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COMMEND that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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This is to certify that we the undersigned, as a Committee of the Graduate School, have given Clare Belle Leet final oral examination for the degree of Master of Arts. We recommend that the degree of Master of Arts be conferred upon the candidate.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

May 31 1917

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AN HISTORICAL STUDY
OF THE PALATINE HILL AND ITS
RELATION TO ANCIENT ROME

A Thesis Submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Minnesota

by

Clara Belle Leet

In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June

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AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE PALATINE HILL
AND ITS RELATION TO ANCIENT ROME.

Introduction.

Much of the history of Ancient Rome is obscure to us,
The Problem. for a part of the evidence which might have made it clear
has, unfortunately, been destroyed. Even that which has
been preserved through the ages is either dimmed by time or is dis-
torted by the historian's interpretation of it. But by means of
excavations and of the work of the archaeologist many mooted questions
are being gradually solved. These statements apply not only to the
history of Rome in general, they are equally applicable to that
particular part of it around which the present study centers, - the
Palatine Hill.

The Palatine Hill, with the Capitoline and the Forum
Romanum, lying between, formed the heart of Ancient Rome. From this
center flowed its life-giving power to all parts of the Empire. Here
great questions of state were decided; here also, dark intrigue was
concocted; here to the temples were brought trophies of war; and here
to the palaces the art treasures of the world. All this was in the days
of Rome's glory. Now the Palatine is a heap of dusty ruins grown over,
here and there, with shrubs and ilex trees, - a silent witness to the
growth, splendor, and decay of that once mistress of the world.

The present study will endeavor to show the important part
played by the Palatine Hill in the history of Rome, from its beginning

in prehistoric time to the end of the Empire. It attempts to do this by means of a study of the topography of the hill and of the results of excavations made thereon in connection with a study of the accounts of Rome's history. In the study of archaeological remains, however, the conclusions reached by scholars in the field are frequently at variance with one another. No one except a scientifically trained and experienced archaeologist would venture to choose between such opposing views. The present study must, therefore, be satisfied with presenting the most important conclusions of sound scholarship.

The main sources of information upon which this study is based are:

Sources

(1) Contemporary accounts, works of Latin and Greek historians, and writers upon architecture; (2) archaeological material, inscriptions, plans and views; (3) secondary authorities, including modern works on the history, and on the topography of Rome, and articles in archaeological periodicals. Of the contemporary accounts the principal literary sources are:
 (a)
 Livy's History of Rome; Tacitus' Annals and History; Ovid's Fasti; Cicero's Letters; and Suetonius' and Cassius Dio's histories of the time of the Caesars. The most reliable source, dealing with the methods of construction and the materials, used is De Architectura of M. Vitruvius Pollio, an architect of the time of Augustus. Pliny the Elder based many of the statements in his Historia Naturalis upon Vitruvius' work.

The sources of information on archaeological material which have been available are: Inscriptions collected in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, views of the Forma Urbis Romae or the Marble Plan of Rome, fragments of which are now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and of the Haterii relief of the monuments at the upper end of the Sacra Via; drawings and views of the classical monuments, since destroyed, made by Italian architects of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth

(a) Livy's History is mixed with mythology and is not always an impartial record of events.

centuries; and recent views of existing remains found either on the hill or in museums.

Of the secondary authorities, the histories of Rome consulted were: Duruy's for the general period; Mommsen's for the Republic, and Merivale's for the Empire. For the study of the topography of the Palatine Hill and of the accounts of excavations made there, the following Standard Works have been used: Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum*; Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, and *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*; Middleton's, *Remains of Ancient Rome*; and Platner's, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*.

The periodicals dealing with archaeological material which have been consulted are: *American Journal of Archaeology*; *American Journal of Philology*; *Classical Journal*; and *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Institute*; *Römische Abtheilung*.

According to Lanciani the study of the Palatine Hill may be Method treated from three points of view: Chronological, topographical and archaeological. ⁽¹⁾ The chronological method would proceed by periods studying the Palatine, first of regal, then of republican, and last of imperial Rome. Such a study necessarily involves some attention to the development of Roman architecture through these periods. The topographical point of view involves, - (1) a consideration of the location and geology of the hill; (2) a detailed study of the relics as the various parts of the hill are examined. The archaeological groups the remains into classes as walls, temples and palaces, sub-

(1) Lanciani, Rodolfo's, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p VI.

ordinating time element and location. It is scarcely necessary to say that in any careful presentation of the subject none of these view-points would be used to the entire exclusion of the others.

The present study, after an introductory discussion of a few general topics, will emphasize the chronological order, recounting the history of the hill from its crude beginning to its greatest splendor, from the thatched hut of Romulus to the marble palaces of the Caesars. It is believed that by such a treatment can best be shown how and why the Palatine played an important part in the history of Rome.

Excavations.

It is a law in science that nothing in the universe is ever
Law of
Change destroyed but all things are changed in form; the old material is used to make the new. This law is not restricted to such narrow branches of science as chemistry and physics, but is a general law governing progress and development in every field. Man's thought and action are everywhere and at all times subject to this law: wherever and whenever change ceases, progress ceases and civilization becomes static. Such is the law in the history of a nation which underlies its progress, crystalization and decay. The city of Rome passed through each of these three stages. Her story can be traced in the transformation of her monuments. If nothing remained to us but these transformed relics we could in a measure reconstruct her history. For there are found in Rome monuments of all ages, in whose different building materials and methods of construction are shown the changes in the city's development. Nowhere can these changes be more profitably studied than in the remains on the Palatine Hill. Although these remains have

suffered from the neglect of the Middle Ages, and the vandalism of the Renaissance, they are still rich in evidences of Rome's ancient power and grandeur.

Until the year 1860 there had been no systematic excavations

Palatine Excavations of the ruins on the Palatine. In that year under Napoleon III.

Napoleon III bought from the dethroned royal house of Naples, the Villa Farnese and commissioned the Roman architect Pietro Rosa with the excavation of the imperial palaces within his property. (2) In 1869 a part of the House of Livia was uncovered which revealed mural paintings that surpassed in delicacy and originality anything discovered at Herculaneum or at Pompeii. (2) These excavations opened up a new realm of knowledge of the Palatine buildings. The work begun here by Napoleon III was continued and to-day has extended over almost the entire surface of the hill. (a)

Since 1870 similar work of excavation has been going on in

Roman other parts of Rome. When, in that year, Rome became the Excavations capital of the Kingdom of Italy, many changes were Since 1870 made in the city. The laying out of streets and the erection of new buildings led everywhere to the discovery of parts of ancient monuments or fragments of sculpture, so that the municipal museum of the Capitoline became too small to contain the art treasures found. Besides the accidental finds, the Italian government started a systematic research (b)

(2) Michaelis, Adolf, A Century of Archaeological Discoveries, p.110

(a) Since 1911 excavations under the direction of Commendatore Boni have been carried on under the Flavian palace. The ruins under the Villa Mills have not been accessible until recently.

(b) Since 1870 the Italian government has taken charge of all excavations. Before that time many art treasures were taken out of the country by foreign excavators.

which has been carried on ever since. Such men as Lanciani, Boni, (3) Henry Jordan and Christian Huelsen have been very active in this field. Within the last ten or twelve years the development in Roman archaeology has been remarkable. Many questions have been solved, and as a result the period of the kings can no longer be relegated to the realm of legend but must now be considered as a part of history. There are, to be sure, many questions which still remain to be answered, but the archaeologists are endeavoring to solve them. One might say that the history of Ancient Rome is still in the making.

Building Materials.

It has been asserted that Rome's rapid growth and permanent Materials stability were due to the fact that her immediate neighbor- found near hood was so rich in many kinds of building materials (4) Rome. including several kinds of stones, and various ingredients used in making (5) the most durable concrete and cements that have ever been made. The first material used by the earliest inhabitants was quarried close at hand but after Rome had made herself secure within stone walls, she proceeded to expand her power, and as a result and as a guage to that expansion, one finds mixed with the domestic building materials various kinds brought from abroad - from parts of Italy at first, later from the extremes of the Empire.

(3) Michaelis, A Century of Archaeological Discoveries, p. 252.

(4) Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 32-47; Middleton, J. H., Remains of Ancient Rome, Vol. I, pp. 5-26; Platner, S. B., Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome, pp. 22-31; Vitruvius, Ten Books on Architecture, Bk. II, 3-7.

(5) Middleton, Remains, I, p. 5.

The primitive people of the hills of Rome quarried the Tufa volcanic conglomerate, tufa. This tufa was found on the Palatine, the Capitoline and the Aventine hills. It was a poor "weather-stone" consisting largely of rotten pumice-stone and a volcanic sand varying in color from reddish brown to yellow. Even the hardest varieties crumbled when exposed to the atmosphere but were sufficiently durable when covered with stucco or cement. The first buildings on the above-named hills were built of this material. ^(a) It is found in many of the existing ancient monuments, such as drains, the walls and agger of Servius Tullius, and several temples. In fact, tufa, wherever found may be taken as an evidence of antiquity, being the only stone used during the earliest period.

^(b)
Another stone of volcanic origin is peperino, or lapis Albanus.
Peperino

This is a stone formed through the agency of hot water acting upon the gray cinders of the Alban volcanoes. It is dark brown in color, and is a harder and better building stone than tufa. It was used during the late Republic and the Empire, as is seen from the remains of the Cloaca Maxima, the Claudian Aqueduct and the Temple of Cybele. A variety of this peperino found at Gabii and so called lapis Gabinus is harder and more weather-proof than the lapis Albanus. Tacitus, in his Annals, speaks of the fire-resisting qualities of these stones from Alba and from Gabii, and on account of this quality, Nero required that the houses which were built after the great fire should "be raised to a certain elevation, without beams or woodwork, on arches of stone from ⁽⁶⁾ (these) quarries."

(a) Partly because the tufa was found close at hand, and also because it could be worked with tools of bronze. - *ibid*, p.5, note 1.

(b) So called from black scoriae, like peppercorns, scattered through it. - *ibid*, p. 6.

(6) Tacitus, Annals, Bk. XV. Ch. 43.

Travertine or lapis Tiburtinus, the chief quarries of which
 Travertine are at Tibur or Tivoli, ⁽⁷⁾ is the famous limestone of
 the Sabine hills. Middleton says, " it is a pure carbonate of lime, very
 hard, of a beautiful creamy color which weathers into a rich golden tint.
 It is a deposit from running water, and is found in a highly stratified
 state, with frequent cavities and fissures, lined with crystallized
 carbonate of lime." ⁽⁸⁾ Vitruvius explains in his work, De Architectura,
 the process of producing lime by submitting the stone to heat. He
 recognized the importance of travertine in the making of Roman concrete
 and mortar. ⁽⁹⁾ If travertine is laid horizontally it is very strong, but
 if set upright it splits from end to end because of its crystalline
 structure. This quality, the roman architects were careful to take into
 account in their building. Travertine was not introduced into general use
 in Rome until the second century B. C., but after that time it was used
 extensively. The best example of it in exterior structure is that of the
 Colosseum, while the finer close-grained variety is represented in mosaic
 work in the so-called House of Livia. ⁽¹⁰⁾

(a)

Lava, or gilex, was used for street paving and rubble work.
 For the purpose of road building the lava was cut into large blocks and
 then fitted into place, forming a sort of mosaic work. Very small pieces
 were mixed with pozzolana, and lime, thus producing a very durable concrete. ⁽¹¹⁾

(7) Cf. Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 35-38 for an excellent description of a quarry.

(8) Middleton, Remains, I, p. 7.

(9) Vitruvius, II. Ch. 5.

(10) Middleton, Remains, I, p. 8.

(a) I. e. masonry constructed of rough stones, of irregular size and shape.

(11) Platner, Topography, p. 23.

(12)

Pozzolana, found in large deposits at Puteoli, near Naples, and in the vicinity of Rome, is a peculiar sand composed of alumina, potash, lime, magnesia and silica. When properly mixed with lime, it formed an hydraulic cement that has never been surpassed. It made possible the immense buildings of the Empire, and has preserved them to the present day. Just how the Roman engineers handled this cement in the construction of such buildings as the Pantheon is a question not yet solved.

(13)

The bricks of the Romans were of two kinds, either the sun-dried (later) or kiln-baked (testa or tegula), the principal material in their manufacture being the clay which was found in abundance in the vicinity of Rome. The remarks of Vitruvius in Bk. II, Ch. 3, seem to refer wholly to sun-dried bricks and they are of interest since they record the methods of the Greeks as well as the Romans in the preparation of this building material. There are, today, no examples of the unburnt bricks which have survived in Rome until modern times; yet they were used exclusively down to the time of Augustus. Kiln-dried bricks and tiles exist in great quantities since they were so extensively used in all kinds of buildings throughout the Empire. But "among the existing ancient buildings of Rome there is no such thing as a brick wall or a brick arch in the true sense of the word; bricks were merely used as a facing for concrete walls and arches and have no constructional importance."

(15)

(12) Vitruvius, II, Ch. 6.

(a) In proportion of about 2:1 - Cf. Platner, Topography, pp. 23-24.

(13) Vitruvius, II, Ch. 3.

(14) Platner, Topography, p. 24.

(15) Middleton, Rome-Ancient City-Building Material, Encyclopedia.

Britannica, 11th. ed. Vol. XXIII, pp. 584-585.

Roman bricks unlike modern ones were oblong, round, triangular and square, and of various sizes. But the triangular, which lent themselves most readily to different requirements were usually about ten inches in length. (a)

Brick manufacture was a very important industry in Rome as can be easily understood from the extensive building operations that were going on at all times. The expression of Augustus, "I found Rome of brick, but left it of marble", (16) would indicate the use of great quantities of brick in building. Brick-making must have been a very remunerative enterprise for, judging from the stamps, the Emperor himself (17) or members of the imperial family often owned brick yards.

Bricks were usually stamped with a seal as they came from the forms. This stamp sometimes bore the name of the owner and manager of the kiln, of the maker of the tile, of the middle-man or salesman, and of the Consuls under whose term of office the bricks were made. All these names were not necessarily on one seal. (18) When bricks stamped with the consular date are found, they are of great importance to the student in determining the date of the building itself; but too much confidence may not be placed in the brick stamps, because whenever possible bricks were used more than once in reconstruction or repair of buildings. But wherever walls have not been reconstructed and the stamps are all of the same date, though they may be from different kilns, one may rely upon the date. However, if the dates vary, as do also the kiln stamps, the evidence is valueless except to prove that the building has been repaired. (19)

(a) The sun-dried bricks were 18x12 inches; the equilateral triangles varied from 4 to 14 inches, usually 10 inches; and the square tiles averaged about 2 feet square - Middleton, *Remains*, I, p. 11.

(16) Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*: Augustus, Ch. 28.

(17) Lanciani, *Ruins*, p. 42; (18) *Ibid*, p. 39.

(19) Kinnaman, J. O., *Roman Archaeology*, Ch. I, *American Antiquarian and*

(20)

Marble, both native and foreign, came into use about the middle of the first century B. C., and spread with great rapidity. The Marble (a) introduction was opposed at first, as fostering Greek Luxury.

