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THE
TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF
R O M E;

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.

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THE
TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF
R O M E.

DISSERTATION THE EIGHTH.

THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH REGIONS, CALLED ALTA SEMITA
AND VIA LATA; ADDING THE FORUM OF TRAJAN, TAKEN
FROM THE EIGHTH REGION, AND THE GARDENS OF SAL-
LUST WITH THE MONTE PINCIO, AT THE NORTHERN
EXTREMITY OF THE TWO REGIONS.

“ Intervals vides humanè commoda. Verum
Puræ sunt plateæ, nihil ut meditantibus obstat.”

HOR. EP. LIB. II. EP. 2.

THERE were several streets in ancient Rome, which,
from their situation or importance, were denomi-
nated *VIAE*; Panvinio enumerates seven such, in
the following order: —

VIA SACRA,	VIA FORNICATA,
VIA NOVA,	VIA RECTA,
VIA LATA,	VIA ALTA QUÆ ET ALTA
VIA NOVA [<i>alia</i>],	SEMITA.

Of these, the Via Sacra and the two called Nova
have already come under consideration: the Via

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Fornicata and the Via Recta were about the Campus Martius; and the latter has been thought to coincide with the present Strada Julia, which runs from the Ponte Xysto to the church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, nearly parallel with the Tyber. The two remaining "VIÆ" gave names to their respective regions.

The most probable direction that can now be assigned to the Alta Semita is along the summit of the Quirinale hill, from the Monte Cavallo to the Quattro Fontane: such a direction better accords with what is simply conveyed in the two Latin words than the descent which leads from the Quattro Fontane to the Piazza Barberini, and which would more properly be termed a "Clivus."

The position of the Via Lata is, in some measure, preserved in a faithful tradition; for near the Piazza Sciarra is a church called S. Maria in Via Lata. Anastasius, who makes frequent mention of this street, says, the Basilica of the SS. Apostoli stood in it as well as the church just mentioned¹; from which description it appears, that the Via Lata was not in the direction of the modern Corso, but tended towards the Quirinale hill, finishing not far from Trajan's Forum, and perhaps beginning at the temple of Antoninus.

It has not been found easy to separate the sixth and seventh regions by any certain boundaries; we shall, therefore, endeavour to draw a general outline

¹ "Basilicæ itaque Apostolorum in Via Lata porticus in circuitu renovavit." — *Anastas. Bibliothec. in vit. Hadrian. Pontif.* p. 254. edit. Rom. 1718.

"Et in Diaconia S. Dii Genetricis, quæ ponitur Via Lata, fecit coronam," &c. — *Ibid.* p. 298.; conf. p. 289. 293. et alia.

for the two together. Beginning near the Forum of Nerva, this outline will pass under the Quirinale hill, by the church of the Madonna de' Monti, by the Via de' Serpenti, and the Quirinale valley, through which we have already gone by the Via Vitale.² Thus arriving at the Strada delle Quattro Fontane, our boundary must be carried round the baths of Dioclesian, and the substructions existing in the Villa Barberini; from this extreme point it will return by the Piazza Barberini and the Collegio Nazareno to the Corso, where once stood the arch of Marcus Aurelius, and which is registered in the seventh region: a modern inscription nearly opposite to the Palazzo Fiano preserves the memory of the monument here alluded to. It only remains to complete the circuit of the two regions, by continuing from the said Palazzo in the direction of the Corso up to the Via Marforio; and as the column of Antoninus warns us from encroaching upon the ninth region, not improbably was the Via Flaminia a common limit to the seventh and ninth regions, as a part of the Corso now is to two of the modern Rioni.³ It may easily be imagined that, where the modern city has left few or no traces of ancient Rome, the difficulty of topography must necessarily be increased; but, in a closer survey of the district thus marked out, we shall continually acquire some accessions of evidence so as to render the whole more clear and satisfactory. The two regions in question can only be separated from each other by the outline of the Quirinale hill, as

² See Dissertation V.

³ Consult Nolli's great plan of Rome; and see *Bernardini de' Rioni di Roma*, p. 145. & 157.

it was traced from the tower of the Campidoglio. Within the space we have now delineated, and which cannot be much less than four miles in circuit, there were, according to Rufus, fifty-two streets, with the usual proportion of private baths, fountains, and work-houses; the number of plebeian habitations, or *insulæ*, was 6890, and of great houses 265. There were also seventeen temples, of which four only were in the *Via Lata*⁴: but, whatever idea we may conceive of the pristine magnificence of the sixth and seventh regions, it is probably now eclipsed by the splendour of the modern city. We shall begin our circuit with the sepulchre of C. Publicius Bibulus, situated at the north-east extremity of the Capitoline hill, and at the bottom of the *Via Marforio*.

This is one of the few remaining monuments of the republic; and the only matter it has ever afforded for discussion is, whether it was originally within or without the walls of Rome. We have already had occasion to observe, how difficult it would be to adopt the former opinion⁵: for, if an instance or two may be cited of persons buried within the walls*, there is certainly not one on record of a *sepulchre* being within them; nor was Bibulus the only person who was buried at the foot of the Capitoline hill. This simple inscription, which records the virtue and public honour of a Roman magistrate, informs us nothing as to the period at which he lived, nor of the achievements for which he gained the praise of the republic. In

⁴ Vide *Onuphrio Panvinio*, apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 291.; and *Pancilori, Descript. Urb. Rom.* ibid. p. 347.

⁵ See Dissertation II.

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

all probability he died in youth, having only passed through the first stage of civic honours. The office of plebeian ædile, which Bibulus held, was introduced into the state in the year of the city 260⁶, at the instance of the tribunes, who alleged that the aid of subordinate officers had become necessary for them. The duties of the office were confined to the internal regulation of the city.⁷ Not unlikely this Bibulus was descended from a pro-quæstor of the same name, who was also tribune in the year of Rome 544⁸: it is not, however, too much to suppose that this monument has stood for at least 2000 years.

The tomb partakes of the simplicity of the age in which it was built; it is of Travertine stone, and

⁶ See *Ferguson's Roman Republic*, ch. 2., with reference to *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. vi. cap. 90. p. 1249. tom. ii. edit. Reiske. Lipsiæ, 1774.

⁷ "I am now chosen ædile," says Cicero; "and am sensible of what is committed to me by the Roman people. I am to exhibit with the greatest solemnity the most sacred sports to Ceres, Liber, and Libera; am to appease and conciliate the mother Flora to the people and city of Rome by the celebration of the public games; am to furnish out those ancient shows, the first which were called Roman, with all possible dignity and religion, in honour of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; am to take care also of all the sacred edifices, and, indeed, of the whole city." — *In Verrem*, v. 14. Vide *Middleton's Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 114. edit. London, 1823.

⁸ The cognomen of Bibulus was common both to the Publician and Calpurnian families; but the tribune's name was C. Publicius Bibulus, like the ædile's (*Pitiscus*, *Lexicon*, p. 277. in verb. *Bibuli*), who might possibly be his grandson. The tribune accused the consul Marcellus, and all the order of the nobility, with unbecoming violence. (See *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvii. cap. 20. and 21.) One of his accusations was, that the consul had indulged in the luxury of the warm bath at Sinuessa! — *Plutarch. in Marcellus*, p. 314. edit. Lut. Par. (1624).

of plain Doric architecture ; its basement measures about twenty feet in front, and the four pilasters which supported its elevation are partly remaining : it has been observed of these pilasters, that they diminish a little towards the capitals, and that the bases are not made according to the rules of Vitruvius.⁹ Vitruvius had not yet given his precepts ; and neither of these two things seem to be defects, as far as can be judged from the one pilaster remaining perfect. A small piece of the entablature has also survived, on which is a specimen of the ornament of the frieze ; and upon the elevation remains also some of the finishing of the blank windows. In the middle is now a breach, which has been thought to have admitted light into the sepulchre ; but this was rather a niche, for it would not be easy to find a window thus situated in a monument of this nature. The following is the inscription, written, with a few exceptions, in legible characters : —

C. POBLICIO L. F. BIBVLO AED. PL. HONORIS
VIRTVTISQVE CAVSSA SENATVS
CONSVLTO POPVLIQVE IVSSV LOCVS
MONVMENTO QVO IPSE POSTERIQVE
EIVS INFERRENTVR PVBLICE DATVS EST.

A few paces below the tomb of Bibulus are the remains of another sepulchral monument, embodied in a modern habitation : this, as well as the tomb of the ædile, has been engraved by Piranesi¹⁰, and

⁹ Vide *De Architectura*, lib. iii. cap. 2. cum notis Philandri, p. 99. edit. Lugduni, 1552 ; and consult *Piranesi, Antichità, &c.* tom. ii. tav. 4. and 5.

¹⁰ *Antichità, &c.* tom. i. p. 34. ; and *nella Pianta Capitolina*, tom. i. No. 62. tav. 44.

supposed by him to have been the sepulchre of the Claudian family. Suetonius, indeed, says¹¹, that, in the sixth year after the kings were banished from Rome, the Claudian family was incorporated into the Patrician order; and they received for their clients some territory beyond the Anio, and a place of burial for themselves under the Capitol. The ruin in question has evidently been a sepulchre, as will be manifest to any one descending into the subterraneous vaults: one of the rooms has been hewn out of the natural rock, like the lower room in the Mamertine prison. It could not happen to many citizens, however distinguished, to have a place for burial assigned them under the Capitoline hill; still there is no authority for confining that honour to Bibulus and Atta Claudius, — which, however, we must do to be fully persuaded that this is the Claudian sepulchre: but even without a name the ruin affords a topographical interest; it is an additional proof that the walls of the ancient city extended not beyond the declivity of the hill, and that all sepulchres were without the Pomærium. An attentive observer will not fail to remark, that between the two sepulchres there was just space for the Via Flaminia; and thus the triumphal gate opened nearly upon them. The remains of the brick material, mingled with the interior construction “*ad emplecton*,” are very conspicuous above the dusky shed of the “*Pizzicarolo*.”

Between this point and the church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo there intervenes the Forum of

¹¹ *In Vit. Tiberii*, cap. 1.

Trajan, which interrupts our general outline and interferes with the sixth region : for this reason we have taken it from the region of the Roman Forum, to which it properly belongs, and shall give it a place here in our present circuit.

When Trajan had finished his wars beyond the Danube, and added the kingdom of Decebalus to the Roman empire¹², he returned to Rome, and commenced several great works for the use and ornament of the city and of Italy. He made roads and bridges over the Pontine marshes, and about the same period conceived the idea of his magnificent Forum : it was not, however, completed until the 114th year of the Christian era, and when the emperor was engaged in the distant wars of Parthia and Armenia¹³; the column was then dedicated, as the inscription declares, to the honour of Trajan by the Senate and the Roman people. The celebrated Apollodorus of Damascus was the architect of this splendid work¹⁴; but, as in most of the monuments of ancient Rome left for our con-

¹² Trajan's life and actions are in a great measure furnished from medals and inscriptions. The following, relating to the Dacian war, was found in the ruins of Warhel : —

VICTORIAE AVG.	TVA IPSE QVOD IACES
NONNE. DIXI. TIBI	MANV
DECEBALE	SED TVA. VTCVNQVE
FVNESTVM EST	CAESAR VICIT
HERCVLEM	TVLIT
LACESSERE	T. SEMP. AVGV
NON RECTE FECISTI	AVGVSTALIS.

Compare *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxviii. p. 1131—1133.

¹³ Compare the inscription with *Dion Cassius* as above.

¹⁴ *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxix. in. *Vit. Hadrian.* p. 1152.

temple, there is little or nothing in the way of description to be found of it in the ancient writers. The column, indeed, describes itself, and, preserved through seventeen centuries, remains to tell in matchless eloquence the exploits of the warlike emperor. The excavations made during the present generation have also brought to light the form and proportions of the Basilica; but much still remains in obscurity, or is to be gathered from the partial aid of medals, uncertain fragments, and hints from ancient authors. From Dion Cassius, in agreement with the inscription on the basement of the column, we learn that the Quirinal hill was reduced from a height equal to the altitude of the column itself*, to make, no doubt, a level site for the buildings. It is further to be gathered, chiefly from the writers of the Augustan history and from medals, that there was a Basilica, called from one of Trajan's surnames "Ulpia," and which contained two large libraries.¹⁵ The Forum, Area, or Platea, was an open space before the Basilica; and in the middle of it, probably, stood the brazen horse mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, as being in "medio Atrii."¹⁶ We read also of a temple attached to the whole, and which seems to have been built by Hadrian in honour of his benefactor.¹⁷

* See Note B.

¹⁵ See the impression of the medal (No. 2.) in the annexed plan; and compare *Vopiscus in Prob. Vit.* cap. 2.; *Capitolinus in M. Antonin.* cap. 22.; *Lampridius in Commod.* cap. 2.; *Dion Cass.* as above cited; and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, lib. ix. epist. 16. v. 264.

¹⁶ See Note 21. in the following page.

¹⁷ Forum Trajani *cum templo*, et equo æneo, et columna

To all these things is yet to be added a triumphal arch, and which is generally supposed to have been the one despoiled by Constantine.¹⁸ Pausanias speaks of a Forum at Rome, by which he probably means the Forum of Trajan, as being very magnificent, and especially remarks it had a covering or roof of bronze.¹⁹ Aulus Gellius says, that on the tops of the Forum were placed gilded figures of horses and military ensigns made out of spoils; in which words he doubtless alludes to the ornaments on the " tympana " of the several elevations.²⁰ When Constantius arrived at Rome, A. D. 356, the Forum of Trajan was the principal object which called forth his admiration and astonishment; and so " gigantic " was the framing of this structure²¹,

cochlide, quæ est alta pedes cxxviii, habetque intus gradus clxxxv, fenestrellas xlv."—*P. Victor de Region. Urb.*

" Quum opera ubique infinita fecisset, nunquam ipse, nisi in TRAJANI PATRIS TEMPLE, nomen suum scripsit [*i. e.* Hadrianus]." — *Spartian. in Vit. Hadrian.* cap. 19. Compare *Aul. Gell.* lib. xi. c. 17.

¹⁸ But see Dissertation VI., on the Arch of Constantine.

¹⁹ 'Ρωμαίοις δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ, μεγέθους εἵνεκα καὶ κατασκευῆς τῆς ἄλλης θαύμα ὄσα, παρέχεται τὸν ὄρον χαλκοῦν. — *Phocica*, sive lib. x. c. 5. p. 810. edit. Lipsiæ, 1696. Confer et *Eliac. Prior*, sive lib. v. cap. 12. p. 406. *ibid.* where the words ἡ 'Ρωμαίων ἀγορὰ evidently allude to the same forum.

²⁰ " In fastigiis Fori Trajani simulachra sunt sita circum undique inaurata equorum," &c. — Lib. xiii. cap. 23.

²¹ " Hærebat [*i. e.* Constantius] attonitus *per giganteos contextus* circumferens mentem, nec relatu effabiles, nec rursus mortalibus appetendos. . . . Trajani equum solum locatum *in Atrii medio* *, qui ipsum principem vehit imitari se velle dicebat," &c. — *Amm. Marcellin.* lib. xvi. cap. 17.

* This should be read, or at least understood, as " in *Aræ medio*." — See Explanations of the Plan.

that the sole master of the Roman empire acknowledged the impossibility of then making any thing like it. The equestrian statue, however, he proposed to imitate, and felt an assurance of success in that single object: "First command such a stable to be built for its reception," says the Persian Hormisda, "and the horse you intend to make may rival the one you imitate." Several distinguished individuals had honorary statues placed in this Forum²²: we have notice of Victorinus, a rhetorician²³, who gained that honour; also the poet Claudian, at a still later period²⁴; and finally Flavius Merobaudis, who lived in the fifth century.²⁵ The various fragments and ruins which remain will sufficiently attest the splendour and perfection of art which originally shone forth in this work of the empire. From these remains, and the written accounts here collected, we shall now endeavour to furnish some description of the whole.

²² *Julius Capitolin. in M. Antonin. vit. cap. 22.*; and *Lamprius in Alexand. Sever. cap. 26.*

²³ "Victorinus rhetor et Donatus grammaticus meus Romæ insignes habentur: e quibus Victorinus etiam statuam in Foro Trajani meruit, in *Anno Domini 355 vel 8.*" — *Eusebii Chronicon. lib. post. p. 184.*; *Thesaurus Temporum, &c. cum Animadvers. Scaliger*, edit. Amst. 1558.

This Victorinus was an African. — See *Hieronym. Chronicon*, p. 189.; *Chronica Trium Illustrium Auctor. &c.* edit. Burdigalæ, 1604.

²⁴ The pedestal on which this poet's statue stood was found in 1494. The inscription was preserved by Marliano, and is re-produced by Nardini, tom. ii. p. 247.

²⁵ The pedestal of this statue was discovered in 1813. It appears from the inscription to have been set up by Theodosius and Valentinian, A. D. 435; a proof that the Forum of Trajan was at that period in a flourishing state.

The historical pillar, which claims our first attention, is placed in the middle of a square area, two sides of which were enclosed by the vestibules of the Basilica, being formed by a double row of four columns and two pilasters each: a third side of the said area (which some also call a *cavædium*)²⁶ was enclosed by a part of the wall of the Basilica; the fourth, perhaps, by a balustrade. Upon the pedestal of the column are sculptured shields, helmets, cuirasses, and instruments of war; and the inscription is supported by two winged figures. The bas-reliefs begin by representing the passage of the Danube²⁷ by means of a bridge of boats, over which the horse of Trajan is lead richly caparisoned, and the emperor is attended by his generals: he appears (after having passed the river) on a “*suggestum*,” sitting on the “*sella castrensis*,” and near him is placed the prefect. Next succeeds a sacrifice before the camp, where may be observed the officiating priest and other attendants, with the standard of the legions and “*manipuli*.” Trajan then addresses the soldiers, the prefects, and tribunes. Next follows the building of a fortress or encampments, where the soldiers are seen labouring. Trajan sends out his spies to reconnoitre the enemy’s country; he makes the circuit of the fortifications; and in the midst of the work the spies return, bringing with them into the Emperor’s presence two Dacian prisoners. The works are continued, and the soldiers prepare for

²⁶ Consult *Vitruvius Architectura*, lib. vi. cap. 4. p. 228. edit. citat.

²⁷ Compare *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxviii. p. 1129. et seq.

war, some on horses, others having put on helmets and armed themselves with shields: the battle ensues, and two heads of the slaughtered Dacians are exhibited to Trajan. In the midst of the carnage Jupiter appears in aid of the Romans; and a young Dacian is carried out dead by his friends. By the order of Trajan, the Romans set fire to the fortress and encampments of the enemy. He then receives the ambassadors suing for peace: that not being obtained or adjusted, the battle is renewed, but the children are rescued from the flames by the command of Trajan; the women also are suffered to depart, but the Dacians flee before the conqueror. With a reinforcement of the Sarmatians, who are seen on horses covered with coats of mail, they make another furious attack upon the citadel of the Romans; the battering-ram is also seen in action. The besieged are relieved by the succours afforded them from their companions: Trajan approaches, conducts his men round the city, and surprises the Dacians. He then proceeds, followed by some of the auxiliary Germans, and meets the spies, who relate to him their discoveries: the fierce Sarmatians appear again in battle; the scene of slaughter ensues; the children and old men escape; and Trajan again receives the Dacians into his presence. A history very similar may be traced through the succeeding representations; the subjects of attacking fortresses, making slaughter of the enemy, and the emperor addressing his soldiers, are renewed: the first war is ended by Victory recording the exploits on a shield surrounded by trophies. The second war commences with much

preparation for building, and offering up sacrifices for a successful issue. After a continuation of several subjects, such as have been related, the head of King Decebalus is shown from the encampment of the Romans in triumph. The Dacians who had fled to the mountains are taken prisoners; another fortress is taken, which seems to have held out after the death of the king, to which the Romans set fire; a mixed multitude of women and children, with their cattle, seem to be going away, and leaving all behind them in despair: these and many more such things are sculptured on Trajan's column. There are in all 2500 figures, independently of horses, armour, &c.²⁸ The column, according to P. Victor, measured 128 feet in height, without the bronze colossal statue of Trajan, which Pope Sixtus V. replaced by that of the "prince of the Apostles."²⁹ In ascending to the top, we may count 42 small windows or loop-holes,

²⁸ See the work entitled, *Colonna Trajana, &c. disegnata et intagliata da Pietro Santi Bartoli col' esposizione Latina de Ciaccone, compendiata, &c. da Pietro Bellori*. Edit. da Giacomo de' Rossi. This laborious work is comprised in 119 folio sheet engravings, independently of the architectural illustrations and those of the pedestal. Fabretti has also written a folio volume, *De Columna Trajani Syntagma*. Edit. Rom. 1783.

²⁹ The dimensions of the pillar are thus stated in the work above cited, in ancient feet: — The pedestal, including plinth and upper torus, 23 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the shaft, $90\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the capital, 4 feet; the upper pedestal, $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the base of the statue, 8 feet; and the statue of S. Peter, 13 feet. Piranesi computes Trajan's statue at 28 feet. See a medal in *Nardini*, tom. ii. No. 34. The head of the colossal statue of the emperor was supposed to exist in the sixteenth century. See Ciaccone in the work above cited, p. 4.; and consult *Winkelmann de l'Art, &c.* liv. vi. cap. 7. p. 449.

and 184 steps: it is composed of but 34 pieces of marble, of which the whole basement contains 9, the torus 1, the shaft of the column 23, and the capital 1. The ashes of Trajan were placed in an urn of gold within or upon the column, the received opinion is, that they were contained in a gilded globe held in the hand of the colossal statue. The honour of being interred within the city was, says Eutropius, the peculiar privilege of Trajan.³⁰ It has already been observed, there was a temple attached to the Forum, but, as no vestiges of it have been discovered, the site can only be guessed at: it stood most probably between the pillar and the Piazza dei SS. Apostoli; because there was no space for it at either end of the Basilica, as appears from the contiguity of the two hills, and on the other side of the Basilica was the area and the triumphal arch. From the medal³¹ which represents this temple, we find that there were eight columns in front; the tympanum was filled with sculpture, and crowned by statues; the large fragment of granite now lying near the pillar, if (as is most likely) it belonged to the temple, further enables us to state that the columns were about 55 feet high.³²

³⁰ "Solus omnium imperatorum intra urbem sepultus est. Ossa ejus collocata in urna aurea in Foro quod ædificavit sibi, columna ibi posita est, cujus altitudo cxi pedes habet." — *Eutrop. Rerum Romanar.* lib. viii.; *De Ulpio Trajan.*; and compare *Dion Cassius* as cited in Note B. at the end of the Vol., and *Euseb. Chronicon*, edit. citat, p. 166. A. D. 117.

³¹ See impression (No. 1.) in the annexed plan of Forum, &c.

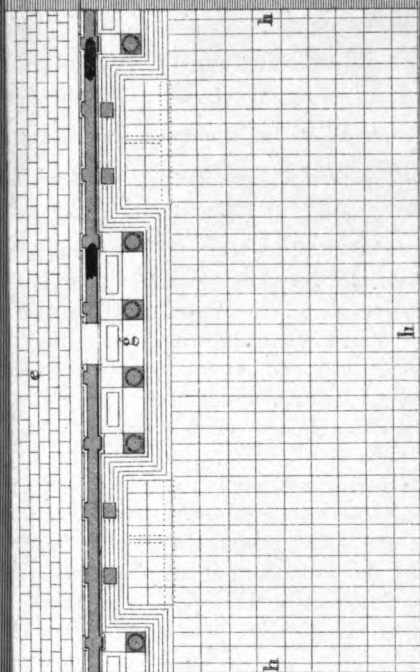
³² In the year 1765, in laying the foundations of a causeway leading to the "Palazzo Imperiale," which stands at the end of

The width and design of the Basilica are rescued from oblivion; the columns, of Egyptian granite, and of elegant proportion, are to a great extent restored to their original positions. Attempts have also been made to ascertain the length of the building: an excavation made by some members of the French academy, in 1824, seemed to determine the angle towards the Via Magnanapoli, from which it appeared that to each end of the section now visible there should be added a space equal to five intercolumniations; so that the whole number of columns belonging to the Basilica might thus amount to ninety-six. By a reference to the annexed plan³³ it will be further observed,

the Piazza dei Apostoli, the workmen came upon five other columns of the same magnitude and material as the one now lying near the pillar. Winkelmann estimates the diameters at $8\frac{1}{2}$ Roman palms (about six feet). At the same time was discovered a piece of cornice of corresponding proportions, which is now preserved in the Villa Albani. (See *Winkelmann de l'Art sous les Empereurs*, liv. vi. ch. 7. tom. ii. p. 449. edit. Paris, 1802.) These things sufficiently indicate the position of the temple. — See also *Appendice alla viii. Reg. in Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 351.

³³ In this plan, the white ground shows the extent of the excavations made by the French, and adopted by Pius VII. (see Note 35. in page following); the whole is enclosed by a wall. The ground plan of the Basilica is completed for the sake of clearness; and the following explanations will enable the spectator to comprehend the design of the whole: —

- (a) The atrium, or cavædium, in the middle of which the historical pillar stands.
- (b) Vestibules leading to the two libraries which lay parallel to the Basilica.
- (c) The supposed site of the temple on which Hadrian affixed his inscription; the elevation represented in the impression of the medal (No. 1.)
- (d) The main nef, or interior of the Basilica, floored with



Plan of a Part of the Forum and Basilica of Trajan in their present State.

English Feet 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200

that the building was divided into five naves; the pavement as there delineated (and partly remains to be seen on the spot) was of the finest marbles.

Adjoining the Basilica was the Forum, with which it communicated by a few steps still to be traced: the main entrance is found to be in a direct line with the pillar; and some slight vestiges of the wall of the Basilica on this side also are visible. The Forum extended far beyond the wall of Pius VII.; for Flaminio Vacca discovered the vestiges of a triumphal arch near the church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo, through which, in all probability, was the entrance into the Forum. Amongst the bas-reliefs found on that occasion was one representing Trajan effecting the passage of a river. Mention is also made of some statues which resembled the Dacian captives³⁴ now to be

slabs of precious marble. The roof was probably the one of bronze alluded to by Pausanias, and the "*giganteus contextus*" of Ammianus Marcellinus.

- (e) Double portico, or aisles surrounding the same.
- (f) Excavation made in 1824, to ascertain the angle of the Basilica.
- (g) The principal entrance, whose elevation is, perhaps, represented in the impression of the medal (No. 2.).
- (h) The Forum Trajani, or open area, in the middle of which probably stood the equestrian statue of the emperor; otherwise it must have stood between the pillar and the temple. It is not known how far the Forum extended; but compare the discoveries enumerated in the succeeding notes. The vestiges visibly remaining are delineated as usual in dark tints.

³⁴ *Memorie di Flaminio Vacca*, No. 9. At the monastery of the Spirito Santo, pieces of columns, seven palms in diameter, of

seen on the arch of Constantine. It is supposed by some the Forum was surrounded by columns, and there was a triumphal arch at each angle : such a conjecture, the latter part of which is founded upon the vague account of Flaminius Vacca, might serve to increase our ideas of the magnificence of Trajan's reign, if they were not already too enlarged ; and, perhaps, it may be more satisfactory to the spectator to confirm the idea he must have already acquired, by examining the stupendous fragments, and the exquisite specimens of sculpture remaining within this enclosure.³⁵

white granite, were found in the year 1700 ; and in the time of Pope Alexander VII. similar fragments were discovered about the same place. In the walls of the nunnery of S. Eufemia are inserted various pieces of marble columns and cornices. See *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. i. p. 145—481. In 1829 a fine fluted column was found in the little street near the church of S. Maria, in Campo Carleo. These may serve as indications of the extent of the Forum ; but it would be tedious to enumerate all the discoveries made about this mine of antiquity.

³⁵ Many of the remains here alluded to are inserted in the modern wall ; and at the square end are placed upon pedestals several portions of the colossal statues of Dacian captives : dedicatory inscriptions, still legible on the basements of honorary statues, are disposed around the whole. Pius VII. has seized the honour of this Gallic deed by setting up an inscription : — “ Anno Pontificatus sui xv.” &c.

From a rescript given in favour of the monastery of S. Cyriac, existing near the column of Trajan, bearing date 1162, it appears this splendid monument of art had secured the respect of that rude age : it was forbid to injure it on pain of bodily punishment and confiscation of property. See the authority produced by Professor Nibby, in note 2. to p. 242. tom. ii. of *Nardini*, in which the learned antiquary adds, — “ Paul III. disinterred the pedestal of the pillar, and Sixtus V. cleared away some buildings beside it, and built a wall round the pedestal ; which

Adjoining the Forum of Trajan is a semicircular building placed against the Quirinal hill, and commonly called the Baths of Paulus Emilius. The main portion of this fabric is to be seen in the garden of the Widows' Hospital; but the part of it which has been cleared away, and affords the best specimen of the whole, is accessible by the Vicolo della Salita del Grillo, passing the church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo. This large Hemycyclium exhibits two stories of brick arches, and it seems to have been carried still higher. Its construction, as well as its ornaments of mere stucco and travertine stone, are of an inferior order; and, except some tessellated flooring which will be observed in the recesses, we shall find no traces of that splendour which characterised the buildings of imperial Rome. The pavement now visible was discovered in February 1826, and is found to be on a level with Trajan's Forum: this circumstance, joined to the symmetrical direction of the building, will add weight to the opinion, that it formed the defence of the Forum against the Quirinal hill; which was cut away, as has been observed, to make a level site for the works of Trajan. When, however, we consider how much more labour has been here bestowed than was necessary for a mere supporting fabric, and examine the vaulted apartments, the passages of communication, the staircases by which to ascend to the top, we cannot suppose this edifice to have been made with no other view than merely for

improvements, together with the apostle's statue, cost 14,528 scudi.

supporting the hill. Now, as in the eighth region, we find the “*Cohortes sex Vigilum*,” registered by Victor immediately after the Forum and the Basilica; also, in the sixth and seventh regions, which, in this very place, come in contact with the eighth, we find “*Cohortes tres Vigilum*,” and “*septem Vigilum*,” and as this building, so situated, was very well adapted for the night guards, of which there were in all thirty-one cohorts throughout the city; we apprehend these substructions of the Quirinal hill were just turned to that account; and so the building was made very commodious.³⁶ The Torre delle Milizie is supposed to have received its name from the circumstance of Trajan’s soldiers having been stationed on the spot now occupied by it; and a tradition of that nature may be traced up to an early period. The foundations of that tower come nearly in contact with the upper outworks connected with these arches, as appears from a plan taken from a MS. in the Barberini library, and now republished in Venuti.³⁷ It may,

³⁶ See our *Plan of Ancient Rome*, in which the ichnography of this edifice is traced, marked A. But consult *Piranesi*, tom. i. tav. 29. & 43., No. 188—210. He supposes a similar Hemycyclium on the corresponding side of the Forum; but this is mere conjecture. The late excavations have annihilated the ideas of Milizia (*Roma*, &c. p. 36.), and Desgodetz (cap. 25. p. 318.), who supposed it belonged to a theatre, and that the seats were buried. A good architectural drawing and ground-plan of this incongruous edifice is still a desideratum: in the mean time, see *Uggeri Journées pittoresques*, tom. i. p. 26. and the *Memorie per le Belle Arti*, tom. ii. p. 167. anno 1786.

³⁷ *Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. p. 141. The architect, San Gallo, was the author of this ground-plan; and he entitled it thus, — “*Edifizio pubblico, dove i Romani tenevano le arma-*

indeed, be objected, that the construction of this fabric is unworthy the age of Trajan; for although some of the brick-work may compare with any of that period, yet in other places it is very inferior. Incongruities of this kind will be easily observed towards the Salita del Grillo, and also beneath the Palazzo Ceva: but this may be accounted for by supposing the work to have been done in a hasty manner, or that great regularity was neither required nor observed in a building devoid of marble ornament, and designed for the use of common soldiers.* It will now not be difficult to dispose of the name which opposes us in calling this edifice “the barracks or head-quarters of the sentinels belonging to the sixth and eighth regions;” and perhaps also the fifth and seventh, “the Baths of

dure loro, appresso alla Torre delle milizie,” which approaches fast to our opinion. The tradition we have here recourse to is repeated by Andreas Fulvio (*Delle Antichità, &c.* carta 77.), who also informs us, that in one of the wings existed the “deep and ancient church” of S. Albycio or Albino; by Marliano (*apud Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 160.), who mentions a colossal head of Trajan, and several round blocks of marble, being found about the Hemycyclium, one fragment bearing this inscription, — “The mightiest quality in a prince [is] liberality and clemency”; by Biondo (see Note 38.); and by Camucci, who delivers the account thus, — “Torre . . . laquale fu in quel luogo da Bonifacio VII. edificata, et da lui fu detta delle milizie, per haver gettato i suoi fondamenti sopra le rovine che v’ erano degli alloggiamenti de’ soldati di Trajano, fatti da quello Ottimo Imperatore, accioche i soldati, che si ritrovavano alla guardia della persona sua, si potessero riparare in quel luogo. Et perche i detti soldati de Latini erano chiamati “milites,” perciò vogliono che da questo nome la sopradetta Torre sortisse il nome delle milizie.” — *Dell’ Antichità*, lib. iii. p. 126, which traces the tradition to the middle ages.

* See Note C.

Paulus Emilius!" The street leading up from the Forum of Trajan to S. Catherina di Sienna is called the Via Magnanapoli, and formerly Bagnanapoli, and even in Latin documents Balla Neapolis. In this corruption of some word antiquaries have thought to recognise the original words, "Balnea Pauli;" which bath or baths are found in the sixth region! This edifice is too large for a Balineum, nor has it any appearance of having been used for such a purpose; and if there really were any thing in the sound of "Bagna Paoli," it does not point to this edifice as the object.

The Torre delle Milizie, which has just been alluded to, and which has often served us as a conspicuous land-mark, stands at the top of the Via Magnanapoli, within the precincts of the convent belonging to the church of S. Catherina di Sienna. This tower and the Torre del Grillo, and a third situated near the Colonna palace, are all of an age which in Rome makes them scarcely antiquities: but Biondo attributes all the three to the time of Boniface VIII., who died in 1303, *i. e.* a century and a half before Biondo wrote. That antiquary further says, the Torre delle Milizie³⁸ was so called because it was built upon the "cellæ" in which Trajan's soldiers were lodged; a shade of evidence in tradition which has been applied to the ruins standing below it. The Torre de' Conti was built by Innocent III. in 1216.³⁹ The Danube and the Euphrates, with

³⁸ *Roma ristaurata*, lib. iii. sect. 52.; and compare *Andreas Fulvio*, *Antichità*, &c. carta 77.

³⁹ See note A in *Venuti*, tom. i. p. 149.

the legions on the frontiers, were once considered as the walls of Rome ; and Aurelian was thought to have betrayed its decline when he drew his fortifications round the city : but the calamitous period at length arrived when Boniface VIII. built these towers to defend Rome against itself, and for his successors to leave it intrenched within its own poverty and wretchedness.⁴⁰

The passage from the Colonna palace to the gardens is by arches thrown across the Via della Pilotta ; which street, according to tradition, coincides with the ancient Vicus Corneliï : but this tradition depends upon another, which fixes the house of the Cornelian family near the Colonna palace. Biondo speaks of this as a fact of which, in his time, no one doubted ; and he intimates that the ruins which had that name were of considerable extent.⁴¹ The more we pursue the study of antiquities, the more do we feel inclined to seize upon tradition⁴² : still, without some collateral evidence, as in the present instance, the conclusion drawn merely from such tradition must ever be unsatisfactory.

In that part of the Colonna gardens which over-

⁴⁰ See *Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. 69 and 70.

⁴¹ *Roma ristaurata*, lib. i. sect. 97. ; see also *Marliano, Urbis Rom. Topograph.* cap. 22. apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 160. There was also a church or chapel, San Salvatore de' Corneliï ; vide *Lucio Mauro, Antichità*, &c. p. 80.

⁴² We mean such tradition as can be traced back to a period before the revival of letters, as in the case of the "*Turris Militiarum*," and quite independent of antiquarian wrangling. It must also be as free as possible from the "Veneration of the Faithful" to place it above suspicion.

looks the Piazza Pilotta are some extensive remains of the baths of Constantine: they now serve for granaries and hay-lofts, and are so ruined, cut, and divided as to leave few traces of uniformity. Four regular divisions, however, may be observed from the steps by which we ascend to the upper terrace of the garden. That flight of steps is modernised for present convenience; but it preserves the direction of an ancient staircase, which led from the region of the Via Lata to the Quirinal Hill. It has not escaped the notice of Piranese⁴³, who supposes that by thence was the ascent to a magnificent fabric of Heliogabalus, to which the two immense marble fragments now lying in the gardens belonged. Its position, however, more clearly indicates that it was made for the convenience of the adjoining ruins, which were a part of the baths of Constantine. These baths are registered in the sixth region, and are mentioned by Sextus Aurelius as being of great extent⁴⁴; indeed, they seem not to have yielded in quantity of ornament to those of Caracalla or Diocletian. The two

⁴³ *Ichnograph.* No. 106. p. 14. An antiquary of the sixteenth century thus describes the ruins and staircase: — “ Earum [Thermarum] magnæ ruinæ; ædificia quædam quadrata, quædam rotunda, altissimis fornicibus extant, quorum unum per centum fere gradus ascendimus.” — *Georg. Fabricii Descrip. Urb. Romæ*, cap. 19.

⁴⁴ “ A quo [i. e. Maxentio] etiam post Circus Maximus excultus mirifice, atque ad lavandum institutum *opus cæteris haud multo dispar*.” — *Sextus Aurelius de Cæsaribus*, p. 176. edit. Paris, 1681.

“ Constantinianum lavacrum,” is also barely mentioned by *Amm. Marcellinus*, in lib. xxvii. cap. 5.; and this is all there is left on record of “ Thermæ Constantinianæ ” of P. Victor.

colossal equestrian statues commonly called the works of Phidias and Praxiteles, were found near these ruins ⁴⁵, as well as the three statues of Constantine and his sons. ⁴⁶ In laying the foundations of the Palazzo Ruspigliosi, several bas-reliefs, busts, and statues were discovered ⁴⁷, some of which are to be seen in the gardens belonging to that palace. Besides these works of ornament, there were also found several compartments in the form of porticos, which were painted in fresco. These paintings ⁴⁸ are strictly preserved in the same palace : but the most important of all other discoveries was that of the inscription ⁴⁹, which proves the iden-

⁴⁵ *Memorie di Vacca*, No. 10. *Onuphrio Panvinio Descrip. Urb. Rom.* apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 274. "Ma il Donati," says Nardini, (tom. ii. p. 82.) "dimostrativamente provando Fidia e Prassitele essere stati prima di Alessandro, disinganna il mondo d'una sì invecchiata credenza;" and it is worth while to read Donatus's argument, apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 737.

⁴⁶ Two of those statues are now on the balustrade of the Campidoglio, and the third under the portico of S. Giovanni in Laterano.

⁴⁷ See *Venuti*, tom. i. p. 153. and tom. ii. p. 86. *Memorie di Vacca*, Nos. 40, 41. 49. 112. Almost all those busts and other objects of art shown in the summer house, where the famous Fresco paintings are, came from the ruins of the Baths. It must be understood that the Thermæ in question extended over the site of the Ruspigliosi palace.

⁴⁸ *Ficoroni Vestigie di Roma Antica*, cap. 19. p. 128. Caméron, in his "Description des Bains des Romains," produces fourteen designs. See also the collection of ancient pictures, entitled *Pict. Crypt. Roman.* App. Tab. x—xviii.

⁴⁹ The inscription, too long to insert, (but see *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 81.) states that a Præfect of the city, Petronius Perpenna Magnus Quadratianus, restored the Baths to their pristine splendour after they had lain for a long time in neglect; and it is supposed the Præfect belongs to the year

tity of the edifice. In comparing the construction of these ruins as brickwork, with the two stupendous fragments already alluded to as sculpture, it is impossible to conceive that the same age could produce them both; and therefore it is universally agreed that they never belonged to the baths of Constantine. Serlio and Palladio⁵⁰ have amused themselves by framing from these two pieces of a cornice the plan of an immense temple; but it may even be doubted whether, after having been brought here for some purpose, the original design was ever put into execution. We may lament our ignorance of the mechanical means employed by the ancients in conveying, much less raising, such masses of marble; but being thus ignorant, we can hardly believe that these were ever employed. If, however, the obscurity which hangs over these two fragments should still excite an enquiry as to what edifice they belonged, the answer must unequivocally be—it is not known. The most popular opinion has been, that they were part of the Temple of the Sun, built by Aurelian⁵¹: but, independent of the work being too excellent for so late an age⁵², the Temple of the Sun was in the seventh

443. For a plan of those *Thermæ*, see *Palladio*, *Terme*, tav. xiv. and xv. which is the best.

⁵⁰ *Serlio Architett.* lib. iii. p. 80. *Palladio*, lib. iv. cap. xii. p. 41.

⁵¹ *Flav. Vopisc.* in Aurelian, cap. i. and v.

⁵² Winkelmann, however, thinks they may have belonged to the said temple as far as the execution of the work is concerned; for Architecture, he observes, being determined by given proportions and invariable precepts, is less liable to fall into decay than the fine arts. (See liv. vi. ch. viii. tom. ii. p. 498.) How many things militate against this observation!

region, and, consequently, not upon the Quirinal hill at all. Others have supposed them to be the remains of a senaculum which Heliogabalus erected on the Quirinal hill for his senate of women; but his biographer declares that, with the exception of a temple which he dedicated to himself on the Palatine hill, and some restorations of other fabrics, whose positions are known, he left no public work to posterity.⁵³ Nardini pleads for the temple of Health, but he confuses himself in placing it so far from the temple of Quirinus.⁵⁴ In this manner conjecture has been exhausted, and antiquarians have called in question each other's judgment; but most of them are willing to allow that such a specimen of sculpture could scarcely be produced in Rome later than the age of the Antonines.⁵⁵

In the region of the Via Lata there were two Forums, the one called "Suarium" or the pig-market, the other the "Forum Archemorium" or market-place of the Greeks: the situations of both are vaguely pointed out by two traditional names, the one however more satisfactorily than the other. The church of S. Buonaventura dei Lucchesi at a little distance from the Piazza della Pilotta, and in the street of that name, was called in former times S. Niccolo in Porcilibus et in Porcis.⁵⁶ At the

⁵³ *Ælii Lampridii Anton. Heliogab.* cap. iv. and conf. cap. xvii. in verb. "Opera publica ejus."

⁵⁴ *Roma Antica*, tom. ii. p. 79.

⁵⁵ The vignette at the end of this Dissertation will enable any one, in viewing those fragments, to form an idea of the magnitude of the whole. See Note D.

⁵⁶ Panvinio has an inscription, for which see *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 116., containing the words "Forum Syarium" (y for v no

lower end of the Via Rasella, there is a church now called S. Niccolò in Arcione, which is found in ecclesiastical records to have the name of S. Niccolò de Archemoniis, so that although we may reject the former tradition, we can hardly do so with the latter. Underneath the high walls of the Papal gardens were discovered some corridors, adorned with stucco and marble; and nearer to the church last mentioned, some small habitations having the appearance of shops adapted for a forum.⁵⁷ There are no longer any traces of these things to arrest our attention; but such topographical notices, however slight, give an interest to the modern city, whilst amidst more authenticated ruins, and on other ground, they would scarcely deserve a place.

In continuing our circuit from the Piazza della Pilotta, we shall pass over the supposed site of the "Forum Suarium," and leave that of the Forum Archemorium on the right of the fountain of Trevi: it will now be convenient to speak of the aqueduct which conveys the water to the said fountain. The "Aqua Virginis," according to Frontinus, was conveyed for the most part by a subterraneous passage for near thirteen miles before it reached the city; it was then continued over arches, commencing under the gardens of Lucilius or Lucullus, and ended in the Campus Martius in front of a public building called the "Septa," and from

doubt). A certain Ursacius calls himself the Tribune of the City Cohorts and the Forum Suarium. Compare Note at the end of the Volume.

⁵⁷ *Memorie di Bartoli*, No. 36. See also *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 87.

thence supplied the baths of Agrippa.⁵⁸ This water, in its subterraneous passage, runs through the garden belonging to the church of S. Trinita de' Monti at an immense depth⁵⁹, and with considerable difficulty might be descended to; the arches described by Frontinus began therefore where the water issued from the Monte Pincio, and they may be partially traced from thence to the fountain of Trevi. In continuing along the Via della Stamperia, vestiges of the original aqueduct may be traced behind the houses on the left-hand side of the street; but our attention will chiefly be directed to a portion of those arches mentioned by Frontinus, which remain unimpaired since his time. In the Via del Nazareno one side of the arches may be seen by descending into a washing-house; but the other side remains still more perfect in the court-yard of the Palazzo del Bufalo, which is situated nearly opposite the entrance into the Collegio del Nazareno. The large and legible inscrip-

⁵⁸ The "Aqua Virgo," which now supplies the Piazza di Spagna and the fountain of Trevi, has its source near the river Anio, about eight miles from Rome, on the left hand of the ancient Via Collatina. The water is said to have received its name (*Virgo*) from the circumstance of a *little girl* having pointed out the source to some of Agrippa's soldiers; and the transaction was painted in an *Ædícula* which stood by the spring. *Frontinus de Aqueduct. Urb. Rom.*, art. 22. p. 76. *Comment. cum notis Poleni*, edit. Patav. 1722. Art. 10. No. 8. p. 46. The passage we especially want at present is the following: — "Arcus Virginis initium habent sub hortis Lucullianis, finiuntur in Campo Martio, secundum frontem Septorum." *Frontin. ib.*; and consult *Piranesi Tav. degli Aquedott.* Nos. 9, 10. 72. and 73.

⁵⁹ Vide *Fabretti de Aquis et Aquæduct.* dissertation ii. p. 113. tab. xvii.

tion, which is written on travertine stone, leaves no doubt of the antiquity and identity of this aqueduct, and it is as follows : —

TI . CLAUDIVS . DRVSI . F . CAESAR . AVGVSTVS . GERMANICVS
PONTIFEX . MAXIM . TRIB . POT . V . IMP . XI . P . P . COS . DESIG . IIII .
ARCVS . DVCTVS . AQVAE . VIRGINIS . DISTVRBATUS . PER . C . CAES .
A . FVNDAMENTIS . NOVOS . FECIT . AC . RESTITVIT .

From this inscription being placed here, and from the mouldings of the arches, we should suppose that the water in this place contributed in its course to form one of those fountains or “Salientes⁶⁰” of which Agrippa made so many in the city. As this work was begun only twenty years after the death of Cicero, it may almost be classed among the monuments of the republic; but independent of its interest in this particular, it becomes a most important guide in our topographical enquiries. Since the arches of the aqueduct began under the gardens of Lucullus, and those arches can be followed to the roots of the “Collis Hortulorum,” we are enabled to fix the site of those gardens about the Via Gregoriana⁶¹; and as the “Horti Lucullani” are registered in the ninth region, we are here reminded of the limits assigned to that of the Via Lata.

The most convenient way from the Via Nazareno to the baths of Diocletian, is by the Piazza Barberini and the quattro Fontane; and in again ascending to the Quirinal hill, something may be said of the celebrated temple of Quirinus. We have already gone through the valley called anciently

⁶¹ See *Piranesi, Antichità*, tom. i. p. 9. No. 6.

the "Vallis Quirini," situated between the Viminal and Quirinal hills.⁶² The temple of Quirinus is mentioned by several authors as being upon the latter, and combining these two things, we can have no doubt that the temple was situated upon that part of the hill which overlooks the valley. This conclusion alone will fix its site within the limits of the gardens belonging to the Noviciate's college, answering to the place where Fulvio saw the foundations of it discovered.⁶³ That antiquary also relates that Otho, senator of Rome, destroyed its remains, and took away the ornaments to make the marble steps now leading up to the church of Ara Coeli; that fact has been called in question because there are other records which state those steps to have been made by means of pious contributions after a pestilence had raged in the city in the year 1378.⁶⁴ It seems however, pretty evi-

⁶² See Dissertation V.

⁶³ "[Tempio] di Quirino sopra la Chiesa di San Vitale . . i fondamenti del quale pochi anni indietro io vidi cavare nella vigna del revmo Cardinale Genutio, ove sono molte tavolette di marmo, et pezzetti di marmo del pavimento di esso tempio, un certo Otone Milanese essendo Senatore di Roma ne spogliò il detto tempio, et degli ornamenti di quello, ne furono fatti i gradi di Araceli et del Campidoglio." — *Delle Antichità, &c.* carta 80.

⁶⁴ Whoever wishes to make this a subject of enquiry may compare the authorities brought together by Professor *Nibby* in *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 75. with the above accounts of Fulvio and Zabarella, *Memorie della Chiesa d' Araceli*. An error of the press in Zabarella (putting 1384 for 1348) seems to have caused much of the perplexity. See *Storia Diplomatica de' Senatori di Roma*, p. 272. *Opera dell' Abbate Vitale*, Rom. edit. 1791. The chronology is equally at variance in the authorities cited by Nardini's editor: it may suffice to remark, that on whatsoever occasion the flight of steps was constructed, the marble

dent, that a flight of steps was traced belonging to the ruins in the gardens of the Noviciates, and hence it may be inferred that they led up to the temple from the valley; for we read of a portico of Quirinus independent of the temple⁶⁵, and not improbable the portico was in the valley from whence the steps began, and consequently was not far from the church of S. Vitale.

This temple seems to have derived its celebrity rather from its remote origin and the deified title of the founder of Rome, than from any thing remarkable in its structure or magnificence. It was originally built at or near the spot where Romulus miraculously disappeared in a thunder-storm.⁶⁶ Dionysius makes Numa the founder of it⁶⁷: but according to Livy⁶⁸, it was founded anew in the year of the city 459 by the consul Papirius, who accomplished the vow of his father, and enriched it wonderfully with the spoils of the Samnites. Augustus re-made it, and dedicated it a little before his death; and he adorned it with as many columns

materials must have been procured somewhere, and we only plead for their having come from the Quirinal Valley.

⁶⁵ See *Martial. Epigram*, i. lib. xi. and epist. 58. lib. x.; The valley was anciently much deeper, as appeared from a mosaic pavement discovered in the time of Clement X. at a depth of sixty palms. See *Venuti. Antichità, &c.* p. 155. tom. i. The large basalt vase, now in the Museo Pio-Clementino, and several objects of less value, were found in this garden of the Jesuits, who do not graciously admit strangers into it to find any thing more.

⁶⁶ On which, see *Plutarch. in vit. Romuli*, p. 36. edit. citat.

⁶⁷ *Antiquitat. Roman.* lib. ii. cap. 63. p. 370. tom. i edit. Reiske.

⁶⁸ Lib. x. cap. 46.

as he had lived years, *i. e.* seventy-six.⁶⁹ From this time we may probably date its splendour. To it belonged the first well-constructed dial that was brought to Rome; and before it stood two celebrated myrtle trees, faithful emblems of patrician and plebeian power!⁷⁰ The temples of Health and of Ceres were so near to that of Quirinus, as to be all three struck at the same time by lightning.⁷¹

At this point of our circuit a succession of objects invite research; but the result would be unsatisfactory. The shops mentioned by Vitruvius, where vermilion (perhaps for painting vaults) was sold, stood between the temples of Quirinus and Flora⁷²; the house in which Domitian was born was in the sixth region⁷³; and the few arches almost interred in the Orto Barberini, near a manufactory, have been fixed upon as the remains of the house of Domitia. In the same region was situated the old Capitol, which claims Numa Pompilius for its founder, and which could be seen from the Circus of Flora. If that circus occupied the site of the

⁶⁹ See *Dion Cassius*, lib. liv. p. 748.

⁷⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. vii. cap. 60. p. 127. et lib. xv. cap. 29. p. 265.

⁷¹ *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxviii. cap. 11. Consult *Piranesi, Icnograph.* p. 31. No. 253.; and see Dissertation II.

⁷² *M. Vitruv. Pollio de Architect.* lib. vii. cap. 9. p. 290. edit. citat.

⁷³ "Malum Punicum, ad quod Domitianus D. D. templum Gentis Flaviæ, et erat domus ejus." — *P. Victor de Region.* Compare the apposite words of *Suetonius in vit. Domitian.* cap. 1. An inscription, too, published by Marliano (apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 161.), seems to point out the site between the church of S. Susanna and the Quattro Fontane.

Piazza Barberini, as Fulvio insinuates, and of which he and Donatus saw some vestiges, we might almost fix the situation of all these objects, as well as the house of Martial the poet : but the whole must be deduced from two lines in one of his epigrams !⁷⁴ The Via Pia leads direct to the Piazza dei Termini, where the baths of Diocletian partially cover a space of something more than one mile in circumference.

Stupendous as this building must once have been, there is no description, nor scarcely so much as mention, to be found of it in any of the ancient authors extant. Vopiscus, indeed, informs us, that the Ulpian library was removed from Trajan's Forum, and placed in the "thermæ" of Diocletian⁷⁵; and in the catalogues of Victor and Rufus they are registered in the sixth region : but we are indebted to some inscriptions, rescued from oblivion by Gruter, for all we know of the history of these

⁷⁴ " Mane domi, si te merui, voluique videre,
Sint mihi, Paule, tuæ longius Esquilæ.
Sed Tiburtinæ sum proximus accola pilæ;
Qua videt antiquum rustica Flora Jovem."

Lib. v. ep. 23.; et conf. lib. vii. ep. 72.

If Martial's house was where the Circus of Flora faced the old Capitol, as the last line here cited imports, and that circus was in the present Piazza Barberini, then the several things enumerated are brought together within a given space; and whoever is desirous of examining these things more accurately may consult *Fulvio, Delle Antichità, &c.*, carta 79.; *Donatus*, apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 740.; *Marliano*, cap. 25. (apud Grævium, p. 163.) *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 84.; and *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 156.

⁷⁵ *Vopiscus*, in *Probo*, cap. 2.; mentioned also by *Trebellius Pollio*, de *Pisone*, xxx *Tyrann.* cap. 21.

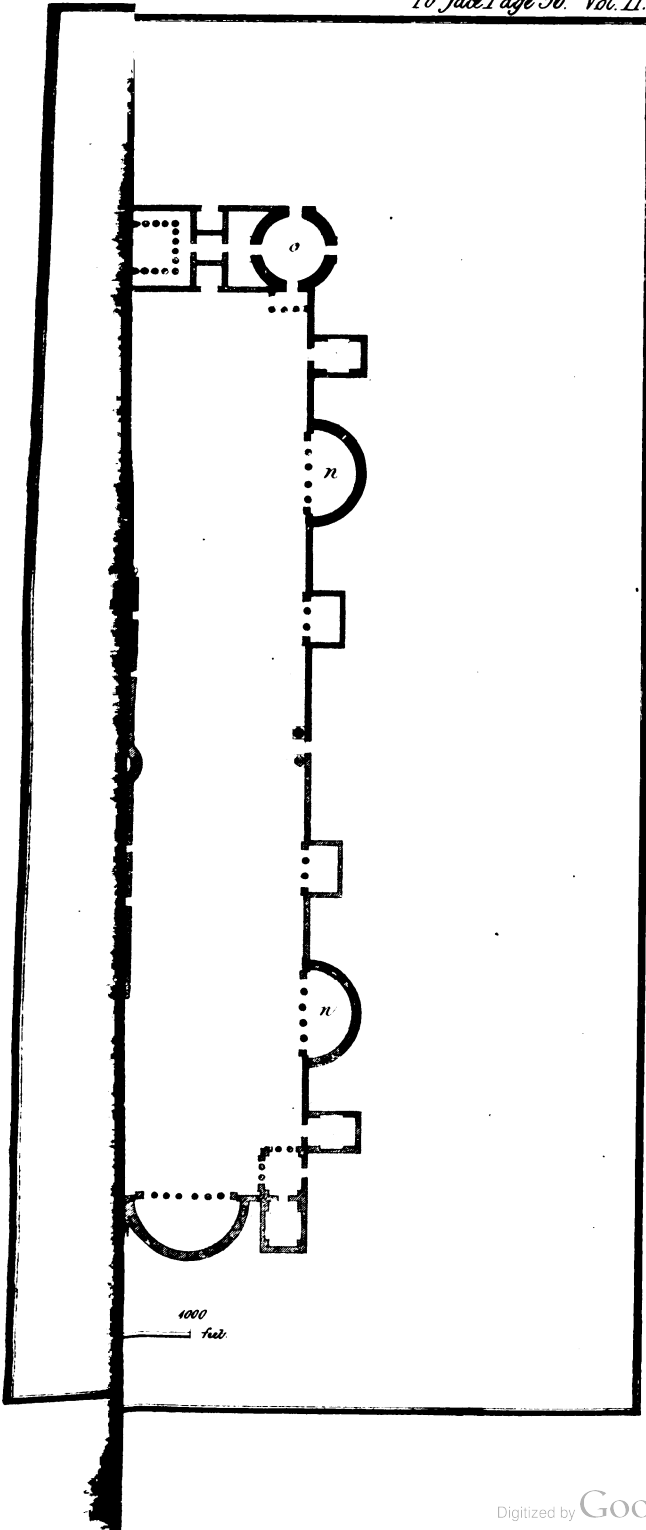
baths. They were begun by the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, and finished by the Cæsars Constantius and Maximinus⁷⁶; which fixes the date in the beginning of the fourth century. The “thermæ” which Constantine erected at no great distance from hence, and almost of equal magnitude, were probably joined with these, so as to form one immense establishment; for in the “Notitia” they are thus mentioned:—“Thermas Diocletianas et Constantinianas.” It is said that by order of Diocletian, whose name has ever been held in abhorrence by ecclesiastical writers, 40,000 Christians were made to labour in rearing this fabric.⁷⁷

By comparing our plan of the baths of Caracalla with the one here annexed, it will be observed that the baths of Diocletian differed but little in the distribution of the interior part; and such portions of the latter as are entirely destroyed may be supplied both with form and nomenclature from the former. We are not equally certain with regard to the outworks; and some few of the “exhedræ” are certainly supplied from conjecture: but no one, upon examining the whole, will find much room for scepticism in this restoration of the ground plan.

⁷⁶ Vide *Gruter, Inscript. Corpus*, p. lxxix.

⁷⁷ Vide *Baronius, Annales Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. ann. 298. *Boissard, Topograph. Urb. Rom.* tom. i. p. 45. edit. Francof. 1627, who adds, “per annos quatuordecim servili more dicuntur esse vexata.” The original account comes from the *Acta B. Marcelli Pap. et Martyr.* which the Cardinal Baronius, who has a “lynx’s eye” for a martyr (see *Arringh. Roma Subterranea*, lib. iv. cap. 45. p. 384. tom. ii. edit. Romæ, 1651), discovered.

- (a) Porter's lodges, as in the baths of Caracalla.
- (b) The large peristyles, for athletic exercises; of which nothing remains.
- (c) The Pinacotheca, which with the two adjacent compartments (d, d) forms part of the church of S. Maria dei Angeli. The four recesses marked with asterisks (*), separated from the main space by columns and perhaps a parapet, were, as appears from a similar arrangement in the other thermæ, for the warm baths.
- (e) Apodyteria or undressing rooms, appropriated for the bathers.
- (f) Apartments conveniently situated for servants and attendants, some of them now used for hay lofts.
- (g) Passages or halls of general communication.
- (h) The Natatio or Piscina, for cold bathing, at each end of which is a retiring gallery. Part of this space is now occupied by the cloisters of the convent.
- (k) Banqueting rooms assigned for the higher ranks of the people, and perhaps the rectangular apartments marked with an obelisk (†) adjoining, were appendages to the same.
- (l) The Aula or passage court into the Pinacotheca, which now forms the vestibule of the church. To complete the Greek cross, Michael Angelo added the "Tribune," at the opposite side of the Pinacotheca. On each side of the Aula was room enough for the Hypocausta.
- (m) The main entrance, similarly situated to the "Cella Solearis" in Caracalla's baths, and chiefly supplied in the plan from the conjectures of architects. The line of rooms on each side of the main entrance may be distributed into "Ephebea" or "scholæ;" for which see the plan of the other thermæ.
- (n) Hemicyclia, of uncertain use, communicating with the area; most probably assigned for the use of



the lower orders; and perhaps in this part of the thermæ were the inferior baths.

- (o) Principal entrances into the great area, probably dedicated to some gods as temples; the more perfect one is now the church of S. Bernard; the other, near the Strozzi gardens, is formed into a granary.
- (p) The Bibliothecæ, where perhaps the Greek and Latin libraries brought from the Basilica Ulpia were deposited. Of these nothing remains.
- (q) The Theatridium, now enclosing a bleaching yard.
- (r) The grand area or open space for games and exercises, now the Piazza Termini.
- (s) The reservoir for supplying the whole establishment with water (existing in the Villa Strozzi).

We think it unnecessary to enter into any farther details of this once stupendous fabric: indeed, those already given depend much upon conjecture, aided however by the more certain distribution of the baths of Caracalla. The curious spectator may compare in these ruins the brick construction of the fourth century, with that of the third in the ruins of the other thermæ just mentioned; and it may not be uninteresting to consult the memorials which contain accounts of the paintings and ornaments at different times discovered about the baths of Diocletian.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ For a detailed account of which, see *Venuti, Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. p. 167—172. Michel Angelo was employed by Pope Pius IV. to make a church out of those vast ruins; and as he was obliged to raise the pavement on account of the humidity, the real basements of the granite columns are now interred, and new bases attached; consequently the proportions deformed: but the effect of the whole is perhaps more

Within the limits of the sixth region were comprised the Forum and gardens of Sallust; in which, according to Victor and Rufus, was situated a temple of Venus, and, we may add, a Circus of no small dimensions. These things are all to be recognised in the Villa Barberini and its vicinity, where the old city was enclosed toward the north-east by the "agger" of Servius Tullius, joining with the extremity of the Quirinal hill. From the Via Pia, by a gateway opposite to the great granary now converted into a workhouse, is an entrance into the Villa above named, by which we may immediately ascend upon the "agger," and look down upon the site of the Circus. An attentive observer will not fail to remark how faithfully the form of the city is here preserved, as it existed previous to the time of Aurelian. From the hillock which turns nearly at a right angle, and verges to the "Via Pia," the eye may trace the direction of the celebrated agger as far as the highest point of it, which has already been visited in the Villa Negroni; and whilst the spectator lingers with delight upon the station we have chosen, we may recapitulate the history of the gardens of Sallust, and endeavour to ascertain the position of several objects which once existed in the vicinity of the ancient Porta Collina. "The plunder of Numidia" (to adopt the language of an elegant historian⁷⁹) "was employed by Sallust in adorning his palace and gardens at Rome. After existing for more than 400 years, and

striking to the first view of a stranger, than the interior of St. Peter's.

⁷⁹ See *Gibbon's History*, &c. ch. xxxi.; and *Aulus Gellius*, lib. xvii. cap. 18.

perhaps in each succeeding century with increased magnificence, their situation, so near to the Porta Salara, exposed them to the first ravages of the fire of the Goths; and since that calamitous period they have doubtless lain in ruins. The gardens and palace of the historian do not owe all their celebrity to their founder, but to their situation, which often tempted the emperors to leave the Palatine hill, and enjoy the more tranquil repose of a villa beneath the walls of the city. Here was the occasional retreat of Nero, and here Nerva died: Aurelian preferred the gardens of Sallust and Domitia to the palace of the Cæsars, and continued his exercises in a portico he constructed for the purpose, when his health began to decline.⁸⁰ Maxentius was the last of the emperors who inhabited them; for soon after his death the emperors began to desert Rome."

The position of the ancient Porta Collina is fixed by universal consent at the angle made here by the turning of the "agger;" and applying the authorities of Dionysius and Strabo, already referred to in a former Dissertation⁸¹, that gate must have stood where these substructing arches begin to fall away in smaller masses of brickwork. And supposing the fortifications to have turned in the direction of this eminence and its substructions, it will be observed that the gardens of Sallust, with the Circus, were thus left without the city. The Forum was more probably within the gate, both as

⁸⁰ *Vopiscus, Aurelian.* cap. 49. cum not. Casaubon. in verb. *Milliarenses porticum*; et vide *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 23.

⁸¹ See Dissertation V.

appears from some ecclesiastical records⁸², and the propriety of its being included in the city. It is sufficiently clear that the place where the unchaste vestal virgins were interred alive, and which was called the “Campus Sceleratus,” was within the Porta Collina, and under the finishing of the “agger.”⁸³ Livy, with still greater precision, informs us it was on the right hand of the road leading out of the gate⁸⁴; and thus we are enabled to recognise, almost to a nicety, the situation of the “Campus Sceleratus,” i. e. where the Via Pia interrupts the continued line of the “agger.”

Notwithstanding the laborious care of the kings for defending this side of the city, it was always the most liable to the attacks of an enemy. The Gauls, who had so nearly cut short the career of the mistress of the world, entered her sacred precincts by this her feeblest bulwark.⁸⁵ If Hannibal

⁸² *Baronius, Annal. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. Anno. 294. and 295.

⁸³ Ζῶσα κατορύσσεται παρὰ τὴν Κολλίην λεγόμενῃ πύλῃν, ἐν ᾗ ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ὄφρ᾽ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς παραπεύεσθαι πόρῳ καλεῖται δὲ χώμα διὰ λέξιφ τῇ Λατίνῳ ἐνθαδὲ κατασκευάζεται κατάγειος οἶκος ἐ μέγας ἔχων ἄνωθεν κατάβασιν. — *Plutarch. in Numa*, p. 67. edit. Lutetiæ Parisior. in folio.

Dionysius describes the subterraneous vault “at the Porta Collina within the walls.” (*Antiquitat. &c.* lib. ii. cap. 67. p. 380. tom. 1. edit. Reiske; and compare *Festus*, lib. xvii. p. 486. edit. Amstelod. 1700.

⁸⁴ “Eo anno (A. C. 334.) Minucia Vestalis . . . viva sub terram ad Portam Collinam, dextra via STRATA defossa Scelerato Campo: credo ab incesto id et loco nomen factum.” — *Tit. Liv.* lib. viii. cap. 15. For “strata,” Gronovius proposes to read “salaria,” which would make Livy write an easier sentence, at the expense of his accuracy. For the ceremony of interring the Vestal Virgins alive, see Plutarch in the place above referred to, and Dionysius, lib. ii. cap. 67.

⁸⁵ *Tit. Liv.* lib. v. cap. 41.; et vide lib. vii. cap. 11.; et *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xv. cap. 18.

had accomplished the desire of his heart, he would have directed his first efforts against the Porta Collina⁸⁶: and we have already intimated that the king of the Goths at length succeeded in the attempt.⁸⁷ Rome may now have lost her formidable aspect for withstanding an assault; but if the artificial and feeblest defence still offers such features of strength, how advantageous must have been the general position of the seven-hilled city! In descending from our station, we shall observe the masses of brick-work and reticulated tufo already alluded to: and it is manifest they were originally built for supporting the hill, because they keep the same direction even to irregularity. But this might not be the only use of them, as would appear from the stucco and fragments of marble, which, in the year 1826, lay scattered around them.⁸⁸

Beneath these substructions stands the supposed temple of Venus. Its form is preserved; the entrance is by a large open doorway with two

⁸⁶ *Idem*, lib. xxvi. cap. 10.; et conf. *Tacit. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 82.

⁸⁷ See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. xxxi. note 6.

⁸⁸ Near the arches placed against the hillock opposite the *soi-disant* Sallust's house, a chamber was discovered last century adorned with bas-reliefs of terra cotta: one of them represented a half naked female figure, leaning ridiculously upon a decrepit old man, supposed by Ficoroni to represent one of those *mimæ* for which the Circus of Flora was renowned. "*Eosdem Ludos Florales, quos Messius Ædilis faciebat, spectanti, populus, ut mimæ nudarentur, postulare erubuit.*" — *Valerius Maximus de Majestat. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. 10. sect. 8.

The Circus of Sallust, which will shortly be mentioned, is sometimes confounded with the Circus of Flora, and as such it is marked in Nolli's great plan of Rome; but we know not how to mistrust the antiquaries of the sixteenth century, who declare they saw remains of it in the Piazza Barberini.

lateral niches : this leads into a circular room with other niches regularly disposed around it ; and behind this is the “ adytum ” or shrine, which seems to have had a double roof. Communications with the subterraneous rooms or “ penetralia ” are still open, and there are other adjacent rooms nearer the Circus, which may have served for the habitations of the “ æditui ” or keepers of the temple. There seems no difficulty in identifying this building with the “ temple of Venus in the Sallustian gardens ” mentioned in the *Regionaries*.⁸⁹ It cannot well be identified with the temple of the Erycinian Venus, as some have imagined, for that was in the fifth region ; although it must be confessed the various authors who mention it, point very near to this spot.*

An inscription, found in the time of Fulvio, corroborates the expressions of Victor and Rufus in the case of the Sallustian temple ; and it is thus cited by Panvinio : —

M. AVRELIVS PACORVS
M. COCCEIVS STRATOCLES
AEDITVI VENERIS HORTORVM
SALVSTIANORVM BASEM CVM
PAVIMENTO MARMORATO
DEANAE
D. O.†

⁸⁹ “ Templum Veneris hortorum Salustianorum.” — *P. Victor in Region.* 6.

“ Templum Veneris in hortulis Salustianis.” — *Sext. Rufus in eadem.* Vide *Panvinio*, apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 42. and 31.

* See Note E.

† See Note F.

The annexed building immediately overlooking the valley of the Circus, or rather standing in a line with the Podium, is not so easily described; its form is rectangular, with some appearance of an habitation, but being situated nearly opposite where the second meta of the Circus would be, it was probably nothing more than a "pulvinar" with some accommodations for a temporary residence. Its position answers to that of the Prætors' tribunal in the Circus on the Via Appia.⁹⁰ The construction of the whole assimilates to the works of the Augustan age, and it is not vain to suppose that we have been examining the works of Sallust himself.⁹¹

About ten years after the institution of the Apollinarian games, it happened that the Circus in the Campus Martius, in which they were usually celebrated, was inundated by the Tyber. On that occasion the games were transferred to a place without the Porta Collina near the temple of the Erycinian Venus.⁹² This passage of Livy gives not the least intimation of a Circus being there at that time; or if it does, he is speaking of a period 200 years before the time of Sallust. This being premised, we have no memorial of the Circus which once occupied this valley; but its form may be dis-

⁹⁰ See description of the Circus, &c. p. 45.; and *Venuti, Antichità*, &c. tom. i. p. 158.

⁹¹ *Procopius de Bell. Vand.* lib. i. cap. 2. edit. Paris, 1662.

⁹² "Nam ita abundavit Tyberis, ut Ludi Apollinares, Circo inundato, extra Portam Collinam ad ædem Eyricinæ Veneris parati sint." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxx. cap. 38.

But the games did not take place; for the elements became propitious, and "pompa duci cœpta ad Portam Collinam revocata, deductaque in Circum est." — *Ibid.*

tinctly traced. Confined between the Quirinal and Pincian hills, the circular end lay towards the east : and being already acquainted with the form of a Circus, we shall be able to adjust the “ spina ” and “ carceres ” with due regard to general proportion. The seats were probably of turf, or some such perishable material ; for there are no traces whatever of steps or vaults, like those in the Circus on the Via Appia. To the Circus of Sallust belonged the obelisk which now stands before the church of S. Trinità dei Monti. Towards the lower end of this valley, and immediately beneath the lofty terrace on which stands the Villa Barberini, are the remains of a stone wall which may be traced among the weeds for twenty feet in length : the peperine blocks of which it has been constructed are not more than two feet and a half long, and one foot deep ; and they are, with good reason, supposed to have been a portion of the old city walls. There are the only visible remains of the walls of Servius Tullius ; the material, the construction, and their topographical position, warrant the opinion that has ever been held of them⁹³ ; and wonderful is it to behold a monument which has survived through nearly 2400 years.

The lower end of this enclosure, where the valley becomes wider, is more properly the Villa Cesi ; at its extremity are some arches half interred, which from their nature and situation

⁹³ *Piranesi, Antichità, &c.* p. 148. 160. See Dissertation II. ; and consult *Nibby, le Mure di Roma*, cap. iii. p. 109.

See, however, the description of the Tarpeian rock in the preceding Dissertation.

can have formed no part of the Circus : they have therefore been called baths, as the only other appendage to a Roman villa ; of these unknown ruins it will be enough to observe, that they have been adorned with very fine stucco, as appears from a specimen to be seen on one of the vaults ; and very near the gate which leads out of the “ Vigna ” into the Vicolo delle Fiamme, we recognise the evident construction of a piscina : witness the openings in the partition walls between vault and vault. The brick-work is in every respect worthy of the age of Nero. If these observations be thought worth confirming by examining the specimens alluded to, it will at least forbid any conjecture about this being the “ Porticus Milliarenis ” of Aurelian.* The gardens of Sallust, however extensive they may already appear, must also have covered a portion of the present Villa Ludovisi, otherwise they would have occupied no part of the Monte Pincio⁹⁴, to which hill they were the first to give the original name of “ Collis Hortulorum.” It may be doubted whether this hill was included in the region of the Circus Flaminius. The gardens of Lucullus, as we have before described, did certainly occupy a part of it, approaching near to the present Via Gregoriana. They are registered

* See Note G.

