WHERE THE ROMANS LIVED IN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

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Although topography has an important place in our understanding of Latin literature, our editors seldom refer to it. For instance, when we come to the words "*domi meae*" in the eighth chapter of the first oration against Catiline our editors comment only on the locative case or the use of the possessive with the noun and give us no idea to which house Cicero refers. It is the purpose of this paper to study the literary references and the archaeological material, where any exists, to determine the location of the homes of important men during this period. We find that certain districts are favored more than others; some, because they are more accessible; and others, because they are beautiful in themselves or command a fine view. The Aventine, Caelian, Palatine, even the Sacred Way and the Subura, the Carinae, the Esquiline, Quirinal, Viminal, Pincian, the Campus Martius, the Capitoline and the district beyond the Tiber — all these furnish sites for private homes.

There were but few homes on the Aventine from the time that the poet Ennius lived there modestly with one servant (*Hieronymus ad Euseb. a Abr.* 1777; Huelsen, p. 252) until the times of Trajan and Hadrian, who had private homes there before they became emperors (Trajan, *Not. Reg.* XII; Hadrian, Capit., *Vit. Aur.* 5), and Cilo, a distinguished citizen of the time of Severus (*Not. Reg.* XII; *Form. Urb.* fragm. 43). In republican times we know that the Cornifician family lived in this region (*C. I. L.* 15, 7442; Lanciani, *Bull. Comm.* 1891, 210 f; Huelsen, 187). Their family was distinguished for several famous members who

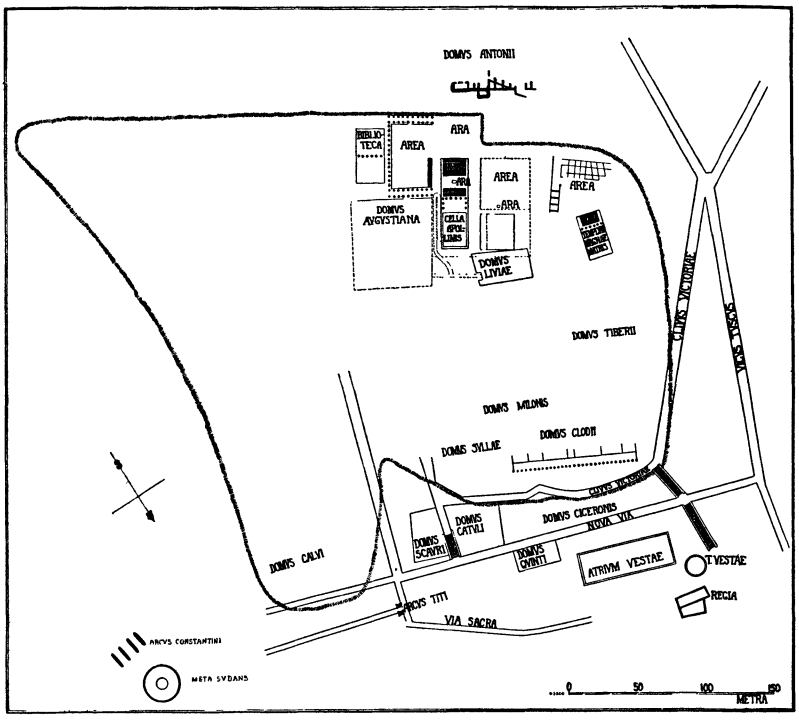
took part in the Catilinarian conspiracy and in the Civil War and for one member whom Cicero regarded highly for his literary judgment (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 12, 17, 18).

The Caelian was a thickly populated quarter at the end of the republic (Cic., *De Off.* 3, 16, 66) and in the time of the early empire many distinguished men made their homes there (Mart. 12, 18, 4). Mamurra, the commander of the engineers with Caesar in Gaul, had a home on the Caelian, which was the first in Rome to have all its walls covered with marble (Pliny, *N. H.* 36, 48). The home of the Piso family stood beside that of the Laterani at the Porta Caelemontana (Cic., *In Pis.* 61; *C. I. L.* 15, 7513). Tacitus (*Ann.* 15, 49) mentions the friendship of these two families, who later became famous for their part in the conspiracy of Piso against Nero.