The orator Crassus was the first to use it in his house on the Palatine built about 92 B. C. and though he had only six small columns of Hymettian marble, yet because of this luxury, the stern republican Marcus Brutus (21) called Crassus the "Palatine Venus". In 78 B. C. M. Lepidus introduced (b) Numidian marble using it not only for columns in his house but also for (22) thresholds of the doors. And, according to Pliny, "Scaurus was the first (23) to build a theatre with walls of marble". Pliny relates further that it (c) was with black Lucullan marble pillars, "eight-and-thirty feet in height", (24) that Scaurus decorated his house, and that the contractor for the public sewer compelled him to give security for possible damage that might be (24) done in the carriage of them to the Palatium. Pliny was indignant at this and says: "When so bad an example as this was set, would it not have been advisable to take some precautions for the preservation of the public morals? --- When such enormous masses as these were being carried past the earthenware pediments of the temples of the gods to the house of a private (24) individual!" Though Augustus himself lived for more than forty years

(20) Middleton, Remains, I, p. 14-26; Platner, Topography, p. 25; Porter, Mary W., What Rome was built with, pp. 1-102.

(a) Pliny says there was no law forbidding the importation of marble. He thinks this was due to the fact that marble was first used to decorate a theatre, and the laws were silent, "in a spirit of indulgence for the amusements of the public."-Pliny, the Elder, Historia Naturalis, XXXVI, Ch. 2.

(21) Cf. Pliny, XXXVI 7.

(b) A beautiful yellow marble from Numidia - Cf. Porter, What Rome was built with, p. 36.

(22) Pliny H. N. XXXVI, 49.

(23) Ibid, XXXVI, 8.

(c) Names for L. Lucullus, the consul who introduced it into Rome - see Pliny, H. N. XXXVI, 8.

(24) Ibid, XXXVI, 2.

in a house, the porticoes of which were supported by columns of lapis Albanus and unadorned by marble pavements, yet the use of marble became very common under his rule. Under the succeeding emperors the amount of marble of all possible varieties which was brought to Rome was enormous. Lanciani tells us that " the variety and richness of Roman marbles may be estimated from the fact that there are collected from Rome alone one hundred fifty-one qualities (25) of alabaster. With the exception of the marble quarried at Luna near Carrara, practically all marble was imported to Italy. (26) The term marble in connection with Roman buildings includes other decorative stones such as serpentine and alabaster, which with granite, basalt and porphyry were imported in great quantities from all parts of the known world. (26)

Methods of Construction.

In a study of the remains of ancient monuments, in order to discover their date and identity, it is necessary to know not only what kind of material was used but also how it was used. Various Methods The different historical periods of buildings are classes in distinct dates. These have been determined by observing the material used and its mode of use in certain buildings of known date of erection and comparing it with that of others.

(25) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 43.

(26) Platner, Topography, p. 25.

There are no traces in Rome of the oldest Italian

Opus masonry - the polygonal . The earliest remains
 Quadratum found in Rome, the Walls of the Palatine, were built
 (27)
 in opus quadratum. That is rectangular blocks were laid in
 alternate courses of stretchers and headers - lengthwise in one
 tier and crosswise in the rest. This method was used throughout
 the republican period. But in the imperial period many buildings
 show the blocks all placed lengthwise.

Irregular pieces of stone fixed together in cement
 (28)
 Opus gave a new kind of wall called opus incertum. These
 Incertum pieces had a smooth outer surface and were cut in
 conical shape with the points pressed in the cement backing. This
 was the oldest method of facing and was used during the second and
 first centuries B. C.

Opus incertum was given up in the time of Sulla and was
 (29)
 Opus replaced by opus reticulatum. In this form of
 Reticulatum construction the small stones were cut in regular
 prisms in imitation of network. Vitruvius says that the latter
 (30)
 looked better than the opus incertum but was not so strong.
 Lanciani distinguishes three kinds of opus reticulatum: the oldest
 with prisms small, and the intersecting lines of the network
 slightly irregular, as shown in the wall at the foot of the

(27) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 43; Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 37-43;
 Platner, Topography, pp. 25-27; Vitruvius, II, Ch. 8, Sec. 5-8.

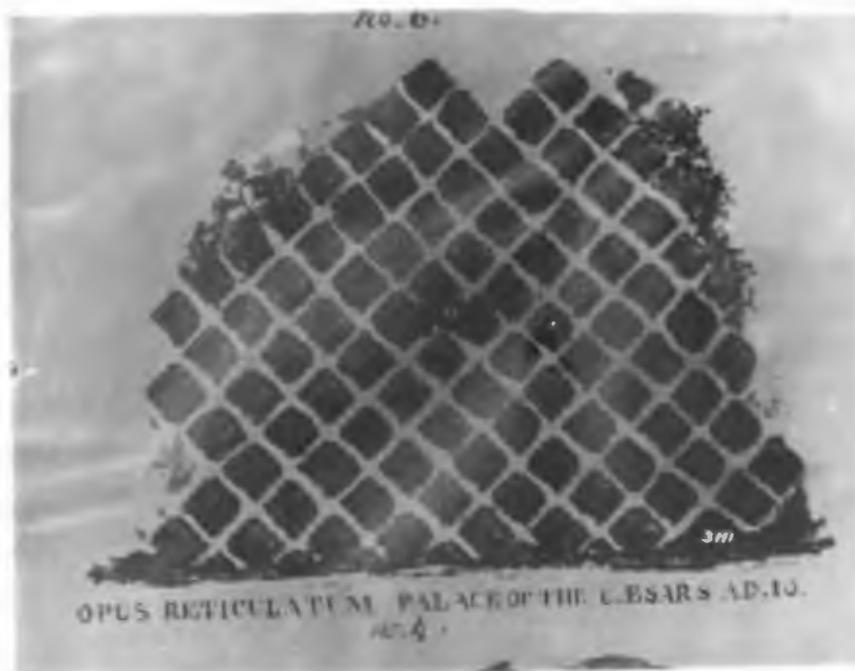
(28) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 44; Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 44-52;
 Platner, Topography, p. 27; Vitruvius II, Ch. 8, 1.

(29) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 45; Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 52-54;
 Platner, Topography, p. 27-28, Vitruvius, II, Ch. 8, 1-2.

(30) Vitruvius, II, Ch. 8, 1.



OPUS QUADRATUM — WALL OF ROMULUS — IN THE PALATINE RE-
 MAINS OF ANCIENT ROMAN CONSTRUCTION.



OPUS RETICULATUM PALACE OF THE CAESARS AD. 10.
 No. 6.

Scalae Caci on the Palatine; the second, the piers larger, and the intersecting lines perfectly straight, as illustrated in the House of Livia on the Palatine; the third, from the time of Trajan to the Antonines, in which the solidity of the work is improved. The reticulated work of this period was set in bands of brick and the angles and arches were built of brick, while the whole was covered with a coating of plaster.

(31)

Brick-facing was one of the most frequently employed

Opus methods of construction in the imperial period. The latericium

bricks found in this construction are always kiln-

(32)

dried; there are no examples of facing with sun-dried brick. These

bricks were only used as a thin facing for a wall and never used to

(33)

form a solid brickwork. This was the rule for walls varying from

2 feet to 7 inches in thickness. The construction of the latter

must have been at a great expense of time and labor.

In simple facings the triangular shape was employed, but at intervals of from three to five feet single courses of large tiles one foot eleven inches square were used, which extended through the whole thickness of the wall. If these tiles were used to strengthen

(34)

the walls they had the opposite effect, for the concrete has stood the

(34)

wear of time better than the tile. In the same way arches occurring

(34)

in the brick facing were of no real constructional value.

(31) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 45-47; Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 54-63; Platner, Topography pp. 28-29; Vitruvius, II. Ch. 3 and II Ch. 8, 9-10, 16-20.

(32) Platner, Topography, p. 29.

(33) Middleton, Remains, I. p. 56.

(34) Ibid, p. 58.



A doorway in Caligula's Palace
facing on the Nova Via, showing
a thin facing of brick over concrete.

One period of Roman brickwork can easily be distinguished from another by measuring the number of bricks in a foot and noting their uniformity of size. (35) But more particularly must be noted the thickness of the mortar joints; since, from the time of Nero when the mortar was the thinnest between narrow bricks, the work deteriorated in proportion as the thickness of mortar increased. (36)

The method of concrete facing which came into use about the Opus Mixtum the close of the third century is characterized by bands of rectangular tufa blocks 10 inches by 4 inches and from 8 to 5 inches deep. This occurred in the latest alterations of the Flavian Palace and in the Stadium on the Palatine, probably executed in the time of Theodoric, after whose reign came a period of destruction of existing buildings rather than the erection of new ones. (37)

Styles of Architecture

Architecture was the chief art of the Romans, and became Three Stages distinctly characteristic in the early Empire. of (38) Development. There were three stages in the history of its development; the Etruscan, the Greek, and third, the Roman or Graeco-Roman. (39) In the first few centuries of Roman history both the methods

(35) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 45; Middleton, Remains, I, p. 61.

(36) Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 62-64; Platner, Topography, pp. 29-30.

(37) Middleton, Remains, I, p. 62.

(38) Anderson, W. J. and Spiere, R. P., Architecture of Greece and Rome, Chs. VII-X, pp. 120-156; Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 26-35; Vitruvius, IV.

(39) Middleton, Remains, I, p. 26.

(a)
 of construction and the design were purely Etruscan, as is seen in the earliest temples. The more pronounced Greek influence began in the period following the second Punic War and almost all temples of the late Republic and the early Empire were Greek with certain modifications, not only in general design but in details and ornaments. From this period Greek architects were employed in Rome, and practically all the Roman architects were Greek by education and had probably studied at Athens. The distinctly Roman style was brought about by the skill of the Romans as engineers which led to the development of the arch, and with its modifications, the dome. By the use of the arch they did away with the stone lintel of the Greeks; by the dome they were able to span large spaces with vaults by use of girders and concrete structure.

Of the various types of buildings found in Rome - the house, theatre, temple, basilica, forum and tomb, only two are found on the Palatine, the temple and the house. The general characteristics of these will here be considered.

(a) Etruscan art, however, was strongly influenced by Greek and Egyptian art - Ibid, p. 27.

(b) A notable example was the celebrated Apollodorus of Damascus in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.

(c) E. g. Vitruvius and Mutius of the first century B. C., Severus and Celer under Nero, and Rabirius under Domitian.

(40) Middleton, *Romans*, I, p. 29.

(41) Grainger, J. E. *Characteristics of Human Architecture*. *Miners' Engineer*, Jan. 1912, Vol. XX, p. 82.

(42) Middleton, *Rome-Ancient City - Architectural Style*. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XXIII, p. 586.

In the designs for their temples the Romans seem to have compromised between the Etruscan and the Greek plans. From the former they copied the raised podium or platform, the triple cella or sanctuary and the deep portico or porch; from the latter, the peristyle or covered colonnade which surrounded the cella of the temple. Vitruvius' description of an Etruscan temple, and the accounts of various contemporary writers of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, together with representations of it in bas-relief from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius and on coins, give a clear idea of the Etruscan temple and the changes made upon it by the Romans through the influence of the Greeks.

The history of the Roman private house is interesting because it shows so distinctly the various steps in Rome's civilisation, from the round, thatched-roofed hut of primitive Rome to the domus of the rich Roman of the later republican and imperial periods. The house of the shepherd dealer of the Palatine city was a hut with a thatched roof, no window, a hearth in the middle of the floor, and a hole at the top to let out the smoke. The house of historic times was rectangular with one central room or hall, in which was the whole indoor life of the family.

(43) Vitruvius, IV, Ch. 4-9.

(44) Dionysius, Antiquitates Romanae, IV, 61; Tacitus, Annals, III, 72 and IV, 53; Livy, History of Rome, I, 55.

(a) This is taken as an example for it was the principal temple in Rome. The original is supposed to have been tetrastyle with three cellas at the back, and later to have been hexastyle by the addition of the peristyle - Anderson and Spiers, Architecture, p. 129.

(b) Yet the Romans differed from the Greeks in two points in regard to the designs of their temples; in the tendency to increase the size of the cella, and in the use of windows - Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 30-31.

(45) Anderson and Spiers, Architecture, pp. 259-274; Middleton, Remains,

Here the human and divine inhabitants originally dwelt together - Vesta and the Lares and Penates, the protecting deities of the hearth and of the household. To understand the old Roman house all one needs is to understand this center of the family life, the atrium. Architecturally, the atrium never lost its significance as the center of the house. There were, besides, the vestibulum or entry, the space between the street and the doorway, the ostium or doorway with its jama, the impluvium in the center of the atrium, a depression in the floor to receive the rain when it fell through the compluvium or square opening in the roof. On either side of the atrium were recesses, which, if the family were noble, contained the images of its ancestors. Another recess, opposite the entrance, and opening into the garden perhaps, was the tablinum. Here in warm weather the family might take their meals. The atrium and all these adjoining parts were essentially Roman. Through Greek influence there was added in the later Roman house the peristylum or open court with its development. By the time of the later Republic and of the Empire, the Romans retained the Roman part for reception rooms, for the morning callers who went no farther than the atrium; while the Greek part, the peristylum and its adjoining rooms and garden, was reserved for the family and most intimate friends. This is the general plan of the Roman house, a detailed study of the best extant example will be made later in the discussion of the House of Livia.

The forgoing is a brief consideration of the general topics of the history of the excavations upon the Palatine, of the building

materials, methods of construction, and styles of architecture of remains which may be found there. We now turn to the study of the hill itself and of the relation of the Palatine to the history of Rome as revealed in its monuments.

The Palatine Hill

(a)

The Palatine is one of the seven Hills of Ancient

Geological Formation Rome which lie on the South or left bank of the

(46) Tiber about fourteen miles from the present mouth

(47) of the river. These hills were formed of masses of tufa or conglomerated sand and ashes thrown out by volcanoes now extinct, - by the Ciminian to the north, and by the Alban to the south.

The geological structure of the site of Rome shows the volcanic deposit to be made upon an alluvial plain. But altho some hills, as the Aventine and the Pincian, show an additional deposit of travertine or hard lime - stone rock, - most of them show a tufa formation. This either lies without stratification just

(a) Capitoline, Palatine, Aventine, Quivinal, Viminal, Esquiline and Caelian. Modern Rome includes also the Pincian on the left bank of the Tiber, and the Janiculum and Vatican on the right.

(46) Lanciani, Enging. pp.1-6, Middleton, Remains. I, pp. 1-5; Platner, Topography. pp. 11-12.

(47) Middleton, Remains. I, p. 1.

(b) These volcanoes were active down to a comparatively recent date as is shown by deposits of pottery and bronze implements below strata of tufa - Middleton, Remains. I, p. 1.

(c) Lying around Lago Braccino about 15 miles N. of Rome-Baedeker, Central Italy (1909) Map of Central Italy.

(d) Lying around Lago Albano about 10 miles S. of Rome - Ibid.

as the ashes and sand were showered down from the crater, or having been deposited in water and mixed with water-worn pebbles and chips of limestone, the ashes have formed a sort of stratified natural cement. (48)

The Palatine, however, presents a peculiar tufa. Here red-hot ashes had evidently fallen on a great forest for huge lumps of charcoal are embedded in the tufa rock. Many of the massive blocks of the so-called Wall of Romulus and other prehistoric structures of the Palatine were cut from this conglomerate of tufa and charcoal, and they still distinctly show charred branches of trees embedded in them. (49)

After the volcanic period of the geological era (a)

Physical Changes a great and swollen stream came down from the mountains in the fissure which divided the Ciminius from the Alban volcanoes. (50) This river, from 3,000 to 6,000 feet wide and about 100 feet deep emptied into the sea about sixteen or seventeen miles from the present city of Rome. (50) By the erosive action of this powerful stream and its tributaries, the tableland on the left bank was either furrowed into promontories or portions became detached and and formed small islands. (50) As a result, when this quaternary river receded to the site of the Tiber in historic time, (b) the isolated

(48) Middleton, Remains, I, p. 2.

