ROMAN SOCIETY AS REVEALED IN THE WORKS OF CICERO AND HORACE

by

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Perhaps of all the periods of Rome's long and varied history, few present such kaleidoscopic interest as the age of Cicero and Horace. Politically it witnessed a life and death struggle between the forces of despotism on the one hand, and those of republicanism on the other, to be followed by the benevolent dictatorship of Julius Caesar, and the principate of Augustus. This did not finally occur until long and bloody wars had drained Rome of her very life blood.

As leaders in these momentous happenings figures of intense interest pass before our eyes. Greatest of all was Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Rome's least mortal mind", an intense patriot, devoted to constitutional government, not quite sure where the greater menace lay, and finally throwing in his lot with the senatorial party. From other points of view the greatest was Julius Caesar, who overthrew the constitution, but erected in its place the foundations of a system destined to last for several centuries. He was a brilliant general, an astute politician, and, what was remarkable in his age, merciful to his enemies. Another great figure was Pompey, who in Cicero's mind was the protagonist of the forces of democracy, but doomed to failure. After Caesar's death appeared the dissolute Mark Antony, to be
succeeded by Octavian, the first of the line of emperors. Under his rule as the Emperor Augustus, the work of Julius was consolidated and Rome entered on a period of prosperity.

Our purpose in this essay is not to discuss these affairs of state, of such intense interest to all students of Roman history, but the society of the times. For we must not forget that many simple dramas of every day life were enacted, and that forces were at work amongst the people which were destined to have great bearing on Rome's ultimate downfall. We shall then try and get behind political events, and depict as vividly as possible the life of the people, the wealthy, the middle classes, and the masses.

Before we open our discussion, let us consider for a moment our authorities. First and foremost we have the versatile Cicero. Through his public speeches and philosophical discourses we have countless deft little allusions which throw considerable light on our subject. But more important still, Cicero was, par excellence, the greatest letter writer of antiquity. Over nine hundred letters, written without thought of publication, are extant, written to his friend Atticus and other members of his circle, besides most of the political leaders of the time. This collection is a priceless storehouse of information on the life of the day. We hear of everything from high state matters to anxiety about his wife's health, or the latest additions to his library. We see into his inmost thoughts and come in contact with all his joys and aspirations and sorrows -
infinitely human documents.

Totally different from Cicero, we have as our other authority Quintus Horatius Flaccus, who is perhaps the most quoted and loved of all Roman poets. For the most part he is not concerned with the matters of state that Cicero so dearly loved. He sees at close range the joys of simple life, but only as an onlooker. Son of a freedman, he knows from personal experience the life of the humbler strata of society, and depicts it in verse. A moralist too, he gives sound advice on many subjects, as well as giving us deep insight into the manners and customs of his contemporaries. In exquisite odes, brilliant satires and colourful epistles we have an impression of Roman daily life which forms a splendid complement to our other authority. So, with Cicero and Horace as our guides, let us go behind the turbulent political upheavals of the latter days of the Republic and the early days of the Empire, and learn at first hand of the lives of the people, their recreations, their family life, their houses, their entertainments, and their culture.
Chapter 2

The Lower Classes and Slavery

In strong contrast with the magnificence and luxury of the upper classes and the opulence of the equites, the masses of the people in Cicero's age were in as low a state as could be imagined. They seemed merely to be the object of derision even on the part of man of Cicero's calibre. Time and time again he refers disparagingly to the lower classes. Let us see what he has to tell us. Any person who makes money by labour rather than by art is to be despised, thus including all hired workmen. All retail shop keepers are to be despised as they commonly succeed by abundant lying. Similarly all mechanical labourers are condemned. Cicero considers even worse than such trades, any which serve sensuality, including fishmongers, butchers, cooks, pastry cooks, fishermen, perfumers, gamblers, and dancers. Even more disparaging language is used on other occasions. In a letter to Atticus Cicero refers to the people as "the sordid dregs of the populace", the blood-sucker of the treasury, the wretched and starveling mob". He deplores having to bribe the common people, "the dregs of humanity collected by Romulus", and says that to bribe them would make men like himself the slaves of freedmen and slaves. At another time we hear of the "godforsaken gang of the Tuscan street",

1. Off. 1, 42
2. Att. 1, 16, 11
3. Att. 2, 1, 8
referring to the shop keepers there. However, once we do find Cicero standing up for the common people as a class, pointing out that they only want peace and tranquillity and have no desire for revolution.

Slaves of every type abounded in Rome. Perhaps one of the commonest classes was that of the gladiators. Many slaves actually entered the gladiatorial profession engaging in contract with a master of gladiators, expressing their willingness to suffer sword, fire, whips or chains. A man on entering knew that sooner or later he would meet his doom by one of those ways. Gladiators were frequently used by unscrupulous demagogues to foster civic disturbances. On one occasion gladiators were exhibited by Publius Sulla "for the purposes of slaughter and tumult". A hundred pairs of gladiators would be considered a large number for one exhibition. Horace relates how Staberius ordered his heirs to engrave on his tomb stone the amount he left them, but if they failed to do so they had to exhibit a hundred pairs of gladiators. A master of a gladiatorial school often had pictures made of his best gladiators fighting, and hung them up at the door. We have a vivid picture of an actual encounter as it was painted "the combats of Fulvius and Rutuba and Placideanus, with their bended knees painted in crayons or charcoals, as if the men were actually engaged, pushing and parrying, and moving their weapons". There was one

special class of gladiators known as Samnites who wore Samnite arms. It apparently was possible for a gladiator to retire from the profession. We hear of one called Veianus who after a successful career in the arena retired to the country determined never to fight again. On leaving, his wooden sword which he had used for practice was presented to him as a symbol of his discharge, and he consecrated his weapons at a temple of Hercules. If a retired gladiator ever returned to the arena and wished to be released a second time, he had to go to the edge of the arena and implore the people to give him his freedom.

No matter what other charges can be laid at the door of gladiators, no one can accuse them of cowardice. "Bravery" was synonymous with "gladiator" in our period. Cicero calls on men to die nobly and with dignity, in the event of the final fall of the republic, just as gladiators do in the arena. Gladiators too were often merely ordered to stand up and let themselves be killed. In one passage we find Cicero giving them some praise. No gladiator ever utters a groan or lets any expression of pain come over his face, or draws in his neck when he has to suffer the blow of the sword. From this Cicero draws the conclusion that if such men can suffer so much for such a low motive as merely to satisfy their owner or the people, what should men not be ready to suffer for a high principle? "A gladiatorial

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13. Sext. 37
show is apt to seem cruel and brutal to some eyes, and I incline to think it is so as now conducted. But in the days when it was criminals who crossed swords in the death struggle, there could be no better schooling against pain and death, at any rate for the eye, though for the ear perhaps there might be many.

One position held by slaves in the household of wealthy men was that of letter carrier. It was one of great importance and required great integrity, especially in such households as that of Cicero, where a constant stream of letters was being sent backwards and forwards. Sometimes a freed man filled this position, as did Philogenes for Atticus. They usually seemed to be trusted by their masters, and often ran great risks on the journey, as we sometimes can gather. One of Cicero's chief carriers was Micanor. As a reward for his fidelity his master selected him to carry an official despatch to Rome.

Another very important position in a household like Cicero's was that of copyist. A great many slaves were employed in his library, copying out his works and writing his letters by dictation. It also was a duty which required great honesty on the part of the employee. In spite of that sometimes things went wrong. Certain letters were not considered safe to entrust to secretaries because of the danger of some of the contents leaking out. Cicero was caused great con-

(14) Tusc. 2.41  15. Att. 5, 20, 5  16. ibid
17. Att. 4,17,1
sternation when he found out that his library slave Dionysius, who was apparently in charge of the library which contained some very precious books, had run away, taking with him a number of them. Through fear of being caught he fled the country. Cicero tells Caelius that he is somewhere in his provinces and has been seen by several men at Narona. He has told them that he had been given his freedom. And so Cicero urges Caelius to do what he can to get him back.

19 Vatinius, the governor of Illyricum, writes to Cicero that he has issued a "provisionary warrant for his pursuit by land and sea" and feels sure he will be caught unless he escapes to Dalmatia. The same winter we hear that Vatinius has had no success in capturing Dionysius, while soon after Cicero asks him to drop the whole matter, and suggests that Dionysius be led as a prisoner in his next triumph. A good deal of the time of these slaves was spent in copying either letters or books. After they had finished a book it was then reread to correct their mistakes. On one occasion Ligarius sent a message to Cicero saying that the presence of the name of Lucius Corfidius in a certain speech was a mistake. Cicero then asked Atticus to have that name erased from each copy. Sometimes a slave was required to copy out lecture notes. For this purpose Cicero greatly preferred Greek copyists. He also kept a slave of this sort in Rome ready for a

18. Fam. 13,77,3  19. Fam. 5, 9  20. Fam. 5,10,1
21. Fam. 5, 11  22. Att. 13,44,3  23. Fam.16,21,8,2
a piece of work. Sometimes Cicero's handwriting was so bad that his freedman Tiro was commissioned to explain to the copyists any words that they could not interpret. Sometimes one of these copyists would be charged with delivering a letter, as though he were a letter-carrier. Cicero often indicated the stress and strain of work by employing a copyist. He says several times that the writing of his secretary shows that he is so overwhelmed with business that he cannot write himself, and on another occasion says that it is a proof that he is suffering from sore eyes. Secretaries could reach a very influential position in some households. We find Publius Sestius in Macedonia sending his copyist Decius on a mission to Cicero urging him to use his influence to prevent the appointment of his successor. Secretaries were sometimes entrusted with money. We find Cicero's secretary Tullius filling a position of financial responsibility. Occasionally in their writing they were unable to give an adequate explanation of great political events, in which case their masters exchanged letters written by themselves or by dictation. Cicero was very much upset at the death of his reader Sositheus, whom he called a "charming fellow".

Very different from the above type of educated slaves, we have others of a station resembling that of the gladiators. Perhaps the lowest type of all was the "mediastinus" who was at the beck and call of the other slaves with

no specific duties. In each household was a master slave to
whom all those under him had to render obedience. The latter
type of course was by far the most numerous.

Having now described the different types of slaves let us consider for a brief space the general conditions of
the lower type. We have many hints of the names by which
they were called. Syrus, Dama, and Dionysius appear to be
the commonest, while Gallina was a name often applied to
gladiators. As regards their numbers, we noted above that
two hundred was a very large number. We hear of a certain
Tigellius, a man of varying fortunes, who sometimes had two
hundred but more often merely ten. Five hundred drachmas
was considered quite a good price for an ordinary slave,
while eight thousand sesterces might be paid for a highly
cultivated one. Slaves were often fed with the food of which
libations had been made. Often they did not receive enough
to satisfy their hunger, one master stating that a pound of
grain a day would be ample for each. The slave Davus rates
his master for trying to get expensive dishes to eat while
he would get a flogging if he made any attempt to get any
better food. The food enjoyed by the better class of slaves
in the country is contrasted with the measured daily rations
of city slaves.
Slaves were compelled to perform a great variety of duties, that is those who were unskilled or uneducated. Horace mentions the possibilities of a slave as feeding the cattle, ploughing the land, fishing and trading, buying corn and provisions, and performing any special business at the market. At Nasidienus' banquet one slave wiped down the table while another cleared up the remains of the different dishes, and two other slaves brought in the wines for the guests. Many slaves were employed in tilling the land and were usually chained while they worked. Horace threatened Davus with that if he did not behave. Apparently in comedies it was a standing threat to slaves that they should be sent to a farm, perform harder work and submit to chains. Sometimes a Roman gentleman would have a retinue of slaves in attendance on him. We hear of one official being followed by a "travelling kitchen" and slaves bearing wine.

Slaves were liable to the cruellest forms of punishment. There were three judges in Rome called the "triumviri capitales" who could inflict summary punishment on slaves. We hear of a freedman busily displaying his wealth who a short time before had been flogged with Spanish cords and had heavy fetters on his legs, and had been so violently whipped that even the triumvir's beadle grew sick of his office. Crucifixion appeared to have been a common fate for slaves, while the body was left to be devoured by crows. Horace urges men

44. Ep.1,16,69 45. Sat.2,8,14 46. 2.F.3,9,4; Epod 9,10
47. Sat.2,7,117 48. Sat.1,6,108 49. Epod.4,3 50. Sat.1,3,82
to be more lenient in their punishments of slaves. He says it would be the height of insanity to crucify a slave, who, when ordered to take away a dish of food from the table, eats up the remains. He says a standard of punishments should be adopted to avoid flogging a slave who has really done nothing to deserve such a punishment. Cicero, however, defends cruelty on the part of those who have to keep men in subjection under them by force. A master therefore may punish his slaves cruelly if he cannot manage them in any other way. In spite of all this brutality we do occasionally get a glimpse of slaves occupying a position of comfort in a family, "slaves, the test of a rich family, ranged about the smiling household gods".

We have an interesting description by a slave dealer of a young male slave from Tibur and Gabii. He was handsome and of a fine physique worth about eight thousand sesterces. He was a domestic slave and had some knowledge of Greek and was naturally adaptable to any art. He was able to sing cleverly and could thus entertain at a drinking party. His only apparent fault was that he once ran away because he was afraid of the lash that hung in his master's staircase.

In spite of their ignominious position, it was very common for men to fall in love with their slaves. On the other hand many men did not trust them, being afraid that they would plunder and kill the household at night.

54. Ep.2,2, 13  55. Ep.1,18,72;Od.2,4,1  56. Sat.1,1,77
From slavery Cicero draws an analogy to another kind of slavery making a very impressive argument. He maintains that all wicked men are slaves although not in the sense that a servant is the property of his master. Obedience, to an uncontrolled mind, is just as much slavery, with the result that all covetous, dishonest, and wicked men are slaves.

He then illustrates by describing the relation of Antony to Cleopatra, as another type of servitude. "Can I call the man free whom a woman governs, to whom she gives laws, lays down directions, orders and forbids what to her seems fit; while he can deny and dare refuse nothing that she commands? Does she ask? He must give. Does she call? He must come."

Cicero calls such a man, even though of the noblest family in the land, an abject slave. Just as in large households some slaves consider themselves of higher position but yet are still slaves, and just as in a household those slaves who sweep the floors, clean the furniture, anoint their master, are not of the highest rank of slaves, so people who have abandoned themselves to their passions are in practically the lowest degree of slavery themselves.

A number of slaves were fortunate in securing their freedom from their masters' service. Very often they held a high position of trust and honour in the household and even sometimes were on terms of great intimacy with their master. Our own poet Horace was himself the son of a freedman. Cicero tells Appius Claudius that no matter what con-

57. Par. 5  58. Sat. 1, 6, 6; 45  59. Fam. 3, 1
ditions were prevalent in the state, and even if the state itself could describe to him the present situation, it could not give a better account than his freedman, Phania, because of his remarkable sagacity and inquisitiveness. Freedmen were often employed by their masters in financial deals. We find Cicero giving his copyist-freedman, Philotimus, frequent commissions in such matters. Sometimes, however, as with slaves, a freedman would go wrong. Cicero was very angry to find out the doings of one of his freedmen Hilarius. Apparently "he is with Antony, and Antony when he is making requisitions always asserts that part is levied on my authority, and that I have sent a freedman to look after my share". He said he was so annoyed that he could hardly believe the story. We find high tribute paid to several freedmen in letters of recommendation written by Cicero. On one occasion he recommends a certain Gaius Avianius Hammonius to Sulpicius, emphasising especially his remarkable sense of duty and his great devotion to his patron. He also won Cicero's gratitude for having stood by him in the time of his greatest trouble and for having shown the same loyalty to him as if he himself had manumitted him. Another time he strongly recommends to Sulpicius a freedman, called Lucius Cossinius Anchialus, praising particularly the regard felt for him by his late master. In the trial of Catiline Cicero calls on people to find out the opinions of freedmen who by their good fortune have obtained the rights of citizenship. They have

60.Att.13,33,1  61.Att.1,12,4  62.Fam.13,21,2  63.Fam.13,23
far more idea of loyalty because of their recently acquired citizenship than many men who have always been citizens and born of the highest rank.

Standing out among almost every other character in Cicero's letters we have a delightful picture of a freedman, and his relationship with his master, in the person of Tiro. We have many letters extant written by Cicero to Tiro while the latter was in very poor health. They show the deepest interest and solicitude for him and beseech him to take every possible step to strengthen his health. They seem so far more genuine in tone than, for example, the letters to Terentia. They indicate that Tiro is far more than a freedman, and is a deep friend with whom his master may discuss affairs of state. He proved himself a first class secretary and did much work in the library. Cicero asks him to arrange and catalogue his books, provided his doctor considers him strong enough. He had some system of shorthand, as he was able to take down whole sentences at once, while the other secretaries could only write syllable by syllable. Even in Cicero's life time we find him collecting his master's letters, which, after his death, he edited and gave to the world. It is hard then for us to realize the debt which we owe to Tiro. If it had not been for his devotion and love of his master we should have been deprived of a great storehouse of information about the period under consideration. We find that

64. Cat. 4,8,16 65. Fam.16,1; 3 etc. 66. Fam. 16,20
67. Att. 13,25,3 68. Att. 16,5
he himself wrote works of his own. Cicero sums up his loyal services as follows, "your services to me are past all re-echoing at home, in the forum, in the city, in my province, in private as in public affairs, in my literary pursuits and performances". This friendship was shared by other members of the Cicero family.

Composed largely of freedmen, a class of people is commonly referred to in our authors as clients, who were attached to the various men of wealth. As they usually came to visit their patrons very early in the morning and receive their advice on many matters, Horace exaggeratingly speaks of a client "battering on the door before cock-crow". On one occasion Trebatius, who had clients at Ulubrae, was away and left Cicero in charge of them. Ulubrae was overrun with frogs, as it was near the Pomptine marshes. And so Cicero in a letter to Trebatius jokingly refers to "the distant din of my clients". We hear also of a client waiting in the front hall to see his patron, while the latter gives him the slip at the back door. As in the case of freedmen, as we have seen, well-to-do men frequently recommended certain of their clients to their friends.

69. Fam. 16,4,3  70. Sat. 1,1,9  71. Fam. 7,18,3
72. Ep. 1,5,28  73. Fam. 13,22
Chapter 3
The Equites

In between the masses of the people and the small nobility was a large and influential middle class given up largely to trading and finance, known to us as the knights or "equites".

Cicero gives us a clear picture of a high type of knight in describing Rabirius and his father. The latter was engaged in farming the public revenues in which he displayed remarkable greatness of spirit and kindness. The latter quality was so strong in him that it seemed as though he increased his property not just to satisfy himself but to provide additional means of helping others. The son Rabirius engaged in many contracts, farmed the public revenues, carried on business transactions in many provinces, and lent money to kings. But notwithstanding this, he did all he could to help his friends, giving them a share in his contracts and providing them with credit. By these high qualities he proved himself a true son of his father. These two men personify Roman knighthood at its best.