⁹⁴ Considerable remains of those extensive gardens have been found in the villa Verospi, near the walls ; and in the villa Ludovisi some ruins are still said to exist, on which it is easier to consult Piranesi than the present proprietor ! (*Antichità*, p. 15. No. 114, 115.) The various statues, pieces of columns, capitals, &c. found in the first-named villa, seem to give some indication of the “ Porticus Milliarenis.”

in the ninth region; and probably Panvinio had no other reason for inserting the "Collis Hortorum" in his catalogue. On the other hand, if the gardens of Sallust occupied what is now the Villa Ludovisi, it will give the sixth region, in which they are registered, an equal claim to the Monte Pincio. But leaving this unimportant question as it stands, we shall best consult our local convenience by including this well known mount in our present circuit.

If we have been followed with reluctance into the solitary vineyards and subterraneous vaults, where there was nothing but the genius of ancient Rome to interest or amuse, no such feeling will now thwart the listless visitor, as he bends his steps towards the Trinità de' Monti. The auspicious soil has preserved its character through nineteen centuries, and it is still the pleasure ground of the city. It must be confessed, there are few places in the world which afford a more delightful station than that we shall assume for continuing our subject; a station which, whilst we breathe the balmy air, and cast back our eyes over the domes and palaces canopied by the deep blue sky, makes us almost forget, in hearing the British accents around us, that we are strangers in this distant scene—the new terrace which overlooks the Piazza del Popolo.

Of the senator Pincius and his possessions we know little or nothing.⁹⁵ His palace became the residence of Belisarius, which Procopius seems to intimate was at no great distance from the Porta

⁹⁵ But see Dissertation II.

Pinciana.⁹⁶ We here naturally look to the Giardino di Malta for the site of the palace; and, as it could be no inconsiderable domain which left a lasting name to a whole district, we may extend the grounds over the Trinità de' Monti, and towards the south, over the establishments of the Capuchin friars.

Somewhere near the Porta del Popolo, Nero found a grave. It is related by Suetonius⁹⁷ that his two nurses, Ecloge and Alexandra, with Acte his concubine, gathered up his remains, and deposited them in the family monument of the Domitii, which, being situated on the "Collis Hortorum," was seen conspicuously from the Campus Martius. The sarcophagus was of porphyry: over it stood an altar of Luna marble, and the outer walls were of stone from the island of Thasos: it is also intimated by Juvenal⁹⁸ that

⁹⁶ Compare the two following passages: —

Πύλιδα μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν Πιγκιανὴν καὶ πύλην τὴν ταύτης ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχεν ἢ Σαλαρία ἐνόμασαι. — *De Bell. Gothic.* lib. i. cap. xix. p. 360. tom. i. edit. Paris. 1662.

Καὶ ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν διαβάλα τὴν γέφυραν εἶδεν ἔξῃγε διὰ Πιγκιανῆς πύλης τὸ στράτευμα. — *Idem*, lib. ii. cap. x. p. 411.

That is, he issued from the gate which was nearest his headquarters, from whence he had watched the motions of the enemy.

⁹⁷ In *Vit. Neronis*, cap. l.

⁹⁸ ——— "Experiar quid concedatur in illos
Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis, atque Latina."

Satyr. i. 170.

See Professor Nibby's illustration of this passage of Juvenal; comparing Suetonius in his *Life of Domitian*, cap. xvii.; *Viaggio Antiquario*, tom. i. p. 21.

The absurdity of calling that sepulchral monument, situated on the Via Cassia, about four miles from Rome, and bearing the

Nero's ashes lay by the side of the Flaminian road. Now, a monument situated on the Monte Pincio, near the road which varied but little from the present direction, and to be seen from the Campus Martius, could not be far from the station we have now assumed ; and if a tradition may be allowed to decide the point, we are now standing almost on the very spot where the Domitian sepulchre was. In the time of Pope Paschal II., which takes us back to the year 1100, the inhabitants about the Porta del Popolo were held in terror by the nightly visits of Nero's ghost. To calm these superstitious fears, it is recorded, that the good pope (for so he had been instructed in a vision) built a church to the Virgin, which is the origin of the S. Maria del Popolo.⁹⁹ The measure

name of Vibius Marianus upon it, the tomb of Nero, is now manifest to all. Flaminius Vacca (*Memorie*, No. 113.) relates, that in the time of Pope Paul III. some ruins were discovered in the Piazza del Popolo, which were probably remains of a sepulchre. Before the new works of the Monte Pincio were made, there existed much reticulated work just above the church of S. Maria del Popolo. All these vestiges are supposed to belong to the Domitian gardens : upon what slender written authority the reader may judge.

⁹⁹ Ambrogio Landucci, an Augustine monk, has written a 4to volume upon this church, entitled, *Origine del Tempio dedicato in Roma alla Vergine Madre di Dio Maria presso alla Porta del Popolo*, edit. in Roma, 1646. It is divided into six days' occupation ! that is, about one for the church, and five for the Virgin. The latter acquires, in the course of the work, several hundred titles : amongst them is " La vera mediatrice fra Dio e gli uomini ! " See the Index of Epithets at the end. The other history of the origin and " causes " of the S. Maria de Popolo is written by Alberici, ed. Romæ, 1599, in small 4to. He dedicates twenty pages to the description and history of the church, and 118 to the admirable and distinguished image of

was effectual, and the infected soil was considered to have undergone a sufficient purgation. Since that period the appalling ghost has disappeared, and another spirit haunts the environs of the "Popolo." The terrors of the people and the pious interference of the priest have furnished two authors with an ample subject; they need only afford us the testimony that, about eight centuries ago, there was a strong tradition that Nero was buried near the Porta del Popolo.

The sepulchre of the Domitian family must be supposed to have stood in their private property, and therefore antiquaries have agreed to assign this portion of hill to the gardens of the Domitii. Some have even supposed the Muro Torto to have been part of the monument; and, that like the sepulchre of Caius Cestius, it was of a pyramidal form¹⁰⁰; "a pyramid," observes Forsyth, "which, if completed, would exceed in magnitude any of those in Egypt!" It must, too, have been destroyed as early as the sixth century; for Procopius describes the Muro Torto precisely as it exists at this day.¹⁰¹ It is followed by a con-

the Virgin. He thus tells the story of Nero's hobgoblins — the "initium miraculi." — Sub cujus trunco (speaking of a tall chestnut tree) humatum jacebat corpus immanis et diri Neronis imp., super vero et circumquaque stabat (res auditu terribilis) maxima diabolorum turba, et multitudo spirituum rebellium infernalium, in prædicti corporis custodiam; sed etiam, quod multo pejus est, experientia tunc rerum magistra docente, ad infestandos ac valde fideles cruciandos." Such was the piety of those days! Vide op. cit. p. 2, 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Guattani, Monum. Inedit.* tom. i. p. 19. 1784. and tom. xi. p. 93. *Piranesi, Antichità, &c.* Nos. 45—49. tom. i. tav. xii.

¹⁰¹ Ταύτης δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς πύλης, καὶ τῆς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐχομένης πυλίδος ἡ

tinuation of arches of the same material, and evidently contemporary, keeping the direction of the hill, like those in the gardens of Sallust. The reticulated work is of the best kind, and may be dated anterior to the age of Nero; but the most plausible explanation of these astonishing walls seems to be this: they were built for a double purpose, not unlike the object proposed by Pope Leo XII. in those recent constructions,—that while they sustained the mouldering soil and secured the sinking eminence, they formed terraces and prospects admirably adapted for a pleasure ground.

Before leaving this subject, it may not be unseasonable to trace back our steps to the “Santa Croce” and the Cælian hill, in order to bring into one view the extensive gardens of the rich men of Rome, which gradually came into the possession of the emperors. The house of Nero occupied a considerable portion of the Cælian, the whole of the Palatine, and some of the Esquiline hills¹⁰²; including the gardens of Mæcenæ. If we except the ground on which the Colosseum, the baths of Titus, and the temple of Hadrian

Πηγικανὴ ὀνομάζεται, μοῖρα τις τῆ περιβόλου, δίχα τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου διαρρηγνύσα (οὐκ ἐξ ἰδίου μέντοι, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐς μῆκος τῆ ἡμέρας), οὐκ ἔπεισε μὲν, οὔτε ἄλλως διεφθάρη· ἐκλήθη δὲ οὕτως ἐφ’ ἑκάτερα, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἐκτὸς τῆ ἄλλου τείχους, τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς φαίνεσθαι· καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν περίβολον διεργάζοντα Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ ἐκ παλαιῶν καλοῦσι τὸν χώρον. — *De Bello Gothic.* lib. i. cap. 13. p. 368.

It was placed under the special protection of S. Peter, and the Goths never attempted to scale it. This rendered the Muro Torto sacred in the eyes of posterity.

¹⁰² See Dissertation X.

now stand, it does not appear that much of those possessions were afterwards relinquished. The splendid house and gardens of Plautus Lateranus were confiscated, and retained by the emperors until the age of Constantine. We find Heliogabalus and his successor Alexander in possession of the "Horti Variani," which were situated in the vicinity of the Porta Maggiore, and to which the mother of Constantine seems to have succeeded as to an imperial inheritance.¹⁰³ Passing over the "Horti Torquatiani," of which little more is known than the mere name and position, we arrive at the "Horti Lamiæ," which belonged to Caligula, and in which he was privately buried. They are described as lying near to the gardens of Mæcenas¹⁰⁴, and these, as we have already shown, extended as far as the "agger" in the Villa Negroni; and therefore no great distance intervenes before we come to the gardens of Sallust, equally at the disposal of the emperors. Nor did the "Collis Hortuorum" escape the imperial rapacity. Messalina, the unchaste wife of Claudius, coveted and unjustly obtained, the gardens of Lucullus, which soon became the scene of her disgrace and death¹⁰⁵: they, too, were afterwards numbered among the possessions of the Cæsars. Finally, the "Horti Domitiorum," which brings

¹⁰³ See Dissertations IV. and V.

¹⁰⁴ *Suet. in vit. Caligulæ*, cap. lix. and *Philo de Legat. ad Caium*, cit. in *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ Those gardens appear to have been very magnificent. Οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ποὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ ἐν τοῖς πολυτελεστάτοις ἀριθμοῦνται. — *Plutarch. in Lucull.* p. 518. edit. citat.: vide *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xi. cap. 33. 37, 38.

us nearly round to the Tyber, without mentioning the grove attached to the mausoleum of Augustus, and the “Horti Serviliani,” supposed to have been not far from the Ponte Xysto¹⁰⁶: and thus we find the whole city on this side the river, almost surrounded by those appendages of luxury. Beyond the Tyber we might trace still more closely the extent of the imperial domain, from the Vatican district to the Sublician bridge. We should here include the space assigned for the follies of Nero¹⁰⁷; the gardens of Galba on the Via Aurelia; those of Geta and of Julius Cæsar, pointed out from the Campidoglio in our general view of Rome. And all these it was in the power of the emperors to give or withhold from the Roman people. With this rapid survey we may compare the words of Herodian, who, when the sons of Septimius Severus divided the imperial residence between them, describes it as equal in extent to all the rest of Rome.¹⁰⁸

On the Monte Pincio stand two obelisks: the one before the church of S. Trinità belonged, as we have said, to the Circus of Sallust, and was, according to the late hieroglyphical discoveries, first made in honour of Antinous, in the name of Hadrian and the empress Sabina¹⁰⁹; the other, now

¹⁰⁶ Vide *Donat. de Urb. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 23. This chapter of Donatus on the ancient gardens of the Romans, is very complete, and will be consulted with much pleasure and advantage by the learned reader (apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 785.)

¹⁰⁷ See Dissertation XI.

¹⁰⁸ See *Gibbon's History of the Decline, &c.* vol. i. p. 156—160. in the 4to edition, London, 1788.

¹⁰⁹ *Champollion's Système Hiéroglyphique*, vol. i. p. 42. et *Lettre à M. Dacier*, p. 31, 32.

erected near the villa Medici, was brought from the Circus of Heliogabalus, which was near the church of Santa Croce.

It is pretended by some that the Naumachia of Domitian occupied the site of the Piazza di Spagna: this is a vague conjecture, and rather repugnant to the very authority cited in its favour. With equal uncertainty have antiquarians argued upon the ruins on which stand the church and convent of St. Sylvester in Capite.* We shall therefore follow the outline of the seventh region from the "Capo le Case," on the site of the "Horti Lucullani," to the "Via delle Vite;" and so finish our circuit by continuing along the Corso as far as the Piazza S. Marco, or under the Capitoline hill.

Between the Palazzo Fiano and the Piazza Sciarra, have been seen at different periods the remains of three triumphal arches, and which, in all probability, answer to the three enumerated by Rufus in the seventh region; viz. the arch of Gordian the younger, the Arcus Novus, and the arch of the emperors Marcus and Verus.¹¹⁰ The one which was demolished by Pope Alexander VII., near the end of the Villa delle Vite, and of which an inscription, written by Fabretti, preserves the memorial, is satisfactorily ascertained to have belonged to Marcus Aurelius, and therefore answers to one of the three mentioned by Rufus. Anastasius calls the same arch "Tres Facicellas," and

* See Note H.

¹¹⁰ "Arcus Gordiani, Arcus Novus, Arcus Veri et Marci Augustorum."—*De Region. Urb.*; *Panvinio, apud Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 32.

says it was twelve feet under water during an inundation of the Tyber in 792.¹¹¹ In the time of Fulvio it was called the "Arco Tripoli," but subsequently acquired the name of the Arco Portogallo.¹¹² The bas-reliefs which belonged to it are now placed in the Campidoglio, on the wall of the staircase leading to the "Fasti Consulares;" and it is easy to recognise upon them the features and actions of Marcus Aurelius. Two of the columns that belonged to it are now in the Corsini chapel at the Lateran.

The best memorial we have of the two remaining arches is the account of Fulvio, who says that in his time two arches were destroyed, one near the Piazza Sciarra, in the street leading to the Piazza di Pietra; the other near to S. Maria in Via Lata, which was taken down by Innocent VIII. in rebuilding the said church. Of this the antiquary saw dug up some fragments with barbarian trophies, which, from their indifferent style of sculpture, must have belonged, in his opinion, to some of the later emperors.¹¹³ These things will answer to the arch of Gordian, of which some traces are still to be seen under the church of S. Maria in Via Lata. These remains consist

¹¹¹ *In vit. Hadriani*, p. 271. tom. i. edit. Romæ, 1718.

¹¹² *Fulvio, Antichità*, p. 139. He erroneously calls it the arch of Domitian. From some resemblance between the expressions "Tres Facicellæ" and "Tripoli," we imagine the appellation has arisen from something observed in the ornaments; but see a dissertation of Severoli upon this arch, in tom. i. No. xi. of the *Memorie dell' Accademia di Cortona*. It acquired the last name, of Arco Portogallo, from the neighbouring palace being occupied by the Portuguese ambassador.

¹¹³ *And. Fulvio*, *ibid.* carta 140, 141.

of some blocks of stone, which have formed part of the basement, and which are now included within the sacred precincts of the "hired house of St. Paul," or, to speak more correctly, an ancient Christian chapel, which a pious tradition has thus consecrated.¹¹⁴

From a mutilated inscription found in the Piazza Sciarra, it appears the remaining arch belonged to Claudius, erected to that emperor on account of his conquests in Britain and other victories at the extremities of the empire.¹¹⁵ This may answer to the already cited "Arcus Novus."

By comparing the relative positions of these three arches, as they once stood across the triumphal road which led up to the Capitol, it will be observed that the Via Flamina nearly coincided with the present direction of the Corso. The sepulchres of the Claudian family and of Bibulus will serve to direct our steps, in following the triumph, up to the Capitoline hill.

Piranesi has given the name of Septa Julia to some remains under the Palazzo Pamfili, because they seem to resemble the form of some vestiges marked in a fragment of the Pianta Capitolina¹¹⁶; and he thinks the vaulted rooms under the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, called the house of St. Paul, were added to them at a later period. Without any other guide, the ingenious artist begins to

¹¹⁴ *Roma Subterranea*, tom. ii. p. 390.

¹¹⁵ See a mutilated inscription restored by *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 115.; and comp. *Suetonius in vit. Claud.* xvii. Also an inscription to the same effect existing in the court of the Palazzo Barberini.

¹¹⁶ See *Icnograph*, No. 10. and tom. iv. p. 47.

surround the Septa Julia with various edifices, — the portico of Neptune under the church of St. Mark, the portico of Europa near the S. Maria in Via Lata, the portico of Pola and the Argonauts near the same church; and others have added the Villa Publica, where the foreign ambassadors were lodged: this place, according to Varro¹¹⁷, was very near the “Septa,” and its form is preserved in a medal still extant; but as the situation of it is a mere conjecture, so are the respective sites of those other objects, which are mainly to be regulated by it. All these things were in the ninth region, but only some of them are found in the Regionaries: it is better, therefore, to clear away these names as they meet us in finishing our circuit. It would, indeed, be interesting if we could trust the conjectures of Piranesi and those antiquaries who place the Septa under the Palazzo Pamfili¹¹⁸; for it was there where the people assembled to elect the magistrates in those assemblies called the comitia. The place consisted of several compartments for the different tribes,¹¹⁹ enclosed or fenced

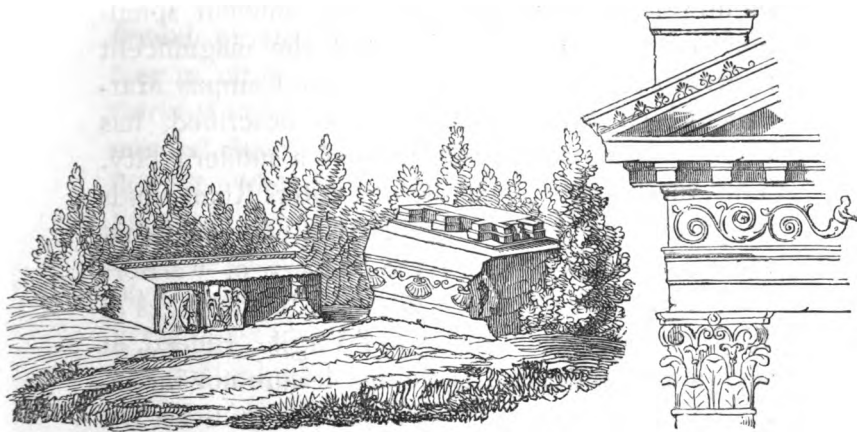
¹¹⁷ *De Re Rustica*, lib. iii. cap. 2.

¹¹⁸ As I have no intention of entering into a critical examination of these various objects, I shall refer the curious reader at once to Venuti, (*Antichità di Roma*, tom. ii. p. 82. and 117.) where he will find abundance of references to Piranesi and to medals; also an account of an excavation made in the Piazza S. Marco in 1780, of which a full relation was given by the Abbate Amaduzzi in the *Novelle Letterarie di Firenze*, 1780. I shall merely refer to the passage from Frontinus, which throws a faint light upon the situation of the Septa (*De Aquæduct.* art. 22. p. 76. edit. citat.), where the arches of the Aqua Virginis are said to have finished in front of it; on which see the following Dissertation.

¹¹⁹ *Cic. ad Attic.* lib. iv. ep. 16. and *Suet. in Jul. Cesar.* cap. 26.

round ; hence called the Sheep Folds, or *Septa*, and sometimes "*Ovilia*." It was first built by Agrippa, and is called by Rufus "*Septa Agrippina* ;" but Agrippa called it *Julia* in honour of Augustus. Between the Palazzo Pamfili and the Piazza di S. Marco no vestiges of antiquity occur.

The person whose mind has been deeply engaged, and followed us hitherto through so many traces of fallen grandeur, may now be tempted to repose his attention upon the modernised aspect of the *Via Flaminia*, and thus be led to ponder over the vicissitude of human affairs ; and amongst other changes which ages have effected, as it regards the triumphal road, there may be found some who will recognise with a smile of complacency, that, of the three arches which once adorned the *Corso* of Rome, two bore the trophies of Britain subdued ; but Britain has now erected her trophies far beyond the limits of the Roman empire.



DISSERTATION THE NINTH.

THE NINTH REGION, CALLED "CIRCUS FLAMINIUS;" AND THE
ELEVENTH REGION, CALLED "CIRCUS MAXIMUS."

"Historias autem plures novisse oportet, quod multa ornamenta sæpe in operibus Architecti designant, de quibus argumentis rationem cur fecerint quærentibus reddere debent."—VITRUVIUS, DE ARCHITECTURA.

THE entrance into Rome by the Porta del Popolo, — the spacious piazza with the Egyptian obelisk, beyond which are displayed, at one view, the three principal streets of the city, the new built terraces of the Monte Pincio, and the subjacent edifices, which have lately been reared or adorned for the reception of the strangers of the north, — may not be unworthy to compare with the ancient splendour of the Via Flaminia; but the magnificent approach to the Capitol through the Campus Martius, which Strabo admired and described, has changed its appearance to that of a modern city. Thus the stranger, when he first enters Rome, finds his preconceived ideas dissipated at once, and that the senate of kings and the nursery of warriors were better imagined at a distance, in the pages of Livy, or the enchanting lays of Virgil. Indeed, at such a moment, there is neither leisure nor inclination to make comparisons, much less to divest the mind of its first impressions, and, by the aid of a few ruins half concealed, to see, through seventeen

centuries elapsed, the splendour of the Field of Mars. We are now approaching the ninth region, under different circumstances, — interested in all that may serve to increase our knowledge and conceptions of ancient Rome, and not diverted from our pursuit by other impressions, which no longer operate to the detriment of our researches.

The ninth region was named from a circus originally erected by the unfortunate consul who fell at the battle of Thrasimene. By a reference to the limits of the seventh and eighth regions, and to the direction already given to the walls of Servius Tullius from the foot of the Capitoline hill to the Tyber, no other definition of the boundaries of the ninth region need be given. It comprehended all that space lying between the two regions just named and the river, extending from the Capitol beyond the walls of the old city, as far as the Porto di Ripetta and the Propaganda Fide at least, but very probably beyond these points; for, according to P. Victor, whose account is confirmed by the Notitia, it was more than 30,000 feet in circumference, and contained upwards of thirty streets. It will be recollected that the former of these accounts was given about the year 365, at which period the inhabitants of the seven hills had probably begun to prefer the Campus Martius; and this may account for the 2000 or 3000 insulæ, and the proportionate number of great houses which were then interspersed among the public buildings. Panvinio has swelled the list of the ninth region beyond the utmost wishes of Nardini: he has enumerated more than thirty temples, twelve porticos, and five groves, besides theatres, basilicas, baths, and miscellaneous edi-

fices; but the catalogue that may here be offered of what principally remains to engage our attention, is very different, and may be confined to — the mausoleum of Augustus, the column and temple of Antoninus, the portico of Octavia, the Pantheon, and the two theatres of Pompey and Marcellus. But having already derived pleasure and instruction from seeking out vestiges of less authenticity, we shall sometimes turn aside from these main objects to examine the doubtful ruins which lie blended with the modern city. The region of the Flaminian Circus will end with the theatre of Marcellus; but to this circuit we shall add the eleventh region, which is conveniently situated at the western extremity of the Capitoline hill.

The obelisk reared in the Piazza del Popolo deserves more than the mere mention of it; and in giving our account of it, it will be convenient to include also the one now standing on the Monte Citorio. We are informed by Ammianus Marcellinus, that Augustus conveyed two obelisks to Rome from the city of Heliopolis in Egypt, one of which he set up in the Circus Maximus, and the other in the Campus Martius¹: they were both dedicated to the Sun, as the inscriptions still remain to testify.² The former was no longer

¹ *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xvii. cap. 8.

² The ancient inscriptions are as follows: —

IMP. CAES. DIVI. F
AVGVSTVS
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS
IMP. XII. COS. XI TRIB. POT. XIV
AEGVPTO IN POTESTATEM
POPVLI ROMANI REDACTA
SOLI DONVM DEDIT.

standing in the reign of Valentinian; it had probably fallen from its basement as early as the time of Constantius: it was taken up by order of Pope Sixtus V. in 1587, and erected by the celebrated architect Fontana in the Piazza del Popolo. Marcellinus has transcribed from the writings of Hermapion his interpretation of the hieroglyphical signs: it was erected, according to that writer, to Rhameses or Rhamses, who, in the pompous style adopted by the Egyptians, ruled over the world, was beloved above all others by the Sun, the patron of truth, &c. The recent discoveries have confirmed and IMPROVED the interpretation of Hermapion: they have shown that the obelisk was made by one of the two brothers Mandouci and Susirei, who reigned before Rhamses II. Now, Rhamses VI. was the great Sesostris, who flourished in the fifteenth century before the Christian era³: it was

To which Sixtus V. has added others, of which the following is a triumphant specimen:—

“Ante sacram illius ædem [i. e. S. Maria del Popolo] augustior lætiorque surgo, cujus ex utero virginali Aug. imperante sol justitiæ exortus est.”

³ M. Champollion's translation of the southern side of the obelisk is to the following effect: (see *Système Hiéroglyphique*, &c. vol. i. chap. 7.)—

“HORUS, seigneur de la région supérieure et inférieure, fort et clément, ami de la vérité, seigneur des panégyrics, comme son père le dieu Phtha; roi du peuple obéissant, soleil gardien de la vérité, approuvé par PHRÉ, fils du soleil, cheri d'Ammon; *Ramses*, pieux envers les Dieux, a réparé leurs temples, lui, le seigneur du monde *vivificateur comme la lumière*.” See *Quarterly Review* for May, 1830, p. 142.

Horus, god of the sun, is a title of the Egyptian dynasty; and Phré is an ancient god of the sun. M. Champollion, however unwilling to admit that the Popolo obelisk is the one

consequently not until 1600 years after the erection of this monolith that Augustus removed it from the ruins of Heliopolis to Rome. It is difficult to contemplate without emotion an object of antiquity which leads us back to the time of Moses.

The second obelisk, which Augustus erected in the Campus Martius, was made use of for a meridian, of which Pliny gives some description; and it does not appear from his words that the Romans were far advanced in the science of gnomonics.⁴ The meridian, from some cause, celestial or terrestrial, which he could not explain, had ceased to be of any use about thirty years before he wrote. From the testimony of Marliano and others, who saw a part of the dial, it appears to have stood originally near the present site of the S. Lorenzo in Lucina⁵: the obelisk was seen for the first time in the pontificate of Julius II.; it was thought unworthy of the magnificence of Sixtus V.⁶ to remove it; was neglected by Benedict XIV.; and finally set up on the

explained by Hermapion, is obliged to confess it comes very near. (See page 135. *ibid.*)

⁴ *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 10.

⁵ "Ibidem [i. e. ubi nunc est ædes D. Laurentii] effossum fuit horologium cum lineis et gradibus auratis, in singulis vero quatuor imagines ventorum ex opere vermiculato visebantur cum inscriptione hac: VT BOREAS SPIRAT."—*Marlian. Urb. Rom. Topog.* lib. v. cap. 6. See also Fulvio, cited in Nardini, tom. iii. p. 80. Angelo Bandini has written a folio volume on this obelisk, edit. Rom. 1750; and Zoega, the Danish antiquary, in his work *De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*, had carried the subject of hieroglyphics as far as learning could take it, without some new discovery. Edit. Romæ, in folio, 1797.

⁶ Vide *Memorie di Vacca*, No. 45.; *Mem. di Santo Bartoli*, No. 103, 104.; and *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 115.

Monte Citorio by Pius VI., where it now stands : granite column of Antoninus was taken to repair it. Few of the hieroglyphics remain ; but enough to enable M. Champollion to declare it was originally made in honour of Psammeticus I., the appeaser of those civil discords which desolated Egypt when the dominion of the Æthiopians ceased.⁷ The account which Pliny gives of the origin of these two obelisks does not agree, as the text stands, with the modern explanations : the one in the Circus he makes no older than the age of Pythagoras ; the other, he says, was cut by Sesostris. Some difficulty also occurs in the measurements given of them, compared with what they are now : that, however, may be obviated with less violence to the text of the author, which, in numbers especially, is often to be corrected.* We have thus anticipated the account of the obelisk in the Monte Citorio ; the localities referred to remain to be specified in the course of our circuit.

Near the Porto di Ripetta and the Via Pontifice are situated the remains of the mausoleum of Augustus, now formed into an amphitheatre for the public exhibition of bull-fights, horsemanship, or fireworks. The ancient walls are so ruined, or concealed by the surrounding buildings, that it is difficult for the spectator to form any conception of the original monument ; nor would he be much aided by any description we could here give of it.

⁷ See *Système Hiéroglyph. des Anciens Egyptiens*, vol. i. p. 193. None of the obelisks in Rome have their characters so beautifully executed as this one : it was the admiration of Winkelmann.

* See Note I.

There is, however, a specimen of the ancient construction, easy of access, in the court-yard of the Palazzo Valdambrini, which may afford some idea of the solidity of the interior walls. The approach to the arena, formed upon the ruins, is by the Palazzo Corea. Strabo enables us to form some idea of what this monument once was; he considered it the object most worthy of notice among the splendid edifices of the Campus Martius: it stood upon a lofty substruction of white stone, and was situated near to the river; it was shaded up to the very top with evergreen trees, and the summit was crowned by the statue of Augustus, in bronze; within were the niches or depositaries of the emperor, of his relations, and those of his household.⁸ Comparing this scanty but portending description with what now remains, our imagination would lead us to erect, upon a basement formed “ad emplecton,” but faced with stone, three circular stories, varied with as many orders of architecture. Each succeeding circumference should be contracted so as to leave a “præcinctio,” or girder; upon these were planted the trees: the outer walls would be relieved by niches or recesses, supported by pilasters or columns; thus tending to a pyramidal form: the whole must have been covered by a cupola, surmounted by the statue above

⁸ Ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ τὸ Μαυσωλεῖον καλούμενον, ἐπὶ κρηπίδος ὑψηλῆς λευκολίθου, πρὸς τῇ πόλει μὲν, χώμα· ἀχρὶ κορυφῆς τοῖς ἀειθαλέσι τῶν δένδρων συντριφές· ἐπ' ἀκρῇ μὲν οὖν εἰκὼν ἐστὶ χαλκῇ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καيسάρως· ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ χώματι δῆκαι εἰσὶν αὐτῶ, καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων· ὅπισθεν δὲ μέγα ἄλλος περιπάτους δαυματοῦς ἔχον.—*Strabo, Geograph. lib. v. p. 236. tom. i. edit. Amstel. 1707.*

named.⁹ It is probably upon the ruins of that cupola, joined to those of the inner walls, that the arena of the modern amphitheatre is formed. Beneath the seats for the spectators may be traced considerable remains of the “opus reticulatum.” The ancient entrance was towards the present site of the church of S. Rocco, and it was flanked by two obelisks, which still exist at Rome.¹⁰ The inscription no doubt was seen by those passing along the Via Flaminia. It is added by Strabo, that behind the mausoleum was a grove laid out in beautiful walks: this is confirmed by Suetonius, who further informs us they were open to the public.¹¹ Taking the front of the sepulchre, towards the Via Flaminia, the “promenades” behind it would extend to the very banks of the river. The situation assigned to it by Suetonius is between the Via Flaminia and the bank of the Tyber. From

⁹ See a very plausible design in Donatus, apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 745.; and consult the description of *Georg. Fabricius, Urb. Rom., &c.* ibid. p. 463. He observed some vestiges of the recesses (“loculi”) for containing the cinerary urns, which seemed to be disposed in rows. Two beautiful urns of alabaster, now in the possession of P. B. Thompson, Esq. of Escrick Park, came out of this mausoleum.

¹⁰ The one now stands on the Monte Cavallo, and the other on the ascent to the basilica di S. Maria Maggiore. They are mentioned by P. Victor thus: “Duo [i. e. obelisci] in Mausoleo Augusti pares singuli ped. xlii et semis.” See *Piranesi, Antichità, &c.* p. 9—67.

¹¹ “Id opus [scilicet mausoleum], inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis, sexto suo consulatu exstruxerat; circumjectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi jam tum publicarat.” — *Suet. in vit. Aug.* cap. 100.; and compare *Strabo*, as cited in preceding page, Note 8.

an inscription we learn there was an office of procurator belonging to it *, on which the care of the monument, and perhaps the grove and walks also, devolved. It was built by Augustus himself in the year of his sixth consulship, *i. e.* twenty-seven years before the Christian era. In the well known lines of Virgil ¹² it is intimated, the boy Marcellus was the first of the imperial family interred within its walls. “What a funeral pomp wilt thou behold, oh Tyberinus, in gliding softly past the new built tomb!” Agrippa was also buried here, and Drusus; but these have found a still more durable monument in the songs of the immortal bard.† In the nineteenth year of the Christian era, Agrippina placed the ashes of Germanicus within these walls: that was the day when the city was at one moment in mournful silence, at another a scene of loud lamentations; when the streets were crowded with mourners, and the torches blazed innumerable in the Field of Mars, — there was the soldier with his arms, and the magistrate without his ensigns of office; but all joined in one common sentiment, that the republic had fallen, and all their hopes were gone. ¹³

The classical glory of the mausoleum is now perverted; its ample circumference is sufficient to contain several thousand spectators; and the ravages of time have left but a mass of ruins, forming a platform for a vagrant clown to dance over the ashes of Germanicus. ¹⁴ It has probably been a

* See Note K.

¹² *Æneid.* vi. 872.

† See Note L.

¹³ *Tacit. Annal.* lib. iii. cap. 4.

¹⁴ I have witnessed horsemanship, rope-dancing, and their accompaniments, in this theatre in the month of May.

ruin since the time of Robert Guiscard. It was made use of as a fortress during the intestine divisions of Rome in the twelfth century; and perhaps the Romans, who then stood forward for the defence of the church, more effectually destroyed the tomb of Augustus than the barbarians of the north, who knew not why they should respect it.¹⁵

Belonging to the sepulchre was a funeral pile or bustum, which Strabo says was situated in the middle, and Herodian writes, in the widest part, of the Campus Martius; the former author adds, that it was made of white stone, and fenced round with a barrier of iron, and planted within with poplar trees.* A fortunate discovery, made in the year 1777, ascertained the site of this object, and at the same time illustrated the expressions of the two authors just cited. In the space before the church of S. Carlo al Corso, and near the Via della Croce, were found several large pieces of travertine stone,

¹⁵ This monument, as well as the mole of Hadrian and the Colosseum, was made a fortress of during the intestine wars of Rome, and it was more likely to suffer from that circumstance than from the violent succours of Robert Guiscard. See *Viliani, Hist. Fiorent.* lib. v. cap. 1., and *Manente, Hist.* lib. i. an. 1165.; to which I have been directed by Nardini's editor. See also *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, chap. lvi. Not many objects of great value have ever been found about this sepulchre; but some idea may be formed of its splendour from the various fragments which announce the materials that once adorned it. The whole length of the passage through the Corea palace is paved with pieces of green marble. The first PUBLIC room ever opened for the church of England service in Rome was in this "palazzo," close to the walls of Augustus's tomb!

* See Note M.

upon which were written the names of several members of the Augustan family, with the significant words "Hic crematus est." These blocks of stone had formed the pavement or area, and they are now to be seen in the museum of the Vatican in the Sala di Giove."¹⁶ Herodian gives some description of the ceremonies observed in burning the body of Augustus. When Drusus was laid on the pile, there was an inundation of the Tyber which reached the fire; this circumstance gave occasion to Peto Albinovanus, to introduce an idea highly poetical in the poem already alluded to; "as if Tyberinus, in the abundance of his sorrow, would extend the fountains of his tears to quench the burning of the funeral pile."

We have already endeavoured to identify the Porto di Ripetta with the ancient Navalvia in the Campus Martius, and the ground on the opposite side of the river was pointed out as the probable site of Cincinnatus's fields. A slight indication of this having been an ancient wharf, was afforded in 1690. Near the Piazza Nicosia was found a fragment of a column of African marble, on which was written the name of Domitian with the No. XII.

¹⁶ They now serve as pedestals for statues: on one is the following inscription:—

LIVILLA
GERMANICI. C

HIC SITA EST.

This Livilla was in all probability the daughter of Drusus.

On another,

TI. CAESAR
GERMANICI CAESARIS. F
HIC CREMATVS EST.

It had no appearance of ever having been put to any use, but simply disembarked as part of a cargo.¹⁷

Festus makes mention of a place in the Campus Martius, called the Terentus¹⁸, where there was a subterraneous altar of Pluto and Proserpine. It was disinterred whenever the secular games were celebrated there, and hence those games were sometimes called by that name. The grammarian is obliged to ridicule the derivation which he himself gives of the word; but when the vague etymology is joined to the fact of Pluto's altar being once discovered twenty feet under ground, a good argument is furnished, that there was in the place a considerable accumulation of alluvial soil.¹⁹ The bank of the river being thus raised by nature, it was easy to form it into a port: opposite the Ripetta we may discover some remains of a wall of reticulated work, which seems to have formed the substruction of the river bank, and probably was made to correspond to the facing of the left bank. It would be difficult to give a satisfactory proof that the Terentum was situated where we are now supposing it, viz. along the Tyber, from the Ripetta to near the church of S. Lucia della Tinta; it is one of the few things which antiquaries seem to take for granted, acknowledging the word to be preserved in the otherwise unaccountable name of

¹⁷ See *Venuti, Antichità*, tom. ii. p. 112.

¹⁸ *Sext. Pomp. Festus de Significat. Verbor.* lib. xviii. p. 567. ed. citat.; *Panvinio de Lud. Sæcul.* apud Grævium, tom. ix. p. 1068.; and compare *Martial.* ep. i. lib. 4.

¹⁹ *Broechi, Suolo di Roma*, p. 21.; et vide *Carta Fisica*, ibid.

Tinto or Tenta given to the above named church. It was certainly joined to the river ; for Ovid makes the Arcadian Evander land on the Tarentus, when he first set foot on the soil of Latium.²⁰

In going from the Tyber to the Piazza Colonna, we may pass through the Largo della Impresa, and there will be seen, affixed above the door of a house, the modern inscription which preserves the memory of the place where the meridian obelisk was found. At no great distance from hence the granite column already mentioned, and which was cut up to repair the obelisk, was also first discovered. On the basement, which was transferred to the garden of the Vatican, where it now stands, is an inscription showing the column was dedicated to Antoninus Pius, by Marcus Aurelius and Verus : it exhibits, also, the apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina, and some funereal games. Venuti had seen or heard of the name of Trajan written upon it in Greek ; and also that of Nilus Architect, from which it is inferred that Trajan first brought it from Egypt²¹, but left the use of it to his successors : it was sixty-seven Roman palms in height ; and Clement XI. ordered Fontana to raise it, which he attempted without success. This account of an object which has, as it were, been scattered to the winds, will not appear superfluous when we come to the pillar of Antoninus.

In proceeding from the Largo della Impresa, we pass over some rising ground, on which stands the

²⁰ *Ovid. Fast.* lib. i. 505.

²¹ See an account by Monsignor Vignoli, entitled, *De Columna Antonin.* edit. Romæ, 1705 ; and *Venuti*, tom. xi. p. 119.

Curia Innocenziana, a large palace built by Innocent X. to be used for public offices. In laying the foundation of the building, the hill was found to be artificially formed, as its appearance, particularly near the Via dello Sdrucchiolo, still indicates; and Piranesi discovered traces of some "cunei" or supports of seats, adapted to the form an amphitheatre. Fontana the architect further asserts, in his discourse on the Monte Citorio, that he found the ancient level to correspond to that of the adjacent triumphal column.²² From these observations, the Monte Citorio is concluded to be formed of the ruins of an amphitheatre; and as there was but one in the Campus Martius, its site is hereby identified. The amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, registered by Rufus in the ninth region, was finished and dedicated in the fourth consulship of Augustus, according to Dion Cassius: and we are told by Suetonius, that Caligula gave shows of gladiators in it.²³ Perhaps the Colosseum soon after threw it

²² *Piranesi*, tom. i. p. 10. No. 74.; and *Fontana*, *Discorso sopra 'l Antico Monte Citorio*, p. 33.

²³ *Dion Cassius*, lib. xli. p. 656.; and compare *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xiii. cap. 31.

"Munera gladiatoria partim in amphitheatro Tauri, partim in Septis, aliquot edidit: quibus inseruit catervas Afrorum, Campanorumque pugilum, ex utraque regione electissimorum." — *Suet. in vit. Caligul.* cap. 18.; et conf. *Suet. in August.* cap. 29.

Caligula began an amphitheatre near the Septa (*Suet. in vit. ejus*, cap. 21.), which Claudius suffered to remain unfinished; and this might contest the "Monte Citorio with Statilius Taurus," though on feeble grounds; but the theatre which Trajan erected in the Campus Martius, and Hadrian destroyed (vide *Spartian. Adrian. Vit.* cap. 8.), can have no claim; for neither Donatus (*De Urb. Rom.* cap. 7.), nor Nardini (tom. iii. p. 99.),

into neglect, or it was of a less solid construction ; one or both of which things may account for its having disappeared at an early period. Antiquaries have perplexed themselves to find from whence the name of Citorio may be derived ; it would appear most natural to us, to seek for the word in some corruption of Statilius Taurus ; but however unsatisfactory such a derivation might seem, it is less astounding than that of Ficoroni, who thinks it might be called after a mountain of that name in Greece!!²⁴ In issuing from the Curia Innocenziana, the obelisk presents itself, which has been sufficiently treated of ; the ancient inscription is in a great measure preserved, and is the same as that on the obelisk of the "Popolo."

The pillar of Antoninus has, from time immemorial, stood nearly upon its original level ; and the circumstance excited the curiosity of Venuti. He concluded, from some observations, diligently made on the spot, that, as the surrounding space was occupied by private habitations, the accumulation of soil had been gradually cleared away, and deposited among the adjacent ruins of the amphitheatre, forming the Monte Citorio. The supposition is by no means unworthy of notice, and is borne out by the present appearance of the neighbouring ground.²⁵

with Pausanias to help them, can show that Trajan's theatre was an amphitheatre.

²⁴ *Vestigie di Roma*, p. 150. The same notion is maintained by Vignoli. The derivation from "citare," with reference to the herald calling up the centuries to give their votes in the "septa," is still more amusing. *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 117.

²⁵ *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 121, 122.

The historical pillar which now claims our attention was erected in honour of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, in the years 174—176. That emperor carried his arms beyond the Danube, to oppose those numerous tribes which at that period threatened the safety of the empire, from the limits of Illyricum to the frontier of Gaul. Amongst the nations so engaged, we may enumerate the Jazyges, the Quadi, the Marcomanni, the Hermunduri, the Narisci, and others; but the whole was comprehended under the denomination of the Marcomannic war.²⁶ Antoninus having, like his predecessor Trajan, maintained the dignity of the empire, he was associated to equal honour by the senate and the Roman people: but although only sixty years intervened in the execution of the two monuments, the column of Antoninus betrays a decline of the art of sculpture scarcely to be accounted for; and after having examined with attention the exquisite manner in which the actions of Trajan are delineated, we shall be less disposed, amidst the noise and bustle of the “Piazza Colonna,” to weary ourselves with tracing the exploits of M. Aurelius. Before Sixtus V. commenced his restorations of this column, garlands, suspended from figures of

²⁶ *Julii Capitolin. M. Antoninus Philosophus*, cap. 13. et 17. with the ample Notes of Casaubon and Salmasius: the former gives an inscription indicative of the glory of this war, in honour of Marcus: — “QVOD . OMNES OMNIVM . ANTE . SE . MAXIMOR . IMPP . GLORIAS . SVPERGRESSVS . BELlicosISS . GENTIB . DELETIS ATQVE . SVBACTIS . S . P . Q . ROM.” Ammianus Marcellinus is still more enthusiastic in his praise. Such are the rewards of real virtue! lib. xxxi. cap. v. p. 627. edit. Paris. 1681. Vide *Dion Cassius*, lib. xvii. p. 1182. et seq.

Victory, remained sculptured on the basement.²⁷ The restorers were induced, by the authority of a medal, to inscribe upon the modern pedestal that the column was erected to Antoninus Pius, who undertook no war against the Germans. They did not know that the medal²⁸, which certainly represented a column, and bore the superscription *DIVO PIO*, was struck in memory of that other column, which has already been mentioned and described. An inscription which was found in 1777, and is now to be seen in the Vatican, has put an end to the controversy : it contains a permission given by Sep. Severus and his colleague to a certain Adrastus, who had the care of the pillar, to build his house near to it ; and it is therein expressly called the "Column of Divus Marcus."* Besides the repairs done to the basement in 1589, the staircase within was rendered practicable ; and where the statue of the emperor had been, the architect Fontana placed that of St. Paul. P. Victor assigns 175 feet for the height of the column. The whole altitude at present, according to Santo Bartoli, including the modern basement and up to the balustrade, is 168 feet, the diameter being $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet : the Regionary also enumerates 56 windows or loop-holes, we now count only 42 ; for the 206 steps, we have at present 109. The whole is composed of 28 pieces of white marble, independent of the modern work. The figures in the best preservation are in the upper part of the column, towards the church of

²⁷ See a drawing in *Camucci's Antiquities*, lib. iii. p. 155.

²⁸ See the impression in tav. i. tom. iii. No. 47. of Nardini.

* See Note N.

SS. Bartholomew and Alexander and the Post-office: the whole has been delineated with great accuracy by Santo Bartoli, and illustrated by Bellori; and to that work²⁹ we must have recourse for some of the subjects, which can be but faintly traced from below. The above authors have collected also forty medals relative to the wars of M. Aurelius. Like Trajan's column, the representation begins with some huts on the Danube, and the passage of that river by a bridge of boats; the usual subjects of battles, storming of fortresses, the emperor addressing his generals, the "plaustra" laden with armour and provisions, &c., appear in the spiral ascent, all which it is needless to follow in the detail. But there is one thing which can hardly be passed over in silence: in the third compartment, above the bridge of boats, and facing the Corso, will be observed a figure of Jupiter Imbrius; a similar representation occurs indeed on the column of Trajan, but it has not acquired an equal celebrity. Dion Cassius relates³⁰, that on one occasion in the war, the Romans were enclosed by the

²⁹ See the laborious work entitled *Columna Antoniniana Marc. Aurel. Antonin. August. Rebus gestis insignis Germanis simul et Sarmatis gemino Bello devictis, Sanct. Bartolo delineata, cum notis, etc. Petri Bellori*, in long folio. The medals appended are chiefly taken from Christina Regina's Collection and the Barberini Library. To this work is appended an illustration of the column of Antoninus Pius, already treated of, entitled *Stylobates Columnæ Antonin. nuper e Ruderibus Campi Martii Jussu Clement. XI. effossus, in tres Tabulas distributus*.

³⁰ See on this subject *Dion Cassius*, tom. ii. lib. lxxxii. p. 1183.; *Eusebius*, lib. v. cap. 5.; *Tertullian. Apolog.* cap. 5.; *Tillemont*, tom. ii. p. 653.; and *Baronius, Annal. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 290, 291. edit. Lucæ, 1738, anno 176.; *Columna Antonin.* as cited above; *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 123. note 1.

Quadi, and reduced to great distress, arising especially from the want of water : on a sudden the clouds gathered thick around them, and a copious supply of rain relieved the fainting legions. The historian is inclined to attribute this seasonable aid to the instrumentality of an Egyptian sorcerer who accompanied the emperor ; but ecclesiastical writers attribute it to a very different cause, and they charge the heathen author with a wilful perversion of the truth. There was, according to Eusebius, in the army a legion composed of Christians from Mylitene, a country of Cappadocia. The prætorian prefect stated to the emperor in his emergency, that there was nothing those Christians prayed for they did not obtain of their God. They were in consequence entreated to make their supplications, which were effectually answered. The legion was afterwards called “ Fulminatrix ; ” and the Greeks know, says the indignant Xiphilin, that this is the reason why the legion was so called, and they are witnesses of it. Now this the Greeks could not well know ; for the inscriptions which Baronius himself has collected prove there was a “ Legio Fulminatrix ” in the time of Augustus. In the letter written by Marcus Aurelius to the senate, the safety of the army is certainly attributed to the prayers of the Christians ; but there is something in that letter which appears to us to accord ill with the style of an emperor who lived near the age of Tacitus. It is usually appended to the Apology of Justin Martyr ; but Baronius inserts it in his “ Annales ” as it is found in the Vatican manuscript. Tertullian informs us there was such a letter written by

Marcus Antoninus; and therefore, though we may doubt the authenticity of the one extant³¹, we can hardly disbelieve the fact. It will appear, indeed, from an investigation of the matter, that the ecclesiastical writers were wrong in supposing the legion to have received the epithet of Fulminatrix from the circumstance in question; but it will also appear, the Romans believed the army was saved by the prayers of the Christian soldiers, and the circumstance produced an edict in their favour; and it would ill become us to disbelieve the efficacy of those prayers, which our religion teaches us to apply in similar cases of distress. With reference, therefore, to this interposition of Providence, it is supposed the figure of Jupiter, as a shower of rain, was introduced on the historical pillar. It now only remains to mention that the column belonged to the monastery of S. Silvestro in Capite in the year 954, and had been let with some adjoining property, by the monks of the same establishment, in 1119. An inscription bearing that date now exists in the portico of the above-named church, from which it further appears, that a small church of St. Andrew was annexed to the column, and the monkish proprietors were in some fear about losing possession of the whole.*

The column is supposed to have stood, like that of Trajan, in a forum, which might either extend across the Via Flaminia, or continue parallel to it.

³¹ We cannot suppose Marcus Aurelius would have written in such a style as this; for instance, — “Non solum precati sunt pro me [scilicet Christiani], sed etiam pro toto exercitu, ut famis,” &c.

* See Note O.

M. Aurelius might have carried the imitation still farther, in dedicating a temple to his deified predecessor. Of the Forum, or any of the buildings belonging to it, we have no account, except of a temple; and in P. Victor we read, “*templum Divi Antonini cum cochlide columna*,” &c. The eleven columns in the Piazza di Pietra, from their vicinity to the pillar, are believed to be the remains of the said temple. The style of the work answers to the age of the Antonines, and the ruins are evidently those of a temple, and not of a portico or basilica, as some suppose³²; and the inscription seen by Marliano, in which mention was made of the “temple of Antoninus,” serves as additional evidence. From none of these things, however, do we learn to which of the two Antonines the edifice was consecrated; and that is a question which conjecture alone must resolve.³³ Flaminius Vacca relates, that he saw discovered near these columns some pedestals, with trophies and captive figures in relievo, emblematical of provinces.³⁴ Such devices correspond with the actions of M. Aurelius, and would be very suitable ornaments for the temple, which stood near his historical pillar; especially if he wished to attribute his conquests, as well as dedicate a temple, to the virtues of his father. There have been originally, as architects

³² Desgodetz (*Edifices Antiques de Rome*, edit. Paris, 1682) has illustrated this edifice in three architectural plates, p. 152.; and he calls it a basilica; but *Piranesi*, tav. xiii. tom. i., calls it a temple.

³³ See, however, the arguments alleged in Dissertation VI.

³⁴ *Memorie*, No. 21.; and *Bartoli*, *Memor.* Nos. 78. and 115.

suppose, thirteen columns on each flank of the temple; consequently two are now wanting³⁵ to complete the full length. The front was turned towards the Via Flaminia, and presented eight columns; and thus the portico seems to have been a tetrastyle, *i. e.* having columns on all the four sides. The cornice, as it now appears, was ornamented in plaster, by Borromini; and the only specimens of the original entablature now remaining, are two fragments on the wall of the ascent to the “rupe Tarpeia.” Behind the columns are some vestiges of the “cella,” of peperine stone, forming, as it were, the foundations of the modern wall. Above are considerable remains of the vault; and no where in Rome have we seen solid masses of marble of equal magnitude raised to such a height. The ruins bear marks of fire upon them, but we are ignorant when the destruction took place. Innocent XII., in building the Custom-house, attached the columns to a wall, and thus they stand, forming the entrance into the “Dogana di Terra.”

In that part of the Campus Martius we are now approaching, stood most of the great works of Marcus Agrippa; amongst which the celebrated Pantheon was distinguished. The course of the “Aqua Virginis,” from the Monte Pincio to the fountain of Trevi, has already been followed. As

³⁵ Palladio supposes there were originally fifteen. In Camucci's sketch, which, like the rest he has given, seems very faithful, we observe two columns more than now appear, at an angle with the eleven; showing that whatever is to be supplied must be added at the end, towards the Corso. See *Antichità*, p. 156.

it was brought to Rome by Agrippa, amongst other purposes, for the use of his baths, it must be traced across the Via Flaminia, until it arrives behind the Pantheon³⁶, which is commonly supposed to have been originally intended for the principal entrance into the said baths. Upon the exact point where the "Aqua Virginis" ended depends the position of several buildings. The temple of Juturna, according to Ovid and the regionaries, was at the "Aqua Virginea." According to Frontinus, this water was brought to the front of the "Septa Julia," which Agrippa adorned. Juvenal calls the same "Ovile," for the reason which has been already explained; and he mentions the temple of Isis as being close to it. Agrippa made also a portico of Neptune, which he decorated with paintings of the Argonauts; we read also of the "Vipsanæ columnæ," which might mean the same portico, for Vipsanus was one of Agrippa's names.³⁷ From the manner in which those and some other buildings are mentioned by Dion Cassius, as having all once suffered by fire, we are led to conclude they all stood near to each other; for he writes them in this order: the Serapeum and the Iseum, the Septa, and the Poseidonium (or Neptunium), the Balneum of Agrippa, and the Pantheon, and the Diribitorium³⁸; consequently, taking the Pan-

³⁶ See *Memoria dell' Avvocato Carlo Fea dei Diritti, &c. in Occasione del Pantheon*, p. 97. Rom. 1806. Stamp. Fulgoni.

³⁷ *Ovid. Fast.* lib. i. 464.; *Juvenal, Sat.* v. 528. *Dion Cassius*, lib. liii. p. 717. and 722. *Martial*, lib. iv. ep. 18. *Hor. Epist.* lib. i. v. 26.

³⁸ *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxvi. p. 1097. A.U.C. 833. "Diribitorium autem erat domus publica, in qua stipendium militibus

theon as a sure and fixed point, we shall have to surround it with those edifices just enumerated, according as any vestiges may serve to point more or less vaguely to their respective positions. There are, for instance, near the church of S. Maria in Aquiro, the remains of eight enormous columns of cippolino; they stand in a continued line, and have never been moved from their original position: one of them is seen in the Vicolo della Spada d' Orlando; and the rest may be traced within the house which forms the angle with that "vicolo" and the Piazza Capranica.³⁹ These may be assigned, though with diffidence, to the Neptunium, or the Vipsanæ Columnæ; whether these names designate one or two separate porticos. From a few words in Pliny, and an inscription read by Marliano⁴⁰, we find that Pompey the Great dedicated a temple to Minerva: to help us to find the site of it, we have the name preserved in the large church and its adjacent buildings behind the Pantheon; viz. S. Maria sopra Minerva. In the garden of the convent, moreover, was found a statue of the goddess; and Fulvio speaks of the remains of the temple itself, which he saw, and describes it as a rectangular building without a

diriberetur, i. e. distribueretur." — *Marliano, Urb. Rom. Topog.* lib. v. p. 94.

³⁹ See *Piranesi*, tom. i. tav. xiv. fig. 1. The column which stands against the fragment of cippolino, in the Vicolo della Spada d' Orlando, is of granite, and seems to have belonged to some other edifice, placed so close against the *supposed* portico as to make, or require to have made, the furrow visible in the "Spada." The manner in which the cippolino column fits into the furrow is worthy of observation.

⁴⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. vi. cap. 26.; *Marliano*, as above cited.

roof. About the same place was found an Isis of basalt, and the obelisk, which now stands on the marble elephant, in the piazza; besides, an altar which is now in the Museum of the Capitol, representing in bas-relief the various utensils used in the worship of Anubis, and with the dedicatory inscription, ISIDI SACRVM. Near the church of S. Stephano del Cacco were found the two splendid statues of the Nile and the Tyber; the former of which is now in the Vatican Museum. Not to mention the two lions which adorn the fountain of the Termini, we are certain that those of fine basalt which stand at the foot of the ascent to the Campidoglio were found near the church above mentioned.⁴¹ To these things may be added the obelisk, vulgarly called of S. Maut, and which Clement XI. set up in the Piazza della Rotunda, over the fountain where it now stands. And whilst speaking of these obelisks, it ought not to pass unobserved, that the one in the Piazza della Minerva is of the time of Apries, the predecessor of the celebrated Amasis, the Pharaoh who consecrated Neith (the red granite chapel now in the Louvre) to the Egyptian Minerva.⁴² Now, these

⁴¹ On these notices and discoveries see *Le Antichità di Roma per Lucio Mauro*, p. 98. edit. in Venet. 1562. *Andreas Fulvio*, carta 204. edit. 1543; *Mariano, Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. v. cap. 2.; and *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 131., who shows the Minerva Chalcidica was a different temple. *Memorie di Bartoli*, No. 112. 71.; *di Ficoroni*, No. 17. 50.; *di Flaminio Vacca*, No. 26, 27.; and *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 127, 128.

⁴² See *Herodot.* lib. ii. cap. 162. He reigned, according to the best chronology, Anno Mundi 3350. He is called Pharaoh-hophra by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xlv. ver. 30. Vide *L'Art*

discoveries are not alleged as sufficient proofs of any particular assertion (although they are not without their weight and interest), but to lead us to a general conclusion ; (which, indeed, Nardini brought himself to, before he could know of many of the vestiges since discovered ;) that between the church of S. Stephano del Cacco and the Dominican convent of the Minerva there stood three temples, — the Minervium, the Serapeum, and the Iseum : the latter is the most celebrated, although its celebrity is unfortunate ; to which Ovid, Juvenal, and others bear too much testimony. Having thus disposed of several names, in order to avoid confusion, we are at liberty to examine and admire the Pantheon — “ pride of Rome !”

Agrippa may be said to have taught the Roman people the indulgence of the warm bath, by bequeathing his “ thermæ ” which he erected in the Campus Martius, together with his gardens, to the public. [A. C. 12.]⁴³ Of these baths there is little mention made in ancient authors, and still less description. Putting aside the Sudatorium Laconicum, named by Dion Cassius, by which he can hardly mean the thermæ ; we have only Pliny⁴⁴ who speaks of them with any degree of interest. They were embellished, according to his intimation, with painted stucco and with marbles ; and amongst the numerous statues there was one of bronze (the work of Lysippus), which Tiberius thought so

de Vérifier les Dates, &c. tom. ii. p. 235. edit. Paris, 1819, in 8vo.
Zoega, de Origine et Usu Obeliscorum, p. 416. edit. Rom. 1797.

⁴³ *Dion Cassius*, lib. liv. tom. i. p. 759.

⁴⁴ *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 8. ; lib. xxxv. cap. 4. ; lib. xxxvi. cap. 25.

beautiful, that he transferred it to his own abode, and put another in its place; but he was afterwards induced, by the clamours of the people, to restore it: it represented a youth in the act of undressing himself, designated by the name of Apoxyomenus. It does not appear those baths had sustained much damage in the first disasters of the city; for they are mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris, along with the adjacent Balnea Neroniana, as existing entire in the year 466⁴⁵; after which period there is no more account of them. It can only be conjectured from the vestiges which have been discovered at different periods, and of which some may still be traced, how far these thermæ extended. From the memorials of Flaminius Vacca, and the accounts of more recent discoveries, it would appear they reached behind the Pantheon, in length as far as the Piazza delle Stimate, and in breadth from the Minerva to S. Eustachio. In the sacristy of the Rotunda, and in the Accademia Ecclesiastica, considerable

45

“ Hinc ad balnea, non Neroniana
Nec quæ Agrippa dedit, vel ille cujus
Bustum Dalmaticæ vident Salonæ,
Ad Thermas tamen ire sed libebat
Privato bene præbitas pudori.”

Sidon. Apollin. Carm. xxiii. ad Consentium, 495.

From this passage it is concluded that none of the baths [viz. Nero's, Agrippa's, and Diocletian's,] therein mentioned, had suffered much in the first great calamities of Rome under Alaric and Genseric. — *Observation of Professor Nibby, in Nardini*, tom iii. p. 55. But the words of Spartian, which are supposed to make Hadrian the restorer of Agrippa's bath, ought not to be quoted; for the true reading should be “Lavacrum Agrippinæ” *In Vit. Hadrian. cap. 18.*

remains have been discovered, which it is still possible in part to verify: no one but the architect or the determined antiquary can be expected to make the experiment: to them any remarks of ours would be superfluous, to others tedious. In the Via della Palombella, however, are some vestiges of the brick walls visible, and now forming part of a stable; and, finally, the Arco della Ciambella, situated in the street of that name, so called from a crown of metal gilded, which the above mentioned memorialist relates to have been found there in his time. In all these vestiges⁴⁶ a variety of construction may be remarked; but this is to be attributed to the restorations made at different periods, and need not excite any suspicion that the ruins now so partially scattered belonged to different edifices. Now, it is generally allowed that the Pantheon, when stripped of the portico, would be nothing more than a principal entrance room into those baths; its relative position, if it be compared with the round room at the thermæ of Caracalla, will amply justify such a supposition: but being found too magnificent for such a purpose, it is further supposed that Agrippa added the portico, and made it a temple. If the nature of the building bears out these remarks, it will be enough, although in ancient authors we have no account of

⁴⁶ *Memorie di Flaminio Vacca*, No. 53. 56.; *di Ficoroni*, No. 108. *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 152.; and consult the luminous plans of Palladio, *Terme*, tav. i. ii. It is to be observed, that the thermæ of Agrippa had no outworks, as those of Caracalla and Diocletian had; for they would, in that case, have occupied too much space in the Campus Martius: they had only the “corpus internum.”

the transaction. The Pantheon, however, is always mentioned separately from the thermæ, of which there is an early instance, when Dion Cassius mentions the burning which took place under Titus. As a separate object, it is therefore to be now considered.

The inscription remains to show that Agrippa made the Pantheon in his third consulate, which was the 727th year of the city⁴⁷; but Dion Cassius dates the completion of the work two years later, that is, about twenty-four years before the Christian era. The same author intimates, that it might be called "Pantheum, because it contained the effigies of many gods on the statues of Mars and Venus;" or, as it rather appeared to the historian, because it was formed like the vaulted sky, and resembled Olympus. Agrippa desired to place the statue of Augustus in it, and to inscribe the edifice with his name; but the emperor having refused both these marks of honour, he placed within it the statue of Julius Cæsar, and, in the vestibule, those of Augustus and himself. At the end of five years they were struck by lightning, and the spear shaken out of the hand of that representing Augustus. Pliny, differing from Dion Cassius, says it was originally dedicated to Jupiter Ultor; and the caryatides which were on or against the columns were the admired works of Diogenes the Athenian.⁴⁸ It is the opinion of Winkelmann⁴⁹,

⁴⁷ M. AGRIPPA . L. F. COS . TERTIVM . FECIT.

⁴⁸ Vide *Dion Cassius*, as before referred to, and *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 5. *Id.* lib. xxxiii. cap. 3. and xxxvi. cap. 15.

⁴⁹ *De l'Art sous les Empereurs*, livre vi. chap. 6. p. 397. tom. ii. edit. Paris, 1802. *Idem*, sur *l'Architecture des Anciens*,

amidst a variety of others, that those famous statues were placed on the attic within. It is also related that Cleopatra's fine pearl, cut in two, was worn by the statue of Venus. Except a few words descriptive of the dome in Ammianus Marcellinus, this is all the account we are able to collect of the building and ornaments of the Pantheon.⁵⁰ We find it was restored by Hadrian, who probably repaired the damage done to it by the fire in the reign of Titus; finally, Septimius Severus took great pains in restoring and preserving it, as appears from an inscription⁵¹ still existing on the

p. 639. Nevertheless Visconti places them upon the four middle columns of the portico (*Museo Pio.-Clement.* tom. ii. p. 42.); but this is not conformable to the expression of Vitruvius (*De Architectura*, lib. i. cap. 1.), who says, those statues called caryatides were placed "*pro columnis* in opere," i. e. surely, instead of columns in the construction. Pliny's expression is, "*caryatides in columnis*;" and it is, as usual, proposed to change the reading. (*Memorie Encycloped.* per l'anno 1816, p. 45.) I can conceive "caryatides" to be put upon basements, but not perched on the top of columns, supporting a roof, to the horror of Vitruvius and his proportions; for he might have seen those in question. Nothing seems so plausible as Winkelmann's opinion.

⁵⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. ix. cap. 35. versus finem; and *Macrobius*, lib. ii. cap. 13. "Pantheon velut regionem teretem tam speciosa celsitudine fornicatam, elatosque vertices rasili suggestu consurgunt priorum principum imitamenta priorum." — *Amm. Marcellin.* lib. xvi. cap. 17.; and comp. *Servius in Æneid.* ix. 408.

⁵¹ Perhaps Antoninus Pius also made some improvement in it. Vide *Jul. Capitolin. in vit. ejus*, cap. 8., if by "templum Agrippæ" the Pantheon is there signified. The inscription of Sept. Severus, written on the border of the architrave in two long lines, is as follows: —

1. IMP. CAESAR . L. SEPTIMIUS . SEVERVS . PIVS . PERTINAX.
ARABICVS . ADIABENICVS . PARTHICVS . MAXIMVS . PONTIF.
MAX. TRIB. POT. X. IMP. XI. COS. III. P. P. PROCOS. ET .

architrave. We now lose sight of the Pantheon for about four centuries, until Boniface IV. obtained permission of the emperor Phocas, in the year 608, to consecrate it for a Christian church : it then received the title of S. Maria Rotunda, which it still preserves. About fifty years after its conversion [A.D. 657.], Constans II., in his " sacrilegious pilgrimage," stripped the roof of its bronze covering, and took away the spoil to send to Constantinople ; but having reached Syracuse, the place of his retreat, he seems to have deposited there all the plunder he took from Rome. That city, according to Paul the Deacon⁵², was afterwards pillaged by the Saracens : they carried off all their spoil to Alexandria, amongst which is specified all the ornaments in brass which Constans stole from Rome. The Rotunda probably remained in the state in which Constans II. left it, until the fifteenth century, when it received the attention and care of three successive popes. Martin V. caused it to be covered with lead ; and Eugenius IV. repaired the cupola and the lead work ; he also cleared the portico of its encumbrances ; and paved the piazza in front, and a street leading to it, with travertine stone. On this occasion was discovered the fine urn of porphyry, commonly called the " tomb of Agrippa," but which seems to have been a " bag-

2. IMP. CAEC. M. AVRELIVS. ANTONINVS. PIVS. FELIX. AVG. TRIB. POT. V. COS. PROCOS. PANTHEVM. VETVSTATE . CORRUPTVM . CVM . OMNI . CVLTV . RESTITVERVNT.

⁵² *Rerum Romanar.* lib. xviii. p. 555. 558, 559. *de vita et moribus Imp. Roman. excerpta*, edit. Basil. 1518.: consult also *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, chap. lii. A. D. 827—878. and chap. xlviii.

noir." It is now to be seen in the Corsini chapel at the Lateran, with a new cover, being the tomb of Clement XII. At the same time were found some fragments of bronze, a piece of a head of Agrippa, a portion of the wheel of a chariot, and a horse's hoof; indicating, perhaps, that Agrippa driving a chariot was one of the ornaments of the pediment. [A.D. 1450.] Nicolas V. made some further repairs of the covering of lead.⁵³ In 1632 came Barberini (Pope Urban VIII.). "That the useless and almost forgotten decorations," we use the words of the inscription now existing in the vestibule, "might become ornaments of the apostle's tomb in the Vatican temple, and engines of public safety in the fortress of S. Angelo, he moulded the ancient relics of the bronze roof into columns and cannons, in the ninth year of his pontificate!" It has been calculated that 45,000,250 pounds weight of metal was taken away on that occasion.⁵⁴ It had all been employed in the roof of the portico for covering the beams (*travi*), and for nails: one

⁵³ Vide apud *Rerum Italic. Scriptores in vit. Martini V.* tom. iii. part. 2. col. 1122.; *Idem, in vit. Nicolai V.* col. 929. *Biondo, Roma Restaurata*, lib. iii. 64. *Camucci dell' Antichità, &c.* lib. iii. p. 163.; *Memorie di Flaminio Vacca*, No. 35.; and *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 131.

⁵⁴ See *Fea, Dissertat. sulle Rovine di Roma*, appendix to Winkelmann, tom. iii. p. 408. Venuti reduces this incredible weight of metal from 45,000,250 to 450,250 pounds (*Antichità di Roma*, tom. ii. p. 132.); and his editor denies, on the authority of a recent publication, that any of the bronze was employed in the "confessional" of St. Peter's. This, however, cannot be maintained against the authority of Barberini's own inscription; and surely there was abundance of material, even taking, as I am much disposed to do, the more modest account of Venuti: but see the notes in *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 48.

of those nails is now in England, and the weight of it is said to be forty-seven pounds. To make compensation for this robbery, the same pope mocked the majesty of the Pantheon, by placing before the dome the two belfries which now disfigure it ; and in an auspicious hour he raised the angular column, on which he put a new capital, and inserted the Barberini Bee among its ornaments. Alexander VII. did better : he supplied the two columns which were wanting to complete the portico ; a fortunate discovery near the church of S. Luigi de' Francesi having enabled him so to do ; he added new capitals and new bases to them, as they are now to be seen, on the flank of the portico nearest the " Minerva." In the capitals may be observed the arms of the Chigi family : the bases were formed from a large basement of marble, discovered in clearing away some houses which encumbered the portico. Some of the travertine stone, found at the same period on the original level of the portico, was employed to make the margin of the piazza on the Campidoglio. Clement XI. reduced the piazza in front to its present form, and adorned it with a fountain and an obelisk ; and, finally, Pius VII. disinterred the steps and the ancient level of the basement, as they remain still visible. Such being the vicissitudes through which the Pantheon has passed, it may now be necessary to say something on the structure itself.

Any description of the Pantheon in writing must necessarily be jejune and inadequate ; and there are few who have not already conceived, from the numerous plans and elevations that have been

made of it, a more accurate idea than we can pretend to give of its form and construction.⁵⁵

The ascent to the portico was originally by five steps⁵⁶: upon this slightly elevated basement rose eight magnificent columns of Oriental granite in front, supporting an entablature, on the frieze of which is read the inscription of Agrippa, and on the architrave that of Septimius Severus. The whole is surmounted by a pediment, which, as the marks still indicate, was formerly adorned by bas-reliefs, most probably in bronze; and, perhaps, on the top, stood those statues (not the caryatides) made by Diogenes, mentioned by Pliny; which were not sufficiently appreciated, he says, because they were placed so high. Other eight columns, disposed in four lines behind the front row, divide the portico into three portions. The middle space affords an access to the interior, and the two minor lateral divisions are closed at the ends by two large niches, which doubtless contained the statues of

⁵⁵ Amongst the various authors who have illustrated the Pantheon, the following will be consulted with pleasure: — *Hirt. Osservazioni Istorico-Architettoniche*, Roma, 1791, in 4to.; *Paladio*, lib. iv. p. 73.; *Desgodetz, Edifices Antiques de Rome*, p. 1—63., edit. Paris, 1682, illustrated in twenty-three folio plates; *Piranesi, Antich. Rom.* tom. i. p. 10. No. 79, 80.: and of more recent labours, *Uggeri, Journées Pittoresques*, tom. i. p. 9., and tom. ii. tab. 1, 2.; *Guattani, Monument. Inedit.* tom. vi. p. 86. edit. anno 1789.

⁵⁶ Both Fulvio (*Antichità, &c.* carta. 207.) and Marliano (*Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. v. cap. 2.) state, that in their time the descent into the Rotunda was by as many steps as the ascent had originally; but they neither mention the number, nor how they ascertained the fact. The excavations of the last century showed there were five steps. (See *Guattani, Monum. Inedit.* tom. iii. p. 69. 1786.)

Augustus and Agrippa. In uniformity with the columns, the vestibule is supported by antes and pilasters, fluted, and of white marble. On each exterior flank may be still observed much of the marble coating, with bas-reliefs, representing such instruments and utensils as were used in temples. There is also left enough of the ornaments of the entablature to give a just idea of the magnificence of the whole. As no part of the original roof of the portico exists, we must be content with conjectures. Some are of opinion that the lateral divisions had a flat roof, and the middle space was arched over; supposing, that thus it would be uniform with the arch which rises over the vestibule. The pavement of the portico consisted of large slabs of granite, some of which are now made into tables for the ornament of the Vatican library. The body of the edifice is constructed of brick, made more solid by repeated blind arches; and it has been all faced with marble, of which none remains. By taking a station so as to see over the eastern flank of the portico, it will be observed there is a pediment and an entablature, which the portico in front has rendered useless, and partially concealed. It is this which chiefly gives currency to the opinion that the portico was an adjunct; and certainly the accomplished architects of Agrippa would never have introduced a finishing so useless and cumbersome, if they had contemplated the whole was to be covered by such a portico. The bronze doors, by which we are now about to enter, have been a subject of controversy. The original doors of the Pantheon are supposed by some to have been taken away, along with other spoils, by

Genseric to Africa ; but as there is no account of that particular fact, the authority of Winkelmann⁵⁷, supported as it is by convincing reasons, must be allowed to prevail. He thinks the present doors are ancient ; and if not, where did they come from ?

