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ABSTRACT .

This paper attempts to answer the question of what life was really like in ancient Rome, with a view to using this kind of information as cultural background for teaching Latin language and literature. There were many problems associated with daily living in ancient Rome. Writings of some inhabitants of ancient Rome attest to the fact that these problems were very similar to those of most large cities today: overcrowding; poor urban planning; unemployment; housing shortage; traffic problems; noise and air pollution; sewage problems and danger from fire, flood, and falling buildings. Solutions to these problems and the resulting frustration of living in Rome included moving to the suburbs for the wealthy, welfare for the poor, and attempts at urban planning and decentralization by the government. (AM)

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Ancient Rome: The Latin Teacher and Life in the Big City
Edwin S. Ramage, Indiana University

Maps by Frank S. Ferry

How did the Romans really live? What was life really like in Rome? Were the problems the same as ours? These are the questions students are asking nowadays and they are the kind of thing the Latin teacher must try to cope with or even anticipate. In the last few years Latin for many perceptive teachers has become much more than grammar, syntax, and vocabulary. They have begun to draw on the rich resources available to them, and are teaching the language in its historical and cultural context.

One part of this cultural context that is at the same time both rewarding and perfectly natural to use is the city of Rome itself. After all, the people who surface in most Latin classes—whether they are read or read about—for the most part were the products of life in the big city. When we come to consider Rome we quite naturally tend to concentrate on the monuments—the buildings of the Roman Forum, the palaces of the Palatine, various temples, the great baths, the Colosseum, the Circus Maximus, and the like. These are important, of course; but they are only part of the picture. What about the life that swirled around and through these monuments? Or to return to the question posed by our hypothetical student: What was life really like in Rome?

What follows is meant to be the beginning of an answer to this question. It is a summary of some of the more important problems that the Pomans encountered in their day-to-day life in the big city. It is the

kind of information that a teacher may bring into class to provide background

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S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION & WELFARE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION to reading from authors like Cicero, Caesar; Martial, Ovid, or Pliny. And we should remember that people like Vergil, though they wrote about things far removed from city life, still had to cope with living in Rome. This material can also be used to add perspective and interest to the "made up" Latin that is read in the first year, since much of this involves the people and life of the city.

## I Urban Problems

Nowadays we are very much aware of the problems that go along with life in our large cities, and through education and the efforts of sociologists, psychologists, business, and government we are moving in the direction of solving at least some of them. Rome had its problems, too, and many of these were similar to or just the same as ours. This is not surprising, since of all the cities of the ancient world she was probably the urban center most like ours. By the first century after Christ she had a clearly stratified cosmopolitan population crowded into a largely unplanned urban environment. There was an inner city where people lived in crowded slums not far from the seat of government. Parts of Rome had been set aside for monumental use, while the outlying sections were parks and generally pleasant suburbs. Scattered throughout the city were facilities for taking care of the needs and catering to the pleasures of the urban populace.

Every city is affected by its location and Rome was no exception. The early Iron Age people who established their village on the Palatine Hill in the eighth century B.C. (Map 1: No.1) had only their immediate primitive concerns in mind, no matter how earnestly Cicero and other Romans might insist that Romulus (or whoever the "Founding Fathers" were) had some kind of vision of Rome's future greatness. The wattle and daub buts were perched

on the Palatine for protection and so were those that gradually appeared on the other hills around. The sea was about fifteen miles away to the south so that it was accessible but not a threat. The Tiber not only offered protection from the west, but also provided access to the sea.

While writers like Cicero and Livy praise the location of the city; there can be no doubt that the site presented problems for growth and expansion. Not only was the configuration of the land with its many hills lying relatively close together an inhibiting factor, but there was also another "built in" problem. The low lying areas around the hills—areas that were to become some of the most frequented and most heavily populated parts of the city—were regularly flooded by the Tiber (Map 1: A, B, C, D, E). But, as with most urban centers, Rome grew in spite of the potential problems so that by 390 B.C., when the Gauls invaded and sacked the city, most of the hills were included withinher precincts—the Palatine, Aventine, Capitoline, Quirinal, Viminal, Cispian, Oppian, and part of the Caelian (Map 1).

Livy's description of how Rome was rebuilt after the Gallic invasion suggests the Roman philosophy of growth. He says that when the enemy retired the Romans were in such a hurry to get their city rebuilt that they did not bother with any planning. With quite remarkable insight he goes on to observe that this is the reason that the Rome of his day, some 400 years later, leaves the impression of having been "taken over rather than portioned out." For the most part the remains bear this out.