Cicero himself being of the equestrian order, never lost any opportunity to extol its dignity. He particularly commends it as found in his young client Marcus Caelius. On one occasion, Cicero was asked whether he thought that the "cursus honorum" was easier for him, as the son of a Roman

74. Rab. Post 2 75. Cael 2 76. Planc. 24
Knight, than it would have been for his son, then of consular family. He replied that he never wished the road to honour to be easier for his son than it had been for himself. "The degrees of honour are equal in the case of the highest and the lowest citizens; but the glory of arriving at them is useful".

As trading was a large part of the work of the knights we shall be interested to find out what Cicero's views of the subject were. He considers trading on a small scale somewhat mean. It is better if it involves more extensive dealings and brings goods from all over the world. It is even praiseworthy when a merchant satisfied with his profits, leaves his ship and settles down on an estate.

One branch of the equestrian order usually has come in for considerable censure, namely the "publicani". However, we find Cicero on one occasion, strongly praising them as "the prop and support of all the other orders". They take all their wealth into a province and so should be an object of special care, as they collect the revenues which are the very "sinew of the state". We find the publicani frequently organized into companies for state contracts. For example, one of the oldest forms of revenue was that derived from those who pastured cattle on the public grazing lands. The right to collect this tax was let to a certain company of publicans, who paid the state a lump sum for the privileges and collected the taxes for themselves. Often the

77. Off. 1,42  78. Leg. Man. 7  79. Verr. 2,70
state required and immediate payment for the right to farm certain revenues, so the members took shares in it, and each paid down his allotted portion. Each "societas" was managed by a "magister" in Rome, and represented by a deputy at the scene of operations. For example, we hear of Cicero's friend Publius Terentius acting as deputy for the collection of port dues and grazing taxes in Asia. He was strongly praised in a letter to Atticus as having done him frequent good turns. Cicero himself was deeply interested in the company that worked in Bithynia. When in Cilicia, he was on intimate terms with the partners and had the whole company under his protection. He strongly recommended it to his son-in-law Crassipes, and said that he would find the members neither forgetful nor ungrateful. He expressed to him his gratitude to the Bithynian company for all it had done to him and said that he would always support the order of publicani as a whole. However on one occasion he tells how a friend of his attached himself to one of these companies and suffered, as a result, heavy losses.

In spite of these glowing eulogies of the publicani Cicero sometimes deplored their doings. On one occasion the knights who had the contract for farming the revenues in Asia complained that, because of their own avarice, they had paid too high a price for it, and asked it to be annulled. Cicero considered it a piece of intolerable petulance but

80. Fam. 13,10; Att. 10,11 81 Fam. 13,65
82. Fam. 13,9 83. Fam. 13,10 84. Att.1,17
nevertheless supported their plea. On his arrival in Cilicia
he immediately began to hear of the exploitation of the people
by the tax collectors. People being unable to pay their dues
had to sell their investments, while everyone spoke of the
terrible conduct of one of the publicani. Apparently there
had been many complaints about the treatment of the socii
by the publicani. Quintus Metellus Nepos had abolished port
dues in Italy to conciliate the Italians. The latter, how­
ever, complained even more bitterly of the conduct of the
collectors themselves than the actual taxes. The collectors
in Greece according to Cicero were "no more gentle in enfor­
ing the payment of taxes than our own publicani". On one
occasion Lentulus had some difficulty with this class.
Cicero urged him to try and not fall foul of their interests
as they were a group he had always honoured. He recom­
\end{quote}
was a place where fortunes could be easily be won or lost. We come across one noted banker in Cicero, called Marcus Fulcinius of Tarquinii, who had a flourishing business in Rome. Cicero often speaks of making financial arrangements for his son while studying in Athens. He often arranged credit for him at his money lender's there. On one occasion he wrote to his banker Curius, at Patrae, to advance Tiro whatever money he needed. In a letter written from Cilicia, he appeals to Atticus to preserve his credit in Rome. He had about 18,000 in local currency in Asia and asked Atticus for a bill of exchange for that amount in Rome. It was the usual practice for money to be lent at a moderate rate of interest, and at the same time for investors to draw interest on their deposits. Then, as now, many of the upper classes derive a large portion of their income from such sources.

After buying Crassus' house for a huge sum, Cicero was feeling very poor but could not make people believe it. He adds there was plenty of money available at six per cent. Some money lenders charged exorbitant rates of interest and were extremely unscrupulous in their methods. Horace mentions a certain Fufidius who was a rich man with plenty of money to lend, but was afraid of being thought a fool and spendthrift. Consequently he lent money at five per cent per month.

Drafts and bills of exchange were the chief method of transferring or lending money. We hear on one occasion

90. Caec 4 91. Fam. 16,4,2; 9 92. Att. 11,1
93. Att.9,12,3 94. Fam. 5,6,2 95. Sat. 1,2,14
of the great financial difficulties of Cicero's brother Quintus. Quintus wants to give Atticus a draft on Egnatius to pay an old debt and Egnatius is willing. Quintus has no money in hand and would otherwise be unable to pay Egnatius. To make matters worse his money lender, Quintus Titinius, says he has no money to get along with. At another time when Cicero was rather short of money in Thessalonica, Quintus offered to negotiate a bill of exchange for Cicero in Rome so that he might be able to use the resultant money where he was. Cicero deplores the idea of his brother having to do this for him, as he has to satisfy his own creditors by drawing on his actual capital.

In bringing to a close this section on the men of business let us briefly look at Cicero's financial arrangements. He always appears to be in a chronic state of debt. He tells Quintus on one occasion that although he is quite restrained as regards money, he is building in three places, thus admitting that he is living on a more liberal scale than before. He often borrowed money from his brother Quintus, but did his best to pay him back, with the assistance of friends. He appeared very extravagant with regard to the amount he spent on his different villas, and told Atticus that money was no object in the matter of building Tullia's shrine. Cicero himself thought that the payment of debts should be compulsory, for otherwise public credit would

96. Att.7,18  97. 2.F. 1,3.7  98. 5.F.2,4,3
99. Att. 4,3  100. Att. 12,22
be non-existent, which largely holds the state together. In
a speech against Catiline he describes several types of de­
tors. There is one class that are outwardly respectable and
wealthy but refuse to diminish their possessions to pay their
debts. The second class are overwhelmed with debt but get
supreme power, while another group are weighed down with debts
and bail bonds and judgements because of indolence, extrava­
gance, and mismanagement of their own fortunes. Those people
were found among Catiline's followers. Before we close we
find Cicero arranging for insurance. "At Laodicea I think I
shall accept sureties for all the public money, so that both
I and the people may be insured against the risks of marine
transport".

100. Att. 12,22 101. Off. 2,24,84 102. Cat.2,18
103. Fam. 12,17,4
Chapter 4

The Aristocracy

Having briefly surveyed the conditions of the masses of the people and noted the activities of the prosperous equestrian order, we come now to outline the highest rank of the Roman people, the nobility. Men of ancient lineage, tracing their families back for many centuries, they occupied a vital place in the government of the country. It was they who largely were the upholders of the greatest traditions of the people, and in spite of their haughtiness and arrogance, were for the most part devoted lovers of their country. Such families as the Metelli, the Julii, and the Claudii were responsible for many pages in Roman history. Cicero being a knight, had suffered at the hands of the patricians, for they despised him as a "novus homo". He did not feel that birth meant a great deal with regard to the worth of a man. He felt there was no less virtue in Quintus Pompeius, a "novus homo", than in an aristocrat like Marcus Aemilius. He considered that the former was quite as good as the latter, as he handed down an honourable name, that he had made himself, to posterity. Cicero managed to win his way to the consulship through much opposition, being one of the few members of his class who had attained it.

In Cicero's letters we get several glimpses of men who may be called typical aristocrats. One of his good friends...
was Lucius Lentulus. Cicero felt he owed his own high position to Lentulus' help. He also recognized that it was not so much that men were prejudiced against him by reason of his birth, as that they envied him, and that Lentulus, who was "the noblest of the noble", also aroused men's jealousy. On one occasion Cicero contrasts a Roman noble of old like Manius Curio with a modern one. He wondered what the farmer, who lived in a modest villa, would say if he came to life again, and saw the latter who had received the highest office in the state, engaged in taking his mullet out of its tank and congratulating himself on his lampreys. He suggested that such a man would consider this modern successor no better than a slave and fit for no high position in a household. Cicero takes care to address great aristocrats with suitable respect. In a letter to Lucius Aemilius Paullus, he writes, "Although I never had any doubt that the people of Rome, in consideration of your magnificent services to the republic, and the highly influential position of your family, would elect you consul with the greatest enthusiasm and unanimity of voting, I had yet a thrill of inconceivable joy when the news reached me, and I pray the gods to prosper your high office, and that you may administer it in a manner befitting your own and your ancestors' position". In a similar vein Cicero wrote to Appius Claudius, calling him a man of the noblest birth, of the highest rank, and outstanding intellectual ability, and

105. Fam. 1, 7, 8 106. Par. 5 107. Fam. 15, 12 108. Fam. 3, 10, 9
besought his friendship. We find a good example of a haughty Roman noble speaking when Quintus Metellus writes to Cicero, "And so I am mourning and wear the garb of mourning, I, who govern a province, I, who command an army, I, who am conducting a war. And seeing that your procedure in these matters has been marked neither by reasonableness nor the clemency of our ancestors, nobody need be surprised if you all live to regret it".

One common way in which Cicero shows his contempt for this class is to constantly heap derision on their fishponds which apparently were an inevitable feature of every estate. For example we find such taunts as "the well-to-do, your friends with the fishponds, I mean", "those Tritons of the fishponds". "Our great men think themselves in the seventh heaven if they have bearded mullet in their fishponds that will feed from their hands, and do not care about anything else".

109. Fam. 5,1 110. Att. 1, 19 111. Att. 2,9 112. Att. 2,1
Chapter 5

Life in Town and Villa

In commencing this section on actual daily life, let us spend a few minutes in trying to visualize the actual scenes in the streets of Rome. In our two authorities we hear so much about the life of the well-to-do in their seaside resorts and also of the small farmer, but only here and there do we get a suggestion of the city life of the poorer classes.

Cicero visualizes what six hundred colonists, taken from Rome under the law of Rullus, and established at Capua will say. He says that they will despise Rome because of its position in the hills, and the fact that it consists largely of garrets, and wretched streets, and is approached by bad roads. With that picture they will contrast Capua, a city of beautiful streets, set in a plain. So we can picture the masses of the people pouring through the narrow streets, living in mean houses. We are advised, if we want to lie in bed in the mornings, to go to some quiet country town, so as to avoid the dust of the streets, the clattering of wheels, and the noises of the shops.

Let us with Horace as our guide go for a walk through the streets, keeping our eyes open, to lose nothing of what is going on around us. We shall be first impressed by the number of peddlers and street hawkers of every kind we meet,

113. Leg. C Ag. 2,35  114. Ep. 1,17,6
such persons as fishmongers, cooks, perfumers, etc., all crying out about their alluring wares. Horace is pestered by his numerous friends scattered all over the city. One man is sick on the Quirinal Hill and wants visiting, another at the opposite end of the city wants to read his poetry. To the query why he cannot write poetry in Rome, Horace replied that it is impossible to compose as you walk through the streets, as there is so much tumult and distraction and so many obstacles in the way. You are liable to meet huge wagons or funeral processions. Just when you are in a particular hurry you meet a contractor with all his carts of equipment and mules, or you may be held up by some building operations with huge stones being hoisted into position. You are not even free from animals in walking through the streets. It is quite possible to see a mad dog rush across your path or a sow from the mud hurrying on its way. Beggars, too, flocked the street asking for alms. Sometimes they were genuine, at other times false. We are told that a man once taken in by a beggar will walk right by if he meets another one lying by the roadside, apparently with a broken leg. No amount of oaths that he is really helpless will move the man who was once imposed on to come to his rescue. Continuing on our way through the streets we shall frequently meet delicious aromas from the different cookshops. When in the country Horace says that it is recollection of such smells that makes a

115. Off. 1,42  
116. Ep. 2,2, 65

117. Ep.1,17,58  
118. Ep. 1,14,22
steward long to be back in town again. Besides permanent shops of this nature there were apparently portable ovens taken through the streets by the peddlers. The verdict given on their food is that it is somewhat coarse, but quite edible if hot and savoury. We may also meet old women or children bringing home bread from the bakehouse or water from the reservoir. Also we see taverns of another sort to lead simple country men astray, where they will be plied with wine and attended to by dissolute women. There were other shops, too, for every kind of wares. Cicero apparently owned some, for he complains how two had collapsed and the rest had cracked, causing the tenants and the mice to leave. Many shops were situated in arcades, especially the bookseller's stalls, where people came and looked at the wares. In another street we find a specialty being made of the selling of frankincense and perfumes, and similar articles. As in our day, we find barber shops a centre of gossip. Shopkeepers themselves we hear on one occasion caused a considerable commotion in Rome by bribing the managers of the public water works to allow water to be used for their own private use. If our walk continued in the evening, we might catch a glimpse of a pair of lovers at their trysting place, their presence given away by whispering and laughter, from their corner where they are hiding, and see the "pledge snatched from arm or fin-

119. Sat. 2,4,62  120. Sat. 1,4,36  121. Ep.1,14,21
125. Sat.1,7,1  126. Fam. 8,6,4
gers that only feigns resistance”.

So much for the life of the common people in Rome. They had no particular interest in high matters of state but only asked for peace to live their daily lives. All they wanted was a place of work, where they could earn their living, and a roof over their heads, and the ordinary routine of normal existence. The shopkeepers, too, needed peace particularly to ensure the continuance of their business.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the life led by the wealthier classes who spent a large part of the year in their splendid country villas in such resorts as Formiae, Puteoli and Surrentum.

Life in the villas began before day-break for anyone at all energetic. People frequently rose before sunrise, called for writing materials, and did a considerable amount of correspondence. It was Cicero’s favourite time for letter writing. He tells us in many of his letters that he is writing before daybreak. We can picture him sitting at his table with his lamp, writing sometimes more than one letter at a sitting, and even dispatching them at once by his letter carriers. On one occasion Cicero asked Atticus to have a fire for him in the morning, which Atticus said was a sign of old age. Cicero retorted that it was much more a sign of old age to forget an appointment. Very early the clients began to

127. Od. 1,9,18 128. Cat. 4,8,16 129. Ep. 2,1,112
130. Q.F.2,3,7; Att.7,14; Att.12,38 131. Att.12, 38
132. Att. 12,1,2 133. Ep. 2,1,103
arrive at the villa for their own personal business. A patron had many duties to perform for his clients, to instruct them in the law, to help them with their financial matters, to advise them in the matter of making investments and to show the younger ones how to cut down on useless expenses. Cicero in a letter to Atticus says, "I should like to keep on chatting, but day dawns, the crowd is pressing in and Philogenes is in a hurry". The first chief meal of the day was taken about noon and was known as the "prandium". One of Caesar's political manoeuvres brought about a consulship in which no one had lunch. On the last day of the year he announced the election of a consul who was to hold office till January 1, which was the next morning. So in the consulship of Caninius, nobody had lunch. Following the midday meal we sometimes hear of a siesta being taken. At one time Cicero never indulged in that habit, but after he had given up his oratorical labours he shortened his period of study after dinner, and had a sleep in the middle of the day. On one occasion a letter from Atticus arrived when he was fast asleep. It startled him so that he did not wish to sleep any more. When travelling in the summer time to one of his villas, it was his habit to arrive in the evening and spend the heat of the day resting at an inn or a friend's house. In the afternoon it was often the custom to go for a walk. It was one of Cicero's special joys to go for a walk along the seashore. Atticus asked him on

one occasion whether he preferred hills and a view or a "walk by the silver sea". He replied that both were so beautiful he could not make up his mind. He told Caelius in one letter that one little stroll with him was better than the profits of a whole province. Caesar also, while visiting at Puteoloi, went for a walk on the beach. We can picture the great general and his friends walking along the sandy shore perhaps picking up shells as Scipio and Laelius did on the beach at Caieta.

Very probably after a walk the company would retire to the baths for some time. Every large house had its own bathing establishment, while many people in town went to the public baths. Cicero in his speech for Caelius, speaks of the impossibility of people laying an ambush at the public baths. The only way they could have got inside the bath house with their clothes on would have been to have bribed the keeper. We hear that the customary price of the public baths was a farthing. A person was not advised to bathe unless he had well digested his meal - a very modern fundamental of health. After bathing, a person's body was scraped with an instrument called a "strigill", which was made of bone or metal. Sometimes a mischievous boy might trade his master's strigil for a bunch of grapes. There was one point about which the orthodox Romans were very strict. They strongly disapproved of a boy bathing with his

140. Att. 13,52  141. Or. 2, 6  142. Cael 26
143. Sat. 1,3,137  144. Ep. 1,6,61  145. Sat. 2, 7,109
father, even when he too was grown up, and even a son-in-law with his father-in-law. Such strictness was gradually relaxed owing to the freer views which were flooding the country from Greece. It was apparently a common custom to recite one's writings or speeches in the bath, as the surroundings made a man's voice more melodious. On one occasion Cicero wrote to Varro that he would let him know ahead of time when he would be arriving to stay with him, so that a bath might be prepared for him.

Following the bath, a person would probably be anointed and get ready for dinner which usually took place at three o'clock or later. We shall describe in detail in a later section the different kinds of food served at the evening meal, and also the customs observed. Dinner was a favourite time with Cicero for writing letters. We hear of him writing to Atticus during the second course. He even went so far as to write a letter at dinner when he was at someone else's house. Guests too would come in the early evening, when it was starting to grow dusk, and sometimes invitations would come, to go to a friend's house. Horace pictures the confusion that arises when such an invitation arrives just as the lamps are being lit. He is in a great state of agitation for the servants are so slow about bringing the oil for the lamps, which will light him on his way through the streets.

146. Off. 1,35 147. Sat. 1,4,74 148. Fam. 9,5,2
149. Att. 13,52 150. Att. 14,6 151. Att. 15,27
152. Sat. 2,7,32
Another important aspect of ordinary life that we can now well consider is that of people's sicknesses and general health. From Cicero's letters we derive a good bit of information about prevalent disorders. He considers the medical profession one which requires a high degree of intelligence. He strongly recommends to his friend Sulpicius his doctor Asclapo of Patrae, as having been altogether satisfactory in his attendance on his own household. It was a very great blow when his doctor Alexis died. He said he was so particularly grieved, not that he had lost a very clever doctor and that he did not know where to get such a good one, but lamented the loss of such an excellent man. He employed the very best doctor he could get Tiro in his sickness and said that he would pay him any fee that would ensure relief from his ill health.