“ A flood of light ” breaks into the Pantheon, sufficient to illuminate the whole, through a large circular aperture at the top, round which is a girth of metal, the last remains of plunder. Perhaps it had originally an awning ; and when the interior was so shaded, the light, admitted through the grating over the doors prevented a too great obscurity. The naked majesty of the dome will arrest the wonder of the stranger, which we shall not attempt to disturb by an inadequate description or a superfluous eulogium.

The interior is disposed into seven large niches, or recesses, of which three are semicircular, and four quadrilateral ; to which may be added the ingress or “ limen.” The principal niche or tribunal, opposite the entrance, is supported by two large columns of pavonazzetto, which stand without the semicircle. (It is to be observed, the pilasters which make the partition of this tribune are modern.) The intermediate spaces all round contain square niches for “ ædicolæ,” and similar ones

⁵⁷ *Sur l'Architecture des Anciens*, tom. ii. p. 606. For the alleged historical fact, see *Procopius de Bello Vandal.* lib. i. cap. v. p. 189. edit. Paris, 1662. Ficoroni (*Vestigie di Roma*, lib. i. cap. xx. p. 132.) is very little authority in this, as in most other subjects of antiquarian controversy ; and Venuti (tom. ii. p. 133.) who follows his opinion, is fairly beat out of the field. See notes in *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 50.

of smaller dimensions, are cut in the main recesses. Such is supposed by the architect Fontana to have been the original plan of the interior. As the building, according to Dion Cassius, was not finished until two years after the period indicated in the inscription, Agrippa is supposed to have employed this interval in making additional embellishments in the interior, amongst which were those splendid columns of "giallo antico" which stand two by two before each main niche. Upon the internal circumference of these additional ornaments were the admirable caryatides, placed, as some think, on the intervening altars or *ædicolæ* before mentioned. How soon these latter were taken away, cannot be known; they are now supplied by small columns of porphyry, of granite, and giallo antico, the restorations, most probably of Septimius Severus: their variety, and indeed their incongruity (for some of the counter-pilasters, again, are of rosso antico), partakes of the decline of taste of that period. We may now, therefore, enumerate the ornaments as they still remain:—the two columns at the tribunal, of Phrygian marble; and the pilasters at the angles of the ingress, of the same material: twelve large and elegant columns, of which four are pavonazzetto, and eight giallo antico: eight smaller ones, of the same material; four of porphyry, and four of granite, for the altars; besides the antes and pilasters, of equally precious marble. The temple being thus disposed and ornamented for the service of the gods, was found equally well adapted for the Roman catholic worship.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁸ See Forsyth's *Remarks, &c.*: "Works of the Republic."

pavement, as it now exists, was also, in all probability, a part of the repairs of Septimius Severus. It is composed of porphyry, of yellow marble, and of pavonazzetto, laid down in the usual manner, in large slabs, alternately round and square.

Over the niches and altars, as thus described, rests a marble cornice of exquisite sculpture, and in perfect preservation. Upon this rises an attic, embellished with an upper cornice; the whole forming what may be called the second story. It is now divided into square recesses or blank windows, all of which are empty, except four: but previous to this alteration, made by order of Benedict XIV., the attic was supported all round with pilasters of porphyry, and had a rich incrustation, in which was introduced various sorts of marbles, accurately noted by Piranesi: but, at the same time, they appear to have been in such profusion and disorder, as to betray the restoring hand of Septimius Severus, if not the splendid piety of some successor of Boniface IV. Over the whole rises the dome: to attempt to describe its ornaments, if even we knew them, would be to diminish its splendour.

In the mass of the walls, precisely behind each *ædicola*, are perforated semicircular recesses, in three stories, one above another: the entrance to them is from the exterior of the building. They served for small chambers, at the same time that they lightened the massiveness of the walls, and rendered them, as Milizia supposes, more secure against the shock of earthquakes. Michel Angelo assigns the body of the building, with the portico, to Agrippa; the first story of the interior to Adrian,

and the upper story to Septimius Severus. It remains to give the dimensions.⁵⁹

	Roman palms.
Length of the portico - - -	150
Breadth - - - - -	60
Columns of the portico; being ten diameters in height	56
Diameter, comprising the thickness of the walls ⁶⁰ -	222
Diameter of the dome in the interior; being two	192
Roman palms more than that of the cupola of	
St. Peter's - - - - -	
Height of the dome from the cornice to the drum; being thirty-four palms less than the height of	192
St. Peter's, similarly considered - - -	
Diameter of the aperture at the top - - -	37
The giallo antico columns of the interior; being	40
eight diameters in length - - -	

From a calculation made by the Abbate Fea, it appears that the extent of surface which was covered by porphyry and other marbles, in a manner similar to that which still exists in the frieze of the cornice, amounted to 2494 $\frac{3}{4}$ square palms.

N. B. — A Roman palm is, in English measure, eight and three quarter inches, very nearly.

In the ninth region we find the “thermæ Neronianæ,” which were afterwards called “Alexandrinæ.” The magnificence of Nero’s baths are glanced at by two poets, and are mentioned by Suetonius.⁶¹ And although the regionaries, with Eutropius and Cassiodorus, positively identify those

⁵⁹ Vide *Fea, Memorie del Pantheon*, &c. p. 116. Roma, 1806.

⁶⁰ The diameter of the cupola of St. Peter’s, thus considered, is 266 palms.

⁶¹ *Martial*. lib. vii. ep. 33.; *Statius, Sylvr.* lib. i. carm. v. 62.; *Suet. in Neron.* cap. 12.

of Alexander with them, the name only being changed, Lampridius says that emperor made his thermæ near those of Nero.⁶² The “aqua Alexandrina” was brought to the city to supply them; and considerable remains of the aqueduct still stretch across the Campagna of Rome. It is further stated, that having purchased some ground, and thrown down the buildings, Alexander Severus made a grove near the thermæ, and ordered them, as well as the others, to be thrown open to the people, and to be lighted up after sunset. The emperor Tacitus afterwards ordered all the thermæ to be shut before dark.⁶³ Upon the situation of the baths in question antiquaries are agreed. Marliano mentions some arches belonging to them, as existing in his time, behind the church of S. Eustachio; and in the adjacent private houses he saw some ancient pavement and leaden pipes, and a very deep well. Biondo’s description of the ruins is equally positive.⁶⁴ These thermæ are mentioned

⁶² “Thermæ Neronianæ, quæ postea Alexandrinæ.” — *P. Victor in IX. Region.*

“Thermæ Neronianæ Alexandrinæ vocatæ sunt. Albin. et Max. Coss.” — *Cassiodor. in Chronicon.* p. 363. tom. i. edit. [Omnia Opera] Venet. 1729; and compare *Eutrop. in Neron.* lib. vii.

“Ipse nova multa constituit [Alexander Severus]: in his thermas nominis sui *juxta* eas quæ Neronianæ fuerunt, aqua inducta, quæ Alexandrina nunc dicitur. Nemus thermis suis,” &c. — *Lamprid. in Alexand.* cap. 25.

It was to show the course of this aqueduct, and its connection with the Acqua Felice, that Fabretti wrote his celebrated work on the waters and aqueducts of old Rome, so often quoted.

⁶³ *Lampridius, ibid.* cap. 24.; and *Vopiscus in Tacit.* cap. 10.

⁶⁴ *Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. v. cap. 12.; apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 179.

by Sidonius Apollinaris, as being in use in the year 466; and they are also enumerated in the catalogue of Mabillon's anonymous, who evidently points to this site. In documents of the tenth century, the Thermæ Alexandrinæ are so mentioned as to leave no doubt of their situation as it was then understood.⁶⁵ Venuti recounts the remains of the ornaments which have been discovered at different periods; but it would be tedious to follow him through them all.⁶⁶ The two columns which Alexander VII. set up in the portico of the Pantheon, probably belonged to them; two others of equal magnitude were found in the time of Innocent X., in making the conduits for the fountain of the Piazza Navona; and there is an account of four more having been discovered of the same dimensions: eight such columns could only have supported the main room of the baths, as in the thermæ of Caracalla and Diocletian. In laying the foundations of the Giustiniani palace, fragments of cornices of porphyry and other marbles were

“Dico, che queste terme Alessandrine furono la dove ne veggiamo anchor hoggi, in più luoghi, gran rovine da la Chiesa di Santo Eustachio, e da le case di Giovan. Baroncello dottor di legge, e dal campo di Santa Maria Rotunda, insino a la piazza Longobardi,” &c. — *Biondo, Roma Restaur.* lib. ii. No. 7.; and *Camucci*, lib. iii. p. 164.

⁶⁵ See the authorities, collected with great diligence by Professor Nibby, in *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 67. note 1.; but especially *Muratori*, apud *Rerum Ital. Scriptor.* tom. ii. par. ii. p. 490. an. 988.

⁶⁶ *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 155.; and consult *Memorie di Vacca*, No. 29. 34. 60.; *di Bartoli*, No. 114.; and for architectural illustrations, see *Palladio, Terme*, tav. iii. iv.; and *Uggeri*, tom. ii. tav. xxx.

dug up, and a capital of a column so immense, that the arms of a pope at the Porta Pia were cut out of it: finally, on the site of the Palazzo Madama have been seen considerable remains of the walls; and the church of S. Salvatore in Thermis preserves the tradition of the site. It is thus we are enabled to state that the Thermæ Alexandrinæ, which, like those of Agrippa adjoining, had no out-works, but merely the interior parts of a bath establishment, occupied the space which lies between the Crescenzi and the Piazza Madama, the Sapienza and the Strada del Pinaco. The only visible remains are those of a circular room embodied in the houses of the Piazza Rondanini; by passing through a stable, No. 36. in that piazza, we shall still find a considerable ruin; some vestiges may also be discerned under the Giustiniani palace.

The site of the thermæ gives also locality to the Circus Alexandri. We are indebted to Sextus Rufus for having this name to carry to the Piazza Navona: it was verified by Piranesi; and it will be obvious to every spectator that this spacious piazza preserves the form of a circus: the elliptical end is traced by the line of foundation of the houses, and is best seen when we stand at the opening of the Vicolode' Lorenesi. Under the church of S. Agnese, where the statue of the saint is shown, may still be observed some remains. Except the circumstantial evidence of the vicinity of the thermæ, and the bare mention of the Circus Agonalis by the anonymous of Mabillon, (which some think was another name for the same object,) we are indebted entirely to tradition for indentifying the modern Piazza with

the name of the ancient Circus. The "Circus Alexandri" is named in the *Ordo Romanus*, bearing date 1143, and the Piazza Navona seems to be designated; but if this nomenclature but just appears plausible, what must become of the "Circus Agonalis," standing on the solitary and equivocal testimony of the anonymous of the eighth century? The etymology of the word "Agonalia," which designated the games or ceremonies performed in the Circus, is as uncertain as that of Navona: some find in the name a corruption of the words "in agone" (hence *αγων*, *agonalia*). A more popular but less learned opinion is, that the Piazza derives its name from its resemblance to the form of a ship.⁶⁷ The obelisk set up over the fountain of Bernini once adorned the spina of the Circus on the Via Appia.

Leaving the Piazza Navona, and continuing in a direction to the church of S. Andrea della Valle, we shall arrive at the Via del Paradiso; and turning up that street, we come upon the site of Pompey's theatre, marked by the rising ground, which, from near the church just mentioned, to the Palazzo Pio inclusive, may be traced in a semi-circular tendency. The stupendous remains of this theatre lie concealed under the above named

⁶⁷ The Abbate Cancellieri has written a treatise on the Circus and the Piazza, which the curious reader may consult, with the remarks of *Piranesi, Antichità*, tom. i. p. 17., tom. iv. 83. 86.; and "del Campo Marzio." Marliano (lib. v. cap. 16.) says, the Piazza was called "Agon" in his time; but Camucci could trace no certain tradition. "Par cosa incerta a qualche autore il poter ritrovar donde il circo Agonale, hoggi vulgarmente detto piazza d'Agona, havesse il nome." — Lib. iii. p. 164.

Palazzo and the adjoining habitations ; but its circular form may be distinctly recognised at the small church of S. Maria de Crypta Picta, or Grotta Pinta, and may be followed by the line of houses as far as the Piazza dei Satiri. From the bare inspection of the ground, preserving a spherical form, and exhibiting the inclination of the vaults or “*cunei*” on which the seats rose, we might retire satisfied that there existed some traces of a theatre ; but without some further investigation, our notions would be very incomplete either of its extent or solidity.

The court yard of the Palazzo Pio is at least forty Roman palms above the foundations of the ancient theatre. In order to ascertain this fact, we must descend into the vaults upon which the Palazzo is built : at the lowest depth of forty palms will be found a specimen of the foundation arches, which have been hollowed out of the natural rock, and are pointed at the angles with large blocks of peperine stone. This great vault, cut by a subsequent partition, stands at an angle with the line of the three arches above it : these three arches, forming the “*cunei*,” belong to the ground floor, and in their converging tendency exhibit as many radii of a circle : the well-built foundation of them is worthy to be remarked, for the Colosseum itself does not offer a more striking specimen of solid construction. The lateral walls are chiefly of “*opus reticulatum*,” and in the first compartment are some fragments of marble which have belonged to the ornaments. Ascending to the level of the Palazzo, and entering the dependencies and stables,

we shall see a second story of arches for supporting the seats; not only the three corresponding to and immediately above those already described, but a further continuation of them where the first story is not excavated; so that there may now be enumerated seven of the *cunei* in continuation, as partially still visible. In the stables of the Palazzo, the vaulting assumes more manifestly its proper direction; the plane is more inclined than it appears below, and the lines converge more suddenly. After referring these observations to the plan of the theatre, which is fortunately preserved in the *Pianta Capitolina*⁶⁸, we may return to the Piazza della Grotta Pinta, and look for the position of the *scena* or stage, which, as will be afterwards related, was not the work of Pompey. Upon an estimate of the whole circumference, to which the remains we have examined may be applied, the extremities of the diameter of the semicircle would appear to us to lie in the Piazza del Biscione, and the Via del Monte della Farina nearly; consequently, the *scena* might reach to the church of S. Andrea, and even occupy a good part of its site.

Vitruvius lays down a rule, that behind the stage of a theatre porticos ought to be established, in order that the people may take shelter in them in case the entertainment be interrupted by rain; and also that the actors may have convenience for preparing the chorus: and he cites the “Porticus

⁶⁸ See this fragment delineated in our Plan of Ancient Rome; and see the illustrations of *Piranesi*, tom. i. p. 13. tom. v. tav. 38. *Topograph.* No. 22.

Pompeiana" as an example.⁶⁹ Appian mentions the portico as being in *front of*, or *before*, the theatre⁷⁰ where Brutus, in the morning of the day of Cæsar's death, "administered justice as prætor." From this circumstance alone it is deducible that there was a basilica or hall of justice within the portico, and was doubtless the same which Suetonius⁷¹ calls the "regia Theatri." Now, the fragment of the Pianta Capitolina shows, first, that the "post scenam" of Vitruvius and the "ante theatrum" of Appian are synonymous terms; and, secondly, that a basilica or regia stood within the square space enclosed by the columns of the portico, similarly situated to the temples (as we shall see) in the portico of Octavia. The precious fragment, as far as it goes, is no doubt faithful; but, being imperfect, it does not exhibit a hundred columns, which, as we learn from Martial⁷², Pompey's portico contained. On this account Eusebius calls it Hecatonstylon; and

⁶⁹ *M. Vitruvius de Architect.* lib.v. cap.9. p.196. cum not. Philandri.

⁷⁰ Θείαι δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Πομπηίου θεάτρῳ καὶ βουλευτήριον ἐμελλε τῶν τις περὶ αὐτὸ οἶκον ἔσεσθαι, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θείαις ᾗδε γίνεσθαι· οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν βροῦτον ἔωθεν κατὰ τὴν γοῶν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῖς δεόμενοις . . ἐχρημάτιζον. — *De Bell. Civil.* lib.ii. p.500. ed. Steph. 1592.

⁷¹ "Pompeii quoque statuam, contra theatri ejus regiam, marmoreo Jano supposuit, translata e Curia, in quâ C. Cæsar fuerat occisus." — *Suet. in Octav.* cap.31. On which words, see the annotations of Casaubon, in edit. *Sueton.* Traject. ad Rhenum, 1672, p.170. I should have thought Torrentius sufficiently answered, by suggesting that basilica in Greek is regia in Latin.

⁷² *Martial*, lib.ii. ep.14. lib.iii. ep.19.; *Eusebius in Chronicon*, A.D. 249. p.178. edit. Burdigalæ (D. Hieron. interpret.)

we learn from Pliny it was painted by the hands of Antiphilus, of Pausias, and of Niceas. The *subjects* were, the rape of Europa; the labours of Cadmus; the story of Calypso, &c.⁷³: all which were worthy of the place which Ovid recommended as the rendezvous of lascivious lovers! About the portico were planted rows of plane trees, interspersed with stone statues of wild beasts, and adorned by a fountain.⁷⁴ Near the theatre, too, Claudius erected a colossal statue of Jove, which was called the “Jupiter Pompeianus.”⁷⁵ The portico, as thus described, and referred to the direction indicated in the Pianta Capitolina, must have reached as far as the present Teatro della Valle, and entirely occupied the intermediate spaces. Near to the theatre was the curia or senate house of Pompey, in which Cæsar fell.⁷⁶ The famous statue was found in the Vicolo dei Scutari, near the Cancelleria. Augustus took it out of the curia, and placed it, we are told, before the “regia” on a marble Janus. But, supposing the statue to be genuine, inasmuch as it had been

⁷³ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. cap. 9, 10.

⁷⁴ *Propert. Eleg.* xxii. lib. ii.; *Ovid. de Art. Amator.* lib. i. 67. and lib. iii. 387.

Near the English college a good statue of a faun was found in 1682, which had perhaps belonged to this grove of Pompey. See *Memorie di Bartoli*, No. 107.

⁷⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 7.

⁷⁶ See *Suetonius*, as cited in Note 71. of last page; *Idem, in vit. Cæsar.* cap. 80, 81. 88.; and Plutarch (*in vit. C. Cæsar.* p. 758. edit. Lut. Par. 1624) writes thus: — Ὅ δὲ διεξάμενος τὸν φόρον ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χῶρος, εἰς ὃν ἡ σύγκλητος ἡθροίσθη, τότε Πομπηίου μὲν εἰκόνα καίμην ἔχων, Πομπηίου δὲ ἀνάθημα γεγονὸς τῶν προκεικοσμημένων τῇ θεάτῃ: and comp. *Id. in vit. Pompeii*, p. 647. ed. cit.

removed out of the curia, and there is no account of its having been taken back, it cannot be used to identify the site of the senate house"; and, as such, our authority is reduced to the words of Appian, that it was a building overhanging ("imminentes") the theatre.

Behind the walls of the theatre, the Pianta Capitolina further exhibits two rows of columns running in a direction towards the river; perhaps a grove might also be planted on this side, and other appendages extending to the Tyber. A piece of wall more than thirteen palms thick has been found, and other vestiges of walls reaching considerably beyond the Via Giubbonari; and, combining all these things together, we may judge of the power and wealth of that proud citizen who could raise such magnificent and extensive buildings for the use of the people from his own resources. Having now given some topographical

⁷⁷ On this celebrated statue, commonly called the Spada Pompey, and now to be seen in the Palazzo Spada, I have great pleasure in referring the reader to Mr. Hobhouse's illustration of Lord Byron's stanza upon it (*Childe Harold*, canto iv. stanza 87.), merely adding, that the statue was found, wanting an arm and two fingers, which are supplied by some modern artist. It is also supposed the head was encircled by a wreath of oak leaves, which the restorer had not been careful to preserve. (See the observations of Guattani, entitled *Difesa di Pompeo*, Roma, 1813.) Flaminio Vacca's account of the statue is worth reading, *Memorie*, No. 57. I must, however, beg leave to remark, on the testimony of Biondo, that he knew very little of the site of Pompey's portico or theatre, but confounds the whole with the Circus Flaminius. Fulvio (*Delle Antichità*, &c. carta 142.) is much more intelligible. It is certain the curia was not far from the theatre; for see Dion Cassius, lib. xlv. p. 391.; and Appian, as already cited; and Plutarch, as above.

account of this classical ground, it will not be uninteresting to apply a few historical remarks.

Until the year of the city 699, that is, fifty-three years before Christ, there were no theatres of solid materials built at Rome. When the people had been gratified by the splendid shows of an ambitious citizen, exhibited in a temporary structure, it was the business of the censors to see that structure removed, and so to prevent the citizens from a too frequent indulgence of their favourite amusements. Long habit had taught them to acquiesce in this salutary regulation; and when Pompey built the first theatre which was to be permanent, he respected the moral feeling of the Roman people. "Therefore," says Tertullian, "Pompey the Great, — less great by his theatre only, — when he erected that stronghold of all wickedness, dreading lest the rebuke of the censor might prove injurious to his memory, he built over it a temple to Venus; and, inviting the people by a proclamation to come to the dedication of it, he called it, not a theatre, but the temple of Venus; 'to which,' said he, 'we have subjoined seats for seeing shows.'" This temple is also mentioned⁷⁸

⁷⁸ *Tertullian. de Spectaculis*, cap. x. p. 77. edit. Lut. Par. 1675.; *Plutarch. in Pompeio*, p. 655. edit. citat.; *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. viii. cap. 7.

The two latter authors call the temple "Venus Victrix." Aulus Gellius writes thus: — "Cum Pompeius, inquit [T. Ciceronis libertus], ædem Victoriæ dedicaturus foret, cujus gradus vicem theatri essent, nomenque ejus et honores inscriberentur, quæri cœptum est, utrum consul Tertio inscribendum esset an Tertium." — *Noct. Attic.* lib. x. cap. i. p. 465. edit. Gronovii, 1706.

by Plutarch, Pliny, and Aulus Gellius; and there was a piece of marble found in the year 1525 behind the church of the Grotta Pinta, on which Marliano read these words: VENERIS VICTRICIS.⁷⁹ From the passage in Aulus Gellius especially, it appears the seats of the theatre were considered as the steps by which to ascend to the temple. Upon the inscription to be placed over the temple arose that grammatical discussion as to whether the third consulate of Pompey should be expressed by *cos. tertio* or *tertium*, which Cicero finely adjusted by suggesting *cos. tert.* At the games given by Pompey for the dedication of the building, we are told he produced twenty elephants; but, notwithstanding his precautions, he was afterwards accused in the senate for introducing too much luxury into the city, until the "fathers" perceived it was better to build a theatre at once, than to have a temporary structure to raise on every occasion of giving shows; and then the prodigal citizen was praised for his economy!

The temple of Venus, which had been cited as a pretext for making the seats ("gradus spectaculorum") could not equally be adopted as a pretence for making a solid stage: accordingly we find, that, of the two public works which Tiberius undertook, one was the stage of Pompey's theatre, which, however, he did not dedicate; either be-

⁷⁹ *Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. v. cap. 10. There is some satisfaction in comparing the discovered inscription with the words of the ancient writers, which the slight variation of Aulus Gellius certainly need not disturb. But see Donatus, in all the glory of learning, *De Urb. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 8.; apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 694.

cause it was beneath his notice, or his old age made him indifferent. The stage certainly appears to be altogether a new work of Tiberius; but in other respects, as the building had suffered by fire, he still left it imperfect.⁸⁰ The whole was finished by Caligula. It was dedicated anew by the emperor Claudius, who had restored it after a second conflagration⁸¹; and in the time of Nero it seems to have been in its greatest splendour. It is related, that when two vanquished chieftains came from the North of Germany to Rome, to supplicate the emperor, they were shown to the theatre of Pompey, in order that they might see the "greatness" of the people. It could contain, according to Pliny, forty thousand spectators. Nero caused the whole to be gilded (the work of one day), that Tiridates, king of Armenia, might be the more astonished at its magnificence.⁸²

⁸⁰ *Tacit. Annal.* lib. vi. cap. 45. lib. iii. cap. 72.; conf. *Suet. in vit. Tiberii*, cap. 47.

⁸¹ *Suetonius in Caligula*, cap. 21.; in *Claudio*, cap. 21. where we read — "Ludos dedicationis Pompeiani theatri, quod ambustum restituerat, e tribunali posito in orchestra commisit, cum prius apud superiores ædes supplicasset, perque mediam caveam, sedentibus ac silentibus cunctis, descendisset."

The "superiores ædes" here mentioned, where the emperor performed his religious rites, I conceive to have been no other place than the temple of "Venus Victrix," which (following Claudius "per mediam caveam," descending to his tribunal in the orchestra), we see, was placed on the top of the seats in front of the stage. See also *Dion Cassius*, lib. lx. p. 945.

⁸² *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiii. cap. 3. p. 585. edit. Basilæ, 1539; Vide *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xiii. cap. 54.; *Sueton. in Neron.* cap. 13. Nardini does not understand by this gilding that the stone or marble-work was covered with gold (see tom. iii. p. 34.); but the members of the columns, and the stucco in the vaults.

The theatre is enumerated in Dion Cassius amongst those buildings which suffered by fire under Titus; and it was no doubt again restored. During the secular games celebrated by Philip in the 1000th year of the city, it was burnt once more (according to the Chronicon of Eusebius); and from Cassiodorus⁸³ we learn that Theodoric commissioned Symmachus to rebuild it. Not long after, it must have shared the same fate as the rest of the edifices at Rome, until it came into the possession of the Ursini, who occupied this part of the city. The civil wars of the middle ages destroyed what time and the invader had left; and in the fifteenth century an inscription found with the name of Pompey, vaguely directed the antiquary to find out its site.⁸⁴ If the theatre of stone (*Theatrum Lapideum*) mentioned by Vitruvius be the same as the theatre of Pompey, the Regionaries

Xiphilin, from Dion Cassius (lib. lxiii. p. 1030.) adds, that Nero made an awning (on the same construction, no doubt, as described in the Colosseum), which he ornamented with golden stars! — “hinc clades derivatur.” “A rage for building,” says Forsyth, “runs throughout the nation:” in our nation, the rage is confined, as yet, to Crockford’s.

⁸³ *Variar. Epist.* lib. v. 51. et ult.

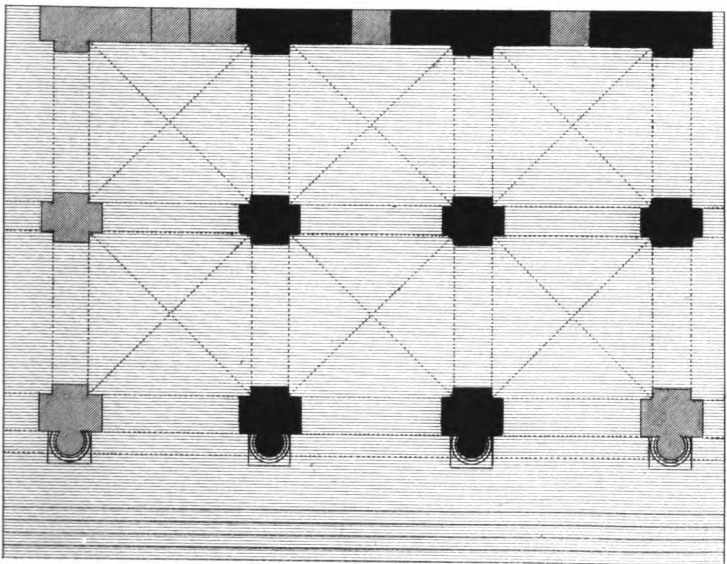
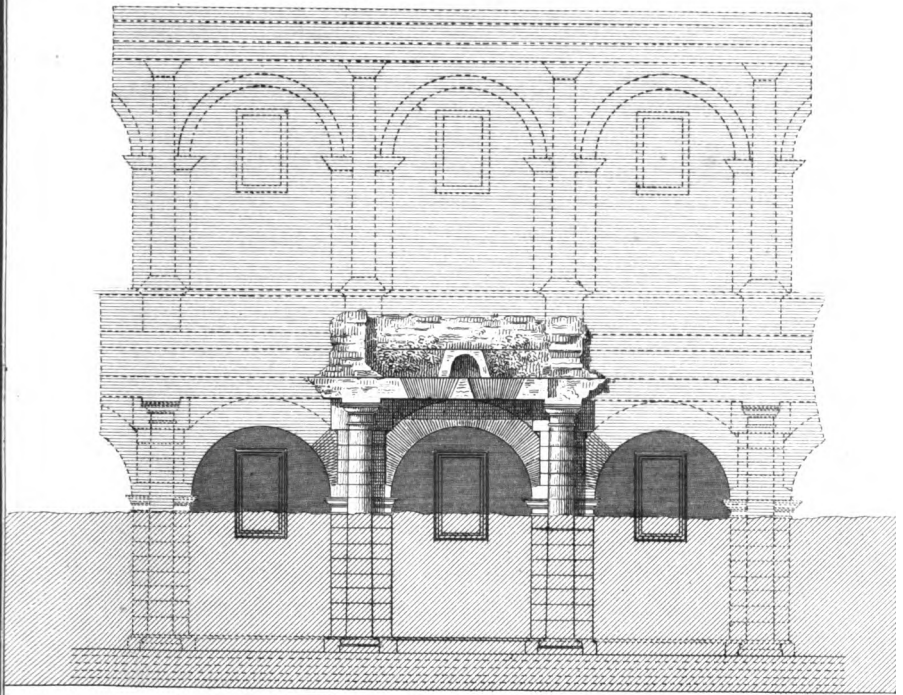
⁸⁴ It is mentioned in the *Ordo Romanus* (twelfth century) as “*Theatrum Pompeii*.” The inscription I allude to (*GENIVS. THEATRI. POMPEIANI*, apud Gruter, p. cxi. No. 7.) was found at the church of S. Lorenzo e Damaso, near the Cancellaria; and near the same spot was discovered a fragment of a large column of African marble, with these words on the plinth: — *CN. POMPEI*. Several capitals of columns, and a large marble bason, were found in the same place; and in 1716 an angular block of marble with the cornice; and I recollect having seen in the Museum of the Vatican some antifixes found near the *Theatro della Valle*. See *Memorie di Vacca*, No. 30.; *di Bartoli*, No. 106.; and *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 164.

of Victor and Rufus will have to be corrected. At present they mislead us; for they mention the two theatres as distinct edifices entirely.⁸⁵

We now leave the Campo di Fiori⁸⁶, and passing along the Via Giubbonari by the church of the Catinari and the Monte Pietà, we shall arrive at the Via di S. Maria in Cacaberis. Between the church of that name and the S. Maria di Pianto are seen two columns of travertine stone, of the Doric order, half interred; and upon them rest the remains of an architrave interspersed with brickwork. Behind all this are vestiges of pilasters, of which three are still partially visible, supporting a vault, some remains of which exist in the stable; also in the adjacent habitations are other vestiges, with indications of a second story. The ruin thus assumes the form of a portico, of which the annexed plan and elevation may afford some idea. The width of it appears to have been about fifty feet; but it cannot be traced how far it extended in length. What now remains is exhibited on our plan and elevation in the dark tints; the rest is

⁸⁵ A few observations on this point will be offered when we come to the theatre of Balbus.

⁸⁶ The old antiquaries agree in an amusing derivation of this campo: — “Detto da Fiora (*i.e.* Flora), donna amata molto da Pompeo.” (*Lucio Mauro, Antichità*, p. 91.) Donatus, in one of his happily-turned expressions, tells us the change the Campo di Fiora underwent in the days of Pope Eugenius IV.: — “At Scarampus Campum Floræ, . . . neglectum atque in equorum pascua herbosum ac viridem, lapidibus stravit, solo utique fecundiore, ut in eo deinceps nundinæ mercimonia depascere, et floreret siliceo in Campo Forum Floræ.” (*De Urb. Rom.* lib. iv. cap. 9.) How often, in modern times, we find a place permanently called a green, or a field, when it has no longer that character.



Plan and Elevation of the supposed Crypta Balbi.

supplied, for the sake of architectural uniformity. This is not the portico of Cneus Octavius, for its columns were of the *Corinthian order*, with bronze capitals.⁸⁷ It can scarcely be the portico of Philip⁸⁸, for it is too distant from the temple of Hercules Custos, or even Hercules Musagetes. It has indeed, if compared with the portico of Octavia, more the appearance of an arcade, or that low-roofed species of portico which the ancients called "crypta;" and therefore we suppose it to have been the "crypta Balbi" mentioned in the ninth region along with the theatre which bore the same title. But this nomenclature depends chiefly upon the reasonableness of what is now to follow. Near to this ruin is the Monte and Palazzo Cenci. The hill is artificial, and formed, according to Piranesi, of the ruins of a theatre. He even found the remains of one of the "cunei"⁸⁹, which may still be made out below the Palazzo, towards the Porta del Ghetto on the Tyber. If there were but three theatres in Rome, as several ancient writers intimate⁹⁰, the situations of two being known and

⁸⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 3. Besides, Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. cap. 1, 2.) says, it was built "in Circo" [i. e. Flaminio], which, we shall see, was at some distance from hence.

⁸⁸ For thus Martial, lib. v. ep. 50. :—

" Vites, censeo, porticum Philippi :
Si te viderit Hercules, peristi."

⁸⁹ *Piranesi*, tom. iv. tav. xx.

⁹⁰ *Sueton. in August.* cap. xlv. *Ovid. Art. Amator.* lib. iii. 374. *Seneca de Clementia*, lib. i. cap. 6. *Strabon. Geograph.* lib. v. p. 163. *Vitruvius (de Architect.* lib. iii. cap. 3.) mentions a "Theatrum Lapideum" as if it were the only one existing at Rome at the time he wrote. This, Philander thinks, is the

identified, it leaves but this for the theatre of Balbus. It was erected [A. C. 12.] in compliment to Augustus, by Cornelius Balbus, and was capable of containing upwards of 33,000 spectators.⁹¹ We cannot indeed boast of much ancient authority either for the history or topography of this theatre; but it is no small thing that all antiquaries, since the time of Piranesi at least, have murmured their consent to the name of Balbus.⁹² If this be granted, the "crypta" will not easily be overwhelmed. From a passage in Suetonius, and another in Dion Cassius, Nardini deduces that to a theatre was generally attached a crypta or arcade, where the actors might practise their parts.⁹³ We have

same as Pompey's, which was the first solid theatre erected in the city; for see *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xiv. cap. 20.: in this case we have to consider the "Theatrum Lapidium," inserted in the catalogues of Victor and Rufus (thus making a fourth theatre) as an interpolation, because at variance with the superior authorities above cited. And so Panvinio (apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 53.) in the summary has "Theatra tria, alias quatuor:" hence it appears that "theatrum Pompeianum" is the same with "Theatrum Lapidium."

⁹¹ *Sueton. in August.* cap. 29.; *Dion Cassius*, lib. liv. p. 755. P. Victor (*in Reg. IX.*): thus, Crypta Balbi, Theatrum Balbi. Capit. loca xxx. Mil. ccxlv. Cæsar dedicavit et appellatur a vicinitate.

⁹² The testimony of Camucci, however, is important: — "Un altro Theatro di Cornelio Balbo fù nel medesimo Campo Martio, il quale per la vicinità, che più d'ogn altro edificio havea con il Tevere, pativa spesso le inondationi." — *Antichità di Roma*, lib. iii. p. 166.

⁹³ *Roma Antica*, tom. iii. p. 100. *Sueton. in Caligula*, cap. lviii.: but see the *Annotat. Philand. in Vitruv.* lib. v. cap. 9. p. 198. edit. citat. Near the supposed Crypta Balbi were found those two colossal statues in the time of Pius IV. which now stand on the Campidoglio, usually called Castor and Pollux. (*Vacca, Memorie*, No. 52.)

already seen the precepts of Vitruvius thus applied to the portico of Pompey. We shall leave without reluctance this quarter of the ninth region, in which the modern city offers no recompense for the scanty vestiges of ancient Rome; nor need we be detained in the Piazza degli Ebrei by the pompous inscription of Lorenzo Manlio, in which he sets forth the splendour of his house.⁹⁴ Our business is now to trace the site of the edifice which gave the title to our region, and the buildings which stood near it.

In the sixteenth century there existed considerable remains of the Circus Flaminius, which are mentioned by the antiquaries of that period. They considered it to extend, in length, from the Piazza Margana to the palazzo which now belongs to the Duchesse de Chablais; and in width, from the church of S. Stanislao de' Polacchi, to about the Palazzo Cavaletti in the Piazza Campitelli: and they all agree that the church of S. Catherina dei Funari, formerly called Santa Rosa in Castello Aureo, stood about the middle of the Circus.⁹⁵ At that time there was clear space enough within it for the rope-makers (Funari) to carry on their work;

⁹⁴ Probably the travertine stone on which this inscription is written belonged to some ancient edifice in the neighbourhood. For the inscription itself, and some Greek characters annexed, see *Mazocchi, Epigram. Urbis*, p. 146.

⁹⁵ *Marliano, Urb. Rom. Topogr.* lib. v, cap. 9. *Andreas Fulvio delle Antichità*, &c. carta 151. *Biondo, Roma Restaurat.* No. 109. lib. ii. where he mistakes the ruins for Pompey's theatre. Lucio Mauro is the most explicit, — "La Chiesa di S. Catherina, dove si fanno le funi, fù nel mezzo di questo Circo edificata." — *Antichità di Roma*, p. 91. edit. Venez. 1562. Pirrho Ligorio is diffuse, cited in *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 21.

and now that the whole is demolished, the church preserves the memory of the Funari. In a bull of Celestinus III., bearing date 1192, full possession of the "Castellum aureum," is granted to the churchmen of the S. Maria Domina Rosa, and it is there described with lofty ancient walls circularly disposed.⁹⁶ In considering the situation, we have been enabled to assign to this Circus, it will be remarked, that it reached nearly to the foot of the Capitoline hill, and, therefore, we find it was frequently used during the republic as a convenient place for dispatching such business as could not properly be treated of *within* the city. Between the upper end of it and the Forum Olitorium was no great space, as will hereafter be verified; and so Asconius, the scholiast of Cicero, speaking of a temple of Apollo different to that which Augustus built after the battle of Actium, describes it⁹⁷ as being between the Forum Olitorium and the Circus Flaminius; although there is no circus in the ninth region, except that of Alexander Severus, to dispute the title which has been unhesitatingly given to those once existing ruins: still, without this passage from Asconius, it would be difficult to give a direct proof of the received topography.

The last remains of the Circus were destroyed or concealed in building the Palazzo Mattei; in the

⁹⁶ See the authority produced by Nardini's editor, in tom. ii. p. 24. note 1.

⁹⁷ "Sed illam [ædem Apollinis] demonstrari, quæ est extra portam Carmentalem inter Forum Olitorium et Circum Flaminiæ, ea enim sola tum demum Romæ Apollinis ædes." — *Asconius in Oration. Fragment. Toga Candida.* tom. vi. p. 600. edit. in usum Delphin. Geneva, 1745.

second court-yard of that Palazzo may be seen two "lunettes" of excellent sculpture, which may probably have belonged to the Carceres, as they are ornaments adapted to be placed above the doors. There are also two other fragments of similar lunettes in the first court; and perhaps many other of those marbles which so profusely adorn the walls of the Palazzo, may have had a place in the ancient Circus. Antiquaries talk much of a source of water in the cellar of a neighbouring house, keeping steadily in view the show of crocodiles which Augustus exhibited in the Circus Flaminius.⁹⁸ The place in which it was built had previously been the Prata Flamina, to which the title of the Circus is referred by some authors rather than to the consul who died near Thrasimene; they supposing some other Flaminius had bequeathed to the Roman people the ground on which the Circus was afterwards erected; so that subsequently, as appears from Livy⁹⁹, the Prata Flaminia and the Circus Flaminius were synonymous terms; and since we find several temples mentioned as being "in Circo Flaminio," it means, no doubt, they were situated in the "prata" or precincts of the Circus. Such was the temple of Apollo already mentioned, and to which, according to P. Victor, was annexed a bath: there was also a temple of Neptune, which, in the sepulchral inscription of Abascantius, is said to be in Circo Flaminio¹⁰⁰; also the temple of

⁹⁸ *Dion Cassius*, lib. lv. p. 781. A.U.C. 748.

⁹⁹ "Ea omnia in Pratis Flaminiiis (A.C. 447.) concilio plebis acta, quem *nunc* Circum Flaminium appellant." — *Tit. Liv.* lib. iii. cap. 53.

¹⁰⁰ *Comp. Liv.* lib. xxviii. cap. 11.

Cneus Domitius, which was adorned, according to Pliny, with the statues of Neptune, and Thetis, and Achilles, and Nereids upon dolphins, sculptured by the masterly hand of Scopas.¹⁰¹ We read also of a temple of Mars "in Circo Flaminio," the architecture of Hermodorus Salaminius; also of a temple of Vulcan, in which dogs were kept to guard the place at night. P. Victor mentions a temple of Hercules, the special guardian of the Circus Flaminius; and there is a verse in Ovid to the same effect.¹⁰² The poet further intimates that this temple was dedicated in the time of Sylla, near the church of S. Nicolo de' Cesarini. In the yard of the convent of the Padri Sommaschi there are some remains of a temple, which do not ill correspond to all these circumstances. It is situated at no great distance from where the Carceres of the Flaminian Circus may be supposed to have reached: it is round, as the temples of Hercules usually were; and the material of which it is built characterises it as a work of the republic. It is true, as far as the vicinity of the Circus furnishes an argument, there are many other temples to contest the title, but none of them have so many coincidences, however slight they be, as the temple of Hercules Custos: at any rate, as a conjecture, it

¹⁰¹ *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 5. I suspect this to be the same as the temple of Neptune, which Domitius had perhaps improved or repaired.

¹⁰² "Ædes Herculi magno custodi Circi Flaminii."

P. Victor in Reg. ix.

"Altera pars Circi [i. e. Flaminii] custode sub Hercule tuta est,

Quod deus Euboico carmine munus habet."

Ovid. Fast. lib. vi. 209.

will appear more plausible than Piranesi's, who calls these columns, remains of the temple of Apollo.¹⁰³ They are described in a few words :— Four columns of peperine stone, half interred, and without their capitals. Piranesi has pronounced them of the Ionic order. By descending into the cellars, we may discover a portion of a fifth column, the basement of which is perfect, and some remains of stucco still cling to the fluting of the shaft. The column here spoken of is in continuation with the four visible in the yard of the convent, and stands half within the circumference of the well. After an interval of two intercolumniations may be found, also, the base of another column, which takes us nearly half round the temple. It appears to have stood on a square basement, and to have been considerably elevated, combining simplicity and grandeur in the design.

Amongst the various buildings about the Circus Flaminius, which exist but in name, we may lastly mention the temple of Bellona. P. Victor describes its position as being towards the Porta Carmentalis; and Ovid hints it was at the very top of the Circus; and near it stood the Columna Bellica, so called, because the Romans were accustomed to hurl a spear from thence in the direction of the country against which they intended to wage war.¹⁰⁴ The Piazza

¹⁰³ *Antichità*, &c. tom. i. p. 13. No. 94.

¹⁰⁴ "Ædes Bellonæ versus Portam Carmentalem; ante hanc ædem columna index belli inferendi."—*P. Victor in Reg. IX.* and comp. *Ovid. Fast.* lib. vi. 201.; *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxi. p. 1197. and lib. l. p. 606. This ground will have little interest for those who go to "see Rome," but the classical reader will not say "all is barren." *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvi. cap. 21. xxviii. cap. 9. xxx. cap. 22. et alibi.

Campitelli cannot be very far from the site of the temple of Bellona and the formidable column. But if the modern city has obliterated the edifices of the "Prata Flaminia," it has perhaps been the cause of preserving the striking remains of two objects, which have to complete our circuit of the Campus Martius. The portico of Octavia stood conveniently for closing up the Pescheria and the Jews; and the theatre of Marcellus was found useful for workers in charcoal and for stables.

In enumerating the public works of Augustus, Suetonius informs us there were several which bore the names of his relations, as, for instance, the portico and basilica of Lucius and Caius, the porticos of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus.¹⁰⁵ Festus mentions two Octavian porticos; but the one nearest to the theatre of Marcellus, he says, was made by Octavia.¹⁰⁶ There had previously stood on the same spot a portico, built by Metellus Macedonicus, to which two temples were attached; one of them, according to Paterculus, who relates the circumstance, was the first marble building erected at Rome.¹⁰⁷ The architects, as Pliny relates¹⁰⁸, were two Spartans, whose names were Sauros and Batrachus; and the only reward they expected for their labour and expense, (for some thought they were rich men, and employed their wealth as well as their skill in the undertaking,) was to have an inscription on the temples bearing

¹⁰⁵ *Sueton. in August. cap. xxix.*

¹⁰⁶ *De Verbor. Significat. lib. xiii. s. 25. p. 301. edit. Delphin. 1700.*

¹⁰⁷ *Velleius Paterculus, Hist. lib. i. cap. xi.*

¹⁰⁸ *Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. 5.*

their names. As this honour was refused them, they introduced their names upon the ornaments of the columns allegorically, inserting lizards [*Σαυρος*] and frogs [*Βαρελαχος*]. The architects of the portico of Octavia were also Spartans, and, we are told, they did not destroy the works of their countrymen. The new portico comprised in its ample circuit two temples, made more magnificent, no doubt, if not considerably enlarged, in a manner worthy of marble Rome, and the splendid portico. To the ruins in question has been applied, with success, the fragment of the Pianta Capitolina, upon which is written *CVS. OCTAVIAE III.* Bellori, in his illustration of it¹⁰⁹, computes about 270 columns. This calculation, however, seems to exceed the utmost authority afforded by the plan. By a reference to the fragment [see Plan of Rome] it will be observed that a double row of columns has enclosed a square space, in which the two temples stood, dedicated respectively to Jupiter and Juno. In the middle of one side, as might also have been the case in the corresponding one, was a vestibule or main entrance, formed of superior columns, and supporting a cornice: the principal remains now existing are those of this vestibule. There has been a double row of four columns and two pilasters each. The entablature and pediment which they supported partly still exist; and on the architrave is read the inscription, which announces

¹⁰⁹ *Ichnograph. Vet. Rom.* tab. ii. and comp. *Piranesi*, tom. i. p. 13. No. 100.; *Idem*, tom. iv. tav. xxxix.—xlv.; *Idem*, *Campo Marzo*, cap. v. art. ii. p. 35. This monument has also been illustrated by *Uggeri*, *Journées Pittoresques*, tom. i. p. 73. tom. ii. tav. 17.

that Septimius Severus and his son repaired the edifice, after it had been destroyed by fire. We still see what that restoration consisted in. Of the four columns in front, two had been destroyed; and the defect has been unskilfully supplied by building up an arch of brick. The other two columns, and the two pilasters, together with the corresponding ones in the interior row, remain to attest the pristine magnificence of the fabric. They are of beautiful marble, and although fractured, and the pilasters but partially visible, afford a pure specimen to the architect, of the Corinthian order. Upon the frieze, on one side, some of the antefixes are still standing. A continuation of four columns, of cippolino and granite alternately, may be discerned behind the fish-stalls, not of equal magnitude with those of the vestibule, but continuing in a line with it, and several others have been traced. By a reference to the plan, the whole will be easily adjusted, so as to need no further description. By reckoning ten columns on each side of the vestibule, it will make this front of the portico to have reached from near the theatre of Marcellus to about half way up the Strada di Pescheria. The contiguous sides seem to have been still greater; and, consequently, the opposite side of the portico must have traversed what is now the Piazza Campitelli.

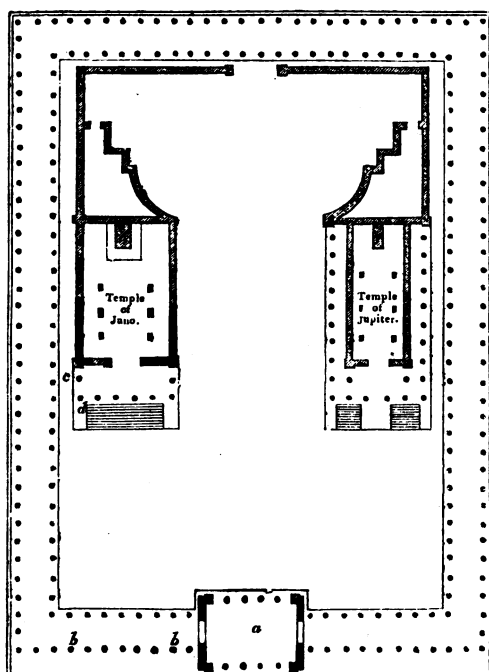
Of the two temples which stood within the quadrangle, there remain but three columns in their original positions, and they belonged to the temple of Juno. One of them is entire, and may be seen in ascending the narrow street which leads to the church of S. Caterina dei Funari. To verify

the other two, which are but fragments, we must penetrate into the dirty habitations adjoining the entire one; they are also of marble, and of the Corinthian order: by a reference to the annexed sketch ¹¹⁰, sufficient for the purpose, any one will easily comprehend how they come into the ground plan of the whole, as it is preserved in the *Pianta Capitolina*.

Great things are said of the works of art, paintings, and statues which adorned the portico of Octavia and its temples; amongst the splendid paintings of Artemon is particularised Hercules

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- (a) Remains of the vestibule, or great entrance.
- (b) Columns of the portico, partially to be seen in the "Pescheria."
- (c) Position of the column belonging to the temple of Juno, seen in ascending the Vicolo, behind the church of S. Angelo.
- (d) Remains of other two columns existing within the habitations.



ascending from mount Cæta to Olympus, having divested himself of his mortality with the consent of the gods. In the temple of Juno was her statue made by Dionysius and Polycles, and a Venus by Philiscus of Rhodes; in the temple of Jove was admired the statue of the god which the said sons of Timarchas had executed: a group, representing Pan and Olympus wrestling, was the work of Heliodorus: Polycharmus made the Venus bathing, and the Dædalus standing upright. There were also an Esculapius and a Diana by Cephisiodorus, and a Venus of exquisite beauty by the hands of Phidias. In the temple of Apollo, said to be *at* but not *within* the portico, were several objects of no less value; the Apollo himself by Philiscus, was applauded, the statues of Latona, Diana, the nine muses, two others of Apollo, are also enumerated.¹¹¹ We read also of a “schola Octaviæ,” in which Antiphilus painted the noble Hesion, and Alexander and Philip, with Minerva, which contained also the four figures of Satyrs grouped, with others in as many various attitudes; but above all, the famous Cupid of Praxiteles, which called forth the praises of Cicero, Strabo, and Pausanias.¹¹² Several of these statues no doubt perished in the

¹¹¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 5. lib. xxxiv. cap. 6.

¹¹² *Plin.* lib. xxxv. cap. 10. lib. xxxvi. cap. 5. The Professor Nibby, in his note on this statue (see *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 14.), makes it appear that it was brought from Thespia to Rome in the interval between the time Strabo and Pliny wrote, that is, between the reign of Tiberius and that of Titus, and that probably Caligula was the emperor who transferred it. A group of Mars and Cupid, now in the Villa Ludovisi, was found near the Piazza Campitelli, having no doubt belonged originally to the portico, of Octavia. — Vide *Bartoli, Memorie*, No. 109.

fire which took place under Titus, and perhaps more in that which happened in the time of Septimius Severus: but if Santo Bartoli be correct in his information that the Venus de Medici was found in the Pescheria, we may suppose a work of Phidias or Polycharmus to be rescued from the general wreck of all this splendour.¹¹³ The fragment of the Pianta Capitolina, so frequently referred to, further represents a portion of the temple of "Hercules Musarum;" and it must have come very near to the Circus Flaminius; indeed the position of it is so described by an author cited in Nardini.¹¹⁴ It was originally built by Fulvius Nobilior in imitation of the Hercules Musagetes of Greece, and is no doubt the same temple as the one mentioned by Suetonius, although said to be made by

¹¹³ *Santo Bartoli, Memorie*, No. 108. Others suppose this celebrated statue to have been found in the ruins of Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, and it would not be an easy task to decide the point: but consult *Gori, Mus. Florent. Stat.* tab. 26. 29.

It is inferred from a passage in the "Ordo Romanus," that the temple of Jupiter, which stood within the portico, existed in great part in the year 1142. This is another white mark for the Goths, and a black one for the Romans.

¹¹⁴ *Eumenius in Oratione pro reparandis Scholis.*; *extat in XII. Panegyric. Veterib.* p. 115. edit. Antwerp, in 8vo. 1699. Plutarch (*Questiones Romanæ*, tom. ii. p. 278. edit. citat.) asks why Hercules was coupled with the muses: was it because he taught Evander letters? The ancients had generally some abstract idea in their mythological combinations. Hercules and the muses together, intimates that strength should be coupled with grace and science; accomplishments which Cicero seems to attribute to Fulvius in the building of this very temple. "Jam vero ille, qui cum Ætolis, Ennio comite, bellavit, Fulvius non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare." — *Orat. pro Archid. Poetâ*, s. 11. and comp. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. cap. 10.

Marcus Philippus under Augustus¹¹⁵, from which we may infer, considering its contiguity to the portico, that Philip rebuilt it, and made it worthy of a place near the magnificent buildings of the emperor's sister : and worthy of such a place was the theatre of Marcellus, which even now in its degraded state is an object of no small admiration.

There remain eleven arches of both stories, and part of a twelfth, built up, mutilated, and disfigured by the habitations made out of them. The first story is nearly half interred ; but the capitals of the Doric columns, with the entablature, are well preserved in several places : the second story still exhibits a specimen of the Ionic order, as it was perfectionated in the age of Augustus. The two columns supporting the extreme arch remain entire. It seems, however, a defect that the finishing of the buttresses of the arches of the second story should be so intersected by the columns : those arches must be considered as forming "ambulacra," like those round the Colosseum, but not a double passage. Within them rose the seats in the usual manner, and some of the "Cunei" may still be traced within the stables of the Osteria della Campana. Like those in the theatre of Pompey, they are mainly built of reticulated tufo, mingled, however, with brick-work. In the Via Savelli, opposite the "Presidenza," stands the last column of the surrounding arches, at an angle with a piece of wall evidently tending to form the orchestra : the stage (which is partly preserved in the Pianta Capitolina) must

¹¹⁵ *Suet. in August. cap. 29.*

have extended to the very banks of the river: its site is now occupied by a hill formed of the ruins of the theatre, on which is built the Palazzo Orsini, formerly Palazzo Savelli. P. Victor informs us the theatre of Marcellus could contain 30,000 spectators. A manuscript in the Vatican has 20,000; Piranesi has calculated it at 25,000.¹¹⁶ Julius Cæsar designed, and perhaps began to build, this theatre, having cleared away some temples and other objects for the purpose; but Augustus completed the work¹¹⁷, and dedicated it with the name of the young Marcellus. On that occasion it is said 700 wild beasts of Africa were consumed, and then, for the first time in Rome, was seen a tamed tiger. Before the time of Alexander Severus the building had suffered by fire, and probably it was never restored to its former state.¹¹⁸ It was reduced to a fortress by Pierleone in the twelfth century, and successively passed into the possession of the Sa-

¹¹⁶ Nardini's learned editor received this communication of the manuscript from M. Niebuhr, and marks it No. 3227. p. 81. Piranesi has taken more than ordinary pains about this theatre. See *Antichità*, &c. tom. iv. tav. xxv.—xxxviii.; also *Milizia del Teatro*, cap. xi. p. 66. It has also been amply illustrated by Guattani, Uggeri, Francesco Saponieri, and others.

¹¹⁷ *Dion Cassius*, lib. xliii. p. 376. A.U.C. 710. We shall shortly have to recur to the act of Julius Cæsar. *Sueton. in August.* cap. 29.; and *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. viii. cap. 17.

¹¹⁸ Lampridius only says of the Emperor Alexander (*in vit. ejus*, cap. 43.) "Theatrum Marcelli reficere voluit;" but it is enumerated in the catalogue of Mabillon's anonymous of the ninth century, as then existing: supposing it to be identified in the middle ages with the "Domus Petri Leonis," Professor Nibby makes Pope Urban II. die in the theatre of Marcellus, A.D. 1099, on the authority of Pandulph Pisanus. Vide *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 17. note 1.

velli and Orsini families. Its exterior walls are of travertine stone, and although some have supposed there were originally two stories more above the two now existing, there never has been discovered any trace of them: in a drawing extant of the year 1565, it is exhibited in its present state, surmounted by the modern buildings.¹¹⁹

We have now arrived at a convenient place for tracing the beginning of the walls of the old city, and for conceiving, more accurately than it was possible to do on the tower of the Campidoglio, the positions of the two first gates. The limits of three contiguous regions are also here to be adjusted. Of the Porta Flumentana we can only repeat, from classical authority, that it stood near the river¹²⁰; but the Porta Carmentalis may be more definitely fixed. It was situated, according to Dionysius and Solinus, at the foot of the Capitoline hill¹²¹; and, as we learn from Plutarch, underneath *the rock*.¹²² It was turned, according to the Regionaries, towards the Circus Flaminius; and was reckoned in the eighth region, to which the Capitoline hill

¹¹⁹ *Camucci, Antichità di Roma*, lib. ii. p. 67.

¹²⁰ See Dissertation II. Vol. I. p. 44.

¹²¹ Καὶ βυμοὺς ἰθιασαμένην ἰδρύμενους Καρμέντη μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ καλούμενῳ Καπιτωλῷ, παρὰ ταῖς Καρμέντισι πύλαις. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. i. cap. 32.

"Pars autem infima Capitolini montis habitaculum, Carmentis fuit, ubi Carmentis nunc fanum est, a qua Carmentali portæ nomen datum est." — *Solinus de Orig. Rom.* lib. ii.

¹²² Ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὴν Καρμέντιδα πύλην, ἣ πλείστη εἶχεν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ μάλιγα κατ' αὐτὴν ὁρθὸς ὅτου Καπιτωλίου λόφος ἀνίστη, καὶ πέτρα κύκλῳ πύλῃ καὶ τραχὺὰ περιπέφυκε. — *Plutarch. in vitâ Camilli*, cap. 25.

belonged.¹²³ It is clear, from Livy, that it was the proper gate by which to enter the city for proceeding to the Aventine hill from the temple of Apollo.¹²⁴ Now this temple is shown by Asconius to have existed between the Forum Olitorium and the Circus Flaminius. The theatre of Marcellus was in the ninth region, which lay entirely without the walls. The Forum Olitorium was in the eleventh region. If, therefore, the remains of those three temples, on which, as we shall shortly see, the church of S. Nicolo in Carcere is built, be sufficient to indicate the site of the Forum Olitorium, especially as it is brought to bear upon the known position of the Circus Flaminius by the words of Asconius, then have we concentrated the limits of our three regions to three given points, — the theatre of Marcellus, the church of S. Nicolo in Carcere, and the foot of the Tarpeian Rock towards the Circus Flaminius. A difficulty now arises, as to whether the Forum Olitorium was within or without the walls. To suppose it without them, is to take away the most natural limit of the ninth and eleventh regions; and to place it within, seems contrary to the authority of Livy and Asconius. The former mentions the temple of Hope, in one place, as being in the Forum Olitorium, and in another, as without the Porta Carmentalis; whilst the latter, speaking of the temple of Apollo, says,

¹²³ "P. Carmentalis versus Circum Flaminium," Reg. viii. — *P. Victor de Region. Urb.*

¹²⁴ "Ab æde Apollinis boves fœminæ albæ duæ porta Carmentali in urbem ductæ a Porta Jugario Vico in forum venère, inde ædem Junonis reginæ [in Aventino]." — *Tit. Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 37.*

“ without the Porta Carmentalis, between the Forum Olitorium and the Circus Flaminius.” The conclusion, therefore, is, that the walls were not the common limit to the two regions, although they must very nearly have been so, and were actually so with reference to the eighth and ninth, the seventh and ninth. To obviate this difficulty, it must be remembered, that the division of Rome into the fourteen wards took place under Augustus; at which time, Dionysius says, the old walls were in some places so far gone as scarcely to be recognised: so that we have every reason for excluding the forum in question from the old city; consequently, we must make the walls begin from the Tyber, near the Ponte Rotto; and, conceiving them to pass by the Vicolo della Fontanella, and to coincide a little way with the Via Montanara, they must be made to reach the foot of the Capitoline hill, at the point already indicated, as the site of the second gate. Thus, under all the circumstances here enumerated, we shall bring the Porta Carmentalis into the Via della Bufala, near the Piazza Montanara; from hence the walls continued along the foot of the Capitoline hill, as we marked them out in our general survey. Leaving, therefore, the theatre of Marcellus, to go to the church of S. Nicolo in Carcere, we pass from the region of the Circus Flaminius to that of the Circus Maximus; and it will now be necessary to give its outlines, and see what remains to complete our circuit.

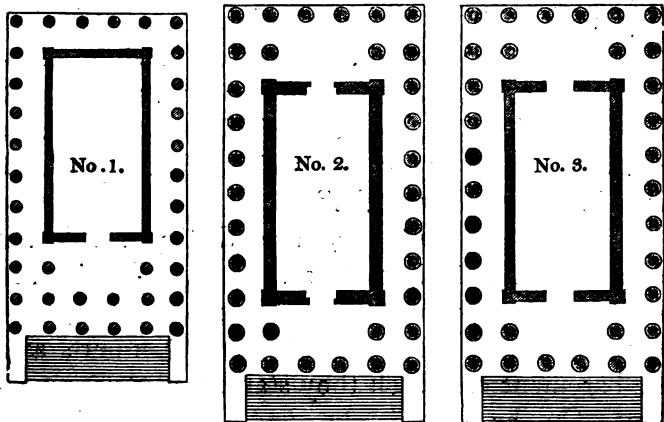
The eleventh region extended along the banks of the river, from nearly where the walls began to where they ended, including the Porta Trigemina,

which stood under the Aventine hill, and is registered in the eleventh region. It comprised, also, the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills, which was occupied by the Circus Maximus. The circuit of the whole, according to P. Victor and the "Notitia," was 11,500 feet. Its main splendour consisted in the Circus and its appendages.

It has been mentioned, that the church of S. Nicolo in Carcere is built upon the site of three ancient temples, and there are some remains of each: a sketch of the ground plans restored is here annexed, by the help of which the ruins will be more easily evolved out of the modern buildings with which they are blended.¹²⁵

The first (No. 1.) has had its columns of the Doric order without bases, and rose upon a basement, on which still exists a specimen of the upper

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No. 1. Temple of Juno Matuta.

No. 2. Temple of Pieti.

No. 3. Temple of Hope.

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fillet, somewhat broad. The ruins are of travertine stone, and the columns have been covered with thick stucco, like those of the temple of Vesta at Tivoli, or of Hercules Custos at Rome. There remain six columns on the flank, which characterises the temple as "peripteros." A just proportion would require six columns in front, which, upon such conjecture, have been supplied in the sketch.

The second (No. 2.) preserves but four columns, three of which stand in the elevation of the church : of these, one exhibits its original material, and the other two are modernised ; the fourth stands within, and is only to be seen, along with a fragment of a pilaster, by descending beneath the church floor. This pilaster marks the beginning of the cellar of the temple. Judging from the number of flutings and the bases of the columns, they seem to have been of the Corinthian order : they are of tufo, and have been covered with stucco, like the former. The temple stood likewise upon a basement composed of travertine stone and tufo. The fillets of the said basement are also of travertine, and are well finished : it appears to have been an "hexastyle."

Of the third temple, are distinguished six columns of the Ionic order : their capitals with the entablature, of peperine and travertine stone, may be seen by ascending into the bell-chamber ; and the basement on which they stand is also of travertine. On the frieze is observed a good number of holes, as if it had been ornamented with bronze. Probably the columns, like the others, were covered with stucco : and the number in front may

be estimated at six. In the style and architecture of this temple there is such a resemblance to that which is commonly called "Fortuna Virilis," as to induce us to believe they are both of the same period.

Such being a description of the remains of these three temples, which, from the poverty of the materials and the style of architecture, may be classed at once among the monuments of the republic, it will now be proper to investigate their names. Livy makes incidental mention of three temples situated in the Forum Olitorium, viz. "Spes," "Juno Matuta," "Pietas." The first* was originally decreed by Attilius Calatinus during the first Punic war. It was struck by lightning in the year of the city 534; it was burnt five years after, along with many other edifices, and was rebuilt the year following. In relating the two latter circumstances, Livy describes the temple of Hope as being outside the Porta Carmentalis. It was burnt again in the year 723 of the city, according to Dion Cassius; and being reconstructed by Augustus, was dedicated, as Tacitus informs us, under Tiberius, A. D. 18. The same author also mentions a temple of Janus *near* the Forum Olitorium, erected by Duilius, who gained the first naval battle for the Romans. Three centuries ago an architect (Labacco) discovered the temple (No. 3.) nearest to the theatre of Marcellus to have had a coating of marble on the inner walls, which seems to indicate the repairs of Augustus, and, consequently, the temple of Hope. Livy's expressions

* See Note P.

appear also to designate it as the building in the Forum Olitorium, the furthest removed from the walls.

The temple of Juno Matuta was dedicated in the year of the city 558. Victor also enumerates a temple of Juno Matuta in this region, as if connected with the Forum Olitorium. Rufus has it simply "Matuta." Livy names, in other places, a temple of Mater Matuta, but within the Porta Carmentalis; and we are warned by antiquaries not to confound it with the one in question. Indeed, it is registered in the eighth region, which is sufficient to make the distinction; countenanced also by another passage in Livy. The temple of the Doric order (No. 1.) is supposed to be that of Juno Matuta; for the name of "Pietas" cannot be spared from the one which yet remains to be considered.

In the year 569 of the city, a temple of "Pietas" was built in the Forum Olitorium, by M. Acilius Glabrio, the decemvir, to accomplish a vow which his father had made at the straits of Thermopylæ, when he conquered King Antiochus. P. Victor also has in the eleventh region an "ædes Pietatis in foro Olitorio." In front of this temple was placed a statue of bronze gilt; the first of the kind, says Livy, ever seen in Italy. About twenty years ago, some excavations were made in the area in front of the church; on the ancient level were found flags of travertine stone, as a Forum ought to be floored, and there was discovered a basement, which, as may be observed in our sketch, seemed adapted for an equestrian statue. This circumstance helps us to identify the temple of Piety with

the remains embodied in the church of S. Nicolo. It has been a subject of much discussion, whether the temple here described be the same as that temple of Pietas mentioned by Pliny and others, which was erected in memory of the well known transaction called "Caritas Romana." Pliny's words are positive as to three particulars, which are all at issue with the other temple, — the motive for erecting it, the time when, and the place where. The "templum Pietatis" of Pliny was made to perpetuate the memory of the daughter's affection in not suffering her mother to die, but nourishing her with the milk of her breasts: but the temple of Acilius Glabrio was erected in honour of his father's vow at the straits of Thermopylæ. The former was built when Caius Quinctius and Marcus Attilius were consuls, that is, in the year 604; the latter, as we have seen, was erected in 569. The temple of Acilius was built in the Forum Olitorium, but the other "where the theatre of Marcellus now is," consequently, in a different region. We are told by Dion Cassius, that Julius Cæsar, wishing to emulate Pompey, made preparations for erecting the theatre, which was afterwards accomplished by Augustus, and dedicated under the title of "theatre of Marcellus;" and in so doing the dictator threw down some houses and temples on the spot, and was censured for burning some wooden images, and appropriating other spoils to his own use. In this destruction was probably included the temple of filial Piety; for certainly Pliny speaks of it as no longer existing. Solinus calls it a "sacellum;" which seems to imply the intention had only been

to preserve the memory of the spot, which the theatre would scarcely obscure. The said templum or sacellum was built upon the site of the prison where the affecting scene took place; consequently, the prison was "where now the theatre of Marcellus is." In the ninth region is registered a prison, the "Carcer Claudii decemviri," according to Nardini's best reading¹²⁶, and it comes almost immediately after the theatre of Marcellus; now it is probable the prison, which might be subterraneous, was left standing, whilst the "sacellum" above it, being found to interfere with the foundations of the theatre, might be taken down: and so we come to find the prison of Cladius the decemvir in the regionaries: but should this not be so, we shall never find the church of S. Nicola in Carcere to correspond to the account of Pliny and the regionaries. P. Victor mentions a column in the Forum Olitorium called "Lactaria," at which young infants were exposed.

Continuing from the Piazza Montanara, towards the Bocca della Verità, a short street soon opens on the right, and discovers the Ponte Rotto, with some ancient pavement leading in the direction of it. By descending close to the river, we may see the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima, and some vestiges of the ancient quay, or "pulchrum littus," which will be hereafter more largely described. Opposite the bridge, and making an angle with the Vicolo della Fontanella, stands a curious edi-

¹²⁶ *Roma Antica*, tom. ii. p. 286.; and see what has been said of the Mamertine prison in Dissertation VII.

fice of brick, two stories high, of which the upper is much broken down; it is overcharged with paltry ornaments, puny half columns, and a cornice tortured into a thousand fantastic decorations. Upon an arch in the vicolo above named, and which may have been the doorway, is an inscription of considerable length, which the Padre Gabrini has endeavoured to explain. From the tenor of it is deduced that this was the habitation of the celebrated Rienzi, whose history has been told in the glowing language of Gibbon, and whose name is celebrated in Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. There is also a string of initials on the inscription, to ordinary readers unintelligible; but Gabrini creates out of them the pompous titles of the Roman tribune, and the bequest of his house to his son David. The result of his investigation, upon the whole, is, that this spot was formerly called Manzoni, where Nicolao Crescenzo fortified himself, and yielded not even to the ferocity of the senator Brancalone; that it was entirely destroyed in 1313 by Giacomo degli Stefaneschi; and, thirty-four years after, was re-established by Cola di Rienzi*: this alone can give it an interest, for it will help to recall the history of that extraordinary man and his times. It has been observed, that in this part of Rome are concentrated specimens of all the kinds of architecture which have appeared among the Romans: the Etruscan style in the Cloaca Maxima; the Greek and Roman respectively in the temples of Fortuna and Vesta;

* See Note Q.

and the efforts of the middle ages, in the house of the "friend of Petrarch."

Before we proceed to examine the three temples which yet remain to complete our circuit, it will be necessary to recur to the Forum Boarium, which, though belonging to the eighth region, has been allowed by some topographists to interfere in this spot with the eleventh region; and some confusion has been thereby introduced. As the Forum Olitorium, the Circus Maximus, and the Porta Trigemina, which stood beneath the Aventine hill, near the Tyber, were all in the eleventh region, it shows evidently, considering their relative positions, that the region extended along the banks of the river, from where the walls began to where they ended, as we have before stated. Now, if the Forum Boarium, that is to say, if the eighth region had extended so far as to comprise the church of S. Maria Egizziaca, and the little round temple at the Bocca della Verità, the eleventh region must have been entirely disjoined. No name, therefore, which is fetched from the eighth region, can possibly be applied to either of the temples which stand so near the banks of the river. A similar argument induced Nardini to reject the names of Misericordia, Bona Fortuna, and Pudicitia Patricia, as inapplicable to the temple which now forms the church of the Armenians, (the Basilica of Caius and Lucius is out of the question); and he reduces the contest to Fortuna Fortis and Fortuna Virilis. Having shown these titles did not belong to the same temple, he decides in favour of the latter, which is now the popular

name.¹²⁷ Servius Tullius appears to have built three temples to Fortune, under the respective titles of Bona, Fortis, and Virilis. Dionysius makes mention of two of them. That of Fortuna Bona stood in the Forum Boarium, and the "Virilis" on the bank of the Tyber. Varro places the third (Fortis) along the Tyber, without the city; by which he means "beyond the Tyber;" for Plutarch says, the temple to Fortuna Fortis was erected in the gardens which Cæsar bequeathed to the Roman people.¹²⁸ By a sort of negative proof, therefore, we arrive at the name of Fortuna Virilis, which the well-preserved ruin in question has obtained. Whatever may have been the original design of Servius Tullius, this elegant little temple now exhibits the purest specimen of the Ionic order that exists at Rome, and must have been brought to this form at a period when architectural

¹²⁷ *Roma Antica*, tom. iii. p. 253.; and compare the arguments of Donatus, *De Urb. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 22.; apud Grævium, tom. iii. p. 784. See also *Fabricius, Descript. Urb. Rom. ibid.* p. 427.

¹²⁸ *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. iv. p. 709. edit. Reiske, Lipsiæ, 1774, as cited below; *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. v. cap. 3.; and compare *Tacit. Annal.* lib. ii. cap. 41., and *Ovid. Fast.* lib. vi. 775.; *Plutarch. Question. Roman.* p. 281. d.; *Terent. in Phormion.* act. v. scen. 6.