One of the best documented periods in Roman history is the first century of the Roman Empire, and it is this period that we shall be dealing with here. Timewise, it coincides roughly with the first century of our era.

By the time of Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14) at the teginning of the Empire, the population of the city was in the neighborhood of 1,000,000 people.

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This number is far from firm, but it will suffice as a working figure here.

A city of a million people is hardly remarkable, but when we realize that this population lived in an area of approximately seven square miles, a large part of which was taken up by monuments and parks, we can imagine the overcrowded conditions that must have existed.

Prior to Augustus the city had had an administration centered in the Roman Forum (Map 2). This Emperor made the government more flexible and more immediately responsible to individual needs by organizing the city into 14 regions (Map 3), subdividing these into neighborhoods or buroughs, and establishing an efficient bureaucracy to look after matters like buildings, streets, water system, and distribution of the dole. He also organized a police and fire department on the basis of the fourteen regions.

But he could not solve all the problems that came with the overcrowding. There were extensive joblessness and poverty, and since the great mass of the population was made up of working men and slaves, this meant that a large percentage of the population relied on public and private welfare for its existence. In this connection it is worth remembering that slaves were the energy of the day, both in lustrial and non-industrial, and the waste or residue from this energy was just as much a problem for the Romans as is that from our energy today. Slaves were brought to Rome in great numbers and were also set free in great numbers to take their place on an already glutted labor market. Although some of them became successful businessmen. or bureaucrats, the great majority of them had no hope of ever being more than abjectly poor.

As might be expected, this huge population conditioned life in the city to a large extent. Mass housing was necessary and the Romans found the

insula ("island") or apartment/tenement house to be the most economical solution to this problem—a solution that we have hardly improved upon.

There is no longer any way of knowing for certain how many, of these existed—in Rome in the first century after Christ. We do have, however, two inventories of buildings in the city, the <u>Curiosum</u> and the <u>Notitia</u>, which were drawn up about 350 years after Christ. According to these there were at that time 46,602 apartment buildings scattered throughout the city. (By contrast there were only 1,790 homes.) Many of these were solid establishments such as the one from a later period that may be seen today at the foot of the Capitoline. But many of them were jerry-built tenements, ready to go up in flames or collapse without warning. One modern scholar describes the situation rather matter-of-ractly: "We may fairly suppose that most of the inhabitants of Rome lived in appalling slums."

This large population also necessitated a certain number of public facilities. The Romans had a first rate water system that supplied fountains throughout the city. Since toilets and baths were at a minimum in the insulae, public toilets and baths were made available in substantial numbers. The late inventories list 144 public toilets and 956 small baths.

We should not forget that most of the monumental buildings of Rome.

were directly or indirectly the result of this crowding. The great public baths that were added to Rome from time to time (Map 4: Nos. 1-10) stemmed directly from the needs of the masses, supplementing the smaller baths mentioned above. The Colosseum and the various stadia, as well as the theaters and other buildings of public entertainment (Map 4), were all part of a ponderous welfare system under which the recipients expected entertainment as well as food from the public dole. The construction of these buildings

must have served much the same purpose as our WPA program of the 1930's. Employment was provided for a substantial number of people and a good deal of money was pumped back into the economy.

To complete our picture of Rome in the first century after Christ we should look at the system of streets (Map 2). Those that have been identified by archaeologists and plotted from literary references show that Livy was quite correct in pointing to a lack of urban planning. Thousands of other streets, lanes, and alleys that have not been found must be added to our map. Rome was a maze of narrow, muddy, dusty, slippery streets that were dark in the daytime because of the tall buildings lining them and dangerous at night because they were unlit. The name of one of the planned streets, the Via Lata ("Broad Street": Map 2), suggests the contrast that existed between this thoroughfare and other roads.

Some of the problems that arose in this crowded urban situation have already been mentioned or suggested and others may be projected on the basis of our own experience. Crime in and off the streets must have been quite common, especially in the Subura (Map 1: F) which was the inner city of Rome. Even when we remove the exaggeration that a satirist like Juvenal naturally indulges in as he describes Rome, the toughs, thieves, and killers that were roaming the streets about A.D. 100 still remain. Measures were taken to combat crime, but it is not yet clear how effective they were. Augustus proposed legislation to break up the gangs that used politics to disguise their criminal purposes. He also stationed guards throughout the city on the days when the games were held to discourage burglarizing and vandalism while the homeowners and apartment dwellers were away.

