

CHAPTER XVII

IN THE SLAVE-MARKET

Nyria tells how the slaves of Julia's household were taken to the slave-market and there sold to the highest bidder.

NYRIA : " Upon the day that we were to be sold, we were called together quite early in the morning. In rank we stood, and there was an officer of the lawyer and of him that sold us whose duty it was to see that we were fittingly prepared. 'Twas like to be a hard day for some of us. They who were sold off early would get no food till evening and none knew what might befall them. Therefore most of us had made ourselves cakes and taken somewhat in bottles to drink, for this we were allowed to do. Then, each one carrying his bundle or box . . . or if one had a mate, sharing the load between them, and such as had children tying them together, if they were little ones, and binding them with a rope to the waist that they should not run too far among the crowd—we all took our places.

And this in the order of our service . . . the under-slaves first, and then the men in certain rank and the women in theirs. They who had little children might keep them with them, but such as chanced to have a child old enough to sell for service—whether boy or maid—this one would be taken from them and placed in the class to which he would rightfully belong : and husbands and wives—if they be wedded to one that was of another rank—would be separated in like manner. And that made much weeping and trouble.

I kept me close to Aemilia, seeing that I was of the same line of service as she, and by reason of my having been chief tirewoman, I should rank but one grade less than one who had been mistress of the draperies.

Aemilia's husband, also, having been a table servant . . . and having sometimes served Sabinus's person when one of his attendants chanced to be ill or away, was permitted to walk beside Aemilia so that all possible chance might be given to their being sold together. For I think not, as some thought, that such separating of married couples was done of cruelty, but rather that a fitting arrangement might be preserved.

Now, Euphena remained in the rear amongst us women and none knew—save I—that she carried with her enough gold to purchase her freedom. . . . For myself, I scarce dared think what might chance. . . . I hoped only that Cæsar would not pass that way. But some said that he withheld himself from all things which had belonged to Julia and only kept his hold upon them to prove his power above that of Flavius Clemens whom he hated and who, having been Sabinus's brother, should have had some claim to his estate. This we heard afterwards and also, that Sabinus having died as he did, his will, or the terms thereof, were forfeit to Cæsar under the laws of Rome, though had Cæsar chosen he could have apportioned some of Sabinus's effects to any members of the family surviving him.

Now we were driven down in long lines through the streets until we came to the city, certain officers, as I have told thee, walking beside us . . . some in advance and some behind . . . mayhap twenty or thirty or even more. For, thou knowest, Julia's household was a large one and, had the slaves banded together to escape or revolt, there might have been trouble. But they were not like to do it, for Julia's slaves were chiefly those who had been slaves always and had known no other life.

Crispus was in the Forum watching as we entered: and this not for scorn, but that he might minister to the wants of any who lacked food or aught that he could provide. For Crispus was kindly at heart.

Now they placed us around the apportioned space beside the rostrum for the seller and the pedestal adjoining, whereon each slave should stand.¹ The under-slaves were allowed less room for their grouping, but we women and such as were thought of account had each an allotted space whereon we might sit or stand in order that any buyers coming round might examine us.

Thou knowest that the under-slaves were always sold first . . . but the selling did not begin until the sun was fairly high in the heavens, for the reason that many lords in Rome were not early risers and such as were would be engaged with their clients and require their chief stewards in attendance.

Now it was the chief stewards, or chamberlains, who were deputed to purchase the under-slaves. No lord nor lady came to look at such, though frequently they themselves bought upper-slaves that they might need. But 'twas the way with ladies—or such as desired to observe a slave before purchasing—to pay a previous visit to a group of slaves and choose the one they fancied and obtain upon a written paper all details of that one, and then they would send an officer to purchase. Now, a chief steward—though he might be a slave himself—if he were empowered for his master or his lady—could purchase any other slave. But some lords sent legal officers . . . and some again their friends. One never knew whether he who bought one were buying for himself or another. The freedmen, too, bought slaves, and such as were farmers in the Campagna would either come themselves or send a deputy to purchase gangs for work upon the farms.

But slaves sold for labour on the fields or roads . . . or even the under-slaves of great households . . . were more often sold in one of the lesser forums down nearer to the lower streets by the city.

But when a number of slaves such as we of Julia's household were sold together, our purchasers were of the higher ranks in Rome. Nevertheless, seeing that there were many under-slaves in such a great household, they were sold—mayhap, two or three at a time . . . being put up together—for whatever might be the work they had been accustomed to fulfil.

Now the method of purchase was such that one might bid a price and another outbid him and so on . . . till the seller deemed he had reached the fullest sum that could be required. But among those that were of high estate—whether they came themselves or sent a deputy—such an one having fixed upon his slave would approach the seller and say he would give so much, demanding whether that price suited the agents that were acting for the household, and if it did or if the purchaser were one it were not wise to gainsay, the slave would be reserved for him. Most often, the slaves

¹ For corroborative particulars and an illustration of the pedestal upon which slaves stood to be sold, see Roffstevsky's *Economic Life of Rome*.

would be bidden to withdraw and follow the purchaser as soon as the papers had been made out by the legal officer who sat close by at his desk.

But sometimes, if the buyer desired to examine other slaves or had other business to attend to, that purchased slave would be directed to retain his position until he were told to follow his new master.

Now I, being considered one of a special kind who had done close personal service for my mistress, was arranged in a position of note, in order that I might be well seen and observed by such as came to purchase. And being of yellow hair and white skin, I was made to stand near to those who were darker. For this cause, I was not permitted to remain beside Aemilia, which grieved me sore. For Aemilia's hair was brown and her skin was not very dark.

Now Thanna was upon my other side, for Thanna, as thou knowest, was very dark and was allotted the apportioned square next to me, and this the more because Thanna had chosen to dress herself in her best and was gay with her red embroidered veil and a striped petticoat of silk in many colours that Julia had given her. But I had on all white clothes and my hair they made me keep unbound, though I would fain have twisted it up because of the speeches that they made about it. And some would have pulled it as they came to look at me—but that was not allowed, for the upper-slaves might not be touched . . . especially the women—though the under-slaves could be turned about as any one pleased.

Thanna did not at all mind being looked at, and was ready to spring to her feet or turn her round or lie in any posture so that she might be seen in various ways : and, two or three times in the day, she changed her hair-dressing, carrying a little mirror—which, also, she had got from Julia—and affixing it on the stones beside her so that she might see to pile her hair upon her head and fasten it with gay skewers, or to curl and twist it in ropes that hung down her back. For Thanna had plenty of hair, but she would not let it remain like mine unbound lest, she said, it hide her other charms. And as her hair was dark, not yellow like mine, they did not mind and let her do as she would. But a golden wig was thought of great value, and even if a slave were ugly, so she had yellow hair, she might be sold for the value of her hair alone. And for this, they liked to show a yellow-haired maid with all her hair strewed about her.

And when they saw that Euphena was of the party and 'twas described upon the papers that she had been my foster-mother and her countenance being as it was, they placed her close to me.

I did not wish to shrink from the poor old thing, but she threw scornful speeches at the crowd such as brought down much notice upon us, and many among the people laughed and jeered at her which made them note me also so that I had like to have sunk in shame. For 'twas terrible to see the throngs that pressed upon and around the space allotted to us—coming as near as they dared to watch us and talk about us : and these not purchasers but such as sought an amusement for an idle hour. Many of them were the scum of Rome, upon whom, mayhap, a proud well-kept slave had looked in scorn. But when the slaves were offered for purchase, the street rabble—though they might be gangs of lower slave-workers themselves—yet still gat the scorn and laugh on their side, so that few slaves about to be sold had the spirit to retort upon their scoffers.

But Euphena cared not and gave them back scorn for scorn and word for word, which pleased the rabble and raised many a laugh against all. And

this, thou knowest, was before the time that any of us were offered for sale while we were arranging and placing ourselves and waiting for purchasers to come that way. Afterward, when any slaves were being offered for sale—especially if it were an upper one of note—the rabble dared not shout and thrust themselves forward else those officers who waited there to keep the peace would have thrust them back. But when one was sold and being led away by his new master, some of the throng would follow and cry sharp speeches on him, some envying him if he had chanced to have been bought by a man of note who was known to be a good master and others jeering if his purchaser should be thought a skin-flint or one of lesser grade than his former master.

Now I would that I have described rightly the appearance of the scene : and thou wouldst know that from about the fifth hour the sales of the lower slaves began : and I would explain to thee that there were several people employed in the business of the selling—thou wouldst understand that—and that many of the better ones were bought privately by such as came or sent their stewards, who having chosen the slaves they wished, would arrange the matter with the lawyer's officer who sat at his desk. . . .

It was not usual for a great lawyer to do this himself. But now Matho did it. Some said because he could not at that time afford to keep in his office men of fitting knowledge and strength for the purpose. Others that such a household as that of the great Julia was one worthy for the head of the firm himself to undertake. . . . However that might be, Matho sat at his desk. He had two clerks—slaves—with him, for the sending of messages or the transcribing of any necessary papers. They sat, each on either side upon lower stools below his desk—his seat being raised. Then he who sold us by word of mouth had two or three other officers beneath him. And yet again there were others whose duty it was to walk round amongst us and to see that order was preserved and that none of the better slaves suffered injustice or discomfort from the crowd."

NYRIA (resuming) : " We watched many of those whom we knew being sold and led away. Pheidias went to a hard master who was reputed one that sore ill-treated his slaves . . . I know not the name. Bibbi would have been classed with the upper household and being a large man and of great strength, he was like to be in request. But some officers came down from that office near the Carinæ . . . where was kept a public staff of beaters, and examined him : and then his purchase was arranged for by private treaty, and Bibbi himself went away.

But while his purchase was being arranged, he came round among us making jokes and saying that we would miss his lash : and in truth some of us would rather have had the lash we were accustomed to than go beneath a stranger.

' Take heart of grace,' said he, ' for like enough, I shall be sent for to perform mine office upon thee when such an one is in request. Then will Bibbi see that he comes himself to serve Nyria.'

But I gave no heed to him : and 'twas then I saw Stephanus and, behind him, a slave whom he had hired to carry a bag, the which methought from its weight, held gold. For one of Stephanus's station, desiring to purchase a slave, would have been required to lay down at least a certain sum of money as proof that he could pay the whole. And with Stephanus walked two of his fellow goldsmiths from the Porticus Margaritaria. There was

Onesimus to whom he had sold Euphena's thievings and another. These two were required to be witnesses of his word. But he bade them stand back when he came near to me and I saw a smile upon the face of either and they pointed to me and whispered together and laughed.