But it would be a very bold thing to plunge among the temples of Fortune, of which Pitiscus (*Lexicon Antiquitat. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 915.) enumerates no less than twenty-four dedicated to this universal goddess under different titles. The main authority *direct* for calling the one in question "Fortuna Virilis," is the following passage from Dionysius: — Καὶ ναοὺς δύο κατασκευασάμενος Τύχης . . . τὸν μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τε καλούμενη βεάζει· τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡύσι τοῦ Τιβέριος ἦν ἀνδρεῖν προσηγέρυσεν, ὡς καὶ νῦν Ῥωμαῖω, καλῇ ἴται.

proportions were well understood. It stands upon a solid basement of travertine stone, which, of late years, has been laid open on one side, and the level of ancient Rome, with some pavement, also discovered. The front presented four columns, and the flanks seven each, of which five are joined to the walls of the cella, so as, in fact, only to be half columns, which is also the case at the end of the building. It will be recollected, that, when a temple has merely a portico in front, without any other columns, it is called a prostyle : such is the temple of Bacchus, near the valley of Egeria. But when the columns form a portico all round, it is called a peripteros : such is the adjoining round temple of Vesta. Now, in this one, a portico is formed in front, and columns surround it, but being joined to the cella, form, in other respects, no portico : it is, therefore, a false or pseudo-peripteros, and a prostyle, like the temple of Hope in the Forum Olitorium. Its materials are travertine and peperine stone, and tufo ; and the columns, as well as the entablature, have been covered with stucco.¹²⁹

The round temple, which next succeeds, is of the Corinthian order, and takes us at once from the simplicity of the republic to the days of “ marble Rome.” Of the twenty columns which formed the

¹²⁹ A drawing of this edifice, made in the sixteenth century, is preserved in *Camucci's Antiquities*, lib. ii. p. 70., where it appears with the ornament of the entablature perfect. It received the attention of *Milizia, Roma*, p. 28. ; and was illustrated by *Palladio*, lib. iv. p. 48. ; and of late years by *Uggeri, Journées Pittoresques*, tom. i. p. 33. tom. ii. tav. xii. From some recent repairs, it now (February, 1831) appears too handsome.

portico, only one is wanting; but all the architrave is lost. The substruction exhibits a solidity which so small an edifice seemed scarcely to require; and the cella is faced with marble both within and without. It received light by two large windows and the door. The form and elegance of this edifice will be familiar to every one who has visited Rome; and bronze models of the "little temple of Vesta" are dispersed over most of Europe. The popular name we have just given it is derived from two circumstances, which, of themselves, can have but little weight with the antiquary. The temples of Vesta were round; and this building is now called *S. Maria del Sole*, as if, in that title, some tradition of fire-worship, or the Vestal fire, were preserved. It is in vain that attempts have been made, of late years, to change the received name to that of *Hercules*. It is true, *Livy* mentions a temple of *Hercules* in the *Forum Boarium*, and the regionaries add two epithets, "small" and "round;" but, for the reasons already alleged, that forum could not extend as far as here. *Nardini* was inclined to call it the temple of *Portumnus*, and again he thought it might be the "*Sacellum Volupiae*" mentioned by *Varro*. *Piranesi* thought he saw some embellishment in the capitals of the columns which indicated the goddess *Cybele*; all which conjectures show that it is better not to disturb the popular appellation.* It should, however, be remembered, that the principal temple of *Vesta* was in the *Forum*; and that there were

* See Note R.

inferior temples for the same worship in every district of the city.

The church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, or the "Scuola Greca," conceals the remains of an ancient building, by some supposed to have been a temple, and by others the "Schola Cassii." What either of those schools may mean, we pretend not to know¹³⁰: it will be better first to examine the remains, and then to seek for the most plausible appellation for them.

Eight columns, in regular continuation, are incorporated with the portico of the church. Their shafts are partially seen by entering the church and the adjoining sacristy. They are fluted, and of the finest marble. The capitals almost all exist, and are to be examined by ascending to the chambers, and the gallery above the portico. It will then be observed they are of the composite order, and elegantly sculptured: the furthest one affords the best specimen. An attentive observer will not fail to remark the intercolumniations, which are uncommonly wide; a peculiarity we shall shortly recur to. Descending again into the church, we shall find two columns more, having belonged to the flank of the portico; and passing into the yard behind the church, a solid piece of stone wall will be found, forming an angle; and so situated as to have formed, apparently, one side of the cella. Although we can only now trace eight columns in front, there is an account of an inscrip-

¹³⁰ Those who are curious about churches may see *Crescimbeni, Storia di S. Maria in Cosmedin*.

tion, once seen in the portico of the church, in which mention was made of ten columns having formed the front¹³¹: if so, the whole peristyle must have been ample enough to have comprised this fragment of a large wall, which we have designated the "cella" of the temple.

Tacitus makes mention of three temples begun by Augustus, and dedicated by his successor, which stood near the Circus Maximus: their names were Liber, Libera, and Ceres. Dionysius, speaking of the same three temples, instead of Libera, says Proserpina: these are evidently two titles applied to the same deity. More accurate even than Tacitus, the same author places these three temples "beyond the very Carceres¹³²;" but we gather further from the Latin historian, that there was a temple of the Sun near the Circus, and another of Flora¹³³: and comparing a passage in Pliny with a hint in Vitruvius, we shall bring the temple of Hercules Pompeianus into the neighbourhood of the "Bocca della Verità." A temple of Venus, mentioned by Livy, and another to Mercury, glanced at by Ovid, were also in the environs of the Circus Maximus.* We must suppose the ruins we have now examined, therefore, to have belonged to some one of the eight temples here enumerated. The list may be immediately

¹³¹ See *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 56.

¹³² *Tacit. Annal.* lib. ii. cap. 49.; and compare *Dionysius, Antiq. Rom.* lib. vi. cap. 17. p. 1077. tom. ii. edit. Reiske, 1774.; *Ibid.* cap. 94.

¹³³ *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xv. cap. 74. *Ibid.* ut supra citat.

* See Note S.

reduced to two, by comparing some words of Vitruvius with the peculiarity already remarked in the disposing of the columns. That writer mentions a species of temple called Barycæ, Barycephalæ, low, wide, the tops of which were adorned with clay statues, or gilded bronze ones, after the Tuscan fashion ; and he cites the temples of Ceres, and Hercules Pompeianus, at the Circus Maximus, as examples. If these technical terms, with the more intelligible adjuncts of “humiles” and “latæ,” can be applied to the width of these intercolumniations, then may we venture to put forward the two last mentioned titles as the most plausible of all. When a furious tempest had once arisen on the Aventine hill, a door was carried away from the temple of the Moon, and was “fixed,” says Livy, “against the hinder walls of the temple of Ceres.” This passage appears to Nardini to point out the aspect of the temple, as having its front towards the Palatine hill¹³⁴; but the front of the building in question seems to have been the same as the church now is, viz. towards the Tyber. Now, as the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin is surrounded with memorials of Hercules¹³⁵, the gilded statue in the Capitol was found near it ; the “Ara Maxima” was at no great distance ; the Porta Trigemina, near which was another altar to

¹³⁴ “Atrox cum vento tempestas coorta, multis, &c. . . . forem ex æde Lunæ, que in Aventino est, raptam tulit, et in postices parietibus Cereris templi affixit.” — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xl. cap. 2.

¹³⁵ See *Mazocchi, Epigram. Urb. Antiq.* p. 20.; *Georg Fabric. Descript. Urb. Rom.* apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 425.

the same deified hero, stood in the eleventh region; and the house of Pompey, in which the temple of Hercules stood, is also registered in the same region. We may conclude the evidence, upon the whole, to be in favour of Hercules Pompeianus; but being reduced to such expedients as these, it is better to leave the “*Bocca della Verità*” for others.

The slight vestiges which remain of the Circus Maximus are so far from hence, and it was so connected with the Palatine and Aventine hills, that it will be more convenient to notice it in the next Dissertation. The “*Salinæ*” and the Porta Trigemina, under similar circumstances, may also be mentioned afterwards.

If, in traversing the streets of the city, and in the midst of so much uncertainty, we have lost the genius of ancient Rome, it will soon begin to meet us again among the ruins of the Palatine, or in the solitude of the Aventine hill: already it seems to approach, as we emerge from the populous streets into these places still partially inhabited, but which the spirit of ages hovers around, as about to claim them for his own. Indeed, the modern city is ever receding from the seven hills; for whilst the rising splendour of the Piazza del Popolo, and its environs, at the one extremity of the inhabited portion of Rome, allures the inhabitants towards the north, there is but the occasional execution of a criminal to draw them to the Piazza della Bocca della Verità at the other extremity towards the south. It is thus the limits of the ancient and modern

cities are defined ; and when future generations (we augur no speedy destruction to the Eternal City !) shall look upon ruins further extended than we now see, they will easily distinguish between the ruins of Imperial and Papal Rome.

DISSERTATION THE TENTH.

THE TENTH REGION, OR PALATIUM, WHICH COMPRISES THE WHOLE OF THE PALATINE HILL; THE THIRTEENTH REGION, CALLED AVENTINA, IN WHICH IS INCLUDED ALL THE AVENTINE HILL; AND ON THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS.

" Ages and realms are crowded in this span,
This mountain, whose obliterated plan
The pyramid of empires pinnaced . . .
Of glory's gewgaws," &c.

CHILDE HAROLD, canto iv. stanza 109.

THERE is a spot on the Palatine Hill whence may be comprehended, at one view, all we have yet to see of ancient Rome; it is from a mouldering wall at that angle of the Villa Farnese which commands the churches of S. Anastasia and S. Georgio in Velabro, and which rises just above the vineyard attached to the church of S. Theodoro.

A curve of the Tyber flows past the hospital of S. Michele, and on the left bank the Aventine hill suddenly rises, bearing on its summit the church and convent of S. Sabina, with the fortress-like walls which form the enclosure.

The church of S. Prisca, with the adjoining Casale, built upon a ruin, seems to take under its protection the scattered graves of the poor Jews, to which the once assembled thousands of the Circus Maximus have left the entire possession

of the Murican Valley. The church of S. Saba, with its arched corridor, keeps the summit of the pseudo-Aventine. The horizon is bounded towards the Mediterranean by the forests of Laurentum; and the eye, in wandering round for the more distant objects, is soon fixed on the blue hills of Albano. Beyond the Tyber rises the Janiculum, which, from the Montorio to the Vatican, presents a varied and beautiful landscape; the enraptured eye, comprehending the whole at one glance, returns with delight to dwell on the trees and shrubberies of the Corsini Villa, and is arrested for a moment by Tasso's oak, until it is filled by the majesty of St. Peter's dome. The walls of the Leonine city, and the buildings of the Vatican, shut up the scene towards the west: but, turning northward, we are met by the Capitoline hill, which, from the ragged gardens on the Tarpeian rock to the Campidoglio, exhibits a strange contrast to what it once was: the columns of the temple of Fortune, the pillar of Phocas, the arch of Septimius Severus, the remains of the Curia, and the portico of Antoninus and Faustina's temple, now lie in the foreground of the picture: the Villa Medici, seen past Trajan's column, a glimpse of the modern splendour of the Monte Cavallo, the heavy tower "delle Milizie,"—all meet us in this rapid survey. The snowy tops of the Sabine mountains are discovered beyond the baths of Diocletian; and, finally, the twin cupolas of S. Maria Maggiore complete the well-nigh panorama. But the splendour of the Palatine hill, over which the destructive genius of fourteen

centuries has had complete dominion, is now waned and waning; the magnificence of the Cæsars is for ever laid prostrate in the dust; and time, ever waging war against the memory of tyrants, seems to have conjured up again the spirit of the poor Evander, dividing the Pallanteum with his Arcadian shepherds. From the traditional account of that transaction to a more authentic period of history, may be reckoned about 700 years, through which space any description of the Palatine hill should rather belong to the poet than to the antiquary. From that period (that is to say, from the kings of Rome) to the last century of the republic, it belongs to neither: it grew into importance as luxury gained place in the republic, and arrived at the zenith of its glory during the lives of the twelve Cæsars. The notices relative to the "Imperial Mount," subsequent to that period, are very scanty, and from the fall of the Western Empire to the sixteenth century, it is almost lost sight of altogether. But in the general description we are now about to make, it may be expedient to examine the few records which relate to the different epochs of its history.

Sixty years before the destruction of Troy [A. C. 1244.], Evander, at the head of a colony of Arcadians, left the city of Pallantium, and is said to have fixed his settlement on this hill, to which he gave the name of Pallatium from his native city of Arcadia. Dionysius¹, Livy², So-

¹ *Antiquitat. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 76.

² *Lib. i.* cap. 5.

linus³, Virgil⁴, and other ancient writers, agree in giving this as a received tradition; and if at this distance we should attempt to call it in question, it would only be to involve ourselves in greater doubt and perplexity. Varro, in the true spirit of an etymologist, affords us matter for contention.⁵ "It might be called," he says, "Palatium, because the companions of Evander were Palantes, wanderers; or because the inhabitants of Palanteum, which is the Reatine territory, who were also the Aborigines, settled there; or because Palatia was the name of the wife of Latinus; or, finally, because the bleating sheep, 'Balantes,' were accustomed to stray upon it," which is the opinion of Nævius. One historical fact seems to stand unshaken amidst the conflict of opinions, that the Palatine hill, previous to the foundation of Rome, was inhabited by a Greek colony. Out of this fact spring the enchanting names which allure the poet, but distract the antiquary, — the Lupercal, and the prophetic nymph Carmenta, the Argiletum⁶, and the den of Cacus, "with every footstep of Alcides' son."⁷ We are invited to picture to ourselves the primi-

³ "Palatium verò nemo dubitaverit, quin Arcades habeat autores, à quibus primùm Palanteum oppidum conditum: quod aliquamdiu Aborigines habitârunt, sed propter incommodum vicinæ paludis, quam præterfluens Tyberis fecerat, profecti Reate, postmodum reliquerunt." — *C. Jul. Solin. Polyhist. de Consecrat. Urbis*, lib. ii.

⁴ *Æneid.* lib. viii. 51.

⁵ *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. p. 161.

⁶ *Virgil. Æneid.* lib. viii. 339. et seq.

⁷ *Id.* lib. viii. 193—260.; *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 7.

tive aspect of what was afterwards Rome. Underneath the Capitoline hill was a thick grove; the Tarpeian rock was then overspread with wild bushes and impervious brakes; the lowing of oxen was heard over the uncultivated space of the Roman Forum and the Via Sacra⁸; and the waters of the Tyber approached the foot of the Pal-lanteum.⁹

Of the institutions of Evander, whether real or fictitious¹⁰, one thing survived in the memory and belief of posterity — the Lupercal, which is enumerated in the tenth region.¹¹ This was a grotto consecrated to Pan, the protecting deity of Arcadia.¹² There was a grove belonging to it; but in the time of Dionysius, who relates the circumstance, the whole was so concealed by the surrounding buildings, that only the supposed site of it could be pointed out; and that was by the side of the street or road which led to the Circus Maximus.¹³ From what has been already said of this branch of the Via Sacra¹⁴, we may find the

⁸ *Æneid.* lib. viii. 347—361.

⁹ *Vide* Note 3. p. 148.; and *Serv. ad Æneid.* lib. viii. 90.

¹⁰ Nardini enumerates five things belonging to the memory of Evander: — The den of Cacus; the temple of Victory, built by him on the Palatine hill; the Ara Maxima, or great altar of Hercules; the altar of his mother Carmenta, and the altar of Jupiter Inventor. *Rom. Antica*, tom. i. p. 12.

¹¹ Regio X. is wanting in Rufus; so that we have only P. Victor and the "Notitia."

¹² *Dionysius Halicarn.* lib. i. cap. 79.; *Tit. Liv. Hist.* lib. i. cap. 7.; *Serv. ad Æneid.* viii. 343.

¹³ Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλσος οὐκέτι διαμένει· τὸ δὲ ἄγτρον ἐξ οὗ ἡ λιβάς ἐκδίδεται, τῷ Παλατίῳ προσφυκοδομημένων δαίνυται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον φέρουσαν ὁδόν. — *Dionys.* lib. i. cap. 79. p. 64.

¹⁴ See Dissertation VI.

Lupercal between the churches of S. Maria Libera-trice and S. Anastasia.

Near five centuries after the establishment of the Arcadians [A.C. 752], Romulus is supposed to have laid the foundations of Rome. We have already traced, on the credit of a grave historian, the outlines of the original city.¹⁵ The positions of the three first gates we have also attempted to define¹⁶; and from the tower of the Campidoglio we recognised the significant form of the “Roma Quadrata.” The Ruminal fig-tree, under which the twins were exposed, was near the Lupercal. The Germalus, or Germanum, so called from “Germani¹⁷,” — the twins, — was on the same site; so that our wanderings in this obscurity are, at least, confined to that side of the hill which overlooks the Forum. The house of Romulus, or some relic called by that name, was venerated after the Christian era¹⁸; and, according to the combined hints of Dionysius and Plutarch¹⁹, it was situated near the descent which led from the western side of the Palatium to the Circus: and this we suppose to have commenced above the church of S. Anastasia. The house of Romulus

¹⁵ See Dissertation I.

¹⁶ See Plan in Diss. II. entitled “Romuli Urbs et Tatii.”

¹⁷ *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 8.

¹⁸ Ἐν ἄρεσι τὰ πολλὰ πηξαμένους διὰ ξύλων καὶ καλάμων σκῆπας αὐτοφόρους, ὧν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἡμεῖς ἦν τις, ἐκ τοῦ Παλατιῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἱππόδρομον στρεφούσης λαγόνος, Ῥωμύλου λεγομένη, ἣν φυλάττουσιν ἱεράν. . . . — *Dionys. Halicarn. Antig.* lib. i. cap. 79. tom. i. p. 64.

¹⁹ Ὡκυ . . . Ῥωμύλος δὲ παρὰ τοὺς λεγούμενους βαθμοὺς καλῆς ἀκτῆς οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι περὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ Παλατιῶν κατὰβαιον. — *Plutarch. in Romulo*, sect. xx. Conf. *Dionys.* ut supra cit.

may surely be identified with the shepherd's hut, (Tugurium Faustuli), where the "Roma Quadrata" ended, and in which its founder was brought up.²⁰ But whilst we indulge our fancy in these traditional details, one more historical fact will stand the test, viz. that the foundations of Rome were laid at the western angle of the Palatine hill.

The "Regia" of Numa Pompilius, though situated at the foot of the Palatium, belongs, as we have seen, to the eighth region.²¹ Tullus Hostilius and the first Tarquin seem to have resided at no great distance from the supposed house of Romulus²²; and the bare mention of this might have sufficed, did it not bring us into contact with the celebrated temple of Jupiter Stator. In endeavouring to fix the position of that edifice, which is enumerated by P. Victor in the catalogue of the tenth region, we must assume the direction of the Via Nova, which has already been satisfactorily made out. It was shown to have left the Forum a little below the church of S. Theodoro, tending to join the road which led to the Circus.²³ We are told by Livy, that Tanaquil, on the occasion of her husband Tarquin's murder [A.C. 576], addressed the people from the windows of the upper story of the house, looking on the Via Nova; for, adds the historian, "the king dwelt at Jupiter

²⁰ "Habet terminum, ubi tugurium fuit Faustuli: ibi Romulus mansitavit, qui auspiciatò fundamenta murorum jecit," &c.—*Solinus de Consecrat. Urb.* lib. ii.

²¹ See Dissertation VII.

²² Compare the authorities quoted below.

²³ See Dissertation VI.

Stator's temple." * When Romulus fled before the pursuing enemy, across the whole space of the Roman Forum, he made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter (providing the god would interfere to *stay* the shameful flight of his army) on the very spot where he first laid the foundations of Rome on the Palatine²⁴; and, to recur to the fact we have lately adduced, this must have been near to where now stands the church of S. Anastasia: but to preserve inviolate the expression "in Palatino," we must place the temple, at least, on the declivity of the hill. We are not accountable for the truth of the story; perhaps the Romans themselves did not believe it²⁵; but they knew where the temple of Jupiter Stator was, which is alone the subject of our enquiry. Tullus Hostilius lived in a street or place called the "Velia," a name also found in the tenth region; and where afterwards stood the sacred edifice of the popular "Dii Penates."²⁶ The Velia doubtless communicated with those other streets at the extremity of the Roman Forum: there, also, Publicola lived, in a house which Plutarch describes as overlooking the Forum.²⁷ Tacitus, in

* See Note T.

²⁴ *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 12.

²⁵ "Tum Lælius sed obscura est historia Romana, &c. . . . Scip. Ita est, inquit: sed temporum illorum tantum fere regum inlustrata sunt nomina." — *Cic. de Rep.* lib. ii. cap. 18.

²⁶ "Tullus Hostilius in Velia, ubi postea Deum Penatium ædes facta est." — *Solinus*, lib. 2.

²⁷ Καὶ γὰρ ὄντως Οὐαλέριος ᾤκει τραγικώτερον, ἐπὶ τὴν καλεμένην Οὐελίαν οἰκίαν ἐπικρεμαμένην τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ καθορῶσαν ἐξ ὕψους ἅπαντα, δυσπρόσοδον δὲ πελάσαι καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔξωθιν, κ. τ. λ. — *Plutarch in vit. Poplicol.* cap. 10.

his account of the burning of Rome under Nero, enumerates in one sentence, the temple of Jupiter Stator, the "regia" of Numa, the shrine of Vesta and the popular Dii Penates: and certainly we may argue from this passage²⁸ the contiguity of all these things; so that from our station in the Villa Farnese, we may now adjust our topographical notices with the earliest accounts of Rome; and the scene of our conjectures is confined to those vineyards below us which enclose the broken declivity of the hill at the north-west corner. "This is the site of Jupiter Stator's shrine, where Rome was first founded."²⁹ Here Romulus and his successors dwelt; but when Poplicola chose the enviable situation for his abode, and presumed to overlook his fellow-citizens [A.C. 507.], "when Rome was free," — the inaugurated spot lost its sanctity in the eyes of the people³⁰; and it was

²⁸ "Et magna ara, fanumque, quæ præsentî Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat, ædesque Statoris Jovis, vota Romulo, Numæque regia, et delubrum Vestæ cum Penatibus populi Romani exusta." — *Tacit. Ann.* lib. xv. cap. 41.

We bring the abode of Tullus Hostilius into the neighbourhood thus: — He dwelt in the Velia. Poplicola's house, in the same street or place, *overlooked* the Forum; but the temple of the popular "Penates" afterwards occupied the site, and this was near the temple of Vesta, but higher up the hill, approaching the temple of Jupiter Stator.

²⁹ *Ovid. Trist.* iii. eleg. 1.

³⁰ "Regnum cum affectare fama ferebat: quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti, et ædificabat in summa Velia; ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore." The end of it was, that Poplicola was obliged to take down his house, and place it at the bottom of the hill "infra Veliam." (*Tit. Liv. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 7.)

Nardini thinks the 'Suelia' found in P. Victor means *Sub-velia*. *Roma Antica*, tom. iii. p. 153.

not until the memory of kingly power was hid behind the glories of the republic that the Palatine hill again became the favourite residence of the wealthy and powerful senators. It occupies no more place in history until the seeds of decay were sown in the liberties of Rome. During this interval of above four hundred years, the house of Vitruvius Vaccus alone rescues it from oblivion. This house was afterwards destroyed, and the ground confiscated [A.C. 327]; but it retained the name of "Vacci Prata."³¹

About the times of Marius and Sylla, the Palatine hill began to be dignified with the residences of great men. We read of the house of Q. Catulus [A.C. 101]³², (the same who, with Marius, put to flight the multitudes of the Cimbri³³), in which there was a brazen ox³⁴ of great celebrity. The house of Crassus was adorned with four or six small columns of marble from Hymettus; and this was the first instance of a citizen who presumed to introduce the luxury of foreign marble into his private habitation. Marcus Brutus, on this account, gave him the nickname of the Palatine Venus.³⁵ Compared, however, with the mansion of Q. Catu-

³¹ Vaccus was opposed to the Romans in the war of Priver-num. *Tit. Liv.* lib. viii. cap. 19. "Prata Bacchi, ubi fuerunt ædes Vitruvii Fundani."—*P. Victor in Reg. X.* This should no doubt be read "Prata Vacci." Compare *Cicero. pro Domo sua Orat.* sect. 38.

³² *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xvii. cap. 1. p. 289. edit. Basil. 1539.

³³ See *Ferguson's Roman Republic*, chap. v. at the end.

³⁴ *Plutarch. in Mario*, tom. i. p. 419.; *Omnium Operum Plutarchi, cum interpret. Crusarii et Xylandri*, Lut. Par. edit. 1624.

³⁵ *Plin. sup. cit. et lib. xxxvi. cap. 3. p. 633.*

lus, the house of Crassus was inferior. After the demolition of Fulvius Flaccus's habitation, (he perished with Caius Gracchus, whose family abode was also on the Palatine³⁶;) Catulus constructed a portico, which he adorned with the Cimbrian spoils³⁷: this was destroyed by the factious tribune Clodius.³⁸ Cneus Octavius, the first of his family who was made consul, built himself a fine house on the Palatium, but which was afterwards destroyed by Scaurus, in order to enlarge his own.³⁹ In the "atrium" of the latter, which became the property of Longus Cecina, were four marble columns of a remarkable size: these were said to be transferred into the "regia" (saloon) of the theatre of Marcellus.⁴⁰ It has been attempted to fix the locality of Scaurus's habitation, upon the authority of Asconius, the scholiast of Cicero. This passage, we confess, is as perplexing as the illustrations which are usually given of it; but from what has been said of the "Clivus Scauri"⁴¹, we are led to seek for the site of the house, opposite the church of St. Gregory. The habitation of Hortensius was

³⁶ *Plutarch. in vit. Gracchor.* p. 839. 842. edit. citat.

³⁷ *Valerius Maximus*, lib. vi. cap. 3.; et *Cicero, pro Domo sua Orat.* sect. 38.

³⁸ *Cicero, in Orat. pro Domo sua*, sect. 43. 58. By comparing the passages referred to in this and the preceding Note, we find that the houses of Q. Catulus, the Gracchi, M. Fulvius, Cicero, and, we may add, Claudius, were all about the same spot.

³⁹ *Cic. de Officiis*, lib. i. p. 52. edit. Elzev. 1656.

⁴⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.; and *Ascon. in Oration. pro Scauro*.

⁴¹ See Dissertation IV.

purchased and occupied by Augustus⁴²; and we learn also, that Catiline's abode was embodied in the imperial residence.⁴³

Cicero bought his house on the Palatine hill of M. Crassus, in the forty-fifth year of his age, [A. C. 61.]⁴⁴: it was adjoining to that in which he had lived with his father; and it cost him near 30,000*l.* of our money.⁴⁵ It was built about thirty years previous, by M. Livius Drusus the tribune; it afterwards became the property of Censorinus, and finally of Statilius Sisenna.⁴⁶ It was destroyed by Clodius, who consecrated part of the ground on which it had stood, and adopted the rest to add to the convenience of his own. Cicero himself describes his house as standing in full view of the whole city⁴⁷; and it seems probable that the side of the hill nearest the Forum would, in the first instance, be selected as the most eligible situation. We meet also with the names of Tiberius Nero, the father of the emperor, Mark Antony, Agrippa, Messala, as inhabitants of the Palatium. Now, as the palace of the Cæsars gradually collected into itself all the things that stood on the Palatine hill, if any thing be known relating to the localities,

⁴² See p. 157. and Note U.

⁴³ "Docuitque [scilicet Verrius Flaccus] in atrio Catilinæ domus, quæ pars Palatii tunc est." — *Sueton. de illust. Gramm.* cap. 17.

⁴⁴ *Cicero, Epist. ad Familiares*, lib. v. 6.; *Aulus Gellius*, lib. xii. cap. 12.

⁴⁵ See *Middleton's Life of Cicero*, from the year of the city 691—694.

⁴⁶ *Velleius Paterculus*, lib. ii. cap. 14.

⁴⁷ *Cicero, Orat. pro Domo sua*, sect. 37.

we shall come upon it in our survey of the imperial mount.

It is remarkable how little is left on record of the palace of the emperors; not only is there no description of what it was, but it is with difficulty we can discover in which direction Augustus and his immediate successors chose to build or inhabit. The whole account of the imperial domain is confined within a few years: it began with Augustus, and reached the summit of its splendour with Nero. Soon after Augustus obtained the supreme power, he left his old residence *near* the Forum, [A. C. about 30.] and went to live in the house of Hortensius, on the Palatine, which, if we may be allowed to paraphrase, was at a *distance* from the Forum.* The building was small, not remarkable for any thing extravagant or luxurious; the porch was supported by columns of peperine stone, and the rooms were neither adorned with marble nor wrought pavement; and for more than forty years the master of the Roman world slept, both summer and winter, in the same chamber.

Several dwellings in the neighbourhood, we find, were bought up, with a view to make room for enlarging the palace; but which Augustus, with his usual policy, pretended were destined for the public use.⁴⁸ So far they were so, that he built over the site a temple to Apollo, in commemoration

* See Note U. et vide Note 42.

⁴⁸ "Victor deinde Cæsar reversus in urbem, contractas emptionibus complures domos per procuratores, quo laxior fieret ipsius, publicis se usibus destinare professus est: templumque Apollini, et circa porticus facturum promisit, quod ab eo singulari exstructum munificentia est." — *Velleius Paterculus*, lib. ii. cap. 81.

of the victory gained at Actium [A. C. 26]: it was surrounded by a magnificent portico; and Horace is supposed to have written one of his Odes⁴⁹ at the time of the consecration. There was added, as an appendage to the temple, a Greek and Latin library, which is frequently alluded to in the writers of the Augustan age*, and is also found in inscriptions.⁵⁰

In the course of time, the Hortensian habitation was destroyed by fire [A. D. 4]⁵¹; and persons of every denomination, sympathising or speculating with the emperor's calamity, willingly contributed their donations for rebuilding the Palatine house: either in return for their generosity, or because it was becoming the office of the high pontiff, he opened the new house to the public.

⁴⁹ "Quid *dedicatum* poscit Apollinem
Vates?" &c.

Hor. Carm. lib. i. ode 31.; *Dion. Hist. Roman.* lib. liii.

* See Note X.

⁵⁰

DIS MANIBVS
C . IVLIVS FALIX
A BIBLIOTHECA . GRAECA
PALATINA.

SVLPITIAE THALLVSSAE
ANTIOCHVS TI . CLAVDI
CAESARIS A BIBLIOTHECA
LATINA APOLLINIS CONIVGI

S . B . M .

From these inscriptions, given by Lipsius, we learn the Greek Library was called "Bibliotheca Palatina," and the Latin Library "Bibliotheca Apollinis;" and this distinction is observed in other inscriptions.

⁵¹ *Dion. Hist. Roman.* lib. lv. p. 784.; and *Sueton. in Octav.* cap. 57.

We read of an arch which Augustus erected on the Palatine in honour of his father Octavius⁵²; and, finally, a temple dedicated by Livia to the honour of her husband⁵³: the elevation is preserved upon medals still extant. These were all the works on the Palatine we know of, which belong to the times of Augustus. Tiberius evidently made a considerable addition to the imperial residence, and he seems to have joined to it another large library. But the works of Augustus and his successor were nothing to be compared to those of Caligula and Nero, whose houses, to use the expression of Pliny, encompassed the whole city.⁵⁴ Of the house of Nero we have some descriptions left, which will be produced in its proper place. It will be sufficient to remark, in closing our narration of the epoch of the twelve Cæsars, that Vespasian and Titus reduced the overgrown palace within the limits of the Palatine hill; and if Domitian made any improvements or alterations, they did not go beyond it.

Before proceeding to the actual survey of those immense ruins, we must become acquainted with the present features of the ground over which they lie scattered.

The Monte Palatino is about a mile and a half in circuit, and of the form of a trapezium. The most elevated point is at the church of S. Bona-

⁵² *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 5. p. 636.

⁵³ *Idem*, lib. xii. cap. 19.; *Suet. in Caligula*, cap. 22.

⁵⁴ "Bis vidimus urbem totam cingi domibus principum Caii et Neronis, et hujus quidem (ne quid deesset) aurea." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 15. p. 643.

ventura, 160 French feet above the level of the sea.⁵⁵ About one half of the surface of it is called the Villa Farnese, which lies along all the north-west side, and about one half of the two sides contiguous, the fourth boundary being the public road (Via Polveriera) which begins at the arch of Titus. This villa, the property of the king of Naples, is let and cultivated as a kitchen garden. The summer-houses and fountains, built by the Farnese family, are daily falling into ruins. The only access is by the Via Polveriera, through a door on the right hand, in ascending; for the principal gate, which is said to have been designed by Raphael, is generally closed. Adjoining, on the south, is the Villa Spada, now the property of an English gentleman, Mr. Mills, and which is supposed to stand over the ruins of Augustus's house. This villa lies along a part of the west side, overlooking the site of the Circus. On the declivity of the hill, beneath the terrace, is a separate enclosure, accessible by the Villa Farnese; and on the south, adjacent, is another space, oblong, enclosed by some lofty ancient walls: these form the upper and lower gardens Roncioni. Towards the south-west extremity of the hill, there is a continuation of lofty arches, comprised within the Vigna del Collegio Inglese: the access is through a private habitation, situated on the Via dei Cerchi. The remaining side of the hill, lying opposite to the Cœlian, is partly occupied by the convent and gardens of S. Bonaventura. It may sometimes be approached by a road, which begins

⁵⁵ Vide *Brocchi, Suolo di Roma*, &c. p. 212.

near the broken aqueduct, and opposite the Piazza di S. Gregorio; but the common access is by the Via Polveriera. The south-east part, approaching the arch of Constantine, may be distinguished by its former name of the Vigna di S. Sebastiano. A portion of this ground has lately been purchased by the government, for continuing the excavations.

Having now formed a general idea of the operations of the Cæsars, and of the present state of the Palatine hill, we may proceed, in the easiest way, to examine the ruins: this will be to begin at the arch of Titus. There is some reason to think this arch stood close to the vestibulum of the palace. When Vespasian dedicated the temple of Peace, he placed the Colossus of Nero⁵⁸, which had stood in the vestibule of the Golden House, in the Via Sacra; and, since Hadrian found it necessary to remove it again when he built his temple, it seems pretty evident that it stood originally near the site of Titus's arch. Vespasian, no doubt, contracted the vestibule⁵⁹, as he evidently destroyed all Nero's house beyond the limits of the Palatium; but there is no reason to suppose he altered the *plan* of what remained. We find some traces of this vestibule in ascending the Via Polveriera. A few arches, half interred⁶⁰, emerge, as it were, from the surrounding masses about the strong

⁵⁸ See Dissertation VI. on the Via Sacra.

⁵⁹ "Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra Colossus,
Et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,
Invidiosa FERI RADIABANT ATRIA REGIS," &c.

Martial. de Spectac. epig. ii. 1.

⁶⁰ See plan of the Roman Forum and places adjacent, at No. 24.

tower of the Frangipani : these are joined by a wall nearly at right angles, which, when perfect, has probably supported columns, and admitted passages through, by means of arches, to an atrium.⁶¹ Some traces of this, too, appear in the high walls which join together, forming an angle. Behind this atrium has been a corridor, as appears from a straight piece of wall still standing, higher up the road. The corridor has connected the atrium and its adjoining building with the Domus Augustana ; thus, perhaps, serving, at the same time, to conceal and correct the irregularity arising from so many different additions and alterations. On entering the Villa Farnese, we might expect to find the corresponding side of the vestibule ; but it is entirely ruined, so that not a vestige is left : it may, however, be easily conceived and adjusted with as much as remains. Continuing in the direction of the road within the vineyard, we soon approach some dusky vaults, and so enter the precincts of the house of Caligula. A valuable passage in Suetonius⁶² informs us, that this personage added to the imperial palace, until it reached as far as the Forum ; and having metamorphosed the temple of Castor and Pollux into a vestibule, he frequently took his station between the statues, and exhibited himself as an object of worship to all passengers. On the top of those vaults, facing the Campidoglio, and near the house of the Vignarolo, there is a platform, which will just admit

⁶¹ On the difference and distinction between vestibulum and atrium, see *Nardini, Roma Antica*, tom. i. p. 299.

⁶² *Suet. in vit. Caligul.* cap. 22. ; and see Dissertation VII.

a temple, such as that of Augustus is represented to have been on medals, having eight columns in front.⁶³ Now, we are further told of Caligula, that he joined the Palatium and the Capitol by a bridge, which began above the temple of Augustus.⁶⁴ Combining these authorities, the inference is very fair; and therefore the restorers of the palace of the Cæsars⁶⁵ exhibit this temple in the position we have indicated. If they are right, it must have stood immediately above the Curia.

In this succession of vaults and walls, description would fail, or if attempted would be wearisome. Here we observe one arch piled up against another, pieces of cornice almost concealed by subsequent brick-work, and within one of the vaults very fine stucco is peeping from behind shattered walls; and although it is easy to say these were Nero's additions and alterations of Caligula's house, it cannot be affirmed, with any degree of certainty, under what emperor they were added: and not only do we find this addition of arches, but anterior reticulated work, which adds to the confusion; so

⁶³ It is best delineated on a medal of Antoninus Pius, who restored it. See *Nardini*, tom. iii. tav. i. No. 50.

⁶⁴ "Super templum divi Augusti ponte transmisso, Palatium Capitoliumque conjunxit." — *Suet. in. vit. cap. 22*.

It is to be remarked, that Caligula finished the temple of Augustus, which, begun by Livia, had been left imperfect by Tiberius. *Idem*, cap. 22.

⁶⁵ See the *Restoration of Constantine Thon*, tav. iv.; who, preferring the vague authority of a fragment of the Pianta Capitolina, has only introduced six columns; but he has given us the temple of Victory, in this corner of the Palatine, in exchange for the other two. The restorations of this Russian architect are, nevertheless, very ingenious.

that here we must be content with knowing only that this part of the Palatine was built upon by Caligula, who made the temple of Castor and Pollux beneath it the portico to his house, and built a bridge across the Forum. Leaving the ruins of Caligula's house, and directing our footsteps towards the western angle of the hill, we approach the site of the house of Tiberius. Above the church of S. Anastasia, we find the remains of a large reservoir, and a few unintelligible ruins laid even with the soil. Near to the spot which has been described in the beginning of this Dissertation, there remains the groundwork of a building which has the appearance of a temple. There is a small fragment of the entablature left, with Doric triglyphs of peperine stone, which indicates, amidst the marble splendour of the Palatine, its republican simplicity. We have merely mentioned this, to hazard a conjecture, that the temple of Jupiter Stator may have stood here⁶⁶; which the emperors, in all their extravagance, presumed not to demolish or alter. But to return to the house of Tiberius.

It should be premised, when mention is made of the houses of the emperors, it does not mean these were all separate buildings, but such parts of the imperial palace as the emperors added, and which bore their respective names, as Josephus intimates.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Compare the authorities for the position of this temple, already collected in Diss. VII. and at page 153. Vol. II.

⁶⁷ *Joseph. Antiquit.* lib. xix. cap. 1. sect. 15. p. 848. "Come Palazzo di Sisto," Nardini aptly observes, "si dice oggi quella parte di fabbrica del Vaticano, che di Sisto Quinto vi fù aggiunta." — *Rom. Antic.* tom. iii. p. 165.

When Otho descended from the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to join his party waiting for him in the Forum, as related by Tacitus⁶⁸, he passed through the Domus Tiberiana into the Velabrum, then to the Milliarium Aureum, under the temple of Saturn. This is confirmed by Plutarch.⁶⁹ Suetonius, in relating the same circumstance, says, Otho rushed out at the back part of the palace⁷⁰; and, describing an affray between the Flavian party and the soldiers of Vitellius, the emperor, he remarks, could see the fight, and the Capitol on fire, from the Tiberian house, as he sat at dinner.⁷¹ These authorities seem conclusive as to the position of Tiberius's house. It must have stood in that part of the Villa Farnese which occupies the west side of the hill. From what Suetonius calls the back part of the palace we seem justified, independent of other considerations, in stating the front to have looked on the Via Sacra: it is also evident there was an approach to the "Domus Tiberiana," by near the church of S. Anastasia, which led to the Velabrum; and the present appearance of that declivity confirms the notion. More-

⁶⁸ "Per Tiberianam domum, in Velabrum, inde ad Milliarium aureum, sub ædem Saturni, pergit." — *Hist. lib. i. cap. 27.*

⁶⁹ Ἀπῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς Τιβερίου καλούμενης οἰκίας καταβὰς, ἐβάνει εἰς ἀγορὰν οὗ χρυσοῦς εἰστήκει κίων. — *Plutarch in Galba*, edit. cit. p. 1064.

⁷⁰ "Proripuitque se *posticâ parte palatii*, ad constitutum." — *Suet. in Othon. cap. 6.*

⁷¹ Sabinumque et reliquos Flavianos, nihil jam metuentes, vi subitâ in Capitolium compulsi, succensoque templo Jovis Optimi Maximi, oppressit; cum et prælium et incendium e *Tiberianâ prospiceret domo inter epulas.* — *Suet. in Vitellio*, cap. 15. Compare *Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 70.*

over, this coincides with the way by which they descended from the Palatium to the Circus, as intimated by Dionysius.⁷²

Descending to the Orto Roncioni, we shall observe a semicircular ruin with a section wall in front, and preserving indications of three rows of seats: the whole resembles, in some measure, the form of the cavea of a small theatre. There is a passage in Josephus, which some think intimates Caligula built a small theatre *in front* of the palace, having a "temporary stage;" and, as we find no traces of such a building any where else about the Palatium, this is supposed to answer the description. But the conclusion is far from being satisfactory; it is, indeed, unwarrantable*: for this theatre, if it were one, would be *behind* the palace. Considering the proximity of the Circus Maximus, one cannot help conjecturing this might be a Pulvinar, whence the imperial household could overlook the multitudes which flocked to the Circensian games.⁷³

The subterraneous vaults, commonly called the Bagni di Livia, are an object of curiosity because of the beautiful arabesque paintings they contain. The "baths of Livia" is a mere name. These rooms appear to have been made subservient to a building of posterior date; and perhaps they ori-

⁷² *Antiq.* lib. i. cap. 79. ut supra.

"Vitellius, capta urbe, per aversam palatii partem, *Aventinum*, in domum uxoris, sellula defertur." — *Tacit. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 85.

* See Note Y.

⁷³ It might be the "Pulvinar ad Circum Maximum" mentioned in the inscription of Ancyra.

ginally belonged to some of those private houses purchased by order of Augustus for enlarging his own palace, and erecting the temple of Apollo: indeed, at a very little distance from this spot we shall observe a straight wall, interrupted only by the back of a niche. This edifice, if completed in any degree of proportion, will comprise the "baths of Livia" within its precincts; and it is generally believed this was the celebrated temple. The position is determined by an aggregation of evidence, which is, as it were, to be collected by atoms from what has been already said, and what is yet to come; a species of authority which no one has had the courage to call in question, because, if it dissolves with the touch in one place, it seems to re-assume its consistence in another.

The elevation of the temple of the Palatine Apollo rose on a lofty flight of steps: on the top of the pediment was a four-yoked chariot of gilded bronze, with a statue of the sun⁷⁴, and the space in front was filled with the labour of two celebrated sculptors from Chios⁷⁵; the doors were of ivory⁷⁶, and the statue of the god himself within, was the exquisite work of Scopas.⁷⁷ Under the pedestal, in two golden caskets, were preserved the select copies of the Sibylline oracles.⁷⁸ A splendid can-

⁷⁴ *Propert. Eleg. lib. ii. 21.*; and *Ovid. Trist. iii. eleg. 1.*

⁷⁵ "Romæ signa eorum (i. e. Bupalus et Anthernus) sunt in Palatina æde Apollinis in fastigio." — *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. 5.*

⁷⁶ *Propertius, ut supra.*

⁷⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. v. p. 635.*

⁷⁸ "Condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi." — *Suet. in Octav. cap. 31.*

delabrum with pendent lamps, like oranges hanging from the tree⁷⁹, also adorned the interior; and the shrine was enriched with many objects of gold and silver, the consecrated offerings of Augustus.⁸⁰ The surrounding portico was supported by columns of African marble, and ornamented with statues of the daughters of Danaus.⁸¹

After passing over as much space as the said portico may seem to have occupied, we come upon the ruins of a quadrilateral building, which, if we at all feel our way, must be remains of the Palatine library. There has been an open quadrangle, having on each side the Latin and Greek depositories. The lofty piece of wall forming an angle is all that remains of the one towards the north; but the other division is more intelligible; and, after examining its apt construction, with the recesses and compartments still visible, we shall acknowledge the probability of this edifice having been the Palatine library. In 1720 the architect Bianchini excavated here, and found every thing to concur with the received opinion.⁸² He discovered many columns of precious marble, and some fragments of colossal statues in basalt, and other things too minute to be detailed.⁸³ The statue of Apollo in bronze fifty feet high should

⁷⁹ "Ædes Apollinis, ubi lychni pendebant instar arboris mala ferentis." — *P. Victor, in Reg. X.*; and compare *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. cap. 3.*

⁸⁰ *Suet. in Octav. cap. 52.*

⁸¹ *Propert. Eleg. lib. ii. 21.*; and compare *Ovid. Trist. eleg. 1.*

⁸² *Del Palazzo dei Cesari, di Monsignor Francisco Bianchini Veronese, p. 51. tab. 2. edit. in folio, Verona, 1738.*

⁸³ Compare *Ficoroni, Memor. No. 18.*

not be forgotten; it stood, we are told, “in Bibliotheca⁸⁴,”—most probably in the quadrangular court we have endeavoured to recognise.

Under the trees which stand before the deserted villa, we may see fragments of marble which perhaps came from Apollo’s temple; but more, and larger, are preserved in a room at the Palazzo Farnesi; and it is true some of the sculpture seems to have a reference to the naval victory at Actium.⁸⁵ Such are the ruins in the Villa Farnese.

The Villa Spada, as already described, lies adjoining on the south; and it has been more especially the scene of antiquarian labour. This property came into the possession of Monsieur Rancoueil about the year 1775, and with the assistance of the architect Barberi, he endeavoured to illustrate by excavations and plans⁸⁶ the acknowledged house of Augustus: in a space of about 150 feet square he discovered a peristyle, surrounded with rooms for which others have attempted to assign their respective uses: a vain task! To his illustrations of this and other parts

⁸⁴ “Vidimus certe Apollinem in bibliotheca templi Augusti Tuscanicum 1 pedum a pollice, dubium ære mirabiliorem an pulchritudine.” — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 7.

⁸⁵ For an ample illustration of all these fragments, consult *Piranesi, Trofei di Ottavio Augusto inalzati, &c.* in grand folio. edit. Rom. 1753; also *Signor Thon's recent Illustrations*, tav. dei Frammenti e Construzione, &c.

⁸⁶ The result of Messrs. Rancoueil and Barberi’s labours was made known ten years afterwards by Guattani, in *Monumenti Inediti, o Notizie sulle Belle Arti di Roma*, anno 1785. The fragment of an ancient column, with the inscription BONIS ARTIBVS, was set up by Rancoueil. The convenient staircase for descending among the ruins is a more grateful monument of his exertions.

of the Palatine hill are to be added those (already cited) of Bianchini⁸⁷; of Piranesi⁸⁸, and others of a more recent date⁸⁹, together with the last efforts of Messrs. Thon⁹⁰ and Rossini.⁹¹ The excavations of Rancourel are kept open, and we descend to a considerable depth below the level of the green turf. The set of rooms discovered, are regulated by a square compartment in the middle, from which proceed passages into all the adjoining ones: this, which is usually called the peristyle⁹², affords one side for the entrance; the two contiguous are formed into tribunals containing niches; and the remaining side opens a passage to smaller rooms behind it. In several of the inner apartments much of the stucco is preserved; in the vault of one is a figure of Victory. On each side of the peristyle is a room of an octagonal form, and the sides alternately shaped into round and square niches; the roofs are domes, admitting light at the top like the Pantheon. One of them is still so perfect, that it might almost be inhabited; the stucco all remains upon the dome: the whole

⁸⁷ *Del Palazzo dei Cesari, &c.*

⁸⁸ *Antichità Romane di Piranesi*, divisa in 4 tom., edit. Rom. 1756. See p. 38. tom. i. No. 296—308., with the elevations and plans referred to.

⁸⁹ *Uggeri, Journées Pittoresques*, tom. i. p. 69., and tom. ii. planches 15, 16.

⁹⁰ *Il Palazzo de' Cesari restaurato da Costantino Thon, Architetto della Corte di Russia, &c., illustrata da Vincenzo Balanti.* Per la Società Tipograf. Roma, 1828.

⁹¹ Sold by Scudellari, Via Condotti, Rome; *in grande cart. folio.*

⁹² This seems more properly to have been the cavedium of the house, of that description called Tetrastylon. Vide *Vitruv. de Architect.* lib. iii.

must have been highly ornamented, judging from the fragments of precious marbles which still lie scattered on the floors. The brick-work is solid and compact, and answers to the age of Augustus.

The adjoining Orto Roncioni is enclosed by two parallel walls, one of which separates it from the Villa Spada, whence it is overlooked. The farther wall is lofty, and retires, at about the middle, into a vast recess: it is closed at the west end by a curvilinear wall; and it seems to have reached in its whole length as far as the church of S. Bonaventura. The peculiar form of this building has procured for it the name of "Hippodrome;" and there is some mention of a Hippodrome belonging to the Palatium, in an ecclesiastical record⁹³, but this may mean the Circus Maximus. As it was surrounded internally by columns, we cannot dispose of it in a more plausible manner than by considering it as a court (cortile), and perhaps adapted for exercises in the open air: something of this nature would certainly be required about the imperial palace; but this cannot be considered as the work of the Augustan age.

We have now gone over about half the ruins of the Palatine hill, and in continuing our circuit, we may rather expect to heighten our ideas of the magnificence of the emperors, than to increase our knowledge of its details. We shall, therefore,

⁹³ In *Actis Martyr. S. Sebastian.* Also in *Bede, Martyrolog.*, are these words: — "Tunc jussit eum [scilicet Sebastianum] Diocletianus in Hippodromum palatii duci." But see *Lexicon Antiq. Romanar. in verb. Hippodrom. auctore Samuel. Pitisco.*

be less minute in description ; and from the Vigna di S. Bonaventura, which lies on the S. E. part of the hill, we shall endeavour to form some conception of the works of Nero. The only description on record of Nero's house is that of Suetonius⁹⁴, which we shall give in his own words : — “ In nothing was he so ruinous as in building. He erected a house extending from the Palatine as far as the Esquilæ. At first he called it his House of Passage, afterwards, when it had been destroyed by fire and restored again, he gave it the name of the Golden House. To form an idea of its extent and magnificence, it may suffice to state the following particulars. The vestibule admitted his colossal statue, which was 120 feet high : the building was on so large a scale, that it had a triple portico a mile long ; also an immense pool, like a sea, enclosed by buildings presenting the appearance of towns.⁹⁵ There were, moreover, grounds laid out for tillage and for vineyards, and for pasturage and woods, stocked with a vast number of every description of cattle and wild animals. In other respects every thing was overlaid with gold, embellished with gems, and with mother-of-pearl. The ceilings of the banqueting rooms were fretted into ivory coffers made to turn, that flowers might be showered down upon the guests, and furnished with pipes for discharging perfumes. The principal banqueting room was round, and by a perpetual motion

⁹⁴ *In vit. Neron.* cap. 31.

⁹⁵ See Dissertations IV. and VIII.

(day and night) was made to revolve after the manner of the universe.⁹⁶ There were baths streaming with salt and sulphureous waters." Tacitus remarks⁹⁷, that "the gems and the gold which this house contained, were not so much a matter of wonder (being quite common at that period) as the fields and pools; the woods too in one direction forming a kind of solitude; here again were open spaces with commanding views." It is evident the house of Nero and the palace of the Cæsars were considered two distinct things⁹⁸; the former emperors, we see, had already covered the greatest part of the hill with their buildings, and Caligula had even gone beyond it; the only ground left clear for Nero was on the south side, and he availed himself of that part of it which approaches nearest to the Esquilæ; so that we can

⁹⁶ Various explanations have been given of this contrivance. Donatus makes it a hollow globe fixed inside a square room, and turning on its own axis; and he introduces the guests by a door near the axis, "where there is the least motion!" (Vide *Alexan. Donat. de Urb. Vetere*, lib. iii.; apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 680.) Dr. Adam (see *Roman Antiquities*, p. 491.) thinks it was the ceiling made "to shift and exhibit new appearances as the different courses or dishes were removed;" but this does not explain "the perpetual motion, day and night, after the manner of the universe." The curious reader may consult Donatus, whose explanation is certainly ingenious. Nero's architects, Severus and Celer (*Tacit. Annal.* lib. xv. cap. 42.), deserve the mention of their names.

⁹⁷ *Tacit.* ut supra. And yet Villalpand thinks the whole was nothing to be compared to Solomon's temple! (in *Ezekiel*, lib. v. comment.)

⁹⁸ Consult the passages cited in Note PP appended to Vol. I. But the following is decisive: — "Neque tamen sisti potuit (*i. e.* ignis), quin *et palatium et domus* (*i. e.* aurea), et cuncta circum haurirentur." — *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xv. cap. 39.

have little doubt of being now near the very spot where the Golden House began. We have seen how much of the Cælian hill, which rises opposite to us, was made subservient for the supply of water : where the amphitheatre now stands, were the pools ; and the pleasure grounds extended over the whole site of the baths of Titus : it has been stated how the vestibule interfered with the fourth region ; and there is sufficient proof of the temple of Hadrian being built over the foundations. Thus we have as much of Nero's house as could be well comprised within a circuit of two miles ! Many of the ruins in this and the adjoining vineyard of S. Sebastiano, exhibit the excellent brickwork of Nero's time : it is especially observable in some arches in the lower ground, towards the aqueduct, and underneath the modern habitation⁹⁹, which has helped to disfigure and confuse the plan of the ancient rooms. In the convent of S. Bonaventura there are some compartments similarly constructed to those reservoirs attached to the thermæ of Titus and Diocletian. If, as is probable, this reservoir was also similarly situated, we may gather those ruins below into the plan of a bath.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Inscription on the cover of a deep well : —

“ HORATIVS FVSCVS S . P . Q . R . SCRIBA

Domum extruxit, puteum effodit,

Vineam plantavit, ampliavitque,

Muro cinxit et restauravit. Anno Salutis

MDLXIX.”

¹⁰⁰ M. Thon has applied to this space the broken fragment of the Pianta Capitolina, which has the words BALNEVM CAESARIS. See *Ballanti's Illustrations*, p. 84.

Continuing through the Vigna di S. Sebastiano, and turning the south-east angle of the hill, we go along a line of ruins which seem to have enclosed a rectangular space, and in the construction we observe traces of conduits, especially in the massy walls reaching towards the arch of Titus: so that, to all appearance, this has been another large receptacle for water¹⁰¹, not unlike the one on the Cælian hill.

Before leaving the epoch of the twelve Cæsars, the operations of Domitian will merit our attention. Plutarch thought a person who had seen *one* basilica, portico, bath, or seraglio in the "House of Domitian," would cease to wonder at the splendour of the Capitol; and to Domitian he would apply the language in which Epicharmus rebuked a profligate: "Thou takest pleasure in the luxury of building; and, like that Midas, thou desirest to have every thing about thee of gold and precious stones."¹⁰² Towards the close of his career, as he daily became more suspicious of every one around him, he embellished the portico in which he usually took his airing with polished stone; so that he could see, as in a mirror, if any person came behind him.¹⁰³ Martial intimates that considerable improvements had been made by Domitian in the arrangements of the banqueting

¹⁰¹ See *Thon, Pianta restaurata*.

¹⁰² From a passage in *Plutarch's Life of Poplicola*, sect. xxx. But surely Donatus was not authorised thereby to say, "Domitianus in immensum ampliavit." (*De Urb. Vet.* lib. iii. cap. 2. apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 657.) Plutarch was comparing the interior magnificence of the Capitol.

¹⁰³ *Suet in vit.* cap. 14.

rooms¹⁰⁴; but when the poet exalts the magnificence of the house, making it reach to the clouds, it is only for the sake of closing his epigram with a well turned phrase of flattery¹⁰⁵: and Statius, not less devoted to the "majesty of the godlike emperor," extols the august mansion to the skies.¹⁰⁶ In all this we can scarcely recognise any additional outworks to which the present ruins may belong, but only an enriching of the interior, especially in that part which was occupied by Domitian himself, the "Domus Domitiana." Vespasian had limited the imperial domain to the Palatine hill, and in so doing had perhaps destroyed its uniformity, which he had neither time nor inclination to adjust. Whatever was left of Nero's building probably required finishing. Otho obtained 400,000*l.* of our money for that purpose¹⁰⁷, but it was probably never applied. We conceive, therefore, from all these accounts and circumstance, that Domitian had to give uniformity and elegance to the palace, not so much by adding buildings, as by reducing what was already built to a proper scale and proportion; and in the interior of the apartments

¹⁰⁴ "Qui Palatinæ caperet convivia mensæ,
Ambrosiasque dapes, non erat ante locus."

Lib. viii. ep. 39.

¹⁰⁵ "Par domus est cœlo, sed minor est domino."

Lib. viii. ep. 36.

¹⁰⁶ *P. P. Stat. Sylvar. in Epul. Domitian.* carm. ii. lib. iv.
18. Statius administered to the presumption of the emperor: Suetonius exposes it with contempt. "Pari arrogancia, cum, procuratorum suorum nomine, formalem dictaret epistolam, sic cœpit: 'Dominus et Deus noster sic fieri jubet.'" — *Suet. in vit.* cap. 13.

¹⁰⁷ *Suet. Otho.* cap. 7.

he seems to have lavished all that wealth which astonished the spectator. Where the gardens of Adonis might be, or whether Domitian made them, is a mere conjecture.¹⁰⁸ But on the highest part of the hill, where there are but few vestiges of ruins left, about the church of S. Bonaventura, and the turning of the public road which leads to it, the determined restorers fit in a fragment of the *Pianta Capitolina*, which contains the letters DONAEA.¹⁰⁹

We have now no more positive accounts as to any material improvement until Septimius Severus's time. Nerva considered the imperial palace as belonging to the public.¹¹⁰ Trajan rather impaired than enriched it.¹¹¹ It suffered by fire for the third time under Commodus¹¹², and there is a bare mention of "Commodus's Palatine House"¹¹³: this might probably mean the portion of the palace he

¹⁰⁸ This is all founded on a passage of Philostratus in the life of Apollonius Tyanæus, who says Domitian received the philosopher ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀδωνιδος." It was written 200 years after Domitian's time.

¹⁰⁹ See *Pianta Restaurata di Thon*, and *Ballanti, Illustrat.* p. 84. But Bellori (*Pianta Capitolina Illustrat.* tav. xl. p. 47.), would have the fragment to belong to the Παλλακίδων διαίτα or seraglio mentioned by Plutarch. See the *Vestigie di Roma Antica, framment.* No. 27.

¹¹⁰ *C. Plin. Sec. Panegyri. Trajan. dictus.* "Publicarum ædium nomine inscripserat."

¹¹¹ *Martial.* lib. xii. ep. 15.

¹¹² The fire seems to have reached the Palatine Library; for Dion Cassius says, ἔ; τε τὸ Παλάτιον μετιωρισθὲν εἰσῆλθε, καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ αὐτοῦ κατέκαισεν, ὥς τε καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ὀλίγοι δεῖν πάντα φθαρῆναι. — *In Commod.* lib. lxxii. p. 1224.; *Euseb. Chronicon*, A. D. 186. p. 171.; edit. Amstelod. 1658. folio; and *Herodian in Commod.* lib. i. p. 22. edit. Stephan. 1581.

¹¹³ *Ælii Lamprid. Commod. Ant.* cap. 12.

restored: now as he constructed a subterraneous passage communicating with the Palatium and the arena of the amphitheatre, and we know where that passage is¹¹⁴, the “*Domus Palatina Commodiana*” may be well supposed to have stood on the south side of the hill. Antoninus Pius chose to reside in the house of Tiberius.¹¹⁵

But the ruins at the southern angle of the Palatine, in the “*Vigna del Collegio Inglese*,” are the most striking and conspicuous of all. The oblong court which we saw from the *Villa Spada* may be said to separate them from the house of Augustus. A row of arches forming a second story is still standing; and they are flanked and supported by others of which no plan can be well described. Behind the “court” we see a wide and lofty corridor; the vault is adorned with coffer, and the very stucco remains. In different parts of these ruins we observe arches reared against former arches; mosaic flooring concealed under cement; one building erected over another, — exhibiting specimens of work from the age of Commodus to that of Septimius Severus.

In the triangular-shaped vineyard which lies at the foot of these ruins, and near the *Piazza di S. Gregorio*, stood a splendid building called the *Septizonium*, which we have already had occasion to allude to: it was made by Septimius Severus, who, according to his biographer¹¹⁶, “erected it with

¹¹⁴ See Dissertation V. p. 227.

¹¹⁵ *Jul. Capitolin. Antoninus Pius*, cap. 10. Verus was brought up in the *Domus Tiberiana*. *Idem, in Ver. Imp.* cap. 2.

¹¹⁶ *Ælii Lamprid. Severus Imp.* cap. 24. in fine.

the idea of having some work of his own to meet the eyes of his countrymen as they arrived at Rome from Africa. It was his intention to have made an approach, that is, a royal atrium, to the palace in that direction; but a prefect of the city, during his absence, had chosen to place the emperor's statue in the midst of it; and when Alexander was afterwards desirous to accomplish the design, it was declared by the augurs to be a sacrilege to attempt it."¹¹⁷ The Septizonium is described by the antiquaries of the sixteenth century, who saw it before it was taken down by Sixtus V.; and an original drawing of it is preserved in Camucci's *Antiquities*.¹¹⁸ It was three stories high, each having a different order of architecture, and presenting columns in the front and on the flanks. The massive part of the building was of stone, and, according to the ground plan given by Marliano, who saw it, it only enclosed a narrow space like the top of the letter T.¹¹⁹ Fabricius says it tended towards the form

¹¹⁷ When once a statue had been inaugurated, it could not be removed; and the officious prefect had placed this one in the "midst" of the building, so that, as Casaubon observes, "mutari forma hujus ædificii non potuit." — Notæ in *Lamprid.* ut sup. cit.

¹¹⁸ *Dell' Antichità di Roma*, lib. ii. p. 82. edit. in Venez. 1565. A part of the inscription was also remaining in Camucci's time, agreeably to the style adopted by Severus: C . TRIB . VI . COSS . FORTVNATISSIMVS . NOBILISSIMVSQVE . " Or, perhaps, more correctly by Zophorus: " C . TRIB . POT VI . COS . , &c. — Vide *Marliano, Urb. Rom. Topograph.* lib. iv. p. 135.; apud *Grævium*, tom. iii.

¹¹⁹ Vide *Marliano*, ut supra cit.

of a pyramid or obelisk ¹²⁰; but this seems a mere fancy. Few of those who saw it are disposed to admit that it ever rose to *seven* stories ¹²¹, which somewhat disconcerts the etymologists. Buildings called Septizonia existed in Rome long before Severus ¹²², and that appellation was given to the sepulchre on the Via Appia in which Geta was buried. ¹²³ The word, we conceive, had rather reference to the ground plan, or space enclosed by the massy walls. ¹²⁴

¹²⁰ *Georg. Fabricii Descript. Urb. Rom. cap. 20.*; apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 464.


¹²¹ Biondo does not even make the supposition: “*trinos habuit sibi invicem suprapositos columnarum ordines.*” Vide note in *Nardini, Rom. Antic.* tom. iii. p. 209.; and Marliano (apud *Grævium*, ut supra), “*Tanta est trium horum altitudo, ut majorem habuisse non fiat verisimile.*”

Panicroli (apud *Grævium*, p. 365. *Ibid.*), like Fabricius, was a superficial observer. Donatus, who did not see it, has made it like a funeral pile. (Vide apud *Grævium*, fig. xxxi. p. 724.) Mr. Eustace, of course, took the seven stories, and all the ornaments. See *Classical Tour*.

¹²² *Suet. in Tit. cap. 1.*

¹²³ “*Illatusque est majorum sepulchro, hoc est Severi, quod est in Appia via euntibus ad portam dextram, specie septizonii extructum, quod sibi ille vivus ornaverat.*” — *Ælii Spartian. Anton. Geta, cap. 7.*

As the building here mentioned was the sepulchre of his ancestors, situated on the Via Appia, a *kind* of septizonium, and which Severus adorned, it is evident it could not be the same as the one we are now treating of.

¹²⁴ The interior being reduced to this form , and perhaps sometimes rounded at the angles, might well enough be called “*zona*;” and any enclosure surrounded by strong walls was “*septum muris.*” This seems to me the most natural derivation of the word septizonium. Thus, a tomb or a fortress might equally have that appellation.

But the Septizonium of Severus has acquired its celebrity in the history of papal Rome: it became a fortress as early as the tenth century, and in the year 1084, Rusticus, the nephew of Gregory VII., was besieged in it by the emperor Henry IV. The monks of the neighbouring monastery of St. Gregory, to whom it belonged, conceded it to the Frangipani in 1145. Close adjoining was a church called S. Lucia in Septisoliis. Gregory IX. was elected pope there in 1227. About thirty years after, it was considered the safest prison for Brancalone, who perhaps wreaked his vengeance on its walls after he was liberated.¹²⁵ No wonder that in the sixteenth century the fabric began to totter; and we shall feel little disposed to censure the pope who transferred the useless columns to the shrine of St. Peter.¹²⁶ Some vestiges of the foundations were visible until of late years¹²⁷, and perhaps might still be traced under the soil of the vineyard. To return once more to the Imperial Mount.

The position of the Septizonium renders it probable that Severus [about A.D. 198] made some improvement in this part of the palace; and although Alexander was forbid to make the new approach, we learn he enriched the interior with a new species of flooring: this acquired the name of

¹²⁵ See the authorities collected by Professor Nibby, in his edition of *Nardini, Roma Antic.* tom. iii. p. 207.; *Baronius, Annal. Eccles.* anno 1084.; and *Fleury, Hist. Eccés.* liv. 29. anno 1145.

¹²⁶ *Viper. in vit. Sixti V.*

¹²⁷ See the great plan of Nolle, published in 1748.

“opus Alexandrinum¹²⁸,” and is supposed to have been like that chequered pavement we sometimes find at Rome in the old basilicas.

With Alexander Severus [A. D. 235] our story ends, and we go down in silence to Valentinian III.¹²⁹, a name which stands as a preface to the calamities of Rome. With him [A. D. 450] the splendour of the palace died, and the blood of Ætius, shed by the imperial hand within its walls, was the presage of its speedy ruin.¹³⁰ Shortly after came the Vandals, and “Rome was emptied of all her wealth.”¹³¹ [A. D. 455.] This expression looks hard upon the riches of the Palatium; but

¹²⁸ “Alexandrinum opus, marmoris, de duobus marmoribus, hoc est, porphyretico et Lacedæmonio, primus instituit, palatio exornato hoc genere marmorandi.” — *Ælii Lamprid. Alexand. Severus*, cap. 25.

But this was only an old invention revived; it was known in the time of Claudius and Nero; for see *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. cap. 1. This emperor also made some rooms in the palace in honour of his mother Mammæa, which he called the *Diætæ*, a word signifying a parlour for supping or sitting in (see *Adam's Roman Antiquities*, p. 488.); and the common people called these apartments “ad Mammam.” (*Lamprid. ibid.* cap. 26.) Also in *Victor, de Region. Urb.* we read, “ad Mammæam; hoc est, Diætæ Mammææ.”

¹²⁹ In the interval we have the Regionaries of Victor and Rufus, A. D. 364—367. They do not insinuate the least deterioration in the palace; but that there should have been 2643 insulæ, or even 1600 (vide *Panvinio*, apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 46.), about the Palatine hill, to say nothing of the domus 88, lacus 80, &c., is utterly impossible.

¹³⁰ See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, chap. 35. A. D. 454. *Cassiodor. Chronicon*, edit. citat. tom. i. p. 367.

¹³¹ “Omnibus opibus suis Roma vacuata est.” — *Cassiodor. Chronicon*, *ibid.* Vide etiam *Paul. Diacon. Rer. Roman.* lib. xv.

Genseric does not appear to have rendered it uninhabitable, for twelve years afterwards we find it was still the residence of the emperors.¹³² In the time of Theodoric [A. D. 509—540], however, it was beginning to fall in ruins, and the royal intention to restore it to its pristine splendour¹³³ was probably never accomplished. An expression of Anastasius, in his life of Pope Constantine, intimates the palace had even survived the ravages of Totila¹³⁴; but a passage much more to the purpose, produced by Nardini's learned editor, shows that in the seventh century [A. D. 629] Heraclius held a state ceremony in the palace of the Cæsars.¹³⁵ From that period we lose sight of it altogether, until the modern antiquaries begin to recount its ruins. From the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present age, the memorials of Flaminius Vacca, Bartoli, and Ficoroni, with the later discoveries already mentioned, partially exhibit the great shadow of its glory. The scared generations have retired, to leave room for the antiquary, and solitude for the poet, who can do little more than

¹³² The emperor Severus was poisoned in the palace by the contrivance of Ricimer, as it was supposed. *Cassiodorus*, p. 368.; and consult *Gibbon*, chap. 36. A. D. 461—467.

¹³³ The language of Cassiodorus (*Variar. Epist.* lib. vii. 5.) is too magnificent for the resources of the empire at that period.

¹³⁴ Nardini thinks the passage will bear this inference. Anastasius simply mentions a conflict which took place "in Via Sacra, ante palatium." In *Rerum Italic. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 153. edit. Mediolani, 1723.

Rome was sacked by Totila, A. D. 546. See *Gibbon*, ch. 43.; and compare *Procop. de Bello Gothico*, lib. iii. cap. 2.

¹³⁵ *Roma Antica*, tom. iii. p. 180.

point to one another, as we now point, from the top of those lofty arches, saying,

“Behold th’ imperial mount ! — ’tis thus the mighty fall.”

We have frequently referred to the site of the Circus Maximus as occupying the valley which separates the Palatine and Aventine hills : it continued longitudinally along the western side of the former, and (the width being nearly equal to that of the valley itself) the side opposite was also contiguous to the latter. We shall recollect it was the principal object in the eleventh region ¹³⁶, and the consideration of it was postponed on account of local convenience.

Under the wall which encloses the vineyard to the west, in which stood the Septizonium, is to be found nearly all that visibly remains of the Circus Maximus. Standing near the top of the road called *Via dei’ Cerchi*, we shall observe the foundations of the houses, which are in continuation with the said wall, to tend in a curvilinear direction ; and, upon a closer examination, we shall find some masses of brick and cement half concealed by weeds, but which once formed the foundations of the seats in the Circus : being but a heap of consolidated rubbish, there is no room for description ; the result to which the rubbish leads alone gives it an interest.

The upper end of the Circus was, as we already know, elliptical, and these vestiges indicate the beginning and proportions of the curve ; so that

¹³⁶ See Dissertation IX. p. 129. and 143.

if we know the dimensions of the building, by applying those to the ground, the whole will be adjusted. Dionysius gives the following description of the Circus Maximus.¹³⁷ Speaking of 'Tarquinius Priscus, he says, "He marked out the places for seeing the games into thirty sets, and the proper portion was allotted to each set, so that every spectator might take his seat in his own place. This work of Tarquin's, in the course of time, rose to be considered as one of the finest objects in the whole of Rome." (We must now suppose the author to describe what the Circus was at the time he wrote.) "The length of the 'spatium'¹³⁸ was three 'stadia' and a half, and the width four 'plethra'¹³⁹:" it was surrounded, except at one end, by an 'euripus,' or moat, which was ten feet wide, and as many in depth; behind this 'euripus' a three-storied portico was constructed: on the first story rose graduated seats of stone, like those in the theatres; but the upper rows were of wood. These porticos are continued round the elliptical end of the Circus also; so that they form one uninterrupted sweep of eight stadia in amplitude, capable of containing 150,000 persons. The remaining end, which is not roofed over like the seats, is for the carceres, from which the horses start; and they are all thrown open by

¹³⁷ *Antiquitat. Roman.* lib. iii. cap. 68. p. 192. tom i. edit. Oxon.

¹³⁸ For an explanation of the terms we may here have occasion to employ, we beg to refer to the description of the Circus in the Via Appia, &c.

¹³⁹ The stadium was 625 Roman feet, and the plethron, *i. e.* jugerum, 240. See *Adam's Roman Antiquities*, p. 466.

removing one barrier. On the outside of the Circus there is a portico of one story, which is roofed, and contains little shops. On the top are small lobbies, through which the spectators go in and out, and through the shops, without any confusion."

