CLAS 207/307

Roman Social History

TRIMESTER 2 2009

Tomb of the Haterii, Late 1st Century AD

SCHOOL OF ART HISTORY, CLASSICS & RELIGIOUS STUDIES

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

CLAS 207/307
ROMAN SOCIAL HISTORY

COURSE ORGANIZATION – 2009
13 July to 15 November 2009

Trimester dates
Teaching dates: 13 July to 16 October
Study week: 19 to 23 October
Examination/Assessment period: 27 October to 14 November

COURSE AIMS
The aim of this course is to study the main features of Roman society from the time of Augustus to AD 200, through the interpretation of literary, archaeological and comparative evidence. Topics include class structure, law, education, the family, poverty, and public entertainment.

A basic knowledge of the outline of Roman History is expected of incoming students — those who have not completed CLAS 105 previously should familiarise themselves with Roman history (e.g. K. Christ, *The Romans*; C. Wells, *The Roman Empire*).

In CLAS 307, reading supplementary to that for CLAS 207 will be required and a deeper and more extensive knowledge will be expected in the examination.

COURSE OBJECTIVES
By the completion of this course, students should have a basic knowledge of the structures of Roman society. They should have a basic vocabulary of Roman social institutions (for instance, the key terms describing relationships in the Roman household or the types of slavery). They should be able to apply simple sociological concepts (class, status, deviance) to this material and indicate the relationship between these concepts. Some chronological development may also be noted.
In tutorials, specific problems in analysing Roman society will be the focus of attention. These will be illustrative of general problems in dealing with the source materials and deriving theories about social relationships from these materials.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COURSE OBJECTIVES AND ASSESSMENT
In the two essays, students will be able to choose from a number of topics which can be answered by the application of the techniques noted above. The essays are open-ended, allowing a range of possible answers, according to the concepts emphasised. The final examination will require the application of these techniques over a variety of areas of Roman society to prevent undue specialisation in any area. It will also test the student's ability to apply techniques of criticism to specific pieces of evidence ("gobbets"), indicating the difficulties these pose for the researcher and their possible value as evidence.

COURSE ORGANISER:
Prof Art Pomeroy, OK 515 x 6781, Arthur.Pomeroy@vuw.ac.nz; available when not teaching between 10 am and 7 pm.

LECTURERS:	A/Prof Arthur Pomeroy	(Old Kirk 515, 463-6781)
	Dr Matthew Trundle	(Old Kirk 514, 463-6785)
TUTORS:	Kieran Clarkin, Daniel Knox, Simon Perris, Teresa Schischka	

LECTURE TIMES AND PLACES:

Monday 2-3 pm:	HM 105
Wednesday 2-3 pm:	HM 105
Friday 2-3 pm:	HM 105

TUTORIAL TIMES AND PLACES

Tuesday
10 – 10:50am – Kieran Clarkin in OK524
12 – 12:50pm – Kieran Clarkin in OK523
3:10 – 4pm – Teresa Schischka in OK523

Wednesday
12 – 12:50pm – Daniel Knox in OK526
1:10 – 2pm – Daniel Knox in OK523
3:10 – 4pm – Teresa Schischka in OK523

Thursday
12 – 12:50pm – Simon Perris in OK526
3:10 – 4pm – Simon Perris in OK523

Students should enroll in a tutorial by adding their names to the lists posted outside OK 512 as soon as possible. Tutorials will be at a variety of times and places during the week – see below. First come, first served.

Students are required to attend at least four tutorials.

ASSESSMENT:

One internally assessed essay, to be submitted by *Friday 21 August*	20%
One internally assessed essay, to be submitted by *Friday 16 October*	20%
3 hour final examination	60%

The two essays are designed to give opportunity for in–depth work on a selected aspect of Roman society and to employ such techniques as source criticism etc. discussed in the course.
The final examination seeks to test the student's over–all knowledge of Roman society as established by the teaching and tutorial work in the course. The format of the examination is listed below (p.12).

MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS
In order to be eligible to pass this course, students will be required to submit *both essays*, attend *at least 4* tutorial classes, and complete the final examination.

The tutorial requirement can only be waived if: (i) medical certificates are produced, or (ii) other circumstances make attendance at scheduled class times impossible. In either case students should consult first with A/Prof Pomeroy (OK 515).

TUTORIALS:

Tutorials are considered to be an integral part of the teaching programme with much of the material covered in tutorials not being covered in lectures. As such they should not be taken lightly as "optional extras". The tutorial programme is designed to provide the opportunity for the discussion of specific topics and problems in some depth and to provide for small group study and analysis of primary source material.

Tutorials will be held on the weeks beginning:
Monday 27 July
Monday 10 August
Monday 7 September
Monday 21 September

Monday 28 September
Monday 5 October
On these six weeks there will be no Wednesday lecture.

Students are required to attend at least *four* tutorials during the course.

WORKLOAD

Students should expect to spend on average fifteen hours per week on this course: two hours preparing for each lecture (three to four hours preparing for tutorials), three hours a week attending lectures and tutorials, and six hours a week in general reading, revision, and essay preparation.
(FHSS guidelines suggest that total workload for this course should be 220 hours, although this may not be spread evenly throughout the period from first lecture to final examination.)

ESSAYS:

Students will be required to submit **two** essays, each of 2000–2500 words in length.
Topics are given below (p.5-8).

Due dates:	Essay one:	no later than Friday August 21
	Essay two:	no later than Friday October 16

Submission of essays: essays should be deposited in the Assignments Box, outside OK 508.
It is recommended that students produce *typed* essays, for the mental health of the markers.
Essays should **NOT** be placed in lecturers' or tutors' pigeonholes, or under people's doors!

Extensions: extensions for essays will be granted, where circumstances warrant them, only if permission is first sought, BEFORE THE DUE DATE, from A/Prof Pomeroy (ext. 6781) OK 515. Office hours: generally 10 am - 7 pm, Mon-Fri.
Extensions are usually only granted for illness (on production of a medical certificate) or for family bereavement (where production of evidence may be required). Students should note the granting of an extension and its date on their written work to avoid the possibility of being penalised for late submission.

Late submissions: Assignments submitted after the due date or the date of an approved extension will be penalised. A half mark (out of 20) will be deducted for each day (including weekends) or part thereof that the assignment is overdue. Late assignments may also be awarded a grade only, without comments, and there is no guarantee that late assignments will be handed back before the final examination.
Under NO circumstances can any written work for CLAS 207/307 be accepted after 22 October.
Work that exceeds the word limit may, at the marker's discretion, be marked only up to the word limit. While the word limit is a suggested maximum, it is likely that work that falls short of this limit by a substantial amount will be judged inadequate and receive a reduced mark.
Plagiarised work will not be accepted (see note below).

Return of Essays

The first essay will initially be returned at the first lecture after marking is complete; unclaimed essays may be collected from Hannah Webling, Programme Administrator, Classics, OK 508. Marked second essays will be available from the Programme Administrator, Classics Programme, after marking. Generally expect to wait two weeks after the due date for marking to be completed.

TEXTS

T. Parkin, A. Pomeroy, *Roman Social History: A Sourcebook* (Routledge p/b)
P. Garnsey, R. Saller, *The Roman Empire* (Duckworth p/b)
Petronius, *Satyricon* (Penguin)*
*(the Meridian Petronius is out of print, but used copies may still be available; it can be used instead of the Penguin edition)

NOTICES AND ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Any additional information (e.g. on special lectures in Classics) will be posted on the Classics Notice Board, 5th floor, Old Kirk.

The Classics WWW page (http://www.vuw.ac.nz/classics) also contains useful information on this course and Classics in general.

Notices will also be posted on Blackboard.

GRADUATE ATTRIBUTES

Victoria University has defined the main graduate attributes of its students as critical and creative thinking, communication, and leadership. This course will particularly emphasize critical and creative thinking (the analysis of historical problems and devising possible solutions), communication (the ability to express this analysis in written form), and leadership through contributing to the tutorial discussions.

GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy

The AVC(Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates. This website can be accessed at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/Publications.aspx

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AND PLAGIARISM

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:
http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx

USE OF TURNITIN

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine http://www.turnitin.com. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

LEGIBILITY

Students are expected to write clearly. Where work is deemed 'illegible' the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) within a specified time frame after which penalties will apply

BLACKBOARD

This course is part of the Victoria Blackboard — Online Learning system.
You can access this via MyVictoria. Under My Courses, choose this course.

Information on this handout, announcements, course material (including ohps for lectures), online chat sessions, and other goodies will be available.

Clas 207/307 – Roman Social History

First Essay topics (20%)

Due: August 21
Length: 2000-2500 words, exclusive of diagrams, maps, illustrations, and bibliography. Essays should not exceed the maximum word-limit. If the limit is exceeded, the excess may not be marked and the overall grade may be reduced. Students are recommended to consult the **Classics Study Guide** (available from Course Notes Shop). Choose one of the following topics.

CLAS 207 topics

(1) Briefly indicate the most common status groups at Rome. What evidence do we have for status mobility within these groups (note downward mobility as well as upward improvement)? Does this suggest that status change was common or not?

(2) Outline the purposes for which slaves might be used in Rome and Italy. Does this make the Roman economy a 'slave economy'? (Be sure to define this term.) What differences were there between the exploitation of slaves and the exploitation of the poor?

