REBUILDING THE REPUBLIC.

THE PROPAGANDA IN ARCHITECTURE OF CAESAR AND POMPEY IN ROME

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Rebuilding the Republic. The Propaganda in Architecture of Caesar and Pompey in Rome

This PhD thesis investigates how political propaganda was carried out via architectural display by Julius Caesar and Pompey the Great in Rome during the mid-first century BC. Only recently have scholars begun to focus on the ideological meaning and importance of monuments in the context of the political struggles of the Late Republic; furthermore, while the figure of Caesar has recently seen re-assessment, the theatre of Pompey and its decorative programme and ideological meaning are still a matter of debate. Since architecture was one of the main media in a Roman politician's efforts to gain prestige and support, my intention is to understand the political reasons and the propagandistic needs that led these two great figures to the promotion of particular buildings in a specific context. Furthermore, the diachronic development of the ideological content of those monuments is analysed, as well as the target of that content. The results of my research confirm that the political conflict between Caesar and Pompey was very visible in their monumental programmes, and demonstrate that these interventions progressively acquired new meanings in relation to political events and to the shifting balances of power. Finally, new interpretations are presented in connection to the plurality of meanings that a single propagandistic message could acquire according to the cultural education and social status of the groups and individuals for which it was intended.

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This thesis is dedicated to Romeo, expert of Latin and companion of studies and youth.

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Ancient Sources:

The abbreviations used in order to reference the ancient sources follow those used in Cancik H., Schneider H. (eds), *Brill's New Pauly*, (2002-2010), Brill, Leiden

Bibliography:

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

ILLRP: Degrassi A. 1957-1963 (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*, 2 vols, La Nuova Italia, Florence

InscrIt: *Inscriptiones Italiae*

LTUR: Steinby E. M. 1993-1999 (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum Urbis Romae*, vols 1-5, Quasar, Rome

RE3: Mattingly H. 1976, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, vol.III: Nerva to Hadrian*, vol.3, London, British Museum Press

RRC: Crawford M. H. 1974, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge University Press, London

Urbs: AAVV. 1987, *L'Urbs: Espace Urbain et Histoire (Ier Siècle av. J.-C.- IIIe Siècle ap. J.-C.): Actes du Colloque International Organisé par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et l'Ecole Française de Rome (Rome, 8-12 mai 1985)*, École française de Rome, Rome

The journal abbreviations follow the rules listed in *L'Année Philologique* Online (http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf).

Chapter 1

Introduction

The rivalry and character of Rome's late Republican triumvirs and generals, Pompey and Caesar, have been much investigated and debated since antiquity. The relevance in history and the importance of the legacy of both figures had therefore already been recognised, and have continued to attract the attention of scholars - and eminent politicians and authors as well - across the centuries (notably Shakespeare, Charles V, Louis XIV, Napoleon Bonaparte, Napoleon III). A slight discrepancy might be noticed in favour of Caesar, whose name has been used as a synonym for power; but Pompey also became the focus of famous literary work.

So, is it possible to say anything new about them? Although academic interest in both figures has resulted in a substantial, stimulating and diverse scholarship (see Section 2.2), the related historical and archaeological research has sometimes proceeded at a different pace. This means that, often, the two disciplines have advanced independently, and the revised images of Pompey, and especially of Caesar, that historical research has recently put forward have for the most part not been taken into consideration in interpretations of the euergetic activity of the two figures, and vice versa.

This research aims to address this problem and to offer new interpretations of and insights into the monuments promoted by Julius Caesar and Pompey the Great in the city of Rome, by analysing the buildings in the light of the cultural climate of the time and in the light of the slogans, the models and the self-representation of the two commanders. In sum, it intends to demonstrate how they were used for the shifting needs of political propaganda.

1.1 Context, Problems and Aims

In the last three decades archaeological research has witnessed the development of a trend in studies, earlier applied by art historians, that aims to place the public monuments in their historical, social, economic and religious context, in order to comprehend better one of the core functions for which they were built: representation. The need for this kind of research was underlined by, for example, Gros (1983, 1-7) in the early 1980s, when archaeology somehow lagged behind in this respect, and has since become a standard approach to classical archaeology, with many new different directions of study.

The main focus of this research is the political use of monuments during the Late Republic. It is well known that the building activity of the magistrates of the Roman Republic, whether censors or aediles, although under the control of the Senate, held an enormous propagandistic value (Steinby 2012, 82). This was chiefly because, in contrast to providing public *ludi*, public buildings endured and so the name of their dedicant (for example, Catulus' on the so-called *Tabularium*) might be preserved even after reconstructions or restorations (Steinby 2012, 82). However, the last years of the Republic are notable in this respect, since, from the age of Marius (end of the second century BC), individual euergetism made a much stronger impact on the political success of its promoter (Steinby 2012, 70-71). A turning point was achieved when Julius Caesar, at the end of his life (48-44 BC), succeeded in detaching his own activity from the authority of the Senate, whose role subsequently became confined to the simple acceptance and ratification of the dictator's will (Steinby 2012, 72-77); even then, architecture was exploited by Caesar as a way to legitimise and consolidate his exceptional power.

The extraordinary relevance of euergetism to political careers during the Late Republic is demonstrated by the fact that Caesar and Pompey intervened in various areas of Rome, from the Campus Martius (theatre of Pompey, *Saepta Iulia*) to the area of the Roman Forum (Forum of Caesar, *basilica Iulia*) and to the Forum Boarium (temple of *Hercules Pompeianus* and Circus Maximus). All the buildings they promoted have been widely studied (see Section 2.1); nevertheless, while emperors like Augustus have been explored for their ideological impact in art and architecture (see, notably, Zanker 2006), an overall modern ideological interpretation of the building activity of Caesar and Pompey is largely absent: in fact, most of the relevant monuments have been studied in isolation (but recent studies on Caesarian town-planning include Liverani 2008; Gros 2010; Palombi 2010; Tortorici 2012). Furthermore, research on the structures has mainly analysed their archaeological evidence and their architecture; in contrast, studies on their decoration are mostly done either by considering one single typology of decoration (or even one single object) – architectural ornamentation, statues – or by analysing the different types of decoration in individual groups (for example, Cadario 2011). When an ideological interpretation has been given, this was mainly either circumscribed to a single building, or referring to long-established, but partly outdated historical portraits of their promoters (for example Gros 2010).

A wider perspective on the Caesarian and Pompeian monuments and an analysis of their decoration that intertwines all their typologies will enable a more complete vision of the building programmes of Caesar and Pompey to be generated. Thus, my main aim is to understand better the possible innovations or continuities and similarities or contrasts in the Caesarian and Pompeian projects in the city of Rome, and to grasp the dynamics of power that lay behind them. These monuments and their context thus offer much to expanding our knowledge of a crucial phase in the nature of power politics in ancient Rome. Furthermore, it is essential to embrace the most recent historical research on Caesar and Pompey in order to update the interpretative frame in which their euergetic activity has been evaluated and can be re-evaluated.

Two further frames of interpretation have to be considered. Both Caesarian and Pompeian monuments have often been considered as 'monolithic' or static entities, whose aspect and purpose were unchanging from their conception to their completion and usage, and not as in-progress projects that might undergo substantial modifications throughout the months or years of their construction. In addition, the political messages expressed on these monuments are frequently considered valid for every social class, or else specifically directed to only one of them (usually the upper class). Both of these perspectives do not do justice to the complexity of the historical period in which the buildings under consideration here were constructed and to the personality of their promoters. The first approach has only recently been challenged (see Delfino 2014, 248-253, who pointed out the possible change in the project of the Forum of Caesar between 54 and 48 BC), and it constitutes the main filter through which the buildings have been investigated in this thesis, followed by an attempt to identify possible and diverse readings of those messages conveyed by every monument and their context.

1.2 Research Questions

Therefore this thesis aims to investigate, using an interdisciplinary approach, how far the monuments promoted by both Caesar and Pompey in Rome in the mid-first century BC can be read as political propaganda; it aims to understand how these two political figures sought to express their ideology and their politico-religious messages through built architecture. Specifically, in reference to the individual buildings it will explore the types of messages conveyed; how and where they were displayed; what were the reasons to include them; and if there could have been modifications, changes or additions within the construction process. Placing a monument in its broader topographical context, its

physical and ideological relations with the surrounding environment can be better analysed. In particular, we should consider whether the history or ideology connected to a previous phase or monument could have had an influence on the propaganda expressed by the new building; and how the propaganda of the surrounding monuments might have been exploited. Furthermore, where sufficient data exist, hypotheses about the 'target public' of these messages will be formulated. Equally important is to question who read those messages on the monuments – whether only the élites or all levels of Roman society? Could the message be read differently depending on the public's social status? Or were particular messages targeted at specific categories of people?

In addition, in the last chapter, two examples of how the Caesarian and Pompeian euergetism affected the citizens' idea of the city, and of how space and movement were both influenced and exploited by it, are presented. This will show the potential of this approach to understand better how the political propaganda of Caesar and Pompey took advantage of and shaped the bigger picture of the city of Rome before the Augustan interventions.

It might seem that the approach chosen in this work follows the steps of Zanker (2006) and of his analysis of the Augustan period; while this is partly correct, there are some important differences. Firstly, Zanker refuses the notion of propaganda applied to the ancient world, whereas it is argued here (see Section 3.1) that, if seen from the point of view of the communication process, the word 'propaganda' can be detached from modern historical context and thus applied to the Late Republic. Secondly, this research, necessarily time bound, only focuses on the city of Rome, and only on the works actively promoted by Caesar or Pompey (not on the dedications to them). Therefore, even if my interest in 'the relationship between the images and between them and the observer' (Zanker 2006, 5) is the same, my scope is narrower, and, given that my focus is on a period before the domination of Augustus, my perspective is more heavily centred on political competition.

1.3 Methodology

The first element to be considered for this thesis has been the choice of words to define its topic. Conversations with colleagues and academics have underlined the problematic nature of the use of a modern word, 'propaganda', in the context of the ancient world. The problem derives mainly from the fact that, as explained in Section 3.1, this word was

used for the first time only much later (17th century), and consequently has been strongly connected with historical and political events of the last century. Therefore, it was necessary to find a definition that does not tie it to a specific historical period or to specific social or political structures. This was achieved by turning to the study of propaganda in the field of psychology and communication, which seemed particularly appropriate for the interpretative angle of this research. The definition of propaganda provided by Jowett and O'Donnell (2006, 7) is highly suitable given their focus on the communicative process between the propagandist and his/her target public. From this, in order to confirm this definition's applicability to the historical period under examination, its characteristics have been explored in the precepts given in the *Commentariolum Petitionis*, a (seemingly) Late Republican pamphlet on how to conduct an electoral campaign written by the brother of the famous orator M. Tullius Cicero.

A next stage comprised an overview on how a political campaign may have been carried out at the end of the Republican period (see Section 3.2); this would set the scene and provide the historical framework in which Caesar and Pompey were operating. My choice was to focus especially on the places and events that were pivotal for self-representation and promotion of individual politicians and of the aristocracy in general, and accordingly a Section (3.2.6) is dedicated specifically to the political use of monuments during the Late Republic.

A first thesis target was to create a list of the building interventions of both Caesar and Pompey in Rome, and to collect data related to their archaeological evidence and, in some cases, evidence for surrounding buildings. It was fundamental to gather the most up-to-date information on the exact location of those monuments, on their architectural aspects and on their decorative context during the Late Republican period, and to have as complete a picture of any issues related to any of these three aspects. These data have been compiled as a Gazetteer, which forms an essential data overview for the thesis.

Since, in order to analyse in depth the monuments it is necessary to understand i) the factors that impacted on the topographical locations of the Pompeian and Caesarian buildings in the context of the city and in relation both to each other and to other buildings; ii) what physical impact they had on the area; and iii) what kind of historical and ideological relationship they had with their topographical context and with the buildings that previously occupied their place, if there were any, only the phases up to the Caesarian

period have been considered. A more detailed explanation of the organisation of the Gazetteer is offered in its introduction.

Once the archaeological data were gathered and systematically organised, research took two parallel directions: i) research on the main themes of propaganda of both Caesar and Pompey, and ii) the ideological interpretation of the monuments they promoted. Indeed, in order to understand the propagandistic messages expressed by their buildings, it is crucial to investigate the themes and figures around which the political language of the two generals revolved. Three categories are identified: 1) the gods whose support either Caesar or Pompey sought to emphasise; 2) the historical or mythological figures whom they considered as moral or political models; and 3) the main qualities attributed to them, and which came to define their public personality.

The list presented in Chapter 4 is not entirely comprehensive, but aims only to explain the reasons behind the choice of those propagandistic elements that later emerge in the analysis of the buildings in Chapter 5, or that have a prominent place in the generals' political language and are important for the understanding of their behaviour. The discussion is limited to setting out the evidence in order to corroborate the adoption of those propagandistic themes by Caesar and Pompey and to explain why these were important; therefore, the deeper religious or historical meaning that some of those elements possess has not been investigated.

Regarding Julius Caesar, some research centred on the specific topic of his ideological models has already been carried out by Zecchini (2001, 117-135), whereas those of Pompey have mainly been analysed individually and in the broader context of more general works on himself, or on Sulla or Caesar. In particular, as Santangelo (2007, 228) has underlined, the religious dimension of Pompey's life has seldom been investigated. Section 4.2 provides therefore an innovative overview of the commander's ideological themes.

This implies that part of the information for Chapter 4 has been collected from a selection of secondary sources, ranging from the biographies of Caesar and Pompey to studies on the political practice, on the use of religion and on the prevailing philosophical trends of the Late Republic. Nevertheless, the fundamental basis of the investigation is the primary literary and numismatic sources, as well as some iconographic sources.

For the interpretation of each monument, Chapter 5 is organised into three parts, that correspond to the three broad areas of the city of Rome where Caesar and Pompey intervened (Forum Romanum and surrounding area; Campus Martius; Forum Boarium and Circus Maximus). In the context of each section the chronological order of the construction of the buildings forms the main criterion of classification, even though in a pair of cases the exact chronology of the monument is still debated. For each building, analysis begins with an evaluation of the available archaeological, literary, numismatic and iconographic sources collected in the gazetteer; only major issues connected to any of these elements, or issues that have been deemed fundamental for a correct interpretation of the building, have been discussed. This thesis does not consider the dedications offered by the Senate or by the popular assemblies, unless specifically indicated, because, in most cases, it is debatable and very difficult to establish whether they corresponded to the actual propagandistic intentions of Caesar and Pompey. Temporary structures and private buildings, unless considered important for the purpose of this research, are similarly not included.

The chapter offers an interpretative frame that proceeds from the specific to the general, and analyses individual aspects of the building to eventually yield a more comprehensive picture, taking into account the historical background, and therefore, if possible, presenting the modifications in purpose and ideology of the monument throughout time. The interpretation also integrates the results emerged in Chapter 4. The main focus is to highlight the propaganda themes expressed within each individual monument, which constitutes the foundations for the overall interpretations presented in Chapter 6.

A part of the theoretical frame used in this thesis lies in what has been called 'the spatial turn', the incorporation of space as a central theme in the study of all the aspects of the past, which saw its origin in Henri Lefebvre's book *La Production de l'espace* in 1974 (Laurence 2015, 175-176). In classical archaeology, one of the first examples of this approach was the work of MacDonald (1986), *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II: an Urban Appraisal*. The study of space in the context of a city also implied the inclusion of the study of movement, as 'interaction between people and monuments' (Östenberg *et al.* 2015b, 1); as a consequence, research was carried out on how the city was perceived by people (see, for example, Purcell 1987; Zanker 1987), even at a sensorial level (see Favro 1996). The study of space and movement has since been conducted under various points of view, for example that of literature (see Kardos 1997; Larmour and Spencer

2007; Romano 2012), or focusing on single aspects of the city life or of its population (Sumi 2005; Östenberg 2009), or on a broader perspective (*Urbs* 1987; Laurence and Newsome 2011; Östenberg *et al.* 2015), and has revealed much potentiality for a deeper historical comprehension of the ancient world. The present research draws on different aspects of this scholarship, and considers the relations between the analysed buildings and the surrounding monuments and landscape, as well as the architectural history and the cultural, religious and social character of the site. Furthermore, it investigates the visual and mental impact of the monuments (both in their entirety and in relation to individual aspects) on the citizens. As a consequence, it can be seen how the architectural propaganda both exploited and was shaped by how different spaces in the city of Rome were conceived by the community: a good example for this is, as explained in Chapter 6, Pompey's choice of building his theatrical complex far from the traditional political centre of the city, a diametrically opposed approach to Caesar's. This method, that together with the help of historical research allows us to understand the diachronic development of the monuments and the reasons for their construction, has a repercussion on the study of ancient history itself (as Cassidy-Welch 2010, 2 states, 'space can be used as one of the analytical instruments we possess to think historically'). In fact, it enables us to comprehend how people 'understood' certain places, what was the mentality of the different social classes, and sometimes even how the promoters conceived their place in history (or at least in the history of Rome).

With this perspective in mind, the final chapter has the aim of re-inserting the individual buildings into the context of the city and to offer a complete picture of the Caesarian and Pompeian interventions, highlighting similarities and contrasts among each other, and unravelling their meaning in the complex political transformations of that period. This is also performed by investigating the radical change in the ideological impact of the Caesarian interventions in the Roman Forum, and the exploitation of the path followed by the triumphal parades for self-representation and propaganda.

Finally, two appendices have been supplied. Appendix A is a chronological table that covers the period from the birth of Pompey (106 BC) to the death of Caesar (44 BC); its aim is to help the reader contextualise the architectural interventions of Caesar and Pompey in the historical period. Appendix B is a collection of the most relevant ancient sources used in the thesis, in order to provide a quick reference to the reader. The passages

are divided by author, in alphabetical order, and are presented both in the original language (ancient Greek or Latin) and in translation.

The translations of the ancient texts presented in the body of the thesis are by the author. The bibliographical references for the translations provided in Appendix B can be found in the section 'Primary Sources' of the Bibliography.

As concerns the plans of the buildings included in the text, figs. 5.32 and 5.40 have been taken from the *Atlante di Roma Antica*, edited by Andrea Carandini and published in 2012. The work methods of Carandini have recently been criticised within scholarship. I am aware of the issues related to the use of those images; however, although the reconstructions of the theatre complex of Pompey and of the Saepta are highly problematic due to the scantiness of archaeological evidence related to those two monuments (and in particular to the *porticus post scaenam* of Pompey's theatre complex), I chose to use them because they provide an idea of the physical volume occupied by those buildings. Furthermore, Carandini's is the most recent reconstruction of the Saepta, and his plan of Pompey's theatre complex is the only one that represents both the theatre and the portico with the curia. Both plans present an indication of the remaining archaeological evidence, leaving scope for their critical evaluation by the reader.

Plates 1 and 2 provide a schematic map of Rome, which, as indicated in the list of figures, is based on the out-of-text tables 7-27 of Carandini (2012), and thus present the same issues mentioned above. However, those tables represent a plan of Rome in the 4th century AD, superimposed on that of the modern city. I have therefore used it as a basis to topographically localise only the ancient buildings whose location is certain. For the remaining monuments, their hypothetical location corresponds to that proposed by the relevant scholarship discussed in this thesis.

Chapter 2

Context of Research

The introduction identified that the characters, the buildings, and the city which constitute the core of this work have been extensively researched; here, therefore, this literature will be reviewed in terms of perceptions, interpretations and approaches related to the themes of this thesis. However, given the quantity of published work in this field, only the most important contributions, that is, either those which have provided new evidence for the chronology or interpretation of a building or complex, or those where a new perspective or a diverse interpretation have been presented, are considered. Furthermore, publications which do not examine the pre-Augustan phases of the monuments are excluded, unless they are fundamental for particular aspects of this research. Those buildings for which there is very scant or no archaeological evidence (at least for the pre-Augustan phases) have been similarly excluded, in order to avoid repetition of evidence discussed in Chapter 5.

This literature review is divided into two sections: the first (2.1) reviews research carried out on the buildings; the second (2.2) presents the main publications on the lives of Caesar and Pompey. The archaeological evidence has been listed first, since it constitutes the main focus of this research; the literature on Caesar and Pompey is critically evaluated, because studies of their propaganda need to take into account their lives, personalities, background, intentions and thought.

2.1 The Archaeological Evidence

2.1.1 The Roman Forum: Basilica Aemilia and Basilica Iulia

Records of interventions by Julius Caesar in the Roman Forum can be found in a number of ancient sources. The first mention does not make in fact direct reference to Caesar: it is a letter of Cicero (*Att*., 4, 16, 8) where the orator informs his friend Atticus about the refurbishment of a basilica and the construction of another one by Aemilius Paullus. The two basilicas have been traditionally interpreted as the basilica Aemilia (particularly because Caesar is said to have given money to Paullus to complete the refurbishment 'of the basilica built in the place of the one called Fulvia': Plut., *Caes.*, 29) and the basilica

Iulia, inaugurated by Caesar in 46 BC, before its completion (Jer., *Chron.* 1971). The identification of the latter has been restated by Coarelli (1985, 235), based on earlier research by Mommsen, Becker, Gilbert, and Jordan and Hülsen (for full bibliography and alternative perspectives see Coarelli 1985, 235, f. 7), and is now generally accepted (see, for example, Liverani 2008, 43; Tortorici 2012, 13).

