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DESCRIPTION

OF THE

CIRCUS ON THE VIA APPIA,

NEAR

ROME;

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE

CIRCENSIAN GAMES.

BY THE REV. RICHARD BURGESS,

CHAPLAIN TO THE ENGLISH RESIDENTS AT GENEVA,
AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD AYLMER.

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DEDICATION.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

LORD AYLMER, K.C.B.,

&c. &c.

My Lord,

It was my original intention to have written a series of Discourses on the Topography and Antiquities of Rome; nor is the hope of my being able at some time to fulfil that intention entirely relinquished.

The work I now have the honour to dedicate to your Lordship may be considered as a part of that undertaking: but as attempting to illustrate only one object, it would have been incom-

mensurate with the general view I intended to take of ancient Rome;—as such, I have made it a separate publication.

Distinguished as your Lordship's name appears in services of a public nature, which have called forth the admiration of all those who are acquainted with them; it is rather from the opportunity I have had of appreciating your virtues in private life, that I asked permission to inscribe this first production of my studies with your name. The substance of the following pages your Lordship has already had the patience to listen to, when I had the honour of partaking in that society at Rome which you contributed so effectually to render dignified and agreeable.

I am rather apprehensive that the notes which accompany this description may appear to impose upon your patronage a heavier burden than it is willing to bear; and, perhaps, in a work of any

other nature they might have incurred the charge of ostentation. The propriety, however, of citing authorities in subjects relating to antiquity, is now universally acknowledged; and it cannot be supposed that a patron of literature should occupy himself with the laborious researches of every author.

That your Lordship may long live to enjoy the honours you have so nobly acquired in the service of your country, is the ardent wish of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient and obliged

Servant and Chaplain,

RICHARD BURGESS.

Geneva;
December 21, 1826.

ERRATA.

Page	Line	
3,	13,	*for* de *read* di.
8,	18,	*for* note † *read* note *.
8,	21,	*for* note * *read* note †.
23,	19,	*for* archeology *read* archæology.
26,	15,	*for* (,) *read* (:).
26,	17,	*for* (;) *read* (,).
36,	21,	*for* seat *read* set.
60.	27 & 28,	*for* page 84, note ‡ *read* page 84, note §.
90,	15,	"ex" is omitted in the word extracted.
108,	11,	*for* 57 *read* 58.

tedious researches

years: the French, under Napoleon, restored to the Colosseum its original symmetry by disinterring

the foundation arches; they ascertained something of the pristine splendour of Trajan's Forum, and rendered other objects, of no less classical interest, accessible. Pius VII., restored to the peaceful possession of his states, did not disdain to follow the example of his enemies, and the taste has even been diffused among private individuals. These things, happening at a period when Rome has become the resort of so many strangers, have almost rescued the study of antiquities from the reproach of tediousness and uncertainty; and the classical scholar may still expect to derive pleasure and instruction from the further discoveries which such a method is likely to produce. But these researches have not been confined within the walls of the city: some of the towns of Latium have received their share of attention, and Tusculum may even remind the traveller of the streets of Pompeii. In the immediate vicinity of Rome, no district has afforded more encouragement to the excavator than the environs of the *Via Appia;* the Sepulchres and Columbaria are seldom opened in vain; and after a

lapse of more than two thousand years, we may still tread the pavement of Appius Claudius the Censor.

The tomb of Cæcilia Metella will be familiar to the recollection of every one who has personally verified these remarks: in the valley beneath it, on the left side of the *Via Appia*, lie the ruins of a Circus, at a distance of about two miles and a half from the nearest point in the walls of Rome; this has always been an object of great interest to architects and antiquaries, but it is now rendered still more so by the excavations made in it, at the expense of the Duca de Bracciano, in 1825. It is the object of the following pages to illustrate the remains of this Circus, with a due attention to the recent discoveries, and to the concurrent authorities of ancient authors.

Upon the doubtful authority of a Medal, which was subsequently aided by the discovery of a Statue, this Circus has passed through three centuries with

the name of Caracalla: the medal proves * that he built or repaired a Circus somewhere, but his statue, found at some distance from these ruins, together with that of Julia his mother †, affords no evidence whatever.

* We learn from Donatus that the antiquaries adopted the name from no other authority. "Quintus et stantibus muris Circus Lateritius Via Appia non longè ab Æde S. Sebastiani hodieque visitur, quem antiquarii ascribunt Antonio Caracallæ, quod in ejus numismatis ea sit figura expressus. Spectatur in eo loco ingentis magnitudinis jacens obeliscus, *&c.*"—*Donatus de Urbe Româ*, lib. iii., cap. 14. But it will be seen, from the impression of the Medal here given, that it represents a circus with porticos round it, and therefore was, in all probability, struck on some occasion of repairing the Circus Maximus; something also may be deduced from the date implied in the superscription.—Compare IMP. II. COS. IIII., and *Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire*, vol. i., chap. vi., § 17.

† The Statues were found in the beginning of the last century, but no one seems to know, with any degree of accuracy, where they were

Panvinio was the first to insinuate that the conjecture might be wrong, and he thought the construction was better suited to the age of Constantine *. Fabretti, whose judgment in these cases is much to be relied on, agreed with the learned men of his time who assigned the Circus to Gallienus †.—It has also been imagined, by those who would fix a still later date than either of these, that the Christian Emperors, desiring to abolish gradually the games of the Circus, transferred them to a respectful distance from the converted city; others again have supposed that it was a private Circus built by some wealthy citizen as an appendage to his Villa; such was indeed the one annexed to the house of Sallust the historian, and of which

first discovered. Ficoroni, whom Signor Nibby calls a "*scrittore sospetto*," gives the original story.—*Vestigia di Roma Antica*, lib. i., c. 24. Venuti's notice of the Statues is vague enough, "trovate verso le sue [*i. e.* del Circo] rovine che riguardono la Via Appia."—*Venuti, Antich. di Roma*, tom. ii., p. 24.

* *Panvinio de Ludis Circensibus*, lib. i., cap. xxiv.

† *Fabretti de Aquis et Aqueductibus*, Dissert. iii., § 16., p. 157.

some remains are still visible at Rome, near the Salarian Gate; this supposition receives further support from the actual existence of those ruins, most probably of a Villa, with which the Circus on the Via Appia communicates. But, however plausible some of these conjectures may seem, it will be manifest, to any one who has an opportunity of examining and comparing ruins at Rome, that this can never have been the work of Caracalla *; wherever a specimen of ornament is found, it exhibits a proof of the total decline of sculpture, except such fragments as have clearly been taken from other buildings †; the jars, which appear in the vaults for the purpose of filling up space, to save materials, and to diminish the weight of the

* The curious reader may see all the arguments for establishing the claims of Caracalla, spun out in the Preface to Bianconi's work, '*Descrizione de' Circhi, &c;*" but when weighed in the balance of just criticism they do not amount to a single grain.

† Amongst the ruins of the *Carceres* are several fragments of this description, particularly a piece of a cornice beautifully sculptured; any one on the spot may compare this specimen with the rude fragments belonging to the Metæ and the small Temple on the Spina.

arches *, were an expedient not known to have been resorted to until the fourth century; the paintings, still to be traced in one of the towers, betray a rudeness of the art scarce worthy of the age of Constantine †, and the whole differs materially, both in style and magnificence, from the baths which Caracalla built in the beginning of the third century; nor can the construction of those two edifices be in any way assimilated so as to warrant a supposition that they were built in the same age. Spartianus, who enumerates the works of Caracalla,

* The idea of these jars *(testæ)* being inserted in the walls for the purpose of assisting sound, or echo, is absurd enough—did the Tomb of Helena (now called the *Torre Pignattara*, and situated on the Via Labicana,—see Nibby's *Viaggio Antiquario*, vol. i., p. 246.) require such an expedient? or the building near the Church of *Santa Croce*, called the Temple of Venus and Cupid? or, finally, the Brick Tower of the Frangipani, on the top of the Arch of Janus Quadrifrons?

† This is not the opinion of the Avvocato Fea, and some others. It would be an amusement to compare the style of these paintings with some frescos now in the possession of the Principe Rospigliosi, which were recovered from the ruins of the Baths of Constantine, if any one could obtain permission so to do. But see the Collection, entitled *Picta Crypta. Roman.*, tab. x., *&c. in the Appendix.*

gives not the least intimation of a Circus, whilst he dwells with seeming wonder on the magnificence of that Emperor *. It must be confessed, in the study of Roman antiquities, tradition sometimes becomes the only resource of the antiquary, and may often be admitted as good authority, but it is necessary that such tradition should be traced to a period previous to the revival of letters, or at least before antiquarian controversy commenced; perhaps the name given to this Circus arose out of some such disputation †, and as it can hardly be traced back for three centuries ‡, it will not readily be admitted as traditional evidence. To the reasons already alleged for relinquishing it, succeeds another still more convincing, afforded by the late discoveries. Professor Nibby has composed, out of fifty-one

* *Spartian. in Vitâ Caracall.*, cap. ix.

† See note †, page 4. " —— *quem antiquarii ascribunt, &c.*"

‡ It does not appear that *Fulvio* had ever heard it called the Circus of Caracalla, and he dedicated his work on Rome to Pope Clement VII. (See *note* *, p. 77.) I do not think Biondo even notices the ruins.

fragments *, the following inscription, which seems to have been placed above the gate at the east end of the Circus.

DIVO ROMVLO. N. M. V †
COS. ORD. II FILIO
D. N. MAXENTII INVICT.
VI*RI ET SEMP.* AVG. NEPOTI
T. DIVI MAXIMIANI. SEN.
ORIS. AC *BIS AVGVSTI.*

* See *Dissertazione del Circo, &c. di A. Nibby. Roma,* 1825. page 8.

† It is deduced, from the authority of medals only, that Magnia Urbica, the wife of Maxentius, was the mother of this Romulus, and he seems to have died before the defeat and death of his father at the Milvian Bridge; the medals, aided by the newly discovered inscription, will throw light on the following passage found in the Anonymous Panegyric of Constantine,—"Sancte Tibris, quondam hospitis monitor Æneæ, mox Romuli conservator expositi, Tu nec *falsum Romulum* diu vivere nec parricidam Urbis passus es enatare." The initials N. M. V. are explained NOBILIS MEMORIAE VIRO, which obliges the professor to explain further in what sense the title of VIR. can be applied to a boy. (See *Dissert.* page 24, note 1.) The inscription, as it stands, may be compared with the letters on a Medal of Romulus, which was kindly sent to me by Sir Nicholas Trant:—

The most obvious reading would be DIVO ROMVLO NOBILI VIRO

The two last words are supplied from the authority of Lactantius, who informs us that Maxentius, in his embarrassment, sent the Roman purple to his father in Campania, and with it the title of Bis Augustus *.

Besides the fragments of which the above letters are composed, there were others of a like inscription, but with more names and titles apparently expressed in it, found in the same spot, and which probably had been placed over the other front of the gate; the only reliance, therefore, is upon the accuracy of the professor, who would be careful, no doubt, not to join together two or more pieces without evident traces of their belonging to each other. But if the discovery of this inscription

BIS CONSVLI; and on the reverse, AETERNAE MEMORIAE. ROMAE SIGNATA, which lends its mutual aid to the inscription; yet it might also be proposed to read D — R — NOSTRAE VRBIS BIS, *&c.;* but consult *Les Commentaires Historiques, &c., par Jean Tristan,* tom. iii., p. 464—8. Edit. *Paris,* 1657; also, *Nibby's Dissert.*, page 24, *&c.*

* See passage quoted in Nibby's "*Dissertazione,*" p. 27, from *Lactantius de Mortibus Persecutorum,* cap. xxvi.

abolishes the title of Caracalla, it must be allowed also to have great weight in fixing the age of the building; the mere circumstance of finding the name of Maxentius, or even of Maximinian, leaves but one question to decide *—whether the Inscription is dedicatory, that is, indicative of a new work begun and finished, or it was written on some occasion of repairing the edifice. The learned Professor adduces the absence of the verb as a proof of the former position, and supports his argument by the examples of several Inscriptions still to be read on monuments existing at Rome †; besides this, in no part of the building is there any appearance of its

* I have heard another question, which is rather cruel,—whether this inscription might not have belonged to a Sepulchral Monument! Fabretti certainly found one of this nature employed in the building, with the letters inverted:—

ZOSIMI. L. IVLI RVFFI
VICCIANA.

See *Fabretti Inscrip.*, cap. vii., No. 358.

† Of the first class, the Arches of Titus, of Septimius Severus, and Constantine; of the second, the Pantheon, the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, the Portico of Octavia, and the Temple of Fortune.—See *Dissert.*, p. 10.

ever having been repaired. That *the Circus on the Via Appia is not the work of Caracalla,* is a conclusion that might have been drawn even without the aid of the Inscription. That it was dedicated by Maxentius, and consequently erected in the age of Constantine, is not so satisfactorily proved; but it is the most probable account that has ever yet been given of it *.

Fortunately, however, for the view it is here proposed to take of these ruins, the name becomes of little importance; we shall assume one indisputable fact, that these are the remains of a Roman Circus, and accordingly proceed to examine them

* Since this dissertation was written, I am informed that the ancient inscription, mentioned at page 9, and also a modern one commemorating the recent excavations, have been erected under the arch of the principal gate of the Circus. The modern inscription is as follows:—

IOHANNES . TORLONIA . DVX . BRACCIANI .
SPINAM . CARCERES . PVLVINAR . ET PORTAM
CIRCI . DIVI . ROMVLI . MAXENTII . AVG . F .
SVMPTV . PROPRIO . EFFODIENDAM . CVRAVIT .
ANNO . MDCCCXXV .
CVR . AGENTE . ANTONIO . NIBBY . VINC . F . PROF . ARCHAEOL .

minutely, with a view to illustrating an essential branch of the manners of antiquity.

The general idea of the Circus may be comprehended in four Distributions of its Parts: *viz.*, the *Carceres*, or places where the chariots were restrained until the signal given for starting; the *Cavea*, or fabric constructed for the seats of the spectators *, with the approaches to them; the *Spatium*, or *Arena*, being the whole flat inclosed by the walls; and the *Spina*, or *Ridge*, consisting of a low wall which divides two-thirds of the length of the Arena into two parts, and round which the chariots ran: —these four principal parts of the Circus will develop themselves in the detail.

The Games of the Circus were preceded by a

* Cavea, (auctore Servio in viii. Æneid.) dicitur ubi populus spectat. *Plautus in Amphit.*

"Ut conquisitores singuli in subsellia eant per totam caveam."

—See *Jul. Cæs. Bulenger, De Circo Romano, &c.*, cap. xxxii.

grand Procession called the *Pompa.* In the city it issued forth from the Capitol, led on by the chief magistrates, and moved through the Forum to the Circus Maximus. First in the train went companies of boys approaching the age of manhood * ; those whose fathers were of the rank of knights, according to the census, sat on horses, and they who had not that privilege went on foot; a distribution was made of them all into classes and troops, to represent the civil and military hopes of the rising generation. After the boys followed the charioteers, conducting respectively their chariots, drawn by four, and by two horses, with others who managed single horses free from the yoke †. Next

* In all processions preparatory to theatrical shows, boys of that age, clothed with pretty tunics, and armed with swords, shields, and helmets, led the way, and were called πομπῆς ἡγεμόνες ; and, as if that ceremony had been invented by the Lydians, they were called by the Romans " *Ludiones.*"—See *Diony. Halicarn. de Antiq. Romæ,* lib. ii., p. 130. *Oxford edit.* 1704.

† τοὺς ἄζευκτοὺς ἵππους ἐλαυνόντες—the historian seems here to designate the " *equi desultorii.*" Men on horseback, accompanying the chariots in the race, are frequently seen represented on bas-

came the Wrestlers, the Pugilists, and the Runners, called by the general name of *Athletæ;* these men were all naked except their loins, a circumstance which leads Dionysius into some discussion on the origin of Greek and Roman customs, but which it is not necessary here to follow*. After the Athletæ came a number of Dancers called "the armed dancing troop†;" they were divided into three

reliefs—but in the Pompa they probably led their horses. For a further account of them, *see p.* 84, *and notes,* and *comp. Suet. in Julio, cap. xxxix.*

* Previous to the 15th Olympiad, *i. e.* near a century before the foundation of Rome, it was thought disgraceful for the Athletæ to appear without the διαζώματα; and Acanthus, the Lacedemonian, was the first who broke through the custom. It did not escape the notice of Thucydides—that the more savage practice should succeed to the more civilized.—*Comp. Diony. Halicar. lib. vii., cap.* 71. and *Thucyd. lib. i., p.* 3, *Stephan. edit.* 1564.

