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ARTICLE I.

ROMAN PRIVATE LIFE.*

By Prof. J. L. Lincoln, Brown University.

THE labors of German scholars, within the present century, have given a new character to the study of Greek and Roman Antiquities. It is no slender praise, to say of the German manner of discussing this subject, that it is sensible and intelligent and full of life; for exactly in such qualities as these, consists the great superiority of the German authors over all their predecessors. In the text-books of Potter and Adams, which are honored at least by time and long use, we discover not the faintest trace of any true, living conception of Greek and Roman life; it is just as if the people, whose manners and customs are dryly detailed, had never lived at all, but had a mere dim, traditional being. It is far otherwise with the German writers, to whom we now refer. They seem to us more like travellers, coming from a region remote indeed, but yet belonging to our own world, and recording their own impressions of a people, parted from us by the long interval of ages, but yet human beings, like ourselves, who once lived and moved on the earth, and with all their lofty destinies, shared the common allotments of human existence;

¹ Sabina, von C. A. Böttiger. Leipzig, 1806.—Gallus, oder Römische Scenen aus der Zeit Augusts, von Wilh. Adolph Becker, Prof. a. d. Univ. Leipzig, 1838.—Gallus, or Roman Scenes of the time of Augustus, with Notes and Excurses illustrative of the Manners and Customs of the Romans. Translated from the German of Professor Becker, by Frederick Metcalfe, B. A. Late Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge. London, Parker, 1844.

we behold in their works, intelligent and comprehensive views of the life of the great nations of classic antiquity, from which, as they pass before us, we catch the living spirit of Greek and Roman civilization. It is in this manner, that the department of Classic Antiquities has gathered, in the hands of the Germans, a completely new character. Not only have they given it, by their large and accurate learning, that well-ordered, organic system, which it so much needed; but with the healthful and genial spirit, characteristic of German scholarship, they have animated and informed with a living soul, this hitherto dry and repulsive study. Till comparatively a recent period, the Greek Antiquities had received in Germany a disproportionate share of attention. The labors of Boeckh, Otfried Müller, Jacobs and others, in particular branches of inquiry, and the more extensive works of Hermann, Wachsmuth and Schömann have left unexplained scarcely a single point in the whole subject of Greek Antiquities. On the other hand, with the exception of the Roman law, which has been investigated with so much success by Savigny and other German jurists, the Roman Antiquities had been in comparative neglect. But the work of Becker, of which we have spoken in a former number of this Journal, promises to supply a want that has long been felt; and to furnish a Manual of Roman Antiquities, not inferior to the well-known books of Hermann and Wachsmuth, on the Antiquities of Greece. In this notice of the literature of this subject, we must not omit to mention the very valuable Dictionary,¹ which has been recently published in England, under the editorial care of Dr. William Smith. It is the united work of a noble band of English scholars, whose aims and spirit and large attainments are full of promise for classical learning in England. Without neglecting a personal examination of the original sources, they have made themselves perfectly familiar with the labors of the best modern writers, and have thus reproduced in English, and embodied in a single volume,

¹ A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Edited by William Smith, Ph. D., and illustrated by numerous engravings on wood. This work has been republished in this country, under the auspices of Charles Anthon, LL. D. of New York. In this American edition, with some useful changes affecting only its external form, the original work has lost just as much in quality as it has gained in quantity, by the introduction of "numerous additional articles relative to the Botany, Mineralogy, and Zoology of the Ancients!" In our humble judgment, the best service that could have been rendered to the American public in this case by Dr. Anthon, would have been a faithful reprint of the English work.

adapted alike to instruction and general use, all the results of German research and learning. It may safely be pronounced the best, nay the only book of the kind, to be found in any language.

The two works we have indicated above, are devoted to the private life of the Romans, an interesting subject, which has quite escaped the attention of most modern writers. Indeed from the general neglect of this branch of inquiry, have arisen and prevailed concerning it, the most inadequate and incorrect views. We are too apt to think of the Romans, in their exclusive devotion to politics and war, as a people all remote from the humble experience of common life. We think of them only in their national being, a mighty people extending their triumphs on sea and land, or giving laws in the senate and the forum to a conquered world; and amid the exploits of heroes and the counsels of statesmen, we quite forget the thousand little, unrecorded events, that transpired within the limited circles of domestic and social intercourse. But the Roman life was not all one grand triumphal march, nor yet one grave debate in the senate, or splendid declamation in the forum. Within the many homes of the great city, far away from the strife of the camp, and the bustle of the Comitia, there went on ever a quiet private life, rich in all human experience. The Roman loved his home and fireside, and around his family hearth, in the benign presence of his household god, clustered all the endearing charms of domestic life. The poetry of Horace, and the more familiar prose of Cicero and of Pliny disclose many a picture of home-life; and the narrative of Suetonius, and even the satire of Juvenal betray now and then a glimpse of similar scenes.

These works now before us, at once suggest and illustrate these remarks, and exhibit many agreeable analogies to the private life of modern times. The *Sabina* of Böttiger, though published many years ago, still maintains its reputation as the best work which has been written, on the particular subject of which it treats. It was written by one of the most learned and the most elegant of all the classical scholars of Germany; and has the great merit of presenting in a new and agreeable form, the original results of the author's own researches. Under the humble design of exhibiting "Morning Scenes in the Toilette of a rich Roman lady," Böttiger has contrived to gather together into one view the customs and occupations, all the manifold features of the daily life of the Roman women, in the first century of the Empire. This book is, however, so well-known, that we do not

design an extended review of it, but only to add to this general notice of its character, occasional allusions, in the course of this Article. Becker's *Gallus*, from its extreme importance, as well as its comparatively recent appearance, is well worthy of a particular examination. The author approached the execution of his task, after a most extensive and laborious preparation. He carefully went over the whole field of the later Greek and Roman literature, and subjected to a most searching process of investigation every original source of information. With the exception of the particular portion which has been so satisfactorily discussed by Böttiger, the work covers the whole ground of the Domestic Antiquities, and in the judgment of both German and English scholars, already holds the place, which the author hoped it might reach, of "a desirable Repertory of whatever is most worth knowing about the private life of the Romans."