The basilica Iulia, whose location is provided by the sources (*R. Gest. div. Aug.*, 1, 20; Stat., *Silv.* 1, 1, 29) was first re-discovered in the 15th century, when it was being robbed for its marble (Lanciani 1967[2], 277). Its floor was partially uncovered in 1742, and in 1788-89 C. F. von Fredenheim conducted the first excavation that revealed the whole pavement of the basilica and some fragments of plastered vaulting (Lanciani 1967[2], 277; Giuliani and Verduchi 1993, 178). Other excavations were carried out between 1848 and 1872 (Lanciani 1967[2], 277); a long gap then followed before detailed excavations in 1960-64, when the central nave was explored (Giuliani and Verduchi 1993, 178). Unfortunately, elements that can be ascribed to the Caesarian phase are no longer evident (De Felice 2012, 209).

The basilica Aemilia was first identified with the building on the north-eastern side of the Forum Romanum at the end of the 19th century (see Steinby 1993, 167 for bibliography). Its archaeological investigation - undertaken only to reach its imperial phases - began in 1899, under the direction of Giacomo Boni, but the results were never published (Lipps 2011, 23). During the 1930s, Alfonso Bartoli completed the excavations and partially refurbished the basilica; this was followed by the excavation of a trench between 1946 and 1948 in order to investigate the pre-imperial phases of the building. Yet the chronology of these phases was strongly based on the literary sources and not on the material evidence (Lipps 2011, 23). Other excavations by Gamberini-Mongenet followed in 1950-54, but they also remain unpublished (Lipps 2011, 23). In the same period, Duckworth (1955) examined the republican phases (he too mainly basing his study on the literary sources), suggesting a phase preceding the construction of the basilica Fulvia-Aemilia in 179 BC. His conclusions were shared and developed by Platner and Ashby (1965, 57), Coarelli (1985, 135-138), Gaggiotti (1985a; 1985b), Zevi (1991; 1993, 137), Welch (2003).

The majority of the related publications focus on the imperial phases, the Augustan one in particular (for example, Bauer 1988; Freyberger 2010; and the latest monograph on the

topic, Lipps 2011), with the exception of Bauer's works (1993a; 1993b). Bauer studied the basilica between 1970 and the 1990s, drawing new plans and recording the architectural elements; this allowed him to propose a revised reconstruction and chronology of its early imperial phase (see Lipps 2011, 25). He also conducted new excavations in the basilica, in order to collect further data about its republican phases, but he was only partially able to solve the problems in the earliest chronology and in the phase reconstruction: in fact, part of his research was published in various articles (Bauer 1977a; 1977b; 1983; 1988; 1993a; 1993b), but he died before any conclusive publication (Lipps 2011, 25).

Between 1987 and 1988 two important articles were published, in which Steinby (1987; 1988; restated in 1993) questioned the topographical position of the basilica Aemilia, arguing that the basilica Fulvia and the basilica Aemilia could not be the same building, since there is no other example of a monument bearing the name of two different magistrates. Her hypothesis was accepted by some scholars (for example, Wiseman 1993, 181), but later rejected by Carnabuci (1991, 280-287) and Harris (1995, 373-374); it was eventually retracted by Steinby herself (2012, 55; for a more detailed discussion see section 5.1.1.1).

The reliefs with images of the foundations of Rome that decorated the inside of the basilica (see Lipps 2011, 25, f. 126 for full bibliography), first discovered by Boni at the beginning of the 20th century (Zappalà 2008, 37), have attracted significant attention. Their chronology is widely debated, although the most commonly accepted interpretation places their execution to the first half of the first century BC (Cappelli 1993, 58, f. 7 for full bibliography). Bartoli, who later discovered other pieces of the relief (Zappalà 2008, 37), suggested their reconstruction as a frieze running on the lower interior order of the central nave of the basilica (Freyberger 2010, 30); this reconstruction was widely accepted until recently, when a study of the reliefs in their architectural context resulted in a convincing reconstruction as panels placed on the internal walls of the basilica (Freyberger 2010, 38).

2.1.2 The Roman Forum: Curia Hostilia, Curia Iulia and Temple of Felicitas

The location of the curia Hostilia is closely connected to the position of the comitium. The correct position of the latter was first identified by Theodor Mommsen in 1845, since before it had been located in the Forum's south-eastern side (Coarelli 1983, 119); this

was followed by a study which examined the topographical aspect of the monument and its function as a *templum*, published by Detlefsen in 1860 (see Carafa 1998, 20). His results were further discussed by both Jordan and Hülsen, and more detailed reconstructions proposed (Carafa 1998, 20-21). The building attracted greater attention after the excavations of the area by Giacomo Boni at the end of the 19th century (Coarelli 1983, 119; the photographic documentation was published by Capodiferro *et. al.* 2003). Hülsen was one of the first scholars to offer a chronology and an interpretation of the different phases of the comitium, and Pinza, in 1905, the first to propose a reconstruction (Carafa 1998, 23-24). Nevertheless, a complete re-consideration of the stratigraphy was not carried out until the 1940s, when Gjerstad (1941) proposed a new series of phases and a revised chronology (Carafa 1998, 27). This chronology was criticised for being too recent, by Lugli in his publications of 1946 and 1947, whereas Sjöqvist, and then Richardson and Krause, focused on the importance of considering the geo-morphological characteristics of the area in order to better understand the comitium (Carafa 1998, 27-28).

During the 1950s, new excavations took place in the area of the comitium, led by P. Romanelli and M. Floriani Squarciapino, but the results were only partially published between 1955 and 1984 (Carafa 1998, 33-34). Subsequently, Coarelli (1983, 119-160) re-examined its phases and chronology, suggesting, on the basis of the discoveries of *comitia* in Cosa, Paestum and Alba Fucens, a reconstruction as circular in shape from the beginning of the third century BC (Coarelli 1983, 126). Coarelli (1983, 119-138) also proposed a new reconstruction of the stratigraphic sequence, repeating that suggested by Castagnoli during the 1970s (Carafa 1998, 31); furthermore, by inserting it into the topographical context of the Forum in the sector between the temple of Saturn and the Forum of Caesar, Coarelli offered a reconstruction of the entire complex, locating the curia Hostilia on the hill where the church of the SS. Luca and Martina now stands, and proposing an evolution of the comitium from a square to a circular shape (Coarelli 1983, 138-160). Further studies by Ammermann (1996; Ammermann and Filippi 2000) and Carafa (1998) reconsidered the scant evidence (mainly pottery) from the two main excavations in the area (by Boni-Romanelli), allowing the identification of further stratigraphic sequences; Carafa (1998, 89-159) also carried out a topographical analysis of the area from the archaic period to the Augustan age, and criticised a reconstruction of

the comitium in the late-republican period as a closed circular structure (Carafa 1998, 150-151).

Recent scholarship includes the work of Amici (2004-05), who has re-considered the archaeological data concerning the comitium and the curia Hostilia and Iulia, rejecting Coarelli's (1983, esp. pp. 138-160) long-accepted assumptions and maintaining that the curia Hostilia stood in the same place where the curia Iulia now stands. The archaeological evidence under the church of the SS. Luca and Martina should be referred to the presence of the Atrium Libertatis (Amici 1999, 302-309).

The issue of the position of the curia Hostilia/Cornelia in relation to the Forum of Caesar yields many important ideological implications for the interpretation of the latter. In fact, if the curia Hostilia was located in a completely different position from the curia Iulia, this would imply a much stronger act by Caesar, who would have 'aggressively' moved the location of one of the most important political buildings of Rome in order to subordinate it to his Forum, so as to give a visual representation of the subordination of the Senate to his power. In contrast, if the curia Hostilia had been located in the area of the curia Iulia, and with the same orientation, Caesar's actions would have looked less revolutionary.

An important development in the research on this area, which will be mentioned in Section 2.1.4 and explained in Section 5.1.2.1 (see also Gazetteer entry: *Forum Caesaris*), has been the discovery of an earlier Caesarian phase in the Forum of Caesar. The Caesarian square seems to have been much shorter in its first phase, casting doubts on the fact that it did imply the presence of a new curia from the beginning, or, if Amici's theory is accepted, that the complex aimed to relate to the curia Hostilia. These results (Delfino 2008; 2010a and 2010b; 2014) have been published later than Amici's publications on the topic (Amici 2004-05, Amici 2007). They allow a reassessment of the ideological implications of the issue of the position of the curia Hostilia in relation to the Forum of Caesar, which appear to be less important than previously thought. Amici's hypothesis has also been disputed through new evidence from core drills in the hill where the church of the SS. Luca and Martina is, which seems to confirm Coarelli's location of the curia Hostilia (Delfino 2014, 244-248). Since these issues are still much debated, they will be discussed in depth in Section 5.1.1.2.

2.1.3 The Roman Forum: the Caesarian Rostra

The *Rostra* built by Caesar at the centre of the Roman Forum (see Cass. Dio, 43, 49, 1) were first discovered in 1835, when their front wall was revealed during excavations for an underground corridor between the Column of Phocas and the Arch of Septimius Severus; the area was then fully excavated and the building restored during the works conducted by Giacomo Boni at the beginning of the 20th century (Verduchi 1999, 215). The hemicycle that stood on the west side of the Forum, next to the Arch of Severus, was first identified as of Caesarian date by Nichols in 1885, whose conclusions were shared by Richter and Mau at the beginning of the 20th century - but this theory was questioned by both Richardson (1973, 222-224, who hypothesises two Republican Rostra) and Kähler (1964, 13-20, who dates the hemicycles to the tetrarchic period; see Coarelli 1985, 238-241). Coarelli (1985, 237-257), then reasserted the identification of the hemicycle with the Caesarian *Rostra* and identified its correct stratigraphic sequence (*contra* Jordan, Hülsen and Kähler; see Coarelli 1985, 247).

2.1.4 The Forum of Caesar

In the same letter of Cicero (*Att*., 4, 16, 8) that mentions the basilicae Aemilia and Iulia, there is also reference to the fact that Caesar asked the orator and one of his own collaborators to buy some land north of the Forum Romanum; this was the area where the Forum of Caesar was built.

Academic interest in the Imperial Fora goes back to the 19th century, when Nibby, in 1838, sited the Forum of Caesar between the basilica Iulia and the curia and when, soon after, the *tabernae* walls were associated with it by Canina (Amici 1991, 15). Following the proclamation of Rome as capital of Italy in 1871, some notable urban planning projects, under the supervision of Ricci, were undertaken in the area of the Imperial Fora, affecting the Forum of Caesar from 1931: excavations were carried out in its western part and in the area behind the curia Iulia, but the documentation produced is inadequate and the work was not published in its entirety (Amici 1991, 16-18). Exceptions are the publications on the Temple of Venus Genetrix by Bardon (1940) and on the area behind the curia by Bartoli (1963). Gismondi drew a plan of the area of the imperial Fora, that was published by Lugli and that has constituted the most reliable source of information on the planimetry of the Fora until recent times (Amici 1991, 18).

During the 1940s, 1960s and 1970s, the Forum of Caesar was the object of only a few investigations, such as those in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix and behind the curia Iulia by Lamboglia, or those motivated by modern service works. Some limited restorations took place in the spaces overlooking the *vicus Argentarius* in 1981, but more substantial studies came in 1985-86 when the University of Rome La Sapienza, in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, carried out stratigraphic investigations behind the curia Iulia, together with a critical re-examination of the extant data and a new topographic survey of the area (Amici 1991, 20; Delfino 2014, 14-16). Results were published by Morselli and Tortorici (1989), who suggested two different phases for the Forum. This was followed by Amici's (1991) reconstruction of the porticoes of the Forum and a detailed study of its tabernae, which showed that they constitute a different, subsequent phase from the rest of the Forum (Amici 1991, 49-58); the scholar also asserted the belonging of the curia Iulia to the initial project for the Forum.

In recent years, between 1998-2000 and 2004-08, the whole area of the Imperial Fora has been the object of numerous excavations, which have generated much new information about their topographical organisation (Delfino 2014, 20-29); these investigations have been the subject of many recent publications (for example, Meneghini 2007; Milella 2007; Delfino 2008; Meneghini 2009; Milella 2010a; Delfino 2010a; Delfino 2014). A key study zone for this research was the southern part of Caesar's Forum, thus enabling its original extent to be assessed (Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 11). The recent investigations have also offered extremely useful data, allowing a clearer image to emerge of the Forum's conception and development up to the Middle Ages.

Most significant was the recognition that the Caesarian phase of the Forum square had two different phases, the first of which belongs to the Caesarian period, whereas the second is most probably early Augustan. This discovery was communicated in Alessandro Delfino's article published in the catalogue of the exhibition held in Rome in 2008-2009. A complete publication of the data of the recent excavations appeared in *Scienze dell'antichità* in 2010 (Delfino 2010a and 2010b); a monograph, that covered the stratigraphy of the area from the Bronze Age to the Augustan period, was published in 2014 (Delfino 2014).

As far as the ideological interpretations of this architectural complex are concerned, most publications agree in ascribing a function of celebration of the *gens Iulia* (for example, Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 33; Meneghini 2009, 44). They identify Caesar's decision to begin the works as an answer and a challenge to Pompey's building of the complex in the Campus Martius in 55 BC (for example, La Rocca 1990, 389; Westall 1996, 89; Meneghini 2009, 43; Palombi 2010, 79). Very convincing is the ideological interpretation connected to religion recently proposed by Delfino (Delfino 2010c), who connects the significance of the cult of Venus to the natural characteristics of the area of the Forum of Caesar. The uniqueness of the plan of the podium of the temple of Venus Genetrix has led Stamper (2005) to assume its derivation from the plan of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. While this theory is interesting, unfortunately the reconstruction proposed by Stamper is speculative and founded on inadequate archaeological evidence. As the scholar admits: 'The exact configuration of the terraced platform [of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus] in this proposed reconstruction cannot be fully determined from the existing archaeological evidence.' (Stamper 2005, 27). Accordingly this reconstruction is opposed by Hopkins (2010).

As far as the decoration of the complex is concerned, some information can be gathered from the ancient sources, mainly Pliny the Elder (see Gazetteer entry: *Forum Caesaris*); and thought-provoking interpretations of the meaning of the pictures that Caesar located inside the temple of Venus have been offered by Westall (1996, 93-98), Sauron (2001) and Harris (2002). From 1985 a study of the architectural fragments resulting from the excavations of the imperial Fora has been carried out (Ungaro 2007, 20). Not much remains of the decoration of the Caesarian phase (Milella 2007, 94), but recent studies on the porticoes have been published, and a frieze previously attributed to the southern portico has been re-assigned to the Caesarian phase of the temple of Venus (Maisto and Pinna Carboni 2010; Delfino 2014, 167-177). Furthermore, following the discovery of some fragments of the base of the equestrian statue of the Forum, a convincing reconstruction has been suggested, based on the surviving traces of the horse statue on the base surface and on comparisons with other equestrian statues of the same period (Delfino *et al.* 2010; Delfino 2014, 162-165 with few modifications).

2.1.5 The Temple of Quirinus

Works by Caesar in the neighbouring area most probably included a refurbishment of the temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal hill (Tortorici 2012, 26; Coarelli 2014, 96 f. 61). Debate about the location of the temple has seen it set either in the area of the modern Giardini del Quirinale (Lanciani and Hülsen, referenced in Coarelli 2014, 85) or under the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria (Manca di Mores in Coarelli 2014, 85); Carafa (1993) and Carandini (2007) have restated the position of Lanciani and Hülsen. Coarelli (2014, 83-112) has recently opposed this hypothesis after re-analysing the topographical data and the reports of an excavation carried out in the area at the beginning of the 20th century; he proposes a revised location in the area occupied by Palazzo Barberini, where the presence of a temple had already been hypothesised (Coarelli 2014, 93-94). The issue will be discussed in Section 5.1.4.

2.1.6 The Theatrical Complex of Pompey

In 55 BC, Pompey built in the Campus Martius a complex that included a theatre and a porticus post-scaenam with a curia for the Senate; on the top of the theatre cavea stood a temple dedicated to Pompey's goddess, Venus Victrix. Several architectural elements and some inscriptions brought to light between the 16th and 18th century were attributed to it in the mid-18th century, but the first reconstruction of the theatre was carried out by Canina at the beginning of the 19th century (Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 97-98). Baltard proposed a new reconstruction in 1837, supported by the (unpublished) evidence from his two excavations (Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 98). In 1865, subsequent to the works in Palazzo Pio, other architectural fragments and two statues were discovered, and structures belonging to the external part of the cavea and to the substructions for the temple of Venus were unearthed. The structures were reburied almost immediately and apart from a sketch of Gabet, who directed the excavations, a draft of the plan of the area made by Pellegrini, and a statue of Hercules, discovered in the immediate vicinity, no other documentation of those investigations remains (Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 98-100).

If we exclude a few casual discoveries, no further excavations were carried out until 1996, meaning that scholars had to rely on Baltard's drawings for their studies. Between 1996-2001 Richard Beacham and James Packer resumed analyses of the theatre. Some excavations were carried out between 2001 and 2003, in 2005 and in 2009 (Gagliardo and Packer 2006; Packer *et al.* 2007; Packer *et al.* 2010; Packer 2014). These publications

provide new data about the walls of the theatre, thanks to the opening of other excavation trenches; according to the authors, the results of this investigation seem to support the siting of the Temple of Venus, outside the perimeter of the theatre cavea (Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 105-109).

Recently Monterroso Checa conducted a study of the theatre of Pompey, which resulted in a number of publications on the architecture and on the decoration of the complex (Monterroso Checa 2006; 2007; 2008; 2010). His reconstruction goes against the widely-accepted one: he places the temple of Venus Victrix at the top of the cavea, but inside its perimeter, whereas he hypothesises the presence of a staircase in the structure protruding from the cavea. This idea is not widely accepted (see, for example, Schröter 2008, 33; Gros 2011, 281; Sauron 2011, 144), and does not appear to be founded on solid archaeological evidence (see section 5.2.1.1).

A new contribution to the study of the architecture of the theatre of Pompey was published in 2015 in the volume *Campo Marzio. Nuove ricerche* (Filippi *et al.*, 2015). Filippi and her team have carried out a new survey of the structures of the theatre, discovering previously unknown archaeological evidence. Combining previous data with new, the scholars have offered a new reconstruction of the theatre and new hypotheses on the access to the various sections of the cavea (see in particular Filippi *et al.* 2015, 348-364).

As far as the architectural typology is concerned, the model for the theatre is said to be derived from Hellenistic theatres, notably that of Mytilene (Plut., *Pomp*., 42, 8-9); however, since it is not possible to compare the two buildings, scholars have discussed the possibility that Pompey's theatre belongs to the theatre-temple type. Hanson identifies it as the model for that typology (Hanson 1959, 43-55), while Tosi (2003, 746-747) claims that the problem of the typology of the theatre-temples remains open; Schröter (2008) considers the italic tradition behind the typology. Discussion on this aspect of the theatre is therefore hotly-debated; but, as this is not core to this thesis, it will not be discussed here.

A vast bibliography exists concerning the ideological interpretation of the Pompeian complex and its decoration. In his book on the Campus Martius, Coarelli (1997a, 539-580) analysed the complex in the topographical context of the city as well as its political, ideological and religious meaning in the light of the Hellenistic tradition. A very interesting political reading of the complex is that of Frézouls (1983), who connects it

with the abolition of the *collegia* in 64 BC; a more symbolical interpretation (not limited to Pompey's monument) of the theatre is given by Gros (1987). A more political reading, connected to the ideology of the triumph, is proposed by Schröter (2008), although she completely neglects the porticus post-scaenam; this forms the focus of Gleason's article (1994), which proposes a reconstruction of the architectural perspective from the curia towards the theatre. The *scaenae frons* is core to a paper by Sear (1993), as well as one of the main foci of discussion concerning the theatre (see, for example, Gleason 1994, 21; Beacham 1999, 65; Tosi 2003a, 22; Gros 2011, 282; Schröter 2008, 32); these issues will be analysed in section 5.2.1.2.

The decoration of the complex has similarly fuelled a very lively debate: some of its elements are described by Pliny the Elder, but the discussion was sparked by a paper of Coarelli (1971-72), which argued for a connection with the list of statues given by the Christian apologist Tatian in his oration *Ad Graecos*. However, the debate on the interpretation of the decoration has been limited to the statues of the fourteen Nations mentioned by Pliny, to the groups of statues of women identified by Coarelli's analysis of Tatian (Sauron 1987; Monterroso Checa 2008; Evans 2009), and to the identification of the fragments of statues discovered in the area of the complex (Palma Venetucci 2008-2009). Therefore, the remaining decorative elements have received only cursory attention, or have only been considered in isolation (see, for example, the insightful analysis of Cadario 2011; see also Kuttner 1999). This topic will be extensively discussed in section 5.2.1.3.

2.1.7 The Saepta

Near Pompey's Theatre stood the *Saepta*, the place where the *comitia centuriata* were originally held, and the first focus of Caesar's activity in the Campus Martius (see Cic., *Att*., 4, 16, 8). Unfortunately, it is not possible to know the general's plans for the decoration of the monument, since he never saw the end of the works (Cass. Dio, 53, 23, 1). The building was initially located on the west side of the *via Lata* on the basis of two fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (for example by Hülsen and by Platner and Ashby: see Gatti 1937, 93 f. 10), until Gatti (1934) identified further fragments, enabling him to locate the building next to the Pantheon (Gatti 1937, 99-101). Political rivalry against Pompey and against the Senate has been pinpointed as the motive for the reconstruction

of the building by Caesar (Coarelli 1997a, 581-582; see also Taylor 1966, 48; Agache 1987, 228-230); these issues will be discussed in section 5.2.3.

