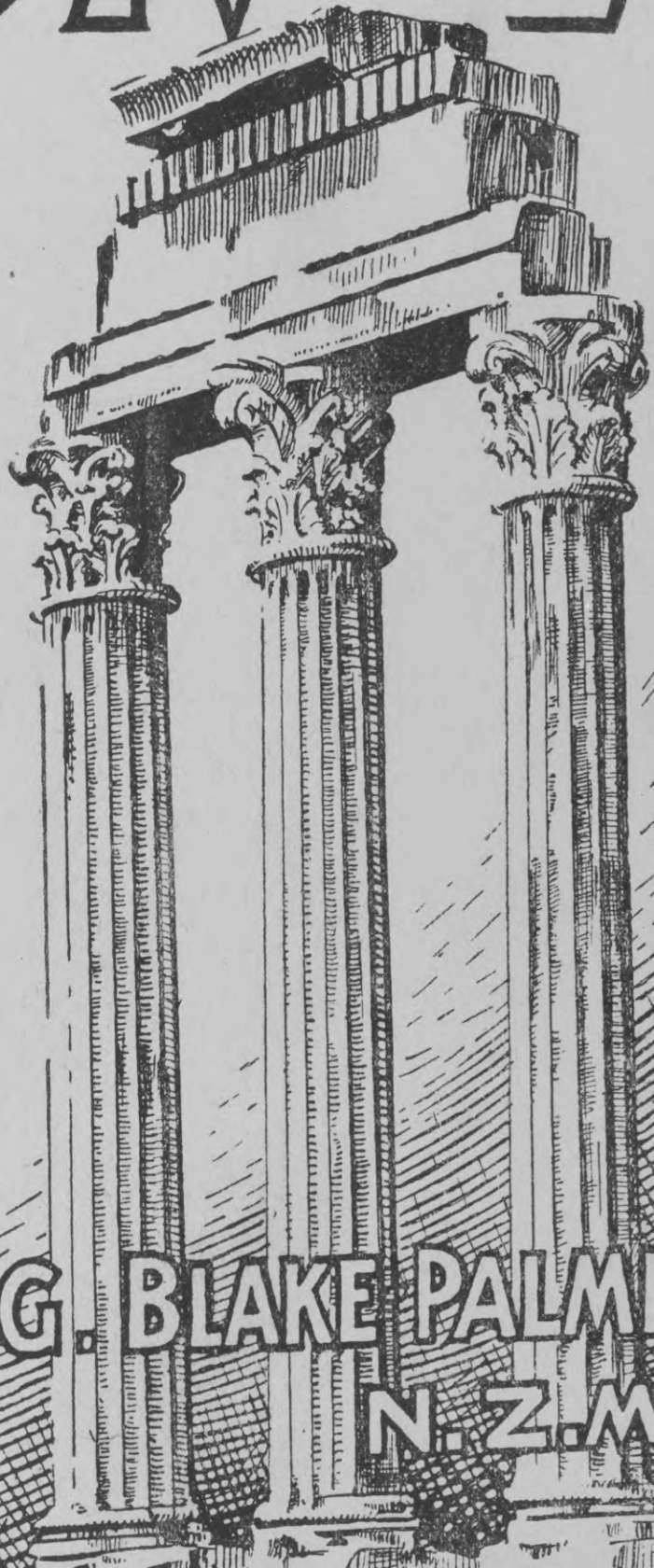


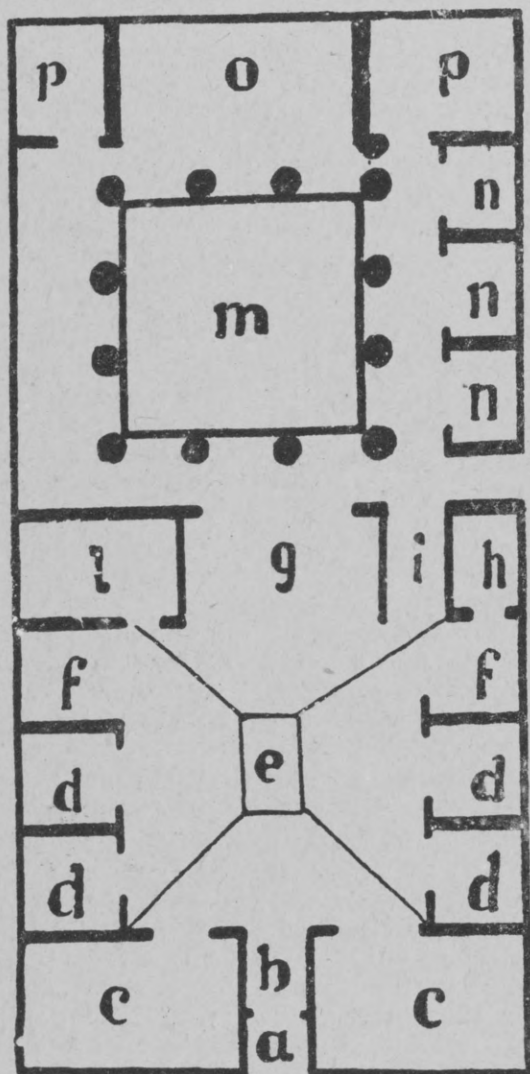
ROME



MAJOR G. BLAKE PALMER
N. Z. M. C.

DIAGRAM OF CLASSICAL ROMAN HOUSE

2nd Cent. B. C.



ROMAN NAME

ENGLISH EQUIVALENT

NOTES

a Vestibulum

Entrance

b Fauces

Hall

c Cellae

d and n Cubicla

Room for sleeping, etc.

e Atrium

Space around letter "e" represents the "impluvium" where light is admitted and rain is caught.

f Alae

Wings.

g Tablinum

The principal family room opening on garden.

p and h Oecus

Occasional rooms

l Triclinium

Dining room.

m Peristylum

Columns around garden space.

The "hortus" or garden was sometimes in the form of an annex.

There are no windows as a rule in outer walls.

This plan shows an average house of the type seen at Pompeii II Cent. B.C. [*Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia*, No. 3, p. 12.]

FOREWORD

Rome means many things to many peoples. To some it represents military, administrative and judicial ability; to others Imperial grandeur and arbitrary rule; to many others it is still a spiritual home and that centre to which all Western Christendom once looked for guidance before the unhappy dissensions which lost so many adherents prior to the counter reformation. It is not unjustly claimed that the spiritual rulers of Rome carried on the traditions of their temporal and imperial predecessors, and so kept alive the ideal of unity in the West.

Because all have heard of Rome and know something about it, it is more important to give coherence and clarity to the many hazy outlines of knowledge. Faulty memories of school Latin, heroic poetry, fables of the gods and mysteries of the lives of the Saints are an unsound basis for an intelligent enjoyment of that confusion of riches which makes up the atmosphere, monuments, and museums of Rome.

Roman Qualities

Over a period of 2600 years Rome has experienced every vicissitude and has tried most forms of government. She evolved military, civil and theocratic organisations which continue to be studied with admiration and exploited with success. She imitated the best in the arts of her conquered Hellenic provinces and surpassed her teachers in technical ability and engineering skill, although with a certain rigidity, for the flutings of the Roman column were a matter of arbitrary mathematical formula and allowed nothing for artistic latitude.

Rome was also a pioneer of hydraulic engineering and instituted a system of military and civil hygiene which the soldier in Italy to-day finds hard to credit. Her military roads still survive and that in Albania constructed in 146 B.C. was the sole good communication eastwards in that country until 1916 when Italian engineers restored it and built others.

Often Desecrated

In Rome, each succeeding age has left its monuments, often desecrated or pillaged for building stone, converted into private fortresses or burnt for mortar. The *Mausoleum of Hadrian* was converted to a fort by Belisarius and later, with the addition of the statue of the Archangel Gabriel sheathing his sword became known to all as *Castel St. Angelo*. *St. Peters* was partly rebuilt from the *Temple of Vesta*. Only the vast bulk of the *Flavian Amphitheatre* or *Colosseum*, and the historical error of *Benedict XIII*, saved that structure from

the same fate. Rome it has been said is a city which has eaten itself, and its ancient monuments have undergone as much destruction and neglect at Roman hands as from those of the Vandals.

Rome too is no virgin fortress. Its great rival Constantinople stood for 1150 years and never admitted a barbarian enemy until it passed to the Turks. Rome fell four times to Barbarians in the first 1230 years of its existence and twice as many times since the end of the Western Empire. In the early *Middle Ages* Romans did not hesitate to make a battleground of their own city or imperil their own monuments in a way they rightly deplore in others.

Even Garibaldi would have held the city by force of arms in 1849 had not military circumstances determined a tactical withdrawal. The horrors of the Vandals in 455, and the German mercenaries of the Bourbons in 1527, though distasteful to the catholic city and deplorable in their results were less destructive in fact than the spoliation and neglect by its own inhabitants prior to the 16th Century.

Scope

There are many Romes and something of almost all survives. Often the remains are put to new uses but may be recognised with ease by those with a little understanding. Few soldiers have the literature, time, or linguistic agility, to acquire that knowledge without which such a mass of material becomes confusing, overwhelming and discouraging.

This pamphlet, therefore, aims to give an outline of history from the foundation of the city setting out the more important remains and explaining so far as possible their uses and the social, religious and economic background against which they functioned.

No serious attempt has been made to describe in detail what the soldier can see for himself once he is aware of its existence. The size of this booklet precludes the reproduction of any street maps with sufficient detail to show minor monuments or the suburbs but a regional plan will be issued later to assist in orientating the new tourist. The lists of places of interest and importance are not exhaustive and many omissions have been advisedly made.

Only the core of Imperial Rome along the line of the *Via dell'Impero* from *Palazzo Venezia* to the *Colosseum* has been dealt with in detail. The modern Vatican City is the subject of a final note by a Roman Catholic padre, but nevertheless some of the material finds mention in the main account.

EARLY ROME

—THE KINGS

Birth of Rome State of Italy 1000 750 B. C.

The origins of Rome are lost in a haze of tradition. The "Canonical" date for the foundations of the city—753 B.C.—is based on the opinion of Polybius and Cato and was curiously enough accepted by Virgil who championed the story of the Trojan foundation by Aeneas who by that time would have been 350 years old.

The geography of the area and the archaeological evidence are, however, clear and lend considerable support to the approximate date proposed by the ancients. About 1000 B.C., there was a predominantly "Italic" population in the area of modern Rome. This people was organised on a family and clan basis, lived in fortified villages and spoke dialects of a common tongue, that of the Rome area, however, being Latin, which differed from the Northern or Umbrian dialects and the Southern or Oscan tongues which resembled each other.

Flourishing Cities

Greek colonists from the Aegean had by the 8th Century set up a series of trading posts from Taranto and Cotrone, to Sicily and Cuma on the Bay of Naples, and these rapidly developed into flourishing cities, which soon preferred the Hellenic vice of mutual strife rather than systematic development of the new territories of Magna Graecia.