† ἐν ὅπλοις ὄρχησις, *i. e.* Armata Saltatio; this was called among the Greeks the Pyrrhic dance, either because it was invented by Minerva, who led the chorus of the armed dancers after the defeat of the Titans, and danced in armour, or because it was instituted by the inhabitants of the island of Crete when they drowned the cries of the young Jupiter.—*Dionys. Halicar. lib. vii., &c.; see also Panvinio "de Ludis, &c." in art. "Pyrrhica Saltatio quid?"* or *Grævius, tom. ix., p.* 346, *edit.* 1699.

companies, the first consisting of men, the second of grown-up youths, and the third of boys; and they were attended by the *Tibicines*, playing on small short pipes, and by the harpers and lyrists, striking their instruments of seven strings, and playing on the lute; each of the Choruses was headed by one man, beating time, and inspiring, by the violence * of his gestures, the sentiments of war. To the armed Choruses of Dancers succeeded troops of Satyrists dancing and singing in an ancient Grecian fashion—some of these grotesque figures were to represent Sileni, and others Satyrs, and they were permitted every license for the purpose of exciting laughter among the spectators. Behind them followed a great number of Harpers and Pipers; after whom were carried the golden and silver

* This dance was called Σικιννις, and, according to Athenæus, seems to have had its name from Sicinnius, a certain barbarian, who invented it. Even at the funerals of distinguished persons, Dionysius says, he had seen those choruses of Satyrists, ("ειδον σατυριστας χορους κινουμενους την ορχησιν σικιννην,") and he thinks that the license, granted to the people in a triumph, to say what they pleased, is derived from this custom.—See *note* 1, *in Grævius*, vol. ix., page 347.

censers, whether consecrated or dedicated to the public service*. Last in the Pompa were carried the images of the Gods on men's shoulders. Greek statues, with their proper costume, were generally preferred: the first places were assigned to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune †, and the rest of those which the Greeks number amongst their twelve great deities ‡; also those from whom the twelve

* Panvinio (*lib. i., cap. vii., art.* 8.) adds, that they burnt incense and perfumes by the way: if so, this was another instance in which the *Pompa Circensium* resembled a modern procession.

Macrobius informs us, that the streets, through which the *Pompa* passed, were covered with sheets; this custom was instituted after a child had once peeped into the sacred casket, "*arca*," and told the secret contents to its father: some find, in these circumstances, the etymology of the word "*velabrum;*" but it will be easier to trace in it the origin of the ceremony observed in Roman Catholic countries, *viz.*, that of covering the windows and streets with sheets, where the host has to pass.—*Compare Macrobius, lib. i. in Saturn. cap. vi., and Plutarch in Romulo, and Ovid. Amor. iii., Eleg. xiii., ver.* 12.

† Neptune was once in disgrace with Augustus for having suffered him to be shipwrecked; he punished the god by taking away his statue from the Pompa.—See *Sueton. in Vit. August.*, and compare *Ovid. Amor. iii., Eleg. ii., v.* 47.

‡ "Quis est enim," exclaims the indignant Arnobius, "qui Deum illum fuisse credat, qui currentibus frustra delectaretur equuleis, evocarique se genere hoc ludicri jucundissimum duceret!"—*Arnob. adversus gentes*, lib. vii.

deities are fabled to have sprung, as Saturn, Ops, Themis, Latona, Mnemosyne, together with the rest of those whose temples were in Greece. Next succeeded those who were supposed to be after the time of Jupiter, as Proserpine, the Nymphs, Muses, the Hours, Graces, &c.; and the Demigods, as Hercules, Æsculapius, the Castors, whose souls, loosened from the bonds of the body, had ascended to Heaven, and received like honours with the Gods.

In this brief sketch of the Pompa, we have confined ourselves to the description of Dionysius *; but it would be easy to crowd the procession with victims for sacrifice and priests, with vehicles for conveying the ornaments of the Gods, called *Thensæ* †, with

* *Vide De Antiquit. Romæ, lib. vii., cap.* 71, 72.

† From the collection of passages made by Panvinio and his commentators, (*apud Grævium, tom. ix., p.* 358.) it may be deduced, that the *Thensa* was properly a cover, whether so fixed as to be used for a canopy, or merely to spread over a seat or chair of state. When it was taken in the former acceptation, probably the vehicle to which it was fixed, also took the name of Thensa; but a ferculum in the Pompa, was a portable conveyance for a statue, borne on men's shoulders; and perhaps, the greatest state in which a statue could be carried was, when placed on a *ferculum* with a *thensa* held over

Fercula * for bearing aloft the various ensigns of office and religion, and with *Armamaxæ* or Chariots for parading the instruments of war, —all of which is minutely described by the labours of Panvinio and Bulenger †. The procession, led on by the chief magistrates, entered the Circus by a gate in the middle of the *Carceres*, reserved for the occasion ‡, and which might, therefore, be called the *Porta Pompæ*. The appearance of the ceremonial train seems to have imposed a re-

it. Julius Cæsar was vain enough to accept this honour for his statue, on which Suetonius remarks, " sed ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni passus est, sedem auream in curia, et pro tribunali, thensam et ferculum in Circensi Pompa."—*Suet. in Vit. Jul. Cæs., cap.* 76.—The ferculum of Romulus, on which he suspended the arms of King Acron, was the trunk of an oak tree.—See *Plutarch in Romulo,* and *Livy, lib.* 1., *c.* 10.; but I have endeavoured to preserve the explanation of Festus.—See *Sex. Pom., Festus, lib. xviii.*

* Vide note above.

† *De Ludis Circen., lib. xi., cap.* 2., and *Bulenger de Circo Rom., &c. cap. xxxviii.* Their authority for the *Armamaxæ* seems to be derived from *Tertullian. De Spectaculis.*

‡ It was, in all probability, used for no other purpose.

Ostia quot pro parte aperit stridentia Circus,
Excepto medium quod patet ad Stadium.

Ausonius, Epist. xviii. ad Ursulum. But *See Note* ‡, *p.* 89.

spectful silence upon the spectators assembled *, and the length of the ceremony sometimes wearied their patience †; the procession moved slowly round the Spina ‡, and thus the Pompa finished.

The usual *Sacrifices* then commenced upon the Spina §: first the Priests washed their hands, and caused the victims to be sprinkled with pure water. After some prayers, addressed, as is most probable, to the Gods supposed to preside over the Games, the order was given for proceeding with the immolation: one struck the head of the victim whilst standing, and others applied the knives to the throat as it fell; they took off the skin and cut the body

* Sed jam Pompa venit, linguisque animisque favete:
Tempus adest plausus, aurea Pompa venit.
Ovid., lib. iii., Amor., Eleg. ii., ver. 43.
Vide *etiam idem, Amor. iii., Eleg. xiii., v.* 29.

† Sed jam non sustineo vos morari.. Scio quam sit odiosa Circensibus pompa.—*M. Seneca in Præf. Controv.* (in fine.)

‡ Circus Maximus dictus * * et quod ibi circum metas fertur pompa, et equi currunt.—*M. Varro, de Ling. Latin., lib. iv.*, p. 37. 8vo. edit. 1581.

§ *Vide page* 70, *&c.*

in pieces, and having put the choice parts of the entrails and limbs into vessels, they carried them to the Priest. He placed them upon the altar and burnt them, pouring wine into the flame. These sacrifices bore so striking a resemblance to those of the Greeks *, as well as other customs observed in the Circus, that Dionysius is frequently induced to consider Rome not founded by Barbarians, but by settlers from Greece †.

At the time the *Pompa* entered the Circus we have supposed the rows of seats to be crowded with spectators; it has consequently become a subject of curious inquiry, where those people retired to who had assisted in the procession. Bianconi, with every appearance of truth, supposes the gallery above the Carceres to have been reserved for that purpose ‡. It will now be necessary to enter

* See Homer, cited by *Dionysius, lib. vii.*; and compare *Virgil. Æneid., lib. v.*

† *Vide Diony. lib. viii., cap. 72., et alibi.*

‡ *Vide Bianconi dei Circhi, &c., p. lxviii. and ix.*: his opinion is supported by the bas-relief of Foligno, and the two Mosaics which will shortly be mentioned more particularly; but I have searched in

into some description of the Carceres, which, as has been already intimated, were the places from whence the chariots issued.

To assist us in forming a just idea of a Roman Circus, besides the visible remains of the one in question, there is the authority of ancient bas-reliefs and medals *, the two Mosaics discovered at Lyons †, and at Italica ‡ in Spain; the

vain for written authority, except so far as the words of Sidonius Apollinaris apply. See *Note* *, *page* 30.

* These will be referred to, as they are wanted, to authenticate any peculiarity.

† An engraving of this precious monument of antiquity, accompanied by a dissertation on the Games of the Circus, has been published by Monsieur Artaud, director of the Museum at Lyons. It gives more information than even the one found at Italica; we shall refer to the particulars of it, as occasion requires, under the title of the *Lyons Mosaic.*

‡ The Mosaic of Italica was found on the 12th of December, 1799, by some peasants, who were digging in a field belonging to the Convent of S. Isidoro, at a depth of 3½ feet; it is 38 French feet in length, and 27½ in breadth: it is chiefly valuable for the details it exhibits of the Carceres, and has been published with explanations in a splendid manner, by *Alexandre La Borde, Paris, chez Didot frères.*

descriptions of Dionysius and Cassiodorus *, with occasional hints to be collected from other ancient authors.

The *Carceres*, which close in one end of the Circus, do not preserve a rectilinear direction, but form the arc of a large circle whose centre is a point taken in the *Arena* towards the right (or, in the case of our Circus, the *southern)* side of the building. (See Plate I. No. 42.) This renders, with scrupulous exactness, the several stations for the Chariots equidistant from that given point, and the side of the Circus on which it is placed is wider than the opposite one †. The spaces on each side of the central gate, or *Porta Pompæ*, which is alone laterally closed, are each divided

* I mention these two authors as the principal, though perhaps Sidonius Apollinaris might be considered as giving a more detailed description than either. If an historian and a poet come in competition in archeology, the former should doubtless be preferred.

† The same thing is observable in the Mosaic of Italica, consequently the *Carceres* are there also curvilinear.—See *Plates ix. and x. in La Borde's Description, &c.*

into six equal parts, which Cassiodorus faithfully enumerates by the word "*Bissena* *." These twelve compartments, properly called the *Carceres*, were the places for restraining the Chariots, until the signal given for starting †. The roofs were arched ‡, and when closed they presented a front of twelve doors, with lunettes above them, cross-barred or ornamented in the way the Romans called "*cancellatæ* §." The doors were separated by the

* Bissena quippe ostia ad duodecim signa posuerunt, hæc ab Hermulis, &c. *Cassiod. lib. iii., Variar. tom. i., p.* 53, (but we shall have occasion to remark more particularly, that Cassiodorus has sometimes confounded the *Carceres* of the Greek Hippodrome with his description).—See also *Ovid. Metamorph., lib. ii., v.* 18.

† See *Note* †, *page* 29.

‡ ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ τῶν ἐλατῶνων πλευρῶν αἴθριος ἀνειμένη ψαλιδωτὰς ἱπταφίσεις ἔχει, διὰ μιᾶς ὕσπληγος ἅμα πάσας ἀνοιγομένας.—*Diony. Halicar., lib. iii., cap.* 68.

§ The magnificent room in the Baths of Caracalla was worked with "*cancelli*" of brass or copper. (See *Spartian in Vit. Caracall., c. ix.*)

Amongst the various appellations given to the doors, [See *Note* *, *p.* 29.] that of "*cancelli*" seems likely to have been the most common, and answered to the ὕσπληγξ, rope, or barrier in the Greek Hippodrome. See *Note* †, *page* 54. υσπληγξ ἡ τῶν δρομέων ἀφετηρία ἣν κάγκελλον ὑμεῖς φαμέν.—*Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. ix., p.* 142.

Bulenger has produced another passage from Calisthenes, (not the

breadth of a pilaster, which served as an architectural ornament to the marble jambs on which the doors hinged, and in front of each pilaster was a Hermes *. It is not very well known in what manner the doors were opened at the signal for beginning the race. Dionysius and Cassiodorus intimate that they were all opened at the same time†, which, probable as it may seem, was not

contemporary of Alexander,) which teaches us to discriminate between "*cancelli*" and *carceres:* ἐξῆλθον αἱ ταυλώσεις τῶν ἵππων ἠνοίγησαν δὲ ἀφετῆρες τῶν καγκέλλων προεπήδησαν πάντες ὄξυ ἅρμαξι χρησάμενοι— ἀφετῆρες τῶν καγκέλλων, "*cancelli carcerum.*"—See *Bulenger de Circ. Rom. Ludisque Circens., cap. xi.; and compare Isidor. de Orig., lib. xviii., Ovid. Tristium, lib. v., Eleg. ix., v.* 29.

* Hermes, the Greek name for Mercury, and for the statue of that god, came subsequently to mean any statue with a head fixed on a square cut pillar of marble. Originally these statues were made, so that the heads could be taken off and replaced with others at pleasure; and after the Greeks ceased to change the heads, they preserved in the marble the two holes for inserting handles to raise the head up with. (*See several Hermes in the Vatican,* "*Sala delle Muse.*") Amongst other fragments of the Hermes belonging to our Circus, was found a head of Demosthenes. (See *Nibby's Dissert., p.* 46.) Of course Hermuli (see page 52 of this "description") were small Hermes.

† See *Note* ‡, *page* 24; also *Cassiodorus, tom. i., lib. iii., Epist.* 51. *Variar.*

the case in the Greek Hippodrome *. Bianconi was in possession of a bas-relief, which showed men standing beside the doors in the act of opening them †: now, from the ruins of the Carceres, as discovered by the recent excavations, this circumstance, as well as the other particulars here mentioned, may be explained. Besides the twelve divisions and the Central Gate of which we have spoken being distinctly recognized, there are fragments of the arches that formed the roofs, several of the blocks of marble which served as the jambs ‡

* See the description of Pausanias translated, with the notes thereon, in page 53, &c.

† This fragment of a bas-relief, purchased by Bianconi, is placed at the head of Fea's preface to that author's Dissertation on Circuses, although most writers on the subject agree in supposing that the *cancelli*, or doors, were opened by means of levers, or instruments; in this *fragment*, the men are in the act of opening them with their hands, a singularity as Bianconi thought, and for which chiefly he purchased the *relief*. (See *page lxix of his work, and the description of the Vignettes, page cxii.*) The fragment has been published also by Guattani, and others, and finally by *La Borde, Description, &c.*; but in the Lyons Mosaic, a person is represented on the top of the *Carceres*, in the act of opening the doors with a lever.

‡ * * Impulsi nequeunt obsistere *postes*,
Claustraque compressæ transfumat anhelitus iræ;
Stare adeo miserum est!—*Statius, lib. vi., v.* 398.

of the doors, and almost all the bases of the Hermes in their original position, and one nearly entire which has afforded the proportions for the rest. Behind all the Hermes (that is, between the Hermes and the Pilaster) are to be observed double basements of marble, which seem to have served for no other purpose than stepping stones, and to fill up the intervening spaces: these we have not scrupled to call the places where men were stationed for opening the Carceres; and it also appears that the doors opened at about one foot from the ground. These twelve doors and the Porta Pompæ, as has been described, were surmounted by an uninterrupted parapet*, which is now entirely destroyed, but has left some marks visible against the lateral Towers shortly to be mentioned: the parapet was, in all probability, of marble, and ornamented some-

* And thus the Carceres are represented on the bas-relief now existing at Foligno. It may be observed once for all, that the bas-reliefs continually referred to as authorities, are usually found on *sarcophagi*. It was a favourite subject with the ancients, to allegorize human life by a chariot race, where the charioteers were metamorphosed into genii;—the metaphor St. Paul did not disdain to make use of.—1 *Corinthians, chap. ix., ver.* 24.

thing like the lunettes above the doors. Besides the parapet, the Central Gate presented a second story, supported by columns and forming a magnificent Lodge for the chief magistrate or the president of the Games *. This was crowned by Horses and Chariots in bronze †, and on the Frize bore a large Inscription. In the ruins about the middle gate were discovered several characters, which may have formed part of that inscription, and which Professor Nibby has combined and filled up with perhaps more ingenuity than it is safe to exercise on such occasions ‡.

* See the bas-relief of Foligno, *engraved in Grævius, tom. ix., p.* 184, and the Mosaic of Italica in *La Borde's Description, &c.*, and compare Note *, page 30.

† The authority of medals, (*see the one in page* 4, *Note* *), and the analogy to triumphal arches, warrant this assertion.

‡ The inscription above the Porta Pompæ is supposed by Professor Nibby to have been the following; although the only letters hitherto discovered among the ruins near the gate are the fragments . . TI . . . PI . . . VG . . . and II.

DIVO ROMVLO N . M . V .
COS . ORD . II
*FILIO . D . N . MAXEN*TI.
PI*I . FELICIS . ET INV . A*VG .
TRIB . POT . VI . COS . II II . &c.

See *Dissert., page* 30.

At each end of the Carceres rose a lofty Tower, which sometimes gave the name of "*Oppidum* *" to this part of the Circus; an *oppidum* being, according to the explanation of Nævius by Varro, a place closed in by walls and defended by towers †. These towers were three stories high, and doubtless crowned with statues of men, chariots and horses ‡, and towards the Via Appia they presented a circular form. The two rooms that remain in the first story of each preserve their original form entire, and have been ornamented with painted *stucco*, of

* Oppidum dicitur et locus in Circo unde quadrigæ emittuntur. *Sex. Pomp. Festus in verbo.* Besides the names already mentioned for designating the Carceres, wholly or in part, we may add—claustra, septa, cryptæ, repagula, fores;—they convey no additional meaning; repagula is the most synonymous with "*cancelli*," and answers equally to the ὕσπληγξ.—See *Note* §, *page* 24.

