Jamison
Features Of The Life Of The First
And Second Centuries Later Discarded
With A Study Of The Reasons Of Their
Abandonment
FEATURES OF THE LIFE OF THE FIRST AND
SECOND CENTURIES LATER DISCARDED,
WITH A STUDY OF THE REASONS OF
THEIR ABANDONMENT.

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INTRODUCTION.

In the following pages I have made a study of some features of Roman civilization in the first and second centuries of our era, and have attempted to compare them with corresponding phases of the civilized life of today, with the especial purpose of detecting such forms and customs as have, since the time of the Romans, been given up, and incidentally noting the reasons for their abandonment. I have studied in the main only external features, and have not attempted to make comparisons in the intricate fields of specialized occupations and business, professions, law, or government. The external characteristics of Roman life have proved to be strikingly similar to those of today, since modern life has, of course, inherited unnumbered ideas and principles from the Romans, who had in turn gained much from the progress of other Mediterranean nations. There is very little really essential in Roman food, clothing, and shelter, which moderns do not use. In many cases these features have undergone alterations, due to differences in circumstances, to various accidents or developments, and to innovations which have crept in throughout the intervening ages. So that, in searching for features of Roman life and customs that have been abandoned, I have not discovered many absolute departures from ancient usage, but rather have come upon variations and substitutes added to and supplementing those fundamental ideas and practices already worked out or devised by the ancients.

In social activities I have noted a somewhat wider
evolution and change, brought about through the difference in thought and purpose which prompted such practices and institutions as the Romans had. But here too it is hard to distinguish between actual and seeming differences, since usages, when attendant circumstances are thoroughly considered, often prove to be very much the same in principle, notwithstanding various superficial changes. In social practices few institutions have been entirely given up, except such as slavery and the spectacles of the arena, which are contrary to modern sentiment. I have not undertaken a comparison of ancient and modern ethical and moral codes, except as they were evidenced in customs, nor have I made any attempt to compare ancient with modern achievements in the fields of art, literature, and philosophy.
A comparison of Ancient Rome with modern capitals reveals some essential differences in external appearance, or city plan. Colonnaded fora, basilicae, comitia, palaces and temples are characteristic of Ancient Rome. Public squares or plazas, administration buildings and city halls, churches and cathedrals of our time correspond in part to these. But for the immense baths (thermae, balneae), amphitheatres, out-of-door theatres, porticos, and circuses, we have few modern parallels. Turreted walls, gates, and aqueducts no longer loom up about the cities. Modern artillery would find walls no obstacle. Water and sewer systems now usually employ under-ground pipes, which are smaller than the Roman sewer, and do not operate by force of gravity alone. Although the Romans used lead pipes for lines of small flow, they had no pipes capable of standing the high pressure that the modern siphon system demands.

In general, streets were narrower than they commonly are today, but paving was to be found on practically all of them. The street itself then served as a thoroughfare for pedestrians. Driving about the streets as recreation was not a custom with the ancients, being forbidden as a protection to the swarms of pedestrians. Hauling was commonly carried on at night. People and dignitaries alike walked or employed litters. The

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appearance of house fronts, built close to the street, was like a plain wall, broken only by doorways, and a few small windows which were high above the head of the passerby, letting in light and air where this could not be had from within. Instead of having front lawns and boulevards, the ancients arranged their greenery and gardens (viridarium, hortus) at the back of the dwelling, or inclosed within the peristyle. There was then less reason for adorning the house-fronts, as they rose directly over against the narrow streets. With little perspective, decorations could hardly have been appreciated by the passerby.

The long massive porticos, where the Romans promenaded between rows of beautiful columns and statues, or sat upon benches shaded by the wall have a modern counterpart in walks and seats beneath the shade trees of city parks. There was not sufficient space in ancient Rome for the spreading of shade trees in promenades or along the streets, which by their narrowness gained shade from the buildings fronting upon them. It was a common rule that cemeteries should lie outside the area of habitation, a restriction not imposed by modern cities, as a rule.

Ancient Rome had no permanent means of street lighting. Those who went about at night might carry torches (funales, faces, taeda) to light them on their way. Efficient street lighting is a modern development, made possible by the employment of gas and electricity. Rome did not have an efficient transportation system, so that those living at some distance

3. id., p. 229.
from the centers of activity did not have convenient means of immediate and direct communication with other localities. We have allusions to this fact made by ancient authors, such as Horace and Martial, complaining of the difficulty in meeting with friends who lived in different parts of the city. The modern suburban development, in connection with cities, is due to the improved transportation facilities. Another noticeable difference is to be found in the relative height of buildings. With the introduction of the elevator, the modern skyscraper has become possible. Public fountains where people procure water for use in their houses are not usual in modern cities. At Rome a very large proportion of the city water supply was devoted to the public fountains (lacus, saliente).

The outstanding differences which distinguish the modern city plan from that of Early Imperial Rome are: change in structure and office of public buildings; absence of conspicuous walls marking city limits, and of aqueducts; increase in extent of the city in proportion to modern cities of corresponding population, in width of streets, and in height of buildings; introduction of parks, large manufacturing plants within the city limits, and the vast net work of electric wires, rails, and swiftly moving conveyances.

NOTABLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ANCIENT AND MODERN FOOD.

A staple food among the Romans was porridge (puls)\(^1\) made of pounded spelt, water, and salt; also of wheat, oatmeal etc. which was cooked and used on the tables of the better circumstanced.\(^2\) Also polenta\(^2\), a stiff porridge made of roasted and ground barley was an important food. Bread (panis)\(^3\) made of different grades of meal or flour from various grains was eaten, sometimes being baked in private houses, but largely furnished by professional bakers (pistores). With wine in which to dip it, this bread supplied a frugal meal. Oil (oleum), milk (lac), and honey (mel) were important foods, while butter (butyrum)\(^5\) was used only for medicinal purposes. In the main, sheep and goat milk was used, instead of cow's milk, which served chiefly as calf's food.\(^6\) Just as olive oil only was used where we commonly employ butter and prepared and vegetable fats, so honey was used exclusively for sweetening, where we use a variety of sugars and syrups.\(^7\) Vegetables and fruits were used quite as much as they are today, but the variety was not as great. Potatoes, tomatoes, lemons, oranges and bananas were unknown to the Romans at this date. Of berries, with the exception of the grape, we find small mention.\(^8\) The pig (porcus) seems to play a much larger role as meat than beef (bubula).\(^9\)

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1. cf. Juv: XVI, 39; Mart. XIII, 8.
5. id., XXVIII, 133.
7. id., p. 191.
8. H. Blümner in Müller's Handbuch IV, 2, II p. 172.
Cooking utensils being similar to those in use now, we infer that methods of cooking were also similar. From the recipes of Apicius Caelius we learn that meat and vegetables were cooked until tender if boiled, and browned if they were roasted. The food was cooked over charcoal on the hearth (focus) or hearthplate. The method of serving must have been different, as the Romans did not use the table knife and fork. The carving and cutting up of food were performed before it was placed upon the table. The usual custom at banquets was to allow one to choose his food from a variety presented on the tray, instead of serving all with set courses. Tea, coffee, chocolate, and tobacco were not used by the Romans. Men usually reclined at table, while women sat or reclined. Modern usage follows the preference of the barbarians, who did not adopt the reclining posture at meals.

Food and liquid containers, cooking utensils (cocu- lum, coquinatorium instrumentum), and dishes for the table resemble those in use today, as to shape, but the material out of which they were made was different. Containers, corresponding to modern kegs, barrels, boxes, and crates were clay jars, leather or reed baskets, and bags, usually having handles (ansa). Smaller jugs and jars were sometimes made of metal or stone. Small flasks for oil were even made of alabaster. Pots

11. Colum. I, 6, 3.  
12. cadus, dolium, amphora, urna, urceus, hirnea, ampulla, etc.  
13. corbis, cochinus, calathus, etc.  
14. saccus, uter, folliculus, reticulum.
olla) were commonly made of copper or bronze (aenum). Kettles and caldrons (cortina) were of brass, copper, and bronze. These useful articles were usually graceful in shape and tastefully ornamented. A pail or pitcher was "not regarded in the Roman household as necessarily to be left a bare and unsightly thing because it was useful. The triumph of tin and ugliness was not yet". Earthenware, glass, and silver dishes were used on the table. A kind of porcelain or china (murrina) made by the Parthians was known, but was extremely rare and costly. The dining room table was small in comparison with the modern models. The smaller table was suitable and convenient with the arrangement of couches about it. The dinner guest brought his own napkin.