Traffic must also have been a serious problem. Great numbers of people were constantly moving about on the network of narrow, poorly planned

streets. The topography offered further complications, since the hills made direct communication between the various parts of the city almost impossible. Writing in the last quarter of the first century, Martial tells us of trying to get from the Subura (Map 1: F) to a friend's house on the Esquiline (Map 1: No. 9). Not only is it uphill, but the street is also wet and dirty. Traffic is heavy, too. He can hardly get by the long lines of mule-carts with their loads of marble.

Juvenal gives another side of the picture when he suggests that these carts lost their heavy loads from time to time with fatal results for any pedestrian who happened to be in the vicinity. There is a certain amount of exaggeration in Horace's mention of 200 wagons and three huge funerals all converging in a snarl somewhere near the Roman Forum, but such traffic tie-ups must have been fairly common. Finally, there is Juvenal's picture of trying to get through the streets: people push and shove and dig their elbows into his ribs; someone bumps him with the pole of a sedan chair, while another hits him on the head with a piece of lumber or a wine cask he is carrying; his legs are covered with mud and his feet are trampled. There was no public transportation system and there was no room for one.

Measures were taken from time to time to relieve the traffic situation.

Julius Caesar proposed legislation to keep all wheeled vehicles, with a few exceptions, out of Rome during the daylight hours. However, the observations of Horace, Martial, and Juvenal already mentioned suggest that such legislation was not particularly effective.

The crowds, the traffic, the industry of the city produced a noise pollution that must have reached levels at least as high as that in some of our cities today. The Romans called it a "din" and a "roar," much as we do

today, and the noise level was perhaps highest in the inner city, the Subura, with its concentrated population. In the 90's after Christ, the younger Pliny mentions the din of the city in the same breath with "the pointless running to and fro and the quite stupid hecticity" that is part of the life there. When we remember that the Romans did not have all the materials and facilities to screen out noise that we have today, we can see why getting a night's sleep might have been difficult. In some parts of the city this problem was so acute that people fell sick from a lack of sleep and some even died.

There is also frequent reference in the Roman writers to the general unhealthiness of the city, especially in the summer months. Part of the aggravation was an air pollution that was relatively mild by our standards. This was largely a dust and smoke nuisance coming from the many unpaved streets and from the thousands of wood-burning fires throughout the city. The general conflagrations that were constantly breaking out must have added to it.

But there seems to have been another and perhaps more serious kind of, air pollution. There were open sewers in most parts of the city and archae-, ology has produced evidence of open sevage trenches as well. Moreover, the Cloaca Maxima, the "Great Sewer" of Rome, emptied into the Tiber in the heart of the city. This must have meant that the Tiber was polluted, at least from this point downstream. It is significant that we do not hear of the Romans drinking from their river. Matters were complicated further by the periodic flooding of the river which backed up the sewers and spread contamination over the low lying parts of the city. It is no wonder that Romans found country air fresher and healthier!

As far as the flooding of the Tiber is concerned, it is not clear whether this occurred frequently enough to be classed as an urban problem. But at least one major writer describes Rome as being "subject to floods," and between 415 B.C. and A.D. 371 some twenty-nine major inundations are recorded. This gives a frequency of one every twenty-seven years, and this is probably a conservative figure, since the record is not at all complete.

There were a number of factors contributing to the flooding. The Tiber flowed in a fairly shallow bed--much shallower than it does now. At the same time it wound through the city in three rather sharp curves (Map 1). In addition, much of the city, both along the river and some distance back, was flat, low lying land--the Roman Forum, Campus Martius, Forum Holitorium, Forum Boarium, and Velabrum (Map 1: A, B, C, D, E,)--and so susceptible to flooding. If we remember that by the time of Augustus the Romans had at least partially blocked the river by building out into it and using it as a dump for refuse, it is not difficult to see why it went over its banks periodically. Augustus offered an immediate remedy by cleaning out the river bed, removing the encroaching buildings, and appointing officials to encorce the regulations. Meither these nor the measures undertaken by Augustus' successors solved the problem entirely, however, and the river continued to flood until the modern embankment was built in the last century.