(3) Ancient sources frequently talk about 'the wealthy' and 'the poor'. Do these terms have any great meaning in an economic or social sense? Did the Roman imperial system provide any assistance to the poor? What ideological grounds were there for assisting or ignoring this group?

NB. In all cases, be sure to support your arguments by evidence from ancient sources or specific references to modern social models. Be sure to concentrate on the Early and High Imperial periods (1st and 2nd centuries AD).

CLAS 307 topics, 1st essay

Due: August 21

(1) The Roman economy was at its base an agrarian economy. Indicate the part that slaves played in agriculture and any peculiar features of the Roman economy due to reliance on slaves. Considering the development of the Roman economy in this period, is the importance of slaves over-estimated?

(2) Discuss the importance of the agrarian sector for the Roman economy. Was it possible for individuals or the government to take measures that might have an effect on the wider economy or should we regard the Roman economy as unplanned and uncontrollable?

(3) Outline the social obligations faced by a member of Roman society according to their status and/or gender. What were the advantages and disadvantages of the Roman system of social roles?

NB. In all cases, be sure to support your arguments by evidence from ancient sources or specific references to modern social models.

Second Essay topics (20%)

Due: October 16

Length: 2000-2500 words, exclusive of diagrams, maps, illustrations, and bibliography. Essays should not exceed the maximum word-limit. If the limit is exceeded, the excess may not be marked and the overall grade may be reduced.
Choose one of the following topics.

CLAS 207 topics

(1) How important was the provision of entertainment for the Roman government? What might be gained in return for the considerable monetary cost of such games and festivals?

(2) Discuss the general health problems that were faced by those living in the city of Rome. Did these vary according to wealth or gender? Was country living, as Umbricius suggests, actually healthier?

(3) Is there a Roman 'economy' or are there only a large number of local markets? What difficulties did the Roman government face in intervening economically in the empire? Did this differ between the city of Rome and the provinces?

(4) Taking a specific area (e.g. the sale of slaves or the discovery and punishment of slave's murder of their masters), can we reconstruct the Roman approach to legal problems from the reports in the *Digest*?

(5) Outline the types of evidence that might be used in the reconstruction of the 'Roman family'. What parts of the resultant model seem secure and what need further investigation or simply show a lack of reliable material?

NB. In all cases, be sure to support your arguments by evidence from ancient sources or specific references to modern social models.

CLAS 307 topics, 2nd essay

Due: October 16.

(1) What advantages are there in applying modern tools of analysis (e.g. economic theory, feminist theory, demography) to the Roman world? What difficulties need to be faced in trying to use modern ideas in an ancient setting?

(2) Discuss the degree to which Rome was a 'tolerant' society, considering Roman attitudes to outsiders, the gender deviant (e.g. the priests of Cybele), and prostitutes. Were Roman 'values' really only applicable to the upper classes and served to maintain the power of these groups?

(3) Can the Romans be said to have possessed a 'legal system' or did they simply have an ad hoc set of rules loosely applied in accord with social expectations?

(4) Discuss the similarities and differences between the 'Roman family' and the modern 'New Zealand family', indicating the intentions and social expectations in the creation and dissolution of the family in each case. How do differences according to social stratification or ethnicity affect such comparisons?

NB. In all cases, be sure to support your arguments by evidence from ancient sources or specific references to modern social models.

Form of Final Examination 2009

The final examination, counting for 60% of the final grade, will consist of two parts:

– two essays, worth 20 marks each, chosen from a list of topics (generally corresponding to the lecture topics);

– four gobbets, worth 5 marks each. Passages for comment will be drawn from the course materials, Petronius, and Juvenal. Students must comment on two passages from course materials, and one each from Juvenal and Petronius. There will be a wide selection to choose from.

Note: students must obtain a mark of at least 40% on the final examination, exclusive of their internal essay marks, in order to pass the course.

Copies of previous examination papers are available on-line from the VUW Library.

Clas 207/307: Roman Social History

Course Outline 2009

Place and time of lectures:
Monday 2-3 pm: HM 105
Wednesday 2-3 pm: HM 105
Friday 2-3 pm: HM 105

NOTE: Tutorials will be held on the weeks beginning:
Monday 27 July
Monday 14 August
Monday 7 September
Monday 21 September
Monday 28 September
Monday 5 October
On these weeks there will be no Wednesday lecture.

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Week One: July 13, 15, 17
Introduction
An introduction to the society of Rome: the place and the people. (AP)
A brief survey of Roman history. (MT)
A further introduction to the society of Rome: classes and obligations. (AP)
Reading: Petronius. Parkin and Pomeroy, ch. 1. Garnsey & Saller, ch. 1-2, 6, 8-10

Weeks Two and Three: July 20, 22, 24, 27, 31 (+ tutorial)
Slavery and Bonded Labour (AP)
Slavery: justifications. The theory of a social "tool".
The slaves' view of their place in life.
Slavery in practice: from *ergastula* to *familia principis*.
Freedmen - reasons and roles. Imperial freedmen.
Slavery as a self-perpetuating system.
Problems of recruitment; slavery as incorporation.

Reading: Parkin and Pomeroy ch. 5
Tutorial: Slavery.

Weeks Four to Five: August 3, 5, 7, 10, 14 (+ tutorial)
Poverty
Urban poor - survival in imperial Rome; varieties of shelter. (MT)
Feeding the Population of Rome (AP)
Health and sanitation in the city. (MT)
Rural poor - land-holding and exploitation, *coloni*, *agronomoi*. (MT)
State intervention and non-intervention. (AP)
Reading: Parkin and Pomeroy, ch. 6
Tutorial: Roman urban poverty

Week Six: August 17, 19, 21
Roman Law (AP)
Inequality of redress.
Inequality of punishment.
Non-political crime and security.
Reading: Parkin and Pomeroy ch. 8

Mid-trimester Break August 23-September 6

Week Seven: September 7, 11 (+ tutorial)
Roman Family (AP)
Meeting the Family.
Patriarchy and alternative families.
Fertility.
Reading: Parkin and Pomeroy ch. 3. Garnsey & Saller, Ch. 7.
Tutorial: The Roman Family

Week Eight: September 14, 16, 18
Roman Economy (MT)
Economic models and Roman farming.
Trade in the Roman Empire.
Government, trade, and food supply.
Reading: Parkin and Pomeroy ch. 7. Garnsey & Saller, Ch. 3-5.

Week Nine: September 21, 25 (+ tutorial)
Sex and Exploitation (AP)
Sex, pornography and prostitution.
Tutorial: attitudes to prostitution.

Week Ten: September 28, October 2 (+ tutorial)
Population of the Roman Empire: Methodology and Statistics (AP) Problems of methodology - population figures / class differentiation / ethnography.
Average life-span of the population and levels of mortality of the population.
Reading: Parkin and Pomeroy, ch. 2
Tutorial: Population of Rome.

Week Eleven: October 5, 9 (+ Tutorial) (MT)
Gladiators and Charioteers
The place of entertainment in Roman society.
Political and social purposes and effects.
Reading: Parkin and Pomeroy, ch. 9
Tutorial: Popular entertainment.

Week Twelve: October 12, 14, 16
Roman Lifestyles (AP)
Dream Interpretation
Death and Burial
Dining Customs
Reading: attached to this outline.
(N.B. Petronius throws light on many aspects of the course; students should read the *Satyricon* as soon as possible and re-read relevant sections in association with lecture, tutorial, and essay preparation.)

CLAS 207/307: Roman Social History

READING LIST

1. General

3D Alföldy, G. Roman Social History, 1985.
Badian, E. Publicans and Sinners, 1972.
Balsdon, J.P.V.D. Romans and Aliens, 1979.
Bodel, J. Epigraphic Evidence, 2001.
3D Brunt, P. "The Equites in the Late Republic" in Crisis of the Roman Republic, ed. Seager, R., 1969.
Christ, K. The Romans. Engl. tr., 1984.
Dyson, S.L. Community and Society in Roman Italy, 1992.
3D Finley, M. ed. Studies in Ancient Society, 1974.
Gardner, J.F. Being a Roman Citizen, 1993.
3D Garnsey, P, Saller, R. The Early Principate, 1982.
3D Garnsey, P, Saller, R. The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture, 1987.
CR Garnsey, P. Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire, 1970.
P Garnsey, P.D.A. "Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire" in **Past and Present** 41 (1968) 324 = **Studies in Ancient Society** 141–165.
3D Gelzer, M. The Roman Nobility, 1969.
Giardina, A. The Romans 1993.
Gold, B.K. Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome, 1982.
Goodman, M. The Roman World, 44 BC - AD 180, 1997.
3D Hopkins, K. Conquerors and Slaves, 1978.
3D Hopkins K. Death and Renewal, 1983.
Hopkins, K."Elite mobility in the Roman Empire" in **Past and Present** 32 (1965) = Studies in Ancient Society 103–120.
Hordern, P. and Purcell, N. The Corrupting Sea, 2000.
3D Lewis, N. Life in Egypt under Roman Rule, 1983.
Lintott, A.W. Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration, 1993.
Love, J.R. Antiquity and Capitalism: Max Weber and the Sociological Foundations of Roman Civilization, 1991.
3D MacMullen, R. Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire, 1963.
CR MacMullen, R. Roman Social Relations, 1974.
MacMullen, R. Corruption and the Decline of Rome, 1988.
MacMullen, R. Changes in the Roman Empire : Essays in the Ordinary, 1990.
3D Millar, F. The Emperor in the Roman World, 1977.
Millar, F. The Roman Near East, 31 BC - AD 337, 1993.
Molho, A., Raaflaub, K., Emlen,S. City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy , 1991.
3D Morley, N. Theories,Models and Concepts in Ancient History, 2004.
Morris, I. Death-ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity, 1992.
Nicolet, C. The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome. Engl. tr., 1980.
Patterson, J. "Patronage, *collegia* and burial in imperial Rome", in Bassett, S. Death in Towns, 1992.
Pflaum, H.G. Abrége des procurateurs équestres, 1974.
Potter, T. Roman Italy, 1987.
Reinhold, M. History of Purple as a Status Symbol, 1970.
Rostovtzeff, M. The Social and Economic History of the Roman World, 2nd ed., 1957.
3D Sainte Croix, G. de, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World, 1983.
3D Saller, R.P. Personal Patronage under the Early Empire, 1981.
Saller, R.P. "Status and patronage" in *Cambridge Ancient History* XI 817-854.
Shaw, B. "Social Science and Ancient History: Keith Hopkins in Partibus Infidelium" **Helios** 9.2 (1982) 17–57 [Periodicals Closed Reserve].
Shelton, J–A. As the Romans Did, 1988 (sourcebook).
Sherk, R.K., The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian, 1988 (sources, pp.205ff.).