(49) Ibid, I, p. 3.

(a) Lanciani enumerates four geological formations in the district of Rome, (1) Secondary or limestone, (2) tertiary or argillaceous, (3) volcanic, (4) quaternary or diluvial - Lanciani, Remains, p. 5.

(50) Lanciani, Remains, p. 1.

(b) I. e. about 80 metres or about 260 feet - Ibid, p. 9.

portions and promontories were left as definite hills but the
 (51)
 intervening land remained marshy and subject to freshets.

The valleys laying between the hills which were later called the Forum Romanum, the Velabra, and the Forum Boarium were once almost impassable marshes and pools of water of which Ovid says,
 (52)
"Hic, ubi nunc Fora sunt, undae tenuere paludes". The draining of these marshes and stagnant pools was one of the first architectural
 (a)
 effects of man when he came to settle upon the hills. By this means the valleys were made passable and the way was prepared for the great Forum surrounded with temples, basilicas and the assembly place of the people.

Time and man have greatly changed the surface of the hills. These agencies have tended to lower the level of the hills
 (53)
 and to raise that of the surrounding valleys. The change in level ranges from a few inches to sixty-five feet. In excavating the inner courtyard of the house of the Vestals at the foot of the Palatine Hill the greatest difference between ancient and modern
 (53)
 levels was found to be seventy-two feet. These differences in level have resulted from the great building activity during the Empire; from the crumbling of these buildings during the Middle Ages; with the consequent accumulations of rubbish; and again from the
 (54)
 revival of building in Rome during the Renaissance. At first, however, the steep hills and marshy valleys were a means of protection to the primitive settlers; but when the various hill settlements united

(51) Ibid, p. 1.

(52) Ovid, Fasti, II. 391.

(a) I. e. Cloaca Maxima.

(53) Lanciani, Ruins, pp.98-105. (54) Ibid, p. 102.

under one government, the valley formed a common meeting ground.

The Palatine was originally almost square in shape covering
 The Palatine Hill an area of about twenty-five acres the length of the sides
 (a)
 averaging about 1450 feet and reaching a height of about
 (b)
 105 feet above the level of modern Rome. A depression or natural
 valley, extending from the Velia (by the Arch of Titus) and Porta
 Mugonia on the north the whole way across it to the side of the Circus
 Maximus on the south, divided the hill into two parts, the Cermalus
 (c)
 on the west and the Palatium on the southeast. A spur outside the
 wall projected from the middle of the north side of the Palatine toward
 the Esquiline and was called the Velia although it was more frequently
 referred to in literature as Summa Sacra Via. The depression is now
 filled by the substructure of the palaces of the Caesars which thus
 levels the surface of the top of the hill. The addition of the palace
 of Septimius Severus at the southeast corner has changed the shape
 of the hill from square to trapezoid.

The Palatine of the Kings.

Very little of real historical value has been determined
 Legendary History regarding the early settlement upon the Palatine. Legend

(a) I. e. 450 metres - Platner, Topography, p. 32.

(b) I. e. 32 metres - Lanciani, Ruins, p. 107.

(c) This name was gradually extended to the whole hill - Platner,

Topography, p. 129.

(a) and tradition are so bound with the early history that it is impossible to omit mentioning them; yet it is hopeless to try to separate legend from tradition. (55) Such are the tales of Evander, of Hercules, of Aeneas and his descendants, together with the story of the twins, myths which, told in pleasing poetic style, are well known to all readers of Roman history. Poets and artists and people of credulous faith have for many centuries so dwelt upon these myths that though they may have no foundation in fact, they have become a part of history. The tale concerning Romulus, the mythical founder of Rome, is merely one of these legends, but it is probably the best known and relates directly to Palatine history. (c) It is however, of late growth and is strongly tinged with Greek influence. The love of the Vestal Rhea and the War-God Mars; the miraculous preservation and nurture of the twins; the change of the man Romulus into the god Quirinus - each of

(a) E. S. Shuckburgh says in regard to the historical value of legendary stories that (1) they contain the account of the origin of the city and institutions with which the Romans were content, and (2) they convey a correct view in the main of the actual progress made by the city. Shuckburgh, E. S., History of Rome, pp. 58-59. Cf. also How and Leigh, History of Rome, pp. 34 ff. for criticism; also S. B. Platner, The Credibility of Early Roman History, American Historical Review, Jan. 1902, Vol. VII, pp. 233-253.

(b) The distinction between a legend and a tradition is, a legend is any wonderful story coming down from the past but not verifiable by historical record, a myth, fable, while tradition is the unwritten or oral delivery of information, opinions, - practices, customs -- from ancestors to posterity. Webster's International Dictionary. (1905).

(55) Cf. Pais Ettore, Ancient Legends of Roman History, pp. 43-59, Schwegler has listed about forty different legends connected with the early history of Rome - Schwegler, A., Römische Geschichte im Zeitalter der König. Vol. I, p. 400.

(c) Though strictly a Roman story it shows influence of Greek religious and legendary ideas.

these points in the story has its counterpart in Greek mythology and was no doubt introduced into Rome after the conquest of Magna Graecia. The fact that none of the patrician families claimed descendancy from (a) the founder of the city and that the name Romulus is coined from a (b) later form of the name of the city, also prove that the legend was of late origin.

Regardless of the name of the founder, or whether he was of divine or human origin, all stories agree that there was a time when the Palatine was the only Rome and when the Ramnes were the only Romans. Mommsen, who was the first historian of Rome to disregard the legendary history, claims that the story of the founding of Rome by refugees from Alba Longa under the leadership of Romulus and Remus is "nothing but a naive attempt of primitive quasi-history to explain the singular circumstance of the place having arisen on a site so (c) unfavorable and to connect, at the same time, the origin of Rome with (56) the general metropolis of Latium." He continues by saying that "such tales, which profess to be historical but are merely improvised explanations of no very ingenious character, it is the first duty of history to dismiss; but it may perhaps be allowed to go a step further, and after weighing the special relations of the locality to propose a positive conjecture not regarding the way in which the place originated, but regarding the circumstances which occasioned its rapid and surprising

(a) Not until the time of Augustus was the claim of royal descent from Aeneas invented for the house of Caesar.

(b) The oldest form known is Romnes whose derivation cannot be given with certainty - Mommsen, Theodor, History of Rome, Bk. I, Ch. IV.

(c) In his Geography, Strabo says that the Palatine was a locality selected rather through necessity than choice as the site was neither fortified by nature, nor sufficiently large for a city of importance - Strabo, Geography, Bk. V, Ch. III, Latium.

(56) Mommsen, History of Rome, Bk. I, Ch. IV.

prosperity and led to its occupying its peculiar position in Latium.

We do not know that the Palatine was actually the first hill of the group which was settled by man but we believe it was the one which incorporated and gave its name to the others. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ The growth of the primitive city was due to its advantageous position as an outpost for Latium and for commerce with the neighboring people. The stages of its development mark its growth from the site upon the Palatine as Rome Quadrata to the community of the Seven Mounts and at last to the city of Servius Tullius, the new Rome - the Rome of history. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

The more accepted view in regard to the growth of the city of Rome is based on the unanimous testimony of ancient literature. According to it the nucleus of the Eternal City lay in that square town, Rome Quadrata of the Palatine, as it was called in later times from the irregularly quadrangular form of the hill. The Romans date the founding of this settlement at 753 B. C., but continuous excavations show that they might have claimed a much greater antiquity. The gates and walls that enclosed this original city remained visible down to the period of the Empire. The sites of the Porta Romana and of the Porta Mugonia are still known and the so-called Wall of Romulus ^(a) is described by Tacitus from his own observation, at least on the sides toward the Aventine and Caelian hills.

From the accounts of the early writers we cannot determine whether the city of Romulus occupied only the western half of the hill,

(57) Cf. below, Theories of Rome's development. P. 30

(a) It is convenient to call the wall of the early city by the mythical name.

(58) the Cermalus, or whether it took immediate possession of the whole (58) (59) plateau. Nor can we know whether the first settlers used a palisade for defense or whether the place was at once surrounded by a solid wall. The boundaries of the Palatine city were kept in memory among the Romans down to the later days of the Republic through the feats of Lupercalia when, as Varro tells, the priests of Luperkus ran round the Palatine. Tacitus still saw in his time the boundary stones that were set up at (a) regular intervals to mark the line of the pomerium or free zone outside the city wall. This institution goes back to Etruscan ritual according to which the site for a new settlement was first consecrated as a (b) temple and then surrounded by a furrow. The augural center of the city (c) (d) templum was called the Mundus. Its site has been lost since the Empire, but it is supposed to have been a subterranean structure into

(58) Jordan, H., Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum. Vol. I, 3. Ch. Hülsen does not agree with Jordan, that the Palatine included all of the hill and maintains that the Palatine is the part at the south side and that the Velia and the Cermalus have been incontestably established, - Jordan, I, 3 pp. 35-36. Cf. also Middleton, Remains, I, p. 111.

(59) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 59.

(a) The word is derived from pono or post moerium, "beyond the wall" but its precise nature is not known.

(b) A temple in the proper sense of the term was unknown at this time so that the Palatine has none to show as belonging to this age.

(c) Ch. Hülsen in Jordan, I, 3, 43 would seem to agree with Lanciani, (Ruins p. 60) that the altar or Mundus and the Roma Quadrata were identical.

(d) In 1914 on the highest point of the Palatine, Commendatore Boni sank a shaft and discovered a domed structure built of dark tufa blocks which he identifies as the Mundus. Although the finding of the stone lid and the fact that the shaft led to passages which could serve as storehouses for the sacred grains would confirm his belief, archaeologists in general have not yet accepted his identification - archaeological note from Athenaeum (of London), American Journal of Archaeology, 1914 p. 399.

which the first fruits were cast, the Romans believed that it was connected with the underworld so that on three days of the year the "di manes" had free egress into the city. The furrow, traced by Romulus with the plough drawn by a bull and a cow yoked together, was the sacred girdle of the city which might never be broken, within which none might introduce the dead or the gods of strangers. Only when this rite had been completed was the building of the wall begun, and as this stood on an artificially made shelf of rock more than half-way up the side of the hill and followed the contour of the hill on which the town was placed, it could not everywhere keep the same distance between the square of the templum and the line of the pomerium.

The location of ^{the} pomerium is one of the most discussed questions among archaeologists in connection with the Pomerium topography of the Palatine and apparently no conclusion has been reached. Henry Jordan held that the line of the pomerium surrounded the Roma Quadrata or templum of the city and was its boundary and that it was not below the hill because the walls excavated in 1851, which were no doubt the ramparts of the Palatine city, were half-way up the hill.

(60* For an interesting discussion of the Mundus see A. J. Frothingham, Circular Templum and Mundus, American Journal of Archaeology, 1914, pp. 302-320.

(61) Tacitus, Annals, XII, 24.

(a) Roman coins of the Republican and Imperial periods, used to record the founding of a colony, represented a man thus tracing the pomerium furrow - Cf. Middleton, I, p. 108, Note 1.

(b) The inhabitants of the Palatine city buried their dead in the valley to the north-east afterward occupied by the Forum; the graves recently (1902) discovered there belong to the 8th and 7th centuries B. C. - Cf. Jones H. S., Rome - Palatine City, Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, p. 589, note.

(62) Cf. Middleton, Remains, I, p. 112.

(63) Jordan, I, pp. 163-175.

(64)

In regard to the *Roma Quadrata* he thought the expression was used in a double sense, (1) for the designation of the lines of the pomerium and (2) for the parallel lines of the fortification of the citadel.

S. B. Platner states the problem as follows: "Either there were two city ^(a) *templum*, one called *Roma Quadrata* on the hill; or else one or the other of these inclosures was not an augural *templum* at all. Neither of these hypotheses is possible and we are forced to the conclusion that Tacitus' line was not the original pomerium and that his error was due to the current belief that the course followed by the Luperci in their procession was that of this first pomerium". He then concludes that "the real pomerium of the Palatine city ran within the line of fortification and marked the boundary of the *Roma Quadrata*. In this way the discrepancy between the natural meaning of the word "*templum*" and the fact that Tacitus' line is outside the existing wall can be explained".
(65)

The existing remains of the wall of the *Roma Quadrata* are very few. ^(b) Probably the oldest now visible is at the south-west corner of the hill where two small sections are seen built of blocks of grey-green tufa placed lengthwise in one tier and crosswise in the next above, without mortar or cement. There is a question as to the period to which to assign this portion of the wall

(64) Ibid, p. 188, note.

(a) Platner believes that the *Roma Quadrata* is used in the sense of *Mundus* or augural centre of the city-temple. (*Topography*, p. 34); and that *pomerium* first meant the boundary itself, was soon transferred to the strip of land between this line and the actual city wall, and was there used in both senses. (*Ibid*, pp. 35-36).

(65) S. B. Platner, *The Pomerium and Roma Quadrata*, *American Journal of Philology*, 1901, Vol. 22, pp. 420-425.

(b) Lanciani, mentions six places at the west corner of the hill. Lanciani, *Ruins*, p. 60.

(66)
 but Platner concludes that "it seems most reasonable to suppose that this was, if not the original, at least a restoration of the original Palatine Wall after this had passed the earliest stage of a mere
 (67)
 rampart of earth. About two and a half feet outside the earlier wall and in many places covering it, was a later wall of friable brown tufa blocks of which remains are found on the south and west sides of the
 (a)
 hill. These show that the natural strength given by the cliff was increased by artificial means. The hill was cut away into the rock cliff, slightly inclining inward toward the top, to give stability to the wall, which was built up against it, reaching probably a few feet
 (b)
 higher than the top of the cliff. This was probably built in the 5th or 4th century B. C. to replace and reinforce the earlier wall but it in turn was destroyed or covered by the enormous substructures of the
 (68)
 imperial palace with its rows of barracks or storerooms.

(70)
 Of the three gates of the wall, perhaps a fragment of one
 The Three still remains; of the others we can only approximately
 Gates determine the positions. The Porta Mugonia, in front of
 (71)
 which Romulus is said to have vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator at
 (c)
 the critical moment in his battle with the Sabines under Titus Tatius

(66) Cf. Platner, *TOPOGRAFIE*, p. 110, notes 1, 2, 3.

(67) *Ibid.*, p. 111.

(a) Hilsen also believes that the Nova Via runs upon the walls of the old Roman wall on the northeast and northwest side of the Hill, Jordan I, 3, p. 37.

(b) The wall is 10 feet in thickness at the bottom and increases in thickness toward the top. - Middleton, *Rome-Ancient City, Remains of Prehistoric Times*, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XXIII, p. 589.

(68) *Ibid.*, p. 589.

(69) Platner, *TOPOGRAFIE*, p. 111.

(70) Cf. Pliny, *H. N.* III, 9.

(71) Cf. Livy, I, 12, 41; X, 36, 37; Dionysius, II, 50; Plutarch, *Cicero*.

16.