The measurements given by Pliny are not exactly the same¹⁴⁰: instead of three stadia and a half for the length, he says three stadia, and the width one: but he observes, "including the buildings, it would amount to four 'jugera.' " If, therefore, we suppose Dionysius to have measured the whole length, and not the spatium only, the two authors may be reconciled. It is not so easy to reconcile their respective estimates of the number of seats. Pliny writes "cclx millium," differing by 110,000. In the regionary of Victor we have the astonishing number of 380,000, and in the Notitia the incredible one of 485,000. In this case we are left to form our own estimate.¹⁴¹

The Circus being found to be $2187\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and 960 in width, and a small section of the elliptical end being given, we can easily

¹⁴⁰ "Nam ut Circum Maximum à Cæsare dictatore extructum, longitudine stadiorum trium, latitudine unius, sed cum ædificiis jugerum quaternum, ad sedem cclx milium, inter magna opera dicamus." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 15. p. 642.

¹⁴¹ The whole circuit of the seats was eight stadia, or 5000 feet. Four thousand persons, therefore, might be seated in each row. We may suppose the height of the Circus (for the porticos were carried to three stories), to have admitted as many rows as the Amphitheatre, up the separation wall, *i. e.* forty. This will give us 160,000. We have then to add the podium, the top of the carceres, and the attic, which could not well exceed 40,000 more; and this must have been about the capacity of the Circus.

apply these dimensions to the ground. Thus the gate commonly called the "Porta Triumphalis," at the upper extremity, will nearly coincide with the high road at the point where the Maranna meets it; and this part of the building, with the ground plan of the Septizonium adjacent, is preserved in a fragment of the *Pianta Capitolina*.¹⁴² Behind the seats in this quarter were the shops mentioned by Dionysius. It was here where the great fire broke out in the reign of Nero. "It began," says Tacitus¹⁴³, "in that part of the Circus which is contiguous to the Palatine and Cælian hills; then, penetrating through some shops, in which that description of merchandise is kept which easily takes fire, the conflagration soon gained strength, and, caught by the wind, ran rapidly along the whole length of the Circus; neither buildings which were strongly enclosed, nor temples surrounded with walls, nor any thing else, retarded its progress: spreading itself in every direction, first in the plains, and then rising to the heights, and again ravaging the lower places of the city, the mischief defied all efforts to stop it, by its rapidity. The city was more exposed to it on account of the narrow streets, with very high buildings and many turnings, as old Rome was built." If we continue "the whole length of the Circus," it will carry us beyond the church of Anastasia; and, in passing near the oratorio of "S. Maria dei' Cerchi," we may discover some

¹⁴² Vide *Thon, Pianta dello Stato Attuale, &c.* framment. No. 6.

¹⁴³ *Annal.* lib. xv. cap. 38.

other slight vestiges of the foundations. The carceres, therefore, must have run behind those buildings attached to the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin; and the extremity of the "Ortaccio degli Ebrei" will just coincide with the lateral entrance. The corresponding side of the Circus under the Aventine hill will be easily imagined. The Spina necessarily lay in those vineyards through which the Aqua Crabia, or Maranna, runs; and the first Meta will fall nearly opposite the burial-place of the Jews. A "pulvinar" was probably similarly situated to that in the Circus on the Via Appia; and those ruins in the vineyard behind the church of S. Anastasia are supposed to have belonged to it. In this manner we may form a sufficiently accurate idea of the position of the Circus Maximus; but we have yet to trace its history.

The plan of the Circus was first laid out by Tarquinius Priscus in this valley, which was originally called Murtia, or Martia¹⁴⁴; and at first the Roman people had no other accommodation for witnessing the games, than a species of scaffolding, on which they stood; but before the death of Tarquin [A. C. 576] seats were regularly constructed.¹⁴⁵ It did not attain to any great degree

¹⁴⁴ Varro should be allowed to decide this point, and he calls it Murtia. (*De Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 32.) Several other writers have Martia. We may say with Pitiscus (*Lexicon Antiquit. Roman.* in verb. "Circus"), who enumerates all the authorities down to Symmachus: "Verum Murtia an Martia dicte fuerit, parum refert." But see *Liv.* lib. i. cap. 32.; and *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xv. cap. 29.

¹⁴⁵ Compare *Dionysius Halicarn.* lib. iii. cap. 68. with *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 35.

of splendour during the republic, nevertheless we read of some important additions. L. Stertinus, out of the spoils brought from the further Spain, erected an arch "in the Circus Maximus," [A. C. 196] and placed gilded statues on the top.¹⁴⁶ This probably means the triumphal gate at the upper end of the edifice. Some years after, a ship mast, set up no doubt on the Spina instead of an obelisk, having fallen against the statue of Pollentia, and thrown it down¹⁴⁷, the religious fathers decreed that not only a new statue gilded should be restored to the goddess, but also an additional one be made, in compensation of her insulted dignity. On another occasion, we read of statues, together with columns, being thrown down in the Circus by a tempest.¹⁴⁸ The censors, Fulvius Flaccus and Posthumius Albinus, in the 578th year of the city [A. C. 174]¹⁴⁹, introduced various ornaments for the Spina and the Carceres, some of which were entirely renewed and improved upon by Agrippa.¹⁵⁰ But the Circus acquired its first reputation for splendour under Julius Cæsar. [A. C. 46.] Pliny evidently considers it to have been by him entirely reconstructed: he enlarged the whole space, and introduced the euripus.¹⁵¹ This

¹⁴⁶ *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxiii. cap. 27.

¹⁴⁷ *Idem*, lib. xxxix. cap. 7.

¹⁴⁸ *Idem*, lib. xl. cap. 2.

¹⁴⁹ *Idem*, lib. xli. cap. 27.

¹⁵⁰ *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxix. p. 376.; but see Burgess's *Description of the Circus*, &c. p. 173.

¹⁵¹ " [Circensibus], spatio Circi ab utraque parte producto, et in gyrum euripo addito." — *Suet. in Jul. Cæsar.* cap. 39.

was a stream of water, which ran at the foot of the seats: but it was found to be inconvenient, and Nero took it away¹⁵²: some think, however, that in the time of Heliogabalus it must have been restored; that foolish emperor is said to have filled some such thing with wine, and exhibited naval shows in it.¹⁵³ The euripus seems rather to have been a temporary expedient, when crocodiles or any aquatic animals were to be produced¹⁵⁴; and perhaps the “aqua crabra” afforded an easy supply of water.

Independent of the authority of Cassiodorus, who vaunts of the splendour suited to the master of the world¹⁵⁵, we know from other sources that Augustus took pains to have an obelisk conveyed from Egypt, and set up upon the Spina.¹⁵⁶ It was at this period of its improvement when Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote the description which has been transcribed. But the Carceres and Metæ were still of common tufo and wood. Claudius rebuilt the former [A.D. 41] of marble, and he gilded the goals. The senators, who before mingled

¹⁵² *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. viii. cap. 7. p. 130.

¹⁵³ *Ælii Lamprid. Ant. Heliogab.* cap. 23. But as Casaubon justly observes, Lampridius does not necessarily mean the euripus, but some lake or pool which he made for a “naumachia.” And he also remarks, on the authority of Cicero, that the streams in the aqueducts were called “euripi.” See *Description of the Circus*, &c. p. 66.

¹⁵⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. viii. cap. 26.; and *Cassiodor. Variar. Epist.* lib. iii. 51.

¹⁵⁵ *Cassiodor.* ut supra.

¹⁵⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 9.; and *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xvii.

with the multitude, had separate and distinct places assigned to them.¹⁵⁷ After the great fire under Nero [A. D. 81], we are at a loss to know in what manner it was restored. Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian were taken up with other great works of their own; and, although the Circus was not in an unfit state to be made use of¹⁵⁸, the complete repairing of it seems to have fallen to the lot of Trajan.¹⁵⁹ On that occasion he made use of the stone which Domitian had employed in building his Naumachia.¹⁶⁰ It was restored in a more elegant style than before, and with accommodation for several thousand additional spectators.¹⁶¹ As this was the golden age of architecture and sculpture, we may consider the Circus as having now attained the height of its magnificence. In the reign of Antoninus Pius it fell down in ruins; and it matters little whether that emperor

¹⁵⁷ "Circo vero maximo, marmoreis carceribus auratisque metis quæ utraque et tophina ac lignea antea fuerant, exculto, propria senatoribus constituit loca, promiscue spectare solitis." — *Suet. in Claud.* cap. 21.

¹⁵⁸ Vide *Suet. in Domitian.* cap. 4.; and compare cap. 5.

¹⁵⁹ See the impression of a medal in *Nardini*, tom. iii. No. 51.

¹⁶⁰ *Suet. in Domitian.* cap. 5.

¹⁶¹ "Hinc immensum latus Circi templorum pulchritudine provocat. Digna populo victore gentium sedes, nec minus ipsa videnda, quam qua ex illa spectabuntur cui locorum quinque millia adjecisti." — *Plin. in Panegyric. Trajan.* cap. 17.

Οὕτω γὰρ που καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ μεγαλογνώμων ἔφυ, ὥς τε καὶ τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐπίγραψαι ὅτι ἐξαρκούντα αὐτὸν τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῆμῳ ἐποίησεν. — *Dion Cassius. Xiphilin.* lib. lxxviii. (in *Trajan. vit.*) p. 1124.

By comparing these two passages, we shall be disposed to agree with those critics who would substitute the word "quinquaginta" for "quinque," in Pliny's text.

or his successor renewed it.¹⁶² Septimius Severus adorned it with the statues of distinguished men.¹⁶³ It was in full glory at the secular games celebrated by Philip; and it was the scene of the splendid exhibitions of Probus.¹⁶⁴ Constantine is said to have heightened its splendour¹⁶⁵; and Constantius erected another obelisk on the Spina, which he had brought from Egypt.¹⁶⁶ The regionaries announce the first symptoms of its decay, when they mention one obelisk as standing, the other prostrate; but it is pretty evident Honorius found it in sufficient repair to be used. [A. D. 400.]¹⁶⁷ From the celebrated letter of Cassiodorus, we may suppose the Circensian games were still in vogue at Rome; and Theodoric has acquired the reputation of having restored most of the great monuments.¹⁶⁸ He did but perform the funeral rites of the imperial city; for it is about this time we lose sight of almost all it contained. The Circus Maximus is enumerated in the "Itinerary" of the ninth century, and about three centuries afterwards

¹⁶² *Julii Capitolin. Ant. Pius*, cap. 9. The words of Capitolinus are positive enough: — "*Quæ omnia mirificè instauravit.*" But see this point argued in *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 227.

¹⁶³ *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* p. 728.; apud *Grævium*, tom. iii.

¹⁶⁴ Compare Dissertation V. p. 229, 230. and see Note 133. *ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Sextus Aurelius de Cæsaribus*, lib. vi.

¹⁶⁶ *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xvii.

¹⁶⁷ *Claudian. de Cons. Hon.* vi. 613.; *de Cons. Stilichon.* lib. iii. 199.; and *de Fl. Mallii Theod. Cons.* v. 284.

¹⁶⁸ Vide *Histoire du Bas Empire*, par Mons. Le Beau, liv. xxxviii. chap. 22.; *Pomponii Læti Rom. Hist. Compendium*, in *Fl. Val. Zenon.*

it was committed to the care of the Frangipani.¹⁶⁹ In what state it then existed we can hardly conjecture; but for the last three hundred years little more has remained of it than we now see.¹⁷⁰ Time has here done its work well, and has swept away the long files of seats as completely as the thousands and tens of thousands which once filled them. In descending the Piazza della Bocca della Verità we shall find we have completed the circuit of the tenth region or the Palatium.

The boundaries of the thirteenth region need no other definition than that already given of the Aventine mount, except towards the south, where we left the limits of the mount doubtful¹⁷¹: the valley of communication with the Porta S. Paolo and the upper end of the "Via dei Cerchi" was observed to mark the southern boundary of the Aventine hill, properly so called; because it thus concurs with the measurement of Dionysius, who states the circuit at 11,250 feet. Now P. Victor estimates the circumference of the "regio Aven-tina" at 16,200 feet; consequently, it comprised more than the Aventine hill of Dionysius. This acquisition cannot be made on the east or north sides, and we have already allotted the height on

¹⁶⁹ See the references given by Nardini's editor, in tom. iii. p. 240.

¹⁷⁰ One would think Camucci had seen some vestiges of the Carceres; for, after stating that he could not recognise any remains worthy of making a sketch, he adds, — "Ho ben trovato, che la sua principale entrata era appresso agli orti della Scuola Greca." — *Antichità di Roma*, lib. ii. p. 79. edit. Venezia, 1565.

See also *Memorie de Flamin. Vacca*, No. 6.

¹⁷¹ See Dissertation I. Vol. I. p. 23.

which the church of S. Balbina stands to the twelfth region, or “*piscina publica*.” It only, therefore, remains to extend the district in question along the Tyber, and towards the south, about the precincts of the church of Santo Saba. It does not seem improbable that in process of time the appellation of Aventine hill might also extend to that adjoining eminence on which the said church now stands; and thus the limits of the thirteenth region will be made to join those of the twelfth behind the baths of Caracalla and the church of S. Balbina; and we may consider those ruins in the Vigna Cæsarini as an indication of its extent along the Tyber. Within this circuit of three miles stood 2488 *insulæ*, and 104 houses; so that this district, in proportion to its magnitude, was the least populous of the fourteen, with the exception of the one beyond the Tyber. Two reasons may be assigned for this: the first, because the Aventine hill was not included within the *Pomœrium* until the time of Claudius, being polluted with the blood of Remus¹⁷²; the second, because of the great number of public granaries and storehouses for which its situation near the river rendered it so convenient¹⁷³. We might, not-

¹⁷² A place called the “*Remuria*” is registered in Victor’s catalogue; so that the baneful tradition had been faithfully preserved to a late period. Compare *Dionys.* lib. i. cap. 71.

¹⁷³ The following, extracted from Victor (*Panvinio*, apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 47.), must have occupied a considerable space: —

Horrea Domitiani Aug.
Horrea Aniceti.
Emporium.

Horrea Vargunteii.
Horreorum Galbianoꝝ Fortunæ.
Horrea xxxvi.

withstanding, enumerate seventeen streets and eleven principal temples, a bath establishment, and a forum, two public "promenades," and porticos, with objects that swell the list of the regionary. But we must content ourselves with barely investigating the most probable situations of a few of the principal objects.

Of the two branches of the eleventh region allotted to this Dissertation, we have already disposed of one; the other lay along the course of the river from the "Bocca della Verità" to the "Strada di Marmorata;" an outline which is only ascertained from two objects registered within its limits, viz. the Salinæ, and the Porta Trigemina. The position of that gate, upon which so much of our topography in this quarter depends, has already been laid down in the general view of the old city¹⁷⁴; but an opportunity will soon occur of observing its situation more accurately, as well as that of the "Salinæ."

Before ascending the hill, it may be as well to point out those vestiges of the ancient quay which Plutarch is supposed to allude to when mentioning the house of Romulus. On the descent which conducted from the Palatine to the Circus, there was a place called the "quay steps." Considering where that descent was shown to exist¹⁷⁵, we must suppose those steps to have been placed at the head of a street or lane, leading down to the river, where this quay, or, to use a classical term,

¹⁷⁴ See Dissertation II. p. 51., and Note BB. at the end of this Volume; and compare Plan of Ancient Rome.

¹⁷⁵ Compare Dissertation X. p. 151. Notes 18, 19.

this "pulchrum littus" was.¹⁷⁶ A little beyond the church of S. Anna de' Calzettari are some magazines, and a place for landing goods; by standing on the small pier we may observe some blocks of travertine stone which have formed part of a regular built wall; and after some interruption, it may again be recognised, and not only in this place, but from near the Cloaca Maxima for a mile down the river, occasional traces of it may be discovered. We are to contemplate, therefore, in those vestiges the remains of that artificial bank of the river on which the Romans bestowed the epithet of "handsome."

Near the postern which stands across the road, and through which we have a picturesque view of the ruins of the Aventine hill, Biondo saw, "with not a little regret," some very ancient marble arches torn down to make lime of; from current accounts, and some inscriptions that remained upon them, it was supposed they had been erected by the ancients in honour of Horatius Cocles: being in the neighbourhood of the Pons Sublicius, which tradition has surrounded with the name of Horatius, may perhaps have furnished the main authority for Biondo's opinion. *

At the afore-mentioned church of S. Anna we begin our ascent, and soon the road is enclosed on the right by the high walls of a square fortress of the middle ages; built, however, upon the foundations of some edifice of more remote antiquity, as

¹⁷⁶ Plutarch's expression is, "βαθμοὶ καλῆς ἀκτῆς, gradus pulchri littoris."

* See Note Z.

may be observed near the walled up portal. The precincts within these walls belong to the church and monastery of S. Sabina, which, together with the church of S. Alessio and the Priorato de Malta occupy the whole of this summit of the Aventine. Diana and Juno Regina have long contended for this proud eminence; and a passage in Livy has been successfully applied in favour of the latter. The historian, describing a procession which was to end in a sacrifice to that goddess, says, after it had stood a while in the Forum, it moved by the Vicus Tuscus and the Velabrum, through the Forum Boarium, towards the Clivus Publicus and the temple of Juno.¹⁷⁷ The situation of the Forum here mentioned is known; and as only a Clivus intervenes between it and the temple, we may naturally follow the procession up to this height. This argument, and two lines from Martial¹⁷⁸, have almost banished the three-formed goddess to seek another station near the church of S. Prisca. But whilst it is admitted that the temple of Juno Regina stood on this part of the hill, we must also be allowed to find a place near

¹⁷⁷ *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxvii. cap. 37.

¹⁷⁸ "Quique videt propius magni certamina Circi,
Laudat Aventinæ vicinus Sura Dianæ."

Lib. vi. ep. 64.

Donatus insists upon it (apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 715.) that the place here designated can be no other than the site of S. Prisca's church; and he is followed by others. But let Palphurius Sura's house be placed in the vicinity of Diana's temple, and let that temple be considered in the neighbourhood of the monastery of S. Sabina, and he may very nearly be brought to overlook the Carceres. A poet's *neighbourhood* is sometimes very wide.

for the shrine of Diana. If that temple occupied the same site on which Servius Tullius first founded it in conjunction with the Latins, it will be difficult to find another position so suitable to the words of the historian.¹⁷⁹ When the ox was to be sacrificed to Diana, and the Sabine and the Roman were to decide the fate of their respective countries, the former, we are told, was on the point of gaining the privilege of the sacrifice. "Wilt thou not first plunge thyself in the living stream?" says the Roman: "the Tyber flows past us at the bottom of the valley."¹⁸⁰ The stranger, struck by the religious propriety, descended to the Tyber, and left the ox to the Roman. The same contiguity of Diana's temple and the river is intimated by Appian and by Plutarch, when describing the actions of Caius Gracchus.¹⁸¹ It is moreover probable, that, as this part of the Aventine hill was joined by Ancus Martius to the Janiculum, his immediate successors would build upon it, in preference to a more distant point of the city; and if in Livy's

¹⁷⁹ Consult *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 45.; and see *Valer. Maxim.* lib. vii. cap. 3., and *Silius Italicus*, lib. xiii. 84. et seq.

¹⁸⁰ "Quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? Infima valle præfluit Tiberis." — *Tit. Liv.* *ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Appian. de Bell. Civil.* lib. i. cap. 172. p. 367. edit. Stephanus, 1592. Here we are told of the escape of Gracchus from the temple of Diana, where he had taken refuge: he got across the Pons Sublicius, and his pursuers never saw him, but thought he had slipped into some house. Such an escape (from S. Prisca to the Ripa Grande without being seen) seems impossible; not so if the temple was just above the bridge, near S. Sabina. Consult *Plutarch. in vit. Gracchor.* p. 842. ed. citat. But still more clearly, *Sex. Aurel. Victor de Viris Illustrib.* cap. 65.

time the site of the temple had been changed, he most assuredly would have alluded to it. In a vineyard near S. Sabina's church were found, in the time of Clement XI., some pieces of mosaic pavement representing the hunting of wild beasts: these are now in the Vatican. There was also discovered in 1722, in the vineyard opposite to the said church, an image of oriental alabaster, representing the Ephesian Diana¹⁸²: and when we recollect that the temple in question was built, like the one at Ephesus, to commemorate the union of states¹⁸³, this is very near one of the strongest indications we can have of the site of an antiquity: along, therefore, with the temple of Juno we may conclude the shrine of Diana also stood on this height above the Tyber. The interior of the church of S. Sabina is decorated with twenty-four marble (Parian) columns, of the Corinthian order; and these doubtless belonged to an ancient temple, which stood not far off: but it will be in vain to begin with conjecture, since we may despair of adjusting the temples of the thirteenth region. That of Diana must have been the most celebrated,

¹⁸² *Ficoroni (Vestigie di Rom. Antic. lib. i. cap. 12. p. 77.)* has given an engraving of it: it resembles the one of mosaic now in the Vatican; the subject of that pavement is equally applicable to Diana. The beautiful bas-relief of the Endymion in the Sala degli Imperatori, Museo Capitolino, was also found on the Aventine hill. We may also mention the infant Hercules of basalt, preserved in the same museum: it was found opposite the Monte Testaccio. See *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 42.

¹⁸³ It was called the "Templum Commune Dianæ." Vide *Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. iii. cap. 43.*; and compare *Corn. Nep. in vit. Illust., &c.*: sed, *Varro de Ling. Lat. lib. iv. cap. 7.*

since it gave an additional name to the hill¹⁸⁴; and the temple of Juno Regina was founded by no less a person than Camillus, after the taking of Veii.¹⁸⁵

From the gardens of the adjoining monastery, and at the end of the corridor, are several views of Rome and its environs, in which we may recognise and retrace some of our circuits. On the steep declivity of the hill, beneath the said monastery, are various deformed masses of brick-work, which can never be reduced to any regular plan. We may "plod our way" through the ruins of many ages, and we may find vaults and passages for which no specific use can be assigned: the substructions of the hill are mingled in one rude mass with the remains of storehouses and public magazines; and perhaps the walls of the temples of Juno and Diana have fallen from their lofty site to increase the general wreck. Fortresses and churches have subsequently risen upon these ruins: St. Dominic has planted with his own hands the tree that still grows and flourishes amidst them all, and left the undisturbed possession of the ruined Aventine mount to a few of his humble followers. If we are disposed to indulge in the visions of the poets, it is here where we should look for the fabled den of Cacus, the altar of Jupiter Inventor, and the temple of Hercules Victor: but where the imagination enters, the dry researches of the antiquary dare not

¹⁸⁴ *Martial*. lib. vii. ep. 72.; and *Stat. Silv.* ii. 3. 32. "Collis Dianæ."

¹⁸⁵ *Tit. Liv.* lib. v. cap. 23.

intrude ; and it matters little in the eye of fancy whether the den of Cacus was turned towards the Palatine, or overlooked the Porta Trigemina. This side of the hill at least is the scene of Virgil's monster ; here are the banks that skipped and the river that fled at the thunder produced by the strength of Alcides.¹⁸⁶

Opposite the grass-grown court of the church of S. Alexius * there is an iron gate, through which we may distinguish the church of S. Saba, which stands upon the other summit of the Aventine district. From the bastion of Pope Paul III. in a neighbouring vineyard, may be seen the plain, with the Monte Testaccio in the midst, which was comprised within the city by Aurelian or his successors ; and from the same commanding station we may discern the form of the hill, with the probable direction of the walls of republican Rome. In the place where the present walls touch the last curve of the hill, topographers have made the city of Servius Tullius to coincide.

¹⁸⁶ " Dissultant ripæ, refluitque exterritus amnis.

Virg. Æneid. lib. viii. 240.

It may be doubted whether Virgil knew or believed any more of the den of Cacus than we do ; but as it is *Virgil's* den of Cacus, we may content ourselves with his authority and description. See *Æneid.* lib. viii. 233. et seq. Solinus, after glancing at the uncertainty of these things, points out the localities with more precision : — " Quippe aram Hercules quam noverat, si amissas boves reperisset punito Caco, Patri Inventori, dicavit. Qui Cacus habitavit locum cui Salinæ nomen sit ubi Trigemina nunc Porta." — *De Origin. Rom.* lib. ii.

For the Ara Jovis Inventoris, see *Dionys.* lib. i. cap. 39. p. 31. ; and for the Templum Herculis Victoris, see *Macrob. Saturn.* lib. iii. cap. 6.

* See Note AA.

The Porta Lavernalis is judiciously placed in the furrow which separates that curve from the height on which the bastion is built; and no one could reasonably require better authority than what appears upon a review of the ground, for establishing the limits of the city according to our plan, as it existed previous to the enlargement.* But by returning to the Priorato di Malta, and taking our station on the terrace, we shall be still better enabled to discern the extremity of the city.

Within the angle of the Strada Marmorata we have already placed the Porta Trigemina. From a passage in Livy it is deducible the "Salinæ"¹⁸⁷ were within that gate. If, therefore, we are warranted, by the features of the hill and the plain beneath it, in thus placing our gate, the Salinæ had a place among those ruins already visited in the precincts of the Dominican monastery. From two other passages in Frontinus¹⁸⁸ we learn the Salinæ were near or at the Porta Trigemina; and Solinus confirms this, adding, that the den of

* See Note BB.

¹⁸⁷ Ancus Martius made the first salt-works near Ostia. (*Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 33.) But who first established these within the city, or of what nature they were, we are ignorant. They were most probably magazines, where the salt was laid up for the use of the city, "salis conditoria." — *Donatus*, apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 720.

Livy, speaking of a dreadful fire, says, "Solo æquata omnia inter Salinas et Portam Carmentalem." — Lib. xxiv. cap. 19.

¹⁸⁸ "Incipit distribui Appia sub Publicii clivo ad Portam Trigeminam, qui locus appellatur Salinæ." — *Frontin. de Aquæd. cum comment. Poleni*, p. 21.

"Ductus ejus [scilicet Appiæ] habet longitudinem a capite usque ad Salinas, qui locus est ad P. Trigeminam, pass. xi. milium clxxxx, &c." — *Idem*, p. 16.

Cacus was also near it.¹⁸⁹ Fulvio speaks of some subterraneous caverns belonging to the Salinæ, which he saw, and he points to this spot.¹⁹⁰ Above the Arco S. Lazaro¹⁹¹ there is a cavern which might answer his description; but the term is too vague to be applied; and we have only cited the antiquary's observation for the sake of the traditionary evidence it affords.

Without the Porta Trigemina we find mention of porticos, of temples, of the emporium or river mart, the navalia or docks *, &c. The ruins which we observe to cover such a vast space in the Vigna Cesarini may have belonged to the emporium, but at a late period, and after some restoration; for they bear no marks of an age so early as that of Lepidus and Æmilius Paulus. [A. C. 193.] These two ædiles, in making their porticos, connected the emporium with the wharf; and steps were subsequently added, by which to ascend to those places from the water. It cannot be argued, from the passages here alluded to, that those ruins belonged to the portico of Lepidus and Æmilius; but the situation accords well enough with Livy's indications.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ *Vide* Note 186. p. 201.

¹⁹⁰ "Sono anchora in piedi certe caverne sotteranee delle sopradette Saline fatte a mano, nella vigna prossima *vicino alla ripa del Tevere*." — *Fulvio, trad. da P. del Rosso*, cart. 25.

¹⁹¹ The Arco S. Lazaro has been every thing, from the honorary arch of Horatius Cocles to the P. Trigemina: it is manifestly of so late a date as scarcely to be entitled to "antiquity."

* See Note CC.

¹⁹² Compare *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxv. cap. 10. with lib. xl. cap. 51. lib. xxxv. cap. 41.; also a fragment of the *Pianta Capitolina*;

Along the river banks are still more traces to be found of the “pulchrum littus,” and of the line of wall subsequently erected for the defence of the city: but all these are things rather to be known than seen; for by a close inspection, not to be made without some trouble, we should find but little interest or amusement.

Having now named a succession of objects whose situations are scarcely borne out by adequate authorities, we may sum up the remaining evidence that will help to throw light upon our present enquiries.

From the quantity of marbles and fragments of precious material found at different periods on this bank, and in the plain at our feet, the place and road has obtained the name of Marmorata. As late as in Venuti's time were found, in the Vigna Cæsarini, some red marbles marked with numbers, to indicate whether they came from Asia or from Greece, the name of the expedition, the day of their departure, and the name of the consul then being.¹⁹³ These discoveries, and especially the quantity of African marble, show that we are correct in assigning this portion of ground for the general debarking of cargoes. A stone, with a short inscription, mentioned by Fulvio as found on the river bank under the Aventine hill, is another strong proof of the same circumstance.¹⁹⁴ The

Piranesi, Antichità Romane, &c. tom. i. tav. iv. Icnograph. Fram. No. 37.

¹⁹³ *Venuti, Antichità di Roma, tom. ii. p. 48.; and compare Fabretti de Aquis et Aquæd. dissertatio iii.*

¹⁹⁴ QVICQVID . VSVARIVM . INVEHITVR
 . ANSARIVM . NON DEBET

Which, Fabretti (p. 156. ut supra) thinks, was a nautical law.

two inscriptions given by Panvinio afford not less proof that the granaries were also in this quarter.¹⁹⁵ Of the Horrea Lolliana, an exact plan is preserved in one of the fragments of the Pianta Capitolina¹⁹⁶; and, if Venuti does not speak too vaguely, amongst the inscriptions found *here*, there was an indication of the said "Horrea."¹⁹⁷ Of the Salinæ, Frontinus affords ample testimony: but it is helped by the assurance of Piranesi¹⁹⁸, who declares he found under the Priorato the channel of the aqueduct, which terminated, or rather began, at the foot of the Clivus Publicii, near the Salinæ. If, therefore, from these indications, more or less satisfactory, we begin from opposite the Ponte Orazio, and in our imagination build up the "pulchrum littus," and restore the Salinæ to the declivity of the mount; crown that mount with the temples of Juno and Diana; then, let the

¹⁹⁵ Of these two inscriptions, which are almost duplicates, it may suffice to exhibit one, —

NVM . DOM . AVC
SACRVM
GENIO . CONSERVATO
RI . HORREORVM . GAL
BIANORVM
M. LORINVS
FORTVNATVS
MAGISTER
S . P . D . D

Compare *Gruter. Inscript.* tom. i. p. lxxvii. edit. Amstel. 1707.

Fabretti produces an inscription, in which the office of store-house-keeper, or granary-man, HORREARIVS, is mentioned. *De Aquis*, diss. iii. p. 156.; and compare *Gruter*, *ibid.* p. lxxvi.

¹⁹⁶ Vide *Vestigie di Roma Antica*, Framment. No. 11.

¹⁹⁷ *Antichità di Roma*, tom. ii. p. 49.

¹⁹⁸ *Piranesi, degli Acqued.* sect. vi. cap. 19. et alia.

great storehouses, which, in the time of scarcity or corruption, poured forth their treasures to supply or to bribe a multitude, be disposed about the Porta Trigemina, and, continuing along the quay, let it be furnished with the navalia, the emporium, the porticos, and the temples; let it also be peopled with a busy crowd, collected from every quarter of the extensive dominions of Rome: the Ripa Grande will afford but a poor contrast with the magnificence of the ancient Roman commerce. But there was no hospital of S. Michel for the reception of the afflicted and unfortunate, nor did the dome of St. Peter's then rise majestically in the distance. We may now descend from our station by the Via di S. M. Priorata; and, if desirous of examining the ruins near the Tyber, which have been mentioned, the road is by the Vicolo delle Serpe.

The Monte Testaccio is an artificial hill formed by the immense accumulation of broken jars, urns, amphoræ, and other fragments of earthenware; and hence is derived its name. P. Victor mentions "Doliolum" in the thirteenth region, which cannot well mean a hill, although it may have some reference to a pottery. In forming those vaults, which are so famous for preserving wine, Ficoroni discovered a sepulchre with an inscription, indicating that it had belonged to a family called Rusticella; and at a later period, a second sepulchre was found among the fragments.¹⁹⁹ From these circumstances, and the silence of ancient authors on the subject, we may infer that the

¹⁹⁹ *Venuti, Antichità di Roma*, tom. ii. p. 47, 48.

Monte Testaccio was formed after the fall of imperial Rome. The modern authors are by no means silent either upon the period or the cause of its formation²⁰⁰: but all that they or we can conclude is simply this,—in the first great changes of the city, when the inhabitants began to clear away the ground, which had before been covered with buildings, a quantity of broken materials, such as this mound is formed of, would necessarily be turned up: instead of throwing them into the Tyber, which might have impeded the course of the river, or scattering them over the ground which was required for cultivation, they brought them to a given spot, and this prodigious accumulation was the result.²⁰¹ It might possibly begin as early as the age of Totila; but it probably received an immense addition after the ravages of Robert Guiscard. The view from near the cross, which stands on the highest point, will repay the trouble of ascending. We see where the walls of Rome end with the Tyber; the Aventine hill, with its churches, presents a beautiful landscape; the ruins of St. Paul's are not at variance with the melancholy of the Campagna; and the tombs of our countrymen contribute not a little to the solemnity of the scene.

Why should not the pyramid of Caius Cestius survive all the other monuments of ancient Rome?

²⁰⁰ *Fabric. Descript. Urb. Rom.* cap. 8.; *Aringh. Roma Subterr.* iii. 1. 5.; *Argol. in Panvin. de Lud. Circens.* ii. 19.; *Marliano, Topograph. Urb. Rom.* iv. 1.

²⁰¹ *Boissard, Topograph. Urb.* tom. i. p. 16.: but see *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 46.; and compare *Fest. in verb. Dolitola*, and *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. in eodem verb.

It is 120 feet high, and stands upon a low base-ment of travertine stone 95 feet square; it is a solid mass, with the exception of a small sepulchral chamber, which is no more than 14 feet in height, in a space of 19 feet by 13. The whole is faced by fine blocks of marble. The two Doric pillars now set up before it were found in fragments when Pope Alexander VII. ordered the monument to be cleared and repaired, and they are probably restored to their original situations. At the other angles of the pyramid have also been discovered two pedestals, which are now to be seen with the inscriptions * upon them, in the portico of the Museum of the Capitol: upon one of them was found the colossal foot of bronze which is in the same Museum, behind the urn (so called) of Alexander Severus. The original entrance by which they descended into the sepulchral chamber was in the side contiguous to that through which we have now access, and which was perforated by Alexander VII. in 1663. The inscription existing upon this side of the pyramid is as follows:—

C. CESTIVS . L. F. POB. EPVLO . PR. TR. PL.

VII. VIR. EPVLONVM.

on the other side, facing the present road to Ostia, the same inscription is repeated, and below it the following also:—

OPVS . ABSOLVTVM . EX . TESTAMENTO . DIEBVS .

CCCXXX.

ARBITRATV

PONTI . P. F. CLA . MELAE . HEREDIS . ET . POTH . L.

* See Note DD.

From these inscriptions, and the two at the Capitol, which are duplicates of one another, is to be gathered all that can be known of C. Cestius and his sepulchre; but the office which he held, and the pictures which adorn the sepulchral chamber, have furnished matter for a dissertation of forty-three pages.²⁰² We shall content ourselves with something like a paraphrase upon the inscriptions.

Caius Cestius, the son of Lucius, was of the Popilian or Poblilian tribe; and was surnamed Epulo from his office.²⁰³ He had been prætor and tribune of the people; and, at his death, was one of the seven magistrates who had the care of the sacred banquets on great solemnities. These entertainments, which the Romans decreed in order to appease the anger of the gods, in process of time became so numerous that they were obliged to institute a new order of priests as assistants to the pontiffs: these were called "Epulones." They were first created in the 557th year of the city, only three in number; but were afterwards augmented to seven.²⁰⁴ It was an office of great dignity, and not unworthy to be compared with that of the consul himself.²⁰⁵

²⁰² *Discorso di Ottavo Falconieri intorno alla Piramide di C. Cestio, in Nardini, Rom. Antic. tom. iv.*

²⁰³ It frequently happened that the office or dignity, which had been enjoyed by successive members of the same family, became a cognomination; as Quintius Minutius *Augur*, Furius *Camillus*, Quintius *Flaminius*, Annius *Fecialis*, &c.; and so, Caius Cestius *Epulo*. Vide *Discorso di Falconieri*, p. 14.

²⁰⁴ Vide *Adam's Roman Antiquities*, p. 281.; *Lucan. lib. i.* 602.; and compare *Inscriptiones Dioniæ*, p. 562.

²⁰⁵ *C. Plin. epist. ii. 11.*

This pyramid was begun and finished pursuant to the will of the deceased, within 330 days, at the instance of one of C. Cestius's heirs, whose name was Lucius Pontius Mela, of the Claudian tribe, and a freedman of Pothus.

The inscription in the Capitol throws some light on the date of this work. From the names of the co-heirs therein mentioned, especially those of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus and M. Agrippa, we learn that C. Cestius lived in the Augustan age: this monument, therefore, is coeval with the Christian era. Lucius Cestius, the brother of this Caius, only received his inheritance, it is said, "by the bounty of Agrippa;" from which we infer the brother's portion, of course the greatest, had been bequeathed to Agrippa, who afterwards resigned it. This policy was frequently adopted by testators in behalf of their relations, in order to secure the protection of a good man in power, and to elude the rapacity of an opposite character; but Tacitus insinuates, in the case of Agricola, that the latter was the more common expedient.²⁰⁶ In the instance before us, we may suppose Agrippa to have honourably discharged the trust reposed in him. The inscription bears further, that C. Cestius, in his will, had forbid the splendid apparatus called "Attalici," which were used at his funeral, to be interred with his body: these were robes, probably embroidered with gold, and of great value²⁰⁷:

²⁰⁶ "Tam cæca et corrupta mens [scilicet Domitiani], assiduâ adulationibus, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi hæredem nisi malum principem." — *Corn. Tacit. Agricola*, cap. 43.

²⁰⁷ For a full explanation of these "vestes Attalicæ," and other particulars connected with this inscription, see the *Discourse of Falconieri*, p. 28. to the end.

these co-heirs, therefore, agreed to sell them, and with the money erected that statue or statues, of which the foot before mentioned still remains. The paintings which adorn the interior might form a subject for a writer of the seventeenth century; but since the discovery of Pompeii, and the injurious effects of lighted torches held against them, they have sunk into insignificance. But in our estimation the monument seems to grow in importance with the sons and daughters of Albion who have found a long home beside it; and neither the heathen, who first reared it, nor the pope, who restored it to its pristine form, could ever have imagined the cause which will perpetuate and extend the celebrity of the pyramid of Caius Cestius.²⁰⁸

The road beginning near the Porta S. Paolo indicates, in some measure, the direction of that ancient communication between the "Porta Ostiensis" and the "Circus Maximus," through the "piscina publica." It runs nearly parallel with the Tyber, and may serve to define the limits of the Aventine mount towards the south. After proceeding along that road for about 600 paces, it is crossed by another, which communicates with the churches of S. Saba and S. Prisca: the former lies on our right, upon that eminence which

²⁰⁸ The new burial-ground was enclosed, and the sunk fence round the old one cut, at the expense of the papal government. The said fence was walled by subscription, in which the German Protestants as well as the English took part. A thousand scudi are now vested in the Roman funds, and the interest applied for defraying the expenses of repairs, and the attendance of a sexton.

has been included in the Aventine region. Some antiquaries have chosen it for the site of Diana's temple. The walls which enclose the church and its precincts resemble, in extent and building, those of the fortress which we saw near the monastery of S. Sabina; and, until Piranesi²⁰⁹ detected the glaring error, they were called ruins of the temple of Diana! Whoever delights in that solitude which may be peopled "with beings of the past," and where there are some traces of their existence to aid the imagination, may lay the scene of his reflections in those vineyards which are about the churches of S. Saba and S. Prisca. In descending from the former, to pursue the road leading up to S. Prisca, scarcely will the song of the vignarolo intrude upon our silence, whilst all indications of being within the walls of a great city are hid from our view.

In the vineyard of the Jesuits, which lies on our left in ascending, some ruins have appeared in digging a quarry; and in every direction we may find fragments of marble and terra-cotta. It is indifferent whether we call these remains of the baths of Decius or of Varius; for both are found in the thirteenth region, and it is not known where either of them stood. Small proof affords the inscription of Panvinio; who might, at least, have been more definite in stating where it was found.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ In *Bufalini's Ancient Plan of Rome*, edit. A. D. 1561, the temple of Diana is exhibited as if it had stood at the intersection of the roads in the valley between the two churches! But see *Piranesi, Antichità, &c.* p. 23. No. 191.

²¹⁰ "Thermarum Varianarum mentio est in hac inscriptione in Aventino versus Portam S. Pauli inventa: —

In this same vineyard we may observe the hill again supported by arches, which also bear marks of having served for some edifice. Description of such things as these must now become wearisome; but much more so when there is not even the interest of knowing, or even conjecturing, to what they may have belonged. But in the vineyard adjacent to the church of S. Prisca, there is a ruin worthy of some observation. There are the remains of three arches of an aqueduct, the channel or specus of which is to be seen over the first arch; and it has poured its water into some part of these adjoining ruins. We have before remarked²¹¹, that the Aqua Claudia was distributed from the Neronian arches over the Cælian, the Palatine, and Aventine hills, and even across the Tyber; but Frontinus has occasion to observe, when *that* was the only stream which supplied the Cælian and Aventine hills, whenever it was stopped by repairing the aqueduct, or other causes, those two hills were destitute of a supply of water.²¹² To remedy this evil, several streams, of which the Aqua Marcia was the principal, were carried from

AQVA . TRAIAN . Q . ANICIVS . Q . F . ANTONIAN .

CVR . THERMARVM . VARIANARVM ."

Panvinio, Urb. Rom. Descript. lib. i. p. 101.

It is however probable, from the manner in which these baths are registered in the Notitia, "thermas Varianas et Decianas," that the one was but a continuation or improvement of the other; as in the third Regio we have "thermas Trajanas et Titianas." The circumstance is trifling, but it increases the probability of the baths of Varius having been in this vineyard.

²¹¹ See Dissertation IV. p. 157.

²¹² Vide *Frontin. de Aquæduct. Comment. cum notis Joan. Poleni*, p. 75. edit. Patav. 1723. *Idem*, p. 156.

the Cælian to the Aventine hill by means of a large aqueduct. Previous to the time of Nero, the Marcia and Julia had supplied the Aventine hill²¹³; and therefore the Marcia was only restored to its original use. In the opinion of Fabretti, this was the work of Nerva, arguing from the context of Frontinus, and the time at which he wrote his treatise²¹⁴: but that learned antiquary does not sufficiently account for the inscription found on the leaden pipe, and which has just been cited. The question is, whether Nerva or Trajan conveyed the Aqua Martia to the Aventine: a truly antiquarian dispute, but certainly not worth the trouble of deciding; more especially as it will not affect the circumstance of this being a part of the aqueduct that conveyed it, by whomsoever made. The adjoining building is entitled, from its excellent work, to be considered as of the same age, and some of the vaulted apartments within it may be assigned for the use of a reservoir or “castellum aquæ.” There are, however, rooms which must have served for other purposes; for when we consider that the whole occupies an ample space of about 120 feet by 80, such an enormous building could not be required for a mere “castellum aquæ.” We find in this region the private baths of Trajan. Now, if Nerva or Trajan, no matter whether, brought the water by means of this aqueduct, which joins the very building, what so probable as that this also formed

²¹³ *Frontin.* *ibid.* p. 145.; and compare “Et imprimis Marcia reddita *amplo opere* a Cælio in Aventinum usque perduxit.” — *Idem*, p. 156.

²¹⁴ *Fabretti, de Aquis et Aquæduct.* diss. iii. p. 168.

the private baths of Trajan? It is, however, but fair to observe, that “*privata Trajani*” may either be joined with “*domus*” or “*balnea*.” Panvinio has adopted both, and given an inscription which it is not easy to apply.

At the lower end of this Vigna Cavaletti is the burial-ground of the Jews, whence we again overlook the Murcian valley. Near the church of S. Prisca was found a tablet of basalt, engraven with hieroglyphics.²¹⁵ It is allowed to have belonged to the temple of Isis; and such a temple is registered in this region.

It now seems as if we had wrought ourselves into that “double night of ignorance and ages” which admonishes us to retire from the seven hills. Indeed, with regard to the Aventine, we can hardly say it was ever light; and three hundred years ago, the unintelligible vestiges equally eluded the enquiry of the antiquary.²¹⁶ Descending, therefore, to the intersection of the roads, we continue along the Via S. Paolo until it brings us into the Via S. Sebastiano, within sight of the Cælian hill; and we shall recognise with some familiarity the respective limits of the first and third, the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth regions: nor will it be forgotten, that it was here we set out with the Via Appia and its environs, to examine the topography and antiquities of Rome; it is here we end, *on this side the Tyber*; and if we have already

²¹⁵ *Ficoroni, Vestig. de Rom. Antic.* lib. i. p. 80.

²¹⁶ “. . . fra le tante rovine, che vi veggono non si può discernere questa da quella, tanto son consumate,” &c. — *Camucci, del Colle Aventino*, lib. ii. p. 91.

longed to escape from the thralldom of doubts and difficulties, the imagination is now free to wander ; and we may converse with the genius of ancient Rome without being altogether ignorant of his footsteps. We may have been sometimes perplexed with the doubts, and scared with the difficulties ; but to have discovered the truth, deduced the probability, or even detected the error, is more than a recompence ; and, whilst many excuse themselves from a rational investigation of this subject, by pleading the general uncertainty of it, we shall now return by the Colosseum, the Via Sacra, the Roman Forum, and the Capitol, with some degree of complacency, in feeling that we are not altogether unacquainted with the classic ground on which we tread, and to which so many of our countrymen find their distant way.



DISSERTATION THE ELEVENTH.

ON THE FOURTEENTH REGION, OR TRANSTYBERINA, WITH THE TYBER, BRIDGES AND DRAINS OF THE CITY; INCLUDING ALSO THE VATICAN MOUNT, THE FORT S. ANGELO, AND THE MONTE MARIO.

“Ahi! Constantin! di quanto mal fù madre
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco padre.”

DANTE.

THE vicissitudes of the city of Rome bear a striking analogy to those of her power and dominion. The distant provinces were gradually relinquished, as the power necessary for retaining them failed; and the inhabitants of the city, in an almost continued coincidence, gradually retired from the seven hills. Whilst the invisible contest between imperial and papal power was pending, the Romans clustered their abodes within the windings of the Tyber, as if at the same time doubtful whether the future renown of the city should rest upon the seven hills or the Vatican; but, at length, when time and circumstances declared in favour of the latter, the representative of the power migrated from the Capitoline Jove to the shrine of St. Peter; and now, whether the spiritual dominion shall flourish or decay, the eyes of the world are fixed upon the Vatican; where the pride of Rome has concentrated all her treasures and her

glory; and thus the Transtyberine district, which scarcely deserved the notice of the ancient historian, has gradually risen with the ecclesiastical power, and triumphs over the prostrate city of the emperors.

The Tyber enters Rome in a south-west direction, and, dividing the city by its serpentine course, embraces, within two alternate windings, the main portion of the present population. The communications from one side to the other are made by six ferries and four bridges.

Comparing the present state of the river with ancient accounts, it does not appear to have undergone much change. It was always subject to inundations, which it defied the power of the emperors to remedy. Dionysius states the width to be about four "plethra," which may be reduced to answer, at the present day, as a mean proportion.¹ It has generally a muddy appearance; but when it has been for some time free from the effects of rain, is not unworthy of the epithets which the ancients applied to it. In many places it is deep; but, from inequalities in the bed, is often self-obstructed, forming eddies and whirlpools, in which the poets loved to contemplate the silent dignity of father Tyberinus. It settles down in the summer season to an average depth of twelve or fifteen feet. Its banks are now very high, and show in many places a large deposit of alluvial soil; and

¹ *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. ix. cap. 67. p. 595.

It is necessary, however, to reduce the four plethra to about 400 feet, which first *Donatus* (apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 780.) and then *Nardini* (tom. iii. p. 380.) have shown may be done.

there can be no doubt, as Mr. Addison observed, the river has in this respect remedied its own evils; for there is sufficient proof that, in former times, it left, after an inundation, standing marshes in some places, which greatly inconvenienced the Romans²; but which does not happen now. This was particularly the case in the places about the Forum³, of which the story of Romulus and Remus, the Lacus Curtius, the Velabrum, &c., give sufficient indications. This subject became a matter of care with the Romans from the earliest period of their history. Even Romulus, we may suppose, partly filled up the Lacus Curtius⁴; but more positively it is said of Tarquin, who also accomplished the draining of the whole of this district, of which the Cloaca Maxima is a standing monument. Julius Cæsar had the intention of changing the course of the river entirely, by leading it at the foot of the Monte Mario⁵; but this project was never accomplished. Agrippa not only repaired the sewers, but made embankments

² “Nulli fluviorum minus licet inclusis utrinque lateribus, nec tamen ipse pugnât, quanquam creber ab subitis incrementis, et nusquam magis aquis quam in ipsa urbe stagnantibus.” — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 5. p. 38.; and consult *Brocchi, del Suolo di Roma*, p. 14. and 93.

³ *Ovid. Fast.* lib. vi. 401. et seq.

⁴ Livy relates two different stories about the Lacus Curtius (*Hist.* lib. i. cap. 13., and lib. vii. cap. 6.); but either of them will answer our purpose for showing what was anciently believed of the state of this ground. Compare also *Dionys.* lib. ii. cap. 42. p. 105. A small bas-relief, representing Curtius plunging into the gulf, was discovered in 1552 near S. Maria Liberatrice, and is now fixed on the wall of the staircase of the Palazzo Conservatori.

⁵ See Dissertation II. p. 63. and Note N. at the end of Vol. I.

on the river; and we find that Augustus cleansed and enlarged the bed, which was choked up, and the course of the river retarded, by the accumulation of rubbish.⁶ After this time, perhaps the banks became more agreeable; for Pliny tells us they were adorned with pleasant villas.⁷ The evil, however, still existed; for we find, under Tiberius, that the plains of the city stood with water after an inundation⁸: and it was made a question in the senate, whether some plan should not be adopted to prevent the recurrence of a similar inconvenience; but this was also relinquished. Trajan, after this, we find, cleansed out the bed⁹; and Aurelian found it again necessary to repeat the operation, and to build up its banks.¹⁰ In some inscriptions extant, we learn there were proper officers appointed to superintend the embankments and course of the river.* Several objects of art have at different times been found in the Tyber; and, like the Simois, it is still supposed to roll its current over "the shields and helmets of heroes:" but when Belisarius constructed his mills in the

⁶ "Ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, et ædificiorum prolapsionibus coarctatum." — *Suet. in Octav. cap. 30.*

⁷ *Plin. ut supra.*

⁸ *Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 76. et 79.*

⁹ *C. Plin. Epist. lib. viii. cap. 17.* The whole of this epistle affords ample illustration of the ancient ravages of the Tiber.

¹⁰ "Tiberinas extruxi ripas: vadum alvei tumentis effodi," &c. "Nunc tuum officium, Arabiane . . . elaborare, ne mee dispositiones in irritum veniant." These are Aurelian's own words, writing to the prefect of supplies. Vide *Flav. Vopisc. Div. Aurelian. cap. 47.* This is the last account come down to us of any thing being done to the Tyber by the emperors.

* See Note EE.

middle of the stream, we do not find his operations were retarded by the drowned treasures of Rome.¹¹

In modern times the inundations have not been less frequent ; and we shall see with no small surprise the heights to which the waters have sometimes risen. They are marked upon a column at the Ripetta, and on the churches of S. Maria al Popolo, S. Eustachio, and S. Maria sopra Minerva. Fabricius, mentioning an inundation which took place in 1530, in consequence of the bursting of the Velino Lake¹², says “ the whole of Rome was navigable.” We have also witnessed the superabundant “ tears of Ilia ; ” and have had occasion to remark how much the evil is increased when “ the waters recede from the Etruscan shore.”¹³

It is now time to speak of the common sewers. Works of the greatest benefit to a community are rather dependent upon labour than ingenuity, and are generally such as need and expediency at once suggest ; the expediency of remedying those evils to which the situation of Rome exposed it, (a situation, observes Strabo¹⁴, adopted by necessity, and not by choice,) must have occurred to the first inhabitants of the Palatine hill ; and simply to make a drain for carrying off the standing water required no great advancement in art and civilisation. But when we look upon the remains of the “ Cloaca

¹¹ *Procopius de Bello Gothico*, lib. i. cap. 15. ; and see *Nardini, Rom. Antica*, tom. iii. p. 381. note 1.

¹² *Georg. Fabricii Descript. &c. apud Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 450.

¹³ *Horat. Carm.* lib. i. 2.

¹⁴ Vide ut infra citat. p. 224.

Maxima," we must suppose it to have been at least a populous city which could require and produce such a labour: hence it has been imagined that before the foundation of Rome a great town had existed on the same spot, and those drains, which some Etruscan king or descendant of Evander had made, were adopted by the founders of the new city.¹⁵ We have often heard doubts thrown upon the antiquity of a monument, tending to diminish from its age; but in this instance the doubt lies the contrary way, and the Cloaca is perhaps the only object of antiquity in Rome which a sceptic would insinuate to be older than is really pretended. A monument, therefore, which is so freely allowed to have existed for at least twenty-four centuries may well excite our interest and astonishment. It is best seen near the arch of Janus Quadrifrons by passing under some low brick vaults opposite the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro. This great sewer is built with three tier of arches one upon another: the interior of the vault is perfectly regular, being about fourteen feet wide, and as many in height; it is ruined a little at the beginning, but is well preserved all the way to the river, that is to say, as much of it as remains in continuation, each block of stone measures seven Roman palms three inches in length, and four palms two inches in thickness.¹⁶ It reaches the Tyber a little below the Ponte Rotto, and nearly beneath the "little temple of Vesta;" and the mouth of it may

¹⁵ *Ferguson's Roman Republic*, book i. note 20.

¹⁶ Consult *Piranesi, Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. p. 168.; and *Magnificen. de' Romani*, p. 14.

be well discerned when we arrive at the island of the Tyber. Originally it ran up into the Forum, where some vestiges of it were found in 1742 at a depth of forty-five palms¹⁷: it received in its course thence the contents of all the smaller drains, and in its whole length ran perhaps 1000 feet. About forty-four feet is the portion still existing, and which answers the original purpose. It is of peperine stone, but strengthened with large blocks of travertine, and substructed with a considerable quantity of tufo: the travertine, we may suppose, was inserted in some of those reparations made at a later period. If we content ourselves with the antiquity usually assigned to the "cloacæ," we shall find the difficulties attending their origin more easily removed than by going back to the Etruscan empire. The census taken by Servius Tullius showed that Rome then contained eighty thousand men fit to bear arms¹⁸: it could not be much less in the time of Tarquinius Priscus; consequently, the whole population taken in any proportion to this efficient part of it was not unworthy of the Cloaca Maxima. Those who consider the history of Rome, previous to the great sack of the Gauls, as fabulous, will at least admit the reason Livy gives¹⁹ for the sewers having been built over, as plausible, viz. owing to the great haste with which

¹⁷ *Venuti, Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. p. 98.

¹⁸ *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 44.

¹⁹ "Festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum omisso sui alienique discrimine, in vacuo ædificant. Ea est causa, ut veteres cloacæ, primo per publicum ductæ, nunc privata passim subeant tecta; formaque urbis sit occupatæ magis, quam divisæ similis." — *Idem*, lib. v. cap. 55. in fin.

the counsel of Camillus was followed after the terrible disasters of Rome and Veii : indeed, neither Livy nor Dionysius express any doubts as to the period when these works were made ; and the anecdote which Pliny relates of Tarquin is decisive as to the current opinion of that day.²⁰ It is intimated that the great object at first was, to drain those parts of the city where the water stood in marshes²¹ ; but at a subsequent period [A. C. 184.] the censors Flaccus and Cato made other shores where they were wanting ; which, Donatus justly observes, would be about those hills which were added to the city after Tarquin ; but Livy particularises the Aventine hill.²² “ The great works of utility which the Greeks neglected, claimed,” says Strabo²³, “ the special regard of the Romans ; for instance, their public roads, their aqueducts, and their cloacæ, by which the filth of the city was carried into the Tyber. Those subterraneous arches were built of

²⁰ Pliny's story is, that Tarquin set the common people to work at these sewers ; and so irksome was the labour, that numbers rid themselves of it by a voluntary death : then the king, to put a stop to this evil, fixed the dead bodies of those self-murderers upon crosses, where they were exhibited as a spectacle to the citizens, and left as a prey to wild animals and birds. This expedient had its effect ; and the horror of the ignominy after death induced the surviving ones to prefer a painful life. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 15.

²¹ . . . Infima urbis loca circa Forum, aliasque interjectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis e fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccant.” — *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. 38.

²² *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxix. cap. 44. ; and compare *Donat.* lib. iii. cap. 20.

²³ *Geograph.* lib. v. p. 360. [marg. 236.] tom. i. edit. in 2 tom. folio, cum notis Casaubon. 1707.

stone, and in some places could admit a wain loaded with hay ; and such a quantity of water was brought down by the aqueducts, that rivers flowed through the heart of the city, and the Cloaca and every house could have its cisterns, its pipes, and copious supplies of water." Dionysius regarded the Cloacæ as one of those three things which especially showed the greatness of the Roman dominion, not considering merely the utility of the works, but the prodigious expense in making them ; and he informs us, on the authority of a certain Aquilius, that the censors once expended 1000 talents in merely cleansing them²⁴ : he surely must have meant to include the additional new works of the two censors above-mentioned. There was, however, a tax levied for keeping them in repair and cleansing them, called the Cloacarium.²⁵ Pliny also considered them as the wonder of the city works ; and he describes the hills as perforated, and the streets as standing upon vaults, so that barges might with ease pass under them. When Agrippa was edile, he turned the courses of seven streams into them, which were impelled with all the impetuosity of a torrent, carrying away with it every opposing obstacle, and shaking the very ground. " It sometimes happened," continues Pliny²⁶, " that the waters of the Tyber flowed into the drains, and met with violence the opposing waters within ; but, such was their

²⁴ *Antiquitat. Roman.* lib. iii. cap. 67. p. 191. One thousand talents, about 193,000*l.*

²⁵ *Ulpian.* s. " Si quid cloacarii," ff. de usufr.

²⁶ In loco supra cit.

solidity, they stood firm. Whatever masses were rolled down them, or whatever weights of ruin fell upon them, they were not moved: even the earthquakes did not affect them; but for 800 years they had stood unimpaired:” and then he repeats the expression of Strabo, “a wagon-load of hay might pass under the arches.” When a dreadful plague raged in Rome, about 300 years before Christ; in the narrow streets, we are told, they threw the dead bodies into the sewers; from which we may infer there were grates or sink-stones at intervals in the streets.²⁷ It is impossible at this day to trace the minor drains, which no doubt brought down the filth from every quarter of the city, so that Juvenal describes the eels as penetrating up the Cloaca as far as the Suburra²⁸: of course, the drains in the Campus Martius did not reach the principal sewer in question. There are some huge stones remaining on the bank of the river, not far from the mouth of this Cloaca Maxima, which are very probably coeval with it. At the time when most of the ancient monuments of Rome were neglected, the sewers, ever useful, received the attention of the popes: Honorius III. and Gregory IX., early in the thirteenth century, repaired them, and even made some new ones.²⁹ At a more recent period, Gregory XV. and Urban VIII. were employed in draining other parts of the city. The

²⁷ Vide *Dionys.* lib. x. cap. 53. p. 645.; and compare *Horat. Sat.* lib. ii. 3. 342.

²⁸ *Satyr.* v. 106.

²⁹ In *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 385. note 1.

soil of Rome is easily perforated, and perhaps there is no city at this day which has so many subterraneous passages.³⁰

The ancient bridges were eight in number, which we will now consider in the order enumerated by P. Victor.

1. Pons Milvius, now called the Ponte Molle, was originally constructed by Marcus Æmilius Scaurus, the censor, in the 645th year of the city³¹: forty-five years after this, we find it mentioned by Cicero under the name of Milvius³², which is generally thought to be a corruption of Æmilius, as Molle is of Milvius. Situated at a little distance from the city³³, surrounded by villas and places of public resort, it became the rendezvous of nightly revellers and debauchees in the licentious age of Nero³⁴; but it is celebrated as the scene of several historical events. The ambassadors of the Allobroges, together with Vulturcius,

³⁰ Nardini finishes his laborious work in wonder and astonishment at these subterraneous works; and he thinks the writer of the Apocalypse did not designate *pagan* Rome amiss, as “the great whore that sitteth upon many waters,” [*i. e.* sewers!] He is aware of the mystic sense — “The waters where the whore sitteth, are people, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.” “Nulladimeno letteralmente ancora, e pianamente le tante acque, che aveva ella sotto, ci rappresenta!” *Papal* Rome has derived her greatest luxury and comfort from having paid special regard to keeping her seat upon the many waters.

³¹ *Aurelius Victor, de Viris Illustribus*, cap. 27.

³² *Orat. in Catilin.* iii.

³³ In the Carta Peutingeriana we read “ad Pontem III.,” the distance being calculated from the old Porta Flaminia under the Capitol.

³⁴ *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xiii. cap. 47.

concerned in the Catiline conspiracy, were attacked upon the Milvian bridge, and after a struggle were all apprehended by the officers providentially sent by Cicero for that purpose.³⁵ When Lepidus renewed the troubles of the commonwealth, by attempting to reverse the acts of Sylla, Catulus and Pompey encamped against him on the Janiculum and the Pons Milvius.³⁶ But more celebrated than all, is the battle between Constantine and Maxentius, which decided the fate of Rome and the empire.³⁷ The Ponte Molle is reared upon four arches of travertine stone, and is about 350 feet in length. It was so entirely rebuilt [A. D. 1450] by Pope Nicolas V. that it cannot be said any thing ancient now remains to be seen; indeed, the old bridge was probably a few paces farther up the river, and some vestiges of the foundations may be discovered when the waters are very low.

2. Pons Ælius, now the Ponte S. Angelo, was first made by (Ælius) Hadrian at the time he built his mausoleum.³⁸ There is a medal extant, which exhibits it with three main arches in the middle, and on each side of those, two of smaller dimen-

³⁵ *Cicero. in Catilin. orat. iii.*

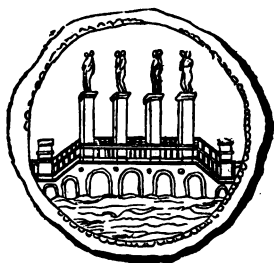
³⁶ *L. Annaeus Florus*, lib. iv. cap. 23.; and consult *Ferguson's Roman Republic*, chap. i. book 3.

Belisarius fortified the Pons Milvius by building a tower upon it when Vitiges approached Rome. (*Procop. de Bello Gothic. lib. i. cap. 14.*)

³⁷ See the animated account of *Gibbon, Decline and Fall*, chap. xiv. A. D. 312. (Oct. 28.)

³⁸ *Spartian. in vit. Hadrian. cap. 19.*, and *Dion Cassius*, in ead. lib. lxi. sect. 27. p. 1170.; where it is called the "Pons Ælius."

sions; on the parapet were stationed, at regular distances, square pillars surmounted by statues. The last small arch is observed to stand at an angle with the rest, which gives reason to suppose it was so made to accommodate a road which issued in that direction. Nardini supposes the



bridge only led to the mausoleum; and this might be the case in the first instance, for certainly it could not be required for public accommodation so long as the Vatican bridge near it was standing: it appears, however, to have been in public use at the time of Belisarius, as we shall see in the course of our circuit. The present appearance of the Ponté S. Angelo is not much unlike what it originally was; for which it is indebted to the care of Pope Clement IX. and the genius of Bernini. It fell down in 1450, and a number of persons were precipitated into the river³⁹: when Nicolas V. renewed it, he placed, in memory of that sad accident, two chapels at the extremity: these were found inconvenient, and accordingly were taken down by Clement VII., who placed in their stead

³⁹ *Camucci, dell' Antichità di Roma*, p. 185.; *Lucio Mauro, Antich. della Città*, &c. p. 110.

the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. Much of the ancient construction of peperine stone still remains in the vaulting of the arches.

3. Pons Vaticanus. Some vestiges of the foundations were visible until lately⁴⁰, but can only be discerned occasionally now, when the river is low. They indicate the bridge stood about 300 paces below the Ponte S. Angelo, where the Tyber in turning forms a small bay. The additional title of "triumphalis" is given to this bridge, not upon the authority of any ancient writer, but from inference; because it was the direct communication between the Campus Martius and the Clivus Cinnæ⁴¹ (Monte Mario), by which we know the triumphs descended.

4. Pons Janiculensis is usually identified with the site of the Ponte Xysto, which Sixtus IV. built upon the ruins of the old bridge. To adopt the language of Forsyth, it "denies us the pleasure of disputing upon it;" for nothing except the mere name has been rescued from oblivion. The old antiquaries⁴² repeat a tradition which brings down the name of Antoninus as the founder, or at least the restorer, of this bridge; and they add the

⁴⁰ See *Piranesi*, tom. iv. tav. 13. and 45.; and compare *Vacca, Mem.* No. 93.

⁴¹ See Dissertation II. p. 72.; and compare *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. ii. p. 190.

⁴² *Marliano*, apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 185.; *Mazocchi, Epigram. Urb. Rom.* p. 11.; *Andreas Fulvio*, carta 94.; *Panciroli Descript. Urb. Rom.* apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 378. But they are not agreed whether it is to be called Aurelius on the emperor's account, or because of the ancient Via Aurelia.

name of Aurelius to it. A terrible inundation of the Tyber took place in the reign of Marcus, which threw down many buildings of the city, and not unlikely some of the bridges suffered by it. The emperor, it is said, repaired all the mischief⁴³, and might restore this bridge among the rest : but he was not the founder of it ; for an inscription of the time of Trajan was still existing upon it in the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ As it led to the Janiculum, there is more show of reason for the received ancient name, which we must adopt without a murmur ; and with the same implicit confidence we must find the ancient Via Recta in the modern Strada Julia ; because, forsooth, it was a straight street, leading along the Tyber from one bridge to another.

5. and 6. Pons Fabricius and Pons Cestius. These belong to the island of the Tyber, to which we shall shortly recur.

7. Pons Palatinus, gratuitously named also Senatorius, was in the middle ages called Ponte di S. Maria, from an image or chapel of the Virgin which stood upon it. From a passage in Livy⁴⁵, it is supposed to have been founded in the 573d year of the city, by Marcus Fulvius the censor, who put down the piles ; and to have been finished

⁴³ *Julii Capitolin. M. Antonin.* cap. 8.; et vide *Martinelli, Descript. de' Ponte*, &c. p. 33.

⁴⁴ See this inscription, corrected by *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 361. I suspect Trajan was the founder of this bridge, the next in position and age to those of the island.

⁴⁵ "M. Fulvius plura et majoris locavit usus ; portum et pilas pontis in Tiberim ; quibus pilis fornices post aliquot annos P. Scipio Africanus et L. Mummius censores locaverunt inponendos." — *Lib. xl. cap. 51.*

by the censors P. Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius. Livy, indeed, only mentions a bridge across the Tyber; but as, at that time, any other would have been without the walls of Rome, a circumstance which he must have noticed, and as we can trace any of the others which could come in competition, to a different origin, it is concluded the Pons Palatinus must be meant. An inscription which was read upon it⁴⁶ shows that Augustus repaired it; but it is shrouded in perplexing silence till the thirteenth century, when it fell down, and was rebuilt by Pope Honorius III.⁴⁷ It had to be renewed again by Julius III. in 1564. It was carried away a third time, and again restored by Gregory XIII. in 1595. In the great inundation of 1598, two arches were swept away; and in that state it has since remained, with the appropriate name of Ponte Rotto.

8. Pons Sublicius, though last in order, is first in antiquity and renown. It was, as our author says, afterwards called Æmilius.⁴⁸ He little recked "what mischief dire he brewed" by such an insinuation; and if we were to enter the lists of controversy in this particular, we might be amply recompensed for all the loss sustained in not being able to dispute upon the other bridges. It is,

46

DIVVS . AVG . PONT . MAX . EX . S . C

REFECIT .

Mazocchi, Epigram. Urb. Rom. p. 11.

⁴⁷ It is on this occasion we find it mentioned by the Cardinal of Aragon under the name of "Pons S. Mariæ." See note, in *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 357.

⁴⁸ "Æmilius, qui ante Sublicius." — *Victor de Region.*

Also in *Regio XI.* "Ædis Portumni ad pontem Æmilii olim Sublici."

however, granted that Ancus Martius was the founder of it, under the circumstances we have already detailed⁴⁹; and its name was derived from a word in the Volscian dialect significant of the materials of which it was first constructed⁵⁰—stakes or piles of wood. The heroic action of Horatius Cocles consecrated it in the eyes of posterity, and it could never even be repaired without the intervention of the pontiffs, and all the circumstance of religious sacrifice; nay, the very name of Pontifex, according to Varro⁵¹, meant nothing more originally than a builder of this sacred bridge! It is mentioned by Dionysius as the only one existing in the 461st year of the city; and in time of war, he observes, they were accustomed to take it down⁵². Comparing this account with what has been said of the origin of the Pons Palatinus, we shall find that Rome existed for six centuries with but one temporary bridge; so that the district beyond the Tyber must have been very thinly inhabited. Whatever repairs were done to the Pons Sublicius, it was necessary to copy the original model and construction: it was sacrilege to use spikes of metal, in order, as Pliny observes, that the rafters could be taken away and replaced at

⁴⁹ See Dissertation I. p. 25. Vol. I.

⁵⁰ Festus in verb. "Sublicius." The Marian law required the bridges should be made narrow, as we find they all are. *Cic. de Legibus*, lib. iii. sect. 16.; sed vide *Paulum Merulam de Leg. Roman.* cap. i. sect. 20.

⁵¹ "Pontifices ego a ponte arbitror, nam ab his Sublicius est factus primum et restitutus sæpe, cum ideo sacra et uls et cis Tiberim non mediocri ritu fiant." — *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* lib. iv. cap. 15.

⁵² *Antiquitat. Roman.* lib. ix. cap. 67. p. 595.

pleasure.⁵³ The question is, whether this bridge, after so much veneration, was ever rebuilt with stone arches, and by whom? The common opinion is, it was so "rebuilt by Paulus Æmilius Lepidus, who was censor in 732 of the city, *i. e.* the year after it had been thrown down by an inundation⁵⁴: and hence the new name Æmilius, which Victor says it bore. Now, Dionysius certainly wrote his history several years after the censorship of Paulus⁵⁵; and he states, that up to that moment the wooden bridge was scrupulously kept up on the old system; and it was unlawful to repair it with iron or copper, or any thing else but wood.⁵⁶ To pass over the testimony of Ovid⁵⁷, we find Pliny as positive as the Greek historian: it is equally certain the name of Æmilius never prevailed. Tacitus calls it by its ancient name Sub-

⁵³ "Cyzici et buleuterion vocant ædificium amplum, sine ferreo clavo, ita disposita contignatione, ut eximantur trabes sine fulturis, ac reponantur. Quod item Romæ in Ponte Sublicio religiosum est, posteaquam Coclite Horatio defendente ægrè revulsus est." — *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 15. p. 642.

⁵⁴ *Dion Cassius*, lib. liv. cap. 1. p. 730. No mention, however, is made of the bridge here; but ten years previous, Dion Cassius says it fell down entirely. *Idem*, p. 609. A. U. C. 722.

⁵⁵ He arrived at Rome about thirty years before the Christian era, and he published his history twenty-two years after; *i. e.* in the year of the city 744; and this *at the earliest*. See *Dodwell's Dissertat. de ætate Dionys.* appended to the Oxford edition usually cited in this work, tom. ii. p. 323.

⁵⁶ Καὶ τὴν ξυλὴν γέφυραν, ἣν ἄνευ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου δέμις ἐπ' αὐτῶν διακρατῆσθαι τῶν ξύλων, ἐκεῖνος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ Τιβέρι λέγεται, ἣν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος διαφυλάττουσιν, ἱερὰν εἶναι νομίζοντες· εἰ δέ τι πονήσῃν αὐτῆς μέρος, εἰ ἱεροφάνται διεκρινέουσιν, θυσίας τινὰς ἐπιτιλοῦντες ἅμα τῇ κατασκευῇ πατέρους. — *Antiquitat. Roman.* lib. iii. tom. i. p. 176.

⁵⁷ *Fast.* lib. v. 622.

licius⁵⁸, and so does Capitolinus⁵⁹, who wrote as late as Diocletian. He mentions it among the works of Antoninus Pius, and there is a medal of that emperor existing, on the reverse of which the bridge is represented with a single broken arch, on two vast projecting buttresses. It is by no means sure the Pons Æmilius of Juvenal points to this, although he is evidently speaking of a bridge standing in a populous district of Rome, and not the Ponte Molle.⁶⁰ Lampridius says, the body of Heliogabalus was thrown into the Tyber from the Pons Æmilius; so that it is also evident there was a bridge of that name: and to this Plutarch alludes, when he mentions “the stone bridge made by Æmilius,” in contradistinction to the one of wood.⁶¹ Now, to reconcile all these things, we must conclude that Æmilius, whoever he was, did not disturb the old Pons Sublicius, but made an

⁵⁸ In mentioning an inundation of the Tyber, by which it appears the whole fabric was thrown down — “Subitâ inundatione Tiberis; qui immenso auctu, proruto Ponte Sublicio, ac strage obstantis molis refusus.” — *Histor. lib. i. cap. 86.*

⁵⁹ *Jul. Capitolin. in vit. Antonin. Pii*, cap. 8.