Sherwin–White, A.N. The Roman Citizenship, 1973.
Shipley, G. and Salmon, J. Human Landscapes in Classical Antiquity, 1996.
Stambaugh, J.E. The Ancient Roman City, 1988.
3D Talbert, R.J.A. Senate of Imperial Rome, 1984.
Toner, J.P. Leisure in Ancient Rome, 1995.
Treggiari, S. Roman Social History 2002.
Veyne, P. Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism, 1990.
3D Wacher, J. (ed.) The Roman World, 2 vols, 1987.
Wacher, J. The Roman Empire, 1987.
Wallace–Hadrill, A. (ed.), Patronage in Ancient Society, 1989.
3D Watson, G.R. The Roman Soldier, 1969.
Woolf, G. Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul, 1997.
3D Yavetz, A. Plebs and Princeps, 1969.

2. Roman Law

P Champlin, E. "Creditur Vulgo Testamenta Hominum Speculum Esse Morum: Why the Romans Made Wills", **Classical Philology** 84 (1989) 198–215.
Champlin, E. Final judgments : duty and emotion in Roman wills, 250 BC - AD 250, 1991.
P Coleman, K.M. "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments", **Journal of Roman Studies** 80 (1990) 44–73.
Crawford, M. Roman Statutes, 1996. 2 vols.
3D Crook, J.A. Law and Life of Rome, l967.
Daube, D. Roman Law, 1969 (pp. 65–128).
Daube, D. Collected Studies in Roman Law, 1991.
Frier, B.W. The Rise of the Roman Jurists, 1985.
3D Gardner, J.F. Women in Roman Law & Society, l986.
Gardner, J.F. Being a Roman Citizen, 1993.
3D Garnsey, P. Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire, l970.
Johnston, D. Roman Law in Context, 1999.
3D Justinian, Digest (ed. Watson, A.), 1985.
Kelly, J.M. Roman Litigation, 1966.
Kunkel, W. An Introduction to Roman Legal and Constitutional History, l973.
3D Lewis, N. Life in Egypt under Roman Rule, l985, (pp. l85–l95).
Lintott, A.W. Violence in Republican Rome, 1968.
Lintott, A.W. Judicial Reform and Land Reform in the Roman Republic, 1992.
P MacMullen, R. Personal Power in the Roman Empire, **American Journal of Philology** 107 (l968) 512–524.
P MacMullen, R. What Difference Did Christianity Make? **Historia** 35 (l986) 322–343.
P Millar, F. Condemnation to Hard Labour in the Roman Empire **Papers of the British School at Rome** 52 (l984) 124–147.
Nippel, W. Public Order in Ancient Rome, 1995.
Robinson, O.F. The criminal law of ancient Rome, 1995.
Robinson, O.F. The sources of Roman law : problems and methods for ancient historians, 1997.
Shaw B. "The Bandit" in Giardina, A. The Romans.
3D Ste. Croix, G.E.M. de, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World, 1981, pp.328ff.
Tellegen-Couperus, O. Short History of Roman Law, 1993.
Thomas, P.J. Introduction to Roman Law, l986.

3. Slavery

Andreau, J. "The Freedman" in Giardina, A. The Romans.
Boulvert, G. Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le haut–empire romain, 1970.
Bradley, K.R. Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire, 1987.
Bradley, K.R. Slavery and rebellion in the Roman World, 1989.
Bradley, K.R. Slavery and Society at Rome, 1994.
3D Buckland, W. Roman Law of Slavery, 1908.
3D Duff, A.M. Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire, 1928.

Finley, M.I. Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology, 1980.
Finley, M.I. (ed.) Classical Slavery, 1987.
3D Garnsey, P. Non–Slave Labour in the Greco–Roman World, 1978.
Garnsey, P. Ideas of slavery from Aristotle to Augustine, 1996.
Harris, W. "Towards a Study of the Roman Slave Trade" in D'Arms, J.H., Kopff, E.C., The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome, 1980, 117-140.
Joshel, S.R. Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: a Study of the Occupational Inscriptions, 1992.
3D Patterson, O. Slavery and Social Death, 1982.
P Scheidel, W. "Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire", **Journal of Roman Studies** 87 (1997) 156-169.
Thébert, Y. "The Slave" in Giardina, A. The Romans.
Vogt, J. Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man, 1974.
3D Watson, A. Roman Slave Law,1987.
3D Weaver, P.R.C. Familia Caesaris, 1972.
3D Westermann, W.L. The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity, 1955.
Wiedemann, T. Greek and Roman Slavery, 1981.
Wiedemann, T. The Regularity of Manumission at Rome, **Classical Quarterly** 35 (1985) 162-175.
Wiedemann, T. Slavery, 1987 .
Yavetz, Z. Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Rome, 1988.

4. Poverty

P Baldwin, B. Lucian as Social Satirist, **Classical Quarterly** 11 (1961) 199–208.
Boer, W. den, Private Morality in Greece and Rome, 1979, pp. 272–288 (family planning).
P Bradley, K.R. Sexual Regulations in the Wet–Nursing Contracts from Roman Egypt, **Klio** 62 (1980) 321–325.
Dudley, D.R. A History of Cynicism, 1937.
P Finley, M.I. The Elderly in Classical Antiquity, **Greece and Rome** 28 (1981) 156–171.
Garland, R. The Eye of the Beholder, 1995.
Hamel, G. Poverty and Charity in Roman Palestine, 1990.
CR Hands, A.R. Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome, 1968.
Jones, C.P. The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom, 1978.
P MacKenzie, D.C. Pay Differentials in the Early Empire, **Classical World** 76(1983) 267-272.
Meggitt, J. Paul, Poverty, and Survival, 1998.
Shaw, B.D. "Rebels and Outsiders" in *Cambridge Ancient History* XI 361-403.
3D Saint–Croix, G.E.M. The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World, 1981, pp. 327–503 (Rome).
P Thompson, A. On Development and Underdevelopment in the Early Roman Empire, **Klio** 64 (1982) 383–401.
P Woolf, G. Food, Poverty and Patronage, **Proceedings of the British School at Rome** 58 (1990) 197-228.
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Trying to define "poverty"

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Dream Books and Dream Interpretation in Roman Social History

Artemidorus of Daldis (Ephesus) (Lydia, 2nd century A.D.)

1. *Praef.*

Artemidorus sends greetings to Cassius Maximus.

I have often felt the urge to take up this treatise, but have checked myself , "not giving way to sluggishness or to the mind's dullness", as the poet says, but because I have been overwhelmed by the vast amount of research involved in the work and by the abundance of material. Above all, I have been afraid of the adverse criticism of those who say what they say because they believe there is no such thing as divination or divine providence, or of those who simply wish to provide themselves practice and amusement. But the present study is necessary because of its usefulness not only for ourselves but also for future generations: this thought has led me to make no further delays or postponements, but to write a treatise about a subject of which my experience has given me a grasp.

In so doing, I hope to derive two benefits. First, with no ordinary equipment and in a manner beyond reproach, I shall join battle with those who are trying to do away with divination in general or its various aspects, bringing to bear my own experience and the proof furnished by the fulfillment of actual dreams, which should prove capable of holding its ground against all comers. Secondly, for those who look to prophecy for advice but who are all at sea because they are unable to find accurate information on this subject, and who run the risk of despising it and shrinking from it, I wish to provide a treatment that will cure them instead of confusing them. For almost all of my predecessors, wishing to derive glory from their writings and believing that their only hope of winning a reputation lay in their leaving behind them treatises on the interpretation of dreams, have produced only copies of one another's work, in which they either explained badly what had been said well by early writers or added to a few earlier observations a great number of modern ones which are not true. For they spoke offhandedly and not from personal experience. The minute a thought about anything came into their heads, they wrote it down - both those who had read all the works of early writers and those who had read only some. (For some works which were scarce and in poor condition because of their age escaped their notice.)