The differences between Roman food of about 100 A. D. and food of the modern world are chiefly the result of time, which brings varieties and supplements. Practically no food used by the Romans is spurned by moderns. To the staple porridge prepared cereal foods have been added. Maize is an important addition to the grain used by the ancients. Butter, various plant and animal fats, great quantities of cow's milk, sugars and syrups are food stuffs which the modern man has adopted, which the Roman did not eat. To the list of edibles have been added some vegetables, fruits, and berries native to lands at that time unfamiliar to the Romans. Tea, coffee, chocolate and

tobacco were not used by the Romans. We discover little difference in ways of preparing food, except that many fuels are now used besides the Roman fuels, oil, wood, and charcoal. The ancients reclined at table. Materials used in food containers were clay, metal, and reed, not iron, aluminum, tin, wood, or paper. Porcelain and china were not commonly in use. Many containers and dishes which have come down to us are more graceful in shape and more beautiful in decoration than those commonly in use today.
CLOTHING.

Materials for clothing were limited, and this paucity constitutes the chief basis for comparison with modern clothing, with its great variety of textiles. The staple material was wool (lana), either white or dyed, and fulled by professionals. The chief articles of dress were the tunica, a loose shirt-like garment, the toga, a draped full-dress robe worn on state and social occasions, the cloak (lacerna), and corresponding mantle worn by women (palla). Articles of clothing were essentially the same for men and women, although women's garments were usually of lighter weight material. Gloves and hosiery were rarely worn. Head gear consisted of a hood (cucullus, palliolum) attached to the mantle or separate, a fold of the toga drawn over the head, and an occasional broad-brimmed hat. Fashions were less changeable than in modern times. Home manufacture may be largely responsible for their fixity, together with the characteristically Roman regard for tradition and precedent. Nevertheless in the patrician's wardrobe or chests of drawers could be found cloaks of many colors. The bright costly Tyrian purple has no modern equivalent, and its production seems to be among the lost arts. Linen (linen, carbasus), and a mixture of silk and linen was used in tunics for women. Roman men did not wear pure silk until the time of Elagabalus, and even then its wearers were considered effeminate. Last Indian cotton

1. Friedländer: Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire, II, p. 175.
2. Wendell Phillips: The Lost Arts.
(byssus, xylon, gossypion) was probably known and occasionally used after the Asiatic wars. Furs were not common before the Germanic invasion, although they were used in Italy from ancient times for particular purposes. Satin and velvet were unknown in antiquity. Roman clothing demanded few pins, and was free from buttons, hooks and eyes. It did not bind the body. In making garments, the material was not cut into strangely shaped pieces, then sewed together to gain the desired effect. Roman footwear consisted of sandals (sandallum, solea), boots of various kinds (calceum), and slippers (crepida). The Romans were superstitious with regard to their shoes. The lunula, a crescent shaped ivory ornament worn on the calceus senatorius at the outside of the ankle, seems to have been a kind of amulet. The calceus was the national Roman city boot, worn together with the toga, and not worn in the house. The form, height, and color of the calceus differed according to the rank of the wearer. A calceus patricius was a boot peculiar to curule magistrates, worn on special occasions, such as triumphs. Calceus senatorius worn by the senatorial order was higher than the ordinary calceus, and was fastened with four thongs (corrigiae) which reached up to the calf and were then turned round the leg. Calceus equester was worn by the equestrian or knightly rank. The caliga was a strong sandal worn by Roman soldiers, and a lighter sandal

4. id., p. 173.
7. Cic., p. 411. 20, domum venit, calceos et vestimenta mutat.
(caliga speculatoria) was worn by the courier. Solea were worn in domestic life, and also in public, when the toga was not donned. They were the proper foot covering for women. They were solea, (sometimes high to give the appearance of tallness), fastened on by means of a thong which generally passed between the second and great toe, and joined with a ligula or strap over the upper surface of the foot, and connected with an ankle thong. This harness was arranged in a variety of ways, as the evidence from monuments shows."

We may conclude in citing differences in dress, that the variety and richness of material was limited, due to the slight extent of textile manufacture, in comparison with medieval and modern times. Fashions were less changeable but style of dress differed according to rank more than it does today. Foot wear was more on the order of sandals than of boots, as they are at present. This may have been largely due to the greater coolness, comfort and freedom of the sandal-like foot covering.

The "tongue" (lingula) of the Roman shoe reached from the side—sole to the ankle in front where it helped to hold the shoe on. The modern shoe tongue serves an entirely different purpose. Buttons, laces and eyelets, raised heels are later developments in footwear. Dressing must ordinarily have been a much simpler process in the first century than it commonly is today. Fewer articles of clothing were to be put on, and fewer fastenings were to be made. Moderns are not ordinarily superstitious with regard to their shoes. There is a greater difference to be

noted between the dress of men, and the dress of women, in modern clothing. Hats, hosiery and gloves are commonly in general use. The modern change of style from year to year and season to season is quite different from the Roman cus-
tom.
SHELTER.

After a study of food and clothing with the purpose in mind of noting essential differences between ancient and modern usage, housing is next in order. The great majority\(^1\) of the city's population lived in \textit{insulae}, or tenements which singly occupied an entire block. Juvenal mentions \textit{insulae} four stories high\(^2\), but Augustus limited their height to 70 feet, Hadrian, to 60 feet\(^3\). These were let out, in single rooms and in groups of rooms, to individuals and families of the lower and middle classes. The rich minority, (about 4\% of the city's population, 334-357 A. D.)\(^1\) built substantial, spacious houses (\textit{domus}). The Roman house faced inwards. Modern houses face outwards\(^4\). The compluvium, or quadrangular open space, with the roof sloping in to allow the rain water to fall into the impluvium below, and to admit light and air, is no longer usual in the house plan. Drains are usually arranged on the roof, and these feed the cisterns. Windows and various modern ventilating systems now admit light and air. No architecture was ordinarily wasted upon the exterior of the house except to effect an imposing doorway\(^5\). Quite generally the modern world pays much attention to the external style and adornment of the house. The reason for this has already been explained in

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1. At Rome in 334-357 A. D. there were 1782 \textit{domus}, 44, 171 \textit{insulae}. Smith's \textit{Dict. Antig.} I, p. 665.
2. Juv. III, 199 seq.
connection with the narrow streets. There was nothing in Ancient Rome to correspond to the modern house of the great middle class, of the neither rich nor poor, who own their dwellings. "Private houses were confined to the wealthy few" (Sandys, Comp. p. 224).

The Roman city house consisted of rooms surrounding large lighted spaces. The atrium was the main room, architecturally. Underground cellars or basements seem to have been exceptional, while they are the rule in modern buildings. It was scarcely ever the case that a second story, where one existed at all, extended over the whole house. This was probably because it tended to interfere with the light, comfort and appearance of the ground floor arrangement. The small bedrooms on either side of the atrium were, according to our ideas, cramped and dark. But they had high ceilings and were arranged for coolness, with the doors probably left open into the atrium, for air. Bathrooms, much larger and more elaborate than in modern times are to be found even in the houses of the moderately rich. Usually there were two rooms (tepidarium and caldarium) for lukewarm and hot baths. In some cases an apodyterium was added, an undressing room in which there were bath tub and basin for the cold bath. Hot water was piped from the kitchen to the pool. Bathrooms were made elegant and at-

6. Tucker, Roman Life etc. p. 145.
7. id. 157.
8. id. 159.
10. H. Blümner, in Müller's Handbuch IV, 2, II, p. 52.
tractive by the use of marble and glass ornaments, pillars, statues, fountains, and wall paintings.12

The dining room, or the several dining rooms were put in a variety of places, directly connected with the open air spaces, however. The tablinum, at the rear of the atrium was sometimes a dining room, sometimes an inner reception room. Alae, leading from the tablinum or atrium were sometimes used as dining rooms. But triclinium was the name commonly used for the dining room. The room was, as a rule, twice as long as it was wide.13 Around the table (mensa) were grouped three couches (lecti), with their edges against the wall.14 The width of the room was thus completely filled.15 The walls were extensively decorated with vivid paintings of figures, designs, and scenes, such as of offerings or funeral processions.16