⁶⁰ An error which is adopted in the Delphin editions: but see *Juvenal. Sat. vi. 31.*

⁶¹ Plutarch, discussing the origin of the word pontifex, writes thus: — Οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν, ἀλλ’ ἐπάρσατον ἡγεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ξυλίνης γέφυρας· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ πᾶμπαν ἄνευ σιδήρου κατὰ δὴ τι λόγιον συγγεγομφῶσθαι διὰ τῶν ξυλίων. Ἡ δὲ λιθίνη πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐξεργάσθη χρόνοις ὑπ’ Αἰμιλίου ταμειύοντος. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ξυλίνην τῶν Νουμᾶ χρόνων ἀπολείπεσθαι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ Μαρκίου τοῦ Νουμᾶ θυγατρὶδος βασιλεύοντος ἀποτελεισθῆσαν. — *In vita Numæ*, sect. 9.

Here it is to be noted, that Plutarch speaks of what HAD BEEN thought and done about the wooden bridge, and he does not say it was rebuilt of stone; but “THE bridge of stone was entirely set up by Æmilius,” &c.

entire new bridge near it of stone. The old one was left standing, on account of its sanctity; but because of its frail materials it was insufficient for the public accommodation, always being liable to be carried away by the inundations of the river. The medal of Antoninus shows evidently it was only kept up in memory of the famous exploit⁶²; and it appears to have lain in ruins from the inundation mentioned by Tacitus to the age of Antoninus Pius. In the course of time it became less sacred, because it was of no utility; and then the Pons Æmilius finally prevailed over it, and from their contiguity they might easily be identified. Tradition has preserved the situation in the name of Ponte Orazio, agreeable to the indications of ancient writers. Some vestiges of what we suppose the Æmilian bridge may be traced in crossing the ferry from the Marmorata to the Ripa Grande. It was swept away as early as the eighth century, when Hadrian I. was pope; and it was finally demolished by Sixtus IV. in the year 1484.

The island of the Tyber belongs to the fourteenth region. Livy gives the following account of its origin⁶³:—"The field of the Tarquins, which

⁶² See an impression in *Nardini*, tom. iii. tav. 2. No. 56.

⁶³ *Histor.* lib. ii. cap. 5.; and compare *Dionys. Antiquit., &c.* lib. v. cap. 13. tom. i. p. 276. He adds, "The whole island was sacred to Æsculapius." In Nolli's great plan of Rome there is a small island represented near this, which is now no longer visible: it disappeared in 1788, after an inundation of the Tyber, precipitated by a violent north wind. Gabrini, who relates the circumstance (in the *Antologia Romana*, tom. xv. p. 321.), finding the island composed of solid materials compacted with cement, thinks it was some remains of the old quay begun by Tarquin, consolidated by Augustus, and renewed by Aurelian,

lay between the city and the Tyber, being consecrated to Mars, became from that time the Campus Martius. [A. C. 507.] There happened to be, it is said, a crop of wheat there ready for reaping; but as it would have been sacrilege to consume the produce of that field, now that it was consecrated, they cut the corn, and a great number of hands gathered it up into baskets, straw and all, and threw it into the Tyber, which was then very shallow, as it usually is in the middle of summer. As small masses of a more solid nature stuck in the ford, it assumed a consistence, and thus an island was formed by degrees, as the current brought down continued additions of all sorts of matter. I imagine it was afterwards consolidated by large masses, added by hand labour; insomuch that the surface now rises boldly and firm enough for sustaining temples and porticos." Of these temples, the one dedicated to Æsculapius was the most ancient as well as the most celebrated: it was erected [A. C. 292] in the 460th year of the city, on the following occasion:—Rome was afflicted with a dreadful plague: the Sibylline oracles were consulted, to ascertain the will of the gods; and it was found that Æsculapius was to be fetched from Epidaurus to Rome. An embassy was equipped for that purpose, as soon as the consuls

for the purpose of resisting the force of the river at this turn: and that in the course of time the current, finding its way past it, and being convenient for the mills, was readily adopted. The island being now joined again to the bank of the river, makes a kind of ford, which is called the arenola or regola, where we find masses of ruins, &c. The mills were from that time transferred to where we now see them.

had respite from war. In returning with the statue of the god, they found a serpent had got into their ship, in which the influence of the deity had taken up its abode. On arriving at the island the divine serpent went out, and on the self-same spot which the god seemed to have chosen, they built a temple to Æsculapius.⁶⁴ It was probably at this time they faced the whole circumference of the island with travertine stone, reducing it to the form of a ship. A considerable quantity of this work remained about three centuries ago, as appears from the sketch of Camucci⁶⁵, and what remains now is an object of no small curiosity. Descending by the garden of the convent of S. Bartolomeo, we shall see the serpent still sculptured on the fore part of the ship; and we may form some estimate, from the masses of stone existing on both sides of the island, what the original work must have been. The whole length was not far short of 1500 feet, and the width about 160. The church of S. Bartolomeo probably stands on the very site of the heathen temple; and perhaps we discover the last

⁶⁴ Vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. x. cap. 47., and *Epitome*, lib. 11. "Thus the devil," says Nardini, "after having tempted our first parents in the form of a serpent, and thereby becoming an object of contempt and abhorrence, would still be worshipped under the very same semblance, not only by Greece, but by a people who were masters of the world," &c. tom. iii. p. 350. Plutarch, however, intimates there was some utility in the superstition. *Quæst. Rom.* 94. Compare also *Claudian. in Laud. Stilichon.* lib. iii. 171., and *Aurelius Victor de Viris Illustrib.* p. 49. edit. Par. 1681: but *Valerius Maximus* (lib. i. p. 46. edit. Basil. 1557.) is the author most diffuse on this subject.

⁶⁵ *Antichità di Roma*, p. 180, 181.; and vide *Marliano*, apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 183.

scattered vestiges in those fragments of marble which are used for steps, or lie in the garden. There were, however, two other temples on the island: the one dedicated to Jupiter, the other to Faunus. The former was vowed by L. Furius Purpureo, the prætor, in the Gallic war of the year 558 of the city; and six years afterwards [A.C. 194] the vow was accomplished. C. Servilius, the duumvir, officiated at the dedication.⁶⁶ The temple of Faunus was erected two years earlier, by the economy of two plebeian ædiles, whose names were Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and C. Scribonius. They brought to trial several farmers of the public lands⁶⁷; and three of them being condemned to pay enormous fines, they considered the whole as due to the rustic god; and they paid him accordingly with a temple. Both these temples are mentioned by Vitruvius as specimens of the prostyle⁶⁸; and they must necessarily have been of small proportions. To some of these insular buildings belonged, no doubt, the granite columns which now support the interior of St. Bartholomew's church. Something of the nature of an hospital was attached to Æsculapius's temple; but the invalids seem rather to have looked for

⁶⁶ *Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 53.

⁶⁷ *Idem*, lib. xxxiii. cap. 42.

⁶⁸ "Hujus (prostyl.) exemplar est in insula Tyberina, in æde Jovis et Fauni." — *De Architect.* lib. iii. cap. 1. Ovid seems to point out the situation of the temple of Faunus at the upper end of the island: —

"Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni,

Hic ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas."

Fast. lib. ii. 193.

miraculous cures, than from relief and recovery by the process of the healing art.⁶⁹ Tiberius turned it into an asylum worthy of his unrelenting cruelty. That the iron might enter more effectually into the soul of the victims of his tyranny, they were doomed to languish for thirty days in the Island of the Serpent, after their condemnation, and then brought out for execution.⁷⁰ At the entrance of the temple there was engraven, on a tablet, a receipt for the bite of venomous animals: the ingredients are given by Pliny.⁷¹ The interior of the temple was adorned with paintings, of which the prætor Lucretius had plundered the Greeks.⁷² Two grave writers⁷³ mention a statue of Julius Cæsar, which stood on the island, and once, on a clear and serene day, it turned round from east to west of its own accord! There is some account of an obelisk having been erected in the middle of the island; and there is a notion that it was intended to represent the ship mast: but the small obelisk which Camucci⁷⁴ saw lying in the place before

⁶⁹ "Cum quidam ægra et affecta mancipia in insulam Æsculapii, *tædio medendi, exponerent*, omnes, qui exponerentur, liberos esse sanxit, nec redire in ditionem domini, si convalescerent: quod si quis necare quem mallet, quam exponere, cædis crimine teneri." — *Suet. in Claud.* cap. 25. One cannot suppose those sick persons were "exposed" in the open air: perhaps the portico of the temple was fitted up for the reception of such. What inhumanity is implied in the latter part of the passage here cited! Compare *Plautus in Curculio*. act. ii. 234.

⁷⁰ See the passage from *Sidonius*, lib. i. ep. 7. cited in *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 355.

⁷¹ *Hist. Nat.* lib. xx. cap. 23.

⁷² *Tit. Liv.* lib. xliii. cap. 4.

⁷³ *Tacit. Hist.* lib. i. cap. 86., and *Suet. in Vespasian.* cap. 5.

⁷⁴ *Antichità di Roma*, p. 179.

St. Bartholomew's church, and which has since passed through the Villa Albani to Paris, was, in his estimation, too small for answering such a purpose. But when we consider that Bellori, in 1676, found, at a depth of eighteen palms, vestiges of a considerable basement⁷⁵, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that the obelisk formed but the upper part of a pillar; and the whole would form a mast proportioned to the magnitude of the Ship Island. A statue of Æsculapius, some curious inscriptions⁷⁶, and objects of smaller interest, have at different times been discovered.

The island is joined by two bridges, whose ancient names we have already set down in their order. The inscription on the first*, of which a part still remains, bore the name of Fabricius; and comparing the words of Dion Cassius, it appears the bridge was first erected by that inspector of roads [A.C. 60], in the year of the city 692⁷⁷: this will make it the third in chronological order, not taking the Ponte Molle into the account. It is mentioned by Horace as the place which Damaspis would have chosen for his fatal plunge, had

⁷⁵ *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. ii. p. 177.; and see *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 354. note (2).

⁷⁶ The metamorphosis of SEMONI SANGO DEO FIDIO into Simon Magus, by Justin Martyr (*Pro Christ. Apolog.* ii. p. 69. edit. Colon. 1686), had rendered the inscription, which is still preserved in the Vatican, celebrated. See *Middleton's Letter from Rome*.

* See Note FF.

⁷⁷ Ἡ γέφυρα ἡ λιθίνη ἐς τὸ νησίδιον τότε ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι ὃν φέρουσα, κατεσκευάσθη, Φαβρίκια κληθεῖσα.—*Lib. xxxvii. cap. 45. p. 140.* The consuls mentioned in the inscriptions were forty-one years after Fabricius.

not brighter ideas come to his relief.⁷⁸ It is now called the Ponte Quattro Capi, from the four-headed Januses near it: there are four of these curious images, representing a bearded Janus, or a Jupiter Ammon⁷⁹; and perhaps they were originally placed at each end of the bridge for use and ornament.

The Pons Cestius must originally have been made before the termination of the republic, for a private individual would not have been allowed, under the emperors, to give his name to a public work; but as Augustus acted with great indulgence and policy⁸⁰ in the early part of his reign, it is not impossible the Caius Cestius of the pyramid, or some of his family, might be the founder. It was completely renewed under the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, as appears from two lengthy inscriptions still existing on the parapets: the work was superintended by the præfect Symmachus, about the year 367; but the ungrateful people, a few years after, forgetting their benefactor, in a popular tumult, set fire to his splendid house which he had in the Transtiberine district.⁸¹ The bridge is now called Ponte S. Bartolomeo, and sometimes Ponte Cestio; and such is the inveteracy of custom, that the original appellation

⁷⁸ *Sat. lib. ii. iii. 36.*

⁷⁹ See *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 176.; and compare the passage from Symmachus, cited by Nardini's editor, tom. iii. p. 360. note 1.

⁸⁰ "Quædam etiam opera sub nomine alieno . . . fecit. . . . Sed et cæteros principes viros sæpe hortatus est, ut, pro facultate, quisque monimentis, vel novis, vel reffectis et excultis, urbem adornarent. *Multaque a multis exstructa sunt.*" — *Suet. in vit. Octav. cap. 29.*

⁸¹ *Ammian. Marcellin. lib. iv. cap. 27.*

prevailed over the names of the imperial restorers.⁶² Having now disposed of every thing relating to the Tyber, we may take a general view of the circuit which yet lies before us.

The fourteenth region was 33,488 feet in circumference. The Base Capitolina gives the names of nineteen streets belonging to it; with which P. Victor agrees, adding only three more. Hence it may be inferred there was no great difference in its extent between the time of Hadrian and Valentinian, say from the year 100 to 370. The Tyber was of course one fixed boundary; but it is not easy to ascertain the limits in other directions; we find, however, twenty-two granaries (*horrea*) registered. Now, these were most probably situated opposite the Aventine hill near the *navalia*; and therefore we may safely go down the river as far as the ancient *Porta Portuensis*, which stood opposite the emporium in the *Villa Cesarini*. In the other direction we are guided by the "*Vaticanus*," which also belongs to this district; and, as we have already shown, was the name anciently applied to the height where the church of *S. Onofrio* stands. Thence is to be comprised the *Villa Lante*, and the high ground rising above the whole length of the *Strada della Longara*. Taking, therefore, the two extreme points at the *Porta*

⁶² Mazocchi gives an inscription, which shows it has undergone a thorough repair in more recent times:—

"BENEDICTVS ALMAE VRBIS
SVMMVS SENATOR RESTAVRA
VIT HVNC PONTEM FERE
DIRVPTVM."

Epigram. Urbis, p. 11.

S. Spirito, and the site of the ancient Porta Portuensis, we have to draw an outline which will enclose with the Tyber a circuit of five or six miles; so that the walls of Urban VIII. (beginning from the bastion of S. Spirito, and as far as the Porta S. Pancrazio,) may well enough mark so much of our limits: from that gate to the river the direction of the old walls must be preferred, which, although varying from the modern, will not enclose a less space, because they extended farther down the river than the present Porta Portese. By this arrangement (observing the island was also included) we shall have a circuit of 30,000 or 40,000 feet. The modern Rione XIII. Trastevere is about four miles and a half in circuit; and Bernardini observes, the name, the site, the amplitude, all correspond to the ancient "Regio Trans-tyberina"⁸³; and indeed, making some little allowance for measurements, this may be admitted. There were in the whole district 4405 insulæ and 150 houses: whatever else it contained of general interest and definable topography has already been pointed out from the Campidoglio. It can hardly be said, if we except the walls, any vestiges of antiquity remain; but several things have been discovered in the course of investigation. The antiquaries of the sixteenth century mention some ruins existing near the church of S. Francesco in Ripa⁸⁴; and towards the end of the seventeenth

⁸³ *Descrizione de' Rioni di Roma*, 1744, p. 194.

⁸⁴ *Antichità di Roma, per Lucio Mauro*, p. 104; *Biondo, Roma Restaurata*, lib. i. sect. 30. Antiquaries may take a hint from what he adds, — "Ma è pazzia cercare di quello, di che non si può notizia alcuna havere."

century, in the street leading from the said church to the Ripa Grande, a large mosaic pavement was brought to light, indicating several compartments in the proportion of ten feet square.⁸⁵ In excavating farther, they found in the garden of the Franciscans, some large pieces of travertine, some busts, and some bas-reliefs. It was agreed to enlist all these things in the service of the winter baths, “*thermæ hyemales*,” which Aurelian is said to have *begun* in the Transtyberine region. With equal authority they might be assigned to the private bath of Ampelis or Priscilliana.⁸⁶

In the church of S. Cecilia is shown a small room surrounded by flues, lined with “*terracotta*.” Two small pits are enclosed, which tradition has consecrated to the memory of the saint: in the one she was boiled in oil, and in the other she kept hot water for her baths. No antiquary has attempted to dispossess the amiable Cecilia; otherwise Priscilliana might have some claim to

⁸⁵ *Venuti, Antichità, &c.* tom. ii. p. 183., and *Bartoli, Mem.* Nos. 59, 60.

⁸⁶ *Vopiscus in Aurelian. vit.* cap. 45. No such *thermæ* are registered in Victor, and, perhaps, they were never finished; but we *have* *Balineum Ampelidis*, *Balineum Priscillianæ*. Marliano, after stating the popular opinion “*Harum [i. e. thermar. hyemal.] vestigia ea esse volunt, quæ sunt inter D. Francisci ædem et mœnia urbis, in campo nunc Judæorum*,” had rather those *thermæ* were recognised near the small church of S. Giovanni della Malva, not far from the Ponte Xysto; for there he saw a stone vessel of enormous size! (*Apud Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 187.) The *Thermæ Severianæ*, however, should be put out of the question. Nothing but downright poverty could have induced antiquaries to extort these words from Spartian, and run away with them to the “*Transtyberim*.” Vide *in vit. Sever. Imp.* cap. 19.

the "Balineum." In the court is a remarkable ancient vase, and the portico is supported by ancient columns of granite: in the time of Pope Innocent X. many blocks of travertine stone were found within the precincts of the nunnery.⁸⁷

The interior of the church of S. Chrysogonus is supported by twenty-two columns of Oriental granite, which surely belonged to some ancient building. In the memorials of Vacca we have accounts of consular statues with their bases and inscriptions, heads of philosophers and emperors, columns of foreign marble thirty palms in length, instruments of sacrifice, &c. found outside the Porta Portese.⁸⁸ Bartoli's Memorials also furnish us with other treasures discovered in different parts of the Janiculum, and the Meleager of the Vatican is sometimes called in to do honour to the Trastevere.⁸⁹ The Basilica of S. Maria contains some remarkable old columns of different orders: in the Ionic capitals are figures of Jupiter and Serapis; and in the volutes and flowers are some heads of Herpocrates, with the finger on the mouth. These must have come from some Egyptian deity, but we have no temple beyond the Tyber to meet the demand. In the portico there are some curious ancient inscriptions, chiefly sepulchral. Montfaucon prints one, which proves to be the epitaph of a Christian as early as 396⁹⁰; it favours the claim which this most venerable church lays to

⁸⁷ *Bartoli, Memorie*, No. 62., and *Piranesi*, tom. i. p. 19. No. 159.

⁸⁸ Consult *Montfaucon, Diarium Italicum*, cap. xix. p. 268.

⁸⁹ See *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 341. note 1.

⁹⁰ *Ut supra*, p. 270.

high antiquity. It is said to have been the first public edifice built for Christian worship in Rome; Alexander Severus having granted a sort of hospital or tavern, called the *Taberna Meritoria*, for the sacred purpose.⁹¹ Eusebius gravely relates, and Eutropius repeats it, that a fountain of oil sprung up in this place, and ran for a whole day even down to the river, significative of the grace of Christ, who was about to appear in the world!⁹² A monkish inscription perpetuates the memory of such a miracle.⁹³ The pavement of this basilica may well deserve to be "*opus Alexandrinum*." But we are encroaching upon the antiquities of the church.

From the platform in front of the church of S. Pietro in Montorio, we may review our footsteps, and adjust the scanty notices relative to the Janiculum. With such a scene before our eyes, it

⁹¹ *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 336.

⁹² *Eutrop. Rerum Roman.* lib. vii.

⁹³ "In hac prima Dei matris æde,
Taberna olim meritoria,
Olei fons e solo erumpens
Christi ortum portendit."

If such a thing really happened (and the *fact* need not be disputed), Signor Brocchi, in his scientific work on the soil of Rome, thinks it not improbable that a vein of petrol may have burst from the marine sandy soil he calls "*marna*;" and the more so, because, in some strata of the same nature near Sassuolo in the states of Modena, and near Miano in the duchy of Parma, there are springs of this bitumen. It has been said that globules of an oily substance have been seen floating on the surface of the Tyber in this very neighbourhood. Vide *Brocchi*, p. 167.

would be irksome to contend with etymologists⁹⁴; but it is not without some semblance of truth that the fortress which Ancus Martius first made, occupied the brow of this mount; and Piranesi pretends to have found some vestiges of it.⁹⁵ An idea may be formed of the original boldness of the rock, by descending into the adjoining Villa Spada, which is enclosed by the old walls; and although it is easy to be deceived by the abrupt decadencies of a sandy substance, we can hardly examine the features of the Montorio with attention, without recognising some traces of manual labour, and giving our consent to the “*arx Janiculensis* :” and, if so, then come Porsenna’s camp, and the Prata Mutia — memorable scenes of Roman valour!⁹⁶ Livy relates⁹⁷, 181 years before the Christian era, there were found, in ploughing the field of L. Petilius, the scribe, under the Janiculum, two stone coffins, about eight feet long and four broad. They both bore inscriptions in Latin and Greek; from which it appeared that one of them had contained the body of Numa Pompilius; but a long series of years had wasted it away, so that not a particle was then left. The other coffin contained twice seven imperfect books, of a fresh

⁹⁴ In this instance it will suffice to consult *Onuph. Panvinio, Descript. Urb. Romæ*, apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 278. But I have heard of an antiquary at Rome undertaking to prove that Janus was Noah, and that the patriarch founded the first city at Rome!

⁹⁵ *Nibby, Mura di Roma*, p. 44.

⁹⁶ *Tit. Liv.* lib. ii. cap. 12, 13., and *Dionys. Halicarn. Antiquit. Roman.* lib. iii. cap. 45. p. 176., and lib. v. cap. 22. p. 282.

⁹⁷ *Tit. Liv.* lib. xl. cap. 29.

appearance: seven in Latin, on the pontifical office, seven in Greek, on philosophy, such as the rude age of Numa could produce: but the cautious senate condemned them to be publicly burnt, as containing what, at that time, had become contrary to the religion of the republic.

The "Transtyberim" was, at one time, it is said, inhabited chiefly by Jews, and the lowest orders of people. Martial has left us, in a few words⁹⁸, a specimen of the inhabitants; very much resembling the "old clothes-man" of the present day. There is still a Campo degli Ebrei, without the Porta Portese. The Coriaria, or places for tanning hides and skins, were also in the fourteenth region. If we may trust the "Notitia," a great change must have taken place in the population after the fall of the western empire; for, instead of twenty-two streets, which this district contained in the fourth century, the number is there stated at seventy-eight: such probably, were the first fruits of the tradition that St. Peter was crucified on the Janiculum. In some of the things here enumerated we may demur to acquiesce; but we shall not refuse our tribute of admiration to the living landscape, nor to the elegant temple of Bramante, which encircles the golden sand where the apostle's cross was said to

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"Transtiberinus ambulator,
Qui pallentia sulfurata fractis
Permutat vitreis," &c.

Lib. i. epig. 42.

This does not necessarily mean a *Jew* pedler. Nardini has discussed the subject, tom. iii. p. 329.; and we may compare *Juvenal. Sat. iii.* in the beginning.

be erected. A few paces above the church stands the celebrated Pauline Fountain : the water which supplies it is brought through an ancient aqueduct, which will lead us into some explanation before we proceed towards the Porta S. Pancrazio.

There was a lake called Alsietinus, situated six miles and a half from the fourteenth milestone on the Via Claudia, to the right. This is supposed to be now the Lago di Martignano, not far from Baccano.⁹⁹ Augustus conducted this water to Rome, in a channel which effected a distance of twenty-two miles and a half. Frontinus can hardly conceive what could induce Augustus, who was so provident a prince, to do this; because the Aqua Alsietina was unwholesome, and never flowed for the use of the public. It might, therefore, the same writer supposes, be, that when the emperor wanted to supply his Naumachia, not wishing to deprive the people of any of the salubrious waters, he made this work at his own expense; and what remained, after his own purposes were supplied, he gave to private individuals for watering their gardens, which lay along the river. Besides, when the bridges were under repairs, and no water, in consequence could be conveyed across the Tyber from the other aqueducts, it was necessary to make use of this (called the "aqua Augusta;") which was done by turning it into the different fountains.¹⁰⁰ It is not said in this passage, where the Naumachia was situated; but

⁹⁹ Vide *Frontin. Commentar. de Aqueduct. Urb. Rom. cum notis Joan. Poleni*, edit. Patav. 1722, art. ii. p. 46. No. 8.; and compare *Dissertat. di A. Nibby, delle Vie Antiche*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁰ *Frontin.* ut supra, art. ii. p. 47.

Piranesi supposes it to have been in the vineyard belonging to the nuns of S. Catharina di Siena, which stands below the Villa Spada; and he thinks to recognise some vestiges of it in those slight remains of “opus reticulatum” there to be seen.¹⁰¹ It is not, however, clear the Naumachia of Augustus was even in the “Transtyberim;” but the contrary: and still less does it appear the naval combat which Julius Cæsar exhibited took place there; an opinion which only an equivocal reading of Suetonius can be made to favour.

The Naumachiæ were artificial lakes made by the emperors for the purpose of exhibiting naval combats; and they were all situated near the Tyber, on account of an easy supply of water. They were temporary things, and were filled up again whenever the space was wanted. Julius Cæsar made one in the Campus Martius, which he afterwards filled up and levelled; and then erected a large temple to Mars on the site: and this is no doubt the one Suetonius alludes to*, where the exhibition which took place attracted such crowds of spectators, that several persons were crushed to death; and amongst them two senators. Augustus gave a similar exhibition, having excavated a place near the Tyber, where the grove was afterwards planted as an appendage to his mausoleum.¹⁰² It is true Tiberius is said to have arrived at Rome, and ventured as far as the gardens joining the

¹⁰¹ *Piranesi*, No. 159. tom. i. p. 19.

* See Note G G.

¹⁰² “Navale prælium circa Tiberim cavato solo: in quo nunc Cæsarum nemus est.” — *Suet. in Octav. cap. xliii.*; and compare *Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 56.*

Naumachia, a guard of soldiers being stationed along the banks of the Tyber¹⁰³ to keep off the crowd: but here Suetonius makes no mention of the "Transtyberim;" and to identify the gardens designated by Frontinus with those, were vague and inconclusive reasoning. It is more probable Tiberius advanced in his trireme as far as the Ripetta, where we have both gardens and a Naumachia upon authority: and upon the whole it will appear, that neither Cæsar nor Augustus made any Naumachia beyond the Tyber: however this may be, — to return to the aqueduct. When the main object for which the Aqua Augusta was introduced ceased to exist, and neither that emperor nor his successors, perhaps, any longer used the Naumachia, the water became almost useless. Under these circumstances, Trajan made another aqueduct, bringing the more salubrious water of the Lacus Sabatinus (now the Lago di Bracciano); and as this ran very much in the direction¹⁰⁴ of the former work of Augustus, he doubtless adopted much of the aqueduct, more especially as it was chiefly a subterraneous channel. The Aqua Paolina, therefore, is not the ancient Alsietina, as the inscription on the fountain imports¹⁰⁵; but the Aqua Sabatina, or Trajana, to which the Trastevere owes so much luxury and comfort, and from which the two celebrated fountains near St. Peter's are

¹⁰³ "Semel triremi usque ad proximos Naumachiæ hortos subvectus est, disposita statione per ripas Tiberis." — *Suet. in vit. Tiberii*, cap. 72.

¹⁰⁴ Vide *Fabretti, de Aquis et Aqueduct.* diss. iii. p. 180.

¹⁰⁵ And which we may say, like Fabretti, "Non sine stomacho perlegisse."

supplied. In continuing along the road which leads to the Villa Pamfili Doria, we shall see considerable remains of the old aqueduct of Trajan, embodied in the new construction of Pope Paul V. and his successors. The stone of which the fountain itself is built, was taken from the forum of Nerva!

From the Porta S. Pancrazio, which has had this name ever since the time of Belisarius, issued the ancient Via Aurelia; and therefore some think Procopius has committed an error in placing the Porta Aurelia near Hadrian's tomb, instead of here. It is certainly called the Porta Aurelia in the anonymous of the eighth century*; and in the *Mirabilia Romæ*, "*Aurelia vel Aurea*;" which latter name betrays, on the other hand, the origin of this error: as if, being called Aurea from the mount (Mons Aureus), it had been lengthened to Aurelia, to which the Via so readily consented. As there is no mention of a Porta Aurelia in any classical author, it is better to cling to the authority of Procopius, who has proved himself an accurate writer; and therefore the more plausible and popular name of Janiculensis must be maintained for the gate in question. It was situated, be it observed, within the Porta S. Pancrazio, in the line of the old walls, which an inscription, once existing, will induce us to attribute to Honorius. Those walls are now in a ruinous state. They began as we have already hinted, opposite the Villa Cesarini; and after a distance sufficient to comprise four towers and fifty-nine buttresses, the first gate occurred. When the modern walls in that direc-

* See Note H H.

tion were reduced to their present state by Pope Innocent X., the old ones, with the Porta Portuensis, where the above-named inscription was read, were demolished; and we only begin to trace them now where they are actually enclosed within the walls of Urban VIII. After ascending to the summit of the mount where we have supposed the Porta Janiculensis to be, they continued, in a similar descent, to the river again; and they may still be traced behind the Piazza della Fornace, and near the Corsini palace. There was necessarily a third gate in this direction, probably near the Tyber: and for this antiquaries cannot even find a name, except the Porta Septimiana, a gate which was made long before these walls existed, but which, however, might confer a title upon a successor. The walls continued along the Tyber as far as the Mole of Hadrian, and thence even to the Porta Flaminia; but were probably of a lighter construction, as all traces of them long ago have disappeared. The direction of the Via Aurelia is marked by some sepulchral monuments, which have been illustrated by the hands of able artists.¹⁰⁶ Within the last ten years, a large columbarium has been discovered in excavating in the Villa Pamfili; and this would arrest our curiosity for a long time, were there not others of a similar kind more perfect: above all, the one found of late years in the Villa Rufini, about two miles outside the Porta Pia. Some of the inscriptions, however, scattered about this

¹⁰⁶ Vide *Santo Bartoli, Antichi Sepolchri*, tav. iii. &c. *Piranesi, Antichità, &c.* tom. i. tav. lvii. and lviii.; and compare *Montfaucon, Diarium Italicum*, p. 271.

delightful villa, will not fail to interest the learned spectator; and we cannot refrain from calling the attention to one of them in particular, which, as far as we know, has never been published.*

We may now continue our circuit in silence from the Montorio to the bastion di S. Spirito. But whoever desires a recompense for the want of antiquities, may easily find it in the works of modern art which are contained in the Corsini palace and the Villa Farnesina; or, if otherwise disposed, than "to entwine the thoughts with art in galleries," then the villas and gardens which stretch along the Janiculum, commanding various prospects of the "eternal city," will not fail to enchant the eye: the church and convent of S. Onofrio will awaken other recollections, and the author of "Jerusalem Delivered" will at least claim a tribute of respect to his grave, and of sympathy with his fate, "if in our memories dwell a thought which once was his."

The appellation of Janiculum, it has been observed, might be applied to the whole range of hills extending from the Montorio to the Monte Mario inclusive; but the name of "Vaticanus" may only begin at the vineyard of S. Onofrio, and this height was, properly speaking, the ancient Collis Vaticanus, which we have included within the fourteenth region. At the foot of it, about the Strada della Longara, were probably situated those campi or plains mentioned by P. Victor, called "Bruttianus" and "Codetanus;" so that,

* See Note II.

as the bastion of Santo Spirito marks well enough the boundary of the ancient region, at the same time that it encloses the Borgo Nuovo, no part of the fourteenth Rione of modern Rome was within the limits of the old city. Nevertheless, the ground now covered by St. Peter's, the papal palace, museum, and gardens, was anciently designated by "Vaticani loci," places belonging to the Vatican¹⁰⁷; the spacious piazza, now surrounded by the magnificent colonnade, together with the Piazza Rusticucci, was the Vatican valley, or the "Campus;" and the ground stretching along the Tyber beyond the fort S. Angelo, was the Vatican territory (ager). This part of Rome first rose into a city in the year 848, under the circumstances already mentioned¹⁰⁸, and there are still considerable remains of the picturesque walls of Leo IV. That enterprising pontiff seems to have enclosed a rectangular (quadrilungal) space of something more than two miles in circuit; and it appears from Anastasius, who describes the ceremony of consecration, that there were three gates: the first, according to the investigation of Professor Nibby¹⁰⁹, was behind the colonnade, in going towards the Porta Angelica; the second, a little within the present Porta S. Spirito; and the third, called Porta S. Angelo, at the head of the "Strada di Borgo Nuovo." Others were subsequently made, and at this day may be traced either in the Leonine walls, or as adopted in the succeeding ones. The

¹⁰⁷ *Tacit. Histor.* lib. ii. cap. 93. *Martial.* lib. xii. epig. 68. lib. vi. epig. 92.

¹⁰⁸ See Dissertation II. p. 70.

¹⁰⁹ *Le Mura di Roma*, cap. vi. p. 268.

works of Leo IV. were repaired by Urban VI. [A. D. 1370] and Nicolas V. [A. D. 1452]; but Pius IV. rendered them almost useless by making a large addition to the papal city. [A. D. 1560.]¹¹¹ Beginning at the fort S. Angelo, he erected all those fortifications which now stand firm as far as the Porta S. Spirito; and on the side towards the Montorio his walls nearly coincide with those of Leo IV., — at the Porta Fabbrica, and near the Porta Cavalleggeri, they come into contact. The subsequent addition of Urban VIII. again enclosed some of Pius IV.'s works; so that the bastion is rendered useless. Thus have we three distinct cities of the popes to add to the ancient one already described as of the emperor Honorius, to say nothing of the imaginary primitive walls of Ancus Martius. After this general view, we may return to our proper task, which is now reduced to a small remainder; for in the whole Vatican territory, with the exception of some long lost sepulchres, which it were in vain to search after¹¹², we find but two subjects for enquiry, — the Circus of Nero, and the mausoleum of Hadrian.

Caligula is supposed to have inherited some gardens which had belonged to his mother Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus.¹¹³ There he built a

¹¹¹ *Donatus de Urb. Rom.* lib. i. cap. 14.; apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 533.

¹¹² We allude to the sepulchre of Marcus Aurelius Imp.; the soi-disant pyramid of Scipio Africanus; and the sepulchre of Lucius Verus: on which the curious reader may consult *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 366.; and *Fabricius, Descript. Urb. Rom.* tom. iii. p. 436. apud *Grævium*.

¹¹³ *Donatus* (lib. iii. cap. 23.) has made this sufficiently clear. See also *Seneca de Ira*, lib. iii. cap. 18. The following are all

circus, in which he set up the obelisk he had caused to be brought from Egypt for that purpose. It was reared upon four supporters, of Egyptian granite. In alluding to this transaction, Pliny calls it the Circus Vaticanus; but in another place he couples it with the names of Caius and Nero conjointly: hence we infer that the latter, having succeeded to the property, made some improvements in the Circus, which associated his name with that of the founder. To arrive at something more definite, the next authority is Tacitus. When the follies of Nero could no longer be restrained, Seneca and Burrhus induced him to withdraw to a "space" enclosed in the Vatican valley, where he might act the charioteer without exposing himself

the ancient authorities which we bring together to substantiate the text:—

"Abies admirationis præcipuæ visa est in navi, quæ ex Ægypto Caii principis jussu, obeliscum in Vaticano circo statutum, quatuorque truncos lapidis ejusdem ad sustinendum eum adduxit." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xvi. cap. 40. p. 284.

"Tertius [scilicet obeliscus] Romæ in Vaticano, Caii et Neronis principum circo, ex omnibus unus omnino fractus est in molitione, quem fecerat Sesostridis filius Nuncoreus. Ejusdem remanet et alius c. cubitorum quem post cæcitatem visu reddito ex oraculo Soli sacravit." — *Idem*, lib. xxxvi. cap. 11. p. 640.

".... alterum concedere; clausumque valle Vaticanâ spatium, in quo EQUOS REGERET, haud promiscuo spectaculo: mox ultro vocari Populus Romanus, laudibusque extollere," &c. — *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xiv. cap. 14. Compare lib. xv. cap. 39.; lib. xiv. cap. 111.; lib. xv. cap. 53.

"Mox et ipse aurigare, atque etiam spectari sæpius, voluit: positoque in hortis, inter servitia et sordidem plebem, rudimento." — *Suet. in Neron.* cap. 22.

"*Hortos suos* ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigæ," &c. — *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xv. cap. 44.

to the promiscuous throng. Here, no doubt, is meant the place where Caligula set up the obelisk ; but Tacitus, with his usual accuracy, designates it only a " spatium ;" intimating thereby a regularly formed arena, but not a completely built circus. Now Suetonius, relating the same transaction, says it took place in his gardens ; and this enables us to apply that remarkable passage in Tacitus, where he describes the sufferings of the Christians, adding, that Nero had offered his gardens for the show, and exhibited, at the same time, the sports of the circus, himself mingling with the common people in the dress of a charioteer. We have therefore sufficient proof of the Vatican Valley being the scene of the first martyrdoms of Christians in Rome. Modern discoveries will enable us to ascertain the very site of the circus. The obelisk still remains. Before Sixtus V. set it up where it now stands, it was near the sacristy of St. Peter's, contiguous to the Piazza di S. Martha. It had never been removed¹¹⁴ from its original situation ; so that, with the knowledge of this fact, we arrive at once at the centre of the Spina. In the year 1616, some ancient walls of reticulated work were discovered under the steps which led up to the basilica, together with a gold coin of Agrippina. Grimaldo, whose manuscript is the authority for this¹¹⁵, says he found, by calculation, the length of

¹¹⁴ See *Pianta di Bufalini*, No. 4. ; and *Camucci, Antichità di Roma*, p. 195.

¹¹⁵ The abbate Cancellieri, in his work entitled *de Secretariis*, tom. ii. p. 926., first transcribed this notice from Grimaldo's MSS. It has been copied by *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 359., and by *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 193. ; which see.

the circus to be 720 Roman palms, and the width 400, and the area where the games were exercised 230 ; that is, the whole circus was not so large as the interior of St. Peter's ; and according to this account, it could not be more than about 400 feet round the Spina, on which stood this large obelisk. Now, a circus of this description would be absurd ; and therefore we may be content with taking the mere facts of this eye-witness without his calculations ; and supposing the sacristy of St. Peter's to be about the middle of the " spatium," we ought certainly to bring it as far as where the obelisk now stands at least ; and consequently as far the other way, with the width in proportion. We are aware this will bring the cemetery in which the bodies of the martyrs, with St. Peter, were buried¹¹⁶, within the arena ; a thing quite impossible : but surely enough of veneration, without this, may be attached to the place in which it is evident the first Christians suffered martyrdom. Flaminius Vacca mentions some pieces of petrified wood, four palms long and one thick, found towards the church of S. Martha, which he thinks existed before the great ark of Noah ! We had rather suppose, with Montfaucon, they had formed part of a cloaca " not more ancient than the city."¹¹⁷ The same memorialist relates about a tomb of red Egyptian granite, containing some regal ornaments, rich enough to attract the admiration of the pope.

¹¹⁶ " Concerning the place in the Vaticano where St. Peter was buried," see all that can be alleged in *Baronius, Annal. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 665. (edit. Antverp. 1670), anno Christi 69, Neronis Imp. 13.

¹¹⁷ *Montfaucon, Diar. Ital.* p. 276.

This was found in laying the foundations of the present basilica.¹¹⁸ In building the new sacristy, several things of great interest were dug out of the earth. The famous inscription of the *Fratres Arvales*, now incrusted in the walls of the main passage, together with that of "*Ursus Togatus*," and several others. A vat of Parian marble¹¹⁹, on which is sculptured a Bacchanalian dance, with two lions' heads, now in the Museo Pio-Clementino, was also found here. Near one of the fountains in the piazza was discovered one of those sphinxes of granite which stand in the "*Sala a Croce Greca*," in the said museum; and about the same ground several sepulchral urns were turned up; also a beautiful bas-relief, representing a marriage ceremony. In the papal gardens, other objects of art have been found, too tedious to enumerate. It is not improbable the Circus of Nero fell into disuse after his death; which may account for the space being afterwards occupied by sepulchral and other monuments. They indicate, however, the neighbourhood of a public road; unless we suppose, as was often the case, that some of the imperial family were interred in the gardens. The obelisk

¹¹⁸ *Memorie*, &c. No. 63. This seems to be the same as Marliano et Lucio Fauno describe (found 1544) as the sepulchre of Maria, daughter of Stilicho and wife of the emperor Honorius; on which see *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 367. Honorius himself was buried, according to Paul the Deacon, near the atrium of St. Peter's basilica (*Id.*); and the pine apple of bronze, now in the papal gardens, is supposed by some to have belonged to his mausoleum, but more likely it belonged to that of Hadrian; for see *Vacca*, *Memor.* No. 61.

¹¹⁹ See *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 196., and *Bartoli*, *Memor.* Nos. 56, 57., with reference to the discoveries here enumerated.

alone has escaped the wreck of time to tell the tale of pagan cruelty. It measures, without reckoning the pedestal, seventy-six French feet. Pliny, if we understand rightly, states the original length, as first made by Sesostris's son, at 100 cubits ; but it was broken in the first setting up, and what we now see is the upper portion of it. It has no hieroglyphics ; and was more probably a piece of granite, cut out by the Romans themselves in Egypt. It was dedicated by Caligula to his three predecessors, as the inscription, still legible, imports. It now stands as a monument of the enterprise of Pope Sixtus V. and the ingenuity of the architect Fontana.

A description of St. Peter's and the Vatican ¹²⁰, with all " the pomp and circumstance " of papal glory, forms no part of our undertaking. We have shown the basilica occupies, most probably, the very ground where many Christians once died for the faith ; and if they could now rise up again on the same spot, they would be somewhat bewildered in endeavouring to find among the various shrines and altars, the simple religion for which they shed their blood !

The mole of Hadrian has been the citadel of Rome ever since the fall of the Western Empire ;

¹²⁰ Whoever wishes for a long and learned account of St. Peter's, may read a work in folio, entitled *Templi Vaticani Historia a Patre Philippo Bonanni, Societatis Jesu*, edit. Roma, 1696 ; but *Vasi's Itinerary*, as improved and remodelled by Professor Nibby, will be found to contain sufficient for all practical purposes. *Fontana's Templum Vaticanum* may, however, be recommended to students : that architect calculates the magnitude of St. Peter's to be fifteen times greater than Solomon's temple !

and is therefore so connected with the sieges and vicissitudes of the city, that it would form a history of itself. Very little, however, is known of this remarkable monument until it ceased to bear its original character. We are simply informed by the biographer of Hadrian that he made a sepulchre near the Tyber.¹²¹ Dion Cassius, more explicit, says, the emperor was interred close by the river, near the Ælian bridge, for there he had built himself a tomb. That of Augustus, he adds, was full, and no one was buried in it after Trajan's time.¹²² It is generally supposed this mausoleum was built in the gardens of Domitia, Nero's aunt, because Antoninus Pius is said to have transferred the mortal remains of Hadrian from Baiæ, and placed them with respect and reverence¹²³ in those gardens; but the real account is this: Hadrian's body was first buried in a temporary sepulchre at Puteoli in Cicero's villa¹²⁴; it was afterwards transported to Rome, and *laid in state* in the gardens of Domitia, and finally interred in his mausoleum; but it is no where said it was in those gardens: they, more probably, were on the Monte Pincio, where we have shown Nero was buried, and which the emperor Aurelian, alternately with the Sallustian gardens, preferred for

¹²¹ *Ælii Spartian. Hadrian. Cæsar.* cap. 19.

¹²² *Dion Cassius, Histor.* lib. lxix. p. 1170.

¹²³ "Reliquias ejus Romam pervexit sancte ac reverenter, atque in hortis Domitiæ collocavit." — *Julii Capitolin. Antonin. Pius*, cap. 5.

Casaubon invites the reader to distinguish between the word "*collocare*" and "*condere*" or "*sepelire*."

¹²⁴ *Spartian. in vit. Hadrian.* cap. 25.

his residence to the Palatine hill.¹²⁵ After Hadrian, the mausoleum received the ashes of all the Antonines, as appears from inscriptions¹²⁶; and by the order of Pertinax the body of Commodus, after being dragged through the Tyber, was buried in it.¹²⁷ Hadrian, it seems, left it unfinished; for it is enumerated among the works of his successor.¹²⁸ It probably continued to be the imperial sepulchre until the time of Septimius Severus. Procopius is the first writer who gives any description of it; and, speaking of an assault made by the Goths on the Aurelian gate, he writes thus¹²⁹:—"The tomb of the emperor Hadrian is situated outside the Porta Aurelia, about a stone's cast distant from the bulwarks of the city. It is an object worthy of our consideration. It is built of Parian marble, and the blocks fit close to one another, without any thing between to bind them. It has four equal sides, about a stone's throw in length; its altitude rises above the city walls; on the top are statues of the same kind of marble,—admirable figures

¹²⁵ See *Vopiscus, in vit. Aurelian.* cap. 49.; and see Dissertations VIII. p. 39. and 47. P. Victor has "Hortus Domitii" in the fourteenth region; but not Domitiæ, as he is usually made to write. And I conceive it to designate a portion of Nero's gardens, to which the name of his father Domitius was applied.

¹²⁶ *Marliano, Urb. Rom. Topograph.* cap. 22.; apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 190.; who produces this inscription, now no longer existing:—

" L . HÆLIO CAES . DIVI HADRIANI
AVG . F . COS . II . F ."

¹²⁷ *Ælii Lamprid. Commodus Ant.* cap. 17.

¹²⁸ *Julii Capitolin. Antoninus Pius*, cap. 8.

¹²⁹ *De Bello Gothico*, lib. i. cap. 22. p. 366.; tom. i. *Opera Procop.* edit. Par. 1662.

of men and horses. The men of old time (because it appeared advantageous for the defence of the city) joined it with the bulwarks by two walls, thus making it a part of the fortifications; so that it had the appearance of a lofty tower covering the gate." But we have to add from the same writer, that those beautiful statues were torn from their pedestals and hurled against the besiegers below.¹³⁰ To this account of Belisarius's secretary scarcely any thing since has been added. The anonymous of the thirteenth century¹³¹ says it was faced with marble; and he speaks of gilded peacocks and a bull, of bronze doors and horses, which he perhaps never saw. But what says John of Antioch? The statue of Hadrian in a car drawn by four horses stood on the top, so large that a full grown man might pass through one of the horses' eyes!¹³² On the bronze doors of St. Peter's there is a representation of the Mole, made in the days of Pope Eugenius by Antonio Pollajo, that is, about 1431. In Camucci's sketch, made a century after, some of the cornice is indicated, which he says was embellished with ox heads and festoons; and on the frieze two inscriptions were read belonging to Commodus and Lucius Verus.¹³³

¹³⁰ I am tempted to transcribe the too faithful account of the historian: — Χρόνον μὲν τινα ὀλίγον ἐκπλήξεις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα καθ' ἃ, τι χρὴ ἀμυνόμενους σωθῆναι· μετὰ ξυμφρονήσαντες, τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὰ πλείστα, μεγάλα λίαν ὄντα, διέφθειρον αἰροντίς τε λίθους ὑπερπλήθεις ἐνθενδε χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ βαλλομένοι ἐνεδίδσαν. — *Idem*, p. 367.

¹³¹ See *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 200.

¹³² *Joh. Antiochen.* Περὶ ἀρχαιολογίας, citat. apud *Salmas.* not. in *Spartian. Hadrian.* cap. 19.

¹³³ *Dell' Antichità*, &c. lib. iv. p. 187, 188.

There has been a constant tradition that the beautiful columns which so lately stood in St. Paul's basilica, were placed round the different belts or stories.¹³⁴ We have the designs of artists in modern times, and especially those of the never-failing Piranesi¹³⁵: but all these things fetch back but little of what has now disappeared that we cannot equally supply from our own observations.

The fort S. Angelo stands upon an immense square basement, one side of which was excavated in the year 1825, and discovered to be of peperine stone and of brick. At the same time was laid open a regularly-constructed shore or passage of communication, about five feet high, running nearly parallel with the base for a length at least of 300 feet. We recollect penetrating to the end of this passage, where there were several rude chambers; and, ascending by a few steps, were some others of a like construction. From the breaches made in the walling, and subsequently filled up, it was clear these places had been opened at a late period. They did not seem to have any connection with the tomb of Hadrian, but rather to have existed previous to it. The vaults and sides were covered with rude plaster, so that they were evidently more than mere grottos; for what purpose, except they were sepulchres, it was impossible to declare.

¹³⁴ Pope Clement VII. and his architect Labacco seem to have given currency to this tradition, but without producing any proofs except their own dictum. Such columns, however striking in the interior of an edifice, must have appeared puny around such a pile of building as the Mole of Hadrian, and quite at variance with the "grandiosity" of that emperor's taste.

¹³⁵ *Antichità Roman.* tom. iv. tav. 5. et seq.

Upon this large square basement rises the round tower, the wonder and strength of papal Rome. Long since deprived of all its original ornament, it exhibits outwardly only the solid construction of peperine stone; and that is almost concealed by the additional works that have been found necessary to constitute a fortress and a state prison. The upper part is all modern, and perhaps ascends as high as the mausoleum originally was, of which it gives no bad representation. It is crowned by the celebrated angel ready to sheathe his sword, and the entrance is guarded by drawbridges and sentinels.

Within the last ten years the corridor or passage up to the sepulchral chamber has been entirely excavated; and, with the aid of torches, we may descend from the present staircase, beginning about the level of the sepulchral chamber, to the original entrance into the tomb, which is just opposite to the bridge. This corridor is about eleven feet wide and thirty in height, built of the finest brickwork, and has been faced with precious marbles, of which continual fragments have been found, and the traces are still left on the walls. The flooring has been mosaic: some specimens still exist in the original places. The passage was lighted from above by those openings, called in Italian "abbaini," which are cut through the mass of the tomb in pyramidal forms: the light is of course now excluded by the modern building, which covers them up. Where those "abbaini" occur, we may observe the immense thickness of the walls; and over the arches the length of the bricks (not less than six feet) is distinguished in one place where a breach

has been made for some temporary purpose. It will be seen that the internal material is not a heterogeneous mixture, "ad emplecton," like most other large sepulchres, but the same regular built brickwork is carried through the whole mass; so that as a monument of labour it must have excelled all others of the kind we are acquainted with. After having nearly made the circuit of the tomb by descending this spiral corridor, we arrive at the original entrance, which, as has been said, faces the Ponte S. Angelo. A lofty arch of travertine stone forms the ingress; this leads into a more spacious vestibule. Opposite to where the door has been is a large niche, which doubtless contained the statue of the emperor: a colossal head, now in the Vatican, and a hand, discovered in the more recent excavations, perhaps, belonged to the said statue. The white mark on the sides of the entrance arch will show from what height the excavations began. Notwithstanding the admirable masonry of which Procopius speaks, (and, indeed, so closely united are those blocks of stone, that it would be difficult to insert the point of a knife between them,) it appears from the many holes visible in the walls that they have had a covering of marble; and many fragments of cornices and other decorations are now lying as they were found by the excavators. On the left of the entrance are some square openings leading to other apartments; but without digging farther, it cannot be pronounced what these might be: the one, however, on the left hand of the niche is accessible: it seems to have been a small dependence, probably for depositing instruments of sacrifice, or machines used in the interments: there is

also lying a fragment of a cinerary vase of marble with some letters upon it. In reascending this passage to the place where we entered, it will be borne in mind that we are advancing towards the sepulchral chamber by the original way: where the modern staircase now meets the corridor it ceases to be circular, and we shall observe the arch continues horizontally. Supposing the whole fabric of the modern steps to be away, we should at once proceed along the same level to the sepulchral chamber; but as it is, we ascend until we find ourselves near the top of its vault; it occupies a space of about twenty-five feet square: it has been, and is still, lighted by a window on each side, which exhibits at the same time the thickness of the walls. By descending into the cells beneath the steps, we shall see the lateral niches, and in one of them the ancient level has been come at. In the cell on the left of the staircase, and which is more habitable, the French consuls were imprisoned in the revolution. Any thing higher than the sepulchral chamber is not ancient. We shall only observe, that, in leaving it, we pass through the original square door, which, like the rest, is of solid stone. And such *is* the Mole of Hadrian: our imagination, aided by the little description left on record, can alone tell us what it *was*. We may, however, add the valuable objects which are either known or believed to have belonged to it; such as the large sarcophagus of black and white granite in the Museo Pio-Clementino, with the busts of Hadrian and Pallas; the beautiful Barberini faun, and the dancing faun, in the Florentine gallery; the large bason of porphyry which forms the baptismal fount

in St. Peter's; the urn of the same materials, which was taken away for the tomb of Pope Innocent II.; and whatever else may be dispersed abroad with a doubtful title to its origin. But to return to our narration:—

Procopius calls our attention to the state of the fortifications in the sixth century; and when he remarks, “the men of old” connected the mausoleum with the walls, making it a fortress.¹³⁶ This must be understood of the enlargement of the city by Aurelian, and the subsequent alterations of Honorius, whether he knew these facts or not. The Porta Aurelia was also denominated, he remarks, Sancti Petri¹³⁷, and so the anonymous of the eighth century calls it.¹³⁸ It must have been first made when the walls were carried along the Tyber; and this Porta Aurelia, alias S. Petri, together with the mausoleum and its outworks, in which may be included the bridge, came to be called collectively the Hadrianum: it was defended by six towers and 173 buttresses. The walls are marked on our plan of ancient Rome entirely on the left bank of the river, following the common opinion; but it is more than probable they were in some places carried on the right bank, as the nature of the case

¹³⁶ Vide *Procop.* as cited in Note 129. to p. 264.

¹³⁷ Διὸ δὴ ἄλλας δύο τῆς πόλεως πύλας ἐνοχλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέβαινε, τὴν τε Αὐρηλίαν (ἣ νῦν Πέτρου τοῦ τῶν Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων κορυφαίου, ἃτε πού πλησίον κείμενου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι) τὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν Τίβεριν. — *De Bello Gothic.* lib. i. cap. 19. p. 359.

Procopius mentions the Porta Aurelia so frequently in the same position, that there can be no mistake. Compare also reference in the following note.

¹³⁸ See anonymous cited in Note H H. at the end of the volume.

permitted or required. The tomb of Hadrian may be thus considered as a regular fortress from the time of Honorius. [A. D. 423.] During the wars of Justinian, in which Rome contended for her very existence ¹³⁹, it was frequently taken by the Goths, and recovered by the Greeks: it was finally left in the hands of the eunuch Narses [A. D. 528], and transmitted to the exarchs, who succeeded him in the administration of Italy under the Greek emperors. It is related of Pope Gregory the Great, that whilst he was officiating at St. Peter's [A. D. 590] ¹⁴⁰, to avert the divine anger, which had manifested itself in Rome by a dreadful pestilence, he saw on the top of the Mole the figure of the archangel Michael in the act of sheathing his sword; thereby indicating that the sword of vengeance was no longer lifted up against the Romans. The plague of course ceased; and, in honour of such a vision, a church or chapel, dedicated to the angel, was erected on the top of the fortress ¹⁴¹: it is now supplied by the large bronze figure and the Girandola. This is the reputed origin of the name S. Angelo, but it did not prevail until a much later period.

After the age of Charlemagne the citadel of Rome is found in possession of one of the Counts of Hetruria, Albert, surnamed the Rich. [A. D.

¹³⁹ See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, ch. xlvii. A. D. 544—553.

¹⁴⁰ *Donatus, de Urb. Rom.* lib. iv. cap. 7., and *Baronius, Annal. Eccles.* anno 590; from whom our short account of the fort S. Angelo is chiefly extracted.

¹⁴¹ The church was called the Holy Angel "in the skies," "in the clouds," or "up to the skies:" on which lofty appellations see *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 365.

908.] Theodora, a Roman lady whose extraction and power were more illustrious than her chastity, admitted the count to a share of the fortress, on the condition of also sharing her bed; her daughter Marozia, more beautiful but not more modest, kept the citadel as a place of security for her guilt; and she celebrated her nuptials in it, with Hugo, called King of Italy, to whom she gave it for a dowry. It passed in succession through several members of this family, until it reached Pope John XII., and then, for the first time, was possessed by the bishops of Rome [A. D. 956]: they retained it, with little interruption, until John XV.; a short period of twenty-nine years. At this time arose Crescentius Nomentanus, who, on the pretext of defending his consulship, seized the citadel. He made entrenchments, and added considerable out-works, in order to defend himself against the emperor Otho III., who came to espouse the cause of the pope; and, after a protracted quarrel of eleven years, it was finally recovered for Gregory V. It continued to be called, for a long time after, the Tower or the *Castrum* of Crescentius. Gregory VII. took refuge in it, whilst his nephew Rusticus was entrenched in the *Septizonium* [A. D. 1084], during those ravages of the Normans to which we have frequently alluded. It was then called, by some strange fancy, the House of Theodoric! After the death of Gregory VII. it is connected with the names of Guibertus of Parma, the anti-pope Clement III., and the Countess Matilda, the foundress of the temporal power of the papal see; but it was not until the attention of Italy and of Europe was turned wholly upon a crusade to Jerusalem, that

the pope was left again in undisturbed possession of the fort S. Angelo. To trace its history from Paschal II. to the return of the popes from Avignon [A. D. 1099], would be to recount the troubles of Rome during the reign of faction, comprising the career of Nicolas Rienzi. We shall merely remark, that on the return of the popes [A. D. 1376], the fort fell into the possession of the French cardinals. It does not appear through those dark ages to have received any improvements until Boniface IX.; and he renewed the fortifications, which were now yielding in many places to the efforts of time and war. After this it was taken by Ladislaus king of Naples, but was again restored to Pope Martin V. [A. D. 1431.] Alexander VI. (Borgia) made the first considerable alterations: he raised the round tower, and erected a bulwark of travertine stone between it and the bridge, almost as we now see it; he also constructed the covered gallery which communicates with the Vatican, about 3000 feet in length, said to be founded upon the line of the Leonine walls: the arches under the gallery were made by Pius IV. [A. D. 1492], and it was roofed by Urban VIII. Alexander Borgia did not labour in vain; for he had made himself a place of safety, when the troops of Charles VIII. entered the city. After this we have the improvements of Pius III., and the far more important works of Pius IV., which were not confined to the fortress, but extended round the whole of the Vatican, as far as the Porta S. Spirito. Finally Urban VIII. completed the papal city [A. D. 1644], and then added the vast outworks as we now see them. This is the pope who took the bronze from the

Pantheon to make "the instruments of war" for defending the improved fortress. "Yea, doubtless," says the Jesuit Donatus, "bees not only make honey, but are also armed with stings for the battle; like those which from their lofty station have showered down upon the people the liquid sweetness of *urbane* wisdom, but may also, by their steady valour, strike terror into those who vex them."

It is when we are gone out of the Porta Angelica, and about the P. Castello, that we shall estimate the extent and strength of the fort S. Angelo. Here, too, we may begin our circuit of the Trastevere walls, if we desire to become well acquainted with the form and mould of the ecclesiastical city. In this delightful excursion we shall often linger to admire the varied landscapes which occur at every angle of the walls; we shall remark the different works, repairs, and inscriptions * of the popes, and especially the fine remains of the city of Leo IV. Nor will it be uninteresting to have traced the topography of the Janiculum, from Ancus Martius to Urban VIII.

In the vineyard opposite to the closed Porta Castello, some vestiges of a circus were discovered in 1743.¹⁴² We may even recognise now some slight indications of it in the inequalities of the ground. This was not a new discovery; for the old antiquaries positively mention remains of a circus¹⁴³ in this

* See Note KK.

¹⁴² See Noll's great plan of Rome, and *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 198.

¹⁴³ "Fra il Vaticano et il Tevere si veggono i vestigii e l'antiche rovine d'un circo, et altri dicono d'uno Hippodromo." — *Camucci*, in fine.

place, which they saw. Biondo had nearly disconcerted all, by making it the Circus of Nero.¹⁴⁴ There is no mention of such an edifice in any ancient writer except Procopius, who points out in this direction a stadium, in which he is pleased to say gladiators in old time exhibited.¹⁴⁵ Common conjecture has assigned it to Hadrian; and as Hadrian's Circus it is usually marked upon plans of Rome; but without some fresh discovery, which may yet remain to be made by some excavator, the whole must stand in the list of uncertainties.

From the tower of the Campidoglio¹⁴⁶ we endeavoured to trace the triumph descending from the "Clivus Cinnæ" into the Campus Martius; and now, beginning our excursion up to that mount from the Porta Angelica, we shall soon fall in with some traces of the "Via Triumphalis." In continuing to ascend, the field of our antiquarian researches gradually unfolds its rich and varied aspect; and when arrived at the church of the Rosario, we shall willingly stay to contemplate for a while the magnificence of Rome. But the whole is not fully developed until we arrive at the Villa Melini: from that proud station is an extensive view of the city and Campagna, such as no human eye can behold without emotion; and we may perhaps be allowed to look down into the valley through which the Tyber laves its way, with some degree of compla-

"Non molto lontano dalla predetta Mole Adriana, vi si vede la forma di un piccolo cerchio di pietra negra et dura, già quasi rovinato et da pochi conosciuto." — *Andrea Fulvio*, carta 156.

¹⁴⁴ *Roma Restaurata*, lib. i. sect. 46.

¹⁴⁵ *De Bell. Gothico*, lib. ii. cap. 1.

¹⁴⁶ See Dissertation II. p. 72.

cency. The various objects which recall the glories of the past, and kindle the memory of classic days, have been the subject of our researches; and no one can deprive us of the intellectual delight we now enjoy of viewing those well known scenes from this Mount of Triumph. Such is a portion of the reward we have to offer to those who diligently accompany us to the top of the Monte Mario.

This is evidently the spot which Martial celebrates, in one of his best epigrams, as where the villa and gardens of his uncle Julius stood; and as nothing we can say would be so classically descriptive, this dissertation shall be concluded with a translation of the epigram

ON THE VILLA OF JULIUS MARTIAL.

The acres few of Julius Martial lie
 Along Janiculum's protracted ridge,
 More pleasant than the fabled gardens were
 Of the Hesperides.

The knolls o'erlooked are by solitudes;
 The summit gently swells into a plain,
 Enjoying heaven's light, serenely pure:
 For, whilst the mist curls o'er the dells below,
 This spot alone in native lustre shines;
 The graceful turrets of the stately pile
 Aspire well-nigh to touch the cloudless stars.
 From hence are seen the seven imperial mounts;
 From hence you span the whole extent of Rome,—
 The Alban hills, and those of Tusculum;
 The cool retreats which through the suburbs lie,—
 Fidenæ of old fame, and Saxa Rubra small;
 You see that fruitful grove from Anna named,—
 The blood-stain'd soil of Hecate's delight.

The waggoner his team drives on
 Th' Flaminian and Salarian roads;—

'Tis seen not heard, no rattling wheel
Disturbs soft sleep ; nor bargeman's cry,
Nor shouts of those who hale the keels
Up Tyber's stream, break sweet repose,
And yet the Milvian bridge so near !

The country this ! nay, rather say 'tis home ;
The host so kindly treats his guests, you'd think
His house your own, so freely pass the hours.
You'd dream it was Alcinous' fabled feast,
Or banquet of Molochus, just grown rich.

But, come ! ye, who disdain all this as mean
Go bid your hundred slaves turn up the soil
Of Tibur or Præneste ;—Go ! consign
Your vast domains to one proud vassal's care,
If I might have my choice I'd still prefer
The acres few of Julius Martial.

DISSERTATION THE TWELFTH.

ON THE WALLS AND AQUEDUCTS, WITH SOME REMARKS ON
THE MAGNITUDE OF ANCIENT ROME, AND THE IMPORTANT
CHANGES OF THE CITY.

“ Vieni a veder la tua Roma che piagne
Vedova, sola, e dî e notte chiama,
Cesare mio, perchè non m' accompagne ? ”

DANTE, *Purgatorio*, canto vi.

It scarcely comes within the province of the historian to record those minute but interesting details by which we may best judge of the wealth and population of a metropolis ; nor yet to enumerate the streets and buildings, which must change with each successive generation. Cities generally increase in magnitude and convenience at those peaceable and monotonous periods which afford the least materials for history ; and the brilliant achievements or the striking adversities of a people, the splendid vices or virtues of a court, are generally the subjects of the historian's praise or censure. We cannot, therefore, wonder, if at this distance we are so imperfectly informed upon the subject of the population and extent of ancient Rome ; for so little have these statistical accounts to do with what is called the history of a people, and often so difficult to be obtained, that, even at this period of unlimited intercourse, we are almost ignorant of

the population and internal economy of some of the largest cities in the universe, although well enough acquainted with the annals of their dominion. Neither are the walls and fortifications of a city a sure criterion of the number of inhabitants within them; for much depends upon the domestic habits of the age or the people. It would be of much more consequence to an enquiry of this nature, if we knew the homely details of an "*insula*," than to be able, as we are, to measure accurately the circuit of the walls of Rome; but as those walls were only rebuilt at a period when the distant frontiers began to be invaded, much less must we look to them for any proof or criterion of Roman greatness: for when Aurelian began to mark out his new walls for the defence of the city, it revealed the secret of the decline of the empire. When the Danube and the Euphrates could no longer be maintained as the fortifications of the city, it was as if our own Britannia could no longer rule over the waves which encircle her; and it would not less bespeak the woful period of her decline, if ever it should be found expedient to surround her metropolis with walls of defence. These introductory remarks are made merely by way of illustrating that it is not from a survey of the walls of Rome alone we can judge of the extent either of her population or resources; and that this is a subject on which there is the least chance of receiving much light, from the classical records that have come down to us, being chiefly of an historical nature.

In our general topographical survey from the tower of the Campidoglio, we endeavoured to trace

the outlines of the city of Romulus, and to point out the subsequent additions made to it, until the seven hills were finally enclosed by the fortifications of Servius Tullius. It was then observed, that the first Rome was confined to the Palatine hill; and that, at the death of Romulus, the whole consisted of no more than the additional city of Tatius; that is to say, the Capitoline hill and the space intervening, which afterwards became the Roman Forum. It is not our business to investigate how much of this may be true or fabulous; it is sufficient for the topographer that the matter was so believed by all those authors who can be appealed to for authority on the subject: and for the same reason we are not answerable for the chronological order in which the additions are said to have been made, by the successors of Romulus.

Numa Pompilius joined that portion of the Quirinal hill which had been inhabited by the Sabines; and Tullus Hostilius, having destroyed Alba Longa, and brought the inhabitants to Rome, placed them on the Cælian hill, and fixed his own abode amongst them. Ancus Martius subdued the people of Tellenæ, Politorium, and other cities of the Latins, and for the convenience of the new citizens joined the Aventine hill, and made that use of the Janiculum which has been described. It does not appear that these several acquisitions to the city were defended by regular walls, and therefore we find Tarquinius Priscus proposing to construct a line of fortifications with large blocks of hewn stone; but a new war having broken out with the Sabines, the great work was left for Servius Tullius to accomplish. In carrying the same into execu-

tion, he annexed the Viminal and Esquiline hills, and constructed the "agger" on the east side, which was finally completed by Tarquin the Proud. These are the walls we have endeavoured to trace the direction of, and to fix the disputed gates, according to the best authorities and the most reasonable conjectures; and it was observed, that such was the city in its consecrated boundary or "pomœrium," until the measurement which Pliny gives of it in the censorship of the Vespasians. By this time the old walls in many places had disappeared, and the Campus Martius, together with the fourteenth region beyond the Tyber, and the first region without the Porta Capena, and some other outskirts, had grown into the city; and the whole was then about thirteen miles in circuit. After having adjusted this measurement with the most probable circumstances, we further remarked, that until the time of the emperor Aurelian, although some alterations were made in the Pomœrium, which did not affect the amplitude of the walls, nothing more was to be found about any increase of the city.¹ We are not, however, to forget the distinction already alluded to between "*Urbs*" and "Roma;" the former meaning the original consecrated boundary of the seven hills, and the latter the whole of the inhabited country; as we now distinguish between the "city" and "London." But Aurelian enlarged the city; that is, he transferred the Pomœrium, and made entirely new fortifications; and it is from the date of that trans-

¹ The reader is referred to the first two Dissertations for more ample information on the subjects here recapitulated.

action, after first examining the nature of it, that we shall proceed with our enquiry.

Before the emperor began his expedition against the queen of Palmyra, in the year 271, he was anxious to provide against evils similar to those which had happened under the disgraceful reign of Gallienus. Having, therefore, consulted the senate, he extended the walls of the city, but he did not add any thing to the Pomœrium until after his expedition, because, according to the ancient law of the state, he had no right to do so, until he had made some acquisition to the Roman territory.² The ecclesiastical historian Zosimus says, with reference to the transaction, that Rome was then surrounded by walls for the first time; which argues either ignorance or great inaccuracy. He perhaps meant to have said, that the old walls were concealed by buildings, or had almost entirely disappeared, when Aurelian made this alteration.³ Aurelius Victor says, in general terms, that the walls were as solid as possible, and the circuit was enlarged.⁴ Eutropius merely observes, he surrounded the city with stronger walls, but does not say the circuit was enlarged.⁵ So that the only author to whom we can have recourse for ascertaining to what *extent* the

² "muros urbis Romæ dilatavit. Nec tamen Pomœrio addidit eo tempore, sed postea," &c. — *Vopiscus in Aureliano*, cap. 21.

³ Ἐταιχίσθη δὲ τότε ἡ Ῥώμη πρότερον ἀτείχιτος οὖσα, καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξ Αὐρηλιάνου συνεπληρώθη βασιλείοντος Προβού τὸ τεῖχος. — *Zosimus*, lib. i. cap. 49.

⁴ "Ac ne unquam quæ per Gallienum evenerant acciderent, muris urbem quam validissimis laxiore ambitu circumsepsit." — *De Cæsaribus*, cap. 35.

⁵ "Urbem Romam muris firmioribus cinxit." — *Eutropius*, lib. ix.

work was carried, is Vopiscus. In the passage to which we have already referred, he observes, that when the emperor had made those arrangements with regard to the fortifications⁶ (for that is, no doubt, the meaning of “septiones”), and the state of the city, he set out on his expedition to the East; and it is only in enumerating the public works of the emperor, at the end of his reign, that the biographer recurs to the subject of the walls, stating that he enlarged them to such an extent that they were nearly fifty miles in circumference! This is the passage which has reduced all critics to despair, made many antiquaries angry, and thrown suspicion upon the antiquity of the present walls.⁷ Casaubon justifies the text by all the copies of ancient MSS., and the measurement is not written in numerical characters, which may be so easily altered, but at full length, “quinquaginta millia.” It has lately been proposed to adopt the text as it stands, but add the word “pedum,” which would reduce the fifty miles to ten!⁸ To say nothing of Pliny’s measurement in the time of Vespasian, this would scarcely

⁶ “Transactis igitur quæ ad *septiones* atque *urbis statum* et *civilia* pertinebant, contra Palmyrenos,” &c. — *In vit. Aurelian.* cap. 22.; and compare *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, anno 271.

⁷ “Muros urbis Romæ sic ampliavit, ut quinquaginta prope millia murorum ejus ambitus teneant.” — *Vopiscus in Aurelian.* cap. 39.

“Ita et antiqua omnia exemplaria.” — *Casaubon in loco.*

The learned Panvinio fairly gives up the point: — “Quod Vopiscus dicere videtur quinquaginta prope millia, ingenue fateor me ignorare.” — *Apud Grævium*, tom. ii. p. 294. See also the arguments of *Donatus, de Urb. Rom.*, apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 597.

⁸ See the introduction to the *Description of the Fourteen Regions*, and the *Plan of Rome*, by *Luigi Canina*, Roma, 1830.

have been an addition worth mentioning, and would make the rest of the sentence of Vopiscus, — “he so amplified the walls of the city,” — appear ridiculous.

In Pliny's time the buildings, which continued on all sides of Rome, added, as it were, several cities to it.⁹ The passage in Dionysius, cited in a former Dissertation, contains a similar description, and it would not be difficult to provide Aurelian with suburbs sufficiently ample for his fifty miles¹⁰: but these inferences, as Donatus justly observes, do not explain the passage, they only elude it; and we are still left in ignorance and astonishment at the author's assertion. Now, without altering the text, which, after all, is but a shuffling expedient, we conceive the fifty miles to refer to the outworks made for the better defence of the city; and the masses of ruins in every direction, now called by the peasants *Roma Vecchia*, may justify the supposition. There was probably one fortress of this description at the “*Saxa Rubra*,” to guard the *Via Flaminia*; another near *Roma Vecchia*, for the defence of the *Via Appia*; a third at the *Vicus Alexandri*, on the *Via Ostiensis*, &c.¹¹; and to make the circuit of

⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

¹⁰ See *Lipsius de Magnitudine Roman.* lib. iii. cap. 3. tom. iii. p. 425. edit. Antverpiæ, 1637, in folio.; and compare *Dissertation II.* p. 64. But it will be as well to leave the *Panathenaic Oration* of Aristides alone.