To the north another group of urban communities, the Etruscans, lived in ring-walled cities whose "modern" grid street plan, peri-style houses, and mixed wood and terra cotta buildings are characteristic. The Etruscans were wealthy with a highly developed art and an elaborate religious and funerary custom, but despite their enlightenment in other spheres they had a gloomy and cruel concept of the hereafter, and delighted in portraying the torments of the damned in their tombs and of anticipating these torments in the funeral games. No doubt these Etruscan ideas served as a model for the Roman circus.

Both the Etruscans and Greeks profoundly affected the development of the

future Rome which archaeological evidence confirms to have commenced as a Latin settlement sometime about the 8th Century BC, on one of the small group of nine volcanic hills 15 miles from the mouth of the Tiber, a river notoriously liable to flooding.

At this time, Latium—the district around Rome—was well forested and fertile, but the hard clay beneath, the volcanic topsoil favoured the development of marshes in the low lying areas. To the South, the Alban Hills, Monte Lepini and Pontine Marshes cut off communication with the Bay of Naples. To the north and west, the Tiber and its tributaries made an easily defended frontier line.

The nine hills were fertile and above flood level. It was in fact a natural city site and appears to have had a small New Stone Age and Villanovan community before it was used by the Latins. The Tiber island favoured it becoming a bridge-town.

The First Rome Roma Quadrata

The names and dispositions of the hills of Rome are very important if the city development is to be followed easily—see map. Their relation to the Tiber crossing had important strategical bearings, and the rapid variation of river level affected both agricultural, architectural and religious development. In the early stages the most important priesthood was that which propitiated the Tiber gods, a ceremony which was carried out from a bridge or *pons*, hence the term Pontifex from which has been derived our Pontiff. Rome was in all senses a Bridge town. West of the Tiber, were two hills *Janiculum*—mentioned in the poem of Horatius and the bridge—and *Vaticanus*. East of the river lay a stretch of high ground with four spurs the *Quirinal*, *Viminal*, *Esquiline* and *Caeline*, and within their arc, the *Aventine*, *Palatine* and finally the *Capitoline*, the smallest and most precipitous of the three. Between the *Palatine* and *Aventine* was a deep valley, while another separated it from *Quirinal*. Even in Roman times these valleys gradually became filled with debris which has now accumulated to a depth of nearly 70 feet while the tops of the hills have in some instances since disappeared. The valley bottoms especially that between

the Palatine and the Quirinal were marshy.

Before it was drained and the first Forum constructed, the area was used as a burial ground by the early inhabitants who settled as a small community on the Palatine with later offshoots on the Quirinal on the other side of the marsh, and on the Esquiline. This early community appears to have celebrated a communal festival similar to that of other Latin villages and this was later known as the *Septimontium*.

The settlement was surrounded by an earth wall and its houses probably to the number of a thousand were largely built of clay and wood. The population about 630 B.C. appears to have been as high as 10,000 and already the sacred fire of the Aedes Vesta was kept going in one of the huts. This city which developed into that known as the Roma Quadrata—Rome of the four regions—soon spread beyond its original limits. (see inset to map.)

Rome of the Kings 650 to 510 B. C.

Knowledge of its government and ways of life is largely confused by the speculations of Greek Mythologists and the Latin historians who occupied themselves, and add confusion in the hunt for a single traditional founder, among whom are to be found as claimants, Hercules, Aeneas, Romulus and Remus. As, however, the earliest written records do not date appreciably before 450 B.C., the literary evidence

of later historians must be controlled by archaeological findings.

Briefly, it would appear that shortly after the foundation on the Palatine, there was an infusion of Sabine elements—the origin of the famous story of the Sabine women. Then a skilful priest—King Numa, appears as the first Pontifex. The city which followed it was the Rome of the Kings, who mostly seem to have been Etruscans from such nearby settlements as Clusium. The last of these Kings was Tarquin the Proud, well known to readers of Macaulay, Lytton and Shakespeare, who records the tradition of that final act which led to their expulsion, in "The Rape of Lucrece." This was about 510 B.C. The 6th of the Etruscan Kings, known as Servius Tullius, is the traditional builder of the stone wall which replaced the earlier earthworks (see map). This Servian wall was of dressed tufa—volcanic—blocks and the population within its 450 acres is said to have been 80,000, a figure which is supported by the size attributed to the army in the succeeding century.

The wall was 12 kilometres in circumference and the city already had a temple to Jove Capitoline. The rudiments of the main drain which ran into the Tiber, had been commenced. The mouth still functions to-day. It is known as the Cloaca Maxima (cloaca=excretory orifice). The foundations of the houses were tufa blocks, but much wood was used above ground, which was often the occasion of dangerous fires.

THE REPUBLIC

Rome of the Republic

After the expulsion of the Kings, who made at least one attempt to return, the city was governed as a republic whose stern virtues and frugal habits largely contributed to their success in war in the following 150 years. The Government was aristocratic and efficient and, as in Athens, who expelled her Tyrants about the same time, the Plebs or common people had no direct voice in it.

The patrician chief magistrates, or *Praetors* were also in command of the Army and the Assembly of patricians alone ratified decisions. About 493 the Plebs, who had initiated an agitation much resembling the modern class war, secured the appointment of Tribunes with powers of veto in the assembly. One die-hard patrician, Coriolanus, fled the city to *Antium*—modern Anzio.

The life of the city was frugal, grain was used for porridge rather than bread,

a fact largely determined by the absence of mills, artificial illumination was restricted to the few while water came largely from the Tiber and cisterns. Physical fitness was highly valued and the Campus Martius remained an open space for military training. Swimming the Tiber was popular.

The agitation of the Plebs led later to the drawing up of a code of laws known as the Twelve Tables—450 B.C.—and gradually the right of marriage between Patricians and the wealthier Plebs was accorded.

The Gauls

In 387 B.C. the city nearly suffered extinction. A raiding party of Gauls already well established north of the Appenines, threatened the city. A Roman army of about 15,000 set out to face them on the river Allia. It failed to hold the first rush with its infantry spears, or *pila*, and the

Gauls armed with long swords easily routed the Roman infantry whose short stabbing weapon was out-reached.

The city walls were abandoned for lack of garrison, the populace sought refuge on the Capitoline and the Gauls burnt the city. The intervention of the Sacred Geese did not prevent the city capitulating and buying its life with gold. The loss of prestige with Etruscan and Oscan cities was enormous; the Roman reaction was determined.

The Servian wall of dressed stone was rebuilt, the army re-organised and re-armed with two Pila, and a screen of slingers and javelin throwers incorporated in the formations. The city grew again much like London after the Fire of 1666—haphazardly—and the orderly Etruscan street plan was lost. So rapid was the growth that before long it was to burst its bounds.

Social Struggle

The effect of the battle on the numbers of the Patricians, who as always, bore the brunt of the fighting, was considerable. It was followed by an intensification of the class struggle in which, as to-day, some aristocratic made common cause with the Plebs. The more wealthy—and by inference in the first instance, the more astute and able—of the Plebs already had the right to many important army and administrative posts.

By 366, one of the two consular posts was reserved to them, and later two Plebian Aediles were appointed to look

after the streets and markets. Economic laws were framed mainly against the rights of Usurers who under Roman law could demand the life or life services of the defaulting debtor.

Wars of Expansion and Economic Structure

During the 5th—4th Century B.C. a succession of wars of expansion were waged against the Volsians, Etruscans, and Samnites whose defeat in 312 B.C. was followed by the construction of the Appian Way. Other roads such as the Aemelian, Flaminian and Ostian were commenced about this time and in 316 the first aqueduct, about two kilometres in length was constructed.

In the 3rd Century, expanded Rome was in conflict with the Greek city-states headed by Tarantum which finally fell in 272, to be followed later by the fall of Greek-Sicily, a conquest which brought Rome into direct conflict with Carthage.

In 216 B.C., Rome was once again on the point of disaster, but with Hannibal camped outside the city walls the Romans held an auction sale of the enemy camp site. By 202, the danger had passed.

Literature was scanty and largely epigraphical, and the fear of emotional writing combined with the Latin love of the hidden verb made it terse and uninteresting at least to us. Religious life arose and was beginning to show the influence of new cults. The *Temple of Aes-*



FORUM OF TRAJAN. — This gryphon from frieze of the Forum of Trajan—circa 100 A.D.—is a good example of the plastic art of Imperial Rome. It is better preserved than some of the complex sculpture on Trajan's Column.

culapius arose after a plague and that of *Ceres* and of *Castor and Pollux* existed, and the Temple of Saturn served both the deity and the purposes of a public record office. The *Temple of Jove and Victory* was erected in 295 B.C. and at the same time sacrifices continued to the old Tiber, agricultural and household gods.

After the conquest of Carthage in 147 and the suppression of piracy in the Adriatic, Rome, with an expanded fleet, solved the problem of recurrent social unrest in Corinth by the expedient of razing that city to the ground and selling its inhabitants as slaves. The distribution of the artistic wealth of Greece, and the spread of its enslaved population throughout the Roman world led in turn to profound cultural changes.

The quick intelligence of the educated Greek slave was used to advantage by his slower-witted Roman master. Religion, especially the mystery religions such as the cult of *Dionysius* received an impetus, and the medical and other arts were stimulated in the less cultivated but more orderly Roman world.

So rapidly did this influence spread that even before the wars of the last Century B.C., it was becoming the fashion of the elegant Roman world to adopt the public baths and other amenities of the Greeks, previously impossible owing to the lack of water. Roman women imitated the conversational and sumptuary sophistication of the Athenians and Corinthians. Conquered Greece had conquered Rome.

The "social" war which commenced with Sulla in 80 B.C. ended with the ultimate triumph of force-in-politics and dictatorship. Julius Caesar, fresh from his

Galic conquests, had appealed for popular rival Pompey, backed by the plutocrat Crassus.

In 48 B.C., Pompey was overthrown at Pharsalia—near the site of NZGH—in Greece, and on 15 March, 44 B.C., Julius Caesar himself fell to a conspiracy, the dramatic details of which are familiar to all Shakespearians. Thirteen years later, at the Battle of Actium, Augustus Caesar found himself master of the Roman world and assumed the Crown. Imperial Rome had begun.

Development Tardy

Republican Rome depended for its armies on the Latin small farmer and the free citizen. Its economics were still those of the city-state, a condition which ruled throughout the classical world. Economic development was tardy, and while the Greek cities had introduced coinage as early as the 7th Century, it required the campaign in Magna Graecia to persuade the Romans of the utility of minted money.

Greece and Carthage divided the maritime trade of the Mediterranean, to which the sole Roman contribution before the 3rd Century was the semi-official protection of the native Volsian pirates of Anzio. The fall of the Greek cities stimulated the architecture of Rome which before this date was poor in public buildings of beauty, though its Forum already possessed such statues as the Wolf and The Twins—the one you see to-day is an Etruscan wolf but the twins are a Renaissance addition.