2.1.8 The Theatre of Caesar

According to Suetonius (*Iul*., 44, 1) and Cassius Dio (43, 49, 2), Caesar began the construction of a theatre in 45 BC; however, the two authors differ on the location of the building. Modern scholars have debated this extensively, mainly because Suetonius talks of a theatre on the slope of the *mons Tarpeius*, and therefore the debate regarding the location of the former was closely related to the latter. The *mons Tarpeius* has been placed either on the north-eastern part of the Capitoline hill (Purcell 1993, 126 f. 9; Wiseman 1989, 152; Palombi 1996a, 851; Tosi 2003a, 24 and 745) or on its southern part (Coarelli 1997a, 587); the latter hypothesis seems to be the most convincing and widely accepted currently. In fact, Coarelli (1997a, 587, and f. 52) demonstrated that the term *mons Tarpeius* was never used in the ancient texts for the Tarpeian cliff (north-east of the Capitoline hill), whereas it constituted a synonym for *Capitolium*.

The project mentioned by Suetonius seems not to have been implemented, because Cassius Dio specifies that a temple, that of Pietas (that Pliny *HN*., 7, 36, 121 places '*ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est*', 'where the theatre of Marcellus now stands'), was demolished to make space for the theatre, and that Caesar was heavily criticised for that. During the latest excavations of the theatre of Marcellus, evidence of the north-western corner of a temple were found: the structure lies on a foundation platform of Grotta Oscura tuff blocks, and it was built in *opus quadratum* of the same type of tuff, faced with blocks of Monteverde tuff (Ciancio Rossetto 1994-95, 199). Since this building shares the same orientation and the same building materials, building techniques and grade plane of the republican phases of the adjacent temples of the Forum Holitorium (Spes, Janus and Juno), it has been preliminarly identified with the temple of Pietas, (Ciancio Rossetto 1994-95, 200; see also Ciancio Rossetto 1999). If this identification can and will be confirmed (although a final publication of the results is still lacking), it would support the idea of the correspondence of Augustus' building with Caesar's project (see Cass. Dio, 43, 49, 2; 53, 30, 5).

The area of the Theatre of Marcellus was cleared as part of the project 'Via del Mare' at the beginning of the 20th century, when all the structures built against the theatre were demolished and the theatre itself was restored and reinforced under the direction of

Fidenzoni and Calza-Bini, who also drew the first accurate plans of the cavea (Sear 2006, 63). Fidenzoni published a monograph in 1970 on the building that presented an accurate architectural study of it. The latest excavations were carried out between 1994 and 2000, but all subsequent publications deal with its Augustan and later phases, with the exception of that of Jackson *et al.* (2011), on the building materials and techniques. This latter article suggests a late Caesarian date for the concrete used for its substructure (Jackson *et al.* 2011, 733).

Some interesting studies on the topography of the area prior to the building of the theatre have been carried out, in order to understand how the building of the theatre of Marcellus and of the temple of Apollo Sosianus affected the itinerary of the *via Triumphalis* (Vitti 2010); the connection with the triumphal route has also been pointed out by Monterroso Checa (2009b, 36).

The issues highlighted above will be discussed in section 5.2.6.

2.2 The Protagonists: Pompey and Caesar

2.2.1 The Literary Sources

This section relates and critically assesses the primary – contemporary and later – literary sources which report on the deeds of Caesar and Pompey. Those are discussed below in chronological order beginning with the contemporary voices of Cicero and Caesar.

As far as Caesar's own accounts of his campaigns in Gaul and of the civil war against Pompey (*De bello gallico* and *De bello civili*) are concerned, the first issue that has to be highlighted is that the main purpose of the *Commentarii* was to present the protagonist's perspective on the facts; therefore, they have to be regarded, at least partly, as a carefully-crafted work of political propaganda, in spite of their style, which was meant to present them as objectively as possible (for the *Civil War*, see Raauflaub 2009, 184). Ferrara (1998, 12) points out that if the *Gallic Wars* were a justification of the general's strategy and decisions towards the Senate and his political adversaries, the propagandistic purpose is even more apparent in the *Civil War*, whose narration was perhaps also affected by the strong emotional and psychological involvement of the narrator. There, Caesar had to produce reasons for his seditious act of crossing the Rubicon (which he does not mention) and initiating a civil war. For the purpose of this thesis, these sources are of course

fundamental to the identification of the propagandist themes that were important for the general, and to the reconstruction of the public image which he meant to create for himself. In terms of reliability of the reconstruction of the events, in the opinion of Collins (1973, 942-963) and Raauflaub (2009, 185) Caesar does not always seem to practise deliberate distortion (*contra* Meyer 1918, 291 f. 1 and 292 f. 1; Barwick 1951; Rambaud 1966, accepted by Canfora 2008, 37). Furthermore, for the *Civil War* one must also recall that it was probably published posthumously, whereas, according to Asinius Pollio (in Suet., *Caes*., 56), Caesar aimed to revise it; Ferrara (1998, 10) and Canfora (1999, 394) accordingly state that it cannot be considered a 'polished' or perfected work.

In the output of Caesar the Augustan 'interference' should always be borne in mind. In fact, Suetonius states that Augustus 'filtered' Caesar's writings, keeping only those which he deemed original (see Suet., *Iul*., 55-56); Canfora (1999, 399 and 2008, 35) suggests that it is also possible that the Caesarian corpus (the collection of the *Commentarii* on his wars) was created in the context of the Augustan entourage. Furthermore, in relation to Augustus, another type of 'interference', motivated by the need to control the historiography related to the years between 44 and 27 BC, has also to be taken into account when considering sources contemporary to the first two emperors: in fact, Augustus had written the *Commentarii de vita sua*, providing in this way the 'official' version of the facts that took place in that period, to which the contemporary historiographers had to conform (Canfora 2015, 454-464)

Among Cicero's literary output, his letters, in particular, present a very detailed picture of that period, and sometimes offer Caesar's and Pompey's own voices by means of their correspondence with the orator; but his orations provide some references to them as well (see, for example, *De imperio Gnei Pompei* or *In Catilinam*). However, as Lintott (2008, 3) argues, Cicero's texts, and his speeches in particular, cannot be treated as faithful records of historical facts. Orations could bend historical facts to the needs of persuasion (see Cic., *Brut.*, 42); they do not inform us about all the arguments of all parties involved, and they do not represent the entirety of trials that were composed of more than one action (Lintott 2008, 19). As far as Cicero's letters are concerned, Lintott (2008, 15) notes that the correspondence clearly conveys Cicero's own impressions and interpretation of historical facts, and explains that even though the orator had in mind to edit and publish some of them (Cic., *Att.*, 16, 5, 5; *Fam.*, 16, 17, 1), there is no evidence that he did carry out this project: the text that we possess is therefore probably what was actually read by

their recipients. In relation to this last statement, it is nevertheless thought here, in accordance to what Di Spigno (2005, 31 and 35) highlights with particular reference to the epistolary to Atticus, that a selection of the letters must have been carried out and perhaps an expunction of some passages, when their content was considered not apt for publication. Sallust (86 - 36/35? BC), a follower of Caesar, offers numerous insights in his *De coniuratione Catilinae* (he is also our only source for Caesar's speech of December 63 BC, if his paraphrasing of it is faithful: Canfora 1999, 430). Because of his political affinity, however, he presents a strongly positive image of the dictator, whereas his opinion of Pompey was not very favourable (Syme 2002, 201-202). Nonetheless this does allow us to gather information about the types of messages and the themes used in the *popularis* politics.

Livy (59 BC - 17 AD), in the 142 books of his *History of Rome from its foundation*, also narrated the events that saw Caesar and Pompey as protagonists; unfortunately, only 35 of those books survived in the manuscript tradition, and they do not deal with the period of interest here. Relevant missing books were perhaps books 91-120, according to Stadter (2009, 112-116). However, we possess summaries written in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, the *Periochae*. It is probable that, for the period of the Late Republic, Livy's main source was Asinius Pollio, as well as Caesar's *Commentarii* (Walsh 1970, 136). The issue of reliability of a later summary of a historical work has thus to be added to other issues connected to Livy's books: in fact, he based his account too heavily on his sources, inheriting their mistakes and sometimes omitting important information or misunderstanding it (Walsh 1970, 138-139). Furthermore, as Walsh (1970, 141-143) has argued, Livy tended to rely on only one main source while describing events, while then sometimes summarising different or even opposing views afterwards, without articulating his own stance. The moralising and patriotic purpose of Livy's work also implied that he often modified or omitted facts, idealising the figures of those leaders who defended or contributed to the greatness of Rome (Walsh 1970, 151).

The *History of Rome* in two books, written by Velleius Paterculus (20 BC? – 30 AD?) during the principate of Tiberius, has been evaluated by modern scholars in contrasting ways, from the negative judgement of Syme (1978), who accused him of modifying historical facts as it suited him, to a more balanced assessment in recent scholarship, as, for example, Gowing (2007) and Cowan (2011), where, while recognising Velleius' sometimes heavy rhetoric and the propagandistic character of his work, its historical value

has been reconsidered. The tone of the books, as Bispham (2011, 44-45) points out, is not that of a simple celebration of the Roman empire and of Tiberius' principate, but it is also characterised by anxiety over the destiny of the empire, in the light of the events of the civil wars and of the military difficulties that emerged during the Augustan principate. Our period of interest is narrated in Velleius' second book, which survives well, apart from a significant lacuna at 2.29.5, when the author introduces Pompey the Great. The text resumes with the narration of the end of the Sertorian War, but the gap must have covered important events such as Sulla's resignation and death, the Lepidus' revolt and what is missing of the Sertorian War (Rich 2011, 76). In terms of chronological accuracy, while Velleius provides much information on the dating of a significant number of events, this does not happen consistently, and some facts are either imprecisely dated or even misplaced according to the author's requirements (Rich 2011, 82).

The lives of both Caesar and Pompey were the object of ancient biographies, chiefly by Plutarch, among his *Lives* (he wrote both a *Life of Caesar* and a *Life of Pompey*), and by Suetonius, who included a book on the *Divine Julius* at the beginning of his *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*.

Plutarch's biographies of Cicero, Sulla and Crassus are also relevant in providing details. Regarding Plutarch's reliability and value, much modern discussion has been focused on the chronology of composition of the individual *Lives*. An order for almost all of them can now be recognised, partly thanks to internal cross-references between them; this means that some contradictions and differences present in the *Lives* can now be explained in relation to the time of composition of the individual biographies (Hillard 1987, 19; see also Jones 1966, 66-68; La Penna 2008, 218). With particular reference to the protagonists of this thesis, according to Jones (1966, 67), the *Life of Caesar* was likely written just before the *Life of Pompey*, and it can be hypothesised that the planning and sources collection for both of them was done at the same time (La Penna 2008, 220): La Penna quotes *Caes*., 35. 2, where Plutarch refers to the *Life of Pompey* as already planned, but not written, and justifies the present tense used in *Caes*. 45. 9 in reference to it as due to the author's intention to work on the *Life of Pompey* immediately after.

For the composition of the Late-Republican *Lives*, La Penna (2008, 220) argues that many sources were available to Plutarch, contrarily to what must have happened in relation to the Romans of the Archaic period (when relating the events of the origin of Rome he had

to use myths, even though he tried to rationalise them and make them plausible: Ampolo 2008, 7). One principal source seems to have been the work on the civil war of Asinius Pollio (La Penna 2008, 224 with bibliography on f. 14; Marcone 2009, 268). For Caesar and Pompey, Plutarch probably made also use of the work of Caius Oppius (La Penna 2008, 222), Caesar's friend, collaborator and biographer, and hence considered factious (Plut., *Pomp*., 10. 7 .9; Marcone 2009, 270-271), and of Caesar himself (La Penna 2008, 226; Marcone 2009, 272-273). Cicero (quoted in *Pomp*., 42. 13, but not a verifiable source, since the corresponding letter of Cicero is not extant; however there are some strong coincidences with some of Cicero's works; Marcone 2009, 272) was most probably used as a source in the *Life of Pompey*, together with Teophanes of Mytilene (towards whom Plutarch has a critical approach, since he was Pompey's historiographer and political advisor; Marcone 2009, 271). For Caesar's life, Livy was probably used, and perhaps Strabo, among others at which it is only possible to guess (La Penna 2008, 224 and 227).

The key issue with Plutarch as a source relates more to his lack of critical judgement in relation to how the material was presented in his own sources: when facts were presented in a polished form, he would consider them reliable; instead, he tended to be critical only with those authors who presented a negative picture of a particular character; he thus had a predilection for favourable sources (Hillard 1987, 31-33). As La Penna (2008, 229-239) stresses, however, the genre to which the *Lives* belong has to be recognised: Plutarch aimed to write biography, his main purpose was to inform his readers about the character of his protagonists, rather than about the historical facts, and for this reason the careful narration of the latter was not his priority. Furthermore, partly because of a sometimes likely confusion in the sources, partly because of reasons of writing and narration style, some errors of chronology can be found in Plutarch's work.

As mentioned above, the *Life of the Divus Julius* is the first of the series of biographies of Roman emperors (up to Domitian) written by Suetonius (70-126 AD). In his whole work Suetonius organised the narration in an unconventional structure: first, a presentation of the life of the emperor from his birth to his accession to power in chronological order; then, the account becomes organised by argument, with lists of facts related to either the public or the private life of the emperor (magistracies, military campaigns, erection of monuments, or physical appearance, marital life, etc.). Finally, the end of the emperor's life (from the prodigies that predicted his death to the potential

apotheosis) follow, again, a chronological order (Lanciotti 1998, 5). The sources for the *Life of the Divus Julius* comprised contemporary sources, such as letters, pamphlets, speeches, or the work of Asinius Pollio (the *Corpus Caesarianum* does not seem to have been among the main sources though), and later sources, such as Livy, as well as collections of aphorisms and anecdotes, biographies and memories where the figure of Caesar had taken the characteristic of a legend (the 'popular literature') (Gascou 1984, 168-169). Gascou (1984, 169-170) also notes that the use that Suetonius made of these sources heavily depends on the purpose of his work, which was more that of depicting a man's personality in all of its aspects rather than describing an epoch: therefore his predilection for those belonging to the category of 'popular literature', and his selection of the material according to his own idea of the character, preferring more colourful accounts to more sober ones. Nevertheless, Gascou (1984, 170-172) adds, Suetonius' interest in the Roman administration and in the encyclopaedic information implies that his work also offers a number of more accurate and more technical details (for example, on Caesar's calendar reform, which is very accurately described).

Asinius Pollio was probably one of the main sources of Appian's (95 – 165 AD) *Civil Wars* too, whose second book deals with the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Gabba (1956, 207-249) carried out an analysis of the work, highlighting many points of contact between it and what is known of Asinius Pollio's historical work and opinions. These similarities relate to the 'latinising' vocabulary and style of Appian's Greek, to the unfriendly attitude towards some figures such as Cicero, or Octavian, or the Senate, and more in general to the polemic intent of books 2-5 (in surprising contrast with the author's own opinions of appreciation of the monarchy and of the Augustan order expressed in the introduction to his *Roman History* and to the *Civil Wars*: App., *Rom. Hist. Praef.*, 6-8; *B Civ.*, 1. 6). Carter (1996, xxxi and xxxii) underplays Asinius as a source, and prefers such sources as Octavian's own autobiography, Messalla Corvinus' work, and Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline*. Although Appian presents the events between the Gracchans and the battle of Actium in a essentially accurate way, because of stylistic reasons he appears much less careful when presenting detail and very vague or not accurate in the chronology, as well as his narration is affected by his own optimistic view of the Roman Empire and therefore by the constant presence of the fate as a force beyond human control (Carter 1996, xxii-xxxi).

The final core source of this thesis, Cassius Dio's (155 – 235 AD) books 36-44 of his *Roman History*, in 80 books, relate events between the Third Mithridatic war and Caesar's death (69 - 44 BC). Similarly to Appian, Cassius Dio sees the 'monarchy' (i.e. the constitutional order of the Roman Empire) as the only possible solution for the government of a territory that was both very vast and comprised many heterogeneous populations (Carsana 2005, xxii); hence why he recognises Caesar's political talent and considers him as the founder of the imperial political system (Carsana 2005, xx). Lintott (1997, 2519) comments that these books present some very reliable material, although the attention given to the historical events is not consistent. As far as Dio's sources are concerned, it is particularly difficult to recognise them (Urso 2005, 11), but the latest historiographical works on the historian, in relation to his accounts of the Late Republican period, agree that he did not depend on Livy's *History of Rome* (see Zecchini 1978; Berti 1988, 7-21; Lintott 1997, 2519-2521; Urso 2005, 10). Some of his sources might have been the works of Antonius and Asinius Pollio, as well as Cicero's and Sallust's writings (Lintott 1997, 2514-2515, 2519-2520) For the narration of the Gallic Wars, Zecchini (1978, 193-198) hypothesised that Dio's source had been an anti-Caesarian contemporary of Caesar, Q. Helius Tubero (*contra* Pelling 1982); with more reasonable caution, Sordi (2002, 203-221) has more simply suggested that it was a contemporary source, but not Caesar.

2.2.2 Modern Sources on Pompey

As will be seen for Caesar, historians have similarly expressed judgements on Pompey's personality and behaviour since antiquity. In Cicero's letters, the orator commented on Pompey's inclination to violence (*Att*., 2, 14, 1), on his ambiguous behaviour during Caesar's consulate (*Att*., 2, 16, 2), on his dismay at the loss of popularity among the people (*Att*., 2, 21, 3); afterwards, he saw him as the one who would restore the Republic (*Att*., 8, 3, 4), but also remarked on his outbursts of anger that scared people around him (*Att*., 8, 16, 2; 9, 10, 2). Caesar himself often commented on Pompey's behaviour and compared it to his own in the *Civil War*, presenting some of the characteristics that recur in Pompey's descriptions, such as his envy and difficulty in accepting people with equal power (Caes., *B Civ.*, 1, 4; 1, 7; 3, 10; 3, 18), the fact that people were sometimes scared of him (Caes., *B Civ.*, 1, 33), or his vanity (Caes., *B Civ.*, 3, 45; 3, 79; 3, 82). Since Caesar was victorious in the civil war, his own view of Pompey had a strong impact on later historiography, if with some exceptions. Velleius praised him ('*Cuius viri magnitudo*

multorum voluminum instar exigit', 'The greatness of this man would require the space of many books'; Vell., 2, 29), particularly for his ability as a general, and his good character: common themes in the following sources (for example, Plut., *Pomp*., 1, 4; 53, 2). However, some of his faults were also recognised, for example that he did not want anybody to be equal to him in power, and that he was a mediocre orator. A very negative judgement on him was given by Sallust (*Hist.*, 2, 16) and Tacitus (*Hist.*, 2, 38), while Cassius Dio (37, 20) offered a more positive picture, recognising that in spite of all his power after his campaigns in the East, he did not try to subvert the Republic; the historian also praised his military skills and his organisation of the Eastern provinces. All these sources often contrast Pompey's behaviour with Caesar's, casting a comparison between the two men; accordingly, in some cases judgements on Pompey's personality and acts are expressed in the frame of modern studies on Caesar, and are contrasted with those of the dictator.

The historiography of the 19th century offers a highly negative portrait of the commander: both Wilhelm Drumann (1964, 336; 430-431; first edition 1908), whose work on the history of the late Republic has been highly influential for the wealth of documentation that it offers, and Theodor Mommsen (1901a, 271-275; 1901b, 273), in his *Roman History* (first edition in German 1854-1856), described him as a vain and ordinary person, if certainly a good commander, but without the makings of a statesman. A slightly different opinion was expressed by Eduard Meyer (1918), who, while depicting Pompey's character negatively, brought attention back to the strong similarity between the form of government founded by Augustus and the position of power taken on by Pompey when he was elected sole consul in 52 BC, and in so doing attributing well-defined political projects to the latter. According to Meyer, Pompey's great historical significance lies in the fact that he aimed to tailor for himself a position of government which would be very similar to that of the Augustan *princeps* (Meyer 1918, 5):

> 'Die Stellung, die Pompejus für sich begehrte und die er zuletzt, seit dem Jahre 52, wenigstens annährend erreicht hat, ist in der Tat in den wesentlichsten Momenten bereits die, welche das augusteische Principat dem Regenten zuweist; die Gestaltung, welche Augustus dauernd begründet hat, steht der von Pompejus erstrebten viel näher, als der des Mannes, dessen Namen er trug. Eben darin beruht die eminente

> weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Pompejus, die die Caesars fast noch übertrifft.'
>
> 'The position that Pompey longed for himself and that, eventually, he fairly approximately reached since 52 BC, is in fact, in its most essential moments, already the same that the Augustan principate assigns to the ruler; the organisation which Augustus established permanently is much more similar to the one longed for by Pompey than to that of the man whose name he carried. And in this fact exactly lies the eminent and universal historical meaning of Pompey, which almost still surpasses that of Caesar.'

A further negative judgement was provided by Syme (1939), although he recognised the importance of the general's groups of supporters and *clientes* in relation to the connections among the aristocratic families. This latter line of research, together with the discussion on the types of power held by Pompey, constitutes one of the main topics in scholarship on the commander, whose example is often the focus of more general studies on *clientela* in the Late Republic (Hermann-Otto 2005, 11-14).

By contrast, Matthias Gelzer's influential and richly documented biography of Pompey, first published in 1948 (its fourth edition, used here, appeared in 2005), recognised the high value of Pompey's administrative organisation of the Eastern provinces and his desire to become the *princeps*, however Gelzer did not attribute any political plan to Pompey (Gelzer 2005, 107 and 213 in particular).

The position of Drumann and Mommsen was heavily criticised by Miltner (1952, 2203) in his entry on Pompey published in the *Real-Enzyklopädie* in 1952; there, he maintained that they depicted him as a person who had an important role in history only through chance. Miltner also considered Meyer's interpretation to be too extreme and based only on the last part of Pompey's life. He maintained that personal power was not Pompey's aim; his was the last effort to save the institution of the Senate, and therefore the Republic, although his efforts were directed to the whole Roman dominion, not only to the narrow boundaries of the city of Rome (Miltner 1952, 2208).