¹¹ It is frequently intimated that “*Rubra*” or “*Saxa Rubra*,” six miles from the “*Pons Milvius*,” was a military position of some consequence. See *Aurelius Victor* in the life of Constantine; *Cicero, Philip.* ii. cap. 31.; *Tacit. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 79.; *Spartian. in Sept. Sever.* cap. 8. Professor Nibby

all these “*castra*,” with their connecting lines of defence, might effect a distance of forty or fifty miles: but this leaves us entirely at liberty to collect the circumference of the *Pomœrium* from other sources. The emperor Tacitus, who succeeded Aurelian, made a salutary regulation, that establishments of a certain description should exist no longer within the city.¹² What! not within a circuit of fifty miles? The *Prætorian* camp was not dismantled until the age of Constantine, and it forms a part of the present circuit; but there is no reason to suppose it was so enclosed by Aurelian, and much less that, “to save expense,” he, with all the resources of a conqueror of the East and a flourishing empire, “took into his walls whatever he found standing in their line,”—aqueducts, sepulchral monuments, a menagerie, an amphitheatre, a pyramid!¹³ However, it will upon the whole appear, that *Vopiscus* by his fifty miles alludes to the extensive fortifications (*septiones*) planned by Aurelian before his expedition into the East; but when he speaks of the *Pomœrium* not being enlarged until afterwards, he means the very walls of the city, which were, therefore, totally distinct. It is very probable they coincided in many places and

has measured the ruins of a square fabric near *Roma Vecchia* to 1080 feet in perimeter, and is of opinion that it was a Roman camp. Vide *Viaggio Antiquario*, vol. ii. p. 240.

¹² “*Meritoria intra urbem stare vetuit quod quidem diu tenere non potuit.*” — *Vopiscus*, in *Tacit.* cap. 10.

“*Urbis appellatio muris, Romæ autem continentibus ædificiis finitur.*” — *Ex Paulo Digest.* lib. iv. tit. 16.; *De Verbor. Signif.* leg. ii.

¹³ *Forsyth's Remarks*, art. “*Rome: Topography.*”

directions with the present circuit; but this can only be inferred from subsequent indications.

After these operations of Aurelian, there is not a word to be found relating to the city walls until the time of Honorius. The poet Claudian, who is the only historian of that period, makes it appear, in celebrating the emperor's praises, that other hills were then added to the city, and Rome was enlarged; that the new fortifications presented a goodly sight, and the seven old mounts flourished again in youthful aspect, with the towers and continued line of walls, — preparations made in consequence of the threatened invasion of the Getæ, and which were got up with wonderful rapidity.¹⁴ We have two inscriptions existing in their original places to compare with this poetical description: one of them will be found at the Porta S. Lorenzo, and the other at the Porta Maggiore.¹⁵ There was a third at the Porta Portese, in the Trastevere; but it no longer exists. We learn from these authentic records, that in the reign of Arca-

- 14 "Sic, oculis placitura tuis, insignior auctis
Collibus, et nota major se Roma videndam
Obtulit. Addebant pulchrum nova mœnia vultum,
Auditio perfecta recens rumore Getarum.
Profecitque opifex decori timor; et, vice mira,
Quam pax intulerat, bello discussa senectus."

De VI. Consulatu Honorii, 529.

- 15 These inscriptions are not yet altogether illegible. The letters are ill-formed, and not deeply engraven. The following is a copy:—

S. P. Q. R.
IMPP. CAES. DD. NN. INVICTISSIMIS. PRINCIPIBVS
ARCADIO. ET. HONORIO. VICTORIBVS. AC. TRIVMPHATORIBVS. SEMPER. AVGS
OB. INSTAVRATOS. VRBI. AETERNAE. MVROS. PORTAS. AC. TVRRES. EGESTIS. IMMENSE
RVDERIBVS. EX. SVGGESTIONE. V. C. ET. INLYSTRIS. COMITIS. ET. MAGISTRI. VTRIVSQ
MILITIAE. FL. STILICHONIS. AD. PERPETVITATEM. NOMINIS. EORVM. SANVLACRA. CONSTITVIT
CVRANTE. FL. MACROBIO. LONGINIANO. V. C. PRAEF. VRBI. D. N. M. Q. EORVM.

dius and Honorius, the prefect of the city, F. Macrobius Longinianus, at the suggestion and by the counsel of the famous Stilicho, took upon him the care of rebuilding the walls, gates, and towers of the "eternal city," having cleared away immense accumulations of rubbish. The inscriptions refer no doubt to the same transaction as Claudian celebrates; for Longinianus appears to have been prefect of the city very nearly about the sixth consulate of Honorius, that is, about the year 403. The inscription merely asserts that vast masses of ruins were cleared away for renewing the walls: the poet says the city was enlarged. The probability is, that where Aurelian's walls had left an eminence which might overlook the city, Honorius took it in; or if the walls ran out too far in some places, enclosing buildings of no great utility, but which might have been easily seized upon and occupied by the invaders, then the walls were restricted to take them into the line; and thus a saving of materials was effected, as the Prætorian Camp, the Amphitheatrum Castrense, the Aqueducts, the Pyramid, &c.; and in this way the present circuit was formed, not differing very far from that of Aurelian, although less uniform, and with many of those irregularities and turns which we shall come upon in making the tour. And it seems quite evident, both from the inscriptions and other marks existing, that the present gates are, with few exceptions, in the positions left by Honorius. And so the walls of Rome ought to be considered as of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, remodelled according to the necessities of the times, upon the general outline of Aurelian's; but this, of course, exclusive of the subsequent repairs and alterations

of Belisarius and the popes. But at the first Gothic invasion of Rome, which took place five or six years after this rebuilding and settling of the fortifications, we are told by a Greek writer, that the whole was measured by the geometrician Ammon, and found to be twenty-one miles in circumference.¹⁶ How then can this agree with the present circuit, which (allowing about two and a half miles for walls beyond the Tyber) will not exceed twelve miles!

The walls, as we now measure them, are exclusive of those which ran along the Tyber, and of which there are some remains in the neighbourhood of the Monte Testaccio. The anonymous of the eighth century intimates that these were continued from the tomb of Hadrian to the Porta Flaminia; and they might also have been so along the intervening space down the river: this would add four or five miles. Besides this, we are in some uncertainty about the Transtyberine fortifications, and in what manner Hadrian's tomb might be connected with them.¹⁷ Add to these things, the breaches and restrictions made in many places by the several invasions, and by Belisarius and Narses, and perhaps an additional eight or nine miles might be acquired; but if not, we shall hardly feel disposed to respect the letter κ' (20), in an obscure Greek manuscript, with

¹⁶ Τὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης τεῖχος μετρηθὲν παρὰ Ἀμμώνος τοῦ γεωμέτρου, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ὅττοι τὴν προτίραν κατ' αὐτῆς καταδρόμην ἐποιήσαντο, κ' καὶ α' μίλις διάστημα ἔχον ἀπεδίχθη. — *Photius, Myriobib.* art. lxxx. p. 198. — *Auct. Olympiodor.*

¹⁷ "A Porta S. Petri cum ipsa porta usque ad Portam Flaminiam turres XVI. propugnacula DCCLXXXII. posternas III." &c. — *Mabillon, Analect. Veter.* p. 363.

" . . . Porta S. Petri in *Hadriano*." — *Idem.*

the same scrupulousness as the “ quinquaginta ” of Vopiscus.

Whatever were the ravages done to Rome by the Goths and Vandals, during the fifth century, the walls could hardly be an object of plunder, although they must have suffered much dilapidation. Theodoric seems to have ordered them to be repaired in the year 500¹⁸: he died in 526; and, nine years after, the emperor Justinian undertook to rescue the fallen metropolis of the West out of the hands of the Goths. This war is described by Procopius, an eye-witness; and in his history we become acquainted with many particulars relative to the gates and walls of Rome, upon which the valour of Belisarius throws the last rays of classic glory: to relate every thing which then happened about the walls, would be almost to write the history of the war. Belisarius first entered Rome by the P. Asinaria, near the Lateran, in the year 535; and the Goths, at the same time, fled by the P. Flaminia. He found the walls, in many places, in a decayed state, and repaired them. The gates were all made to open as portcullises, and the number of them was fourteen, besides posterns. The assaults of the enemy were chiefly directed against the places intervening between the P. Flaminia and the P. Salara, as being the least strongly fortified; and this is the reason why Belisarius directed his attention more especially to that district, and established his head quarters on the Pincian hill.

¹⁸ Vide *Muratori, Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. xxiv. p. 640.; and the other authorities collected in Professor Nibby's *Mura di Roma*, p. 241.

He successfully resisted all the attempts of Vitiges with his innumerable army, and his ingenuity provided against the loss of water, with which the city had been supplied from the aqueducts. Totila found his way into Rome by the treachery of the Isaurians; and his rage was fatal to about a third part of the walls, chiefly however in the Transtiberine district. When Belisarius arrived again from Ostia, it is said the first thing he did was to repair those ravages, which he succeeded in doing within twenty-five days, making use of stones taken from different buildings, and laying them one upon another without cement. Specimens of this “opera tumultuaria” we shall find in our circuit. At the second entrance of Totila, by the P. Ostiensis, he adopted a milder course, and destroyed neither walls nor public edifices. We may suppose the whole to have been adjusted by the care of the eunuch Narses, of whom it is said that he repaired the bridges over the Anio, which Totila had cut down.¹⁹ When the “eternal city” fell under the power of the exarchs of Ravenna, and was governed as a provincial town, the municipal arrangements gradually came into the hands of the Pontiffs.²⁰ Through fear of the

¹⁹ For the interesting portion of history connected with the walls of Rome, and the state of Italy in the sixth century, the learned reader may consult *Procopius, de Bello Vandalico*, lib. i. cap. 2. et 5.; *de Bello Gothico*, lib. i. cap. 14. et 15.; lib. ii. cap. 4.; lib. iii. cap. 20. 22. 24. 34.; lib. iv. cap. 33.; *Orosius, Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 11. et 39.; and *Jornandes de Regnorum Successione*, and *de Rebus Geticis*. But the whole is related in the animated and luxuriant language of *Gibbon, Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. xli. and xliii.

²⁰ Sisinnius was the first bishop of Rome who attempted to repair the walls, A. D. 708. He lived only twenty days after

Lombards, we find several of them endeavouring to repair the walls during the eighth century, especially Gregory III. and Hadrian I.²¹; and they appear to have effected considerable restorations. At this period that description of the walls was made by the anonymous writer to whom we have so often referred; and as a proof he wrote before Leo IV., he makes no mention of his fortifications in the circuit, which in all other respects answers accurately to the present features. He enumerates all the towers, battlements, posterns, loop-holes, and retreats, beginning at the Porta S. Petri, the only gate which is not now recognised, but seems, as we have already stated, to have belonged to the fortress (S. Angelo) called then the Hadrianum. The sum total of the towers he states to be 383; the battlements, 7020; the posterns, 6; retreats, 106: but as we have already given a specimen of this singular enumeration, it will not be requisite to recur to it. Leo IV. having fortified the Vatican district, first gives to Rome the character of the Papal City. The next great shock it had to sustain was against the Normans; and probably the walls were then much damaged, especially towards the north.²² We find them again repaired in 1157, as an inscription still existing at the Porta Metronis

his elevation. Gregory II., elected in 725, began his repairs at the Porta S. Lorenzo; but the work was soon relinquished. See *Anastasius, in the Lives of Sisinnius and Gregory II.*

²¹ Vide *Muratori, Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. ix. col. 232.

²² *Muratori, Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. vi. anno 1084. *Idem, Pandulph. Pisan. in Gregor. VII.* tom. iii. part i. p. 313.

declares.²³ Ladislaus king of Naples did some mischief to them about the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme and the Lateran, in which direction he entered Rome by force in 1413. It was found necessary to make a general reparation of them about the middle of the fifteenth century, which was done effectually by Pope Nicolas V.²⁴ After these vicissitudes of the sacred Pomœrium, we have only the Duc de Bourbon, immortal in his failure.²⁵ Of the popes who have effected the various repairs since Nicolas V., we may enumerate the following:—Pius II.; Paul II.; Alexander VI.; Julius II.; Paul III., who employed the celebrated Sangallo; Julius III.; Pius IV., who surrounded the Leonine city down to the Porta S. Spirito; Gregory XIII.; Sixtus V.; Clement VIII.; Gregory XV.; Urban VIII.: he made the large addition on the Trastevere

²³ This inscription is read inside the walled-up gate, at the foot of the Cælian hill:—

R SACL
 + ANNO . MCLVII. INCARNT .
 DNI . NRI . IHV . XPI . SPQR . HEC . MENIA
 VETVSTATE . DILAPSA . RESTAVRA
 VIT . SENATORES.

Here follow the names of the senators.

As this inscription is contemporary with the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, Professor Nibby proposes to supply the first line thus:—

“ R . D . N . FRIDERICO . S . A (G) . L . VRBIS.” i.e.

“Regnante Domino Nostro Friderico semper Augusto Liberatore Urbis.”—*Le Mura di Roma*, p. 279.

²⁴ *Muratori*, apud *Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. iii. part ii. col. 92. See also the interesting remarks of *Poggio*, *de Varietate Fortunæ*, lib. i. p. 22. edit. Paris.

²⁵ See *Robertson's History of Charles V.* book iv. vol. ii. anno 1527.

side; Innocent X.; Benedict XIV.; Clement XI.; Pius VII.; and the works on the Monte Pincio, begun by Leo XII., and continued by his successors, inasmuch as they affect the walls of Rome, are worthy of being mentioned.

After this account of the changes, dilapidations, and repairs to which these walls have been subject, we cannot expect to find many traces of Aurelian's original line, nor yet much of the work of Honorius which shall be free from the mixture of others.²⁶ Thus prepared, however, we may commence our actual survey; and it will not be found altogether uninteresting to witness those successive specimens of human labour through a period of fourteen centuries: we shall also speak of the gates, and the roads upon which they opened, and finally point out the spots which have any claim to distinction in the history of the decline and fall of the city.

There are no traces of those walls which ran along the left bank of the river from the "Pons Ælius" to the neighbourhood of the Porta Flaminia: they were probably but slightly constructed, so as merely to cover the city where there was no defence on the opposite side of the river. The present circuit commences at the Porto della Legna²⁷, with a bastion of Alexander VII., distin-

²⁶ As Narses found the walls in good repair, Donatus concludes — "Vehementer errant qui putant mœnia a Belisario refecta, et urbem hodieque cingentia angustiora esse quam antea." — Apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 597.

²⁷ An accurate description of the walls and gates of Rome, as they now exist, is contained in the work of Professor Nibby, illustrated with the drawings of Sir William Gell. Not only has this learned treatise furnished me with a great number of au-

guished as such by the Chigi arms upon it. A fence, rather than a wall of fortification, encloses the wood-yards and slaughter-houses which fill up this corner of Rome; and as far as the Porta del Popolo the enclosure is effected by modern buildings, amongst which we hardly espy a half-demolished original tower. An inscription of Pope Alexander VII. shows that the whole space between the gate and the river was thoroughly repaired in 1662. The escutcheon of Nicolas V., whom we have named as one of the principal restorers of the present walls, first occurs near the Porta del Popolo. In the year 1451, it is said, he undertook to fortify with very strong walls the gates and the towers of the city, the Capitol, and the fort S. Angelo. He was prompted to this undertaking by hearing of the Emperor of Germany's intention to visit Rome for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown, and celebrating his marriage with the niece of Alphonso; and it was feared lest his visit might be attended with consequences sufficiently serious to need these precautions.²⁸ The works of Pope Nicolas V. are sometimes distinguished by the initials N. PP. V.: they are generally composed of thin bricks and irregular pieces of tufo mixed; and although occasionally to be found in the more distant parts

thorities, but it has also been my guide in helping me to trace the towers and walls of the different epochs. In our Plan of Ancient Rome, the walls have been carefully delineated, with a view, chiefly, of rendering this somewhat dry subject more interesting to the mere reader. The visitor will be more easily reconciled to our long account of bricks, stones, and tufo!

²⁸ *Platina, in the Life of Nicolas V. A. D. 1451. Vide L'Enfant, Concile de Basle, tom. ii. p. 276—289.*

of our circuit, are chiefly existing on this side of the city.

The Porta del Popolo, as it now appears outside, was erected in 1561, under Pius IV., by the celebrated Vignola. The internal elevation was planned by Bernini, in 1657, on the occasion of the queen of Sweden's (Christina) arrival at Rome; to which the words "Felici faustoque ingressui" have reference. The details of this ordinary architecture we leave to the describers of modern Rome. The two square towers which flank the entrance were erected by Sixtus IV. ; and the blocks of marble with which the lower parts are faced were taken from a sepulchral monument which existed in the Piazza del Popolo, until it was finally demolished by Paul III.²⁹ The brick-work, however, in the upper part of those towers, is of Paul IV. Although the Porta del Popolo may be considered as the successor of the Porta Flaminia, it does not occupy precisely the same site. Procopius describes the gate in his time as situated in an abrupt declivity of the hill, and somewhat difficult of access, inso-much that the Goths did not even attempt to attack it.³⁰ The ancient Via Flaminia, as we have already observed, beginning at the foot of the Capitoline hill, continued as far as the Arch of M. Aurelius, in the present direction of the Corso; it then in-

²⁹ "Altro non poteva essere, che un Mausoleo, giacchè vediamo, che appresso le porte della città, a nelle vie pubbliche si collocavano." — *Memorie di Flaminio Vacca*, No. 113.

It must have been, consequently, a sepulchre of the Via Flaminia.

³⁰ Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πύλη; Φλαμίνιας ἀπεπειράσαστο, ἐπὶ ἐν χώρῳ κρημνῶδει χεიმῆνη οὐ λίαν ἐστὶν εὐπρόσοδος. — *De Bello Gothico*, lib. i. cap. 23.

clined a little to the right, and bordering on the Monte Pincio, passed behind the church of S. Maria del Popolo, and proceeded in the direction of the Villa Poniatowski, through those places where it is still observable, the hill has been cut to receive it. Combining these local indications with the words of Procopius, we shall have the site of the gate just above the church of the Virgin, and where the reticulated work of the Muro Torto begins. The first station on the Via Flaminia is marked in the Itinerary, commonly called the Carta Peutingeriana, "ad rubras vi.," which means, six miles from the Ponte Molle, and answers to the village of Prima Porta. The Ponte Molle was said to be three miles distant, because it was reckoned from the foot of the Capitol. The Via Flaminia continued through Otricoli, Terni, Spoleto, Fano, &c., as far as Rimini; but the road by which the traveller now approaches the Ponte Molle is the ancient Via Cassia. It is supposed that the P. Flaminia was transferred to its new station very soon after Procopius wrote, perhaps by Narses. In the early part of the eighth century, the Tyber entered the city by it in an inundation, which assuredly indicates it to have been then removed from the hill.³¹ It is obvious that whenever that change did take place, the road was also made to deviate, and to assume the direction which it now preserves,

³¹ *Anastasius in vit. Gregor. II.* p. 165.; and in *Hadrian I.* p. 271. marg. 356. edit. Rom. 1718.

The gate was called of S. Maria del Popolo, in the fourteenth century; and, most probably, had been so named ever since the adjoining church was erected by Pope Paschal II.

as far as the bridge ; but the Pons Milvius was originally situated a little farther up the river.

Immediately on leaving the Porta del Popolo, a piece of wall occurs regularly built of small blocks of red tufo, and which defends the flank of the Church of the Virgin. This construction is commonly called "Saracenic," for the reason we have assigned elsewhere ; and in comparing this specimen with some other known works of Boniface IX., it is supposed to be at least of that period, and not improbably may be the work of Ladislaus, who restored the walls of Rome in 1408. The brick wall which has been subsequently placed upon it, is explained by the inscription of Benedict XIV. who also appears in the character of a general restorer in 1752. The old foundations are still visible beneath the new walls which succeed to the Saracenic construction, and they join a projecting piece of brick wall, which descends from the Monte Pincio to the modern road. This may be dated from the fifth century, and seems to have been so made for adjusting and re-commencing the line of brick walls, from where the reticulated work ended ; and at this point we suppose the P. Flaminia to have been situated.

The niches of "opus reticulatum" which continue from hence round the north angle of the Monte Pincio, together with that mass of building called the Muro Torto, form a peculiar feature in the walls of Rome. We have already explained that all these were originally made for no other purpose than for sustaining the "Collis Hortorum," in that part where the gardens of the Domitian family were, and in which Nero was buried ; and

whoever first enclosed the Monte Pincio within the city, adopted these substructions as a sufficient fortification.

There is no certain example of “opus reticulatum” later than the age of Caracalla; but this is of a construction sufficiently compact and regular to belong to the very best period of building, viz. the age of Claudius and Nero. Procopius describes the Muro Torto as it exists at the present day; and from his account the whole of this tract derives its first and sole historical interest. “Between this gate (Flaminia) and the postern which succeeds on the right, called Pinciana, a part of the fortification wall had anciently detached itself in two parts; not from the soil up to the top, but only as far as the middle: it had not fallen down, nor was it in any degree ruined, but it was so inclined that the interior and exterior of the other walls might be seen, and from time immemorial the Romans called this the cleft wall. Belisarius undertook to pull down and rebuild this part; but the Romans would not allow him to do that, assuring him that the apostle St. Peter had promised them that he would guard that quarter.” It is then added, that the Goths never attempted to scale that wall during the whole siege, not even in their nightly attacks; for which reason none ever dared to rebuild it, but it continued there detached from the rest even up to this (the historian’s) day.³¹ The mass of buildings to which this description mainly applies, is just at the turning of the hill, near the old entrance into

³² *Procopius de Bell. Gothic.* lib. i. cap. 23.

the Villa Borghese, and the niches coeval and of the same material, continue for about seventy yards in our new direction. Here the dead bodies of those "who die impenitent" are thrown, amongst which (but in more rigorous times) were reckoned heretics of all descriptions!

After passing these ancient niches, our circuit recommences with the works of the fifteenth century — of Nicolas V. and Paul II. The curtain of the wall which follows the third tower is a restoration of the present century, when the Monte Pincio was first opened to the public; as is also that which occurs in the higher part after the fifth tower. The seventh tower, which has been changed into a casino, exhibits the arms of Paul II., the Venetian pope. The construction of these first seven towers approaches to the Saracenic; the eighth, which is founded upon a mass of tufo, ends in a small lodge belonging to the Villa Medici; the ninth is the work of the fifteenth century; and the curtain which succeeds contains, along with a very modern reparation, a specimen of the twelfth or thirteenth century, constructed of pieces of the stone called basalt-lava. The tenth tower is formed at the top into an artist's study, and bears an inscription of Julius III., which dates its repairs in the sixteenth century. We have next a wall of the eighteenth century, with a closed-up wicket in the middle. In the four following towers we get back to the fifteenth century; and the intervening curtains are generally of the same period. The name of Paul II. is read on the thirteenth tower. The line of wall now turns at nearly a right angle, and we begin to see something of the original construction. In the fifteenth tower the work of Honorius is dis-

cernible by the greater regularity of the bricks : the restorations of Paul II., and some more modern, are mingled with the ancient wall ; but, after the nineteenth tower (rebuilt by Nicolas V.), the construction of Honorius becomes more apparent. It is well to remark, that the twenty-second tower is a good specimen of the fifteenth century. The curtain which follows is supported by small buttresses, and is supposed to be the work of the sixth century, and therefore of Belisarius : it is distinguished from that of Honorius by the greater quantity of cement, and by the irregularity and paler colour of the bricks. These observations are chiefly grounded upon the towers which flank the Porta Pinciana, to which we are fast approaching : there only intervene the twenty-third tower, reduced to a buttress in the fifteenth century, and the twenty-fourth, which is supposed to be of the sixth century, whilst the patched wall of flintstones between them is another specimen of the twelfth or thirteenth. A round tower announces the gate just mentioned. There is every reason to believe that Belisarius made the Porta Pinciana, which was also called after his own name, Belisaria : he resided during the siege of Vitiges, as we have said, upon the Monte Pincio ; and a gate so situated must have been most convenient for him : it is frequently called by Procopius a small gate or postern, because from it proceeded no great public way ; it only led out to communications with the Via Flaminia and the Via Salaria. It is built of stone, and ornamented with small modillions : it bears a Greek cross upon the key-stone, enclosed in a “ discus,” and is made after

the manner of a portcullis.³³ Several of these things would seem to apply to the general of Justinian; and if the gate be allowed to be his, we must also consider the round towers as of the same period; they are, therefore, taken as specimens for verifying the works of Belisarius in every part of the walls. Tradition has thrown a melancholy interest around this solitary gate, alleging that it was here where the unfortunate warrior sat and begged, crying to the passengers as they entered the scene of his former glory, “*Date obolum Belisario!*”³⁴

From the round tower of the sixth century, which shows also some repairs of the eighth, to the thirty-third, counting from the Muro Torto, we have the works of Honorius repaired by Belisarius, and by the popes of succeeding ages. The curtain between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth tower has been rebuilt by Julius III. and Nicolas V.; and another specimen of the twelfth century appears in the last-numbered tower. After this we find frequent restorations of the eighth century, known by the mixture of bricks and tufo. The curtain following the thirty-sixth tower was restored in the seventeenth century, and a sepulchral stone, bearing the name of Calphurnia Rufa, has been inserted with the materials. The construction of the fifth century now again reappears, with repairs of the eighth. The

³³ The author of *Le Mura di Roma* points out the word ἀνακλίσου as indicating the manner in which that kind of gate is opened, in *Procop. de Bello Goth.* lib. i. cap. 18.; also Πύλη Πυγμαίων, in distinction with Πύλη Σαλάρια.—*Idem*, lib. i. cap. 15.

³⁴ See what the historian of the Roman empire says of this popular legend in his sixty-ninth note to chap. xliii.: in this instance his scepticism is justifiable.

thirty-ninth and two following towers are in good preservation; but the walls about them have lately undergone repairs. The following towers, as far as number forty-four, are also of Honorius's age; but the forty-fifth, which is round, corresponds to the works of Belisarius: and we espy another postern, now walled up. The adjoining curtain stands upon substructing arches, owing, no doubt, to the nature of the ground; and we find the name of the restorer here to be Julius III. These details bring us at length to the Porta Salaria.

This gate was substituted to the Porta Collina of Servius Tullius, the position of which has already been laid down. It took its name from the road by which, according to the etymology of Festus, it was permitted to export salt into the Sabine territory; and, reckoning from the old gate, it was three miles to the bridge over the Anio, which marks the scene of many a battle in the early periods of Roman story. The first station on the Via Salaria was Fidenæ, distant five miles from Rome; the second Eretum, distant eighteen; and so continuing by Reate for a length of 150 miles, arrived at Hadria, now Atri, a town on the Hadriatic coast. The Porta Salaria was the fatal gate by which Alaric entered Rome, and the vicinity of the gardens of Sallust explains why they especially suffered from the fire of the Goths: the gate itself must also have stood an assault; and at present we discover, under the two round brick towers, some more solid construction of travertine stone, of an anterior date; but as to the arch, it bears marks of repairs as late as the eighth century.

In continuing our description towards the Porta

Pia, we shall remark the works of the eighth century amongst those of the fifth, and also of the eleventh and twelfth, distinguished by the mixture of irregular tufo and bricks. The base of the second tower from the gate is of square tufo and cement. After the fourth tower we have a specimen of the fifteenth century, and after the fifth of the eighteenth. There is an excellent example of Honorius's walls, in two towers, before arriving at the Porta Pia. The whole appears lower and less like fortifications in this track, and the views of the villas and Campagna which meet the eye, relieve for a moment the solitude, and the subject of the walls of Rome. The Porta Pia affords also a slight refreshment under the shade of Buonarrotti's genius, although it has been severely criticised by Milizia. The new gate was built by order of Pius IV., to be instead of the ancient Nomentana, which, as the inscription declares, was then (1564) taken away. It is totally independent of our circuit, for it does not stand in the line. The gateway, which affords an access to it from without, more properly belongs to our description.

The modern road is not altogether in the original direction, until it arrives at some distance from the Porta Pia; for the P. Nomentana, from which it issued, does not occur until we have passed two towers, and arrived at a round one, which, as in the other cases, flanked the old gate: a banking is here raised against the arching which closes it, and the inscription of "Pius III. Medices," marks the spot. Poggio says it was one of the most ancient gates, because probably he had observed in the construction of it the more solid materials:

one of the towers which flanked it is still seen to have been built upon an ancient sepulchre; and this circumstance is cited as a proof that the present walls were drawn round the city at a later period of the empire than Aurelian's age. The form of this sepulchral monument has been that of a pyramid: some of the keystones distinguished in the mass "ad emplecton," are of marble. The Via Nomentana led to the town of Nomentum, and afterwards went to join the Via Salaria: it was, therefore, of no great renown; and before the walls were extended, it issued also from the P. Collina, to which, therefore, we must consider the P. Nomentana also substituted.³⁵ A tower of Honorius succeeds the unknown sepulchre, and then a postern and a projecting buttress of the middle ages; and again a similar tower. This is followed by one very high, of Nicolas V., as the initials N. PP. V. testify. We may regard the curtain belonging to it as of the age of Belisarius; and this brings us to the place where the walls turn with some irregularity to join the circuit of the Prætorian Camp.

Although this establishment forms such a distinguished feature in the decline of the Roman empire, and the name of Prætorian guards still tingles in the ears of military despots; and although we have no doubt that here begins its enclosure; we are obliged to have recourse to a scholiast of Juve-

³⁵ Whoever desires more information upon the gates and public roads, may consult the dissertation of Signor Nibby, *delle Vie degli Antichi*, appended to the new edition of *Nardini*, or the original documents called the *Itinerary of Antonine*, and the *Carta Peutingeriana*.

nal for a definite ancient authority as to its situation.⁸⁶ It is true that, when Nero escaped out of the city by the Via Nomentana, he is said by Suetonius to have heard the menaces of the soldiers in the adjoining camp⁸⁷; and Pliny speaks of it as if it had stood at the extremity of the city⁸⁸, and without the Pomœrium; but the interpreter of Juvenal alone says it was placed above the baths of Diocletian, and near the agger of Tullius. To verify the accuracy of this indication, it will be enough to make the circuit of the Villa Macao, and consider the mould of the ancient city, as already described. This extensive vineyard, which may now be called the camp of the Jesuits, contains the space once marked out by Sejanus for the Prætorian cohorts. In one place there are considerable remains of corridors of reticulated tufo, such as have probably run round the whole enclosure. In making the round (we speak now of the interior), we shall observe that the side on the south scarcely retains its original direction, having been so much broken down and hastily repaired by large uneven blocks of stone. These we shall shortly arrive at in the course of our circuit outside. There are also some paintings still preserved on the stucco of the corridors. The internal space, which forms an incomplete kind of square, affords no subject for

⁸⁶ "Juxta aggerem primus castra posuit Sejanus; id est, super Diocletianas: quæ dicta sunt Castra Prætoriana." — *Scholias. in Juvenal. Satyr. x. 94.*

⁸⁷ *In vit. Neronis*, cap. xlviii.

⁸⁸ "Ad extrema vero tectorum cum Castris Prætoriiis ab eodem milliario [scilicet aureo], per vicos omnium viarum," &c. — *Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 5.*

observation. Some inscriptions have been found, which are of a nature to confirm the locality of the "Castra."

As the principal scene of those revolutions which affected the nations of Europe through so many centuries, the vineyard of the Jesuits might for a long time engage our reflections; but we should then have to leave the task of the topographer for the province of the historian. We must, therefore, be content to observe, that the "Castra Prætoria" was originally built by Tiberius, and after existing for three centuries was dismantled by Constantine.³⁹ Three sides of the square stood convenient for enclosing the city in the time, no doubt, of Honorius; and the fourth side was then thrown down, to clear away the space. The circuit of the three sides, now forming the walls of Rome, measures in all 5400 feet. The Prætorian gate is with good reason supposed to have been on the side (now destroyed) facing Rome, and consequently the "Porta Decumana" on the side opposite: the other two gates were "Principalis Dextra" and "Sinistra:" their titles sufficiently indicate their positions.

Returning to the place from whence we made

³⁹ *Aurelius Victor de Cæsaribus*, cap. xi.; and *Zosimus*, lib. ii. cap. 17.

An inscription, with the names of the Emperor Macrinus and the Cæsar Diadumenianus, was found in the Vigna Macao about the year 1742: it was written on a leaden pipe, and confirms the position of the "Castra," by the words therein contained.

CASTRIS . PRÆTORI.

See *Nibby, le Mura di Roma*, p. 329.; and for the details of a Roman camp, consult *Adam's Roman Antiquities*, p. 372.

this digression, we shall see some angular buttresses of the age of Belisarius, placed against the wall of the "Castra;" and the marks of some others similar to them, but which are now destroyed. The "Porta Dextra" soon occurs, which seems to have been faced with travertine, and flanked with two thin pilasters of brick, the width of the ingress being thirteen feet. The upper part has been restored in the eighth century, and we still see two loopholes, of curiously formed tiles, peeping out of the reparations: a little farther are two of a similar description. The brick-work worthy of the age of Tiberius soon begins to show itself in better preservation; and in turning the rounded angle where the cornice rises to a considerable height, it is nearly perfect; we see, too, the nature of the foundations on which the camp was reared. After a modern restoration, which an inscription points out, and the vestiges of two ruined buttresses, we discern another gate, constructed very like the preceding one, and it is supposed to be the "Decumana." Another modern restoration, and some traces of similar buttresses, bring us to the third side of the "Castra," which, as was observed, is the least perfect. The manner in which the walls have been patched with stones of an inconvenient proportion, seems to announce that hasty work of Belisarius to which we have alluded: the material was, perhaps, taken from the camp itself, or from the aqueducts. Several popes have intermingled their contributions to the heterogeneous mass, which is brought up to the Porta Chiusa by Urban VIII. This gate or postern, as the title denotes, is walled up with mixed materials. It seems

to hold the same rank in the present circuit as the P. Pinciana, and is not unlike it in construction. As there was no great road which proceeded from it, it cannot be called by an ancient name, and was probably never much used. Being situated as near to the Viminal hill as the walls allow, it is agreed to call it by the title of P. Viminalis.

This closed gate being passed, we come upon the works of the seventeenth century, and of Julius II., and of the eighth century; and then the towers which the Prætorian Camp had interrupted begin again to appear in the original line of wall. The first of them is half destroyed, the second is in Saracenic work of small blocks of tufo, then a curtain of Gregory XIII., and again the "tumultuous" repairs of Belisarius. To this succeeds a piece of 1651, covered with stucco, on which the name of Innocent X. is rudely scratched. We recognise the epoch of Belisarius again in the next tower but one, and the age of Nicolas V. in the succeeding wall. In the four following towers we may trace some work of Belisarius, amidst that of Julius III., Julius II., of the eighteenth, and of the present century. Then comes one of greater antiquity, mingled with modern repairs; and the wall which ensues is made of those flinty stones which were used in the twelfth century: the square blocks of stone are, however, assigned to Belisarius; and then again succeeds the walling up with stones. The eight towers following present more uniformity: they are originally of Honorius, but repaired at various periods. Between the sixth and seventh is a closed postern. The ninth is surmounted by a summer-house, and is embodied with the large

villa, seen towering within the walls. This brings us to the confused mass of material which flanks the gate of S. Lorenzo, being also a tower of the fifteenth century.

We have here the inscription of Honorius, although much defaced, upon which the system we have adopted mainly depends for its authority; and we have an illustration of the words contained in it, "*egestis immensis rudribus.*" The gate is nearly upon its original level; but the aqueduct against which it is placed is interred up to the spring of the arch. This aqueduct conveyed the three streams called Marcia, Julia, and Tepula, of which more will be said in our general account of the aqueducts. In the mean time we may observe the entablature of the arch rent in many places, but still showing the inscriptions of Augustus, Titus, and Caracalla *: also by going within the gate, we shall see the ancient channel which conveyed the waters above named: and it will be worth while to notice its direction towards the succeeding gate; the remains of the aqueduct, which may be traced along the walls, and the final adjusting of the whole by Sixtus V.; for in the same direction, but in a new and higher channel, runs now the Acqua Felice, which we see turning from the walls, near the second tower from the gate, to go towards the Piazza di Termini. The Porta S. Lorenzo can be no other than the Porta Tiburtina, where the road began which led to Tibur. This was the same as the Via Valeria, which, passing through Tivoli and Vicovaro and Carseoli, arrived at Itri

* See Note LL.

(Hadria), the same destination as that of the Via Salaria.

The high tower which flanks the left side of the entrance is of the fifteenth century, and bears the arms of two cardinals. The lower part of one of its sides is built of ancient stones, originally formed for other purposes; and on one is an inscription turned upside down. Next succeeds a wall of Sixtus V., coeval of course with his aqueduct, which runs along it; and after another tower of the same century, we arrive at one of Honorius, which is the hundredth, reckoning from the Muro Torto. The next bears the initials of Nicolas V.

After examining the first hundred towers and the intervening curtains of wall, in this detailed manner, any one will be able to discriminate for himself the various epochs of the construction of the rest; we shall now, therefore, be less minute in our descriptions.

From the point at which we are now supposed to have arrived, to the Porta Maggiore, there occur fourteen towers, for the most part of that brick construction which we assign to the age of Honorius, and some restorations of Clement XI. and others. After passing the first four towers of the fourteen, we begin to discover in the lower part of the walls some brick-work of a superior kind, not unworthy of the age of Nero or Trajan; and a little farther will be observed some modillions projecting from the curtain, and some traces of conduits, but the whole announcing a fabric of considerable extent. The close adjoining aqueduct immediately suggests that this may have been a "castellum aquæ," which was taken into the line of walls by Honorius; but

as we may also discern brick-work of another date, and that seemingly unconnected with the design of the "castellum," we very probably in this place have come upon the original line of Aurelian's walls. Soon after we shall find a closed postern, resembling in its construction the P. Chiusa.

Just before arriving at the Porta Maggiore, a misshapen tower, built of fragments of marble, and of travertine ornaments, projects at an angle; and underneath it we see the channel (specus) of an old aqueduct, built of square blocks of peperine stone; and looking on the opposite side of the road under the hedge of the vineyard, we discern some further vestiges of it: at present it will be enough to fix the attention upon this subterraneous aqueduct, by observing it conveyed the water called the Anio Vetus. After turning the angle of the patched tower, we see, taken into the walls, the flank of an arch made of peperine stone, and within the gate exist the remains of two arches of the same material and fabric; in the upper part of this flank or pilaster are seen three distinct channels, rising one above another⁴⁰, the lowest of them received the "Aqua Marcia," the middle one the Tepula, and the highest the Julia; and we have already seen how the same three streams arrived at the Porta S. Lorenzo. Underneath the tower which stands on the left of the gate in entering is another

⁴⁰ See Fig. 1. in the annexed sketch; which is here introduced for the sake of convenience, although belonging to the subject of the aqueducts. It is taken from a drawing in *Camucci*, which was made before the Porta Labicana was walled up, and when the whole was free from the encumbrance of modern buildings.

channel resembling that of the Anio Vetus, but tending in a different direction. This is considered as a branch taken from the "Anio Vetus" by Augustus, and is the "specus Octavianus," which conveyed water into the twelfth region. It will be necessary to bear this also in mind, as we shall meet with further traces of it in continuing our circuit. Independently of the five aqueducts here enumerated, we have yet two more which especially claim our attention, for to them belongs the lofty frontispiece against which the two gates of Honorius were placed. At the end of the frieze which bears the large inscriptions will be seen the two channels: the highest is the Anio Novus, and the other the "Aqua Claudia." The imposing aspect which the emperor Claudius here gave to his aqueducts was because they came across two public roads, the one leading to Præneste, the other to Labicum. The elevations of this building on both sides are precisely the same; but it is necessary to divest them of the rude works of Honorius, before we can come at the design: then we shall find the whole was formed of two large arches, and relieved by three blank windows, supported by Corinthian columns, and covered by a pediment. They are more remarkable for their proportions than for their elegance. Above these come the three inscriptions to which we shall afterwards have recourse: the highest belongs to Claudius, the middle one to Vespasian, and the lowest to Titus.* By a reference to our sketch of this noble monument, the elevation will be easily understood. The two great arches stood

* See Note MM.

Fig. 2.

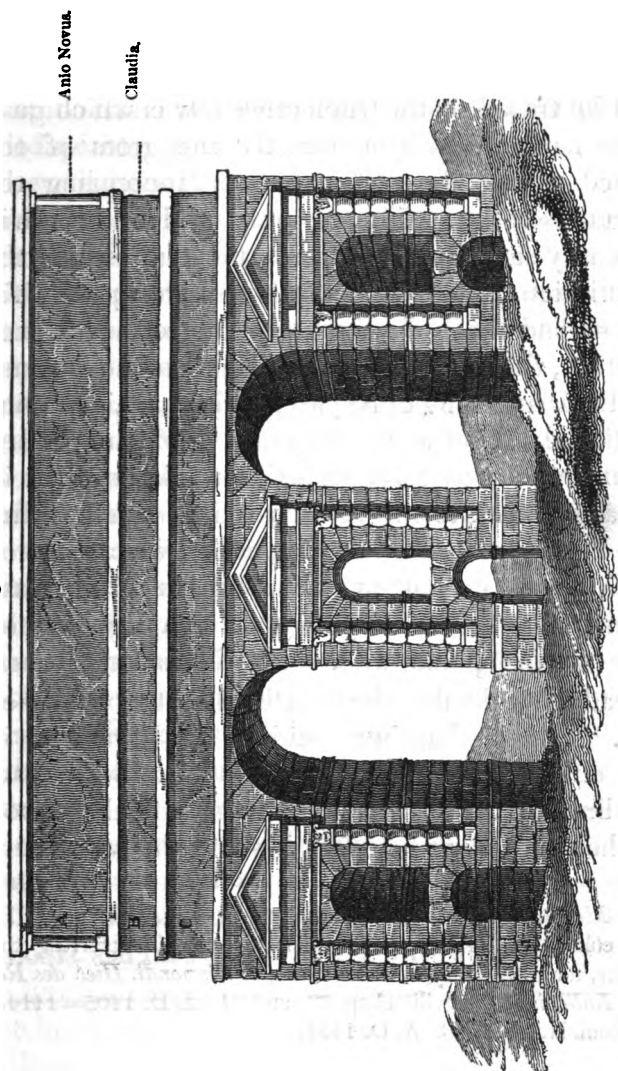
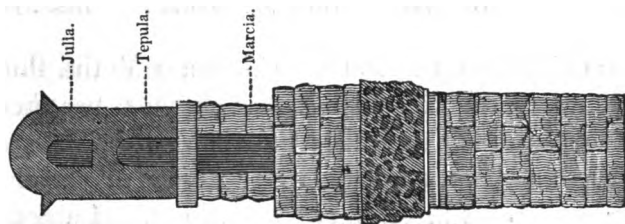


Fig. 1.



The ancient Aqueducts at the Porta Maggiore.

convenient for the Porta Labicana and the Porta Prænestina of Honorius: the former has been closed for ages; the other has changed its name to Porta Maggiore. In the walls of Servius Tullius, it will be recollected that the two roads, Labicana and Prænestina, issued from the Porta Esquilina, by, as we supposed, a double gate; the same two roads branching out from the Porta Maggiore, may still be traced to the respective towns which gave their names, and consequently the gates of the aqueduct may be considered as succeeding the Porta Esquilina. The masonry of Honorius will be easily separated from that of Claudius, and the inscription in honour of Stilicho here appears for the second time. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, this gate was defended against the Romans by Ladislaus, king of Naples; and it sustained some further shocks of war in the year 1436⁴¹: no wonder, then, that we observe, in different places about it, repairs of the fifteenth century: the first tower after the P. Labicana, for instance, is of Nicolas V.

Our walls now assume the direction of the Claudian aqueduct, which soon turns at a right angle, just at the point where the Neronian arches, already described in the Fourth Dissertation, branch out. Enough has been said of the Vivarium, in our circuit of the fifth region; a place which, according to Procopius, was in the neighbourhood of the Porta Prænestina, and where the walls were

⁴¹ *Muratori, Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. xxiv. col. 981.; and col. 1015. 1113. I have much pleasure in referring the reader, for the history of those times, to *Sismondi, Hist. des Répub. Italiennes*, tom. viii. chap. 60. and 61. A. D. 1405—1414. and tom. ix. chap. 66. A. D. 1431.

the least solid. There can be little doubt that the direction of the walls was here altered by Belisarius, beginning perhaps from the angle of the aqueduct just mentioned: the half-ruined towers which stand against the said aqueduct are evidently of his age. In continuing our circuit from the Porta Maggiore, we take the direction of the Via Labicana, which runs parallel with the walls for a distance of about 1200 feet. Above rise the aged arches of the Claudian aqueduct; and the channel of the Acqua Felice is seen running below them. As we walk towards the next turning of the walls, we shall discern, under the wall of the vineyard on our left, some vestiges of "opus reticulatum" and of peperine stone. This is the "specus" of the Anio Vetus, which has already been observed at the Porta Maggiore: it had its source at a distance of twenty miles from Rome, in the neighbourhood of Tivoli.

The arches of the Acqua Felice, under which we now have to pass, though unworthy to be compared with the magnificent work of the emperor, do honour to the memory of the pope. A flank of one of the original arches is left visible in the line of wall just after the angular tower, as if to render the contrast more striking. Between this point and the precincts of the Santa Croce we must look for the breaches of Ladislaus. The modern repairs are generally pointed out by popish inscriptions: and near that of Paul V. we shall observe the remains of an anterior fabric, which has been taken into the foundation line of the walls. It were in vain to form any conjectures of what it has been; but the brick-work much resembles that of the "castellum aquæ," near the Porta S. Lorenzò.

The monastery of S. Croce appears above a fortress-like wall of Pius VII., which joins a curtain of the fifteenth century, including a small postern; and then by a restoration of Pius IV. we arrive at the Amphitheatre of the Camps. The elevation is supported by half columns of brick, of which the first three are nearly perfect, and stand upon small modillions. The whole, which amounts to one half of the ellipse, contains sixteen arches: their original construction, of excellent brick-work, is easily distinguished from that which walls them up; an elegant cornice runs round the whole; and in the part nearest the Lateran are the vestiges of a second story. We have already spoken of this amphitheatre in our fifth region; but now, when we see on the outside the excellence of the "lateritia," we should be led to assign an earlier date than the time of Caracalla for its origin, making that emperor only the restorer. It is worth while to ascend the mound which rises before this building, and so relieve the dulness of our occupation by a view of the vineyards and more distant objects in the Campagna. The arches of the "Amphitheatrum Castrense" are thus made subservient to the walls, which now continue in a straight line as far as the Lateran: the ground becomes very uneven, the towers are much ruined, and the walls are chiefly made up of modern reparations.

A little before arriving at the Porta S. Giovanni, a tower stands upon a rock of tufo; and near it we shall observe some vestiges of "opus reticulatum," and a mass of other materials continuing under the walls: there are further traces of the "Specus Octavianus," which we saw at the

Porta Maggiore. The Lateran gate, or the Porta S. Giovanni, is entirely modern, and was substituted by Gregory XIII. to the adjoining "Porta Asinaria," now walled up: but before proceeding with our circuit outside, the opportunity may be taken of going within the gate, and retracing the walls for a little way inside. In no part do they exhibit so much the appearance of fortifications as in the track between the Lateran and the S. Croce, which induces us to believe that this is Aurelian's original line; and, consequently, that he first took in the Amphitheatre. It is true, we shall find similar corridors in many other places, especially on this south side of the city; but none seem built with such care and labour as these, evidently showing that there was no haste or confusion in the operation. By means of these passages of communication from tower to tower, the defenders of the walls were sheltered almost as if they were in the "Castrum." But to return to the Porta S. Giovanni. After descending for a few paces, the lofty round towers which flank the P. Asinaria rise on each side of a shed, which now blocks up the ancient entrance. This is the gate through which we said Belisarius first entered Rome, and which was afterwards betrayed by the Isaurians to Totila. These events alone give it an interest.⁴² The Via Asinaria, which issued from it, was of no renown; for the best derivation that can be found for the word is, that this gate and road led to a villa of the Asinii family, or that some member of that family

⁴² Vide *Procop. de Bello Gothico*, lib. i. cap. 14.; and lib. iii. cap. 20.

made the road, which after three miles fell in with the Via Latina: the gate was first walled up in 1408 by order of Ladislaus.⁴³

The walls now recede towards the mother basilica, and are strengthened by modern buttresses, instead of the towers; forming as it were a terrace in front of the church. They are built upon more ancient substructions, and finally form an angle with the remains of an edifice, which, from their excellent construction, are believed to be of the house of Plautius Lateranus. The situation is in favour of the supposition; and the ruins are still traced after passing the alternate angle.

A mass of stones project from the tower, which follows the inscription of Clement XI., — the hasty work of Belisarius. Similar repairs occur between this and the next great turning of the walls, which takes place where a stream of water passes under them. This stream is the “Aqua Crabra,” which we have already seen in our eleventh and second regions; and at the place where it enters the city is a walled-up gate of the secondary order. Gregory the Great calls it the Porta Metronis; and no writer more ancient even makes mention of it. The anonymous of the eighth century calls it Metrovia: the origin of the word is lost in obscurity, and etymologists conjecture in vain.⁴⁴ In the inside is that inscription to which we have referred, setting forth that the

⁴³ Vide *Festus in voce Retricibus*; and *Diarium Romanum, apud Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. xxiv. col. 992.

⁴⁴ “Ascensis caballis per Metronis portam exeuntes, ut eos Latinam vel Appiam viam sequerentur.” — *Epist. Gregor.* lib. ix. sect. 69.

walls were repaired in the year 1157. Our circuit now makes an irregular sweep, encompassing the environs of the Latin and Appian Ways, and the baths of Caracalla, until it arrives within a little distance of the Porta S. Paolo, to resume the original direction. It seems very probable that the whole of this was one of those additions made by Honorius, more especially as it encloses some lofty mounds, and is an evident deviation from the original line. A mournful silence begins to reign at the Porta Metronis, over the walls of the "lofty city;" and the towers of the fifth and sixth centuries have now become too familiar to our eyes to afford any relief to the solitude. This will be the time and place for reflecting on the destiny of the city which has governed the world, and the stability of the "better city which hath foundations."

After a space of seventeen towers, the walls run for a little way upon some good building of Alban stone; and the neighbouring towers stand upon the same kind of material, but not in its original construction. The piece, which is genuine, (and it is easily distinguished,) is a continuation of the aqueduct called the "Specus Octavianus," which was seen at the Porta Maggiore; and after proceeding a little farther, we find the remains of a reservoir or "piscina," no doubt belonging to the same aqueduct. It is now traversed through the middle by the road: it has been a rectangular compartment of about 60 feet by 30. The calcareous incrustation still exists upon some places of the stucco. The following curtain is also built upon ruins; and this brings us to the Porta Latina. This gate, defended on each side by two round towers such as we have

ascribed to the epoch of Belisarius, bears also other marks of its Byzantine authors; on the keystone is the Christian monogram, with the alpha and omega inserted. It should, however, be regarded rather as re-made by Belisarius than founded by him; for it bears other signs of the works of Honorius. In the original walls of Tullius we have seen that the Porta Capena served for two roads, and that the Via Latina branched out from the Via Appia at a little distance from the gate on the left, as it is still traced. The Porta Latina, therefore, and the Porta S. Sebastiano may be considered as having succeeded to the celebrated Porta Capena. As to the Via Latina, it continued in a direct line towards the hills of Tusculum, and was the road by which Cicero went to his villa: it passed through the cities of Ferentinum, Frusinone, Venafrum, and so communicated with Beneventum. It received some other branch roads not far from the city, as the Asinaria, the Tusculana, &c. The Via Appia has already been described, and upon arriving before the Porta S. Sebastiano we shall recognise our footsteps in the first region, and shall easily call to mind the monument of Drusus, the tomb of the Scipios, and the site of the temple of Mars. This gate was called, by writers of the eighth and ninth centuries, Porta Appia; and after the name had passed through some corruptions in the fifteenth century, such as Accia, d'Azia, and Datia, it finally gave way to the popular saint of the catacombs. The towers which defend it are remarkable for the fine blocks of marble of which the lower parts are built, besides a quantity of the same materials employed in the elevation; the whole, no doubt, the spoils

of the splendid tombs of the Via Appia: the upper parts, built of brick, are probably the work of Narses; within are inscribed some Greek letters on the keystone of the vault. The names of two military Greek saints are invoked, and the Greek cross inscribed in a circle. Under the arch is read a Gothic-Latin inscription, celebrating a victory gained by the Romans over some foreign invaders; but the date is partly erased. The professor Nibby would read it *MCCCXXVII.* and thus make Lewis of Bavaria and his people the repulsed invaders of the Porta Appia.⁴⁵

We are conscious that this detailed account of the walls and gates of Rome must have become tedious to those who have not had the opportunity of personally verifying our description; and it is even time to relieve the most patient observer. We must, however, either continue to the Porta S. Paolo, or else leave our task unfinished. In proceeding, therefore, towards the bastion of Sangallo, the next thing worthy of observation is a brick arch standing at an angle with the preceding wall, and supported by two half columns of excellent taste and

⁴⁵ *Le Mura di Roma*, p. 369—372. The Greek invocations are — ΑΙΙΕ ΚΩΝΟΝ, ΑΙΙΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΙ. The Italian language appears, from the Gothic inscription, to be emerging from barbarous Latin about this period.

A. IN FESTO SCI MICHAELIS INTRAVIT GENS FORESTERIA.

For a more accurate description of the Latin and Appian roads, the reader is referred to our Third Dissertation, with the plan of the environs. Just within the Porta Latina, where, tradition says, St. John was boiled in oil, an elegant columbarium of the Augustan age was discovered in April, 1831.

construction. This has belonged to some building which existed before the walls in which it is embodied; and, as it has evidently been used for a gate, it is supposed, from the aptitude of the position, to be the "Porta Ardeatina." Before joining the bastion, it will be also observed that the walls are built upon anterior ruins to a great extent: there is another blind postern, and the height of the original walls of Honorius is here best seen. But the specimen of modern fortifications displayed in the works of Paul III. takes us at once from the fifth to the sixteenth century, and contrasts, as it were, the operations of an ancient with a modern siege. This celebrated monument of the genius of Sangallo is, however, fast falling into ruins; and it is beyond the power of Rome in the nineteenth century to prevent its final decay. Once more we see the initials of Nicolas V. before arriving at the point corresponding to the turn at the Porta Metronis. We then fall in again with the line of Aurelian's walls, as is probable, and descending by a succession of patched walls and towers of all ages, we arrive at the Porta S. Paolo. This name is applied to the gate by Procopius himself, and proves at least the antiquity of the now ruined basilica. Ammianus Marcellinus calls it Porta Ostiensis, for the obvious reason of its leading out to Ostia. It forms internally a double gate, but on the outside presents but one arch. The inside appears to be of Honorius, for it resembles the other gates considered to be of him; besides, Poggio read upon it the names of Arcadius and Honorius. This was the gate through which Totila entered Rome the second time, and

Ladislaus king of Naples also, in the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁴⁶

The walls now join the pyramid of Caius Cestius, and in the inside we may observe a continuation of corridors, something like those we saw near the Santa Croce. Two or three broken towers rise above the Protestants' graves, but the rest are generally destroyed as far as the Tyber: in that tract the walls serve rather to enclose the vineyards than the city, and they may be partially traced up the river to nearly opposite the Ripa Grande. On the other side of the Tyber the same kind of fortifications are re-assumed at the Porta Portese; but this and the whole of the Trans-tyberine walls have been already described: and such is the present condition of the walls and gates which enclose and defend the "eternal city."

If the whole space were inhabited, it would contain a population nearly equal to that of Paris; but as this would include the space enclosed by the popes beyond the Tyber, ancient Rome could never have contained within its walls a population so great; and it may be very much doubted whether the whole of the ground now enclosed was ever fully peopled at one time. The inhabitants of the suburbs would, in all probability, take refuge within the walls, as they felt themselves exposed to danger and distress in the Gothic invasion; and thus the

⁴⁶ Vide *Procopius*, lib. iii. cap. 34. "Besieging Rome by land and water, he (Ladislaus) thrice entered the gates as a barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars; violated the virgins; pillaged the merchants; performed his devotions at St. Peter's; and left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo." — *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, chap. lxx. A. D. 1392—1407.

population of the city (*Urbs*) might be kept up for a while by that of the environs (*Roma*); not much unlike the manner in which the papal city has been peopled, where the *Mal'aria* will stand for the Gothic invasions. It is in vain to attempt to form any estimation of the population of *Roma*, especially when we read of streets, and towns, and buildings continuing as far as *Otricoli* and *Ostia*; and it would not be easy to fix upon the period when such population was at its height. In the Augustan age, the immense loss of human lives sustained in the long series of civil wars had not been repaired, and the marriage state had fallen into general neglect, not to say contempt; and we must at least allow two or three generations to pass away before the peace and prosperity of the empire began to operate among the "household gods." A census of the inhabitants of the city seems to have been taken by *Vespasian*; and we have to regret that *Pliny* should not have been more explicit. But if we have rightly understood his measurement of the circuit including the *Campus Martius* and the fourteenth region, as well as the old *Pomœrium*, we shall have an inhabited space very much resembling the present enclosure; that is, a population not less numerous than that of *Paris*. It must be confessed that the *Flavian Amphitheatre*, erected in addition to the *Circus Maximus*, and so many other places of amusement, is only commensurate with a city of that magnitude. The golden age of the *Antonines* was most favourable to the arts of peace; and no doubt, in the course of forty years of uninterrupted prosperity, the population of the city mightily increased. It cannot be said that

any thing occurred which would make any material change until the age of Constantine ; for although the empire was afflicted with dreadful evils, both famine and sword were wonderfully averted from the city, whose "time had not yet come." Nothing prevented such stupendous works as the baths of Caracalla from being reared ; Aurelian's extensive fortifications were not made to defend unpeopled streets ; and the baths of Diocletian and Constantine sufficiently announce the flourishing state of the inhabitants. As this period brings us within about sixty years of the date of our regionaries, the enumeration of the habitations in each district therein contained may greatly assist us in coming to some calculation. It is evident that the new city of Constantine would soon begin to affect the state of the Roman population ; but as the city had not yet suffered any assault from without in the time of Valentinian, the edifices, both public and private, could not be far different at the end of half a century. The number of "insulæ" or plebeian habitations in all the fourteen regions amounted to 44,597 (saving the texts) ; or, according to the "Notitia," written a long time after, to 46,602. The "domus," or great houses, were, according to P. Victor, 1831 ; but in the "Notitia" the number is stated at 1780 : a diminution which is more probable than the increase of the other class of habitations. Taking, however, a medium in round numbers, for it would be affectation to pretend to an accurate estimate, we may say 45,000, and 1800 ; and these independent of the barracks and stations for the night-watches, &c. An "insula" afforded accommodation for several families, all using the

same passage and staircase. Forming our estimate from a modern habitation of a similar description, we suppose the “*insulæ*” to average about twenty souls each. A “house” was at least four times that number; for we are to consider the number of slaves and dependents which a rich man at Rome had about him; so that the “*domus*,” one with another, may be estimated at eighty souls. Thus we shall have—

In the "insulæ"	-	-	-	-	45,000 × 20 =	900,000
In the "domus"	-	-	-	-	1800 × 80 =	144,000
And in the Camps (taking the estimate of the Abbé					}	60,000
Brotier)	-	-	-	-		
						<hr/>
Total						1,104,000

That is, the population of ancient Rome never exceeded, if it ever equalled, that of London. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the number of Roman citizens mentioned by Tacitus has no reference whatever to the population of Rome*, and that our calculation does not go beyond the fourteen wards of Augustus.

It now remains to give an account of the aqueducts, — those stupendous works of the ancient Romans, which have excited the wonder of all succeeding generations, and to which Rome is still indebted for her greatest comfort and luxury.

Until the 431st year of the city, the people were content to make use of the waters of the Tyber, and such as they could draw out of wells or fountains close at hand; but by the time of Trajan nine copious streams flowed into the city from immense distances, conveyed either over the tops of lofty

* See Note NN.

arches, or in subterraneous channels. At a later period there were even more.

The first in the order of time was the “Aqua Appia⁴⁷,” so called because it was brought to Rome by Appius Claudius Cæcus, the same who constructed the Via Appia. It had its source in the Lucullan territory, at about 700 paces to the left of the Via Prænestina, between the seventh and eighth milestones; and it ended, after effecting a distance of 11 miles 190 paces, at the “Salinæ,” near the Porta Trigemina; thence it began to be distributed under the “Clivus Publicii,” about the Aventine hill. It was all subterraneous except sixty paces, which was carried over arches above the Porta Capena.⁴⁸ It was subsequently supplied by an additional stream, conveyed by Augustus, and called the Gemellæ, because of the junction: this began at the sixth milestone, along the Via Prænestina, and the junction took place near the “Horti Torquatiani.” We are not aware of any traces of this aqueduct now existing; but Piranesi thought he discovered some conduits under the Aventine hill, which might have belonged to it.

Forty years after the Aqua Appia was established, which brings us to the 481st year of the city, the censor Manlius Curius Dentatus began the aque-

⁴⁷ This account of the aqueducts is entirely taken from *Sextus Julius Frontinus*, who wrote his commentary, at the end of Nerva's reign or the beginning of Trajan's, entitled *De Aqueductibus Urb. Romæ Comment.* Vide art. v. to art. xiii. p. 15—48. *cum Annotation.* Joan. Poleni, edit. Patavii, 1722. 4to.

⁴⁸ “Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam.”

Juvenal. Sat. iii. 11.

See the course of the Appia Aqua diligently traced in *Fabretti de Aquis et Aquæduct.* diss. i. p. 22—32.

duct, which afterwards obtained the name of the Anio Vetus. The expense of this great work was defrayed out of the spoils of the Pyrrhic war. Two years later it was finished by Fulvius Flaccus, his colleague Curius having died a few days too soon to participate in the glory of the finished undertaking. The Anio Vetus began above Tivoli, at a distance of twenty miles from Rome; and before it reached the city it had run, by many turnings, a course of 43 miles; of this, 42 miles 779 paces were subterraneous, and 221 paces above ground. This is the "specus" we have already pointed out near the Porta Maggiore, just visible amongst the foundations of the walls, and which, perhaps, is all that now remains of it to be found.

At the end of 127 years, when Sulpicius Galba and L. Aurelius Cotta were consuls, the channels of the two waters Appia and Anio Vetus were damaged, and private individuals had filched away the supplies from the city. The remedying of this evil was committed to Quintus Martius Rex, the prætor, who, besides regulating the old aqueducts, made a new one, which was ever after called the Aqua Marcia. The source of this stream was 36 miles from Rome on the Via Valeria, and three miles more from the road; that is, between Tivoli and Subiaco. The whole length of its course was 60 miles 710 paces; of which 54 miles 247 paces were subterraneous, the rest being carried over arches, as it approached the city: they are the remains of those arches which produce such a striking effect in the Campagna. They may be followed for nearly two miles without interruption, by proceeding on the road to Albano, and turning

a little to the left, after passing the "Tavolato," at about four miles from Rome. They are built of peperine stone, and frequently rise to a prodigious height, to maintain the level of the channel. The "specus" of the Aqua Marcia is in many places still perfect, though now useless; and the channel which conveyed the Aqua Tepula above it, is still discernible in many places. Over the same arches a third stream was conveyed, the Julia; but the "Specus" of this (being the highest) can only be traced where the aqueduct begins to emerge from the ground. For some distance near the "Tenuta" of Roma Vecchia, it runs nearly parallel with the Claudian Aqueduct, and sometimes comes in contact with it as they both approach the city. Near the Arco Furbo, about three miles on the road to Frascati, the two aqueducts cross one another; and again before the Aqua Marcia disappears: but it is always easy to distinguish the one from the other; for the Claudian is the one made use of for conveying the Aqua Felice. Finally, the lowest of those three channels which we see in the flank of the arch near the Porta Maggiore admitted the Aqua Marcia.

The water called the Tepula, already mentioned, was introduced by the censors Cn. Servilius Cæpio and L. Cassius Longinus, surnamed Ravilla, in the year of Rome 627: it took its rise in the Lucullan territory, or, as some called it, the Tusculan. To arrive at its source, it was necessary to go ten miles on the Via Latina, and then turn off to the right for two miles. Some think the name Tepula was given to it because of its being rather warm at the source; as if "tepida." This water, as we have just

said, was conveyed over the Marcian arches, and is the middle "specus" of those three we have alluded to at the Porta Maggiore.

Two miles above the source of the Tepula, Agrippa, in his ædileship of the year 719, found another spring, which he called Julia, in honour of Augustus: the length of its course was fifteen miles 427 paces, of which seven miles were carried above ground. Indeed, this stream, as well as the Tepula, may be considered as belonging to the Marcian aqueduct: they formed their triple course with the Marcia. After collecting a number of little tributary springs, at the distance of seven miles from the city, they flowed on towards Rome, each in his own "specus," but over the same arches. The Julia was the highest⁴⁹, and the Marcia the lowest, of the three, as was described, near the Porta Maggiore. They continued, as we have seen, in the direction of the present walls as far as the Porta S. Lorenzo; and because those arches near the church of S. Bibiana are found to correspond with the level of the highest channel of these three, it is supposed they are the remains of the Julian aqueduct.⁵⁰ The Aqua Crabra had originally flowed into the Julia; but it was rejected by Agrippa, and given to the inhabitants of the Tusculan district.

⁴⁹ "A piscinis in eosdem arcus recipiuntur, summus iis est Juliae, inferior Tepulae, deinde Marciae." — *Frontin.* edit. citat. art. xix. p. 67.

"Altissimus Anio est Novus, proxima Claudia, tertium locum tenet Julia, quartum Tepula, dehinc Marcia." — *Idem*, art. xviii. p. 63.

⁵⁰ See this subject examined at length in our description of the Esquiline district, Dissertation V., p. 198.

But Agrippa conveyed another stream of excellent water to the city, which has immortalised his memory; for it is the same which now supplies the celebrated fountain of Trevi. We have already had occasion to describe the remains of this aqueduct in our seventh region, and also to show how it passed under the "Collis Hortorum," marking for us the limits of the ninth region: its source is at the Torre di Salone, about eight miles along the ancient Via Collatina: it is all subterraneous, except 7400 paces; and, as it is still used, may of course be traced from the fountain of Trevi to its source. It was called the "Virgo;" because, as Frontinus relates the story, when some of Agrippa's soldiers were wandering in the territory of Lucullus, and were greatly distressed for want of water, a young damsel pointed out to them this delicious spring, which Agrippa was induced to convey to Rome. A small "ædicola" was built over against the source; and a painting upon the walls represented a young virgin conducting the thirsty soldiers to the spring.

In treating of the Transtyberine district, we have already spoken of the Aqua Alsietina, which was also called Augusta, because Augustus conveyed it to Rome: it was originally used for the Naumachia chiefly, and was not considered very salubrious; it took its beginning from the Lake Alsietinus, situated six miles and a half to the right of the Via Claudia at fourteen miles from Rome: its course effected twenty-two miles 172 paces, of which 358 paces were arched above ground. This was the watercourse afterwards adjusted by Trajan, into which he introduced a new stream

from the Lake Sabbatinus, now the Lago Bracciano; and then the name of Alsietina was changed to that of Sabbatina: it is now the "Acqua Paola," and supplies the fountains of St. Peter's and the Vatican. Some remains of the original work of Augustus (as is most probable) may be seen without the Porta S. Pancrazio, in going towards the Villa Pamfili Doria.

Augustus made also an additional supply to the Aqua Marcia, by joining a stream conveyed in a subterraneous channel, which took its rise even beyond the source of the Marcia: it only ran 800 paces before the junction was effected.

We also read of another work of the same emperor. He took a branch from the "Anio Vetus," between the first and second milestone on the Via Labicana; and the channel was called Octavianus. It conveyed water into the district adjoining the Via Nova and to the "Horti Asiniani;" that is, where the thermæ of Caracalla were afterwards erected. The channel, which was first observed by us, at the Porta Maggiore, and traced along the Via Labicana, under the wall of the vineyard, then again near the Lateran and the Porta Latina, is found to correspond to the level of the Anio Vetus; and therefore we called it, in our circuit of the walls, the "specus Octavianus."⁵¹ Independent of these works of Augustus particularly pointed out by Frontinus, it appears from one of the three inscriptions at the Porta S. Lorenzo (placed over the Marcian aqueduct), that he repaired the

⁵¹ Consult *Fabretti de Aquis*, &c. diss. i. cap. xiii. p. 29.

channels of all the waters; that is to say, of the seven we have now enumerated. From another of those inscriptions we learn that Titus also restored the water which had ceased to flow in the channel of the Marcia. Caracalla made a similar reparation of the same "specus," and added a new supply of water from another source. This also appears from his inscription⁵², inserted between the other two; in effecting which he has injured the elevation of the arch, and despoiled it of its ornaments. But to return to the more immediate successors of Augustus.

Caligula discovered that the seven streams which already supplied the city were insufficient for the increase of luxury and population. He therefore, in the 789th year of Rome, began to make two new aqueducts. A mutilated inscription was discovered in February, 1831, near the Casale of Roma Vecchia, where the proprietor of the soil has made some excavations. The first line was entirely wanting, but in the second was read the name of Livia, the daughter of Drusus, wife of the emperor Caligula.⁵³ The work was continued, and splendidly finished, by Claudius, in the year of Rome 803; that is, in

⁵² See those inscriptions here referred to, set down in Note LL.

⁵³ The first line of the two contained on the frieze was wanting.

.....
LIVIA DRVSI . F. VXSOR

Also on the architrave, in large characters: —

IMPP . CÆSARE S. SEVERVS . ET. ANTONINVS
ET Julia pia. AVG. MATER. AVG .

From the *Notizie del Giorno*, Roma, Giovedì, Feb. 24. 1831.

the 51st year of the Christian era ; and this brings us to the large inscriptions which appear above the Porta Maggiore.⁵⁴ Agreeably to what is stated by Frontinus, it thence appears that from two springs, called Cæruleus and Curtius, the Aqua Claudia was supplied. Their source was at a distance of 38 miles from the city, on the Via Sublacensis, 300 paces within, on a path to the left. The Aqua Claudia was next in quality to the Aqua Marcia. The whole length of this wonderful aqueduct was 46 miles 406 paces, of which 36 miles 210 paces were subterraneous. The remaining 10 miles 176 paces were carried over arches in different places, as the level required ; viz. in the more distant part 3 miles 78 paces, and at seven miles from the city those arches began ; first in the form of substructions for 609 paces, and then, rising in height, continued for 6 miles 491 paces. It was into this aqueduct that Sixtus V. conveyed his Acqua Felice, which begins near the Osteria dei Pantani, at about fourteen miles on the road to Palestrina to the left. Fabretti's learned treatise on the waters and aqueducts is to show that the Acqua Felice is the Aqua Alexandrina.

We have already admired the solid construction of the Claudian aqueduct in the vineyard adjoining the monastery of the Santa Croce ; and we have followed it, as repaired by Sixtus V., over the vineyards watered by the Maranna. The repairs of

⁵⁴ " Fontes aquarum ab Simbruinis collibus deductos urbi intulit [scilicet Claudius]." — *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xi. cap. 13.

See the Inscriptions copied in Note MM.

Severus and Caracalla may often be distinguished in continuing towards the Arco Furbo; and the whole, as seen with the Marcian Arches, stretching over the unpeopled Campagna, forms perhaps the most striking object we have hitherto attempted to describe.