AGE OF THE EMPERORS

On the fall of the republic, all power of the magistrates, pro-consuls, censors and the Pontificate were vested in the Emperor. An age of external peace commenced, which, together with the recently acquired wealth of the new provinces favoured a tremendous resurgence of art and architecture, literature and civil development.

Military roads were restored, the army reorganised and given a good medical service—mostly Greek—and the fleet efficiently equipped. Rome was transformed by its greatest building programme and became the centre of the classical world in a way no other city had done before. All roads then led to Rome.

Despite this activity, the economic basis was still unfortunately that of the city-state. This fatal flaw led within 250 years to the complete economic stagnation of the classical world which found it easier to export an industry rather than increase the size of manufactories and find transport for a mutual exchange of goods.

The full effects, however, were not immediately apparent. The Provinces were temporarily revived by the cessation of war and the sudden access of wealth to the Roman city in its turn caused temporary prosperity. This expressed itself in public buildings, private luxury, and the establishment of those innumerable resorts of the wealthy along the coast from Anzio to

Sorrento. With the added ease and innumerable slaves, moral decadence also set in.

It should not be forgotten that about that about this time and in an obscure province of the peaceful empire, Christ was born and crucified without one historian either recording the event or taking cognisance of his followers until after some 30 years they attracted unwelcome attention by their obstinacy in failing to comply with what the Roman authorities demanded of every citizen or subject—nominal respect to the divine genius of the Emperor.

The Emperors, continued at first by dynastic succession. When the Octavian line ceased, the army found it more profitable to support the lavish and easily controlled rule of an Emperor, than to take its orders and pay from a parsimonious senate. A succession of mad, bad, or weak rulers followed Tiberius. Of these Nero is known to all, more by his later misdeeds than by his excellent earlier beginnings.

In A.D. 69, Vespasian restored the line of greater Emperors. Under his later successors, Trajan (98-117) and Hadrian, who built the Roman wall in Britain, the Empire reached its greatest extent.

Monuments, Social Life and Economic Weaknesses

At this stage some note must be taken of the many important monuments of this early Imperial age, while a brief review of the social and economic life of the time will help in understanding the remains as they appear to-day.

Julius Caesar—died 44 BC—had built or improved the *Roman Forum* which bears his name and also the *Basilica Julia*. It must not be forgotten that Rome had many *Fora*, which were in essence colonnaded spaces flanked by shops and public buildings or walls, in which people gathered much as in the modern *Piazza* or town square. The best example which NZEF has hitherto had the opportunity of seeing, is, without question, the *Forum of Septimus Severus* at *Lepcis Magna* in Tripolitania.

Temples and Aqueducts

Augustus built another Forum, and a splendid palace on the Palatine, a *Mausoleum*, the *Temple of Jove* and the *Theatre of Marcellus* now crowned by a Renaissance "Palace." The *Pyramid of Caius Cestio* and the original *Pantheon*, later restored by Hadrian and converted finally to a Christian church dates from his time. Tiberius restored the *Temple of Castor and Pollux* part of which still stands, and erected one to the now divine Augustus.

Caligula, the mad Emperor, who made his favourite horse a consul, commenced many and finished few works. 'Claudius, the hero of Robert Graves' historical novel, constructed the *Claudian Aqueduct* finished A.D. 49.

Nero, disliking the ramshackle wooden buildings in the old city, is said to have fired them as a prelude to building the famous *Domus Aureus* or *Golden House* which he built on the site. Unfortunately the fire spread too far. Succeeding emperors erected temples to their deified predecessors. Titus is responsible for an *Arch*, *Baths*, and the famous *Flavian Amphitheatre*, now known as the *Colosseum*, after the statue of Nero, which once stood beside it. Nero's head was replaced by that of Apollo after his suicide.

Forum of Trajan

Titus also built the *Temple of Vespasian* to commemorate the expulsion of the Jews whom he cordially detested as a difficult and impossible people. In fact he drove them out of Rome to live on the Aventine. Trajan (98-117) was responsible for the *Temple of Vulpia*, the adjacent *forum*, one of the best preserved in Rome, and also the famous *Market of Trajan* to which fresh and salt water was brought from Ostia to keep the fish alive.

Hadrian sponsored the *Temple of Venus and Roma*, the *Mausoleum*. The Aelian bridge is Hadrian's and the *Column of Trajan* and the many arches to both Emperors must not be forgotten. Much of all these monuments survive.

Economics and Agriculture

Reference has already been made to the economic flaws of the classical world which was saved first by the wealth suddenly released during the conquest of Alexander the Great, and a second time by the Augustan peace.

The city-state economy was already suffering the fatal malady which declared itself at the same time as the Barbarian invasions of the third Century, and the measures adopted and their lack of success should serve as a warning to modern politicians.

The wars of the 2nd and last centuries BC had drained the native man-power of the Roman republic, and the small Roman farmer, after long periods of compulsory service was often insufficiently recompensed with new grants of land or found that his old farm was encumbered with debt and he himself dependent upon his creditors.

Rome was dependent on corn from Egypt and Africa even before the time of Augustus, when the military command of Egypt was only given to the most

reliable supporters of the ruling party. The grain came by sea to Ostia where huge granaries were set up. It was distributed thence to the *Horrea* or bulk stores near the *Forum Boarium*, the riverside market area of Rome.

Italian agriculture, partly owing to increasing dessication, larger population of the city, and transport difficulties, had failed for many years to supply the urban population. Instead of grain, the luxury fruits, more profitable olives and the rearing of game and fish became the staples of the Roman area. The small farmer, squeezed off his land or tired of toil, was drifting to the city or falling to the status of tenant or overseer on one of the many Patrician estates. These estates were increasingly run by slaves, now plentiful after the many wars.

The large estate which at the beginning of the Empire depended for its manufactured goods on the towns, gradually tended to become self-supporting, developing a villa-economy which only needed the stimulus of the Barbarian inroads of the 3rd Century, to develop into the fortified "manors" of the early Dark Ages. This in turn led to a decline of the small-town, a fact which was very apparent even in Roman Britain by the mid-3rd Century.

City Life

The Plebian population in the larger cities, such as Rome became increasingly dependent on the state which distributed bread, and, through its higher officials, provided innumerable free public entertainments for which the Roman calendar already allowed 184 feast days in the year. The urban population became less fitted for military service.

Very soon even the nominal charge for the public baths was remitted. The position of the poorer city-freedman or citizen was in many ways less satisfactory than that of favoured slaves who often held high official posts in the great households. The Roman mob, whose characteristics do not appear to have changed greatly through the ages, was liable to panic action which could upset the wisest measures of the government in time of crisis, besides being a liability in time of famine.

Roman Hours

The Roman day was curiously divided, for although a 24-hour day was recognised common practice divided the period between sunrise and sunset into 12 hours. It was a case not of summer time but of the summer hour. The poor had little artificial illumination but the public places and the more wealthy houses were plentifully supplied with wick oil lamps of earthenware so common in almost any Roman ex-

cavation. Night life however was common by the 1st Century A.D.

A surprising proportion of the poorer dwellings contained much wood, and the earlier history of Rome has many references to disastrous fires of which the most famous was that of Nero on 18th July 64 which lasted six days.

The later city had many tenements of several stories and the noise in these crowded areas was comparable to that of Old Cairo. The houses of the wealthy are familiar both from literature and excavation. The *Casa di Livia* at Rome is an excellent example and should be visited.

Baths

The public baths rapidly developed with the increase of the city water supply, and the munificence of succeeding Emperors.



A Menade

At one stage it was possible for 62,000 people to bathe in the public baths at one time, in addition to those enjoying the 800 private baths known to have existed. The *Baths of Diocletian* would hold 3,600, those of *Caracalla* 1,600 whilst the volume of water delivered by the city's 19 aqueducts is reliably estimated as 100 gallons per head per day, a figure only exceeded in the last few years in two cities, both outside Italy.

The ritual of the baths was complex and satisfying. Even those in relatively poor circumstances attended with one slave while the wealthy had four or five bearers of the multiple toilet accessories. Those were supplied on payment to the less fortunate. The routine included exercises, tepid bath, sweat bath in the hot air-conditioned *Caldarium*, a cold plunge in *Frigidarium*, a swim in the *Piscina*—a bath common to both male and female sides. The latter, according to

Ovid, was popular as a rendezvous. Hadrian, however, in 117 A.D., instituted separate hours for men and women, for in the 1st Century even Patrician women had so far lost their early modesty as to allow male slaves to attend them for bathing and massage. Gossip, refreshment, scandal, massage and a shave completed the day.

Roman Games

The Roman Games soon developed an Etruscan flavour and the mob demanded and enjoyed the stimulation and excitement of increasingly expensive and bloodthirsty spectacles. Admission was free to the majority of seats and the prices of reserved places near those of the equestrian order were manipulated by ticket sharks in the approved New York manner.

An awning covered the Arena and the Emperor or his representative presided at the games. Queues often formed the previous night and one imperial sufferer from insomnia turned out his guard to suppress the noisy multitude. The performance usually started with the executions for the day. These were followed by gladiatorial processions, then combats and spectacles in which the clumsy and unskilful forfeited their lives.

Martyrs and Amazons

Freak performances were popular and contests between dwarfs and amazons, or men and beasts were eagerly awaited. On one occasion Nero jumped into the arena and single handed despatched a toothless lion. Mock naval battles were staged and grim charades such as that in which Mucius Scaevola held his hand in the fire without flinching or uttering a sound until it was consumed, were favourites.

The theatre was no exception to this taste and adultery was often portrayed, while back in the circus Icarus fell from the sky into the arena. Nothing was left to the dulled imagination, and one is tempted to believe that the Early Christians, by their joyful acceptance of martyrdom, had the added satisfaction of cheating the crowd of some of their pleasure.

Marriage

Marriage, like other rigid institutions of the Roman Republic, underwent many changes. Its aim was the founding of legitimate offspring or the securing of wealth and dowries, rather than one of mutual affection. Divorce was easy and capricious and the quasi-regular union was far more popular than the restraints of legal marriage. Contraception and infanticide were as common as the more dangerous practice of abortion.

A modified form of marriage was permitted to slaves and the practice of keeping a "Focaria" or hearth-mate continued in various forms with similar legal rights, until the early Middle Ages as is evidenced by Papal denunciations of clerical concubinage.

Slavery

Slavery was accepted and protected by Roman law and accepted by Christianity (St. Paul: Epistle to Philemon). Slaves were a profitable investment and only those who were systematically worked to death in the mines or galleys found life intolerable.

Slave Revolt

Loyalty to masters was common and so was the reverse. However, the terrible lesson of the slave revolt of Spartacus which ended with 6,000 crucifixions along the line of the Appian Way, and the powers of the owner who until Imperial times had private right of capital punishment, acted as an effective deterrent to would-be fugitives.