I, on the other hand, have not only taken special pains to procure every book on the interpretation of dreams, but have consorted for many years with the much-despised diviners of the marketplace. People who assume a holier-than-thou countenance and who arch their eyebrows in a superior way dismiss them as beggars, charlatans, and buffoons, but I have ignored their disparagement. Rather, in the different cities of Greece and at great religious gatherings in that country, in Asia, in Italy and in the largest and most populous of the islands, I have patiently listened to old dreams and their consequences. For there was no other possible way in which to get practice in these matters. As a result, from the superabundance of examples, I am able to discuss each individually so as to speak the truth without nonsense, and to prove the truth of my assertions clearly and comprehensively by simple statements, except in cases so obvious that I think an explanation superfluous. …

1. Now then, as I have explained in other works, there is a great distinction between *enhypnion* and *oneiros*. And it seems advisable for me to begin with these same things, since this work will otherwise appear unsystematic and, as it were, one without a beginning.

Oneiros differs from *enhypnion* in that the first indicates a future state of affairs, while the other indicates a present state of affairs. To put it more plainly, it is the nature of certain experiences to run their course in proximity to the mind and to subordinate themselves to its dictates, and so to cause manifestations that occur in sleep, i.e. *enhypnion*. For example, it is natural for a lover to seem to be with his beloved in a dream and for a frightened man to see what he fears, or for a hungry man to ear and a thirsty man to drink and again, for a man who has stuffed himself with food to vomit or choke. …

So much then for the *enhypnion*. The name itself is significant, not insofar as those who see it are asleep (since the *oneiros* is also the product of sleepers), but insofar as the operation of the *enhypnion* is limited to the duration of one's sleep; the minute the sleeping end, it disappears. The *oneiros* , being an *enhypnion* (something in one's sleep), is also active during that period, calling to the dreamer's attention a prediction of future events; but after sleep, it is the nature of the *oneiros* to awaken and excite the soul by inducing active undertakings.

2. Some dreams, moreover, are theorematic [direct], while others are allegorical. Theorematic dreams are those which correspond exactly to their own dream-vision. For example, a man who was at sea dreamt that he suffered shipwreck, and it actually came true in the way that it had been presented in sleep. For when sleep left him, the ship sank and was lost, and the man, along with a few others, narrowly escaped drowning. …

Allegorical dreams, on the other hand, are those which signify one thing by means of another: that is, through them, the soul is conveying something obscurely by physical means.

But I must also say something about the cause of dreams (to the best of my abilities) - why they are seen and come true in this way - and about the true meaning of the name. First of all, then, I shall give a general definition of *oneiros* , which would not require a lengthy explanation if one were not addressing hostile critics.

Oneiros is a movement or condition of the mind that takes many shapes and signifies good or bad things that will occur in the future. Since this is the case, the mind predicts everything that will happen in the future, whether the lapse of time in between is great or small, by means of images of its own, called elements, that are natural products. It does this because it assumes that, in the interim, we can be taught to learn the future through reasoning. …

Some people divide allegorical dreams into five classes [personal, alien, common, public, cosmic]. …

3. The experts in these matters say that we must judge as propitious everything that is in accord with nature, law, custom, occupation, names, and time. But they have not realized that dreams which are in accord with nature have more serious consequences for the dreamers than those which are not in accord with nature, if they are inopportune because of peculiar conditions which affect them. … So those who engage in rather secret activities dream of clear days and of a conspicuous chorus of stars at night as well as of the risings of the sun and moon and so on. And those things which are in accord with habit and custom do not altogether agree when they are adapted to the vicissitudes of circumstance. … One must undertake two universal approaches - the first generic; the second, specific. Let us begin, then, with the former.

4. Some dreams proclaim many things through many images; some, a few things through a few images; a third group, many things through a few images; a fourth, a few things through many images. …

5. The specific type can also be divided into four kinds: those dreams which are good in regard to both interior and exterior; those which are bad in regard to both; those which are good in regard to their interior but bad in regard to their exterior; and those which are bad in regard to their interior but good in regard to their exterior. "Interior" must be taken to mean "in regard to the dream-event" and "exterior" must be taken to mean "in regard to the fulfillment".

First, examples of dreams that are good in both respects: seeing the Olympians themselves, or statues of them that have been made out of an incorruptible material, cheerful, smiling, giving or saying something good. … For the sight of these things is extremely pleasant and the results themselves will be much more pleasant still.

Secondly, examples of dreams that are bad in both respects: dreaming that one has fallen down from cliffs or encountered a band of pirates or seen a Cyclops or his cave or that one has become paralyzed or fallen sick or lost something that one values highly. For the results must correspond to the nature of the emotional disposition of the soul that attends the dream-vision.

Thirdly, examples of dreams which are good in regard to their interior but bad in regard to their exterior. A man dreamt that he had dinner with Cronus, and when day came, he was imprisoned. Obviously the dinner with the god was a pleasant sight, but the bonds and confinement were unpleasant. …

Fourthly, examples of dreams which are bad in regard to their interior and good in regard to their exterior. For a poor man to dream that he is struck by a thunderbolt or for a slave to dream that he serves as a soldier or for someone who is about to set sail to dream that he is walking on the sea or for a bachelor to dream that he fights as a gladiator is good. For of these dreams, the first signifies wealth; the second, freedom; the third, a favorable voyage; the fourth, marriage. And so, while the content of these dreams is bad, the results are good.

6. But one must understand that the things that are manifested to people who are anxiously concerned about something and who have asked the gods for a dream do not correspond to the objects of their concern, since those dreams that are similar to the dreamer's thought are non-significative and in the *enhypnion* class, as the earlier section has shown. These are called anxiety-dreams and petitionary-dreams by some men. …

8. Next common customs differ greatly from individual ones. If anyone has not learned this, he will be deceived by them. These, then, are common customs. To venerate and honour the gods. … To nurture children, to yield to women and to sexual intercourse with them, to be awake during the day, to sleep at night, to take food, to rest when tired, to live indoors and not in the open air.

The others, however, we call individual or ethnic. For example, among the Thracians, the well-born children are tattooed, whereas, among the Getae, it is their slaves. The Getae live to the north; the Thracians, to the south. And the Mossynes in the territory of Pontus have sexual intercourse in public and mingle with their wives just as dogs do, whereas in the eyes of other men, this behaviour is considered to be shameful. … Likewise, one must treat all of the other customs individually, noting whether there are any which are observed only by certain particular communities, because those which pertain to one's homeland are signs of good fortune; those which are foreign, of bad fortune, unless some particular feature causes the event to result differently. …

11. When judging dreams, the dream interpreter must regard some of them from beginning to the end; some, from the end to the beginning. For sometimes the beginning indicates the end, which is obscure and not to be

grasped as a whole; sometimes, however, the end shows the beginning. One must also show some degree of independent skill in judging dreams which are mutilated and which do not, as it were, given one anything to hold on to, especially in which certain letters which do not contain a thought that is whole and entire in itself or a meaningless name are seen, sometimes by transposing, sometimes by changing, sometimes by adding letters and syllables to them, sometimes by inventing others that are of equal numerical value, so as to make the meaning clearer.

12. Therefore I maintain that it is necessary for the interpreter of dreams to have prepared himself from his own resources and to use his native intelligence rather than simply to rely upon manuals, since a man who thinks that he will be perfect by theory without any natural talents will remain imperfect and incomplete, and all the more, the more set he is in this habit. For to start off in error at the beginning causes the error to become progressively greater. Furthermore, dreams that are not remembered in their entirety - if someone forgets either the middle or the end - must be considered doubtful.

1.61

Dreams about boxing indicate bad luck for everyone. For they portend damage as well as disgrace. For, indeed, the face becomes disfigured and one loses blood, which we regard as a symbol of money. They indicate good luck only for those who earn their living from blood, and by that I mean doctors, sacrificers, and cooks.

1.64

Very early writers thought that dreams about washing were not inauspicious, since they knew nothing of public baths but washed in so-called private bathing-tubs. Later writers, since the public baths had by then already come into existence, were of the opinion that dreams in which a person washed himself or saw a bath, even if he did not bathe in it, indicated bad luck. They thought that the baths signified turmoil because of the noise made in them, harm because of the sweat which is given off, anguish and mental anxiety because the colour and visible surface of the body change in the bath.

Some modern writers subscribe to this old view, use the same criteria, and thus their interpretations of dreams are erroneous and correspond in no way to experience. Long ago it was reasonable for the baths to be considered unlucky, since men did not wash regularly and did not have so many baths. Rather, they washed when they returned from a campaign or when they left off some strenuous activity. (Thus, the bath and the act of bathing were, to them, a reminder of toil or battle.)

In our time, indeed some people do not eat unless they have taken a bath beforehand. Others, moreover, also bathe after they have eaten. Then they wash when they are about to take supper. Therefore, in our day, the bath is nothing but a road to luxury. And thus washing in baths that are beautiful, bright, and moderately heated, is auspicious. It signifies wealth and success in business for the healthy and health for the sick. For healthy men wash themselves even when it is unnecessary.

If a dreamer were to wash in an unusual manner, it would not be good for him. For example, if a man enters the hot baths with his clothes on, it signifies sickness and great anguish to him. For the sick enter the baths clothed and, furthermore, people who are anxious about important affairs sweat in their clothes.

It is also unlucky for a poor man to be washed with care and to have many people in attendance upon him. For it signifies lingering illness to him, since under no other circumstances is a poor man washed with the aid of many. Similarly, it is inauspicious if a rich man washes alone.