In imitating the example of Böttiger, and, instead of writing a systematic Manual, weaving his materials into a continuous story, Becker has invested his work with much of the attractive interest that belongs to a tale of manners. The story, however partakes less of the nature of romance than of biography; as the author has chosen to fix his inquiries on an historical basis, in the life of Cornelius Gallus, a man eminent for his talents and rank, and intimacy with Augustus; and has mingled only as much of fiction as was needful for introducing the minor details of his subject. "In dividing the work into twelve scenes, the author disclaims all intention of writing a romance. This would, no doubt, have been a far easier task than the tedious combination of a multitude of isolated facts into a single picture; an operation allowing but little scope to the imagination.—His eagerness to avoid anything like romance, may possibly have rather prejudiced the narrative, but, even as it is, more fiction perhaps is admitted than is strictly compatible with the earnestness of literary inquiry." Notwithstanding this disclaimer, the narrative reflects great credit upon the author's imaginative power, and must awaken the most lively interest in the general reader, as well as in the scholar; and the various scenes furnish, in the language of the translator, "a flesh and blood picture of the Roman, as he lived and moved, and thought and acted."

In the remainder of this Article, we propose to follow Becker through some of the principal scenes in the history of Gallus, and to connect with them such remarks as they naturally suggest.

The first scene, entitled the "Nocturnal Return," gives us a

night-view of Rome. It was the third watch of the night, the last rays of the moon were fading from the Capitol and the adjacent temples, and, save the heavy tread of the watchmen on the broad pavement, or the quick step of some one hastening to his home, the mighty heart of the Eternal city lay in profound repose. Yet from a house in one of the finest streets, there issued some sounds, to break the general stillness. The massive door, creaking upon its hinges, was opened by the watchful porter, flashing thus upon the street a sudden glare of light from the *candelabra* burning in the *atrium* within, and a freedman of lordly mien, followed by a slave, came out upon the pavement, looking around anxiously upon all sides, and peering into the dim distance, as if in search of some one anxiously expected. It is the house of Gallus, and these are his faithful freedman Chresimus, and the attending *vicarius*,¹ whose anxiety for the late stay of their lord has brought them out of doors to look for his return. Soon the hurried step of a man, emerging from the shadow of a temple hard by, and nearing the vestibule, where they stood, put an end to their apprehensions. His outward appearance revealed the cause of the long delay. "A festive robe of a bright red color, the sandals fastened by thongs of the same dye, and a chaplet of myrtles and roses hanging from his left brow," all told the return from a late-kept banquet. Gallus had supped at the imperial board, and had afterwards retired to a convivial circle of noble friends, where the wine-cup and familiar chat had winged away the hours of the night. Gladly welcomed by his servants, he entered his house, and preceded by Chresimus with a wax candle, hastened through saloons and colonnades to his sleeping apartments. Here the slave in waiting received the robe and sandals; and the *cubicularius*, after having drawn aside the elegant tapestried curtain, and smoothed again the purple coverlet that nearly concealed the ivory bedstead, left his master to his repose. Thus opens the story. We must pass for the present, the valuable *Excursus* and notes, and come to the next, the "Morning" scene.

At earliest dawn, ere yet the tops of the seven hills were tinged with the beams of the returning sun, the house of Gallus was all life and activity. Troops of slaves issued from the *cellae* below, and the *coenacula* above, and spread themselves over

¹ *Vicarius* was the name given to a slave's slave. See the note in Metcalf's translation of Gallus, p. 3.

the apartments, and were soon busy, in their several ways, in all the deep mysteries of house-cleaning. We will fancy them hard at their work, and their lord yet buried in sleep, and meantime catch some glimpses, as well as we may, at the interior of this Roman mansion. The *atrium* is paved with marble mosaic, and the walls are adorned with paintings, and garland-crowned busts and shields.¹ The interior court, and the Peristyle beyond, are supported with columns of Taenarian and Numidian marble, and filled with furniture of the most costly description. The tables are worthy of particular notice, as this is an article on which the rich Roman spared no expense. The richest were made of the cedar of Mt. Atlas, and consisted of massive slabs, called *orbes*, resting upon columns of ivory. The *orbes* were circular plates of wood, cut off the body of the tree, in its whole diameter and near the root, not only because the tree was broadest there, but also because the wood was there of a beautiful speckled color. "Here the wood was like the dappled coat of a panther, there the spots, being more regular and close, imitated the tail of a peacock, and a third resembled the luxuriant and tangled leaves of the *apium*."

We could scarcely credit the accounts of the size and expense of these tables, did they not rest upon the statements of the most trustworthy writers. Pliny speaks of *orbes*, four feet in diameter, and of the thickness of half a foot, and relates that Cicero paid for one the enormous price of 1,000,000 sesterces, \$40,000.² The *abaci*, or side-boards were made of marble, and on them were displayed the gold and silver plate, and other valuables. The single *abacus* of the poor poet Codrus in Juvenal,³ boasted six pitchers, a little *cantharus*, and the gem of the place, a little reclining statue of Chiron; but in the house of our Gallus, glitter, in the splendid saloons, not only genuine Murrhina vases, beakers and bowls composed of precious stones, and ingenious works in Alexandrian glass, but also a countless variety of vessels of gold and silver," made by the most celebrated *torreatae*, and possessing a higher value from the beauty of the work-

¹ Becker reminds us in a note, that the *atria* of noble families were adorned with the *imagines majorum*, which were waxen images of departed ancestors. But Gallus was a *novus homo*, and could not boast a long line of ancestry, and hence Becker has adorned his *atrium* in the above manner.

² See the original work of Becker, p. 133. The English translator has considerably abridged the note, and omitted the calculations.

³ Sat. 3. 185—7.

manship, than the costliness of the material." There too were curious objects of a hoary classic antiquity, for any one of which a modern antiquarian would well nigh barter a whole estate. There stood for instance a double cup of Priam, which he had inherited from Laomedon, and another out of which old Nestor drank before the walls of Troy. Another was the gift of Dido to Aeneas, and near it an immense bowl, which Theseus once hurled against the face of Eurytus; and strangest of all, there was not wanting a veritable chip of the "good ship Argo" of golden fleece memory, on which perchance blue-eyed Minerva herself had erst laid her goddess hand. Verily the wise man taught well, "there is nothing new under the sun;" and our American collectors of May-Flower furniture, may trace back their pedigree to the luxurious lords of imperial Rome.