Slaves did the work of the house, the estate and the manufactory. They usually earned a peculium, and often bought or received their liberty. Marriage of a kind was permitted. Breeding farms were established to produce definite types of worker from the household servant to the ballet dancer, who, if complaisant, commanded a price almost as good as that of a Greek physician but probably lower than that of some anatomical freak who would be a proud exhibit in a wealthy household.

Religion

Religious toleration was a feature of the pagan world. All citizens were obliged to pay respect to the genius of the Divine Emperor whose bust appeared in all temples—much as the portrait of a modern dictator. Great latitude was allowed in the case of national religions, such as that of the Jews who received every consideration on account of their then well-known "difficult" make-up. Christians, equally intolerant to Roman eyes, had no such nationalistic excuse and so came periodically under suspicion.

The priestly colleges of the many cults were much like London guilds and worshipful companies—tolerant of each other and upholding many sound virtues and qualities. All tastes were catered for from the most austere, to those of the happy votaries of Dionysius, Isis and Venere Fisica, whose followers were disorderly to the extent of exciting the wrath of Tiberius, who was compelled, after examining the lists of distinguished devotees, to stay his hand

and suppress the names. The old paganism of Rome's origin was a natural and healthy thing, but the pagan cults of the over-sophisticated Roman Empire were often characterised by loose morality.

Food

In the first Century many new fruits such as cherries and peaches were introduced from Asia Minor. The Romans also acquired a taste for fish which they delighted to eat fresh from the tanks of the Market of Trajan, to which an aqueduct brought fresh and salt water or from the private fish pond. Meals soon became

long and complex feasts, in the middle of which the reclining guests would retire to the Vomitorium, later to continue their table pleasures. Drink was plentiful and its consumption part of the ritual of several of the Mystery religions.

Monuments Survive

Such was life in the Rome whose monuments survive everywhere in Italy, in most parts of southern and western Europe and North Africa, and of which many remains can be seen well excavated in Rome.

DECLINE, ECLIPSE and SURVIVAL

Early Symptoms of Decline

At the turn of the 3rd Century a decadence, both in art and government, accompanied the now apparent failure of the city-state economy. Septimus Severus was unable to continue the brilliant record of his distinguished predecessors, particularly that of Marcus Aurelius whose equestrian statue has survived in Rome largely owing to its mistaken veneration as a statue of Constantine.

The works of Severus, who was responsible for much of Lepcis Magna, where he was born, show deterioration in design and rigidity of style and decoration. As example: Arch of Septimus Severus. Those of his successor, Caracalla, whose baths were built in 217, indicate a further decline.

Shortly afterwards the inroads of Northern Barbarians threatened the West and the wall of Aurelian reinforced the defences of Rome after 271. It had a circuit of 19 kilometres, possessed 383 towers and 14 major and 5 minor gates of which many survive.

At the end of the 3rd Century came a period of civil strife which ended with the triumph of Constantine who set out originally from Roman York. In 315, the last of the great monuments, the famous *Arch of Constantine*, was built in Rome.

Council of Nicea

At this time two important events occurred, the founding of Constantinople as a new capital in the now more prosperous East and the recognition of Christianity in A.D. 313. Then followed the council of Nicea called by the Emperor in 325 to decide the Arian dispute, at that time threatening the Christian Church with internal disruption.

Constantine, whose full acceptance of the Christian faith was not made until a few

days before his death, did not order the destruction of paganism, but within 60 years the ample revenues of the old Pontifex Maximus, in his time diverted to the Church, had been swollen by the transfer of those of the lesser temples. By 383, the revenues of the others had also passed to the Christians and at the end of the century the last temples had been closed—but not all destroyed.

The Christian Church, whose main centres were in Africa, Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece lost little time in applying to the pagans the persecutions which they had resented themselves. In the resultant struggle, many of the treasures of Antiquity, including the great Library of Alexandria were destroyed by the hasty action of the mobs. Rome remained as always, a stronghold of the older ways, but with a large Christian community.

At the end of the 4th Century, the Roman Emperor of the West, Honorius, retired to the security of Ravenna, and Rome, except for a short space under Valentinian, ceased to be even the capital of the West. Barbarian inroads increased.

The Army command passed largely to foreigners and only the efforts of such great characters as Stilicho who campaigned even in Britain, preserved Italy from the fate which overtook it in A.D. 410.

Decay and Disaster

In A.D. 410 Rome fell to the Goths under Alaric who allowed his relatively disciplined troops two days' pillage and another four in the vicinity of the city.

In 455, Genseric, after occupying Sicily, seized Ostia, and his Vandal troops were allowed 14 days to search Rome for the treasures that his predecessor, Alaric had overlooked. The 14 days was a mitigation of the pillage in response to an appeal of the Bishop of Rome who saw his plunderers sail away with the jewels of the

Empress and the persons of her daughters.

In 476 the Western Roman Empire came to its official close with a third sacking of the city by the Goths, this time deposing the last Emperor whose name was Romulus Augustulus. The Gothic Odoacer was succeeded by Theodoric, who did much to restore the past destruction and to improve the roads and aqueducts around the damaged city, but before the Gothic Kingdom of Italy was firmly established the Byzantine Armies of the Eastern Emperor had taken Africa, Sicily and Naples in a campaign as brilliantly accomplished as that of 1942-43.

Byzantine Influence

The city of Rome welcomed their Byzantine deliverers and the Bishop of Rome invited Justinian's representative to accept



Bakery Ovens & Grindstones. II Cent. B.C.

the voluntary allegiance of the Holy See on December 9, 536.

Within four months 150,000 Goths summoned from North of the Appenines, were besieging the 12 miles circuit of the Aurelian Wall. Hadrian's Mausoleum was converted into a fort, and after a siege of 374 days, reinforcements enabled the garrison to sally after the now retreating enemy.

In 546, Rome fell, by treachery, again to the Goths who enjoyed a scarcely earned pillage. The walls were partially destroyed and only the personal intervention of Belisarius, whose army was too weak to protect the city, saved the city's monuments from total destruction.

In 547, the city was once more retrieved by Belisarius and the walls restored sufficiently to be of use when, in 549, another Isaurian treacherously re-admitted the Goths. The Byzantines sent a new army under the Palace eunuch Narses, who entered Rome in triumph in July, 552.

Thus, in a period of 26 years, Rome

changed hands 5 times, was pillaged twice, and endured in addition over a year of siege. The wonder is that so much remains of its past glories.

During the Gothic war the Roman Senate, whose members had been dispersed throughout Italy, were slain. The city was in disorder. The aqueducts had been cut or had fallen into disrepair, and the population was forced to seek quarters nearer the perennial water supply of the Tiber and where the *Ponte Rotto* afforded a crossing. The suburbs were totally ruined, the vineyards and olive groves had gone back to a wild state, while malaria flourished in the abandoned countryside.

Early Dark Ages

This state of affairs was aggravated by the division of Italy into warring kingdoms, duchies and principalities which disputed between each other, with the Lombards and the Byzantine Exarchs of Ravenna, for the now ruined provinces. Such then was the state of Rome and Italy at the time of the great Pope Gregory, who, after renouncing his wealth and Patrician privileges, found himself compelled to accept the direction of the city when called to the vacant Bishopric of Rome. Previous Bishops of Rome living in the old Lateran after the departure of the Emperors, had assumed responsibility for the defence of the city against Attila—who never came, and against Genseric—who took it unopposed by arms.

Gregory the Great not only restored order in the Church service but assisted in the restoration of the city whose population had fallen from 1,250,000 to little over 50,000 in two centuries. He initiated missions to the northern heathen, one of which under Augustine, first Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded in converting the people of Kent in A.D. 597 and laying one of the foundations of Christianity in England. St. Gregory, after whom the Gregorian chant is named, was accorded by Constantinople, limited oecumenical recognition in the West during his lifetime. Judged by the standards of both Church and state, he was one of the greatest Pontiffs.

The effects of his work endure to the present day.

The Revival of the Roman Empire in the West

Charlemagne

In the 8th Century, disturbances, which followed the decree of the Emperor Leo against images in Church worship, were seized upon by the Lombards as an occasion for an attack on the dominion of the Exarch of Ravenna.

Soon Rome found the newly converted Lombards a greater menace than the more distant Emperor and Greek Patriarch in Constantinople. Hence, by secret treaty, the Franks were persuaded by the Holy See to attack the Lombards who were defeated in a series of campaigns.

Finally on Christmas Day, 799, Charlemagne was crowned in St. Peter's as Emperor of the revived "Holy Roman Empire." One should remember that Charlemagne's Empire was divided in three after his death. On the abdication of his degenerate descendant Charles the Fat, Otto of Saxony assumed the throne, and the Pope confirmed Otto's title of Emperor of the "Holy Roman Empire." Thus the subsequent appearance of German Princes as "Roman" Emperors in succeeding ages is not difficult to understand.

In the early 9th Century, Rome had in a large measure recovered her old energy. The city was renewed, the arts flourished, many travellers made pilgrimages and the Western authority of the Popes was sustained. Popes became arbiters of princely succession, and even Anglo-Saxon Kings—among them Alfred—paid their respects to the Holy City.

Unfortunately, in August, 846, Rome saw the arrival of a Saracen fleet of 73 ships which carried 11,000 infantry and 500 cavalry to the very Tiber bridges. The basilica of St. Peter and St. Paul was sacked and only the timely arrival of the Neapolitans drove off the invaders. After the Saracen retreat, Pope Leo IV built a wall around the Vatican and founded the Leonine city.

Feudal Anarchy X to XII Centuries

The decline of Italy and Rome into feudal anarchy was rapid. For two centuries the Papal See was alternately contending with the vexed problems of survival, internal disorders, and the maintenance of its grudgingly conceded oecumenical authority in the West.

Powerful feudal Lords, Kings and Emperors interfered with the appointment of Bishops who often became, or were drawn from, the fighting nobles. This explains the many curious results which followed the unscrupulous use of force. For example, in February 931, Pope Stefano VIII was murdered at the instigation of Marozia, Countess of Provenza. His successor Giovanni XI, a youth and a son of Marozia by Pope Sergio III, a former Count of Tuscolo, was subsequently deposed by his brother Alberic and died in prison.

Thus under the influence of her turbulent barons and acquiescent mob, Rome

experienced 60 turbulent years, during which time 11 Popes and three papal usurpers were elected before the more scholarly Sylvester II restored a sounder succession. This in turn gave way before the stress of the times and in the early stages of the Norman invasion even strong characters like Hildebrand died in exile from Rome. Hildebrand was buried at Salerno.

At the close of the century, the first Crusade drew off the full impact of the Normans and under Urban II and Paschal II, a brief revival of the arts restored the city before its involvement in the renewed ferment of the Commune in the succeeding century. *Santa Maria in Cosmedin*, near the *Temple of Fortuna Virile* dates from these times.