The Palatine, especially the northeast and northwest sides, which overlook the Forum and the Velabrum, was the chief residential quarter of the wealthy Romans. Latin literature mentions at least fifteen definite houses that were built and inhabited by famous citizens at this time on the Palatine. Only one well-preserved example of a private house of this period remains for us today. This was excavated in 1869 and is generally known as the house of Livia. She has been associated with it for good reason because the lead pipes are stamped "Julia Aug(usta)," her official name after her adoption into the Julian family. The house probably belonged to Livia, the mother of the emperor Tiberius and the wife of Augustus, or to her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero. Its preservation is due to the fact that it was soon incorporated into the imperial residence while it still retained its original form. Mr. Richmond believes that it is more probable that Livia possessed this house after the death of Augustus (see Val. Max., 6, 1) and that Augustus acquired it either in the year 40 for Scribonia or in 39 for Livia; also that its "small size and humble position on the rock level suggest the modest house of the Hortensii" (Richmond, "The Roman Palatium," *Jour. Rom. Stud.* IV). The style of the concrete construction proves that this is a republican house, and the frescoed atrium where the lead pipes

now hang was never rebuilt or redecorated in imperial times, but the rear part was twice reconstructed.

Augustus was born *ad capita bubula* (Suet., *Aug.* 5), which is near the *curiae veteres* (Ser., *Aen.* 8, 361) at the northeast corner of the Palatine (Tac., *Ann.* 12, 24) probably near the line of the Sacra Via and the later arch of Constantine. He was brought up



THE PALATINE

on the Carinae (Serv., *Ad Aen.* 8, 361). Suetonius says that "he lived at first near the Forum Romanum, above the stairs of the Ringmakers, in a house which had belonged to the orator Calvus; afterwards on the Palatine, but in the no less modest dwelling of Hortensius, which was remarkable neither for its size nor its elegance" and "for more than forty years he used the same bed-

room in summer and winter" (Suet., *Aug.* 72, Rolfe). Mr. Richmond thinks that this is the so-called house of Livia, but there is no definite proof. In part of his house on the Palatine, Augustus built the temple of Apollo and joined to it colonnades with Greek and Latin libraries (Suet., *Aug.* 29; Dio Cass. 49, 15). Pinza and Richmond have identified the remains of the temple south of the house of Livia as this temple of Apollo. Augustus vowed it in the year 36 B.C. after his return from Sicily (Vell. Pat. II, 81), but it was not dedicated until 28 B.C. His own house was small, and he planned to enlarge it by purchasing neighboring sites. The senate erected for him at public expense the *domus Palatina* and it was afterwards extended (see map). As the site of the Apollo temple was first bought for an extension of Augustus' house, and the temple occupied ground within the *domus Palatina*, it is clear that the houses and the temple must have been near each other, and that the location of any one of them fixes the locality of them all. The small house dates from a time before 50 B.C., and the larger one as built by the senate, only from 36-29 B.C. Mr. Richmond has identified remains found near the Apollo temple as those of the *domus Palatina*. The palace of Augustus in A.D. 3 extended back from the libraries adjoining the temple and was connected by underground passages, still in use today, with the temple and the house of Livia. There are still remains of these foundations in the red concrete which Augustus used at that period. The belief that L. Sergius Catilina, the conspirator, had a house on the Palatine facing the Circus Maximus and that Augustus incorporated it into his own (Lanciana, *R. and E.* 118) Huelsen believes is based on a false reading of Suet., *De Gramm.* 17.

M. Antonius had a house on the Palatine which afterwards belonged to Messalla and Agrippa. It was burned in 29 B.C., and Agrippa went to live in the house of Augustus (Dio Cass. 53, 27, 5). Mr. Richmond believes that the ruins of the large house with the bath, immediately over which the steps of the temple begin, was the house of Antony on the Palatine. This conjecture is based on the presumption that Antony alone possessed the power

between the years 36 and 29 B.C. to block the site of the temple with such a building.