But while we have lingered here, the morning hours have sped away, and the vestibule is already thronged with humble visitors, who come to salute their patron, and crave their share of the diurnal *sportula*. The custom of paying the patron the compliments of the morning, was of early origin, and grew out of the ancient relation of the *clientela*. This relation in early times, was one of real and grave significance. The clients were foreigners, under the civil protection of their patron, and bound to him by ties of gratitude and affection. They were wont to wait upon him at his house, and to attend him to and from the forum; and in return, the patron honored them with his society, and invited them to his table. But with the decline of liberty, and the total change of manners in the time of Augustus, this relation had lost all its consequence, and had degenerated into a mere slavish dependence of the poor upon the rich. The clients were now citizens, and sometimes men of good family, but reduced in means, who hung upon their patron for promotion, and perhaps for their daily bread. The patron, now found his clients a burden, and instead of the *recta coena*, put them off with the *sportula*, which consisted either of a portion of food, or a trifling sum of money. Juvenal paints an amusing morning picture at the door of a great Roman,¹ which our author seems to have had in his eye in the scene before us. As the porter opened the door, a motley group pressed in, all eager to salute their lord. Poor people were there who needed the bounty of Gallus, young men of family, poets and idlers, vain fellows, glad of any chance to get

¹ Sat. 1. 87—100.

into a house of distinction, and a few real friends among the rest, whom kindness had attached to their patron. But after the adventures of the last night, Gallus was in no mood for a general levée, and sending a slave, he despatched the whole tribe with a cold "Non vacat,"¹ and was "at home" that morning in his dressing-room only to his particular friends.

It would far exceed our limits, to present the results of Becker's learned labors in the Notes and Excursus belonging to this scene. The description of the Roman house is a master-piece of German scholarship, and leaves little to be desired either by the general reader, or the classical scholar. The inquisitive student, who has sought in vain to form a complete whole from the *disjecta membra* of the ordinary manuals, will welcome this Excursus with delight. The excavations at Pompeii, which have laid open to view the houses of a Roman town, in the precise condition in which they were inhabited nearly two thousand years ago, have thrown much light upon this difficult branch of antiquities. Becker justly acknowledges the great merits of Winckelmann's writings on Herculaneum and Pompeii. It is true that most of the houses in Pompeii, being in a provincial town, are very small, and want many parts that belonged to a mansion in Rome; and even the largest, according to Becker's plan, cannot be considered, in all respects, a complete model of the regular Roman house. Yet the value of these discoveries to the classical student, cannot be too highly estimated; and the use of pictures of the principal public and private buildings at Pompeii, or what is still better, of such cork-models as are exhibited in the museum at Naples, would be of immense service in our colleges in the illustration of classic authors.

It would lead us too much into detail, to attempt a complete exhibition of Becker's plan of a Roman house; but we cannot refrain from a few general observations. Compared with the houses of modern cities, the Roman house was deeper and lower, and covered a much greater area. Though there was an upper story, yet the ground floor was the principal part of the house, and the regular place of abode. It contained in general three divisions, the first consisting of the Vestibule, an open space receding from the street, of the Ostium, and of the Atrium, the first saloon, and common family room; the second called the *Cavum aedium*, or heart of the house, in the centre of which was

¹ Martial, 9. 8.

an uncovered space, called the Impluvium; and the third, the Peristyle, surrounded by porticoes, and enclosing another and larger area, which had a jet in it, and was planted with flowers and trees. These, according to Becker, were the distinct parts belonging to the regular Roman house; yet it is proper here to observe, that our author differs from several respectable writers, who maintain that the Atrium and the Cavum aedium were one and the same. For the minor parts that were built around these, and varied with the taste and means of the owner, we must refer the reader to the book itself. We may mention, in passing, a beautiful custom made known by some of the Pompeian houses of saluting a visitor by a *Salve* in mosaic on the threshold; and also the statement of later writers, that the Romans were wont to have a bird just over the door, who had been taught to utter the same word of welcome. This is a little item, that might suggest many a pleasant reflection upon Roman manners.

Becker's plan applies only to the gentleman's private mansion. There were, however, lodging-houses, as in all modern cities, which were called *insulae*, and were built several stories in height, and rented by single persons, and by families of limited means. It is to these *insulae* that Juvenal undoubtedly refers in the expression *tectis sublimibus*, so high, as he humorously says, that broken ware flung out from the upper stories would break one's head, or *dent* the pavement.¹ The poet Martial tells us that he himself lived up three flights of stairs.² The house-rent usually paid by poor people was 2000 *sest.*,³ about \$80. From Cicero⁴ we learn that lodgings were let even at the high price of 30,000 *sest.*, more than \$1200, and that Caelius paid 10,000 *sest.*

In the third scene, we are introduced to Gallus in his library. This friend of Augustus, and favorite of fortune, was a man of letters and a poet; and his praises yet live in the muse of Virgil, and in the grave criticism of Quintilian. Our author follows a hint in one of Cicero's letters,⁵ and represents him spending "the later hours of the morning in converse with the great spirits of ancient Greece, or yielding himself to the sport of his own muse." Of his study, he has drawn a picture alike useful and attractive; and nothing can be more grateful than such a familiar view of a Roman scholar in the cherished place of his literary labors.

¹ Sat. 3. 251.² l. 118. 7. Et *scalis* habito *tribus*, sed *altis*.³ Suetonius' Julius, 38.⁴ Cicero pro Caelio, c. 7.⁵ Fam. 9. 20.

“The apartment lay far removed from the noisy din of the street, so that neither the rattling of the creaking wains and the stimulating cry of the mule-driver, nor the clarions and dirge of the pompous funeral, and the brawlings of the slaves hurrying busily along, could penetrate it. A lofty window, through which shone the light of the early morning sun, pleasantly illuminated from above the moderate sized apartment, the walls of which were adorned with elegant arabesques in light colors, and between them, on darker grounds, the luxurious forms of attractive dancing girls, sweeping spirit-like along. A neat couch, faced with tortoise shell and hung with Babylonian tapestry of various colors—by the side of which lay the *scrinium*, containing the poet's elegies, which were as yet unknown to the majority of the public, and a small table of cedar-wood, on goat's feet of bronze, comprised the whole of the *supellex*. Immediately adjoining this apartment was the library, full of the most precious treasures acquired by Gallus, chiefly in Alexandria. Here, in presses of cedar-wood, placed round the walls, lay the rolls, partly of parchment, and partly of the finest Egyptian *papyrus*, each supplied with a label, on which was seen in bright red letters, the name of the author and title of the book. On the other side of the library was a larger room, in which a number of learned slaves were occupied in transcribing, with nimble hand, the works of illustrious Greek and the more ancient Roman authors, both for the supply of the library, and for the use of those friends to whom Gallus obligingly communicated his literary treasures. Others were engaged in giving the rolls the most agreeable exterior, in glueing the separate strips of *papyrus* together, drawing the red lines, which divided the different columns, and writing the title in the same color; in smoothing with pumice stone and blackening the edges; fastening ivory tops on the sticks round which the rolls were wrapped, and dyeing bright red or yellow the parchment which was to serve as a wrapper.”