English Pope

The Crusades had inevitably caused new ideas to percolate throughout Europe and to this Rome was no exception. Arnold of Brescia, a poor but eloquent monk, began preaching in the streets against the Temporal Power and armed strength of some of the wealthy clergy. He went so far as to suggest that even the Pope should put aside his by now traditional authority in Rome in favour of the constitution of the city. His ideas were not new, only the boldness of expression, which so stirred the city that, in 1144, Arnold found himself virtual master of Rome. He endeavoured to revive the ancient municipal government and officials and maintained his position until 1154 when a stronger Pope, Adrian IV, soon determined that Arnold, at least, should go.

The Holy Rome Emperor was the means to the end and after he had done homage to Adrian by holding his stirrup, the short-lived Roman Republic was modified by the condemnation of its ruler. Arnold was burnt as a heretic. Adrian was the only English Pope—he was a firm upholder of discipline.

The Roman Commune continued in a less aggressive form, compelling weak Popes to do homage to it before entering the city and wisely bowing down itself to the sterner Innocent III, who reduced the Senate to a committee of one, which member he kept firmly under his own thumb.

City Government in Rome XIII Century

The Roman populace did not like to abandon its dreams of reviving its ancient institutions and forms of government. In varying degrees it maintained representative institutions despite the varying opposition of either Pope or Emperor. The Pope reserved the right of approval of

popular choice. The Emperor sometimes vetoed the approval or supported those who had not obtained it, and the unfortunate Chief Magistrates frequently found themselves with three unequal masters.

The new Roman senate commenced to issue coinage which bore on one side St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator and on the reverse the Saviour. The device "Roma Caput Mundi" (Rome Head of the World), SPQR (Senate and People of Rome)" seems a bold claim for a city with no industries and no commerce to support its declining and poverty-stricken masses who depended for sustenance, like their imperial predecessors, on public bounty or the protection of the warring nobles.

Roman Senators

Later in the 13th century the Roman senate adopted the practice of calling in some distinguished outside noble to undertake the thankless task of Prefect of the City. In such a way the Bolognese Brancalione was elected in 1252, and later in 1265 Charles of Anjou and Provence, undertook the position.

The election of Charles of Anjou, who subsequently took the crown of Naples from the German descendants of Barbarossa had two important results. It was the means of spreading French craftsmen and architecture over Southern Italy, leading to a flourishing Provençal Gothic Art. It also led the Pope to propose a ban on any prince or other prominent noble holding the office of Roman senator.

Holy Year 1300 A.D.

The condition of Rome still remained one of delicate political balance and towards the end of the century. Boniface VIII, no doubt impressed by the enthusiasm of the citizens for the glories of ancient Rome proposed to revive, in Christian form, the secular games which were formerly held at the end of each century. In 1300 he proposed a Holy Year. Vast numbers of pilgrims came from all parts of Europe to the seven pilgrimage churches of Rome. It is reliably estimated that nearly two million pilgrims visited the city and so great was the crowd that their needs and wants occupied the local population to the exclusion of party fighting. At the suggestion of the populace, and in the interest of the would-be pilgrim, the institution was revived first at 50-year, then at 33, and finally at 25-year intervals.

On the death of Boniface, a French Pope was elected with the name of Clement V. Afraid to trust himself as a

stranger in the Roman city he wisely elected to remain under the protection of the French King, establishing his Court at Avignon in 1309. There the Popes dwelt for nearly 70 years.

Rome in XIV Century The warring factions

Meanwhile Rome, without a temporal ruler, witnessed the intervention of the German Emperor and the rapid popular banishment of a Papal Usurper. For many years the nobles had seized for themselves vantage points among the old ruins of the city, and had built strongholds from which they set out with their retainers to prosecute their feuds or to visit their nearby country estates.

Two families, the Colonna and the Orsini, headed the main factions. Colonna was usually for the Emperor and the populace; Orsini for the Pope.

The Colonna faction were known as Ghibellines; and the Orsini as Guelphs. Before long their differences were perpetuated in the similar struggles which convulsed other Italian cities of the Renaissance. Dante was exiled by the Guelph faction of his city and many references to those troubles find record and revenge in his Divine Comedy.

As a Fortress the *Castel St. Angelo* served the Orsini, for a time the Colonna used part of the *Colosseum*. The *Theatre of Marcellus* was the base of a Savelli stronghold. The Conti had a tower which in Petrarch's day was nearly 150 feet high and part of it still survives. The Caetani received from Boniface VIII the *Tomb of Cecilia* which, equipped with two drawbridges, was used as a base from which to extract private tolls from the users of the road to Rome.

Boniface himself entered the Faction fights in the spirit of a crusade, and after the departure of the Popes conditions became even worse. It is said that over three quarters of the city within the walls had reverted to gardens or pastures and the times were ripe for another popular revolt.

Rienzi

What followed was one of the more curious interludes of history. Its central figure was Nicola Rienzi, reputed bastard of a German Emperor, and apparently son of an innkeeper and washerwoman, born near the old Ghetto, into which the Jews of Rome had been confined since the end of the Empire. Rienzi had a good education and was at one time befriended by the Colonna, one of whom was then a Cardinal.

Fate made him master of Rome where he seized power in 1347 during the temporary absence of Stefano Colonna, whose family thenceforward became his most bitter opponents. The Commune he had headed was filled with wishful thinking and unpracticable solutions for the revival of the glorious past. His first term lasted six months. He went into exile, was arrested by the Emperor, condemned to death at Avignon, and later returned with the Papal Legate to Rome in 1354.

This time he was again installed by an enthusiastic people beginning to tire of their perpetual turmoil, but his unbalanced conduct, theatrical behaviour and treacherous execution of one of his backers, led to his downfall.

Like most Italian dictators he paid with his life, and the contempt of the people who had so recently welcomed him was expressed to his body. Like Arnaldo and his misguided Senate, "he mistook the memories of the past for hope of the future."

Papal Elections

At this stage a passing reference to the election of the Popes is not out of place. Originally the people of Rome played a part in the choosing of their Bishop, but the voting was subsequently limited to the clergy. There were occasions in which the position of the powerful nobles and the Roman mob placed the elections under a certain constraint. Finally, in 1179, it was decided that the election should be determined by the College of Cardinals, who were simply the senior clergy of the Diocese of Rome. The College, as at Viterbo, in 1272, sometimes took a long time in arriving at a decision. The populace angrily surrounded the Palace, locked in the Cardinals and tore off the roof. The Cardinals obtained the protection of tents,

but finally the reduction of their food and supplies hastened the decision. The chosen one drew up new rules of procedure. From this incident it is said, arises the term *Conclave* and the practice of shutting in the Sacred College during the Papal election.

One other reference for the period. On the return of the Papal Court from Avignon there was a majority of French Cardinals in the College, and in fear of another French Pope, popular feeling was once again expressed. The Roman mob surrounded the Sacred College enclosed for their election, shouting "Death, or an Italian Pope." They elected as Urban VI, the then Archbishop of Bari.

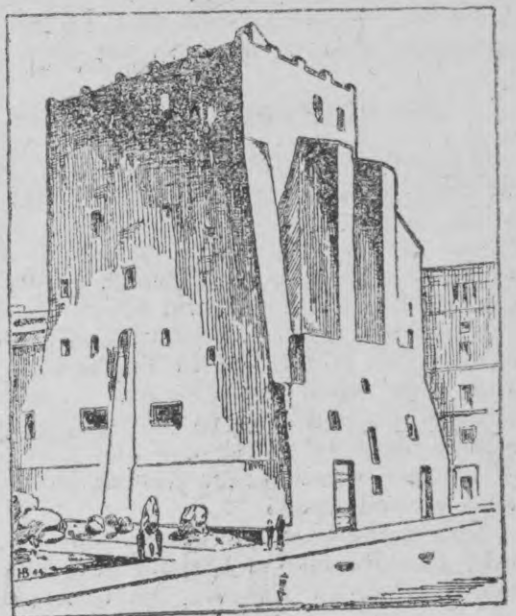
The Arts XI-XIV Centuries

It must not be supposed that during these troubled times the arts were wholly dead. In the 11th and 12th Centuries considerable restoration of Roman Churches was carried out. In particular, *St. Sabina*, the *Prasade* and *S. Cecilia*. Good antique stone was dragged from classic temples, for it was found that the cost and difficulties of transport had vastly increased the value of the material which Rome had plentifully at hand.

In the 13th Century the Gothic influence spread in southern Italy but hardly touched Rome, where the old style lingered. The population of Rome which might have been 50,000 at the time of the Jubilee—exclusive of Pilgrims—was further reduced by a plague in the middle of the Century, when it fell to a level almost as low in proportion as the 17th Century Athens, then only a village.

Rome, which had 1,250,000 inhabitants in the time of the Emperor Hadrian, had 17,000 about 1350 after the Black Death.

MEDIAEVAL ROME — *Torre dei Conti*. Remains of the fortress residence of the Conti family. This tower was said by Petrarch to be the tallest in Rome. It then reached a height of 150 ft and was surmounted with crenalations.



15th CENTURY ONWARDS

Beginning of Roman Revival and Renaissance

After the return of the Popes from Avignon, Martin V revived the papal coinage and devoted his attention to increasing the amenities of the town and restoring its overgrown streets and gardens. In this he was assisted by a perceptible improvement in the tempers of the Roman nobility and townspeople.

The times, however, had shown that Rome was lagging behind the cities of Northern and Southern Italy in the Arts of Building, letters, and Government. A great revival was at hand, and if the successors of Martin may sometimes have strayed from the path of strict conduct demanded by their position and by Canon Law, their contribution to Rome and to the world of Art cannot be denied.

It was the period when Rome awoke from her mediaeval barbarism. A succession of strong Popes enriched the Church with libraries, paintings, chapels and statues; the city with public buildings and their newly enobled families with benefices and gold.

Nicolas V founded the *Vatican Library*. Sixtus VI founded the *Chapel and Choir and Bridge* which bear his name; also he extended the Library. Alexander VI, both by his decoration of the *Borgia apartments* and his patronage of artists sponsored a continued development of the art of his day.

Innocent VIII by persuading his near relative by marriage, Lorenzo the Magnificent, to send Pollaiuolo to Rome, started the great lead and ascendancy which Rome soon obtained, when, under Julius II, Michelangelo, Bramante and Rafael were simultaneously at work in the city.

Renaissance Palaces

At the same time the warring Roman nobility changed their habits and vied with each other, and the newly created Papal aristocracy, in the rivalry of Palace building. This late Renaissance flowering in the city has left a splendid series of palace facades and church restorations. Despite subsequent mutilation in succeeding ages, and even when seen against incongruous later styles and modern settings, these are still a pleasure to the eye and a reminder of a Rome whose lesser records have otherwise passed away.

The earliest of the Renaissance Palaces was the *Palazzo Capranica* but the well known *Palazzo Venezia*, from whose bal-

cony Mussolini delivered his rodomontades is the one which deserves first attention. It was built in 1464 and its severity confirms the impression that it is a transitional stage between the fortified towers of the warring factions and the residential palaces which arose at the turn of the Century. (See fig. p. 17).