Said Stephanus, coming towards me, 'So thou art unclaimed yet, Nyria?'

I scarce answered him, nor had I eyes to look at him for I was watching the crowd lest by chance I might see Chabrias. Thou knowest, Aeola had been commissioned by Crispus to tell Valeria of the sale so that she might send to purchase me should she so desire.

'For whom art thou looking?' asked Stephanus. 'Dost suppose that favourite of thine upon the Cœlian will send and purchase thee? . . . Nay, nay, Nyria, thou hast yet to learn that thou mayst serve her with all the powers at thy command, but when she needs thee not, she will not think of thee.' And in truth, his words did seem to me most like to be the case, for none came from Valeria and my heart sank ever lower. Stephanus stayed near me, but I could not talk to him: and by and by there seemed a shifting change in the crowd. A party of soldiers marched past one of the other gates, and some said they were going to meet a general who was arriving. I caught words here and there, and the name of Asiaticus flew from lip to lip: and I heard them say—or so Stephanus repeated to his friends behind me—that Asiaticus had passed with a detachment of soldiery. But I knew not what it was all about and cared little, and, twice or thrice, I had to stand up or come forward to be examined.

Thus Stephanus was forced to wait the bidding, for though he had approached the lawyer and said he was prepared to give a good price for me—fixing it as high as he dared—but this I did not know till afterwards—yet they would not let him purchase me for that sum, seeing I am yellow-haired and considered well-looking. They desired to wait to see if no better price were forthcoming, for Roman ladies would give much, thou knowest, for a yellow-haired slave: and 'twas not likely that Stephanus should need me save as wife or mistress . . . all knowing he was unwed. Then again Matho was no friend of his, for Matho was opposed to Juvenal, and Juvenal and Stephanus were friends.

Juvenal came down into the Forum and strolled round talking to Stephanus who had placed himself upon a stool not far from me . . . as near as he dared come, though of course he would not be allowed to sit in the ring.

But Juvenal approached me and said a few kindly words.

'Had I the money, Nyria, I would purchase thee myself . . . or I would at least join forces with friend Stephanus, so that we might share thee . . . ay, how wouldst thou like that? And how would friend Stephanus like it I wonder. . . .' and Juvenal laughed. But to me 'twas no laughing matter.

Then, when the hour came that the chief women were to be sold, Euphena pushed her way forward and claimed to be heard.

Matho, who was ever hard upon the poor and lowly, called sharply that she should be thrust back, but Euphena would not listen to him and said stoutly . . . that she had the right to be heard for the law was on her side.

After which Matho bade her speak.

I looked to hear Euphena bring forth some of her spiteful speeches, but she bent low before him and said quite civilly, that she but desired the purchase of her own old frame . . . so to have a few years of solitude and leisure in which to serve the gods before they called her hence.

Seeing that she seemed old and was so ugly and weakly too . . . for she leaned upon a stick and had shrunk herself up till there looked to be very little of her . . . Matho asked her sharply how much she could give, and then she told him.

I mind not how much, but 'twas a goodly sum . . . more than thou wouldst think, and Matho looked surprised and asked how she had obtained it . . . to which Euphena answered that that was no part of the law—but she said it in her whining, civil way—and that she was prepared to lay out the sum before him if he would have the papers drawn up for her freedom.

Then Matho turned to those that had been watching the purchasers who came round and examined the slaves, and they reported unto him that none had given more than a glance at Euphena and there would be no bidding for her.

But, said Matho, that he had half a mind to place her on the sale-pillar for the purpose of seeing if the price would not rise. But that was against the law if a slave could produce more than a certain sum: and Euphena had this on her and would give it him. He bade her count it out . . . the which she did upon the desk before him, taking the money from a little bag she carried in her breast and seeming to gloat over each golden piece as she laid it down. Many there were that watched her, for, though 'twas a lawful thing for an old slave thus to purchase herself, yet few could do it, and folks made many comments.¹ I saw Stephanus watching her, but he said naught, for it was best for him to keep away from her just then. 'Verily, thou hast done well for thyself,' said Matho when the sum lay in two golden piles. 'Thy mistress must have been a generous woman.'

'Yea . . . yea . . .' whined Euphena. 'The lady Julia was most generous and never grudged her slaves aught. Here are many who will bear me witness': and she turned with a flourish of her lean black hand towards us all and none dared gainsay Euphena for Euphena free was more to be feared than Euphena a slave.

But Thanna laughed outright and nodded. Thanna thought it wise to curry favour then. Moreover Thanna knew that she looked well when she laughed, shewing all her white teeth in her dark comely face.

Now one that watched her strode across . . . a great lord he seemed. He wore a tunic that was well made and his toga was bordered with gold.

There were two or three behind him. He came and stood before Thanna.

'Didst thou, too, find thy mistress generous?' said he.

'My mistress was Julia,' laughed Thanna tossing her head.

'So. . . . And did she give thee this and this?' he asked, pointing to her gay petticoat and her embroidered veil and some gold pins in her hair.

'I earned them by clever and faithful service,' answered Thanna with another laugh.

'Ho, ho,' said he. 'Thou art clever I'll warrant. But I would not lay much upon thy faithfulness. Few clever women are faithful.'

'It doth depend, my lord,' replied Thanna. 'Give me that which is worth being faithful to, and I will be faithful.'

'I've half a mind to try thee,' he said. 'Say, art tired of serving a mistress?'

And Thanna's face lightened all over with smiles. She beamed and nodded and sat her down saucily clasping her knees.

¹ Peculium of a slave and the slave's right to purchase with it his freedom. See Appendix 45, Bk. II.

'I tire not myself, lord,' she answered. 'When one is tired one cannot serve as well, and I would give fresh and earnest service. Try me.'

'What would thine office be,' he said. 'I have no lady-wife for thee to deck. Is there aught else thou canst do?'

'Try me,' she answered. 'Thanna is but young yet. Give her time and the chance for which she hath longed: and see what she can do.'

'Thou art a fool, Regulus,¹ said one standing behind him. 'Come thee hence. Thou needest not to burden thyself with cattle of such kind. Man, take thy pleasures cheaper: the girl will fetch a good price: and when thou hast her thou wilt tire of her in a week.'

At which Thanna hearing, addressed the air.

'Now that would be strange. None ever yet tired of Thanna . . . nor would, if Thanna knew it.'

And he who had been called Regulus lingered. He was handsome, but I liked not his face.

'I've half a mind to try her. I can put her into the next big sale if she suit me not.'

'Oh, ay . . . thou canst . . .' said Thanna mischievously. 'But thou wilt not. See, lord Regulus': and she bent her head before him as he came back and stood looking down upon her. 'Let Thanna look to the preparing of thy clothes if there be naught else for her to do. The gold upon thy tunic is somewhat tarnished and those bracelets want rubbing up. Likewise, there must be a hole in that pouch thou wearest, for I see a paper sticking forth. Now, lords who carry papers in Rome, do carry them more carefully, else who knows what secrets they might betray. Mayhap, lord, Thanna might serve as messenger. A tongue sometimes serves better than a pen' for that which is written all may read, but that which is spoken, none may hear save as the speaker will.'

Now this I saw made some mark upon the mind of Regulus, who stood looking down upon her, and I glanced from him to Aemilia. But Aemilia had turned her back and seemed to wish not to notice Thanna. So I said naught, but waited for the ending of the play . . . though to me it seemed that Thanna would have her will, and I wondered what she saw in this well-looking and yet, methought, . . . unpleasant visaged lord that took her fancy.

'Mayhap,' she said softly, but speaking so low that only I could hear, 'the lord Regulus is like some other noble lords, who come of noble stock, yet scarce can buy such bracelets as befit them. If the lord Regulus would be rich, let him purchase Thanna. 'Twould be a good investment at the price.'

And she looked up at him slyly.

'Verily, I believe it would,' he answered. 'But hark thee, girl, if I buy thee and thou art not worth as much as thou wouldst say, thou shalt go to the first auction held here after I find thee out.'

'I will take the chance,' said Thanna smiling between her teeth.

The lord came nearer and touched her head.

'Is all that hair thine?' he asked, whereat Thanna pulled the pins out and let it fall like a dusky shower over her.

'Stand up,' he said, and she rose to her feet meekly and yet with a certain sauciness in her demeanour and turned her slowly round, her hands

¹ Regulus, an "Informer" and well-known legal social personage of the time. See Appendix 23, Bk. III.

upon her hips to show her shape: and then, parting her hair over her shoulders, she held it out on either side like a black cloud and looked at him with a smile, the while he watched her.

'Art thou satisfied, lord?'

He seemed to shake his head. But Thanna answered for him.

'Nay, 'tis too soon to say thou art wholly satisfied: and, seeing that Thanna in her way is wise, she will take care that thou art never wholly satisfied. Yet will she give thee more and more to satisfy thee. See, lord.' And she held her face near to him, smiling again and with an eager look in her eyes. 'Thanna is young . . . barely twenty. Thou shalt find her date of birth upon the paper. If Thanna be what she is, now, what may she not grow into? Thanna is young, but she is wise beyond her years . . . and she may learn . . . she will learn . . . all that thou desirest.'

'Verily,' said the lord. 'If thou art not wholly satisfying it seems to me one is like to have more amusement out of thee than one may meet in a week of festivals among the highest or the lowest in Rome. Ay, I'll buy thee, girl. What is thy price, dost know?'

'Nay, lord,' said Thanna meekly. 'But it should not be dear to him who holds the private purse-strings of so many.'

Now what she meant by this I did not know, but the lord glanced at her sharply.

'See here,' he said. 'Thy speech is smart and witty, girl, and doth give me some insight into thy cleverness. But take care before whom thou dost prate.'

'When thou hast sealed Thanna's lips, lord, thou only shalt be able to break the seal,' answered Thanna: and she bent again low before him with her hair falling over her like a veil. But as she did so I saw her shoulders shake and knew she laughed. But the lord had turned away and I saw him go up to Matho the lawyer and speak to him.

'Who is thy purchaser, Thanna?' I asked.

Then Thanna answered me, but in a murmur as though she would not have others hear.

''Twas the great Regulus.'

And when I, not knowing, asked who he might be, she answered me . . . that one had like to have insufficient knowledge . . . who knew not Regulus. And then getting herself up she began to put her things together, packing them swiftly, 'for,' said she, 'Matho may be a sharp lawyer, but he will find need for his wits who hath Regulus against him.'

