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ON THE APPIAN WAY

TRAVEL AMONG THE ANCIENT ROMANS

BY

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INTRODUCTION

My purpose in writing this book is not to present anything new about *Travel Among the Ancient Romans* but to put into one volume the essential facts connected with this topic. Not only have I gone to the original sources in collecting my material but I have also freely used many manuals and larger works dealing with different phases of this subject.

I take pleasure in thanking Drs. C. W. Keyes and G. A. Harrer, members of the Classical Department of the University of North Carolina, for reading my manuscript and making many valuable suggestions.

The "Extent of Travel" together with its subdivisions in the first chapter is merely an epitome of what is found on this topic in Leonard A. Magnus' *Translation of Friedländer's Roman Life and Manners.* This courtesy was granted me by E. P. Dutton and Co.

Through the kindness of Longmans, Green and Co. the illustrations, with two exceptions, found in this book are photostatic reproductions from Rich's *Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities.* The publishers of Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* have cour-

teously consented to my using such maps as are found in this volume. The American Book Co. has granted me permission to make a quotation from Hebermann's *Business Life in Ancient Rome* and to use one illustration from Place's *Beginning Latin.* With the consent of the Macmillan Co. I have put in the fourth chapter two plans, with their descriptions, of Pompeian inns found in Mau-Kelsey's *Pompeii Its Life and Art.*

W. W. Mooney

Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
May, 1920

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TRAVEL AMONG THE ANCIENT ROMANS

CHAPTER I

ROMAN ROADS

THROUGHOUT Italy and the provinces of the ancient Roman world were many well-built roads and these with their manifold branches formed an excellent network for purposes of travel and transportation. As far as possible, Roman engineers disregarded the nature of the ground and built highways in straight lines. Intervening elevations they either cut through or tunneled, streams and gorges they spanned with arches of solid masonry, and valleys with viaducts of the same material.

The margins of a road were marked out by two parallel trenches; the space between them was first excavated and then filled in with the foundation. This consisted of rubble on which was put a layer of flat stones eight inches thick. Above this rested another eight-inch layer of stones, set in lime, which was covered by a second layer of rubble about three

inches deep. Upon this was placed the pavement proper, consisting of polygonal blocks of hard stone or basaltic lava. These blocks, the largest ones measuring about four feet by three, were fitted closely together and so placed that the middle of the road was at a higher level than the sides, so as to enable the rain-water to drain off with ease. The roadway was bordered on either side by a durable

ROMAN BRIDGE

curbstone, behind which was a footpath. This consisted of a firm foundation of earth with a layer of charcoal next to it and a surface of leveled gravel. The footpath was drained by earthenware pipes passing into a covered drain on either side. One Roman mile of the Appian Way constructed in this manner during the reign of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) cost about $4,500.

The main Roman thoroughfares were from ten to fifteen feet in width. They were provided with stone blocks, set at intervals, for the convenience of riders

in mounting and dismounting and had stepping-stones to enable the pedestrian to cross from one side to the other without getting muddy or dusty. Seats for the accommodation of travelers were built around some of the milestones and, where springs were found, drinking-fountains for wayfarers and watering-troughs for their beasts of burden were made.

ROMAN MILESTONE
[From an original]

Along the sides of the Roman roads were milestones. About 250 B.C. the Appian Way, at least parts of it, was provided with them and before 123 B.C. the road passing through Southern Gaul into Spain had them. Approximately at the same date the highways starting from Ephesus and Pergamum in Asia Minor were marked out with milestones by the first proconsul of that province. Not, however, until the time of Augustus (died 14 A.D.) did mile-

stones come into general use. In various sections of the Roman Empire there have been found more than 4000 with inscriptions. They are cylindrical marble slabs with a plain base and neckmould, and range from three to nine feet in length, usually about six feet. On these milestones are recorded some or all of the following bits of information: (a) the termini of the road; (b) the distance from one or more important places, expressed by a number with M. P. (1000 paces) sometimes prefixed; (c) the name of the person who built the road and not only the name of the emperor in whose reign the stone was set up but also his titles; (d) the name of the town or district which erected the milestone. Sometimes, when the emperor, in whose reign a stone was set up, died, his name was erased and in its place was put the name of his successor. At other times, a new stone was dedicated to the new emperor; as many as six or eight such milestones have been found in one place. The unit of measurement usually found is the Roman mile but in Gaul from Trajan's reign on and in Germany from Severus', the Gallic league, the equivalent of one and one-half Roman miles, was the standard unit of measurement on milestones.

The so-called Golden Milestone, set up by Augustus in the Roman Forum near Saturn's Temple, was not a milestone but an itinerary or list of the main places located on the roads starting from Rome with

a record of their distances from the various gates of the city. At Tongres in Belgium an example of the type of the Golden Milestone has been found. It has eight faces and on them is inscribed the itinerary of the eight roads which started from Tongres.

In Italy the construction and maintenance of the chief highways were provided for by grants from the public treasury. On occasions, the munificence of some private citizen aided in their upkeep and frequently the curator of a road spent on it money of his own. Now and then, a tax was levied for this purpose. The ordinary roads in the rural districts were built and kept in repair by the local magistrates; the expenses were met by a kind of parish tax levied on the landowners. As a rule, the thoroughfares in the provinces were made by provincial governors or by emperors and the cost was defrayed out of the provincial taxes. During the Republic the roads were generally under the control of the Censors but, from the time of Augustus, special commissioners had the roads under their supervision. Slaves or convicts usually did the work on the highways; soldiers were often used for this purpose in the imperial provinces.

The main roads which started from the gates of Rome were:

I. ***Via Ostiensis*** which ran along the left or

southern bank of the Tiber to its mouth at Ostia.

II. *Via Appia*, the Great South Road, which passed through Capua and Beneventum and terminated at Brundisium in Southeastern Italy.

III. *Via Latina* which also went south, passed through Beneventum and ended at Brundisium, but kept closer to the eastern coast than the Appian Way.

IV. *Via Labicana* which ran to Labicum and joined the Latin Way about 30 miles from Rome.

V. *Via Prænestina* which passed to Gabii and thence to Præneste, joining the Latin Way near Anagnia.

VI. *Via Tiburtina* which led to Tibur, the Sabine district, and to the Adriatic Sea; the latter part of this road was called the *Via Valeria*.

VII. *Via Nomentana* which went to Nomentum and at Eretum branched into the *Via Salaria*.

VIII. *Via Salaria* which passed northeast to the Adriatic Sea and joined the *Via Flaminia* at Ancona.

IX. *Via Flaminia*, the Great North Road, which ran along the eastern coast of Italy to Ariminum, thence under the name of *Via Aemilia* to Placentia, and was afterwards extended to Mediolanum (Milan) and on to Cisalpine Gaul.

X. *Via Aurelia* which skirted the western coast of Italy and ran north to Pisa and thence to Gaul.

XI. *Via Portuensis* which passed along the right

or northern bank of the Tiber to its mouth at Portus Augusti.

Map No. I

MAIN ROADS ISSUING FROM ANCIENT ROME

The Post System

The rapid transmission of despatches over this elaborate network of roads throughout the Roman dominions was facilitated by the establishment of the post system under the Republic. Roman officials could also travel by post and this privilege was occasionally granted by the Senate to private persons of senatorial rank.

The Roman emperors more fully organized the imperial post and restricted its use almost exclusively to couriers and officials. Not only slaves and freedmen but also two grades of soldiers, scouts and

legionary centurions, were employed as messengers. Relays of mounted couriers were at first used to carry despatches but Augustus thought it better to have a message taken to its destination by one courier traveling in a vehicle and changing his horses as frequently as necessary.

Connected with the post system were *mutationes* (changing places) and *mansiones* (lodging-places). In thickly populated districts *mutationes* were usually about five miles apart, while eight or nine miles separated two such stations in sparsely settled sections. Six or eight *mutationes* were between two *mansiones*. Only teams were changed at the former which in some places were nothing more than sheds with sufficient stalls to accommodate the necessary number of animals. At each *mansio* not only were the teams changed but also the vehicles, the drivers, and the rest of the crew. Such a stopping-place was generally located on a main road and in some important city, town, or village. It was under the supervision of a superintendent and was equipped with stables and granaries for the draught animals and with such conveniences as were essential for the welfare of persons who stopped overnight. According to law, each *mansio* was required to have on hand at least forty beasts, including horses, mules, and asses. It furnished Roman couriers and officials with guards, drivers, vehicles, and draught animals. The

services of muleteers, veterinarians, and grooms could also be had. On the byroads, such supplies as have just been mentioned were requisitioned as they were needed.

There were two classifications of the imperial post, the fast one and the slow one. In the former, horses were used for riding and either horses or mules were employed to draw the *ræda*, a commodious four-wheeled carriage, and the *currus* and *cisium*, light vehicles with two wheels each. In the latter, heavy wagons (*clabulæ angariæ*) were used to convey army supplies besides the families and baggage of officials and soldiers. These wagons were occasionally employed to transport the soldiers themselves.

Under the Republic the expenses of the post system fell upon the cities and districts through whose territories the road passed. The local authorities of such communities were required to erect and keep in repair the necessary buildings, to furnish and feed all animals requisite for the system, and to provide all other essentials for couriers and officials. During the early part of the Empire this practice was continued but efforts were made from time to time to relieve the communities of such a burden. Nerva (96-98 A.D.) made chargeable to the imperial treasury all expenses of the postal service on the main roads in Italy. Not, however, till the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.) were the expenses

of the post system, both in Italy and the rest of the Empire, defrayed by the State. This arrangement did not remain permanent and the question of the cost connected with the imperial post proved a perplexing problem for future emperors.

The Diploma

To take advantage of the conveniences afforded by the post system, one had to carry a diploma which was a mandate requiring Roman subjects and allies to supply its bearer with the free use of horses, vehicles and other public property on the road or roads over which he was going. Under the Empire, the diploma required the imperial seal; Augustus at first used the figure of a Sphinx, afterwards the head of Alexander the Great, and at last his own, a practice retained by the succeeding emperors. At times, though very rarely, persons not connected with official life were allowed to use the diploma and travel at public expense. This pass was dated and available only for a limited time. The diploma was now and then disregarded and failed to procure for its bearer those things necessary for his comfort during a journey. There is on record one Roman magistrate who was chidden by Cicero for dishonestly trafficking in these passes.

This warrant was issued by some chief magistrate, a consul, an emperor, or the official in charge of the

post system. On occasions, during the Empire, the diploma could be given by a prefect of the pretorians or by a provincial governor but in all such cases it was necessary to obtain beforehand the imperial sanction. Some Roman magistrates, who could not issue these warrants for others, could do so for themselves provided they used them in traveling on State service. After the more complete organization of the imperial post under Hadrian, regular clerks, chosen from the class of freedmen, were employed to issue *diplomata*.

Routes of Travel

I. Rome—South (i. e. Sicily, Carthage, and that part of Africa in the vicinity of Carthage).

One could sail direct to any Sicilian port or to North Africa from Rome or from the two harbors of Ostia and Portus Augusti, located at the mouth of the Tiber River, the former on the southern bank and the latter on the northern.[1]

A route frequently taken was to go from Rome over the Appian Way to Sinuessa and thence to Puteoli by way of the Domitian Road.[2]

From Puteoli, a very important port in South-

[1] Ostia was the older of the two ports but fell into disuse after the construction of Portus Augusti, about 50 A. D.

[2] Previous to 95 A.D., the date of the completion of the Domitian Road, one went as far as Capua over the Appian Way and thence over a byroad to Puteoli.

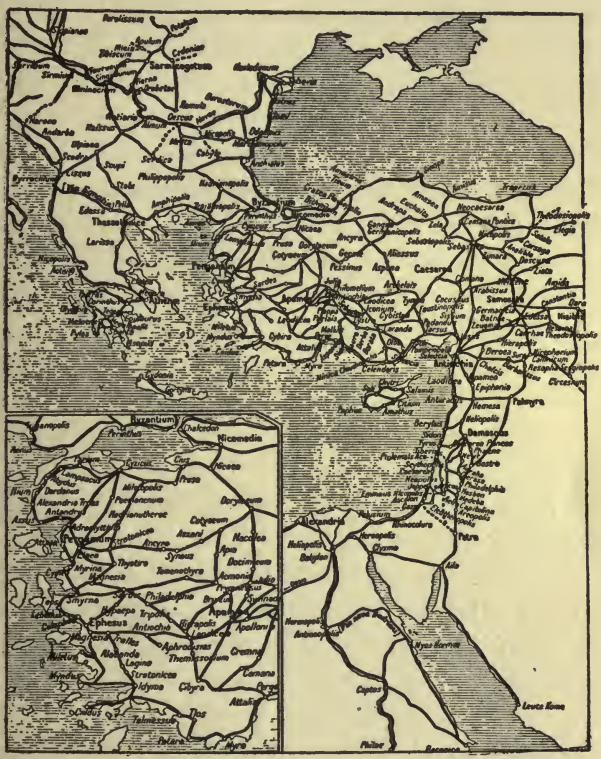
western Italy, ships sailed to Sicilian harbors, to Carthage, and neighboring places.

Map No. II

ANCIENT ITALY SHOWING SOME ROADS

A third route between Rome and the South was to take the Appian Way as far as Capua and thence pass over the Popilian Road to Rhegium in South

Italy. At this city one could embark for ports in Sicily and North Africa or one could cross the Sicilian Straits to Messana from which place the Valerian Way skirted the northern shore of Sicily



Map No. III

GREECE, ASIA MINOR, AND EGYPT WITH ROADS

and passed through Panormus to Lilybaeum whence boats ran to Carthage and nearby harbors.

A western road linked Carthage to Tingis (Tangiers) and from Tingis boats crossed to Spain. By an eastern road Carthage was joined to Alexandria whence by way of the Isthmus of Suez a highway ran to Antioch. From Alexandria a road passed along the eastern bank of the Nile River for over three hundred miles to Coptos whence there were routes to Myoshormos and Berenice, harbors on the Red Sea.

II. Rome—East (i. e. Greece, the Ægean Islands, Asia Minor, and Alexandria).

A traveler could sail from Rome, or preferably from Ostia or Portus Augusti, through the Sicilian Straits to such eastern ports as Corinth, Rhodes, Ephesus, and Alexandria.

Another route was to go over the Appian Way to Sinuessa, thence over the Domitian Road to Puteoli, and from this port go by ship through the Sicilian Straits to eastern points.

A third route between Rome and the East, which was not often used prior to 100 A.D., was to take the Flaminian Way to Ariminum and thence pass through Ravenna and Altinum (by water) to Aquileia. This route continued through Moesia, Dacia, the Middle and Lower Danube, and on through Thrace to Byzantium (Constantinople). From this city one could cross the Bosphorus to Chalcedon in

Asia Minor, whence a main road led to Nicomedia and Nicea.

The most frequented route from Rome to the East was to go over the Appian Way (or Latin Way) to Brundisium (Brindisi) in Southeastern Italy. From this frequented harbor there were three main routes to places in the East. (1.) One could circumnavigate the Peloponnesus and sail direct to eastern ports. (2.) One could go by boat to Lechæon, the western harbor of Corinth, cross the isthmus on foot or in a vehicle, and reembark at Cenchreae, the eastern harbor of Corinth, for places further East. (3.) One could take ship for Dyrrachium (Durazzo) on the opposite coast and thence travel by land over the Egnatian Road which ran through Macedonia and Thrace to Constantinople. From this city two byroads branched from the Egnatian Way, crossed North Greece on the West and East, and met in Athens. In Thrace another byroad branched off and ran to modern Gallipoli, whence one crossed the Hellespont to Lampsacus in Asia Minor. A road ran from Lampsacus to Antioch and thence two roads continued, the one East to the Euphrates and the other South to Syria and Palestine.

III. Rome—Gaul. Britain. Spain.

From Rome to Gaul, as well as to Lower Germany and Upper Germany, one could go by three land

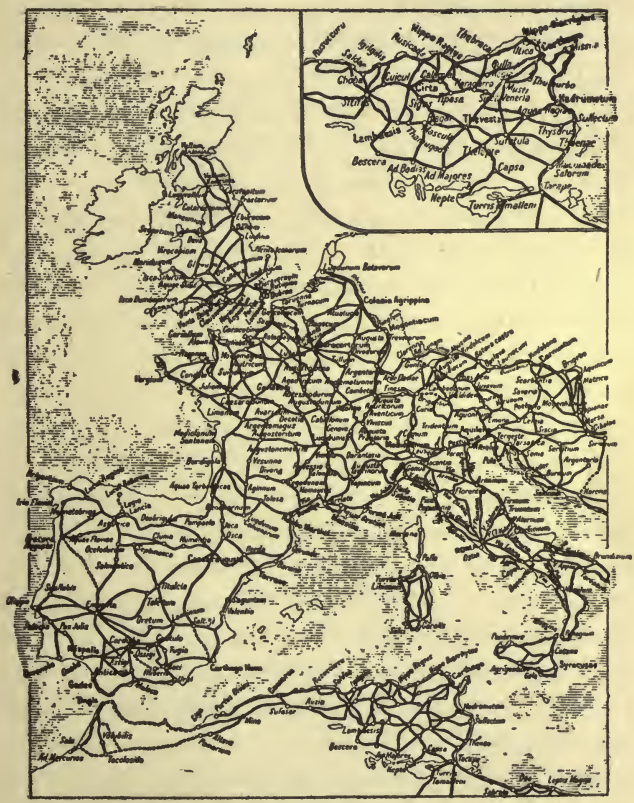
routes: (1) One could take the Flaminian Way to Ariminum and thence over the Aemilian Road to Placentia, Mediolanum, and the Alps, across the Cottian Alps (Mt. Genevre) and go to Arles, or one could cross the Graian Alps (Little Saint Bernard) and continue his journey to Vienna (Vienne), Lugdunum (Lyons), and Durocortorum (Rheims). (2) The Aurelian Way ran along the western coast of Italy through Pisa, Luna, and Genoa and thence as the *Via Julia-Augusta* it passed over the mountains to Massilia (Marseilles), Arles, and Narbo. (3) The Cassian or Clodian Way led to Florence and thence it joined the Aurelian or crossed the Apennines and branched into the Aemilian. A fourth way of reaching Gaul from Rome was to go by boat from Ostia or Portus Augusti to some southern Gallic port like Marseilles.

A person going from Rome to Britain would travel as far as Gaul over the routes already mentioned. After reaching Gaul, one passed through Lugdunum (Lyons) and Durocortorum (Rheims) to Gessoriacum (Boulogne) whence boats sailed to Rutupiae (Richborough) Britain.

From Rome to Spain a traveler could go by ship to Tarraco or Gades (Cadiz) or by land over the roads to Gaul and thence across the Rhone through Narbo and over the Eastern Pyrenees to Tarraco and on to Valentia, Corduba, and Gades by the Claudian-Augustan Way.

IV. Rome—Danube River.

The Upper Danube, Rhaetia, etc., were reached by the Augustan Way over the Brenner Pass (*Via Claudia-Augusta*).



Map No. IV

ITALY, WESTERN EUROPE, AND NORTH AFRICA WITH ROADS

Extent of Travel

Travel among the ancient Romans began to assume extensive proportions during the century immediately preceding the Christian era. Under the Empire, traveling was probably more extensive than in later Europe up to the nineteenth century. Not only were the Romans by nature migratory and fond of roaming but traveling among them was made necessary by the absence of the modern post-office and press. This constant going to and fro was made an absolute need by change of residence, official tours, military marches, commercial voyages, and the journeys of professional men of all sorts. Other incentives were interest in places of historical importance, love for art and nature, zeal to see remote sights and places of ancient fame, desire for recreation and change of scene, and eagerness to get new ideas and form new impressions. Further attractions were the homes and tombs of eminent men, "beautiful temples with ancient treasures and sacred antiquities," famous battlefields and natural phenomena.

The citation of a few tours taken between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D. will suffice to show the extent of travel on the part of those who were prompted by a desire to gain more comprehensive knowledge. Strabo, seeking for more accurate geographical in-

formation, went from the Black Sea to Aethiopia and from Armenia to Italy. Cleombrotus, a Spartan gentleman of means and leisure, traveled for the mere acquisition of learning and visited the shrine of Ammon, the Red Sea, and the Troglodytes. Galen, the court physician of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D. traveled far and wide to enhance his medical skill. Artemidorus, in his search for greater wisdom in the interpretation of dreams, traversed Italy, Greece, and the Ægean Islands. Pausanias visited Libya, Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Asia Minor, Italy, Sicily, and Greece because of his desire to become better acquainted with these countries and their interesting sites. Tours of a similar nature were made by Posidonius, a philosopher; Diodorus, a historian; Apion, a grammarian; Dioscorides, a physician, and Apuleius, a rhetorician. The majority of eminent philosophers, rhetoricians, sophists, grammarians, painters, and sculptors spent much of their time in visiting different parts of the Roman Empire.

Educational centers were productive of much traveling on the part of those who attended them. Throngs of students flocked to Cremona and Mediolanum (Milan) in North Italy, Augustodunum (Autun) and Massilia in France, Carthage in Africa, Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, and Tarsus in Cilicia. Smyrna in Asia Minor was crowded with students from Greece, Phœnicia, Assyria, and Egypt.

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the Athenian Schools of Rhetoric and Philosophy were attended by students from Arabia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Libya. Other renowned educational centers were Apollonia in Epirus and the City of Rhodes.