Perhaps the two problems that posed the most constant, immediate, and visible threat to the inhabitants of the city were fire and falling buildings. Neither is the specter for us that it was for the Romans and so it is difficult for us to realize how serious they were. In the 111 years between 23 B.C. and A.D. 88 there were no fewer than twenty-one major fires--that is, fires that destroyed substantial parts of the city. In A.D. 27 a large

part of the Gaelian burned (Map 1: No. 7); in A.D. 36 the Circus Maximus (Map 4: No. 16) and the Aventine (Map 1: No. 8) were destroyed. Every city seems to have had its "Great Fire," and Rome's was that which broke out near the Circus Maximus in the summer of A.D. 64 when Nero was Emperor. It destroyed all or part of the Campus Martius, Capitoline; Forum Holitorium, Forum Boarium, Aventine, Velabrum, Roman Forum and Palatine and raged out of control as far as the Oppian Hill (Map 1). The historian Tacitus who describes the fire—though not without a certain amount of prejudice and exaggeration—says that only four of the fourteen regions were left intact. Map 3 shows the distribution of major conflagrationsoccurring between 31 B.C. and A.D. 412.

It is clear that crowded living conditions contributed to the fi problem, but there were other factors as well. We are conditioned by the monuments that remain to think of all ancient Rome as being built of brick. concrete, and stone. But these for the most part are monumental buildings, and the less monumental structures like shops and apartment buildings which far, outnumbered them were put together from less substantial materials. Large quantities of wood and even wattlework were used. The latter must have been in fairly general use, since Vitruvius makes a point of rejecting it as a building material: "I only wish that wattlework walls hadn't been invented. No matter how useful they are for adding space quickly, they are just that much greater a public menace, since they are like torches ready to go up in flames." When we imagine the thousands of shops and apartment buildings that must have been built of these materials crowded together along narrow streets and lanes, we can see why Vitruvius becomes emotional on the subject and how a fire like Nero's could rage unchecked for six days and seven nights before being brought under control.

There can be no doubt that collapsing buildings also constituted and everyday threat for those living in the city, for we find frequent mention of them in authors as widely different in time and outlook as Vitruvius, the elder Pliny, the elder Seneca, Martial, and Juvenal. The fact that ruina, the Latin word for a "ruin" or "collapse" of any kind, could be applied without qualification to the collapse of buildings is further evidence that this was a common occurrence.

There seem to have been many reasons for buildings collapsing in Rome. Owners and contractors often built in a hurry. The height to which some of these buildings towered also contributed to their falling. Vitruvius refers to them as altitudines—that is, "towers" or "highrises." Moreover, contractors were not above cheating the owners on materials and workmanship, and then, as now, graft had its part to play. The landlord also came in for his usual share of criticism for not keeping his building up as he should.

There were probably other hidden factors at work. Many of the buildings of Rome were at best low profit ventures. They were for tenants who were running small, less than lucrative businesses or who could afford only low cost housing. Moreover, the risks an owner took were much greater then than now. There was no fire insurance, even though the threat of fire was many times greater than it is nowadays. From the economic point of view, then, we should not be too quick to fault a landlord for not investing any more than he had to in such a perilous—venture.

## II Effects and Solutions

What effect did these problems have on those living in Rome and what solutions were attempted? The economic problems caused by the constant fires are hinted at by Suetonius when he describes the reconstruction that

followed Nero's fire. The financial burden, he says, was felt not only in Rome and Italy, but throughout the provinces. We should remember that this kind of expenditure, itself involving huge amounts of money, was simply added to other expensive projects such as the welfare system that were already siphoning large amounts of money from the treasury.

The psychological effect of this life in the big city is hinted at by.

a number of writers. They commonly complain of being distracted from writing by the trials and tribulations of the city. Worry is described as preventing sleep.

The extreme apprehension of falling buildings that must, have existed is evident in a story told by Suetonius. During the presentation of some games in the reign of Augustus, the audience was so certain that the stands were going to fall that they would not calm down until the Emperor himself went to sit with them. The same concern is mixed with frustration in a comment of the elder Seneca: "The buildings are so tall and the streets so narrow that there is no defense against fire and no escape in any direction from falling buildings."

The constant worry and the constant pressure of what we call the urban "rat race" brought a certain chronic fatigue and disilfusionment with life in the big city. Martial describes Rome as wearing him down and tells us that he finally abandoned the city for Spain because he could no longer put up with the "wearisome ways of the useless city life." The younger Pliny writes to a friend about the shackles of his urban existence where business piles up without anything ever being completed. Perhaps it is a stance with these people; you never can tell. Yet we can sense a note of frustration and tedium that must have been felt by many who had to cope with Rome and its problems. It is also worth remembering that Seneca and Pliny, and

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probably Martial too, did not lead the poverty-stricken existence that afflicted most of the urban populace. There was little chance for the masses to better their position, and the general disillusionment and listlessness that resulted is hinted at in writers like Martial, Juvenal, and Tacitus.