Now to me it had not seemed that this lord looked very sharp or clever . . . the which when I said as much to Thanna, she answered me:

'That they who are truly wise carried not their characters upon their faces. But,' said she, 'thou art right, Nyria, in that he is not so wise, but that Thanna can make him wiser.'

'I had rather have been bought by a lady,' I said.

'Oh, wouldst thou!' retorted Thanna jeering. 'Well, each to his own taste. I have had enough of working for a woman. I would now fain have women to work for me.'

And with that she stood up and smoothed down her garments, having twisted her hair anew and made herself ready, so that when the lord Regulus came up and behind him those other twain who were scoffing, I could see, at his purchase . . . Thanna was ready for them. I saw her look angrily

at the twain in the rear, and, but that it was not fitting in a slave and she dared not . . . I saw she would have spoken.

'Now,' said the lord Regulus. 'Art thou ready, girl?'

'Ay, ready,' she answered. 'Ready to follow whither my lord leads.'

So when he looked at her, he said:

'Thou art right to be civil. But mind, I am not one to like over much sugar in my porridge.'

'Thanna is accounted a good porridge maker, lord, but Thanna doth spice it,' she answered. 'Too much sugar is but meat for babes.'

At which reply I saw that he was pleased.

'Come, come,' he said. 'At least, I see that we shall not be dull. Take thy bundle and follow me.'

Thanna picked up the parcel of her clothes that was lightest, but there was yet again another . . . a box on which she had been sitting. Thanna looked at it and then at the lord Regulus.

'Surely,' she said in her most courteous manner, 'the lord Regulus will supply a slave to carry the baggage of one whom he doth favour? Thanna's arms are not used to such weights.'

The lords at the back laughed loudly. 'See, thou hast thy work cut out for thee,' they cried. 'Thou wilt have to supply a new household of slaves.'

But the lord Regulus turned sharply upon them.

'The girl is right,' he said. 'Who would ask a woman to lift such a weight as that?' and he signed to some of those who were waiting about the Forum ever ready for a task, the which when they saw, half a dozen ran up clamouring to carry Thanna's box.

But she picked out the best herself and with a proud air said, 'Guard it well and follow me': and with that she gave the bundle she carried to another and bade him come too: and the lord Regulus stood and watched her with a smile.

'She will be choosing bearers for thee next, Regulus,' said one of those great lords.

Thanna ran back as she was about to follow her new lord to say good-bye to Aemilia and to me. . . . And that was the last I saw of Thanna, then. . . .

Now Stephanus was getting impatient. For thou knowest he was not easy-tempered and he liked not being kept there all day, when he had the money in hand with which to purchase me. Twice he had approached Matho, whose only answer was: that 'twas not a high enough sum, and that I should fetch more.

Then it hapened that even while Stephanus was talking with Matho and Crispus had come up again to say a word to me and had brought a little fresh milk in an earthen jug for Aemilia's babe and some sweet cakes such as they sold—that there sounded the tramp of soldiers and of music, and presently a great escort of soldiery came down one of the streets from the Quay. I knew not who was thus honoured, but many craned their heads, and Crispus being free to go whither he would, went to see and came back saying it was Asiaticus and with him Paulinus who had returned from his Egyptian campaign and that they were both being borne in litters round the end of the Forum.

Now, just then, it chanced that they had caught sight of the sale, and Paulinus, having just returned from foreign parts and being anxious—so I heard him tell Valeria afterwards—to see all that was going forward, bade the men set him down and Asiaticus with him; and the two walked round

the Forum together looking at the slaves with but a forewalker or two to clear the road.

The escort had been to welcome Paulinus, but by his desire, he was to go back to the villa without it, for he would not have Valeria alarmed by the sound of the soldiery—or so he said. Methinks that he desired to take Valeria by surprise, not knowing that she knew he was coming.

And as he walked round with Asiaticus talking and laughing, they came near us, and a sudden thought filled me! If but Paulinus would buy me! But I dared not speak to him and my heart was full of fear and hope.

I rose then on my feet and looked towards him with such a mighty longing that Crispus saw it, and knowing I had greatly desired that Valeria should buy me, he said teasingly:

‘Wouldst have word with Paulinus, Nyria?’

‘Ay, that would I,’ I answered. ‘Oh, I beseech thee, Crispus, wilt thou not draw him this way?’

And Crispus disappeared in the crowd. But I was eager—fearing he might miss the lord Paulinus, and fearing lest means should avail me to proffer my request. So I hasted and passing in front of Matho’s desk, I said I craved of the lord Matho permission to wander a few yards that way, pointing with my hand, and before he could stop me I was gone.

Now Matho, they said, had been drinking, for Matho had retired to partake of his midday meal, which was now over, and when he saw me, he cried out, ‘What doth the yellow-haired maid want? Speed after her lest she be lost.’

And two or three runners with one of the clerks did follow me. But I ran through the crowd, who, when they saw me coming, did part for me, not knowing what I wanted, yet thinking mayhap ’twas a runaway slave.

And there in the roadway I saw Paulinus and Asiaticus with their litters being drawn behind them and, away at the corner of the street, was a band of soldiery filing off.

Now, when Paulinus came nearer, and I heard him laugh and saw his great red limbs, I felt glad, for Paulinus had ever been kind to me, and I gave myself no time to fear, but hurried on and knelt on the ground before him so that he needs must stumble over me. And he, laughing with Asiaticus, scarce saw me, and the edge of his mantle brushed my head, and his armour clanged loudly.

But I put my hands upon his tunic and prayed him to stop, so when he looked down he exclaimed:

‘Whom have we here? By Venus and all her attendant maidens!—here’s a pretty welcome back to Rome’; and with that he swung me to my feet, holding me by both shoulders out before him.

‘’Tis Yellow-hair, I declare!’ he cried. ‘Why, little wench, didst thou know me?’

‘Ay, lord,’ I said, but I scarce could speak, for my eyes were full of tears. I was so desirous he should buy me.

‘Art in trouble, child?’ he said.

‘Nay, lord, not now,’ I answered, ‘since thou hast come.’

‘Since I have come! Ho, ho! What wouldst thou of Paulinus?’ and he put his arm around me and drew me closer to his side. ‘Speak, little maid, I am no—’ He did name a sort of conquering monster that went along the—I have lost the words. Said he, ‘I have no desire to eat the sacrifices poured forth in my honour; and since thy worship—and very pretty it is

too—is most surely in my honour, what wouldst thou I should render unto thee for it ? ’

‘ Lord, buy me, ’ I cried.

‘ Buy thee ! buy thee ! . . . Well, here’s a pretty purchase. Art thou for sale ? ’ he cried.

I nodded, choking down my sobs. For though I had been brave all day, nor never had a greater need to be, yet now that I seemed to see the road plain before me, I feared lest I might be driven another way.

‘ Well, hush thee, child, ’ he said, patting my shoulders, ‘ or else weep out. Some women are better for a sound lament. Mayhap when thou hast swallowed thy tears thou will be able to explain the matter. ’

With that, the lord Asiaticus struck in saying somewhat that I heard not, for I minded him not—but it did not sound kind—and I caught the lord Paulinus’s retort.

‘ I trow thou wouldst not, ’ he said sharply. ‘ But since the maid hath appealed to me, she shall surely count upon my succour. Ye gods ! Is it not worth while to spend a few sestertia for such a welcome as this ! ’

For I was kissing the hem of his robe.

And then he, looking up, saw Crispus standing close by.

‘ Who art thou ? ’ he said. ‘ Canst tell me aught about this maid ? ’ and Crispus made obeisance.

‘ May it please thee, lord, ’ he said, ‘ the maid is called Nyria, and both she and I were slaves of Julia and Sabinus whom the gods have called hence. Sabinus gave me my freedom ere he departed, but the maid is about to be sold in the market yonder to the highest bidder. ’

‘ So, ho !—Is that the tale ? And thou wouldst that Paulinus bought thee ? Say, little wench, is that thy desire ? ’

I nodded, wiping my face.

‘ And now I mind me, ’ he continued, looking at me carefully—‘ thou didst win the favour of Valeria, who is spare in such bestowings. To be sure, I will purchase thee and present thee unto her. Come now, Yellow-hair, and we will see him who hath the selling of thee. ’

‘ But, ’ he added, shaking back his mantle and striding on with one hand on his sword, and yet glancing kindly on me, ‘ be sure thou bringest me luck, Nyria. ’

And with that I saw him give Asiaticus anudge with his great elbow.

‘ Some there be, who landing on the ground of their forefathers, would haste to offer sacrifices in the temple. ’Tis no secret, I trow, that there is no goddess to whom I would as soon sacrifice as Valeria. But doves she will have not—nor even jewels. Now will I try if this maid can make a road to her heart. ’

Asiaticus laughed loudly and replied :

‘ The road to a woman’s heart is scarce worth searching. ’Tis like that silly game where one follows a clue in a labyrinth only to find that there is naught concealed. ’

‘ Thou knowest not Valeria, ’ said Paulinus. ‘ Ye gods ! It may be true of every other woman, but, methinks, ’tis not so of her. ’

‘ Thou thinkest so because thou hast not penetrated far enough, ’ replied Asiaticus. ‘ I ought to know and I speak from different experience, having wandered all over that well-ploughed field—the mind and heart of her sister. ’

‘ As well compare a lily with a field daisy, ’ retorted Paulinus. ‘ With all

due deference to thee, Asiaticus—and I like Vitellia well—she is made of different stuff.’

But now we had reached Matho’s desk, and Paulinus thrust me forward and asked Matho what my price was.

‘The reserve is a thousand sestertia,’ replied Matho.¹ ‘But the maid is to go to the highest bidder.’

‘Highest fool!’ retorted Paulinus. ‘Thou knowest, thou old sneak of a lawyer, that thou darest not gainsay anyone whose word is worth a button on his armour and who would put forth a fair price for her. Come now, what wilt thou take?’

‘I have told the Most Noble Lord,’ said Matho whiningly. ‘The maid is reserved at a thousand sestertia. Nevertheless, with that yellow hair and that face she is well worth three, which is what we hope to obtain for her.’

‘By Mercury! Thou hast his own audacity. I wonder thou darest sit there in the sun lest thou be shrivelled up.’

And Paulinus laughed angrily, and then he looked at me and pulled my hair, but not unkindly.

‘Dost hear, Nyria? Didst thou mean to break Paulinus’s exchequer by putting this obligation upon him? I’ll warrant Valeria may think thee worth that much, but what shall I say?’