Frequent and long peregrinations were taken by such notorious quacks as Apollonius of Tyana and Alexander Abonuteichus. The former, who lived about 100 A.D., is said to have roamed as far as India and the sources of the Nile. Alexander, of the second century A.D., would send forward an advance agent to herald his fame and gather together crowds upon whom he might practice his gross deceptions. Many parts of the Roman Empire, especially Asia Minor and Greece, were traversed by roving companies of actors, musicians, mimes, pantomimes, athletes, charioteers, and gladiators. Traffickers in white slavery, accompanied by bevies of girls, were usually present at all important games, festivals, and assemblies.

The sick took many trips for the recuperation of their health. Those suffering from constant headaches, paralysis, dropsy, bladder-troubles, and tuberculosis were advised by their physicians to take sea-journeys. A change of climate was considered particularly good for consumptives and many of those in Italy went to Egypt or to some other part of North Africa. Other health resorts were Stabiae

and Mons Lactarius in South-western Italy and Anticyra in the Gulf of Crisa. Aedepsus in Euboea was famous for its hot baths and as early as 160 A.D. Baden near Zurich was frequented by invalids. Temples sacred to Isis, Serapis, and Aesculapius together with their hospitals usually had crowds of patients from many parts of the Empire.

Merchants traversed the whole Roman world and went even beyond its confines. The lack of the modern post-office made personal negotiation necessary for them and this entailed upon them long and dangerous journeys. Roman traders sold their wares from Britain to the Euphrates, from Germany to the Sahara Desert, from Spain to Caucasia. They frequented the ports of the Black and Mediterranean Seas, made voyages on the Atlantic to Britain and Ireland, and, by way of Coptos on the Nile River, went to Aethiopia, Arabia, India, Ceylon and even China. The extent of territory covered by merchants is evidenced by many statements found in Latin and Greek authors as well as by numerous inscriptions.

The maintenance of Roman armies and fleets throughout the Empire necessitated an enormous amount of travel. Levies for legions in one province were often recruited from many different places, as in 65 A.D. recruits for the legions in Pannonia were collected from Gaul, Africa, Moesia, Dalmatia, and

Asia. Military officers were sent everywhere, from province to province, from legion to legion. Countries recently annexed to the Roman Empire and those inclined to defection were garrisoned by troops brought from other places. Inscriptions show that the officers and privates buried in the military cemetery at Mainz came from "the Rhine, Holland, Brabant, Hungary, Carinthia, Styria, the Tyrol, Dalmatia, Rumelia, Syria, Spain, France, and Italy, North and South." In like manner, sailors were recruited from all parts of the Roman dominions, notably from "Egypt, Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Pontus, Thrace, Dalmatia, Sardinia, and Corsica."

Extensive traveling was further brought about by the fact that Jews, scattered throughout the Empire, kept up an active corespondence not only among their various and widely-scattered communities but also with their brethren in Palestine. From their synagogues messengers often took gifts to Jerusalem and, for the annual celebration of the Passover, Jewish pilgrims from all parts of the world wended their way to the Holy City. Christian congregations also kept in close touch with one another. Whenever persecution befell one community, the others were usually informed, as in 177 A.D. news of the martyred Christians in Lyons and Vienne was sent to the churches in Asia and Phrygia. About 300

A.D. the Christians began making pilgrimages and thousands of them visited famous sites mentioned in the Old and New Testments.

Places Visited

With the exception of merchants, it was unusual for travelers to go beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. Rome was the chief place of interest for provincials and for those Italians who had not seen the Eternal City. The inhabitants of Italy visited places of note in their fatherland and also Sicily, Greece, the Ægean Islands, Asia Minor, and Egypt, especially after its incorporation in 31 B.C. into the Empire. Gaul and Spain had tourists from many places but not to such an extent as the countries mentioned above. Along the Danube, in Germany, and in Britain journeys were infrequent except on the part of traders and those connected with military affairs. In important places like Delphi, Athens, Olympia, Troy, and Ephesus officials guides were available. The priests and temple-keepers served in this capacity on occasions. Some guides gave valuable and excellent information; they made known to tourists the history and legends associated with places, the temples, and their precious contents. Most guides, however, told little worth remembering. Lucian says that, were legends

banished from Greece, the guides in that country would die of starvation. According to Plutarch, the ordinary guide could in no way be prevailed upon to be brief in his comments, insisted upon reading aloud all inscriptions, but was unable to answer any query outside his habitual twaddle. Aristides remarks that guides dwelt chiefly on things connected with bygone days.

Italy

The volume of travel in Italy was enormous. Rome was the center not only of Italy but also of the civilized world and all roads led to the Eternal City. To her there were continually coming legations from almost all parts of the world known at that time. Scores of deputies from the provinces were generally in the Roman Capital to make complaints against venal governors, and provincial functionaries, accused of crimes not falling within the jurisdiction of their superior officers, were sent to Rome for trial. Voters from outside districts flocked to the capital during the elections and provincial diets met at all times in this city. Her feasts, chariot-races, gladiatorial combats, and other spectacular exhibitions attracted countless thousands.

During the navigation period throngs of incoming and outgoing passengers were usually to be found

in Brundisium, Puteoli, Ostia, and Portus Augusti, the four main Italian harbors. Puteoli was of especial importance both during the late Republic and under the Empire. She was a great commercial center and from her port ships sailed to Africa, Egypt, Phœnicia, Cyprus, Sardinia, Spain, and France.

Hundreds of eminent Romans like Scipio the Elder, Pompey, Varro, Cicero, Seneca, Pliny the Younger, and Symmachus had villas in various parts of Italy; to these they and their friends made innumerable visits for business and recreation. The Etrurian, Latin, and Campanian coasts were studded with country homes and pleasure resorts. Close to Naples was Baiæ, the most fashionable one of the ancient world. This home of iniquity was a rendezvous for the luxurious and among the Romans they were legion. During the summer and early fall the roads from Rome teemed with travelers leaving the sultry city for cooler places.

Gaul and Spain

Gaul and Spain were completely Romanized by the time of the early Empire. These countries did not have ancient civilizations like the East but their natural attractions were a source of much interest to tourists. In Gaul, the cities most frequented by

visitors were Marseilles, Lyons, Autun, and Narbonne. From Spain came eminent Latin writers like Seneca, Lucan, Quintilian, and Martial. The main resorts for travelers in this country were Tarraco and Gades. The latter city was noted for its temple sacred to Hercules and an ancient Phœnician edifice made out of cedar wood. Some tourists visited Gades to see the tides of the Atlantic Ocean.

Sicily

The proximity of Sicily to Italy made it a favorite place for short excursions. Of peculiar interest to tourists was Syracuse, around which there clustered so many historical and legendary associations. Other attractions were the places connected with the myths of Ceres, Proserpina, and Pluto, and such natural wonders as Mt. Etna, the lakes of Enna and Palici, and the fountains of Arethusa and Cyane.

Greece

In Greece the cynosure was Athens. Her ancient civilization, her matchless fame, her glorious past in history and legend, her natural charm, imposing Acropolis, and stately monuments, and renowned seats of learning attracted multitudes. In Athens,

men of immortal glory "had lived, sat, talked, and died."

Corinth was a great commercial city located upon two excellent harbors. Interesting to tourists were her schools, gymnasia, Isthmian Games, gladiatorial combats, beast-fights, and worship of Aphrodite.

Other points of note in Greece were the shrine of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, the feast of Dionysus at Argos, the quadrennial games and Phidian Zeus at Olympia, the Mysteries of Ceres at Eleusis, and Apollo's oracle and the Pythian Games at Delphi. Sparta and Thebes had historical associations, and interesting legends clustered around Mycenae and Aulis.

Such battlefields as Marathon, Thermopylæ, Platea, Leuctra, and Cheronea had a peculiar charm for some travelers. Others wished to see remarkable sights like the wonderful dam over the Euripus at Calchis.

Aegean Islands

The location of the Ægean Islands in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea made them very accessible to Roman travelers. Samothrace was celebrated for the mysterious worship of the Cabiri and, as is shown by inscriptions, was visited by private persons and by ambassadors from Rome, Elis, Crete,

Thrace, Asia Minor, and Macedonia. Other Ægean Islands especially visited by travelers were Delos, Chios, Samos, Lesbos, and Rhodes. Delos had been a place of unique historical and commercial importance and was the birth-place of Apollo and Diana. Chios was famous for its wine and also as having the best-authenticated claim to being the natal spot of Homer. Samos had a magnificent harbor, an imposing temple sacred to Juno, and was a home of art, science, and architecture. In this place the Emperor Augustus spent some time. Alcæus and Sappho had lived in Lesbos. In Mitylene, its chief city, Agrippa made a long sojourn and to Eresos, another town in Lesbos, pious pilgrimages were made. Rhodes was a great emporium and her commodious harbor was filled with ships from many parts of the Mediterranean. Her magnificent scenery, salubrious climate, stately acropolis, gorgeous gardens, broad avenues and celebrated seats of learning were frequented by many tourists, among them Cicero, Cæsar, and Tiberius.

Asia Minor

Asia Minor was the seat of an ancient civilization, had many places of great historical and legendary interest, and cities of commercial importance. Troy, the natal spot of pious Aeneas, was

of unique interest to pious pilgrims who visited every classic nook and examined every relic in that much-heralded city. Smyrna was conspicuous because of her theaters, temples, baths, promenades, and schools. A much-frequented oracle made Colophon renowned and a superb temple sacred to Diana gave celebrity to Ephesus. Miletus was the birth-place of philosophers and historians. Further East was Tarsus, a seat of learning and the city in which Saint Paul was born. Antioch was not only a resort for pleasure-seekers but also a meeting-place for students.

Egypt

Egypt became a Roman province in 31 B.C. and after this crowds of tourists, especially from Italy and Greece, visited this fabulous country. Visitors were allured to her by marvels like the phœnix, the pygmies, the peculiar worship paid to animals, and by such wonders as the colossal pyramids, the gigantic tombs, and the immense temples with their hieroglyphics of immemorial antiquity. The sphinxes, colossi, and mummies, the fauna and flora of the Nile valley, and strange animals like the hippopotamus, crocodile, ichneumon, and ibis were a source of mysterious curiosity to persons from other countries. Among the eminent Romans who visited Egypt were Cæsar, Antony, Augustus, Germanicus,

Titus, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla.

In this country, the best known and most-frequented city was Alexandria, one of the great emporiums of the ancient world. Her articles of commerce were sent to many parts of the world and, consequently, made her a meeting-place for merchants from various sections of the Roman dominions. On the island of Pharos in her harbor was a lighthouse, one of the seven wonders of antiquity. The Alexandrian library and her schools of philosophy, music, law, philology, literature, mathematics, and astronomy were attended by students from diverse places. Some tourists went to Alexandria in quest of health and others in their visits to this city were prompted by religious motives. The temples of Isis were especially frequented by ladies from other countries. Many of them, on leaving, were wont to carry away bottles filled with Nile water which was thought to be efficacious in curing manifold physical ailments. Other attractions for travelers in this polyglot metropolis were her superb public buildings like the Paneum and Gymnasium and the mausoleum in which there rested the body of Alexander the Great.

A few miles from Alexandria was Canopus, a resort for Sybarites. Along the banks of her canals were numerous luxurious hotels, elaborately furnished for the accommodation of visitors. The Epi-

curean spirit of this city may best be shown by a Greek inscription (3.4961) which has been translated as follows: "These walls are always alive with feasts and young men; not trumpets but flutes resound here; the blood of steers, not of men, reddens the earth; clothes, and not weapons, deck us; wreathed choruses, goblet in hand, celebrate at night the god Harmachis." At Canopus there was an imposing temple sacred to Serapis; it was usually crowded with patients from various parts so credulous as to believe that, while they slept, Serapis would reveal his oracles to them in their dreams.

Further up the Nile was Memphis, desolate in her ruins, but in close proximity were the eternal pyramids, upon which numerous inscriptions were carved by Roman and Greek tourists. An interesting one, inscribed by his sister to Gaius Terentius Gentianus, is as follows:

Vidi pyramidas sine te, dulcissime frater,
Et tibi, quod potui, lacrymas hic moesta profudi,
Et nostri memorem luctus hic scripsi querelam.[3]

Another interesting place on the Nile was Thebes with her majestic ruins, her gigantic tombs, and the

[3] The English is: I have seen the pyramids without you, my very dear brother; all I could do for you here was to shed tears of sadness and this I have done. Here I have written an inscription in memory of our grief.

vocal Colossus of Memnon. Many of the pilgrims who visited the Colossus, left upon it inscriptions, some of which were dated. These belonged to the reigns of Nero (54-68 A.D.), Domitian (81-96). Trajan (98-117), and Hadrian (117-138).

Traveling—Maps and Guide-Books

The vast amount of travel among the ancient Romans must have made the use of traveling-maps and guide-books an absolute need. Though it is true that no one of the itineraries still extant dates further back than the third century of the Christian era, yet there must have been similar ones in more remote times. A geographer like Strabo (died about 21 A.D.) must have had access to such itineraries, otherwise it would seemingly have been impossible for him to describe with such minute accuracy places he never saw.

The probability of there having been traveling-maps and guide-books among the Romans at an early date is evidenced by several statements found in ancient writers. Julius Cæsar's design of making a complete military map of the Roman Empire was executed, after his death, under the supervision of Agrippa. Three surveyors, who began their work in 44 B.C. and continued it for twenty-five years, performed this task, and from the data thus gathered

Agrippa superintended the making of a circular chart which he illustrated by a written commentary. On this chart were indicated the distances between stations on the military roads and along the coasts of the Empire. In 7 B.C. Augustus had a copy of this chart engraved on marble and placed in a colonnade erected by his sister. It is probable that copies of Agrippa's map were to be found in important cities throughout the Roman dominions and that hand or portable copies were in the possession of military and administrative officers. It is also very likely that Agrippa's map was the original upon which were based the itineraries now extant.

According to Livy, a map of the island of Sardinia was in the temple of *Mater Matuta* as early as 174 B.C. Varro, who died a few years before the Christian era, says that a map of Italy engraved on marble was in the temple of Tellus and Pliny the Elder mentions a map showing the seat of war in Armenia during Nero's reign (54-68 A.D.). Cicero, Propertius, Vitruvius, and Suetonius state that the Romans had both general and topographical maps. Vegetius, in a work composed early in the fifth century A.D., alludes to the fact that military commanders at an early date had access to maps.

Excavations in Rome have brought to light the remains of the *Forma Urbis Romae*, a large marble plan of the city originally attached to the rear wall

of a building known as the *Templum Sacræ Urbis.* This outline, probably based on an older one, was made during the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.). It must have been very useful to strangers in Rome and most likely hand copies of it were available for their convenience. The *Notitia Regionum* and the *Curiosum Urbis* were indices of the regions of Rome in the fourth century.

There have been preserved in more or less complete form some itineraries which may be divided into two classes. The Antonine Itineraries, the Itinerary of Alexander, and the Pilgrim-guide or Jerusalem Itinerary belong to one class and are in the nature of guide-books without maps. The only notable example of the other class is the Peutinger Table, a kind of traveling-map.

I. The Antonine Itineraries, dating back to the Emperor Antoninus Caracalla (211-217 A.D.) were put in their present form under Diocletian (285-313). They are divided into two parts, the one dealing with roads in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the other with the principal routes of navigation. In these itineraries the distances are given in Roman miles. In connection with the stopping-places mentioned in them there are given now and then bits of natural, historical, and general information. The various legends of the gods and heroes connected

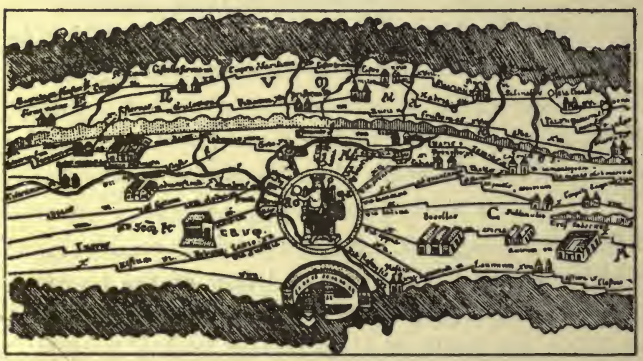
with the Greek Islands are told in the catalogue of these islands.

II. The Itinerary of Alexander contains a sketch of the route followed by Alexander the Great in his Asiatic campaigns. It is based mainly on Arrian and was prepared for Constantius' expedition (340-345 A.D.) against the Persians.

III. The Jerusalem Itinerary of 333 A.D., contains the route of a pilgrimage from Bordeaux to Jerusalem by way of Arles, Milan, Constantinople, and Antioch and back from Heraclea through Rome to Milan. This itinerary enumerates the places through which the pilgrims passed and gives fuller details about the roads than the Antonine Itinerary. In connection with some places are given natural, historical, and general notes, especially on Jerusalem and its vicinity. The ebb and flow of the Garonne River at Bordeaux, the birth of Alexander the Great at Pella, the death of Hannibal at Libissa near Nicomedia, the Mount of Olives, the tomb of Rachel, the well of the Samaritan woman, and the site of Jericho are some of the things mentioned in the Pilgrim-guide.

IV. The Peutinger Table or Map, now in the Royal Library in Vienna, is about eighteen feet long and more than one foot in breadth. It is based on a thirteenth century copy of an old Roman original,

showing an outline of all parts of the world known at the time of Theodosius (378-395 A.D.) The parts for Spain and Britain, excepting a part of Kent, are lost. The Peutinger Map observes neither latitude nor longitude and shows very little regard for the true geographical conformation and relative position of the countries and bodies of water represented on it. The course of the public roads of the Empire is



Map No. V

FRAGMENT OF THE PEUTINGER MAP

shown and the distances from station to station are given in miles. Distinctive dots of various magnitude indicate the relative sizes of the towns.

V. In 1852 four silver cups were found at the Mineral Baths of Vicarello, a town on the lake of Bracciano in Northern Italy. They are now in the Kircherian Museum at Rome. These cups are shaped

like milestones and on them is engraved a list of stations and distances between Rome and Cadiz, Spain. They antedate the Antonine Itinerary and belong to different periods. Consequently, the Vicarello cups represent a custom long in vogue and show that there must have been a constant demand for such itineraries which served the purpose of modern guide-books.

VI. In the City of Rome a fragment of an inscription (6.5076) has been found and it gives an account, indicated day by day, of an itinerary from Cilicia into Cappadocia.

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5. Ostia: (a) Livy: 22.11; 22.37; 22.57; 23.38; 25.20; 26.42-43; 27.7; 27.22; 36.42; 40.40; 45.33-35. Pliny: N. H. 19.1. Suetonius: Claud. 17. (b) Polybius: 31.23; 33.8. Dionysius Hal.: 3.44. Strabo: 5. pp. 231-232. Plutarch: Camil. 8; Cæs. 58.

6. Portus Augusti: (a) Pliny: N. H. 9.6; 16.40. 76. Juvenal: 12.75-81. Suetonius: Claud. 20. (b) Dio: 60.11. Procopius: B. G. 1.26. (c) Gruter: Inscr., pp. 249.7; 308.10; 440.3.

7. Puteoli: (a) Cicero: Planc. 26.65. Livy: 30.22; 45.13-14. Valerius Maximus: 7.3.9. Seneca: Ep. 77. Pliny: N. H. 8.3; 19.1; 36.70. Statius: Silv. 3.5.75. Suetonius: Aug. 98; Tit. 5. (b) Strabo: 3. p. 145 c; 17.7. Acts Apostles: 28.13. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 7.12. Greek Anthology (Jacobs), 2. p. 158. C. I. G.: 3.5853.

8. Brundisium: (a) Cicero: ad fam. 16.9.2. Livy: 31.14; 34.52; 36.21; 40.42; 42.18; 42.27; 42.49; 43.8; 44.1; 45.44. Tacitus: An. 3.1. Gellius: 9.4. Spartianus: Alex. Sev. 15. Capitolinus: M. Ant. Phil. 27. Ulpian: Pand. 14.1.1.12. (b) Po-

lybius: 21.24. Strabo: 6.3.8. Plutarch: Cat. Maj. 14. Appian: B. C. 1.9.79; 5.6.62; 12.17.116.

C. Sicily: (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.2.37.90; 2.4.48. 106; 2.5.27.68. Lucretius: 1.727. Ovid: Ep. Pont. 2.10.21 ff. Auctor Ætna: 593. Seneca: Cons. ad Polyb. 17.36; ad Marc. 17.2. Suetonius: Calig. 24; 51. Firmicus Maternus: Mathes 1 (præf.). Hieronymus: Con. Ruf. 3.22. (b) Diodorus: 5.3; 11.89.

D. Greece.

1. General: (a) Livy: 37.54; 45.27. Pliny: Ep. 8.24. (b) Polybius: 30.15. Dio Chrysostom: Or. 1. p. 11 m; Or. 7. p. 106 m. Pausanias: 4.1.

2. Athens: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 5.10.5; 5.11.4. Horace: Ep. 2.2.81. Ovid: Met. 2.795; A. A. 3.687. Propertius: 3.21.29 ff. (b) Dio Chrysostom: Or. 31. p. 348.27 m. Pausanias: 1.20.4. Aristides: Or. 13. pp. 97-100-183-187 J.

3. Corinth: (a) Statius: Silv. 2.2.34. (b) Strabo: 6.22. p. 397. Pausanias: 2.4.5. Aristides: Or. 3. pp. 22-25 (Jebb). Galen: De Anat. Adm. 1.1. (K.); 2.217.