As examples of these the *Palazzo Borgia* and *Governo Vecchio* together with the *Palazzo del Cancelleria* should be studied. One must not forget the new defences of the *Castel S. Angelo* and the facade of *S. Maria sopra Minerva* as military and ecclesiastical examples of the same age.

These renaissance buildings exploited mass and texture to gain the background for their effect and even with increasing lightness and greater decoration in the 16th Century, they never attained the ornates of the Baroque.

XVI Century

At the close of the century the peace, which even the efforts of the Borgia Pope could not maintain, was broken. Rome however, escaped serious damage despite the passage of four armies between 1495 and 1501. Only disease left its permanent mark.

One further set-back was to follow before the great revival. In 1527 the German mercenaries of Charles V sacked the city to the accompaniment of all the traditional acts of violence which are popularly associated with such events. The population was reduced by nearly two-thirds to 30,000 but it rapidly rose in the next decade.

In 1550 a city plan shows the centre of population to be still on the site of the old *Field of Mars* and across the river in the Trastevere. The tops of the hills were bare and deserted and only the Campodoglio remained a civic centre as it was even in the dark days of Rienzi.

At this time everything favoured the revival of Rome, for the Roman religious revival was then in full swing. The skilful missionaries superbly trained by the followers of Loyola were being sent out to all the countries of Europe and as far afield as India and Japan. The lost provinces of the church had largely been regained, and even England hung in the balance.

The new spirit at first stimulated the old architecture and only later called forth a new. In the old style arose S. Peters, still a Roman conception in its mass and pillared vistas. The palaces of the Cenci—whose judicial murder is recalled by

Shelley — Torlonia and Medici together with the Villa Madama decorated to the designs of Rafael are also among the many surviving examples.

Space does not permit mention either of the artistic achievements or the human relationships of the artistic triumvirate Bramante, Rafael and Michelangelo. Their work is best seen and not read: it nevertheless in many ways reflects their very different treatment by their contemporary patrons. It is tempting to imagine Michelangelo's reception of the news that his Patron's successor had ordered the clothing of some of his finest figures by the passable hand of his pupil Volterra, the "Breeches Maker." His "Last Judgment" took seven years to complete and in it, like Dante in the Divine Comedy, he has taken subtle revenge on his enemies.

Despite outward respect for the classical past, Rome often used her ancient monuments as quarries and Rafael reported that most of the mortar of the city owed its excellence to the quality of the antique marble from which it was burnt. Nevertheless the Colosseum was declared a Christian monument and its spoliation ceased.

XVI and XVII Centuries

The late 16th and 17th Century gave Rome much of its present nucleus and despite many unfortunate restorations of old buildings to new tastes some pleasing Baroque architecture was produced amid a crowd of atrocities.

The *Piazza of S. Peters*, the *Palazza Chigi* and the *Villa Doria Pamphili* and the *Pamphili Palace* are of this period. The last two recall that strange figure Innocent X who, as he lay dying, was robbed even of his brass candlestick while his terrible relations discovered his sole remaining hoard of coins which he had succeeded in hiding to the last moment. Later he was buried in a deal coffin and subsequently covered with a monument which is a model of contemporary ugliness.

XVIII Century

18th Century Rome was an attractive city despite the ravages of Roman Fever and the total absence of sanitation. It was an age in which the newly aroused interest in the past — stimulated by the discoveries of Herculaneum — attracted the Antiquary and the Treasure-seeker rather than the Archaeologist and the Historian.

Arbitrary and erroneous names were given to the many surviving ruins and Rome was a happy hunting ground for those who admired ruins for their own sake and appreciated them for their

artistic value. The Forum was still an overgrown tangle of wild vines and rough pasture on which flocks wandered. The broken columns covered with vegetation or encrusted with equally ruinous mediæval tenements were the subject of innumerable delicate engravings by such artists as Piranesi.

Benedict XIV, a great jurist and philanthropist, commenced vigorous schemes of improvement. The *Appian Way* was rebuilt, museums founded, the *Pontine Marshes* partially controlled, and the rudiments of a sanitary system were established.

This excellent programme was interrupted by the military intervention of Napoleon who resented the Papal encouragement and support of the Allied armies who opposed him and the French Revolution. Money intended for the development of Rome was diverted to pay the fine imposed by Napoleon.

Worse was to follow. In 1799 the Roman mobs futilely rioted against the occupying French Troops. The reaction was immediate; the Pope an old man then very ill was arrested, and died in exile. His successor Pius VII continued to oppose Napoleon, and remained a virtual prisoner of the Military Government of the King of Rome — a title held by Napoleon's infant son.

Michelangelo's Moses

The French Commission of fine arts carefully catalogued the treasures of the city and a good selection was made for exportation to France. Among the statuary they removed were two figures by Michelangelo known as the Captives. They were part of the unfinished tomb of Julius II the sole remaining figure of which can be seen in the statue of *Moses*, at the church of *San Pietro In Vincolo* — Saint Peter's Chains.

After 1815 there was a brief period in which Rome almost returned to the calm of the late 18th century and at this time its charm and atmosphere were to give inspiration to both Keats and Shelley. Shelley wrote *Prometheus Unbound In Rome* in 1819. But Rome, too, was a scene of successive losses of the poets two infants and of Keats' death. Perhaps these lines do reflect the atmosphere of the city of his day as well as of his sorrow.

"Go thou to Rome — at once the
Paradise

The grave, the city, and the wilder-
ness;"

* * * * *

"And grey walls moulder round on
which dull Time

Feeds like slow fire upon a hoary
brand
And one keen pyramid* with wedge
sublime
Pavilioning the dust of him who
planned
This refuge for his memory, doth
stand."

* * * * *
" Romes Azure Sky
Flowers, ruins, statues, music, words,
are weak
The glory they transfuse with fitting
words to speak."

* * * * *
The lines are from Shelley's "Adonais."

Temporal Eclipse

In 1848 a wave of revolution convulsed Europe and its suppression was followed by many disturbances in Italy which was feeling its way to unification. The Papal states stretched across Central Italy separating rebellious Sicily and resurgent Lombardy from each other.

Already in 1849, Rome, in one of its perpetual civil disturbances, had declared itself a Republic, and perhaps on account of the equivocal position adopted in 1848, the people's attitude was such that the Pope retired in haste to Gaeta. He returned with an army from Roman Catholic powers of Europe, which after piercing the old *Aurelian Wall*, compelled Garibaldi's partisans to retire from the city.

In 1860 only the province of Lazio remained under the direct temporal jurisdiction of Papal Rome, though bands of Sanfedisti and other near-brigands maintained sporadic centres of resistance in the mountainous districts of Southern Italy.

In 1867 Garibaldi again penetrated near Rome but suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the French and Papal troops. In 1870, during the Franco-Prussian War the Italian Government declared Rome to be the capital of Italy and their forces entered the city unopposed.

The residence of the *Quirinal* was taken over and became the Royal Palace; the Pope retired to the *Vatican* where he remained in voluntary seclusion pending a satisfactory settlement of his claims to extra territoriality. (This is dealt with in the note on Vatican City, written by a Roman Catholic padre). In 1870 a council of the Church was held, and it defined among other important matters the question of Papal infallibility.

After the city had resumed its place as a capital, its growth was phenomenal. It rapidly acquired that basis of industry

* The pyramid is that of Caius Cestius—near Porta San Paolo built in the time of Augustus. Circa—30 B.C.

and administrative employment necessary for an increasing population. In 1870 its population had been 208,000. a year later it had risen by 32,000 while by 1888 it was declared to be 400,000 rising to 705,000 by 1912.

Rapid Expansion

An immense programme of city improvement and re-housing was carried out after 1870. First of all the Jews were released from the Ghetto and the obligation of attendance at certain ceremonies. Then the insanitary mediaeval Ghetto was razed during the measures taken in 1870 to improve the city sanitation.

The Tiber was re-embanked as in the days of Imperial Rome. The year 1880 is also worthy of record as the one in which proper care was first taken of the thousands of confiscated manuscripts taken from the Monastic libraries after the early anti-clerical measures of Garibaldi's Italy. An autograph letter of Columbus had been noticed by a student as the wrapping for his 50 grammes of butter thus leading to the detection of the criminal caretaker, who was selling his stores as waste paper.

The Mussolini government took great pride in clearing the city of many of its earlier slums in order to display to its new Roman citizens the glories of the old. Whatever the motives, the results were excellent and it is hoped that the work will continue.

On June 4th, 1944, the Allied Armies drove German Forces from the city. It is too early to comment on the present state of the many magnificent art collections of Rome.

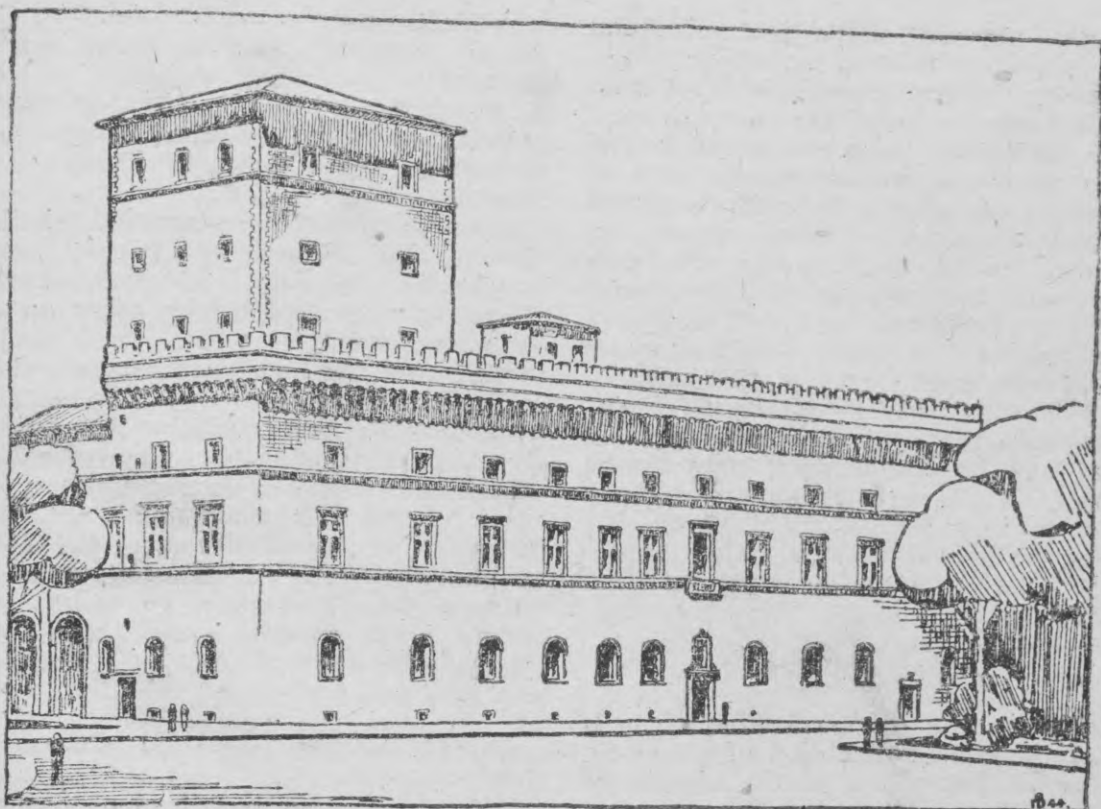
Museums

The Vatican Museums are of course of great importance and so are those collections housed in the Renaissance and other Palaces.