I looked at him, not knowing whether he meant me to answer, but seeing that he did I only murmured:

‘Buy me, lord.’

‘Ay, that will I,’ he answered. ‘But not at this old thief’s price. Come, come, a thousand sestertia, Matho, and thou art well paid.’

But just then there came a shoving and a pushing in the crowd that had gathered round and I saw Stephanus standing there with his friends behind him, who seeing that someone had named a price for me, was privileged to put forward another.

‘Twelve hundred sestertia,’ he cried.

‘Twelve!’ said Paulinus, while Matho nodded to Stephanus. ‘And who art thou that darest bid against me?’ and Stephanus made no answer, but looked to see Matho register his price.

‘Well, if thou dost say twelve, I suppose I must say fifteen.’

Then it was that Stephanus said two thousand.

‘Two thousand five hundred,’ said Paulinus quickly, ‘and no more nonsense, Matho. Write the maid down to me,’ and he strode forward, putting his hand upon the desk. ‘I know not who this fellow is, but we are not bidding publicly. The maid is not upon the rostrum, and I demand that thou sellest her to me by the laws of private treaty. I’ll pay no more than that. Put her up to auction if thou darest.’

Now, Matho—seeing that Paulinus spoke thus to him—for thou knowest that Paulinus was a man of note in Rome and a friend of Cæsar’s—answered hurriedly:

‘Yea, lord—this fellow—Stephanus—desired the maid, but being but a freedman and the reserve put upon her thus high—seeing she hath yellow hair and would take any lady’s fancy, it was not like that he should have her. But she will suit thy lady well.’

‘Prate not of thy betters,’ stormed Paulinus. ‘Give me a pen and I’ll sign for the sum. I have no time to waste here with thee all day.’

And then he made a great mark upon the scroll that Matho handed him

¹ See “Roman Coinage,” Appendix 46, Bk. II.

and turned away. 'Come, Yellow-hair,' he said. 'Thou and I are both glad to quit this post, I warrant.'

But I had turned me round, for Stephanus stood at the corner looking so white and strange that I grieved for him and ran to his side and clutched his arm. He had held a bag in his hand containing, I suppose, some of the money but had dropped it, and hung upon the desk as though he could not stand.

'Ah, fret not, Stephanus,' I whispered. 'Thou knowest 'tis Paulinus who hath bought me, and I shall live so happy in his household. Thou must not grudge me, Stephanus. Only smile on me again.'

But Stephanus turned round and looked at me as though he scarcely heard what I said, and he made no effort to hold me as he mostly did. His friends were whispering together behind him, and just then, Juvenal came up in his long cloak. He had been standing close by and must have heard all that had passed.

'Come, come, Stephanus,' he cried, laying his hand upon Stephanus's shoulder—'This is but the justice of Rome. Didst think that thou wouldst be listened to—thou who art only one of those that serve the city—not one that ruleth her? Cease mourning. For what maid is worth it?'

Stephanus put out his hand shudderingly and caught mine. He drew a long breath and seemed to come back to himself, but his eyes were still staring in an unseeing way, and having held my hand for a moment, he dropped it again and turning from me, pushed Juvenal and his other friends aside with both his arms spread out, and the crowd made way for him.

'Begone . . . begone . . .' he cried huskily, 'I would be alone. . . .'

Then I made to follow Paulinus and Euphena's voice stayed me.

First, I would tell thee of Euphena that she did not remove herself after she had her papers given to her and when some asked her if she were not going she said 'Nay,' and that she would linger to see what fate should befall us.

Now I knew she had been watching when Paulinus bought me, though from the moment I first saw him I had no thought for anything else. But as I ran from the lawyer's desk, behind him and Asiaticus, she called after me:

'Haste thee, Nyria. Speed upon the road leading thee to that which thou knowest not of and be sure a warm welcome shall be awaiting thee. But truly it shall be in a way thou knowest not. And thou shalt find a bed whereon to lay thy head of a kind that yet thou knowest not.'

But I tarried not to Euphena's warning for I feared to lose sight of Paulinus. Then I saw that his steps were stayed also, for he was met by Plinius who had with him afoot his young wife, whom he led forward.

Now Paulinus had stopped to greet her, and though I heard not what at first was said, when I came up to them Plinius was saying:

'Yea, I am come to purchase a chief tirewoman for this little lady who liketh not the one with which I did provide her. For in truth she seemeth too great a dame herself to serve my wife, who would fain have a woman of simpler ways. Yet I misdoubt me whether one among Julia's dressers would serve, seeing that Julia was a great dame and liked much show, but, haply, we may find among the lesser maids one who will be kind to this little shy mistress of mine.'

And Paulinus looked kindly upon her, then said he, 'I know not . . . and a sudden thought seemed to strike him. 'But I have but just now purchased a maid who can tell thee,' he said. 'Here, Yellow-hair, where hast thou got? Thou art so small, thou little flea, that if thou dost hide thee thus

beneath the hem of my mantle how should I see thee?' and with that he swung him round and pulled me forward.

Now, seeing Plinius and his lady, I made obeisance.

'Dost know if there be a woman among Julia's who can serve Plinius's purpose and that of his lady?' asked Paulinus.

'Yea, lord,' I answered, greatly pleased to serve Aemilia, for I thought of her. 'I will take thee to her if it pleaseth thee. . . . But she is wed . . . and much desireth to be sold with her husband.'

Whereat Asiaticus and Paulinus laughed aloud.

'They have their human passions like as we,' said Paulinus in his rough kindly way: 'who desire not to be separated, save now and then when such a separation is an advantage and doth serve as well as Cæsar's divorce law.'

''Tis but natural,' said Plinius kindly. 'We should not like to be separated, eh?' said he to his wife. 'Come, lead on, little maid, and shew us this one of whom thou dost speak. If we needs must buy her husband, haply I can manage even that, for I can make room for another if he hath aught at his finger ends.'

'May it please thee, lord,' said I. 'Aemilia's husband is a table-steward and hath served Sabinus's person.'

'So much the better,' answered Plinius. 'Shew me where he stands': and I turned the way to where Aemilia and her babes and her husband sat round the corner of the platform.

It was but just then that the sellers had sent two men to bring Aemilia to the rostrum and there was a terrible look of anxiety on her face, for none had come to purchase them together and she greatly feared to be put up by herself. But when Plinius saw her, she turned and setting the child down, she stood between them, and answered all the questions that he put to her.

'Well, what sayest thou?' he asked his lady.

'I like her, lord,' she murmured shyly. 'Will it please thee to purchase her?'

'That's done then,' said Plinius, who had been examining her husband.

'Pack thy goods together and be ready to follow. . . . And thou, little maid . . .' and he handed me a gold aureus,¹ ' . . . there, for thy commission.'

And I took it with great pleasure, for 'twas not the gold but his way of giving it that made the gift grateful.

Now when they went back, parting from Paulinus, I ran to Aemilia and kissed her and said:

'Most surely I shall see thee soon since our lords be friends . . . ay, and our ladies too. Fare thee well, Aemilia: and good luck go with thee.'

'And with thee, too,' said Aemilia kissing me with a glad face: and so we parted.

Now when we came to the edge of the Forum where the litters stood, Paulinus was for getting into his when he caught sight of me again and said:

'Those little limbs will scarce bear thee up the Cœlian beside my bearers. Come, Yellow-hair, jump in. There's room for thee I trow.'

'Nay, lord. It is not fitting,' I answered. 'Nyria can run.'

'But Nyria will not have to run,' he answered. 'Thou hast been ill-served in the past if I remember rightly, Yellow-hair. Now, for once, at least, thou shalt ride like a lady': and he made me get in before him, and

¹ The Roman aureus, in terms of the sovereign, was worth a little over £1 1s. 1½d.

I sat curled up where he rested his feet : and then the bearers hoisted us and off we went.

I had my bundle with me, but it did not take much room and the litter was a large one. Paulinus rode with the curtains open, so that I could see around me : and 'twas greatly pleasant, and I much enjoyed my ride.

'Hast thou ever ridden in a litter before, Yellow-hair?' said Paulinus. He had been shouting across the men's shoulders to Asiaticus who was carried behind.

'Yea, lord—once,' I answered.

'And when was that?' he said.

So then I told him that Crispus had brought the litter for me and why it was.

'Poor maid,' he cried. 'And that was because thou wouldst serve Valeria? Truly, she should not be so proud—this marble wife of mine, but should extend more gratitude to such as worship at her shrine.'

'May it please thee, lord,' I said. 'Thy lady doth most generously favour Nyria.'

'Ho, ho,' he said laughing riotously, till it seemed he was too glad of mind to be able to do aught else but laugh. 'I see thou wilt hear naught against Valeria . . . and yet, it seems to me, the lady might have sent a messenger herself to purchase thee.'

'Haply, she knew not, lord,' I answered . . . 'that we were to be sold.'

'Haply, not,' he said . . . 'seeing that Valeria liveth for the most part in a dream-land of her own where thou and I—and such-like common fleshly folk, Yellow-hair, exist not . . . save to serve her.'

And now we reached the gate below the villa, but instead of entering by the little entrance in the wall, Paulinus bade them bear the litter up the central steps and past the statues and on by the staircase and into the great atrium : and there we were set down. He sprang out hastily seeming to forget me, but as he strode away with Asiaticus . . . No, Asiaticus's litter had not come up then . . . as he strode, he called over his shoulder, 'Follow me, Nyria, but enter not into the lady Valeria's presence. Wait without until I call thee.'

And thus I waited in the antechamber of the sitting-room where methought Valeria would receive him.

There were slaves scurrying to and fro in the passages and through the atrium : and they looked at me, for the most part, crossly—for I think they liked me not : and one or two made disagreeable speeches about Paulinus having borne me in his litter.

Asiaticus's litter was brought up just behind his : and he, too, descended : and as he passed me he stopped, saying :

'So, ho! . . . thou white-faced maid. Hast thou been bidden not to witness the meeting of these long-parted lovers? Their embraces will be sweet, eh?' and he leered at me and laughed.

'I know not, lord,' I said with mine eyes on the ground.

'Ho, ho,' he laughed again. 'Then thou knowest little of Valeria. Come, we'll follow and see somewhat of the fun.'

But I shrank back, I wanted not to spy upon Valeria : and he strode on and, at the outer curtains, paused and drew them aside, peeping within before he entered.