1.76

For a man to dream that he is dancing by himself in the presence of only his household servants and without any strangers present or looking on is a good sign for all alike. …

However and wherever a slave may dance, he will get a good beating. And a man at sea will either be involved in a shipwreck or or fall overboard by himself and swim. For the slave will set his whole body in motion as a result of the beating; the man at sea, by his swimming.

But it is good for a man in fetters to dream that he is dancing. It signifies that he will be released because of the agility and suppleness of a dancer's body. If a man dances high up, he will fall into fear and apprehension. If he is a criminal, he will be crucified because of the height and outstretched position of the hands. …

If a man dreams that he sings poorly and off key, it symbolizes unemployment and poverty. Whenever a person remembers the songs, interpretations of the dream must be based upon the actual contents. Singing on the road is good, especially if the dreamer is following a beast of burden. Singing in the bath, however, is not good. For singing on the road signifies that a man will lead a respectable, cheerful life, but singing in the bath signifies that

his voice will become indistinct. Many people have also been condemned to prison after this dream. Singing in the marketplace or in the streets signifies disgrace and ridicule and insanity for a poor man.

1.77

It is inauspicious for a slave to dream that he is wearing a crown of gold unless he has the things that accompany a crown, and by that I mean purple robes and a royal escort. It is also bad for a poor man because it is beyond his station. It signifies, therefore, that a slave will be tortured. The poor man will be apprehended while committing great crimes and will possibly be tortured as well.

1.78

(Dreams of sexual intercourse – discussed in Winkler 1990 and much since, e.g. David Halperin on Queer Studies, Craig Williams, Bruce Frier) – see Prostitution tutorial.

2.3

White clothes are auspicious only for those who are accustomed to wear them and for Greek slaves. But for other men, they signify disturbances, because those who go about in the midst of a crowd wear white clothes. For artisans, on the other hand, they signify unemployment and inactivity. The costlier the garments, the greater the inactivity. For workingmen, especially those engaged in the mechanical arts, do not wear white clothes. In the case of Roman slaves, they are good only for those who are well-behaved. For others, they mean bad luck. For white clothes call attention to their crimes. Since they generally wear the same clothes as their masters, they will not be freed, like Greek slaves, after this dream.

2.9

Dreams in which a person is struck on the head by a thunderbolt were interpreted by the very early writers in two ways, namely, that it was auspicious for poor men but inauspicious for the rich. And they gave the following reasons.

Poor men are analogous to humble, insignificant places where men throw dung or other worthless materials. The wealthy, however, are analogous to the revered precincts of gods or men, to temples of the gods, to groves or any other king of famous place. Insofar as the thunderbolt brings fame to formerly insignificant regions because of the altars that are built there and the sacrifices that take place on themd and insofar as it reduces luxurious places to desolate, untrodden heaps (for no one still wishes to spend any time in them), the dream is propitious for the poor and unpropitious to the rich.

2. 14

… Fish also have a different meaning, depending on their outward appearance. … Fish that are red, the *synodon* (sea-beam), the hermaphrodite fish, the piper, and the surmullet, for example, portend tortures for slaves and criminals, violent fever and inflammations for the sick, and detection for those who are attempting to hide.

2.15

Frogs signify cheats and beggars. But they are auspicious for those who earn their living from the crowd. I know of a household slave who dreamt he struck some frogs with his fist. The man became overseer of his master's house and took charge of the other servants in the house. For the pond represented the house; the frogs, the servants in the house; the punch, his command over them.

2.20

Vultures are good for potters and tanners because they live away from the city and because they handle corpses. But they are inauspicious for doctors and those who are sick. For vultures take pleasure in dead bodies. They also signify enemies who are accursed and defiled and who do not live in the city. They are also unlucky in all other respects.

2.26

Cow dung means good luck only for farmers, which is also true of horse dung and all other kinds of excrement except for human faeces. But for other men, it signifies sorrows and injuries and, if it stains, it means sickness as well. It signifies benefits and has been observed to indicate success only for those who are engaged in lowly professions.

… I know of a man who dreamt that a rich friend of his, who was a very close companion, was defecating on his head. This man received a fortune and was named the heir of his companion. But then again, another dreamt that he was befouled with dung by a poor acquaintance of his. He suffered great harm from the man and was greatly humiliated. For it was natural that the rich man should leave his goods behind to the dreamer while the poor man, who was unable to leave anything behind, should treat the dreamer with contempt and cover him with disgrace.

2.28

Mountains, glens, valleys, chasms, and woods signify sorrows, fears, disturbances, and unemployment for all men. For slaves and criminals, they mean torture and thrashings. They portend harm for the rich because in these places something is always being chopped into pieces and thrown away.

2.36

If the sun is dim or suffused with blood, or hideous to behold, it is inauspicious and evil for all men, since it signifies unemployment or portends sickness for the dreamer's children, danger, or a sickness that will affect the dreamer's eyes. Still, this dream has been observed to be favourable for those who are attempting to hide and for those who are afraid.

2.48

It is only auspicious to strike those over whom one rules, with the exception of one's wife. For if she is beaten, it means that she is committing adultery. But when other men are beaten, it indicates benefits for the person who is dealing the blows. But it is inauspicious to strike those whom one does not rule over. For they foretell punishment since it is illegal.

2.54

To fight with wild beasts is auspicious for a poor man. For he will be able to nourish many men, since the fighter of the beasts nourishes the beasts with his own flesh. But for a rich man, it indicates injuries from people whose natures correspond to those of the beasts. For many it has foretold sickness. For just as flesh is consumed by wild beasts, it is also consumed by sickness. But it signifies freedom for slaves, providing that they are killed by the beasts.

2.61

To possess or build a monument is auspicious for a slave or for a man without children. It signifies that the slave will be free, since free men rather than slaves possess monuments. The childless man will leave behind his child as a memorial of himself. Frequently this dream has foretold marriage, since a tomb, like a wife, has room for entire bodies.

2.69

Among the people who are worthy of credence and whose words one must believe and obey, I maintain that the gods are first. For it is contrary to the nature of a god to tell lies. Then priests. For they enjoy the same respect among men as the gods. Then kings and rulers. "For to rule is to have the power of a god." Then parents and teachers. For they are also like the gods: parents, because they bring us to life; teachers, because they teach us how we are to use life. Then prophets, but only those prophets who do not deceive us or speak falsely. For everything that the Pythagoreans, the physiognomists, the prophets who divine from dice, from cheese, from sieves, from forms or figures, from palms, from dishes, and the necromancers say must be regarded as false and misleading.

For the arts of these men are totally specious and they themselves do not have even the slightest knowledge of divination. Rather, they cheat, deceive and strip those that they come upon. The only things left that are true are the utterances of sacrificers, bird augurs, astrologers, observers of strange phenomena, dream interpreters, and soothsayers who examine livers. And I will treat mathematical horoscope-casters later. Furthermore, one must consider the dead to be persons worthy of credence, since they speak the truth in every case. Liars tell lies for two reasons, either because they hope to gain something or because they are afraid of something. But those who have nothing to hope for or nothing to fear naturally speak the truth.

… Actors and players who mount the stage are obviously not to be believed by anyone, since they play parts. Sophists, poor men, priests of Cybele, castrated men, and eunuchs are also untrustworthy. For these men, even if they say nothing, indicate false expectations, since they cannot be numbered among men or women due to their physical condition.

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Death and Burial in the Roman World

1. *The display of ancestral masks at aristocratic funerals (2nd century BC).*

Whenever one of their celebrated men dies, in the course of the funeral procession his body is carried with every honour into the Forum to the so-called Rostra, sometimes in an upright position so as to be conspicuous, or else, more rarely, recumbent. The whole mass of people stand round to watch, and his son, if he has one left of adult age who can be present, or if not some other relative, then ascends the rostra and speaks about the virtues of the dead man and the deeds he has accomplished in his life. Thus the crowd remember these acts and see them before their eyes — not only those who participated in them, but also those who were not involved. They become so affected that the loss is felt not to be confined to the relatives, but to be shared by the populace. Then after the burial of the body and the performance of the customary ceremonies, they place the image of the dead man in the most conspicuous position in the house, where it is enclosed in a wooden shrine. This image consists of a mask, which is fashioned with extraordinary fidelity both in its modelling and in its complexion to represent the features of the dead man. On occasions when public sacrifices are offered, these masks are displayed and are decorated with great care. And when any distinguished member of the family dies, the masks are taken to the funeral and are there worn by men who are considered to bear the closest resemblance to the original, both in height and in their general appearance and bearing. These substitutes are dressed according to the rank of the deceased: a toga with a purple border for a consul or praetor, a completely purple garment for a censor, and one embroidered with gold for a man who had celebrated a triumph or performed some similar exploit.

They all ride in chariots with the fasces, axes, and other insignia carried before them, according to the dignity of the offices of state which the dead man had held in his lifetime, and when they arrive at the Rostra they all seat themselves in a row upon chairs of ivory. It would be hard to imagine a more impressive scene for a young man who aspires to win fame and to practise virtue. For who could remain unmoved at the sight of the images of all these men who have won renown in their time, now gathered together as if alive and breathing? What spectacle could be more glorious than this?