Gnaeus Octavius had a house on the Palatine which attracted attention because of its beauty. M. Scaurus, the stepson of Sulla, bought it, destroyed the house and built one of his own on the site (Cic., *De Off.* 1, 138; Pliny, *N. H.* 17, 5; 36, 6). Asconius tells us that as one comes down the Sacred Way and continues by the nearest street the house of Scaurus is on the left (Ascon., *In Scaur.* p. 26, 27 Or.).

We know that Verrius Flaccus taught the sons of Julia and Agrippa in the atrium of the house of Q. Lutatius Catulus, then a part of the Palatine property (Suet., *De Gramm.* 17). Catulus, the conqueror of the Cimbri, had built a particularly fine house on the Palatine (Pliny, *N. H.* 17, 2; Varro, *R. R.* 3, 5), and its portico extended over the space made vacant by the destruction of the house of M. Fulvius Flaccus, which had been razed by order of the senate after his execution for a share in the conspiracy of the Gracchi (Cic., *De Domo* 102, 114; Val. Max. 6, 31). The house of Catulus later included a small portion of Cicero's house also, for Cicero himself says that the bare tenth of his property which escaped destruction at the hands of the senate was acquired by Catulus.

In the year 62 Cicero had bought the property of the orator Crassus. This was a home on the Palatine, but not on the highest part, and it had been built by M. Livius Drusus (Vell. 1, 14, 1 and 3; Huelsen 3, 57). There Cicero lived until his exile (Map). When Julius Caesar lived in the Regia as Pontifex Maximus, he wrote of Cicero as his neighbor. The house stood in clear view of nearly the whole of the city (Cic., *De Domo* 37, 100). It was remarkable for its size, the taste of its furniture, and the beauty of its grounds. It was decorated with columns of Hymettian marble, the first to be brought on the Palatine. Pliny tells us that it yielded in magnificence to the house of Q. Catulus on the same hill, and that it was much inferior to that of C. Aquilius on the Viminal (Pl., *N. H.* 17, 5, 6; 36, 7). After Cicero's exile this house was sacked and burned and the site dedicated to the

goddess, Liberty. Cicero says that the marble columns of his Palatine house were taken to the house of Piso, the consul, in the very eyes of the citizens. After his return to Rome the lot upon which the house stood was restored to Cicero by senatorial decree despite Clodius' pious dedication of it, and money was voted to him for the house itself. Cicero must have rebuilt here, for later we are told that his house passed into the hands of C. Marcius Censorinus, the orator, and then to A. Caecina Largus, consul in A.D. 42 with the emperor Claudius (Dio Cass. 60, 10; Ascon., *In Scaur.* p. 27, ed. Orelli; Pliny, *N. H.* 17, 50) and was finally absorbed into the house of Caligula.

While Cicero was rebuilding his house we are told that Clodius attacked and drove away the workmen and tore down the portico of Catulus, which was nearby, and set fire to the house of Quintus Cicero (Cic., *Ad Att.* 4, 3, 2), which had already been injured by stones falling from that of M. Cicero. Catulus' house was, therefore, beside that of Cicero, and Quintus Cicero's was below (Map). Q. Cicero also had a house on the Carinae (Cic., *Ad Q. Fr.* 2, 3, 7).

Clodius too had a house on the Palatine. It was composed of two portions; one of these had actually belonged to Cicero and had been bought after his exile, and the other, the property of Q. Seius Postumus, Clodius secured according to some accounts by poisoning the owner when he refused to sell. This house commanded an excellent view. Clodius planned to make it one of the most magnificent in Rome by erecting a portico and colonnade three hundred feet long with apartments opening from it, so that it would surpass all other men's houses in spaciousness and commanding appearance (Cic., *De Domo* 115, 116). Because he wished to extend this portico, Clodius did not dedicate all of Cicero's house to the goddess, Liberty. These houses must have been near each other and it seems clear, therefore, that this portico extended along the edge of the Palatine above the clivus Victoria (Map). It is probable that near this house of Clodius stood that of P. Cornelius Sulla, which served as the headquarters of Clodius' associates while they were making their assault on the

property of the Ciceros. The house of Milo was not far away on the Cermalus (Cic., *Ad Att.* 4, 3).