Kitchens in city houses (culinae) were very small in proportion to the rest of the house,17 and in comparison with modern kitchens in private houses. That they must have been veritable ovens, usually having no chimney, with large continuous fires necessary to heat the bath water as well as to cook by, is clear from contemporary testimony.18 Smoke and fumes escaped through windows placed above the hearth for that purpose. A diminutive altar to the household gods was formed by a niche in the kitchen wall, and in this little images of the household

13. Vitr. VI, 3, 8.
15. id. 273.
16. id. 270.
17. H. Blümner in Müller's Handbuch IV, 2, II, 47: Overbeck 325.
The atrium, though originally the main room for living, cooking, eating and sleeping purposes, at this period (100 A. D.) corresponded to the modern reception room. Here less furniture was to be found than in the modern reception room, so that we should consider the ancient atrium quite bare and unfurnished. "It aimed not at 'comfort' (for which the Southern languages have no word), but at parading the owner's dignity as much as possible. The dwelling rooms were little used by day, and sparsely furnished according to our ideas." The effect desired was that of grandeur and the equipment consisted of costly and decorative articles. But the couches could, of course, be placed anywhere at will. A chest (arca) or strong box was commonly placed in the atrium. It was a decorative object, as well as a strong box for the master of the house (dominus). Moderns usually prefer to place valuables in a bank for safe keeping, and we also have many receptacles, such as lockable drawers in desks and cabinets which were not devised by the Romans, whose keys were somewhat more clumsy than ours. Statues and long benches about the walls completed the furnishing of the atrium. In place of the modern large tables for supporting necessary objects in any room, we find tripods, beautifully ornate, with flat tops, sometimes with rims. Numerous chests and presses
or wardrobes were useful pieces of furniture, in addition to which moderns use the dresser or bureau, chiffonier and clothes closet. The ancients did not have large mirrors, set into furniture or walls, but only hand mirrors, very graceful in design, made of highly polished copper, bronze or silver. A curious evidence of the Roman love of relics and symbols is seen in the *garitulum*, a table sometimes found at the rear of the impluvium, opposite the entrance to the *atrium*. On this was an array of ornamental objects symbolic of vessels used for a repast. This was reminiscent of the days gone by, when the household took its meals in the *atrium*. The Roman was loath to have time honored customs, though outworn, completely forgotten. In like manner, the *lectus genialis*, a couch placed at the back of the *atrium* was a symbol of the days when the master and mistress of the house, or perhaps the entire household, slept in the *atrium*.

The small inclosed garden (*viridarium*, Suet. Tib. 60; *hortulus*, Cat. 61, 91.), or the peristyle in more imposing houses, served the same purposes as the modern back yard. There is little to be said of heating systems, because the climate demanded more cooling than heating devices. No hot water or steam systems were used, although hot air arrangements were sometimes employed. Water pipes were generally of lead, sometimes of bronze. To form the pipe a sheet of metal was rolled into a cylinder and the edges joined by a raised soldered ridge. One end of a section was narrowed to fit into the next.

23. id. 185.
24. id. 186.
Doors operated on pivots instead of hinges and were consequently clumsier to move than the modern door. They were commonly fastened with bolts, of which the modern locks are ingenious variations. The wide use of double doors may be explained by the fact that they harmonized well with the lofty and grand scheme of the rooms. In place of the modern watches and clocks, the Romans had sun dials and also water clocks which could record time down to small fractions of the hour, working on the principle of the hour glass.

The chief differences between ancient and modern usage in the way of shelter have to do with the external and interior appearance, the size and equipment, and the purposes served by habitations. The ancient plan made for walled-in, but out-of-door privacy, with much space taken up by colonnades, gardens and courts. Modern houses generally have an arrangement of outside doors and numerous windows. The ancient arrangement suggests that few daylight hours were spent indoors. Modern houses have nothing to compare with the ancient elaborate system of bathrooms. Bathing, as a pastime in private houses, is obsolete. The modern dining room is not ordinarily twice as long as it is wide, the table is much larger than the Roman mensa, and chairs are used instead of couches about the table. The modern kitchen, in the house of the cultivated and well-to-do, is usually a medium sized room, light and airy, since it must suit the convenience of free persons. An altar or shrine for

29. Tucker, Life in the Roman World, etc., p. 192
household deities is no longer placed in a niche above the hearth, or painted on the wall. Modern methods of lighting fires are different from the ancient striking of flint. Coal and many other fuels used today were not used by the Romans. "Decoration of both walls and floors was more permanent than is usual in our day." Modern wall finishings do not demand the painstaking and costly labor which must have been expended on ancient wall paintings. We commonly use some modern device, such as wall paper or tinting to finish the walls, and then decorate them with detachable pictures which may be changed or removed at will. The modern easy chair has largely usurped the place of the Roman couch. Diversity of climate in the modern world accounts for many differences in housing.

31. Mau, p. 245.
RELATIONS OF PARENT AND CHILD IN ROME ABOUT 100 A. D.,
COMPARED WITH THE RELATIONS OF THE MODERN PARENT AND CHILD.

The mater and pater familias in ancient Rome had responsibilities in the rearing of children which modern parents do not assume. The pater had the legal responsibility of accepting or exposing the new born infant. Exposing of infants was rare, but this legal potestas was still lodged in the head of the house. It was an evidence of the deeply rooted Roman belief that strict authority was the secret of law and order.¹

We are told very little about the childhood of any Roman, even by the laborious compilers of minutiae in biography, such as Suetonius and Plutarch. This fact leads us to think that the period of childhood in itself was considered unimportant by the Roman;² and that it was looked upon as a period of becoming an adult, after which the individual began really to count as an element in the state and in society. W. W. Fowler says: "It may be that we exaggerate the importance of childhood, but it is certain the Romans undervalued the importance of it."³

An important obligation of the Roman parent in rearing a child was to instill into its nature the time honored principles of Roman thought and conduct.⁴ The child's practical or utilitarian education had to be learned from, or directed by the parent. A Roman matron taught her daughters woman's work,

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¹ Tucker: Life in the Roman World, etc. p. 316.
³ id. p. 171.
⁴ Horace: Sat., I, 4, 105 seq.
such as spinning and management of the household. The father prepared his sons to follow in his footsteps; in his business, whatever it might be; and in his modes of recreation. He instructed them in such important matters as bookkeeping and the administration of property. Most of such instruction is today intrusted to public institutions, usually to schools or places of business. The modern child undoubtedly receives much of his rearing outside the home.

Childhood in the first century, up to the age of seven, was probably very much like twentieth century children. Following this, the mater and pater familias, besides serving as models for their offspring to emulate, could legally exercise strict authority over their children as long as they lived. It was customary for the father to assign his children property, which they administered and managed for their own benefit. But the pater retained a legal title to all such holdings and acquisitions. The long continuance of this potestas under Roman law shows that it was in reality more of a trusteeship and security than a serious drawback to the youth. The modern usage, in holding property, is different in theory and legal status. A person of age now holds property in his own right, and the parent has no legal power over it or over him. This is, I think, evidence that parental authority and responsibility have diminished, while the community and its officials have assumed the necessary power and responsibility.

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A COMPARISON OF ROMAN AND MODERN EDUCATION.

The state dictated and provided nothing in connection with education. Most schools (ludi, scholae) were private enterprises, conducted as a means of livelihood. There is no trace of an ancient boarding school. We have seen that parents were responsible for their children's education in practical matters. The better circumstanced had tutors or slaves teach them in the fine arts. But the Romans recognized the value of formal education in letters, and many of the boys, doubtless some girls also, were sent out to day school. In methods employed, results desired and obtained from education, we find differences which distinguished the schools of antiquity from those of our own day. The schoolmaster and paedagogus were almost always either slaves or freedmen, and neither could be objects of profound respect for a Roman boy. The proverbial severity and corporal punishment in a Roman school was probably necessary to maintain discipline, where moral force was wanting. The elementary school taught the child to read, write and cipher. Roman numerals did not lend themselves to easy manipulation, as do modern digits. Therefore there was more emphasis on mental arithmetic than there is today. Just so the cultivation of the memory played a much greater part than it does at present.