† "In circo primo unde mittuntur equi nunc dicuntur *Carceres:* Nævius *Oppidum* appellat: *Carceres* dicti quòd coercentur equi ne inde exeant ante quam magistratus misit; *Oppidum* quòd a muri parte pinneis turribusque carceres olim fuerunt: Scripsit Poeta, 'Dictator ubi currum insidit, pervehitur usque ad *oppidum*.'"—*Varro de Ling. Latin., lib. iv., p.* 37.

‡ See note †, page 28, and several medals published by Panvinio. —*Apud Grævium, tom. ix., p.* 64.

which some traces are visible. Annexed to the Northern Tower is a square building, in which are the vestiges of a staircase leading to the upper stories, and to the parapet above the *Carceres :* the same must have served as the only communication with the Southern Tower, for there are no remains of any such staircase to be found annexed to the latter: and this communication is the more manifest from the position of the doorways in the Towers corresponding to the supposed elevation of the parapet. Now these places, as Bianconi has suggested, were reserved for those persons who had formed the procession. The chief magistrate with some of his friends took possession of the lodge above the central gate*; those of inferior dignity most probably disposed themselves on either side on the top of the Carceres †, and the upper stories

* Tum qua est janua Consulumque sedes,
Ambit quam paries utrumque senis
Cryptis carceribusque fornicatus,
Uno e quattuor, &c.—*Sid. Apollinar. in Panegyric.*

† *Compare the bas-relief of Foligno,* and *see Bianconi Dei Circhi, page lviii, ix.*

of the towers were in all probability occupied by the Tibicines and other musicians *, who ceased not to inspire the combatants with their warlike sounds of music †: the less conspicuous parts of

* Tandem murmure buccinæ strepentis
Suspensas tubicen vocans quadrigas,
Effudit celeres in arva currus;
Non sic fulminis, &c.—*Sidon. Apollin. in Panegy.*

Signa tubæ dederunt, cum carcere pronus uterque
Emicat, &c.—*Ovid. Metamorph. x., v.* 652.

And as it thus appears that the signal for starting was sometimes given by the sound of horns or trumpets, no place in the Circus can be assigned for the *Tibicines* more appropriate than the towers, which were at the Carceres, and near the seat of the Consul or President. *Panvinio de Ludis, &c., p.* 350, produces an inscription in which the office is mentioned.

. . . . . .
TIBICINES ROMANI
QVI SACRIS
PVBLIC. PRÆST. SVNT.

They were doubtless aided in their noisy chorus by singers, as Seneca (lib. xii. epist. 84) intimates. In comissionibus nostris [scilicet ludorum] plus cantorum est quam in theatris olim spectaculorum fuit—cum omnes vias, &c.—If any one is curious about the distinctions of the wind-instruments he may consult the *Atticæ Noctes of Aulus Gellius*, with *the Notes of Gronovius, Epist. xi., lib. i.*

† Qui nunquam castra viderunt neque tubarum sonum nisi in spectaculis audierunt.—*Plin. Secund. lib. ii., epist. vii.*

Commissio contracta est piaculi si cursu in solemnibus ludis cur-

the towers and parapet might be crowded with the Choruses of Dancers and other inferior characters, described in the ceremony of the Pompa. Such being the description and use of the Carceres, (for a faithful representation of which we refer to the plan and elevation restored,) * we may now proceed to some more general explanation.

The Circus, or rather the interior flat area in which the games and races were performed, occu-

riculisque divinis per imprudentiam quis deeraverit commissum statim in religiones clamatis sacras, si ludius constitit AUT TIBICEN REPENTE CONTICUIT, aut si patrimus ille qui dicitur puer omisit per ignorantiam locum aut thensam tenere potuit. (*Arnobius adversus gentes, lib. iv.*) And compare the passages cited in the preceding *Note*. But if the music inspired the combatants during the race in the Roman Circus, the same was the case in the Greek Hippodrome.—[ἡ ἵππος] περὶ τὴν νυσσαν ἐπέστρεψεν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤκουσεν ἐπεστάχυνεν τὸν δρόμον.—*Pausanias*, Eliac. Post. sive lib. vi. c. 13., p. 484., edit. Lips. 1696; *but see Solinus, cap. lvii., page* 329, *edit. Basil.*

* *See Plate* II., *fig.* 1 and 2. In making this restoration, besides the authorities already referred to, we have consulted the bas-relief in the Villa Albani at Rome; another now (April, 1826) in the possession of Vescovali (Piazza di Spagna, Rome); also the engraving of one that existed in the Farnese Gardens, beyond the Tyber;—but the Mosaic of Italica has afforded the most satisfactory evidence.

pies an oblong space of about 1635 feet in length, and on the average nearly 250 feet in breadth. At the lower extremity were the Carceres, as they have been described: the upper end is circular, containing a principal gate. It was surrounded, except on the part next the Carceres, by a corridor fifteen feet wide, formed by an inner and outer wall, each four feet thick, and covered by a vault, the most massy part of which was relieved by the insertion of empty earthen jars *. The entrance into this corridor was by several open doors, disposed at regulated distances in the exterior wall, in which were also a number of windows: to these doors, with only one exception †, corresponded a flight of steps, ingeniously formed in the interior wall, the steps leading first to a doorway called a "*Vomitorium* ‡," diverged on each side of it, and

* *Vide Note *, page* 7.

† *Vide page* 41.

‡ The technical terms here made use of, are most of them to be found in Vitruvius, but are perhaps more closely applicable to the Amphitheatre. (See *Justus Lipsius de Amphith. apud Grævium, tom. ix., page* 1297, *&c.*) We are, however, indebted to Macro-

conducted the spectator to the upper part of the vault of the corridor. These particulars are represented on that side of our general Plan [See Plate I.], which is delineated in the darker tints.

The Vault of the Corridor served as the foundation of the Seats, which gradually ascended in rows to the number of ten; so that, upon a moderate calculation, this Circus was capable of containing 26,000 spectators, independent of the Seats reserved for the senators, magistrates, and nobles: these distinguished places were immediately above the *Vomitoria*, and were defended by a wall, which projected into the *Arena* like a foot put forward, and from that circumstance derived the name of Podium *; and hence the phrase "*ad Podium*"

bius for the popular term of *Vomitories*—" inde et nunc Vomitoria in spectaculis dicimus unde homines glomeratim ingredientur in sedilia se fundunt." (*Macrob. de Saturn., lib. vii., cap. iv.*) Vitruvius, indeed, describes the Vomitoria, but does not give the name. (*Lib. v., cap. iii., de Architectura, &c.*)

* πους, ποδος. Podium enim appello (says Justus Lipsius) projecturam hanc quæ in summo muro quæ paullum provehitur et propendet *instar pedis, unde* et *nomen*, (he produces three inscriptions

was used to designate the first order of seats *, which in this Circus consisted but of one row. Behind the Podium the stair for ascending was interrupted by an omission of two or three steps, which were supplied by an ambulacrum, or landing-place, that went round the Circus: upon this, as a foundation, rose a perpendicular wall, which, according to the precepts of Vitruvius, was not to be higher than the other was broad †, and upon it

in which the Podium is mentioned, and then continues :) itaque ut clarè capias non aliud Podium hoc nostrum quam muri pars projectior et prominentior ante imum spectaculorum gradum. (*Lipsius de Amphitheat., cap. xi.*) I suppose the Podium to admit of the same explanation in the Circus as in the Amphitheatre; but Philander and Barbarus throw very little light upon it. (See *Baldo de Verb. Vitruv. significat., p.* 131. See *Note * to page* 37, *and Bianconi, dei Circhi, &c. p. xviii.*)

* Generosior et Marcellis,
Et Catullis Paullique minoribus et Fabiis et
Omnibus ad *Podium* spectantibus.

Juvenal, Sat. ii., v. 144.

The common people might probably envy the comfortable seats of the Podium.

Tu quoque qui spectas post nos tua contrahe crura
Si pudor est, rigido nec preme terga genu.

Ovid., Amor. Lib. iii., Eleg. ii., v. 23.

† Præcinctiones ad altitudines theatrorum pro ratâ parte faciundæ

recommenced the stair. The ambulacrum was called *Iter*, and the wall perpendicular to it the *Præcinctio*, or belt *: from the Præcinctio, therefore, the people continued to ascend by the flights of steps †, cutting the rows of seats at regulated

videntur, neque altiores quam quanta *Præcinctionis Itineris* sit latitudo: si enim excelsiores fuerint, repellent et ejicient in superiorem partem vocem, nec patientur in sedibus summis quæ sunt supra præcinctiones verborum casus certâ significatione ad aures pervenire. (Vitruvius, lib. v., c. iii.) The former part of this passage has mightily perplexed the commentators of Vitruvius. *Philander in verbo Præcinct.*, and *Albertus, lib. viii.*, have only involved it in greater obscurity. *Justus Lipsius de Amphitheat., cap. xiii.*, is perfectly unintelligible; and the only explanation that seemed to me satisfactory, is written in a few words in the margin of his work, (*de Amphith.*) id est, cingulum non altius sit quam latum est illud ipsum subcingulare *Iter.* — In the Amphitheatre there were three or more of these Præcinctiones or Girders. In the Circus there could not well be more than one, for there was, I apprehend, a Præcinctio to every *set* of rows of seats, reckoning one for the Podium; but as the Circus was not high enough to admit of more than one seat, there was only one Præcinctio. Signor Nibby appears to make no distinction between the *set* of rows and the Præcinctio. Quindi venivano le gradinate dell' Anfiteatro distinte in tre precinzioni o divisioni, &c.—Vide *Foro Romano, p.* 243.,—and comp. *Bianconi dei Circhi, p. xxi.*

* See the preceding Note.

† These are the stairs that, in all probability, were called *Viæ;* and if a spectator arrived too late, or was jostled out of his place, he

intervals, until they arrived at the top. These particulars, relating to the upper part of the surrounding walls, are represented in fainter lines on the remaining half of our general Plan. The elevation, therefore, of the interior, as seen from the Arena, presented itself thus: first, the Podium, having in all probability a low ornamented Balustrade *; and above this the rows of seats for the

was said "in *Via stare.*" See *Tertullian de Spectac., cap.* 20., in *Maffei degli Anfit., lib. ii., cap. viii.*, and Martial, Epigram xiv., lib. v., in Lipsius de Amphith. cap. xiii.—The rows of seats are also frequently called in Livy "*Fori.*" We find also employed to express the same thing, *sella, cathedra, scamna, gradus;* these would all admit of an explanation, which, as it would become tedious in a note, has deterred me from introducing the terms in the description. See, however, *Note, page* 13; and the curious reader may consult *Bulenger de Circo Rom. Ludisque Circens., cap. xxxiv. and v.*

* Supra Podium columnæ cum capitulis et spiris altæ quarta parte ejusdem diametri. (*Vitruv., lib. v., cap. vii.*) It was also ornamented with statues—die Circensium, quum tres victoriæ more solito essent locatæ gypseæ cum palmis, media, quæ Severi nomine ascripta orbem palmis tenebat, vento icta de *Podio* stans decidet et humi constitit; eaque quæ Getæ nomine inscripta erat, &c.—*Spartian. in Severo.*

But La Borde has confounded these statues of Victory placed on the Podium, with the statues on the Spina. (See page 76, &c.) *Vide Description d'une Mosaique, &c.*, and compare *Note in Bianconi, page* 18.

common spectators, intersected by the flights of steps for ascending. To this general appearance, however, we shall have to add the two *Pulvinars;* and some few other observations will occur in making the circuit of the ruins. We begin at the Northern Tower.

At the flight of steps corresponding to the second door of the outer wall, the Corridor is intersected by a Buttress and an Arch, and the same thing is to be traced in the corresponding opposite part of the Circus: by this division there is taken off from the general corridor a portion of 270 feet. The corridor, like the arches of the Colosseum, served for shelter, passage, and such like accommodation; but the portion of it here described was probably reserved for the prostitutes that were about the Circus in great numbers*: this opinion is rendered

* See *Lampridius in Vitâ Heliogabali,* and *Juvenal, Sat. iii., v.* 65. The appellation of "*sub fornicibus,*" or "spatia fornicata," is applicable to this part of our Circus; (but comp. *Bulenger de Circo Rom. &c., cap. lvi.*)

more probable because the place has been very obscure, not being lighted by windows in the exterior wall like the rest of the corridor. The dreadful scenes of vice acted in these dark recesses, generally took place after the games were finished; they were only equalled by others at the public baths and theatres, and perhaps have been already too minutely described by the indignant zeal of ecclesiastical historians *.

At the distance of about 450 feet from the northern tower of the Oppidum, or Carceres, was placed the Grand Pulvinar, or Imperial Seat, being nearly opposite to the first Meta, and situated so as to afford the best view of the beginning and end of the race: it is about 110 feet in length, and is so constructed as not to intersect the line of seats appropriated to the common spectators. The Em-

* See the authors who have treated the subject enumerated by Bulenger, *de Theatro, lib. i., apud Grævium, tom. ix., p.* 867; to which may be added several others (*idem. page* 925); but many of them are absolutely indecent.

peror's lodge was sometimes placed on the Podium, and from being generally elevated was also called a "*Suggestus* *." We shall shortly arrive at a second Pulvinar, but the one in question was doubtless the principal: in what manner it was ornamented cannot now be ascertained, the form and dimensions only being preserved. Behind it is a circular apartment which must have served as a retiring room or ante-chamber: it communicates with a Gallery, which we have traced for at least 250 feet in length. About the middle is a passage underneath it, formed by an arch †, and it is surrounded by ruins, most probably of an extensive villa, but of which no satisfactory description can

* The Pulvinar is mentioned twice by Suetonius, as being the seat of the Emperor, in *vitâ August., cap. xlv.*, and in *vit. Claudii, cap. iv.* Julius Cæsar received the "*Suggestus*" amongst his superfluous honours. *Suet. in Julio Cæs., cap. lxxvi.*; an honour which Trajan refused; *vide Pliny, Panegyric., cap. li.* It was also called a *cubiculum—Suet. in Neron. c. xii.* Icarus primo statim conatu juxta cubiculum ejus decidit, ipsumque cruore respersit, nam perraro præsidere, cæterum accubans, primum parvis foraminibus, deinde toto podio adaperto spectare consuerat.

† See General Plan, *Plate I., Nos.* 10, 11, 12, 13.

be given *: it may be doubted, indeed, whether the villa was made as an appendage to the Circus, or the Circus to the villa; the gallery of communication will justify either supposition; but it must also prove that this *Pulvinar* was the most distinguished seat in the Circus.—But to continue our progress along the Corridor. Towards the upper or circular end, Bianconi discovered that one flight of steps, instead of being turned inward like the rest, led immediately into the Arena †, and opposite to them there was no corresponding doorway in

* Amongst other conjectures about these ruins, it has been supposed that the Villa of Symmachus stood here, because (as I imagine) he says, in one of his Epistles to Flavian, "Suburbanum prædium quod viæ Appiæ adjacet incolebam," &c.—*Epist. lxix., lib. ii.* Symmachus was a person of consular rank, nearly contemporary with S. S. Hieronymus and Ambrosius, and the poet Claudian—he was consul about A. D. 394; (*but see Ammian. Marcellin., lib. xxvii.*) However, the following passage in one of his letters to Ricomer seems to oppose the opinion here alluded to, except he had two *prædia suburbana.*—"Ager autem qui me interim tenet *Tiberim* nostrum *juncto* aquis latere prospectat hinc libens video quid frugis æternæ urbi indies accedat, quid *Romanis horreis* Macedonicus adjiciat commeatus. *Epist. lv., lib. iii.* But in any case the opinion is unsupported by authority.

† See *Plate I., No.* 14—*and comp. Bianconi dei Circhi, &c.*

the exterior wall: as this is a solitary instance of the steps being turned towards the Arena, we shall be led to assign them a specific use.

There were several persons employed about the Circus during the games, whose duties sometimes called them into the arena, such as the *Procuratores Dromi*, the *Conditores*, *Spartores*, and several others enumerated by Panvinio*. It would often

* *De Ludis Circensibus, lib. i., cap. xv., with the Notes of Argoli.* Several of those offices are gathered from inscriptions, several from obscure authors, and some from inference.—In the theatre, Augustus assigned a place for the Vestal Virgins, in a position somewhat relative to this. "Solis Virginibus locum in Theatro separatim et CONTRA PRÆTORIS TRIBUNAL DEDIT."—*Suet. in Aug., cap. xliv., and see page* 46. Some conjecture may be formed from this passage, but I cannot draw any conclusion from it.

I shall take this opportunity of subjoining a list of the subordinate officers about the Circus.

Medici	Surgeons for attending the wounded combatants.
Aurigatores	The charioteer's attendants.
Procuratores Dromi . .	Those who cleared the arena.
Conditores	Those who greased the chariot-wheels.
Moratores Ludi	Those who stopped the horses at the end of the course, or opened the doors of the Carceres, &c.—(*See page* 27.)

happen that these persons had to return suddenly to their places; and hence, that they might not be under the necessity of going out of the Circus to enter by the outer doors, these steps were placed for their accommodation, and seats assigned them in this part of the Podium.