Now for this I liked him not, but I, too, could not help seeing that Valeria

was not alone with her husband. Vitellia stood beside her, the which when Asiaticus saw, he cried to me :

'Come on, thou German waif. Here's no fun after all, since that solid, practical lady-wife of mine doth disperse the romance' : and he strode within. But I remained, seeing that Paulinus had not bidden me.

I could hear Valeria speaking. Her voice was very calm and cold, but there was a sort of tremble in it as she asked Paulinus of his journey and his health in a courteous way, seeming to wish to keep him in general converse. For when I heard Vitellia say, 'Thou wilt desire to be alone with thy spouse, Valeria—now, Asiaticus and I will get us hence,' Valeria stayed her with a plea that 'twas nearing sunset and she did greatly desire they should dine, whereat Paulinus laughed loudly and said :

'A good dinner will be welcome . . .' for that he had fed chiefly upon dried meats on board the vessel : and as for Egypt there was naught there but sand with which to season his food.¹ Thus would he welcome a tasty dish or two with a cup of wine in which to pledge Valeria and her sister.

'In truth 'twill be a joy,' said he, 'to dine again with such fair faces to look upon,' and it seemed to me Paulinus was in great good humour.

'But,' he exclaimed, 'I had forgotten. There is yet another with me whom thou must welcome, Valeria. I came not alone. There is a lady with me . . . eh, verily, I think I may say a lady . . . a queenly little lady forsooth. What sayest thou, Asiaticus? Hath she not a queenly bearing? . . . she who rode upon my litter and made even the road that bore me to Valeria seem short.'

I seemed to feel Valeria stiffen in her mood as she answered :

'Who was this?'

'That would I shew thee,' said Paulinus with another laugh. 'Prepare thee to receive her, for she needs thy courteous welcome, Valeria : and in truth, thou, I know, wilt make her welcome.'

'That know I not,' answered Valeria, 'until I shall have seen her. Shew her to me.'

'Ay will I,' answered Paulinus : and I heard his armour ring as he strode across the apartment and flung the curtains wide.

'Enter,' he cried. 'Enter, thou blue-eyed golden-haired nymph of Venus . . . thou messenger of the fairest goddess : and I pray thee bring some fire from her altar to lay upon this marble shrine.'

And I, scarce knowing what he said, did enter and made obeisance.

'Why, 'tis Nyria,' said Valeria.

'Ay, Nyria . . .' answered Paulinus. 'She who it seems hath served thee well and whom thou scarcely didst serve so well in leaving her to be put up on the common rostrum in the Forum . . . eh Valeria? But glad was I thou didst it, seeing it hath given me the chance to bring her unto thee myself.'

And he snatched my hand and led me to Valeria. 'Thou art pleased, eh, wife?' he said.

I saw Valeria's face grow a shade over it : and her lips seemed to twitch as he said 'wife,' but she answered him gently :

'Ay, I am glad to have Nyria for mine own. 'Twas kind of thee, Paulinus.'

¹ As far as I can discover, the only war in Africa in which Rome was engaged at that time was the quelling of a revolt by the Nasamones. (Ed.) See Appendix 47, Bk. II.

APPENDICES TO BOOK II

THE HOUSEHOLD OF JULIA

APPENDIX I. DOMITIAN'S APPEARANCE

Tacitus, referring to him when he was a young man :

" His deportment was graceful and, his propensities being as yet unknown, his frequent blushes were considered a mark of modesty." Tacitus, *Hist.*, Bk. IV, c. 40, p. 225 (Bohn ed.).

Then Tacitus speaks of him as he was in the latter part of his reign :

" Under Domitian, it was the principal part of our miseries to behold and to be beheld : when our sighs were registered, and that stern countenance with its settled redness, his defence against shame, was employed in noting the pallid horror of so many spectators." Tacitus, *Life of Agricola*, Sec. 45, p. 367 (Bohn).

Philostratus quotes a Stranger confidentially preparing Apollonius of Tyana for his trial before the Emperor Domitian.

" You must be prepared also for the Emperor's voice and the ferocious ill-humour of his expression : he speaks harshly even in a gracious conversation : his frown enhances the expression of his eyes : the complexion of his cheek is flushed with bile—indeed, this is his most striking feature." Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, Bk. VII, Sec. 28.

Pliny, in his panegyric on Trajan, says :

" Domitian was terrible even to behold : pride on his brow, anger in his eyes, a feminine paleness in the rest of his body, in his face, shamelessness suffused in a glowing red." Juvenal, in Satire IV (the satire about the turbot), alludes to Domitian's baldness. Also see Suetonius's *Domitian*, XVIII.

APPENDIX 2. SULPICIA

Sulpicia, a poetess of the time of Domitian. She is described as Greek in her sympathies and of the Stoic order of philosophy. Her love poems were chiefly addressed to her husband Calenus. Portion of a satire written by her on the occasion of the expulsion of the philosophers by Vespasian, is included in the volume (Bohn ed.) which contains the satires of Juvenal and Persius.

APPENDIX 3

The fashion among Roman ladies of wearing yellow hair.

A paraphrase by Sir John Harrington of Martial's epigram, Bk. VI, Ep. 12, substitutes the name Galla for that of Fabulla, thus : " The golden hair that Galla wears. . . ."

In the Latin writers there are innumerable references to the practice among Roman fashionable women of dyeing their hair. Ovid speaks of certain herbs from Germany which were burned and used as a soap to make the hair blonde, and of their purchase of the yellow tresses shorn from the heads of German maids in order to supplement their own. They wore golden nets. Of gold-dust as a hair-powder there is later mention in connection with the Emperor Gallienus—probably as a mark of effeminacy. *Life of the Greeks and Romans* by Guhl and Koner, Sec. 96, p. 490.

" Blonde hair was much esteemed by the Romans, and the ladies were in the habit of washing the hair with a composition to make it of this colour. This was

called 'spuma caustica'—caustic soap." Ovid, *Amores*, Bk. I, El. 14, p. 296 (Bohn Trans.).

Ovid also alludes to the fashion of wearing "false hair taken from German captives. The German women were famed for the beauty of their hair." See note in El. 14, Ovid's *Amores*, Bk. I.

Also Martial, Bk. V, Ep. 68 :

" Hair from the clime where golden tresses grow
I sent that Lesbia's locks might brighter glow."

And Martial's epigrams to Galla. See Bk. III, Eps. 41, 64 ; Bk. IV, Eps. 38, 58.

APPENDIX 4. FLAVIUS SABINUS, FLAVIUS CLEMENS AND DOMITILLA

Vespasian (the Emperor) had three children : Titus, Domitian and Domitilla.

Vespasian's brother, Flavius Sabinus,—killed in the Vitellian riots, when Domitian, then a youth, escaped from the Capitol—had a son, Flavius Sabinus, the husband of his cousin Julia, daughter of Titus. Vespasian's daughter Domitilla married, and her daughter Domitilla became the wife of her cousin Flavius Clemens. These are the two mentioned by Nyria as guests at Julia's banquet.

APPENDIX 5. IMPERIAL LIVERIES

Suetonius in the *Life of Domitian* says of him :

" Being indignant that his brother's son-in-law (Flavius Sabinus, husband of Julia) should be waited on by servants dressed in white, he exclaimed, ' *Too many princes are not good*,' to which there is a footnote, ' The imperial liveries were white and gold.' "

We find no corroboration of Nyria's statement that they were red, white and gold, but it seems not unlikely that she was right.

APPENDIX 6. THE ELECTION OF CONSULS AND THE TIME OF THEIR ENTERING INTO OFFICE

" The day on which the consuls entered on their office determined the day of election. . . . When the first of January was fixed upon as the day for entering upon office, the consular comitia were usually held in July or even earlier, at least before the Kalends of Sextilia . . . the day of election depended a great deal upon the discretion of the Senate and consuls, who often delayed it. . . ." Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

APPENDIX 7. PARIS THE PANTOMIME AND THE LOVER OF DOMITIA

It is a moot question whether there were two pantomime dancers called Paris—one in the reign of Nero and the other in that of Domitian.

The first Paris (if the two were not identical) was born in Egypt—a dancer and a favourite of Nero, originally a slave of Nero's aunt Domitia. See Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. XIII, 19, 20, 22, 27.

See also Suetonius, *Nero*, 54 :

" And there are some who say that he (Nero) put to death the player Paris as a dangerous rival " (on the stage).

But the translator of Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Cæsars*, in " Remarks on the Life and Times of the Emperor Domitian," adds in a criticism of Juvenal :

" One of the first and most constant objects of his satire was the pantomime Paris, the great favourite of the Emperor Nero and afterwards of Domitian."

Assuming that Paris was quite a young man in the reign of Nero, he would, in that of Domitian, have been about thirty-five, as Nyria describes him.

See also Dion Cassius, Bk. LXVII, 43.

But here the dates of Dion Cassius are queried and unreliable.

That there were two dancers of the name of Paris, is stated as a fact in Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, and that Nero had Paris killed.

Domitian divorced Domitia on account of her amour with Paris. This—though the date is uncertain—appears to have been not long before the banquet in Julia's house.

"Soon after his (Domitian's) advancement (to the throne) his wife Domitia, by whom he had a son¹ in his second consulship and whom, the year following, he complimented with the title of Augusta, being desperately in love with Paris the actor, he put her away, but within a short time afterwards, being unable to bear the separation, he took her again under pretence of complying with the people's importunity." Suetonius, *Domitian*, III.

APPENDIX 8. DOMITIAN'S FEAR OF ASTROLOGERS

Suetonius tells that when a young man he (Domitian) had learned from the Chaldeans of the manner and time of his death, and was in perpetual fear and anxiety. Suetonius, *Domitian*, XIV.

APPENDIX 9. EUPHENA'S ASPERSIONS ON JULIA'S PARENTAGE

History, so far as we can discover, gives no justification for Euphena's allegations concerning Julia's parentage. It is definitely stated that her birth took place on September 8th, A.D. 70, a date memorable as that of the fall of Jerusalem. We are told that upon the return of Titus from Judæa he divorced Marcia Furnillia, his wife, but kept his daughter Julia. It must be remembered that, at that time, he was deeply in love with Berenice, and with great reluctance, for State reasons, parted from her.

Later, when Nyria was asked if she could tell more about the matter, she answered that she knew only of the story through slaves' gossip. The Commentator also, when questioned, said that he had examined the evidence and that he did not believe Euphena's assertions were true.

APPENDIX 10

Domitian's connivance in her husband's assassination is stated by later historians but not by those contemporaneous with her. See Dio Cassius, LXVI, LXVII.