4. Epidaurus: (a) Livy: 45.28. (b) Strabo: 8. p. 374. Pausanias: 2.27.1; 2.28.2. (c) Welcker: Kl. Schriften, 3.89 ff. Curtius' Peloponnesus, pp. 423; 573.

5. Ædepsus: (a) Pliny: N. H. 4.21. (b) Strabo: 9.4. p. 425. Plutarch: Sul. 26; Quæs. Con. 4.4. 1-4; 8; De Frat. Am. 17. Ptolemy: 3.15.23. Athenæus: 3.73.

6. Marathon: Pausanias: 1.32.3.

7. Calchis: (a) Diodorus: 13.47. Strabo: 10. p. 403.

8. Religious Festivals: (a) Apuleius: Mun. p.

729; Apol. p. 494. Gellius: 12.5. (b) Plutarch: Lucul. 13; De Exil. 2. p. 604. Lucian: Peregr. 1; 35. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 4. p. 72 (K.). Galen: 4.361 (K.). (c) Lobeck: Aglaophamus, p. 37 ff. Conze: Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres, pp. 47; 58. Conze: Die Inschriften der Wallfahrer, pp. 63-72; 136; 167a.

E. Ægean Islands.

1. Samothrace: (a) Livy: 14.6. Tacitus: An. 2.54. (b) Diodorus: 5.47. Acts Apostles: 16.11. Plutarch: Lucul. 13. Lucian: De Dea Syr. 97. Pausanias: 9.25.5. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 2.43. (c) Conze: Die Inschriften der Wallfahrer.

2. Delos: (a) Cicero: Legg. 1.1; Rosc. Am. 46. Hyginus: fab. 140. Pliny: N. H. 4.12.22; 34.2.4. (b) Strabo: 10. p. 485; 486. Pausanias: 8.48.3. Ælian: V. H. 5.4.

3. Chios: (a) Varro: R. R. 1.41. Vergil: Geo. 2.97. Livy: 37.27. Pliny: N. H. 14.7. (b) Pausanias: 7.6.4.

4. Samos: (a) Vergil: Æn. 1.16. Pliny: N. H. 35.46. Tacitus: An. 4.14. Origen: Con. Cel. 4. (b) Strabo: 14. p. 637.

5. Lesbos: (a) Cicero: Agr. 2.16.40. Horace: Od. 1.7.1; Ep. 1.11.1. Tacitus: An. 6.3. Suetonius: Tib. 10. (b) Conze: Die Reise auf der Insel Lesbos, p. 3; 51.

6. Rhodes: (a) Horace: Od. 1.7.1. Pliny: N. H. 34.36. Suetonius: Tib. 11; Ner. 34. (b) Diodorus: 19.45. Strabo: 14. p. 652. Dio Chrysostom: Or. 31. pp. 321.31 m; 327.17; 341.27; 355 m. Aristides: Or. 43. pp. 539-541-550-553 (Jebb). Lucian: Am. 8. Pausanias: 4.31.5.

F. Asia Minor:

1. Troy: (a) Ovid: Fast. 6.421. Pomponius Mela: 1.18. Tacitus: An. 4.55. Pliny: N. H. 16.238. (b) Diodorus: 17.7. Strabo: 13. p. 594; 600. Arrian: 1.11. Plutarch: Alex. 15. Lucan: 9.901. Artemidorus: Onir. 4.47. p. 228. Pausanias: 8.12.4. Dio: 77.16. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 4.11. Herodian: 4.8.

2. Smyrna: (a) Seneca: Ep. 102.21; (b) Strabo: 12. p. 580; 14. p. 641; 646. Lucian: Imag. 2. Aristides: Or. 15. p. 232 J; Or. 20. p. 261; Or. 41. p. 613; Or. 42. p. 521-522. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 4.7; Vitt. Soph. p. 219 (K.).

3. Colophon-Ephesus-Miletus: (a) Tacitus: An. 2.54. (b) Aristides: Or. 13. p. 189 J. Dio Chrysostom: Or. 31. p. 489.20 m.

G. Egypt.

1. General: (a) Seneca: Nat. Quæs. 6.8. Juvenal: 15.126 ff. Pliny: N. H. 13.29; 13.42. Suetonius: Ner. 19; 20; Vesp. 7; Tit. 5. Spartianus: Hadr. 26; Alex. Sev. 17. (b) Strabo: 17. p. 788. Philo: Leg. ad Gai. p. 595. Plutarch: Lucul. 12. Lucian: Nav. 44; De Dea Syr. 29. Dio: 75.13. Athenæus: 5.203 c. Heliodorus: Æth. 1.31; 2.27. (c) Wandgemälde des Columb. der Villa Doria Panfili, p. 22 (Jahn). Barthélemy: Mos. de Pal., p. 35. Archäol. Beitr., p. 418 f. (Jahn).

2. Alexandria: (a) Seneca: Cons. ad Helv. 19.6; Nat. Quæs. 4.2.20. Pliny: N. H. 13.59; 24.28; 26.3; 29.93; 31.63. Juvenal: 6.525. Pliny: Ep. 5.19.6; Pan. 31. Suetonius: Aug. 98. Apuleius: Apol. p. 518. Florus: Epit. p. XLII (Jahn). Spartianus: Hadr. 12; Alex. Sev. 16. Vita Saturnini: 8. Ammi-

anus: 22.16.12-17-18. Rufinus: H. Ec. 2.26. Fulgentius Planc. 1.1. Celsus: 3.22. (b) Diodorus: 1.83; 17.52. Strabo: 14.4.13. p. 674; 17.1. p. 793; 795. Dio Chrysostom: Or. 32. p. 372 m; 373 m. Philo: Leg. ad Gai. pp. 563 m—567 m; in Flac. p. 525 m. Plutarch: Ant. 28. Lucian: Tox. 31; Alex. 44. Galen: De Anat. Adm. 3.220 (Kuehn). Aristides: Or. 8. p. 56; Or. 14. p. 205 J. Herodian: 4.8.6; 4.9.2; 7.6.2. C. I. G.: vide 3.4677 ff.

3. Canopus: (a) Juvenal: 6.84; 15.44. Ammianus: 22.16.14. (b) Strabo: 17. pp. 799-801. Plutarch: De Is. et Os., 27. Pausanias: 4.7. C. I. G.: 3.4961.

4. Memphis: (a) Pomponius Mela: 1.19. Pliny: N. H. 36.76. Tacitus: An. 2.60. Spartianus: Alex. Sev. 17. (b) Diodorus: 1.64. Strabo: 17.1. 32 p. 807 ff. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 5.4.3. C. I. G.: 3. 4700 b. 1 (Add. et Corrig.); vide 3.4698 ff. (c) Letronne: Rec. des Inscript. Schol. Clem. Alex. (Klotz) 4. p. 113 (Osann Syll. Inscr. p. 413).

5. Thebes: (a) Pliny: N. H. 16.234; 36.58 Tacitus: An. 2.60-61. (b) Strabo: 17.1.46. p. 816. Plutarch: De Curios. 11. p. 520 D. Dio: 71.28. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 7.4 (K.) p. 107. C. I. G.: vide 3.4717 ff. (c) Jacobs: Vermischte Schr., 3. p. 110 ff. Letronne: Rec. des Inscript. p. 13; 87; 310. Letronne: La Statue Vocale de Memnon. Lehrs: Quæs. Ep., p. 23.

6. Other Places: (a) Pliny: N. H. 8.185. Suetonius: Tit. 5. (b) Strabo: 17 (passim). Aristides: Or. 48. pp. 331-343-347-349. Ælian: V. H. 10.29. C. I. G.: vide 3.4832 ff. (c) Letronne: Rec. des Inscript. 2. p. 255.

VII. Things of Interest to Tourists.

A. General: (a) Vitruvius: 7, proem. 15. Martial: Lib. Spec. 1.4. Gellius: 3.10.16. Hieronymus: In Jesai. 5.14. C. I. L.: 4.1111. (b) Philo Byzant.: De VII Orb. Spec. Antipater Tyr.: Epigr. 52. Diodorus: 1.63; 2.11. Strabo: 16. p. 738; 17. p. 808. Plutarch: Cat. Min. 12. Pausanias: 4.31.5; 8.33.3.

B. History.

1. Temples and Contents: (a) Tacitus: An. 15.53; 15.72. Suetonius: Vit. 8; 10. Solinus: 27.53. Cælius Aur.: Morb. Chron. 2.4. Drepanius: Pan. 21. p. 391. (b) Strabo: 8.3.12; 10.5.11. Artemidorus: Onir. 4.83. Lucian: De Dea Syr. 16; Am. 12; 18. Pausanias: 1.21.7-9. Dio: 69.16. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 3.5.

2. Battlefields: (a) Pliny: Pan. 15. Ammianus: 24.2.3. (b) Plutarch: Alex. 9; 25; Otho 14; 18. Artemidorus: Onir. 4.47. Arrian: Peripl. ad Hadr. 1.1. Pausanias: 1.32.3; 9.40.10. Appian: Rom. Hist. frag. 1.1. Geogr. Min. (Hudson): Peripl. Mar. Erythr., 1. p. 24.

3. Homes: (a) Suetonius: Aug. 6; Tib. 6; 14; 62; Tit. 1; Vit. Hor. Martial: 9.20. Spartianus: Pes. Nig. 12.

4. Tombs: (a) Livy: 36.30. Seneca: Ep. 87. Pliny: N. H. 16.234. Lucan: 10.19. Pliny: Ep. 3.7. Suetonius: Aug. 18; Calig. 3; 52. (b) Strabo: 17. p. 794. Dio: 51.11; 77.16. Appian: B. C. 2.86 (90). Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 4.11. Herodian: 4.8.

C. Art: (a) Cicero: Manil 14.40; Verr. 2.4.1-2; 2.4.34.74; 2.4.55.122; 2.4.57; 2.4.60.135; Legg. 2.2.4. Propertius: 3.21.29. Auctor Ætna: 565-598. Pliny: N. H. 36.20-22. Tacitus: Dial. 10.

Apuleius: De Mun. p. 746. (b) Strabo: 9.25. p. 410. Epictetus: Diss. 1.7.23.

D. Nature: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 12.9; 14.13; N. D. 2.39.100; Legg. 2.1.2. Varro: R. R. 3.1.4. Lucretius: 2.29. Catullus: 31. Horace: Epod. 2. Vergil: Geo. 2.136-176. Pomponius Mela: 1.13. Seneca: Contro. 2.9. p. 122 B. Pliny: N. H. 12.3; 16.238. Seneca: Ep. 41; 79. Pliny: Ep. 4.18; 8.8; 8.20. Suetonius: Calig. 43. Apuleius: De Mun, p. 729. (b) Strabo: 13.3.14. p. 629; 14.5. p. 671. Dionysius Hal.: 1.16. Lucian: Apol. 15. Pausanias: 8.23.4; 10.32.2. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 4.5; 5.22.

VIII. Traveling-Maps and Guide-Books: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 6.2.3. Varro: R. R. 1.2.1. Livy: 41.28. Propertius: 4(5).3.37. Vitruvius: 8.2.6. Pliny: N. H. 3.17; 6.139. Suetonius: Dom. 10. Eumenius: Pro Rest. Schol., 20. Ausonius: Grat. Act. 3.9. Vegetius: R. M. 3.6. Cassiodorus: Var. 25. Julius Honorius and Æthicus Hister (Riese's Geogr. Lat. Min., pp. 21 and 72). Isidore: 5.36.4. C. I. L.: 6.5076 (Cilician Pass); 11.3281-3284 (Vicarello Cups). Antonine Itineraries. Alexandrian Itinerary. Jerusalem Itinerary. Peutinger Map. (b) Pauly-Wissowa: S. V. itineraria. Huelson-Carter's The Roman Forum, p. 236 (Forma Urbis Romæ). H. Jordan's Topographie der Stadt Rom, Vol. II (Notitia Regionum and Curiosum Urbis). Teuffel-Schwabe (Warr): History of Roman Literature, Vol. I., p. 97; p. 417; Vol. II., p. 344 ff.

CHAPTER II

TRAVEL ON LAND

Animals Used in Travel

HORSES and mules were the two animals most frequently used in travel; not only were they ridden but they were also employed to draw vehicles and to carry luggage. The Romans less often drove ponies and wild asses and the use of these two animals usually indicated wealth and fashion. On rare occasions, oxen are mentioned as being driven by persons traveling in farm-wagons, generally in times of need and stress. On the caravan routes in the East camels were used by merchants.

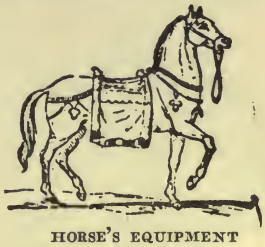
Horses were ridden especially when speed was imperative. Apuleius (Flor. 4.21) says that "persons who had occasion to travel rapidly preferred to ride horseback than sit in a vehicle, on account of the annoyance of baggage, the weight of the coaches, the clogging of the wheels, the roughness of the roads, the piles of stones, the projecting roots of trees, the streams in the plains, and the declivities of the hills."

At times, however, the horse and mule were ridden in ordinary travel. Seneca (Ep. 87) tells how Cato the Censor used to ride a nag with his saddle-bags across it. Cicero (ad fam. 16.9.3) left at Brundisium for Tiro a mule and a horse; the former was to be ridden and the latter was to serve as a baggage-animal. Horace (S. 1.6.104) gives a picturesque account of himself riding his bob-tailed mule as far as Terentum whenever he wished.

Among the early Romans, horses were ridden bare-backed and even as late as the time of Cato the Elder (died 149 B.C.), the use of a covering for the horse's back was frowned up as more or less effeminate. As shown in works of art, the later Romans regularly rode on stuffed padsaddles or pieces of cloths which were so folded as to form a pad of comfortable thickness; this was made secure by one or more girths. Housings, either placed under the padsaddles or used in place of them, were also employed by the Romans. The skins of such animals as the lion and tiger were frequently used for making such housings which were often sufficiently large to cover almost the entire body of the horse. Some had blankets made out of leather and overlaid with scale armor. Such trappings and housings as the Romans used in riding horseback may be seen in paintings found in Herculaneum and Pompeii; they are also shown on the columns of Trajan, An-

toninus, and Theodosius, on the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, and on the arch of Septimius Severus. Many imperial medals represent the women as riding sideways and a landscape painting found in Pompeii shows a gentleman riding in this fashion.

SADDLE-PAD AND GIRTH
[From Column of Antoninus]



HORSE'S EQUIPMENT
[From Arch of Septimius]

RIDING SIDEWAYS
[From a Pompeian painting]

The Romans did not become acquainted with any saddle like the modern one until the fourth century. In the year 385 A.D. Theodosius issued an edict forbidding couriers and other persons who availed themselves of the post system from having saddles which weighed more than sixty pounds. A saddle with a

pommel in front and a cantle behind appears for the first time on the column of Theodosius II. (408-450 A.D.) Stirrups are not mentioned until the reign of Mauricius (602 A.D.). Before they came into use, a rider mounted his steed (1) "by teaching him to

PACK HORSE
[From triumphal arch of Constantine]

PACK SADDLE
[From a painting at Herculaneum]

SUMPTER HORSE
[From Column of Trajan]

kneel at the word of command," (2) by receiving aid from another, (3) by jumping with or without the help of a lance-shaft, or (4) by means of a mounting-block.

The riding-saddle among the Romans is not to be

confused with the pack-saddle for beasts of burden. The latter was known to them at an early date and consisted of a wooden frame covered with leather. It was of considerable size suitable for receiving the bundles to be placed upon it. A painting representing a scene in the market-place of Herculaneum, shows such a pack-saddle.

The Roman manner of hitching animals to vehicles was not the same as the one now in use. If only one horse or mule was used, it was placed in shafts but drew the vehicle by means of a yoke

YOKE FOR HORSES
[From a Pompeian painting]

which was usually a plain wooden bow with an arc to fit the neck of the animal on which it rested. The yoke was fitted with loops or bands which were fastened around the horse's neck to serve as a collar. Two horses were attached to a coach in the same way with the exception that a pole or tongue was used in place of shafts. Only when three or four animals

were hitched to a vehicle, did the outside ones draw with traces.

Usual Mode of Traveling

As a rule, the Romans made their journeys in vehicles, two-wheeled and four-wheeled, covered and uncovered, and drawn by one, two, or more animals. They were equipped with brakes or drag-chains to relieve the pressure upon the horses in steep declivities. These conveyances were kept for hire near the gates of all important towns but unfortunately the prices are not known. It is probable that travelers on long trips used their own vehicles but hired fresh teams whenever necessary. Roman couriers and officials could take advantage of the post routes where teams were changed at regular intervals; there were usually no such arrangements for the ordinary traveler. They, who went short distances and traveled at their leisure, generally used their own conveyances and animals.

The Poor Man's Mode of Traveling

As a rule, the poor would either walk or, with a small amount of baggage, ride a horse or mule. Even the humblest Roman rarely took a journey without at least one attendant. Those who could afford it

made their trips in vehicles and the one occupied by the master was sometimes accompanied by another for the slaves.

On one occasion Seneca and his friend Cæsonius Maximus traveled as they thought a poor man would. He (Ep. 87) describes this unique experience as follows: "With no more servants than one vehicle could accommodate and with no baggage, not the least thing but what was on our backs, my friend Maximus and I have spent two most pleasant days. A mattress lay upon the ground and I upon the mattress. Of two cloaks, one served as an under-blanket, the other for a coverlet. Our repast was such that nothing could be spared from it nor did it take up much time in preparation. I was satisfied with a few dried figs and dates. When I had any bread, the figs served me as a relish; when I had no bread, they supplied its place. The vehicle I rode in was plain and country-fashion; the mules barely crept along. The driver was without shoes, not because it was warm but because such was his wont."

Travel Among the Upper Classes

Members of the upper classes, particularly on important occasions and when speed was not necessary, were accustomed to travel in all kinds of vehicles. They carried along piles of baggage and

were attended by retinues variously composed of the members of their immediate families, friends, and slaves. From a passage in Suetonius (Tib. 46), one may infer that such a traveler was expected not only to defray all the expenses of his attendants but also to pay, at least to some of them, a salary. According to Suetonius, "Tiberius was so penurious and covetous that he never allowed his attendants, in his travels and expeditions, any salary but only their diet. Once, indeed, he treated them with generosity and, dividing them into three classes, gave those of the first rank six hundred thousand sesterces (about $30,000), those of the second four hundred thousand, and those of the third two hundred thousand."

Pretentious Retinues

During the late Republic the Romans began to travel on an elaborate scale and were attended by pretentious retinues. Milo, on a trip from Rome to Lanuvium, took along his coachmen, his wife, a delicate company of ladies, maid servants, and musical slaves. Clodius had in one of his traveling-trains worn-out debauchees, male and female, and many Greek slaves. On some of his journeys, Mark Antony was escorted by flute-players, actresses in palanquins, and male friends in carriages. At Laodicea in Asia Minor, Vedius had in his ostentatious outfit two

essedæ, one *rœda*, one *lectica*, and a host of attendants. Simpler but more impressive was the retinue of Crispus Hilarus who went from Fæsulæ to Rome accompanied by six sons, two daughters, twenty-eight grandsons, eight granddaughters, and nineteen great grandsons.

This pomp in traveling became all the more conspicuous during the Empire. According to Seneca (Ep. 87; 123) "some could not travel without a troop of Numidian horse and running footmen before them. It was considered scandalous to have no one to clear the way and to show by a great dust that a gentleman of note was coming. Their coaches were magnificently carved and to them were attached sleek mules, sometimes alike in color, or fat but swift Gallic ponies. Their steeds were caparisoned with golden coverlets and purple trappings and their bridles and bits were of gold. For horseback riding they had Spanish jennets and ambling nags equipped with plump easy pads. All had their mules to carry their glasses, made of crystal and transparent pebbles cut by the hands of the most dexterous artists. They had the faces of their minions masked lest the sun or cold should injure their tender skin. It was thought a shame that there should be any one among this huge court of effeminate boys whose face was not so fair as to need no paint."

Such elaborate retinues were due in part to inade-

quate hotel facilities and to the great numbers of slaves in the homes of the rich. Men of opulence carried with them in their travels all that was necessary for the preparation of food; many of their vehicles were conveniently arranged for sleeping and, in default of these, an abundance of tents was available.

Imperial Retinues

Especially luxurious were the retinues of imperial travelers. In his farcical expedition into Germany, Caligula had in his train dancers, gladiators, and women to afford him amusement and pleasure. Nero traveled with a thousand carriages; his mules were silver-shod and their drivers were clad in crimson liveries of the finest Canusian wool. In his retinue were many footmen and also troopers who wore bracelets and who were mounted upon horses, caparisoned with magnificent trappings.

Poppæa was accustomed to travel with her horses harnessed with gold and even shod with gold; she would take with her five hundred she-asses so as to have a daily bath in their milk. Eusebia, the wife of Constantius, traveled in conveyances of every kind bedecked with gold, silver and bronze. One allusion refers to a Roman lady of means who took a trip in her *basterna*. Near the front of her vehicle were female weavers and next there came, dressed in black,

the women who did the cooking. She also had in her train other servants for various functions and a host of eunuchs with pale and distorted features.