We come now to the great Gate placed in the middle of the circular extremity. The threshold of this Gate is found to be higher than the level of the arena by about five feet and a half; hence it required a flight of steps to descend from the ancient road that passes close by it *: the ground at this

Lineatores . . . . . The directors of the alba linea.—(*See page* 60, *n.* *.

Erectores Ovorum . . . Those who set up the eggs on the Spina. —(*See page* 74, *n.* *.)

Spartores, or Sparsores . Those who threw water on the chariots and horses.

Sutores and Sarcinatores . Tailors and sewers for preparing the costumes of the combatants.

Viatores . . . . . Running messengers.

Armentarii . . . . . Grooms or equerries.

* It was the Via Asinaria, according to Professor Nibby, who argues from a passage in Festus, (*Dissert. delle Vie antiche, p.* 110, 124,

end of the building being higher, was the manifest cause of this slight inconvenience. The Gate we are now describing has been usually called the Triumphal Gate, but the discovery of seven steps has ridiculed the opinion of the conqueror going out of it in his chariot: it would be easy, however, to obviate the difficulty by taking away the chariot, nor could we by so doing be charged with opposing classical authority *. The name of the Triumphal

in Nardini, vol. iv.)—the only passage that intimates there ever was such a *Via*.

* We know nothing about a triumphal gate in the Circus, except from inference; it may be doubted, under the Emperors at least, whether the honours went any farther than the mere presentation of a crown and a palm-branch. (*Vide Sidonius Apollin. in Panegyric. Ammian. Marcellin., lib. xiv., cap. xi.; and Virgil. Æn. v., v.* 70 *and* 111.)—It can hardly be supposed that the envy of Nero, and some of his successors, could have endured the sight of a common charioteer parading in the Circus. (*Vide Suet. in Neron., cap. xxii. and xxiv.*)—In Greece the conquerors were conveyed to their own cities in triumph, and in their chariots, and a part of the wall of the town was broken down for them to enter (*Plutarch Smy. ii., lib. ii. Vitruvius, lib. ix.*); and this Nero imitated at Naples, (*Suet. in Neron., cap. xxv.*)—but *see Bulenger de Præmiis, cap. lv., &c.*—In Vescovali's bas-relief the conqueror appears on foot, with his palm-branch. The Emperors, however, triumphed in cars; see a collection of medals engraved by Panvinio, (*apud Grævium, tom. ix.,*

Gate may therefore remain *; but its most obvious use was to serve for a principal entrance from the side of the *Via Latina:* the inscriptions placed on both its fronts, as well as the traces of ornament still discovered about it †, show that it was a principal entrance; and if it was always open, like the central gate of the Carceres, the Circus might serve as a passage from the Via Latina to the Via Appia. Underneath the lowest step is to be seen a small channel for the purpose of letting off water from the arena.

The next thing worthy of remark in our circuit is the *Pulvinar* on the southern side, and which is constructed upon a different plan from the other.

p. 125.); amongst them is also a private charioteer, a Domnus Philocomus, but under Severus.—*Idem.*

* It has been suggested to me that a *part* of the procession of the *Pompa* might also quit the Arena by this gate after the termination of the Sacrifices; an arrangement which would obviate much delay and confusion.

† An eagle upon a square basement of moderate sculpture was found without this gate; it may have been placed on the vertex of the pediment, and denoted the apotheosis of the young Romulus—(compare the reverse of the medal in *page* 9.)

It interrupts the seats and the Podium, and occupies about fifty-five feet in length *: its platform, reared conspicuously above the seats of the spectators, is surmounted by a now broken arch, which has probably been crowned, like the towers of the Carceres, with bronze chariots or horses †. It may have presented an elevation relieved by columns, but in that case they must have been both small and few in number. It communicates immediately with the arena, by means of two lateral staircases, which at the height of eleven steps, or about sixteen feet from the arena, turn inward at a right angle, and after six steps more lead to the platform of the *Pulvinar*. Still higher is another staircase, seemingly leading to the very top. In the space between the two lateral stairs is a square recess, and a little above, a receptacle, as if for water: from the continuous traces of a canal about the higher parts of the *Pulvinar*, it would appear that these were cisterns, from whence a fountain in front of this distinguished lodge might be supplied. In conti-

* See *Plate I., No.* 23. † See *Note* †, *page* 28.

nuing to call it a *Pulvinar*, it should be borne in mind that we have already described the seat of the Emperor, and that of the consuls or chief magistrates who led the Pompa: but there was another personage of great distinction, for whom we suppose this place was reserved;—the person at whose expense the games were given was called the "*Editor spectaculorum*," or exhibitor of the games. The Editor does not seem always to have been the president, although the two honours might be united in an emperor* or a consul: the chief

* The office of President seems to have been a *privilege* of the Emperor on all occasions, but which he did not *always* make use of. (*Compare Suet. in Aug., cap. xxxv.—idem in Calig., cap. xviii.—idem in Claudio, cap. vii.*)—giving the honour to others.—Julius Pollux thus enumerates all the *magisterial offices* about the Circus:—*Ἀγωνοθέται, ἄθλοθέται, ἀγώνων διαθέται, ἄθλων ἐπιμεληταὶ, ἔφοροι, ἐπόπται, προστάται, ἐπίσκοποι, τὸ δὲ πράγμα, ἀγωνοθέσια, ἄθλοθέσια, ἢ ὥς Ἀριστοφάνης, ἄθλοθέτια, ἀγώνων διάθεσις, ἄθλων ἐπίμελεια, προστασία, ἔποψις—κ. τ. λ.*—*Segm.* 140, *lib. iii., cap. xxx.* In *Tertullian, lib. de spectaculis*, are mentioned auctores, administratores spectaculorum; and in Suetonius, we find curatores munerum, editores, munerarii, (vide Panvinio de Ludis, &c., cum notis *Argoli, tom. ix., p.* 440, *apud Grævium, additamentum Nic. Pinelli;*) but most of these offices enumerated by Pollux, may be comprised in one general designation, "Inspectors of the Games and Prizes," and it would be tedious and

honour the Editor had was in paying all the expenses. The Emperors did not always give games in their own name, and consequently had frequently to choose an Editor *. The Prætor, or Quæstor, or any of the chief magistrates who exhibited shows, on entering upon their office, were entitled to be "*Editores*." They were conveyed into the Circus in chariots, and splendidly habited †,

unprofitable to make any further discrimination; those of Suetonius are all subordinate to that of "Editor."

* See *references to Suetonius, in the preceding Note, p.* 47—Fecisse ludos se ait, suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent, ter et vicies—*Suet. in Aug., cap. xliii.* This might be liberality; but Caracalla acted from a different motive, *ἀγωνοθέτην δὲ ἢ τῶν ἐξελευθερῶν τινά ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πλουσίων ἐκάθισεν ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλισκηται, &c.—Dion. in Caracalla, lib. lxxvii., cap.* 10. (*P.* 1295, *tom. ii. Hamburgh edit.* 1752.)

† This is described by Juvenal, where the *Editor* is a Prætor.

Quid, si vidisset Prætorem curribus altis
Extantem, et medio sublimem in pulverem Circi
In Tunica Jovis, et pictæ Saranna ferentem
Ex humeris aulæa togæ, magnæque coronæ
Tantum orbem, quanto cervix vix sufficit ulla?
Quippe tenet sudans hanc Publius et sibi Consul
Ne placeat curru servus portatur eodem,
Da nunc et volucrum, &c.—*Juv., Sat. x., v.* 36, &c.

The tribunes, who first gave the Ludi Augustales, were allowed

and gave the order for beginning the entertainment*. This pulvinar had, as we have seen, a communication with the arena, from whence the Editor, having descended from his chariot, might go to his

the triumphal habit in entering the Circus, (see *Tacit. Ann., lib. i.*) but were denied the use of the chariot.—*Dio. lib. lvi., cap.* 46. *See also Bulenger, cap.* 43, *de Circo, &c.*

* Before the Emperors usurped the privilege, the Editor was the proper person to give the signal for starting; "Nec discrepant quin Dictator eo anno A. Cornelius fuerit; id ambigitur, belline gerendi caussa creatus sit, an ut esset qui Ludis Romanis (quia L. Plautus Prætor gravi morbo forte implicitus erat) signum mittendis quadrigis daret."—*Tit. Liv., lib. viii., cap.* 40.

The signal was given sometimes, but not always, (for *see Note* *, *p.* 31.) by throwing a napkin, a custom dated by some from the age of Nero, though Quintilian (*lib. i., cap. ix.*) intimates a more remote antiquity. But during the empire, the Prætor was not accustomed to give this signal. Universorum se oculis in Circo Maximo præbuit, aliquo liberto mittente mappam *unde magistratus solent.* (*Suet. in Neron., cap. xxii.*) It would appear, from the two Mosaics often cited, that the president, sitting above the Porta Pompæ, threw the *mappa*; but the signal was not necessarily given from that place, "Dalmaticus in publico processit atque ita signum Circensibus quadrigis committendis dedit." (*Lampridius in Commodo.*)—*See* also *Livy, lib. lv., in verbis,* "ad x Kal. Octobris Ludorum," &c., with the criticisms of Bulenger and Argoli, on the word "*ascendenti,*" (*apud Grævium, tom. ix., p.* 169 *and* 630.); and compare *Martial, Epigram xxix., lib. xii.* I have, therefore, used the expression the Editor "gave the *order,*" &c., in preference to "gave the *signal* for starting."

seat conveniently. Besides being a very conspicuous object in the Circus, it was situated for seeing at once the whole length of the Spina and the turning of the second Meta. Whilst, therefore, the president sat above the Porta Pompæ, (or, if the Emperor were president, he remained in his own pulvinar,) this may properly be called the seat of the Editor, or (since the Prætor seems to have been most frequently the Editor) the Prætor's tribunal.

Continuing along the southern side of the Circus, we shall find a Gate within about 450 feet of the end. It is situated nearly opposite the point equidistant from all the Carceres, about which the principal contest took place among the combatants to get near the Spina. Thus placed, it could have but one specific use, and that was for conveying quickly off the arena the charioteers who were thrown down, wounded, or killed in the first rush of the chariot race *.

* See a representation of this on the bas-relief of Foligno, and

Between the towers of the Carceres and the beginning of the Podium, are two other Gates, and it cannot be affirmed that they were not used for the like purposes. They are denominated in our Plan, Side-entrances, and might serve occasionally for every purpose we have hitherto enumerated; the chariot might go out in triumph, the prætor might enter in his car, the procession might leave the arena, and by them the Athletæ be introduced after the equestrian games *.

We have now gone round the Circus, examining what was most worthy of attention; but (following the order of the games) before we describe the

compare the Lyons Mosaic:—*το κράνος αὐτῷ κάτα τάς πύλας καθ' ἃς οἱ τελευτῶν]ες ἐκφέρονται ἐξεκομίσθη, Dio. in Commodo, lib. lxxii., cap.* 21. *Lampridius, (in eodem)* calls this gate *Porta Libitinensis,* a name I am much more inclined to adopt, than either Sanavivaria, or Sandapilaria; words obtained, I presume, from the following passages:—Et cœpi, inquit Perpetuæ, ire cum gloria ad portam Sanavivariam: * * * ambæ * * * revocatæ sunt ad portam Sanavivariam.—*Ex Passione SS. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis.*

* In Circo, aurigas, cursoresque, et confectores ferarum, et nonnunquam ex nobilissima juventute, produxit. *Suet. in Aug., cap.* 43. See also *Dionys., lib. vii., cap.* 73., and *Pliny, lib. vii., cap. xx.*

Spina, it may be necessary to bring the chariots to the first meta.

It will be recollected, according to our description, that the Carceres were closed by cancellated doors, which were opened at a given signal for the chariots to rush forth into the arena; but, independent of these doors, Cassiodorus speaks of Ropes sustained by *Hermuli*, which all dropped at the same moment when the signal was given *. This Christian writer flourished at a period when the Hippodrome at Constantinople had succeeded to the renown of the Circus at Rome †; and may

* "Hæc [scilicet ostia] ab hermulis funibus demissis subità æqualitate panduntur, docentes totum illic ut putabatur consilio geri ubi imago capitis cognoscitur operari."—*Cassiod., lib. iii., Variar., Ep.* 51.

† Cassiodorus was born in the year 480, and lived to the age of ninety-five; his various epistles were dictated between the years 509 and 540. The inhuman sports of the Gladiators were abolished by Honorius, A. D. 404 (*see a judicious Note on Childe Harold, &c., Canto iv., Stanza* 141); but it was reserved for Theodoric to put down the factions of the Circus. (See *Panvinio de Ludis, &c., chap. ii., lib.* 1.) Thomas, the charioteer, who gave occasion to Cassiodorus to write the Epistle, in which the Circus is described, *had come from the East.—Epist.* 51 *as above.*

therefore have easily confounded some accounts of the Greek Stadium, with his description of the Roman Circus. That he has done so in this instance will perhaps be more apparent when we have considered the following description, which Pausanias gives of the Greek Carceres:

"In that part of the Stadium where the umpires sit * is the place from whence the horses start. It is formed like the prow of a ship, with the beak turned towards the arena, and where it joins the *rectilinearly-formed portico* † it attains its greatest width. On the top of the beak is fixed a brazen dolphin, and each side of this fabric so formed presents more than 400 feet in length, and is divided

* *Compare note* *, *page* 30.—I have not thought it necessary to discriminate between the words Stadium and Hippodrome—"προς δε ςαδιω τω πιρατι, ςαδιοδρομοις αφεσις πεποιηται, Ενδυμιωνος, &c."—*Pausanias, as in note following.* The outline of the Stadium Panathenaicum, still to be traced at Athens, bears a near resemblance to that of the Roman Circus.—See Colonel Leake's excellent work on the *Topography of Athens*, &c., page 51, and the plan of Athens in the plates illustrative.

† τῇ ἀγνάμπτου ςοᾷ—"quod est quasi flexu carentem dicas."—*See Pausaniæ Eliacorum Posterior, sive lib. sext., cap. xx., pag.* 503, *Edit. Lipsiæ*, 1696.

into compartments, which the combatants who enter the lists occupy, according to their respective lots drawn *. In front of the chariots and horses is extended a rope for a barrier †. About the middle of the prow is an altar of brick, which is plastered afresh at every Olympiad; and upon the altar is fixed a brazen eagle, spreading its wings: a person, who is stationed there for the purpose, touches a spring upon the altar, by means of which the eagle seems to fly up into the air, so that it is visible to all the people; whilst the dolphin, at the same time, falls to the ground. As soon as this signal is given, they loosen the barriers which are

* Compare page 88.

† *καλώδιον ἀντὶ ὕσπληγγος.* *Compare Note* §, *page* 24, *and Julius Pollux, lib. iii., cap. xxx., segm.* 148; and the description in Homer's Iliad, lib. xxiii., v. 327 and 334, &c. The inventor of the Greek Carceres was Cleotas. These verses were written on a statue at Athens.

Ὃς τὴν ἱππάφεσίν σευ Ὀλυμπία εὕρατο πρῶτος
τεῦξέ με Κλειοίτας υἱὸς Ἀριστοκλέους.

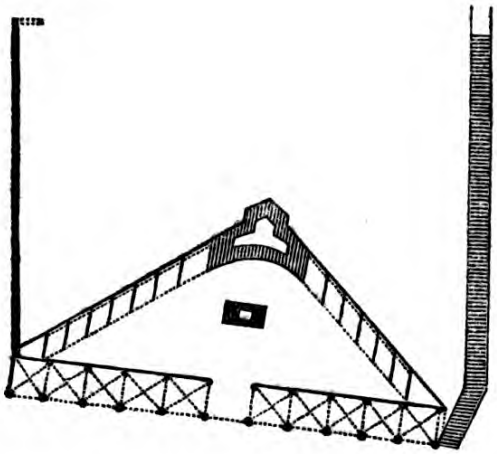
Pausanias, lib. vi., cap. xx.

After Cleotas, they say, Aristides invented another plan (*idem*); but see the description of Pausanias illustrated in *Note*, at *page* 55.

nearest to the above-mentioned portico, and the horses that were confined by them rush forth the first: having come up nearly in a line with those that occupy the second places, the barriers of the second places are also removed, and thus they proceed until all the combatants are equalised towards the beak of the prow*."

From this account it appears, that in the Greek Hippodrome the Carceres were convex towards the

* By the help of La Borde, we may illustrate the description of Pausanias thus.



