile in circumference: he means, " inter Tyberim et carceres." The historian, on the other hand, means what he says; but he does not say that the buildings standing *towards* the river, and the shops, were unconnected with the Forum, nor the contrary. It is only from the Regionaries we venture to affirm that the Forum in question did not reach the Tyber.

NOTE III, page 384.

The inscription contains, first, the names and titles of Severus; secondly, those of Caracalla; after which came Geta's, beginning at the *now* COS. III. &c.; lastly, Julia, with the title of MATER CASTRORVM, &c. To them the Arch is consecrated by the

ARGENTARI. ET. NEGOTIANTES. BOARI. HVIVS. LOCI. QUI INVEHENT. DEVOTI. NVMINI. EORVM

On which it is to be observed, that " Boarii" agrees only with " Negotiantes;" and to the word " Loci" has been substituted " Loci qui invehent;" — so that it reads thus: " The tradesmen and cattle-dealers of this place *who make contribution.*" This subsequent restriction shows that some of them had refused or neglected to pay their contributions; and therefore those who had paid, took all the credit, and, perhaps, monopolized the privileges granted by the Emperor in return for the monument.

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NOTE KKK, page 390.

As this is the last time we shall recur to the limits of the Roman Forum, it may be useful to review, in a few words, the system we have adopted, as compared with the one opposed to it. No one denies that the Forum is to be limited at the temple of Vesta, where the Via Nova joined it. But the question is, whether that temple was at or near the church of S. Theodoro, or behind the church of S. Maria Liberatrice. Our system adopts the former opinion, and the authorities have been laid down for it; — not, however, insisting upon the fact of the said church occupying the identical site of the temple; for there is some reason to believe it does not (see p. 373); and we are inclined to take it a little nearer the Curia. This allows us some latitude for shortening the Forum *under the Capitol*, i. e. as far as we can prolong the Vicus Jugarius to meet it; yet, under all the circumstances, it cannot be contracted to a *less* space than that indicated in the text, and may have extended further. On the other hand, those who would cut off the Forum by the building of the eight granite columns on the Clivus Capitolinus, fix their temple of Vesta behind the S. Maria Liberatrice, chiefly alleging the authority of the twelve inscriptions which we have already mentioned: but, waving the arguments on the other side of the question, there are several strong objections to this old system; first, a space so limited could hardly be said to lie between the Capitoline and Palatine hills; secondly, it would be impossible to crowd the edifices we read of as being in the Forum and under the Palatium into such a narrow compass, especially when we consider the existence of that large building called the Græcostasis; thirdly, there would be left such a wide district between the Forum and the Velabrum unfilled up, and that in a situation the most dignified, that many of the authors we have cited would become quite unintelligible.

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Νομὰς δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας ἐκ ἐκίνησε τῶν φρατρίων Ἑστίας, κοινὴν δὲ, κ. τ. λ.; as already cited in p. 483., from *Diony. Halicarn.* lib. ii. cap. 66. p. 121. tom. i.

NOTE LLL, page 396.

" Filippo Aurelio Visconti wrote a treatise upon this column and the inscription (edit. Rom. 1813, in 4to.). As there are but few inscriptions of the seventh century existing, we shall set this down at length: —

† OPTIMO . CLEMENTISSIMO . PIISSIMOQVE
PRINCIPI . DOMINO . N̄ . PHOCAE . IMPERATORI
PERPETVO . A . D̄O . CORONATO . TRIVMPHATORI
SEMPER . AVGVSTO
SMARAGDVS . EX . PRAEPOS . SACRI . PALATII
AC . PATRICIVS . ET . EXARCHVS . ITALIAE
DEVOTVS . EIVS . CLEMENTIAE
PRO . INNVMERABILIBVS . PIETATIS . EIVS
BENEFICIIS . ET . PRO . QVIETE
PROCVRATA . ITAL . AC . CONSERVATA . LIBERTATE
HANC . STATVAM . PIETATIS . EIVS
AVRI . SPLENDORE . FVLGENTEM . HVIC
SVBLIMI . COLVMNAE . AD . PERENNEM
IPSIVS . GLORIAM . IMPOSVIT . AC . DEDICAVIT
DIE . PRIMA . MENSIS . AVGVST . INDICT . VND
P̄C̄ . PIETATIS . EIVS . ANNO . QVINTO.