This interesting passage, and the annexed Excursus furnish the most valuable information on the mechanical execution of books, and on the book-trade itself in Rome, in the time of Augustus. Becker has given the best account we have seen of the several materials and implements of writing among the ancient Romans; and on the external form of the books, has added to the facts afforded by Winckelmann, in his description of the Herculanean rolls, some interesting results of original investiga-

tion. Passing these topics, however, we will touch upon one or two points, which are perhaps less familiar.

The *scrinium* mentioned in the above passage was properly a little case, designed to hold books or letters or other writings. It was usually made of wood, and of a cylindrical form, as this was best suited to the form of the books, and was of greater or smaller size, proportioned to the number of rolls it was designed to hold. Its several compartments were called *loculi*. *Capsa* is another name for the same thing, and in distinction from *scrinium* was used to designate a case of a smaller size. Böttiger¹ has very pleasantly described these little book-cases; and it appears from his account, that in later times, under the hand of the Roman ladies, they sometimes underwent a singular form of usurpation. The *capsula* which he describes, was one of a set of costly articles, which were accidentally discovered in Rome in the year 1794, while some laborers were digging for a well, in a garden at the foot of the Esquiline hill. It was made of solid silver, a foot in height, and a foot and several inches broad at the base, in the shape of a regular polygon, whose sixteen sides arched up towards the top, so that the picture of the whole, as given by Böttiger, resembles a neat little dome-like structure. The obvious resemblance of this *capsula* to the usual cases for books, kindled at once the curiosity of learned antiquarians to know the character of its contents. Perhaps the rusty cover of this long-buried case might discover, in good preservation, some rare old manuscript that would surpass in literary value, any that had yet been discovered—perhaps some exquisite gem of Grecian or Roman letters, some fine ode of Sappho or of Alcaeus, nay even some one of the lost elegies of Gallus. As the rubbish and dirt were carefully removed from its sides, and laid bare elegantly wrought figures of the Muses, and in the intervening spaces, arabesque settings of garlands and vases, the bosoms of the waiting scholars were all glowing with a feverous ardor of impatient hope. But, alas for the delusive nature of all human expectations! On removing the cover, the *capsula* turned out to be a mere appendage to the toilette of a Roman lady, and *proh pudor!* contained nothing but—five little vials of perfume. From this digression we recur to the legitimate use of these cases. We have seen that the *scrinium* of Gallus contained the poet's elegies. It was also often employed, like a little book-case in a modern house, to contain a kind of pocket-library for family use,

¹ Sabina l. 80—88, and the note on p. 102.

or any small collection of valuable manuscripts, which were to be kept with special care. It also served some out-door uses. It was the *green-bag* of the Roman lawyer, and the *satchel* of the Roman school-boy; and was in each case carried by a slave, who was hence called *capsarius*. Our classical readers will remember Juvenal's allusion to this use of the *capsa* by the school-boy,

Quem sequitur custos angustas versula capsae.—Sat. 10. 117.

The fact of this use has been successfully employed by the celebrated C. F. Hermann of Göttingen,¹ in explanation of a much disputed line in Horace.² Horace speaks of the boys of Venusia going to the school of Flavius, *laevo suspensi loculos*—lacerto, the *loculi* hanging on their left arm. The *loculi* by a very common figure of speech, is here put for the *capsa* itself, and Horace means to say that the provincial boys went to school, carrying their satchels on their own arms, unlike the aristocratic boys of the metropolis, and Horace himself, as we may well infer from the whole connection, who were relieved of the unwelcome burden by the attending *capsarius*.

The "neat couch" in the above passage, by which lay the *scrinium*, must not be identified in purpose, with a modern sofa, on which one might indulge a lazy mood, or even snatch some repose for a hard-worked brain. The *lectus*, *lectulus*, or couch performed the same service in a Roman study, as a modern study-table or desk; and these last as Böttiger has shown,³ were unknown to the ancients. The modern artist, who would paint Cicero or Horace in his study, must follow Becker, in his picture of Gallus, and represent him "reclining on the *lectus*, supported on his left arm, his right knee drawn up higher than the other, in order to place on it his book or tablets." This was the *habitus studentis*, the ordinary posture in study of the Roman scholar, as Becker has clearly shown by a passage quoted from Pliny; and numerous passages from other classic writers fully establish the fact.

The nearest approach to a modern desk was the *cathedra*, or the easy-chair of the Roman women. This was furnished with ample arms, which served as a kind of writing-desk or dressing-

¹ Disputatio C. F. Hermannii Marburgi, as quoted by Jo. Caspar Orellius, in his Q. Horatius Flaccus, Secunda editio, Turici, 1844. See the Excursus I, appended to Sat. I. 6. Besides Orellius, Düntzner, and a writer in Jahn's Jahrbücher, 27, adopt Hermann's interpretation.

² Sat. I. 6. 74.

³ Sabina, I. p. 35, in a note on the *cathedra*.

table. Pliny had in a *cubiculum* at his Laurentine villa, besides the *lectus*, two such cathedrae.¹

In the next Excursus on "the Booksellers," we find many valuable notices from the classic writers. With the advance of literature in Rome, and the growth of a reading public, the demand for books gradually increased; and in the age of Augustus, book-selling had risen to the importance of a distinct branch of trade. Rome had now its Book-Row in the Argiletum; and the brothers Sosii, we may venture to consider the prototypes of the Longmans or the Harpers of these modern days. But as the multiplication of copies was effected by the slow process of transcribing, it must have been difficult to carry on the business with much celerity; and the Sosii must have been hard pressed to supply the demand for a popular book, such as that which Horace describes,

—Qui miscuit utile dulci.—*Ars Poet.* 343.

Nor had the Roman bookseller the convenient medium of a daily newspaper, in which to advertise a new work or aid on its sale by a happy *puff*. This end he endeavored to attain by suspending the titles of the books on the door of the shop, or on the pillars of the portico, under which it might happen to be situated. Hence the meaning of Horace's famous line on *mediocres* poets,

Non homines, non dii, non concessors columnas.—*Ars P.* 372,

and also of another line, which contains a still plainer allusion,

Nalla taberna meos habeat, neque pila libellos.—*Sat.* 1. A. 71.