An even more positive judgment on the general, his character and his actions came with Van Ooteghem (1954, 642-648), who insisted on the greatness of Pompey's military achievement in the East, which awed his contemporaries, on his figure of 'builder of an

empire', and on the goodness of his character as described by Cicero. Nevertheless, in spite of these positive judgements, the general opinion on him was negative, as demonstrated in the 1960s by a condemning evaluation of Pompey's character and actions both by Heuss and by Bengtson (Christ 2004, 199-200).

A diverse approach came from Michel (1967, 133 in particular), who began to look at Pompey's connection with Alexander the Great as a way for the general to use his own great military achievements to respond to the arrogance of the aristocracy, given his inability to parade long series of ancestors with consular or censorial dignity, and in so doing to obtain legitimation. A few years later, a series of biographies on Pompey were published (the first modern ones in English): Leach (1978) and Greenhalgh (1980; 1981), each with a highly positive picture painted (particularly of his military achievements), and Seager (1979), who concentrated more on explaining Pompey's life in relation to the political events of his period and recognised the general's refusal of absolute power. According to Seager (1979, 188-189), Pompey wanted to be a dominant figure but in the frame of the Senate's rule, and aimed to have his achievements and position recognised and respected; nevertheless, his difficult character and the unprecedented extent of his power were the main reasons for his problems with the Senate and for his sometimes unorthodox actions.

Not entirely negative is the judgement on Pompey of Christian Meier (2004) in his biography of Caesar, where he shows that he does not appreciate the traits of Pompey's character while admitting that he was a good military and administrative organiser who aimed to defend the Roman hegemony in the Near East.

Girardet (2001) has challenged the notion of the derivation of the Augustan form of government from Pompey's example: the latter's powers were in the scope of the Roman constitution, unlike those of the first emperor. A similar view, that is, that Pompey wanted a legal position, is asserted by Christ (2004), who also adds that the general might have been the solution to the crisis of the Republic. Christ's biography of the commander constitutes the last major overview of this type. Nevertheless, an opposing view is held by Vervaet (2014), who analysed the political career of Pompey by looking at his triumphs and who points to the extraordinary character both of these and of all his magistracies. Vervaet (2010) also argued that Pompey represented an example of political

method for Augustus, who enacted the same techniques of dissimulation and *recusatio imperii* in order to gain absolute power.

In sum, modern scholarship on Pompey has developed from being highly negative, to a more moderate perception, and a recognition of his valour as a commander; this was mainly due to a more general change in modern historiography on the Roman Republic, which, from the 60s, started to show more interest in the historical importance of the equestrian and plebeian classes (Jehne 2006, 9). The debate is still lively on the nature of his power, though, and his (at least partial) influence on the Augustan idea of dominion has been acknowledged. However, it has to be stressed that too little attention has yet been given to the religious dimension of Pompey's political life (Santangelo 2007, 228 with bibliography).

2.2.3 Modern Sources on Caesar

Modern historiography on Caesar began with the third volume of the *Roman History* of Theodor Mommsen, in which the German historian offered a highly passionate, heroic portrait of the dictator, in line with the teleological perspective on history of the end of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century; Mommsen's (1901a and b) work had a strong influence on the following scholarship, particularly as far as the idea that Caesar aimed at autocracy from the beginning of his career is concerned. This very positive and almost romantic idea of Caesar even led to a comparison with Christ by Froude (1879, 547-549) in the first edition of his biography, even though this was omitted in the following editions.

In 1918 two important contributions were published: the first one was Pais' 'L'aspirazione di Cesare al trono e l'opposizione tribunicia durante gli anni 45-44 a.C.', which followed Mommsen's idea of Caesar aspiring to monarchy; then, Eduard Meyer's book entitled *Caesar's monarchy and the Principate of Pompey* offered a new perspective on the two figures, arguing that only with the Civil War did their desire for absolute power arise: Pompey aspired to a type of power that was closely reminiscent of that of Augustus, whereas Caesar saw a Ptolemaic-like monarchy as the only solution to the crisis (Meyer 1918). In this, Meyer followed the contemporary historiographical trend that focused on personal connections among the aristocracy and on politics dominated by personal ambition (Jehne 2006, 6), which was clearly influenced by contemporary historical events. These ideas were supported by Carcopino (1968; first published in 1935), but

strongly opposed both by Alcock (Cook *et al.* 1932) and Syme (1939), who preferred to set Caesar's political outcome as inevitable as a result of the elimination of political competition.

Subsequently, Gelzer, in his biography written in 1921 (translated into English only in 1968), opposed the idea that Caesar intended to reach absolute power from the beginning, but said that, once at the head of the State, he intended to shape the Roman dominion according to the circumstances of that historical period (Gelzer 1968, 282). C. Meier (2004; German edition 1982) shared Mommsen's idea that the old structures of the Republic were not appropriate for a growing empire, but he also agreed with Syme that Caesar did not plan to find himself in that position at the end of his life and that, once there, he was not able to compromise. Syme's and Meier's opinions were matched by Will (1992), who provided an analysis of Caesar's finances. Much more recently, the biography by Goldsworthy (2006) focused on the military aspect of Caesar's life.

The historiographical trend fully elaborated in Meier (2004),which inserts Caesar's actions in their historical context, and point to the dictator's inability to solve the crisis of his time, is what has characterised the last twenty years of scholarship. The last four years of Caesar's life are the central topic, for example, of the volume edited by Urso (2000), where Caesar's plans and intentions and his idea of a new government are discussed from different points of view. However, the earlier periods of his life have been re-examined as well, producing a more balanced portrait of the man. A greater importance has been given to his attachment to the *popularis* faction: see, for example, Canfora's biography (1999; English edition: 2007, *Julius Caesar: the Life and Time of the People's Dictator*), plus the studies of Raauflaub (notably Raauflaub 2010a and 2010b), and space has been given to the idea that, at least in part, the dictator's actions were guided by a real desire to solve the many problems of the State, and not only by the selfish pursuit of power. The picture of Caesar that emerges from the latest scholarship is therefore a much more complex one, where, in parallel with the ground-breaking innovations of his politics, many traditional aspects of his career, of his methods and of his reforms have been recognised (see, for example, Zecchini 2001; for a focus on religion, see Stepper 2003, 25-39). Overall, the implication is that even the latest part of the man's life, the dictatorship, is nowadays judged as less revolutionary than was previously argued (a good example of this is Gardner 2009). This double-faced character of Caesar's personality, of his political career and even of his legacy is well represented in the essays collected in

the catalogue of the exhibition *Giulio Cesare. L'Uomo, le Imprese, il Mito* (Gentili 2008), in Blackwell's *Companion to Julius Caesar* (Griffin 2009) and in the proceedings of the international conference entitled *Cesare: precursore o visionario?* (Urso 2010), as well as in the very recent monograph *Il Rivoluzionario Conseguente* (Canali and Perilli 2015), which compares the figures of Caesar and Augustus.

2.3 Conclusions

In conclusion, much has happened in historical research on Caesar and Pompey during the last fifty years, and many buildings that they promoted in Rome have been the focus of recent archaeological research and re-evaluation. The interpretation of Caesar's and Pompey's personalities and aims has become more nuanced, and their engagement in trying to find a solution to the social and political issues of the Late Republic has been recognised. This is the perspective that this work takes when reading the monuments that the two politicians promoted. It has been seen that in some cases the shortage of archaeological evidence or the difficulty of interpretation of the sources do not allow to go beyond the formulation of hypotheses. The interpretations given here have similarly to be considered suggestions, with the hope that further research might shed some more light on controversial issues.

Chapter 3

Historical Framework: Politics and Propaganda under Caesar and Pompey

3.1 Propaganda in the Late Republic – How Can We Define It?

This research centres on the ways by which, during the Late Republic, politicians, and Caesar and Pompey in particular, wanted their political messages to be displayed to and to be received and internalised by people. This process is considered in the context of one of the most powerful means by which ideas were asserted and disseminated during the 1st century BC (and in Antiquity in general): architecture and art. Visual images were and are fundamental in the expression of an ideology, since they arouse a variety of emotions, sensations and mental connections (see Lasswell's definition of propaganda as 'the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations', including pictorial ones; Lasswell 2001, 13).

Propaganda appears often been as a term used in my research in order to describe the efforts on the part of Caesar and Pompey to create their own distinctive public image and to legitimise their power and their political positions and acts. It is important to stress that my research cannot unravel the reality of the generals' political thought, but can help to understand and reveal which image of themselves they wanted to present and how their ideologies and political projects were promoted.

It is therefore fundamental to consider the definition of the term *propaganda*, especially in relation to Antiquity. The term has been generally applied to modern and contemporary history and art (such as war posters), and is consequently connected to social and political structures that did not exist during the Classical period (e.g. Ellul 1971, ix and especially xvii-xviii). As a result it would be methodologically wrong to project this definition back in time. Furthermore, since its utilisation in the denomination of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda fide* - the congregation established by the Vatican in 1622 in order to spread the Roman Catholic faith in the New World and to oppose Protestantism - *propaganda* has possessed a negative connotation, meaning something that is used for dishonest, selfish or negative aims (Jowett and O'Donnell 2006, 2; Ellul 1971, x; Doob 1949, 240). Hence, when we think about political propaganda the main historical contexts

that spring to mind are the First and especially the Second World Wars, and Nazism in particular (see Taylor 2003, 3), involving the ideas of political parties and mass persuasion. Alternatively we think of the concept of mass media in relation to the contemporary era and the conflicts between political parties: in fact, Zanker (2006, 3) denies the existence of a system of propaganda in the Augustan age. Is he correct? Or is it feasible to apply this concept to facets of Roman political history (and specifically in the context of the Roman Late Republic), and if so how and why?

Many scholars (for example Ellul 1976, 17-34; Thomson 1977, 55-67; Evans 1992; Lasswell 2001, 13-14; Taylor 2003, 35-48; Jowett and O'Donnell 2006, 54-56) have asserted that propaganda was indeed used in the ancient world, and in particular in the Roman empire. It is proposed here that this concept can be used if the point of view from which the word *propaganda* is defined is changed, provided that the perspective does not rely too much upon our modern cultural, political and social structures. Jowell and O'Donnell's *Propaganda and Persuasion* (2006) is valuable, since it explores the communicative aspect of propaganda; they stress the communication process between the "sender" and the "receiver", and in particular the purposes of this process. Their definition of propaganda is as follows (Jowell and O'Donnell 2006, 7):

> *'Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.'*

This definition recalls those provided by Taylor (2003, 6) and by Evans (1992, 1), although the latter uses the expression "organised group" instead of "propagandist". In my opinion, however, 'organised group' too much suggests a modern institutionalised group, like a political party or the advertising office of a company, categories which cannot be applied to the ancient world. This is why the use of the more general term "propagandist" is preferred in the context of this research.

Next we must explain how this definition is relevant for this thesis, and consider whether those characteristics can be traced in the political communication practices of the Late Republican period. For this, an important source is the *Commentariolum petitionis*, a small pamphlet attributed to Q. Tullius Cicero, brother of the more famous M. Tullius Cicero, and apparently written between 65 and 64 BC on the occasion of his brother's candidacy to the consulate of 63 BC (Canali 2004, 67).

However, the authenticity of the *Commentariolum Petitionis* is highly debated. The pamphlet, in fact, was not originally an independent piece of writing, but was a letter, addressed to Marcus Cicero and signed by his brother Quintus, found at the end of a manuscript containing Cicero's letters to his brother. The title *Commentariolum Petitionis* was applied by the philologist Jacopo Facciolati in his 1732 edition of the work, and it was taken from the last words of the letter ('*Volo enim hoc commentariolum petitionis haberi omni ratione perfectum*': 'I want this small manual for the electoral campaign to be considered perfect from any point of view') (see Lucrezi 2011, 84). Eussner, in his 1872 edition of the pamphlet (*Commentariolum Petitionis Examinatum et Emendatum*) was the first to raise doubts regarding its authenticity, and the debate has been lively since. The main objections to the attribution to Q. Cicero relate mostly to chronological, stylistic or historical inconsistencies: these constitute strong but not irrefutable arguments, as is clear from Henderson's (1950) highly critical article, which has been contested and disproved point by point by Balsdon (1963), and later by David *et al.* (1973, 251-252). Discussion has also concerned the purpose of the pamphlet, which seems to be too polished to be a simple private letter between brothers, yet also too cynical to be addressed to a wider public; this aspect has been highlighted in particular by Nisbet (1961, 84). Overall, those who assert the authenticity of the work are divided into three groups: those scholars who think that it was not meant for publication; those who think it was; and those who take a more balanced stance, and propose a limited circulation, either among the intellectuals or inside Cicero's entourage (see the bibliography in Lucrezi 2011, 88, ff. 33 and 34; plus Canali 2004, 68). Strictly connected to this is the question of why Quintus would have written a manual for candidacy to the consulate for the benefit of his much more experienced brother (experience that is acknowledged by the author himself: *Comm. Pet.*, 1, 1). Nardo (1970, 80 and 90) therefore presumes the existence of a very limited public, which most recently Lucrezi (2011, 91) identifies with Cicero's collaborators and supporters (an opinion also expressed by Canali 2004, 68), pointing, nonetheless, to all the dangers of a potential 'leak' of the document among Cicero's adversaries.

It has to be highlighted that, in general, the arguments against the authenticity of the *Commentariolum Petitionis* have been all disproved or explained, as can be gathered, for instance, from the noted article by Balsdon (1963), or from the detailed arguments of Nardo (1970) and the balanced analysis of Lucrezi (2011). The clues in favour of its attribution to Q. Cicero all point to the fact that the work would perfectly fit in the

atmosphere of 65-64 BC, and can be found on a linguistic level (Nardo 1970, 22), on a historical level (Till 1962; Nardo 1970, 129; Richardson 1971, 442) and on a prosopographic level (David *et al.* 1973). However, as Lucrezi (2011, 89) stresses, it is clearly not possible to fully prove the authenticity for this as for any other ancient work (see also Büchner and Hofman 1951, 217; Balsdon 1963, 249; Richardson 1971, 436).

Yet while the issue of the work's purpose is important, the arguments in favour of its authenticity are compelling. Nevertheless, in agreement with the most recent research, even if the *Commentariolum* were not authentic, the very detailed knowledge of the period around 64 BC that it reveals does make it a very reliable source for that period; accordingly, the question of its authenticity might be considered of secondary importance (Gruen 1974, 138 f. 76; Morstein-Marx 1998, 261; Yakobson 1999, 74-75; Fezzi 2007, 14; Lucrezi 2011, 92). For this reason and for ease of description, below the author of the *Commentariolum* will be referred to as Quintus Cicero.

The *Commentariolum petitionis* is a collection of recommendations for conducting an electoral campaign. It includes advice on how to behave with opponents and with different social groups, admonishments on possible dangers, and suggestions as to how to avoid them; it explains how to gain consensus, how to frighten opponents, and how to exploit friendship bonds (friendship here obviously intended as the Roman concept of *amicitia*). In this respect, it corresponds perfectly with the first part of Jowell and O' Donnell's definition (2006, 7): propaganda implies a well-reasoned planning of a strategy to have a position that is stronger than that of the others and to convince other people of an idea , so it is *deliberate*. It is *systematic* as well, methodical and continuous: Quintus says 'And as far as your entourage of sympathisers is concerned, you have to have it with you every day, and it has to be made up of people of every kind, class and age […] Take care that everybody can come to you day and night, so keep the doors of your house and those of your soul open […]' (Q.Cic. *Comm. Pet.* 9, 34 and 11, 44). Caesar was even more systematic: he had an entourage of friends who actively helped him in the management of his political life (mainly Gaius Oppius and Lucius Cornelius Balbus; see Canfora 1999, 107; 438; 444).

The second part of the definition describes the primary purpose of propaganda - namely, to induce a change in perception, cognition or behaviour, or all three, in a selected audience: 'an attempt at directive communication with an objective that has been

established a priori' (Jowell and O'Donnell 2006, 8). This change might be summarised as follows:

1) Perceptions are the ways in which we collect information from the world around us, and each of us interprets this information in a different way, depending on one's experiences, culture, society and self-image; nevertheless, it is possible to have 'group perceptions' within a culture since people in it share a certain amount of values, norms, and rules. We also conceptualise perceptions through our language, which is based on associations depending on our past experience of language and images and on the culture and context in which we operate. Our perceptions are normally shaped by propagandists through language and images (Jowell and O'Donnell 2006, 8-11).
2) Cognitions, or beliefs, are in some cases created thanks to our trust in our own senses, whereas attitudes consist of our reaction to an idea or an object, or the consequence of our perception of them; both cognitions and attitudes subsequently have an impact on how we perceive the world. Cognitions can be manipulated if the source from which we receive information is biased (Jowell and O'Donnell 2006, 12-13).
3) Behaviour expresses a person's personality. The intent of the propagandist is often to change a certain kind of behaviour of people (if it is against his interests) or to encourage it (if it fits his purpose), for example by frightening the enemy and driving him to desert (Jowett and O' Donnell 2006, 13 and 36).

Many passages of Quintus Cicero's pamphlet offer evidence of this kind of practice in Late Republican politics; thus, he suggests to his brother:

> '(after listing a series of crimes and illegal behaviours of Cicero's adversaries) *Nota sunt, et ea tu saepius legito; [...]*' ('These are well-known facts, and you have to keep reading them; [...]'; Q.Cic., *Comm. Pet.*, 3, 10)

> '*Sequitur enim ut de rumore dicendum sit, cui maxime serviendum est. Sed quae dicta sunt omni superiore oratione, eadem ad rumorem concelebrandum valent [...] perficiatur id quod fieri potest labore et arte ac diligentia, non ut ad populum ab his omnibus fama perveniat sed ut in his studiis populus ipse versetur.*' ('Now we still have to discuss your reputation, about which you must care a lot. However, the things I said previously count for strengthening your reputation as well: […] the

effort, the ability and the diligence that you put in order that your reputation does not reach the people through those who know you very well, but that the people themselves admire you.'; Q.Cic. *Comm. Pet.*, 13, 50)

'[...] excelle dicendo; hoc et tenentur Romae homines et adliciuntur et ab impediendo ac ladendo repelluntur.' ('[…] excel at the art of eloquence: through it the Roman people is attracted, fascinated, and diverted from obstructing and harming you.'; Q.Cic., *Comm. Pet.*, 14, 55)

'(referring to the adversaries) *Fac ut abs te custodiri atque observari sciant; cum diligentiam tuam, cum auctoritatem vimque dicendi, tum profecto equestris ordinis erga te studium pertimescent. Atque haec ita te nolo illis proponere ut videare accusationem iam meditari, sed ut hoc terrore facilius hoc ipsum quod agis consequare.*' ('Let them know that you observe them and keep an eye on them: they will be afraid of your attention, your authority and the power of your eloquence, but also of the support of the equestrian order. But do not let them think this in order to give them the impression that you are preparing a prosecution, but only in order to obtain what you want more easily, taking advantage of their fear.'; Q.Cic., *Comm. Pet.*, 14, 55-56)

This last quote leads to the final part of Jowett and O'Donnell's definition: namely that the ultimate aim of propaganda is to obtain a response that facilitates the intent of the propagandist. This intent is a selfish one, which goes to the advantage of the propagandist and not necessarily of the audience; however, this does not mean that it is always negative (Jowett and O'Donnell 2006, 14). Consequently, since nobody would willingly accept being manipulated by another person to help him reach his selfish interests, the propagandist cannot disclose his real purpose (Jowett and O'Donnell 2006, 38).

The *Commentariolum petitionis* again offers proof of the Roman elite's awareness of these important issues: for example, Cicero is recommended by his brother to be very generous, both in terms of money and in terms of helpfulness towards everybody, because 'if you let know that you are hiding your intentions, it will not matter if the doors of your house are open or not.' ('*quae si significat voluntatem abditam esse ac retrusam, parvi refert patere ostium*'; Q.Cic., *Comm. Pet.*, 11, 44).

The *Commentariolum petitionis* therefore allows us to affirm that it is feasible to apply the word 'propaganda' to the ancient world, as long as we consider it as a subcategory of communication. Furthermore, the communication process had already been studied by Greek philosophers like Socrates, Plato or Aristotle, and rhetoric of course was considered core to the good education of any man who aimed to be involved in politics.

Since the communication process always implies the presence of a 'recipient', in order to fully understand propaganda and how it worked in the ancient world it is necessary to be aware of the audience to which it was directed. For the Late Republic, it is difficult, if not impossible, to have a complete grasp of this aspect even though we possess more evidence (literary, epigraphic, numismatic) than we do for many other periods in ancient history; nevertheless, it gives us only a faint glimpse of what reality will have been. Furthermore, this very limited knowledge concerns only the upper classes. However, historical research allows us to formulate some plausible hypotheses, which, although remaining in the field of intellectual speculation, help delineate the different types of audience.

In the city of Rome, propaganda reached the population in many different ways: not only through architecture, but through images (pictures, coins), the written word (different types of inscriptions, literature, pamphlets), recitations, ceremonies, celebrations and other public events, and also rumours. Each social class had different levels of access to it, depending on their cultural level, education, frequency of visits to particular areas of the city, and right of access to certain places; furthermore, every expression of propaganda possessed different levels of interpretation, and it is obvious that the better educated a person was, the more he or she could read and understand a deeper and more complex level of interpretation.