The *Museo del Terme*, The *Museum of Villa Julia*, the *Galleria Nazionale D'Arte Antica in Roma*, *Pigorini Museum of Pre-history* which contains incidentally a dried Maori head, and the *Spada Galleries* should be seen. There is also an excellent *Museum of Modern Art*. A number of military and Church museums are to be found in such places as the *Castel S. Angelo* and attached to many of the churches. The *Capitoline Museum* is also important.

At Ostia is a good local museum at the excavations.

Ostia, it will be remembered, was the ancient port of Rome and lay originally at the mouth of the Tiber which has considerably changed its course since Roman times.



THE OLDER ROMES

Via dell'Impero

The recently constructed Via dell'Impero which runs from the Palazzo Venezia—a link with the Rome of the Torre del Conti and the factions—to the Colosseum, cuts across the surviving heart of Imperial Rome.

The *Palazzo Venezia* has already been mentioned, and the nearby *Church of St. Mark* referred to elsewhere. Look at the statue known as *Madama Lucrezia* at the corner of the Palazzo and the Palazzetto. It was once a popular object for May Day ceremonies which included the Floral crowning of this somewhat robust lady.

Nearby is the large memorial to *Victor Emanuel II* completed in 1911 and surrounded with various symbols of all the cities of Italy and the War of Unification. The tomb of the Unknown Warrior and the important *Column of Trajan* covered in reliefs make this area a record of Italian struggles over a wide period of time. A description of either is, however, unnecessary.

Excavations

Behind the Memorial and towards the Campodoglio is the *Museo del Risorgi-*

mento and among a number of minor remains is the Tabularium.

Passing into the *Forum of Caesar* one should notice the ruins of the *Tavern* which look particularly desolate against the angle of the white Victor Emmanuel memorial. The *Temple of Venere Genetrix* (c. 100 A.D.) has some excellent carvings and a small *Forica* or public latrine can be studied nearby. It is close to the *Clivo Argentaria* and the remains of a *Nymphæum*.

The domed church is the 17th Century, *S. Luca e Martina*, one of the few of that age in Rome. A little farther down is the famous prison or *Tullanium* where the great captives of Roman Triumphs were housed. It is one of the few structures of the earlier Republican age which remain. Next is the *Curia Julia* which has been occupied by the *Church of S. Adrian*, which actually conserves a 3rd Century building attributed to Diocletian.

The *Foro Romano* will undoubtedly have an air of familiarity, though the recent excavations have changed some of the views which were best known. The *Temple of Antonino and Faustina* has been partly used as the Portico of the *Church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda*. Illustrations of the Temple such as on

old coins show a wider space between the two central pillars.

The 6th Century church of *S. Cosma and Damiano*, which has a wide-eyed fresco of Christ, deserves attention and farther on is the well-known *Basilica of Constantine* on a site formerly occupied in Roman times by a spice warehouse. Converted to a Basilica in the 4th Century sufficient remains to gain a good idea of its original form. The *statue of Constantine* within was found elsewhere and did not form part of the original.

The *Temple of Venus and Roma*, obnoxious to the early Christians, is now isolated and its rudimentary state serves to emphasise the well preserved *Arch. of Constantine* just beyond. This Arch was the last triumphal monument of importance erected in Rome.

The Colosseum

The *Colosseum* needs no introduction. It was *not* the site of execution of either St. Paul, or St. Peter, nor of the victims of Nero's persecution for it was not commenced until A.D. 72

The *Colosseum* owes its spoliation largely to the hands of the Roman citizens. In the 8th Century it was intact and the prophecy, "As long as the Colosseum stands, Rome will stand, When it falls, Rome will fall, and when Rome falls so will the world" is attributed to the English Venerable Bede, 8th. Century Benedictine Historian of Jarrow.

It was used for Bull fighting as late as the 14th Century and in one famous fight 18 were killed and nine wounded, an occasion for much excitement and a grand funeral. This was in 1332. Seventeen years later one side fell down in an earthquake which also overthrew many of the classical columns in the forum.

No trace remains of the huge bronze statue known as the Colossus which formerly stood to 110 feet on a pedestal 22 feet square beside the Colosseum.

Here, the visitor should retrace his steps along the other side of the *Via del Impero*. The impressive tower, converted for habitation, is the remains of the famous *Torre dei Conti*, tallest of the Roman mediaeval fortified dwellings.

In the *Forum of Nerva* is a delightful gateway flanked by two light columns the 'collonace' and surmounted, above a well preserved cornice, by a plaque of *Minerva*. It dates from about 97 AD and is the remains of the "boundary wall" of *Nerva's Forum*.

Another monument familiar from many illustrations is to be found in the near by *Forum of Augustus*. Iris the *Temple*

of *Marte Ultore*, whose delicate Corinthian columns have been carefully restored.

Perched on the top of the northern exhaedra—recess—of the Forum is the Priory of the Knights of Rhodes, a 15th Century structure.

The semi-circular arcaded buildings behind the Forum of Trajan are the celebrated Markets of that Emperor. Formerly they had among other amenities a water supply of both fresh and salt water, for the fish were usually bought alive.

It will be perceived that this itinerary has taken the visitor from the Victor Emmanuel memorial to the Colosseum and back almost to the starting point.

Such places of interest as the *Via Sacra*, the *Baths of Diocletian*, and the *Museo del Terme* are, of course, worth while visiting. Others will also suggest themselves.

Early Churches

The earliest christian churches in Rome appear to have been the Baptistries and the little sepulchral shrines of the Catacombs. Later some for the Pagan buildings were taken over for christian use and it is probable that in many instances these early christian buildings may have been re-used secular buildings as at Sabratha.

Three churches are specially worthy of mention, and a further series of churches having early foundations (of which some traces remain) will also be listed.

The *Pantheon*, built by Augustus in 27 B.C. and restored by Hadrian, was closed by the Christian Emperors. It had formerly contained the statues of the principal Gods, but not as the name suggests, *all* the Gods from Jove to Christ. In 609 AD it was re-opened as a christian church dedicated as *S. Maria dei Martiri*.

In the troubled days of mediaeval Rome it was sought as vantage point in the party dog-fights but the promises of the Roman Senators protected it. Pope Urban VII "converted" the remainder of the bronze roof for gun metal for his *Castel S. Angelo* and for the throne canopy of St. Peter's. He thus earned the Pasquinade* "Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barberini"—"what the barbarians did not do the Barberini

*A name applied to such comment, then, being daringly written up by one, Pasquino, who escaped actual detection at the time.

did—"Urban VII was a Barberini.

The *Church of San Marco* is to be found in the little Piazza of that name by the *Palazzo Venezia*. Said to have been founded originally in 336 AD it was rebuilt in the 8th and 9th Centuries and subsequently has been much enriched. It contains some good 9th century mosaics in the apse, and despite much Baroquing, is still attractive.

Santa Maria Maggiore. This church above all others conveys the impression of dignity and good proportion of the pure Basilica style. Its columns in the Nave are all Ionic and alike, and despite many additions in later ages it retains its essential simplicity of line. It is a 4th-5th Century foundation, like S. Marco.

Other early foundations. Of the Baptistries, that of *San Giovanni in Fonte* on the site of the Lateran Nymphium, *San Praxede* and *San Piudenzia* are all early. The *Baptistry of Constantine* was not the site of that Emperor's Baptism, nor was it built by him.

To the 5th Century belong *S. Maria Antica* in the Foro Romano, *San Croce in Gerusalemme*—the church Helena's true Cross—*San Sabina* and the now damaged *San Lorenzo fuori le Mura*.

Other churches of early foundation or built on pre-Christian temples which should be visited are *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, *S. Maria in Trastevere* and *Maria in Aracoeli*, where Gibbon is said to have had the inspiration to plan his monumental "Decline and Fall." To VII Century belongs *San Georgio in Velabra* with its 13th Century portico.

Reference has already been made to *S. Pietro in Vincola*, with its statue of Moses by Michelangelo. Those who wish to see further churches should remember the underground basilica at the Porta Maggiore, the early 4th-7th Century foundation of *S. Agnes fuori le Mura* and of course the *Lateran Basilica*.

Beneath *S. Giovanni e Paulo* there are some good mosaics while the 13th Century *S. Quattro Coronati* is of interest. This last group is all around the Esquiline.

The Catacombs

The *Catacombs* have always appealed to the imagination of later and often ill-informed writers. The *Catacombs* are essentially underground burial chambers cut out in favourable volcanic deposits which permit of the easy construction of such galleries.

The *Catacombs* occur mostly in a small

well-defined area between the second and third milestone from the Wall along the *Via Appia Antica*. They do not form an underground network beneath Rome and certainly do not cross the Tiber.

They were constructed largely from a desire on the part of the early Christians to avoid contamination with the pagan dead, the inconvenience of getting official extensions to their burial grounds, and a desire to conceal from the authorities the true strength of the community.

The earliest burials seem to date from the 1st or early 2nd Century. The bodies were placed in niches cut in the galleries, not unlike the arrangement in a modern Italian cemetery.

The oldest graves are at the top, extensions being obtained by deepening the gallery which seldom exceeds 7 feet. Later on when pressure on space became severe, tombs were built upwards or made in the floors of the gallery. In Jewish Catacombs the bodies were sometimes buried vertically.

The decoration was at first meagre, but especially towards the 3rd Century the more usual enlarged chamber-tomb lent itself to conversion into a small shrine. Some of the earliest Christian frescoes showing religious—and even secular—subjects are to be found in these.

In the 4th Century, when times were more secure, small shrines were developed above the ground and the "exhedrae trichorae", tiny triapsidal basilicas made their appearance. In essence they were a Christian version of the current pagan tomb. Similar examples occur commonly to-day, only the architectural form has changed.

The best *Catacombs* to visit are probably those of *S. Callistus* outside the *Porta S. Sebastiano* along the *Via Appia Antica*. Incidentally it was near here in the sacred grove that Numa used to meet the nymph Egeria.

Not all *Catacomb* burials are Christian. Many are Jewish and some are Pagan. It is possibly to overcome this element of doubt that twenty five wagon loads of bones were removed for burial beneath the Altar of a Roman Church, at its refoundation. Some must have been those of good Christians.

The *Catacombs* fell into disuse in the 5th Century when the Barbarian invasions ruined the suburbs. Thereafter the cemeteries were within the walls or even in the churches.