Secondary education, which the Roman boy received from the age of twelve to his assumption of the toga virilis,

1. Tucker; Roman Life, etc. p. 320.
2. Daremberg and Saglio: Dict. d. Antiq. III, 2, 1380, fig. 4647: id. 1381, fig. 4648.
was under the direction of the *grammaticus*. "Quintilian urged the importance of a proper foundation of grammatical knowledge. ***

Grammar comprised instruction in the sounds, the historic changes of words, their classification, their inflexion, and in correct, clear, and elegant diction. The *grammaticus*, however, spent most of his time in elucidating the poets. Lectures were given on metre, on poetry in general, on the special qualities of each poet studied, and on any points of history, mythology, philosophy, or astronomy, which they contained." Part of this plan for a secondary education has undoubtedly been abandoned. Grammar, as defined above, is not taught in the secondary schools, but is considered a deeply scientific subject, which can be better understood by the advanced scholar. The study of historic changes of words is confined to the trained philologist. One reason for this is the fact that in modern times, with the changes in language brought about in the intervening centuries, the study of the history of language becomes comparative philology. This is, of course, no fit subject for the high school pupil. Instruction in "correct, clear, and elegant diction" may sometimes be obtained in the secondary schools, but this subject does not occupy a position of prime importance. The emphasis has been shifted, whether wisely or not, to other studies, as a glance at the curricula offered in secondary schools will prove.

As to higher education, "the crown of Roman education was rhetoric," or the art and practice of public speaking. The purpose of this education was to produce statesmen and lawyers.

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7. Thomas: *Roman Life under the Caesars*, p. 221.
It is agreed that the influence exerted by this "same gigantic factory", the schools of rhetoric, on the literature of the Empire was powerful and debilitating.\(^8\)

To sum up what we know of Roman education that has been given up, we may see from Cicero's words\(^9\) that the method, subject matter, and results had at one time, during the Republic, been satisfactory for the Roman people. But with changing conditions, under the Empire, the results were not the same, and this time-honored educational system, though still adhered to, had lost its usefulness. There was little opportunity for acquiring a scientific habit of mind, which is now becoming one of the first principles of education. Emphasis is placed upon the reason rather than upon the memory, from the kindergarten up. Rome undoubtedly boasted some learned men, some well developed personalities. But we cannot ascribe the result to the work of the formal education, but rather to the admirable home training, plus remarkable personal ambition, and effective force of character in individuals.\(^10\) Education in the home has largely been given up, as modern interests make it necessary for the parents to be away from home much of their time, or to be engaged in matters other than the education of their children. The modern school systems take on the responsibility of educating the child, striving to develop all his faculties to effect a symmetrical personality capable of further development along whatever particular lines he may choose. The practice of having all higher

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8. Thomas: Roman Life under the Caesars, pp. 222, 223.
9. Cic: de Rep. I, 20, 33: "Quid esseigitur censes, Laeli, discendum nobis?" to which he received the answer; "Eas artes quoaefficient ut usu civitati simus."
education based upon rhetoric has been given up. This is the case because modern times have felt the need of, and demanded from schools, training along other lines, as well as in literary and rhetorical art. The subject matter has been retained but is treated critically, with the fields of research broadened to include the many phases of modern scientific investigation.
WOMEN.

The principal accomplishment of girls and women was work in wool, spinning and weaving. Consequently the loom was often depicted in inscriptions as woman's emblem. The introduction of machinery has robbed woman of this work, except when it is taken up for some particular purpose, or done as a pastime. Girls were usually married between the ages of 12 and 19. To be unmarried at 19 was to be distinctly an old maid. Paternal authority counted for more than it does today in the choice of a husband. Neither sons nor daughters were free to marry independently of the father's will. The betrothal ceremony, attended with publicity and solemn ritual equal to a modern wedding, is not usual in the modern world. But this pledge, attendant with formal exchange of ring and dowry, was not legally binding, and the modern breach-of-promise law-suits have no ancient counterpart. The wedding, on the other hand was a purely social ceremony, neither state nor priest having anything to do with sanctioning or blessing it. The abrupt change, from the sheltered sphere of childhood to the unrestricted and prominent position of the married woman, and to the splendour, enjoyments and distractions of the social life, was doubtless responsible for most of the follies and vices.

1. cf. Corp. Inscrip. Lat. VI, 15346, 34045.
3. id, p. 294.
4. id, p. 296.
recorded against the women of the early Empire. The effect of slavery upon women was undoubtedly deleterious.\(^6\) Juvenal describes a moody mistress who has female slaves flogged: Ovid begs women not to scratch the maids who are adorning them. It was no uncommon occurrence for a Roman matron to strike down a slave attendant with a blow from her hand mirror, at the misplacing of a lock of hair. Women had long been allowed to put their slaves to death, and until the reign of Hadrian they might crucify them upon the slightest pretext. The abuse resultant upon the possession of unlimited power was not peculiar to Roman women, but is familiar to us in all ages, among men as well as women. Modern women are fortunate, as a rule, in being spared these incentives to inhumanity.

But history represents the typical Roman matron as a dignified and efficient woman. If she was to be respected, she undoubtedly observed more restrictions than the most correct woman of today. "The typical matron would assuredly never dream of playing a part in history;" her influence was from within the house, but her position was proportionately powerful.\(^7\) Necessity doubtless granted to women a place of remarkable importance, since the men were so largely absorbed by military and State duties. When the Roman citizens were absent from home, engaged in wars, and in official duties in the provinces, the women were left to manage household, estate,

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6. Friedländer: Roman Life, etc., I, p. 244.  
public and private business. The approved sphere and attainments of the Roman woman are perhaps expressed in the inscription found upon a tombstone which I may translate:  

"Stranger, what I relate is very little. Here is the unbeautiful grave of a beautiful woman. Her parents named her Claudia. She cherished her husband in her heart. She bore two sons, one of whom survives her, the other she has buried. Of pleasant speech and proper gait, she watched over the house and spun wool. I have said enough. Go your way."

The position of women in Roman society was, we conclude, surprisingly similar to that of the modern women, with a few important exceptions. The western world has not followed the oriental custom of sanctioning the marriage of children. It may naturally follow that parental authority need not be as rigidly exercised in the choice of a husband, or wife. The character of betrothal and wedding ceremonies have been curiously reversed, so that the orthodox announcement of engagement is primarily a social occasion, while the wedding ceremony has normally a religious character. And the dowry is not, as a rule, formally handed over when the marriage contract is signed and sealed. This may have been given up as a crudity, during the refinement of customs through the intervening centuries. The spindle and loom have been given up in the home, while the sewing machine partially replaces them. Modern women are not subject to the injurious influences of slavery. They must be carefully fair to

8. C. I. L. VI, 15346.
their servants if they wish to keep them. The theory that woman's sphere is limited to the home has been given up in modern practice. This is because woman's work has been so largely taken out of the home by modern conditions, that she has been forced to follow it to the factory, the place of business, the professional office, and teaching.
CLASS DISTINCTION.

Excluding the slave and the freedman, there were three distinct classes in Roman Society. The Senatorial order (ordo senatorius), the knighthood (equester ordo), and the order of plebians (pleba urbana)¹ Officially, administratively, and in almost every respect, noble descent was a great advantage. Pedigrees were often fabricated. Even those who abandoned these pedigrees for some reason, or themselves mocked at them, at other times found them serviceable and could make use of them without seeming ridiculous. Modern credulity is not so elastic.² "The aristocracy had a realm and opportunity for princely existence never since or elsewhere realized."³ Augustus himself established a senatorial caste, by restricting competition for curule office and consequent seat in the Senate to nobility, or families whose ancestors had held such office.⁴ We look in vain for such restrictions in modern provisions for office holding. No doubt the same result, of procuring suitable men to perform the required duties, is the aim in each system. The Roman nobleman, by training, property, and inherited traits was considered the proper candidate for magistracies, under the early Empire. In modern times there is generally a less notable cleavage between classes in society, so that the man who possesses the required qualifications, no matter to what stratum he belongs, is considered the right man for the place. The modern civil service

¹ Sandys: Comp., p. 359.
² Friedländer: Roman Life and Manners, I, pp. 110-111.
³ id. p. 17.
⁴ id. P. 107.
system demonstrates this.