(c) It seems that he forgot his vow after Jupiter had stayed the enemy for this temple was never built till 294 B. C.

is supposed to have been at the upper part of the Summa Nova Via; that is, on the north east side of the hill not far from the subsequent Arch of Titus. Here by the old Clivus Palatinus, the cattle were driven in and out, and because of this, Varro says the gate was named Mugonia from mugitus, lowing of the cattle. From this "old gate of the Palatine" started the only two streets of Rome which were designated by the term "Via" - the Sacra Via and the Nova Via. The Sacra Via lead down through the Forum toward the Capitoline; the Nova Via ran along the slope half-way up, encircled the hill on the northeast and northwest sides, passed behind the Vestal house and finally ended in the Velabrum by no direct continuation except by the stairs under the Porta Romana (near the site of the present church of S. Teodoro).

The second gate, the Porta Romana, was described by Varro as the "Romulana, so-called from Rome, the same which has steps into the Nova Via at the Shrine of Volupiae. Festus, in speaking of it says: "But the Porta Romana was set up by Romulus above the foot of the Hill of Victory, and this place is formed of tiers of steps disposed in a square. It is called Romana by the Sabines in particular because it is the nearest entrance to Rome from the side of the Sabines". This gate was at the foot of the Clivus Victoriae and could be reached from two

(72) Varro, De Lingua Latina, V. 164.

(73) Hülsen, I, Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum 1898-1908 (mit Tf. I-IV, Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, 1902, Band XVII, p. 73-74.

(74) Hülsen, Roman Forum, Its History and Its Monuments. p. 206.

(75) Jordan, I, 1, p 176, Platner, Topography, p. 37.

(a) The old explanation which Lanciani (Ruins p. 125) upholds, that the name means "river gate" from the connection between Roma and the supposed rumon, a river, Platner thinks must be given up. - Platner, Topography, p. 37, note.

(76) Varro, L. L. V. 164. Cf. also Dionysius, II, 50, Festus, 144.

(77) Festus, 262.

sides; from the Forum by steps; from the Velabrum by a carriage
(78)
road cut along the base of the cliff at a steep incline.

At the southwest side near the western point of the hill
(a)
by the *Scalae Caci*, a few blocks of tufa may mark the remains of a
(79)
third gate but the site is, so far, not known.

At the top of the hill at the south-west corner is a
complicated network of walls, foundations, and drains which recent

Earliest excavations have brought to light. Among these is
Remains a circular cistern nine feet in diameter and built of
tufa lined with stucco, another about twice as wide is built of gray-
green tufa and coated with clay. It is provided with a circular flight
of steps which lead to the bottom of the cistern. Under one of the
well-shafts a round basin was cut in the rock into which buckets could
be let down from the top. These rock-cisterns were probably used
during a time of siege when the inhabitants of *Roma Quadrata* could not
(80)
have access to the springs below the *Porta Romana*.

It is with this south-western angle of the hill that the
legends relating to the foundation of the Palatine city are all connected.
(81)
Here it was according to tradition that the basket which contained the
twins, *Romulus* and *Remus* was washed ashore by the *Tiber* at the spot

(78) *Lanciani, Ruins*, p. 125.

(a) I. e. *Steps of Cacus*. At the present only the upper part of this
stairway is exposed, the rest is under debris. Originally it was the beginning
of a dangerous winding path down the cliffs on the side of the *Circus Maximus*
leading to the spring and cave of the *Lupercal*. Later steps were substituted
for the path. Cf. *Jordan I*, 3, 41-42; *Lanciani, Ruins*, p. 129.

(79) *Platner, Topography*, p. 37.

(80) *Middleton, Remains*, p. 116-117; *Platner, Topography*, p. 132

(81) *Livy*, I, 4; *Ovid, Fasti*, II, 412. *Tacitus, Annals*, XIII, 58.

where grew the sacred fig-tree - figus ruminalis - afterwards (a)
 miraculously transplanted to the Comitium. Here, too, was the Lupercal, (b)
 the lair of the wolf which nursed the twins. This cave became some
 sort of sanctuary and was carefully preserved, for we read in the
 Monumentum Ancyranum that its monumental entrance was restored by (c)
 Augustus. Above it, at the top of the hill was the hut tugurium
 of the shepherd, Faustulus, who became the foster-father of Romulus
 and Remus. In later years Romulus lived in a house, casa Romuli, which
 Dionysius says, " was where the Roma Quadrata ended, at the corner as
 you turn from the Palatine Hill to the Circus", and, Plutarch adds, (84)
 " close by the steps, as they call them, of the fair shore "
 This casa of straw is said to have been preserved in its original form
 (85)
 down to the time of the Empire, and thus it can not be identified with

(a) Originally a natural cave, sacred to Pan Lupercus, from which a spring issued - Jordan, I, 3, pp. 37-39. Cf. also Platner, p. 130.

(b) About the middle of the Republican period the bronze group of the wolf and the children (the latter were restored in modern times), now preserved in the Palazzo dei conservatori, was erected at this spot, and its image may be seen on many ancient Roman coins - Amelung and Holsinger, Museums and Ruins of Rome, Vol. II, p. 10.

(82) Monumentum Ancyranum, IV, 2 (Res gestae divi Augusti) ed. by Mommsen.

(c) Possibly only another name for the Casa Romulus - Middleton, Remains, I. p. 122.

(83) Dionysius, I, 79.

(84) Plutarch, Romulus XX.

(85) Jordan, I, 3, pp. 39-40; Platner, Topography, p. 130.

(a)
any of the ancient tufa buildings on this part of the hill.

Besides these remains of the regal period on the southwestern part of the Palatine, there is one other point of interest, the Curiae veteres, the earliest sanctuary of the curiae, and mentioned (86) by Tacitus in his account of the pomerium. This Curiae veteres was at the northeast corner of the hill and probably at its foot, near (87) the Sacra Via and the site of the later arch of Constantine. Many of these monuments were carefully preserved until during the Empire but from that time their exact location has not been determined.

If excavations on the Palatine could be carried to a sufficient depth, undoubtedly a great deal more light could be thrown upon the

Analogous beginnings of its history. In lieu of this knowledge
Excavations.

which would thus be afforded, certain archaeologists, notably Lanciani, have arrived at conclusions concerning this early community through analogy with excavations carried on at the sites of other primitive cities contemporaneous with the Palatine settlement. Such sites as Antemnae and Veii have been thoroughly explored and the results recorded.

(88)

Antemnae is very nearly identical with the Palatine in form, size and manner of fortification. Those parts that were not rendered Antemnae impregnable by nature were made so by a wall built of blocks of local stone two feet high by three feet long. The Antemnae belonged to the "bronze age" with traces of the "stone age" still

(a) The shape of this and of the oldest dwellings in Roma Quadrata is represented to us mainly by the cinerary urns found at Alba Longa and on the sites of other Latin settlements. - Amelung and Holsinger, Vol. II, Ruins, p. 10.

(86) Tacitus, Annals, XII, 24. (87) Jordan, I, 3, 43-44; Platner, Topography, p. 130.

(88) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 110.

(a) visible. Their pottery was partly home-made, crude and rough, and partly of Etruscan importation. These early settlers at Antemnae lived in round or square huts of timber with thatched roofs. The site of these huts can be seen in the pits or beds of hard trodden clay mixed with charcoal within a ring of rough stone. Each house was surrounded by its orchard, garden and also sheep and cattle folds. The walls had three gates; one leading to the springs and wells; one to the pasture and cemetery; one to the highroad. To protect themselves against water famine in case of siege great cisterns that held many gallons were built within the walls. . . (b) These facts have been learned from actual excavation at the site of Antemnae. The excavation at Veii in 1889 revealed similiar conditions. (89)

According to traditional history, when a colony from Alba Longa settled upon the Palatine, Antemnae was a flourishing center less than four miles above on the same bank of the Tiber. It is not improbable that they carried on a bartering trade with each other and that their customs and stages of development were about equal. Therefore, by analogy between the results of excavations on the Palatine and those at Antemnae and at Veii, the archaeologists are able to strengthen their conclusions in regard to the fortification, interior arrangement, and customs of the early Palatine city.

(a) The "stone age" is represented by flint spear-points and other implements made from stone.

(b) One cistern was destroyed in 1883 that had a capacity of 80,000 gallons. There was also a well 54 feet deep which was reported in 1897 to be still in use. Lanciani, Ruins, p. 111.

(89) Ibid, p. 113.



Palatinum and Septimontium
Lanciani.

In regard to the growth of the Palatine community and its development into the city of Rome there are conflicting opinions.

Current theory of Rome's Development Christian Huelsen, S. B. Platner and most of the archaeologists adopt the view held by

Mommsen and Wissowa, which is as follows: First, the original settlement on the Palatine comprised (1) the Palatium and (2) the Cermalus (i. e. the entire Palatine hill) and then was added the Velia, the outlying ridge between the Palatine and Esquiline; then it spread over the hills to the east and south, then were added (4) the Oppius and (5) the Cispius, the two westernmost spurs of the Esquiline, together with (6) the Fagatal, the extreme quest of the Oppius, and (7) the Sucusa (or Subura), which was a point of the Caelius. This Septimontium city grew out of the Roma Quadrata of the (90) Palatine.

The depression between the Palatine and the Capitoline continued for a long time a marshy valley and was not considered a part of the city. Springs on the north side of the Palatine and on the east side of the Capitoline watered the valley. A brook coming from the hills to the east flowed through this valley and that of the Velabrum to the Tiber, thus forming a protection for the north side of the Palatine settlement. The Sacra Via ran from the Porta Mugonia of the Palatine northwest toward the Capitoline and near it, outside the (a) circuit of the wall of the old Septimontium city was the burial-ground

(90) For the current view Cf. Platner, The Septimontium and the seven Hills, Classical Philology, 1906, Vol. I. pp. 69-80; Platner, Topography, pp. 32-74; Huelsen, Roman Forum, pp. 2-3; Mommsen, History of Rome, Bk. I, and other histories.

(a) H. Stewart-Jones says there is no proof that the Septimontium was a walled city- H. S. Jones, Rome, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, p. 589.

or necropolis. The valley of the Forum was not included within the boundary of the city until after the Palatine settlement had united with the Sabine on the Quivinal and the united communities had chosen the Capitoline as their common citadel and the seat of their greatest sanctuary, the Temple of Jovis Optimus Maximus. Then the burial place disappeared and the Cloaca Maxima drained the valley for the market place.

The union of the Septimontium with the hills of the Sabine settlers marked the third stage in the development - The city of the Four Regions. This union was ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius. It comprised; (1) Suburana, including the Caelian and the valley between that hill and the Esquiline; (2) Esquiline, the Oppius and Cispius; (3) Collina, the Quivinal and Viminal; (4) Palatina, including the Palatine and Velia.

The wall of Servius Tullius comprehended not only the Four Regions with the Capitol and the Forum and the entire Esquiline, but also another hill, the Aventine, lying to the south and west of the Palatine close to the Tiber. Thus there was created the Rome of the seven Hills - the Rome of History.

(a) The Capitoline was the citadel but was not included in the city (hence the phrase *urbs et Capitolium*) Ibid.)

(b) This was the origin of the later four city tribes of Rome.

(c) (But this hill remained for centuries outside the pomerium. The advancement of the pomerium from the really prehistoric times did not keep progress with the growth of the actual settlement.)

(d) (Under Augustus the city was divided into fourteen regions of which the Palatine was Regio X.)

Until recently this has been the established opinion, based upon the testimony of ancient writers. Since 1903, however, several scholars, represented by Jesse B. Carter, disagree with this idea of Rome's growth from the Roma Quadrata of the Palatine, New Theory

They advance the theory that the organized city of Rome arose from a union of autonomous hamlets, situated on the several hills, none of which could claim priority of settlement or authority over the others. (91)

Carter believes that the first city proper with its first pomerium corresponds to what topographers call the city of the Four Regions. He claims that there are no valid reasons for assuming the previous existence of a Septimontium or of a Roma Quadrata. He considers that "the Septimontium, known only as a religious observance, was merely a sacred gathering of the inhabitants of neighboring villages; that the venerable Roma Quadrata never existed as the unique nucleus of Rome, but was merely one of a number of villages on the hill-tops along with the Capitoline, Quivinal and Esquiline; that any one of the others (92) may well be older than the Palatine."

(91) For the new view Cf. J. B. Carter, Roma Quadrata and the Septimontium, American Journal of Archaeology, 1906, Vol. pp. 172-183; A. L. Frothingham; The Real Explanation of the Founding and Early Growth of the City of Rome, American Journal of Archaeology, 1912.

(92) J. B. Carter, Review of Jordan, H., Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum, Erster Band, Dritte Abtheilung bearbeitet von Chr. Huelsen, American Journal of Philology, 1907, Vol. 28, pp. 324-329. He considers that the topographers are too much influenced by Mommsenism, i. e. an attitude of skepticism in regard to knowing much more about early Roman history that we know at present.

(93) G. W. Botsford, in an article on the Growth of the City of Rome, voices the sentiment of most historians in regard to these conflicting theories. He says that the attempt of this new school to deprive the Palatine of its traditional honor is vain. The finding on the Palatine of the remains of a temple of the sixth or seventh century B. C., the belief that here were celebrated the primitive festivals, and the knowledge that the ^{Romans} faithfully preserved through the Empire the relics of the Romulian settlement, are facts, he asserts, too deeply fixed in tradition, to be readily uprooted.

This appears to be a question that must be solved by the scientific research of the archaeologist without regard to sentimental adherence to tradition. Yet for the present the archaeological evidences seem to substantiate the current theory that the Palatine city, the Roma Quadrata, was the nucleus of the City of Rome.

The Palatine of the Republic.

The growth of the Palatine city and its incorporation with the settlements on the hills to the east changed the political center from the Palatine to the Forum, and from there north and west into the Campus Martius. The Palatine was always a revered spot, hallowed by early tradition, it does not seem to have been very greatly frequented during the five centuries between the period of the kings and that of the emperors. Only a few temples were built upon it, but never a theatre or a porticus. It was not till the glories of the Republic outshone the memory of the kings that the Palatine became the favorite residence of the wealthy. In the last century before the Empire, when the period of enormous wealth

(93) G. W. Botsford, Teaching of Roman History II, The Growth of the City of Rome, History Teacher's Magazine, Oct. 1914, Vol. 5, pp. 239 - 44.

(a) I. e. a building equivalent to the Greek a roofed colonnade.

began, the slopes toward the Forum and the Velabrum were crowned with splendid houses, where marble was for the first time used in columns and pavements. But these houses were regarded with great disapproval on account of their ostentation. They changed hands often, (a) and almost every man who owned them came to a violent death, and at last, they were all either swept away to make room for the huge palaces of the Emperors or were covered deep under the immense substructions with which the irregular summit of the Palatine was enlarged or made level.

During the Republican centuries many shrines were erected throughout Rome to various gods and goddesses. More than fifty temples are mentioned in the writings of Livy and other classic authors as erected from time to time to Jupiter and to Juno, to Janus and to Venus, to Cybele, the oriental divinity, and to a great number of personifications as Fortune, Concord, and Modesty. Some of these were stately buildings but many, no doubt, were small, and were built of material which was not durable, either of the tufa or peperino or of the unbaked bricks covered with stucco. Temples were erected in all parts of Rome, on the hills and in the fora, in the crowded districts or in the residential.