Non-Roman Retinues

There was a striking similarity between the retinues of such Roman travelers as have been mentioned and those of foreigners. Surenna of Parthia usually traveled with two hundred carriages for his concubines, one thousand mailed horsemen, and a large number of light-armed cavalry. One thousand camels carried his luggage. An ambassador from the King of the Allobroges was attended by a magnificent retinue and by dogs which acted as his bodyguard. Conspicuous in his escort was a musician who sang his praises together with those of the Allobroges and their King. Polemo of Smyrna was in the habit of travelings with slaves, leashes of hounds, and hundreds of beasts of burden. His Phrygian and Gallic horses had harness mounted with silver.

Unpretentious Retinues

One must bear in mind that traveling on such an elaborate scale was comparatively rare. As a rule, the Romans were much simpler in their retinues. Cato the Younger, when sent as an official to Mace-

donia, traveled with two freedmen and four friends; on a trip into Lucania books and philosophers were his only companions. Cicero made an extensive trip through Asia Minor in company with some other famous orators. On his mission to Mutina, Sulpicius had in his retinue just enough attendants to look after his welfare. Horace found genuine pleasure in not being annoyed by servants on his journeys and jaunts. Three Romans and a few Greeks escorted the Emperor Tiberius on a trip from Rome into Campania. Young men of culture and means took special delight in going alone on long tours, like the one taken by Ovid and Macer through Greece, Asia Minor, and Sicily. Such youthful tourists were sometimes put under the supervision of older persons. Cicero employed Montanus to go on one trip with his son and on another occasion Cratippus accompanied young Marcus.

Retinues of Roman Officials

Roman officials were generally attended by retinues. Verres, when praetor of Sicily, had in his train prefects, secretaries, physicians, soothsayers, heralds, and a number of assessors. A prætor's official retinue consisted of lieutenants, quæstors, and tribunes. A law was advocated by Rullus to furnish certain Roman officials with apparitors, secretaries,

clerks, heralds, architects, and two hundred surveyors. Roman functionaries were usually accompanied by lictors ranging in number from six to twenty-four and on occasions had in their escorts freedmen, friends, dancing-boys, and members of their immediate families.

Slaves in Retinues

As mentioned above, Roman travelers were generally escorted by slaves; the number was, as a rule, in keeping with one's means and fondness for display. Members of the nobility and officials were expected to be attended by slaves. Horace says that Tillius the prætor would have been subjected to severe criticism, had he gone along the Tiburtian Road with only five slaves. Various duties were performed by slaves; they cooked, acted as secretaries and barbers, and afforded amusement by singing, dancing, giving gladiatorial contests, and exhibiting their wit and learning. They also served as a means of protection, for which purpose Marius once had one hundred in his train and, on one occasion, Milo had more than three hundred in his.

Articles Taken on Journeys (Viaticum)

If the ancient Romans were like the people of to-day, the matter of prime importance for a traveler was to ascertain the amount of money necessary

to defray the expenses of his journey. Pliny, in one of his letters to Trajan, says that Byzantium (Constantinople) paid as traveling-expenses for their annual ambassador to Rome twelve thousand sesterces (about $600), and that three thousand sesterces was given to the envoy who went yearly to Mœsia. The elder Cato, when sent to Spain, was content to set out with five hundred asses or about ten dollars.

The Roman banking system was a source of much

HAT

[From a fictile vase]

SHOES

[From a bronze vase in the Collegio Romano and Pompeian paintings]

convenience to travelers. For instance, if a person wished to go from Rome to Athens, it was not necessary for him to carry on his person all the money needed for the trip. Instead, such a person could go to his banker in Rome, deposit with him the required amount of money, and then take from him a bill of exchange which would be cashed by some banker in Athens. For such a transaction bankers received a small agio and of course they had to be acquainted with foreign exchange.

In the way of dress, the essentials for one on a trip

were generally shoes, one or more tunics, and a covering for the head, usually a broad-brimmed felt hat. The ordinary Roman shoe, as shown in the illustration, was somewhat like the modern shoe; it protected both the sole and the upper part of the foot and was fastened with laces or straps. Socks were not worn but persons who suffered from tender or cold feet could protect them by wrapping around them strips

TUNIC
[From Column of Trajan]

PÆNULA
[From Bartholini]

of cloth. The tunic, a garment like a modern sweater and used by men and women, was worn next to the body. The one worn by men was a loose woolen shirt, made of two pieces sewed together at the sides, and was usually either without sleeves or had only short ones. Some men traveled in tunics with sleeves reaching to the wrists, as a protection against the cold.

The tunic was fastened around the waist by a belt or girdle and generally reached only as low as the knees. Some extended to the ankles but such were considered as an indication of effeminacy. Women, and some men, wore two tunics, the under one fitting close to the body; the under one worn by women had sleeves and reached below the knees.

In rainy or cold weather there was worn over the tunic a *pænula* or *lacerna;* the former was made out of thick heavy cloth or leather, was of a dark color, had no sleeves, and was drawn on over the head, covering the shoulders, the arms, and the rest of the body from the neck downward; the latter was a similar garment but an open one pinned together over the right shoulder by a clasp. To each garment a hood was generally fastened and this could be drawn over the head as a protection against cold or rain.

In place of trousers, which were not worn by the Romans before the time of the late Empire, strips of woolen cloth were wrapped around the lower limbs when need arose. Similar wrappings were used for the stomach and throat.

Other articles of clothing, alluded to as taken along by travelers, are togas, military cloaks, buskins, white garments, mourning costumes, purple and state robes, garments for slaves, and sandals.

In the way of food, there are references to dried figs, bread, cheese, wine, milk, barley, flour, and goat-flesh. Such utensils as flagons, bills, portable kitchens, wine-vessels, spits, brass-kettles, cups, libation bowls, and enameled vessels of crystal and murrhine are mentioned.

Travelers took with them many other articles which cannot be classified but only enumerated. Cæsar carried on his expeditions tesselated marble slabs for the floor of his tent. Verres once took with him embossed silver plate and Pompey on one occasion carried with him a great quantity of silver. The Emperor Claudius was so fond of playing dice that he generally had a dice-table in his carriage. Other allusions mention zithers and plectra, masks for protecting the face against the sun, saddle-bags, money-chests, mattresses, books and writing-tablets, javelins, swords, and other weapons for protection, and lard as a preventive of weariness.

Superstition in Travel

There were current among the Romans certain superstitions connected with travel on land and water. To take a trip immediately after the calends, nones, and ides was considered inauspicious. Before embarking upon a ship, it was customary with some to offer sacrifice by pouring libations into the water

to propitiate the winds and so gain a tranquil sea for their voyage. Vows were made to Neptune, to Castor and Pollux, and to Venus Marina as well as to lesser divinities. It was the custom of some, when starting on a voyage at night, to pay special adoration to the stars that they might guide aright the pilot of the ship.

During Cæsar's Gallic triumph, the axle of his chariot broke as he was passing through the Velabrum. After this accident, it was Cæsar's wont, immediately upon getting into a vehicle, to repeat thrice a certain formula so as to avert misfortune during his journey. This same practice was observed by many persons during the age of Pliny the Elder.

Augustus considered it a good sign of a speedy and happy return, if there happened to be falling a drizzling rain when he started on a long tour. He never traveled the day after the *nundinæ* or upon the nones.

To salute at once any one who sneezed was another superstition among the Romans. Tiberius Cæsar, when riding in a vehicle, was in the habit of exacting an observance of this practice.

There may also lurk a superstition connected with travel in a rural law which forbade women, while walking along the public roads, from carrying their distaffs uncovered.

In this connection there may be mentioned a superstition observed by King Deiotarus in his journeys. He once saw a flying eagle, interpreted it as a bad omen, and proceeded no further on his trip. That night there collapsed the room in which he would have slept had he continued traveling. After this, whenever he saw an eagle flying, he would return home even though he was far on his way.

Brigandage

A serious discomfort to which travelers were at times subjected was brigandage. The depredations of robbers are frequently mentioned in ancient literature, are spoken of now and then in the inscriptions, and are occasionally recorded on the monuments. Freebooters had their haunts in Rome, infested many parts of Italy, were numerous in Corsica, and committed their robberies in Spain, Gaul, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mœsia, Thessaly, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Africa. As was natural, the poor were the ones who suffered most, as the rich usually had sufficient numbers in their retinues for self-protection. Some victims were slain, some were enslaved, and others were held for ransom. Robbers, when caught, were usually either crucified, tortured to death, or thrown to the wild beasts. Their corpses

were sometimes left on the gallows as a warning to others and as a consolation to the kindred of the victims.

Special mention is made of a few notorious bandits. Cleon had his headquarters in the Mysian Olympus and Galen speaks of a robber at Coracesion in Pamphylia who was so cruel as to cut off his victims' legs. During the latter part of the second century A.D., Maternus kept Gaul and Spain in a state of terror. Dio mentions the boldness and cleverness of Felix Bulla who, with his six hundred followers, committed robberies especially in the vicinity of Brundisium in Southeastern Italy. Arrian wrote the life of Tilliboras who made his forays from Mt. Ida in the Troad.

Outlaws became such a menace to the security of travelers that it became necessary for the public authorities to take measures for their suppression. Augustus established posts of soldiers in suitable places and subjected to a strict supervision the houses of detention into which the brigands would take their captives. Tiberius also took particular pains to guard against outlaws, increased the number of military stations throughout Italy, and demolished the places of detention. Similar measures were taken by Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and other emperors.

Speed of Land Travel

The speed of travel on land can be ascertained from the many allusions to overland trips found in ancient literature. The usual daily rate for a pedestrian was twenty-five miles (Procopius: Bel. Goth. 1.14; 1.15; Bel. Van. 1.13). The ordinary traveler, riding in a vehicle, could go with comfort from forty to fifty miles per day (Martial: 10.104). On a long journey, a swift courier averaged, under favorable conditions, 125 miles every twenty-four hours; from Antioch to Constantinople, a distance of 747 miles (Antonine Itinerary—Pinder and Parthey—p. 65) was about a six days' trips for such a courier.

In this chapter, the speed of letter-carriers is also given, though part of the distances traversed by those mentioned in this connection was by water. From Britain to Rome (about 1250 miles) they came in 20 (Cicero: ad Q. Fr. 3.1.17), 27 (Cicero: ad Q. Fr. 3.1.25), 29 (Cicero. ad Att. 4.17.3), and 34 (Cicero. ad Q. Fr. 3.1.13) days respectively. The distance from Rome to Athens was about 1063 miles; one letter-carrier took 21 days (Cicero: ad fam. 14.5.1) and Cicero speaks of this as quick time; another was 46 days (Cicero: ad fam. 16.21.1) in going between these two cities. A letter-carrier reached Cilicia from Rome on the 47th day, quick

time (Cicero: ad Att. 5.19.1). There were two routes, the one 1905 miles, the other 1668, an average of 41 or 35 miles per day. From Africa to Rome, a distance of 400, 480, or 901 miles according to the route taken, a letter-carrier arrived on the 22nd day (Cicero: ad fam. 12.25).

Below there is given in tabulated form a list of land-trips found in the works of Latin and Greek writers. The termini of the journeys are given, and also the time, the distance in Roman miles, and the average speed of each one. Such information as is found in the original (e. g. slow, rapid, on horseback or in a vehicle) is given under the heading of remarks. In several of the passages the exact time is not given; for instance, if a messenger reached his destination on the fourth day, it is impossible to know the precise hour of the day and, consequently, the average speed cannot be accurately estimated. In such cases, the whole of the last day will be counted in getting at the rate and there will be added to the indicated speed a plus sign, showing that it may be more. In some instances one cannot tell whether one day is meant to include the entire twenty-four hours or only a part thereof. Another difficulty in ascertaining the correct distance and rate is that the route is not always definite and the number and length of the stops are not known. These various causes

account for the diversity in the rates of speed mentioned in the tabulation.

Termini	Time	Dist.	Rate	Remarks	Reference
Rome–Pompeii.....	3rd day	161	54+	fast	Cicero: Att. 14.18.1
Rome–Pompeii.....	4th day	161	40+		Cicero: Att. 14.19.1
Rome–Pompeii.....	6th day	161	27+		Cicero: Att. 14.19.1
Rome–Rhegium.....	7th day	462	66+	fast	Cicero: Att. 2.15
Rome–Mutina.....	6th day	273 or 313	45+ 52+		Cicero: fam. 11.6.1
Rome–Mutina.....	6th day	313	52+		Cicero: fam. 11.6.1
Rome–Cumæ.....	5 days	128	26	sick person	Cicero: fam. 16.10.1
Rome–Ameria.....	10 hours	56	56	*cisium*. rapid	Cicero: Rosc. Am. 7
Rome–Luna.....	4th day	273	68+		Livy: 39.21
Rome–Fragellae.....	24 hours	77	77	no stops	Livy: 26.9
Rome–Caudium.....	3 days	146	49	expeditious	Livy: 9.9
Rome–Capua.....	5th day	125	25+		Livy: 26.27
Amphissa–Pella.....	3rd day	200	67+	rapid	Livy: 37.7
Unknown.....	21 days	300	15	army	Livy: Ep. Bk. 130
Rome–Brundisium...	10 days	360	36	leisurely	Ovid: Ep. Pont. 4.-5.3
Rome–Brundisium...	15 days	360	24	many stops	Horace: S. 1.5
Tarraco–Bilbilis.....	5 days	224	45	*essedum*	Martial: 10.104
Unknown.....	1 day	100	100	*raeda*	Suetonius: Cæs. 57
Unknown.....	2 days	375	187	rapid	Tacitus: An. 11.8
Berenice–Coptos....	12 nights	257	21	camels	Pliny: N. H. 6.26
Thomna–Gaza.....	65 days	4436	68	camels	Pliny: N. H. 12.32
Ticinum–Germany...	3 days	600	200	rapid	Pliny: N. H. 7.20
Ticinum–Germany...	3 days	600	200	rapid	Valerius Maximus: 5.6
Bethlehem – Alexandria	16 days	400	25		Sulpicius: dial. 1.8.1
Rome–Aquileia.....	4th day	419	105+	rapid	Capitolinus:Maxim 25
Unknown.....	1 day	110	110	vehicle. rapid	Appian: 12.16.112
Rome–Ravenna.....	3 days	162	54		Appian: 2.5.32
Zama–N. Africa.....	48 hours	375	187	horseback	Appian: 8.8.47
Unknown.....	24 hours	63	63	army	Appian: 6.10.58
Rome–Rhone River..	8th day	796	100	rapid	Plutarch: Cæs. 17
Rome–Brundisium...	5th day	360	72+		Plutarch: Cat. Maj. 14
Tarraco–Clunia.....	36 hours	332	220	rapid	Plutarch: Galba 7
Rome–Capua.....	5th day	125	25	pedestrian	Procopius: B.G. 1.14
Rome–Puteoli.....	3 days	141	47		Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 7.41

Vehicles

This chapter will be concluded by an alphabetical enumeration and a description of the vehicles used

by the Romans in traveling. It seems that Roman conveyances had no springs but an abundance of cushions and pillows supplied this deficiency.

Arcera

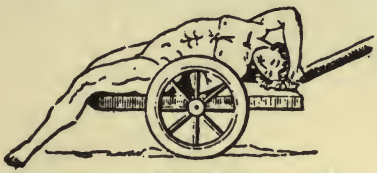
This vehicle is mentioned in the Twelve Tables and, consequently, must have been in use among the Romans at a very early date. It had four wheels, a

Arcera

cover, and was generally drawn by two or more horses. The outside consisted of unhewn boards covered by loose drapery. The *arcera* was especially used to convey the sick, aged, and infirm and was of sufficient size to permit the occupant to recline at full length. After the Romans became acquainted with the use of the *lectica*, the *arcera* seems to have been discarded by them. The word itself disappeared from the Latin language. The annexed illustration is taken from a sepulchral monument now in the Baden Museum.

Arcima

The *arcima* was a small conveyance large enough for only one person. The illustration is taken from a sepulchral bas-relief now in Rome.



Arcima

Basterna

This vehicle belonged to the imperial period and was used by women. It was quite similar to the *lectica*, the main difference being that it was not

Basterna

borne by slaves but by two mules, one before and one behind, each hitched to a separate pair of shafts. It seems that it was customary for some women, when traveling during a period of mourn-

ing, to have eunuchs go in front of their *basternæ*. Some vehicles of this make had elaborate workmanship; they were overlaid with gold and bedecked with jewels. The Emperor Elagabulus would now and then present *basternæ* to his friends. The annexed picture is a copy of a woodcut dating back to the fifteenth century.

Benna

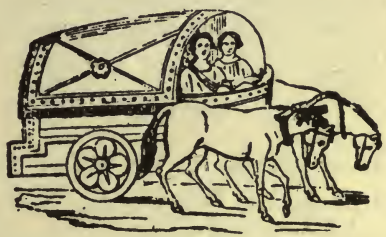
Benna

This four-wheeled conveyance, made of wickerwork, was of Gallic origin and of sufficient size to accommodate several persons. The picture is a reproduction from the Column of Antoninus.

Carpentum

According to the references found in ancient literature, the *carpentum* was in use among the Romans as early as 500 B.C. and as late as the fifth century of the Christian era. The earliest allusion is found in Livy who describes Lucumo and his wife, Tana-

quil, on their arrival in Rome as sitting in a vehicle of this name. The *carpentum* was a covered carriage with two wheels, had seats for two, sometimes for three, besides the coachman, and was drawn by mules, usually two. In place of mules, horses or oxen were at times used for this purpose. Some carriages of this type displayed splendid mechanism, were gilded with gold, radiated with flashing stones,



Carpentum

and were lined and curtained with the most dainty and precious fabrics. Some persons, inclined to luxurious habits, had a mania for driving in such coaches and carried it to such extremes that legal restrictions became necessary as to the construction of this kind of conveyance.

On special occasions, the *carpentum* was used to convey Roman matrons in public festal processions and, as this was a special distinction, to ride in it at such times was a privilege granted by the Senate.

There are extant illustrations of two funeral cars

of this make; one is found on a medal struck by Caligula in honor of his mother Agrippina and has either painting or carving on its panels, while the head of the car is supported by Caryatides at the four corners; the second is from a high relief which at one time adorned a sarcophagus and is now preserved in the British Museum.

The annexed illustration, dating back to remote antiquity, is taken from an Etruscan painting found in Micali (Italia avanti i Romani, tav. 27).

Carruca

The earliest allusion to the use of this carriage among the Romans is found in Pliny the Elder and there are references to it as late as the fifth century. It had four wheels and it may be that the front ones were smaller than the two behind. This conveyance had a cover and was drawn by horses or mules, usually four, sometimes two. Some vehicles of this type were so made that the occupants could sleep in them with perfect comfort. There is a description of one, found in Capitolinus' life of Pertinax (ch. 8), to which there were attached appliances for measuring the distance and telling the hours of the day; it had seats so made as to turn now in one direction, now in another and in this way avoid the

sun or enjoy the breeze. Members of the imperial and senatorial families were extravagantly fond of traveling in this sort of coach. Nero is said to have traveled with 500 or even 1000 such vehicles in his retinue and in this respect he was emulated by Elaga-

Supposed form of *Carruca*
[From the Notitia Imperii]

bulus. This carriage was often ornamented by carvings in bronze and ivory and by chasings in silver and gold. Martial (3.62) speaks of one worth a farm but unfortunately gives no hint as to the value of the estate. There is no authentic illustration of the *carruca;* the one given is taken from Rich but its genuineness is dubious.

Carrus

The *carrus* was a cart with two wheels and boarded sides like the one shown in the annexed illustration taken from Trajan's column. It was drawn by oxen

or bullocks and mainly used in the Roman armies for the transportation of baggage and supplies.

Carrus

Cisium

The *cisium* was a light open vehicle of Gallic origin, had two wheels, and room for two persons. A small amount of baggage could be carried in a box or case, probably built beneath the seat. Horses

Cisium

or mules were employed to draw this conveyance. As shown in the annexed picture, the one sculptured on the monumental column at Igel near Treves has two animals attached to it. Ausonius mentions one with

three animals hitched to it, one between the shafts and two outriggers. The lightness of this gig made it especially suitable for rapid travel; Cicero speaks of a person who went in one by night fifty-six miles in ten hours, a very rapid rate in those days. One may infer, however, that some must have traveled slowly in this vehicle, as Seneca says that there were certain things a person could compose while riding in it. The *cisium* was kept for hire at the stations along the main roads and their drivers, who had headquarters at the city gates, could be fined for reckless driving.

Clabularis

This was a heavy four-wheeled wagon with open sides. Under the Empire it was used especially by sick and discharged soldiers going to their homes

Clabularis

or by stragglers returning to the main body of the army. Only by special favor could private persons travel in this vehicle or use it for transporting their luggage. The maximum burden for this wagon was

1500 Roman pounds. Mules or oxen, seldom horses, were employed to draw it. The one in the picture is taken from a Pompeian painting and was used to transport wine.

Covinus

The *covinus* was a Roman traveling-coach or tilbury covered on all sides with the exception of the front and driven by the traveler himself, as there was no seat for a coachman. This vehicle, modeled upon the Belgian war-chariot, had two wheels and the only reference to it as a carriage represents it as drawn by at least two ponies. This allusion, found in Martial, shows that it was used by the Romans during the first century of the Christian era.