For the want of sufficient data, it is difficult to arrive at any exact conclusion on the interesting question of the relation of the Roman author to the bookseller. It would seem from Becker, that the example of the poet Martial is the only one that bears directly upon this point; and this is not clear in all respects. In one place, Martial recommends one who wished for his poems to his bookseller Tryphon,

Non habeo, sed habet bibliopola Tryphon, 4. 71, .

and in another place he brings a work to a speedy conclusion, because he is in want of money, 11. 108. Thus too in 11. 3. he complains that he is no richer for his poems being read in Britain, Spain and Gaul. Other writers seem to have derived pecuniary

¹ This is mentioned by Becker, in Note 7 to the third scene.

compensation from other sources. The Roman comic writers sold their plays to the Aediles. Terence received for his *Eunuchus* the tolerable fee of 8000 sest., circa \$325. The elder Pliny¹ was offered by a private individual for his *Commentarii electorum* the sum of 400,000 sest., circa \$16,000. But the great Augustan poets wrote for fame, and were rewarded by the friendship and patronage of the great. Tibullus had his Messala, Virgil his Pollio, and Horace his Maecenas. In regard to the "poet's sacred name," Horace assumed in his writings a no less lofty position than Byron himself, and cherished an equal and a far more consistent contempt for all "hireling bards" and "venal sons of Apollo." From his very pithy line,

—— Paupertas impulit audax,
Ut versus facerem — (Ep. 2. 2. 51),

many have hastily inferred that the poet at the period of his life there referred to, betook himself to *verse-making*, as a means of subsistence. But apart from the fact, that this inference is repugnant to Horace's cherished sentiments, and his whole course in life, it is clear from the words of the poet himself,² that the unpopular vocation of a satirist would never have gained him his bread, and indeed would have been a more direct road to starvation than to a comfortable subsistence. Nor is it less improbable that Horace resorted to poetry, in the hope of conciliating the favor of the rich and the great; for the business of writing satire was ill calculated to ingratiate the friendless *ci-devant* republican with Octavius and his noble associates, who now held in their hands all civil and social gifts, and were busy in creating a brilliant monarchy upon the ruins of the Commonwealth. In the midst of these difficulties, it is better to adopt the opinion of W. E. Weber of Bremen,³ in his recent valuable work on "Horace, as a Man and a Poet." It was neither the thought of supporting himself as a poet, nor the hope of making his fortune with the great, but the absolute indifference that resulted from his then desolate condition, to which Horace refers in the *audax paupertas*, and from which he formed the resolution to venture upon the career of a poet. He had just returned from the battle of Philippi, which had sealed the fate of the republic. During his absence, his worthy father had died, and his little estate had either been

¹ This is quoted by Becker p. 247, of the Eng. edition, from Pliny Ep. 3, 5.

² Sat. 1. 4. 22.

³ Quintus Horatius Flaccus, als Mensch und Dichter, von W. E. Weber, Prof. und Director der Gelehrten-schule in Bremen. Jena, 1844.

sold or confiscated. Without friends and without money, his fortunes were all unpropitious. For him the present stood utterly still; and to give it a prosperous flow, activity of some kind was an imperious condition. In this extremity, he felt within him the stirrings of his poetic genius, which had already found some utterance, during his sojourn in classic Greece, and turning to the muse with resolute heart, and courting her embrace, as if in defiance of his prosaic fate, he entered the rude path of satire, as best suited to his then feelings and fortunes. This opinion of Weber is at once ingenious and reasonable; and the learned German follows it up with a supposition differing from that of Zumpt,¹ that it was soon after his return to Rome, that Horace obtained the place of quaestor's clerk, the *scriptum quaestorium* of his biographer Suetonius, and alluded to in the poet's own writings, and that he drew from the slender emolument accruing from this office the supply of his temporal wants. At a later period, his introduction to Maecenas by his brother poets Virgil and Varius, was the tide in the poet's affairs that led on to fortune. The relation of Horace to Maecenas is without a parallel in the annals of literary biography. It was alike removed from a cringing servility on the one side, and on the other from a distant and haughty patronage. Horace was the personal and literary companion of Maecenas, furnishing him direct aid in his public and private duties, enriching his leisure hours with his good sense and varied knowledge, and cheering and enlivening his princely home with the light of his genius, and the sprightly sallies of his wit, and his unfailling humor. It was a relation of intimate friendship mutually grateful and useful, ennobled by literary tastes and sympathies, and secured by ties of respect and affection. In this happy connection, Horace went onward in his poetic career with sure and rapid steps. Enjoying free access to the house of Maecenas, admitted to the presence and society of Augustus, in daily intercourse with the first men of his time, he was surrounded by influences congenial to his tastes, and suited to his poetic culture. The event showed, that he was not unfaithful to all the advantages of this position. From being the companion of the emperor and of the emperor's friend, he gradually became the richly cultivated poet, in whom lay imaged all the

¹ C. G. Zumpt, the veteran philologist of Berlin, who supposes that Horace exercised the functions of *scriba* at a later period, and only in immediate connection with Maecenas. See Zumpt's *Life of Horace*, prefixed to Wüstermann's recent edition of Heindorf's Horace.

great events and characters of the age, and in whose matchless verse they all found their fit poetic expression.

We have lingered so long over the many interesting points suggested by the last scenes, that we can barely notice the next two scenes, which depict in lively colors the Journey of Gallus to his Campanian Villa. Like Umbricius in Juvenal, Gallus is made to send on his travelling carriage to wait for him without the Porta Capena, by the grove of the Camoenæ; as it is a matter of doubt, whether persons were allowed at that period to ride in a carriage within the walls of Romé. Becker has sketched a vivid picture of the noisy, crowded streets, through which a passage was forced for Gallus, while "reclining on the cushions of his *lectica*, and borne on the shoulders of six stalwart Syrian slaves." As we read, we seem to be in the very midst of all the bustling, out-door life of the city, we move on with its thronging crowds, we see and hear its very sights and sounds, and catch the living manners of the great Roman metropolis. As the Villa of Gallus lay between Sinuessa and Capua, his journey was on that *regina viarum*, queen of Roman roads, the Via Appia. Our author has happily followed the authority of Horace in the well-known journey to Brundisium, and has infused into his story no small portion of the poet's genial mirth. Our classical readers will love to refresh their memory with this modern revision of that famous tour, and laugh again over all its amusing vexations. To the chapter of annoyances, Becker has added a little item from Martial, in the "troop of filthy beggars on the hill, outside the town of Asiccia," which must remind every one who has travelled anywhere in Italy, of the *lazzaroni* and *lepros* of modern times.¹