54. Moreover the speaker who pronounces the oration over the man who is about to be buried, when he has delivered his tribute, goes on to relate the successes and achievements of all the others whose images are displayed there, beginning with the oldest. By this constant renewal of the report of brave men, the fame of those who have performed any brave deed is made immortal, and the renown of those who have served their country well becomes a matter of common knowledge and a heritage for posterity.

(Polybius 6.3-54)

2. *A "cheap" funeral.*

Aemilius Paullus when he died (153/2 bc) instructed his sons to spend no more than one million asses (=HS 400,000) on his funeral, since the funerals of great men are properly enhanced not by expenditure, but by the parade of ancestral masks.

(Livy, *Per.* 48)

3. *Some funeral inscriptions.*

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) [= "Sanctified to the divine spirit" of X]

nf f ns ns nc [non fui, fui, non sum, non curo = "I didn't exist, then I did; I no longer exist, what me worry?"]

Here lies Optatus, a child noble and dutiful.
I pray that his ashes may become violets and roses,
and that the Earth, who is his mother now rest lightly on him,
Who in life weighed heavily on no man.

(CIL 9.3184)

cf. inscriptions in CM 134-6.

4. *Corpses are not to be buried inside city boundaries.*

L. Sentius, son of Caius, Praetor,
has made regulation,
by Decree of the Senate, about the siting of graves.

For the Public Good. No burning of
corpses beyond this marker in the
direction of the city. No dumping of
ordure or of corpses.
TAKE SHIT FURTHER ON, IF YOU WANT TO AVOID TROUBLE.
(CIL 6.31615)

5. *Funeral arrangements from a tombstone at Langres, Upper Germany.*

... inside the shrine which I built for my memorial, I want to be built in that place, following the model I made, an exedra (= "niche"), in which a seated statue should be placed , either of marble and of the best imported marble or a bronze statue of the best bronze sheet-metal, no less than five foot high. There should be a litter under the niche and two benches on both sides of imported stone. There should be a cloth which can be spread out on the days on which the shrine is opened for memorial and two cushions and pillows for the diners and two cloaks and a tunic. An altar should be placed before the building of the best quality marble from Luna, carved in the best fashion, in which my bones should be placed. The building should be closed with Lunar marble, in such a way that it can easily be opened up and closed up again. The building and the orchard and the pond should be arranged according to the wishes of Philadelphus and Verus, my freedmen, and the cost of repairing and restoring should be provided if anything among them is damaged or destroyed. This should be looked after by three gardeners and their apprentices, and if any one or more of them die or move away, one or more gardeners may be substituted in his or their place. Each of the three should receive 60 modii of wheat per year and 30 denarii for clothing . Aquila, my grandson, and his heirs should individually or plurally provide this. And there should be inscribed on the building on the outside the names of the magistrates under which the building was commenced and how many years I lived. If, inside those orchards, which I have marked out as gardens and included the pond in the boundary, anyone else, man or woman, is cremated buried, placed in a grave, laid in the ground, or laid to rest, closer than 1000 feet to those orchards, or if anyone should do anything else contrary to that which has been written above, my heir or heirs should be held individually or jointly responsible for all which has happened thus rather than in another manner. Moreover these rules are set for this site in perpetuity and no one after me should have control or power over these places except to beautify them or plant them out and complete them. Whoever approach by foot, vehicle, or litter to pay their respects should have access, ingress, and approach to that shrine ... If anyone is cremated or buried or a monument built or bones brought onto the site closer than a thousand feet in front or behind, or if anything is done in those orchards or in the area and fenced-off space, as I wrote above, Sextus Iulius Aquila, the son of Sextus Iulius Aquilinus and his heir or heirs, with regard to what is listed above, if it was their fault that this has not been done or something contrary has been done, or they have not made provision that these things be preserved by their heir or heirs, as listed above, they should be liable singularly or jointly to the treasury of the town of the Lingones for 100,000 sesterces. This penalty shall be imposed on all the owners of this property in perpetuity All my freedmen and freedwomen, whom I freed while alive or by my will, shall make a contribution every year , each of ... sestertii. And Aquila my grandson and his heir shall contribute every year ... sestertii. From this each will provide foodstuffs for himself and drink, which shall be presented before the memorial shrine, which belongs to Litavicraris, and consume it there ... and remain there until that has been completely consumed. As substitutes they may name agents to complete this task, who will have this annual task and have the power of collecting these sums of money; I am entrusting this task to Priscus, Phoebus, Philadelphus, and Verus. After my death, they and the agents thus nominated should sacrifice every year on the altar which has been mentioned above on the kalends of April, May, June, July, August, and October. I entrust the handling of my funeral and rites and everything else, and of the buildings and my monuments to Sextus Iulius Aquila my grandson and Macrinus, the son of Reginus, and Sabinus, the son of Dumnedorix and Priscus, my freedman and steward, and I ask them to take care of all these things and that they should be responsible for those things which I ordered to occur after my death. Furthermore, I want my hunting and bird-catching gear to be cremated with me, along with my spears, swords, knives, nets, snares, traps, tent props, tents, scaring devices, bathing equipment, litters ... sedan chair and all the ointments and gear for that sport, and my boat made of bulrushes — without any exception — and my multicoloured and feather-patterned clothing ... and ... whatever I leave, and the stars made of elk-horn ...

(CIL 13.5708)

6. *A grave inscription from Ostia.*

Marcus Antonius Vitalis and his son Marcus Antonius Verus built this tomb for themselves, their freedmen and freedwomen, and their descendants. But if after the death of Marcus Antonius Vitalis anyone should sell or give or in any way alienate this tomb or introduce into it or within one of its enclosure-walls the body or bones of a person with a name other than is contained in the above list, he shall pay a fine of 3,000 sesterces for each body to

those who have charge of the cult of the Lares of Portus Augusti.

(*Inscr. Ost* .A19)

7. *Regulus buries his son.*

Regulus has lost his son: this is the only ill he doesn't deserve, but I don't know if he even considers it an ill. The boy had a sharp intellect, but one which could turn out in either way: he might have been able to follow the right course if he hadn't so imitated his father. Regulus had emancipated him so that he could become his mother's heir; his he used to butter up his freed son (for that's how they used to used to speak of it in line with the man's character) by a disgusting and unparentlike display of generosity. It's unbelievable — but just think of Regulus. All the same he is mourning his lost son madly. The boy had numerous ponies, for riding both in teams and singly, he had dogs both large and small, he had nightingales, parrots, and blackbirds. Regulus slaughtered them all around his pyre. And that wasn't even grief, but a public display of grief. An amazing crowd of folks has descended on him. They all detest and hate him, but rush to him and crowd around him as though they supported him and loved him, and — to announce in the briefest terms what I feel — they are imitating Regulus by obliging Regulus.

(Pliny, *Ep.* 4.2)

I keep on telling you that Regulus has real vigour. It's amazing what he can achieve if he sets to something. He made the decision to mourn for his son: he's mourning him like no one can. He's decided to have made as many statues and portraits of him as he can: he's having this done in every workshop and having him depicted in painting, in wax, in bronze, in silver, in gold, ivory, and marble. In fact he recently hired a huge auditorium and read out a book about his life — "The Life of a Boy"; still, he read it out all the same. This same production, copied out a thousand times, he had sent throughout all Italy and the provinces. He wrote officially that the decurions should select the best speaker amongst them to read this to the populace — and it was done. Imagine how much good this vigour, or whatever name you might want to give to the desire to get what one wants, could achieve if it was directed at better aims. Although the good have less vigour than the bad and just as "stupidity brings daring, reason restraint", so a sense of propriety restrains good intellects, while audacity strengthens the perverse. Take Regulus as an example.

(Pliny, *Ep.* 4.7)

8. *Regulations for a Burial Club (Lanuvium, AD 136)*

It was voted unanimously that whoever desired to enter this society shall pay an entry fee of 100 hs and an amphora of good wine and shall pay monthly dues of 5 asses ... If anyone has not paid his dues for six consecutive months and the common lot of man befalls him, his claim to burial shall not be upheld ... It was voted further that upon the death of a paid-up member of our club, there will be due to him from the treasury 300 hs, from which will be deducted a funeral fee of 50 hs to be distributed at the pyre [to the mourners] ... It was voted further that if we hear that any member has died [up to] 20 miles from Lanuvium, three men from our society will be chosen, with the task of seeing to his funeral, and rendering a true and honest account of the members ... They shall be given his funeral due, and over and above, shall receive travel expenses, there and back, of 20 hs each. If the member dies more than 20 miles away ... if the man who has buried him testifies to having done so on a document signed and sealed by seven Roman citizens, and if his case is proved, and if we are satisfied that no one else will make the claim, he shall be given the man's funeral due, after expenses and funeral dues have been deducted in accordance with the rules of our club...

It was voted that, when any slave who is a member of the club dies, if his master or mistress should unjustly refuse to hand over his body for burial, and if the slave has left no directions, proper funeral rites will be performed over his imaginary body.

It was voted that if any member commits suicide, for whatever reason, he shall forfeit his right to a funeral.

It was voted that if any slave who was a member of this club should be freed, he shall be bound to pay an amphora of good wine.

[Feasts: 6 each year on the birthdays of the founders and patrons, with four men chosen to be in charge of each feast, who must provide] .. an amphora of good wine, as many 2-as loaves of bread as there are members of the club, four salt fish, covers for the table, couches, warm water and attendants ...

It was resolved that if anyone has nay complaint or wishes to discuss anything, he should bring it up at a meeting, so that we may feast on ceremonial days in peace and good cheer.