M. Caelius, in whose defense Cicero wrote an oration, rented a house on the Palatine at no very high rental, that he might be able to receive the visits of his friends and visit them more easily (Cic., *Pro Caelio* 18). The walls of private houses have been found beneath the ruins of the Flavian palace. Perhaps some of these walls belong to M. Caelius and to other famous men who lived upon the Palatine at this period. The reports of these discoveries have not been published, and visitors are admitted only on special permission. The Valerian family, one of the most ancient and celebrated from the time of Titus Tatius to the late empire, had a house on the Palatine or perhaps nearby on the Velia. It was given at public expense to Valerius Maximus, and when the doors of all other houses were required to open into the vestibule, its doors were allowed to open outward (Plut., *Pub.* 10 and 20; Dionys. 5, 39; Cic., *De Har. Resp.* 8, 16). Inscriptions have been found which seem to show that they had another home on the Caelian (*C. I. L.* VI, 1684-94, 1532).

All the private houses of the republic in the district of the clivus Victoria at the corner of the hill commanding the Forum must have disappeared when Caligula extended the imperial palace as far as the Nova Via and the temple of Castor and Pollux. The houses in the central and southern parts of the hill met a similar fate when Augustus, Tiberius, and Domitian built their palaces.

The great Marius built a house for himself "near the Forum" (Plut., *Mar.* 32), and L. (Annius?) Bellienus, who served with Marius in the war against Jugurtha, had a house "near the Forum," which was burned after the murder of Caesar (Cic., *Phil.* II, 39, 91).

The official residence of the Pontifex Maximus was in the Sacred Way, and there Julius Caesar lived. In earlier days the famous street was thickly populated. Numa, Ancus Marcius, and Tarquinius Superbus lived on, or very near, the street (Solin. I, 22; Pl., *N. H.* 34, 13; Livy 1, 46, 5). At the end of the third century B.C. the people gave a house on the Sacred Way to P.

Scipio Nasica, the famous jurist, that they might consult him more easily (Pompon., *Dig.* 1, 2, 2, 37). The house of the Octavii was near this street (Sallust, *Hist.* fr. 2, 45. Maur. Rossi, *Bull. Comm.* 1889, 351 ff.). Cicero tells us that as he was walking down the Sacred Way he stepped aside into the hall of Tettius Damio to protect himself from the crowd (Cic., *Ad Att.* 4, 3, 3). It is said that a shrine to the deity of fertility, Mutunus Tutunus, on the Velia was removed to make room for the house of Cn. Domitius Calvinus. There were three men known by this name, one of whom was prominent in politics during the first century B.C. (Festus 154; Jordan 1, 2, 419), and it seems likely that the reference is to his house.

In spite of the fact that the Subura was considered the noisiest and the most disreputable street in the city, at least two prominent men lived there. Before he became Pontifex Maximus, Julius Caesar lived in the Subura in a modest house (Suet., *Caes.* 46), which was later inhabited by M. Antonius Gnipho, a distinguished rhetorician, who numbered Cicero among his talented students (Suet., *De Gramm.* 7). Martial (12, 3) mentions L. Arruntius Stella, the poet and friend of Statius, who lived in the Subura.

The Carinae was a fashionable quarter (Ver. 8, 361) where Q. Cicero, Pompey, and others had homes. It is above the Subura in the fourth region on the part of the Esquiline toward the west or southwest which in earlier times was called the Mons Oppius and is now the site of S. Pietro in Vincoli. We know that Q. Cicero had a home here which was rented while he was absent from the city (Cic., *Ad Q. Fr.* 2, 3, 7). Pompey's home in Rome was back of the site later occupied by the basilica of Constantine on the edge of the Carinae, near the temple of Tellus and it was ornamented with rostra taken from captured pirate ships (Suet., *De Gramm.* 15; App., *Bell. Civ.* 2, 126; Vell 2, 77; Cic., *De Har. Resp.* 49; Cic., *Phil.* 2, 68; Jul. Cap., *Vit. Gord.* 3). It is concerning this house that Cicero tells of the threat of Clodius to build a second portico on the Carinae and to treat the house of Pompey there as he had treated the property of Cicero on the