Of the cults on the Palatine that go back to very ancient times, were those of Fever, of Dea Viriplaca, a protectress of domestic (b)

(a) E. g. the political leaders whose property would be confiscated.

(b) Lanciani says, "the hill was not above the reach of fever even after the drainage of the less Velabium by the Cloaca Maxima, as the worship of Dea Febris was never intermitted and her temple and altar were not abandoned for centuries after", - Lanciani, Ruinae, p 117.

(a)
 peace, and of Aius Locutius, but the sites of their temples are not
 (b)
 exactly known.

The temples that can be definitely designated are those of
 (c)
 the later times of the Republic. The earliest dates from the beginning

Temple of of the third century B. C. This is the Temple
 Jupiter Stator of Jupiter Stator. Classic writers place it near
 the Porta Mugonia at the highest point of the Nova Via on the west side
 (94)
 of the Sacra Via toward the Palatine. Tradition ascribes it to
 (95)
 Romulus but it was probably built in 294 B. C. by the consul M. Atilius
 (96)
 Regulus immediately after Jupiter had stayed the Samnites as a result
 of a vow similar to that made by Romulus when he was about to be
 overcome by the Sabines.

According to Vitruvius (III, 2,5) the Temple of Jupiter
 Stator, designed by Hermodorus, was a hexastyle peripteral form of
 (d) (97)
 architecture. The Haterii the famous pictorial bas-relief in the
 Lateran Museum, shows the facade of this temple placed next to that of
 the Arch of Titus in the same position ascribed it by the classics.
 Only the foundations of this temple are preserved, which consist of a

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- (a) The mysterious voice which, in the stillness of night, warned the
 citizens of the approach of the Gauls, 390 B. C. - Ibid, p. 127.
 (b) Huelsen places Aius Locutius on the slope under the Domus Tiberiana -
 Jordan, I, 3, pp, 45-47.
 (c) The temple of Jupiter Feretrius, on the Capitolium is the only other
 temple recorded as being earlier than this - Middleton, Remains, I, p. 167
 note 1.
 (94) Dionysius II, 50; Ovid Fasti VI, 793; Plutarch, Cicero, 16.
 (95) See page 29 (note c)
 (96) Jordan I, 3, pp. 20-23.
 (d) I. e. Having six columns in front and six in the rear with eleven on
 each side including the corner columns, and so placed as to leave a space the
 width of an interval between the columns, so as to form a walk round the cella of the
 temple, - Vitruvius, III, 2,5.
 (97) Lanciani, Rome, p. 198; Platner, Topography, p. 6,7.

large rectangular platform of concrete on which the mediaeval turvis Cartularia was built, which served as a refuge for the popes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Recent excavations, however, show some tufa walls beneath the foundation of the Arch of Titus which may belong to the temple at an earlier date when its position was slightly different.

There was a Temple to Jupiter Victor vowed by the dictator G. Fabius Rullianus at the battle of Sentinum in 295 B. C. and

Temple of Jupiter Victor probably dedicated soon after, which is said to have stood till 400 A. D. But all that is known of it from classical writers, is that the day of dedication was April 13. Comm. Rosa discovered a platform of a temple in 1867 between the house of Livia and the Nymphaeum of the palace of Domitian, which he identified with the Temple of Jupiter Victor. but Lanciani, Huelsen and Platner do not agree with him. Lanciani attributes it to the Temple of Jupiter Propugnator, which is mentioned in a number of inscriptions. He considers that it was connected with the residence (schola collegii) of a priesthood ranking in nobility with that to the Quindecimviri of the Arvales.

(98) Platner, Topography, pp 138 & 313. Cf. also Middleton, Remains, I, p. 168 note 1. for possible position of real site of temple.

(99) Jordan, I, 3, pp. 50-51.

(100) Platner, Topography, p. 138.

(a) "This temple has suffered much injury from the fanciful restorations of Comm. Rosa, who conjecturally gave it the name of Jupiter Victor." Middleton, Remains, I, p. 164, note 1.

(101) Cf. Lanciani, Ruins, p. 137; Jordan, I, 3, pp. 50-51; Platner, Topography, p. 138.

(102) Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, VI, 20042009.

and other kindred religious corporations, of which the Emperor was
 a de iure member. He substantiates this by saying that " the remains
 of a building in opus quadratum of the late Republic, remarkably suited
 for the use of a schola, have actually been discovered side by side
 with the temple itself.

One of the most interesting points of discussion relating to
 the buildings on the Palatine is the site of the Temple of Victoria.

Temple of Dionysius says, "Upon the top of hill they set apart
 Victoria a piece of ground, which they dedicated to Victory, and
 instituted annual sacrifices to be offered up to her also, which the
 Romane perform even in my time," However old this cult may be it is
 known that L. Postumus Megellus built the temple in 294 B. C., according
 to Livy with money from fines which he collected by the Curule Aedile.
 Almost nothing is known of it later except that the meteoric stone
 (βασιτυλός) which represented the Phygian Cybele or Magna Mater
 was placed here during the years 204-191 B. C. while the Temple of
 Magna Mater was being completed. In 192 B. C. " Marcus Portius Cato
 dedicated a shrine to Victoriae Virgini, near the Temple of Victoriae,
 two years after he had vowed it." This is the last mention we find
 of it in the classics.

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- (103) Lanciani, Etina, p. 137
 (104) Dionysius, I, 32.
 (105) Livy, I, 33.
 (106) Ibid, XXII, 14
 (107) Ibid, XXIV, 9.
 (108) Lanciani, Etina, p. 125

"The temple was discovered by Bianchini in 1728, on the edge of the hill above the road, inside a court or *Τέμενος* (109) between the palaces of Tiberius and Caligula".

Huelsen then concludes from the inscriptions which Bianchini excavated that it was between the slope of the hill and S. Teodoro, almost exactly where the modern incline begins; that is, (109) that the temple did not stand on the summit but on the slope. And in Jordan's *Topographie* I, 3, Huelsen says that the ground plan of Clivus and surrounding buildings agree with the remains between S. Teodoro and the precipice of the hill; that probably the designation "Clivus (a) *Victoriae*" is correct for the way arising behind S. Teodoro and (110) continuing to the northern summit. If, therefore, from the supposition (1) that the fragments of the inscriptions of the temple of Victoria were found in situ and (2) that the tufa masonry found during recent excavations belonged to such a building, the site of the temple is located on the side hill. In that case the clivus took its name from a temple at its lower end rather than from one to which it led as was (111) usually the case.

(109) Hülsen, *Untersuchungen sur Topographie des Palatins, Mittheilungen*. 1895, Vol X. pp. 23-24.

(a) The Porta Romana, Cf. above, p. 30 of my MS.

(110) Jordan, I, 3, pp 47-50.

(111) Cf. Platner, *Topography*, pp. 138-9.

The most famous temple of the Palatine and perhaps of all Rome was that of the Magna Mater or Cybele. Livy relates that during the Second Punic War, in 206 B. C., at the command of the Sibylline oracle, and for the purpose of driving Hannibal from Italy, an embassy was sent by the senate to Pessinus in Phrygia, which brought back to Rome the pointed black stone which represented the goddess. This was ^asmall meteoric stone, pyramidal in shape, set, instead of the face, in a silver statue of Cybele. The Romans held this image in great reverence and erected a temple in its honor which was dedicated in 191 B. C. by the praetor M. Junius Brutus. This temple, called aedes Magnae Divae Matris, was twice burned and restored, the second time by Augustus in 3 A. D. and was standing unharmed in the fourth century. This great object of public worship was removed from its sanctuary by Heliogabius (or Elagabalus) to his own lararium or private chapel in the Flavian palace where it was probably seen by Bianchini in 1725 . The last mention that is made of the Great Mother of the Gods is at the end of the fourth century, when Nicomachus Flavianus and a few followers who championed polytheism tried to revive the old pagan superstitions, among them the Megalesia or mysterious worship of Cybele. From this temple each year on the 27th of March a merry train of devotees and priests went through the streets of Rome singing light songs, to bathe the statue of the goddess in the little river Almo.

(112) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 133.

(113) ~~C.I.L. V, 3700, 1040~~ - Bossier, G, Promenades Archæologiques, Rome et Pompéii, p. 86.

And each April, from the wide steps of the temple spectators witnessed the Ludi Megalesia or games of the Great Goddess, which were here celebrated.

(114)

Inscriptions relating to the Magna Mater, a portion of a colossal female figure, seated on a throne and which has been identified by means of the footstool which was a symbol of Cybele, and a fragment of a base with the paws of lions, her regular attendants, have been found near the podium of the temple, in the southwest corner of the Palatine (a) (115) between the Domus Tiberiana and the Scalae Caci. The foundation walls of the cella and pronaos are still intact, as are the steps leading to it; while the columns and fragments of supports, capitals and pediments lie scattered near, which, if put together as Huelsen (115) (b) has done in design, would make a magnificent ruin upon the Palatine.

The Romans of the Republic were builders, in proportion to their means, as great as were those of the Empire. But until the Private Houses extensive conquests in the East the resources of the Republic were very scanty; and during the entire period incessant wars allowed little time for beautifying their city. In regard to their houses it was considered patriotic to observe extreme simplicity and to be uninfluenced by the luxury of the Greeks of Southern Italy.

(114) C. I. L. V, 3702, 1040.

(a) Further evidence for identifying the podium with the Temple of Cybele was found, including heads of Attis. Archaeological news, American Journal of Archaeology, 1912, p. 129.

(115) Huelsen, Untersuchungen sur Topographie des Palatins, Mittheilungen 1895, Vol. X, pp. 10-22.

(b) Huelsen says there were two Magna Mater temples, a small one which looked east, where the Clivus Palatinus bends from the Sacra Via, and another large temple at the western point of the hill looked toward the valley of the Circus Maximus, Ibid, pp. 3-28.

And even in the last century before the Empire, when wealth became so great that many men no longer denied themselves some luxury in their homes, public censure and ridicule kept down this display for a short time. (116) Livy says that luxury was imported into the city by the army of Cnc. Manlius Volso returning from Asia in B. C. 188. They were the first to bring gilded couches, rich tapestry, and magnificent furniture to Rome. They introduced many other luxuries which however were "scarcely even seeds of future luxury." (117) Toward the end of the Republic the Palatine, especially the northwestern corner, became one of the most aristocratic quarters of the city, resorted to by the great orators, lawyers and politicians of the time, (because of the high healthy position and because it was so near to the Curia, the Rostra and the Forum).

This became the hill of the Patricians, and here dwelt Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul with Marius B. C. 102, with whom he gained a victory over the Cimbri. From the spoils thus won he enlarged his house and built a porticus whose remains are supposed to be those seen on the right as one ascends the Clivus Victoriae. (118) Here dwelt (a) Hortensius, the eloquent orator, whose house Augustus later bought. On this hill dwelt Hortensius' rival, and later his friend, Cicero,

(116) Pliny *H. N.* XXXVI, 1-2

(117) Livy, XXXIX, 6.

(118) Cicero, *Pro Domo*, 43.

(a) It is told of Hortensius that he was gifted with such a memory that he could repeat the auction list backwards on coming out of the sales room. It is also told that he was the first to include peacocks in Roman dinner menus - Lanciani, *Ruins*, p. 118.

who boasted that he lived "in pulcherrimo urbis loco", the most beautiful spot in the city. He tells us that he thence commanded the Forum and that his view extended over all the quarters of the town.

Cicero's house experienced as many vicissitudes of fortune as did its illustrious owner. It was originally owned by M. Livius Drusus, the tribune of the plebs in B. C. 91 and the great social reformer, whose murder precipitated the Social War. The house was inherited by Crassus from whom Cicero bought it for a sum equivalent (119) to \$155,000. The peristyle was shaded by six large lotus trees, which perished 170 years later in the fire of Nero. After Cicero's ownership (a) the house passed from one person to another until it was (120) finally absorbed in Caligula's palace.

The house was located on the lower slope of the Palatine towards the Domus Publica of the Pontifex Maximus. When J. Caesar lived there in that capacity, Cicero boasted that he was Caesar's (121) neighbor.

But Cicero had other neighbors who were his bitter enemies - Mark Antony and Catiline, whose conspiracy Cicero exposed so successfully and the notorious Clodius. Clodius dwelt immediately above Cicero on the side of the Palatine. The Domus Clodiana was magnificent and commanded a wonderful view, but when Cicero, upon his return from exile

(119) Cicero, Pro Domo, 37.

(a) During the orator's exile Clodius procured a decree to destroy the house but the Senate later voted 2,000,000 sesterces (\$80,000) to rebuild it.

(120) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 117.

(121) Cicero, Ad. Fam. V. 6; ad. Atti, XII, 45.

threatened to add new stories to his house in order to block out from
 (a)
 Clodius the sight of the city, which he had sought to destroy, Clodius
 purchased the palace of Scaurus for nearly 15,000,000 sesterces or about
 \$600,000. This palace of M. Aemilius Scaurus, step-son of Sulla, was
 perhaps the richest of all Palatine residences and was known for the
 (122)
 expensive marble used in its decoration.

All these houses were in the district of the Clivus Victoriae
 at the corner of the hill commanding the Forum and must have been destroy-
 ed when Caligula built his palace there. Remains of buildings of this
 (b)
 period exist on the upper slopes on the Palatine, all along the Velabrum
 side and on the southwestern side as far as the so-called Paedagogium.
 These buildings were constructed on the wall of Romulus, a great part
 of which was cut away to make room for them. The base of these buildings
 is at the foot of the ancient wall on the shelf cut midway in the side
 of the hill; their top reached originally above the upper level of the
 summit. The buildings are of various dates, and cannot be identified
 with any known buildings. Part of the construction is apparently of the
 times of the emperor Tiberius, and no doubt belongs to the Domus Tiberiana
 which covered a great part of the northwest corner of the hill.

A very interesting and well preserved example of a private
 (123)
 house built wholly of opus reticulatum was found on the Palatine in 1869.

House of Livia (c)	It is located on the Cermalus, north of the Temple of Jupiter Victor between ruins of the palaces of Domitian
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(a) Clodius became the leader of the revolutionary rabble mob.

(122) Cf. Jordan I, 3, 55-60; Lanciani, Ruins, p. 118.

(b) I. e. houses constructed in early reticulatum.

(c) The house is supposed to have belonged either to Livia, wife of
 Augustus, or to Germanicus, her grand son.

(123) Lanciani, Ruins, P. 147

and of Tiberius. It seems that this house was not torn down in the general building scheme of the various emperors but became a part of the imperial property, while retaining its original form and modest exterior. The discovery of lead water pipes bearing the inscription (a) (124) IVLIAE AVG has led to the conjecture that the house was bequeathed to (125) Livia by her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and that it was the one to which she had retired after Augustus' death. The house was built before the surface of the hill was leveled, and its position is such that while the upper story is on a level with the road along the ridge, the whole lower floor of the house is set in a sort of hole below (126) the level of the lower road. A flight of travertine steps to the (b) entrance of the house lead down instead of up.

(a) These pipes were made from plates about 16 inches by 10 feet and to 1/3 of an inch thick which were rolled round and joined with a seam beaten together and then soldered. The ends of the pipes were joined by "an enlarged socket being formed in one end by beating it over a wooden conical core, while the other was contracted by hammering so as to slip into the enlarged part and then the two ends were soldered together" - Middleton, Remains, I, p. 178.

(124) C I L XV 7264.