Finally, to complete the account of Frontinus, the Anio Novus (brought also by Claudius) took its rise on the Via Sublacensis, at the forty-second milestone: it was a portion of the river Anio, as the name implies, and before it began its course was purged by means of a “*piscina limaria*:” a streamlet called the *Herculaneus*, rising on the same road, 38 miles from Rome, was joined to it. It effected the incredible distance of 62 miles; 48 miles 300 paces being subterraneous. The rest was carried over such lofty arches, that in some places they rose to the height of 109 feet. The Anio Novus was the highest stream of the nine now enumerated, as we now see the “*specus*” above the Porta Maggiore, and the Claudia next below it; the Julia had the third place in elevation, the Tepula the fourth, the Marcia the fifth; then the Anio Vetus, the Virgo, the Appia, and the Alsietina, which was the lowest. Those many waters were generally first poured into a reservoir for purging them, called a “*piscina limaria*.” Then, after running for some distance, the water fell into a “*castellum aquæ*,” whence it was distributed through the respective districts in pipes. Frontinus affords us some curious information about the quantity of water conveyed in the conduits, by taking the diameters of them. Persons were appointed, called *aquarii*, for serving out the due

portions to the different districts, which they did by turning the cocks, and letting them run for a certain number of hours : the diameter of the pipes being given, the calculation of the quantities thus distributed was easily made. The *aquarii* seem to have had their habitations attached to the upper part of the aqueducts. Many curious details with regard to the management of the water are collected by Fabretti and Alberto Cassio ; but it would exceed the limits of our Dissertation to enter more minutely into the subject.*

In addition to the waters and aqueducts thus enumerated and described, with the help of Frontinus we shall recollect the Neronian arches, which conveyed a portion of the *Aqua Claudia* across the *Cælian* hill to the “Golden House,” and which were amply described in our second region. We have also traced the remains of an aqueduct of Trajan, which was made for the use of the inhabitants of the *Aventine* hill : there are further remains of another which supplied the water for the *thermæ* of *Caracalla* ; and, as *P. Victor* enumerates an *Aqua Septimiana* and *Severiana*, as well as an *Antoniniana*, which refers to *Caracalla*, we should easily be induced to believe that *Septimius Severus* had conveyed a stream for the use of those baths which he began to build in the “*Transtiberim*.” These, for the most part, were but branches of aqueducts made for special purposes ; but the *Alexandrian* was another of the great works, as the ruins of it remain to testify : it may be seen on the *Via Prænestina* and the *Via Labicana*, at no

* See Note OO.

great distance from the Torre delle Tre Teste; and, except some other small branches made for the use of villas, the Alexandrian aqueduct is the last worthy of notice.⁵⁵

In thus following our subject from the time Frontinus wrote, to the age of Alexander Severus, we acquire a number of additional streams, with which the nineteen or twenty waters enumerated in the epitomes of Victor may be compared. It is, however, of more consequence to arrive at the solution of a passage in Procopius, than to investigate the twenty naked names displayed in the regionaries. The historian of the Gothic war informs us that the number of aqueducts was fourteen when Rome was besieged by Vitiges; that is, five more than the nine described by Frontinus: the Alexandrian may at once be cited as the tenth; the other four, Fabretti thinks, were as follow: — the Aqua Crabra, the Trajana, the Septimiana, or rather Severiana, and the Argentiana, from Mount Algidium in the Tusculan territory. Alberto Cassio makes a different nomenclature; and we might thus be led into a discussion not the most interesting, and which, after all, would only bring us to this conclusion, — that the regionaries enumerate twenty streams of water, and Procopius mentions fourteen aqueducts; that is to say, five in addition to the nine above named*, of which one was certainly the Alexandrian. The Neronian arches, the Aqua Trajana, the Antoniniana, and the Severiana, beyond the Tyber, we conceive to

⁵⁵ Vide *Lamprid. in vit. Alexand. Sever.* cap. xxiv. — the grand subject of Fabretti's "golden treatise."

* See Note PP.

have been the most likely to attract the notice of Procopius ; because they were probably all in use at that time for supplying the respective thermæ for which they were made. But without perplexing ourselves with the names of the aqueducts which the historian had in view, the fact, as it stands recorded, is important ; for thereby we learn, that when Rome was besieged by the Goths, in the year 535, fourteen streams of water continued to flow into the city ; and when those supplies were cut off by Vitiges, as most assuredly they were, a great and permanent change must have been operated in the declining city ; for it is not possible that the aqueducts could ever have been afterwards restored. From that period the baths, gardens, fountains, pools, &c., must have fallen into irretrievable neglect ; and, in short, the ruin of the aqueducts necessarily affected the very existence of the inhabitants, and changed the internal arrangements of the whole city : and thus we are brought to a period which announces the final decay and fall of imperial Rome, whose topography and interesting ruins have been the subject of our careful investigation.

The same causes which diminished the population of Rome, did not necessarily affect the public monuments. It is generally acknowledged that the Gothic and Vandalic conquerors, with the exception of Totila, “ affected to spare ” them ; or, what is more likely, found no use for the materials of stone and marble. Belisarius, in his letter to Totila, could still call Rome the greatest and most splendid city in the universe ; observing, that it had not arrived at such a pitch of grandeur and

beauty by the power of any one man ; but a succession of kings, a long series of generations, a crowd of enterprising men, and an abundance of wealth and resources from every part of the world, had alone raised it to the splendour in which it then was. In another place, Procopius remarks upon the zeal which the Romans had ever shown about the ornaments of their city ; “ and although,” says he, “ it has now been a long time ruled by barbarians, the edifices are still preserved, and, as far as could be expected, very many of the architectural ornaments also.” After the vengeance of Totila was gratified, this was no longer true ; for there can be no doubt he destroyed many of the temples and other edifices ; and although he afterwards showed some anxiety about repairing the mischief he had done, still his age may be considered as the first great epoch of the city’s ruin⁵⁶ : for the rest being but the work of time, it was sufficient to bring the stately buildings down to the ground. Nearly half a century after the dominion of the Goths ceased, St. Gregory thus writes : — “ We behold in what condition Rome hath survived : oppressed in various ways by the greatest calamities ; by the loss of her citizens, the ravages of

⁵⁶ These remarks upon the most important periods of the fall of Rome are chiefly drawn from *Donatus de Urbe Rom.* lib. i. cap. 28, 29. and lib. iv. cap. 4, 5, 8, 9., assisted by *Muratori, Annali d’Italia*, and by *Sismondi, “ Histoire des Répub. Italiennes du Moyen Age,”* tom. i. cap. 3. tom. ii. cap. 7. I have also frequently consulted Muratori’s collection of the *Scriptores Rer. Italicarum*, especially tom. iii. But the 49th and the last three chapters of *Gibbon’s Decline and Fall*, &c. will at all times supply my deficiencies, and afford the necessary references to original documents.

her enemies, the constant falling of her ruins." And again : " But why do we say these things of men, when we see the very buildings falling asunder by increasing decay ? " Such, then, is the picture of the " eternal city " at the end of the sixth century ; in which we see the edifices neglected, and gradually falling into ruins, but not wantonly destroyed : and it is evident that Rome, in her public monuments, except the plunder of the precious metals, escaped out of the hands of Goths and Vandals with all the *features* of her pristine glory ; which were reserved only for time to tarnish, until a new period of wanton destruction arrived.

In this first great epoch of the city's decline, we are naturally curious to enquire into the state of the edifices erected for the Christian worship. Many of the bishops had already shown their zeal for impressing a new character upon the metropolis of the West ; but, being under the control of the temporal rulers, they were not always enabled to accomplish their wishes. It required a special grant from the emperor Phocas to enable Boniface IV. to dedicate the Pantheon to the Virgin and all the Martyrs ; and even S. Gregory, who cleared away the ground for laying the foundations of ecclesiastical power, could do little more than consecrate his own patrimony and his family mansion for the service of the church : nevertheless, we can collect from the " lives of Anastasius," that, independent of the basilicas erected under the patronage of Constantine and his pious mother, the bishops had found means to dedicate twenty or thirty edifices for the use of the faithful. Those of most permanent renown were —

The basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, accomplished by Liberius and Sixtus III. ; that of St. Paul, enlarged and embellished under Theodosius and Valentinian II., who also restored the "Secretarium Senatus ;" S. Sabina, on the Mount Aventine, erected by the empress Eudoxia ; S. Stephano Rotundo, S. Bibiana, and others, by Simplicius ; S. Sylvester "in Thermis," by Symmachus ; SS. Cosmas and Damiano, by Felix IV. ; the basilica of S. Lorenzo, by John III. Almost all these, as well as the others which might be enumerated, were founded upon the sites of ancient buildings, or, more properly speaking, were the basilicas or temples of pagan Rome reduced to this more sacred use ; so that as yet the works of the popes afforded no compensation for the ravages of Totila, or for the falling edifices described by Gregory the Great. We have already appealed to the Column of Phocas for a proof that the Forum at least was not encumbered by any ruins in the year 606 ; nor shall we find any material change until the city passed under the dominion of the pontiffs. The conversion of the Pantheon was, in all probability, the signal for a general crusade against the temples of the gods. The fine arts and profane literature had been slighted, if not condemned, by the great Gregory ; and his successors, if disposed to emulate his virtues, scarcely felt the feeble control of the exarchs of Ravenna. The Romans, neglected by the emperors of the East, became daily more attached to their bishop ; so that the popes were soon left in permanent possession of the seven-hilled city. It is natural to suppose they would make no scruple about employing the materials of the temples when

it was convenient to use them for the churches; and perhaps the introduction of images into Christian worship rescued many of the statues of the gods from oblivion.

It is a matter of some surprise, that, whilst the whole of Italy was overrun by the Lombards, Rome was either respected or forgotten. And although there are few histories so obscure as that of the Greek provinces in Italy until the reign of Charlemagne, the Lombards must be acquitted of having had any share in the destruction of Rome. The fierce controversy about image worship, and the effectual opposition which Gregory II. offered to Leo the Iconoclast, were the means by which the popes finally threw off their allegiance to the emperor; and thus Rome regained, under a new form of government, her independence and her idolatry, the two privileges for which she sincerely struggled, and of which one has been faithfully transmitted to posterity. About the year 731 we find something like a republic established under the influence of the pope, and entitled the Duchy of Rome. From that time the pontiffs have ever had recourse to foreign power to defend their temporal authority. Gregory III. first set the example, by inviting Charles Martel to succour "the church" against Luitprand, king of the Lombards. Adolphus renewed the enterprise of his predecessor; and Pope Stephen II. imitated Gregory III.; so that Rome was again saved in 754 by the promptitude of Pepin, which finally led to the establishment of the papal power. In the eighth century, therefore, we begin to see the pontiffs act like masters of Rome, and, consequently, to do as they

thought proper with all that it contained. Adrian I. built a number of churches, and even repaired three of the ancient aqueducts. It is about this period that the anonymous writer, to whom we have so frequently alluded, made the catalogue of what he saw in his inspection of the city. The churches form a prominent feature in his description; but we have also sufficient indication of the undiminished splendour of many ancient buildings. The Leonine city, and the fortress of S. Angelo, which have been already treated of, show us all that is interesting in the changes of the city during the dark ages. And thus we may fix the second great epoch of the ruin of Rome in the eleventh century, or the age of the Normans.

About the year 1050, under the pontificate of Leo IX., a great part of the city is said to have been destroyed by fire. We are ignorant to what extent this affected the ancient edifices; and, perhaps, the greater calamity which followed not many years after, has thrown oblivion upon the memory of the less.

In the course of our topography we have frequently marked the pontificate of Gregory VII. as fatal to the falling edifices of imperial Rome. The emperor Henry IV., after many fruitless attempts, at length succeeded in obtaining possession of the city in 1084. The pope retired into the Mole of Hadrian, and the Romans joined the emperor in prosecuting a siege. Robert Guiscard in the mean time advanced with a numerous army to espouse the papal cause. Henry was obliged to retire; and the ferocious Normans, entering Rome by the Porta Flaminia, burnt the buildings of the Campus Mar-

tius, as far as the arch of M. Aurelius, and again from the Colosseum to the Lateran. The devastation was general, and the Romans were compelled to witness the sack of their city, and to submit to the insults of a semi-barbarous and unbridled soldiery. Many of the ancient monuments were no doubt nodding to their fall; but this was the fatal blow which for ever laid them waste, and caused the inhabitants of the Cælian and Esquiline hills to seek for other abodes on the north side of the Capitol. The destruction was the work of a barbarian, but it was occasioned by the haughtiness and inhumanity of a Christian pastor; but—the pastor who first arrogated the power of deposing kings, and absolving their subjects from their oath of allegiance! The age of Gregory VII. is the transition from ancient to modern Rome.

The two great shocks sustained under the Goths and Normans, together with the other causes of decay which intervened, accomplished the overthrow of the ancient buildings; but the two centuries and a half spent in civil discords, which ensued, form the period of their demolition. It was no pious feeling of resentment which prompted the Roman nobles to lay hands upon the relics of the temples of the false deities. The leader of a faction had need of a tower of defence, or a house which was also to be his fortress; and he found the materials at hand which answered the purpose. The ornaments of architecture, which he knew not how to admire, were inserted in the solid mass of bricks, cement, and tufo; and the inscriptions, which perhaps he could not read, were mutilated to fit the object for which the marble was useful.

The rude sarcophagus of a plebeian was sometimes covered with a slab reversed, containing the pompous titles of a consul or an emperor; the foundations of a hovel were frequently laid upon the marble thresholds of dilapidated shrines; the walls, curiously patched together with the sections of columns, or well-sculptured cornices, exhibited at one view the riches and poverty of Rome in the middle ages. In this manner a new city rose out of the ruins of the old ⁵⁷, and it soon spread itself

⁵⁷ This is, of course, the principal reason why the modern city is raised so high above the ancient level, but it does not account for the quantity of soil so frequently to be seen mingled with the rubbish. As this generally appears a phenomenon in the eyes of strangers, it will not be considered superfluous to offer a few remarks upon it. The original formation of the Palatine hill has been ascertained at a depth of forty French feet in the Villa Spada, between the Aventine hill and the Tyber, near the "Salara." Crescimbeni found, in his time, the pavement of an ancient road, twenty-two feet under the present level: and Montfaucon relates, that a similar pavement was discovered at forty feet depth, in the Vicolo S. Felice, between the Quirinal and Viminal hills. The accumulation is still more remarkable on the declivity of the Monte Pincio, about the church of S. Isidoro, as appears from the subterraneous vaults there discovered: the level of the ancient Forum at the Column of Phocas is full twenty-five feet under that of the Campo Vaccino; the Forum of Trajan, and even the Column of Antoninus, were more or less interred. The remarkable depth at which the native soil of the Palatine hill is now found, may be accounted for by the immense quantity of buildings which stood upon it, and some of them subterraneous. The other localities I have indicated are chiefly at the foot of some hill. The rains having washed down the soil from the declivities may have been a powerful cause of this change, as Mr. Addison observed. And where the Tyber has gained the plains in inundations, the alluvial deposit must be taken into consideration. But these are only partial effects. The four general causes I conceive to be the following: — 1. The prodigious masses of ruins; in

over the Campus Martius, where the humbler citizen could erect his domicile upon a site at least more free from the encumbrance of ruins.

In the year 1144, the Romans succeeded in bringing back the shadow of the ancient republic: the son of Pietro Leone was chosen to preside over the senate and the Roman people. The city was then divided into thirteen Rioni, which have remained with little alteration to this day; and, per-

which must be included the decomposition of some of the materials, as for instance, the tufo of a certain quality, which, becoming pulverised, and receiving rain, acquires a cohesion, and assumes the appearance of a dark soil: it then insinuates itself amongst the fragments of bricks, &c. as if it had been deposited by human labour. — 2. The earthquakes; which, although slight for the most part, have had a very sensible effect in raising the ground. We have already cited an inscription in the Colosseum which perpetuates the memory of one strong shock; and in the writings of St. Gregory mention is made of several. In the course of fourteen centuries great effects must be attributed to this cause. — 3. The changes which the ground has undergone in clearing away some places, and leaving the rubbish to consolidate, which has again served for the foundation of future habitations. The effect of this may be estimated from the manner in which they now dispose of the excavated matter about the Forum. This will account for the excess of the average depth of ancient Rome in some parts, where the other causes might not operate. There is then a marked difference in the nature of the accumulation. — 4. The Sirocco winds. It frequently happens that a strong south wind carries the loose dry soil, or pulverised rubbish, from the hills, and lodges it in the valleys or recesses below. I have sometimes seen, in a very short time, an accumulation of an inch deep; the rain, which often succeeds a Sirocco, fixes this upon the spot. Thus a piece of old pavement, discovered and laid open, will, in the course of a couple of years, if not kept clean, be overgrown with more than two or three inches of such soil. These occur to me as the principal causes of this apparent phenomenon. But consult *Brocchi, Suolo di Roma*, p. 82.

haps, the features of ancient Rome might still have been traced in the new buildings, if it had not been destined to undergo still more grievous calamities. The palace of Cincius, with the tower belonging to it, situated in the sixth Rione, was destroyed in the service of the anti-pope Guibert. The house of Peter Frangipani, with its tower, called the Cancelleria, *i.e.* it was near the Tabularium, was hurled to the ground by the faction of Gregory IX. The Corsi, the Gaetani, the Ursini, the Savelli, the Colonna family, — these all had their fortresses and castles at different periods, either by adopting a monument as it stood for the purpose, or making use of the materials for defending themselves elsewhere. In the thirteenth century were erected those towers, which still exist in various parts of Rome. Many of a similar description were built in the neighbourhood; and the senator Brancalone (he came from Bologna!) is supposed to have rendered a service, by destroying no less than 140 of them: a few have survived, to point to the mournful history of those times, and to adorn a landscape in the solitary Campagna.

To attempt to investigate the internal condition of the city under the successors of Gregory VII., until their return from Avignon, would be to write a history of the pontiffs from Paschal II., 1099, to Clement V., 1305; but it must suffice for us to mark this space of time as the third great epoch of the city's ruin, and more especially the former part of the thirteenth century; and whether we consider the destruction caused by the necessity of those times, or the more deliberate plunder of succeeding pontiffs, we must acquiesce in this un-

seemly conclusion, that Rome was ruined by the Romans.

A solitary writer, who betrays the ignorance of his generation, appears at the end of the thirteenth century, and has left us a faint idea of the state of the city. We have hitherto used the description of this barbarous author with great caution, as well as the one from which it was probably copied, entitled "*Mirabilia Romæ*," and written, perhaps, twenty years earlier; but although inadequate to afford much help to the Roman antiquary, and marvellously inaccurate in the details, there is no reason to doubt the general enumeration of the objects then existing, as they are set forth in those catalogues. By giving them thus much credit, and comparing them with the description made by Poggio Fiorentino 150 years after, it will appear that within this space of time a great number of ancient monuments, either by the effects of accident or rapine, were entirely demolished.

As soon as a new era of learning began to dawn upon mankind, the relics of human genius which time and ignorance had spared became an object of interest; and the metropolis of the old world, now humbled to the dust, above all excited the interest of the man of taste and feeling. The celebrated Petrarch, whose merits, in our estimation, lie in other things than his "*songs of love*," first raised the notes of lamentation over the melancholy aspect of Rome. In his epistle to Pope Urban V. he complains that the houses were laid low, the walls were tottering, the temples falling to the ground, the holy places going to destruction; and he grieved to acknowledge that Rome, by the long

absence of her pontiffs and rulers, was trodden under foot, and reduced to misery. In the year 1376 the walls and the basilicas, the public and private buildings in every direction, threatened ruin. Sixty years after these things were true, and Rome had received back her pontiffs, the learned Poggio took his station on the Tarpeian rock, and from thence surveyed the landscape of the seven hills : he reasoned upon the vicissitudes of human greatness, and his eloquent complaints seemed to awaken the sleeping genius of Italy to come and once more adorn the fallen mistress of the world. The popes, now firmly established in their temporal dominion, began to emulate each other in raising their city to a new pitch of splendour ; and the basilicas, with St. Peter's at their head, attest the splendid piety or pride of the Roman catholic church. The ancient edifices, however, were still liable to plunder, and were not unfrequently violated without even the pretext of devotion. We have already traced the stones of the Colosseum in the walls of private palaces, and the bronze of the Pantheon in the cannons of S. Angelo. Even Sixtus V. destroyed the Septizonium ; but the Augustus of the Vatican must not be accused of spoliation. The antiquary or the architect may feel indignant at the removal of a stone or a column which might have illustrated his subject, but many will applaud the system which converted the profane materials into the shrines of saints and martyrs ; and perhaps an ordinary spectator may prefer the interior of a magnificent church to the portico of a dilapidated temple.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, together with the obscure period which preceded them, furnished, upon the whole, more splendour to the city of the popes than it diminished from that of the emperors. Nevertheless, we must signalise this space of time as the last great epoch of the ruin of ancient Rome. It was only with Sixtus V. that it became an object of veneration; and even some of his successors forgot to respect its surviving relics.

These may be considered as the most important changes which the city has undergone since the fall of the Western Empire. We have sometimes amused ourselves by representing Rome as a giant whose life's blood was first drawn by the Goths and Vandals. During the next five centuries, the enfeebled body gradually sunk into decay, until the Normans, by a single blow, laid it prostrate. Through the ages of civil discord it was trampled upon and despised, and, finally, the scattered limbs were stripped by the founders of churches and palaces. The few naked relics which remain are still the wonder of posterity, and afford ample scope for the poet's imagination, the artist's enthusiasm, and the mere curiosity of the indolent traveller. These may easily survey and admire the monuments which have survived the wreck of ages, according to their taste and fancy; but a more laborious though less popular task devolves upon the antiquary: he must investigate the validity of titles, and the reasonableness of topography, before he can exult over his "Eureka;" and often the discoveries which he deems important, appear trifling and uninterest-

ing to an ordinary observer. It is on this account that he can only hope for the approbation of a very limited class of readers, who, whilst they acknowledge the difficulties of his subject, will be ready to extend their indulgence to his errors and imperfections.

NOTES.

NOTES.

NOTE A, page 4.

VALERIUS POPLICOLA was an example ; of whom Plutarch (*in viâ ejus, in fine*):—’Ετάφη δὲ καὶ οὗτος, τῶν πολιτῶν ψηφισαμένων, ἐνὸς ἄσσεος παρὰ τὴν καλεσμένην Οὐελίαν, ἅς·ε καὶ γένει παντὶ τῆς ταφῆς μετεῖναι· νῦν δὲ θάπτεται μὲν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀπὸ γένος· κομίσαντες δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκεῖ κατατίθενται, καὶ δάδα τις ἡμμένην λαβὼν ὅσιον ὑπὴνεγκεν, εἴτ’ ἀναιρεῖται· μαρτυρόμενος ἔργῳ τὸ ἐξεῖναι· φειδεσθαι δὲ τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν οὕτως ἀποκομίζουσιν. Tubertus, his colleague in the consulship, was another instance: but Cicero explains that these cases took place *before* the law of the Twelve Tables:—“Credo fuisse [in urbe sepultos], aut eos, quibus hoc ante hanc legem virtutis caussa tributum est, ut Poplicolæ, ut Tuberto, quæ eorum posteri jure tenerent: aut eos, si qui hoc, ut Caius Fabricius, virtutis caussa, soluti legibus, consecuti sunt. SED IN URBE SEPULCRI LEX VETAT. Sic decretum a pontificum collegio, NON ESSE JUS, IN LOCO PUBLICO FIERI SEPULCRUM.” (*De Legibus*, lib. ii. cap. 28.) This instance of Caius Fabricius was, perhaps, the only one Cicero could cite; and it by no means extended to the privilege of *building a sepulchre*. For the Velia, near which Poplicola was interred, and consequently where the ceremony of perpetuating the rite was observed by his descendants, see Dissertation X. p. 152.

NOTE B, page 9.

The inscription runs thus:—

SENATVS . POPVLVSQVE . ROMANVS
Imp. Cæs. Divi. Nervæ . F. Nervæ
Trajano . Aug. Germ. Dacico . Pont.
Maximo . Trib. Pot. xvii. Imp. vi. Cos. vi. P. P.
AD . DECLARANDVM . QVANTAE . ALTITVDINIS
MONS . ET . LOCVS . TANTIS . OPERIBVS . SIT . EGESTVS

Some propose to supply the two mutilated words with "*tantis ruderibus*," others with "*tantis ex collibus*;" but the anonymous of the eighth century has "*tantis operibus*," which is decisive. The erasure has evidently been caused by some paltry building erected against the basement in the later ages. For the state of the column and Forum, as it existed before Sixtus V., see a drawing in *Camucci, dell' Antichità di Roma*, lib. i. p. 55. Dion Cassius writes thus: — Κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ βιβλίων ἀποθήκας· καὶ ἐσήσεν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κίονα μέγιστον, ἅμα μὲν ἐς ταφὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἅμα δὲ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου· πάντος γὰρ τῷ χάριτι ἐκείνου ὀρεῖν ὄντος κατέσκαψε τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ὁ κίων ἀνίσχει, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τούτου πεδινήν κατεσκεύασε. — *In vit. Trajani*, lib. lxviii. p. 1133.

NOTE C, page 21.

This military police was first instituted by Augustus, "Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est:" — *Suet. in Octav.* cap. xxx.; and there was originally but one "cohort" for every two regiones. (See *Pitiscus, Lexicon Antiquit. Roman. in verb. Cohors.*) Afterwards they must have been either very much increased in numbers, or subdivided into smaller companies. Victor enumerates in the second region, five cohorts; in the fifth, seven; in the sixth, three; in the seventh, seven; in the eighth, six, with "stationes municipiorum;" in the twelfth, three; and beyond the Tyber, seven: but omitting the Transtyberine district, we shall have in all thirty-one cohorts; making, if they had their full complement, above 18,000 men, besides the Prætorian guards, and those about the imperial palace, called "scholares" (See *Gruter, de Offic. Dom. August.* ii. 14.); computing thus a military force in the city of 30,000 or 40,000 men. Without examining too closely this calculation, it may be observed, that the great body of those cohorts (twenty-three out of thirty-one) may be concentrated about Trajan's Forum, by comparing the contiguous limits of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth regions. (See *Plan of Ancient Rome.*) Of course, when on duty, these were dispersed all over the city, but they must have had a common place of rendezvous.

NOTE D, page 30.*

For a general view of the aqueducts of ancient Rome, we refer to Dissertation XII.; but to establish the supposition advanced in the text, the words of Pliny are cited: — “Agrippa vero in ædilitate sua, adjecta Virgine aqua, cæteris corrivatis atque emendatis, lacus dcc fecit: præterea salientes cv: castella cxxx complura etiam cultu magnifica: operibus iis signa ccc ærea aut marmorea imposuit, columnas ex marmore cccc, eaque omnia *annuo* spatio.” — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 15. p. 644. edit. Basilæ, 1539, and Dissertation V. p. 200.

Agrippa's ædileship, according to the best chronology, was in the year of the city 720, when Augustus was for the second time consul with L. Volcatius. See *Onuph. Panvinio, Fast.* lib. xi. p. 22. edit. Heidelberg, 1588.

The inscription, it is true, states that the emperor Claudius renewed the arches, which had been injured by Caligula, from their foundations; but in these cases the original design was seldom departed from. A very pretty epigram was once read over this fountain, probably written beneath the statue of a sleeping nymph: —

“Hujus nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis

Dormio, dum blandæ sentio murmur aquæ:

Parce meum quisquis tangis cava marmora somnum

Rumpere; sive bibas, sive lavere, tace.”

See *Venuti, Antichità, &c.*, tom. ii. p. 89.

NOTE E, page 42.

First, P. Victor: — “Ædes Veneris Erycinæ ad Portam Collinam.” — *Regio V.* We must here suppose, for the sake of preserving the general outlines of our “Regiones,” that

* The reference to this note should have followed the word “Salientes,” in line 12. of p. 30. It is erroneously referred to in p. 27.

as this temple was without the limits of the sixth, it was taken into the JURISDICTION of the fifth. Secondly, Livy, mentioning certain games (see the passage cited in note 98. p. 43.), has this expression : — “ Without the P. Collina, at the temple of the Erycinian Venus.” Strabo (*Rerum Geograph.* lib. vi. p. 418. edit. 1707.) describes the same as being *before the P. Collina*; and adds, it had also a remarkable portico. Appian (lib. i. *de Bello Civili*, p. 407. edit. Stephan. 1592) says Sylla pitched his camp neighbouring to the P. Collina at the Temple of Venus. The same proximity to the gate is alluded to by Ovid (*Fast.* lib. iv. 871.). This was a celebrated Venus (*Hor. Carm.* lib. i. 2.), and came originally from a hill in Sicily called Eryx, whence she was transferred to Rome, in obedience to the Sibylline oracles. It is to be observed, that gardens were under the special protection of Venus. (*Plin.* lib. xxi. cap. 4.)

NOTE F, page 42.

See *Piranesi, Antichità, &c.* p. 15. No. 112. Flaminius Vacca, No. 58. and 59. of his *Memorials*, describes an oval fabric that was discovered in his father's vineyard near the Porta Salaria. It was surrounded by a portico, adorned with fluted columns of “giallo antico,” eighteen palms long. The edifice had four entrances by flights of steps (descending); each entrance flanked by two columns of Oriental alabaster. They found also two leaden pipes, ten palms in length, marked with these names — NERONIS . CLAUDIVS; also several medals of Gordian. The Cardinal Montepulciano used the columns of giallo for the balustrade of his chapel in the church of S. Pietro in Montorio. One of the alabaster columns was lost in the sea in its voyage to Portugal. “L'impetuosa fortuna,” exclaims the sentimental moralist, “trovandose le in suo dominio ne fece un presente al mare!” The fabric here described appears to have been a balneum of the time of Nero.

NOTE G, page 45.

See *Piranesi*, p. 148. 109. — Reference has been had already to this portico (see Note 80. p. 39.), which Casaubon thinks is synonymous with the “Porticus Millenaria” of Nero, mentioned by Suetonius (see Dissertation X.); and it may either mean a mile long, as Cicero would seem to authorise (*Ad Atticum*, lib. iv. epist. 15.), or continued to the extent of 1000 columns; for which Salmasius alleges the “hecatonstylon” of the Greeks; and Donatus, more to the purpose, the “basilicæ centenariæ” in the villa of the Gordians. (*Julii Capitolin. Gordian. Tert. cap. 32.*) In treating of Nero’s “golden house,” we shall prefer the former explanation: in the present instance it may suffice to remark, that Aurelian’s portico was large enough for him to exercise his horses in; and the gardens of Sallust were now necessarily *within* the walls of Rome. See the conjectures of *Nardini*, tom. ii. p. 95.

NOTE H, page 53.

Bartoli, Memorie, No. 505.; *Piranesi*, tom. i. p. 9. No. 70. These antiquarian artists mention the ruins they saw about the church of St. Sylvester, which Piranesi could not possibly let pass without a name — “Septi Trigarii.” Marliano seems to have introduced Domitian into this neighbourhood; and much has been written upon some letters stamped on a brick (see *Marliano*, cap. vii.); but he is severely rebuked for his carelessness by Fulvius Ursinus (apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 172.). Andreas Fulvio gets the Naumachia into the Piazza di Spagna: — “Ove hoggi è una grande concavità et spatio, et molto paludoso il luogo a piè della chiesa della Trinità; ove anchora sono alcune vestigie e segni di spettacoli et da starvi la gente a vedere la sù à mezza costa,” &c. (*Antichità*, carta ii.) What all this may have been, it is impossible to conceive; but Suetonius

writes thus of Domitian's Naumachia: — "Edidit navales pugnas pæne justarum classium, effosso et circumstructo juxta Tiberim lacu." (cap. iv. *in vit. ejus.*) Now, the church of S. Sylvester and the Piazza di Spagna are certainly not "near the Tyber:" — "ma al fine, come il Marliano dice, 'quod parum distat, juxta dici potest!'"

NOTE I, page 63.

"Is autem obeliscus, quem Divus Augustus in Circo magno statuit (which is the "Popolo" obelisk), excisus est a rege Semneserteo, quo regnante, Pythagoras in Ægypto fuit, centum viginti quinque pedum, et dodrantis, præter basim ejusdem lapidis: is vero qui est in Campo Martio (that is, the Solar obelisk), novem pedum minor, a Sesostride. Inscripti ambo," &c. — *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 9. The mistake Pliny seems to have made in transcribing his account is, in assigning the wrong obelisk to Sesostris. P. Victor makes the "Popolo" obelisk $78\frac{1}{2}$ ft.; that is, 47 ft. less than Pliny's measurement. Now, this is too much to allow for fractures; and therefore Bandini proposes to change Pliny's cxxv. to xxcv., an easy transposition; and he has a "codex" to countenance it. In that case the Solar obelisk was 77 ft. Its present length is no criterion; but that of the "Popolo" measures $98\frac{1}{2}$ Roman palms *without the base*, which agrees with the above adjustment.

NOTE K, page 66.

The inscription, as produced by Panvinio, is this: —

M. VLPIVS
AVG. L. AEGLVS
PROC. MAVSOLEI
IMAGINEM
CORINTHIAM
TRAIANI. CAESARIS
COLLEG. FAENARIOR.
D. D.

Compare the description of the tomb of Alyattes, the Lydian king, in *Herodotus*, lib. i. cap. 93.

NOTE L, page 66.

Horat. Carmin. lib. iv. 4. *et alibi.* Pedo Albinovanus, if he be the author of that beautiful poem entitled “*Consolatio ad Liviam*” (on which see *Dissertat.* in edit. Lipsiæ, 1783), becomes both the poet and historian : —

“Vidimus erepta mœrentem stirpe sororis,
Luctus ut in Druso publicus ille fuit.
Condidit Agrippam, quo te Marcelle sepulchro,
Et cepit generos jam locus ille duos.
Vix posito Agrippa tumuli bene janua clausa est,
Perfecit officium funeris ecce soror.
Ecce ter ante datis jactura novissima Drusus
A magno lacrymas Cæsare quartus habet.”

Compare also *Dion Cassius*, lib. liv. p. 759. *Idem*, lib. lv. p. 772. And Livia herself was also buried in this mausoleum. *Idem*, lib. lviii. p. 876. A.D. 30.

NOTE M, page 67.

The form of the “*bustum*” is preserved in various medals. “*Dicitur bustum, quasi bene ustum.*” *Festus in verb.* Pliny, *Ustrina*; Virgil, *Ustrinum*.

Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ ὁ τῆς καύστρας αὐτῆ περιβόλος, καὶ οὗτος λίθου λευκοῦ, κύκλῳ μὲν περικείμενον ἔχων σιδηροῦν περίφραγμα, ἐνὶ ὧς δ' αἰγείροις κατέφυτον. — *Strabo*, lib. v. p. 236. edit. citat.

Φέρουσιν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρέως πεδίον· ἐνθα καίεσκέυασαι ἐν τῷ πλαιυτάτῳ τῷ πεδίου τόπῳ τετράγωνόν τι καὶ ἰσόπλευρον, ἄλλης μὲν ἡλῆς ἐδεμίας μετέχον ἢ ἐκ μόνης τε συμπήξεως ξύλων μεγίστων, εἰς σχῆμα οἰκήματος. — *Herodian.* lib. iv. p. 88. edit. Stephan. 1581.

Piranesi, with his extended views of the Campus Martius, concluded, from the above passages, that the *Bustum*

was near the Muro Torto; but the site of it being ascertained, they agree very well with the limits we have prescribed in Dissertation II.

NOTE N, page 74.

This inscription, originally published by the Abbate Marini, is copied by *Venuti*, tom. ii. p. 123. It is too long, and not sufficiently interesting, to insert the whole: I shall, therefore, merely extract the following:—

TEGLAS . OMNES . ET . IMPENSA . DE . CASVLIS . ITEM
CANNABIS . ET . AEDIFICIIS . IDONEIS . ADSIGNA . ADRASTO
PROCVRATORI . COLVMNAE . DIVI . MARCI . VT . SIBI . EXTRVAT
QVOD . VT . HABEAT . SVI . IVRIS , &c. FABIO . MAGNO . PRO-
CVRATOR . COLVMNAE . CENTENARIAE . DIVI . MARCI.

The epithet of “centenaria” here applied to the pillar may mean the INTERNAL circumference was a hundred “digits;” as Vitruvius called the leaden conduits “centenaria,” or “octogenariæ,” according to the width of the lead before it was rolled into cylinders. Vide *De Architecturâ*, lib. viii. cap. 7. cum annot. *Philandri*, p. 349. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1552.

NOTE O, page 77.

Vide *Abbate Fea, Dissert. sulle Rovine di Roma*, p. 349. The inscription is a faithful specimen of middle-age church authority, and is of the following character:—

†QM COLV̄PNA ANTONINI
IVRIS M̄ON S̄CI SILV̄RI ET
ECCLA S̄ ANDREE Q CIRCA EĀ
SITĀĒ C̄V OBLATIONIBVS Q
IN SVPERIORI ALTARI ET INFE
RIORIA PEREGRINIS TRIBVN
TVR LONGO . . . &c.
* * * *

MALEDICIMVS ET
 VINCVLO LIGAMVS ANATHEMA
 TIS ABBATĒ ET MONACHOS Q
 CŪQ COLŪPNA ET ECCLĀM LŌ
 CARE
 SACRI
 LEGVS ET RAPTOR ET SCĀRV
 RERV INVASOR SUBIACEAT ET
 ANATHÆMATIS VINCVLO P'PE
 TVO TENEATVR FIAT . . .

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ANN DÑI MĪL. C. XVIII.

NOTE P, page 131.

I shall collect the authorities and references for these three temples into one note. 1. Temple of Hope. "Et ædem Spei, quæ est in Foro Olitorio, fulmine ictam." (*Tit. Liv.* lib. xxi. cap. 62.) "In Templis Fortunæ ac Matris Matutæ, et Spei extra Portam, late vagatus ignis." (*Idem*, lib. xxiv. cap. 47.) "Reficiendis ædibus Fortunæ et Matris Matutæ intra Portam Carmentalem, sed et Spei extra portam." (*Idem*, lib. xxv. cap. 7. *Dion Cassius*, lib. l. p. 611. *Cicero de Leg.* lib. ii. cap. 2. *Tacit. Annal.* lib. ii. cap. 49. *Labacco, Libro d'Archittet.* tav. 23, 24.)

2. Temple of Juno Matuta. "Ædes eo anno aliquot dedicatæ sunt: una Junonis Matutæ in Foro Olitorio." (*Tit. Liv.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 53.) Some, however, would read Junonis Sospitæ; and to enter into the controversy would swell our note too much. The curious reader may consult *Nardini* (tom. iii. p. 264.); but it is allowed even for learned antiquaries to change their opinions. Compare note 1. in *Nardini*, as above, edit. 1819; and *Nibby, Mure di Roma*, p. 101. note 127. edit. 1821. Compare also the passages in *Livy* cited above.

3. Temple of Piety. (*Tit. Liv.* lib. xl. cap. xxxiv. *Valerius Maximus*, lib. ii. cap. 5.) The excavation alluded to

was superintended by Signor Valadier in 1808. Pliny, relating the well known anecdote of "filial piety," adds, "Et locus ille eidem consecratus Deæ, Caio Quintio, M. Attilio Coss. Templo Pietatis exstructo in illius carceris sede *ubi nunc Marcelli Theatrum est.*" (*Hist. Nat.* lib. vii. cap. 36.) Compare *Valerius Maximus*, lib. v. cap. 4.; *Dion Cassius*, lib. xliii. p. 376.; and *Solinus*, lib. vii., thus:—"Locus dicatus suo numini, Pietatis sacellum fuit." Against all which, the authority of Festus cannot prevail.

NOTE Q, page 135.

Padre Gabrini's elucidations may be found in the *Antologia Romana* for July, 1798, p. 433. As a specimen of the genius of this CEdipus may be offered the following riddle:—
N.T.S.C.L.P.T.F.G.R.S.

NIC.D	} . . . part of the inscription on the arch described ;
D.T	
D.D	
F.S	

which he thus solves :

"Nicolaus . Tribunus . Severus . Clemens . Laurenti .
P*** . Teuthonici . Filius . Gabrinus . Romæ . Servator .
Nicolaus . Dedit . Domum . Totam . Davidi . Dilecto . Filio .
Suo."

These titles, however, accord with the pompous style adopted by the tribune; for see *Vita Nicolai Laurentii* apud *Murator. Antiquitat. Italic. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 400. edit. Mediolan. 1740. But Gibbon's highly finished picture of this man and his times will be read with more pleasure (*Decline and Fall*, chap. lxx.); to which Mr. Hobhouse's illustrations may be added with great advantage. (*Notes to the Fourth Canto, &c.* stanza cxiv.) The Abbate Nerini, in his work *De Templo S. Alexii*, p. 318., mentions the following distich, which he had learnt was once upon this said house:—

"Vos qui transitis secus optima tecta Quiritis,
Hoc pensate domo quis Nicolaus homo."

I am ignorant on what account the common people call this place the abode of Pontius Pilate !

NOTE R, page 139.

Signor Stefano Piale, the editor and annotator of the new edition of Venuti, has written a treatise of thirty close-printed quarto pages, accompanied by 198 notes critical and explanatory, to prove this temple to have been originally called "Hercules Victor." In the first sixteen pages he proves it could not possibly be *the* Temple of Vesta, which stood in the Roman Forum ! in a few pages more he puts to flight all the names which set themselves in array against Hercules ; and then proves, satisfactorily enough, there was a temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium. The treatise is full of erudition, and proves every thing except what this temple was ; concluding with these words, "Quindi il titolo di Tempio di Vesta è insussistente, capriccioso, e non può far onore a quegli eruditi archeologi che l'hanno adottato." The only passages which favour the claim of Hercules are those already hinted at (*Liv.* lib. x. cap. 16., and *P. Victor. Sex. Ruf. in Region.*) ; and they do not affect the question of the Forum Boarium. It must also be allowed, there were several temples of Vesta ; for thus Dionysius : — 'Εν ἐκάσῃ δὲ τῶν τετρακοντα φρατρῶν ἰδρυσάμενος Ἑστῖαν.—*Antiquit. Roman.* lib. ii. p. 375. cap. 65. tom. i. edit. Reiske, 1774, and *Ovid. Fast.* lib. vi. v. 261. ; to which apply the explanation of Festus on the word "penus," and compare the regionaries of *Panvinio* apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. p. 290. : but these authorities, on the other hand, afford no proof that *this* was a Vesta or Focus : hence we say, to attempt to disturb the popular name is learning ill bestowed. In the *Ordo Romanus*, 1143, it is called "Templum Sibyllæ." (See *Note* in *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 250.)

NOTE S, page 141.

Tit. Liv. lib. x. cap. 31.; *Ovid. Fast.* lib. v. 669. "Myro [Eleutherensis] Ageladis discipulus . . . fecit . . . Herculem etiam, qui est apud Circum Maximum in æde Pompeii Magni." — *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 8.

"Et ipsarum ædium species sunt barycæ, barycephalæ, humiles, latæ; ornantque . . . Tuscanico more, uti est ad Circum Maximum Cereris, et Herculis Pompeiani, item Capitolii." — *Vitruvius de Architect.* lib. iii. cap. 3.

"Ædes Cereris.

"Ædes Pompeii."

P. Victor in Reg. XI.

"Templum Herculis."

Sext. Rufus in eadem Reg.

We only mean to deduce from these authorities, that a temple of Hercules was built by Pompey as an appendage to his house; that it stood in the eleventh region, near the Circus; and that its construction was of a peculiar kind. See, with the help of Philander's annotation, the passage of *Vitruvius*, as above cited (p. 91. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1552.) whether that peculiarity answers to the columns in the S. Maria in Cosmedin. But it is not pretended that what follows in the succeeding notes overthrows the claims of Ceres. "Sub iudice lis est!"

NOTE T, page 152.

Tit. Liv. Hist. lib. i. cap. 41. "Tarquinius Priscus ad Mugoniam Portam supra summam novam viam." — *Solin.* lib. ii.

Ῥωμύλος μὲν, Ὁρθωσίῳ Διὶ παρὰ ταῖς καλεμέναις Μυκωνίαις πύλαις, αἱ φέροντιν εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ. — *Dionys. Antiq. Rom.* lib. ii. p. 110. cap. 50.

By comparing these passages, we find the proximity of the abodes of Romulus and Tarquin, and that *they* again were near the Temple of Jupiter Stator, and all in the neighbourhood of the "Porta Mugonia." If there be any

certainty about any of Romulus's gates, it is the "Mugonia." The authority of Solinus fixes it at once above the church of St. Theodore. The "vetus Porta Palatii" (vide *Tit. Liv.* lib. i. cap. xii., and compare *Ovid. Trist.* iii. eleg. i.) I conceive to have been found inconvenient, and so closed up, and the Porta Mugonia substituted for it at no great distance. (See the small plan of Romulus's city.) For the P. Romana Festus (*in verb.*) is the only authority; and he places it at the bottom of the Clivus Victoriæ, which was another access to the Palatine, near the arch of Titus. (See *Nibby, Mure di Roma*, p. 57.) Both the name and position of the "Trigonia" is a mere guess. We shall recur no more to this subject.

NOTE U, page 157.

"Habitavit primo juxta Romanum Forum, . . . postea in Palatio; sed nihilominus ædibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum columnarum, et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pavimento conclavia. Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et æstate mansit." — *Suet. in vit. Octav.* cap. 72.

I think it is a fair inference, that Hortensius's house was on a part of the Palatine Hill, removed from the Forum; which so far coincides with the acknowledged situation of Augustus's house.

NOTE X, page 158.

Ovid. Trist. lib. iii. 59.; *Horat. Epist.* lib. i. 3. 17. and *Sat.* lib. i. 14. 21.; and compare *Suet. in Octav.* cap. xxix. We may infer, from the chapter in Suetonius here referred to, that both the library and portico were made subsequent to the temple; nor does Paterculus, as cited in Note 48., say any thing to the contrary. See inscriptions in Note 50. p. 158.

NOTE Y, page 166.

We cannot let this antiquarian fraud pass without some observations. Josephus writes thus : — Καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν Θεωρίων ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπιτελουμένων ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ χρήματος· ([ἀγόνῃαι δὲ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ πρώτου μετασησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δήμου Καίσαρος εἰς αὐτὸν] μικρόν τε πρὸ τοῦ Βασιλείου καλύβης πηκτοῦ γενομένης, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τε οἱ εὐπατρίδαι θεωροῦσιν ὁμοῦ παῖσι καὶ γυναῖξι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ [scilicet Caligula])· βασιώων τε αὐτοῖς ἕσσεσθαι πολλῶν μυριάδων ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὀλίγον χάριον καθεργγυμένων. κ. τ. λ. — *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xix. cap. i. sect. 11. p. 844. edit. in folio, *Josephi Opera*, Oxonii, 1720.

It is evident this theatre was constructed of slight moveable materials, and we must protest against καλύβη being here rendered “the stage.” (See *Palazzo de' Cesari*, illustrated by Vincenzo Ballanti, p. 61.) If any doubt remained on the subject, Josephus, a little after, obviates it by describing *how* the place was constructed on the very day of the conspiracy (*vide* sect. 13. p. 845.), and uses the same word for the materials — καλύβη.

NOTE Z, page 196.

“Dove pur hora havemo, con non poco dolore, visto alcuni archi antichissimi di marmo darsi dai fondamenti per terra, per farne calce, i quali archi, si diceva, e per alcune iscrizioni, che v'erano, si conoscevano essere stati dagli antichi in honore e memoria d'Horatio Coclite fatti.” — *Roma Ristaurata*, tradott. per Lucio Fauno, edit. Venet 1543, lib. i. No. 20.

Venuti speaks of two inscriptions found here, that belonged to an arch erected in honour of Germanicus. (*Venuti, Antichità*, &c. tom. ii. p. 51.)

Fulvio mentions the arches, and gives the following inscription, but on the authority of “i padri nostri si ricordono :” —

P. LENTVLVS . CN. F. SCIPIO . T
QVINTIVS . CRISPINVS . VALERIA
NVS . COSS . EX. S. C. FACIVNDVM
CVRAVER . IIDEM . PROBAVER.

(*And. Fulvio delle Antichità, &c.*, edit. in Venez. 1543. tradotta per Paolo dal Rosso.)

“ Fra l’Aventino e l’Tevere presso al Ponte Sublicio hora guasto, furono gli archi d’Oratio Cocle: drizzatili in memoria de quel generoso atto qui usato, a sostenere solo questo ponte *contra tutta Toscana!* ” — *Lucio Mauro, Antichità di Roma*, p. 54. edit Venez. 1562.

Livy himself could not have done more honour to his hero than this valiant antiquary has !

NOTE AA, page 201.

I am tempted to insert a very curious Greek inscription, first published by the Abbate Amaduzzi in the *Antologia Romana*, and copied into the last edition of Venuti: it was found near the church of S. Alessio: —

ΣΤΗΛΗ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΕΗ	Columna Marmorea,
ΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΙ. ΤΑΦΟΣ	Cujus es Sepulchrum ?
ΩΚΕΟΣ. ΙΠΠΟΥ	Velocis Equi.
ΤΙΣΔΟΝΟΜΑ. ΕΥΘΥΔΙΚΟΣ	Quod nomen ? Euthydicus.
ΤΙΚΛΕΟΣ. ΑΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ	Quæ gloria ? Victor certaminis.
ΠΟΣΑΚΙΣ. ΕΣΤΕΦΘΗΣ ΔΡΟΜΟΝ	Quoties coronatus es ob cursum ?
ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ. ΤΙΣ. ΔΕΛΑΕΝ. ΜΙΝ	Pluries. Quis autem agitavit ipsum ?
ΚΟΙΡΑΝΟΣ. ΟΤΙΜΗΣ	Dominus Otimes
ΚΡΕΣΣΕΝΟΣ	Cressenus,
ΗΜΙΘΕΩΝ	Ex Semideis.

— *Venuti, Antichità di Roma*, tom. ii. p. 42.

NOTE BB, page 202.

We must here enter once more on the subject of walls and gates. If Aurelian be supposed to have enlarged the city on this side, he could not have removed the Porta Trigemina; or else P. Victor, who lived about one hundred

years after, would not have mentioned it as being in the eleventh region ; nor is there any indication of another gate along the Tyber having been substituted for it, whilst the old one was walled up ; nor can the Porta S. Paolo be the same. Nardini thinks it remained useless ; but, as Fabretti justly remarks, no such conclusion can be drawn from Victor and Rufus. (Compare *Nardini*, tom. i. p. 96. ; and *Fabretti, de Aquis et Aquæduct.* diss. iii. p. 154.) This does not seem to have struck the antiquaries at Rome as any difficulty ; but if the regionaries are to be taken as authority, we shall be led to the conclusion that Aurelian did not meddle with this part of the city, but the Prata del Popolo and the Monte Testaccio were added by Honorius, who also made, of course, the Porta S. Paolo. As to the Porta Lavernalis, it is rather for *a* gate in the position we have laid down, than for the *name* of a gate we contend ; and therefore we have adopted the most popular name. But all we know of the Porta Lavernalis is, that it was so called from the “ ara Lavernæ ” to which it led ; and it seems, in the order in which Varro proceeds (*De Ling. Lat.* lib. iv.), to have been on this side the city. Festus also mentions a Porta Navalis, so called from being near to the Navalía. If the P. Trigemina was then in use, where shall we find a place for this ? Ammianus Marcellinus, in a passage already cited, names the Porta Ostiensis, speaking of an event which took place before the removal of the P. Trigemina ; and perhaps he wrote before Victor and Rufus. And where, again, without the aid of Aurelian, shall we place this ? Any attempt to reconcile the names and situation of the gates is always attended with difficulties like these. But whether the gate which we have called Lavernalis be rightly named or not, the road that proceeded from it joined in with that which issued from the Porta Trigemina, at a little distance from Rome ; and the old road, lately discovered in sinking the fence of the Protestant burial-ground, may indicate the direction after the junction. This road then became the Via Ostiensis (compare *Pliny*, lib. ii. epist. 17.) ; and we suspect the Porta Ostiensis to have superseded the Porta Lavernalis, “ aut

quocunque nomine gaudet ;” and, finally, under Honorius, the whole gave way to the Porta S. Paolo. The etymology of Trigemina is much better conceived by Venuti’s editor than by Nardini, that it was the third gate, which was built as a double gate.

NOTE CC, page 203.

Venuti’s editor is very anxious to revive the old opinion of Donatus, that the Navalía were on the opposite side of the river. The want of room for them on this side is his main argument. (*Venuti, Antichità, &c.*, tom. ii. p. 51. note c.) He translates the word arsenals, and we usually render it docks. Perhaps neither of these words convey the just meaning. It seems to have been nothing more than a place where the vessels were drawn up to lade and unlade — a wharf. If so, beyond the Tyber was surely inconvenient. Nardini collects a number of passages, chiefly from Livy, to prove the Navalía were on the left bank of the river ; and there is not one passage which will prove the contrary. (See *Liv.* lib. xl. cap. 41.) The censors made one portico “extra Portam Trigeminam, et aliam post Navalía ;” and compare also *Plutarch. in Cato. Minor.* p. 778. ed. cit. He (Cato) surely landed on the left bank. It is certain the Navalía mentioned by Livy, where he describes the position of the Prata Quintia (see *Dissertation II.* p. 73.), must have been on this side the Tyber ; but we must not forget those Navalía were in another part of the city. “Naves regiæ captæ Macedonibus inusitatæ ante magnitudinis in Campo Martio subductæ sunt.” — *Tit. Liv.* lib. xlv. cap. 42., and compare lib. viii. cap. 4., where the same word “subductæ” is employed for the captured ships of Antium.

NOTE DD, page 208.

M . VALERIVS . MESSALLA . CORVINVS
P . RVTLIVS . LVPVS . L . IVNIVS SILANVS
L . PONTIVS . MELA . D . MARIVS
NIGER . HEREDES . C . CESTI . ET
L . CESTIVS . QVAE . EX . PARTE . AD
EVM . FRATRIS . HEREDITAS
M . AGRIPPAE . MVNERE . PER
VENIT . EX . EA . PECVNIA . QVAM
PRO . SVIS . PARTIBVS . RECEPER
EX . VENDITIONE . ATTALICOR
QVAE . EIS . PER . EDICTVM
AEDILIS . IN . SEPVLCRVN
C . CESTI . EX . TESTAMENTO
EIVS . INFERRE . NON . LICVIT.

NOTE EE, page 220.

Marliano (*Urb. Rom. Topogr.* lib. i. cap. xiii. apud *Grævium*, tom. iii. page 181.) gives us one of these inscriptions, from which it may suffice to extract the following: —

EX AVTORITATE

.
TRAIANI

.
.
.
.

MESSIVS . RVSTICVS . CVRATOR
ALVEI . ET . RIPARVM . TIBERIS . ET
CLOACARVM . VRBIS . R . R . RESTITVIT.
SECVNDVM . PRAECEDENTEM
TERMINATIONEM . PROXIM . CIPP.
PED . CXXV . S.

Compare *Plin. Epist.* lib. x. 41.

NOTE FF, page 241.

L. FABRICIVS . C . F . CVR . VIAR . FACIVNDVM
 COERAVIT . IDEMQ . PROBAVIT
 Q . LEPIDVS . M . F . M . LOLLIVS . M . F . COS
 S . C . PROBAVERVNT.

NOTE GG, page 251.

“ Martis templum, quantum nusquam esset, exstruere, repleto et complanato lacu, in quo naumachiæ spectaculum ediderat.” — *Suet. in Julio Cæsar. cap. xlv.*

Καὶ τέλος ναυμαχίαν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ οὔδε ἐν λίμνῃ τινί, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐποίησε. Χωρίον γάρ τι ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ πεδίῳ κοιλάνας, ὅδωρ τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσήκε, καὶ ναῦς ἐσήγαγεν.—*Dion Cass. in Jul. Cæsar. lib. xliii. p. 357.*

To be compared with the following : —

“ Athletæ, stadio ad tempus exstructo, in regione Martii Campi, certaverunt per triduum Navali prælio, *in morem cochleæ* defosso lacu biremes,” &c. — *Suet. ibid. cap. xxxix.*

It is here proposed to read “ minore codeta,” which means a place where shrubberies grow like horses’ tails ; and this, according to Festus, was in the “ Transtyberim.” But why not read “ minore campo,” and so save the credit of Dion Cassius? But, admitting the proposed emendation, there must have been plenty of codetas about the Tyber. See, however, note 1. in *Nardini*, tom. iii. p. 331.

NOTE HH, page 253.

That writer thus describes the state of the Transtyberine walls : —

A FLUMINE TIBERI USQUE AD PORTAM PORTENSEM. Turres iiii. Propugnacula lviii. Fenest. major forins. x. Minor xv.

A PORTA PORTENSI USQUE AURELIAM. Turres xxviii. Propug. cccc. Necess. ii. Fen. major forinsecus cxxxvii. M. clxiii.

A PORTA AURELIA USQUE TIBERIM. Turres xxiii. Propug. cccxxvii. Necess. xi. Fen. major forins. clx. Min. cxxxi.

A FLUMINE TIBERI USQUE AD PORTAM SANCTI PETRI. Turres viii. Propug. cccclxxxviii. Fen. major. forins. xxi. et minor. viii. Posternæ ii.

PORTA S. PETRI IN HADRIANIO. Sunt tures vi. Propug. clxxiii. Fenest. major. forins. xiii. Min. xviii.

Mabillon, Vetera Analecta, tom. iv. p. 515.

The above may serve as a specimen of this curious document so often referred to; but it would be too long to enter upon a commentary. I have great pleasure in referring the curious reader to the laborious work of Professor Nibby on the walls of Rome, who with much erudition has exhausted the subject; and for adjusting the point now before us see cap. vii. p. 295—298; and for a general view of the walls see Dissertation XII. It is of course a question upon the *classical* name of the gate on the Janiculum; for Procopius, in the sixth century, called it "Pancratiana." (*De Bell. Gothic.* lib. i. cap. 23.)

NOTE II, page 255.

See the annexed "Copy of an Inscription in the Gardens of the Villa Pamfili Doria."

Sepulchral inscriptions are continually discovered in the vineyards about Rome: the following, found in the territory of Fidenæ, January, 1826, may serve as a specimen of those most difficult to decipher:—

x

ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΖΑΘΕΗ ΡΩΜΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΕ
 ⚭ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΜΟΙ ⚭
 ΑΤΤΙΚΙΛΛΑ ΔΕ ΓΩ ΛΕΓΟΜΗ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΟΥΝΟΜΑ
 ⚭ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ⚭
 ΚΟΥΡΙΔΙΩ ΔΕ ΠΟΣΕΙ ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΛΙΠΟΝ ΒΑ
 ⚭ ΟΝΤΑΣ ⚭
 ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΣ ΟΥ ΝΕΝΕΑΝΤΩ ΔΥΤΙ ΤΕΘΕΝΤΟ
 ⚭ ΤΑΦΩ ⚭

i. e. Πατρίς μὲν Ζαθέη Ῥώμη, Βασιλεὺς δὲ πατὴρ μοι, Ἀττικίλλα δ' ἐγὼ λεγόμεν, καλὸν οὖνομα μητρὸς, Κουριδίω δὲ πόσει· παιδὰς λίπον ἡβώνοντας τέσσαρας οἱ μὲ νεὰν τῶδ' ὑπέθεντο τάφω: which may be rendered into Latin thus: — “Patria quidem divina Roma, sed rex [imperator] pater mihi [est vel fuit], et Atticilla ego vocabar, pulchrum nomen matris [meæ], et Virginio (adolescentiâ accepto) marito meo; reliqui pueros pubescentes quatuor, qui me juvenem [adhuc] sub hoc sepulchro posuerunt.”

NOTE KK, page 274.

On the Porta Angelica is this emboldening sentence:

QVI . VVLT . REMP . SALVAM . NOS . SEQVATVR.

Above are some skulls of brigands and murderers that have been caged for a century, above the “angelic” gate, through which one passes to St. Peter’s.

Outside the Porta S. Pancrazio is the following, which Donatus would have called more urbane: —

VRBANVS VIII. PONT. MAX.

Absolutis Civitatis Leoninæ munimentis
Et mœnibus et propugnaculis ad Tiberim usque
Excitatis
Imminentem Urbi Janiculum et
Transtiberinam Regionem circūducens
Publicæ securitati prospexit.

NOTE LL, page 309.

The inscriptions upon the Marcian Aqueduct at the
Porta S. Lorenzo :—

IMP. CAES. DIVI. IVLI. F. AVGVSTVS
PONTIFEX. MAXIMVS. COS. XII
TRIBVNIC. POTESTAT. XIX. IMP. XIII
RIVOS. AQVAVM. OMNIYM. REFECIT

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIVS. ANTONINVS &c.
. &c.
AQVAM. MARCIAM. VARIIS. KASIBVS. IMPEDITAM. PVRGATO. FONTE. EXCIS. ET. PERFORATIS
MONTIBVS. RESTITVTA. FORMA. ADQVISITO. ETIAM. FONTE. NOVO. ANTONINIANO
IN. SACRAM. VRBEM. SVAM. PERDVENDAM. CVRAVIT

IMP. TITVS. CAESAR &c.
. &c.
RIVOM. AQVAE. MARCIAE. VETVSTATE. DILAPSVM. REFECIT
ET. AQVAM. QVAE. IN. VSV. ESSE. DESIERAT. REDVXIT.

NOTE MM, page 312.

The inscriptions now read upon the elevation are of the
following tenor, written in large and excellent characters,
in the upper compartment A (see fig. 2. p. 313.), contained
in four lines :—

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, Pontif. Maxim.
Tribunicia Potestate XII. Cos. V. Imperator XXVII. Pater Patriæ
Aquas Claudiam ex Fontibus Qui Vocabantur Cæruleus et Curtius
a Milliaro XXXV.
Item Anienem Novum a Milliaro LXII. sua Impensa in Urbem
Perducendas Curavit.

In the middle section, B: —

Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus August. Pontif. Max. Trib. Pot. ii. Imp. vi. Cos. iii.
 Desig. iii. P. P.
 Aquas Curtiam et Cæruleam Perductas a Divo Claudio et
 Postea Intermissas Dilapsasque
 Per Annos Novem sua Impensa Urbi Restituit.

In the lowest division, C: —

Imp. T. Cæsar. Divi. F. Vespasianus Augustus Pontifex Maximus
 Tribunic
 Potestate V. Imperator xvi. Pater Patriæ Censor Cos. viii.
 Aquas Curtiam et Cæruleam Perductas a Divo Claudio
 Et Postea a Divo Vespasiano Patre suo Urbi restitutas
 Cum a Capite Aquarum a Solo Vetustate Dilapsæ Essent
 Nova Forma reducendas sua Impensa Curavit.

NOTE NN, page 326.

Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. cap. 25. Justus Lipsius computes the number of inhabitants in Rome and the environs ("Romæ et circa eam") at four millions! But that should rather be called a conjecture, than a calculation upon any solid "data."

From the age of Valentinian and Valens (when, according to our calculation, the city might possibly contain a million of inhabitants, that is to say, might still maintain its ancient population,) to the end of the Gothic dominion in Italy, a period of nearly two hundred years elapsed; and, considering the numberless causes which during that long period ceased not to operate in diminishing the number of citizens, it may be safely affirmed, that towards the end of the sixth century there would not be half a million of souls in Rome and the immediate environs; and even this, in a great measure, owing to that continual emigration from the neighbouring towns, which soon left the Campagna desolate. Under the pontificate of Gregory the Great, 590—604, the depopulation was such as to render the future existence of Rome equivocal. (See *Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman.* lib. iii. cap. 3., and Gibbon's *Decline and*

Fall, chap. xlv., with his references in notes 58. 60. 64. 75.) In the time of Leo X., 1513—1522, when every thing was in a flourishing state of peace, the citizens and strangers of Rome amounted to 85,000; but after the disasters under Clement VII., there were scarcely 32,000 (1534). In the year 1709, there were 138,568 souls, without reckoning the Jews, supposed to be eight or ten thousand. Gibbon says they had increased in 1740 to 146,080; and in 1765 he left them, without the Jews, 161,899. (*Decline and Fall*, chap. lxxi. note 74.) In the years 1800 and 1801 the statistical table in the *Notizie del Anno* 1828, *libro di Cracas*, p. 296., stands thus:—

	Births.	Deaths.	Living.
1800.	5193	8457	153,004
1801.	4526	7260	146,384
And thus it goes on diminishing until - - -	1813.	3744	3353
It then increases again gradually until - - -	1827.	4744	5029
			140,673

N. B. — The Jews at present do not amount to 4000.

The number of deaths almost invariably exceeds that of the births. This is accounted for by the mortality caused by the malaria in the Campagna, and the subjects coming to the public hospitals in Rome, where they die. Still, if the present system be continued, Rome must become a desert, and the prophecy of St. Benedict still become true. (*Gregor. Dialog.* lib. ii. cap. 15.)

NOTE OO, page 336.

Fabretti has given a drawing of the “Piscina Limaria” belonging to the Alexandrian aqueduct, which was situated in the valley called Pantano (see tab. ii. *Dissert.* i.; *Id.* cap. ii. p. 9.). The stream first fell from the channel of the aqueduct through a square aperture into a large reservoir, where it had sufficient time to settle in the mass, and leave the sediment at the bottom, or the calcareous deposit on the sides: it then found its way by another

channel, conducting to the “specus,” but reduced to the level of the reservoir.

A “castellum aquæ” received the supplies of several aqueducts, and discharged a portion of the water into a basin (see our Plan and Description of the fountain commonly called the Trophies of Marius, in Dissertation V.); the whole much resembling the present Fontana Paola, on the Mount Janiculum. It was the business of a person called a “castellarius” to look to the proper quantity of water which the aqueduct under his charge had to supply. Hence, Fabretti has produced two inscriptions, containing the names of two persons, CASTELLARIO AQVAE CLAVDIAE; *Idem*, AQVAE MARCIAE. (*De Aquis*, &c., p. 89. and p. 120.) This was effected by allowing the stream to run for a certain number of hours, and then stopping it, reserving the rest of the water in the proper “castellum,” or piscina, of the aqueduct. This is known from another inscription, produced by the said Fabretti (*Dissert.* iii. tab. iii.), from which the following is extracted: —

C . IVLI . HYMETI
AVFIDIANO
AQVAE . DVAE
AB . HORA . SECVNDA
AD . HORAM . SEXTAM.

The “aquarii” I conceive to have been menial officers (*Juvenal. Satyr.* vi.*v. 331.) under the direction and control of the “castellarius.” For the distribution of the waters in their proper quantities (“Quinarie”) whether for public or private uses, see the six Tables in *Frontinus*, edit. citat., p. 148.; and *Venuti Antichità di Roma*, tom. i. p. 196.

NOTE PP, page 337.

Vide. *Procop. de Bello Gothico*, lib. i. cap. 15. Nardinithus enumerates all the streams mentioned in the Regionaries and Notitia. Appia, Anio Vetus, Marcia alias Aupeja, Tepula, Julia, Virgo, Halsia alias Halsietina, quæ et Au-

gusta, Claudia, Albudina, Cærulea, Curtia, et Augusta, Anio Novus, Rivus Herculaneus, Crabra, Sabatina vel Ciminia, Aurelia, Septimiana Transtyberim, Alexandrina, Damnata, Annia, Argentiana, Severiana, Antoniniana, Setina. (*Roma Antica*, vol. iii. p. 379.)

In the names preceding the Sabatina vel Ciminia, we easily recognise the nine aqueducts of Frontinus. See the speculations on the five additional ones of Procopius, in *Cassio, Corso delle Acque Antiche, &c., sopra XIV. Acquedotti, coll' Illustrazione* (edit. in Roma, 1756), No. ii. part i. p. 14. et seq.

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES,

Particulars of which will be found by referring to the General Index.

FIRST PERIOD.

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA 752 — 510.

Monuments of the Kings remaining.

Mamertine Prison.

Cloaca Maxima.

Vestiges of the Pulchrum Littus (see Quay).

Vestiges of the Walls of Servius Tullius.

SECOND PERIOD.

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA 510, TO THE BATTLE OF
ACTIUM, B. C. 31.

Monuments of the Republic remaining.

Column of C. Duilius, a fragment.

Capitol ; some remains under the Palazzo Caffarelli.

Sepulchre of the Scipios.

Some remains of others on the Via Appia.

Temple of Fortuna Virilis.

—— of Juno Matuta, of Hope, and of Piety, in the Forum

Olitorium.

—— of Hercules Custos.

Sepulchre of C. Publius Bibulus.

Aqueduct (Marcian).

Tabularium.

Island of the Tyber ; some facing of travertine stone.

Tomb of Cæcilia Metella.
 Theatre of Pompey ; the foundations.
 Aqueduct of Agrippa, repaired by Claudius.
 Circus Maximus ; some slight vestiges.

THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE YEAR 31 BEFORE CHRIST, TO THE DEATH OF
 AUGUSTUS, A. D. 14, AND TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN
 EMPIRE, A. D. 476.

Monuments of the Empire remaining.

Of the Augustan age.

Baths of Agrippa.
 Pantheon.
 Pyramid of Caius Cestius.
 Salinæ.
 Sepulchres and Columbaria on the Via Appia.
 Forum of Augustus.
 House of Mæcenæ.
 Mausoleum of Augustus.
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 ——— Mars, in the Forum of Augustus.
 ——— Venus, in Sallust's Gardens.

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Colosseum.

Baths of Titus.

Meta Sudans.

Arch of Titus.

Vivarium of Domitian.

Forum of Nerva.

———— Trajan, and Basilica Ulpia.

Pillar of Trajan.

Baths of Trajan.

From the Death of Trajan to the age of Septimius Severus, comprising nearly the Second Century.

Temple of Venus and Rome.

Mole of Hadrian.

Græcostasis, or Comitium.

Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

———— Antoninus Pius, at the Dogana.

———— Bacchus, now the Church of S. Urbano.

———— Vesta, round Temple on the Tyber.

Pillar of M. Aurelius.

Minerva Medica, Pantheum.

Amphitheatre of the Camp.

From the age of Septimius Severus to the Reign of Diocletian.

Arch of Septimius Severus.

———— Caracalla, in the Forum Boarium.

———— Janus, in the same place.

Baths of Caracalla.

———— Alexander Severus ; some remains.

Arch of Gallienus.

Temple of Remus, in the Via Sacra.

The age of Constantine and his successors.

Baths of Diocletian.

Circus on the Via Appia.

Basilica of Constantine.

Arch of Constantine.

Baths of Constantine.

Thermæ of Helen.

Temple of Fortune, on the Clivus Capitolinus.

Sessorium, alias Temple of Cupid and Venus.

Gates and Walls of Honorius.

Column of Phocas, A. D. 608.

Torre delle Milizie.

Tor' de Conti.

Fortresses of the Frangipani and others of the Middle Ages.

LOCAL ARRANGEMENT

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES.

TO COMBINE WITH THE ITINERARIES.

(See *Itinerario di Roma*, &c. By Professor NIBBY. Third Edition, 1890.)

PRIMA GIORNATA.

Ponte Molle.
 Nero buried on the Monte Pincio.
 Terentum.
 Pillar of Marcus Aurelius.
 Monte Citorio.
 Obelisk in the Monte Citorio.
 Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus.
 Temple of Antoninus Pius.
 Arch of Claudius.
 Sepulchre of Bibulus.

SECUNDA GIORNATA.

Capitolium.
 Tabularium.
 Tarpeian rock.
 Clivus Capitolinus.
 Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, or site of church of Ara Coeli.
 Mamertine Prison.
 Temple of Fortune.
 ——— of Jupiter Tonans.
 ——— of Concord.
 Forum Romanum.
 Rostra.
 Temple of Castor and Pollux.
 Lake of Juturna.

Temple of Vesta.
 Secretarium Senatus.
 Horse of Domitian.
 Arch of Septimius Severus.
 Basilica Æmilia.
 Temple of Saturn.
 Column of Phocas.
 Græcostasis.
 Curia.
 Temple of Vesta.
 Via Sacra.
 Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.
 Temple of Remus.
 Basilica of Constantine.
 Temple of Peace.
 ——— of Venus and Rome.
 Arch of Titus.
 Palatine Mount.
 Palace of the Cæsars.
 House of Augustus.
 Meta Sudans.
 Colossus of Nero.
 Colosseum.
 Arch of Constantine.
 Clivus Scauri.
 Cælian hill.
 Arch of Dolabella and Silanus.
 Castra Peregrina.
 Macellum Magnum.

TERZA GIORNATA.

Obelisk of the Lateran.
 Lateran Basilica.
 Sessorium.
 Amphitheatre of the Camp.
 Vivarium at the P. Prænestina.
 Aqueducts at the Porta Maggiore.
 ——— at the Porta S. Lorenzo.
 Minerva Medica, Pantheum.
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 ——— of Augustus.
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 Fragments in the Colonna Gardens.

QUARTA GIORNATA.

Torre delle Milizie.
 Valley of the Quirinal.
 Viminal hill.
 Baths of Diocletian.
 Prætorian Camp.
 Porta Salaria.
 Gardens of Sallust.
 Aqueduct of Agrippa.
 Monte Pincio.
 Muro Torto.

QUINTA GIORNATA.

Mausoleum of Augustus.
 Prata Quintia.
 Equiria.
 Pantheon of Agrippa.
 Baths of Agrippa.
 Minervium.
 Baths of Alexander Severus.
 Circus Agonalis.
 Theatre of Pompey.
 Temple of Hercules Custos.
 Circus Flaminius.
 Portico of Octavia.
 Theatre of Marcellus.
 Forum Olitorium.
 Temple of Juno Matuta, and others.

SESTA GIORNATA.

Velabrum.
 Arch of Janus Quadrifrons.
 Arch of Caracalla.
 Forum Boarium.

Cloaca Maxima.
 Circus Maximus.
 Septizonium.
 Piscina Publica.
 Porta Capena.
 Via Appia, and its environs.
 Baths of Caracalla.
 Sepulchre of the Scipios.
 Arch of Drusus.
 Church of S. Sebastiano.
 Catacombs.
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 Tomb of Cæcilia Metella.
 Sepulchres on the Via Appia.
 Temple of Bacchus.
 Nymphæum, called of Egeria.
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 Navalia.
 Sublician Bridge.
 Aventine hill.
 Temple of Hercules Pompeianus.
 ——— of Vesta.
 ——— of Fortuna Virilis.
 Pons Palatinus.

SETTIMA GIORNATA.

Island of the Tyber.
 Janiculum.
 Aqua Alsietina.
 Vestiges in the Trastevere.

OTTAVA GIORNATA.

Mole of Hadrian.
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