The system of clientage which prevailed at Rome in the Early Empire fortunately has no modern parallel, I believe. In origin it was sound, dating back to the time when powerful patricians championed the cause of deserving plebeians. But like many other good systems, it had served its time, and had degenerated into social and economic abuse. The rich were expected to employ their excess, (an object served by the huge system of clientela), and to furnish them amusement. We are led to believe that the effect was bad upon both patron and client. The patron could not but despise the train of fawning creatures he fed, while the client, day after day observing servile forms of obsequious attendance upon his patrons, a useless but polite beggar, lost much of his independence and virility. The modern industrial system observes official subordination, but discourages servility. We have nothing in modern times which corresponds closely to the Roman "rabble". Rome was mainly peopled by the "third estate", a proletariat crowd seeking for free panem et circenses, the generous distribution of which was ever inflating its numbers. This miscellaneous multitude, composed of the dregs of every nation, was more corrupt, wilder and rougher than is to be found in modern capitals. Its predominance was stable and also dangerous, as the mob consisted mostly of inveterate idlers. The government continually provided for its maintenance by great distributions of corn. Bread and races were therefore regarded as no imperial indulgence, but as an absolute

5. Friedländer: *Roman Life and Manners*, II p. 228.
right. The ruling class did not, as a rule, attempt to reduce and gradually eliminate this social and political menace. Instead of investigating into the cruces, and devising means for changing the economic system so that there need be no idle poor, they sought rather to "lay the dragon" with lavish distribution of food and with public shows. This treatment of the poor has been given up, by modern governments. They attempt rather to offer citizens a chance to get for themselves what they need. The present industrial unrest, an evidence of the alert, energetic spirit in the industrial class, is in contrast to the torpid state of the lower scale of the Roman plebs, "quae frumentum accipiebat". The Roman upper estates feared and dreaded such a discontent, to avoid which they took on the heavy obligations of building, giving, and entertaining.

Although class distinctions are observable in the modern world, there is less of privilege and actual power apportioned according to rank. The great industrial movement, which has interested people of all classes, has done much to break down, or at least to minimize, the importance of class distinctions. With the reintroduction of republican (i.e. representative democratic) principles in government, business and social institutions, the oligarchic systems employed by ancient imperial states have largely been given up. The resultant leveling process has done much to reduce the force of class prejudices and differences. The system of clientage, similar in many respects to phases of feudalism, has also disappeared in modern society.

7. Sandys: Comp., p. 360.
The reasons for its abandonment are many. Such systems of dependence, with the attendant abuse of power, become objectionable to sturdy, energetic people, and have been rejected by all European and American peoples in their struggle for justice. Governments no longer support a useless and dangerous proletarian class, but public institutions have been organized, which classify public charges and practice discriminate guardianship over such as require it.
RECREATION.

Holidays, usually lasting over several days, were liberally spread throughout the Roman year. If we count up our Sundays and legal holidays, we will find that they are nearly as numerous. The difference lies rather in the manner of using holidays. Originally religious festivals, Roman holidays were at this time given over chiefly to entertainments, such as games, theatres, athletic sports, chariot races and spectacles. The games (ludus) were provided by state or magistrates free of cost to spectators. This is in contrast to the modern principle of paying for amusements. There are noticeable differences between ancient and modern theatres. At Rome, as in Greece, the theatre was huge. Effective opera glasses were not known and subtle changes in facial expression must have passed unnoticed. Masks were therefore fittingly employed. "Perhaps in no civilized country has the drama so far declined as it had in Rome by 64 A. D." In comedy there was apparently no originality. The Roman audience enjoyed the mime (nimus), the pantomime, and the aetellanae, while the real drama never revived. Today there are few such powerful counter-attractions, as the ludi, circenses, venationes, which furnished intense excitement. Although the athletic contests of Greece were the last to acclimate themselves at Rome, they became popular under the Empire. The

4. id. p. 274.
6. Friedländer: Roman Life and Manners, II, p. 121.
Capitoline Olympiads survived down to the end of antiquity. (In exercise and the bath, the use of the strigilis and unguents has commonly been replaced by the use of soaps.) But the Romans were never addicted to athletic performances as to others, and the "true spirited Roman" objected to the gymnasium, on grounds which seem paltry, in view of their mania for the arena. Chariot racing held a mighty fascination for the Romans, while they cared nothing for the modern form of racing, with single horses. Instead of the amphitheatre and its spectacles, the modern world has several substitutes, among which are the circus tent and amusement park. We have abolished the exhibitions in which people were forced to kill one another for the pleasure of spectators, and where wild beasts battled with each other or with men, to the delight of onlookers. Isolated relics of barbarism, such as bull baiting and cock fights, may be witnessed in various parts of the world. But the consensus of modern feeling is opposed to this method of entertainment. We wax enthusiastic over feats, spectacles and combats in which death or the shedding of blood do not enter as essentials in the performance. When they occur, they are considered as deeply lamentable accidents, counteracting, rather than adding to the pleasure of the occasion.

When the public baths were first instituted, they were only for the lower orders, who alone bathed in public. But as early as Caesar we find no less a personage than the mother of Augustus making use of the public baths. In the process of time even the

7. id. p. 125.
8. Tucker: Life in the Roman World, etc., p. 274.
Emperors themselves came to bathe in public with the meanest of the people.\textsuperscript{10} Modern conditions do not give to the public baths the important place which they occupied among the ancients. We have various other institutions which severally supply the interests that were in ancient times all clustered about the public baths. They offered within a single enclosure facilities for physical and social culture; facilities in modern times supplied by gymnasiums, clubs, cafes, parks and gardens. "Unofficial citizens had nothing to occupy them except their pleasures."\textsuperscript{11} Frequently the bath was one of their chief objects in life, as is shown by an inscription from Timgad: "Venari, lavari, ludere, ridere, occ (i.e. hoc) est vivere."\textsuperscript{11}

The Romans spent the best part of their lives away from their dwellings, especially their leisure hours.\textsuperscript{12} This can hardly be said of moderns. Governments no longer supply such magnificent places in which the populace might so pleasantly spend its time. Loafing is no longer in popular favor. More interest is taken by the ordinary unofficial citizen in his place of habitation, in its conveniences and facilities for enjoyment of leisure hours within it. The shifting of interest from public to private life may be attributed to the practical results of the teachings of Christianity, with emphasis upon the home. The bath consumed a large part of every day for the ordinary Roman, and games absorbed the holidays.

Fifty-two Sundays comprise the majority of modern

\textsuperscript{10} Smith's Dict. Antiq., I, p. 271.
\textsuperscript{11} Thomas; Roman Life Under the Caesars, p. 90; C.I.L. VIII, Suppl. Pars II, 17938.
\textsuperscript{12} Id. p. 87.
holidays during the year. The general method of employing these is not in attending huge public gatherings where the taste for excitement is gratified. Quite generally, I believe, Sundays are given over to rest and relaxation from the activities of the other days of the week. This may not be from superior wisdom of the modern, so much as from the physical need for rest, as modern life is generally more strenuous day after day than life in ancient Rome. Modern theatres are usually not intended to accommodate the city's entire populace. They are not so lavishly constructed and adorned so that it is reasonable to suppose that the theatre does not occupy as important a place in modern life as it did in ancient. But there is more interest in dramatic art today than there was in Early Imperial Rome. The women's parts are no longer generally acted by men, as the prejudice against women appearing on the stage has been overridden by the elevation of the theatrical profession and by their ability as actors. Athletic contests hold an important place among modern means of recreation, while chariot racing has been given up, together with the various spectacles, probably on account of the humane influences of Christianity. Ludi publici have been given up as a government enterprise, and the business of furnishing various means of "recreation" for the populace has been taken over by private money-making concerns. In like manner the functions of the public bath have been distributed among numerous institutions, some becoming business enterprises, others absorbed by social organizations, and still others re-

mainly in the control of civic officials. There is more social, political and religious freedom of the individual in modern times, therefore more independent thought, decision and action are required of the ordinary individual. This may be one reason why forms of recreation vary much more than they did among the ancients, so that no set formulae for entertainment will now suit any city's entire population.
SLAVES AND FREEDMEN.