Smaragdus was Exarch of Italy at two distinct periods; the first under the Emperor Maurice, from 583 to 588; and the second from about the end of Maurice's reign, 602, to 609: so that he held the office in all for 12 years. This column was erected in his eleventh appointment [*indictione undecima*], which answers to the fifth consulship of Phocas: " *Præclaræ pietatis ejus anno quinto.*"

NOTE MMM, page 398.

Upon some of those marbles are inscriptions; as, for instance: —


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ΑΠΩCΙΚΑΚΟΙC ΘΕΟΙC EX . ÓRA´CVLÓ	ΑΘΑΝΑΙ ΑΠΟΤΡΟΠΑΙΑΙ EX . ÓRA´CVLÓ

These have been two votive altars brought from some temple to make the steps of the column with! The following has been taken from a sepulchre, and deserves inserting: —

QVOD . A . te . MIHI . FIERI
CYRILLE
INIQVA . FORTVNA . INVIDIT
HOC . EGO . TIBI . FECI
MATER . INFELICISSIMA.

NOTE NNN, page 431.

Venuti, Antichità di Roma, tom. i. p. 119.— The antiquaries who consider those walls on the Monte Caprino as remains of the Capitoline fortress, endeavour to strengthen their opinion by appealing to a peculiarity which has been observed in the construction. In building up the foundations, the ancient Romans did not change the natural form of the rock, considering it too sacred to be violated. The only exemplification of this fact, or this idea, I can now trace, is in that ascent to the Monte Caprino opposite to the inscription of Gregory XIII., underneath the wall of the garden on the left; and there are further traces of the rock lower down the Via di Monte Tarpeia, at the houses Nos. 13, 14. Signor Piale justly observes, that there might be art and solidity in this design, independently of the religious motive; but, however that may be, nothing can better illustrate the words of Dionysius with regard to the foundations of the *temple*: — Τὸν μὲν ἦν λόφον ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔμελλεν ἱδρύασθαι, πολλῆς δεόμενον πραγματείας· οὔτε γὰρ εὐπρόσοδος ἦν, ἔστε ὁμαλὸς, ἀλλ' ἀπότομος, καὶ εἰς κορυφὴν συναγόμενος ὀξεῖαν· ἀναλήμμασιν ὑψηλοῖς πολλαχόθεν περιλαβὼν, καὶ πολὺν χοῦν εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀναλημμάτων, καὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τόπον ἐμφορήσας, ὁμαλὸν γένεσθαι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ἱερῶν ἐπιτηδειότατον. — Lib. iii. cap. 69. p. 192. and lib. iv. p 246.

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The words "in alta crepitudine" are rung in our ears whenever we ascend the Aracœli; but why not equally applicable to the Monte Caprino with these remains of substructions? Venuti (*id.* p. 120.) measures the walls in the Cafferelli garden to be 114 palms in length, 13 in height, and each block of peperine 4 palms by 1; the piece of wall forming the angle is 13 palms. Piranesi has given a view of these ruins, under the title of "Walls and turrets of the Capitol." — Vid. *Antichità di Rom.* tav. xliv. p. 34. And in Nibby (*Mura di Roma, &c.*) we have a small drawing of them from the superior hand of Sir Wm. Gell. — Vid. tav. ii. edit. Rom. 1820.

NOTE OOO, page 435.

In a bull of the anti-Pope Anacletus II., issued probably in 1130, the whole of the Capitoline mount is made a grant of to the Abbot, and his successors, of St. Mary's and St. John Baptist's in the Capitol; that is, the monastery of Aracœli. This document affords a curious description of the state of the Capitol at that period. The following is the substance of it: — "Totum montem Capitolii in integrum cum casis, cryptis, cellis, cortibus, hortis, arboribus fructiferis et infructiferis, cum *porticu Cancellariæ*, cum terra ante Monasterium, qui locus Nundinarum vocatur, cum parietibus, petris, et columnis, et omnibus ad eum generaliter pertinentibus; qui istis finibus terminatur: a primo latere via publica, quæ ducit per *Clivum Argentarii*, qui nunc descensus Leonis Prothi appellatur; ab alio latere via publica, quæ ducit sub Capitolium, et exinde descendit per limitem et appendicem super hortos quos olim Ildebrandus, et Joannes Diaconus, et hæredes Joannis de Guinico tenuerunt, usque in *Templum majus*, quod respicit super *Alefantum*; a tertio latere ripæ, quæ fuit super fontem de Macello, et exinde revolventes se per appendices suas super Canapara, usque in Carnarium S. Theodori; a quarto vero latere ab eodem Carnario ascendit per caveam, in qua petra versificata, exinde descendit per hortum Sancti Sergii usque

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in hortum, qui est sub Cancellaria, veniens *per gradus centum* usque ad primum affinem." — *Padre Waddingo, Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. No. 41. p. 256. For an illustration of which we must refer to the Padre Calogerà, *Raccolta d' Opuscoli Scientif. &c.* tom. xx. p. 102. Basilica Argentaria and Elephantus Herbarius are found in *P. Victor, Region. VIII.* The Clivus Argentarii is evidently on the side nearest Marforio; the Elephantus, at the Piazza Montanara; Templum Majus, very probably, means Jupiter Capitolinus.