Palatine (Cic., *De Har. Resp.* 49). Pompey's house still existed after the murderers of Caesar had been banished (Flor. Rossbach ed. p. 161). After the death of Pompey it became the property of M. Antony (Velleius 2, 77), who purchased a great part of Pompey's property when it was confiscated, but ultimately refused to pay the purchase price (Rockwood on Vellei. 2, 77 from Peskett's *Cic. Phil.* 2, 62, note). Later Tiberius lived there before he became emperor (Suet., *Tib.* 5) and in the third century it belonged to the Gordians (*Hist. Aug.*, Gor. 2). The paternal home of Mark Antony was also on the Carinae and it was probably at this house that the will of Julius Caesar was opened and read (Suet., *Julius* 83; Dio Cass. 48, 38).

Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompey who possessed a great knowledge of natural history, and who accompanied his patron on nearly all of his expeditions, kept a school in the Carinae, probably in his own home, near the temple of Tellus (Suet., *De Gramm.* 15). L. Marcius Philippus, a consul in 91 B.C. and a distinguished orator, is pictured by Horace (*Epist.* 1, 7, 48 ff.) returning from the Forum to his home on the Carinae. He goes by the Sacred Way, which commenced at the Streniae Sacellum in the Carinae, and complains that his home is so far, but the farthest part of the Carinae can hardly have been more than half a mile from the Forum and of course is immediately above it.

In the first century B.C. private gardens and parks surrounded most of the city, and after the fall of the republic most of these came into the ownership of the emperors. They were most numerous in regions 5 and 7 and on the right bank of the river. Maecenas, the most famous of those who lived on the Esquiline, apparently developed this system first. He leveled the old Esquiline cemetery and covered it with about twenty feet of earth and then laid out his extensive gardens and built his home (Hor., *Sat.* I, 8, 7, 14 and schol.; Tac., *Ann.* 15, 39). Here Maecenas seems to have passed the greater part of his time and to have entertained his friends (Tac., *Ann.* 14, 53; Suet., *Aug.* 72). At his death they became the property of Augustus, and later Nero connected them with his golden house and is said to have watched

the great fire of Rome from one of the towers (Suet., *Nero* 38). The ruins of the so-called auditorium of Maecenas still remain, built directly against the old Servian wall (*B. C.* 1874, 137-166).

Vergil and Propertius also lived on the Esquiline near the gardens of Maecenas (Don., *Vita Ver.* 6; Propert. 3, 23, 23). The younger Pliny had a home here, for Martial directs the Muse to find him at his home on the Esquiline (Pliny 3, 21; Mart. 10, 19, 10). Near the gardens of Maecenas were those of Maianus, of whom we know nothing further, and those of L. Aelius Lamia, an intimate friend of Horace and of Cicero who helped the latter in his suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy. The works of art found here and in the gardens of Maecenas have been placed in separate rooms in the Museo Conservatore. The area covered by these gardens is approximately that of the piazza Vittorio Emanuele. We have ancient descriptions of the magnificence of the buildings here and of the works of art, but only comparatively insignificant remains have been found, rooms of *opus reticulatum*, a nymphaeum, and a part of a porticus (Huelsen 348). Vedius Pollio, a Roman knight and a friend of Augustus noted for his cruelty and his wealth had a home and a large fish pond on the Esquiline. He died in 15 B.C. and left the property to Augustus, who tore it down at once to show his disapproval of such a home and erected the porticus of Livia on the site (Dio Cass. 54, 23; Ov., *Fasti* 6, 639-44; Suet., *Aug.* 29).