However, Evans (1992, 6) affirms that 'propaganda will only persuade people who are actively engaged in the culture and who can focus on the society as a whole'; accordingly, she infers that the lowest classes were excluded from it. This might be true if we consider not just Rome's city population but also that of the surrounding and wider countryside; nevertheless, some of the rural population had occasion to go to Rome sometimes (be it only for elections or for the *ludi*), or they might have seen the Roman armies passing through their lands, or they might have heard news about military victories or about specific events in the *Urbs*. Within the city, it is very plausible that every social class was subject to propaganda, if to different degrees. As Evans points out, educated people had

the highest exposure (Evans 1992, 6), whereas among the lowest classes the lack of literacy and, generally, the more restricted access to other forms of propaganda meant that the exposure was less continuous (even if rumours must have had a very high impact on the diffusion of news and messages: see Q. Cic., *Comm. Pet.*, 5, 17, where Quintus warns Cicero to keep up a good relationship with his family, clients, slaves, neighbours and freedmen, because 'every talk which contributes to our public reputation has its origin in the domestic environment.').

This difference in exposure does not have any correspondence to the impact that propaganda had on people. My view is that Evans' statement that better educated people were more susceptible to propagandistic messages because they were more frequently exposed to them is not convincing (Evans 1992, 6). Education, of course, implies an ability to discern information, and to be critical; it also involves access to a greater amount of information, and so access to different perspectives. Broadly speaking, there is therefore an inversely proportional relationship between education and susceptibility to propaganda: while the upper classes were susceptible, the impact that it had on the lowest classes must have been stronger, despite being exposed to fewer messages.

Nevertheless, because of the nature of the sources it is almost impossible to find tangible evidence of the effectiveness (and so the different degrees of susceptibility) of propaganda (one of the ways in which this can be evaluated is by examination of the audience's reaction: see Jowett and O'Donnell 2006, 285). Our knowledge of the Roman world is mostly limited to the upper classes, and yet it is extremely difficult to recognise the efficacy of propaganda among them - in fact it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, even in relation to modern society (see Ellul 1971, 260-265). Accordingly, it is only possible to put forward some suppositions on the basis of hints identified in the literary sources. Two examples of this can help clarify the process.

Firstly, in his *Carmen* 29, 1-9, Catullus complains about the actions of Mamurra, and he addresses Julius Caesar:

> *Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati,*
> *nisi impudicus et vorax et aleo,*
> *Mamurram habere quod Comata Gallia*
> *habebat uncti et ultima Britannia?*
> Cinaede Romule haec videbis et feres?
> *Et ille nunc superbus et superfluens*

perambulabit omnium cubilia,
ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus?
Cinaede Romule, haec videbis et feres?

Who, if not an indecent, greedy hustler,
can see and tolerate
that Mamurra obtains the wealth
of the Comata Gallia or of the far Britannia?
Shameful Romulus, you see this and you tolerate it?
And he, arrogant and brimming with wealth,
will wander around from bed to bed
like a little white pigeon or an Adonis?
Shameful Romulus, you see this and you tolerate it?

One of the most interesting features of this poem is that Catullus refers to Caesar as *Romulus*, as is clear from the verses 11-12: '*Eone nomine, imperator unice,/ fuisti in ultima occidentis insula, [...]*' 'You exceptional general, were you in the furthest island of the West in his name, […]'. Since the founder of Rome was one of the models for Caesar's political image (see Section 4.2.5), it seems particularly symbolic that the polemical and certainly ironic and satirical vein of the poet makes this the identification of Caesar with Romulus; we can assume that this link was understood by those who read or listened to these verses.

A second example comes in a passage of Cicero's fourth oration against Catiline. During the assembly of 5th December 63 BC, at which the Senate discussed the fate of the Catilinarians and where Caesar argued that they should not be executed, Cicero delivered his speech in favour of Caesar's proposal and he referred to the newly elected *pontifex maximus* in the following terms (Cic., *Cat*., 4, 9):

> *'Habemus enim a Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitas et maiorum eius amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem saluti populi consulentem.'*
>
> 'Therefore, from Caesar, as indeed his own dignity and the importance of his ancestors demand, we have a proposition which is a guarantee of perpetual commitment towards the Republic. It is very clear what the real difference between the shallowness of a demagogue and *a truly* popularis *soul*, who takes care of the safety of the people, is.'

Cicero, who never criticized Caesar for his pursuit of a *popularis* programme (see Canfora 2010, 177), describes him as 'a truly *popularis* soul'. Thus Caesar is connected to that group of people and seen as a trustworthy spokesperson: his primary concern is the safety of the people. Caesar clearly did not spare any effort in trying to present himself as the natural new leader of the *popularis* faction (see Section 4.2.1), otherwise Cicero's praise would have made no sense: in this context, if Cicero was trying to flatter Caesar with these words, however ironic this praise might have been, it means that the *pontifex maximus* wanted to be seen as having that role.

It is not possible to further evaluate the effectiveness of propaganda messages. But while it is possible to understand some of the messages which were conveyed in this propaganda activity, the impact of the ideas can be deduced only by looking at the written sources (which, of course, do not always tell us if the idea had been accepted, but only that it was understood), or by observing if they are maintained as propaganda throughout time, or changed, or abandoned. As far as architecture is concerned, one might speculate on the types of audience by looking at the location of the buildings (for example on main streets, or in private precincts,), their relationship with other structures or streets, their decoration and their function. In section 5.1.2.8, for example, it will be seen how some propagandistic messages of the Forum of Caesar were probably understood only by those who could access the temple of Venus Genetrix.

3.2 - The Game of Politics

Having defined and explored the word *propaganda*, it is now necessary to examine the wider context. This section offers a brief outline of the political struggles during the Late Republic, focusing on the aspects connected with the purposes and aims of the propagandistic activity of the competing generals, particularly in relation to architecture. One key question to be considered when studying propaganda is whom it targeted, how and why.

3.2.1 The Roman Electorate and the Role of the People

The political system of the Roman Republic has been a focus of discussion since antiquity; for example, we can think of Polybius and his description of the Roman 'mixed' constitution in the sixth book of his *Histories*. This developed into a more general debate about Roman politics, or political culture, which is not directly relevant to this research

and therefore will not be considered in depth (but see the discussion of the development of the debate that can be found in the Introduction to Mouritsen 2001; an overview of some recent issues and studies can be found in Hölkeskamp 2011, with some interesting suggestions for new directions in the debate). Nevertheless, it is important to consider those aspects which relate specifically to the subject of this doctoral research.

A topic that has most attracted the attention of historians in recent decades is the role of the people, conceived as the population belonging to the lower classes. Rome was considered as being governed mostly by the oligarchy, who was thought to have held decisional power in the election of magistrates, and to have had a strong influence in the legislative assemblies, where the people would have had only a passive role (see, for example, Taylor 1949, 71). The political role of this category had been neglected before the ground-breaking article of Millar (1984), *The political character of the classical Roman Republic, 200-151 BC*, followed by other contributions (Millar 1986; 1989; 1995). His work triggered a lively discussion between those who support the 'oligarchic' model of the Roman state and those who prefer to see it as a much more 'democratic' system, where the urban population were influential both in elections and in legislation (see, for example, Vanderbroeck 1987, Yakobson 1999 and 2010, Mouritsen 2001). This latter stance prevails, and it seems likely to be the one that better reflects the Late Republican reality of politics, especially given the observations about bribing by Yakobson (1999, 22) and the advice given to Cicero in the *Commentariolum Petitionis*, where Quintus insists on the importance of the support of the *populus* (5, 16; 8, 30; 9, 34; 11, 41; 13, 50-51; 13, 53). Even if this pamphlet is explicitly meant for Cicero in the campaign for his consulate (14, 58), and therefore the advice in it cannot be considered as a general model of behaviour for an electoral competition, the fact that the orator was a *homo novus*, and was consequently not granted the complete backing of the nobility (see Q. Cic., *Comm. Pet.*, 4, 13-14), makes the need to obtain popular favour particularly significant. This aspect is important for this research: if the favour of the city populace was the decisive factor in elections for both lower and higher magistracies and in the approval of laws, it means that the propaganda carried out not only, but especially during electoral campaigns, had it as its main target. As far as architectural propaganda is concerned, the urban space in which the electoral and legislative assemblies (the *comitia centuriata* and the *comitia tributa*) took place was the area of the Campus Martius called *Ovile*, which, as it will be

seen in section 5.2.3, was reconstructed and called *Saepta Iulia* by Caesar (see gazetteer entry: *Saepta (Ovile) and Diribitorium*).

One occasion on which a relationship between the *populus* (or at least its political concept; Mouritsen 2001, 14) and a magistrate was established was during the *contiones*, a 'purely communicative form' of assemblies (Tan 2008, 163) convoked and presided over by a magistrate, where discussion about political issues, but no voting, took place (Yakobson 1999, 11). These discussions could deal, among other things, with legislative proposals, elections, announcements of different types (Tan 2008, 170); individuals could express their opinion, but only if allowed by the presiding magistrate. This interaction between the ruling class and the people took place, after the end of the second century BC, in the Forum (Mouritsen 2001, 24). In the case of the presentation of a law proposal (or of elections), the proposing magistrate, who during the Late Republic was usually a tribune of the plebs (Suárez Piñeiro 2003, 61), had to explain the text of the law to the citizens, who subsequently had to approve or reject it; in this case, the *contio* constituted one of the occasions in which a magistrate had to seek consensus and could therefore boost his political career (Yakobson 1999, 11).

3.2.2 Public Spectacles as Political Field

Consensus could be also sought thanks to the organisation of public spectacles or festivals, which were normally provided by the magistrates in charge or by priests, on whom the majority of the expense fell, despite the money allocated for them by the Senate (Flower 2006, 324). This is the reason why the reputation of a politician and the favour of the people conceded to him depended on the magnificence and splendour of the spectacle. As a consequence, this is also why the *aedilitas*, the magistracy in charge of the organisation of public festivities, was seen as a stepping stone towards a shining career.

Considering that Roman culture was mainly based on visualisation and visibility, on 'seeing and being seen' (Flower 2006, 322), it is not surprising that Roman politics has often been considered a spectacle itself, either in the light of the politicians' promotion of public festivities or processions or in relation to the self-propaganda of a politician in a more 'private' sphere. The ceremony of *salutatio*, the number of his *clientes*, or the number of people who accompanied him to the Forum are examples of such spectacles (see, for example, Bell 1997 and Flower 2006). Private and public occasions of

entertainment or public appearance were a means through which the different strata of Roman society could communicate and also served the purpose of celebrating and reaffirming its structure and ideology (Flower 2006, 322).

Among the public occasions of entertainment there were not only the spectacles connected to official games and state holidays, but also those in relation to religious festivals, often connected to the anniversary of the foundation date of a temple (see, for example, the *ludi Megalenses*, games associated with the cult of the Magna Mater whose temple stood on the *vicus Iugarius*, at the base of the Palatine hill; Flower 2006, 325). Both these kinds of entertainment involved various types of spectacles such as races, drama, parades, games and sacrifices. The evolving topography of the city was the perfect stage for these. However, no permanent structure for games or theatrical representations was present in Rome before the building of the theatre of Pompey in 55 BC, whose construction was justified, according to what Tertullian (*Spect.*, 10, 5) reports, through maintaining that the cavea of the theatre was nothing more than a staircase of the temple of Venus Victrix, built on the top of it (Tertullian's passage seems to be confirmed by Tiro, a contemporary of Pompey, in Gell., 10, 1, 7; see Coarelli 1997a, 570, f.141 and 568-569; for a more detailed analysis of the complex, and the discussion on the temple of Venus, see Section 5.2.1.1). In relation to this, it is important to remember that in 154 BC the censors C. Cassius Longinus and M. Valerius Messalla tried to build a stone theatre on the Palatine hill, which was immediately destroyed by order of the Senate under the suggestion of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (Liv., *Per*., 48; see Tosi 2003b, 662). This episode is an example of how much the edifices for spectacles were conceived as a political space, especially from the second century BC, when the spectators in the performances (particularly in theatres) were divided by class, with the senators sitting next to the orchestra (Liv., 34, 44; see Flower 2006, 326; places in the first fourteen rows of the cavea were reserved for the knights from 63 BC: Vell. Pat., 2, 32, 3; Plut., *Cic*., 13). Spectators used to voice their political approval or dissatisfaction either in relation to lines of the play that could be associated with the political situation or directly in favour of or against single politicians present during the performance (Vanderbroeck 1987, 77; Flower 2006, 326); Cicero reports the opposite reactions of the public in the theatre of Apollo against Pompey and Caesar and in favour of Curio during the *ludi Apollinares* in 59 BC (Cic., *Att*., 2, 19, 3). Another aspect, closely linked with self-promotion, is the composition of the spectators in the theatre. As Vanderbroeck (1987, 79) notes,

theoretically everybody could go to spectacles in the theatre, but de facto the organiser of the games could facilitate the access to some people through the distribution of tickets. It was therefore a (at least partly) selected audience who could voice its political opinions during the performance.

The increased importance of spectacles (theatrical ones in particular) for the self-promotion of politicians during the Late Republic is further demonstrated by the construction of two magnificent edifices: the theatre of Scaurus, in 58 BC, and the theatre-amphitheatre of Curio, in 53-52 BC (Tosi 2003b, 665). In 45 BC the works for Caesar's theatre began (Cass. Dio, 43, 49, 2; Suet., *Iul*., 44, 1) and it seems clear that this building activity (which will be considered in more depth at the end of this chapter) implied a strong competition among the nobles and therefore the need to attract the favour of the population for electoral purposes.

3.2.3 Party Politics?

The effort and the resources lavished by politicians in order to seek and attract the approval and the favour of their electors is clear. Important questions to be asked in relation to propaganda are why the electors decided to vote either for the election of a candidate or for a magistrate's law proposal, and what the politician need to do in order to gain the approval of the electorate? The investigation of these aspects is fundamental for understanding the themes, reference models and methods employed by politicians throughout their public life.

Scholarship on the Roman political system agrees on the fact that there was nothing comparable to our concept of political party, conceived as an ideologically defined and organised group under the leadership of an individual, pursuing an established programme (see, for example, Taylor 1949, 7-8; Yakobson 1999, 178; Suárez Piñeiro 2003, 19). The Latin language provides two terms in particular in order to define political groupings, that is *pars* and *factio*, but their meaning is quite different to the modern concept of a political party (Taylor 1949, 8-12). Nevertheless, it is feasible to consider the two groups called by Cicero *optimates* and *populares* (Cic., *Sest*., 96) as 'opinion groups' (Suárez Piñeiro 2003, 20), especially as far as the *populares* are concerned, taking into account the relation of mutual dependency among them and their idea of loyalty towards a leader (Vanderbroeck 1987, 51). It has to be remembered that even the names of these two 'opinion groups' were 'institutionalised': *optimates*, 'the good men', was the

name that the more conservative group of the Senate had given to itself (Cic., *Rep.*, 1, 50). The *populares*, demagogues, was not used by the more 'popular' group to describe themselves; neither Caesar nor Sallust employ it to speak about Caesar's party (Taylor 1949, 13-14). However, *popularis* was used in relation to a person who acted in the interests of the people (Cic., *Cat*., 4, 9; *Rep*., 2, 53).

Connected to the issue concerning the political parties is that of the existence or not of a programme, or at least of a line of action, in relation to these 'opinion groups'. Only recently has the idea that Roman elections were completely apolitical and based only on the personal value and social ties of the single candidate been challenged (see, for example, Yakobson 1999; Taylor 1949, 23 thinks, for example, that a programme was presented by magistrates when proposing a law project, but that it was not used when canvassing for election to a magistracy). The question is very complicated, and a series of cases provided by Yakobson (1999, 156-177) seems to convincingly prove that, at least during the Late Republic, elections were politicised to a certain degree, but the personal commitment of the single candidates (and their ties of *amicitia* and *clientela*) also played an important role towards their political success.

If for the Roman world it is not possible to accept the existence of political parties as we conceive them now, then there was no such thing as a political programme. However, it is argued here that, as far as the Late Republic is concerned, politicians felt the need to demonstrate at least that they agreed with the main, broad central ideas of one of these groups, to a point that in certain cases it is also possible to find recurring themes or patterns of behaviour in the political life of some people (see, for example, Suárez Piñeiro 2003, 73-81).

Taking into account the terminological premise outlined above, the *optimates* can be conceived as the more 'conservative' group, that aimed to maintain the pre-Sullan republican constitution and the authority of the Senate, and to fight the personalisation of power (and therefore the concession of exceptional powers to generals) (Suárez Piñeiro 2003, 74-75). As Suárez Piñeiro argues (2003, 76), their actions can therefore only seen as an opposition to radical reforms and changes.

The *populares*, on the other hand, opposed the actions of the Senate, with the aim of improving the economic and political situation of the population (Suárez Piñeiro 2003, 80). A certain degree of coherence appears to have characterised their actions, which

aimed to promote agrarian and corn laws, cancel debts, extend Roman citizenship, reform the justice system and curb the arbitrariness of senatorial activity (Suárez Piñeiro 2003, 80). From this perspective, it is possible to affirm that the *populares* possessed a higher degree of organisation and unity than the *optimates* (Vanderbroeck 1987, 51), and it is very interesting that the actions listed above were recognised as belonging to a *popularis* ideology, to the point of attributing the label of *popularis* to historical figures who lived well before the Late Republic (see the interesting article of Kaplow 2012).

3.2.4 Private Shows

A political campaign, at least during the Late Republic, was partly based on the personal views of the candidates towards particular social or political issues (which put the candidate in relation to a determined current of thought); however, this aspect did not constitute the decisive and sole criterion of choice of a particular person.

Nobody, even those belonging to the most ancient and important of the aristocratic families of Rome, were guaranteed to win elections, at least during the Late Republic (Yakobson 1999, 212); the candidate had to ask for votes (*petere*) in a context in which bribery had a considerable influence. The importance of bribery is evident through the money and effort that was lavished on it by politicians during electoral campaigns (see Yakobson 1999, 22-26). Nevertheless, the population of Rome seemed to have a certain degree of respect for the nobility; although this respect had to be legitimated through the demonstration of governing ability (Yakobson 1999, 203).

It was therefore of critical importance that a noble demonstrate his right to govern and his valour through the celebration of his own deeds and those of his ancestors; his *existimatio*, his reputation, depended on his social position (which in turn was strictly connected to his class status and to the offices he had performed), on his behaviour and on the magnificence of his deeds (see Yavetz 1974 on this topic and on rumours, which could equally have a great effect on one's *existimatio*). The offer of, or the celebration of private spectacles, such as those associated with the funerals of a magistrate, those in honour of an ancestor or in memory of his deeds, or ceremonies of triumph, were meant to glorify the individual and his personal virtues.

The departure (*profectio*) and return (*adventus*) of a general, usually a promagistrate, to and from his allocated province or a war campaign were already accompanied by

spectacular processions and parades (Flower 2006, 324). It is not therefore surprising that the ceremony of triumph, an honour which was bestowed only to generals who had accomplished highly notable achievements (Flower 2006, 327), had to be an event that impressed the whole population and overshadowed the previous celebrations of other generals. The triumph was a difficult merit to obtain, since it not only marked the peak of success for a general but it also recognised a victory, and was therefore controlled by the Senate (Flower 2006, 327). Only in that case was the *dux* allowed to enter the city with his army, which normally could not violate the sacred boundaries of the *pomerium*.

The ceremony, during the Late Republic, could last from one to a maximum of four days (Flower 2006, 329) and it consisted of different stages: the parade entered the city through the *Porta Triumphalis*, in the southern part of the Campus Martius, and proceeded through the city up to the temple of Jupiter, in front of which a thanksgiving to the god took place (see Plate 2). Afterwards, the general addressed the people in a *contio*, and then offered public banquets (Flower 2006, 327). All this afforded several opportunities for promoting one's valour and virtues and the importance of one's victories and services to the Republic. The ceremony included the parading not only of the soldiers and of the general, but also of the booty, the captives (Flower 2006, 327), and of *tabulae pictae*, wooden pictures that represented the narration of salient moments of the military campaign or that listed the conquered territories and populations (Bastien 2000, 153).

The itinerary of the parade is controversial: the identification of the *Porta Triumphalis* with one of the entrances of the *Porta Carmentalis*, located in front of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, by Coarelli (1968) is recent; the following section of the path, in the forum Boarium, is a matter of contention in relation to the question if it remained the same throughout the centuries or not (Bastien 2007, 316-317). Suetonius (*Iul*., 37, 3), in fact, states that Caesar went through the *Velabrum* during his triumph in 46, whereas it seems that Vespasian and Titus did not (Hegesipp., 7, 16-18). The triumphal parade then proceeded through the Circus Maximus and headed towards the Forum, through the Via Sacra (whose path has been established on the northern side of the Forum by Coarelli 1983, 11-26) and towards the Capitolium and the temple of Jupiter (Bastien 2007, 321-322).

The itinerary of the parade was marked by monuments among which there were some established or associated with the ancestors of the celebrating *triumphator*, either in

connection with another triumph or for different reasons. This provided an opportunity to celebrate the military glory of one's *gens* or the favour of the gods towards it (Bastien 2000, 150).

If triumphal ceremonies were an occasion for celebrating the glory of a magistrate's family, another opportunity was the funerals of the Roman élite. A normal citizen was buried immediately after his death, but men who had performed at least the office of *aedilis* (but later also other male relatives and even women) were entitled to funerals in which the private character was preceded by a more public, magnificent and important celebration of the deceased (Flower 2006, 331). After his death, the body of a magistrate was laid out in the public section of his house, the *atrium*, for some days, during which the family organised the funeral and arranged the invitation of the citizenry through public announcements. On the day of the ceremony a procession from the house of the deceased carried his body to the Forum, where an exponent of the family, normally the older son or another relative, delivered the funeral eulogy from the Rostra (Flower 2006, 331).