Martial addresses Aemilianus in a brief, but pointed epigram: "If you're poor now, Aemilianus, you'll always be poor. Noone gets money nowadays, except the wealthy." Juvenal speaks for the poor, summing it all up in one poignant remark: "Poverty contains nothing harder to bear than that it makes a man laughable." Here is the same frustrated desire for respect that is at the root of so many problems in our cities today.

How did the Roman deal with all of this? His reaction was in many ways like ours. If he could afford it, he bought or built a home in the suburbs. There was not the mass migration that we have experienced, however, since those who had the money to buy and support a suburban home were far fewer in number than they are today. Many people also had country houses to which they could retreat at certain times of the year as many of our city dwellers today move to summer or winter homes. This is particularly interesting, since in the Roman mind this arrangement not only provided an escape from urban problems, but it also represented a return to the good, healthy, rustic life in which Rome had had its origins and which remained a much respected part of Roman tradition.

The great mass of the population, however, had no choice but to continue living in the crowded inner city. Their lives were brightened a little by a welfare system that provided a minimum amount of food and a maximum amount of entertainment. Here the situation was a little different from what it is nowadays, for while we have food stamps, we hardly consider entertainment to be an intergral part of our welfare system. We do have a

rough parallel, however, in the sports programs that appear on television. Though they are subsidized in this case not by government but by commercial advertising, they serve much the same purpose as the ancient games did, since they make this form of entertainment available to the mass of the population at a minimal cost. The analogy, of course, extends to other forms of entertainment on television as well.

It is not enough to say that welfare was simply to keep the people happy and occupied, for this was as much a result as a purpose. Without the "bread and games" there would have been economic and social chaos.

Large numbers of people would have starved to death simply because jobs were scarce, wages were low, and a high rate of inflation prevailed. Moreover, the system itself provided jobs for a substantial part of the population.

To complete our look at urban problems in Rome, something must be said about solutions. Some of these have already been mentioned—movement to suburbs and country, public welfare, reforms such as those instituted by Augustus. Mention should also be made of the wide range of legislation designed to cope with everything from noise pollution to falling buildings. Some of it was successful and some was not. But two measures deserve special mention, since they have been developed today as solutions to urban crowding. These are urban planning and decentralization of activities.

The point has already been made that there was never any general policy of urban planning in Rome. This does not mean that there was no planning at all. It is simply that for the most part it consisted of ad hoc measures. The Campus Martius (Map 1: B), for example, was designated a monumental area and the remains suggest that it maintained this identity. At one point Julius Caesar even wanted to move the city's administrative center from the

Roman Forum (Map 1: A) out here. A glance at the street system in Map 2 reveals the planning that went into this part of Rome. The Via Lata, which has already been mentioned, is the most obvious evidence of this.

Nero's careful rebuilding of large parts of the city after the fire in 64 also shows that the Romans were ready to carry through a plan when the opportunity presented itself. Wide streets carefully laid out on a grid, sunny plazas, buildings of limited height made of fire-proof material and having no party walls, porticuses along the front of the apartment buildings to help with firefighting, and firefighting equipment itself were among the features that must have made living conditions much better than before the fire.

The Imperial Fora (Map 2) which were undertaken at various times between 54 B.C. and A.D. 112 are also examples of urban planning. We might even look upon them as a kind of slow and gradual urban renewal. Their primary purpose was to relieve the pressure on existing administrative facilities and at the same time to enhance the image of the builders. But there was another purpose that is often overlooked. Both individually and collectively they were designed as monumental oases of relative peace and quiet in one of the noisiest parts of the city. Even a glance at a plan or model shows that the complex as a whole is carefully isolated from the surrounding neighborhoods and that the individual fora were built as discrete units within the whole.

Though these fora were a useful and beautiful addition to the city, they must have caused problems. The larger ones like that of Trajan; which was dedicated in A.D. 112, surely put a financial drain on the treasury.

But the swallowing up of so much land and the displacement of so many people here in the heart of the city must have caused serious economic and social

disruption. Land values that were already inflated could be expected to rise even higher with the usual escalator effect on rents and other prices. The population that was displaced could only move into already overcrowded slum areas or else in the direction of the suburbs.