The illustration of Visconti does not differ materially; that of Messrs. Gedoin, Bamnier, and Barthelemy, seems absurd.—*See Plate xviii.*, in *La Borde's Description, &c.*

arena, but in the Roman Circus they were concave. In the former, also, the chariots were restrained by ropes, but in the latter, as we have seen, by doors: the doors, however, were flanked by Hermes, and it will shortly be explained that ropes *were* used in the Circus: it is not, therefore, without some foundation that Cassiodorus has introduced his Hermuli sustaining ropes; but by applying them to the carceres, he has both involved his own description in some obscurity*, and opposed the general evidence collected from other authorities. If, after all, the Hermuli were thus admitted in the Circus Maximus, we are justified, from the author's own words †, in concluding that there was more allegory than real use in this piece of mechanism; but if it appears more plainly to be an inaccuracy of the writer, either the description of Pausanias may

* Hermulos funibus demissos a stadio ad Circum transtulit, says Salmasius, who may be charged in his turn with obscurity, in explaining the Alba Linea.—*Vide Plinianæ Exercitat. in Solinum, pars altera, p.* 916; and compare the Notes of *Argoli on Panvinio, apud Grævium, tom. ix., p.* 67, 68.

† *See Note* *, *page* 52.

account for the error, or the whole passage may be applied to the *Alba Linea*, which Cassiodorus shortly after introduces.

In frequently alluding to the whole flat inclosed by the walls, we have hitherto employed the popular term of "*Arena;*" nor is that word, though more properly belonging to the Amphitheatre, inapplicable to the Circus; but the ancient writers, and especially the poets, called it "*spatium;*" more frequently in the plural number, "*spatia,*" to denote that it was run over several times in one race *. Between the carceres and the first meta,

* Lactantius, finishing the seventh Book of his Institutes, does not disdain to express himself thus:—Quoniam decursis propositi operis septem spatiis ad metam provecti sumus.—*De Vita Beata, lib. vii., cap.* 27.

The general terms "Stadium" and "Circus" were also sometimes used, in a more confined sense, to designate merely this flat space, which we have hitherto called the "Arena." Thus Isidorus says, "Est *Circus* omne illud spatium quod circuire equi solent." *Isid. de Orig., lib. xviii.,* and Varro, (as already quoted at note ‡, p. 20.) "*Circus*.. dictus.. quòd ibi circum metas fertur pompa et equi currunt." Whilst Ausonius, with equal clearness,

there is a clear space of 512 feet in length, and of the same breadth as the Circus itself: as this was perhaps sometimes used more especially for the same purposes as the Amphitheatre *, for the sake of distinction, we will here call *it* "THE *Arena.*" It was here where the first contest took place among the charioteers to get near the meta; hence arose several phrases and metaphors especially used by the poets †. The *Arena* (in this restricted sense) was marked by a line drawn across the

appropriates to the same part the term "Stadium." See the passage quoted in note ‡ to page 19.—(S.)

* See Note *, page 51. It is true, in the Mosaic of Italica, the Athletæ are seen at the upper end of the Circus; but, for general convenience, the clear space here described, seems preferable.

† Hæc ubi dicta locum capiunt, signoque repente
Corripiunt spatia audito, limenque relinquunt.
Virg. Æneid. v., v. 316.

Ut cum carceribus sese effudêre quadrigæ
Addunt se in spatia, &c.—*Virg. Georg. i., v.* 513.

Jam ruit, atque æquum summisit regula limen,
Corripuêre leves spatium, &c.
Statius, Thebaid. lib. vi., v. 593.

Fert, et amat spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra.
(*Metaphorice*) *Hor., lib. i., Epist. xiv., v.* 9.

Compare also the animated description of *Silius Italicus, Punicor., lib. xvi., v.* 303, *&c.*

Circus, called the Alba Linea, which seems to have served for equalising the chariots before the regular commencement of the race, as they were equalised at the beak of the prow in the Greek Hippodrome. It was not enough that the chariots should be let out of the Carceres, and strive for a place near the first Meta, but the race does not appear to have been absolutely begun, until they had run over this open space. Although the Alba Linea is mentioned or alluded to by several authors, the use of it is only explained by Cassiodorus. It was drawn, says that writer *, across the Circus, at no great distance from the doors of the Carceres, so that as the chariots advanced to where the race should begin, as they always dashed too furiously against one another, they would ne-

* Alba linea non longè ab ostiis in utrumque podium quasi *regula directa* producitur, ut quadrigis progredientibus inde certamen oriretur, ne dum semper præpropere conantur elidere, spectandi voluptatem viderentur populis abrogare.—*Epist. Variar., lib. iii.* I think it is Visconti who says that the Alba Linea did not cause more stumbling to the charioteers, than it has to the antiquaries of more modern times.

cessarily, without this line as a check, deprive the spectators of much pleasure; and it is not unlikely, if a chariot was too late in getting up to the Alba Linea, or by some mischance issued prematurely from its barrier, it was stopped * by means of this line, and not permitted to continue in that race † ("missus"). The Alba Linea we suppose to have been a rope whitened or chalked ‡ to render it more

* This office of stopping the chariots belonged to the *Moratores*, already enumerated in the list *given in Note, page* 42. Gruter has collected several inscriptions in which that word is mentioned; the following may serve as an authority:

Q . RAPIDIO . Q . F . LEM .
MVLION*I*
MORATORI
LVDI . CIRCEN . ET .
AGITATORI, &c.

Vide Gruter, p. cccxxxix., No. 3.

† The Lyons Mosaic is great authority in this particular; there is represented a chariot actually thrown down by the white line, which is drawn across the *arena*, very near the place we have assigned for the position of it; meanwhile the other chariots are seen continuing the course. Indeed, it was a rare thing if an accident of this sort did not happen, as appears by the two celebrated lines in Varro:—

Nemini fortuna currum carcere emissum intimo
Labi inoffensum per æquor candidum ad calcem sinit.

See some further remarks on the words *calx* and *creta, in page* 84, *note* ‡, *and compare the words "frustra exit," in note* ‡, *page* 89.

‡ And not a furrow filled with chalk, as has been erroneously

conspicuous, and elevated above the ground to serve the purpose described. These remarks receive confirmation from the recent discoveries. In our Circus, near the first meta (No. 41), is a small basement perforated for the reception of a square

imagined, (see all the arguments for that theory, in *Salmasius, Plinianæ Exercitat. in Solinum, &c., pars altera, page* 917, *&c.*) But compare the collection of terms in *Julius Pollux, lib. iii., cap. xxx., seg.* 148. The word linea means a rope or sling in the following authors:—*Vitruvius, lib. v., cap. iii., and lib. vi., cap. ix., and lib. ix., cap. ix. Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. xxxii., cap. ii., and Columella, lib. iii., cap. xv., and lib. viii., cap. ix.* A metaphorical passage in *Tertullian adversus Marcion, lib. v.*, may serve to illustrate this, and the three preceding notes; "video aliquas etiam nunc lineas producendas ad quas erit dimicandum." It has been thought by some that Ovid makes mention of this linea—

Quid frustra refugis? cogit nos linea jungi.

Ovid., Amor., lib. ii., v. 19.

And it has been hastily concluded, from this passage, that when they began to prepare the alba linea, the people ran to their places; by comparing the following passage the error is detected:—"Transire in diversa subsellia parum verecundum est, nam et Cassius Severus urbane adversus hoc facientem lineam [or lineas] poposcit."—*Quintilian, Inst. xi.*, 3.

The Conte Carli, *Ant. Ital., par.* 2., *lib. iii.*, § 4, *page* 243, gives an inscription found in the Theatre of Verona in front of a seat.

I . LOC . IIII
LIN . I

which he explains thus: Gradus I. Locus IV. Linea I.

post or a Hermes, but most probably the latter *: this, then, supported the Alba Linea, drawn across the Circus in the manner explained: it is not meant to be affirmed that in other *Circuses* it might not be nearer the Carceres, as the words of Cassiodorus intimate, but that would probably depend upon the extent of the *Arena;* it is sufficient that we have assigned an obvious use to this newly discovered object, with the concurrent testimony of ancient writers.

The chariots having gained their places, ran round the Spina; a part of the Circus that yet remains to be explained.

The Spina (we are indebted to Cassiodorus for the term) is 916 feet in length, dividing the Spatium longitudinally into two parts. At each extremity of it, but separated by a space of about eleven feet, are the metæ or goals, round which the

* It is to this I would fain apply the obscure passage in Cassiodorus, already cited in Note *, page 52. But, waving this as authority, we may seem justified in restoring a Hermes to this basement. It is worthy of remark, that Bianconi has drawn his Alba Linea almost in this same place.—*See his Piano Terreno, Tav.* 1.

chariots turned. The first or lower meta is nearly four feet from the "*support*" of the Alba Linea, and, as we have said, 512 feet distant from the central gate of the Carceres: the second, or upper meta, is about 148 feet from the steps of the triumphal gate; so that the Spina, together with the metæ and intermediate spaces, are very nearly equivalent to three-fifths the length of the whole Circus. This division of the Spatium, however, is not equal, nor is the Spina exactly parallel to the sides of the Circus; it lies considerably towards the northern or left side, but tends in its direction to the upper meta to recover its equality: the reason for this seeming irregularity was to give more room to the charioteers, on the side of the arena where they made their first efforts. The point equidistant from all the carceres, which is marked in our general Plan (No. 42), will illustrate the propriety of this construction.

The two metæ so nearly resemble each other, that in describing one we describe them both; the only particular in which they differ is, that the

basement of one is lower than that of the other. The basement of the meta has nearly the form of a semi-ellipse: it is composed of the ordinary materials of brick and cement, but has been faced with marble: it is not solid, but contains a small unfinished vault, where some have supposed the sacrifices were performed during the games to the god Consus: but we shall have occasion to correct that erroneous opinion. These vaults do not seem to have had the common ornament of plain stucco, nor are the entrances into them at all convenient: they could serve, indeed, for no other purpose than for depositing implements used in sacrifices, or in the service of the games. Upon the hollow basement were placed three pillars formed like cones: a piece of the base of one on each meta is left standing, which shows that the nucleus was of brick, but as the diameter decreased, the whole was marble. A sufficient number of fragments have been discovered to give the proportions *; and it

* See the Vignette placed at the end of this description, which is a front elevation and a ground-plan of the Meta restored from these fragments.

appears that these cones were above twenty feet high: they were ornamented, as we learn from other fragments, with bas-reliefs relative to the games of the Circus, and the tops were finished with marble balls or eggs, one of which was found in the excavating. These cones were properly called the *Metæ*, which Ovid, with poetical license, compares to the form of the cypress tree * ;—the whole was collectively called, in the singular number, *Meta* †.

The Spina consists of a low broad wall, in no part higher than twelve feet, nor broader than twenty-two: the ends are not straight, but hollowed in the central part, which opens a little more space between the Metæ and the beginning of the Spina, without making any difference in the elevation. The top was not a uniformly level superficies, but formed a slight cavity: besides this intimation of its having contained water, there are continual ves-

* Metas imitata cupressus.—*Ovid. Metamorph., lib. x., v.* 106; *and comp. Plin., lib. xvi., cap. xxxviii.*

† *Vide Horace, Ode* 1., 4., *lib. i.*

tiges of small canals running lengthways; also in some places may be observed specimens of that cemented flooring called the *opus signinum* *, which is so commonly found in ancient reservoirs and aqueducts. In the Circus Maximus a stream of water ran round the arena, at the foot of the Podium, and was called the Euripus †: from the excavations made at the Prætor's tribunal, it does not appear that in our Circus such a thing existed;

* This is a Vitruvian term, (*see lib. ii., cap. iii., and lib. viii., cap. vii.,*) where he gives the composition of this cement: "Quid non excogitavit ars?" exclaims Pliny; "fractis etiam testis utendo sic ut firmius durent tusis calce addita quæ vocant signina, quo genere etiam pavimenta excogitavit."—*Hist. Nat., lib. xxxv., cap. xii.*

† The Euripus was introduced into the Circus Maximus by Julius Cæsar. "Circensibus spatio circi ab utraque parte producto et in gyrum Euripo addito," &c. (*Suet. in Julio, cap. xxxix.*) It was taken away by Nero, but soon afterwards was restored as a necessary convenience.

The word (ευ bene, et ριπιζω vel ριπτω jacio) might be applied to any free-flowing current, as it was to the Nile, (*Cic. ad Q. fratrem, lib. iii., epist. ix., et de Leg., lib. ii., cap. ii.*), to the Hellespont, or that part of the Euboean Sea near Chalcis. (*Plin., Hist. Nat., lib. iv., cap. xii.*) The Euripus in the Circus Maximus was ten feet deep, and as many broad.—*See Diony. Halicar., lib. iii., cap. lxviii.*

the water on the Spina, therefore, was probably arranged to supply this defect, and it will be shown in the proper place where it was poured into a receptacle. The Spina was moreover cut, at irregular intervals, by three passages across it, which did not, however, interrupt the line of the lateral wall. These passages or sections are in conformity with the Lyons Mosaic, in which we see two men at one of them, exhibiting a palm branch, as if for the purpose of exciting the ardour of the combatants*; but the most obvious use that may be assigned to these passages was for the convenience of traversing quickly the whole breadth of the spatium,—a necessary convenience indeed, when we consider the numerous agents employed about the games. We have illustrated these general observations, afforded by a review of the actual state of the Spina, by drawing a section of it as it exists †.

The brick wall that now presents itself was

* Munera principio ante oculos, Circoque locantur
In medio sacri tripodes, viridesque coronæ,
Et palmæ, pretium victoribus.—*Virgil. Æneid. v.* 110.

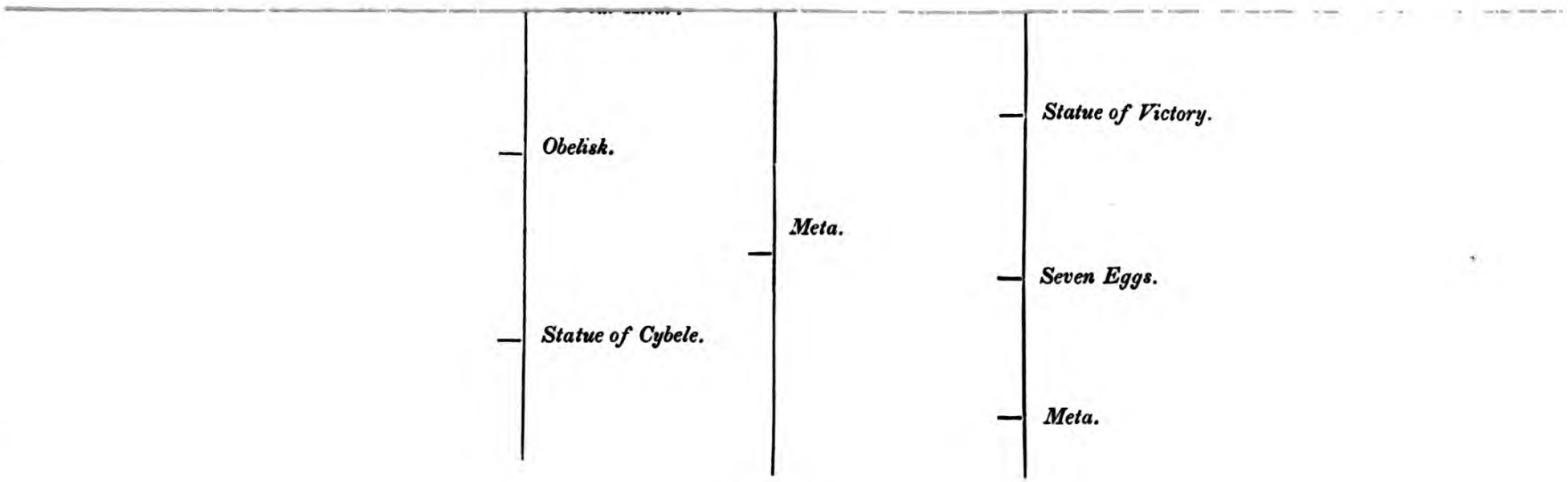
† *See Plate II., Fig.* 2.

doubtless covered with a facing of marble, as well as the Metæ: it was also finished at the top with a slightly projecting *fascia*, as appears from several bas-reliefs *, and as we have exhibited it in the restored elevation.

It was always known, from medals and bas-reliefs, that statues and other objects were placed upon the Spina for the use or ornament of the Circus, but this is the only instance where they can be restored to their original positions with any degree of certainty. There were, however, no regular rules for placing them, for in every representation in bas-relief they appear differently disposed †; but the similarity of the ornaments themselves was so great, that the general effect was nearly the same in all. By a reference to our Plan of the Spina, it will be seen that a number of basements have been discovered; and several broken

* See two of the representations of the Spina, in the *Sala della Biga*, in the Vatican.

† The following specimens may be compared with our restored elevation, *in Pl. II. and III.—(See the annexed Plan.)*


Obelisk.
Statue of Cybele.
Meta.
Statue of Victory.
Seven Eggs.
Meta.

statues, fragments of columns, and other marbles, were found also in making the excavations *. Guided by these indications, and aided by ancient authorities, we will endeavour to restore the whole to its original state, beginning at the first Meta.

For the first eighty feet, the surface of the Spina is elevated a little above the rest, and near where the elevation ceases is a basement. It may be inferred from a passage in Solinus, from Pliny †,

* These marbles are now in the possession of the Duca di Bracciano, in the court of his *Palazzo Giraud, Borgo Nuovo,* Rome. Very few of the pieces of statues were found in their places; in endeavouring to restore them, therefore, to their original situations, we have considered the propriety of their relative positions, and the emblematical meaning conveyed in some of the statues themselves, as well as the order in which they were discovered. In making this adjustment, and in other architectural illustrations, I had the essential aid of my ingenious friend, Signor Giuseppe Pardini, a young Tuscan Architect, now residing in Rome. If, after all, it were possible to go back fifteen centuries, and see a Venus where an Hercules ought to have been, or an Apollo instead of a Paris, the error detected would not appear very important. It will, moreover, be seen from the examples adduced in the preceding note, that in every Circus the statues were differently arranged on the Spina; and perhaps in the same Circus they were sometimes removed and changed.