Essedum

The *essedum* was a two-wheeled conveyance of foreign origin, open in front but closed behind. It was first used by the Romans about fifty years before the birth of Christ and there are allusions to it as late as the fifth century. At first some regarded its use as an indication of effeminacy and unnecessary luxury but by the former part of the first century A.D. the employment of this vehicle became common among the Romans. The *essedum* had room for two persons, a small amount of baggage, and was usually drawn by two horses; sometimes Gallic ponies or

wild asses were driven by those given to fashion. Ladies of elegance and gentlemen of luxury were very fond of traveling in carriages of this make, overlaid with silver and even with gold. One, plated with gold and of very sumptuous workmanship, was offered for sale in the Sigillaria; the Emperor Claudius considered it an unnecessary article of luxury and had it broken to pieces. Along the Roman roads coaches of this kind were kept for hire and were often used for rapid traveling. No authentic illustration of the *essedum* is extant.

Lectica

The *lectica* was a kind of litter, sedan, or palanquin of oriental origin and probably came into fashion among the Romans after their victory over King Antiochus in 190 B.C.; the earliest mention of it is found in a speech made by Gaius Gracchus and quoted by Gellius (10.35). The construction of the litter is known from the various descriptions given of it in literature and from the fragments of one found on the Esquiline Hill in 1874. The body was wooden with low sides and had upright pieces supporting a tester whose top was covered with leather. From the top curtains were suspended and these could be closed all round or drawn back. The sedan was at times a close conveyance with its sides filled

with panels or windows which the occupant could open or close at his pleasure. This vehicle was provided with a soft mattress, a bolster, and easy pillows, to support the inmate's back so that he could read, write, or sleep within it. Attached to the *lectica* by means of thongs were poles and by means of these it was carried on the shoulders of sedan-bearers. The palanquin was sometimes carried by straps placed around the necks of the bearers. It

Lectica

is clear that in some cases the poles could be detached and it may be true that the litter was equipped with iron rings through which the poles were placed. Allusions show that some conveyances of this sort were handsomely built and had an abundance of ornaments, precious wood, decorations of ivory, silver, and gold, and coverlets of the rarest and most costly materials.

Traveling in a sedan was slow but very comfortable, indeed so comfortable that some frowned

upon its use as too luxurious. In spite of such protests, it was extensively employed, both in cities and rural districts, by men and women who could afford it. On their campaigns Roman generals usually carried their palanquins and its use by Roman Emperors was well-nigh universal. The love of this mode of traveling became such an infatuation that it was necessary at times to restrict its use by law. Julius Cæsar once did this by confining the privilege of using it to certain persons of a certain age and to certain days of the year. All such restrictions, however, were only temporary. The sedan was frequently employed as a mode of exercise and snobs were especially fond of aping their superiors in using it for this purpose. This vehicle was particularly convenient for carrying the sick and wounded, as is shown by many references. Sedan-bearers were for hire wherever there was a demand for them; many of them were to be found in the fourteenth region across the Tiber.

Litters varied in size, some were spacious enough for four persons, and from two to eight slaves were employed in carrying this conveyance. Many Romans of wealth kept certain slaves whose special duty was to serve as sedan-bearers and for this purpose the tallest, strongest, and handsomest were generally selected. Bithynian, Cappadocian, Syrian, Moesian, Liburnian, Median, and Thracian men were

especially fitted to act in this capacity. Such slaves sometimes had liveries, chiefly red or brown coats made of Canusian wool, and these they wore so as to make themselves easily recognized. The *lectica* was on occasions preceded by a special slave whose duty was to make room or prepare the way for the vehicle. When the litter was used for night-travel, as was often done, it was preceded by a slave carrying a torch.

No monument of Greek or Roman art preserves an authentic illustration of the *lectica*. The annexed drawing is taken from Ginzrot (Vol. II. tab. 65).

Petorritum

The *petorritum* was a well-built, open, four-wheeled carriage of Gallic origin and was usually drawn by mules, two or more. On journeys, the master would ride together with his family in a *ræda* while the *petorritum* conveyed the servants and baggage. It is not safe, however, to affirm that this vehicle was exclusively used for servants. During the imperial times the *petorritum* was a source of lavish expenditure and many coaches of this type were adorned with silver and gold. References to this vehicle are found in literature as late as the fourth century A.D. No representation is known to exist.

Pilentum

The *pilentum* was used chiefly by women of the upper classes. It was furnished with cushions, had a covered top but open sides. Isidore mentions a vehicle of this make that had four wheels. It seems to have had a stately height and was of easy motion. Besides being an ordinary traveling-vehicle, the *pilentum* was the special kind of carriage used on state

Supposed *pilentum*
[From a medal of the Empress Faustina]

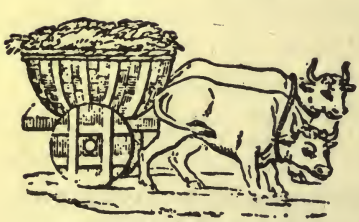
occasions by Roman matrons, priests, and vestal virgins. In it they carried the sacred vessels and rode in processions and to the public games. Some coaches of this kind were gilded with gold. According to the allusions, this conveyance was known to the Romans from the fourth century B.C. to the fifth century of the Christian era. The figure in the illustration is taken from a medal of the Empress

Faustina and may be an authoritative representation of a two-wheeled *pilentum.*

Plaustrum

The *plaustrum* was usually employed for heavy burdens but, on occasions, was used as a traveling

Four-wheeled *plaustrum*



Two-wheeled *plaustrum*

Small *plaustrum*

van. Many merchants were accustomed to put their wares in such conveyances and travel over large areas of the Roman dominions. It was used by the poor in moving from place to place and in times of stress and need was so employed by others. Generals fre-

quently had their sick and wounded conveyed in wagons of this sort.

The *plaustrum* had two or four wheels, sometimes with iron tires, and was generally drawn by oxen; horses and mules were thus used at times. An engraved gem shows a two-wheeled *plostellum* with two goats attached to it. Vergil speaks of a plaustrum with a beechen axle and a copper coupling-pole. The wheels of the smaller of the two kinds of this vehicle had no spokes but were solid circular blocks of wood permanently fixed to the axle so that both axle and wheels revolved. The platform was made of boards and the sides consisted of boards placed in an upright position. Sometimes open-work rails or a large wicker-basket was fastened to the platform. The tongue or pole was made of some durable wood and fastened to the axle.

The illustration of the two-wheeled vehicle is taken from a Roman bas-relief and a sepulchral bas-relief found at Longres, France, is the original of the four-wheeled conveyance.

Ræda

The use of this carriage was quite common among the Romans during the last century of the Republic and there are allusions to it as late as the sixth century A.D. It was a commodious vehicle of Gallic

origin, had four wheels, and probably could be provided with a cover when need arose. This coach was generally used by a man when he traveled with his family as it had sufficient room for a large party together with their luggage. Both mules and horses, in number two or more, were used to draw the *ræda.* Carriages of this make were employed both in cities

Ræda

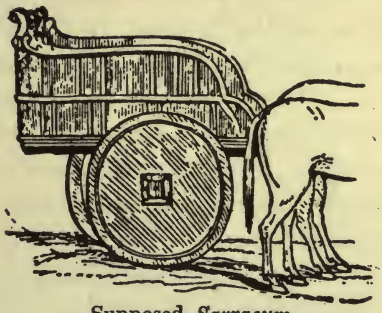
and on long journeys; along the Roman highways they were kept for hire. One reference shows that Julius Cæsar, in eight days, traveled 796 miles in this way. Certain people had a mania for *rædæ* of handsome and costly workmanship and carried their infatuation so far that it became necessary to restrain them by legal restrictions. Vitruvius describes very minutely a kind of cyclometer that could be

attached to this carriage and measure the distance.

The given picture is not taken from any ancient authority but from Ginzrot (tab. 20) who fashioned it after the models of similar conveyances which are found on the columns of Trajan and Antoninus.

Sarracum

This wagon was of foreign origin and was used by the Italian farmers as a traveling-vehicle for them-



Supposed *Sarracum*

selves and families. They also used it for carting their produce to market. It had solid wheels and a platform of boards like the *plaustrum* but differed from it in having a body with close sides firmly fixed to the platform. The supposed form of the *sarracum*, given in the annexed illustration, is taken from

a Herculaneum painting showing a crowd of country people in the market-place of that city.

Sella

The *sella* was a sedan-chair used by travelers both in cities and in the country. It differed from the *lectica* in not being a portable bed in which the person carried lay in a recumbent position but only a portable chair, the occupant of which sat upright. The *sella* evidently came into use among the Romans long after the *lectica*, as there are no allusions to it until the period of the Empire. In Rome it was first used by women and it seems that senators' wives had a special sort. Soon, however, men began riding in it as there are references to its being used by Augustus and Claudius. The wooden frame of this conveyance was usually covered with plain leather but some were ornamented with bone, ivory, silver, and gold. The *sella* was frequently large enough for two persons. One could travel in this vehicle with it entirely shut or completely open; Seneca regarded it a scandal for a woman to ride in an open chair. The *sella* was furnished with a pillow to support the head and neck and, like the *lectica*, it was borne on the shoulders of slaves. Some used the sedan-chair as a means of taking exercise. No representation of this conveyance is known to be extant.

Tensa

In a passage from Titinius quoted by Nonius (316.3) the word *tensa* is perhaps used for traveling-carriage drawn by mules.

As a rule, the *tensa* was a sacred vehicle elaborately ornamented with ivory and silver; it varied in shape and had either two or four wheels. This coach was usually drawn by four horses but the annexed illustration, which is copied from a medal

Tensa

struck either by Nero or Nerva and which may be a representation of the *tensa*, has elephants attached to it. This conveyance was kept in a special building on the Capitol and was used, during the Circensian games, to carry the images of the deities with

all their decorations to a place in the circus called the Pulvinar and, after the sports were completed, to bear them back to their shrines.

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II. Riding-Equipment: (a) Cicero: De fin. 3.4. 15. Cæsar: B. G. 4.2. Vergil: Æn. 8.553; 11.770. Horace: Ep. 1.14.43. Martial: 14.86. Silius Italicus: 5.148. Nonius: p. 108.30. Gellius 5.5.3. Sidonius: Ep. 3.3. Vulgate: Esth. 6.8. Codex Theod.: 8.5.47. Codex Just.: 12.51.12. C. I. L.: 8.4508. (b) Compte Rendu de la Comm. Imp. Arch., St. Pétersb., 1862, pl. IV. 4; ib. 1864, pl. III-I, on Nikopolis Vase, pad-saddle, double bordered housings; ib. 1866, pl. IV.I, ditto; ib. 1868, pl. II.4, Star-spangled cloth; ib. 1872, Scythians (oblong cloths), Getæ (none), Sarmatians (none), Parthians (chabraques), Panticapæns (round with hanging

ornaments); ib. 1874, p. 184, housings with scales square or fish-like.

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IV. Manner of Hitching: (a) Ovid: Fast. 4.216; Trist. 4.6.2. Columella: R. R. 2.2. Vitruvius: 10.3.8. Pliny: N. H. 8.179. Suetonius: Tib. 6. Ausonius: Epith. 35.9. (b) Dionysius Hal.: 7.73.

V. Pack-Saddles: (a) Plautus: Most. 778. Cato: R. R. 10.1. Horace: S. 1.5.47; Ep. 1.13.8. Phædrus: 1.15.8. Columella: 2.21(22).3.

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VII. Imperial Retinues: (a) Pliny: N. H. 33.49. Suetonius: Ner. 30. Lampridius: Elag. 31. Ammianus: 14.6.17. (b) Dio: 59.21.

VIII. Non-Roman Retinues: (a) Cicero: Cat. 3.2. (b) Plutarch: Cras. 21. Appian: 4.12. Philostratus: Vit. Soph. 2.25. p. 228 (ed. K.).

IX. Unpretentious Retinues: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 12.52.1; ad fam. 12.62.2; 13.71.1; Brut. 91. Horace: S. 1.6.112. Ovid: Ep. Pont. 2.10. Tacitus: An. 4.58.1; 16.19. Suetonius: Cæs. 4; Tib. 46. (b) Plutarch: Cat. Min. 9; 11; 20.

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XI. Retinues of Roman Officials: (a) Cicero: ad. Att. 7.10; 7.12.4; 8.1.3; 9.1.3; 10.4.9; 10.16.5;

ad. fam. 4.12.3; Verr. 2.2.10.27; 2.3.11.28; 2.3.60. 137; 2.3.66.154; 2.3.78-80; 2.5.25.64; 2.5.32.83; 2.5.54.140; Agr. 2.13.32; Planc. 41; Phil. 2.24.58; Balb. 11.28; Pis. 25.61; Flac. 8.18. Tacitus: An. 2.2.6; H. 2.59. Pliny: Ep. 10.15. Suetonius: Aug. 64. (b) Plutarch: Mar. 17; Cat. Min. 9.

XII. Slaves in Retinues: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 6.1.25; ad fam. 4.12.3; 13.71; ad Q. Fr. 1.1.6.17; 2.10.2; Verr. 2.3.20.50; 2.4.45.100; 2.5.25.64; Mil. 14.36; 21.55; in Cæl. 17.55; Pis. 36; Clu. 59.163. Asconius: in Cic. Mil. 14.36. Auctor Bel. Afr.: 93. Horace: S. 1.5.11; 1.6.103. Ovid: Trist. 4.10.101. Velleius Paterculus: 2.43. Valerius Maximus: 4.3. 11-13. Tacitus: An. 4.58. Pliny: Ep. 3.5; 8.1. Suetonius: Vit. 6; 16; Nero 30. Ammianus: 14.6.16. (b) Polybius: 29 (frag. 166); 32.12. Plutarch: Cæs. 17; 49; Cras. 21; Cic. 47; Brut. 37; Cat. Min. 9; 11; 20; Aph. Imp. Mag. (Scip .Min.). Appian: B. C. 4.4.39; 4.6.39; 4.6.44; 4.12. Dio: 59.21.

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Pis. 23; Font. 11. Ovid: Trist. 5.10.33. Tacitus: H. 2.20. Lampridius: Alex. Sev. 40. Codex Theod.: 14.10.3.

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10. *Food:* (a) Seneca: Ep. 87. Suetonius: Aug. 76. Apuleius: Met. 1.18; 8.28. Hieronymus: Vit. Mal. 8.

11. *Utensils:* Livy: 9.36. Horace: S. 1.16.109. Seneca: Ep. 87; 123. Pliny: Ep. 3.5.15. Apuleius: Met. 6.14. (b) Plutarch: Cat. Maj. 6. Dio: 16.6.

12. *Other Articles Taken By Travelers:* (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.1.36.91: Phil. 2.30.76; Pis. 23; 55; Mil. 4.20; Tusc. Disp. 2.16.37. Auctor Bel. Afr. 47. Cæsar: B. C. 3.96. Livy: 9.36. Horace: S. 1.6.106; Ep. 1.17.54. Pliny: N. H. 28.37. Seneca: Ep. 87.

13. *Money:* (a) Valerius Maximus: 4.3.11. Pliny: Ep. 6.25; 10.43 (52).

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XV. *Brigandage:* (a) Sallust: Jug. 103. Varro: R. R. 1.16.2; 2.10.3. Propertius: 3.16. Juvenal: 3.306; 10.20. Petronius: 111. Pliny: N. H. 8.144. Tacitus: An. 2.85. Pliny: Ep. 6.25. Suetonius: Aug. 32; Tib. 8; 47. Apuleius: Met. bks. 3-4-7. Tertullian: Apol. 2.41. Capitolinus: Marc. Aur. 21.7. Fronto: ad Marc. Aur. 2.13. Digest: 19.5.20.1; 48.19.28.15. C. I. L.: 2.2968; 3479; 3.1559; 1579; 1585; 2399; 2544; 3385. (b) Strabo: 5.4.4; 12.7; 12.8.8. Saint Luke: 10.30. Epic-

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(2) Arcima (arcuma): (a) Paulus ex Fest. p. 15 (Müller); v. Müll. ad h. l.

(3) Basterna: (a) Lampridius: Elag. 21.7. Ammianus: 14.6.16. Palladius: 7.2.3. Servius: ad Aen. 8.666. Augustine: Ep. 10.1. Symmachus: Ep. 6.15. Hieronymus: Ep. 22.16; Com. in Is. 18.66.20; Com. in Jer. 31.21-22. p. 1069. Ennodius: carm. 2.129. Isidore: Orig. 20.12.5. Gregory Tours: 3.16; 3.26. Latin Anthology: 3.183 (101.1). Gloss.: 5.348.5; 492.43; 520.24; 521.2; 562.25-34-51; 566.15. Codex Just.: 8.10; 12.4a. (b) Soranus: Lat. trans. 2.1 (14) p. 53 (ed. V. Rose).

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(7) Carrus: (a) Cæsar: B. G. 1.3; 1.6; 1.26; 3.51; 8.14. Auctor Bel. Hisp.: 6. Livy: 10.28. Nonius: p. 195.26. Vegetius: 3.10. Isidore: 20. 12.1. Digest: 17.2.52.15. Codex Theod.: 8.5.47. Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ.

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(9) Clabulare (Angaria; Parangaria): (a) Codex Theod.: 6.29.2.2; 6.29.2.4; 6.29.5.1; 8.5.23.8; 8.5.62; 8.5.4.1. Codex Just.: 1.3.2; 12.50(51).22.

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(12) Lectica: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 6.1.25; 9.11. 1; 10.10.5; ad fam. 4.12.3; 7.1.5; ad Q. Fr. 2.10.2; Div. 1.26.55; Phil. 2.24-32-41-42; 5.6; Verr. 2.4.23; 2.5.11-13; Rosc. Com. 46. Auctor Bel. Hisp.: 32; 38. Catullus: 10.14-16-20. Varro: L. L. 5.166 (p. 65). Horace: S. 2.3.214. Ovid: A. A. 1.488; R. Am. 663. Livy: 2.36; 24.42; 27.29; 43.7. Propertius: 4.8. Velleius Paterculus: 2.114.2. Seneca: Tran. An. 12.2; Brev. Vit. 12.5; Ben. 1.9.3; 3.28; Ep. 31.9; 80.8; 110.16. Petronius: 56. Pliny: N. H. 35.117. Pliny: Ep. 3.14. Juvenal: 1.64; 1.159; 3.239-245; 4.75; 6.351-477; 7.122-132; 9.142. Asconius: in Mil. 33. Suetonius: Cæs. 43; 71; 84; Aug. 29; 76; 78; 82; 83; Tib. 60; 64; Calig. 27; 43; 58; Claud. 2:28; Nero 8; 28; Otho 6; Tit. 10; Domit. 8; 11; 19. Martial: 2.18; 2.57; 2.81; 3.7;

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(13) Petorritum: (a) Horace: S. 1.6.102; Ep. 2.1.192. Cruquius: ad Hor. Ep. 2.1.192. Pliny: N. H. 34.48.163. Quintilian: 1.5.57. Gellius: 15.30. Festus: p. 207 (Müller). Ausonius: Ep. 5.35; 8.5; 14.15.

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(15) Plaustrum: (a) Cato: R. R. 10.2. Cicero: Div. 1.27. Lucretius: 6.551. Varro: L. L. 5.140; R. R. 1.16.6; 1.17.2; 1.20.3; 1.52.1; 3.5. Auctor Bel. Afr. 9; 21; 75. Livy: 4.41; 5.40; 9.30. Vitru-

vius: 10.20.14. Ovid: Trist. 3.10.34. Vergil: Geo. 2.206; 2.444; 3.140; 3.170; 3.536; Æn. 11.138 Horace: S. 1.6.42. Valerius Maximus: 1.1.10; 2.5.4. Pliny: N. H. 5.2; 8.61. Tacitus: An. 14.34; Germ. 40. Florus: 1.13. Ammianus: 22.8.42; 31.2. 18. Ausonius: Ep. 10.26; 11.5. Isidore: 20.12. (b) Strabo: 4.1.14; 4.6.10; 7.1.3; 7.3.4; 7.3.18; 7.5.2; 17.1.50. Plutarch: Cam. 21; Mar. 35; Cras. 8.

(16) Ræda: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 5.17.1; 6.1.25; Mil. 10; 20; 21; Phil. 2.24.58. Varro: R. R. 3117. Cæsar: B. G. 1.51; 6.30. Horace: S. 1.5.82; 2.6.41; Ep. 1.7.77. Vitruvius: 10.14. Seneca: Ben. 7.5.3. Juvenal: 3.10; 3.236; 4.116. Schol. ad Juv. 8.66. Martial: 3.47; 10.13. Quintilian: 1.5.57-68. Suetonius: Cæs. 57; Calig. 39. Gellius: 10.25.1; 19.13.5. Fronto: ad Marc. 3.3. Apuleius: Met. 10.18. Capitolinus: Maxim. 6. Lampridius: Alex. Sev. 43; Elag. 21. Lactantius: Mort. Pers. 19. Nonius: p. 167. Ausonius: Ep. 7.18; 14.14. Sulpicius Severus: dial. 2.3.2-5-6. Hieronymus: Com. in Is. 18.66; 20.21; Vit. Hil. 20. Isidore: 20.12.2. Venantius Fortunatus: Misc., lib. 3.22. Codex Theod. 8.5.8-20-30-35-47-48; 6.29.5.

(17) Sarracum: (a) Vitruvius: 10.1.5. Juvenal: 3.255. Quintilian: 8.3.21. Nonius: p. 195.29. Capitolinus: M. Aur. 13. Ammianus: 31.2.18.