In our large urban centers today a decentralization of facilities, activities, and even people has served to alleviate some of the problems caused by a large, diffuse population living in a relatively unplanned environment. The same was true of Rome where decentralization took place gradually over a long period of time. It would probably be wrong to view this as long term planning in any sense. A sudden and immediate need, an increase or shift in population, the availability of land, or even the whims of an Emperor are just a few of the things that could lead to the establishment of a structure or facility away from the congestion.

This is not to say that some of the distribution was not conscious. We hear of games being held in the various neighborhoods of the city. Augustus' organization of Rome into regions and boroughs (Map 3) was a way of promoting and achieving decentralization. Again, the literary sources and archaeology together show that there were markets scattered throughout the city, as we might expect. These markets were supplied from the great warehouses conveniently located on the Tiber toward the south edge of the city (Map 1: G). Here the riverboats and barges supplying Rome from the seaport of Ostia could dock and unload without getting into the congested river traffic.

If we plot at least some of the large public baths on our map (Map 4:...
Nos. 1-10), an interesting pattern emerges. These establishments are
fairly evenly spaced throughout Rome. We have to remember, of course, that
they were built over a period of time extending from the first century B.C.

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showing one aspect of a continuing decentralization designed not only to bring facilities to the populace but also to relieve congestion in the heart of the city.

Places of entertainment like the theaters and stadia, on the other hand, tend to cluster closer to the downtown area (Map 4: Nos. 14-20). But even here there is clearly a movement in the Empire to build the new stadia and naumachiae in the Campus Martius (Map 4: No. 14) and in the less congested parts of the Transtiber (Map 4: Nos. 11-13) region. These spread out toward the west just as the baths went in an easterly direction.

The two inventories of buildings in Rome already mentioned as coming from the fourth century after Christ suggest a similarly decentralized distribution for other buildings connected with basic needs. Warehouses, semi-private baths, and bakeries, to name the three most important types of establishment for our purposes here, seem to have been scattered in fair numbers throughout the fourteen regions of the city.

As a final footnote to Rome's urban problems and their solutions something must be said about the obstacles that lay in the way of reform.

Most of these have their modern parallels. There are always people, for instance, who find something wrong with progress. Nero was criticized for his urban rebuilding of 64 because the wide streets and plazas let in too much hot sun. There were also the interest groups. The two-man commission that was appointed by the Emperor Tiberius in A.D. 15, for example, to look into the flood problem proposed a system of flood control which involved diverting the streams and lakes that fed the Tiber. But when they presented their report a strong lobby from the areas of Italy that would be affected

by the plan spoke against it. Arguments ranged all the way from the bad effects it would have on agriculture to the feeling that it was wrong to tamper with nature. A motion that the <u>status quo</u> be maintained was passed and we hear nothing more about the proposal.

There are also a number of indications that religious considerations stood in the way of solution. Pliny, for example, suggests that the frequent fires in the city are a kind of divine punishment for the extravagant expenditure of money on homes and their furnishings. This fatalistic and moralistic attitude could complicate solutions of a practical nature.

According to Cassius Dio, the fire of 31 B.C. that broke out near the Circus Maximus was almost certainly the result of riot and arson. "But still," he goes on to say, "this, too, was listed with the clear-cut portents because of the number of buildings burned." How far this attitude went and to what extent it affected the solving of problems is not clear. But the fact that the Romans were quick to consult their Sibylline books of prophecy whenever such disasters occurred suggests that religious and superstitious answers were foremost in their minds when a search for practical solutions would have been more profitable.

## Further Reading

For the teacher.

- J. Carcopino, <u>Daily Life in Ancient Rome</u> (<u>Yale</u>, 1940, 1975, paperbound)
- C.C. Esler, Roman Voices: Everyday Latin in Ancient Rome (Advancement Press, 1974)
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- For teacher and student
  - M. Grant, The Roman Forum (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1974)
  - R. Nichols, K. McLeish, Through Roman Eyes (Cambridge, 1976)
  - U. E. Paoli (transl. R. D. Macnaghten), Rome: Its People, Life
    and Customs (David McKay, 1963)
  - H. Mattingly, The Man in the Roman Street (W. W. Norton, 1966)

Note: If you would like copies of the maps of Rome shown above suitable for making overhead transparencies, write the author, c/o Department of Classical Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 47401.

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