† Pliny relates, as an instance of the sagacity of the horses, that in the secular games given by Claudius, two horses of the white fac-

and other authorities, that near the first meta the conqueror, having leaped from his chariot upon the Spina, received his prize, or "*bravium* *", and having received it, he made his grateful sacrifice,

tion, having lost their charioteer at the Carceres, performed the race alone in regular order, and won the præmium, to the envy of the other candidates; and "peracto legitimo cursu AD METAM STETERE."—*Plin., Hist. Natur., lib. viii., cap. xlii.* Solinus, alluding to the same circumstance, says, "Et post decursa legitima spatia AD LOCUM PALMÆ sponte consisterent velut præmium postularent."—(*Solinus, cap. lvii., page* 329, *edit. Basiliæ.*) Compare also *Sidonius Apollinaris in Narbone;* and see the *Exercitationes Plinianæ of Salmasius, pars altera, page* 914, *edit. Parisiis,* 1629. But I am ignorant where Panvinio has found the following peremptory authority:—"Juxta metam supra spinam erat præmiorum locus ad quem gradibus ascendebatur, et auriga victor e curru desiliens eo conscenso bravium propositum tollebat."—*De Ludis, &c., lib. i., cap. xvii. See also Philander's Notes on Vitruvius, page* 193; *and compare Seneca, epist xxx.*

* The prize in Greek was called βραβειον, *see St. Paul's Epist. to the Corinthians, I., chap. ix., verse* 24; *and Chrysostom. Oratione de Circo;* from whence is derived the Latin "*bravium,*" and, as Argoli thinks, the "*bravo*" of the Italians. The word is used in its popular sense by Prudentius.

Tu solus obis inclyte
Solus bravii duplicis
Palmam tulisti, tu duas
Simul parasti laureas—*Prudentius, Peristeph. in Laud. Vincent. Martyr. p.* 196, *edit. Basil. And compare Julius Pollux, lib. iii., cap. xxx., segm.* 145.

most probably, to Mars *. Bianconi found a piece of an altar near to the first meta, of which he has given an engraving in his work on Circuses †: we have therefore designated this elevated part of the wall the "*locus braviorum*," and to the basement have restored an altar. The whole receives confirmation from the bas-relief of Vescovali, and a medal of Aurelian representing a corresponding part of a spina ‡. At the foot of this supposed altar is one of those cavities already described as adapted for containing water. We may consider this as within

* The inscription which Tertullian saw on the altar of Consus, shows that Mars presided over the contest (*see note* †, *page* 97); compare also the following passage:

> Jamque duæ restant noctes de mense secundo
> Marsque citos junctis curribus urget equos, &c.
>
> *Ovid. Fast., lib. ii., v.* 858.

See also Festus, on the words "*October equus*," and consult the notes of Argoli and Bulenger, in *Grævius, tom. ix., pages* 195 and 730.

† "L' abbiamo trovato," says Bianconi, "come dicemmo, in uno scavo fatto nella via tra la Spina e le prime mete; probabilmente apparteneva ad un' ara di quelle che stavano sulla spina." The fragment was much corroded, but a chariot at full speed was visible enough upon it to afford a drawing of it, and the ornament seems appropriate to such an altar.—*See Bianconi dei Circhi, &c.*

‡ See this medal engraved in *Grævius, tom. ix., page* 155.

the precincts of the sacrificing altar, and therefore suited for the ablutions and sprinklings of the priests and victims *.

At a further distance of about seventy feet are the vestiges of two columns which have stood across the Spina, and within an inclosure of twenty-five feet long, seemingly a receptacle for water. These columns supported a cornice upon which were placed the figures of dolphins, generally seven in number, corresponding to the number of the eggs, which were elevated, as we shall shortly see, in another part of the Spina. We learn from the Lyons Mosaic that the dolphins spouted water, and we here observe a shallow basin for receiving it: it may therefore be concluded the water was supplied from the dolphins, but in what manner it was conveyed to the tops of the columns it may be difficult to ascertain †. In referring to our restored eleva-

* See page 20.

† At this place, according to Signor Nibby, who superintended the excavations, the water was all carried off by means of a drain, or cloaca, which was discovered under the level of the Arena; it con-

tion, (Plate III. fig. 1.) it must be borne in mind that it is a geometrical elevation without perspective; the nearer objects hide the corresponding more distant ones, and consequently only one dolphin on one column appears, instead of seven on two columns: for the same reason, only two cones or metæ appear, instead of three. In these cases a reference to the Ground Plan, and to the front elevations of the Dolphins and Meta given in the vignettes at the beginning and end of this dissertation, will prevent any erroneous idea. The eggs and dolphins were (according to Dion Cassius) introduced by Agrippa, in order to correct the mistakes the spectators were liable to make with regard to the number of courses round the Spina *. At every

tinued along the southern side of the Spina, was more than three feet deep, and received all the waters of the Circus.—(*See Dissertazione, &c., page* 38.)

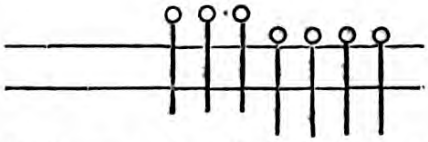
* *κἂν τῳ ἱπποδρόμῳ σφαλλομένους ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὸν τῶν διαύλων ἀριθμὸν ὁρῶν, τούς δε δελφῖνας και τὰ ὠοειδῆ δημιουργήματα κατεστησατ' ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν αἱ περίοδοι των περι δρομων ἀναδεικνύωνται.*—*Dion Cassius, lib. lxix., p.* 376.

Amongst the other works of the Censors Fulvius, Flaccus, and Postumius Albinus, Livy enumerates the following: Carceres in Circo

circuit an egg was set up *, until the usual number of seven was completed, and thus the state of the contest was exhibited to the assembly without dispute: it does not appear that the dolphins were always used for numbering, but were sometimes placed merely for a corresponding ornament: they were dedicated, says Tertullian, to the honour of Neptune, but the eggs were ascribed to the honour of the Castors †.

et ova ad notas curriculis numerandas et * * *—dam et metas trans, &c., from which mutilated passage it would appear, that the eggs were used in the Circus for numbering before Agrippa, only the eggs are mentioned as *particularly* used for numbering. Metarum circuitus ovorum erectionibus exprimatur, (*Cassiodorus, lib. iii., Variar.*) for it might often be inconvenient to remove the dolphins.

* From the expression "*ovorum erectionibus*" in the passage just cited, we should conclude an egg was set up at every round; but from the following, that they were all previously arranged, and taken down severally: "Nam non modo ovum illud sublatum est quod ludis Circensibus novissimi curriculi finem facit quadrigis, sed ne illud quidem ovum vidimus quod in Cereali Pompa solet esse primum."—*Varro de Re Rustica, lib. i., cap. i.* In the Lyons Mosaic they appear thus,



perhaps both methods were adopted, according to the fancy of the persons employed.

† Ova honori Castorum adscribunt, qui illos ovo editos credendo

At a further distance of seventy feet is the foundation of a pedestal to which we suppose belonged the statue of Venus. Amongst the statues discovered was a half-naked Venus: only the head and a hand are wanting: at the left foot is a dolphin: the drapery spreads in folds downwards from the waist, like a shell, which renders it properly a Venus Marina;—for this reason we have placed it on a pedestal discovered nearest to the columns of the dolphins, which, as we have seen, were dedicated to Neptune.

Forty-eight feet further, along the Spina, was discovered the foundation of another pedestal, in form and dimensions like the former;—we have replaced here the statue of Hercules. Amongst the fragments found in excavating was a head very much corroded, but indicating the character of the statue by some traces of the lion's hide left about the ears:—in the fanciful alle-

de cygno Jove non erubescunt, Delphinos Neptuno vovent.—*Tertullian, De Spectaculis, cap. viii.*, and compare *Isidorus, lib. xviii., cap. xxix.*

gory of the Circus *, the statue of Hercules, emblem of force and valour, might be placed nearest that of Venus, emblem of grace and love,—thus contrasting the characteristics of the sexes.

To this basement immediately succeeds another separated space or inclosure, which continues for near fifty feet; it is comprised between a low division wall and the first passage across the Spina, and was, according to the opinion of Professor Nibby, a small flower garden. We suppose the learned professor forms his conjecture from the mere appearance of the soil, which does not seem, like the rest, to have been covered with any kind of cement; otherwise, the supposition stands without any authority.

After crossing the passage, we arrive at the vestiges of a third pedestal, smaller than either of the others. Considering that there was discovered a fragment of a statue, consisting of a naked male leg, placed on a small oval base, and supported

* *See page* 100, &c.

against the trunk of a tree, with every appearance of the remains of a statue of Apollo; and that this pedestal is near the site of the Obelisk, which was dedicated to the Sun *; we have ventured to place here the statue of the God of Day.

The site of the Obelisk, at about thirty feet distant from hence, was always known. Fulvio †

* See Cassiodorus, in Epistle often cited, and compare Isidorus, Orig., lib. xviii., cap. xxvii. Every one knows the form of an obelisk, but I cannot resist transcribing the following description of it.

"Obeliscus est asperrimus lapis, in figuram metæ cujusdam sensim ad proceritatem consurgens excelsam, utque radium imitetur, gracilescens paulisper specie quadrata in verticem productus angustum, manu lævigatus artificis. Formarum autem innumeras notas hieroglyphicas appellatas, quas ei undique videmus incisas, initialis sapientiæ vetus insignivit auctoritas, &c."—*Ammian Marcellinus, lib. xvii., c. xiv.*

† It is sometimes curious to read the descriptions of the antiquaries of the sixteenth century.—"Un altro (*i. e.* obelisco) ne è grande e bellissimo vicino alla Via Appia à due miglia lontano nello hippodrome tra santo Bastiano hoggi così chiamato et caput bovis, (Tomb of Cæcilia Metella,) spezzato in molte parti, ove sono intagliate lettere hieroglyphice, ove anchora sono i segnali delle mete in mezo al cerchio, poste per lo lungo ordinatamente l' una dopo l' altra, perciochè l' erono sette mete, similitudine de sette pianetti, e nel mezo era lo Obelisco, chè e consacrato al sole; l'altre mete che eran della destra e sinistra di quello, erono consagrate agli altri pianetti."—*Andreas Fulvio delle Antichità della Città di Roma,*

saw it laid near its basement broken in several pieces; and towards the end of the seventeenth century it was transported and set up in the *Piazza Navona*, where it now remains. It is fifty-five feet high, and covered with hieroglyphics, but, according to Mons. Champollion, is the work of the Romans *: he reads in the characters the names of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; so that it has in all probability been taken from some other edifice. On the summit of the Obelisk was placed a ball, from whence proceeded an arrow's point indicative of the ray of the sun †: this was called the Pyropus, being a composition of copper and gold,

&c., tradotto per Paulo dal Rosso. Venegia, MDXLIII., carta 166.

The Obelisk was set up in the Piazza Navona, by order of Innocent X., under the directions of Bernini, who declared he had gathered up every morsel belonging to it; "nell' ultimo scavo però (says Signor Nibby), si è conosciuto che egli non si diede tal briga essendosi trovati molti pezzi, &c."—*Dissertazione, &c.*, p. 40.

* See "*Lettre à M. Dacier, relative à l'Alphabet des Hiéroglyphes,*" *&c.*—But such is the taste for hieroglyphics in France, that not another copy of this work is to be bought at present.

† *Cassiodorus as cited above.—Isidorus, lib. xvii., cap. xxxi.*

and calculated for a strong reflector*: it was girt by an astragal of rose leaves†, and was altogether the chief ornament of the Circus. Although the site cannot be mistaken, it is difficult to identify the basement, a hollow having been formed in the removing of the Obelisk, which is now (1826) filled with stagnant water; but, as near as we can judge, it was placed in the middle of the Spina.

Continuing from the site of the Obelisk, and crossing a second division, we arrive at the foundation of another basement, which seems rather to

* *See Pliny, lib. xxxiv., cap. viii., and Ovid. Metamorph., lib. ii.*, at the words,

Flammasque imitante Pyropo.

† Hæc [rosa] viret angusto foliorum tecta galero,
Hanc tenui folio purpura rubra notat;
Hæc aperit primi fastigia celsa Obelisci
Mucronem absolvens purpurei capitis.

Ausonius, Idyllia xiv., v. 25, &c.

Notwithstanding the interpretation of Panvinio, Bulenger, and others, I should hardly have applied this passage, had I not seen a medal where several palm-branches are fastened beneath the Pyropus of the Obelisk.—Nero, too, once collected all the crowns he had won, and fastened them on the same place.—(*See Dion Cassius, lib. lxiii., cap. xxi., page* 1041, *tom. ii., edit. Hamburgi,* 1752.) Argoli is delighted with the idea, "Quàm benè! nam obeliscus in Spina Circi, et in Obelisco rosa!"—*Apud Grævium, tom. ix., p.* 206.

have been that of a column. On every Spina there was a statue of Victory in the attitude of flight, holding out a wreath or a palm branch, and placed on the top of a column *. There was, indeed, no fixed rule for placing it on a particular spot, but in several bas-reliefs we find Victory near the temple or columns sustaining the eggs. Amongst the fragments discovered was a piece of the statue of Victory from the knees downwards, covered with flowing drapery, and placed on a small pedestal. On triumphal arches we usually see one foot resting on a globe: by this elevation to the figure the act of flight was better exhibited, and that circumstance helps us to recognize the fragment. Guided by these intimations, we have restored here the statue and column of Victory.

Within a further distance of thirty-five feet are the vestiges of the small temple just alluded to. It has been nearly of a square form, admitting of a column at each angle: it had a cornice richly but

* Victory on a column is all that is left of the Spina in the Mosaic of Italica.

rudely sculptured, as appears from some fragments on the spot. It corresponds in form to that exhibited on the bas-relief of Foligno, and on several others. The eggs for numbering the courses * were set on the top of the cornice, and for the convenience of being lifted or raised were made, perhaps, of wood: Juvenal calls them "*Phalæ*," a word which means turrets of wood †. Near this temple, and about the columns of the Dolphins, the rich women consulted the fortune-tellers ‡ before the games of the Circus began, or during the intervals. The temple, as well as the eggs, was doubtless dedicated to Castor and Pollux.

In the third or last division of the Spina occur

* *Compare note *, page 74.*

† *See the succeeding note.*—The Phalæ are thus explained by *Nonius:* "Phalæ sunt et in Circo quæ apud veteres propter spectatores e lignis erigebantur."—*See the Annotations of Merula on Juvenal,* at the word "Phalæ," and compare the term used for the eggs by *Dion Cassius, in note *, page 73.*

‡ Plebeium in Circo positum est et in aggere fatum ;
Quæ nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum
Consulit ante *Phalas* Delphinorumque columnas.
Juvenal. Sat. vi., v. 588.

Non vicanos aruspices, non astrologos de Circo.
Ennius, as cited by Cicero de Divinatione, lib. i., cap. cxxxii.

the traces of two more pedestals: to the first we have restored the statue of an Amazon, because the trunk of such a statue, made of Pentelic marble, was found in the excavating. To the second, which is within seventy feet of the upper Meta, is restored a sitting statue, which, in the opinion of Professor Nibby, is a Proserpine. This statue, found near the end of the Spina, is made reclining against the narrow back of a seat, the legs of which are broken. It is covered with drapery, but the feet are mutilated. Under the seat lies a large dog with the tail of a lion, enveloped in the drapery: the only objection to this animal representing a Cerberus is, that it has only one head; but the head of a savage dog, and the tail of a lion, is sufficient to designate it a monster. The Professor goes back to Homer and Pausanias * to show that the notion of a three-headed Cerberus was a fancy of posterior writers;

* See *Dissertazione, page* 42;—and I wish the statue could have been pronounced a Cybele; for that Goddess, seated on a lion, appears so frequently on the Spina, as represented in medals and bas-reliefs. No such statue, however, having been found, we have not ventured to introduce one.

but he might have observed that Hesiod * gives fifty heads to the monster, and that Virgil † is among the "posterior writers." The statue in question is the work of a late age, when classical taste as well as the arts had declined. All that was here required was to represent a Cerberus, in order to designate a statue of Proserpine, which the artist seems to have effected by making a dog a monster: this is, however, a singular statue, and merits some observation.

The second Meta, which immediately succeeds, may be considered as already described. Such is the manner in which the elevation of the Spina is restored, as illustrated in Plate III. fig. 1. We shall now proceed to notice some further peculiarities, relative to the games themselves.

The Chariots were sometimes drawn by two *(bijugæ)*, and sometimes by four horses *(quad-*

* *Hesiod. Theogonia, ver.* 311.