The villa of Gallus had a charming situation in the classic Falerian land. The vicinity was rich in all the variety of wood-

¹ Indeed it is so very like what we ourselves have seen, that we venture to compare notes with Becker, from the leaves of our humble journal of a journey from Florence to Rome. We remember well one dull morning, as the Diligence was slowly making its way up a long hill to the town of Radicefani, that on getting out to breathe a little air, and refresh ourselves after the tedious night, we were saluted by a pack of ragged beggar boys, who came down to meet us, and insisted on giving us their company, and entertaining us with their execrable music, utterly unheeding the very considerable emphasis with which we declined their services. They continued to press around us, and were deaf to all entreaty and remonstrance, till at length we flung among them a handful of copper, when their voices were silenced in a twinkling, and scrabbling for the coin, away they made up the hill with a most welcome despatch.

land and forest and meadow, and afforded in the distance a prospect of the Auruncan hills. The grateful sight of flourishing orchards and gardens, the lowing of herds, the cackling of swarms of poultry, and, on all sides, the busy hum of cheerful industry, greeted the return of the landlord to his noble estate. By the aid of materials, chiefly collected from the pages of Pliny, Becker has well described the country residence of a Roman nobleman of wealth and taste. We give it as follows :

"The front, situated to the south-east, formed a roomy portico, resting on Corinthian pillars, before which extended a terrace planted with flowers, and divided by box-trees into small beds of various forms; while the declivity sloping gently down, bore figures, skilfully cut out of the box-trees, of animals opposite to each other, as if prepared for attack, and then gradually became lost in the acanthus which covered in its verdure the plain at its foot. Behind the colonnade, after the fashion of the city, was an *atrium*, not splendidly but tastefully adorned, the elegant pavement of which, formed to imitate lozenges, in green, white and black stone, contrasted pleasantly with the red marble that covered the walls. From this you entered a small oval *peristyl*, an excellent resort in unfavorable weather; for the spaces between the pillars were closed up with large panes of the clearest *lapis specularis*, or talc, through which the eye discovered the pleasant verdure of the soft mossy carpet, that covered the open space in the centre, and was rendered ever flourishing by the spray of the fountain. Just behind this was the regular court of the house, of an equally agreeable aspect, in which stood a large marble basin, surrounded by all sorts of shrubs and dwarf trees; on this court abutted a grand eating-hall, built beyond the whole line of the house, through the long windows of which, reaching like doors to the ground, a view was obtained, towards the Auruncan hills in front, and on the sides into the gardens; whilst in the rear, a passage opened through the *cavaedium*, *peristyl*, *atrium*, and colonnade, into the open air. This saloon was bordered on the right by different chambers, which from their northerly aspect presented a pleasant abode, in the heat of summer, and more to the east lay the regular sitting and sleeping rooms. The first were built outwards semicircularly, in order to catch the beams of the morning light, and retain those of the mid-day sun. The internal arrangements were simple, but comfortable, and in perfect accordance with the green prospect around; for on the mar-

ble basement were painted branches reaching inwards as it were from the outside, and upon them colored birds, so skilfully executed, that they appeared not to sit, but to flutter.—On the opposite side, which enjoyed the full warmth of the evening sun, were the bath-rooms and the *sphaeristerium*, adapted not merely for the game of ball, but for nearly every description of corporeal exercises.—Lastly, at both ends of the front colonnade, forming the entrance, rose turret-shaped buildings, in the different stories of which were small chambers, affording an extensive view of the smiling plains.”

The subject of gardening, among the Romans, both useful and ornamental, has been examined by Becker with the greatest diligence; and the results are given in a learned Excursus. But on this subject, we must content ourselves with extracting the following passage, describing the “most captivating spot in Gallus’ garden.”—“Tall, shady elms, entwined with luxuriant vines, enclosed a semicircular lawn, the green carpet of which was penetrated by a thousand shooting violets. On the farther side, rose a gentle ascent, planted with the most varied roses, that mingled their balmy odors with the perfume of the lilies blooming at its foot. Above this, the neighboring mountains reared their dark summits, while on the side of the hill a pellucid stream babbled down in headlong career, after escaping from the colossal urn of a nymph, who lay gracefully reclined on the verdant moss, dashed over a mass of rocks, and then with a gentle murmur vanished behind the green amphitheatre.”

We pass the sixth scene, and come to the seventh, entitled “A Day at Baiae.” This was the great watering-place of imperial Rome. The traveller, who visits this renowned spot, where now “ruin greenly dwells,” may catch from all around him a distinct conception of what it was in the days of its glory, when princes and nobles thronged to its baths and springs, mingled in all its gay scenes of fashion, and revelled in its charms of nature and art. Situated within a little winding recess of the most enchanting bay of the Mediterranean, under a delicious southern sky, in the midst of all the consecrated scenery of Virgil’s muse, its seas ever calm and unruffled, and its whole soil rich in healing springs, it far surpassed in its means of health and pleasure, all the resorts of antiquity. Along with the invalids, who came in search of health, “there streamed thither a much larger number of persons, who resigned themselves to

enjoyment, in whatever shape it was offered. One continued *sarnalia* was there celebrated, in which even the more reserved suffered themselves to be carried away by the intoxication of pleasure, whilst follies, which in Rome would have drawn down reproof, were scarcely regarded as imputations on character, or such only as the next bath would entirely efface." But all that gay and not innocent life has long since passed away; the thousands, who there mingled in the giddy whirl of folly and vice have gone from among the living; the costly monuments of art have all fallen in decay; beneath the waters of the bay, may be seen remains of the *moles*,¹ by which the rich encroached upon the sea; and along the whole coast, and the adjacent hillsides, lie thickly strewn and fast imbedded in the earth, the ruins of temples and villas and baths. Nothing has survived the desolating hand of time, save the imperishable charms of nature; and all these yet are there, the skies as blue, the air as fragrant, the clear expanse of water, and all the landscape reposing in smiling beauty, as when they gladdened the eye and heart of the great Roman poet, and kindled in his imagination visions of Elysian glory,

" Art, glory, freedom fail, but Nature still is fair."