We meet with various maladies in our period which are very like our common ones today. Gout seemed a very prevalent complaint, as well as other forms of foot trouble. Balbus and Marius both were afflicted with it. Cicero himself suffered considerably from his stomach. Certain kinds of food violently disagreed with him to such an extent that on one occasion, following a banquet of the augurs, he was ill for ten days. The only thing was, he could not convince people of his sickness, as he had no fever. He went on a fast.

156. Fam. 16,14 157. Fam. 6,19,2 158. Fam. 7, 4
159. Fam. 7, 26
for two days which gave him great relief, and the cure was completed by a few days at his Tusculan villa. Tiro also suffered from a similar complaint and was reproached by Cicero for having exhausted himself from fasting and the excessive use of purgatives. The two very common complaints of rheumatism and arthritis also afflicted the ancient world. Terentia suffered from the former, and Paetus from the latter, while Pilia had an attack of paralysis. Other common ailments were fever, quartan ague, and undiagnosed pains. Cicero urged Tiro not to make too much haste about returning to Rome so that he might avoid the discomforts of sea sickness. Hellebore was commonly used for mental maladies. One particular drug was southern wood. For certain complaints fomentations were given.

160. Fam. 16,10 161. Att. 1, 5 162. Fam. 9,23
163. Att. 16,7,8 164. Att. 12,13,1 165. Sat. 2,2,288
166. Sat. 2,3,30 167. Fam. 16,11,1 168. Ep. 2,2,134
169. Ep. 2,1,114 170. Sat. 1,1,81
Chapter 6

Country Life

In keeping with their simple surroundings we find the country folk living in a very plain manner. They are urged to eat temperately to ensure good health, as overeating depresses the mind. A person feels more vigorous after a light meal, although more elaborate food may be eaten on a festival. Appetite is essential for a meal, otherwise the rarest delicacies will lose their flavour. Horace recommends such dishes as roots with smoke-dried bacon, bread, beans, etc., while when a visitor is present he may have a pullet and a hare, followed by dried grapes, nuts, and figs. Garden produce, olives, and mallows are also suggested.

By way of illustration of the simple nature of country life, we get a glimpse of a farmer paying a visit to a friend. Normally, as observed above, only very frugal fare was served. But on such an occasion which was a very welcome one, especially if it was a wet day when he could not work, the host provided the sort of meal already described. Following it they drank their wine, played a game of forfeits, and asked Ceres' blessing on the harvest. It gave them both a deep feeling of contentment. We also hear of a farmer going into Tarentum on his bob-tailed mule weighed down by the weight of the baggage but with none of the worries that the

171. Sat. 2, 2, 1 Leg 172. Od. 1, 31, 15 173. Sat. 2, 2, 114 174. Sat. 1, 6, 100
We constantly find Horace eulogizing country life and contrasting it very favourably with that of the towns. He points out the joy of the man ploughing his own land with a team of ozen, while herds of cattle graze in the fields. He depicts the satisfaction derived from the different operations of the farm such as pruning, grafting, storing honey, shearing sheep, and gathering fruit in the autumn. In the winter time he hunts the wild boar and catches field-fares, hares, and cranes. The crowning joy of a farmer's life is his chaste wife". She beautifies and tends the house, brings up the children, banks up the hearth, shuts up the cattle, milks the cows, and waits for her husband's return.

Cicero also finds many delights in country life. He is particularly thrilled with the sowing of seeds and the growth of plants as well as their tending and cultivation. He delights also in the orchards and flowers and bees. He derives a feeling of comfort and satisfaction from a full wine cellar and overflowing pantry, as well as the beautiful exterior appearance of the farm. And finally, what gives so many men such supreme delight in the country is to feel that they are "kings" over all they see, when surrounded by "streams, and lichen-touched rocks, and woodlands of the country".

175. Epod. 2 176. Sen. 15 177. Od. 2, 3, 17
Chapter 7

Town Houses and Country Villas

In commencing this chapter on town houses and country villas, it must be remarked that we are chiefly concerned with the homes of the well-to-do. Most rich men had a town house in Rome, and at the fashionable season emigrated to a country villa such as at Formiae, Tusculum, Baiae, etc.

We find that one of the most fashionable sections in Rome for building was the Carinae, which was a district on the Mons Oppius, the southern spur of the Esquiline Hill. Pompey had a house there and suffered considerable ill-treatment at the hands of Clodius, when the latter was tribune.

His biggest insult to Pompey was his threat to build a second mansion in the Carinae. Cicero's brother Quintus also lived in this district, for we learn of the house being leased by the Lamiae.

A man like Horace's lawyer Philippus, who worked all day in the Forum, found it a long walk to the Carinae at the end of a long day. The Via Sacra commenced in the Carinae and ran through the Forum.

The Palatine Hill was another celebrated place for wealthy people to live. Cicero lived there next door to his

178. Harus. 23 179. ibid 180. Q.F. 2,3,7
181. Ep. 1,7,48
brother Quintus. It was one of his favourite dwellings, his chief source of pleasure there being his palaestra, in the summer time. His only objection was he thought the wall between the two houses was unsafe. His anxiety was increased when Pomponia and her child were staying next door. This house was plundered by the consula, Piso and Gabinius, at the instigation of Clodius after Cicero's flight. They divided between themselves the house and Cicero's villa at Tusculum and most of the furnishings. One of the consuls carried off marble columns from it to his father-in-law's house, while the other one, who lived next door to Cicero at Tusculum, had the contents of his villa, even taking the stock and furniture, and transplanting the trees. We have the dream house on the Palatine of at least one person revealed to us, "a portico with private chambers, paved to the distance of three hundred feet, with a fine court surrounded by a colonnade, commanding a superb view, and everything else in character, so far as to surpass all other houses in luxury and splendour." We can imagine this picture in concrete form in many mansions of the wealthy in such fashionable districts.

Another notable residential section was part of the Via Sacra. Cicero gives us a picture of a great general arriving back from Macedonia with his attendants. He arrives at the Coelimontane gate where his freedman had a short time before got a house which was suited to so eminent a personage. If the house were not obtainable he would camp in the Campus
Another prominent residential district was on the Esquiline Hill. According to Horace, in former days the bodies of slaves were disposed of there, the ground being strewn with white bones. "It was the common graveyard of the dregs of the people". Later people built houses there and walked along the rampart in the sun, where formerly all you saw was a vista of blanching bones.

Marcus Caelius, whom Cicero so eloquently defended against the attacks of Clodia and her brother, was accused of extravagance and living apart from his father. He, with his father's consent, left his home which was far too far from the Forum and rented Publius Clodius' house on the Palatine for thirty thousand sesterces, in order to be nearer the Forum and to be closer to Cicero and his other friends.

Many of these large houses had a second storey. Cicero had sent his slave Alexis back to Rome sick, and told Atticus that if there was any epidemic on the Palatine, to send him to his house there, as no one was living on the top floor.

Certain rich men had money invested in blocks of houses which were called "insulae". We hear of Cicero sending his son money made from that source. Properties were also often subdivided into lots. Damasippus who had a large estate
on the banks of the Tiber had it divided up into lots of several acres and each at certain fixed prices.

On one house we hear of the operations going on in connection with the roof. Quintus' house on the Palatine had just been finished. Part of it had been gabled and there was a "noble slope" down to the roof of the colonnade below. Water was made available to the Roman populace by means of leaden pipes. Horace asks whether it is purer than that which flows along the bottom of a stream in the country. The water was brought to this piping system by large aqueducts, the management of which, and all questions related to the water systems, were in the hands of a company.

Turning now to country villas, we find that nearly every Roman gentleman had a mansion at one of the numerous fashionable resorts near the city. Perhaps the most celebrated of these centres was Baiae which attracted many wealthy people from Rome, especially of what we should now call the "fast society". In later times it was notorious for its licentiousness. In the eyes of the rich man it was without exception the most beautiful bay in the world. There as elsewhere huge villas were erected on the cliffs and often extended right out into the sea. Baiae was famous as being a place where men took the waters for their health. People were complaining that the myrtle groves were deserted and the sulphurous waters which were supposed to expel lingering disor-

ders from the nerves were despised. Many people had formerly come there to take these sulphur vapour baths, and inns for their convenience were found along the way. Cicero was quite indignant when Clodius accused him falsely of having a villa at Baiae, as though he were in hiding there, and said that he thought it "cheek" for an upstart to so presume to take the waters there. Cicero retorted that he should not speak like that to his patron Gaius Scribonius Curio, the elder, who bought the villa of Marius there, also from Arpinum. Strict moralists frequently inveighed against people who went to Baiae in April and took the warm sea water baths.

Another noted resort, where many villas were built, was Surrentum. The objection to it was that you had to travel over bad roads to get there, and were liable to have luggage stolen on the way. It was situated on the southern extremity of the Bay of Naples.

Velia and Salernum, we find, were popular winter resorts. Horace spent the autumn at his Sabine farm and the winter there, once at least. Many people to escape from Rome spent the season at Tarentum near where the Galesus flowed into the sea. It was famous for its sheep, and had the great attraction of a long spring and mild winters. Horace summed it up saying that "that corner of the world smiles for me beyond all others". He also referred to its "verdant beauty". Two other escapes from summer heat were

Praeneste and Tibur. The latter Horace prayed might be his abode in his old age when he was free from all his worries of ordinary life.

The country villa of which we probably know most is that of Cicero at Tusculum. Through all the turmoils of his political life, he loved it above all others, as somewhere where he could get that rest and peace his soul was yearning for. He told Atticus on one occasion that he was so fond of it that he was never really happy elsewhere. At another time he said that there was no place like home (i.e. Tusculum) where his feet were carrying him. He instructed Atticus to buy whatever furnishings he thought suitable for the villa, it being the only place where he found a real rest after a long day's work. Tusculum to him, as others, seemed symbolic of perpetual peace and rest. We find him envying Varro his life at Tusculum, which served as a model of life for everyone. He said he would gladly exchange all he had in the world to live a life of that sort. It was a place where he would frequently entertain his friends. His last letter to Terentia warned her to make the villa ready as he was shortly going to arrive with a party of friends who would probably stay for a considerable time. The Tusculan villa was the scene of many of Cicero's philosophic discussions and meetings with his friends. He used to walk there in the Lycaeum.

203. Od. 3,4,22 204. Od.3,29,6 205. Od. 2,6,5
206. Att.1,6,2 207. Att.15,16 a 208. Att. 1,5,7
209. Fam.9,6 210. Fam.14,20 211. Tusc. 3,3,6
while conversing with his companions. Lucullus frequently visited him for such purposes and Cicero often returned the compliment and went to Lucullus' Tusculan estate. The results of these philosophical discussions at Tusculum have been preserved in a number of his works, which summed them up.

Cicero was not at all pleased with the decoration of his Tusculan villa and complained of the poor "objets d'art" to be found there. So he commissioned Atticus to get some new ornaments. We hear of statues being sent, and that Atticus was to get whatever he thought suitable for the palaestra and gymnasium. He ordered "bas-reliefs for insertion in the stucco walls of the hall, and two well-covers in carved relief".

Cicero was also very keen on building up a large library. He implored Atticus not to sell his or give it away, as he hoped to buy it when he had saved enough money, so that he could enjoy it in his old age. In the "Topica" we get a glimpse of Cicero and Trebatius sitting separately in the library, each one getting out and dipping into the books he needed for his own special task. As additional facilities for reading, Cicero built some sitting rooms in a little colonnade outside the house. He hoped to decorate them with pictures. We also hear of the bath at the Tusculan villa, which Terentia was instructed to prepare for her husband and his friends. She had to see there was a "labrum" or basin in the bath.

"labrum" was a large round basin about three feet off the ground in which a person had to wash himself before immersing himself in the piscina. Water was provided for the villa from an aqueduct which went fairly close, known as the Crabra, for the use of which Cicero had to pay a tax. There was a considerable flower and vegetable garden around the villa with which Cicero had some difficulty. He asked Tiro to urge Paredius, a market gardener, to rent the gardens and so spur on the present gardener who was paying a very small rent, although Cicero had made a number of improvements. He had made a special place for growing choice flowers which would get as much sun as possible, and had also installed drains, a wall for training fruit trees, and a shed for the garden. He finally asked Tiro to close with whichever of them would supply him with flowers. In addition a sundial stood in the gardens.

In spite of all its numerous attractions Tusculum had some drawbacks in Cicero's eyes. He felt it was somewhat out of the way for chance meetings with people with whom he needed to keep in touch. Following Tullia's death, for months the villa was a source of great sadness to him as it all reminded him so much of her. He even felt he ought to abandon it for ever. On one occasion years before he did put the villa, which had been valued at £22,000 by the consuls, up for sale, as he felt he did not need a country house.

220. Fam. 16,18,2 221. ibid 222. Att. 7,5.3
223. Att. 4,2,5,7
Another of Cicero’s mansions was situated at Formiae. He complained on several occasions that he was being flooded with visitors there. His neighbour, Arrius, would spend most of the day there if he could, hoping to discuss philosophical questions. Most of the visitors came from town, but Cicero admitted his preference for the country people of Arpinum. Visitors all day long made him feel that he had not escaped from Rome at all but had brought Rome with him. He longed for "My native hills, the cradle of my youth", namely Arpinum.

A villa which he much preferred to the noisy one at Formiae was at Antium and looked right out over the sea. He told Atticus of its attractions when trying to find him a villa too. He described it as being prettier and more peaceful than anywhere else. As usual one of his chief interests there was a large library in which he had a number of books which his library slaves had neatly arranged. It seemed to give the house a soul.

Another of Cicero’s country seats was situated at Astura. What appealed to him there was the practically unbroken solitude, uninterrupted except by an occasional visit from Philippus, who bored him intensely with his endless talk. The villa looked out over the sea with the beach down below. Behind rose low hills. The location was a perfect one for a man burdened with the anxieties of state responsi-
abilities.

From Cicero's letters we get glimpses of the villas of other well known Roman gentry. Trebatius owned a villa at Velia and was building another one there. Cicero was staying in the former while its owner was away in Rome. He wrote to Trebatius that he would much rather live in town than there, but urged him to keep on with it. At the mansion which he had acquired there he had a huge lotus tree which was a great source of interest to strangers. Cicero suggested to him that the view would be greatly improved if it were cut down.

At Tusculum, as has been mentioned before, Lucius Lucullus had a very magnificent villa. When he was reproached for it he said that both his neighbours, one a Roman knight and the other a freedman, had magnificent villas. He asked them if he could be called extravagant, being a consul, for having a mansion of similar size.

These villas were full of statues and pictures of religious subjects. Cicero's great enemy, Gabinius, appears to have poured all the money he could extract from people whom he oppressed, into the building of a villa, besides which any existing one would appear a mere hut.

In a letter to Quintus, Cicero described a visit he made to his villa at Arcae and also his Manillian estate. The water supply at the first was brought by a canal, and was

229. Fam. 7,20  
230. Leg. 3,13  
231. ibid  
232. Sest. 43  
233. Q.F. 3,1
very plentiful. An architect, called Diphilus, who was making improvements on the latter, was very indolent, although he only had left the baths, promenades, and aviary to do. What impressed Cicero most about this villa was the paved colonnade, the columns of which had been polished. He had certain arched roofs altered. Quintus had arranged for an antechamber to be built in the colonnade but his brother did not think it necessary except in a house which had a large court. He also had the stove in the bathroom moved to the other corner of the dressing room, being directly under the bedrooms. He had fault to find with some of the columns which Diphilus was erecting, as they were neither perpendicular nor parallel.

He also described his visit to Quintus' two villas at Arpinum. One of them, which was called his Fufidian estate, was very shady in summer with an abundant water supply. It was thought there would be no difficulty in irrigating fifty "jugera" of meadow land. Cicero considered it a delightful spot, provided that it had a fish pond with fountain and a palaestra, and a vineyard. The other estate at Arpinum was the Laterian one. It was approached by an excellent road which was more like a highway than a private road. Quintus was planning a number of alterations, but yet, his brother added, "That villa, just as it stands, strikes one as having such a philosophic air as to reprove the craziness of all the other villas". The landscape garden was particularly commend-
ed for growing ivy all over the main wall of the villa and between the pillars of the promenade. The dressing room he considered "the coolest and mossiest retreat in the world".

Cicero himself always had a very warm spot in his heart for his birth place of Arpinum and his old home there. On one occasion he says that the pleasures of Arpinum almost makes him despise the magnificent mansions of the nobles. He adds that he loves Arpinum particularly because it is his native place, and contains the family altar, and many other reminders of his family. The villa was built by his father and used to be very small.

Let us briefly consider some general points in connection with the interior and exterior of these villas. Horace ridicules their vast size, saying that if they got much more numerous there would be little land left for the plough. The fish ponds in their grounds would get bigger than the Lucrine lake. Their porticoes were measured in tens of feet while a colonnade faced north thus giving shade and a cool breeze in the summer. In the days of Cato only public buildings and temples were sumptuous. The palaces with their fish ponds and ornamental gardens were driving out the cultivation of corn, olives and vines. A custom is frequently referred to of these mansions being built right out into the sea "causing the sea to be contracted". Horace asks if the nobles whose wealth is greater than the treasure of Arabia

235. Leg. 2 236. Od. 2,15 237. Od. 3,1,35 238. Od. 3,24,1
and India, are thus trying to possess the whole Tyrrhenian
and Apulian seas. Many of these country villas were famed
for their richness and their luxury, "marble palaces adorned
with ivory, and shining with gold, in statues, in pictures,
in embossed gold and silver plate in the workmanship of Cor-
inthian brass". The floors might be covered with rich crim-
son carpets, while guests reclined on white ivory couches.
The floors were often made of tesselated pavements of Numidian
marble while the roofs were richly panelled and sometimes
gilded. In the colonnade the pillars were sometimes of dif-
ferent coloured marbles while in between green trees grew.
The marble which was used for the architrave, which rested
on columns of "giallo antico" from Numidia, frequently came
from Mt. Hymettus in Attica. Scattered through the rooms in
great profusion were ancient marble or bronze statues, and
little bronze images of the gods, of Tuscan workmanship. Over
the dining room table a rich tapestry was hung. In the mid-
dle of the atrium was the "focus", nearby being the images
of the Lares which glowed brightly in the flames. Cicero had
a little argument with Atticus about his windows. The latter
thought they were much too narrow and did not give as beauti-
ful a view as if they were wider. Amongst the interior fur-
nishings which are recorded for us was a torch stand which
Cicero used for writing in the early morning before dawn.

239. Ep.1,15,46  240. Par.1,4.  241. Sat.2,6,103.  242. ibid
Just outside the villa was a colonnade or a walk planted with trees for conversation, recreation, philosophic discussion, etc. Sometimes it was roofed and sometimes open to the sky.