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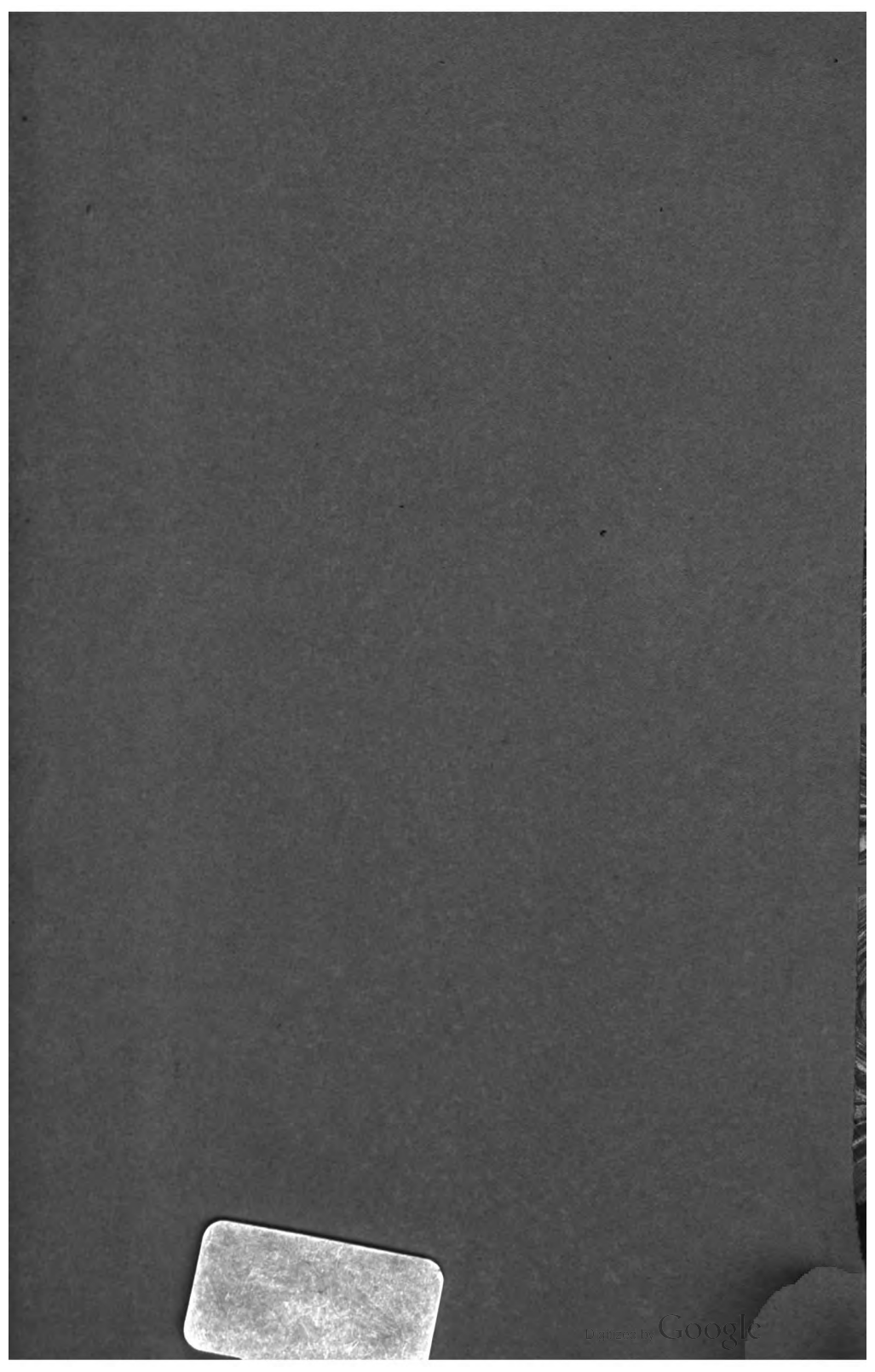
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