(18) Sella: (a) Seneca: Brev. Vit. 12.5; de Const. 14.1; Ben. 1.9.3. Juvenal: 1.124; 4.21; 6.352; 7.141. Pliny: Ep. 3.5.15. Martial: 4.51; 11.98. Tacitus: An. 14.4; 15.57; H. 1.35; 3.85. Suetonius: Aug. 53; Claud. 25; Ner. 26; Otho 6; Vitel. 16. Lampridius: Elag. 4. Vopiscus: Aur. 13.

Tertullian: ad ux. 2.8. Symmachus: Ep. 1.101. Cladius Claudianus: IV cons. Hon. 584. Cælius Aurelianus: 1.5.21. Vegetius: Vet. 1.56.34. Codex Theod. 15.13. (b) Dio: 18(9.17); 47.23; 56.43; 57.15; 60.2. Galen: de tuend. val. 6.4. Soranus: Lat. trans. 2.1.14, p. 53 (Rose).

(19) Tensa: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 13.44; Verr. 2.1.59.154; 2.3.3.6; 2.5.72.186. Livy: 4.41; 5.41; 9.40. Suetonius: Cæs. 76; Aug. 43; Vesp. 5. Festus: p. 364 (Müller). Nonius: p. 316.3. Pseudo-Asconius: 3.27; 5.72. Tertullian: de Spec. 7; de Cor. Mil. 13. Servius: Æn. 1.21. Gloss. Philox. Arnobius: adv. Gent. 4.31. C. I. L.: 3.2; 10.6012. Gruteri: 35.12. Henzen: 5407. (b) Dionysius Hal.: 7.72. Plutarch: Coriol. 25. Dio: 43.15; 43.21; 43.45; 44.6; 66.1; 78.8.

CHAPTER III

TRAVEL ON WATER

Oars—Sails—Winds—Etc.

AS the locomotion of vessels in ancient times depended on sails and oars, navigation among the Romans was controlled in a large measure by the weather. Of particular importance were the so-called Etesian Winds, a name given to any periodical winds, but especially to northerly ones which blew in the Ægean Sea for forty days during the most sultry part of the summer. The compass was not known to ancient navigators and, consequently, they found it necessary to steer close to land, especially in daytime. On clear star-light nights pilots could direct the course of their ships by the stars and for this reason such nights were preferred for voyages. Before starting on such a sea-trip, the passengers would pay due worship to the stars; Philostratus says that there was a regular evening service of this kind during his voyage from Puteoli to Ostia.

Seasons for Sea-Traffic

Sea-traffic was almost completely stopped during a considerable part of the year. The times for navigation were as follows: "The sea was closed from the 10th of November to the 10th of March; but navigation was completely safe only between May the 26th and September the 14th. There were two doubtful periods, 11th of March—26th of May and 15th of September—10th of November, when merchants might risk sailing but fleets of war-vessels were not inclined to take such perilous chances."

There was not an absolute cessation of sea-traffic during the non-navigation periods. Voyages were occasionally made at such times, particularly if necessitated by stress of circumstances. In 50 B.C. Cicero sailed from Actium to Brundisium and found the November weather very dangerous; many who set out just prior to his sailing were shipwrecked. Cæsar's army crossed from Brundisium to Epirus during November and during the preceding January Pompey's army had made the same voyage. When Ovid was sent into exile, he was forced to embark for Tomi on a bleak December day. Flaccus was recalled from Egypt early in October and sailed at once for Rome. Shortly after his departure, Philo with four companions set sail from Alexandria to present to Caligula at Rome an urgent petition for the protec-

tion of the Hebrews. In his conference with the Emperor, Philo spoke at length on the perils of his recent voyage. One winter, when the grain-supply in Italy became scarce, the Emperor Claudius offered special inducements to ship-owners, guaranteeing them a fixed rate of interest and insuring them against the loss of their vessels. Some travelers were not successful in getting passage during the winter season. Horace mentions the fact that Gyges, on returning from Bithynia, was compelled to wait at Oricum in Epirus for the return of spring and the opening of navigation on the Adriatic. He speaks of another person waiting, probably in Syria, until spring came and he could cross the Carpathian Sea.

Seasickness

Among the discomforts suffered by those who traveled on water was seasickness. Its cause and effects among the ancients were the same as they are at the present time. According to Fronto, nausea was more prevalent during the warm season than at other times and a passage in the African War shows that the beasts of burden were affected by it. Pliny the Elder says that this sickness was good for many affections of the head, eyes, and chest. His preventive of nausea was absinthe or wormwood taken in

water, a remedy not so palatable as Horace's Cæcuban wine.

Shipwrecks

Passengers on vessels also ran the risk of being shipwrecked and captured by those who took advantage of such misfortunes. Coast-dwellers, especially the inhabitants of the Cyclades, watched for wrecks and were in the habit of selling their victims into slavery. A steward of Calvisius Sabinus was shipwrecked, captured, sold, and branded as a slave. False beacons were now and then set up to lure vessels to their destruction. Fishermen at times did this, particularly on dangerous coasts, such as the Hollows of Euboea and the promontory of Caphareus. Shipwrecked men were numerous among the beggars at Rome and were aided by alms given by the Christians. Efforts on the part of such emperors as Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius failed to suppress effectively this kind of brigandage.

Piracy

Another inconvenience, to which travelers on ships were at times subjected, was piracy. Those captured by pirates were usually either enslaved or held for ransom; some victims were slain.

Julius Cæsar, while sailing for Asia Minor, was

taken by corsairs near the island of Pharmacusa and held for a ransom of twenty talents. Thinking this amount insignificant for one of his importance, he paid fifty, was released, and afterwards caught and crucified his captors.

Cicero, in his speech on the Manilian Law, shows the prevalency of piracy in the Mediterranean and the necessity of its being suppressed by Roman authorities. At the time when he delivered this speech, the Romans were, in a large measure, cut off from connection with their provinces, the seas were partly closed against them, and their ambassadors, prætors, and quæstors as well as envoys from foreign nations were being captured by sea-robbers and held for heavy ransoms.

After the dawn of universal peace under Augustus, piracy in the Mediterranean Sea was not frequent. Its worst outbreak occurred in 66-70 A.D. when many fugitives from Palestine fortified themselves at Joppa and made communication between Syria and Egypt unsafe. The Black Sea and the Indian Ocean were usually more or less infested with pirates.

Custom-Houses

Among the discomforts incident to travel, on land as well as on water, may be mentioned custom-house examinations. The general rule as to dutiable arti-

cles was that whatever commodities, including slaves, a traveler purchased to be resold were subject to duty. Many purchases, however, which were not necessities but luxuries like eunuchs and handsome boys, were dutiable even though the purchaser kept them for his individual use. The personal effects of a traveler were exempt from taxation and so were such things as he might buy for the state. In the case of the latter, a written list made by some one in authority had to be shown by the traveler to the custom officials who carefully inspected said list to see that the number of articles presented corresponded with the number ordered. Such articles as were not properly reported to these officials were confiscated. The attempts to defraud custom-officers were numerous and manifold and, consequently, they had to exercise rigid strictness in performing their duties. On the other hand, these officials exercised their legal right in fingering the inside of travelers' bags and often purloined what they could. They were permitted by law to search the baggage and the persons of all travelers with the exception of matrons. Roman functionaries, soldiers, and some persons of eminence traveled duty-free. These duties, usually ad valorem, on occasions by tariff, were levied in ports and in frontier towns, and ranged from two and one-half per cent in Gaul and Asia to five per cent in Sicily, Illyricum, and

perhaps in Africa. An inscription mentions two per cent in Spain and at a late period the sum of one-eighth is spoken of as the ordinary import-duty but to what articles such an exorbitant taxation applied is not certain.

Irregularity of Ships

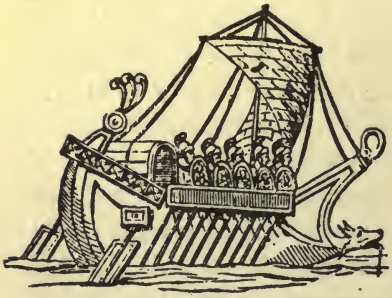
There is no evidence that there were among the Romans any regular passenger-ships running on schedule time. As a rule, travelers were compelled to take their chances in getting ships and usually took advantage of the first one that happened to be going in their direction. Sea-traffic among the Romans was confined, for the most part, to the Mediterranean Sea and the smaller bodies of water contiguous to it. Vessels of some kind were constantly plying on them during the navigation period and it is probable that travelers could usually find some ship upon which they could sail. They could not always find a vessel to take them direct to the desired harbor and, on occasions, it was necessary to transfer from one boat to another. Ships sometimes failed to stop at the desired place and, again, they would at times remain several days in some port where one had no desire to stop. Consequently, travelers would have to accommodate themselves to the course of the vessel and remain close to it even when it was lying at anchor.

Alexandrian Ships

There was, however, one line of ships that did sail with some degree of regularity. These were the Alexandrian corn-vessels belonging to the Imperial

Furling sails
[From a terra cotta lamp]

Actuariolum
[From miniature in Vatican Vergil]



Actuarius
[Vatican Vergil]

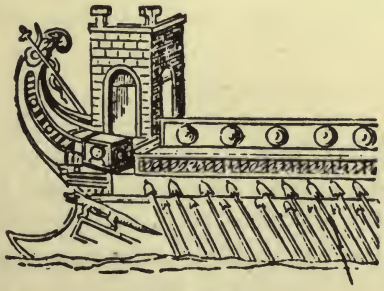
Ship
[Vatican Vergil]

Celox
[From Trajan's Column]

Cercurus
[From bronze medal]

Aphractus
[From the Vatican Vergil]

Corbita
[From a medal of Commodus]



Dicrotus
[From a marble bas-relief of the Villa Albani]

service. They were under the control of private owners or rather great trading-companies and plied between Alexandria and such Italian ports as Puteoli, Ostia, and Portus Augusti. The Alexandrian ships were considered the swiftest afloat and were steered by Egyptian pilots who were reputed very expert and for this reason were in great demand.

Ships for Officials

Passenger-ships for officials were usually furnished by the State. To carry an offering to Apollo at his Delphic shrine, the Senate chose three noble citizens and sent them in a well-manned ship-of-war, splendidly equipped. The Senate found it necessary to send a commission of five to King Ptolemy and to each member assigned a quinquereme. The Emperor Nero wished to have special deputies go to Carthage and had triremes equipped for their service.

Private Ships

Some Romans, especially members of the upper and wealthy classes, would often cruise in their private yachts. Catullus, Hortensius, and Atticus were among those who enjoyed this rare privilege. Cæsar, while in Alexandria, whiled away some of his leisure in sailing upon the Nile with Cleopatra in her

luxuriously-furnished house-boat. Caligula had two very elegant ships fitted out for his use, and Agrippina was wont to cruise in her private trireme.

Chartered Ships

Whenever necessary, travelers could charter special ships for themselves. Julius Cæsar, anxious to cross from Epirus to Brundisium, hired a fast-sailing boat and an expert pilot. Cicero, on one occasion, had two vessels held in readiness for himself, one at Caieta and one at Brundisium. When Ovid reached Cenchreæ on his way to Tomi, he hired, or possibly bought, a ship and christened her "The Minerva." Seneca, the Philosopher, desired to go from Parthenope to Puteoli and chartered a vessel for his trip. Pliny says that Arria, when her husband Pætus was taken a prisoner to Rome, wished to travel on the boat with him. As her request was not granted, she hired a fishing-smack and followed her husband. Menyllus chartered a vessel upon which he sailed from Ostia to Asia Minor.

Wherever the demand made it profitable, there were ship-owners whose business it was to accommodate the public. Several allusions mention fares but how much they were is not told. It is evident, however, that the price was not usually a fixed amount but was controlled by the law of supply and demand.

Ship-owners did not generally have their vessels so built and equipped as to insure comfort against cold and inclement weather. Cicero complains very bitterly about his miserable voyage in a more miserable Rhodian boat. One wishing to take passage would generally, before embarking, carefully scrutinize the quality of the ship, its crew, and those who were to be his fellow-passengers. The owner of a vessel was liable for any losses sustained by those on board, provided such losses were due to negligence on the part of those in charge of the ship.

Elaborate Ships

There are allusions to some vessels which were magnificent in their construction and elaborate in their equipment. Apuleius (Flor. 4.22) speaks of ships strongly put together, with excellent rigging, stately masts, glittering sails, and furnished with everything requisite for convenience. They were painted with various and precious colors, which, put on by the encaustic method, were proof against the action of the sun, winds, and salt water. They were fitted out with exquisite staterooms, sumptuous banqueting-halls, artistic galleries, and commodious baths. Their beaks radiated with silver and gold, the images of their protecting deities were embossed

with ivory, and they could be equipped with appliances for measuring the mileage.

According to Suetonius, Caligula "built two ships with ten banks of oars, after the Liburnian fashion. Their poops blazed with jewels and the sails were of various parti-colors. They were fitted up with ample baths, galleries, and saloons, and supplied with a variety of vines and fruit-trees. In these he would sail during the day along the Campanian coast, feasting amidst dancing and concerts of music."

Plutarch says that "Cleopatra sailed along the river Cydnus in a most magnificent galley. The stern was covered with gold, the sails were of purple, and the oars were of silver. These, in their motion, kept time to the music of flutes, pipes, and harps. The queen, in the dress and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, while boys, like painted Cupids, stood fanning her on each side of the sofa. Her maids were of the most distinguished beauty and, habited like the Nereids and Graces, assisted in the steerage and conduct of the vessel."

A very minute and graphic account of three elaborate ships is found in Athenæus (5.36-44); two were built by Ptolemy Philopator of Alexandria and the third by Hiero of Syracuse. The three vessels were constructed during the latter part of the third cen-

tury B.C. and were quite similar in their mechanism and equipment. It is probable that the Romans, if such boats were really in existence, knew of them because of their very close relations with Hiero. It is not at all likely, however, that the Romans had such ships at so early a period. The accuracy of Athenæus' account of these vessels has been seriously questioned by critics. A partial description of Hiero's ship is as follows: "This boat had twenty banks of oars and three entrances. On each side of the middle entrance were thirty apartments for the men, each apartment provided with four couches. The supper-room for the sailors was large enough for fifteen couches and had within it three chambers, each containing couches. The kitchen was near the stern of the ship. All of these rooms had floors composed of mosaic work with all sorts of tesselated stones on which the entire story of the Iliad was depicted in a marvelous manner. In all the furniture, the ceilings, and the doors everything was executed and finished in the most admirable way. Along the uppermost passage, was a gymnasium and also walks with their appointments in all respects corresponding to the magnitude of the vessel. In these were manifold gardens of the most exquisite beauty, enriched with all kinds of plants and shaded by roofs of lead or tiles. There were also tents roofed with

boughs of white ivy and vines, the roots of which obtained their moisture from casks filled with earth and they were watered in the same manner as gardens. Next to these was a temple devoted to Venus, with three couches and with a floor of agate and other most beautiful stones, of every sort which Sicily afforded. The walls and roof of this shrine were made of cypress wood and its doors were of ivory and citron wood. The temple was furnished in the most elaborate manner with pictures and statues and with goblets and vases of every form and shape one could imagine.

"Next in order was a drawing-room capable of holding five couches, with its walls and doors made of boxwood; it contained a book-case and along the roof was a clock, fashioned after the dial at Achradina. There was a bathroom large enough for three couches, with three brazen vessels for hot water and a bath holding five measures of water, beautifully variegated with Tauromenian marble. Many rooms were also prepared for the marines and for those who cared for the pumps. Besides all this, there were on each side of the walls ten stalls for horses; by them was kept the fodder for the horses and also the arms and furnishings for the horsemen and attendants. Near the head of the ship was a cistern, carefully shut and containing two thousand measures of

drinking-water, and made of beams closely compacted with pitch and canvas. Adjoining the cistern was a large pool made water-tight with beams of wood and lead and kept full of sea-water and great numbers of fish. On each side of the walls there were projecting beams placed at well-proportioned intervals and to them were attached stores of wood, ovens, baking-places, mills, and many other useful things. The whole ship was adorned with suitable pictures."

Food—Utensils—Mode of Dining on Ships

One may affirm that passengers on a ship had such food as was ordinarily eaten by the Romans. References show that vessels were provided with wheat, barley, bread, wine, meats, pepper, and sailor's biscuit. Other articles of food used at that time were fresh pork, ham, bacon, fish, quail, duck, chicken, goose, olive-oil, honey, apples, pears, grapes, and such vegetables as asparagus, beans, peas, lettuce, radishes, turnips, cucumbers, and onions. Ships were at times furnished with food cooked before they set sail. An abundance of fresh water was kept in cisterns.

It stands to reason that boats were equipped with all necessary table-ware. According to the allusions found in ancient literature, they had silver-plate,

capacious bowls, platters, meat-dishes of all kinds, chased-cups, dish-holders, wine-flagons, golden bowls, and silver utensils.

It is most likely that passengers, especially on large and commodious ships, ordinarily reclined on couches while eating, i. e., they adopted the same mode of dining as the Romans usually did in his home.

Size of Ships—Numbers Aboard

Ships were of various sizes and, consequently, varied in the number of passengers they could accommodate. It must be borne in mind, however, that, in some of the instances cited below, the number on board does not necessarily indicate the size of the vessel.

One vessel built about 215 B.C. by Ptolemy Philopator of Alexandria had forty banks of oars, was two hundred and eighty cubits long, thirty-eight cubits wide, and forty-eight cubits in height up to the gunwale; from the highest part of the stern to the water-line was fifty-three cubits. This ship had more than 4000 oarsmen and 400 supernumeraries; on the deck were at least 2850, possibly 3000 marines. In addition, there was under the decks another large body of men. It is necessary to state that these

figures, taken from Athenæus, have been questioned by critics and are likely erroneous.

Hiero's ship, a description of which has been given, had on board 60,000 measures of corn, 10,000 jars of Sicilian salt-fish, 20,000 talents weight of wool, and 20,000 talents weight of other commodities. There were also on board sufficient provisions for the crew, numbering more than 700.

During the first century A.D., Josephus sailed for Rome in a vessel which had on board six hundred persons and on the ship which brought Saint Paul to Puteoli were 276 passengers. Sixteen people, excluding the crew, went on a ship from Ostia to Asia, and one sailing from New Carthage in Spain to Rome carried seventeen passengers, not including the crew. Eight transports with 2000 troops aboard sailed from Brundisium to Issa.

Aristides puts at 1000 the largest number of persons an Egyptian corn-vessel could accommodate. Lucian speaks of an Alexandrian ship, called *Isis;* she had three masts, was 180 feet long, forty-five feet wide at its broadest, and had a depth of forty feet. Her tonnage was 1575; the tonnage of such large vessels usually ranged from 800 to 1500.

The largest Alexandrian corn-vessels were smaller than the ships built for the special purpose of transporting obelisks and marble. The *Acatus,* which

during Augustus' reign sailed from Alexandria to Ostia, carried, in addition to 1200 passengers, an obelisk, a cargo of paper, nitre, pepper, and linen, and 400,000 Roman bushels of corn.

Another wonderful ship of this type was built during the reign of Caligula. It carried an obelisk, four huge blocks of marble for the pedestal of the obelisk, and 118,750 bushels of Egyptian lentils. Almost the entire left side of the harbor was taken to anchor it. Its main mast was of such colossal dimensions that four men were required to span it. Pliny the Elder says that such masts cost as much as or even more than 80,000 sesterces, or about $4000.

In 357 A.D. another such vessel brought the obelisk set up by Constantius in the Circus Maximus. Ammianus speaks of it as being a ship of gigantic proportions and requiring three hundred oarsmen.

Marine Insurance

Roman ship-owners could insure their vessels and the cargoes they carried. Before the reign of Justinian (527-565 A.D.), the rate of interest in bottomry was unlimited on account of the dangerous risk; this emperor made 12 per cent the fixed rate.

It seems that passengers could also insure what they had on ships. Cicero, when leaving Asia for Rome, deposited in Laodicea all public money and took from the ship-owner a bond of surety, thus insuring himself and the State against loss in transit.

Lighthouses

In ancient times lighthouses were erected wherever sea-traffic made them necessary. The most famous one was built in 270 B.C. on the eastern summit of the island of Pharos, in front of the harbor of Alexandria. Other allusions show that lighthouses were at Phocæa in Asia Minor, at the mouths of the Rhone and Guadalquivir Rivers, at Lilybæum in Sicily, and at the northern end of the Delta in the Nile. Suetonius speaks of one at Capri. As a monument of his self-esteemed success in Germany, Caligula erected at Gesoriacum (Boulogne) a lofty tower upon which he ordered lights to be burned to guide ships during the night. At Ostia, Claudius constructed a *pharos* like the one at Alexandria and on it lights were burned to direct mariners. Pomponius Mela speaks of one at Brundisium and Pliny the Elder says that there were lighthouses at Ravenna and many other places. In his poem on the Moselle, Ausonius mentions one in that section of Europe and Rutilius speaks of another at Populonia on the Etrurian

coast. Cape Ceras had at its extremity a lofty tower to serve as a lighthouse for ships.

Speed of Ships

This chapter will be concluded by ascertaining the speed of ships in ancient times. Scylax (Peripl. 69 ib. p. 58) of Caryanda, who lived about 500 B.C. says that a vessel on a long voyage averaged about 500 stadia (57½ English miles) per day. According to Marcian (Epit. Peripl. Men. ib. p. 568) of Heraclea, a geographer of the fourth century A.D., a ship with favorable winds could sail 700 stadia (80½ English miles) per day; a fast-going cruiser 900 (104 miles). It must be remembered that, in the averages just stated, night-time is not included, for Herodotus (4.86) of the fifth century B.C. makes the statement that in midsummer a vessel could sail 700 stadia by day and 600 by night, a total of 1300 stadia (149½ miles) in 24 hours. Aristides (Or. 48, p. 360) testifies that a ship, aided by a good wind, could go 1200 stadia (138 miles) in 24 hours.