In the Middle Ages the *Catacombs* were rifled for martyr's bones but their maintenance and preservation are good.

VATICAN CITY

CONDENSED FROM A KORERO REPORT

The importance of the Vatican in the modern world depends on two facts—first, that the Pope is the spiritual head of 400 million people; second, that they are found in every race and class and almost everywhere.

This involves the Vatican in a unique responsibility and confers on it a considerable moral power. Further, history shows that this institution is not the child of any national state; on the contrary, Rome, through the influence of her moral and juridical ideas, has been the mother of the modern nations of Europe. Consequently, she stands in a unique and universal relationship with the modern world.

This relationship gives rise to these two conditions which are practically indispensable to the Pope if he is to fulfil his traditional functions in the world of to-day: First, that he be free from particular cares of state; second, that he be quite independent of any other sovereign. This means, in practice, that he must himself be an independent temporal power.

Moral Influence

This apparent contradiction arises from the fear which Europe has always felt lest the Popes's moral influence be placed at the disposal of any one Great Power to the exclusion of the rest. It is, therefore, repugnant to all that the Bishop of Rome should be the subject of any.

Even the rulers of Protestant countries have traditionally favoured this view. It has, in fact, been a constant aim of British policy in the nineteenth century. When the Italian forces captured Rome in 1870 there was a well-grounded fear that the new Italian State might subject the Pope to constraint or even violence.

Gladstone had a British gun-boat standing off Ostia ready to take the Pope to England, "the classic land of liberty" as the late Pope called it.

Hence the creation of an independent Vatican State in 1929 met with general satisfaction. In 1870 the Pope had been completely stripped by the new Italian government of every shred of his temporal power. A state which had existed with the consent of the whole world for over a thousand years, thus, at one blow, ceased to be. It had risen naturally and of historic necessity on the ruins of the Roman Empire. It suited everybody but the turbulent nobles; but it clashed with

the rising aspirations of Italian nationalism. The problem so brusquely treated was not solved, but shelved.

However, after nearly sixty years of fruitless and unhappy conflict the time seemed ripe for conciliation by compromise on both sides. In 1929 a treaty was signed between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Italy.

The Pope gave up all claims to the former states of the Church and recognised the right of Italy to occupy Rome itself. Italy, on the other hand, agreed to recognize the Vatican as a sovereign and independent power.

The result was the creation of a new state, the size of a modest golf-course. Here the Pope would be guaranteed freedom from interference and liberty of communications with the outside world. The Pope thus began to rule once again as a temporal monarch over a few hundred subjects. But this pocket handkerchief of territory gave him the outward and visible marks of sovereignty and provided him with a window on the world, a foothold for the exercise of his moral sway.

In addition, the Government of Italy promised, among other things, to respect the unique and sacred character of Rome itself and to refrain from anything which might be out of harmony with its historic role.

Courage was the distinguishing mark of Pius XI. The "old lion," as he was called, had many fierce tussles with the Duce. He knew Mussolini for a tenacious, intelligent, and unscrupulous fighter—far from the buffoon that certain elements of our press would believe him to be.

Sharp Conflict

In 1931 there was a sharp conflict over youth organisations. The Vatican sent representatives to the Coronation of King George VI, though Mussolini forbade the Italian press even to allude to that event. Italy drew apart from France, while the Vatican established much more cordial relations with her.

The Holy See protected Jews, while Mussolini attacked them. The Pope and President Roosevelt were drawn together by common humanitarian ideals, while Fascist propagandists lashed the Vatican for its alleged "tenderness towards this super-Jew, this supreme war-monger, this incarnation of democratic hypocrisy."

Hitler's visit to Rome in 1938 provides a clear enough picture of the Pope's independence on the one hand, and of the interference of Fascist policy on the other. The Pope had already condemned Hitler's persecution of Christians. When the visit to Rome was proposed he protested vigorously against this infringement of the letter and spirit of the Lateran Treaty.

When the Axis insisted on celebrating a Roman triumph the aged Pontiff indignantly departed for his summer villa in order to avoid seeing the crooked cross displayed in the centre of Christendom.

It is true that in spite of intense diplomatic activity the Pope was not able to prevent the war. Every effort was made to bring the conflicting parties together, to conciliate outstanding differences and to mediate between rival powers.

Attempts to prevent Italy's entry culminated in downright personal appeals, over the heads of the Fascist rulers, to the people themselves. For the first time in very many years, the Pope's voice was heard in the streets of Rome; his warnings and denunciations filled the parish churches.

Very soon the Vatican itself was to suffer from the effects of war. Despite

the explicit terms of the Lateran Treaty, Mussolini made the fullest use of Rome for military purposes. Troops passed freely through the Rome railway system and war manufacturers took refuge under the sacred character of the Eternal City. The Pope protested against these outrages and plainly warned the Government of the consequences.

No one was surprised at the allied bombing of the Rome marshalling yards in July, 1943.

The raid was repeated in August, and the Pope naturally protested against the state of affairs which had brought it about.

Early in September the commander of the Roman garrison surrendered to Field-Marshal Kesselring, and the last vestiges of liberty disappeared from the Vatican. German troops replaced Italians in the City of Rome, and the German Radio admitted that German guns were mounted before the Vatican and that no one was allowed to leave or enter the Papal territory.

Considering the international importance of the Holy See in the modern world and its unique place in history, most people will agree with President Roosevelt that the allied march on Rome had elements in it which are much akin to a crusade.

EPILOGUE

It is impossible in such a brief summary to indicate more than the barest outlines of the history of Rome, while its intangible influences cannot find more than passing mention. Certain trends in Roman history seem very apparent through the ages.

Rome has always clung obstinately to her past. She has always preserved much of the best in the nations she has conquered and she has absorbed like a sponge a mass of excellent but often mutually contradictory ideas and ideals. Never in all her classical history was a serious attempt made to co-ordinate or synthesise the mass of knowledge available in the then capital of the civilised world.

Rome has always been tardy to accept the new and has always endeavoured to attribute it to herself when finally she has accepted it. Coinage, commerce, naval power, medicine, breadmaking, christianity and army reforms were all adopted long after their advantage seemed apparent to

her neighbours. There is a time lag in adopting a change in Rome.

Slavery persisted as late as the 8th Century. The Renaissance was nearly a century late in a Rome which must have seemed a mere provincial town to the envoys of Constantinople in 1402.

What Rome accepts she modifies and absorbs into herself. What she imitates she imitates rigidly but well. What she builds she builds to last.

Rome was once mistress of Europe by virtue of her military might and administrative ability, she was later to become a spiritual ruler of the West, and to extend her influence beyond the original bounds of the Western Roman Empire.

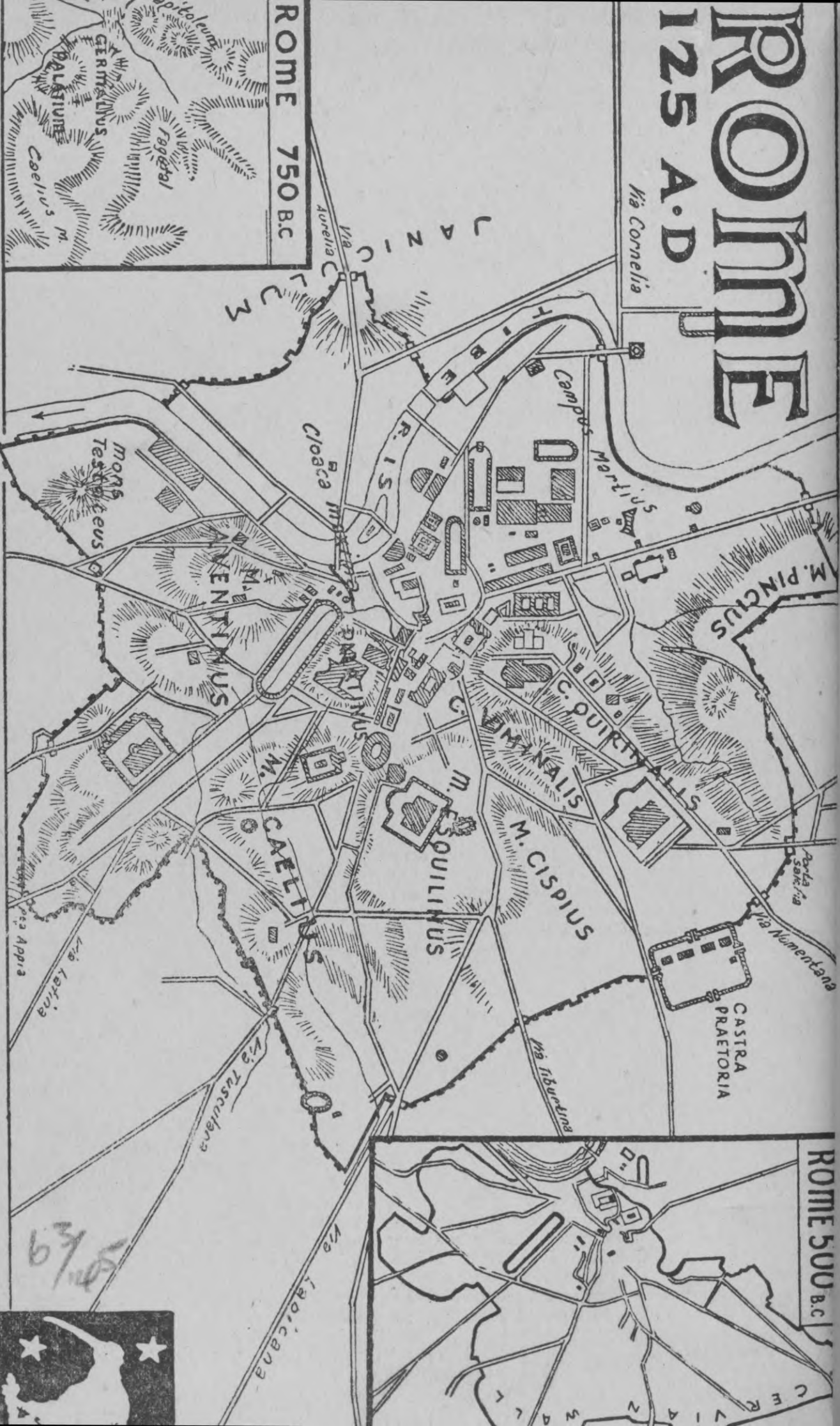
Always in time of adversity Rome has turned for inspiration to its past, usually to its classical past. The past is invoked perhaps because its glorious memories are mistaken for future hopes.

Her laws survived in Southern France until 1804 and in Germany until recent times.

ROME

125 A.D

Via Cornelia



ROMA 750 B.C.

ROMA 500 B.C.

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED BY N.Z. EDUCATION REHABILITATION SERVICE AS A BACKGROUND BULLETIN FOR THE USE OF 2 N.Z.E.F. PERSONNEL.

PRINTED BY PRINTING AND STATIONERY SERVICES, C.M.F.