The social, political, economic and ethical effects of a vast slave system in city and country, such as prevailed in the Early Empire, are hard to estimate. The demand for labor, with the taking on of empire and magnificence, was abnormally great and sudden. The supply could not possibly have been provided by the free population alone. We have a decidedly different industrial condition today, when the demand for labor is not usually equal to the supply. This may be partly due to the introduction of machinery, a modern innovation. But there is a difference between the spirit of the Roman poor and the spirit of the modern poor. The lower classes of the city and country were not suited for the work demanded, either by capacity or inclination. It was not for a free Roman to be at the beck and call of an employer, like the clerks and underlings today, or to act as servants in a great household. The varied ability of the slave population must also be considered. For a great part of the work done by slaves, the ordinary Roman was not sufficiently well educated, skilled, or talented. Whereas in America, we now import our unskilled labor, the Romans imported their skilled labor, as captives from all over the Mediterranean world. We hear of no outbreak of Roman freemen against slave labor. This leads us to conjecture that their zeal for work was torpid or entirely wanting. The importation and manipulation of cheap labor today causes alarming industrial protests and ferment. It is probable

that in Rome slavery did not entirely oust free labor, but that it tended to cramp and degrade it. Columella’s work shows that the large estates were run almost exclusively by slave labor, and that the system was unquestionably profitable. (Here we find the case is different from the latter days of slavery, in the Southern United States, where slavery impoverished many proprietors). A modern substitute for unskilled slaves, it is often claimed, is machinery. There are some similarities.

"Slaves were always to be at work when not asleep." "After their day’s work the slaves were fed and locked up for the night. They were in fact simply living tools, to use the expression of Aristotle, and the economy of the pastoral estate was as simple as that of a workshop." The legal status of the slave was nil. He was property (res) and his master had absolute authority (iust vitae necisque) over him. Slavery was an institution of long standing among the Romans, and there were many varieties of enslavement. Jurisdiction over slaves was private, like the vassalage of the Middle Ages. Since slaves were not subject to the State, they were a peril to it. Such slaves as gladiators were repeatedly used as a political weapon, and when organized, slaves became a formidable revolutionary force.

The legal status was much inferior to the actual position held by many deserving slaves, and it could be changed by manumission, whereupon the res became a persona. Manumission

2. neque vero agrum colundo aut venando, servilibus officiis, intentum aetatem agere: Sallust: Catil. 4.
4. id. p. 222.
5. id. p. 225.
is the redeeming feature of the whole system of ancient bondage. Thus many slaves became Roman citizens, remaining in respectful subordination to their former masters. A class of freedmen was created which constituted an important political and economic force. A result of manumission was the infusion of foreign blood into the Roman citizen body, comparable with the result of the American liberal immigration and naturalization policy. But crowds of rascals were also enfranchised for political purposes, together with a few valuable men. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing in the time of Augustus, draws a terrible picture of the evil effects of indiscriminate manumission, unchecked by law.

The State wanted the best years of the Roman's life for service in the army, and this was the real industry of the Roman freeman. The modern state wants a variety of services from the citizen, but normally it does not demand years of military service. As a rule, the state wants intelligent citizenship, and does not interfere with the work in which the citizens are engaged. The wars carried on by the Roman armies produced a capitalist class in need of labor, and also created a slave market on such a scale as the world has never known before or since. The slave markets had lasting and lamentable effects upon Roman society. Rome had to pay heavily for her mighty slave element, in her strides toward world sovereignty. The mischievous effects of such a system upon the slave owning class

6. id.; p. 234.
7. id.; p. 227.
8. Dion. Hal; IV, 23.
9. id.; p. 207.
itself, as well as upon the idle class of freemen created by it, are traceable in the Roman character. There is a lamentable weakening in the sense of justice and right dealing in the two upper classes from this time, due to the quite unconscious cultivation of despotic temper. Disregard of misery, except when found among the privileged classes, became second nature to the Romans. Caesar, one of the most humane of Romans, tells us himself that on a single occasion, (the capture of the Aduatuci), he sold 53,000 prisoners on the spot. But here our perspective must be adjusted, and we must look upon these acts according to the ancient mental inheritance, when men who had surrendered, and other unfortunates, were looked upon as simple booty, the property of the victors. The modern viewpoint is entirely different, in the light of 19 centuries of humane influences. The influence of Christianity, in improving the condition of the slave, was great, even in the first century, and in the long run it meant the abolition of slavery.

The freedmen (libertus) occupied a unique position in society. Sprung from loathed races, stained with the ineffaceable stigma of slavery, they were despised and abhorred by the aristocracy of Rome. Yet the noblest often had to pay homage to them. They were successful in business and trades. The strongest evidence for the position obtained by these former slaves is found in the fact that they could marry daughters of noble or even imperial families. Yet senators might not marry freedmen's

10. id.; pp. 234-6.
12. Sandys; Comp., p. 364.
daughters. They were, as a class, keen and competent men, whose aid the emperors found indispensable, and whose gains the nobility were always borrowing.\(^{13}\)

In the study of slavery at Rome, a comparison with slavery of the Southern United States as it existed a half century ago, suggests itself. Although slaves were mainly non-Roman, they were not distinguished (like the negro) by any external mark.\(^ {14}\) There were no public slaves in the United States to correspond to the Roman public slaves. Slavery as a recognized institution has been given up by the modern world, largely because of the prevailing ideas of humanity, which object to considering human beings as property. Freedmen correspond more closely to the foreign merchantmen of the modern commercial world, than to the "black freedmen" of the Southern United States.

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13. Friedländer; I, p. 46.
SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

The Emperor's usual preferences and dictates were largely imitated by all Roman society. The Roman day assigned all business to the daylight, and in the afternoon brought it to an end with the principal meal (cena). Therefore early morning only was left for the fulfilment of most social obligations. Court society was based upon the Emperor's "friends." These were influential associates, attending him as quasi-official members of a political group. They exercised much influence over the government. For example, Maecenas and Agrippa, as "friends" of Augustus; Sejanus, of Tiberius; Seneca and Tigellinus, of Nero. Marius Maximus, biographer of emperors, said the security of the state lay in the goodness of the friends, rather than in the Emperor's virtues. These friends were usually kinsmen, companions of his youth, eminent senators, consuls and consulars, and young knights of prominence. Also the Emperor had companions whose friendship they sought because of their ability or talent, as Tigellius, the singer and conversationalist of Augustus. It was influence, power, mutual interests and ambitions that bound Romans together. Entertainments were aptly arranged to direct conversation along cultured lines. Thus recitations from poets might bring about aesthetic appreciations, lengthy and dull discussions.

The exchange of gifts has ever been a by-product of social activities, and the Romans were particularly fond of this

1. Friedländer; Roman Life and Manners, I, pp. 70-82.
2. id.; I, p. 82.
concrete means of showing favor, respect and gratitude. The toga was a common gift from gentleman to gentleman. Custom demanded that friends should remember the Emperor in their wills, and legacies were regularly left him by all propertied men. Sigilla, little statues were always welcome presents and were regularly exchanged at the Saturnalia. In private life, the gift of a statue or bust was a favorite means of showing friendship.

The Roman's leisure time was largely occupied by forms of social activity. Ulpian, the great jurist, volleyed learned questions forth anywhere in streets or shops. In modern times this parade of knowledge would be considered an unmistakable evidence of bad breeding. The street is no longer the place where education is to be divulged or gleaned. Martial said that if he could live as he chose, he would choose the Campus Martius, with its colonnades and shady parks as his home, have his baths in the cool waters of the Aqua Virgo, and employ his hours in talk and reading in the thermae and walks. The Romans adored dice, Augustus was passionately fond of playing at dice, and Claudius wrote a book on the game. The fascination may have been heightened by the hold which Fortuna had upon the Romans, as they believed, in directing their destinies.

Special social occasions, at which the same train of friends and clients attended, were numerous. These Roman ceremonial made it easy to fritter away the day with social obligations. For example, witnessing the signature and sealing of

4. id.; I, p. 77.
5. id.; II, p. 270.
wills, attending betrothal ceremonies, or assumptions of the
toga virilis, witnessing manumissions, hearing literary produc-
tions. Morning receptions were held by the influential aristoc-
rats, to which the senators were carried along in litters or
sedan chairs at day break; swarms of clients and favor seekers
hurried along on foot, each waited patiently for his turn to
greet the great man, to make his request or complimentary speech,
and the crowd flowed out again, like a huge wave. We have no
morning social feature to correspond to this. Society tends
more and more to turn night into day, reversing the old Roman
order of things. Evening festivities were chiefly banquets, with
their accompanying entertainments. These differed from modern
banquets in few particulars, except with regard to the reclining
position, the different grades of food offered to great and
humble guests, and the methods of serving, already mentioned in
connection with foods. But there was a purpose served by these
gatherings no longer ascribed to banquets. Here the world's
news was passed around, and current politics discussed in whis-
pers or in mysterious allusions. There must have been more ease,
encouraging the company to prolong the gathering, than there is
at the modern banquet.