Having whiled away some days at Baiae, Gallus returned to his villa; and there, while reposing in the lap of rural enjoyment, was startled by private intelligence from Rome, which told of the "Displeasure of Augustus." This forms the title of the next scene. During his absence, calumny had been busy with his name at the court, false friends had poisoned the ears of the emperor with grave charges against his fair fame and his loyalty, and by imperial decree, he was now "forbidden to enter the palace, or stay in the provinces." On hearing these tidings, he broke up his country establishment, and hastened to the metropolis. It was the custom of the Romans, not only on occasion of the loss of friends by death, but also in all times of public or of private calamity to display their sorrow by habiliments of mourning. But Gallus, proudly conscious of his integrity, and stung to the quick by the severe decree, determined on his arrival in Rome, to brave the displeasure of his imperial master, and to appear in public, arrayed in sumptuous apparel, and invested with all the insignia of his rank. With this little circumstance, Beck-

¹ *Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
Tactis in altum molibus.*—*Horace, Odes, 3. 1. 33.*

er has given in a most elaborate account of the Roman dress. The following passage is worthy of special notice :

“ The slave came with the *tunica*, and followed by two others bearing the *toga*, already folded in the approved fashion, whilst a fourth placed the purple dress-shoes near the seat. Eros first girded the under-garment afresh, then threw over his master the upper *tunica*, taking particular care that the broad strip of purple woven into it, might fall exactly across the centre of the breast. He then hung one end of the *toga* over the left shoulder, so as to fall far below the knee, and cover with its folds, the whole of the arm down to the hand. The right arm remained at liberty, as the voluminous garment was passed at its broadest part under the arm, and then brought forward in front ; the *umbo* being laid obliquely across the breast, so that the well rounded *sinus* almost reached the knee, and the lower half ended at the middle of the shin-bone, whilst the remaining portion was once more thrown over the left shoulder, and hung down over the arm and back of the person in a mass of broad and regular folds. Eros then reached for his lord the polished hand-mirror, the thick silver plate of which reflected every image with perfect clearness. Gallus cast but a single glance on it, allowed his feet to be installed into the tall shoes, latched with four-fold thongs, placed on his fingers the rings he had taken off over night, and ordered Chresimus to be summoned.”

It best suited the mood of Gallus to appear in the very focus of Roman life, and hence, on the pretence of making purchases, he bent his way from his house, followed by four imposing slaves to the shops of the crowded Forum. In the altered looks of all that met him, he soon read the quick effect that had been wrought by “ a single word from the Emperor.” The many friends, who in his sunshine of fortune, had ever pressed forward to meet him, now passed him by unnoticed ; the proud patricians, carried high their heads, and deigned him not a word nor a look ; the very slaves catching the hint from their lords, pointed at him the finger of scorn ; and, save now and then some worthy citizen, the world ventured on no expression of sympathy with his present condition.

We would gladly follow Gallus, in his visits to the gay *tabernae* of the Forum ; but our limits forbid, and we hasten to the ninth scene, which exhibits a “ Banquet” in the house of Lentulus, a wealthy nobleman of Rome. We account this the most elaborate, and on the whole the most successful of all the pic-

tures of Roman life, that have been drawn by the hand of Becker. In nothing is the contrast more striking, between the stern virtues of the early Roman character, and the extravagance and luxury of later times, than in the arrangements of the table. The fare of the old Roman was ever simple and frugal. The common article of food was a poor substitute for bread, generally called *puls*, and very much the same thing as we call *gruel*. Juvenal in a picture of earlier times, mentions the toilworn sons of the household, coming home to the ample supper of *puls*, that was smothered for them in the huge vessels.¹ To this were added all the varieties of vegetables; but flesh was used but very sparingly. Such was the Roman living, down to about the time of Plautus. The comedies of that writer throw much light on the subject. At this period, better meals were introduced. We gather from Plautus,² that the change was owing to the sacrifices, and to the public banquets. But Livy³ ascribes it to a more important cause, the wars in Asia. In describing the luxury introduced from Asia, Livy mentions feasts prepared with great care and expense, the employment of private cooks, and cooking itself as already a regular art. But the living of those times was far removed from extravagance. It was good and plentiful—it did not refuse, with the *gruel* and *puls* of an earlier day, some generous mingling of meats and delicacies, nor yet of the mellow wines of Campania; but still it indicated no gross departures from simplicity and temperance. We should not widely err, in adducing, in illustration of these times, the example of the elder Cato. He was a nobleman of an old family, a man of talents and cultivation, and of political influence, and possessed of considerable means; but he had within him, by nature and by character, all the strong qualities of the old Roman, and he set himself with all his strength against the introduction of eastern habits of living. Cicero gives a pleasant and faithful picture of this remarkable man in his treatise on Old Age.⁴ In the old man's description of the pleasures of husbandry, which Cicero invests with all the living enthusiasm of a healthy old age, the cellar of the industrious farmer is furnished with an ample supply of wine and olives, and well stocked with pork and kid and sheep and poultry, and cheese and honey. In another place, when contend-

¹ ——— coena

Amplior, et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.—*Sat.* 14. 170.

² As referred to by Becker, on p. 356 of the English Edition.

³ B. 39. 6.

⁴ De Senectute, chapters 14—16.

ing for the pleasures that belong yet to advanced life, he speaks with a temperate warmth of his convivial occasions on his Sabine farm, in the summer, in the cool of the evening, in the winter, in the sun, or by the fire; of the president chosen for the evening, of the draughts from the small and *dewy* cup,¹ and especially of the cheerful conversation, protracted till deep in the night.

But the period of the Empire presents a system of life entirely different. Rome had now fulfilled her measure as the conqueror of the world; and the unbounded increase of riches and power had brought along with it, all the refinements of luxury and vice. The same causes that had wrought a change in government, had given a new form and character to domestic life. No longer existed the early facility of living, growing out of simple tastes and habits. Artificial wants and desires had come into being, a whole system of fashions was in full dominion, and all, who would be held in social consequence, must needs strive to adapt themselves to their new social conditions, and merge all other cares in anxious efforts to provide the means and secure the appearance of a respectable existence. The difference thus created, was especially conspicuous in the table. This was characterized by an incredible degree of luxury, inferior to that of no country nor period of modern times. No ingenuity of invention was unemployed, nor any prodigality of expense refused in procuring the choicest dainties and the rarest dishes. And these were sometimes furnished, not merely from the view of real use, but simply because they gave additional splendor to a dinner. Becker says, that the Roman epicures considered it a great object to make way with the greatest possible quantity of food, and hence resorted to the most unnatural means for increasing their capacity of eating. Indeed, as he has well said, the golden saying, *il faut manger pour vivre, et non pas vivre pour manger*, was precisely inverted in Rome.