APPENDIX 11. PAULINUS'S EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

Dion Cassius mentions that about this time—92-93—there was an insurrection of the Massagemones in Africa which was easily quelled.

The tribe of Massagetæ, also mentioned by Dion Cassius, have evidently been confused with the Nasamones.

APPENDIX 12. THE TWO SONS OF FLAVIUS CLEMENS AND DOMITILLA

These boys were adopted by Domitian and renamed by him Vespasian and Domitian. But they did not live to be men. Suetonius, *Domitian*, XV.

APPENDIX 13. ELECTION OF FLAVIUS SABINUS TO THE OFFICE OF CONSUL

"He (Domitian) put to death the younger Helvidius . . . and also Flavius Sabinus, one of his cousins, because, upon his being chosen at the consular election to that office, the public crier had, by a blunder, proclaimed him to the people not Consul, but Emperor." Suetonius, *Domitian*, X.

APPENDIX 14. HEIGHT OF THE FLAVIAN COIFFURE

"Into so many tiers she forms her curls, so many stages high she builds her head: in front, you will look upon an Andromache, behind, she is a dwarf." Juvenal, Satire VI, line 501 *et seq.*, p. 58 (Bohn's Trans.)

¹ This son died in infancy.

Nyria's description corresponds with the high, close-curved crop of hair above the forehead in statues of women of that period—Julia, Domitia and others. Also see Juvenal, Satire VI, p. 56 (Bohn's Trans.)

APPENDIX 15. PORTICO OF THE DANAIDS

The portico under the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill was adorned with the statues of Danaüs and his forty-nine guilty daughters. It was built by Augustus on a spot adjoining his Palace." Note in Ovid's *Amores*, Bk. II, El. 2 (Bohn).

The portico of the Danaids described by Propertius (II, 31) as part of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill, was so close to the Imperial Palace as almost to form a portion of it.

"The Temple of Apollo was on Mt. Palatine." Tacitus, *Hist.*, note to p. 178 (Bohn ed.).

In Persius, Satire 2, lines 56–58, there is an allusion to the sending of dreams and a note at foot of page 222 (Bohn ed.) as follows: "It is said that in the Temple porch of the Palatine Apollo were figures of the fifty Danaides and, opposite them, equestrian statues that gave oracles by dreams."

See also Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 141–142. Also (quoted) *Bull. Arch. Comm.*, Vol. II, 1883. Lanciani writes of having seen a part of one of the statues of the Danaides, and says that eighteen or twenty which had fallen down from the portico were described by Flaminio Vacca in the fifteenth century.

APPENDIX 16. THE EMPRESS DOMITIA

Domitia Longina was the daughter of the great general Domitius Corbulo. She was first married to Aelius Lamia of an ancient and honourable family, but Domitian fell in love with her and took her away from her husband, whom he put to death after his accession to the throne. Later, he divorced her on account of her amour with Paris, but took her back, he said, in deference to the wishes of the people. This was before the date of Julia's banquet, at which time he wished to marry Julia.

Domitia has been praised for her virtues by Josephus and Procopius. The impression her statues give of her is that of a very unhappy woman.

See Suetonius's *Vit. Domitian*, also Dio Cassius.

APPENDIX 17. THE IMPERIAL SALUTE

We have not so far found in any Latin authority verification of Nyria's description of the actual form of the Salute which she called the Royal Salute. But her remarks upon the soldiers' spears (the Roman pilum) and Domitian's interest in their equipment is borne out by the following quotations from various writers:

"The Pilum of which Polybius (204 B.C.) writes, was a spear having a very large iron head or blade, and this was carried by a socket to receive the shaft—the socket itself about 19 inches—almost one-third of the entire weapon's length—was strengthened towards the base until it became not less than three and a half fingers in thickness." *Roman Arms and Armour*, by M. Lacombe.

Vegetius says "they (the pila) had slender iron heads of unilateral form."

Vegetius speaks of a pilum with a shaft five and a half feet in length, and of a second kind—the trilateral head five inches long, the shaft three and a half feet. (Vegetius lived in the close of the third century.)

The pilum reached its highest point under the Flavians.

Hasta . . . with illustrations. Smith's *Dictionary of Roman Antiquities*.

These seem to bear out more nearly Nyria's description.

"The Roman pilum—most renowned weapon of antiquity—remains enveloped in a cloud of uncertainty." From *Roman Arms and Armour*, by Lacombe, and from Society of Antiquarians, Vol. 42, p. 328.

In Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionary of Roman Antiquities* one finds:

"Le Javelot, long d'un mètre et demi à deux mètres, état muni d'une courroie au moyen de laquelle on imprimait un mouvement rotatoire."

Gibbon speaks of "the formidable pilum, a ponderous javelin whose utmost length was about six feet and which was terminated by a massy triangular point of steel of eighteen inches." Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. I, Chap. I.

Domitian's concern as to alterations in the soldiers' equipment, mentioned by Nyria, is borne out by the following extracts :

Suetonius, in his *Life of Domitian*, says in Sec. 10 :

"The rest he punished upon very trivial occasions. . . . Sallustius Lucullus, lieutenant in Britain, for suffering some lances of a new invention to be called Lucullean."

In a footnote to page 381 (Bohn ed.) in Tacitus's *Life of Agricola* :

"Agricola's successor appears to have been Sallustius Lucullus, lieutenant in Britain, who was put to death by Domitian because he permitted certain lances of a new construction to be called 'Lucullean.'"

APPENDIX 18. MARTIAL'S POOR CIRCUMSTANCES

Martial makes many complaints of his poverty—probably before he married Marcella, a rich woman who settled some property upon him.

See Bk. I, Ep. 117. To Lupercus, who offers to send a slave to Martial's house. "It is a long journey if he wished to come to the Pirus (pear tree near where Martial lived), and I live up three pairs of stairs and those high ones."

Also Bk. I, Ep. 108, Martial says : "But my garret looks upon the laurels of Agrippa, and in this quarter I have already grown old."

Martial describes a garden and tower, given to him by his wife, adding :

"Marcella gave me this retreat, this little kingdom on my return to my native home, after thirty-five years of absence." Martial, Bk. XII, Ep. 31.

He also speaks of his small farm at Nomentum.

APPENDIX 19. THE FAT HISPULLA

Hispulla's corpulence appears to have been notable.

Juvenal comments upon it : "Had I an ample fortune and equal to my wishes, a bull fatter than Hispulla and slow-paced from his very bulk should be led to sacrifice. . . . Satire XII, line 11.

Hispulla was the aunt of Pliny's third wife, Calpurnia, and among his letters there are several addressed to her.

APPENDIX 20. THE RUDE TREATMENT OF PEDESTRIANS BY LITTER-BEARERS

Litter-bearers=*lecticarii*, and fore-runners=*ante-ambulones*. See Becker's *Gallus*. Excursus: *Slaves*.

Juvenal writes of the knocks and blows dealt on pedestrians by the litter-bearers and fore-runners. Juvenal, Satire III, line 245 *et seq.*

APPENDIX 21. THE SHOP OF STEPHANUS

From various indications Nyria has given of the position we have located the shop of Stephanus—freedman, goldsmith and slaves' doctor—as being in a small street out of the Via or Clivus Argentaria, in Region VII, which skirted the Capitoline Hill round the Arx and what was, later, the forum of Trajan.

"The Quirinal and Capitoline Hills had been connected by a steep ridge of tufa rock, crossed by the Clivus Argentaria. Trajan's architect had the whole of this ridge cut and carted away to make a level space for the new Forum." See Henderson's *Five Roman Emperors*, p. 198.

The alteration was made after Nyria's time. In her narrative Stephanus's shop is described as in a small street leading out of the Via Argentaria. (Ed.)

APPENDIX 22. THE ROMAN TOGA

The toga was the peculiar distinction of the Romans. It was originally worn only in Rome itself, and the use of it was forbidden alike to exiles and foreigners. . . . It was worn on ceremonial occasions—in courts of justice, at the theatre and at the Emperor's table. Stephanus as a freedman would have had the right to wear it. See Smith's *Classical Dictionary*; Martial, Bk. XIV, Ep. 124-125.

APPENDIX 23. THE RELATIONS OF STEPHANUS WITH FLAVIUS CLEMENS AND DOMITILLA

Nyria is correct in stating that Stephanus was formerly the slave of Domitilla and her husband Flavius Clemens, who gave him his freedom. Stephanus is noted in history as the slayer of Domitian.

"Clemens and his wife Domitilla soon found an instrument of vengeance for their fate. For this Stephanus, who was one of the Emperor's assassins, was the lady's freedman. *But probably private reasons rather than his master's death or his mistress' woes inspired his fact.*" (The italics are mine.)

A footnote, "Despite Philostratus," *Vit. Apoll.*, VIII, 25, is appended to the above. But Philostratus does not appear to throw any light on the matter and, in view of the strange story of Nyria, one wonders what reasons the author had for his conjecture.

The above quotation is from *Five Roman Emperors*, by Professor Henderson.

APPENDIX 24

Laws and customs governing slave-life in Imperial Rome entirely confirming Nyria. See Gaius . . . Ulpian's *Digest. Les Esclaves Chrétiens*, by Paul Allard; Elder Pliny's *Natural History Book*, XXXIII.

APPENDIX 25. THE BIRD ASCALAPHUS

Here is an error on the part of Nyria, or the Recorder, which should be noted.

The suggestion of the name as it leaped to the mind of the Recorder was hastily uttered and was unwise from the investigatory point of view. Also, the comparison was not accurate.

Mythology tells that Ascalaphus was buried under a stone by Demeter in punishment for having betrayed the eating of an apple by Persephone while she was with Pluto in the underworld. Afterwards, Persephone released him and turned him into an owl. Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, Ovid, *Met.*, V, 539.

Presumably Stephanus's bird was a cockatoo or a parrot. The point is interesting as touching the theory of thought-transference. The bird may or may not have been called Ascalaphus. Nyria was probably ignorant of the mythological story. Books of reference were not at hand at the moment and the Recorder, who is not a classical scholar, let the matter pass, and Nyria continued to call Stephanus's bird "Ascalaphus" without further question. (Ed.)

APPENDIX 26. CLEMENT, THIRD BISHOP OF ROME

A footnote in Suetonius's *Domitian* (Bohn ed.) says "Clemens Romanus, second bishop of Rome, was said to have been of the (Flavian) family."