The prejudices and preferences arising from the fact
that Rome was always a plutocracy in spirit, have few modern
parallels in society. The first order of the State seems to
have felt an obligation of mutual assistance. Thus friends and
colleagues would contribute to the magistrate's expense fund.  

6. Tucker; Life in the Roman World, etc., p. 218.
7. Friedländer: Roman Life and Manners, I, p. 124.
The whole aristocracy would go in mourning if a notable man's house burned down, the praetor would suspend public business, contributions would flow in so as to make fires almost profitable speculations. But the poor man, whom a fire deprived of all his possessions, got shelter and help from no one. This is in direct contrast to modern democratic sympathy. One great lure in the senatorship was its lending a sense of very high dignity, a consciousness of being the aristocracy of the world. Modern humor detracts much from the possibility of overindulgence in the glamour of official honors. The humbler people must have imitated to some extent the social activities and ceremonies of the great. But the emperor made every effort to divert the people, to satisfy their craving for excitement, so that the arena and the circus left the ordinary Roman little incentive for social development. Among the masses there was little social or intellectual culture, as the bad grammar and spelling of inscriptions show. Their manners left much to be desired. 'Plebeian' and 'vulgar', or 'crude', became synonymous terms. Yet many of the poor, as their lives are epitomised on gravestones, did their work conscientiously.

Politics and society are generally not so inextricably mingled today, as they were in Imperial Rome. As we make clearer distinctions between trades and professions than the Romans did, so the divisions are wider between society, politics, and education. Social activities were more stereotyped, or by rote, and more serious in purpose than they are with us. Now they are

8. Id.; I, p. 224.
9. Id.; I, p. 182.
an end in themselves, then they were a means. They were a vent for publicity, largely replacing modern written and printed news agencies.
RELIGION.

The germ of religious feeling never entirely died out among the Romans, as the rapid resuscitation of former religious practices under Augustus proves. A new stimulus was given by Augustus, in his cool and politically calculated revival of the forms of the State religion, to a plant that still had Rome life in it. But the rank and file of the Romans of this period, had not advanced beyond the primal state of unscientific wonder and credulity,1 while moderns have arrived at a more advanced stage of belief and reasoning wonder.2 Cicero defines religion (religio) as the feeling of the presence of a higher or divine nature, which prompts man to worship. "Religionem, eam, quae in metu et caerimonia deorum sit, appellant;" that is, which prompts man to cura et caerimonia, in the performance of which, through sheer thoroughness and completeness, the Roman forgot to feel his religio. In short, he externalized his religio to such a degree as to rob it of its meaning.4 The Romans had a curious belief in a Genius or inspiring spirit accompanying each Roman during his life. This belief in an accompanying spirit does not correspond to the modern belief in the soul, because the genii were not confined to men, but every living being, animal as well as man, and every place had its genius.5 The fundamental entities (numina) of the Roman religion, afterwards transformed into the

1. cf. the attraction of the Eleusinian mysteries, and the mysteries of Samothrace.
2. Friedländer: Roman Life and Manners, I, p. 259.
ius divinum of the Roman state, were a group of supernatural powers supposed to exist in natural objects. The Italian tried to enlist the services of these numina, never letting his fancy play with them, but invoking them with fearfully exact formality. This unimaginative invocation and dread formality in relations with the deities, gave to Roman religion its legal character, and tended to discourage individual religious development among those unskilled in the priestly rites. And that just at a period when the teachings of Christianity were offering a contrast to the formal practices of the Roman religion. Pagans scoffed at the Christian community "consisting of the poor, of workmen, old women, slaves, children and simpletons." Yet Christianity, because of its hold upon the masses, was unquestionably one of the compelling forces in the disintegration of the Roman government, founded as it was upon might and the advantages of power. From this time the common people gradually rise in importance and the privileged classes subside proportionately.

Emperor worship, with sacrifices and libations of wine and incense offered to his effigies, was chiefly a formality imposed upon subjects by the government. There was little reality of religion in this compulsory adoration of statues, so that the effigies of an unpopular emperor were often demolished, in an outburst of popular rage, at the end of his reign, as happened in the case of Domitian. This outburst appears to have

7. id., p. 151.
been a somewhat pathetic and ineffectual show of popular opinion, and evidence of the smothered instinct for freedom from state bondage as to worship. The mimes ridiculed the gods, made Luna a man, whipped Diana off the stage, and read the will of Jupiter deceased. A popular spirit which called for such ridicule surely was no longer the possessor of a deeply religious feeling of reverence for these gods. 10  "In any case in the Empire we feel the serious loss of that spirit of self sacrifice and devotion which a vigorous religious faith alone can bestow." The Roman religion left no spiritual legacy to Christianity, therefore whatever is spiritual in modern religion is distinct from our Roman inheritance. 12 The religio deorum of the old Roman world must necessarily have been different from the "vera religio", as Minucius Felix terms Christianity. 13 "They sacrifice and leave their religion in the temple. Such religiones cannot make men good or firm in their faith;" says Lactantius. "Nostra vero religio eo firma est, et solida, et immutabilis, quia mentem ipsam pro sacrificiis habet." 14 "The kingdom of God is within you" was a new doctrine to the Roman. Not awe and cult only suffice to make up modern religion, but a mental devotion, capable of building up character, is demanded.

The Roman idea of prayer was different from the modern. In invoking the Roman ius divinum, the efficacy of the whole process was believed to depend upon the strictest adherence

10. Id., II, p. 91.
13. Octavius 38, 1 and 6.
to prescribed rules of procedure. Prayer had developed into a petition, but its growth was arrested by the formalization of the whole Roman religious ritual. Roman prayers which have come down to us are hard and formal. When the attention of the thinking pagan was directed to the new religion spreading in the Empire, the first thing to strike him as extraordinary would be that a religion of prayer was superseding a religion of ceremonies and set invocations of the gods. It encouraged all, even the most uneducated, to pray, to meditate, and to exercise the mind in self scrutiny and contemplation of God. Prayer thus could become a motive power for inward development, to which nothing else might be compared for efficacy.

The Roman idea of fear or taboo still lingered, and was evidenced in the long list of things forbidden to priests, especially to the flamen Dialis. This shows that religio was a sort of nervous anxiety, and the aim was to find a method of soothing it. Magic was from early times practiced and believed in. Important things of life had been sacred, and protected by various devices from evil. The practical side of the Roman religion is shown, by the emphasis laid on boundaries, the family, the hearth, etc. But when fear and anxiety and doubt were relieved by ritual, the relation between the rites and man's life was lost from sight. Religio practically disappeared as an element in individual life, when the state took over the religious responsibilities.

16. Fowler: *The Religious Experience, etc.*, p. 47
The question arises, why did the Romans progress no further in their religion? The main reason probably lies in the fact that they were not an introspective people, as were the Hebrews. By nature and through circumstance the practical side of the Roman was emphasized. Their religion was essentially practical. Having deified natural phenomena as numina, with adjectival names suggested by their functions, their ideas of religion remained almost static. The early Roman, unlike the Greek, seems to have been destitute of mythological fancies, and Roman legends are of practical matters, such as kings and wars. There was no personal idea in their conception of divinities, until the Greek ideas were adopted. Because abstract qualities are usually feminine in Latin, we have the feminine inflection in the appellations for various numina, such as Fortuna, Vesta, Diana. Because of other ideas grouped around the numina, masculine forms were given to the names Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, etc. Such deities as these were grim colorless conceptions of strength and power, for good or evil. Roman religion was essentially animism, a worship of powers of the Universe as divine agencies. Their ideas were logical, and their efforts at expiation sincere. But prayer was a formula and constraining power, meant to act upon the god invoked, not to react upon the suppliant. With their awe of external forces, it was only natural that the Romans should be more addicted to magic than to religion, as they wished to compel the gods to serve themselves, rather than to be compelled to serve divinities. Their faith was founded

18. Id., p. 149.
19. Id., p. 164.
upon man's devices, not upon Divine good will. Their belief in the State and its religious dictates were therefore due primarily to logic, and not to spirituality. It is remarkable that the Romans had no sacred book which might correspond to the Bible, but as they had worked out few religious principles or creeds, there was scarcely suitable material to be written into a book of their faith. Their rules were like the laws of state. No regularly recurring day, analogous to the modern Sabbath was prescribed by Roman religion. The Roman priests did not correspond to the modern clergy. Priests were busy in other walks of life, often had little religious training, and held priestly offices as a side issue. Today priestly officials are distinctly professional.