Around these country villas and many of the city ones were often beautiful gardens. Across the Tiber were the gardens which Caesar bequeathed to the people. Cicero thought of buying some near them for the erection of Tullia's shrine. He wanted that place, as he knew of no other where so many people would come. He was never able to decide on the exact place, which perhaps accounts for the fact that it was never actually built. Sometimes the wealthy entertained in their gardens. Cicero, for example, gave a dinner in the gardens of his son-in-law Crassipes, Clodia also had gardens on the Tiber near where all the young men of the city came to bathe, so that she could easily pick out any one who appealed to her. In the gardens of many a noble mansion was a large fishpond, which was the object of great ridicule by men like Cicero. He frequently speaks of your "friends of the fishponds", referring to the nobles as "those Tritons of the fishponds".

We have little mention of flowers in our authorities, but we do know that roses were a very much cultivated plant. Verres did not tell that spring had arrived by a certain wind or by some star, but by the arrival of the first roses in his garden. This was the signal for him to get to work.

254. Brut. 3  255. Phil. 2,42  256. Att. 12,19  257. Fam. 1,9,20
Cicero looks upon a house as a most sacred institution containing a person's altars, hearths, household gods, and as being the scene of many religious ceremonies. "This is the asylum of everyone, so holy a spot that it is impious to drag any one from it". He also gives sound advice with regard to people building houses in proportion to their position. The house of a person in high office must be adapted for utility but also should have some magnificence, in proportion to the owner's rank. But dignity should not be sought from a palace alone, but should be ennobled by the inmates and not by the house. A person who is going to entertain large numbers of guests and receive countless visitors must see that his house is spacious. Cicero concludes by urging people not to go to excessive luxury and costliness as it would be a bad example for the common people.

We get some idea of how much some of these residences cost by noting the evaluation of some of Cicero's houses. His town house was placed at £18,000, his Tusculan villa £4,400, and his Formian at £2,200.  

262. Dom. 109  
263. Att. 2.4,5
We now come to a very important section in the life of the times, namely the position of women. We shall have the opportunity of forming a conception of their general position in society and also of examining in detail certain remarkable ones, whose story fills so many pages of our two authors.

Women held a remarkable position in Roman society, and wielded a wide influence. Very different was the attitude of the Greeks who banished them from everything except the home. Our first task will be to observe their high influential position. Cicero had strong support from Gaius Marcellus' mother, Junia. He considered her a woman of great gifts, combining high principle and calm dignity.

Servilia, the mother of Brutus, often crosses our path. She wielded a great influence with Caesar. When Brutus and Cassius asked Cicero for advice about taking the control of the corn supply in Asia, she promised to have the appointment to the position withdrawn from the senatorial decree.

Another very powerful lady we hear of is Fulvia, who finally became Antony's wife. Her father, who was called Bambalio and came from Tusculum was of a very low family, and derived his surname from the Greek word "bambalein" - to

264. Fam.15,7 265.Fam.12,7 266. Att.15,11 267.Phil.3, 6
lisp. Cicero's opinion of her was so low that he said the fate of Publius Clodius was going to come upon Antony as it came upon Gaius Curio. His evil star, Fulvia, was now in his house, who had been the wife of Clodius and Curio before her marriage with him. After her marriage to Antony she assumed a position of supreme importance. If all the money in Antony's house was given to the Roman people, every one would be amply provided for. She was "holding an auction of kingdoms, and provinces; exiles were restored without law, as if by law".

We now come to the study of a very interesting woman called Caerellia, who was one of Cicero's friends and correspondents. Unfortunately their correspondence has not survived. If it had we should no doubt have found it of immense interest. However we hear incidentally enough about her to form quite a good picture of what she was like. Cicero was on very intimate terms with her, for he actually speaks of her as "my intimate friend" and asks Publius Servilius to look after her estates and investments in Asia. He told him that any service he did to Caerellia would be a very great favour to him. As she was a woman of considerable means, Cicero found her a very useful person from whom to borrow money. Atticus thought it was a very undignified procedure. In later ages there was a suspicion which was quite disproved, that Cicero had an affair with her, although she was about seventy at this time. Cicero finally managed to pay his debts.

268.Phil.2,5 269. Phil.5,4 270.Fam.13,72 271.Att.12,51
to her. He had some property sold and instructed Atticus to see that it was sold to the highest bidder and that an eighth share be sent to her. Caerellia also indulged in literary pursuits, which was somewhat unusual in our period for a woman. Atticus at the time was looking after Cicero's writings. He managed to get hold of the book "De Finibus" and copy it all out. Cicero, although commending her love for philosophy, seemed a little annoyed and said that she must have got it from Atticus' copyists, as he had not let his own out of his sight. The family of Cicero's divorced wife, Publilia, got Caerellia to try and bring about a remarriage between the two. Her efforts failed. Cicero said the idea would be most repugnant to him and felt that Caerellia herself thought the same.

We now come to a description of two women who played a considerable part in Cicero's life, his wife, Terentia, and his beloved daughter Tullia. A study of them will give us a good idea of typical well-to-do Roman women of the time. We first hear of Tullia in 67 B.C. when she was probably a child of not more than eight or nine, urging Cicero to persuade Atticus to give her the gift he had promised her. It was very probably a betrothal present. The same year her father announced her engagement to Gaius Piso. We hear no more of her till 58 B.C., while Cicero was in exile. In the

272. Att. 15,26 273. Att. 13,22,3 274. Att.13,21,5 275: Att.15,1a;14,19,4 276.Att.1,8;1,10 277. Att.1, 3
Intervening years she must have married Piso and been divorced. Cicero was deeply grieved at the thought the effect of his exile had on her, and implored Terentia to see that everything was done to ensure her matrimonial settlement and reputation. This certainly proves that things had turned out a failure.

At this time Cicero sent very touching messages to Terentia and Tullia, blaming himself as the cause of all their unhappiness. Two years later Cicero told Quintus of her betrothal to Crassipes on April 14, and said that two days later, as he was about to leave Rome he gave a betrothal party in honour of her fiance. Quintus' son was unable to attend the celebration as he was sick at the time. Letters of congratulation reached Cicero from many of his friends when they heard the news, including Lentulus.

The marriage did not appear to last long, as by 51 B.C. many suitors for Tullia's hand were appearing, and Cicero was at a loss to know which to favour. The way he discusses the matter sounds rather repulsive to modern ears. All his friends were backing their particular candidates. From the first Cicero rather leaned towards Dolabella but was afraid that Tullia would not like him and so agreed that Atticus' candidate was just as acceptable. Servillia was pushing Servius Sulpicius, whom Cicero seemed prepared to accept. The following year, 50 B.C., the whole matter was still continuing with no final result achieved. By then Cicero and Atticus

278. Fam.14,4,3  
279. Fam. 14,1  
280. Q.F. 2,4,2  
281. Q.F. 2,5  
282. Fam.1,7,11  
283. Att.5,4
were both agreed on accepting Servilia’s candidate, Servius Sulpicius, as they considered that Pontidia, who was backing Dolabella, was not taking the question seriously enough. By the end of the month Cicero had practically made up his mind and had written to Tullia and Terentia to that effect. The marriage with Dolabella apparently took place without Cicero’s knowledge, for he wrote to Atticus the following year of the terrible predicament he was in. In his province he showed Appius Claudius every honour but suddenly found himself the father-in-law of Dolabella who was prosecuting Appius for "majestas". He adds that he had sent messengers to Terentia and Tullia recommending them to accept the candidacy of Tiberius Nero. They arrived in Rome only to find that the betrothal had been announced. He was willing to accept it as a "fait accompli" and added what a favourable impression Dolabella had made on Terentia and Tullia. Everybody seemed ready to accept Dolabella. Caelius wrote to Cicero in a very encouraging way about him, first sending his congratulations, and then adding how he had overcome so many of his bad characteristics as he got older, and those he still had would be soon dispelled through his association with Cicero and Tullia’s modesty. Cicero managed to make a satisfactory excuse to Appius Claudius who was being prosecuted by Dolabella. He said that the whole thing had been carried out without his knowledge and prayed that it would turn out happily for Tullia. His chief comfort was not that the time for the marriage was

284. Att. 5, 21 285. Att. 6, 6 286. Fam. 8, 13, 1 287. Fam. 5, 12, 2
opportune but that Appius had been so kind and sympathetic. He admitted that he should have ratified the engagement but had not arranged the date of the marriage without consulting him.

The following year, 49 B.C., found Cicero very much worried as to whether Tullia should stay on in Rome or whether she should leave the town. As usual he had to ask Atticus his advise on what course to suggest, whether they should stay or go to him, or take refuge somewhere else. He however wrote and told her that she and Terentia could stay in Rome because Dolabella would look after them if things got very serious. But he pointed out to them that most of the loyalist party had taken their women-folk out of town and suggested that they should withdraw to his estate at Formiae, asking them to get Philotimus to have their town house barricaded and guarded. On February 3, 49 B.C., they duly followed his advice and arrived at Formiae.

About this time things were already going badly with Tullia's marriage to Dolabella. Cicero was extremely grateful to Atticus for all the kindness he had shown her, adding, "She has shown admirable qualities, has borne the national calamity and private worries with great fortitude and had displayed it over my departure". In the May of that year we hear of the birth of Tullia's child which arrived safely, but to which Cicero referred contemptuously as "the thing that has been

288. Att. 7,12 289. Fam. 14,18 290. Att. 7,18
291. Att. 10,8 292. Att. 10,18
He deplored its poor physique. By the following spring Tullia's relations with Dolabella seemed to be approaching a climax.

Another problem was getting serious, namely that of the payment of the second instalment of Tullia's marriage portion to Dolabella. As usual Atticus was asked to see to it. The date fixed was July 1. The alternatives were either to start divorce proceedings or to pay Dolabella the portion. If he arranged to continue with the divorce, Dolabella would probably keep the whole dowry. Worse than that, the political situation was still in the balance. By breaking with Dolabella there was the risk of breaking with Caesar, for Dolabella was a strong supporter of his. Apparently Cicero decided on payment as the safer course.

Atticus did his part nobly and was of very great help to Tullia in her trouble, managing her financial affairs and consoling her. Cicero urged him not to leave Rome, so that she would still be able to benefit from his presence. The whole wretched business dragged on another year, for in April, 47 B.C., Cicero was beginning to break with Dolabella, informing Atticus that he was ashamed to look any one in the face with such a son-in-law. Next month she paid Cicero a visit and told him of all Atticus had done for her. Her father still exalted her to the skies calling her "my matchless daughter" and deplores the wretched situation in which she had found herself. In writing to Terentia about the same
time he blamed himself most bitterly as being through his
carelessness responsible for all Tullia's misery. In July
298
Cicero felt that the political situation would soon be reach­
ing a climax and things would be easier for him in the ques­
tion of the divorce. He reproaches himself now for having
paid the second instalment of the marriage portion. But
shortly afterwards Dolabella himself took the initiative and
started divorce proceedings against Tullia. Cicero's pati­
ence with his son-in-law is just about at an end, and he feels
that they should give notice of divorce to Dolabella. Then
there was the same problem of the dowry of which the third
instalment was due. If Dolabella started divorce proceedings
he could not claim the next instalment and would have to re­
fund what had been previously paid, while if Tullia started,
he would still keep part of it, unless she could prove mis­
conduct on his part.

Soon after the divorce Tullia died. Cicero was more
crushed by this blow than by all the other disasters that had
overtaken him. In spite of all her weaknesses and the anx­
iety she caused him, he was intensely devoted to her unto
the end. As we can easily imagine, letters of sympathy poured
in from all his friends. Strangely enough the divorce had
caused no breach of friendship between his family and that of
300
Dolabella. He told Dolabella that he wished his failure to
write a letter to him had been due to his own death rather
than that of Tullia, and thanked him for his kind words of

298. Att.11,25  299. Att.11,23  300. Fam. 9,11
sympathy and affection. A strange letter to a man who had made a daughter's life miserable. But the greatest of all the letters of condolence and one of the most beautiful letters preserved, is that written by Servius Sulpicius. In exquisite language Servius did his best to comfort his friend. From that time onwards for several months Cicero planned for a memorial shrine to be built in her honour and we hear of all the different arrangements.

Such is the picture of Tullia we derive from Cicero's letters. Perhaps the most noteworthy thing about the sad tale is the beauty and sincerity of Cicero's affection for her, which never failed her through all her misfortunes.

We come now to a study of another interesting woman who played a large part in Cicero's life, namely his wife Terentia. As we shall see, hers is not a very attractive character.

Judging by the letters which passed between the two while Cicero was in exile in the year 58, one would imagine that there never could have been a more devoted pair. He writes that his one desire is to see her as soon as possible and die in her arms, as she is the only person who had ever shown him any gratitude or affection. She is a faithful worshipper of the gods, as well as a dutiful wife. He urges her to come to him if it is possible in spite of her wretched health. While at Dyrrachium the same year he was greatly upset by the way she was being treated in Rome and the indigent.

301. Fam. 9,5 302. Att.12,18 et Seg. 303. Fam.14,4
nities she had to undergo. In Rome there was a custom that a person who was going to make a solemn statement with regard to another person's financial affairs had to go to a banker's and make the statement in front of witnesses. It appears that Clodius compelled Terentia to go to Valerius' bank and give evidence about her husband's finances and property.

Terentia seemed to have a fair amount of property of her own, including a large tract of forest. Cicero said that if it only contained one Dodonian oak, he would feel he owned the whole of Epirus. Apparently she was being beset by financial troubles in Cicero's absence and was probably being attacked by his creditors. He was very distressed to hear that she was going to sell part of her house property, an action which would have repercussions on Tullia, as it was probably part of her dowry. From frequent allusions to the subject we also gather that Terentia was a victim of ill-health. Cicero was always very solicitous about her and urging her to spare herself.

For some time his affection for her appeared to be steadily cooling, as his letters were gradually getting shorter and shorter. She seemed to get into frequent difficulties with the family finances which was a sore trial to Cicero. She somehow or other held back quite a large sum from the first instalment of Tullia's dowry to Dolabella. In June 47 B.C. we find Cicero urging Atticus, with the assistance of

304. Fam. 14,2  305. Att.2,4  306. Fam. 14,1
307. Fam.14,3  308. Att.11,2
Camillus, to persuade Terentia to make her will. He wanted her to make provision for the payment of her debts. Hearing from Philotimus that she was doing some underhand actions in connection with money matters, he asked Atticus to advise him about her. Later in the month we find a concrete example of her misdoings. Atticus had written to her to send Cicero by "bill of exchange" £100, that being the balance due to him. She sent Cicero only eighty guineas, claiming that that was the balance. He added, in discussing the question with Atticus, "If she purloins so trifling an amount from so small a total, you can see what she had been doing in the case of large sums".

Cicero's last letter to her was dated October 1, 47 B.C. Through its peremptoriness it was an insult to a self-respecting wife, but no doubt was caused by considerable provocation as we have seen above. "I think I shall arrive at my Tusculan villa on the 7th inst. or on the day after. See that everything is ready there; for perhaps I shall have several others with me, and I expect that we shall stay there for some considerable time. If there is no basin in the bath, see that there is one, and so with everything else necessary for every day life and health. Good-bye. The district of Venusia. Oct. 1". An admirable comment on this document has made by Long (quoted by Tyrrell), "A gentleman would write a more civil letter to his housekeeper". From other sources we

learn that a divorce took place soon afterwards.

However this is not the last we hear of Terentia in Cicero's letters. In almost indecent haste he married his young and wealthy ward Publilia, entirely for her money. In a letter to Plancius he tried to justify this new marriage by blaming his entire family for all the misfortunes which had come upon him. He was quarrelling at the time also with his son and brother. He said he would have made no change in his domestic life if he had not found on his return that his own family were behaving so wickedly towards him. "I could find no safety within the walls of my own house, no corner of it without an ambush". So, as he assured Plancius, the only thing left to do was to divorce his wife and protect himself against her treachery and that of his family, by embarking on a new marriage. A remarkable self-righteous document. After the divorce there was the problem of refunding Terentia's dowry. She was very anxious lest Cicero should have made no provision in his will for Tullia's child. He asked Atticus to look after the whole question of the dowry. Terentia had promised to give an allowance to young Marcus Cicero if the portion was refunded, but Cicero did not feel she was sincere in the matter and doubted whether she would keep her promise.

This brings us to the end of the section on the mother and daughter, Terentia and Tullia. Through Cicero's correspondence we get a clearer portrait of them than of practically any other women of the age. For in the letters we read the

313. Fam. 4,14,3
314. Att. 12,18 a,2
315. Att. 12,19
actual thoughts and feelings of each. They do not attract one very much, but are undoubtedly typical of numbers of women of their times.

Before ending our discussion of women and their position let us briefly consider certain general ideas we find on the subject, and also glance at the slight indications given us of the country women. In his treatise "De Officiis" Cicero lays it down that the first principle of society consists in the marriage bond, the second in children, and the third in a family living under one roof. He holds up a high ideal of marriage which does not seem to be easily reconciled with his own actions with regard to its permanency. As we shall see later, divorce was extremely easy.

We get a quaint picture of Cicero's mother who used to seal up the wine jars even when empty so no one could say they were empty because of a thief.

Age did not seem to be any bar to marriage, for we hear of Talna who wanted to marry Cornificia, who was quite an old woman and had already been married several times. The match did not come off as she and her mother did not consider his property of seven thousand guineas large enough to suit them. Horace paints a very clever picture of a woman rapidly aging who is doing all she can to retain her youth and beauty. He said the god of love would have nothing to do with her no matter how much she prayed to him, for her teeth were blackened, her hair whitened, and her cheeks wrinkled. No precious
jewels or costly raiment would bring back the past. "Whither has fled the charm? What have you left of her, of her whom I remember, in whose breath was love?" He also tells us of the duty of a wife to be the mother of many children and gives us a picture of the country women calling to their sons who have been working all day tilling the soil.

320. Ep.1,2,44  321. Od.3,6,39
Chapter 9

The Fast Set and Morality

Frequently in our reading in Cicero we come across a type of society very alien to the author. It consists of certain licentious and wanton men and women who play a large part in his downfall and are his inveterate enemies. Horace fills in what Cicero omits, and gives us a good picture of the luxury of dress of such people. Together we have a composite portrait of the class who, for want of a better name, might be called the "fast set". In this connection we shall have opportunity to discover the actual views of our two authors themselves on moral matters.

As might be expected we find a good many suggestions of gossip. When Cicero was in Cilicia his friend Caelius kept him well informed on all the latest scandals in Rome.