Other writers speak of him as the first bishop. . . . But Linus was the first bishop, Anacletus the second, and Clement the third.

There were legendary features in his history, but it is generally conceded that he was of the family of Flavius Clemens and Domitilla. His so-called first Epistle to the Corinthians is accepted as genuine.

The Church of San Clemente in Rome is dedicated to his memory. . . . See *Life of Clement of Rome*, by Bishop Lightfoot, *Apostolical Fathers*, by Archbishop Wake.

Origen identifies him with the Clement named by St. Paul in Epistle to the Philippians.

APPENDIX 27. THE SATURNALIA

Nyria is perfectly correct in the details she gives of the Saturnalia.

Under Domitian the official term of the Saturnalia was seven days, but there were prolongations of the term. Nyria was right in saying that a fortnight was the holiday time, and that another week was granted.

"Elle (Saturnalia) commençait le XIV jour avant les Calendes de Janvier (17th Dec.) . . . englobant les Opalia qui tombait le XII jour et se terminant aux Laurentalis" (23rd of December).

Ces additions successives qui eurent leur raison dans la popularité de la fête, semblaient être proverbiales—du moins, est-ce par un proverbe que s'explique le mieux l'expression de *extendere Saturnalia* dont Pline fait un emploi plaisant dans une lettre à Tacite—

"I am playing truant and prolonging the Saturnalian holidays." Bk. VIII, Ep. 7.

"C'était la liberté de Décembre, pour parler comme Horace." Darenberg and Saglio, *Classical Dictionary*.

Pliny says, in a letter to Gallus describing his Laurentine villa: "When I retire to this garden summer-house I fancy myself a hundred miles away from my villa and take special pleasure in it at the feast of the Saturnalia when, by the license of that festive season, every other part of my house resounds with my servants' mirth: thus I neither interrupt their amusement nor they my studies." Pliny's *Letters*, II, Ep. 17.

APPENDIX 28. TREATMENT OF ROMAN-BORN SLAVES

Nyria is corroborated by a footnote to some remarks by Juvenal upon the reward of freedom and a small piece of land given to slaves who had fought many years for the State. Referring to the children born before the grant of freedom and who are therefore slaves, the note is as follows:

"These home-born slaves, though being more despised from having been born in a state of servitude, were treated with great fondness and indulgence." Juvenal, *Satire XIV*, note p. 169 (Bohn ed.).

APPENDIX 29. THE ROMAN TORCH

The Torches used by the Romans for out-of-door illumination and for carrying in the hand after sunset were made of wooden staves or sticks bound by bands around them in spiral form, the hollow inside filled with flax, tow, dead vegetable matter, impregnated with wax or pitch or other inflammable substance. Note Ovid, *Amores*, Bk. I, El. 6, line 58 (Bohn).

APPENDIX 30. TO LOCATE THE HOUSE OF VALERIA—DOMUS VALERIORUM

See Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. Bk. IV, p. 347, for the following:

"Domus Valeriorum.—There was on the Coelian, between S. Stefano Rotondo and the Lateran, a palace belonging to the descendants of the Valerii Poplicolæ, namely, to Valerius Severus, Prefect of Rome in A.D. 386, and to his son Pinianus, husband of Melania the younger. The palace was so beautiful and contained so much wealth that when Pinianus and Melania, grieved by the loss of all their children, put it up for sale in A.D. 404, they found none willing to purchase it."

(Lanciani's account of the Valerian Palace continues over the page (347)).

The position of the Valerian Palace can be easily seen in both modern and ancient maps. The Church of S. Stefano Rotondo was, it is said (some think erroneously), built against the remains of the Macellum Magnum—marked on the map. It must be quite near that site. Between the Macellum Magnum and the Domus Lateraniorum would have been the Valerian villa, just where Nyria describes it.

It will be noted that Lanciani's record of the Valerian Palace dates from A.D. 386—a long time after Nyria's date. If Paulinus bought the villa for Valeria in the latter half of the first century, it might well have been occupied by the sons of Paulinus and their descendants and have been enlarged and enriched by them.

Lanciani gives a long list of books on the subject.

APPENDIX 31

The Lateran Palace on the Cœlian appears to date further back than the Valerian.

It is a current opinion that after the execution of Plautius Lateranus in A.D. 66 for his share in the plot of the Pisones, his magnificent palace on the Cœlian was confiscated by Nero, and the ground added to the Imperial domain of the *Domus Aurea*.

No classic historian speaks of such a confiscation: on the contrary, we are informed by one of them that T. Sextus Lateranus, Consul in 196, was offered large sums of money by Septimus Severus, by the help of which he restored the paternal estate on the Cœlian. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 341.

Thus it would seem that the palace was in possession of the Lateran family at the time of which Nyria speaks.

There was another important palace—the *Domus Vectiliana*, mentioned in A.D. 192, which was not far from the Lateran. . . . Also the *Domus Tetricorum*, but this last was lower down in the valley between the Cœlian and the Esquiline. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 346.

APPENDIX 32. LEGAL PUNISHMENT OF SLAVES

"According to the strict principles of the Roman Law it was a consequence of the relation of Master and Slave that the Master could treat the Slave as he pleased: he could sell him, punish him, put him to death. . . . Positive morality however . . . ameliorated the condition of slavery. Still, we read of acts of great cruelty committed by masters in the later Republican and earlier Imperial times, and the *Lex Petronia* was enacted in order to protect the slave." Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

Theft was an offence severely punishable by law.

APPENDIX 33. THE WHIP

The Whip: "The flagellum was chiefly used in the punishment of slaves. It was knotted with bones or heavy indented circles of bronze. . . . The infliction of punishment by it on the naked back of the sufferer was sometimes fatal. . . ."

"During the Saturnalia the scourge was deposited under the seal of the master." Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

This last clause seems somewhat incompatible with Nyria's story. . . . Probably theft was too serious an offence to be covered by the Saturnalia license: or the rule stated may have applied only to the original official term of the festival and did not include the prolongations that were gradually allowed.

Nyria's account of her whipping has its parallel in the following extract from Juvenal:

". . . The tirewomen are stript to be whipped. . . . Some women pay a regular salary to their torturers. . . . While he lashes, she is employed in enamelling her face. . . . Still he lashes." Juvenal, *Satire VI*, p. 57 (Bohn).

APPENDIX 34. VALERIA'S DOCTOR

"Archigenes, an eminent Greek physician born at Apamea in Syria, practised in Rome in the time of Trajan. A.D. 98-117. He published a treatise on the pulse, on which Galen wrote a Commentary. It seemed to be founded on pre-

conceived theory rather than practical observation. He was the most eminent physician of the sect Eclectici and is mentioned by Juvenal as well as by other writers. Only a few fragments of his work remain. (Juvenal, VI, 236; XIII, 98; XIV, 252). See Smith and Marindin's *Classical Dictionary*.

Lemprière in his *Classical Dictionary* says "Archigenes lived in the reigns of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan and died in the 73rd year of his age. He wrote a treatise on adorning the hair and also ten books on fevers."

When Nyria corrected herself in regard to the name of Valeria's doctor, the Recorder looked through various writings of the period for the doctor Archimenes but could find none of that name. Recently, however, she came upon the following reference in Juvenal to Archigenes.

"She (the wife's mother) . . . though her daughter is in rude health, calls in Archigenes." (Juvenal, Satire VI, line 235.)

"If Ladas be poor, let him not hesitate to pray for gout that waits on wealth, if he does not need treatment at Anticyra or by Archigenes." Juvenal, Satire XIII, line 96.

"Send for Archigenes at once and buy what Mithridates compounded if you would pluck another fig or handle this year's roses." Juvenal, Satire XIV, line 252, p. 175 (Bohn's Translation) and note.

Note: Compound of Mithridates. "This composition is described by Serenus Sammonicus, the physician, and consists of ludicrously simple ingredients."

This all bears out fairly clearly Nyria's estimate of the character of Valeria's doctor. In giving his name, she mistook one letter and for Archimenes should have said Archigenes. The mistake is so evident that in the script, henceforward, the right spelling has been adopted. It must be remembered that Nyria could neither read nor write and it is not surprising that she should have made such an error. (Ed.)

APPENDIX 35

Of the physicians Celsus and Symmachus spoken of by Nyria, A. Cornelius Celsus "probably lived under the reign of Augustus and Tiberius. He wrote several works of which only one remains entire—his treatise *De Medecina*." Smith's *Classical Dictionary*.

But Ovid opens his Pontic, Epistle IX with the following words: "Thy letter which came to me speaking of the loss of Celsus was immediately moistened with my tears."

He was therefore dead in the reign of Domitian, when there may have been a successor of the same name.

Symmachus . . .

"I was indisposed: and you straightway came to see me, Symmachus, accompanied by a hundred of your pupils. A hundred hands frozen by the northern blast felt my pulse. I had not then an ague, Symmachus, but I have now." (Martial, Bk. V, Ep. 9.)

APPENDIX 36

"The Vestibulum did not properly form part of the house but was a vacant space before the door forming a court, which was surrounded on three sides by the house and was open on the fourth to the street. The two sides of the house joined the street, but the middle part of it where the door was placed, was at some little distance from the street. . . ." Smith's *Dictionary of Roman Antiquities* (Domus).

APPENDIX 37. MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN ANCIENT ROME

"When the bridal procession arrived at the house of the bridegroom, the door of which was adorned with garlands and flowers, the bride was carried across the threshold by *pronubi*—men who had only been married to one woman—that she might not knock against it with her foot, which would have been an evil omen." Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.*, p. 271 . . . Plautus, *Cas.*, IV, 4, 1.

"Before she entered the house, she wound wool round the door-posts of her new residence and anointed them with lard or wolf's fat." Pliny, *H. N.*, XXVIII, 9.

A torch of white thorn (*spina*) was carried before the bride.

The husband received her with fire and water which the bride had to touch. . . . The bride saluted her husband with the words, "Where thou art Caius, I am Caia."

"A torch of white thorn (*spina*) or pine was carried before the bride. . . . Lady's thistle had a mysterious signification in the ceremony. . . . The bride herself carried a distaff and spindle with wool. . . . A sheep was sacrificed and the skin spread over two chairs upon which the bride and bridegroom sat and the keys of the house were given to her. . . ." Smith's *Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

I do not find any mention of the "flax" of which—perhaps Nyria meant wool—Stephanus spoke as part of the marriage ceremony. (Ed.)