† *Virgil. Æneid. vi., v.* 417. *See also Horace, lib. ii., ode xix.*

rigæ) *, and were accompanied round the course by riders on horseback †, and they ran seven times round the Spina ‡. We have supposed one half of the Alba Linea to mark the beginning, and the other the end of the race. If so, the latter half was synonymous with the ancient term *Calx*, and the subsequent appellation of *Creta* §. There is

* Nero drove a decemjugæ at Olympia, but that was an unusual extravagance.—*Suet. in Neron., cap. xxiv.* In the quadrigæ the two foremost horses (leaders) were called *funales*, the other two *jugales*.—*See Argoli's Notes in Grævius, tom. ix., p.* 195.

† See the Lyons Mosaic, and the bas-relief of Foligno; these were the "*equi desultorii*," or "*singulares*"—the *αζευκτοι ἱπποι* that followed in the Pompa (*see page* 14, *note* †); they went forward to announce the race, and perhaps to clear the course.—*See Cassiodorus, lib. iii., Variar. ep.* 51; *and Suet. in Julio Cæsare, cap. xxxix.; and compare Isidorus, lib. xviii., cap. xxxviii. and xxxix.* But I cannot make out any distinction between the "equi desultorii" and the "equi singulares."

‡ Seu septem spatiis Circo meruere coronam.

Ovid., in Halieuticon. v. 68.

Tu conamine duplicatus ipso
Stringis quadrijugis et arte summa
In *gyrum* bene septimum reservas.

Sidonius in Narbone.

See also Propertius, lib. ii., Elegia xxiv., v. 25. *Isidorus, lib. xviii., and Cassiodorus, in the Epistle cited.*

§ "Quoniam sumus ab ipsâ calce ejus interpellatione (ait Cicero) revocati: hanc quam nunc in Circo cretam vocamus, calcem antiqui

an intimation in the Lyons Mosaic that the race was not always measured by a certain number of complete courses round the Spina, but sometimes by a measured distance; for we observe in that monument the second half of the Alba Linea transferred to another part of the Spatium, corresponding in our Circus to an imaginary line drawn from near the Prætor's tribunal to the Spina; but wherever this line might fall, it was the "*ultima linea*," and emblematical of the end of human life *. The Carceres were capable, as we have said, of containing twelve chariots at once, but the whole of that number seldom or ever started together. The ordinary number seems to have been four, that

dicebant."—*Seneca, epist. cviii., page* 637, *edit. Lips. Antwerp.*, 1652.

Est et vilissima [creta] quâ Circum præducere ad victoriæ notam * * * * institutrerunt majores.—*Plin., Hist. Nat., lib. xxxv., cap. xvii.*

Hence the beauty of the metaphor in *Cicero de Senectute*—" Et si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac ætate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem; nec vero velim, quasi *decurso spatio, ad carceres a calce revocari.*"—*And comp. de Amicitia, cap. ci.*

* Mors ultima linea rerum est.

Horace, Epist., lib. i. xvi., v. 79.

Compare also Propertius, lib. iv., el. ii.

would be one to each faction, until two other factions were added by Domitian, and then six might start *: the four, or the six, or even the whole twelve, were called an emission, "*missus*;" and on a festival day there were twenty-four emissions † (the Carceres eight times full), besides the "missus ærarius." The twenty-fifth emission was so called, because anciently, on that occasion, a collection was made among the people for the conqueror, either to raise him a sum of money [*æs*], or to erect him a statue ‡. The custom of collecting money was subsequently abolished, but the last emission pre-

* This was the case under Commodus. (*See Dion Cassius, in Severus' Life, lib. lxxv., cap. iv., page* 1258, *tom. ii., edit. Hamburgh.*) The greatest number of chariots I have ever seen on a bas-relief is eight; the most common number is four.

† *See Dion Cassius, lib. lix., page* 908, *in Caligula, and Cassiodorus, Epist. li, &c.*—At the games Claudius gave in the Vatican, (*Suet. in Claudio, cap. xxi.,*) after every fifth "*missus*" was a chase (venatio): thus five times five would include the *missus ærarius.*

‡ *M. Varro, de Gente Populi Romani, as cited by Servius in Virg. Georg., lib. iii., v.* 18. Of this Argoli has given a proof in an inscription.

* * * * *

HVIC [scilicet VALERIO] PLEBS VNIVERSA
HISTONIENSIVM STATVAM
AERE COLLATO DECREVIT.

served the epithet of *ærarius*. In twenty-five emissions, therefore, there were employed one hundred chariots; hence Virgil *, alluding to the usual number given on a festival day, sings, "I will drive a hundred four-yoked chariots at the streams," &c. Suetonius says, that Domitian, in celebrating the secular games, in order to get through one hundred emissions in one day, one in honour of every year, curtailed the seven times round the Spina to five †.

* *Virg. Georg., lib. iii., v.* 18.

† *Suet. in Domitian, cap. iv.* Servius, on the passage of Virgil referred to in the preceding note, explains the "centum currus," as if "*centum missus*," and *Bulenger, de Circo, cap. xv., &c.* approves of the explanation, and applies it to the passage of Suetonius. From such authorities it is dangerous to dissent; but if Domitian only gave the usual number of emissions for a festival day, what was there extraordinary in it? or why curtail the distance of the race nearly one third? Commodus once gave thirty emissions in two hours! (*Dion Cassius, lib. lxxii., chap. xv.,*) and it should be recollected, that the races continued from the rising to the setting of the sun. (*Suet. in Caligula, cap. xviii.*, and in *Neron., cap. xxii.*, and *Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xiv., cap. vi.* Taking the measurements of the Circus Maximus as given by Dionysius, (*lib. iii., cap. lxviii., de Antiquit., &c.,*) and applying to it the proportions of our Circus, we shall have the distance round the Spina very near to half a mile, consequently the race equivalent to two miles and a half, as ordered by Domitian.

The ancient Scholiast of Juvenal explains *, that at the games given by the Prætors, there was an emission called "*ordinarius;*" on which occasion the charioteers robbed the horses of their corn: either on this account, or because many horses were thrown down and injured in the contest, Juvenal calls the Prætor the "*Præda,*" or "*Prædo caballorum.*" From the vulgar and riotous nature of this race, we may infer that if ever twelve chariots started together, it would be at the "*Missus ordinarius.*"

In the Greek Hippodrome the places were taken by lots, in the first, second or third barrier, because, according to the construction of the Carceres described by Pausanias, there was an advantage in the choice: in the Roman Circus, although there was no such advantage in distance, (as a reference to our Plan will show,) they seem to have

Supposing, therefore, only six emissions, or fifteen miles per hour, one hundred emissions in one day was a thing quite possible: but as to Commodus, he might have started at Newmarket.

* At the words Præda caballorum. *Sat. xi., ver.* 193.

observed the same ceremony of lots; hence we find in Virgil* the expression "*loca sorte legunt*," and there are inscriptions extant to the same effect†.

It further appears from the tablet diligently copied and published by Panvinio‡, that prizes were also awarded to the second and third places, and Nero extended them still further; but even the favour of the Emperor could add no honour to the fourth place §: the main prizes, or "*præmia*

* *Virgil. Æneid., lib. v., v.* 132., also *Sidonius de Narbone*, often cited.

† See inscription in the following note.

‡ The following extracts from the document introduced by Panvinio, (in his *Ludi Circenses, lib. i., cap. x.*,) will suffice to corroborate our remarks.

C. APVLEIVS DIOCLES, agitator, &c., * * * summa quadriga agitavit Annis XXIIII. Missus Ostio $\overline{\text{IIII}}$.CCLVII.C.LXII. a pompa CX. Singularum vicit. x LXIIII. Inde præmia majora vicit LXXXXII.$\overline{\text{XXX}}$.XXXII. * * * * The next refers to contests where he gained no money but honour. LI ad honorem venit X.; and the next to inferior rewards. * * VNDAS DXXXLXI. Tertias, DLXXVI. Quartas ad LTS.X.I frustra exit.

§ Neque dissimulabat velle se palmarum numerum ampliare (*Suet. in Neron., cap. xxii., see also cap. v.*); observe also in the above

majora," were only obtained in a match, when the challenge was given to one or more distinguished charioteers. The conqueror obtained in a contest like this from thirty to thirty-two thousand "*nummi* *," making about £250 of our money, and hence we find on sepulchral inscriptions intimations of charioteers dying very rich †. Diocles, whose successes are detailed in the tablet alluded to, when he was twenty-four years of age, gained the prizes under the disadvantage of driving the topmost chariot, or "*summa quadriga.*" This means he started from the door next to the *Porta Pompæ:* for thus issuing, he had to elude the efforts of his antagonists crossing the Arena to get near

tracts, that Diocles has not written how often he won the fourth prizes; sometimes the most feeble merit was rewarded.

> Hic mox præcipit æquus Imperator,
> Palmis serica, torquibus coronas
> Conjungi, et meritum remunerari,
> Victis ire jubens, satis pudendis,
> Villis versicoloribus tapetas, &c.—*Sidonius de Narbone.*

* See *Note* ‡, *p.* 89; and Panvinio's Annotations to the inscription there cited.

† See *Bulenger de Circo Rom., &c., p.* 687, who also compares *Juvenal, Satyr. vii., v.* 112, &c.; and *Martial, Epig. lxxiv., lib. x.*

the first Meta. On another occasion he even started from the Porta Pompæ *.

There were originally but two Factions in the Circus, distinguished by the colours white and red, emblematical of summer and winter †; but the number was subsequently augmented to four, emblematical of the four seasons ‡; the "*Prasinus*," or green, represented the spring; the "*Roseus*,"

* For confirmation of these things, see the Extracts in *Note* ‡, *page* 89.

† Hæc ab initio duo soli fuerunt colores, Albus et Russeus.—*Tertullian de Spectaculis, cap. ix.*

‡ Colores in vicem temporum quadrifaria divisione funduntur. Prasinus virenti verno, Roseus æstati flammeæ, Albus pruinoso Autumno, Venetus nubilæ Hyemi dicatur, (*Cassiodorus, lib. iii., &c.*); but I have rather followed Tertullian in the two latter emblems, and I have the sanction of Panvinio. Sidonius Apollinaris thus briefly enumerates the factions.

> Micant colores albus vel venetus virens
> Rubensque.—*De Narbone.*

In the border of the Mosaic of Italica, the seasons are represented by children. Spring, in a green tunic, (*see Corrippus, lib. i., art. xvii.*) holding a bird in his hand, (*see Lucretius, lib. i., v.* 10.); summer is clothed in red and yellow, holding a basket. Winter is nearly destroyed; but there is left a hand holding a hare. Autumn is wanting. —*See the Work of La Borde.*

or red, the summer; the "*Venetus*," or azure blue, was figurative of autumn, and the "*Albus*," or white, of hoary winter. These colours, which it might be difficult to ascertain by the mere names, are faithfully represented on the Lyons Mosaic, one of the principal things for which that monument of antiquity is valuable*. Panvinio has published several inscriptions relative to the charioteers of the different factions: it does not, however, appear that the same charioteer always kept his colour: for (in addition to the authority of the inscription of Diocles alluded to in note ‡, p. 89,) we learn from another inscription, produced by Argoli, that a certain Polinices won 737 palms in the four different factions †. Suetonius informs us

* A vermilion red, a perfect white, a grass green, and a lightish blue. If Mr. Gibbon had seen this monument, it would have solved his doubts as to the "vague word" Venetus.—*See History of Decline and Fall, &c., vol. v., Edition London,* 1808, *chap. xl., pages* 239 *and* 240.

† M. AVRELIVS POLINICES NAT. VERNA QVI VIXIT ANNOS XXIX. MENSES IX. DIEBVS V. QVI VICIT PALMAS DCCXXXVII SIC. IN RVSSEO DCXXXV. IN PRASINO IV. IN VENETO XII. IN ALBO XVII. DECEMJVGE VIII. SEI-

that Domitian added two factions to the four already enumerated, — the "*aurata*" and the "*purpurea*," i. e. the yellow and purple*: but this innovation, like his other of curtailing the seven rounds to five, was in all probability not durable. The emulation of the combatants was inflamed, and the favour of the spectators was divided by these factions. The clamours and furious zeal of the respective partisans in urging on their favourites, are related with seeming wonder

JVGE III. There seems a defect in the enumeration. (*See Argoli's Notes in Grævius, tom. ix., page* 95.) There are other inscriptions extant to the same effect; but the following is a specimen of a most curious one, of considerable length, containing the names of the horses, the colours and names of the charioteers, with the number of præmiums won by each.

Names of the Horses.	Colours of the Horses.	Names of the Charioteers.	Præmia.
NITIDO	ALBO	LVPI	II
TVSCO	CINEREO	FESTI	II
DECORATO	BADIO	PINN	II
RAPTORE	RVFO	IVNI.	I

&c. &c., continuing to 117 names of horses, colours, &c.—*See Panvinio de Ludis, &c., cap. xiii., lib. i.*

* Duas Circensibus gregum factiones aurati purpureique panni ad quatuor pristinas addidit.—(*Suet. in vit. Domitian., cap. vii.; see also Dion Cassius, lib. xii., cap. iv., page* 1104.)

by the historians, and dwelt upon with rapture by the poets *. Scenes of contention frequently arose from hence, which ended in wild disorder and mischief: until at length the factions of the Circus contributed at Constantinople to the terrible convulsions which loosened the power of the Eastern Empire†.

The Skill of the Charioteers was not only shown in turning the Metæ, but experiments were made upon their dexterity for the additional amusement of the spectators. It seems to have been customary for boys to run in the way of the chariots, and to lie down in the course ‡, and it was expected the charioteers would drive dexterously enough to avoid

* Ecce Circensium, says Seneca, obstrepit clamor, subita aliqua et immensa voce feriuntur aures meæ.

Tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum
Consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant
Littora, pulsati colles clamore residunt.—*Virg. Æn. v., v.* 150.

The passages in ancient authors, bearing on this subject, are often very beautiful.—*See Bulenger in Grævius, tom. ix., p.* 690.

† *See Gibbon's History, &c., chap. xl.*

‡ The authority of bas-reliefs.

them, though at full speed and in the heat of the contest. The same experiments were made with small vases like "*amphoræ*," which are often to be seen in bas-reliefs, thrown in the way of the chariots. These vases, in all probability, had been previously filled with water for the purpose of sprinkling the horses and chariot wheels*. Festus calls the vase used for that purpose a "*Nasiterna*," and describes it as having handles, and approaching the form of a platter†. This description answers very well to the vessel represented in the Lyons Mosaic, which a person is in the act of using. The representation on Vescovali's bas-relief is also similar; but it does not answer to the vessels made like modern pitchers, so frequently seen in bas-reliefs lying in the Arena. Whether, therefore, these were used as the Nasi-

* *See Bulenger, "de Aspersione Equorum,"—and see note *, page* 42; also a bas-relief published by Bianconi, in his work on Circuses.

† Nasiterna genus vasis aquarii ansati et patentis quale est quo equi perfundi solent. (*Pomp. Festus, lib. xii., page* 263, *Delph. edit.*); *see also Stephanus Thesaur. Ling. Lat. Ulpian, lib. iv.*, speaking of some who were branded with disgrace, says they were neither xustici, nor agitatores; nor "qui aquam equis spargunt."

ternæ, may be doubtful, but in all probability they served also for that purpose. For such uses as these water was kept in the Circus; and as we have already remarked, in this instance it was contained upon the Spina.

The inhabitants of Latium originally celebrated their Games near the Rivers, and set up their swords for Metæ; hence, the best etymology of "Ludi Circenses" seems to be "*circum enses Ludi* *." Romulus first dedicated the Circensic Games to the Equestrian Neptune, under the title of Consualia †, on the occasion of the rape of the

* Metæ, inquit, olim gladii ponebantur quos quadrigæ circuibant in littore circa ripas fluminum currus agitantes; gladios ordine in ripæ littore ponebant, et erat artis equum circa pericula torquere.—*Isidorus, Etymol., lib. xvii. See also Servius in Virg. Georg., lib. iii., v.* 18.