For example "Cornificius the younger has promised to marry Crestilla's daughter, Paulla Valeria, the sister of Triarius, has divorced her husband without assigning any reason, on the very day he was to arrive from his province, and is going to marry Decimus Brutus. She has sent back her wardrobe. Servius Ocella has been caught twice in the act within three days etc." Cicero unearthed a considerable scandal about a friend of Pompey's called Publius Vedius. He apparently met him on the road with two chariots, carriages and horses, and a large

322. Fam. 8,7
323. Att. 6,1,25
retinue. Inside the chariot was a baboon while some wild
asses followed. At Laodicea Vedius left his things at
Vindullus' house while he came to meet Cicero. Vennonius
meanwhile found Vedius' baggage discovering inside "five
little busts of Roman married ladies", one of which was of
Brutus' sister and another of Lepidus' wife. "I want to tell
you this tale"en passant" for we are both nice gossips".

The frequency of divorce seems appalling even to an age like the present where it is rapidly increasing. In
the Rome of our period divorce seemed to be extremely easy
and equally common. It amazes us when we read of Cicero so
cold bloodedly divorcing his wife Terentia after a long period
of apparently happy married life, then marrying his young
ward Publilia, and then divorcing her. His matrimonial ar-
rangements were certainly surpassed by those of his daughter
who was thrice married and thrice (presumably) divorced.
People often did not seem to think any less of a person after
a divorce. We find Cicero writing to his ex-son-in-law
Dolabella after the divorce from Tullia in very friendly tones.
A good example of the mockery that marriage had become is that
related in the last paragraph, where Paulla Valeria divorced
her husband on the day of his return from his province. Even
Hollywood would find it hard to rival ancient Rome in this
regard.

Immorality and wantonness appear very prevalent
among the youth of the city. Cicero considers his client
Caelius as typifying the licentious young men of the city and
Cael. 12
feels that he is suffering for the vices of others. He feels there is widespread public opinion which strongly dislikes such a mode of life consisting of debts, wantonness, and licentiousness, and vice in general. He hopes that such widespread evil will not prejudice his client.

We now come to a celebrated pair, Publius Clodius and his sister Clodia, scions of one of the noblest families of Rome, notorious in the history of the times for their licentious living. Clodius created a tremendous scandal by impersonating a woman and intruding into some ceremonies in honour of the Bona Dea which were open to women only. All Rome was aghast at the sacrilege. Cicero finds matter in this escapade for biting satire against Clodius, who was one of his bitterest enemies. For example, "But you are a most witty man; you are really elegant; you are the only well bred man, who look well in woman's clothes and with the gait of a singing woman, who know how to make your countenance look like that of a woman; to soften down your voice, and to make your body smooth. 0 extraordinary prodigy. 0 you monster. Are you not ashamed at the sight of this temple, and of this city, nor your life nor of the light of day?... Did you when your feet were being bound with bandages, when an Egyptian turban and veil were being fitted on your head, when you were with difficulty trying to get down the sleeved tunic over your arms, when you were being carefully girded with a sash—did you never in all that time recollect that you were the grand-

325. Att. 1, 12, 3 326. Eras in Clod. 5
son of Appius Glaudius?...But when a looking glass was brought to you, you perceived that you were a good way removed from a pretty woman". His general immorality was appalling. Wherever he went he took a number of prostitutes and dissolute men-companions. His incestuous relationship with Clodia seems to have been common knowledge in Rome. Cicero stigmatizes him on one occasion as "that fiendish violator of women's religious observances", and adds that he had as little respect for the Bona Dea as for his sister, and at another time lampoons him as "filling up his sister's interludes", and actually makes the relationship the subject of his one and only extant risque joke.

Clodia receives her fair share of attack at Cicero's hands in his speech in defence of Caelius, who had been shamefully wronged by her. Even Baiae, which was famed for its wickedness, gasped at Clodia's conduct. She made no attempt to conceal her lust but shamelessly paraded it in public. Cicero said that young Caelius could not be blamed for the alleged crime but was an innocent suffer at the hands of this woman who was easily accessible to any man she fancies. Because of her eyes Cicero gave her the nickname of \textit{flocii}. It appears that Atticus on one occasion had been to a dinner party where a number of the fast set were gathered. His account of it made Cicero intensely curious as to what went on.

\textbf{References:}
He besought Atticus to tell it to him in person. He had also had a talk with Clodia there, which was of great interest to his friend. In spite of his loathing for her Cicero used her at times, as she had considerable influence. On one occasion he actually borrowed money from her to continue his building operations. Because she was at one time the wife of Metellus Celer, Cicero appealed to her on one occasion to do what she could to stop her brother-in-law, Quintus Celer, the tribune, from attacking him. Another time he writes to Atticus, "I think that though Crassus is egging on Pompey, if you were here and could find out from the enemy through Juno how far the great men are to be trusted, I should either escape molestation altogether or at any rate I should no longer be in the fog".

Antony appears frequently in our authors as a dissolute unprincipled man who makes a good example of the type we are now engaged in studying. While tribune he drove around in a chariot preceded by lictors, among whom was carried an actress in an open litter. Behind him came a carriage full of prostitutes, while in the rear, came his unfortunate mother, of whom Cicero acidly said, "O the disastrous fecundity of that miserable woman!" At other times he carried around Cytheris, the actress, with him in an open litter as his second wife, and seven other litter filled with prostitutes. For a while he occupied Pompey's old house which he turned into

a haunt of vice. Varro's house suffered the same fate. In its owner's time it had been the scene of many noble discussions of philosophy and the place where he retired to pursue his studies, "Now every place was resounding with the voices of drunken men; the pavements were floating with wine; the walls were dripping; nobly born boys were mixing with the basest hirelings; prostitutes with the mothers of families".

One of the chief centres of this licentious way of life was the resort of Baiae which we have mentioned before. Caelius was marked down as a man who used perfume, never refused an invitation to supper, and went often to Baiae. As to what happened there the following words are very suggestive, "lusts, and loves, and adulteries, and Baiae, and doings on the sea shore, and banquets, and revels, and songs and music parties, and water parties". Such a mode of life was to be found largely amongst the youth of the city. Cicero tells us that many leaders of the state who appear so virtuous were formerly given up to such a life and in their early days were so well known for their luxury, debts, extravagance, and debaucheries and managed to cover over their numerous youthful errors by a later virtuous life.

One evening Cicero attended a "fast" banquet at the home of Volumnius Eutrapelus, and wrote to Paetus actually from the dinner table. To his great surprise, next to Eutrapelus reclined the actress Cytheris, Antony's mistress. He however, made it quite clear to Paetus that he was never

341. Cael.11 342. Cael. 15 343. Cael. 18 344. Fam.9,26
tempted by such women. Most of such banquets were accompanied by considerable drinking until the guests threw all restraint to the winds. One of the effects of too much liquor on such occasions was that some people got up and danced throwing off all their clothes, actions which many men would have considered as characteristics of a real debauchee. At Antony's debauches Cicero tells us that from the third hour there was one scene of drinking, gambling, and vomiting. Poisoning was sometimes attempted at these gatherings, often with success. In the speech "Pro Cluentio", Avitus, as the charge said, had poison prepared for young Oppianus at his wedding feast. It was to be administered in mead which a friend of Oppianus intercepted on its way, drank, and died. Cicero asserted he merely died of some stomach ailment and not immediately after the alleged poisoning. Besides actual banquets profligate men would hold drinking bouts at other time in the day. Horace appeals to such men to refrain from violence which so often followed. Even on a journey they would spend time at some wayside tavern indulging in the pleasures of Bacchus.

Let us now consider a few points in connection with the dress of the luxurious. We must not imply, however, that all richly dressed people came under the heading of the "fast set". In Horace we find that perfume was very commonly employed. Perfumed unguents were often poured on a young man's hair to make glisten. Certain slaves would bring it and pour...
it on to the scalp from special shells. Two chief kinds were 

354 the Persian and the Syrian. On top of the head, as well, 

355 often were garlands of flowers whose smell was almost drowned by the surrounding perfume. There were special people who 

356 sold perfumes, called "Unguentarii", of whom we have a cer-

357 tain individual mentioned whose name was Plotius. In describ-

358 ing Gabinius, Cicero says, "He at least had carefully dres-

359 sed hair and perfumed fringes of curls, and anointed and care-

360 fully rouged cheeks". In contrast we have the old Roman idea 

361 that "women were thought to have the best scent who used no 

scents". In addition to perfumes, silks, and jewels were com-

362 mon in these circles. We hear of Metella's pearl ear-rings 

363 and also of emeralds.

Of materials and colours we find amongst the most 

364 expensive, "wool doubly dipped in the African dye", robes dyed 

365 with Getulian purple, or wool from Tarentum. Some kinds of 

366 purple were of a very dazzling hue. Besides woods, a very 

367 luxurious material was the light gauzy silk made in the is-

land of Cos, and perhaps dyed with the celebrated Coan pur-

368 ple.

Catiline's followers, who aped the extravagance of 

369 their leader had well combed hair. Some had well trimmed 


357. Sat.2,3,228 358. Att.13,46 359. Pis.11 360. Att.2,1 

361. Sat.1,2,36 362. Sat.2,3,239 363. Sat.1,2,80 364. Od.2,16,35 

beards, while others were beardless. They wore long sleeved
tunics or gowns reaching to the ankles. A typical roue is
described as having "hair dripping with ointments, with care­fully arranged locks, with heavy eyes, moist cheeks, a husky, 369
and drunken voice", or again "this ringletted dunce". Some­times a person would give himself up to luxurious dress merely to attract attention. Horace mentions one man who wore three rings for that purpose, and never wore the same stripe two hours running. Beards were out of favour at this period. 370
Cicero refers to the men of the past with long shaggy beards as opposed to the men of his own day, with little beards such as Clodia used to take a fancy to. Long beards at this period were affected by philosophers, and so Horace speaks of the "beard of wisdom".

Sometimes a man who has hitherto been poor and mo­derate in his life comes in for a large fortune and gives him­self to riotous living. Horace describes one such person, who as soon as he had received his legacy, issued a notice inviting all fishermen, fruiterers, fowlers, perfumers, cooks, buffoons, and any street peddlers, to come to his house the following morning. They arrived in large numbers and one of them said that everything they had was at his service. He then commissioned one of them to catch a wild boar for him in the snows of Lucania, and another to go out on the ocean in icy storms, and bring back some fish. He told them

369. 1 Post Red. 6  370. Sat. 2, 7, 8  371. Cael. 14
372. Sat. 2, 3, 17  373. Sat. 2, w, 35  374. Sat. 2, 3, 226
that he was unworthy to have a fortune and handed each person a large sum.

Finally in the matter of morality, Cicero sets a high standard. He is a strong supporter of the festival of the Matronalia, which was held on March 1, as he feels that care over language when speaking to women is the best corrective of coarse speech. In writing to Paetus from Volumnius' dinner table he expresses his revulsion against obscenity and tells him that he was never tempted in that direction, even when he was a young man. He spends one letter refuting certain Stoic views on morality which may be summed up as follows, "If what is called impure language there is anything impure, it must be in the thing or the word. It is not in the thing, for we have allusions to subjects usually considered impure in unexceptionable passages from the dramatists. Nor in the word: for if the impurity is not in the thing, a fortiori it cannot be in the word. The prudishness of the day is all nonsense. Therefore there is nothing impure, therefore the Wise Man will call a spade a spade".

375. Fam. 9,26 376. Fam.9,22
Chapter 10

Children and Education

In comparison with that of Greece, we find Roman education, (and we are chiefly concerned with that of the upper classes) comparatively unorganized. Before the period of Greek influence there were probably a few elementary "ludi", and afterwards we find almost a replica of the Greek system being introduced. We can glean considerable of information regarding education of this period from a close perusal of Cicero's writings. We shall find various people describing their own schooling.

Let us consider first the education of Cicero's own son Marcus, which seemed to be almost entirely carried on at home under tutors, before he left for higher studies at Athens. We hear Cicero writing to his brother and telling him how much he thinks of Marcus' rhetoric master Paeonius, although he thinks his own system is better and hopes to win him over to it. Many of Marcus' lessons were taken with his young cousin with whom he was on very friendly terms. Cicero commissioned Atticus to engage Dionysius to take up the position of tutor to himself, and the household. Dionysius proved rather a thorn in Cicero's side. At one time the latter admitted that it would be impossible to get a more learned or devoted tutor, whom at another time he actually ventured to criticize. Rather

377.O.F.3.3.4 378. Att.6.1.12 379. Att.4.15.10 380. Att.6.1.12 381. Att.6.1.12
than get a new teacher, Cicero said he would teach the boys himself instead of that "arch-chatterer, useless as a teacher". After a long period of study under these different tutors, Marcus went to Athens for more advanced work. He apparently enjoyed his stay there as we have a suspiciously glowing account of it in a letter to Tiro. He was studying under Cratippus who was his constant companion and on very intimate terms with him. He also learned much from his next door neighbour Bruttius who carried on daily literary discussions and research with him. Marcus practised declaiming in Latin with him and in Greek with Crassus. His father gave him some advice on his studies saying that after a year under Cratippus at Athens he should be well versed in the principles of philosophy. He advises him to practise composition in both Latin and Greek, and says that he may continue as long as he likes to study under Cratippus, "the best philosopher of the age". Cicero is delighted on one occasion with a letter Marcus writes him. He is thrilled with its style which indicates considerable improvement in his studies, as is borne out by letters from other people. We hear a great deal about Cicero's financial arrangements for his son. He is ready to go to any sacrifice to see that he is provided with a liberal allowance so that he may always be the "grand seigneur". Atticus is to look after Marcus' financial arrangements, and Cicero wants to know whether a draft for his allowance can be changed at Athens or whether he has to take the money with

him. Cash is to be provided for luxuries as well as necessities.

On one occasion Cicero was very much worried that Marcus had mentioned nothing about finances in his letter home. He had told Tiro in a letter that he had received nothing since the end of his financial year on April 1. This brought forth great protestations on his part that Marcus must want for nothing and must have a bill of exchange for his annual allowance, payable at Athens. Ovius reported that Marcus could get on nicely with £700 per annum. However his father allowed him up to £800 which was to be got from the rent of some city property. In addition extra money had to be provided for when he came to Rome.

For other reasons besides money matters Cicero was very anxious about his son's progress at Athens. He felt it most important to pay him a visit. Messalla brought him back an excellent report, while one day Marcus wrote him such a fine letter that his father said he would not be ashamed to read it in public. Trebonius gave perhaps the most glowing account of all of his progress saying that he was given up to the best forms of study and highly regarded by everyone, and was extremely popular in Athens. Trebonius tried to persuade Marcus to visit Anaxagoras with him in Asia, accompanied of course by Cratippus, so that his father would not think he was enjoying a holiday when he should be studying.

387. Att.14,11,2;17,5  388. Att.15,15,4  389. Att.16,1,5  390. Att.16,14,1  391. Att.15,17,2  392. Att.15,17,2  393. Att.12,16
Young Quintus received much of his education with Marcus. Cicero tells Quintus on one occasion that his boy is being admirably taught by Tyrannic. He was very anxious that his studies progress well and even offered to teach him himself personally. (His coming of age took place on the feast of the Liberalia, 50, B.C.)

Besides the Cicero family we have comments on the education of many other persons. Cicero advises Lentulus to educate his son in all his own accomplishments and make him follow in his footsteps. Marcus Caelius received a very strict training and education for forensic labours and for all positions in the state. From the time of his coming of age he was always accompanied by his father or by Cicero instructed him in everything that he needed. He formed close friendship too with other older men, so that he could more readily imitate their virtues, and gave himself up to the same intellectual pursuits as all the leading young men of his age. Crassus admits that personally he was not taught everything which he ought to have learned, but obtained most of his knowledge from his father. He started work in the law courts very early, pleading his first case at the age of 21. His teacher was the customs, laws, institutes, and traditions of the Roman people, while the forum was his class room.

Let us now look at the chief subjects learned either

394. Q.F.2,4,2  395.Q.F.2,14,2  396.Att.6,1,12  397.Fam.1,7
398. Cael.4 and 30  399.Or.5,74 -75
in schools or under the tutor at home. First let us quote some general recommendations of Cicero as to the first principles. "The most early recommendation therefore is modesty, obedience to parents, and affection for relations". This should serve as a basis for actual subject teaching. We hear of philosophy, mathematics, music, literature, rhetoric, etc., being taught in the schools of the time. For literary studies the works of Ennius were widely read and also those of men like Pacuvius, Accius, Afranius, Plautus, Caecilius, Terence, and Livius Andronicus. The latter author Horace particularly mentions as having been studied by him as a child under his master Orbilius. As has been noted one of the chief studies was declaiming, which was practised incessantly by all those who aspired to public life. With regard to mathematics, geometry was restricted to the practical purposes of measuring and reckoning, although the Greeks so greatly esteemed it. Astronomy also was studied in addition to logic and law. It will be noticed that the above subjects were almost entirely taken by the sons of the well-to-do in advanced rhetorical schools, while the children of the masses learned practically nothing but reading, writing, and a little arithmetic, if they could afford to attend a "ludus" and if there was one near by.

We hear of several teachers, one of the most important of whom was the rhetorician Plotius, who was the first to teach rhetoric in Latin. Everyone flocked to his school,
but Cicero himself was not allowed to go there because his friends felt that he would be much better educated by learning Greek declamation. His great philosophy teacher was Philo, who profoundly influenced him. In the "De Oratore" he defines the duty of a "grammaticus", another type of teacher, as "to comment on the poets, to teach history, to explain the meaning of words, to impart a correct accent, and delivery". The teachers usually had an assistant called a "hypodidascalus".

As we have observed, much training was given by the parents at home. Horace was deeply grateful to his father for the valuable lessons he had given him. By exhorting him to watch the mistakes of others he moulded his character along sound lines. "It is thanks to his training that I am whole from all the vices which bring ruin; that the faults which still entangle me are lesser ones and such as you would excuse! Although he was a poor man Horace's father did not want to send him to Flavius' school where boys went with satchels and tablets on their arms with their fees the very day they were due, but took him as a child to Rome to learn those arts that any Roman knight or senator could teach his own children.

One of the most pleasant holidays of a school boy's year was that of the Quinquatria or short spring holiday in honour of Minerva, starting on March 19. However the frequent holidays were made up for by the fact that there were no really long holidays, as in the schools of our own day. We find

408. Brut. 306 409. Or. 1,187 410. Fam. 9,18,4
411. Sat. 1,4,105 412. Sat. 1,6,71 413. Ep. 2,2,197
one or two quaint little descriptions of child life in Horace. Someone holds out an apple to a sulky shild, and he refuses it. "Take them, darling, 'He says, 'No'. If you did not offer them, he would cry for them". Again teachers sometimes gave little boys cakes to coax them into learning their letters. In the chapter on recreation we will hear about children's games, including such things as dice, hoops, ball, quoits, and building sand castles and dolls' houses.