(125) H. S. Jones, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, p. 597. Lanciani, However, believes the inscription refers to Julia the daughter of Titus or Julia Domna, Cf. Lanciani, Roma, p. 148.

(126) Middleton, Remains, I, p. 175.

(b) This same peculiarity is seen at the villa of the Empress Livia at Prima Porta, which would indicate that it might have been a matter of preference, rather than of necessity.

The passageway in front of the entrance is connected with a long
 (a)
cryptoporticus which extends along the east side of the palace of
 Tiberius to that of Caligula.

The material with which this house was built is concrete
 reticulated with small prisms of yellowish tufa. The angles and arches

A Typical Roman House. are of the same material without any mixture of bricks,
 (127)
 a style of masonry used in the latter part of the Republic.

The inner walls are covered with stucco and painted. The interior arrange-
 (b)
 ment is that of a typical Roman house. It consists of the atrium or
 main hall with three smaller rooms opening upon it, and south of the
atrium is the triclinium or dining rooms. All these rooms are paved with
 fine mosaic of gray and white limestone, except the triclinium where there
 is also used some bits of colored oriental marbles and alabaster. The
 main hall, about 30 by 40 feet, was partially roofed over but has no
impluvium in the center. The three reception rooms have no windows and
 must have been lighted either by openings in the roof or from the atrium
 into which they open like alcoves. The central one of these rooms, the
tablinum, is a little wider than the others and its walls are more richly
 (127)
 decorated with frescoes.

(a) A wide vaulted passage, generally underground though lighted and
 ventilated from the open air.

(127) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 148; Platner, Topography, p. 136.

(b) Some think that the house fronted eastward and that this was the
 court at the back of the house, and therefore could not be properly described
 as an atrium - Cf. H. S. Jones, Classical Rome, p. 91.

When this house was first excavated, the wall paintings (a) were remarkably fresh, but they have since faded rapidly. The style of decoration is typical of that generally used in the Mural Paintings of the wealthy at the close of the republican and beginning of the imperial periods. This style is represented in a variety of subjects - landscapes, mythological scenes, a curious street scene at night, garlands of flowers and fruits, and even a row of columns with their entablature. The Egyptian influence is shown in (b) columns like canes of the papyrus and sphinxes, making part of the (b) architectural decorations.

Two frescoes of scenes from Greek mythology are considered (128) the best examples of Roman painting of this period outside Pompeii. The better executed and more interesting of these is on the right wall of the tablinum. The greater portion of this wall appears to be covered with a kind of screen with free columns, an architrave and pediment, beneath which is a large panel. On this is represented Hermes delivering Io from Argus. This appears to be the work of a Greek artist since the name Ἑρμῆς is written in white letters under the Messenger's feet, and no doubt the others were likewise indicated but are now effaced.

(a) Archaeologists describe it as "architectural" in which perspectives of painted architecture are introduced in order to give an illusion of surrounding space - H. S. Jones, *Classical Rome*, p. 91.

(b) Vitruvius strongly denounced such painting saying "those subjects which were copied from actual realities are scorned in these days of bad taste. We now have fresco paintings of monstrosities rather than truthful representations of definite things. For instance reeds put in place of definite things --- Vitruvius, VII, Ch. 5, 3.

(128) Walters, H. B., Art of the Romans, p. 96.

"This picture reveals an extraordinarily skillful and sure hand. -- It would be difficult to find at Pompeii a figure equal to that of Io. On the Palatine the proportions are more slender and more delicate, the coloring more transparent and softer, than with the Campanian painters".^(a) The other notable fresco is also in this room. It represents the Cyclops Polyphemus disconsolately watching the Nymph Galatea glide away on the back of a hippocampus (or sea-horse) followed by two Nereids.

(129)

The technique of preparing the walls for such paintings seems to have consisted of several processes. In the first place, if there was danger that the wall would be damp, it was covered with flanged tiles so fixed as to leave an air-cavity between the wall and the thick coating of stucco, which was afterward put over the tiles.

(130)

This was recommended by Vitruvius and was used in the triclinium of this house. Vitruvius advised the application of six coats of stucco upon the wall; three of the coarser kinds of stucco, and the last three made from pounded marble.⁽¹³¹⁾ The stucco was then so hard^(b) it could be polished exactly as if it were marble. There were various methods of applying the paint to the stucco but the one commonly used

(a) Boissier thus quotes Prof. Helbig, who, he says, is one of the best judges of ancient painting - Boissier, Promenades Archeologiques. Rome and Pompeii, p. 108.

(129) Vitruvius, VII, Ch. 3-14. Pliny's discussion on the subject (H. N. XXIII, 122) is almost an exact copy of this.

(130) Ibid, VII, Ch. 4. 1 and 2.

(131) Ibid, VII, Ch. 3, 6.

(b) Vitruvius speaks of stucco being polished till it reflects like a mirror - Ibid, VII, Ch. 3, 9 and II, Ch. 8, 10.

(a)
 by the Romans was called Roman encaustic. This consisted in mixing with the finely ground pigments a medium consisting of melted wax, oil and resin. Then this was applied warm upon the stucco which was prepared by a coating of hot wax. After the picture was painted a charcoal blazier was held close to the surface of the painting and gradually moved over the whole extent, thus fixing and blending the colors. (132)

Back of this typically Roman part of the house there seems to have been a part which consisted of at least three stories. This part of the house shows that it has been restored at various times. Access to the upper floor is by the narrowest of staircases. The series of rooms, fifteen or more, which surround the central hall of this floor, are very small, none over eight feet square and some even smaller. These were, no doubt, bed rooms and bathrooms of the house. There are remains of a stairway leading from the central room of the upper story to a higher one, which is now destroyed.

Upper Floor
 Cryptoporticus
 Opposite this staircase, a door, much more imposing than the rest opens into a second cryptoporticus. This cryptoporticus leads from the upper floor towards the Flavian palace and then, turning at right angles and passing by the chambers under the so-called Temple of Jupiter Victor, issues in an ancient tufa building between this temple and that

(a) From ἔγκρασις, "burnt in". This process was, like most of the Roman methods in art, adopted from the Greeks.

(132) Middleton, Remains, I, 91-97

(133)
 of Cybele . This cryptoporticus and the one mentioned above leading
 (a)
 to the guard-rooms of Caligula's palace were probably not built until
 later, after the palaces had been built. It was through Josephus' account
 of the murder of Caligula, Jan. 21, 41, in this latter passageway that some
 archaeologists identify this house as the house of Germanicus instead of
 that of Livia. Josephus says the murderers who killed Caligula in the
cryptoporticus, joining the guardrooms, "escaped through the house of
 (134)
 Germanicus." The way would seem to be through this passage to the atrium,
 through it and up the stairs, and out the upper cryptoporticus to the opposite
 side of the hill.

Thus we find this house built during the republican period
 linked in history with the imperial times. No doubt on account of its
 connection with either Livia or Germanicus it remained in a good state
 of preservation while others of the republican period were used as
 substructures for the various palaces of the emperors. (b) As the Romans of
 the Republic who built on the Palatine, used the walls of the earlier period
 for the substructure of their houses, the emperors of the next period turned
 the buildings they find there to the same account. Fortunately for the
 archaeologists and for those who would study the history of the life of
 the Romans by means of the existing remains, the emperors did not demolish
 these buildings - they simply buried them. So today by careful excavation,
 these buildings of the Republic are being brought to light together with

(133) H. S. Jones, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XIII, p. 597.

(a) This passageway is decorated in reliefs of gilded and painted stucco,
 representing cupids, birds, animals and foliage, moulded with great skill.
 Middleton, *Remains*, I, p. 182.

(134) S. R. Forbes, *Rambles in Rome*, p. 60.

(b) Recent excavations by Prof. G. Boni have discovered two houses of the
 republican period under the vestibule of the palace of Domitian, three under the
basilica and one each under the treasury and the triclinium. *Am. J. Arch.* 1913
 Vol. 18, p. 101

the remains of the more resplendent palaces of the Caesars.

The Palatine of the Emperors.

The history of the Palatine Hill of Imperial Rome, covering a period of a little over two centuries, is really a story of the varied fortunes of the emperors and of their building projects upon the hill. The first century covers the rule of the Julio-Claudians and of the Flavian Caesars and is filled with the display of Rome's grandeur, culminating in the marvelous palace of Domitian. The second century marks the beginning of the decline of the Empire and is the aftermath of such display.

With the passing of the Republic new opportunities began for the Palatine: it then became the residence of the Caesars and, as Tacitus expressed it, the centre of the Roman world - the ars imperii. A modern writer claims this was not due to its historical and traditional connections with the early growth of Rome, nor to its central position in the city but to the "mere accident that Augustus was born upon the hill". It is true Augustus was born there, September 21, 63 B. C. in the lane Ad Capita Bubula near the northeast corner of the hill, and there he spent his youth. But after his victory at Actium, which made him master of the world, it does not seem improbable that Augustus was influenced by the traditional

(a) Octavius Caesar, grand nephew of Julius Caesar was given the honorary title of Augustus by the Senate in 27 B. C.

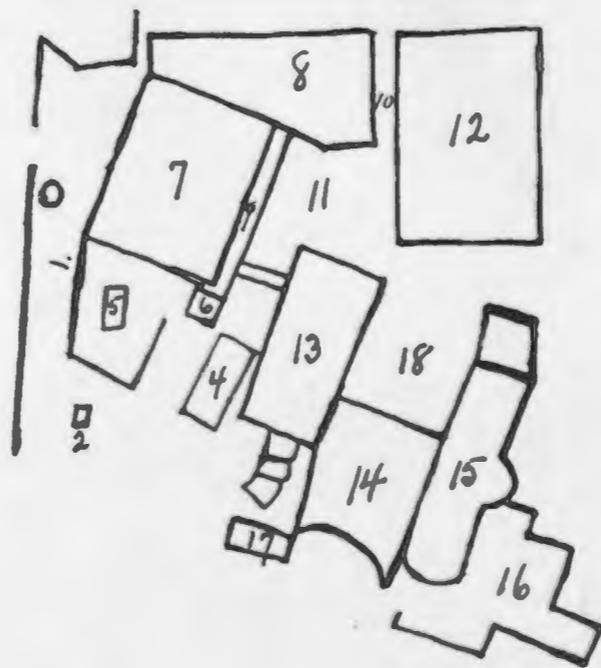
(135) Lanciani, Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries, p. 106.

(136) Suetonius, Augustus, 5.

(b) A sea battle against Antony in 31 B. C. off the west coast of Greece

history of the kingly period and had an ambition to make the Palatine again the seat of government. With this end in view he took great care to preserve and repair all that remained of the remote past on the Palatine. His example in this respect was followed by his successors. Never did the imperial palaces encroach upon the ancient ruins.

In 44 B. C. while a Triumvir Augustus purchased the modest house of Hortensius the orator. This he enlarged in 36 B. C. by buying adjacent property. To make the enlargement of his house appear consistent with his policy of simple living Augustus declared that he considered this house as public property, not as his own. It was Augustus' policy as well as his taste to live simply, even with the frugality of his ancestors of the early Republic. Suetonius describes the house of Augustus as "remarkable neither for size nor elegance. The porticoes were but small and were sustained, too, by pillars of the common Alban stones. In the rooms there was neither marble nor mosaic. During all the forty years he lived there, he occupied the same bedroom in summer and in winter. --- He wore --, only such clothes as his sister or his wife or his daughter made for him. He ate but little and that consisted of a course bread with cheese, fish, or green figs. -- He drank very little wine." (137) The policy of Augustus combined a personal simplicity with a public display that, whatever his object, finding Rome of brick, as he said, he left it a city of marble. Among the many monuments dedicated by him not the least splendid was the temple he built on the Palatine to Apollo. The god was thought to have interfered on Augustus' behalf at the battle of Actium, and the temple was his reward. If Augustus' own house contained "neither marble nor mosaic" it was not so with this temple. It was surrounded by a magnificent portico, with a library on either side, was upheld by pillars of marble, walled with jasper (137) Suetonius, Ang. 72-74.



The Palatine of The Empire.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Clivus Victorae. | 10. Clivus Palatinus. |
| 2. Altar to Aius Locutius. | 11. Area Palatina. |
| 3. Stairs of Cæsar. | 12. Precinct of Apollo. |
| 4. Temple of Jupiter. | 13. Flavian State Apts. |
| 5. " " Cybele. | 14. Palace of Domitian. |
| 6. House of Livia. | 15. Hippodromus. |
| 7. Palace of Tiberius. | 16. Palace of Septimius Severus. |
| 8. Addition to Palace of " | 17. Pædagogium. |
| 9. Cryptæ porticus. | 18. Villa Mills. |

Plan --- H. Stuart-Jones

and ivory, paved with porphyry and crowded with statues, among them the finest works of the Greeks.

(138)

The whole estate of the Imperial residence or Augustan group, as it was called, was divided into three sections. The first, on that part of the Palatine toward the ~~V~~elia, was occupied by the Temple of Apollo and its group; the Temple of Vesta was in the middle section and the last, on the side toward the Vallis Murcia and the Circus Maximus was occupied by the Imperial house.

From the Summa Sacra Via on the Velia a road led to the Area Palatina on the centre of the hill. Here was the sanctuary of Roma Quadrata (a) containing the Mundus. To the east was the Area Apollinis, the entrance (b) of which led through lofty marble propylaea into a large open peristyle or porticus with columns of Numidian marble. In the centre of this enclosure stood the great octostyle peripteral temple of Apollo Palatinus (c) (d) (e) built of white Luna marble. This temple was begun by Augustus in 36 B. C. after his Sicilian victory over Sextus Pompeius and was dedicated on the

(138) Jordan, I, 3, 66-74; Lanciani, Ancient Rome, pp. 109-116, Ruins, pp. 138-144; Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 183-190; Platner, Topography, pp. 143-147.

(a) A pit in which the instruments used in the founding of the city were deposited. Cf. above p.

(b) The entrance gate of more than one doorway to the Temenos or sacred enclosure of a temple.

(c) Having eight columns across the front as the Parthenon.

(d) Having columns on all sides.

(e) An old Etruscan city, near modern Carrara quarries.

(139)
 ninth of October 28 B. C. The double door was covered with ivory relief of the death of the Niobids and the defeat of the Gauls at Delphi. The Ancyran inscription records that Augustus melted down eighty silver statues of himself and with the money " offered golden gifts" to this temple dedicating them both in his own name and in the name of the original (140) donors of the statues. Within the cella were vases, tripods and statues (140) of gold and silver, with a collection of engraved gems dedicated by (a) Marcellus. Here also were the statues of Apollo by Scopas, Latona by (141) Cephisodotus, son of Praxiteles, and Diana by Timotheus. Beneath the base (142) of this group were preserved the Sibylline Books. The pediment of the (143) temple had sculpture by Bupalus and Archermus of Chios and in a sort of shrine on the apex of the entrance arch was a group of Apollo and Artemis (b) in a quadriga sculptured from one block of marble by Lysias.

In the porticus or perhaps adjoining it on either side was (144) a large library with separate departments for Latin and Greek literature and on the third side, a large hall where the senate occasionally met (145) after Augustus became old and was failing in health. Around the

(139) Cassius Dio XLIX, 15; LII, 1.

(140) Cf. also Suetonius Aug. 52.

(a) Son of Augustus' sister, Octavia, and young husband of Augustus' daughter, Julia. His premature death was a heavy blow to his uncle.