APPENDIX 38. CRUELTY OF ROMAN LADIES TO THEIR DRESSERS AND TIRING-WOMEN

Ovid eulogising his mistress: "Your tire-woman always had a whole skin. Many a time was your head dressed before my eyes: never did the bodkin make wounds in her arms." Ovid, *Amores*, Bk. I, El. 14, line 18.

The bodkin was used for parting the hair.

Also, see Martial's *Epigram to Lalage*, Bk. II, Ep. 66; Becker's *Gallus. Excursus III: The Slaves*.

One ringlet of hair in the whole circle of Lalage's tresses was out of place, having been badly fixed by an erring pin. This crime was punished with the mirror by means of which she discovered it and Plecusa fell to the ground under her blows. Martial, Bk. II, Ep. 66.

"It was the province of one (maid) to curl the hair with a hot iron called 'calamistrum' which was hollow and was heated in wood ashes by a slave who from 'cinis'—ashes—was called 'ciniflo'." See Note to El. 11, Bk. I, Ovid's *Amores*.

Nyria's account of the scene in Julia's dressing-room tallies with Ovid's remark when he admonished a lady who admits spectators while her hair is being dressed.

"Take care on such occasions not to be cross. . . . Let your tiring-woman be with a whole skin. I detest her who tears the face of her attendant with her nails, who seizing the hairpin pierces her arms." Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, Bk. III, p. 443 (Bohn).

APPENDIX 39. ALEXAMENOS

The following extract from Lanciani's *Ancient Rome*, pp. 121-122, certainly suggests the identification of Nyria's Alexamenos with the Alexamenos below-mentioned as something more than a probability.

"When *graffiti* are found in large numbers in one and the same place, they gain the importance of an historical document. . . . such are the *graffiti* discovered in the year 1857 in the Domus Gelotiana which introduce us into the intimacy of the life of court servants of the higher class. It appears from them and from the records they contain, that after the murder of Caligula the house became a residence and a training school for court pages who had received their first education in the imperial elementary school. . . . But by far the most interesting and most widely celebrated *graffito* of the whole set is the one discovered at the beginning of the year 1857 in the fourth room on the left of the entrance removed soon after to the Kircherian Museum at the Collegio Romano, where it is still to be seen. . . . This *graffito* contains a blasphemous representation of our Lord Jesus Christ—a caricature designed only a few years after the first preaching of the Gospel in Rome by the Apostles.

Our Lord is represented with the head of a donkey, tied to the cross with the feet resting on a horizontal piece of board. To the left of the cross there is the

figure of the Christian youth Alexamenos with arms raised in adoration of the crucified God and the whole composition is illustrated and explained by the legend (in Greek), 'Alexamenos worships (his) god.'

APPENDIX 40. THE LATICLAVE

"The distinguishing badge of the senatorial order. It was a broad purple band extending perpendicularly from the neck down the centre of the tunic." Pliny's *Letters*. Note to Letter 9.

APPENDIX 41. PHYLLIS

"His (Domitian's) corpse was carried out upon a common bier by the public bearers and buried by his nurse Phyllis at his suburban villa on the Latin Way. But she afterwards privately conveyed his remains to the temple of the Flavian family and mingled them with the ashes of Julia, daughter of Titus, whom she had also nursed." Suetonius, *Life of Domitian*.

APPENDIX 42. DEATH OF JULIA

Nyria's narrative tells of the love intrigues of Julia, wife of Sabinus, and Domitian, and the very natural jealousy of the Empress Domitia, and points, if perhaps somewhat obscurely, to the cause of Julia's early death. It is well, for the benefit of readers who are not familiar with the details of the history of this reign, to recall the actual facts of the case in so far as they are beyond dispute.

Julia, although she was his niece, was offered in marriage to Domitian, by his brother Titus, then Emperor, when she was quite a young girl. She could not indeed then have been more than ten or eleven years of age. At this time, however, Domitian was enamoured of the woman who shortly after became his wife and declined in very emphatic terms to consider in this sense a girl whose personal attractions had naturally not yet had time to mature. Subsequently, however, after she was married to Sabinus, Domitian came to regret his early decision. His wife, whom he had forced to divorce her husband on his account, was indifferent to him and admittedly unfaithful, while time had served to enhance Julia's charms. Hence arose an intrigue between the two which led to Sabinus, her husband, being made away with on a trumped-up charge, and subsequently to Julia's own death, her relations with Domitian having placed her in a position from which she sought escape by means which proved fatal to mother and child alike. This fact must have been well known for it is referred to by Suetonius, by Pliny, in his letters, and, in an exceptionally coarse allusion, by the satirist Juvenal. The passage in Pliny could not have been more definite. (*Epistles*, Bk. IV, Letter 11.) "Quum ipse fratris filiam incesto non poluisset solum verum etiam occidisset, *nam vidua abortu perit.*"

So also Suetonius, who alludes to the fact that the original offer of Julia was strongly pressed by Titus upon Domitian and that he resolutely refused to entertain it. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian*.

There appears, so far as we can gather, from somewhat uncertain historical data, to have been an interval of some months between Sabinus's death and Julia's, though it must be admitted that Nyria's narrative conveys the impression that they followed closely on one another.

APPENDIX 43. MATHO, THE LAWYER

Allusions to Matho, who after having been wealthy, fell on lean days, are frequent in the writings of Martial and are found also in the *Satires* of Juvenal.

On sending Matho a sportula (equivalent to a few pence, and in lieu of the meal which at one time poor clients received from their patrons, Martial addresses to him an epigram with the invidious suggestion that the money will pay for a hundred baths. See Martial, Bk. VIII, Ep. 42.

Also, see Martial, Bk. IV, Ep. 29. Also Bk. XI, Ep. 68. And Bk. VII, Ep. 10, and others.

Juvenal bears out the disagreeable impression of this dissipated, unscrupulous Roman lawyer :

"For who can be so tolerant of this iniquitous city. . . . When there comes up the brand-new litter of Matho, the lawyer, and after him he that informed upon his powerful friend and will soon plunder the nobility, already close shorn of the little that remains to them." See Juvenal, Satire I.

Juvenal commenting on the need for outward show in order to succeed as a lawyer, instances Matho.

"Emilius," he says, "will get as much as the law allows although we pleaded better than he. For he has in his courtyard a chariot of bronze with four tall horses yoked to it. . . . So it is that Peto gets involved, Matho fails. . . . It is the purple robe that gets the lawyer custom—his violet cloak that attracts clients. No one now would give even Cicero himself two hundred sesterces unless a huge ring sparkled on his finger." See Juvenal, Satire VII, line 129, *et seq.*

APPENDIX 44. PORTICUS MARGARITARIA AND TRADESMEN'S SHOPS

The Porticus Margaritaria was an arcade occupied by jewellers and goldsmiths, opening on the Via Sacra.

There were also *unguentarii* or perfumers, an *auri-vestrix*—weaver of gold cloth : *caelatores*—carvers in repoussé-work : *coronarii*—wreath-makers : *pigmentarii*—makers of cosmetics : *flaturarii*—metal-casters : *tibiarii*—flute-makers, and *negotiatores* in general, who originally exhibited their precious merchandise in booths and desks in the shelter of the portico. . . . Later on, the portico was cut up into regular shops. . . . See Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Bk. III, p. 210.

APPENDIX 45. PECULIUM OF A SLAVE AND HIS RIGHT TO PURCHASE FREEDOM

"Money which a slave acquired by gifts or which was given to him with the knowledge of his master in respect of certain services outside his ordinary employment, was called his *peculium*."

"As a slave could own no property, according to strict law, the peculium was the property of the master, but, according to usage, it was considered the property of the slave. Sometimes it was agreed between master and slave that the slave should purchase his freedom with his peculium when it amounted to a certain sum." Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV, 42.

A case following upon a decree of the Senate adjudging liability to any indirectly concerned in criminal acts is recorded in the history of the time.

"Not long after, Pedanius Secundus, præfect of the city, was murdered by his own slave : either upon his refusing him his liberty for which he had bargained at a certain price, or that he was enraged by jealousy in respect of a pathic and could not bear his master for a rival. . . ." Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. XIV, c. 42-45.

"The whole household of slaves amounting to four hundred was therefore led with lines of soldiers securing them from release by the protesting crowds, outside the city, where they were executed."

A full description of the ordinances concerning slaves in ancient Rome may be found in Excursus III, Becker's *Gallus*.

"If a slave was manumitted by an owner during his lifetime, the Peculium was considered to be given with *Libertas*, unless it was expressly retained." Smith's *Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (Servus.)

"A person became a slave by capture in war. Captives in war were sold as belonging to the Aerarium or distributed among the soldiers by lot.

A free person might become a slave in various ways—in consequence of positive law. This was the case with *Incensi* and those who evaded military service. . . .

A freedman who misconducted himself towards his patron was reduced to his former state of slavery. . . .

There were slaves that belonged to the State and were called *servi publici* . . .

but it appears they had a certain privilege and were viewed in a somewhat different light from the slaves of private persons. . . ." Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

APPENDIX 46. ROMAN COINAGE.

The value of the sesterce at the end of the first century A.D. was approximately 2d. The sestertium (plural sestertia) was 1000 sesterces, or about £8. One thousand sestertia would thus be equivalent to £8000 of our money, far too high a reserve price for a slave of those days. Evidently Nyria has a very confused recollection of the value of the Roman coinage. Possibly what is intended is 10,000 sesterces (10 sestertia), the equivalent of £80. The purchase price of Nyria would then be equivalent to £200.

APPENDIX 47. THE WAR WITH THE NASAMONES

The only Roman war of that time answering to Paulinus's remark on the sand mingled with his food is that with the Nasamones, a Libyan tribe who revolted against their governor, Flaccus. This is mentioned by Dion Cassius but is dated by him in the years 85-86, considerably before the period indicated in Nyria's story which places Paulinus's return from the Egyptian expedition shortly after the death of Julia in 93-94. But Dion Cassius's dates are queried by several of his translators and his or their chronological order of historical incidents is unreliable.

Early particulars of the Nasamones can be found in Herodotus, II, 32 ; IV, 172, 182, 190.

Nasamones . . . " A powerful but savage Libyan people who dwelt originally on the shores of the great Syrtis . . . *Syrticus Regio*." " It was for the most part a very narrow strip of sand interspersed with salt marshes between the sea and a range of mountains forming the edge of the Great Desert (Sahara) and was peopled by Libyan tribes, the chief of whom were the Lotophagi, the Nasamones . . . and others. Under the Romans it formed part of the Province of Tripoli." Smith and Marindin's *Classical Dictionary*.