Below is given in tabulated form a list of sea-trips recorded in ancient literature. The table is a facsimile of the one made for journeys on land and the same difficulties are met in its compilation. (See page 85.)

Termini	Time	Dist.	Rate	Remarks	Reference
Patræ–Brundisium...	22 days	395	18	many stops	Cicero: fam. 16.9
Rhodes–Brundisium.	36 days	1100	31		Cicero: Att. 11.23
Ephesus–Athens.....	14 days	412	30		Cicero: Att. 6.8; fam. 14.5
Athens–Ephesus.....	16 days	412	26	many stops	Cicero: Att. 5.12; 5.13
Dyrrachium–Brundisium	2nd day	113	57+		Cicero: Att. 4.1
Sicily–Anquillaria....	60 hours	100	40		Cæsar: B. C. 2.23
Utica–Caralis.....	4th day	200	50+		Auctor Bel. Afr.: 98
Lilybæum–Clupea...	5th day	100	20+		Auctor Bel. Afr.: 2
Corinth–Brundisium.	5th day	485	97+		Livy: 31.7
Dyrrachium–Corcyra	3rd day	200	67+		Livy: 42.48
Brundisium–Corcyra.	2nd day	225	113+		Livy: 44.1
Alexandria–Coptos...	12 days	306	25	good winds	Pliny: N. H. 6.26
Sicilian Straits–Alexandria	7th day	950	136+		Pliny: N. H. 19.1
Puteoli–Alexandria..	9th day	1150	127+	fair wind	Pliny: N. H. 19.1
Ostia–Gadez.....	7th day	1250	178+	fast	Pliny: N. H. 19.1
Ostia–Tarraco.....	4th day	600	150+	fast	Pliny: N. H. 19.1
Ostia–Massilia.....	3rd day	400	133+	fast	Pliny: N. H. 19.1
Sinope–Alexandria...	3rd day	1200	400+	wonderful	Tacitus: H. 4.84
Narbonne–Carthage.	5th day	600	120+		Sulpicius: dial. 1.3.1
Alexandria–Massilia.	13th day	1700	130+		Sulpicius: dial. 1.1.3
Greater Syrtes–Alexandria	7th day	800	115+		Sulpicius: dial. 1.6.1
Pisæ–Massilia.....	5th day	300	60+		Polybius: 3.41
Rome–Sicilian Straits	5th day	350	70+	fast	Polybius: 31.23
Apollonia – Cephallenia	48 hours	250	125	no stops	Polybius: 5.110
Lechæum–Patræ....	2nd day	90	45+		Polybius: 5.28
Ephesus–Phalara....	12th day	350	30+		Polybius: 20.11
Brundisium–Corcyra.	1 day	225	225		Plutarch: Aem.Paul 36
Brundisium–Corcyra.	1 day	225	225		Appian: 9.19
Unknown.....	3 days	187	62	oars used	Appian: 5.11.101
Rhodes–Alexandria..	3 days	450	150		Appian: 2.13.89
Carthage–Rome.....	3 days	375	125		Plutarch: Cat. Maj. 27
Samonium–Egypt...	3 or 4 days	625	156–208		Strabo: 10.4.5
Puteoli–Ostia.....	3 days	150	50	stops	Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 7.16.271
Puteoli – Tauromenium	3rd day	180	60+		Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 8.15.331
Puteoli–Corinth.....	5 or 6 days	550	92–110		Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 7.10.260
Stabiæ–Rome.....	4 days	170	42		Galen: Meth. Med. 5.92
Rhegium–Puteoli....	1 day	150	150		Acts Apostles: 28.13
Cyllene–Syracuse....	5 or 6 days	450	75–90		Pausanias: 6.26.3
Lake Mæotis-Rhodes	10 days	1200	120		Diodorus: 3.34
Pityusæ–Gibraltar...	72 hours	400	134		Diodorus: 5.16.17
Pityusæ–Spain.....	1 day	100	100		Diodorus: 5.16.17
Pityusæ–Africa.....	24 hours	125	125		Diodorus: 5.16.17

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II. Seasons for Sea-Traffic: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 15.25; ad fam. 16.9.1. Cæsar: B. C. 1.25. Horace: Od. 1.4.2; 3.7.5; 4.5.9. Ovid: Trist. 1.11.3-7. Tacitus: H. 4.81. Pliny: N. H. 2.125. Suetonius: Claud. 19. Florus: 4.2.36. Vegetius: R. M. 4.39. C. I. L.: 1. p. 387 b. (b) Philo: in Flac. 13; 15; Legat. ad Gai. 548 m. Acts of Apostles: 28.11.

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Ep. 3.18. (b) Plutarch: Mar. 36; Garrul. 4; Ait. Med. Ia. Dio: 48.3.

IV. Wrecks—Vows—Piracy: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 16.1.3; Verr. 1.5.13; 2.2.40.99; 2.3.80.186; 2.4.46. 103; 2.4.47.104; 2.4.52.116; 2.4.64.144; 2.5.17; 2.5.28; Man. 11; 12; 17; 18; Flac. 6.14; 12.29; 13.30; 14.33; Sest. 31.67; Rab. Post. 8.20; Red. in Sen. 5.11; Harusp. 20.42; Rosc. Am. 50.146; Off. 3.6.11. Catullus: 4.22. Vergil: Geo. 1.436. Horace: Od. 1.3.1; 1.5.13; 4.11.15. Manilius: Astr. 5.402; 435. Petronius: 114. Scribonius Largus: 90.231. Velleius Paterculus: 2.31.2; 2.43.1-2. Lucan: 1.122; 346; 2.578; 3.228; 6.422; 9.224. Pliny: N. H. 2.117; 3.26-30.152. Juvenal: 8.94. Quintilian: 8.3.34. Tacitus: An. 12.62; 15.25. Florus: 3.6.11. Tertullian: Apol. 30. History Apollonius Tyre: (Riese) pp. 62; 66; 86; 99; 100. Ammianus: 14.2. Hieronymus: Vit. Hil. 41. Digest: 47.9.10. (b) Strabo: 3.2; 11.2.12. Josephus: Bel. Jud. 3.9.2. Dio: 36.3. Dio Chrysostom: Or. 7.105 m; 109 m.

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Wilmann's: 1295; 1398; 2738. (b) Polybius: 31.7. Strabo: 4.1.8; 8.6.20; 12.8.19; 17.1.16. Plutarch: Curios. 7. p. 518. Appian: 1.9.79. Philostratus: Ap. Ty. 1.18; Vitt. Soph. p. 228 (Kayser).

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VII. Alexandrian Ships: (a) Seneca: Ep. 77.1. Columella: R. R. 1 pr. 20. (b) Philo: in Flac. p. 521 m. Lucian: Nav. 1-6; 13. Aristides: Or. 45. p. 93 J.

VIII. Ships for Officials: (a) Livy: 26.51; 29.11; 31.11; 32.16; 45.14; 45.35. Valerius Maximus: 1.8.2. Tacitus: An. 16.2. (b) Polybius: 10.19; 33.8. Plutarch: Camil. 8; Aem. Paul. 30. Dio: 16.9.10.

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XII. Quality of Ships—Crews—Etc.: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 5.12.1; 5.13.1; 6.8.4; 10.11.4; ad fam. 14.7.2; 16.1.2; 16.8.1; 16.9.4; Planc. 41.97.

XIII. State Regulations for Ship-Owners: (a) Digest: 4.9.1.

XIV. Elaborate Ships: (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.1.34. Livy: 33.30; 35.26; 43.35. Seneca: Ep. 76.10; Ben. 7.20.3. Pliny: N. H. 19.15. Suetonius: Cæs. 52; Calig. 37; Vit. 10. Florus: 4.2. Apuleius: Flor. 4.22. Pacatus: Pan. Theod. Aug. 33. (b) Strabo: 17.1.15-17. Plutarch: Camil. 8; Ant. 26. Athenæus: 5.36-44.

XV. Painting of Ships: (a) Seneca: Ep. 51.12; 76.10. Pliny: N. H. 35.31; 40; 41. Martial: 10.30. Apuleius: Flor. 4.22. Ammianus: 28.4.18. Ausonius: Mos. 221.

XVI. Distance-Measurer: Vitruvius: 10.14.

XVII. Food—Utensils: (a) Cicero: ad Att. 10.15.4. Livy: 26.47; 28.45. Pliny: N. H. 22.68. Juvenal: 12.43; 12.60; 14.271; 14.293.

XVIII. Mode of Dining on Ships: (a) Velleius Paterculus: 2.77. Suetonius: Calig. 37. (b) Plutarch: Pomp. 73. Appian: 5.8.73. Athenæus: 5.36-44.

XIX. Sizes of Ships—Numbers Aboard: (a) Cicero: ad fam. 12.15.2. Livy: 21.63; 26.51; 30.27; 35.37; 43.9. Velleius Paterculus: 2.43.1. Pliny: N. H. 6.24; 16.76; 36.2; 36.70. Ammianus: 17.4.3. (b) Polybius: 31.20-22. Josephus: Vit. 3. Acts of Apostles: 27.37. Lucian: Nav. 1-6; 13. Aristides: Or. 45. p. 93 J. Athenæus: 5.36-44. Procopius: B. V. 1.11. (c) Torr: Ancient Ships. Graser: De Veterum Re Navali.

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XXI. Lighthouses: (a) Cæsar: B. C. 3.112. Livy: 37.31. Lucan: 9.1004. Pomponius Mela: 2.114. Juvenal: 6.83; 12.76. Pliny: N. H. 5.34; 36.18. Suetonius: Tib. 74; Calig. 46; Claud. 20. Statius: Silv. 3.5.101. Valerius Flaccus: 7.85. Ammianus: 22.8.8; 22.16.9. Ausonius: Mos. 330. Rutilius: Red. Suo 1.404. (b) Strabo: 6.2.1; 17.1.16-18. Dio: 60.11.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

Below is given an alphabetical list of Latin words for vessels.

1. *Acturariæ, actuariola, acati, acatia* were small vessels of all kinds. (a) Cicero: ad Att. 5.9.1; 16.3.6; 16.6.1. Cæsar: B. C. 1.27; 1.34. Auctor Bel. Alex.: 9; 44. Pliny: N. H. 9.30.49. Gellius: 10.25.5. Tertullian: adv. Marc. 5.1. Nonius: 535. Ausonius: Ep. 22.31. Isidore: 19.1.24. (b) Plutarch: Lucul. 9. Pollux: 1.103.

2. *Aphracti* (*naves apertæ*) had no decks but in the fore and after part were covered with boards. (a) Cicero: ad Att. 5.11.4; 5.12.1; 5.13.1; 6.8.4; 10.11.4; Verr. 2.5.40. Auctor Bel. Alex. 11. Livy: 31.22.

3. *Baris* was applied to a foreign boat. (a) Propertius: 3.11.44. (b) Aeschylus: Pers. 554; Supp. 874. Herodotus: 2.41.

4. *Camaræ* were boats used by pirates on the Black Sea. (a) Tacitus: H. 3.47. Gellius: 10.25.5. (b) Strabo: 2.11.12.

5. *Caupulus* was a small vessel. (a) Gellius: 10.25.5. Isidore: 19.1.25.

6. *Celoces* were small boats built for speed; they were used for despatching orders and reports and for taking officers of rank from one place to another. (a) Livy: 21.17. Velleius Paterculus: 2.43. Pliny: N. H. 7.56-57.208. Gellius: 10.25.5. Nonius: 532. Isidore: 19.1.22. (b) Plutarch: Cæs. 38. Appian: 2.8.56; 12.5.33.

7. *Cercurus* was a Cyprian boat. (a) Plautus: Stich. 366. Lucilius: 8.18; 14.1. Nonius: 533. Livy: 33.19. Pliny: N. H. 7.56-57.208. Gellius: 10.25.5.

8. *Codicariæ* were rough boats made of trunks of trees. (a) Sallust: Hist. 4.59. Varro: Vit. pop. Rom. 3. Seneca: Brev. Vit. 13.4. Gellius: 10.25.5. Nonius: 535. Festus: p. 46 (Müller).

9. *Corbitæ* were large merchantmen. (a) Plautus: Poen. 507. Cicero: ad Att. 16.6.1. Gellius: 10.25.5. Nonius: 533. Festus: p. 37.

10. *Cybeæ* were trading-vessels, used in Sicily during the first century B. C. (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.4.8.17; 2.4.9.19; 2.4.67.150; 2.5.23.59.

11. *Cydarum*, a kind of vessel mentioned by Gellius: 10.25.5.

12. *Cymbæ* were ships of Phœnician origin. (a) Cicero: Off. 3.14.59. Vergil: Geo. 4.195. Horace: 2.3.28. Ovid: Am. 3.6.4; Fast. 6.777; Trist. 2.330. Propertius: 3.18.24. Seneca: Ep. 51.12.

13. *Dicrota* were vessels with two banks of oars. (a) Cicero: ad Att. 5.11.4; 16.4.4. Auctor Bel. Alex.: 47.

14. *Gaulus*, a kind of round ship. (a) Gellius: 10.25.5. Festus: p. 96.

15. *Geseoretæ*, vessels mentioned by Gellius: 10.25.5.

16. *Hippagines, hippagogi, hippagus* were cavalry-transports. (a) Livy: 44.28. Pliny: 7.56-57.209. Gellius: 10.25.5. Festus: p. 101.

17. *Horia, horiola*, a small fishing-smack. (a) Plautus: Rud. 910; 1020; Trin. 942. Pliny: Ep. 10.16. Nonius: 533.

18. *Lembus, lembulus, lembunculus, lenunculus* were light fast-sailing boats with sharp prows. (a) Cæsar: B. C. 2.43. Vergil: Geo. 1.201. Livy: 44.28. Tacitus: An. 14.5. Nonius: 534. Ammianus: 16.10.3; 28.4.18. Hieronymus: Vit. Hil. 41. C. I. L.: 14.250-251. (b) Polybius: 1.53; 2.3; 4.66; 30.9. Strabo: 2.3.4.

19. *Lintres, lintricula* were small craft used mainly on rivers. (a) Cicero: ad Att. 10.10.5; Mil. 27; Brut. 60. Cæsar: B. G. 1.12; 1.53; 7.60; B. C. 1.28. Ovid: Fast. 6.779. Nonius: 535. Ausonius: Ep. 22.31.

20. *Lusoria* (*navis*) was a yacht. (a) Seneca: Ben. 7.20.3. Vopiscus: Bonos. 15. Ammianus: 17.2.3-12. Vegetius: R. M. 2.1; 4.46. Codex Theod.: 7.17.

21. *Mœdia*, a vessel mentioned by Gellius: 10.25.5.

22. *Monoxyla* (*navis*), a vessel made out of one piece of wood. (a) Pliny: N. H. 6.105. Vegetius: R. M. 3.7.

23. *Myoparo* was a small piratical craft. (a)

Cicero: Verr. 2.1.34; 2.5.34; 2.5.37. Auctor Bel. Alex.: 46. Festus: p. 222. Nonius: 534. Hieronymus: Vit. Hil. 41. (b) Plutarch: Lucul. 2; 13; Ant. 35. Appian: 5.95.

24. *Nausum*, a Gallic boat mentioned by Ausonius: Ep. 22; id. ib. in carm.

25. *Navicula*, a small boat or skiff. (a) Cicero: ad Att. 14.20.5; ad fam. 9.25.1; Red. Quir. 8; Ac. 2.48.148. Cæsar: B. C. 2.3. Auctor Bel. Afr.: 44.

26. *Naviculariа* was a small sailing-boat. This word also indicates the business of one who rented vessels for transporting passengers and freight. (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.5.18.46. Tertullian: adv. Marc. 4.19. Paulus Nolanus: Ep. 49.1.

27. *Navigium* was a small vessel. (a) Cicero: ad Att. 16.1.3; 16.4.4; Verr. 2.2.40.99; Sest. 22. Cæsar B. C. 1.56. Livy: 26.40. Suetonius: Vit. 10. Pacatus: Pan. Theod. Aug. 33.

28. *Navigiolum*, a small vessel or bark. (a) Cicero: ad fam. 12.15.2. Auctor Bel. Alex.: 63.

29. *Navis biremis*, a boat with two banks of oars. (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.5.20.51; 2.5.23.59. Cæsar: B. C. 3.40. Livy: 26.7. Pliny: N. H. 7.56-57.208. Suetonius: Calig. 15. Tacitus: H. 4.27; 5.23. (b) Strabo: 16.4.23.

30. *Navis frumentaria*, a provision-ship. (a) Cæsar: B. C. 3.96. (b) Dio: 42.2.3.

31. *Navis longa*, a war-vessel. (a) Cicero: ad fam. 12.15.5. Cæsar: B. G. 3.9; B. C. 1.30. Livy: 24.36. Servius: in Æn. 11.326.

32. *Navis onenaria*, a merchant-ship or transport. (a) Cicero: ad Att. 10.12.2; 16.6.1; ad fam. 12.15.2-5. Cæsar: B. G. 4.22; B. C. 1.36. Livy:

35.37; 35.51. Suetonius: Tit. 5. Sulpicius: dial. 1.1.3. Hieronymus: Vit. Hil. 34. (b) Dio: 65.9.

33. *Navis piscatoria*, a fishing-boat. (a) Cæsar: B. C. 2.4. Pliny: 3.16.9.

34. *Navis quadriremis*, a vessel with four banks of oars. (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.5.33.86; 34.88. Livy: 24.33; 35.26. Cæsar: B. C. 3.24. Pliny: N. H. 7.56-57.207.

35. *Navis quinqueremis*, a vessel with five banks of oars. (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.4.46.103. Cæsar: B. C. 3.100. Livy: 24.33; 26.51; 29.11; 31.11; 42.48. Pliny: N. H. 7.56-57.208. (b) Polybius: 10.19; 15.2; 33.8. Appian: B. M. 12.4.24. Dio: 16.9.10.

36. *Navis triremis*, a boat with three banks of oars. (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.5.17.44. Cæsar: B. C. 2.23; 3.24; 3.101. Auctor Bel. Afr.: 44. Horace: Od. 3.1.39; Ep. 1.1.93. Valerius Maximus: 1.8.2. Tacitus: An. 14.4; 16.2. (b) Polybius: 15.2. Appian: 4.6.45; 12.16.113.

37. *Paro*, a small light ship. (a) Gellius: 10.25. 5. Festus: p. 222. Isidore: 19.1.20.

38. *Phaselus*, a boat or yacht, in common use during first century B. C. (a) Cicero: ad Att. 1.13.1; 14.16.1. Catullus: 4. Virgil: Geo. 4.289. Ovid: Ep. Pont. 1.10.39. Horace: Od. 3.2.28. Martial: 10.30. Nonius: 534. Ausonius: Ep. 22.31; Mos. 221. (b) Strabo: 16.4.23. Appian: 5.95.

39. *Ponto* was a merchant-vessel. (a) Cæsar: B. C. 3.29; 3.40. Gellius: 10.25.5. Nonius: 534.

40. *Pristis*, a swift-sailing boat. (a) Vergil: Æn. 5.116; 10.211. Livy: 35.26. Nonius: 535.

41. *Prosumia*, a small vessel for reconnoitering. (a) Gellius: 10.25.5. Festus: p. 282 (Thew. de Ponor). Nonius: 536.

42. *Rates, ratariæ, ratiariæ* were now and then used as names for vessels: usually floating bridges and rafts. (a) Cicero: Verr. 2.5.2. Cæsar: B. G. 6.35; B. C. 1.25. Catullus: 63.1; 64.121. Vergil: Geo. 2.445. Gellius: 10.25.5. Servius: in Aen. 1.43. (b) Strabo: 17.1.16.

43. *Scapha,* a skiff or cutter, especially taken on large ships to be lowered for use when need arose. It had from one to three pairs of oars. (a) Cicero: Inv. 2.51.154. Auctor ad Heren.: 1.11.19. Cæsar: B. G. 4.26; B. C. 2.43; 3.24; 3.62; 3.101. Auctor Bel. Alex.: 46. Nonius: 535. Sulpicius: dial. 1.3.3. (b) Strabo: 3.2.3; 3.3.1.

44. *Speculatoriæ, catascopia,* small boats for reconnoitering and despatches. (a) Auctor Bel. Afr.: 26. Livy: 35.26. Florus: 4.2.37. Gellius: 10.25.5. Isidore: 19.1.18. (b) Plutarch: Cat. Min. 54; Pomp. 64.

45. *Stlata,* a piratical craft. (a) Gellius: 10.25.5. Festus: p. 312 (Müller). Ausonius: Ep. 22.31.

46. *Thalamegi* were house-boats of great size and splendor, built by the Ptolemies. (a) Seneca: Ben. 7.20.3. Suetonius: Cæs. 52. (b) Strabo: 17.1.15-17. Plutarch: Ant. 26.

47. *Vectoriæ* were passenger-vessels. (a) Cæsar: B. G. 5.8. Suetonius: Cæs. 63. Ulpian: Pand. 14.1.1.12.