(141) Pliny, H. N. XXXVI, 24, 25 and 32.

(142) Suetonius, Aug. 31.

(143) Pliny, H. N. XXXVI, 13.

(b) A two-wheeled chariot.

(144) Suetonius, Aug. 29.

(145) Tacitus, Annals, II, 37.

porticus, between the Numidian marble columns were statues of the fifty
 (146) daughters of Danaus, and opposite each Danaid in the open court, the
 equestrian statues of their fifty bridegrooms, the sons of Aegyptus. In
 the center of the porticus before the steps of the temple stood a
 colossal bronze statue of Apollo pouring a libation on an altar. Sur-
 rounding the altar were four bronze oxen, the work of Myron. Here was
 the great collection of works of the best Greek artists in bronze, ivory,
 gold and marble.

Behind this temple in the great Peristyle, between it and the
 (a) palace of Augustus was a small round temple of Vesta, a copy probably of
 the ancient one by the Forum Romanum. This temple was dedicated on the
 28th of April, 12 B. C. after Augustus was elected Pontifex Maximus. On
 that occasion Augustus gave the official residence of the Pontifex to
 (b) the Vestal Virgins, and built a new temple to Vesta near his palace.
 Ovid, with court flattery says that this part of the Palatine was shared
 by three deities, Apollo, Vesta and Augustus.

Phoebus habet partem, Vestae pars altera cessit;
 Quod superest illis tertius ipse tenet.
 State Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu (147)
 Stet domus; aeternos tres habet una deos.

To the south of the Temple of Vesta was the palace of Augustus.
 This was built in the years following 36 B. C. and was renewed after the
 (c) fire in A. D. 3. The Domus Augustana was never called a palace, for the
 word was not yet made, but all palaces since that time have been so called
 because of this one built on the Palatine. " Hence ~~even if the emperor~~

(146) Ovid, *Tristia*, III, 1, 61.

(a) Blocks of tufa, the most primitive building material, were used in its
 construction, probably for religious reasons - Cf. Middleton, *Remains*, I. p.189.

(b) He did this in order that he might live as was the custom of a
 Pontifex Maximus with a temple to Vesta close to his door.

(147) Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 951-954.

(c) It was customary after a misfortune of this kind for friends to club to-
 gether and help repair the losses. The citizens brought handsome offerings, but

Augustus would accept only the nominal denarius from each and rebuilt his house
 at his own expense.

even if the emperor resides somewhere else his dwelling retains the name
 (148)
 of Palatium. Cassius Dio also says in this connection, " For the right
 to fasten the laurel in front of his royal residence and to hang the oak-
 leaf crown above the doors was then voted him to symbolize the fact that
 (148)
 he was always victorious over enemies and preserved the citizens.

This house of Augustus was not very large, and was not built of
 marble but only of travertine; but within, marble was not spared in
 columns, pilasters and mosaic pavements. The palace consisted of a large
 Peristyle surrounded with rooms on all sides, two stories having a second
 tier of columns over the first. The rooms grouped about this were small
 and in proportion. The ceilings were domed or formed with barrel vaults
 (149)
 and the walls contained many niches for statues. Suetonius tells that
 Augustus had a special room, a tower or belvedere, where he could retire
 without interruption this he called Syracuse or $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\psi\iota\omega\sigma$
 (150)
 (little work-shop) .

(151)
 Though Augustus' building was completely transformed by
 later emperors, the name *Domus Augustana* was retained in official use down
 to the fourth century. The *Area Apollinis* and its group of buildings
 suffered in the fire of Nero and were restored by Domitian. The Temple of
 Apollo and its libraries were finally destroyed in the great fire between
 the 18th and 19th of March, 363, but the *Sibylline Books* were saved.

These Palatine buildings with their marvelous art treasures
 are of special interest to us because here has never been any thorough

(148) Cassus Dio LII, 27.

(149) Middleton, *Remains*, I, p. 184.

(150) Suetonius, *Aug.* 72.

(151) H. S. Jones, *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. XXIII, p. 597; *Lanciani, Ruins*,
 p. 140.

Excavations in Area Apollinis excavation made there. No one can tell how much of this magnificence still lies buried underground. Once or twice there have been brief periods of discovery but no systematic research. In the sixteenth century a part of the area of the temple was excavated but of this very little is known. In 1775 the Abbe Hancourell, who then owned the property, made excavation, no doubt in the Domus Augustana. It was ransacked in a reckless fashion. Some statues, of which the Appolo Saurochonus of the Vatican is the best example, were found. Several cart-loads of marble fragments, judged worthless by the Abbe, were sold to the owner of a lime-kiln in the Forum, where they were destroyed. Fortunately, the Roman architect Piranesi, or his assistant, was able to steal into the ruins at night and sketch their plan. His design showed the front of the palace following the curve of the state balcony, the Pulvinar, from which the Emperor could watch the games of the Circus. The entrance door, as shown on the plan could actually be seen until 1829. (152) Today it is concealed by the gardener's house of the Villa Mills.

In modern times a distinction has frequently been made between the Domus Augustana and the other parts of the completed palace, the former location of the Augustan Group (a) term applying only to that part which is still covered by the Villa Mills. This distinction has led to the belief that part was the original house of Augustus. (b) Platner claims that Domus Augustana denotes the whole imperial residence except the Domus Tiberiana, at any given period. Domus Flavia, for instance, is a modern

(152) Lanciani, Ruins, p. 148; Dennis, J. Rome of Today and Yesterday.

p. 126-128.

(a) The Villa Mills covers the central portion of the imperial palace. The casino of this Villa, until 1906, was used as nunnery. Considerable remains of the imperial palace were found in the cellars of the Villa and of the new convent building, begun in 1869 but now finished. The remains found consist of a large square court adjoined by three rooms, one of which has square, the others octagonal ceilings of interesting construction - Hasdecker, Central Italy,

p. 319.

(b) Buessem believes part of the palace is under the so-called Basilica and

(b) continued.

the Peristyle of the Flavian palace - Jordan I, 3, 74-76. Platner states that the part under the Villa Mills dates from the time of Domitian . Lead pipes were found bearing the stamp of Domitian - Platner, Topography, p. 142. Cf. also Lanciani, Ruins, p. 142.

term for the part erected by the Flavian emperors.

Until recently the accepted view in regard to the position of the Augustan group has been as stated above, although there has been much uncertainty concerning it. In 1910-11 the Italian scholar, Pinza, brought forth the theory that all the buildings of Augustus were located on the southwestern part of the hill. The Temple of Apollo, he identifies with the podium which has usually been assigned to the Temple of Jupiter Victor; the house of Livia, with the original Domus Augustana and the tufa foundations between it and the temple with the library. The porticus, instead of surrounding the temple he believes was between it and the brow of the hill and extended down the slope as far as the Scaes Caci. There are remains of masonry of the Augustan Age on the slope of the hill which may have belonged to such a porticus. Although this theory seems very plausible, scholars are not yet ready to give up the older theory for the new.
(153)

The Augustan group on the Palatine was merely one of the great number of building enterprises which transformed the appearance of Rome. Augustus was not only the personal donor of many public edifices to the city, but he inspired those, who stood near the throne, to imitate their brilliant master. But Augustus' great interest in his building projects seems to have waned from the year 2 B. C. After this year fortune wrought severe changes in Augustus' family. Julia, his only child had been exiled because of misconduct - a living

(153) Platner, Topography, p. 146

(a) This year marked the completion of his Forum and the dedication of the Temple to Mars Ultor, the last in which he was personally interested.

grief to her father. Her two sons Caius and Lucius, the joint heirs to the Empire, whom Augustus had so carefully trained to succeed him, were dead; the third grandson, Agrippa, was an imbecile and was banished from Rome. Now Augustus in his old age and feeble health was compelled to recall his disliked step-son Tiberius from his voluntary exile and to accept him as his heir.

Historians have always been severe in their judgment of Tiberius. He was, no doubt, of a sensitive and moody disposition and Tiberius was unfortunate in not winning the good will of Augustus and the people of Rome. Probably because of this lack of confidence in him, Tiberius spent a very little of his life in the city. When Augustus died, A. D. 14, Tiberius was already fifty-six years of age. He had spend many years in the army and in the provinces; it was difficult to adjust himself to life at the Capital. Suetonius tells us the first eight years of his reign were marked by a just government and by personal frugality. The following six years were less happy; the delator system was established by which many citizens were spied upon and suffered death on suspicion of conspiracy. Besides, in the household of the Empire many tragedies had been enacted: The murder of Agrippa Posthumus; the mysterious death of Germanicus; the poisoning of Tiberius' son Drusus and the exile of Agrippina. All these things wearied and embittered Tiberius. Leaving the un-

(a) Augustus had forced Tiberius to put away his beloved wife to marry Julia, the widow of Augustus' friend Agrippa. Julia's misconduct forced Tiberius to go into voluntary exile at Rhodes.

(154) Suetonius, Tiberius, XXII - XXXVII.

(b) Widow of Germanicus, who was so bitter in her hatred and denunciation of Tiberius he was forced to banish her.

scrupulous Sejanus in charge of affairs at Rome, he suddenly went into
 Campania and later retired to Capri where he spend the rest of his life. ^(a)

Tiberius was not so fond of building as was Augustus. Yet
 he finished some edifices started under his predecessor's reign, and ^(b)
 Domus Tiberiana began to build a temple to the deified Augustus, which,
 however was incomplete when Tiberius himself died. But
 he did build a house on the Palatine. The Domus Tiberiana was probably
 a very plain and simple building. The old writers barely mention it,
 with not a word about marble or bronze or greek statues or decorations
 of any kind. Still we know its site. Tacitus, for instance, tells
 in relating the conspiracy of Otho on Jan. 15, 69, that while Galba
 assisted at a sacrifice in the Temple of Apollo, Otho was called away
 as a signal from his conspirators. " He walked off arm in arm with
 his freedman; and, passing through the palace formerly belonging to
 Tiberius, went directly to the great market place, called the Velabrum,
 and thence to the golden mile-pillar near the temple of Saturn." ⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

The house of Tiberius must, therefore, have been placed on
 the northwestern side of the Palatine toward the Velabrum. It may have
 been an old dwelling of the family which Tiberius enlarged for it spread
 to the north and west of the house of Livia or Germanicus. It did not

(a) Tiberius died at Misenum in Italy, A. D. 37.

(b) A temple and the Julian Basilica.

(155) Tacitus, History, I. 27 . Cf. also Suetonius, Otho, 6;
 and Vitellius, 15.

extend on the north as far as the Clivus Victoriae and its facade was probably on the east facing the Area Palatina. The palace was built round a central court about 325 feet square which was surrounded by a colonnade. Among the rooms opening off this central court there seems to have been a library, which was in existence in the time of Domitian and Trajan. This library, bibliotheca domus Tiberianae, seems to have contained state papers and documents more than it did books. Cassius Dio probably refers to it in his passage about the fire of Commodus when he says that nearly all the registers and records of the Empire were
(156)
lost.

The site of the palace is now covered by the Farnese gardens and by great groves of cypresses. There is practically nothing visible
(a)
except some substructures on the south side with a row of cells cut back into the native tufa, dimly lighted and poorly ventilated. They must have ^{been} occupied by soldiers. Slaves or palace attendants might possibly have lived here as is shown by many curious and interesting
(b)
graffiti scratched on the stuccoed walls. At the south corner of the Domus Tiberiana was found a large oval tank " of peculiar construction, which probably served to contain fish until they were needed for the emperor's table .(157)

(156) Cassius Dio.

- (a) Platner says that these are of later date - Platner, Topography, p. 147.
 (b) Inscriptions and figure drawings found on the walls of ancient ruins.
 (157) Platner, Topography, p. 147. Cf. Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 144-147.

When Tiberius died in 37 A. D. all Rome rejoiced and
 gladly welcomed the young and handsome heir to the Empire. Caius (a)
 Caligula or Caligula, as he was more familiarly known (b)
 was the last of the Julian gens. He was a descendant
 of Augustus and besides was the son of the much beloved Germanicus.
 Caligula ruled but four years (37-41) . In the first year the Empire
 was well administered. (c) But after an illness in that year, the
 Emperor seemed never to have been sane. (d)

Suetonius and Cassius Dio say that Caligula extended the
 Imperial Palace as far as the Forum (ad Forum magnum) , making the
 Temple of Castor and Pollux its vestibule. (150) But recent research
 has caused archaeologists to question this statement.

(a) Or Caius.

(b) Of the same line as Julius Caesar. Augustus and Nero were of this
 line while Tiberius and Claudius were of Claudian line, descendants of
 Tiberius Claudius Nero and of Livia.

(c) E. g. Caligula began the building of an aqueduct (the Claudian)
 which however was not finished till the next reign.

(d) His madness is shown in his extravagance and his feigned divinity.
 He is said to have spent 2800 million aesterces (a little more than
 one hundred million dollars) in one year.

(150) Suetonius, Caligula, 22; Cassius Dio LIX, 28; LX, 8.

Platner says that Caligula's addition "extended no farther than the Clivus Victoriae and that the vast masses of masonry at this corner of the hill (so-called Domus Gaiana) belong to a much later period, the second or third century." (159)

H. Stewart-Jones says that "later emperors probably the Flavians and Hadrian - extended the palace at its northern end, raising an artificial platform on arches and vaults." (160) But Lanciani claims that the substructure "the whole mass of arched masonry which rises above the street," (a) was built by Caligula to raise the slope of the hill to a level with its summit." (161) All this mass of substructure which spanned the Clivus Victoriae and the Nova Via was the dark and poorly ventilated abode of countless numbers of slaves, servants, freedmen and guards of the palace. Because of many repairs and changes made by succeeding emperors this addition to the palace makes one of the most perplexing problems for the archaeologist to figure - to find out which parts are essential and pertain to the original plan and which are nonessential changes. (161)

Caligula perpetrated a mad scheme of building a foot-bridge across the valley between the Palatine and the Capitoline in order to connect his palace directly with the abode of

(159) Platner, Topography, p. 147.

(160) H. S. Jones, Classical Rome, p. 93. Cf. also Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, p. 897.

(a) "The front of the palace opened on the Nova Via, towering above the pavement to the height of 150 ft. Lanciani, Ruins, p. 150.

(161) Ibid., p. 150-155.

The chief room of the library was the Quadriporticus, a room supported by four square brick pillars and four granite columns with marble capitals. Small rooms open off of this. The Quadriporticus was probably the reading-room of the library, the other rooms, the "stacks". The library faced the northeast, thus it had the early morning light, which the Romans preferred for their work. The south and south-west walls had no openings in order to keep out the hot afternoon sunlight. The position of the building was well suited for a library - near the center of the city, within easy distance from the Forum and the imperial palaces, yet away from the noise of the busy streets.

When Caligula's brief reign came to an abrupt end with CLAUDIUS the memorable tragedy of the cryptoporticus, the imperial succession went back a generation instead of forward. The uncle of Caligula, the middle-aged pedantic, unambitious Claudius found himself, with much surprise and terror, made Emperor of Rome by the praetorian guards. The predecessors (a) of Claudius left him three palaces, any one of which was finer than his simple tastes demanded. So there was no occasion for him to erect new buildings or to remodel the old ones on the Palatine. His reign is commemorated, however, by a brilliant engineering work, the twin aqueducts which carried water to Rome from the Sabine hills forty miles away. (167)

(a) That of Augustus, of Tiberius and of Caligula.