The celebratory character of the procession was evident from the outset: actors, hired for the occasion, paraded ahead of the deceased wearing the wax masks of the ancestors who had performed public offices, also carrying or being accompanied by the symbols and attributes (including the lictors) of the highest magistracy that they had reached. If an ancestor had celebrated the triumph, the actor impersonating him had to wear the triumphal garb and was accompanied by part of the booty and paintings that had been paraded during the triumphal ceremony. Furthermore, in front of the bier carrying the deceased walked another actor who represented him. The procession culminated in the celebratory oration from the Rostra, when, in front of the 'ancestors', the life and achievements not only of the dead magistrate and but also of all his ancestors were listed and praised: a moment which not only enhanced the prestige of the family itself but also inserted it in the wider context of the Roman community, celebrating its power and glory (Flower 2006, 334-335). It might be conjectured that the speaker, while praising his ancestors, could point or refer to buildings, columns, statues or other works of art promoted by them (or representing their deeds) in the Forum.

The political importance of the funerary celebration for the élite can be inferred looking at the episode of Caesar's eulogy at the funerals of his aunt Iulia and his wife Cornelia (Suet., *Iul*., 6, 1). This event has been described as the first important political act of the

future dictator (Lincoln 1993, 387), where, for the first time, he publicly asserted the connection of his family with the goddess Venus, through the *gens* Iulia, and with the king Ancus Marcius, through the *gens* of the Marcii Reges (Suet., *Iul*., 6, 1). In this way, Caesar stressed the importance of his family, underlining its divine descent and its antiquity; it is important to remember that no members of the *gens* Iulia had performed a higher office since the first half of the second century BC. The eulogy of his aunt Iulia gave Caesar another important political possibility: she was the wife of Marius, the former *popularis* leader, and this connection allowed the politician to parade the *imagines* of both Marius and his son during the procession (Plut., *Caes*., 5, 2). This established a relation with a political trend which was to characterise his public life and of which he would become the leading proponent (Lincoln 1993, 396). Furthermore, there is, in my opinion, another aspect that has to be taken into account. As seen in the celebration of Caesar's aunt Iulia, the eulogy on the occasion of the death of a woman could focus on the importance of either her family of origin or of the family of her husband (Lincoln 1993, 391); this is due to the Roman patrilineal and patrilocal system, in which a woman, after the marriage, moved from the *potestas* of her father to that of her husband (or of her father-in-law), whose ancestors and *sacra privata* she adopted (Cenerini 2002, 30). In this context, the funerary eulogy of Cornelia acquires a strong political meaning: she was the daughter of Cornelius Cinna, the other *popularis* leader defeated by Sulla during the recent civil war.

Funerals comprised a banquet for the populace, but could also include gladiatorial spectacles (this was the main occasion for their celebration during the Republic) and plays (Flower 2006, 336), whose political importance has already been discussed.

3.2.5 Politics and Religion

The various aspects of the attainment of consensus show how politics permeated the vast majority of the lives of the Roman citizens; the aim of the above sections was therefore to define the target of the political propaganda and the means politicians exploited in order for their message to reach the audience in the fastest and most appealing and convincing manner.

It has to be pointed out that magistrates were, in most of the cases, priests as well; modern divisions between the sacred and the profane were inconceivable for the Romans. Religion had an essential role in the State: maintaining a good relationship with their gods

was considered vital for the survival of the Republic. The performance of rituals was essential to secure the favour of the gods, but these rituals had to be executed in the proper way, place and at the proper time; all elements that constituted the responsibility of the officiating priest (Orlin 2007, 58).

This section will consider how religion could be used in the context of political propaganda. If the most important and core element is maintaining the *pax deorum*, the politician had to demonstrate that he respected the gods (that he was *pius*) through the correct performance of the rites and ceremonies which were related to their worship. This was also essential towards the gods of other populations: some vows made by generals towards foreign gods resulted in them building a temple in their honour, that was not only a demonstration of the valour and virtue of the promoter but also proof of his *pietas* towards the foreign gods (Orlin 2007, 62, who also draws attention to the reasons of foreign politics which explain these actions).

Proving one's *pietas* was central to the celebration of both private and public spectacles. As seen, these ceremonies and shows included the performance of sacrifices, and some of them happened on the occasion of religious festivals; furthermore, the relation between theatre plays and religion is a recognised feature of Roman culture. All these events were occasions for demonstrating one's respect for the gods and the favour which was granted by them. The triumph, in particular, was a ceremony which had a strong religious character: it has to be remembered that the *imperium*, military power, was ultimately granted by Jupiter himself (Sabbatucci 1988, 312). During the last years of the Republic, the progressive personalisation of power led individuals to underline the favour granted specifically to them by particular gods, factor that brought about an increase in the building or refurbishing activity at temples, which, in some cases, became known by the name of their founder (Orlin 2007, 66). This connection with a particular god (or gods) became, for certain individuals, a close relationship: Scipio Africanus claimed to have a particular association with Jupiter (Liv. 26, 19; see Orlin 2007, 66-67).

This form of propaganda could serve as a very important weapon against political enemies: the use of religion in order to defame them. Cicero provides a good example of this practice in some of his orations, correlating the dishonest behaviour of his accused with a lack of respect towards the gods (see Pina Polo 2002). In the *Verrinae*, Verres is accused of carrying out a sacrilegious and impious war against the gods, which also

included the destruction of their temples (Cic., *Verr*. 2, 5, 188); Catiline of attempting the destruction of the sacred buildings (Cic., *Cat*., 1, 12); Clodius of pillaging the sanctuaries (Cic., *Dom*., 140) or of burning the temples (Cic., *Har. resp*., 39). The accusation of a lack of *pietas* could also relate to the auspices: during the Late Republic the use of *obnuntiatio* (the reporting by a magistrate of unfavourable signs given by the gods in order to dissolve an assembly) increased (Taylor 1949, 82), and the disrespect of it led not only to the suspension of the assembly, but also to the accusation of impiety for the magistrate who had called it: Caesar expelled his colleague in the consulate, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, from the forum in order to prevent him from dissolving the comitia that had to approve his agrarian law (Suet., *Iul*., 20, 1).

Another way in which propaganda could be promoted through religion was the dedication (or refurbishment) of temples or works of art to qualities (like Libertas, Pax, Fides...); in this way the founder or dedicator could create a connection with that quality (Clark 2007, 9): a good example of this is the (re-?)dedication of a temple to Concordia in the Roman Forum by the consul L. Opimius in 121 BC, after the defeat of the Gracchans (App., *BCiv*, 1, 26; for that reason it provoked much indignation among the people: Plut., *C.Gracch.*, 17, 8-9; Aug., *Civ.*, 3, 25).

From this discussion it can be seen that the populace of Rome constituted an important target of political propaganda during the Late Republic, and that a politician had many occasions on which he could try to gain its support; this constant effort characterised most of his public and sometimes private life. The following section will analyse more specifically how public architecture was employed by candidates in order to help themselves in their struggle for the rise to higher magistracies.

3.3 *Exegi Monumentum Aere Perennius*: (the Meaning of) Architectural Euergetism in Politics during the Late Republic

In the previous chapter reference has been made to the physical contexts of politics or self promotion; these places and the buildings or works of art that decorated them were the result of the building activity of the magistrates themselves, but also of private individuals who aimed to celebrate their own deeds. The ongoing debate about the role of the Senate or of the popular assemblies in relation to this building activity, and about its commission and financing, is eloquently discussed by Steinby (2012), where the author questions

some well-established theories about the freedom of action of the magistrates when deciding to build a *monumentum*: she convincingly argues, based on some passages of Pliny (*HN*, 34, 20) and Polybius (6, 13, 1-3 and 6, 17, 1-5), that behind the action of the magistrate there was always the permission of the Senate or of the popular assembly (Steinby 2012, 19; *contra*, for example, Orlin 2002, 140; Ziolkowski 1992, 235).

During the Republic, the magistrates who normally took care of the construction or refurbishment of public buildings were the censors (Steinby 2012, 20; for a list of the building activities of the censors see, for example, Coarelli 1977b, 4-6 and Astin 1985, 178-179) or the aediles. While there are no dedicated studies of this, it is clear that the *cura Urbis*, which mainly involved the maintenance and refurbishment of public buildings, came under their jurisdiction (Steinby 2012, 22); however, these duties could be occasionally assigned to other magistrates, such as consuls or praetors (Steinby 2012, 21; see also Astin 1985, 183).

All of these activities were normally financed by the Senate (Orlin 2002, 140) or, in the case of aediles, by the fines collected by them (Orlin 2002, 141; Steinby 2012, 22). As far as the other types of buildings are concerned, such as the triumphal arches or temples vowed by a commander during his war campaign, or the dedication and exhibition of war spoils, these were funded by the general himself, thanks to the *manubiae*, the booty, which he could use for this purpose (Schatzman 1972, 202-205); however, their construction had to be approved by the Senate or by the popular assembly (Steinby 2012, 16-17).

A turning point in this organised system seems to have been achieved at the end of the second century BC, when a new type of euergetism appears (Steinby 2012, 21 and 66). The building activity of the censors decreases dramatically (only one major project during the Late Republic; Schatzman 1972, 182; see Cass. Dio, 39, 61, 1-2), whereas contracts are entrusted to other magistrates (Steinby 2012, 21). Victorious generals began to promote buildings with public functions using their *manubiae*, therefore acting within an area of competence which was not their prerogative beforehand, and using funds that might be considered as 'private' (Steinby 2012, 70). Within the scope of this research, this aspect is particularly interesting, considering the great importance that architectural euergetism had in self promotion. Promoting the construction of a building provided an opportunity to put one's name on the monument, even if only through the dedicatory inscription (as was the case, for example, of Catulus in relation to the Tabularium: see

CIL $I^2$737=VI 1314=ILLRP 367). The name of the promoter had to be maintained even after reconstructions or refurbishments (Steinby 2012, 82): Caesar's efforts to attach his own name to the refurbishment of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus were in vain (Suet., *Iul*., 15, 1; Cass. Dio, 37, 44, 1-2; Cic., *Verr*., 4, 69.Cassius Dio (44, 5, 2) says that the true reason for the destruction of the curia Hostilia-Cornelia was not the construction of the temple of Felicitas by Caesar, but the elimination of the name of Sulla from it, so the dictator could build another Senate house and name it *Iulia*. Whether these were Caesar's true motivations or not (Cassius Dio might have offered his own opinion; a suggestion for interpretation is presented in Section 5.1.1.2), Dio's passage leads to the belief that it was almost impossible to erase or change the name of the patron of a building, which could only be achieved by its demolition.

The construction of 'private' monuments, such as triumphal arches, columns or temples vowed during a battle were a further medium of self-promotion for a general (in addition to those outlined in section 3.2), since they represented his glory and celebrated his victories in a more durable way. The importance of his deeds was further enhanced by the fact that their construction had had the Senate's approval: it was in fact a formal recognition of the general's action and, in the case of the vow of a temple, it also meant that the cult of the deity had been incorporated in the religious system of the State (see Orlin 2002, 66-67). This was even more important in the case of monuments built *de manubiis* but with a public function.

The history of a monument, its topographical position, the occasion on which it was dedicated, the works of art that decorated it, its function and, in the case of a temple, the deity to which it was dedicated are central to this research. The importance of these factors can be seen in the following examples: the temple of Concordia in the Forum, built by Furius Camillus after the approval of the Liciniae Sextiae laws, was refurbished by L. Opimius in 121 BC, after the massacre of the Gracchans, and became the symbol of their defeat (Zanker 2006, 25); the construction of the 'Tabularium' by Catulus, towering on the Roman Forum, underlined the predominance of the *optimates* after the victory of Sulla (Zanker 2006, 26); after Clodius Pulcher succeeded in sending Cicero into exile, he built a temple to Libertas in the place of the orator's house (Plut., *Cic*., 33, 1); after 123 BC, in connection with the *lex frumentaria*, Caius Gracchus built the *horrea Sempronia* (Steinby 2012, 65).

The propagandistic value of these monuments could also be exploited by descendants: as explained in the previous section, on the occasion of private or public ceremonies the fame of the ancestors, inserted and fixed in the memory and in the landscape of the city through their monuments, could be used to celebrate the entire *gens* and, consequently, its last descendant. This was the reason why some particular monuments became the prerogative of a single family, whose members were obliged to take care of their refurbishment or reconstruction: for example, in the case of the Fornix Fabianus and of the basilica Aemilia (Steinby 2012, 75).

Another aspect, that constitutes the direct consequence of what has been exposed above, is worth further analysis. The monuments built by the magistrates were normally located in prominent positions and in well frequented places, and were also theoretically eternal; they became a known feature of the landscape, a point of reference amongst the tangled streets of Rome, and at least in some cases they were known by the name of their promoters (see, for example, the temple of Jupiter Stator in the porticus Metelli, also known as *Metelli aedes*: Steinby 2012, 64, or, as it will be argued in section 5.1.1.1, the basilica Aemilia). These buildings therefore permanently asserted not only the place of the magistrate in the history of the city but, most importantly, his role in its development; if the monument was used for public business, it also stressed the promoter's contribution to the political, economic and social life of the citizens, reaffirming the rights and prominence of his class.

Chapter 4

Themes of Propaganda in Caesar's and Pompey's Politics

4.1 - Introduction

Having outlined the characteristics, the places and methods of the political struggle during the Late Republic, it is now important to identify the main themes that were exploited by Caesar and Pompey to increase their popularity and legitimise their political positions. This will facilitate the identification and interpretation of these themes in the architecture. The elements explored below are described as 'themes of propaganda', since some divine qualities have been included. We will also consider these themes as 'examples'; here we follow Bell's (2008, 6) definition:

> '[…] we can define an *exemplum* as a model for imitation which provides contemporary society with lessons that are informed by the past, inscribed into public memory, and catalysed through replication'.

Our knowledge of the main propaganda themes of Caesar and Pompey primarily derives from literary sources (which, as seen, sometimes provide a distorted perception on those themes, or even some counterpropaganda themes) and numismatics. A theme or an example can be also glimpsed through the political or moral actions and decisions of a character, or through the physical or moral characteristics attributed to him by others.

Both the Caesarian and the Pompeian propaganda, in their diachronic development parallel to the generals' evolving political projects, made use of several references to different historical or mythological figures (if this distinction has any meaning in the Roman world). Some of these were used only for a short period of time, or only when a need arose; furthermore, some of those models were aimed more at a specific segment of the population, and Chapter 5 will show how this fact influences the presence of certain themes and their position in the architecture. Nevertheless, as their political opponents and allies did, Caesar and Pompey sought to show that they were favoured by the gods in their achievements: their preferred deity/ deities therefore received particular attention. As will be seen, in the group of tutelary deities there was normally one that was deemed more important than the others (usually for reasons of ancestry or for having demonstrated

particular favour towards the individual), but which could nevertheless change throughout time.

This chapter will not discuss the deeper meaning of these themes in the frame of Roman theology, mythology or use throughout history, but will identify and compare those themes and subjects which recur more or less constantly in the political discourses of Caesar and Pompey.

4.2 – 'ita sullaturit animus eius et proscripturit iam diu' (Cic., Att., 9, 10, 6): Pompey

We lack any comprehensive study on the specific topic of the themes of Pompey's propaganda, which are nevertheless debated in the numerous contributions dedicated to his life. What follows is therefore an overview of the main ideological models, gods and themes, as identified in a range of sources, that Pompey exploited in his self-representation and propaganda, some of which, as argued below, are clearly present in the architecture he promoted in the *Urbs*.

4.2.1 Sulla

Although his reform of the State was positively judged and subsequently defended by a part of the nobility, before a more reformist current came to prevail (Laffi 1967, 263-264), Sulla, after his death, became a symbol of cruelty; his name came to be permanently associated with the civil war between him and Marius and the proscriptions that he had endorsed (Laffi 1967, 265). Sulla's figure was therefore heavily exploited as a negative model in the propaganda during the later civil war between Caesar and Pompey, and in that context Caesar had a stronger right to be considered the 'anti-Sulla', because of his kinship with Gaius Marius (Laffi 1967, 266; see also Section 4.3.1).

It was common knowledge that Pompey had sided with Sulla during the civil war against Marius (Laffi 1967, 268): when the former arrived in Brundisium in 83, the young Pompey assembled a private army and joined the future dictator, who subsequently held him in great esteem (see, for example, Cic., *Leg. Man.*, 30; Plut., *Pomp.*, 8, 3-4). He entrusted to Pompey the campaign against Carbo and his last supporters in Africa and granted him the triumph for his victory, perhaps in 81 (Seager 1979, 8-12). Sulla had also betrothed his stepdaughter Aemilia to the young *eques* in 82 (Plut., *Pomp.*, 9; *Sull.*, 33),

and, after her death, the half-sister of Metellus Celer and Metellus Nepos, Mucia, probably in 80 (Seager 1979, 12). It was then Pompey himself who, in spite of having been ignored in Sulla's will, ensured that Sulla's funeral was magnificent and at the State's expense (Plut., *Pomp*., 15, 4; *Sull*., 38, 1-2). He also defended the Sullan legislation up to the year 70 (Seager 1979, 16) and even dedicated the main temple of his theatre to the favourite goddess of Sulla, Venus, and next to it, two sacella to other 'divine qualities' that had been pivotal in the dictator's propaganda - Victoria and Felicitas (see Gazetteer entry: *Opera Pompeiana* and discussion in Section 5.2.1).

These are therefore the reasons why the Caesarian propaganda against Pompey during the civil war could so easily flag his relationship with Sulla; it is interesting, as Laffi (1967, 269) notes, that Plutarch makes Sertorius define Pompey as 'the disciple of Sulla' (Plut., *Sert*., 18, 8), and that in many passages of his *Pharsalia* Lucan inserts several references to Pompey's Sullan past in the speech that Caesar makes just before the beginning of the war (Luc., 1, 326; 330-331; 334-335; and also 7, 307). Laffi (1967, 270) also points out that Pompey probably did not react to these catch-phrases but, on the contrary, exploited the fear that they instilled, since he himself often recalled the example of Sulla, as is evident from numerous passages of Cicero's letters to Atticus (see, for example, Cic., *Att*., 9, 7, 3: '*nihil ille umquam minus obscure tulit*', 'he makes no mystery out of it'). These constant references to the perpetrator of the proscriptions (see, for example, Cic., *Att*., 9, 10, 2: "*Quam crebro illud 'Sulla potuit, ego non potero?'*" "How often he said 'Sulla could, so should I not?'") were taken seriously and discouraged some people from joining Pompey during the civil war (Barden Dowling 2000, 310). It is interesting to see how the paradigm of Sulla's cruelty and the constant references to him by Pompey led Cicero, on that occasion, to fear that the general was going to behave like Sulla: *ita sullaturit animus eius et proscripturit iam diu* ('so much he has in his mind to lord it like Sulla, and for so long he had the desire to issue decrees of proscription'; Cic., *Att*., 9, 10, 6; see also 8, 11, 2; 9, 7, 3).

4.2.2 Alexander the Great

The comparison between Pompey and Alexander the Great seems to have been cast early in his life: Plutarch states that from the beginning the resemblance between the two great men had been noticed, especially because of the hairstyle (the *anastolé*, clearly recognisable on Pompey's portraits; see, for example, the portrait at the Ny Carlsberg

Glyptotek in Copenhagen) and of the eyes, to the point that some called him 'Alexander' (Plut., *Pomp*., 2, 2-4). The parallel continued to be made, particularly with reference to Pompey's military achievements (Sall., *Hist*., 3, 62; Plin., *HN*., 7, 26, 95; Cic., *Arch*., 24). Other factors contributed to this: he was hailed as *Magnus* after his campaign in Africa first by his soldiers, and then by Sulla (Plut., *Pomp*., 13, 7-8; Plin., *HN*., 7, 26, 96); his trophy erected in the Pyrenees for the victory over Sertorius in Spain featured an inscription boasting of the conquest of 876 cities (Sall., *Hist*., 3, 63; Plin., *HN*., 3, 3, 18; 7, 26, 96; 37, 15), which reminded viewers of Alexander's feats (Arr., *Anab*., 5, 29; Diod. Sic, 17, 95, 1; see Weinstock 1971, 37; Gelzer 2005, 59). It was also said that during the celebration of his third triumph, Pompey wore a cloak of Alexander (App., *Mith*., 117; *contra* Weinstock 1971, 335). It has generally been affirmed, therefore, that Pompey engaged in *imitatio Alexandri* (for a definition of this term in comparison to *aemulatio* and *comparatio* see Green 1989; *contra* the existence of the phenomenon: Gruen 1998, 183-186 and Martin 1998), and that this was an important part of his self-representation, certainly during the Eastern campaigns (see, for example, Plut., *Pomp*., 46, 1-2). It is likely that this *imitatio* began during the campaigns in Spain, although none of the sources explicitly show this (Leach 1978, 53; Gelzer 2005, 59; see also Villani 2013, 337). Recently, Villani (2013) has convincingly argued against Gruen's (1998, 183-186) negation of Pompey's *imitatio Alexandri*, suggesting that in the Roman world the *imitatio* concerned more the figure of Alexander as a receptacle of moral values(Villani 2013, 339). In fact, she points out that Pompey's Eastern campaign also had the purpose of being a scientific expedition (Villani 2013, 340; see also Leach 1978, 78); the general therefore wanted not only to incorporate new territories, but also to bring new knowledge to Rome - an example which might have recalled the precedent of Alexander (Villani 2013, 340). For Rome, it would therefore have been not only a military but also a cultural and intellectual conquest. It is fundamental, from this perspective, to recognise that Alexander was conceived as the conqueror of the boundaries of the world; by setting his military endeavours in the same territories visited by Alexander (and by going beyond them, following the steps of Hercules, Dionysus and Prometheus), Pompey could present himself not only as the conqueror of three continents, but of the three continents up to their extreme boundaries (Villani 2013, 341-343). This 'strategy of the boundaries' not only justified Pompey's decisions during the military campaign in the eyes of the Senate (Sablayrolles 2006, 352), but also, by following the feats of great historical and mythical heroes, allowed Pompey to be placed among them (Sablayrolles 2006, 345-346). The fact

that, thanks to Pompey's victories on the three continents, Rome owed to him its supremacy over the whole world is stressed in many sources (Cic., *Balb*., 9, and 16; *Sest*., 31, 67 and 61, 129; Vell. Pat., 2, 53, 3; Plut., *Pomp*., 45, 7).