In closing this section let us look at the contrast expressed between Greek and Roman education of the day. Polybius felt that education was the one thing that the Romans neglected, for they felt that it should not be fixed or regulated by laws or given to all classes of society. Scipio strongly criticizes the education of the Greek gymnasium, considering it frivolous, indecent, and licentious, forming a very poor preparation for the task of war. Cicero, too, had many faults to find with Greek education. He granted that the Greeks had learning, a knowledge of many arts, witty conversation, fluent language, but felt that a scrupulous regard for truth in giving evidence was singularly lacking. "They are utterly ignorant what is the meaning of that quality; they know nothing of its authority or weight". He admits that Romans have gone to school in Greece and read Greek literature and on that basis consider themselves scholars and cultured men.

418. Place.4  419. Tusc. 2, 27
Chapter 11

Entertaining

In this section we shall treat of the different kinds of social intercourse the Romans enjoyed in their homes, including visiting, and dinner parties, the latter being the most usual form of entertainment and one which frequently lent itself to great magnificence.

We see an interesting picture of a guest being received with proper ceremony when Cicero received Appius Claudius at Laodicea. Appius' servant reached Cicero between nine and twelve o'clock at night, saying that his master would arrive at Iconium before dawn, but did not know which of the two possible roads he would take. Cicero sent Varro by one road and Lepta by the other to meet him. Each was to send word back to him as soon as they had met Appius, so that he might come and pay his respects. Calls, as now, were made on new arrivals in the neighbourhood and were returned as soon as possible. We find Pompey on arrival at his Cumaean estate immediately sent a messenger to Cicero with his respects. Cicero often complains of being too greatly bothered by quests and visitors. On one occasion he told Curio that after having received large numbers who looked on him as if he were some sort of rare object, he felt he wanted to go and bury himself in his library. Perhaps the most celebrated visitor Cicero

421. Fam. 3,7  422. Att.4,10  423. Fam. 7,28.2
ever had to entertain was Caesar himself. Cicero was very agitated before hand but was pleased to find how smoothly everything went off, even though he was very disturbed at the two thousand soldiers his guest brought with him. After a walk on the beach in the afternoon, followed by a bath and a rub-down, Caesar sat down to dinner in the main dining room with the distinguished guests, while his retinue were adequately entertained elsewhere in the villa. There was no talk of politics but a good deal about literature. Guests too arrived sometimes at dusk just about the time of the lamp lighting, and had to be put up for the night. On special occasions such as a birthday we find the houses being got ready for a party. Horace gives us a vivid description of household preparations for an entertainment in the evening. The family is preparing Alban wine, masses of parsley and ivy for garlands. The house shines with cleanliness and polishing while the family altar stands ready for the sprinkling of sacrificial blood. Everyone is bustling to and fro while even the fire is in a state of excitement and rolls up whistling columns of smoke to the ceiling.

But dinner was, par excellence, the time for entertaining one's guests. We are fortunate to have extant a number of descriptions of dinner parties which enable us to form a good picture of what they were like. Our most vivid description is that of a banquet given by the miser, Nasidius, who was acting the extravagant. It started at mid-day,
or three hours before the normal time. The more fashionable a dinner, the earlier it began, although three o'clock was considered a good average time. The first dish consisted of a Lucanian boar, which was somewhat high, surrounded with rapes, lettuces, radishes, skirrets, anchovies, and dregs of Coan wine. When this course was finished a slave came in and cleared and wiped down the table. Then the different wines were brought in, all being of a very choice variety. Horace got much amusement from watching the guests, reclining as was customary, three on a couch on three sides of the table. One of the guests was busy swallowing cakes whole. After the wine came fowls, oysters, fish (containing a strange juice) and the entrails of a plaice and turbot. To the horror of the host many of the guests consumed large quantities of wine and called for larger goblets. What Nasidienus was particularly proud of was a lamprey surrounded by floating shrimps. A great sensation took place when the tapestry suspended over the table fell down and smothered everything and everyone with dust. What with that and the general style of the meal Horace remarks, "I would not choose to have seen any theatrical entertainment sooner than these things". Following that incident there were brought in a crane sprinkled in salt, the liver of a goose fed with fattening figs, wings of a hare town off, blackbirds with scorched breasts and ring doves without the rumps. Horace adds that they would have been delicious if Nasidienus had not given the history of each dish that was brought on. Other diversions were caused by the
antics of the waiter.

We come across some interesting discussions of dinners in Cicero's letters to his friend Paetus. His other friends, Hirtius and Dolabella, he playfully writes to Paetus, have been teaching him the art of dining. He jokingly accuses Paetus of giving him cheap and simple food like pilot-fish and tunny, and smoked-fish-and-cheese. He pretends to Paetus that he has developed very luxurious tastes and will not be able to stand the frugal meal his mother serves. Whatever he eats has to be of high quality and must not include "broken meats". He says Paetus will never have the courage to give him his former simple diet, or a squid cooked in red sauce to resemble the red coloured figures of Jupiter which were introduced on certain festivals. He is also reminded not to have any faith in the hors-d'oeuvre. What we call hors-d'oeuvre, the Romans called a "promulsis", consisting of eggs, olives, salt fish, and sausages. Suddenly he becomes serious. "But why all this babble—but really—you may fall back upon good old smoked fish and cheese". On another occasion Cicero dined at Nicias where he had a splendid dinner of mushrooms and huge prawns. But most of all he enjoyed the witty conversation, which he felt aided the digestion. At Hirtius' dinners, Cicero says that he had consumed on different occasions more peacocks than Paetus would have pigeons.

Very different in style is the description of a very
sordid dinner. On the table were huge goblets and heaps of half bad meat. The waiters were slaves, dirty and old, as also were the cook and butler, and porter. The master got his food from some low establishment. His servants were Greeks and reclined five on a couch. He used to sit by himself and drink till the cask was dry. There he sat until cock-crow when he ordered the table to be cleared.

Let us examine now the actual dishes served at some of these entertainments. We find a well known phrase "ab ovo usque ad mala", meaning freely, the dinner from beginning to end. Eggs were commonly eaten at the beginning of the meal and formed part of the "promulsis" or "gestatio", which also included sausage, olives, salt fish, etc. Roast veal or fowl appears to have been the last course before "mala" or dessert. At a dinner of Paetus' we also find "fruitpottles" and omelettes, as well as a peacock. He also was capable of serving cheese and herrings which were signs of a very frugal meal. Atticus also dines at times on a similar dish of fish and cheese. We find in Horace, Catius giving a lengthy discourse on cookery. He discusses first the different dishes of the "promulsis" recommending the best kind of eggs. A chicken, if tough, is to be softened with Falernian wine mixed with water. Mushrooms are to be gathered from the meadows as being the only reliable kind. As laxatives he recommends limpets and coarse cockles and leaves of the small sorrel in

431. Pis. 27, 67  432. Fam. 9, 20  433. Att. 14, 16
434. Att. 4, 8 a, 1  435. Sat. 2, 4
addition to Coan white wine. "Let no one presumptuously ar-
rogate to himself the science of banqueting, unless the nice
doctrine of tastes has been previously considered by him with
exact system". Special attention must be paid to sauces. A
boar from Umbria fed on acorns of the scarlet oak is strongly
recommended. Copious directions are given with regard to the
wine which formed such a prominent part of a Roman dinner.
Great care must be taken that food is tastily served. Catius
says it is no use spending large sums on fish and then serv-
ing it in an unsuitable dish. It spoils a person's appetite
if the slave handles the dishes with dirty hands, or licks up
snacks, or if there is any dirt in the cups.

As already noted, mushrooms were a common dish and
won added popularity by not being included in Caesar's sump-
tuary law. Cicero's epicure friend Paetus, takes full advan-
tage of this, and introduces them to his table, as well as
pot-herbs and other greens, and flavours them deliciously, much
to Cicero's discomfort. Besides peacocks, we hear that nigh-
tingales were considered a great luxury. Horace relates how
the two sons of Arrius, a pair of ne'er-do-wells, used to
breakfast each morning on them, raised at great cost. A
school boy supper we are told consisted of herbs.

In one of his letters Cicero expresses his regret
that Paetus has given up his custom of going out to dinner
and is afraid that he will soon give up holding small dinner
parties. He considers it all has a bearing on a happy life. He personally enjoys not so much the pleasure of eating as the common life and relaxation of mind at banquets. They are an excellent form of conviviality. Dining out is an excellent restorative of poor health. He is a very small eater and a foe to expensive dinners, and asks Paetus to prepare accordingly. Banqueting is a good pastime for old age in spite of the fact that old men have lost their desire for eating and drinking. His chief pleasure is in conversation, especially "that conversation which after the manner of our ancestors is kept over our cups from the top of the table: and the cups, as in the Symposium of Xenophon, small and dewy, and the cooling of the wine in summer, and in turn either the sun, or the fire in winter: practices which I am accustomed to follow among the Sabines also, and I daily join a party of neighbours, which we prolong with various conversation till late at night, as far as we can. In old age, then, we do not find heavily laden dinner tables, and incessant goblets of wine with the resultant indigestion and insomnia. Instead of that we find conviviality of the type outlined above". Cicero prefers the word for a banquet "convivium", drinking together, or "concoenatio" or dining together. He considers the Greeks therefore put greatest stress on the least important part of a banquet.

We find some clever pictures of gluttony and extra-

441. Fam. 9, 23 442. Sen. 14 443. Sen. 13
vagance at meals. Perhaps Nasidienus' dinner, which we have described in detail above, is the best. Eating rapidly developed into gluttony with the ancient Romans, which appeared to be as common as drunkenness. On one occasion Cicero visited Lucius Piso and found him in a terrible condition after a tremendous orgy of eating and drinking in a neighbouring tavern. He came out with his head wrapped up, reeking of the low shop where he had been and made the excuse that on account of his health he had had to have recourse to some "vinous remedies". He, in a revolting condition from his indulgence, drove off Cicero and his companion with filthy language and behaviour. The love of dining had reached such a pitch with Paetus that he had sold his pony to pay for his food and only left a mule. A prominent part of banquet was the drinking of wine, while often parties were held purely for indulgence in liquor. On one occasion Horace sings of the pleasures of good drinking. "It unlocks secrets, bids hopes to be certainties, thrusts the cowards into the fray, takes their load from anxious hearts, teaches new accomplishments. The lifegiving wine cup, whom has it not made eloquent, whom has it not made free even in the pinch of poverty?" In another passage he speaks of "truth-telling Bacchus who opens the secrets of the heart".

Besides eating and drinking other customs may be notices in connection with banquets. They were often greatly

444. Pis. 6  445. Fam. 9, 18, 4  446. Sat. 1, 4, 86
447. Ep. 1, 5  448. Sat. 1, 4, 86
prolonged through much talk, foolish and otherwise, often brought on by the effects of wine. Sometimes people were called in to sing at the banquets. A certain singer called Florus was able to entertain the guests over their wine but was not much of an artist. Horace speaks of Tigellius, who, if in good humour, would sing "Io Bacche" up and down the scale from the first course to the last. It was customary for guests to leave off their slippers at the table and recline in bare feet.

Chapter 12

Recreation

A large part of a Roman's life was spent in recreation, especially in the latter part of the period under consideration. Such an idea would have been repugnant to the austere leaders of an earlier age, such as old Cato. But increasing prosperity and security abroad brought greater wealth to Rome, and so the wealthier citizens vied with each other in extravagant entertainment for the masses. Side by side with vast and elaborate gladiatorial games and widely patronized theatrical performances we find indications of the presence of many types of simple amusements and athletics which are still popular today.

A great impetus was given to recreation by the presence in the Roman calendar of so many holidays, religious and secular. A boon to school boys, they must have proved a sore trial to business life. Cicero says that on these days everybody should be released from work and engage in no legal suits and give his slaves time off from their duties. He also recommends that these periods should be spread evenly through the year so that there will not be too great an interference with everyday life. This goes to show to that extent these festal periods must have affected daily existence. In another passage Cicero pleads for a cessation

453. Leg. 2, 12 454. Leg. 8, 15
of all disputes at the religious festivals, and for an opportunity for servants to be able to benefit by them as is their due.

One of the most important holidays was that of the Saturnalia held late in December. It roughly corresponded to our Christmas holidays and was held in honour of the god Saturn. It marked the completion of the fall sowings, and was usually accompanied by great merrymaking and often unbridled license. Corresponding to our Easter holidays in the spring was the great festival of Bacchus on March 17, known as the Liberalia. It was a time when many boys received the "toga virilis" and went in procession to the Capitol where a sacrifice of cakes was made. Cicero in a letter to Atticus tells us how Quintus had asked him to celebrate his son's entry into manhood on that date. He also acknowledges the receipt of a letter from his friend Cornificius on the same day. Following closely was another festival in honour of Minerva called the Quinquatria, which lasted from March 19 to the 23rd. In the fall was another period of great rejoicing known as the Ludi Romani which were held in honour of Jupiter. A letter of Cicero's to Caelius indicates the suspension of law suits for the duration of the festival. There were certain movable festivals called "feriae conceptivae" which were celebrated on days appointed by the priests or magistrates. They involved the suspension of public business for a week, and so were a useful tool in the hands of...
unscrupulous magistrates. The most important of these was the "feriae Latinae" or Latin festival, which was celebrated at uncertain periods. Of a different nature were the "feriae denicales" which were funeral solemnities for the purification of the family of the deceased. These were fixed when no other peculiar festivals intervened, which Cicero considers shows their special sanctity. He urges the people to exercise moderation in the ceremonies on such occasions and points out that the law forbids people to indulge in elaborate mourning and expense in honour of the departed spirits, and also prohibits unnecessary extravagance in the erection of tombs. In Horace's time we find a public holiday on Caesar's birthday, an occasion which would provide an extra long lie-a-bed. A clear picture of the importance of these festivals may be gained in the opening portions of Cicero's defence of Marcus Caelius. Cicero says that if a man were present at the trial who was ignorant of Roman laws and legal proceedings, "he would in truth wonder what great atrocity there is in this particular cause of so serious a nature, as to cause this trial alone to be proceeded with during these days of festival and public games when all other forensic business is interrupted".

Perhaps the most important function on days of public holidays was the gladiatorial games. These drew Roman citizens by the thousand especially in the latter part of our

459. Q.F.2,4,2; Att.1,3 460. Leg. 2,22 461. Leg.2,25
462. Ep. 1,5,8 463. Cael. 1,1
period. Murena on one occasion gave as aedile a particularly magnificent display at the games as well as a theatrical exhibition. They made a tremendous impression on the audience who were extremely fond of them. This would prove of great importance to Murena's future career, as a particularly successful period of games would win him great favour in the eyes of the masses. Cicero informs us that, "Games are a great delight to men even to those who are ashamed to own it, and not to those only who confess it". Such games were commonly given at the occasions of a man's death. Cicero urges C. Scribonius Curio not to hold games on the occasion of his father's death. The young man has entrusted his freedman Rupa with the task, but is dissuaded by Cicero and his other friends, who tell him that he will gain political advancement far more by his natural gifts and his enthusiasm, than by giving public games in memory of his father. It was customary at the gladiatorial shows for the consul to have a large number of reserved seats at his disposal for distribution among his friends. Clodius complained that Cicero would not give the Sicilians seats, and said he intended to start the practice. Cicero had been quaestor in Sicily and was regarded by the Sicilians as their patron. Clodius also claimed the position. He applied to his sister Clodia to get seats for them, as she had married the consul Metellus. She could only give him standing room for them.

The gladiators themselves who had the all-important

role in these shows were slaves, and were looked upon with contempt. One of the greatest insults that could be given to a man was to call him a gladiator. Cicero in a letter to Cornificius is not content with calling Antony, his bitter enemy, "the greatest scoundrel in the world", but adds the supreme epithet of "homo gladiator". The notorious demagogue, Catiline, was accused of having as a large source of his support the lowest types to be found in any of the gladiatorial schools. In this charge gladiators were associated with all the prisoners, thieves, and assassins throughout Italy. Caius Cato was on one occasion made the object of public ridicule by his association with gladiators. He had bought some from Cosconius and Atticus and never appeared in public without them as an armed bodyguard. He had great difficulty in supporting them. Milo, on hearing of this, arranged with an acquaintance, not an intimate friend of his own, to buy the gang from Cato. Racilius, the tribune, acting in concert with Milo, claimed to be the purchaser and advertised the gang for sale as the "Catonian gang", thus making Cato the laughing stock of the town. One of the lowest types of gladiator was the "andabata", who fought blindfold so as to appeal to the lowest elements of the audience.

Even the most outspoken critic found some good in these shows. Cicero draws an analogy between the ordinary man's enduring of pain and that suffered by a gladiator in the arena. He tells how they suffer the heaviest blows and

467. Fam. 12, 22  468. Cat. 2, 4, 5  469. Q.F. 2, 4, 5  470. Fam. 7, 10, 2
endure them in silence. Lucceius in writing to Cicero exhorted him to keep on hoping and keep up his courage and used as an illustration the varying fortunes of the gladiatorial combats.

Wealthy men often maintained schools of gladiators such as Caesar's establishment at Capua where he had 5,000 in training. Through fear of trouble arising from them, Pompey had the school broken up and distributed two a piece to heads of families, as a precautionary measure. Another practice of wealthy Romans was to make an investment in a troop of gladiators, by buying and training them, giving a successful show, and then selling them at a profit to the aedile for the public games. We find Atticus being congratulated for the high standard of his gladiators. Cicero reminds him that if he had rented them out he would have covered his expenses on two performances.

Gladiatorial shows for obvious reasons became a very powerful weapon in the hands of men who were standing as candidates for the different magistracies. Things got so bad that a law was introduced which forbade anyone to exhibit them within two years of his standing for office, the only exception being to fulfil a clause in a will which required a performance on a certain specified day. Many infringements of this regulation were made, as can be seen in certain of Cicero's law cases. He strongly censured Vatinius for his ...

471. Tucs. 2,46  472. Fam.5,13,3  473. Att.7,14,2  474. Att.4,4b, 2  475 Vat. 37
"insanity" in breaking the law in this regard. He considers that Vatinius, through a passion for popularity assembled a large troop mostly consisting of the scum of the jails. The defendant made the plea that the law forbade the shows in which gladiators fought, while he merely showed men fighting with wild beasts. He also claimed that he did not exhibit gladiators, but just one single gladiator.

We find gladiatorial shows one of the chief places for the expression of public opinion on many important matters. For such a purpose they held equal rank with the comitia and the assembly. At one particular performance the populace expressed their views by overwhelming Pompey and his associates with hisses. Unfortunately a person could not rely on the opinions expressed at the games, as so often the applause was purchased beforehand by some unscrupulous politician.