(167) Suetonius, Claudius, 20.

Nero Claudius' reign had lasted thirteen years (41-54) when Agrippina, his wife (and niece) prepared the historic dish of mushrooms which ended it so abruptly. The fickle Romans who were tired of their elderly Emperor, welcomed with enthusiasm the young Nero as heir to the throne. In another fourteen years (54-68) even the Romans tired of Nero, and were more than willing that his successors, the Flavians, should efface his memory as far as possible.

Nothing of Nero's buildings remains on the Palatine. The narrow hill already covered with temples and houses that were held in respect, and, therefore, might not be destroyed, afforded him no room for his great edifices he contemplated building. So his architects, Severus and Celer, built a palace upon the wide-spreading ground of the Velia, reaching to the Caesarian and Esquiline. They made use of this ground after the great fire of 64 had cleared it of tenement houses. The feeling of the Romans toward his extravagant building is well expressed in the following couplet:

Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites, Si non
et Veios occupat ista domus.

Vespasian and Titus After a year of revolution the Julio-Claudian Caesars were succeeded by the Flavians. Nero's successors, Vespasian (69-79) and Titus (79-81) made themselves popular by practicing the policy of Augustus. They spared no expense in

- (b) This they tried to do by burying underground his marvelous Domus Aurea and by erecting the Colosseum where his artificial lake had been a short time before.
- (a) Nero has been charged with starting the fire in order to acquire the land for his estate.
- (b) "Rome is becoming one house; off with you to Veir, Quirites! if that house does not soon seize upon Veir as well."

building monuments for the public, - the Colosseum, a new Forum, a temple and Thermae, - while they themselves lived simply, rather like private citizens than like emperors. The Flavians again made the Palatine the seat of imperial government. They dwelt in the palaces on the northwestern part of the hill, for (168) the Domus Augustana had been destroyed in Nero's fire.

But this simplicity of his father and brother was not Domitian to the taste of Domitian (81-96). He immediately (a) began a restoration and enlargement of the Domus Augustana, and lavished upon it all the costliest productions of contemporary art. Plutarch says that the magnificence of the halls of Domitian exceeded the costliness of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. (b) And in regard to Domitian's motive in erecting such a structure Plutarch considers that it was "neither piety ---nor magnificence, but, indeed a mere disease of building, and a desire, like Midas, of converting everything into gold or stone. (169)

The great palace which Domitian built consisted of Domus three parts: first, the state apartments on the Flavia centre of the Palatine; second, to the southeast of this, the living-rooms of the emperor, probably built above the ruins of the Domus Augustana; and third, the Hippodrome, the large garden, enclosed by high walls which bounded the palace on the east.

(168) Platner, Topography, p. 148.

(a) Of all the ruins of the imperial residence now visible upon the Palatine almost nothing but some foundations and substructures belong to the anti-Flavian epoch - Platner, Topography, p. 148.

(b) This was considered the richest temple in Rome.

(169) Plutarch, Poplicola. (Everyman's Library. V.I.. p. 230.

The most imposing of these parts, in fact that part of the Palatine Hill familiarly referred to as the "Palace of the Caesars" is the great state apartment. This was built on an immense platform, 500 feet in length by 260 in width, raised to a considerable height above the natural surface of the ground. It crowned the central summit of the hill, or, rather, it covered the top of two ridges and filled up the ravine between them. This ravine was occupied at that time by private houses but the concrete walls^(a) of the palace foundations have cut through and destroyed some of them while others were used as supports for the new structure above.^(b)

Excavations have not been carried far enough to form any idea of the character and use of the subterranean passages and rooms of the palace, and as nothing remains of the second story, only the plan of the first floor is known.^(c)

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- (a) Here is found the best example of the Roman method of casting concrete walls in boarded framework. The imprint of the upright stakes and of the horizontal boards "are as fresh as if the concrete had only just set" - Middleton, Remains, I p. 201.
- (b) Some of the most interesting ruins on the Palatine are found below the Peristyle of this palace.
- (c) Com. Boni, however, has been carrying on extensive excavations here, since 1911, in the hope of discovering the whole plan of the palace - Am. J. Arch. 1912, p. 131.
- (170) Platner, Topography, pp. 149 - 154.

The palace faced to the northeast and stood about thirty-two feet above the Area Palatina. There was a colonnade or porticus (a) across the front formed of twenty-two columns of cipollino, standing on the edge of the lofty podium. This porticus extended some distance to the south along each side. Three doors opened from this porticus into the three northern rooms of the palace. The middle room was a square hall 160 feet long by 120 feet wide. This was the throne room, aula regia, in which the emperor granted audiences. On either side of this were smaller rooms, the lararium and the basilica. (b)

The throne room was, architecturally, the most magnificent hall of all; it was surrounded by colossal statues cut in red and green porphyry or basalt. (c) On each side the main entrance was a column of giallo antico, the bases and capitals of which were of ivory-colored marble and the entablature of white marble. Opposite the main entrance was the apse in which stood the throne. The walls were covered with colored marbles, the coffered ceiling was gilded and the floor paved with fine mosaic. But of all this splendor only a suggestion of it is left and so it is throughout the whole palace. (171) Southeast of the throne-room was a room which contained an altar and was, therefore, called the lararium, or private chapel of the emperor. Next to it was the grand staircase which led to the upper story, now entirely destroyed.

(a) A whitish marble with veins of pale green.

(b) Domitian introduced into the imperial court the etiquette of Oriental monarchies.

(c) This was a strong symptom of decadence in taste among the Romans at the end of the first century, A. D. The chief attraction of these statues in such hard stone was the great cost and labor expended to obtain a well polished statue - Cf. Middleton, Remains, I, p. 203.

(171) Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 202-204; Platner, Topography, p. 150.

On the other side of the throne room was the basilica, where the emperor administered justice. This basilica was a rectangular hall, consisting of a semicircular apse at the end opposite the public entrance, and a nave with an aisle on each side. The semi circular tribune or platform in which was the emperor's throne was screened off by open marble cancelli (lattice-work), a part of which still exists. On each side of the apse was a private door by which the emperor could slip out unobserved and reach by a staircase the cryptoporticus which communicated with Caligula's palace. This basilica with the apse shut off by a low marble screen is said to be the first instance of the kind and therefore the model, "out of which have grown all the forms of churches in Western Europe." (172) Mr. Freeman continues by saying, "that the Christian church borrowed all its arrangements from the heathen hall of judgment there can be no doubt, they are as clearly marked to the very cancelli in the small but most elegant basilica Jovis on the Palatine as in the most fully developed Christian building." (172)

Back of these northern rooms was the great central court or peristyle a hundred and fifty feet square, paved with marble and porphyry and surrounded by a Corinthian colonnade in two stories. A large part of the inner walls of the corridor was covered with slabs of marble, which when highly polished, reflected like a mirror. Suetonius tells us that Domitian had such a premonition of his murder that he had these walls lined thus "to be able to see in its brilliant surface the reflection of all

(a) The body of the room extending from the apse to the entrance.
 (172) E. A. Freeman, quoted from J. Dennis, Rome Today and Yesterday.

(173)

that went on behind his back." To the west of it were a series of
(a)
 small ante-rooms, and there are probably similar ones on the other
 side which have not been excavated.

At the end of the peristyle, facing the tablinum, a wide
 door led to the triclinium, or banqueting hall. At the south end
 was an apse, which may have contained the Emperor's dining table. In
(b)
 this room are preserved some traces of the elaborate decoration in
 colored marble that was no doubt also used in other parts of the
 palace. On each side of the triclinium five large windows opened on
 two nymphaea in the middle of which the remains of a marble basin has
 been found ornamented with small niches which must have contained
 statues. From the banqueting couches the guests would see the water
 gushing from the fountain and falling in a cascade in the midst of
 foliage and marble.

To be bidden to dine in such a hall might well turn the
 head of a poor Roman poet. Domitian, who prided himself on a love for
 letters, sometimes deigned to invite poets to his table. Statius, who
 obtained this envied honor, has described his joy in one of his *Silvae*.
 He declares that on entering the Emperor's triclinium, he thought
 himself transported into the midst of the stars, and that he was

(173) Suetonius, Domitian, 14.

(a) The Central one, octagonal in shape may have been an entrance hall
 or vestibule, and the others, cloak rooms.

(b) Com. Boni, in 1911, uncovered the triclinium and found a pavement
 larger and more splendid than any yet found in the palace. It is over 1000
 square metres in area, made of oriental granite with a border of Numidian
 marble and other varieties of African stones. The pavement is raised on
 supports to provide space for heating. - *Archaeology in 1911, Classical
 Journal, Oct. 1912.- Je. 1913.*

banqueting among the gods. Then addressing Domitian he says, "Ruler of the world, great father of the conquering globe: hope of mankind, darling of the gods, can it be that I behold thee? Is it thou? And dost thou suffer me to see thy face? --- Not on the feast: not upon the slabs of Moorish citron wood set on pillars of ivory, not upon the long array of slaves - on him, on him alone I gaze. Calm was his countenance; with a quiet majesty he tempered the brightness and gently abated the blazoned pomp of his grandeur; yet the radiance he sought to hide shone out upon his brow."(174) These compliments appear rather extravagant when it is considered that they are addressed to Domitian. But they indicated forcibly the gradual change in the attitude of the Roman people toward luxury and the rule of a monarch. Simplicity was no longer loved in Domitian's day. The public taste and artistic talent had become less decided. Men sought only riches and the luxury they could bring.

(174) Statius, Silvae. IV, 2. Quoted from Davis, W. S., Readings in Ancient History. Vol. II, p. 193-196.

This immense palace contained many other rooms less important than those described or at least their importance has not yet been learned. There are two rooms south of the tricolonium, side by side with curved ends on the east, whose use is uncertain. They have been named the academiæ and bibliotheca (175) because of their shape.

Of the second division of Domitian palace, the living-rooms, which lie to the south, very little is known. Most have been destroyed in earlier centuries because of the use of the building material, and access for excavation has not been possible until very recently. We know the general plan is that of a central court, with the main entrance on the south. Apartments opened in various shapes and sizes on the peristyle from all sides. Of these, three on the north have been excavated. These had domed ceilings and received light from above. The decorations of these rooms correspond with those of the rest of the palace. (176)

The third division of the palace is the Hippodromus (177) which has often been called the Stadium of Domitian. (178)

This was really a long garden south of the living rooms. Originally this was only a large rectangular space inclosed by a wall. It was the garden of the Flavian palace into which one could look from the windows of the palace. Later emperors

(175) H. S. Jones - Classical Rome, p. 95; Platner, Topography, p. 152.

(176) Platner, Topography, p. 154.

(177) Cf. Jordan I, 3, pp. 94-96; Platner, Topography, pp. 154-156.

(178) Cf. Lanciani, Ruins, pp. 172-178; Middleton, Remains, I, pp. 210-212. The later authorities have rejected the idea that this was a race course.

made various changes. It was probably Hadrian that built the exedra, the rounded projection on the east side. This consisted of two stories; the lower on a level with the central area contained three rooms, a large central hall and a smaller room on each side; the second floor consisted of but one semicircular room with a domed ceiling.

Septimus Severus is accredited with the addition of the porticus to the Hippodromus. This colonade surrounded the entire central area and was formed by a row of pillars of brick-faced concrete with engaged half-columns. Pilasters projected from the wall opposite these columns, and arches which rested on these pilasters and columns supported an upper gallery. This gallery surrounded the entire court and was really a hanging garden. Lead pipes, stamped with the name of Domitian brought water into this garden, and a stone channel, which encircles the area parallel to the porticus, carried the water to all parts of it. Other changes were made in the Hippodromus by later emperors. From the finding of narrow openings in the walls and within one of these a basin or trough, it is probable that the western half of the garden was at one time used as a private menagerie of the emperors.

Such changes as were made by the later emperors on Septimus Severus the Hippodromus were also made from time to time on other parts of the palace of the Caesars. But no distinct building enterprise on the Palatine was undertaken until Septimius Severus built his addition on the southeastern angle of it.

The Antonines, (96-180), under whose rule the Empire (a) was so prosperous were content to live in the old palaces. Upon the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180, the period of good rule was over - the empire began to weaken. In 193 the Empire was sold to the highest bidder. (b) But the legions of the frontier again showed their power as they had done at the end of Nero's reign. Severus marched upon Rome with his devoted Danubian army and was proclaimed Emperor.

This African Emperor established himself upon the Palatine, but he was not content to live in the old palaces. He straightway began to build upon the only available space on the hill - the southeastern corner overlooking the Appia Via. The ground gradually slopes away on this side of the hill and it was necessary before constructing the palace itself to make the foundations on which it was to rise. Therefore, great stone arches were built row upon row; these supported the immense concrete platform upon which he built his palace. It is said that in order to impress his countrymen who came into the city with a sense of his grandeur Severus built the Septisium. This was merely a façade to his palace. The last traces of it were destroyed by Sixtus V in 1589, but we know its shape from sketches of it which have been preserved. Its form was that of three semicircular niches, flanked by towers and faced with tiers of columns. The name of the

(a) Hadrian, (117-138), however, did build a palace on the southeast of the Hippodromus but it is difficult to distinguish it from the additions made by Septimius Severus.

(b) It had long been customary for the emperors to purchase the good will of the army by gifts to the praetorian guards but now the Praetorians granted the office of magistrate to the man who would promise them the largest bounty.

facade has puzzled archaeologists and no satisfactory explanation has been found. A recent explanation is that the correct form of the name is Septizodium or House of Seven Zodia or planets, which implies nothing as to its architectural formation. By this change in the word the effort to try to associate the name with seven stories, or with seven bands formed of the stylobiate and the three colonnades and the three entablatures will be unnecessary, and the solution of the problem is easy. (179)

The palace of Severus was the last addition made to the imperial group on the Palatine. The palaces of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula and Domitian, remained, and so much of Hadrian's palace as Severus himself had not destroyed in making room for his own. The Palatine hill-top enlarged though it was at all its angles, was a small area on which to erect such huge structures, and at the beginning of the third century must have been much more crowded than one would expect for the site of imperial residences. Here were still preserved the monuments of the earliest Rome, here were houses which had belonged to the wealthy republicans, and here were in addition to the great and imposing palaces on the summit of the hill the houses on the sides of the slopes used by the slaves, guards and the attendants of the palaces.

So there were monuments of all ages on the Palatine, and here within a restricted space lived all grades of society in imperial Rome. In truth the Palatine of the third century was an epitome of Ancient Rome.

(179) Cf. Platner, Topography, p. 158.

Conclusion.

In the historical study of the Palatine Hill and its relation to Ancient Rome the present study has endeavored to show the important part played by the Palatine in the history of Rome. In this study an attempt has been made to emphasize the following points: (1) by a study of the topography and natural advantages of the Palatine Hill to show the part taken by that hill in the formation and early development of the city of Rome; (2) by the study of the archaeological remains upon the hill, together with the study of the history of Ancient Rome; (a) to trace the history of the Palatine through the various periods of Rome's history, from the earliest beginning to the decline of the Empire, and (b) to show how the remains upon the Palatine reflect the life of the Romans in these various periods.

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(a) Modern translations were used wherever possible.

(b) As found in Davis W. S.: Readings in Ancient History Vol. II, pp. 195-196.

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