The Eastern campaign of Pompey, called by Villani (2013, 336) '*moment-Pompée*', and the propaganda that surrounded and followed it, marked a fundamental passage from a Mediterranean perspective of Roman domination and representation of the world to a universalising perspective of domination of the whole world, which was later exploited by Augustus in his own propaganda, and which is evident both in the description of the campaign and in Pompey's third triumph, as well as in the theatre that the general built shortly afterwards (Villani 2013, 335-336).

4.2.3 The Gods: Venus Victrix

The model of Sulla can also be traced in Pompey's choice of some of his protector gods. The patronage of Venus was claimed by many families, such as the Cornelii Sullae or the

Figure 4.1: Denarius minted by P. Crassus in 55BC (RRC 430/1).

Memmii (Wardle 2009, 102; Smith 2010, 252). A special connection was claimed even by Caesar (see below, Section 4.3.10); Venus is still represented, for example, in the denarius minted by P. Crassus, son of the triumvir, in 55 (RRC 430/1; fig. 4.1). , Nevertheless, there were other individuals who did not claim a kinship with her, but focused on the protection and favour that she chose to grant them (Beard *et al*. 1998, 144). Sulla used Venus in her characterisation as *Felix*, the successful (in battle) Venus: the general had in fact dreamt of her in armour, and had dedicated an axe and a golden crown to her, accompanied by an inscription, at the temple of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias (App.,

B civ., 1, 97); quite possibly he introduced the cult of Venus *Victrix* in Rome, with her temple on the Capitoline hill (Coarelli 2010, 127; there is a strong correlation between the two epithets: Torelli 2010, 153-154). Since Pompey dedicated a temple to the latter, the main temple at the top of the cavea of his theatre in the Campus Martius (Plin., *HN*., 8, 7, 20; Tert., *Spect*., 10, 3; see discussion in Section 5.2.1), it is possible that, in 55, he felt even more entitled to claim her as his protector: he had in fact married an exponent of the *gens Iulia* a few years before (Plut., *Pomp*., 47, 6). In addition, it is interesting to note that in a coin minted in 56 by Faustus Sulla, the son of the dictator, three trophies are represented on the reverse (referring to the triumphs of Pompey; they were represented on Pompey's signet ring too: Cass. Dio, 42, 18, 3) and a bust of Venus on the obverse (RRC 426/3; fig. 4.2); because of the name of the moneyer, there might have been an intention to recall the association of Sulla with the same goddess, and therefore to establish a relationship. However, when the conflict with Caesar broke out, and at least

Figure 4.2: Denarius minted by Faustus Sulla in 56 BC (RRC 426/3)

during the battle of Pharsalus, Pompey seems to have preferred Hercules as his protector: in fact, during the battle, Caesar's watchword was 'Venus Victrix', whereas Pompey's was 'Hercules Invictus' (App., *B civ*., 2, 76). As Schilling (1954, 300) notes, he must have recognised the weakness of this religious claim in opposition to Caesar.

4.2.4 The Gods: Hercules

Perhaps on the occasion of the celebration of his first triumph (see Section 5.3.1; *contra* Weinstock 1971, 39; Marshall 1974, 83; Santangelo 2007, 232), Pompey refurbished or rebuilt the temple of Hercules Invictus, which from that moment on was known as the 'temple of Hercules Pompeianus' (see Gazetteer entry: *aedes Herculis Pompeiani* and

Section 5.3.1). Hercules was the object of a very important cult in Rome; some prominent families claimed descent from him, such as the Fabii (Plut., *Fab. Max.*, 1), and individuals established special relationships with him. One of these personalities had been Sulla, who had devolved one tenth of his patrimony to the hero before the celebration of his triumph against Mithridates (Plut., *Sull.*, 35, 1; see Santangelo 2007, 229), and had probably refurbished a temple to Hercules Magnus Custos next to the Circus Flaminius (Ziolkowski 1992, 46; see also Rawson 1970, 31 for further evidence of Sulla's association with Hercules). This therefore could have been another reference to Pompey's Roman model, but it is not possible to ignore the fact that Alexander the Great considered Heracles as the ancestor of his family, and heavily used this association in his political propaganda (Stafford 2012, 142-145). Rawson (1970, 35) maintains that an identification with both figures might have been suggested to Pompey during his campaigns in the East, but in the light of the analysis of Alexander above, it might be suggested that both themes were already present in Pompey's self-representation, and that the Eastern campaign provided the context for their full exploitation in Pompeian propaganda. Potentially there was a component of political competition between Crassus and Pompey, since the former was trying to foster his connections with Hercules as well (see the festival in honour of Hercules Invictus which he promoted in occasion of the *ovatio* after his victory on Spartacus: Plut. *Crass*. 2, 2; see Stafford 2012, 152).

In this association with Hercules we find a clear reference to both of Pompey's historical models, but there are also further and perhaps more important reasons for it. First, Hercules possessed both human and divine characteristics (Santangelo 2007, 230), and, as a mortal who became a god after his victorious deeds, he was connected with the ritual of the Roman triumph: during the celebration a statue of Hercules *Triumphalis* in the Forum Boarium was dressed with the *habitus triumphalis* (Plin., *HN*., 34, 16, 33; Mastrocinque 2005, 192). Second, as mentioned above, Pompey, after his third triumph, was seen as the hero who had conquered the whole world, the *oikoumene*: Villani (2013, 344, with sources and further bibliography) interestingly argues that the insistence of the Pompeian propaganda on the victory over the eastern Iberians should be understood in relation to Pompey's previous triumph over the western Iberians (that is, over Spain), because a connection was thought to exist between the two populations, and their territories were considered the two extremities of the *oikoumene*. Of particular importance is that both of these two extremities were connected to different versions of the myth of

Hercules (Villani 2013, 344); the importance for the Pompeian propaganda of this figure (filtered through the model of Alexander) as the conqueror of the world up to its furthest boundaries is therefore clear. In particular, since Alexander saw in the hero the model of the conqueror and civiliser of the world, Pompey, by emulating Hercules, could claim for himself the qualities of both a military and a cultural hero (Villani 2013, 344-345).

From this perspective, Villani (2013, 345-347) underlines the insistence of the Pompeian propaganda on the effort to integrate the conquered populations on Pompey's part and on him as peacemaker (see, for example, Cic., *Prov. cons*., 31; *Sest*., 31, 68): this is what constitutes his civilising action, 'on the land and on the sea' (Cic., *Sest*., 31, 68). Ferrary (2000, 343) notes that Pompey was the first to introduce the Hellenistic concept of domination 'over the land and the sea' in Rome (very common in the Hellenistic world: Momigliano 1942b, 54). Interestingly he adds another observation: while analysing an inscription of the base of a statue erected by the Ionians in the sanctuary of Claros in honour of Pompey, he highlights that the formula used there (*ghês kai thalásses epópten*) is also used on another inscription in honour of Pompey in Miletopolis (*epópten ghês te kai thalásses*); this formula recurs in Pergamon in honour of the Julio-Claudian emperors (*ghês kai thalásses epópten*) (Ferrary 2000, 344). Because that formula does not seem to have been used in the Hellenistic period, and the two Pompeian inscriptions are chronologically and geographically distant, Ferrary (2000, 344) hypothesises that it was a product of the Pompeian propaganda, and, since the word *epóptes* was used as an epithet for the gods (Zeus in particular) in the Greek world, he wonders if, in Pompey's case, the intent was to give a semi-divine or god-like character to the victories and power of the general. Accordingly, he conjectures that there must have been a Latin correspondence for the term, and he identifies it in *custos*, a word used both as an epithet for the gods, and to designate the politicians who protect the fatherland, the provinces or the empire, which was to become a theme of Augustan propaganda (Ferrary 2000, 345 and f. 38). While only a hypothesis, it is particularly interesting to note that the semi-divine or god-like character of the word *epóptes* would fit perfectly with Pompey's appropriation of the civilising character of Hercules, and that, as mentioned above, the temple of Hercules that Sulla refurbished in Rome was that of *Hercules Custos* (could that have been a Sullan theme already?). If one also considers that a Greek epigram of the third century BC analysed by Momigliano (1942a, 55; *Anth. Gr*., 6, 171) attributes the rule over land and

sea to all the descendants of Heracles, it seems plausible that a reference to Hercules was the primary concern of Pompey.

Pompey's theme of the domination 'over land and sea', and his pacifying activity, both recognised by the Eastern cities, introduced the concept of the Roman domination in exchange for peace, strongly exploited by Augustus and throughout the Empire (the formula 'over land and sea' had also been used in Greece for the treatises of peace and alliance: Momigliano 1942b, 62); by integrating the subjugated enemies Pompey was promoting the image of Rome as unifying the world and integrating the populations thanks to its laws and valours - elements which he could bring to establish order, just as

Figure 4.3: Denarii minted by Faustus Sulla in 56 BC (1: RRC 426/4a; 2: RRC 426/4b)

Hercules had brought civilisation (Villani 2013, 347). As evidence for this, Villani (2013, 347) notes the coins minted in 56 by Faustus Sulla (RRC 426/4 a-b; fig. 4.3) which present, on the obverse, a head of Hercules wearing a lion skin, and on the reverse a globe (the *oikoumene*) surrounded by three small wreaths (Pompey's three triumphs) and a larger wreath (the *corona aurea* granted to Pompey in 63); on the right, a corn-ear and, on the left, an *aplustre* most probably represent Pompey's *cura annonae* of 57 (Crawford 1974, 449; this interpretation should be preferred to that offered by Villani 2013, 347, who affirms that the corn-ear represents the land and the *aplustre* the sea, so referring to Pompey's *imperium terra marique*).

The model of Hercules was therefore used through the exploitation of the figure of Alexander the Great, and the values that they represented helped make more accepted the idea of the diffusion, up to the boundaries of the known world, of a unified identity (Villani 2013, 348). It is perhaps in the light of this that the connection between Heracles and Venus, noticed in the dedication day of the temple of Venus Victrix on the day of Hercules Invictus (see, for example, Rawson 1970, 36; Santangelo 2007, 230) and in the presence of both Venus and Hercules on the two 'Pompeian' coins minted by Faustus Sulla (RCC 426/3-4), has to be understood. Santangelo (2007, 232) suggests that if

Hercules referred to Alexander the Great, the presence of Venus stressed that Pompey was acting on behalf of Rome; moreover, Pompey was probably using his personal relation with Venus/Aphrodite, following Sulla's example, as a way to justify the Roman presence in the East, as well as a unifying factor (Santangelo 2007, 230).

4.2.5 The Gods: Minerva

The dedication of the spoils of Pompey's third triumph to the construction of a temple to Minerva (Plin., *HN*., 7, 26, 97) has been considered unclear (Santangelo 2007, 232). Santangelo (2007, 232) suggests that a possible explanation is that Pompey made this dedication because Minerva was one of the gods of the Capitoline Triad, instead of financing the refurbishment of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; alternatively, this was justified by Pompey's good relations with cities where the cult of Athena was very important : for example, while returning from his Eastern campaigns Pompey visited Athens and donated fifty talents towards the reconstruction of the city, which had suffered much damage following Sulla's siege in 86 (Plut., *Pomp*., 42, 11). However, neither option seems very convincing, and it is suggested here that two different and perhaps more plausible reasons can be proposed.

In the inscription that Pliny (*HN*., 7, 26, 97) reports to have been written for the temple (which he calls *delubrum*), attention is focused on Pompey's victory over the pirates. This emphasis on the naval victories of Pompey might lead to the first possible explanation of this dedication: Minerva was known as protector of sailors (Brody 2008, 446).

Yet a further aspect of the goddess is worth considering, particularly because it has important implications in the context of Pompey's ideology and propaganda, (Plin., *HN*., 7, 26, 97). There were two types of elaboration of the scene presenting Herakles' introduction in Olympus, of which one shows the goddess Athena welcoming the hero: known black-figure Attic vases produced around 550-500 BC offer around 25 instances of this scene (Stafford 2012, 164); but the same scene can also be found on red-figure vases, for example on the pelike from Etruria attributed to the Kadmos painter, now in the Staatliche Antikesammlungen und Glyptothek Museum in Munich (fig. 4.4). In this case, an explanation can be found in Pompey's intention to honour the goddess who was commonly seen as the protector of Hercules: in this function she had already been portrayed in Rome on the statue programme of the sanctuary of Sant'Omobono of the 6th century BC (Ley 2006, 941). It is not possible to determine whether Pompey, with this

dedication, aimed to underline the deification of the hero with whom he wanted to be identified; but it might have been too strong a statement to be expressed in Rome. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that, before deciding to celebrate Venus as the guarantor of his victories, Pompey honoured Minerva as the goddess which he most probably

Figure 4.4: Attic red-figure pelike depicting Heracles brought to Olympus by Athena, ca. 410 BC, attributed to the Kadmos Painter, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich.

considered to have been his personal protector while accomplishing feats worthy of the hero whom she eventually welcomed among the gods.

4.2.6 The Gods: Dionysus

As Cadario (2011, 27, f. 53) notes, a parallel between Pompey and Dionysus was cast by Pliny (*HN*., 8, 2, 4) on the occasion of the general's African triumph: in fact, Pompey tried to enter the city of Rome on a chariot pulled by four elephants (although this type of chariot was also strongly associated with Venus: Beard *et al*. 1998, 145), but was prevented from doing so because the triumphal gate was too narrow. The reference to Dionysus is logical since the god is often associated with victory (Seaford 2006, 45), to the degree that Diodorus and Arrian claimed that he was at the origin of the triumphal ceremony (Diod. Sic., 3, 65, 8; Arr., *Anab*., 6, 28, 2). The Dionysiac theme, identified by

Cadario (2011, 26) in the iconography of two fountain statues in the porticus of the *opera Pompeiana* (see Gazetteer entry: *Opera Pompeiana*), could acquire further relevance in the context of the celebration of Pompey's triumphs, since the arrival of Dionysus is associated with the unity of the community (Seaford 2006, 45). This theme would fit with Pompey's attempt at presenting himself as the guarantor of *concordia ordinum* which characterised his politics after his return from the East (see below, Section 4.2.8).

4.2.7 Felicitas

Felicitas was a quality that expressed the (divinely-inspired) good fortune of the commander and his success in battle (Beard *et al.* 1998, 86). The first temple of Felicitas was built in Rome in the second half of the 2nd century BC through Licinius Lucullus (Str., 8, 6, 23). A strong relationship with this divine quality (and the emphasis on the divine support that it implied) was particularly stressed by Sulla, who assumed the cognomen *Felix* (and perhaps dedicated the temple of *Fausta Felicitas* on the Capitoline hill: Coarelli 2010, 127), probably indicating the good fortune that he enjoyed thanks to the favour of Venus (Beard *et al.* 1998, 144; see also Schilling 1954, 280); he even emphasised this theme in his *Memories*, affirming that it was responsible for his victories and the defeats of his adversaries (Weinstock 1971, 114; Gabba 1975, 14).

It is not surprising, therefore, that Pompey too dedicated a *sacellum* to Felicitas at the top of the cavea of his theatre, perhaps with the intention of appropriating the favour of the goddess from Sulla and attributing that quality to himself (Beard *et al.* 1998, 144-145). Potentially Pompey aimed to 'steal' the protection of Felicitas from the Licinii Luculli, who, as stated above, had introduced it in Rome: with the last representative of that *gens* the general had strong rivalry (Coarelli 1997a, 570; see also Clark 2007, 239). While the felicitas of Pompey had already been recognised in his early successes (Weinstock 1971, 114), this theme was particularly stressed before, during and after the Eastern campaigns (see, for example, Cicero's remarks in *Leg. Man*., 48) and, accordingly, the divine quality featured prominently on the cavea of the complex built some years after. As Coarelli (1997a, 570) notes, however, it may have been more than a celebration of one of the qualities that characterised the triumphator: it might have additionally entailed a political statement of *concordia ordinum* assured by Pompey as a man of government (see also Sections 4.2.8 and 5.2.1.18-19).

4.2.8 Scipio Aemilianus (and Africanus)?

In his oration to support the military command in the Eastern provinces given to Pompey, Cicero justifies the conferring of these supreme powers with the precedents of Scipio Aemilianus and Gaius Marius (Cic, *Leg. Man*., 60). There are also two passages of the orator's letters in which the name of Scipio Aemilianus is mentioned in strict connection with Pompey: the first in a letter to Pompey himself (Cic., *Fam.*, 5, 7, 3), where Cicero says that their relationship should be similar to that between Scipio Aemilianus and his friend Laelius. Notable is the date of this letter - April 62, not long before Pompey returned from the East and the fact that Cicero stresses the correspondence of his and Pompey's political visions:

> *Sed scito ea quae nos pro salute patriae gessimus orbis terrae iudicio ac testimonio comprobari; quae, cum veneris, tanto consilio tantaque animi magnitudine a me gesta esse cognosces ut tibi multo maiori quam Africanus fuit a me non multo minorem quam Laelium facile et in re publica et in amicitia adiunctum esse patiare.*
>
> But you shall know that what I have done for the safety of the State has been approved by the judgement and evidence of the whole world; and, when you will have returned, you will recognise that I have acted with such political cleverness and with such courage that you, who are so much greater than the Africanus (*Minor*; t.n.), will easily accept to be associated to me, not much lesser than Laelius, both for our political vision and for our friendship.

The second mention comes in a letter to Cicero's brother (Cic., *Ad Q. fr*., 2, 3, 3; written in February 56, the year of the conference of Luca), where the orator reports Pompey's fears towards Crassus, whom the general suspected as plotting to kill him, as G. Carbo did with Scipio Aemilianus:

> *A. d. VI. Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis; senatus consultum factum est, ea, quae facta essent a. d. V. Id. Febr., contra rem publicam esse facta. Eo die Cato vehementer est in Pompeium invectus et eum oratione perpetua tamquam reum accusavit; de me multa me invito cum mea summa laude dixit, cum illius in me perfidiam increparet: auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei vehementer Pompeius Crassumque descripsit*

> *dixitque aperte se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore, quam Africanus fuisset, quem C. Carbo interemisset.*
>
> On 8th February the Senate met at the temple of Apollo; a senatus consultum was approved, which established that the events that had happened on 7th February had been against the Republic. On that day Cato violently attacked Pompey and he accused him throughout all of his speech as if he were the guilty party; he said many things about me, and with my disappointment he praised me in the highest terms, and condemned Pompey's deceitfulness towards me: he was listened to in a deadly, ill-disposed silence. Pompey responded to him with vehemence, making veiled allusions to Crassus, and said clearly that he would take better care of defending his own life than what Scipio Africanus (*Minor*; t. n.), whom C. Carbo killed, did.

Twice, therefore, Cicero compares Pompey with Scipio Aemilianus; of these the second one is particularly interesting. Pompey was then trying to gain the approval of the optimates (see below); Cicero was a key connection with them. If we take into account that a few years later the orator wrote his philosophical dialogue *On the Republic* with Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius as protagonists, delineating his own idea of the perfect State and depicting Scipio as the ideal statesman, it is especially thought-provoking that he chose to identify Pompey with the conqueror of Carthage, moreover stressing the identity of conception of the State between the former and himself.

Yet the last passage sees Cicero only reporting what Pompey said at a Senate meeting: thus, it is the general who makes the connection with Scipio. This was done, again, at a moment when Pompey was trying to regain the support of the Senate, by offering the *ager Campanus* back to the treasury (Caesar's legislation in 59 BC had assigned it to public distribution) and opposing Clodius. The parallel between Scipio and himself ('the statesmen') on the one side and Crassus and Carbo ('the populists') on the other might therefore be a clue, albeit slight, of Pompey's intention to use Scipio Aemilianus as a political model. Perhaps the general exploited the parallel which someone else (Cicero?) had drawn, and subsequently used it himself, as he seems to have done in the case of the comparison with Alexander the Great, if we are to believe Plutarch (*Pomp.*, 2, 2-3).

The next question to be asked is therefore: why might it be important for Pompey to compare himself with Scipio Aemilianus? In order to understand this, we must consider the events that took place between the Catilinarian Conspiracy and the dedication of the Pompeian theatre.

At the end of 63 BC the Senate was deciding about the fate of the Catilinarian conspirators, deliberating their condemnation to death. Seager (1979, 66) suggests that Cicero perhaps tried to push the events because he was afraid that the Catilinarian emergency would give Pompey scope either to take advantage of the discontent around himself and lead a revolt against Rome, or to exploit the situation and keep command of his army in order to suppress the rebellion and attempt a *coup d'état*. In January 62 BC the tribune Metellus Nepos, a former legate of the general, proposed that Pompey be recalled to resolve the situation and that he be allowed to run for the upcoming consular elections *in absentia*. It is possible that Metellus was acting on behalf of Pompey, and that either he was trying to recreate the context for an even more glorious return for the general (as had happened in 71, when Pompey, coming back from Spain, was summoned to put an end to Spartacus' revolt), or he was giving him scope to 'test the water' of public opinion and then accept the bill that had aroused less opposition, so as to present himself as a moderate (Seager 1979, 68).