The religious experience of the Roman people was thwarted by her governmental development. Originally *religio* had consecrated individuals, families, and possessions, but when its formalizing and administration were taken over by the state, personal religious duties were rendered superfluous. Little ethical value was derivable from passive obedience and observance of priestly ritual.

In modern times the idea of the existence of many deities has generally been given up. The world of today is monotheistic. Magic and taboo no longer have a potent spell. Their mysteries have been keenly scrutinized and largely explained away. Ancestor worship, and Emperor worship have been abandoned in modern occidental religions. Priesthood does not ordinarily absorb the religious rites as it did under paganism. There was a sort of religious armour of the State, embodied in priesthods,

festivals, holy places and complicated ritual which thoroughly externalized religion. Little in these practices possessed a spiritual character. The object was not to make men spiritually good, but to protect them from material evil. The help which Romans sought from the gods was not primarily moral, but material. Concrete sacrifices, as offerings upon altars to a divinity are not usual in modern religious practices. The naive idea that the deity derived some benefit from this attention, as well as that it should reward the supplicant, is no longer common. The true Roman was inclined to judge religion by its material results. His gods were expected to be of use to worshippers, who purchased their help and favor by sacrifices. He could not understand the Christian theory that calamity might be sent by heaven for the good of the sufferer. W. W. Fowler aptly expresses the conditions when he describes Christianity as a plant grown in soil which had borne other crops (i.e. religions) which was nevertheless wholly new in structure and vital principle. An essential difference is that whereas the connection between religion and morality had been a loose one, the new religion was itself morality, consecrated and raised to a higher power than it had ever yet reached. The doctrine of Universal Love was entirely new to the Roman. Much of the ceremonial side of religion has been given up, or eclipsed in importance by preaching and teaching. Although many set prayers and chants are regularly repeated, yet practically all religious organizations advocate individual and informal praying. New faiths are no longer taken

21. The Religious Experience, etc., p. 466.
on by state dictation. The Romans incorporated new deities into their religious practices as they incorporated conquered peoples. But religious beliefs and practices in modern times have become matters of individual choice, practically free from state dictation. The result is that there are almost as many degrees and shades or varieties of religious beliefs as there are independently thoughtful individuals.
SICKNESS, DEATH AND BURIAL.

We have no satisfactory evidence of anything that can be regarded as a public hospital in Italy until the end of the 4th century A.D. The valetudinarium was an infirmary, where the sick slaves were removed for better treatment. Private households of the well-to-do had their own physicians, while doctors of wide practice were hired by the state to treat the poor. Medicine was largely in the hands of freedmen and slaves. But the practice of medicine was a profession of honor, as health (valetudo) was highly valued, and those who understood its secrets were admired. Doctors found plenty to study, especially in patients afflicted by fevers and resultant infirmities. Martial says that once when he was ill, Symmachus with a hundred or so students called upon him, and their ice cold hands gave him fever. This is an evidence of the fact that medical schools were not yet in existence, and that clinical experience was gained at the expense, and in this case at least, to the detriment of the patient. The most numerous specialists were oculists. This may have been because eye trouble was very common. Eye disorders may have arisen from the effect of the sun's glare upon the white stone and cement structures of the city and from irritation caused by smoke in rooms, where the outlets were not chimneys, but apertures in the walls or ceiling. Magic and medicine had much in common,

2. Friedländer: Roman Life and Manners, I, 167.
3. id., I, p. 27.
and both were doubtless employed by doctors in good faith. Skeptics of magic would not easily doubt the astrology which, especially in Egypt, was the foundation of therapeutics. Many healing herbs were known, and salves and drugs were widely used. There were no apothecary shops, but most physicians had their own methods of making medicinal stuffs. Often they personally grew or procured their materials through reliable friends. Galen would not have his methods known, and said that anyone who would have the command of all medicaments, must understand what are the useful parts of plants, animals, metals, and minerals, and be able to distinguish the genuine articles from forgeries. As a result of specialization in professions, modern medical practitioners are not required to be skilled in manufacturing drugs.

When a Roman was on his death bed, the nearest relative, used to receive his last breath (extremum spiritum ore excipere): his hand also closed the eyes and mouth of the deceased, so as to produce a peaceful impression of death. After this, the name of the deceased or a wail was uttered several times by those present, so as to make sure of his death, after which the last farewell (extremum vale) was said (conclamatio). Today there is not usually such ceremony at the death bed. A physician or nurse is usually in attendance, and a religious adviser. If the deceased had held a curule office a wax impression was taken of his features.

The Romans attached great importance to funeral rites and burial. Their view of the future life explains the place of importance which they gave to these ceremonies. The soul, they

5. Friedländer: Roman Life and Manners, I, p. 183.
thought, could find rest only when the body had been duly buried. Until then it haunted its former home, unhappy itself, and bringing unhappiness to others. Funeral offices, as the Latin words show, (iusta facere) were looked upon as the right of the dead. At this time illustrious family connections could well be displayed, by the imagines and trophies carried and worn in procession, to recall individual noteworthy ancestors. In modern times, funeral services are looked upon as a mark of respect rendered by survivors to the memory of the deceased, but not affecting the dead. There were many kinds of funerals, among which were the private, military, collaticium (those carried out by popular contributions), and public. If the deceased had done notable public service, the public might produce a great funeral celebration for him, the expense of which was defrayed by general contributions (collaticium), no matter how much wealth the favored man might have left. Public funerals (funus publicum) were reserved for Emperors and members of the imperial family. The senate had charge of ordering the procedure and expense, which was borne by the State treasury. The consuls then executed the decree. Actors and professional mourners, buffoons and jesters which were a part of the Roman procession, are not required by modern practice. Instead of wax masks of ancestors (imagines), trophies and insignia being displayed or worn by persons representing distinguished ancestors to call to mind all for which the deceased and his family were illustrious, modern obituary

7. id., II, p. 1406.
notices and laudatory articles circulated in print give the required tribute to deceased notable today. One of the relatives used to deliver the funeral oration (laudatio). This is not customary today, probably because comparatively few are trained in the art of public speaking, and because the relatives, as mourners, would be averse to making speeches. Less emphasis is today placed upon the family of the deceased, more upon the individual. The poor people, both free and slave, not having riches to be expended on their funerals, formed guilds which were "insurance of burial" companies. There was probably little ceremony beyond the forms required for finished burial, in the case of those who were not rich enough for display.

The places and methods of burial were probably as varied as they are today. The rich made their burial places as conspicuous as their means would permit, doubtless with the hope that the inscriptions upon the monuments would keep alive the name and virtues of the dead. Rows of tombs, of elaborate and costly architecture, lined the great roads on either side for miles out of cities. Tombs varied in structure, but the most important part was a room which was decorated as if for habitation. The Columbaria were immense structures, which Rome began to build in the time of Augustus, to receive great numbers of funeral urns. These served instead of burial grounds, when the price of land made the purchase of private burial grounds impossible for the poorer classes.

In modern times more expense is lavished on the care of the sick and less upon the funeral rites of the dead. Modern conceptions of duties of the living toward the dead are quite
different from those of the Roman of this period. There is not as much ceremony in the procession and interment of the dead, nor so much of costly decorations upon funeral urns and tombs, probably because the Roman idea of corporeal immortality where the need for food and drink continued after death as in life, has passed. The funeral pyre is not used in the Christian world. Moderns do not now consider it necessary to bury or burn costly articles and incense with the deceased, nor to pour libations of milk and wine upon funeral urns, as did the Romans. There is less attention given in modern times to the observance of recurring feast days and celebrations in honor of the individual dead, for modern emphasis is upon the living, and the future, not upon the dead and the past.
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