It is this style of living in the days of the Empire, which is illustrated in the present Banquet-scene. Becker is a most veracious scholar, and relies upon direct classical authority; else we might be tempted to suspect, that in painting this superb feast, he had largely drawn from fancy. The chief authorities are Horace, Juvenal and Petronius. The noble guests are assembled in a

¹ Compare also, Horace, Odes, 3. 21. 11, 12,
Narratur et prisici Catonis
Saepe mero caluisse virtus.

spacious saloon. Elegant sofas, inlaid with tortoise-shell, decked below with white hangings embroidered with gold, and furnished with cushions and pillows, surrounded a table of cedar-wood, constituting together the *triclinium*.¹ The guests all reclining in their allotted places, their sandals were removed by the slaves, and water was offered them in silver bowls for their ablutions. Soon appeared the *gustatorium*,² or the first course. It would be difficult to find anything in modern times, to vie with the table-service and ingenious arrangements, here described by Becker. For instance; "in the centre of the *plateau*, ornamented with tortoise-shell, stood an ass of bronze, on either side of which hung silver panniers, filled with white and black olives; on the back of the beast sat a Silenus, from whose skin the most delicious *garum*, (a sauce) flowed upon the *sumen* beneath. Near this, on two silver gridirons lay delicately dressed sausages, beneath which Syrian plums, mixed with the seeds of the pomegranate, presented the appearance of glowing coals. Anon came on the *coena* proper. This consisted of a brilliant succession of fish, flesh and fowl. Ring-doves and field-fares, capons and ducks, and mullets and turbot, all tempted the eye and the palate, and produced in the guests a most agreeable state of indecision. And now, too, began to flow freely the old Falernian; and all began to be merry. The boar was the *caput coenae*, or chief dish of the Roman dinner. Of all varieties, the Tuscan carried the palm. On this occasion, it was served in a manner worthy its eminence. It was surrounded by eight sucking-pigs, made of sweet paste, and surprisingly like real ones. On the tusks of the boar, hung little baskets, woven of palm-twigs, and containing Syrian and Theban dates. This dish well discussed, and others no less singular, but too numerous to mention, and the table carefully cleared, an ample dessert closed the

¹ The Roman *Triclinium* properly consisted of three *lecti*, each having three places, so that the whole would accommodate nine persons. They were arranged, so as to form three sides of a rectangle, leaving the space on the fourth side for the approach of the servants. After the introduction of the round table, one semi-circular sofa was used, which from its shape, was called the *Sigma*.

² The *Coena* consisted of three parts. First, the *gustus* or *gustatorium*. This was a kind of antepast, and consisted of vegetables, shell-fish, and sauces. Second, the *fercula*. This was the *coena* proper, or the several courses. In early times, there was a large number, but with the increase of luxury, more were added. Hence Juvenal, Sat. 1. 94. *Quis fercula septem secreto coenavit avus?* Third, *mensae secundae*, or dessert. See the Excursus of Becker on Meals.

entertainment. It was a curious custom to present the guests with elegant little trifles, as a kind of *souvenir* of the occasion. This was effected by our host Lentulus in a quite peculiar manner. A sudden noise over-head attracted the eyes of all. At once the ceiling opened, and slowly came down from some invisible hand, a large silver hoop, which scattered, as it revolved, its rich gifts of perfume-vials of silver and alabaster, and silver garlands of beautifully chiselled leaves and circlets. The dessert was not inferior to the other part of the feast. In the midst of a tempting array of pastry, "stood a well-modelled Vertumnus, who held in his apron a great variety of fruits. Around lay sweet quinces, full of almonds, and having the appearance of sea-urchins, with melons cut into various shapes." A slave handed round tooth-picks made of the *lentiscus*, or mastick tree, and Lentulus invited the guests to partake of the fruits with which the pod was loaded. It will be seen that this Roman banquet was no intellectual Symposium, like that described by Plato and Xenophon. Becker has purposely shunned the difficult task of introducing to his scene in familiar conversation the Roman scholars of the Augustan age, as this would have interfered with his main design. There were not wanting, however, among the guests some allusions to the character and policy of Augustus, which betrayed the irritated Gallus into some intemperate expressions of disloyalty and treason, which hurried on the consummation of his unhappy fate. On the morrow, the Emperor was informed of what had fallen from his lips; the whole matter was referred to the senate; and the result was a decree of banishment and confiscation. But the proud spirit of Gallus brooked not so disgraceful an end; and ere the *lictor* had arrived to announce the sentence, he had struck deep into his breast the same sword that once had achieved many a victory, and he lay on his couch covered with his own blood.

We must here close our remarks upon this valuable work. For its learned author, who has successfully penetrated this hitherto unexplored field of Roman Antiquities, and brought back such rich fruits of his toils, we cherish the most grateful sentiments of admiration and respect. This book marks an era on this subject, and is a complete view, in a most attractive form, of the private life of the Romans.

The original work has suffered no essential loss in the process of translation into English, in the edition, from which we have frequently quoted, in the course of this Article. From a careful

comparison, in many places, we have found that Mr. Metcalf, the English translator, has executed his task with accuracy and faithfulness. The external arrangement of the different parts of the work he has very skilfully changed. In the original, the Scenes are "separated by a profound gulf of Notes and Excursus, which is quite sufficient to drown the interest of the tale." This difficulty has been remedied by arranging the Scenes in succession, by setting the Notes in their several places at the foot of the pages in the narrative, and throwing together the Excursus in the form of an appendix. We may be allowed to say, however, that the book would have gained yet more in the English dress, if the author had taken some liberties with the style of the original, and broken up the many long and involved German sentences. With all their varied merits, the Germans have sadly neglected the cultivation of rhetorical excellence. On the other hand, it seems to us, that the translator has resorted too freely to the process of "lopping," and has left out happy references, and entirely omitted the discussion of matters of considerable importance. We must find fault too, with the numberless abbreviated allusions, which are copied unexplained, into the English work. With the exception of the learned Germans, it is not to be supposed that all scholars are familiar with every author that ever wrote in Greek or Latin, and that an arbitrary abbreviation made of two or three letters, and sometimes of a single letter is enough to suggest at once the name of the writer and of the work, to which reference is made.

ARTICLE II.

NATURAL THEOLOGY.

Furnished by a Society of Clergymen.

It has long been our conviction, that Natural Theology deserves far more attention than it has received from modern divines. In a preceding number of this Review,¹ we expressed our regret that so noble a department of study should have fallen in-

¹ See an Article on the State of Theological Science and Education in our VOL. III. No. 10.