Many ruins of private dwellings of the republican period have been found scattered over the whole of the Esquiline district. Often inscriptions, especially those on water pipes, help us to identify them but many times we do not have even this help. By them we know that the house of M. Servilius Fabianus (*C. I. L.* VI, 1557) was south of the Clivus Suburanus and just east of the porticus of Livia; that of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus and Fabia Paulina (*C. I. L.* XV, 7563) was south of the Clivus Suburanus and just inside of the Servian wall, and that of Petronius Maximus (*C. I. L.* VI, 1197-1198) was destroyed to make room for the golden house of Nero. Near the Sette Sale

are the remains of a tenement house called the insula Vitaliana from the name of its builder or of its owner.

The Quirinal and the Viminal were also inhabited by rich and influential families. Remains of private houses have been found in such numbers on these hills as to indicate that they were the most favored sites in the first century B.C. T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, lived on the Quirinal near the temples of Salus and Quirinus. His house was old-fashioned in its appointments, but provided with a beautiful garden (Cic., *Ad Att.* 4, 1; 12, 45; *De Legg.* 1, 3; Nepos, *Att.* 13). T. Pomponius Bassus, curator of the grain supply under Trajan, lived in the southeast corner of the Alta Semita and the clivus Salutis (*C. I. L.* VI, 1492; *B. C.* 1889, 380; *Rh. M.* 1894, 397, 399, 403), and there is every reason to believe that this is the site of the home of the Pomponii from the first.

Julius Caesar had a house at the Porta Collina (*Obsequens* 131). L. Volumnius, consul in 297 B.C., had a house in the Vicus Longus (Livy X, 23, 6). This street ran diagonally across the Via Nazionale southwest of the Baths of Diocletian on the Quirinal.

The famous gardens of Sallust occupied the northwest slope of the Quirinal and the southeast slope of the Pincian as far as the Via Salaria Vetus, extending nearly to the line of the Aurelian wall in one direction and the Campus Agrippa in the other. They were built from the wealth acquired in Numidia (Dio Cass. 43, 9; Sall. 19; Tac., *Ann.* 3, 30; *C. I. L.* VI, 8670-8672, 9005). Within this district many architectural fragments have been found, but usually they cannot be identified. A reservoir was discovered under the Hotel Royal, and another, under the Casino dell' Aurora of the Rospigliosi palace. The marble Ludovisi throne, the famous specimen of Greek archaic art, was found in this region. The gardens contained a group of buildings in Egyptian style of which the obelisk now in front of SS. Trinita de' Monti at the Piazza di Spagna was a part.

Lucullus is the most noted of the dwellers on the Pincian hill. He became almost as celebrated for his luxury here as for his

earlier victory over Mithridates. His gardens were laid out in 60 B.C. on the southern slope of the Pincian between the modern via del Tritone, the via de' Due Macelli, and the via di Porta Pinciana (Front., *De Aq.* 22; Tac., *Ann.* XI, 1, 32, 37; Plut., *Lucull.* 39-31; Cic., *De Legg.* 3, 13; *De Off.* I, 39; *B. C.* 1891, 153 ff.). His immense wealth allowed him to gratify his love of display and to lay out his gardens in a style of splendor exceeding all that had been known previously. His home contained a banquet hall named Apollo, where Cicero, Pompey, and other men were often entertained at dinner in the most extravagant style. No traces of these buildings remain except some mosaic pavements under the Via Sistina 57 and the Via Gregoriana 46 and some walls under the rear of the Mignanelli palace. Some works of art have been found. Plutarch describes the splendor and tells an interesting story. Cicero meeting Lucullus in the Forum one day asked that he and Pompey be allowed to dine with him that night on one condition, and that was that he would provide for them only what he provided for himself. They permitted him, however, to tell his servant that he would dine that day in the Apollo, and thus he outwitted them without their knowing it. Each of his dining-rooms had a special service and his servants, upon knowing where he wished to dine, knew what sort of dinner to provide. His guests were amazed at the splendor of the banquet which was served and wondered at the immense wealth that would allow Lucullus to dine thus even when alone.