† Romulus ludos ex industria parat Neptuno Equestri solemnes: Consualia vocant.—*Tit. Liv., lib. i., cap. ix.*

Lactantius tells us how the several games were originally dedicated, * * * venationes et quæ vocantur munera Saturno attributa sunt; ludi scenici Libero, Circenses Neptuno.—*De Institut., lib. vi., cap. xx.*

Sabines *. This title was derived from Consus, the God of Council, because it was through his suggestions that the Romans devised that method of procuring posterity †. The name of Consus was synonymous with that of Equestrian Neptune ‡, but it is not easy to trace the analogy §. In the infancy of

* *Vide Valer. Max., lib. ii., cap. i., de Instit. Antiq.*

† Conso, consiliorum deo, in raptu Sabinarum factumest, cui ara in Circo defossa est ad primas metas sub terra, cum inscriptione ejusmodi: CONSVS CONSILIO MARS DVELLO LARES COMITIO POTENTES.—*Tertullian, de Spectac., cap. v.*

Consus, quem Deum fraudis veluti consiliorum Deum coli Romulus voluit, postquam in raptum Sabinarum perfidia provenit: [alii legunt, "præsidia procuret."]—*S. Cyprian. de Idolor. Vanit, page* 9. *edit. Amstelod.* 1700. *See also Arnobius, lib. iii., adversus Gentes;* and *Varro, lib. iv.* and *Tertullian, idem, cap. v.*

‡ *ὠνόμαζον δὲ τὸν θεὸν Κῶνσον, εἴτε βουλαῖον ὄντα, εἴτε ἵππιον Ποσειδῶ, καὶ γὰρ ὁ βωμὸς ἐν τῷ μείζονι τῶν ἱπποδρόμων ἐστὶν ἀφανὴς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱππικοὶς ἀγῶσι ἀνακαλυπτόμενος· οἱ δὲ καὶ. κ. τ. λ.*—*Plutarch in vit., Romuli.*

§ The analogy I have attempted to show is countenanced by the following passage, which contains many other useful hints on the altar of Consus, &c. "*τὴν δὲ τότε τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ καθιερωθεῖσαν ἑορτὴν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἄγοντες Ῥωμαῖοι διετέλουν, κουνουάλια καλοῦντες· ἐν ᾗ βωμός τέ ὑπόγειος ἱδρυμένος παρὰ τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν ἱπποδρόμων, περισκαφείσης τῆς γῆς θυσίας τέ καὶ ὑπερπύροις ἀπαρχαῖς γεραίρεται, καὶ δρόμος ἵππων*

these institutions there was a scarcity of horses *, and it was believed that Neptune had produced that noble animal from the earth by the stroke of his trident †. The same fanciful mythology might induce them to suppose that the author of such a creation was also capable of devising means for peopling their infant city; but as the means were put in execution by themselves, they should at least attribute the advice to some deity. Neptune, with his epithet of Equestris, was therefore chosen as their god of council; but Consus, thus created,

ζευκτῶν τε καὶ ἀζεύκτων ἐπιτελεῖται· Κῶνσον Ποσειδῶνα σεισίχθονά φασιν εἶναι· ὑπόγειος βωμός ἐστιν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει."—*Dionysius Halicar., lib. ii., cap.* 31.

* Quantum ad PRISTINAM paupertatem pertinet; nam legimus propter equorum inopiam diversis eos tunc usos esse animalibus. (*Servius in Virg. Æneid. viii.*) at the words "Magnis Circensibus actis." Mules were used as a substitute, and the necessity was glozed by an allegory. (*See Festus, lib. xi.; p.* 248., *Delph. edit.*) On the great Feast of the Consualia, both the mules and horses were paraded about the city bedecked with garlands. (*Dionys., lib. i., cap. xxxiii.*) On the 17th of January the same ceremony is still observed at Rome; but Saint Anthony has extended the honour to all descriptions of cattle.

† *See Virg. Georg., lib. i., v.* 13.

seemed to contend for an independent existence *.

The sacrifices in honour of Consus were performed during the exhibition of the Games. The altar used on the occasion was subterraneous †, indicating that the secret council of the divinity was not always to be exposed to vulgar notice. Dionysius, Tertullian, and other writers agree that the altar of Consus was near the first "*Meta* ‡." The small rude vault to which we have alluded can scarcely be called subterraneous; nor is it near, but under the first Meta, for it forms the base of it. There are other reasons for not believing this to be

* Aut duplicem cultum quem Neptunalia dicunt,
Et quem de Conso consiliisque vocant.

Ausonius in Eclog.

† See the authorities already given. Both Victor and Rufus (*de Regionibus Romæ, &c.*) call this altar *Ædes*. Pomponius Lætus (*de Antiquitat. Urb. Rom.*) remarks, that the Temples of the Gods were all ascended to, except that (the *ara*) of Consus, to which they descended.

‡ Consus, ut diximus, apud metas sub terra delitescit.—*Tertullian de Spectac., cap. viii.; and compare notes* †, ‡, §, *page* 97.

the "*Ara Consi.*" In several bas-reliefs representing the "*Ludi Circenses,*" may be remarked some instruments shaped like hoes: they seem to have been thrown into the course, like the Nasiternæ, to try the skill of the charioteers; but in one bas-relief in the Vatican is a person actually employed with one of those instruments, excavating behind the first Meta*. This seems to illustrate the account of Dionysius and Plutarch, that on every occasion of celebrating the *Consualia*, the altar was re-excavated; and this circumstance bears some analogy to the refitting of the altar in the Greek Stadium at every Olympiad †. The "Ara Consi" was, therefore, near the first Meta, and within the Alba Linea.

The wild and fantastic Allegory of the *Ludi*

* The bas-relief here cited is in the Sala della Biga, No. 1303; and it is very probable that the hoes so frequently seen on other bas-reliefs, were used for excavating the altar of Consus. I am indebted for this and several other observations to my worthy and learned friend, J. B. Scott, Esq., of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

† *See page* 54.

Circenses might interest the poet and the astrologer amidst the clamours of the multitude. The Spatium and the Euripus were the earth and seas disposed in the order of nature. The Meta nearest the Carceres represented the East, and the more distant one the West. The twelve doors were the twelve signs of the Zodiac, from whence the four factions, emblematical of the four seasons, issued. The two-yoked chariots were to imitate the Moon, and those of four horses the Sun. The riders going forward to announce the race were as the Morning Star, the harbinger of day. The twenty-four emissions represented the hours of the day; and the seven times round the Spina, the days of the week, and sometimes the seven planets by which they said the universe was governed. The Spina designated the lot of unfortunate captives, as if the Roman generals, walking on the backs of their enemies, felt the enjoyment of their military achievements. The setting up of the eggs upon the Spina, where was the Obelisk and the statue of the Sun, was the type of prolific nature in pro-

ducing the bird by the genial heat *. But for the more grave philosopher, and the mourner who made a sarcophagus for his friend, the Spatium was an emblem of human life †; the Metæ, the critical periods thereof; and the accidents of the falling chariots the evils incident to human nature: nor could there be wanting instances in real life to compare with the envious contention of the candidates for a palm-branch; but the Alba Linea put an end to the exertions of the charioteer, as death finishes all human toil: and, perhaps, the crown might be thought by some to have represented the reward of virtue ‡. In most of this allegory we shall discover little else but the contortions of a wild imagination; nevertheless, some of the meta-

* Most of this allegory is taken from *Cassiodorus, lib. iii., Variar. Isidorus de Origin., lib. xviii.*, and *Cedrenus*, as quoted by *Bulenger de Circo Rom., &c., cap. iii.; see also Photius in Biblioth., page* 872, *v.* 10.

† *See notes* ‡, *pp.* 84 *and* 85.

‡ But what *philosopher* could ever have reached the sublime idea of Saint Paul, 1 *Cor., cap. ix., v.* 25 ?

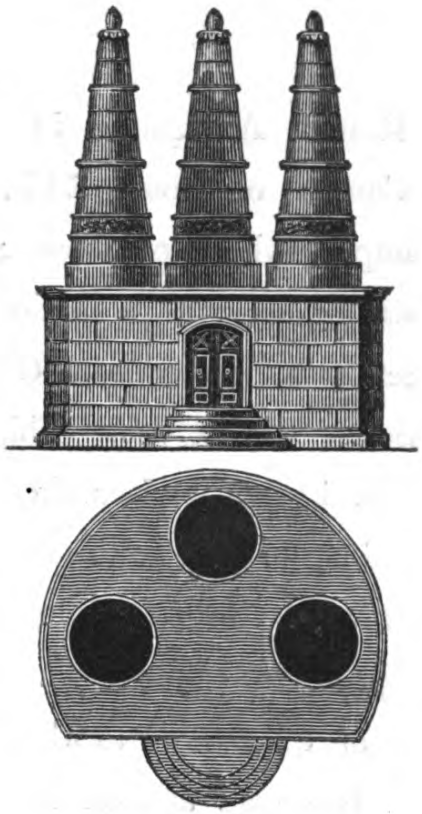
phors are still preserved in the most cultivated diction of modern authors.

If it be allowed that these public sports at Rome had a material influence over the manners and institutions of a powerful people, it may not seem altogether a useless labour to have investigated their nature and origin. From their first institution by Romulus to their final cessation under Theodoric, comprising an ample period of more than twelve centuries, they will often be found connected with the most remarkable events in Roman history. Many obscure passages, as well in ecclesiastical as in classical authors, may receive some light by a reference to the peculiarities of the "Ludi Circenses;" and it is curious to see by what empty pageantry the applause of the people was secured, and the ambitious citizen raised to the first honours of the state. Whilst the Roman generals plundered the world, and the fertile lands of Sicily poured their produce into the store-houses of Rome, the inhabitants were occupied whole days

together in the amusements of the Circus, equally regardless of the miseries and rights of mankind; and such was the rage for these and other sports of a still more cruel nature, that the Circus Maximus, although capable of containing, perhaps, a fourth part of the population, was soon found insufficient to gratify the wishes of the people. The Circus Flaminius was added at one of the most virtuous periods of the republic; but the Circus on the Via Appia was built when seven others, at least, already existed within the city; and this may with good reason be supposed to have been the last Circus erected within the precincts of Rome.

The ruins of the "Eternal City," from an easy access, have now become a fruitful source of instruction and amusement; and there are few subjects, if rationally pursued, more capable than this of improving the mind and exciting reflection: the substance of the preceding pages was written amongst the ruins they profess to illustrate, under the influence of this opinion; and perhaps it would be desirable if such a sentiment could be

more generally diffused among the numbers of strangers who successively visit the banks of the Tiber.



POSTSCRIPT;

BY A FRIEND OF THE AUTHOR.

Among the Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, in Case 48 of Room XII., is a small terra-cotta Lamp, on the upper surface of which is a relief representing a Circus, a chariot-race, and a combat between two pedestrians. On the under surface is inscribed SAECVL. This lamp was unfortunately not known to the author of the preceding dissertation, or he would doubtless have availed himself of it to illustrate and confirm several of his positions. It accidentally attracted the observation of the friend, to whom, in consequence of Mr. Burgess's absence from England, the revision of the work had been intrusted, just as the concluding sheet was in the hands of the printer.

The relief gives four gates of the *Carceres* with *cancellated* doors, and *lunettes*, and intervening

Hermes, almost exactly as described at p. 24—27, and as imagined and drawn by Mr. Pardini in his accompanying restored elevation of the Carceres. The limits of the lamp do not permit of more than four of the gates being seen; nor of a greater height than the top of the archivolt of those gates being introduced into the drawing.—The *Spina* bears, first, a little circular temple of two orders of columns, crowned with a dome; then, the seven eggs on an entablature supported by columns, against one of which, on the inside, is placed a ladder; next, the obelisk; after which, a column surmounted by a statue of Fortune or Victory; and finally, a figure of Cybele riding upon a huge lion.—The two *Metæ* are separated by a small interval from the Spina, as they are generally drawn on the reliefs of the ancient Roman sarcophagi, and as they actually exist in the Circus on the Via Appia.—The lamp also represents one side of the *Cavea* filled with spectators. In the plain face of the wall which separates the *Arena* from the *Podium*, are three low square doorways. The

præcinction at the back of the Podium is surmounted by columns, in conformity with the Vitruvian rule, "Supra Podium columnæ cum capitulis, &c." (*Vitruv.* l. v. c. 8.)—Four *Aurigæ* are driving their four-yoked chariots up the *Spatia*, on the right side of the Spina; and two men on foot, girded by four bands round the waist, and armed with short sticks or lances, but without shields, are combating in the *Arena* between the Spina and the Carceres; that is, in the very place which has been indicated in p. 57, as probably appropriated to this portion of the Games.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES,

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO PLATE I., OR GENERAL PLAN OF THE CIRCUS.

DETAIL OF THE CARCERES.

No. 1. Gate through which the Procession or *Pompa* entered the Circus.

2. Carceres.

3. Basements, on which Men were stationed for opening the Doors at a given Signal.

4. Hermes.

5. Tower.

6. Another Tower, with a Staircase adjoining, leading to the Parapet over the Carceres.

7. Side Entrances.

PARTICULARS OF THE SURROUNDING WALLS.

8. Vaulted Corridor beneath the Seats of the Spectators.

9. Flights of Steps leading to the Seats, with Doorways corresponding.

No. 10. Gallery of Communication with the neighbouring Buildings.

11. Archway under the said Gallery.

12. Room, or Ante-Chamber belonging to

13. The Pulvinar, or Imperial Lodge.

14. Small Staircase for descending immediately into the Arena.

15. Principal Entrance on the East, over which was an Inscription.

16. Flight of Steps, underneath which is a small Canal for letting off Water.

17. Vomitoria.

18. Podium.

19. Ambulacrum and Præcinctio.

20. Steps which lead to

21. The Rows of Seats for Spectators.

22. Cisterns, with a Canal adjoining, probably to furnish Water for a Fountain placed below.

23. Second Pulvinar, or Prætor's Tribunal.

24. Steps belonging to the said Pulvinar, and communicating with the Arena.

25. Gate, called the Porta Libitinensis.

DETAILS OF THE SPINA, &c.

26. Metæ.

27. Spaces left between the Metæ and the Spina.

28. Locus Braviorum, or Place where the Conqueror received his Palm.

29. Altar, on which the Conqueror made his Sacrifice.

No. 30. Receptacle for the Water proceeding from the seven Dolphins.

31. Basement of the Statue of Venus Marina.

32. Basement of the Statue of Hercules.

33. Space allotted (according to the opinion of Professor Nibby) for a small Flower Garden.

34. Basement of the Statue of Apollo.

35. Site of the Obelisk.

36. Basement of the Column sustaining the Statue of Victory.

37. Small Temple, on which were placed the seven Eggs dedicated to Castor and Pollux.

38. Basement of the Statue of an Amazon.

39. Ditto of the sitting Statue of Proserpine.

40. Passages across the Spina.

41. Round Basement, formed for receiving a Hermes which supported the Alba Linea, or Cord.

42. Point equidistant from all the Carceres, showing the first Direction of the Chariots.

THE END.

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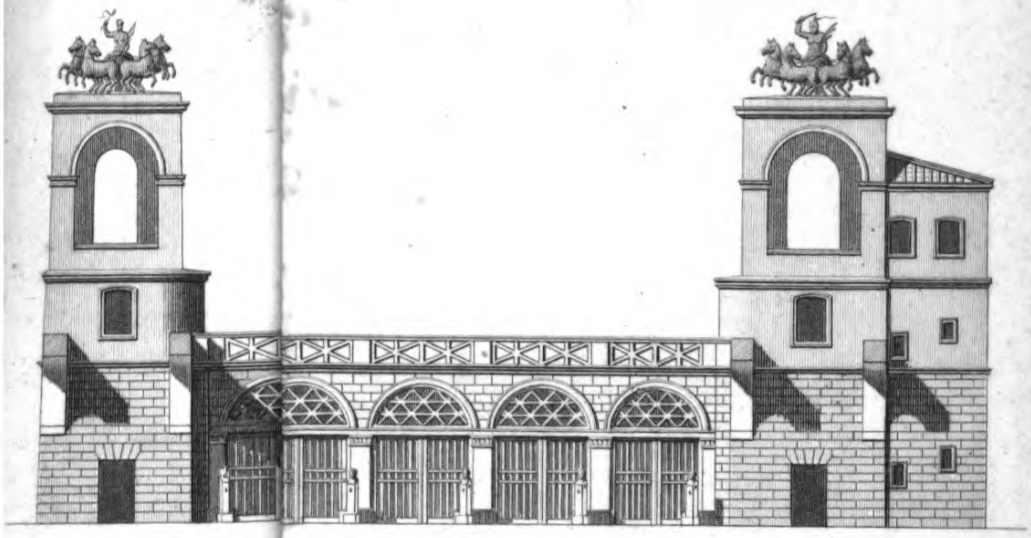

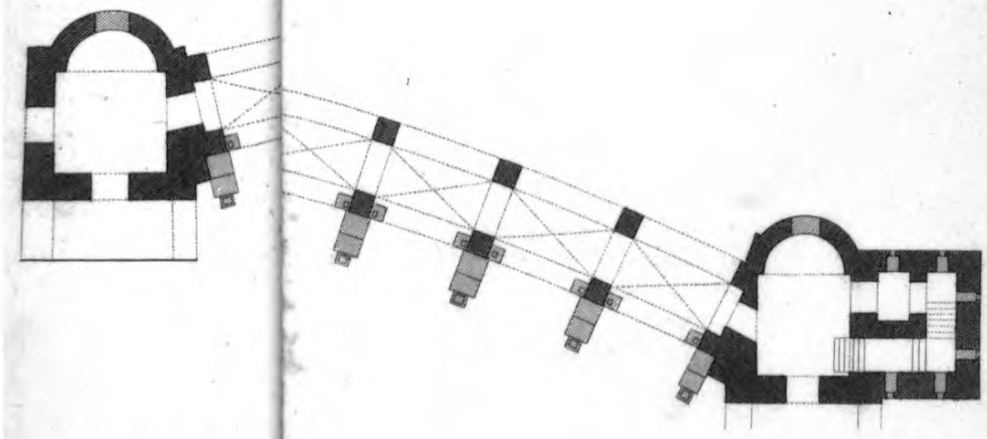

Joseph Pardini, Architect.