From these remarks it can be well seen how important an institution these shows were, not only for purposes of recreation but also for political reasons.

The procuring of animals for the games was a matter of the highest importance. During Cicero's stay in Asia we hear a great deal of directions being given to him by his young friend Marcus Caelius in Rome, who has to provide certain shows. Caelius urged Cicero to procure him some panthers from Cibyra and to write a letter of instruction to an agent in Pamphylia on the subject. He told Cicero that he need only see to having them caught and that arrangements had already

476. Sext.54,50 477. Att.2,17,3 478. Fam.8,9,3
been made for men to feed them and have them shipped off to Rome. On another occasion Caelius bewailed the fact that he nearly had to dispense with his games owing to a lack of animals. He was saved from such a course only because Curio had presented him with some animals which had been shipped from Africa for his own games. Cicero wrote to Caelius from Laodicea and informed him that he was attending to the matter with the assistance of the regular panther hunters. He was, however, surprised how few panthers were obtainable and added: "they tell me that those there are, bitterly complain that in my province no snares are set for any living creature but themselves, and so they have decided to emigrate from this province into Caria", a gentle hint of his own competence as provincial governor.

Besides panthers, elephants were also used in these combats. Cicero in writing to Marius gives us a clear insight into his feeling on the matter. He admits that wild-beast hunts twice a day for five days are magnificent, but asks what pleasure an educated man can derive from seeing a weak human being torn to pieces by a huge animal or a magnificent animal being put to death with a spear. Furthermore he points out, that, even if there is something worth while, once is quite enough. The last day of this series was devoted to elephant hunting. Cicero says that the crowd was very impressed by what they saw but derived no pleasure from it. "Indeed the result was a certain compassion and a kind of
feeling that huge beast has a fellowship with the human race". It is refreshing to find in an age where human life was so cheap such a merciful attitude towards animals and such a revulsion from the horrors of the arena.

Another very popular form of entertainment was the theatre. We shall begin a discussion of this by examining comedy, which was the most prevalent form of play. The chief types of drama found in the Roman theatre were the Atellan plays, which had fixed or stock characters, mimes, which flourished particularly in the latter half of the first century B.C., and the regular comedy and tragedy, introduced by Livius Andronicus in the 3rd century B.C. The Roman comedy proper was modelled along the lines of the new Greek comedy. Tragedy also was performed, while in rural areas the ancient Versus Pescennini flourished. They consisted of dialogues of alternate stanzas and went to such lengths of raillery that they threatened the reputation of the highest families in the land. The result was that a law was passed forbidding any persons to be attacked in lampoon. It was further modified by the introduction of the new Greek comedy.

Cicero claims that the only thing which made men accept the scandalous exhibitions of the comedies was their authorization by the common customs of life. He also points out that the ancient Greek tried to correct this tendency to licentiousness by passing a law that a censorship should be set up to define what subjects could be legitimately dealt

482. Ep. 2,1,145 Leg.  483. Rep. 4,10
with in a comedy. The plot should have some regard to possibility. For example, we should not have to watch a performance in which "a live boy is drawn from the belly of a Lamia who has just dined on him", as every play which is not productive of profit is driven from the stage. Horace also draws our attention to the fact that, contrary to what most people think, comedy is much less difficult than tragedy as its subjects are drawn from real life. He says that Plautus delineated all his characters, such as the young lover, the strict father, the plotting pander, and the parasite, so well, but that he was very careless about his style and always hurried away from the stage as soon as he had pocketed his money. In one of his frequent analogies between the stage and human life, he urges each man to study his own capabilities so as to be able to impartially realize his own good and bad points. If men do not do that, he adds, the actors will be more sensible, as they do not choose of themselves what they think is the most outstanding play, but each one picks for himself the one which best suits his own talent. "Those who rely on their voices choose the 'Epigoni' or the 'Medus'; the best actors the 'Menalippa', or the 'Clytaenestra', Rupilius who, as I remember, always played in the 'Antiope'; Aesopus seldom chose the 'Ajax'. He concludes by asking whether an actor who does this for purposes of the state will not be copied in real life by every wise man.

And now to come to actual plays and performances of

which we have so many accounts in our two authors. Paetus, Cicero's friend, of whom we shall hear a good deal later on in connection with his craze for giving dinner parties, launched into drama and staged a mime of farce instead of the older type of Atellan play. Cicero in a letter to Marius, describes a splendid performance given by Pompey at the dedication of his theatre, but which was decidedly boring. Even the great actor Aesop was so poor that day that nobody would have been sorry if he had stopped in the middle and left off. The chief thing of note was the magnificence of the spectacle. In the play called "Clytaemnestra" six hundred mules were brought on the stage, and in the "Trojan Horse", three thousand bowls and all the paraphernalia for some big battle. Cicero adds that Marius would have got far more pleasure out of the proceedings of his own town council at Pompeii than any of the mimes produced on that stage. A similar tale of colossal display is described in one of Horace's epistles. The play lasted for four hours and over, while vast numbers of cavalry and infantry moved over the stage, also chariots, litters, carriages, ships, ivory, and "captive Corinth". More remarkable to Horace than the splendour of the stage was the audience itself, who made such a tremendous noise that "you would think the groves of Garganus—or the Tuscan sea was roaring, with so great a noise are viewed the shows and contrivances and foreign riches".

Another custom in the Roman theatre was to scatter

487. Fam.9,16,7  488. Fam.7,1  489. Ep.21,1,145 Leg.
perfumed waters everywhere and strew flowers upon the stage.

Cicero in trying to prove the falsity of the charge that Caelius had poisoned Clodia said that it resembled the end of a farce rather than that of a regular comedy. Where it was not possible to produce a regular end in a farce "someone escapes out of someone else's hands, the whistle sounds, and the curtain drops. The Romans had a sort of musical instrument called a "scabillum" which when kicked with the foot always emitted the same sound. It apparently was used to denote the beginning and end of the act. Contrary to our custom the curtain was down during the performance and drawn up at the end of an act.

One of the chief functions of the plays, as of the gladiatorial shows, was to satirize and ridicule many of the notable people of the times. At the Apollonian games the actor Diphilus made a violent attack on Pompey in his lines, "'By our misfortunes thou art great' was encored again and again, 'A time will come when thou wilt rue that night' he declaimed amidst the cheers of the whole audience, and so on with the rest. For indeed the verses do look as though they had been written for the occasion by an enemy of Pompey. 'If neither law nor custom can constrain', etc. was received with a tremendous uproar and outcry". Cicero in one letter asked Atticus to let him know who was cheered by the audience at the mimes, and what epigrams were made by the actors. He warned Trebatius, who was at the time in Britain, that if he

stayed there much longer with nothing to show for it, he was afraid that the mime writers Laberius and Valerius would take full advantage of it. Trebatius on arrival back in Rome might hear of a new character on the stage called the "Lawyer in Britain". Cicero's great enemy Clodius, the "very chief buffoon of all" went one day to see a play called "The Pretender". The actors looking right at Clodius strongly emphasized the words "To such a life as yours", and "The continuous course and end of your wicked life". He was nearly scared to death by what they hinted at. There was hardly a phrase in the play bearing on the events of the times which was not especially emphasized by the actors or which escaped the notice of the audience. The celebrated lawyer Hortensius, had successfully defended his client Marcus Valerius Messalla, accused of "ambitus". On the day following the acquittal, he entered a theatre to receive the applause of the people, and to his amazement he was overwhelmed with hisses which he had never before in his whole legal career received.

When we come to look at Roman actors and actresses themselves we are surprised to find what a degraded class of people they are for the most part. One of the most prominent mime actresses of the time was Arbuscula, whom Cicero tells Atticus he enjoyed seeing in a play. On one occasion she was hissed from the stage calling out, "I care not a fig for the rest of the house". We came across another actress called

494. Fam.7,11,2  495. Sext. 55  496. Sext.54  497. Fam.8,2  498. Att.14,15  499. Sat.1,10,76
Cytheris, who was a notorious courtesan. She was later the mistress of Antony who, as tribune, while he rode in a chariot, had her carried near him in a litter. All the townspeople had to come out and greet Antony and salute her, but did not call her by her stage name Cytheris, but by the name of Volumnia. The coarseness of such actresses is hinted at by Horace when he exhorts Demetrius and Tigellius to go and whine among the chairs of their "mimae".

Of the actors we hear of several, the chief being Roscius and Aesop. In his defence of Archias, Cicero laments the death of Roscius who died at an advanced age. He felt that because of the greatness of his art he should have lived to give continued pleasure to the people. He was a representative of the tragic actors, and, because of Cicero's commendation of him must have been of superior moral character to the rest of his fellows. Aesop too had apparently remarkable gifts. His expression and acting were so magnificent that it seemed as if he had been altogether transported from the situation he was in. An outstanding tribute from such a great orator as Cicero. He too was a tragedian spoken of by Horace as the "pathetic Aesop".

Thus we have seen that the masses of the Roman people were very fond of the plays and gladiatorial shows, for they provided something magnificent to look at, and some thrill in life, and also gave them an opportunity for showing their

500. Fam. 9, 26  501. Phil 2, 24  502. Sat. 1, 10, 91
political feelings. We hear of one particular exhibition given by Scipio in honour of Quintus Metellus, "They are a spectacle of that sort which is attended by immense numbers and by every class of men, and with which the multitude is delighted above all things." Cicero greatly despised public spectacles, considering ability to give them a sign of wealth and that everybody was thoroughly tired of them. On one occasion he wrote that he was on the way to Antium and glad to be away from Metellus' gladiatorial exhibition. In commenting upon the office of aedile he said that it was an ancient Roman custom that the holder of the office should put on the most splendid shows. This was done even by the most virtuous men such as Lucius Crassus and Quintus Mucius, who were most moderate in their private lives. But for sheer magnificence Pompey's games in his second consulship were not to be surpassed. Cicero is prepared to overlook this custom, but quotes Aristotle in saying that "These things are agreeable to boys, and silly women, and slaves, and freedmen very like slaves: but that by a man of sense, and one who ponders with sound judgment on such exhibitions, they can in no way be approved".

We have so far been dealing with recreation for the masses in the form of gladiatorial games and theatrical performances. In bringing this chapter to a close, let us look for a few moments at some of the more common forms of recreation which could be indulged in by individuals.

506. Sext. 58 507. Fam. 2, 3 508. Att. 2, 1, 1 509. Off. 2, 16
Dancing was viewed by the educated men with great
discouragement. One of the greatest insults that could be given a
man was to call him a dancer. When Cato called Murena a
dancer, Cicero said that if he meant it, it was equivalent to
a violent accusation and if he did not, it was merely foul
abuse. He went on to add that nobody ever dances unless he
is drunk or insane, and that dancing goes with dissolute
feasting. We hear of at least one prominent dancer, called
Lepos, who was also a mime actor. There was certain amount
of dancing in the mimes, where a person who danced even a
little out of time was promptly hissed off the stage.

As with the Greeks so with the Romans, boxing was
indulged in as a feat of endurance. The participants in
this sport are held up to us as a model of bravery as they
did not utter a groan when they were hit with the gloves,
though they were made of ox hide stiffened with lead and iron.

Very few references are made to music, but a singu-
larly modern touch is found in Horace where the poet tells us
of a universal fault among singers, namely that when asked
to sing at a party they always made some excuse to avoid it,
but if they are not asked to perform they refuse to stop.

Among other severer sports we find discus-throwing,
wrestling, and javelin throwing. Before taking part in a
wrestling match the contestants' bodies were oiled. These
exercises frequently took place on the Campus Martius in the
full blaze of the sun, and amid much dust.

In the same place chariot races were frequently held. We are given a very vivid picture of the barriers being drawn back, of the chariots flying behind the horses, and the driver concentrating his mind on passing the team in front with no thought of those whom he has left by the wayside.

Another popular pastime was swimming. There was one particular place in the Tiber where all the young men went to bathe, opposite which Clodia had her gardens. Horace prescribed as a method of having sound sleep at night, anointing oneself with oil, swimming the Tiber three times, and a little drink of wine before going to bed.

A very favourite recreation on wet days was various forms of dice games. Dice were not viewed with great approval by the stricter Romans. Cicero considers he is greatly insulting Antony when he calls him a gambler. On another occasion he classes gamblers with adulterers. The only people whom he would permit to indulge in gambling games or rather games of chance, are old people. The dice, known as "tesserae", were usually made of ivory, bone, or wood. Amongst such games was that known as "duodecim scripta", which resembled our game of backgammon. It was played on a board marked with twelve lines on which the pieces were placed. The pieces were moved by throws of the dice. Each player apparently had to get his pieces from his "home" to that of

516. Sat. 1, 1, 113 517. Sat. 2, 1, 6 518. Or. 3, 58 519. Att. 14, 5, 1
520. Cat. 2, 10, 23 521. Sen. 16 522. Or. 1, 217
his opponent and back again.

Different games were played with a ball. On the celebrated journey which Horace and his friends made from Rome to Brundisium, while at Capua, Maecenas played ball. A game of ball is recommended for people who find the military exercises at Rome too strenuous. People who have never learnt to play well, do not try to in the Campus Martius for fear of being laughed at by the crowds.

Quoits were also a popular amusement. Horace talks of "flinging the quoit through the yielding air." Cicero recommends as relaxations for old people basking in the sun, or sitting by the fire, while the younger generation hunt, throw spears, play ball, race and swim.

We also get a glimpse into the pastimes of children, and find that Roman children also had doll's houses and sometimes yoked mice to a go-cart, and played a game called odd-and-even. They also derived great pleasure from building sand castles. Among their toys were knuckle bones and nuts.

523. Sat.1,5,48  524. A.P.380  525. Sat.2,2,11
526. Sen. 16  527. Sat.2,3,247  528. Sat.2,3,248
529. Sat.2,3,171
Men of the upper classes spent a good deal of their time in travelling. One like Cicero who had a number of villas scattered along the coast frequently visited each. Such a practice was common amongst all who engaged in political life. Cicero did considerable travelling by boat especially between resorts along the coast. He told Atticus on one occasion that he had just left Cluvius' gardens in a rowing boat and later on was sailing down to Pompeii, and from there back to Puteoli and Cumae. Another favourite expedition was a boat trip to Lucullus' villa. At times he would go out to dinner by boat en route perhaps for Vestorius' house.

We have a very interesting account of an early morning trip when a messenger met Cicero in the middle of a journey. He gave him a letter from Atticus which he could not read, as it was before daybreak, and he had dismissed the lightbearers. However, as soon as dawn came, he was able to satisfy his curiosity.

The most celebrated description of an ancient journey that we have is perhaps the one Horace made with Heliodorus, the rhetorician, from Rome to Brundisium. On leaving Rome, their first stop was at Aricia, where they spent the

night at the inn. Next day they arrived at Appii Forum which was "crammed full of bargemen and close-fisted innkeepers". From there in the evening they embarked on the canal barge. When morning came they found they had not made very much progress. At ten o'clock in the morning they landed and washed in the Feronia river and had their lunch. They then got into some carriages and rode three miles to Tarracina. After another long day of travelling they stayed with Maecenas, brother-in-law at Formiae, continuing on the following day to Sinuessa. The next long stretch was to Capua where Maecenas had a game of ball while Virgil and Horace slept. An amusing incident took place at Beneventum "where the bustling host nearly burned himself out of house while turning some skinny field fares at the fire...hungry guests and frightened servants snatching at the supper and all trying to put out the flames". After further stages and after traversing some very poor roads, they finally arrived at Brundisium, their destination.

We get an amusing insight into the type of conversation that people indulged in on such trips, in an account of how Maecenas used sometimes to offer Horace a seat in his carriage on a journey. If a person's travelling companion was likely to be indiscreet, such topics of conversation as the weather, and the respective merits of a certain gladiator were considered safe.

Trips from Rome to the smaller centres around were
not altogether very pleasant. The roads in many cases were bad and the travellers were frequently drenched in rain and mud, while at times they were liable to be attacked by highway men, and have their boxes broken open and robbed.

Along the main roads were numbers of inns to give hospitality to travellers. It was often Cicero's custom to spend a night at an inn at Tarracina while on his way to his Pompeian or Cumaean estates. He once scolded his friend Gallus for having spent too much money on acquiring statues and said that for the amount he spent he would much rather have bought that inn at Tarracina so as not to be perpetually bothering the innkeeper. We also hear of an innkeeper called Aulus Minnius who had a wayside inn on the Latin road, who was suborned to say that he was attacked in his own establishment by Cluentius and his slaves.

The usual mode of travelling for a well-to-do man was in a litter carried by bearers. These conveyances were sometimes very elaborate. Cicero relates an amusing incident of how he had borrowed Asicius' litter which had been obtained from Ptolemy Auletes, and had eight bearers and a regular body-guard of a hundred swordsmen. While on a trip in it, he picked up his friend Marius on the way and offered him a lift. Marius, who was a man of very indifferent health was so deep in conversation that he never noted the bodyguard. When he suddenly opened the litter and looked out, he nearly collap-

sed with fright, which Cicero thought was a huge joke.

Verres, while in Sicily, used to move over his province in his litter holding court wherever he stopped. He copied the kings of Bithynia and had a litter containing a cushion of fine Maltese linen, stuffed with rose petals. He wore a garland on his head and around his neck, and applied a little bag of fine gauze, containing rose petals, to his nostrils. At every town he stopped, the magistrates came to meet him and took up their business with him, following which Verres (Cicero significantly adds) "spent the rest of the time with Venus and Bacchus".

For certain reasons some men at times proceeded on their way in closed litters. When Antony drew near Aquinum he was borne into the town in this manner, owing to the excesses he had been committing. For totally different reasons Marcellus always travelled thus, because he despised auspices and omens so much that he refused to see even them. One can easily imagine the flutter caused through a countryside when a strange litter was seen coming along the road accompanied by a retinue. Cicero in writing to Atticus told him how he had heard that his friend Lentulus was a Puteoli. It happened that a passerby had seen him on the Appian Way as he was looking out from the curtains of his litter.

541. Verr. 5,11  542. Phil. 2,41  543. Div. 2,36  544. Att. 9,11,1
Chapter 14

Culture

The writing of books and letters formed a prominent place in the lives of many cultivated Romans. Cicero was particularly fond of this, especially after his political fall, when he spent the greater part of his time in retirement, writing treatises, and other works. One of the celebrated products of this period was his essay "De Senectute", which has delighted the world ever since. Cicero tells Atticus how glad he is to hear that he has enjoyed it, and at the same time asks him to copy on to large paper another composition of his which he is sending, with many interlinear corrections and additions. This is to be read to Atticus' guests. At another time he tells his friend about his work on the constitutions of Pellene, and mentions that at the time of writing he has a heap of Dicaearchus' work on the floor, which he strongly recommends to his friend Herodes to read. Another work Cicero takes great pleasure in is his treatise "De Republica", which has been a particularly difficult piece of work. If it is a failure he says he will hurl it over the cliff into the sea over which he is gazing. Another time while on a boat trip from Velia he started to write a summary of Aristotle's "Topics", which he sent on to his friend Trebatius from Rhegium. We could thus continue indefinitely.