CHAPTER IV

LODGING

FOUR ways a Roman traveler had of obtaining a place to spend the night are shown most admirably in a passage found in Plutarch's life of Cato the Younger (ch. 12). Cato's practice, when on a journey, was to send forward two of his servants to the place where he intended to stay overnight. These two servants would enter the city and, if there happened to be in the place no one attached to Cato's family by the tie of hospitality and no acquaintance, they would make preparation for his entertainment at some inn. Should there be no inn, they would apply to the city magistrates and accept whatever accommodation was offered.

Tie of Hospitality

The tie of hospitality was a compact of mutual friendship and entertainment between two persons. It was one of the oldest and most sacred bonds known among the Romans and was scrupulously observed by those who orginally entered into it and by

their descendants. When such an alliance had been concluded between two persons, a small die, called *tessera hospitalis* in Latin and shown in the annexed illustration, was given by the host to the guest at the time of his departure. This die was broken into two parts and each of the two contracting parties kept one half as a mark of identity for himself and his posterity. Should the original parties or their descendants meet again, they would in this way know each other and renew or repay the tie between the two families. This bond could be severed only by previous notice being given by one of the parties and,

Tessera hospitalis
[From an original]

when this had been done, the die was broken to pieces.

Roman travelers frequently found it convenient to take advantage of the tie of hospitality and lodge with hereditary friends. In Latin literature there are numerous allusions to this mode of lodging but a few citations will suffice to show the significance of this prevalent custom. Cicero had a long-standing tie of hospitality with Lyso who lived in Patræ; when in this Grecian town, Cicero had the right of receiving free entertainment in Lyso's home. On

the other hand, Lyso, when in Rome, could enjoy Cicero's hospitality and on one occasion spent almost a year in his house. While in Sicily gathering evidence against Verres, Cicero usually lodged with his own hereditary friends and connections. Such relations existed between Verres of Rome and Sthenius of Thermæ in Sicily, between Dion of Alexandria and the Caponii of Italy, and between Roscius of Ameria and some of the most influential families in Rome.

Similar compacts of hospitality were made between one community and another or between a community and a private person, sometimes a distinguished foreigner. As early as the fourth century B. C., such an alliance of public hospitality was formed between Rome and Cære because the latter place had shown kindness to Roman priests and Vestals during the Gallic invasion. A canton in North Africa granted the honor of being her public guest to Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of Nero. The tie of public hospitality was hereditary in the family of the person to whom it had been given. Such compacts were recorded on bronze tablets which were presented by communities to their patrons. Members of the same profession, religious society, or commercial guild were accustomed to extend private hospitality to one another.

Acquaintanceship

Acquaintanceship was not so sacred and binding as the tie of hospitality and yet very many travelers took advantage of this rather than put up at an inn. Especially common was it for Roman travelers in Italy to lodge with friends who had villas along the routes of their journeys.

Some allusions show that acquaintances were at times unwelcome guests. In one of his letters, Cicero says that he preferred not to have Nicias stop with him, as he was too particular about his comforts and diet. Varro was to be Cicero's guest in his Tusculan Villa; he was so late, however, in coming that dinner had to be kept and he had so large a retinue that Cicero made no efforts to keep him. Varro was not even requested to remove his heavy coat (*pœnula*). Even Cicero's nephew, Quintus Junior, must have been an unpleasant guest, as his uncle was afraid of being caught at his Tusculan Villa by him. Perhaps in jest, it might have been in seriousness, Cicero wrote to Atticus: "What a scandalous person your sister's son is! As I am writing this, he arrives at the witching hour of evening while I am at dinner in my villa at Arpinum." At Apamea in Asia Minor Cicero asked Hortensius Junior to dinner on the day of his arrival but went no further because of the young man's bad conduct. Even Julius Cæsar, ac-

cording to Cicero, was not a guest to whom one would say: "Pray, look me up again on your way back." Once was enough.

On the other hand, guests were hard to please at times and some went so far as to show their displeasure. Cato Minor, while in Asia, was being entertained by King Deiotarus; he became so disgusted with his host's gushing hospitality that he sought other accommodations. In the city of Milan, Cæsar and his friends were the guests of Valerius Leo. One dish served at dinner was asparagus with *myrum* in place of olive oil, a combination apparently unnoticed by Cæsar but not relished by his friends. On one occasion Cicero was to stop with Varro at his Cuman Villa and gave direction, perhaps in a spirit of jocosity, to have the bath in proper condition. Cicero wrote a friend that he had decided to stop with Murena, as Silius had no cushions for his dining-room.

Villas and Deversoria

Another mode of lodging made use of by some travelers was to stop in their own villas which happened to be located conveniently for their journeys. Others, especially persons of wealth, had *deversoria* or small stopping-places along some of the main roads, and in these they would lodge rather than stop at an inn or burden their friends who had homes

or villas in such places. Vettienus had a *deversorium* for which he paid about $1200; as much as or even more than $2160 was sometimes paid for such a stopping-place.

Rented Houses

On occasions, houses were rented as temporary lodging-places. Cicero, on his return from Cilicia, stopped at Ephesus and rented a house for a short time. A house without the gates of Rome was hired by Oppianicus, and a freedman rented for his master one near the Cælimontane Gate. At times, dwellings in Rome were rented as places of temporary sojourn for foreign envoys and eminent visitors.

Tents

Now and then, travelers would take along tents and use them to sleep under during the night. In Corcyra, Cato Minor pitched his tent in the marketplace and passed the night in it. While in Cilicia, Cicero often lodged under canvas. Tents, erected in the streets of Rome or along the roads just without the city, were used to house the visitors who flocked to the Metropolis to see the spectacular games given by Cæsar. Voters from districts outside of Rome were lodged in stalls built in the Circus Maximus.

It is very likely that those who traveled with large retinues carried along plenty of tents for the use of their hundreds of slaves. Private Romans of wealth and members of the Imperial families had such complete traveling arrangements that they could provide lodging for themselves. They had in their retinues slaves for every duty, complete culinary outfits, and an abundance of carriages and palanquins in which they could sleep with perfect comfort.

Roman Officials

Roman public officials traveled at public expense. This was limited and, according to the Julian Law, only such essentials as wood, salt, hay, and so many beds were furnished them free of charge. These supplies were provided for officials by *parochi*, functionaries stationed at the principal stopping-places on the main roads in Italy and the provinces where travelers were likely to stop overnight. A state-letter of recommendation, technically called a *diploma*, was given to public officials and this entitled its bearer to everything necessary for his comfort. Roman functionaries and their suites were often billeted in the homes of provincials who were then spoken of as their hosts. In some of the chief cities were certain men who entertained officials when they

visited or passed through these places. Such a public entertainer was Lucius Rammius, a man of the first rank in Brundisium. Another was Philodamus, who, having been accustomed to entertain consuls and prætors, showed his displeasure when asked to have in his home officials of lower rank.

Foreign Officials

Ambassadors from foreign countries usually went first to Saturn's Temple and had their names recorded by the quæstors. Envoys from nations unfriendly toward Rome were required to lodge without the city walls at their own expense. On the contrary, it was the duty of the quæstors to see to it that legates from friendly states were properly housed at public expense. The official residence of foreign envoys was the *Villa Publica*, located in the *Campus Martius*. On occasions, the quæstors would rent for officials from other countries houses equipped with such conveniences as were then known. Now and then, such legates and potentates were entertained in the homes of eminent Romans. Sextus must have been very fond of having such visitors in his house, for Cicero dubbed him a "monopolizing public entertainer."

Inns

As shown in the preceding paragraphs, Roman travelers avoided as far as possible public places of entertainment. There are, however, in ancient literature very numerous allusions to inns and their keepers; these references cover a period of about 800 years, approximately from 200 B. C. to 600 A. D.

Roman Words for Inns Differentiated

Among the ancient Romans there were places corresponding, in a manner, to the American hotel, restaurant, eating-room, and café where a hot lunch is served. On the Roman roads there were built *Cauponæ* (*cauponulæ*), inns or hotels, where wayfarers could lodge and get food and wine. The *Taberna* (*taberna deversoria, taberna meritoria*) was a city hotel which furnished food, wine, and lodging. The *Popina* and *Ganeum* were restaurants or lunch-rooms combined with wine-shops and located in a city, usually near a public bath. *Deversorium* (*deverticulum, deversoriolum, deversorium hospitale*) was a general term used to denote the stopping-place of a traveler, generally on a long journey. Such a place might belong to the traveler himself, to some friend, or it might be an inn. *Stabulum*, which is usually the

word for the stable connected with an inn, was also used during the Republic to denote an eating-place of an inferior character, but began to lose this evil significance in the first century of the Empire and by the middle of the second century A. D. this word referred to any inn without characterizing it. General words for hotels were *Hospitium*, *Hospitalis Locus*, and *Villa Publica;* the last of the three is not found used in this sense until about 400 A. D.

Location of Inns

Among the Romans, public places of entertainment were, as a rule, erected wherever there was a demand for them. Along the main highways in Italy and in the provinces they were quite common. Allusions show that in Italy there were inns in Rome, Forum Appii, Sinuessa, Aricia, Bovillæ, Beneventum, Trivicus, Equotuticum, Saxa Rubra, Baiæ, Cumæ, Ravenna, Pompeii, Caudium, Ostia, Præneste, Augusta Taurini, Ariminum, and Interamna. There were also hotels in Spain, Gaul, Lower Germany, Pannonia Inferior, Greece, Asia Minor, and Palestine. The African cities of Sabrata, Canopus, Eleusis, Alexandria, and Berenice are spoken of as having places of entertainment for travelers.

To many farm-houses, built upon the main roads, were attached taverns and these brought an hand-

some income to their owners who furnished various articles of food to travelers. Such taverns were generally managed by slaves.

In wild and unfrequented places, inns were sometimes built at public expense for the convenience of Roman officials. Nero ordered the procurator of Thrace to erect hotels for this purpose, and Hadrian had inns built along the new road skirting the Red Sea.

Some hotels were under municipal control. Such a one, together with a bath, was built at the Springs of Clitumnus in Hispellum. Gaius Arunceius Cotta once stopped in one managed in this way and found connected with it a bath for slaves. About 400 A. D. the curator of Calama in North Africa showed his munificence by draining a waste spot at his own expense and erecting thereon a civic hall and hotel.

Names of Inns

The names of some taverns were indicated by painted signs. At Lyons there was one displaying the figures of Mercury and Apollo, the former promising gain and the latter health. A cock was painted on the signboard of an inn in Narbonne. "The Elephant" was the name of another hotel whose front was adorned with the painting of an elephant in the coils of a serpent, defended by a pygmy. Another

inn had a camel painted on its front. In Africa were found these names: "The Mercurys," "The Small Eagle," "The Big Eagle," "The Diana," "The Cock," "The Dragons," "The Olive," "The Fig," "The Pear," "The Wheel," and "The Sword." The name of an inn in Sardinia was "The Hercules"; one in Spain was called "The Mulberry"; and in North Italy was "The Apple."

Prices at Inns

There is but little information as to the prices charged by innkeepers. Polybius says that during the second century B. C. the inns in Cisalpine Gaul had no items on their bills but that the inclusive charge was scarcely ever more than one *as* or about two cents in American money. For the early days of the Empire, the relief at Æsernia gives this information: bread and one pint of wine, one *as;* meat, two *asses;* mule's provender, two *asses;* girl, eight *asses.* Excluding the item last mentioned, the total is five *asses* or about ten cents. The reference in Saint Luke bears upon the question of charges at inns during the first century of the Christian era. The good Samaritan paid two denarii, about 28 cents, for the expenses of two persons at an inn for one night; this amount was also to include medical attention. Such prices seem very moderate; but Sen-

eca the Philosopher, who lived during the early part of the first century A. D., has this to say: "How glad we are at the sight of shelter in a desert, a roof in a storm, a bath or a fire in the cold, and how dear they cost in inns."

One can get a good idea of the prices charged for various articles of food in the City of Rome during the first century of the Empire from the following list taken from Hebermann's "Business Life in Ancient Rome," page 54:

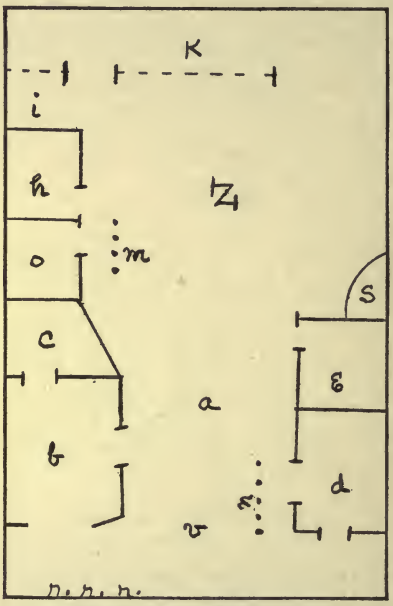
Beef and mutton, per lb	$0.04	10 to 20 pears	$0.02
Lamb and fresh pork, per lb	.06	4 lbs. large grapes	.02
Ham, per lb	.10	Green beans, per pint	.02
Bacon, per lb	.08	Green peas (hulled), per pint	.02
River fish, per lb	.02	Duck per pair	.20
Salt fish, per lb	.06	Chicken, per pair	.30
1 pair of quail	.30	1 fattened goose	1.00
Eggs, per doz	.06	5 to 10 heads of lettuce	.02
Milk, per pt	.04	30 radishes	.02
Wheat, per peck	.16	20 turnips	.02
Salt, per peck	.25	10 cucumbers	.02
Spelt, per peck	.08	25 green onions	.02
25 st. asparagus	.03	Oil, per pt	.06–.20
10 to 40 apples	.02	Honey, per pt	.04–.20

The Plan of An Inn

The plan or general arrangement of Roman inns is well known, if, as is likely, those unearthed in Pompeii may be taken as types of their class.

Near the Stabian Gate in Pompeii has been unearthed the so-called Inn of Hermes; the annexed plan and the description are taken from Mau-Kelsey's "Pompeii" (p. 393). This inn has a broad entrance (v. a) on each side of which is a wine-room (b. d).

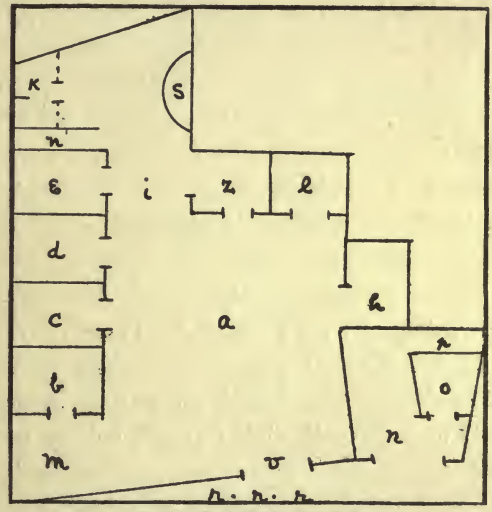
To the right, behind the stairway (n) which leads from the street (r. r. r) to the upper floor, there is a hearth with a water-heater. On the left wall at the entrance there was a painting showing the two



PLAN OF HERMES' INN

Lares and the Genius offering sacrifice. Below was the figure of a man pouring wine from an amphora into an earthen hogshead. Close to this was written the word *Hermes* who was probably the proprietor of the establishment. This inn had on the main floor

only three bedrooms (e. o. h), but others were in the rear upstairs reached by a flight of steps (m). In the rear on the ground floor was the stable (k) and next to this in the large room (z) the vehicles were kept. In one part of the same room (z) was the



PLAN OF POMPEIAN INN

watering-trough (s) and next to the stable (k) was a water-closet (i).

In Mau-Kelsey (p. 394) is found the plan of another inn which illustrates even better than the one just mentioned the arrangement of Roman taverns. From the street (r. r. r) the entrance (v) leads into

the main room (a) which was probably the dining-room. To the right is a wine-room (n) with a special dining-room (o) and a closet (p). This inn has six bedrooms (b. c. d. e. z. l) and a kitchen (h). The vehicles were probably kept in room *m*. To the rear of the dining-room (a) is a passage (i) leading to the stable (k), the watering-trough (s), and a closet (n).

Interesting are the records of the sojourn of guests found written on the walls of some of the rooms in this inn. On the wall of room *c* was written the name of C. Valerius Venustus, "a pretorian of the first cohort, enrolled in the century of Rufus." On a wall in the same room was found this: "In this room Vibius Restitutus slept alone, his heart filled with yearnings for his Urbana." Three players and their friend Martial passed one night in room *c*. This inscription was found on a wall in room *d:* "May it ever be well with Puteoli, colony of Nero, of the Claudian line; C. Julius Speratus wrote this." Lucifer and Primigenius passed a night in apartment *z*, and Lucceius Albanus of Abellinum once slept in room *l*.

Ordinary Inns

The ordinary Roman inn had no resemblance to a modern up-to-date hotel but was quite similar to an old-fashioned country or road-side tavern. As

a rule, only the poorer and trading classes and those who traveled on business stopped at inns. Travelers of rank usually secured private entertainment. The natural consequence was that places of public entertainment tended to become resorts for the low and vicious and the vast amount of information found in Latin and Greek authors about them does, for the most part, represent them as such.

Many ancient authors speak of Roman inns as being frequented by noisy sailors, roistering idlers, runaway slaves, intoxicated gamblers, blustering charioteers, and vaunting dancers. The chatter of such guests filled hotels with a constant hubbub and this was greatly increased by the clatter of the utensils in the kitchen which was usually very near to what may be called the lobby of the inn. Plutarch (San. Præ. 16) recommended loud talking in hotels as a means of recuperating one's health. Many inns were in a dilapidated condition, had insufferably hot rooms, leaked badly, and were furnished with rickety beds alive with fleas and bugs. The attention of the guests was occasionally diverted by the falling of a lizard or a spider from the ceiling. Roman taverns were frequently foul, greasy, and smoky, and brawls, often attended with bloodshed, were not uncommon in them. In many inns, possibly in most of them, immorality was flagrant. Roman jurists often mention the fact that girls of a degraded character were

connected with hotels both in towns and in the country.

Comfortable Inns

A few allusions show that some inns were not lacking in comforts. This was especially true in commercial centers and in pleasure resorts. Strabo says that the hotels at Canopus were good and so equipped as to supply all the needs of travelers who visited that luxurious African city. Epictetus speaks of the traveler as yearning to linger long in a good hotel. While Aristides was journeying in Asia Minor between Smyrna and Pergamus, he lodged at an inn instead of stopping with a friend. This fact may point to the superior quality of taverns in that province, though one must remember that Aristides was traveling by night. His discontent with the hotels in Macedonia on the Egnatian Way probably indicates that he was used to better accommodation in Asia Minor.

Innkeepers

The keepers of Roman inns were usually conspicuous for their lack of morality, Punic perfidy, and depraved associates; by the police-soldiers they were classed with thieves and gamblers. Ancient writers speak of them as niggardly, ignorant, coarse, and

turbulent. They were accused of overcharging, adulterating their wine, stealing the provender carried by travelers for their mules, and filling their beds with tufts of reeds in place of feathers. They were notorious quidnuncs, past-masters in mendacity, and had no compunction in acting as false witnesses. Cicero scoffed at the idea that anyone should give credence to the sworn statement of an innkeeper. One allusion refers to the proprietor of a hotel in Greece who robbed and then murdered his guests. Galen says that human flesh, having a taste very much like pork, was often served by tavern-keepers to their guests; he asserts that he was reliably informed of a very palatable dish in which a finger-bone was found.

Landladies of hotels often had the reputation of being witches. Saint Augustine accused them of putting Circean drugs in their cheese so as to turn their guests into mules retaining human faculties. Only on certain immoral conditions, were such guests restored to their normal shape.

Competition Among Innkeepers

The accommodations afforded by hotels, particularly in places where there were several, must have depended largely on competition. Plutarch urged travelers not to lodge in a poorly-equipped inn for

the mere sake of obliging a cringing host. The same author says that innkeepers used decoying billets to entice guests to their establishments. A commercial hotel at Lyons had on its signboard this inscription: "Meals and rooms. Anyone coming in will be the better for it; stranger, look to where you stay." On an inn at Antibes was this: "One word, wayfarer; come in; a copper-tablet tells you all." The *Copa*, a poem said by Charisius to have been written by Vergil, shows the method employed by some tavern-keepers in attracting guests. In this poem, pleasant company, plenty of food, love, and Bacchic cheer are promised; also a Syrian female dancer accompanied by castanets.

Regulations for Inns

The proprietors of hotels were compelled to furnish accommodation to all who asked for it and they were liable for losses suffered by guests in their houses. It was the duty of the ædiles to see to it that innkeepers did not sell articles of food prohibited by law, did not permit gambling on their premises, and kept their establishments open only during the hours fixed by law. Pompeian inscriptions show that this supervision exercised by the ædiles over cookshops and inns caused their proprietors to take a keen interest in the ædilician election.

Food at Inns

It is safe to assert that the managers of taverns provided for their guests such food as was ordinarily eaten among the Romans. In the *Copa* are mentioned wine, nuts, cheese, plums, mulberries, grapes, cucumbers, chestnuts, and apples. Plutarch speaks of their furnishing fish, cheese, vinegar, and olive-oil. The painting found in a Pompeian wine-shop shows sausage and hams. Other articles of food mentioned are bread, pastry, dressed meat, pulse, vegetables, and flesh of all kinds. A more complete list of the various kinds of food eaten by the Romans is given on page 161.

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INNS AND INNKEEPERS

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