It was resolved that if any member moves from his place to another place in order to create a disturbance, he should be fined 4 hs. If any member insults another, or becomes rowdy, he should be fined 12 hs. If any member becomes insulting or abusive towards the president at feasts, he should be fined 20 hs.

It was resolved that each president, on the ceremonial days while he is in office, should make offerings of incense and wine, and should officiate, robed in white, at other ceremonies. And on the birthdays of Diana and Antinous, he should place oil at the public baths for members of the club, before the feast takes place. (CIL 14.2112)

6. Isola Sacra cemetery: n.b. re-developed tombs and pot burials.

7. Tomb with exedrae at Isola Sacra.

8. Columbarium at Ostia.

9. Another attack on lawyers!
Away with fraud and lawyers. All my ex-slaves, male and female, are to have access to and entry to this tomb. My heir shall give them the key to make sacrifices, howver often and whenever there is a need.

(CIL 6.12133)

Dining in the Roman World

1. Juvenal, *Satires* 4: an imperial banquet.

2. Juvenal, *Satires* 5: the treatment of a client (parasite) at a dinner party.

3. Juvenal, *Satires* 11: extravagant meals of the day.

4. Petronius, *Satyricon* 27-78: Trimalchio's dinner party.

5. Pliny, *Letters* 2.6: a vulgar dinner party.

It would take too long to go into the details (which anyway don't matter) of how I happened to be dining with a man — though no particular friend of his — whose elegant economy, as he called it, seemed to me a sort of stingy extravagance. The best dishes were set in front of himself and a select few, and cheap scraps of food before the rest of the company. He had even put the wine into tiny little flasks, divided into three categories, not with the idea of giving his guests the opportunity of choosing, but to make it impossible for them to refuse what they were given. One lot was intended for himself and for us, another for his lesser friends (all his friends are graded) and the third for his and our freedmen. My neighbour at table noticed this and asked me if I approved. I said I did not. "So what do you do?" he asked. "I serve the same to everyone, for when I invite guests it is for a meal, not to make class distinctions; I have brought them as equals to the same table, so I give them the same treatment in everything." "Even the freedmen?" "Of course, for then they are my fellow-diners, not freedmen." "That must cost you a lot." "On the contrary." "How is that?" "Because my freedmen do not drink the sort of wine I do, but I drink theirs." Believe me, if you restrain your greedy instincts it is no strain on your finances to share with several others the fare you have yourself. It is this greed which should be put down and "reduced to the ranks" if you would cut down expenses, and you can do this far better by self-restraint than by insults to others.

The point of this story is to prevent a promising young man like yourself from being taken in by this extravagance under guise of economy which is to be found at the table in certain homes. Whenever I meet with such a situation, my affection for you prompts me to quote it as a warning example of what to avoid. Remember then that nothing is more to be shunned than this novel association of extravagance and meanness; vices which are bad enough when single and separate, but worse when found together.

6. Pliny, *Panegyricus* 49: imperial dining — Trajan contrasted with Domitian.

Nor is it only the working hours of your day which you spend in our midst for all to see; your leisure hours are marked by the same numbers and friendliness. Your meals are always taken in public and your table open to all, the repast and its pleasures are there for us to share, while you encourage our conversations and join in it. As for the length of your banquets, polite manners prolong what frugality might cut short. You do not arrive already gorged with a solitary feast before midday, to sit menacingly over your guests, watching and marking all they do, nor when they are fasting and hungry do you belch from a full stomach and present or rather throw at them the food you disdain to touch, and after a pretence at enduring this insulting mockery of a banquet take yourself back to secret gluttony and private excesses. And so it is not the plate of gold and silver, nor the ingenuity of the dishes served which command our admiration so much as your own courtesy and charm, of which we can never have too much, for all is genuine and sincere and conducted with true dignity. The Emperor has rid his table of the ministrants of an oriental superstition and the indecent antics of impudent buffoons; in their place is warm hospitality, love of culture and civilized wit.

7. Pliny, *Letters* 1.15: a polite dinner invitation.

Who are you, to accept my invitation to dinner and never come? Here's your sentence, and you shall pay my costs in full, no small sum either. It was all laid out, one lettuce each, three snails, two eggs, wheat-cake, and wine with honey chilled with snow (you will reckon this too please, and as an expensive item, seeing that it disappears in the dish), besides olives, beetroots, gherkins, onions, and any number of similar delicacies. You would have heard a comic play, a reader or singer, or all three if I felt generous. Instead you chose to go where you could have oysters, sow's innards, sea-urchins, and Spanish dancing-girls. You will suffer for this — I won't say how. It was a cruel trick done to spite one of us — yourself or most likely me, and possibly both of us, if you think what a

feast of fun, laughter and learning we were going to have. You can eat richer food at many houses, but nowhere with such free and easy enjoyment. All I can say is, try me; and then, if you don't prefer to decline invitations elsewhere, you can always make excuses to me.

8. Suetonius, *Augustus* 74: the emperor's dinner-parties.

He gave frequent dinner parties, very formal ones, too; paying strict attention to social precedence and personal character. Valerius Messala writes that the sole occasion on which Augustus ever invited a freedman to dine was when he honoured Menas for delivering Sextus Pompey's fleet into his power; and even then Menas was first enrolled on the list of free-born citizens. However, Augustus himself records that he once invited an ex-member of his bodyguard, the freedman whose villa he used as a retreat. At such dinner parties he would sometimes arrive late and leave early, letting his guests start and finish without him. The meal usually consisted of three courses, though in expansive moods Augustus might serve as many as six. There was no great extravagance, and a most cheerful atmosphere, because of his talent for making shy guests, who either kept silent or muttered to their neighbours, join in the general conversation. He also enlivened the meal with performances by musicians, actors, or even men who gave turns at the Circus — but more often by professional story-tellers.

9. Suetonius, *Vitellius* 13: an extravagant emperor.

Vitellius banqueted three and often four times a day, namely morning, noon, afternoon, and evening — the last meal being mainly a drinking bout — and survived the ordeal well enough by taking frequent emetics. What made things worse was that he used to invite himself out to such meals at the houses of a number of different people on one and the same day; and these never cost his various hosts less than 4,000 gold pieces each. The most notorious feast of the series was given him by his brother on his entry into Rome; 2,000 magnificent fish and 7,000 game birds are said to have been served. Yet even this hardly compares in luxuriousness with a single tremendously large dish which Vitellius dedicated to the Goddess Minerva and named 'Shield of Minerva the Protectress of the City'. The recipe called for pike-livers, pheasant-brains, flamingo-tongues, and lamprey-milt; and the ingredients, collected in every corner of the Empire right from the Parthian frontier to the Spanish Straits, were brought to Rome by naval captains and triremes. Vitellius paid no attention to time or decency in satisfying his remarkable appetite. While a sacrifice was in progress, he thought nothing of snatching lumps of meat or cake off the altar, almost out of the sacred fire, and bolting them down; and on his travels would devour cuts of meat fetched smoking hot from wayside cookshops, and even yesterday's half-eaten scraps.

10. Suetonius, *Claudius* 32: an emperor with unusual dining habits.

He gave many splendid banquets, usually in large halls, and at times invited no fewer than 600 guests. One banquet was held close to the debouchment of the Fucine Lake on the day it was emptied; but the water came rushing out in a deluge and almost drowned him. His sons and daughters, like those of other distinguished figures, were always expected to dine with him, sitting in old-fashioned style at the ends of the couches on which their parents reclined. Once, when a guest was believed to have pocketed a golden bowl, Claudius invited him again the next evening, this time setting a small earthenware basin in front of him. Some say that he planned an edict to legitimize the breaking of wind at table, either silently or noisily — after hearing about a man who was so modest that he endangered his health by an attempt to restrain himself.

11. Lucian, *On Salaried Posts in Great Houses* 14-19; 26-29: a Greek seeks an engagement in the house of a rich Roman noble. The description of his first meal and subsequent dinners.

Very soon, then, someone calls, bringing an invitation to the dinner, a servant not unfamiliar with the world whom you must first propitiate by slipping at least five drachmas into his hand casually so as not to appear awkward. He puts on airs and murmurs: "Tut, tut! I take money from you?" and: "Heracles! I hope it may never come to that!"; but in the end he is prevailed upon and goes away with a broad grin at your expense. Providing yourself with clean clothing and dressing yourself as neatly as you can, you pay your visit to the bath and go, afraid of getting there before the rest, for that would be gauche, just as to come last would be ill-mannered. So you wait until the middle moment of the right time, and then go in. He receives you with much distinction, and someone takes you in charge and gives you a place at table a little above the rich man, with perhaps two of his old friends. As though you had entered the mansion of Zeus, you admire everything and are amazed at all that is done, for

everything is strange and unfamiliar to you. The servants stare at you, and everybody in the company keeps an eye on you to see what you are going to do. Even the rich man himself is not without concern on this score; he has previously directed some of the servants to watch whether you often gaze from afar at his sons or his wife. The attendants of your fellow-guests, seeing that you are impressed, crack jokes about your unfamiliarity with what is doing and conjecture that you have never before dined anywhere because your napkin is new.