545. Att.16.3,1 546.Att.2,2 547.Q.F.2,14,1 548.Fam.7,19,1
speaking of Cicero's various literary efforts.

Cicero also took care of his literary reputation and saw that his works were put into circulation. He asks Atticus to see that a certain book of his was in stock at Athens and other Greek towns, so that it may add to his reputation as an author. Besides actual books Cicero wrote prefaces. We find him writing a new one for a certain work and asking Atticus to glue it on in place of the old one. He also liked to have the views of some of his friends on his works. He writes to Lentulus that he will submit to his critical judgment all his achievements in literature or research. Sometimes instead of dictating his works to his copyists he would repeat them to his freedman Tiro, who would take them down sentence by sentence in shorthand, which saved a vast amount of time.

Horace, in an ode to a book, pictures a flourishing book trade in Rome with its headquarters at the end of the Vicus Tuscus where it joined the Forum. In that place there were numerous book sellers who had the edges of their rolls well pumiced. The poet mentions that a book's fate might be to be kept under lock and key by its owners or else be thumbmarked by the common herd. Perhaps they might be exported to the book market in such provincial centres as Utica or Ilerda. Later as the books grow old they might become reading books for young boys at school. Cicero is also very interested in

549. Att.2,1,1 550. Att.16,6,4 551. Fam.1,9,23
the book trade, and is particularly anxious to provide addi-
tions to Quintus' library as well as his own. The difficulty
was that he had no dependable agent. The books he needs most
are either not for sale or are ones which cannot be got to-
gether except by an expert and painstaking agent.

Another favourite occupation was letter writing.

Under a man like Cicero it was developed into an art. He
himself tells us that letter writing was invented to give
friends in some other place any important information. He
considers that there are two delightful types of letters, the
first, intimate and humorous, the other austere and serious.
Caelius who was one of Cicero's numerous correspondents ad-
mits himself to be the laziest of writers but sends him pac-
kets of letters full of such things as news of the latest
decrees of the senate, edicts, gossip, and rumours. Letters
were also for Cicero a good means of giving expression to
his humour. The kind of humor he prefers is the "home grown
kind", for it "has a wonderful fascination". He is very in-
dignant with Eutrapelus for telling him during his absence
in Cilicia all the latest jokes in Rome were attributed to him.
"But now that the city is such a hot bed of vulgarity that
nothing is so banal as not to seem charming to someone, un-
less you see at once that a double entendre is clever, an-
hyperbole in good taste, a pun smart, an unexpected conclusion
comical, and all the other forms of wit are en regle and
sagacious, well then, as you love me, show me your mettle,
As we have already observed Cicero often wrote letters in his room before dawn as well as at table. We also hear of him writing a letter to Atticus on the spur of the moment from the Three Taverns' inn. For his letters we can imagine him using "a good pen, well mixed ink, and ivory polished paper", precautions taken so that Quintus would be able to read them. We have already heard something about the delivery of letters by the "tabellarii". We hear Cicero complaining to Cassius of the latter's carriers for they bring no letter with them but demand one from him to take back and barely give him time to write one, for they say their companions are waiting out in the road. Letters were liable to interception on the way. Frequently the carriers were held up by brigands. Pollio, from Corduba in Spain, tells how the letter carriers are held up in the pass of Castulo and searched by scouts who are posted everywhere along the route, as well as being often attacked by bandits. In winter the only way of sending letters to Spain was overland, but with the arrival of spring they were sent by sea. Cicero has a device to stop important news from leaking out of his letters while they are on the road. He writes in a certain way what he thinks the people at the other end will read, and in another way what people at large who might get hold of the letter will read. Confusion sometimes took place in connection with the
mailing of letters. Cicero remarks to Quintus on one occasion that the letter which he wrote to him was dated earlier than that sent to Caesar, although both went at the same time. Caesar's agent Oppius sometimes did that, accidentally delaying to send a letter while forgetting to change the date. Letter carriers were liable to arrive at almost any time of the day or night. It was a great anxiety when a person was expecting an important letter. Marcus Cicero, writing from Greece, relates that Tiro's carriers actually took forty-six days to arrive.

One of Cicero's favourite relaxations was to engage in various literary pursuits. He tells Atticus that the more he is deprived of his other interests because of the political situation, the greater is the pleasure he finds in literature. Some people have criticized him for spending as much time on such studies as others spend on doing their own work, or celebrating festivals, or amusing themselves at games or banquets, etc. To such critics he replies that he derives from these studies a great increase in his power of speaking and other mental qualities which he puts at the disposal of his friends in time of need. Cicero derives a particular amount of pleasure from reading Greek literature, as it is read by all nations, while Latin is confined to one. Besides literary studies, oratory and declamation were among Cicero's occupations. He has a very high ideal of what an orator should be like.
A person given up to excesses and worried by financial embar­
rassment cannot stand the hard life of the orator. "Do you
suppose there is any other reason why, when the prizes of
eloquence are so great, when the pleasure of speaking is so
great, when the glory is so high, the influence derived from
it is so extensive and the honour so pure, there are and al­
ways have been, so few men who devote themselves to this study?
All pleasures must be trampled underfoot, all pursuits of
amusement must be abandoned, O judges, sports and jesting,
and feasts; aye, I almost say the conversations of one's
friends must be shunned". For a long time Cicero spoke nearly
every day on behalf of some client or other. He usually pra­
tised declaiming while engaged in walking. He worked out a
special style which appeared to be so successful that it
aroused Appius' jealousy. On one occasion we find him so busy
with cases that he tells his friend Marius that he is praying
that no intercalary month will come, so that he may soon get
away with him.

Besides these studies of literature and oratory
many wealthy Romans were art connoisseurs. Cicero particu­
larly was an ardent collector of statues and other object
d'art. He sometimes dealt with Damasippus, who was a noted
art-connoisseur of the day. Horace declared that he was "mad
on buying old statues". On one occasion Cicero commissioned
Gallus to get some statues for him, with the result that those

569. Q.F.3,3,1 & 4  570. ibid  571. Q.F.2,12,2  572. Fam.7,2
573. Fam.7,23  574. Sat.2,3,64  575. Fam.7,23,2
which were obtained were far too expensive and were not what he wanted. Damasippus promised to take them off his hands. Cicero was particularly disgusted that Gallus had bought him a statue of Mars. The one thing that Gallus had bought for himself, he wanted, namely a sculptured table leg. In conclusion he told him that for the amount of money that had been spent he would sooner have bought an inn at Tarracina. Atticus also on many occasions acted as Cicero's agent in collecting statues, especially as decorations for his gymnasium and academy. He particularly liked the Hermathena that Atticus had got for his gymnasium. We hear of statues of Megario marble and of Hermes being ordered for his Academy. Anything else that his friend thought suitable was also requested. He said that if his villa at Tusculum got too full he would start decorating his home at Caieta. A boat load actually arrived at the latter place and we hear of him sending down an agent to pay for the freight. Horace mentions as particularly desirable object d'art, the sculpture of Scopas, "A master in representing, now a man, now a god, in marble". Damasippus used to like to buy all sorts of curiosities, statues carved in an unusual way or more roughly cast than usual, and would give one hundred thousand sesterces for such a statue. He claimed to be the only man who knew how to purchase and find seats to the best advantage.

Many wealthy Romans collected good paintings. Horace
gives as the chief Maxim for a painter, that his work must be uniform as a whole, not like a worker in bronze he knew, "who will mould nails or imitate the soft curves of hair, but who is unhappy when his work is summed up, because he had no idea of representing a whole". Some pictures, he declared, impress the spectator more when they are observed close up, others, from a distance. Some of the greatest masterpieces of painting were those of Parrhasius of Ephesus, who painted "in liquid colours". Besides actual collections of paintings we hear of votive paintings which were vowed and offered to the god who delivered the person from a great danger. They were of the actual escape and were hung upon the temple walls.

Cicero warns us against being a slave of paintings and statues and says they should be regarded as the playthings of boys and not the shackles of men."

Besides statuary and painting, we find other objects d'art in great demand. There was a considerable trade in Rome of antiques such as a "salt cellar which Evander had fingered". Silver ornaments, bronzes, and golden goblets, were eagerly sought. Cicero was so keen on all forms of art, that he told Atticus that he was afraid people would laugh at him for it, and called it his "little weakness". Sometimes

582. A. P. 32  583. O. D. 4, 8, 5  584. A. P. 361  585. O. D. 1, 5, 3
590. S. a. 1, 4, 27  591. O. D. 1, 31, 10  592. A. t. 1, 8; 9
heirlooms were handed down in families. Pamphilus of Lilybaeum was robbed by Verres of a beautiful ewer which was very precious to him and had been handed down to him by his father and grandfather, and which he brought out on special occasions only.

593. Verr. 14, 4
Chapter 15
Wealth and Poverty

In the lines of Horace we hear considerably mention of the problems of money and its value, of the undesirable habits which it causes, and the blessings that proper use of it can bring. He strongly condemns the miser and all he stands for. We meet several misers in his works, one of whom applauds himself at the sight of his own riches after being hissed by the people outside. Another one cannot be broken of his love of gold and desire for gain, by extreme climates, fire, ocean, or sword. He is asked as to what can be the pleasure of burying a vast hoard in the earth and gloating over it, where it does no one any good. On the other hand Horace is not condemning money in itself but merely one abuse of it, namely avarice. He also names the things that money can give, such as a wealthy wife, friends, family, and beauty.

Love of money reached such an extreme in certain people that they did all they could to get rich men to leave them substantial legacies. We are given specific suggestions as to how to go about securing a legacy. One way is to make up to some rich old man, send him presents, and humour him in every possible way. You can also be the lawyer to defend a childless rich old man. It is safer to go after one who has a sickly heir. You should always refuse to read a will when

asked to, but yet catch a glimpse of whether your name is on it or not. It is dangerous to show too little zeal on the one hand and too much loquacity and scheming on the other. Many unscrupulous persons tried to lure covetous widows by offering them sweetmeats and fruits to bring about the same results. Cicero heartily condemns this fawning over rich old people for the purpose of getting a legacy. He says that such a man will shrink from no dishonourable action in flattering his prey. To attract such comments as the above, such practices must have been very prevalent.

We often hear of genuine wills being made and men leaving their friends large sums of money. For example Cicero was left the huge sum of £88,000 by Diodotus the Stoic. On one occasion Quintus and he were to be heirs of a certain Felix. Unfortunately through the negligence of the latter and his slave he did not sign the will, but signed another one, which he did not intend to do.

However, in spite of all the favourable points that he can find, Horace very frequently condemns love of gain and riches. The more wealth you get, the less satisfying it is. It would be better to throw all our jewels and gold into the sea to rid ourselves of such evil. Many people claim, on the other hand that you can never be too rich, as a person is esteemed in proportion to his wealth. It is really an accumula-

598. Ep.1,1,77  599. Par.5  600. Att.2,20
601. Q.F.3,9,9  602. Od.3,24,62  603. ibid.
tion of money which is its owner's real master. After all, the riches and possessions in the world cannot take fevers from a sick man or dispel his cares. Great harm is done by the money lenders in the city who use as their slogan, "O citizens, citizens money is to be sought first, virtues after riches". This is repeated by old and young men with their bags of money and account books. No matter how virtuous you may be, if your income is not up to their standard you are merely a plebian.

Thus after reading Horace with these points in view we cannot doubt of the merits of the simple life on the farms around Rome with their humble pleasures and hard work, as opposed to the insincerity and greed of the city dwellers. Perhaps some of the most charming things he ever wrote are his lines which sing the praises of rural life.

Chapter 16

Religion and Superstition

As at all other epochs in history, religion played an important part in the period under consideration. However it had fallen considerably from the earlier type into a mere series of ceremonies and formalities. Let us first consider some of the chief principles of religion as revealed in our authors and then certain popular manifestations of superstitions.

We find Cicero often somewhat vague in his theology. One cannot be sure how much he himself believes and how much is a restatement of Greek ideas. He clearly believes in the existence of some supreme divine "intelligence", which governs the universe, and he proves it by arguments drawn from nature, and feels that no one in his senses could deny it. He believes that the gods are interested in what goes on on earth and that they have all united to preserve the republic. Law he considers to be a revelation of the mind of God, "enjoining or forbidding each separate thing in accordance with reason". The gods also are judges of men's crimes. He calls on men to approach them with purity of heart and in the spirit of devotion. Especially in religion, the equality of man must

607. N.D. 2,2  
608. N.D. 1,16  
609. Phil, 4,4,10  
610. Leg. 2,4,8  
611. Leg. 2,10  
612. Leg. 2,8
not be forgotten, and so costly sacrifices and offerings should not be required, as they would prevent a poor man from approaching the gods. The divine authority extends over the whole city of Rome. Jupiter himself preserves it from the enemy. Cicero calls on him to save it from the machinations of Catiline asking him to "overwhelm all the enemies of good men, the foes of the republic, the robbers of Italy, men bound together by a treaty and infamous alliance of crimes, dead and alive, with eternal punishments".

Horace indicates a belief in something which even the gods must obey, namely Fate. "By one and the same impartial law Doom assigns the lot of highest and humblest; every name alike is shaken in her roomy urn. "Fortune" too appears as almost synonymous with Fate. "Fortune who joys in her cruel business nor ever tires of the tyrannous sports, shifts from one to another her fickle honours, now bounteous to one, now to some one else", and again, "How thou delightest ever to make sport of human affairs".

The Romans of our period seemed to have had somewhat hazy ideas of a future life. In a very obscure passage Cicero says that "souls on quitting the body, whether they are airy, that is to say, of the nature of breath, or fiery, are carried aloft". The spirits of the dead were known as the Manes, to whom sacrifices were to be made in February. Cicero is doubt-
ful whether there is even consciousness among the dead. He considers that people of old, in order to terrify the wicked, encouraged the belief that the wicked would be punished after death. Horace largely adopts the shadowy Greek ideas on the subject. He speaks of rich and poor following the same road and crossing in Charon's bark to everlasting exile. From there they go to the "unsubstantial house of Pluto", where they are "but some dust and a shadow". Occasionally he speaks of the spirits of the good going to a place of rest. These ideas recur again and again through his poems.

Whatever view people had on theology it is clear that the masses of the people were sunk in what we should now term superstition. A belief in omens was very strong. For example a bad omen might be a "raven with her prophecies of coming storm", or a serpent gliding across a traveller's path. Certain omens were also interpreted by the keepers of the sacred chickens, such as the way in which the chickens fed, or how the grain dropped to the ground. Cicero's view of the subject of divination does not seem clear. For example on one occasion he says, "We are likewise forewarned of many things by the entrails of victims, by presages, and many other means, which have been long observed with such exactness, as to produce an art of divination", whereas of divination at another time he says, "How pitiful is the nature

621. Fam. 4, 5, 6 622. Cat. 4, 4, 7 623. Od. 2, 3 624. Od. 1, 4
625. Od. 4, 7, 7 626. Od. 1, 1, 10, 18 627. Od. 3, 27 628. Fam. 10, 12, 3
629. N. D. 2, 66
of a science which pretends that the eccentric motions of
birds are full of ominous import and that all manner of things
must be done, or left undone, as their flights or songs may
indicate".

Fortune telling seems to have been widely indulged
in Rome. Among the specialists in this were the Sabel-
lians.

Cicero says that he does not believe in those who
foretell by lots or who tell fortunes for gain, or in necro-
mancers, but he does believe in a reasonable kind of divina-
tion. With regard to necromancy we hear of Vatinius trying
to appease the Manes with "the entrails of murdered boys".
Cicero strongly questions the power of the Chaldean sorcerers
to foretell future events. "For as, according to them the birth
of infants is regulated by the moon, and as the Chaldeans
observe and take notice of the natal stars, with which the m
moon happens to be in conjunction at the moment of a nativity,
they are founding their judgements on the most fallacious
evidence of their eyes, as to matters which they ought to
behold by reason and intellect". On the other hand he expres-
ses belief in the oracle of Delphi as having "told the truth
for many ages". Horace disapproves of consulting fortune tel-
ners, even though he himself did so as a boy, saying that it
is not for us to know what the gods have ordained.
Witches and witchcraft filled a large place in the minds of the superstitious. The patroness of witches was the "three-formed goddess", known as Luna in heaven Diana on earth, and Hecate in Hades. A well known witch was Folia who was supposed to be able to charm the stars and moon from the sky. Many philtres and potions were prepared by the Sabellian and Marsian sorcerers accompanied by magical incantations. Horace gives us a very vivid picture of Canidia conducting a witches' orgy. Books on witchcraft provided one with formulas to assuage pain and restore health.

In the latter part of our period we see the beginnings of the idea of deification. Horace portrays Augustus in the heavens between Pollux and Hercules drinking nectar, again in another passage, ruling as vice regent of Jupiter. Even Cicero speaks of the deification of his beloved daughter Tullia. In discussing the shrine that he hopes to build in her honour, he writes to Atticus, "I want it to be a shrine, and that idea cannot be rooted out of my mind, I am anxious to avoid its being taken for a tomb, not so much on account of the legal penalty as to get as near to deification as possible".
Chapter 17

Conclusion

We have reached now the conclusion of our investigation of Roman society as depicted in Cicero and Horace. We have discussed the rich man, his house, his daily life, his recreations, his women folk, his education, his social life, his intellectual occupations, and his religion. In addition we have examined the lot of the poorer classes, including the slaves, and also the large middle class in addition to the small farmers of the surrounding districts. We have seen the remarkable contrast between the luxury of the few and the grinding poverty of the masses with a middle class so occupied in money making that they have no thought for anything but themselves. Perhaps the most deplorable feature of Roman society at this period was its contempt of the poor, while its chief attraction would be perhaps the culture of such men as Cicero, a fine all-round type with of course several obvious faults. Such then was the social life of Rome which formed a colourful background for the stirring events and vivid personalities of the age of Cicero and Horace.
Part A. Cicero, Marcus Tullius


Part B. Flaccus, Quintus Horatius


Part C. General Works

   (s.vv.—alea, annulus, atellanae fabulae, atrium, balneae, barba, caupona, cena, comöedia, domus, ebur, educatio, epistolae, feriae, foenus, gladiator, horologium, hortus, lavatio, lectica, lectus, liber, libertus, ludus, matrimonium, medicus, mendicatio, meretrices, minus, paedagogus, papyrus, pila, piscina, taberna, theatrum, unguenta, vivarium).