Cicero comments on the extravagance of Lucullus in building homes and wishes that some moderation could be set to the tendency which many Romans showed in copying his work. Pompey also had gardens on this hill, but their location is uncertain (Plut., *Pomp.* 44; *C. I. L.* VI, 6299). The remains of many buildings have been found in this district, but few can be identified. One inscription shows that there was a home of the Postumius family between the gardens of Lucullus and the later ones of Acilius (*Rh. Mus.* 1894, 340). Another gives evidence of one belonging to a certain T. Sextius Africanus in the via del Babuino at the corner of the via del Gesù Maria.

The Campus Martius had but few private homes, that of Pompey being the best known. Up to the time of his third triumph Pompey had a simple and modest house. After that, when he erected the famous and beautiful theatre, he built near it a more splendid home than he had had before. While speaking of Pompey's theatre Plutarch says that his home was like a small boat towed behind a great ship. We know that his house was not large, for when the owner who succeeded Pompey entered, he was surprised and asked where Pompey used to eat (Ascon., *In Milo.* arg. p. 37, Or.; Plut., *Pomp.* 40, 44).

The Capitoline was not a residential section, and yet we know of two homes there. The temple of Juno Moneta was built on the site of the home of M. Manlius Capitolinus, who saved the city from the Gauls in 388 (Livy 6, 28, 7). Later Milo had a home on the slope of the hill (Cic., *Pro Mil.* 24, 64).

In the region across the Tiber private gardens extended from the bank opposite monte Testaccio along the ridge of the Janiculum as far as the mausoleum of Hadrian. Of this group the gardens farthest south were those of Julius Caesar (Cic., *Phil.* 2, 109; Hor., *Sat.* I, 9, 18; Tac., *Ann.* 2, 41; Dio Cass. 44, 35). These were between the Porta Aurelia and the Porta Portuensis and contained within their limits the temple of Fors Fortuna. These gardens were left by Caesar to the Roman people and were thereafter public property. There is no later mention of them, but works of art as well as foundations of buildings have been found within their limits. Some of these have been thought to belong to a temple of the Sun and to porticoes (*B. C.* 1884, 25-30; 1886, 90-95; *Ann. d. Ist.* 1860, 415-450). Cicero mentions several gardens in this region during republican times: those of Drusus (*Ad Att.* 12, 21, 23, 25), of Lamia (*Ad Att.* 12, 21), of Clodia (*Pro Cael.* 36), of Silius (*Ad Att.* 12, 26, 27), of Scapula (*Ad Att.* 12, 37) and of Cassius. Some of these he thought of buying. M. Regulus had gardens near the Via Aurelia (Pl. *Epist.* 4, 2). The gardens of Antony were near those of Caesar (*C. I. L.* VI, 9990, 9991; Dio Cass. 47, 40). As examples of these villas and their gardens we may study two that have been

excavated recently near the Alban lake, that of Pompey and that of Clodius ("Le antiche ville dei colli Albani prima della occupazione Domizianea," G. Lugli, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma,* 1914, 221 ff.).

These are only a few of the many homes scattered throughout a crowded city, and we may wonder how other men lived. Rome in the time of Cicero was a city of small extent covering a little less than five square miles, which is not quite one-quarter of the borough of Manhattan of New York City. The population of Rome at this time has been variously estimated. Suetonius tells us that the number of recipients of free corn in 46 B.C. was 320,000. This number is generally considered to include only the free, adult, male population. Besides these there were many too prosperous or too proud to accept charity, women and children, and a considerable number of aliens, and a host of slaves. Mr. Rice Holmes concludes on this evidence that the population within the city was not much less than a million, and it may have been two or three thousand more. While this makes the density of population more than twice that of Manhattan and considerably greater than the most crowded parts of London, it is by no means impossible; for a third of the number consisted of slaves whose quarters were very small, and almost all the people comprising the other two-thirds were exceedingly poor and crowded together in large tenement houses on very narrow streets. The climate of Italy also allows much out-of-door living, so that the dwellings of many were little more than a place to eat and sleep (R. Holmes, *The Roman Republic* I, 363. Petersson, *Cicero*, p. 46).