As is natural, then, you inevitably break out in a cold sweat for perplexity; you do not dare to ask for something to drink when you are thirsty for fear of being thought a toper, and you do not know which of the dishes that have been put before you in great variety, made to be eaten in a definite order, you should put out your hand to get first, or which second; so you will be obliged to cast stealthy glances at your neighbour, copy him, and find out the proper sequence of the dinner. In general, you are in a chaotic state and your soul is full of agitation, for you are lost in amazement at everything that goes on. Now you call Dives lucky for his gold and his ivory and all his luxury, and now you pity yourself for imagining that you are alive when you are really nothing at all. Sometimes, too, it comes into your head that you are going to lead an enviable life, since you will revel in all that and share in it equally; you expect to enjoy perpetual Bacchic revels. Perhaps, too, pretty boys waiting upon you and faintly smiling at you paint the picture of your future life in more attractive colours, so that you are forever quoting that line of Homer:

Small blame to the fighters of Troy and the bright-greaved men of Achaea"

that they endure great toil and suffering for such happiness at this.

Then come the toasts, and, calling for a large bowl, he drinks your health, addressing you as "the professor" or whatever it may be. You take the bowl, but because of inexperience you do not know that you should say something in reply, and you get a bad name for boorishness. Moreover, that toast has made many of his old friends jealous of you, some of whom you had previously offended when the places at table were assigned because you, who had only just come, were given precedence over men who for years had drained the dregs of servitude. So at once they begin to talk about you after this fashion: "That was still left for us in addition to our other afflictions, to play second fiddle to men who have just come into the household, and it is only these Greeks who have the freedom of the city of Rome. And yet, why is it that they are preferred to us? Isn't it true that they think they confer a tremendous benefit by turning wretched phrases?" Another says: "Why, didn't you see how much he drank, and how he gathered in what was set before him and devoured it? The fellow has no manners, and is starved to the limit; even in his dreams he never had his fill of white bread, not to speak of guinea fowl or pheasants, of which he has hardly left us the bones!" A third observes: "You silly asses, in less than five days you will see him here in the midst of us making these same complaints. Just now, like a pair of new shoes, he is receiving a certain amount of consideration and attention, but when he has been used again and again and is smeared with mud, he will be thrown under the bed in a wretched state, covered with vermin like the rest of us."

Well, as I say, they go on about you indefinitely in that vein, and perhaps even then some of them are getting ready for a campaign of slander. Anyhow, that whole dinner-party is yours, and most of the conversation is about you. For your own part, as you have drunk more than enough subtle, insidious wine because you were not used to it, you have been uneasy for a long time and are in a bad way: yet it is not good form to leave early and not safe to stay where you are. So, as the drinking is prolonged and subject after subject is discussed and entertainment after entertainment is brought in (for he wants to show you all his wealth!), you undergo great punishment; you cannot see what takes place, and if this or that lad who is held in very great esteem sings or plays, you cannot hear; you applaud perforce while you pray that an earthquake may tumble the whole establishment into a heap or that a great fire may be reported, so that the party may break up at last.

So goes , then, my friend, that first and sweetest of dinners, which to me at least is no sweeter than thyme and white salt eaten in freedom, when I like and as much as I like.

...When night overtakes you hungry and thirsty, after a wretched bath you go to your dinner at an unseasonable hour, in the very middle of the night; but you are no longer held in the same esteem and admiration by the company. If anyone arrives who is more of a novelty, for you it is "Get back!" In this way you are pushed off into the most unregarded corner and take your place merely to witness the dishes that are passed, gnawing the bones like a dog if they get as far as you, or regaling yourself with gratification, thanks to your hunger, on the tough mallow leaves with which the other food is garnished, if they should be disdained by those nearer the head of the table.

Moreover, you are not spared other forms of rudeness. You are the only one that does not have an egg. There is no necessity that you should always expect the same treatment as foreigners and strangers: that would be unreasonable! Your bird, too, is not like the others; your neighbour's is fat and plump, and yours is half a tiny chick, or a tough pigeon — out-and-out rudeness and contumely! Often, if there is a shortage when another guest appears

of a sudden, the waiter takes up what you have before you, and quickly puts it before him, muttering: “You are one of us, you know.” Of course when a side of pork or venison is cut at table, you must by all means have especial favour with the carver or else get a Prometheus-portion, bones hidden in fat. That the platter should stop beside the man above you until he gets tired of stuffing himself, but speed past you so rapidly — what free man could endure it if he had even as much resentment as a deer? And I have not yet mentioned the fact that while the others drink one that is vile and thick, taking good care always to drink out of a gold or silver cup so that the colour may not convict you of being such an unhonoured guest. If only you might have your fill, even of that! But as things are, though you ask for it repeatedly, the page “hath not even the semblance of hearing”!

You are annoyed, indeed, by many things, a great many, almost everything; most of all when your favour is rivalled by a cinaedus or a dancing-master or an Alexandrian dwarf who recites Ionics. How could you be on a par, though, with those who render these services to passion and carry notes about in their clothing? So, couched in a far corner of the dining-room and shrinking out of sight for shame, you groan, naturally, and commiserate yourself and carp at Fortune for not besprinkling you with at least a few drops of the amenities. You would be glad, I think, to become a composer of erotic ditties, or at all events to be able to sing them properly when somebody else had composed them: for you see where precedence and favour go! You would put up with it if you had to act the part of a magician or a soothsayer, one of those fellows who promise legacies amounting to many thousands, governorships, and tremendous riches; you see that they too get on well in their friendships and are highly valued. So you would be glad to adopt one of those roles in order not to be entirely despicable and useless; but even in them, worse luck, you are not convincing. Therefore you must needs be humble and suffer in silence, with stifled groans and amid neglect.

If a whispering servant accuse you of being the only one who did not praise the mistress’s page when he danced or played, there is no little risk in the thing. So you must raise your thirsty voice like a stranded frog, taking pains to be conspicuous among the claque and to lead the chorus; and often when the others are silent you must independently let drop a well-considered word of praise that will convey great flattery.

That a man who is famished, yes, and athirst, should be perfumed with myrrh and have a wreath on his head is really rather laughable, for then you are like the gravestone of an ancient corpse that is getting a feast to his memory. They drench the stones with myrrh and crown themselves with wreaths, and then they themselves enjoy the food and drink that has been prepared!

If the master is of a jealous disposition and has handsome sons or a young wife, and you are not wholly estranged from Aphrodite and the Graces, your situation is not peaceful or your danger to be taken lightly. The king has many ears and eyes, which not only see the truth but always add something more for good measure, so that they may not be considered heavy-lidded. You must therefore keep your head down while you are at table, as at a Persian dinner, for fear that an eunuch may see that you looked at one of the concubines; for another eunuch, who has had his bow bent this long time, is ready to punish you for eyeing what you should not, driving his arrow through your cheek just as you are taking a drink.

12. Cassius Dio 67.9: Domitian’s banquet.

On another occasion he entertained the foremost men among the senators and knights in the following fashion. He prepared a room that was pitch black on every side, ceiling, walls and floor, and had made ready bare couches of the same colour resting on the uncovered floor; then he invited in his guests alone at night without their attendants. And first he set beside each of them a slab shaped like a gravestone, bearing the guest’s name and also a small lamp, such as hang in tombs. Next comely naked boys, likewise painted black, entered like phantoms, and after encircling the guests in an awe-inspiring dance took up their stations at their feet. After this all the things that are commonly offered at the sacrifices to departed spirits were likewise set before all the guests, all of them black and in dishes of a similar colour. Consequently, every single one of the guests feared and trembled and was kept in constant expectation having his throat cut the next moment, the more so as on the part of everybody but Domitian there was dead silence, as if they were already in the realms of the dead, and the emperor himself conversed only upon topics related to death and slaughter. Finally he dismissed them; but he had first removed their slaves, who had stood in the vestibule, and now gave his guests in charge of other slaves, whom they did not know, to be conveyed either in carriages or litters, and by this procedure he filled them with far greater fear. And scarcely had each guest reached his home and was beginning to get his breath again, as one might say, when word was brought him that a messenger from the Augustus had come. While they were accordingly expecting to perish, this time in any case, one person brought in the slab, which was of silver, and then others in turn brought in various articles, including the

dishes that had been set before them at the dinner, which were constructed of very costly material; and last of all came that particular boy who had been each guest's familiar spirit, now washed and adorned. Thus, after having passed the entire night in terror, they received the gifts.

13. Martial 5.47: the parasite ("fisher-for-dinner-invitations").

Philo swears that he has never dined at home, and it is so. He doesn't dine whenever no one has invited him.

14. Martial 1.20: the mean host.

Tell me, what madness is this? While the throng of invited guests looks on, you, Caecilianus, alone devour the mushrooms! What prayer shall I make suitable to such a belly and gorge? May you eat such a mushroom as Claudius ate!

15. Martial 1.43: another mean host.

Twice thirty were we, Mancinus, your invited guests, and nothing was served us last night but a boar. There were no grapes such as are left to hang late upon the vine, nor honey-apples that vie with luscious combs; nor pears that hang tied with the pliant broom; nor pomegranates that copy the transient roses. Rural Sassina sent no cones of cheese; there came no olive from Picenian jars. A boar, and nothing else! and this too a tiny one, and such as could be slaughtered by an unarmed dwarf. And nothing after that was provided: all of us merely looked on. Even the Arena serves us up a boar in this style! May no boar be served up to you after such behaviour, but may you be served up to the same boar as Charidemus! [a criminal who had been exposed to a wild boar in the arena?]