Pompey's highly cautious attitude was possibly dictated by the fact that Metellus, having been suspended from office by force of a *Senatusconsultum ultimum*, had fled to him (perhaps because he had tried to force his way against Cato's veto) (Seager 1979, 70). The general did not expect to meet opposition in Rome on his return and displayed peaceful intentions. However, first he had to face hostility from the more conservative sectors of the Senate (Seager 1979, 71); for example Cato refused to give a niece of his in marriage to Pompey. In the meantime, Clodius had caused social uproar after having been accused of sacrilege because of the scandal of the Bona Dea (he had slipped into Caesar's house, where the rites of the Bona Dea were taking place, in order to seduce his wife, but he had been unmasked). Pompey did not adopt a defined stance when asked to express his opinion regarding the trial; he was nevertheless seeking the support of the more moderate sector of the Senate through Cicero, and he had the support of the people. In spite of this, and of the fact that he celebrated his triumph at the end of September 61, he did not succeed in having his setting of the Eastern provinces approved, nor the assignation of land to his veterans (Seager 1979, 73-80).

At the end of 61 BC a rift developed between the Senate and the equestrian order as a consequence of the problems connected to the tax collection in the Eastern provinces, and of the threats of an enquiry into the bribes occurred during Clodius' trial, which the jurors, belonging to the *equites*, saw as an offence to the whole order (Seager 1979, 78-79). The situation was so strained that Cicero, in January 60 BC, wrote to Atticus that the *concordia ordinum* had been destroyed (Cic., *Att*., 1, 17, 8 and 2, 1, 8).

Pompey did not succeed in having his measures approved during that year (on the contrary, the Agrarian Law introduced by the tribune Flavius was the cause of a notable conflict between him and the consul Metellus Celer), but kept trying to gain Cicero's support. Nevertheless, when Caesar returned from Spain, Pompey decided to accept his proposal of an alliance - generally called the First Triumvirate (it is interesting to point out that most probably, at that moment, the three men had sought the collaboration of Cicero, who did not accept - see Canfora 1999, 71-72).

The strong opposition of the conservatives notwithstanding, the first Agrarian Law was approved at the beginning of 59 BC, but at the price of violent conflicts; a commission of 20 people (five of whom, including Pompey, controlled operations) was appointed. At the same time a partial rebate of the taxes of the Eastern provinces for the *publicani* was passed, and, in April-May 59 BC, a second agrarian law, which would have benefitted the urban plebs. Despite this, Cicero reports the hostility against the triumvirs and Pompey's discontent (Cic., *Att*., 2, 13, 2 and 2, 14, 1).

While Pompey most probably wanted the respect of the *optimates* and the approval of the people, he knew that he could not detach himself from Caesar for the time being (Seager 1979, 95), and there were still fears of a possible shift towards dictatorship on his part (see Cic., *Att*., 2, 17, 1). Nevertheless, the general attempted to distance himself from the violence of the first months of Caesar's consulate (Cic., *Att*., 2, 16, 2), and, in collaboration with Caesar, he tried to protect Cicero from the rage of Clodius (particularly because the presence of Cicero during the following years, when Caesar would have been in Gaul, would have helped Pompey to regain consent in the Senate; Seager 1979, 92). His efforts to get the support of the orator and, by association, of the *optimates* are confirmed by the fact that they led Clodius to organise the so-called Vettius Affair: L. Vettius revealed the plans for the murder of Pompey, including Cicero among the names of the conspirators.

After his election to the tribunate, Clodius proposed many bills (including the one that restored the political potential of the *collegia*), and dramatically increased his popular support, to the degree that he was able to create a private army. This army was used throughout the following years in order to disrupt political activity and foment social discontent through the use of violence; he also succeeded in sending Cicero into exile (Seager 1979, 103-105).

By June 57 BC Pompey managed to recall the orator to Rome and to recruit people from the whole territory of Italy for the private armies of Sextius and Milo against Clodius. In September the shortage of corn gave Pompey the chance for another special command; the consuls Metellus Nepos and Lentulus Spinther drafted a decree. Another, much bolder proposal was presented by the tribune Messius, but, after too strong an opposition was provoked by the latter one, Pompey accepted the consuls'. Pompey did not have a permanent dispensation to enter the city without laying down the *imperium*, but he could obtain a special one if the Senate needed him (see Cic., *Ad Q. frat*., 2, 3, 3; *Fam*., 1, 9, 7). This *cura annonae* had a great propagandistic advantage for Pompey: it was a typical *popularis* office, and the fact that he had chosen the consuls' proposal instead of Messius' (which would have conferred far greater military power) showed his great concern for public welfare over his own personal success (Seager 1979, 112).

Subsequently, Pompey attempted again to gain the favour of the Senate by suggesting, through the tribune Lupus, the abrogation of the second agrarian law approved during Caesar's consulate.- However, the question was obscured by tensions linked to the restoration of king Ptolemy Auletes of Egypt to his throne, which made Pompey unpopular (Seager 1979, 114-116). The same is true for his support of Sestius and Milo at their trials, and for his attack on Clodius' henchman Cloelius. As soon as Cicero tried to heal the rift between Pompey and the Senate by bringing back the question of the agrarian law, Caesar intervened and, in early April 56 BC, renewed the triumvirate at the 'conference of Luca', from which Pompey emerged as the politically strongest of the allies (Seager 1979, 125).

As planned at that meeting (Seager 1979, 123), Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls for the following year - this prompting violence on their part against the strong opposition to their candidature. They had in fact planned not to present themselves as candidates in due course, for fear of a conventional election, where they would have had to compete

with other candidates. They therefore aimed to delay the elections until the start of the new year, so as to be presented as sole candidates by an *interrex*, and thus without rivals (Seager 1979, 128). To achieve this, they had to prevent the consul from holding the elections before the end of his office, which was achieved by force: violence was employed, even during the day of the election, to drive away the opposing voters (Seager 1979, 128). The practice of violence, together with that of corruption, continued as a strategy throughout their office. In the same year Pompey's theatre was dedicated, and in 54, instead of leaving for his province (Spain), the general remained in the vicinity of Rome.

From this short account of events between Pompey's return from the East and the dedication of his theatre it can be recognised that the political situation in Rome was characterised by social unrest, deep divisions among classes and the use of violence. Furthermore, it is evident that Pompey, while seeking public recognition of his glorious deeds, was not only trying to be popular among the lower classes, but was constantly seeking to obtain the support of the Senate and to present himself as a moderate. His conciliatory behaviour towards the Senate upon his return from the East in 62, when, arriving in Brundisium, he disbanded his army, contrasted sharply with his previously bold stance, which was the reason for the Senate's fear of Pompey's return (see, for example, Plut., *Pomp*., 43, 1). The extent to which his actions on that occasion surprised the senators is evident from Cicero's letter to Pompey with reference to the dispatches sent by the general before his return, where he made his pacifying intentions clear (Cic., *Fam*., 5, 7, 1).

This change in Pompey's behaviour has been justified by affirming that he was not aiming at an autocracy but at being a *primus inter pares* - the greatest man in the State, but not above the State (Greenhalgh 1980, 167). Whatever the reasons for this decision, it seems apparent that during the Eastern campaigns Pompey's politics in Rome underwent modification, and the general began to build an image of himself as the right man for government.

Scipio Aemilianus possessed some characteristics that made him, particularly in the eyes of Cicero, the perfect man for government (Zecchini 2001, 125); Section 4.3.3 will show that the Caesarian propaganda tried to attribute Scipio's characteristics to the *popularis* leader, but it is very unlikely that less effort was put into that by Pompey. Both Plutarch's

biography and Velleius Paterculus' description attribute to him many characteristics that matched those of Scipio Aemilianus, as described by Polybius (31, 25-30): the simplicity of lifestyle (Plut., *Pomp*., 1, 4; 2, 11; 40, 8-9); temperance (Plut., *Pomp*., 2, 9; 8, 5); nobility of character (Vell. Pat., 2, 29; Plut., *Pomp*., 1, 4; 27, 6); family affection (Plut., *Pomp*., 2, 10; 53, 2);and generosity (Vell. Pat., 2, 29; Plut., *Pomp*., 42, 11; 52, 5). His own philhellenism, furthermore, could have made him even more similar to the great general, as well as his ability in war (implied in the comparison that Cicero draws between the two men, cited above).

There might even have been an intent to recall the image of Scipio Africanus before the model of the Aemilianus was used: in fact, the Africanus, according to Silius Italicus (*Pun*., 13, 615-649; 15, 18-128; 17, 149-150), was following the example of Heracles, being one of the first Roman generals to be connected with Alexander the Great (see, for example, the legend narrating that Scipio's mother conceived him thanks to a huge serpent, as it happened for Alexander: Liv., 26, 19; Gell., 6, 1, 1; Ruebel 1991, 17; Spencer 2002, 168). Plutarch also reports that when Pompey asked Sulla to be allowed a triumph after his campaign in Africa, the dictator answered that not even Scipio Africanus had been allowed one after his remarkable victories in Spain against the Carthaginians (Plut., *Pomp*., 14, 1-3). The model of Scipio Africanus would have helped Pompey to approach the more conservative faction of the Senate, who subsequently used it against Caesar (Zecchini 2001, 125), but the reference to Scipio Aemilianus seems to be stronger.

Pompey therefore seems to have selected Scipio Aemilianus as a model for building his own image after his return from his Eastern campaigns; the need to refer to such an important historical figure, respectful of the moral precepts of the *mos maiorum*, might have been useful to mitigate the effects on Roman opinion of the other role model, namely Alexander. Furthermore, it could be seen as a parallel to the aforementioned association between Hercules and Venus: both Venus, in the scope of divine protection, and Scipio Aemilianus, in the scope of models of behaviour, constituted the essential Roman elements that confirmed that Pompey was acting on behalf of Rome (Section 5.2.1 will assess the effects of this ideology in the propaganda expressed via the theatrical complex which Pompey dedicated in 55 BC).

4.3 – '[…] *nam Caesari multos Marios inesse*' (Suet., *Iul*., 1, 1): Caesar

Many scholars have identified historical or mythological figures whom Caesar referred to as moral or ideological models, but one of the first to systematically list them, following the chronology of their adoption, was Zecchini (2001, 117-135). We follow his list below.

4.3.1 Marius

The first model was Marius (Zecchini 2001, 117-120). Suetonius (*Iul*., 1, 1) attributes to Sulla words probably said after having been implored to spare Caesar's life by his collaborators:

> *'Vincerent ac sibi haberent, dum modo scirent cum, quem incolumem tanto opere cuperent, quandoque optimatium partibus, quas secum simul defendissent, exitio futurum; nam Caesari multos Marios inesse'.*
>
> 'May they have their way, and may they keep him, but they should know that one day he, whom they so insistently want to save, will be fatal to that part of the *optimates* which we together saved. In fact, there are many Marii inside Caesar'.

This quotation is generally not thought to be authentic by modern scholars, but to have been attributed to Sulla by Suetonius, or perhaps by his sources, *post eventum* (Zecchini 2001, 117; Giardina 2010, 39; *contra* Meier 2004, 122; Canfora 1999, 4). Nonetheless, it attests that a strong parallel had been cast between the two figures, one that Caesar himself tried to promote. The first time that the young patrician underlined his kinship (Marius had been the husband of his aunt Julia) with the champion of the *populares* was in 69 BC, when, on the occasion of the funeral of his aunt, he paraded the *imagines* of the two Marii, the general and his son (Plut., *Caes*., 5, 1-2). In the same year, Caesar stressed again his affiliation with the faction of the *populares*: during the funeral celebrations for his wife Cornelia, daughter of another *popularis* leader, Cornelius Cinna, he recited – somewhat unusually - a eulogy for her (Plut., *Caes*., 5, 4). Both these acts met the favour of popular opinion (Plut., *Caes*., 5, 3 and 5). A few years later, in 65, when he became aedile, Caesar re-erected the trophies of Marius (Plut., *Caes*., 6, 1-3; Suet., *Iul*., 11; Vell. Pat. 2, 43, 4), thus becoming the heir of that political tradition (Zecchini 2001, 118).

Yet Gruen (2009, 24-25) disputes that Caesar intended to state his political stance at that point of his career, instead arguing that he simply aimed to celebrate Marius as a military

hero and so enhance the prestige of his own family through that kinship. Gruen notes that, although Caesar refused to divorce Cornelia, Sulla's insistence notwithstanding (Vell. Pat., 2, 41, 2; Suet., *Iul*., 1, 1; Plut., *Caes*., 1, 1), he escaped the dictator's wrath, mainly because of his powerful connections (for example, his mother Aurelia came from the *gens* of the Aurelii Cottae, who were strong allies of Sulla; Gruen 2009, 24). Gruen therefore asserts that Caesar's actions in 69 and 65 need not be interpreted as 'a partisan act' but more as a move to enhance Marius' endeavours and the Iulii's image (Gruen 2009, 25).

Giardina (2010, 36) points out that, after his refusal to divorce, Caesar was prevented from entering the office of *Flamen Dialis* and his properties and his wife's dowry were confiscated. But he also attributes Sulla's decision to spare the life of the young patrician to his attempt to 'recover' him by putting him under the guidance of trusted people: thus, Caesar was first sent to the province of Asia as a legate of M. Minucius Termus, and then served under P. Servilius Vatia - two faithful Sullan supporters (Giardina 2010, 37). It was therefore a question of political interest, and it is likely that the conflict between Sulla and Caesar was dramatised by the sources (Giardina 2010, 37-38). The young Caesar was clearly cautious, and his refusal to divorce from Cornelia might have been more due to the conservation of his *dignitas* and to other political factors, such as the relationships with other *gentes*, *amici* or *clientes* (Giardina 2010, 36-38). On the other hand, Sulla might not have wanted to alienate an exponent of such an ancient patrician family as the *Iulii* to his cause, and decided to spare Caesar's life in order to try and convince him to become his ally (Syme 1984, 1244 f. 61).

That Caesar did not want to take a clear political stance under the dictatorship of Sulla is understandable. However, immediately after the death of Sulla, in 78, the critical voices against his government, which had continued throughout his dictatorship and had been raised by some members of the nobility itself, re-appeared, and the reformist currents prevailed in the political debate (Laffi 1967, 263-264). It would be reductive to read the events of this period as an anti-Sullan reaction, though, since many of the reforms that were carried out responded to precise social issues, rather than simply being *popularis* reactions to Sulla's legislation (Santangelo 2014, 16).

It is possible that Caesar decided to exploit this new political climate to follow his personal belief in some political programmes that had characterised some leading *populares*, perhaps also inspired by his disapproval of some policies adopted by the

optimates on important questions (Raauflaub 2010a, 142-143). By connecting himself with Marius he was presenting himself as the worthy heir of the *popularis* tradition. While his views may not have carried much political weight at the time, by 63 Cicero refers to him as following the *popularis* trend (Cic., *Cat*., 4, 9): 'If you will approve of Caius Caesar's motion, because he follows that way, considered as 'popular', in politics […]' ('*Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam, quae popularis habetur, secutus est[…]'*) and 'One can understand what stays between the superficiality of the windbags and a truly *popularis* soul, devoted to the people's interests' ('*Intellectum est quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem, saluti populi consulentem*').

Zecchini (2001, 118) observes that the connection with Marius was resumed at the beginning of the Gallic campaigns: the *homo novus* had in fact defeated the tribes of the Cimbri and Teutones (a fact that would justify Caesar's attack on Ariovistus: Caes., *B Gall*., 1, 40, 5; a comparison with Marius on this occasion is made explicitly by Plutarch, *Caes*., 19, 4). As a consequence, Caesar presented his wars and those of Marius almost as two phases of a conflict between Rome and the barbarians. Canfora (1999, 101) adds that Cicero, in an attempt to ingratiate himself with Caesar in 56, explicitly compared Marius' Gallic campaigns with Caesar's, favouring the latter (Cic., *Prov. cons*. 32). He also maintains that the choice of Gaul as a proconsular province was mainly a propagandistic one, an attempt for Caesar to present himself as 'the best' Marius - the hero of the whole Roman population for defending them against the looming Gallic threat (Canfora 1999, 102). The connection with Marius resurfaced on occasion during the Civil War, when a clear parallel between Sulla-Marius and Pompey-Caesar was established by the *optimates* (Berti 1988, 60; Zecchini 2001, 118-119; see also Section 4.2.1 for the connection between Pompey and Sulla).

4.3.2 The Gracchi Brothers

The second model identified by Zecchini (2001, 120-124) is the Gracchi brothers, exploited between 63 and 59 BC, 'the most seditious moment of Caesar's life' (2001, 120). In 63 Caesar backed Rullus' proposed agrarian law and the related project to re-colonise Carthage; he also spoke in favour of the Catilinarians against the use of a *senatusconsultum ultimum*; and during his consulate, in 59, he himself proposed two agrarian laws and a *lex de repetundis* (Zecchini 2001, 120). This Gracchan model was

important again at the beginning of the Civil War, when Caesar justified his actions by saying that he was defending not just his own *dignitas* but also the *ius intercessionis* of the tribunes and the *libertas* of the citizens, a typical theme of the Gracchi (Zecchini 2001, 121). Zecchini notes that in the *contio* held by Caesar to his soldiers before crossing the Rubicon, the general distanced himself from the violence and the methods that the Gracchi employed in their political strife; being seen as a moderate *popularis* at the moment when he was going to perform the most seditious act of his career was critical (Zecchini 2001, 121-122). Nevertheless, he never rejected the basic themes of the *popularis* tradition (his legislation after Pharsalus testifies to this), but only condemned the violent methods of previous *populares*: Caesar 'condemns the past extremisms, but not his, but rather those back in the years 130/120 and then in 100' (Zecchini 2001, 122).

It is argued here, however, that Caesar began building his image as a moderate member of the *populares* from early in his career, in spite of his methods not always reflecting this; the Gracchan themes that he resumed (principally, as Zecchini 2001, 123 underlines, colonisation, and of Carthage in particular) were only one amongst many themes on which the general *popularis* politics centred. Consequently, his condemnation of extremism is not a novelty of the period after 54. In fact, as Raauflaub (2010a, 144) notes, Caesar had learned from the failures of the Gracchi and, although Gaius Gracchus had already tried to secure himself the support of several different sections of the population (Vanderbroeck 1987, 71), Caesar aimed to represent the interests of various groups. This seems to be a distinctive feature of his consulate and of his creation of the triumvirate (Raauflaub 2010b, 164). Already in 63 Cicero, who clearly did not want to antagonise Caesar, underlined the difference between him and the *contionatores*, the demagogues (Cic., *Cat*., 4, 9). During Caesar's very aggressive praetorship in 62, the patrician supported the tribune Metellus Nepos against Cato, and the attempt resulted in their suspension from the office by force of a *senatusconsultum ultimum*; Caesar decided to back down and retire into private life, for which reason he was reinstated in office by the Senate (Suet., *Iul*., 16), while Nepos fled to Pompey (Plut., *Cato*, 29; Cass. Dio 37, 43, 4). In addition, in 63, when Caesar argued against the death penalty for the Catilinarians, he tried to convict Gaius Rabirius for having condemned to death Roman citizens forty years earlier; the future dictator was trying to avoid creating precedents for the use of emergency measures by the Senate, as they had done against the Gracchans (Raauflaub 2010a, 145). Finally, Caesar's attitude when presenting to the Senate his first Agrarian

Law in 59 was open to discussion and collaboration (Raauflaub 2010a, 144). Caesar thus appeared determined to stress his affiliation to the *popularis* cause, but also to be *considered* the moderate side of it (mainly concerned about the needs of the Roman state, as Cicero pointed out) from the beginning of his career, and not only from the outbreak of the civil war.

4.3.3 Scipio Aemilianus (and Africanus)

Related to this public image that Caesar intended to build is the frequent comparison between him and Scipio Aemilianus. As Zecchini (2001, 124) highlights, this is particularly evident from the years of the Gallic Wars, when, after the consulate, Caesar refined his propagandistic efforts in order to be also seen as the right man for government. The possible turning point for this could have been the death of his daughter Julia, and the subsequent break in the alliance with Pompey, who was most likely already working towards the same purpose (see above, section 4.2.8). However, Caesar perhaps started creating that public image of himself (or at least elaborating it) already with his consulate in 59, as a natural consequence of his previous stance for moderation.

In his *De re publica*, written around 55 and 54 BC (when the debate on a reform of the Republic was particularly lively: Zecchini 1995, 601), the Caesarian legate L. Aurunculeius Cotta praised the fact that, at the time of the invasion of Britain, Caesar possessed only three slaves. In this way a direct comparison was made with Aemilianus, who had five (Zecchini 1995, 601; 2001, 124), and who was portrayed as symbolising the perfect man for government by Cicero (Zecchini 2001, 125). Furthermore, the portrait of Caesar subsequently outlined by Balbus, Oppius and Sallust possessed the same characteristics previously attributed to Scipio Aemilianus by Polybius, making his private image very similar to the model of the ancient good Roman, respectful of the precepts of the *mos maiorum* (Zecchini 2001, 124-125).

Another key aspect of Scipio's character held by Caesar was the ability to control passions, notably rage. Interest in philosophy had become a valued trait of educated persons after the Social War, and during the Late Republic it was essential for the upper classes to possess a certain degree of knowledge of the primary ethical views: thus anger control was a characteristic of the ethically upright man (Harris 2009, 204). The debate on anger control was particularly lively that Cicero could make some general references to it during his public speeches. It seems that a reputation for being subject to *iracundia*

could be truly damaging (Harris 2009, 206-207) and accordingly the orator in his *De Re Publica* described the ideal ruler as free from that passion (Cic., *Rep*., 1, 38, 59-60). Clearly it was pivotal for Caesar to represent himself as a controlled person (Harris 2002, 26), especially in a historical period in which civil war was seen as a situation in which *iracundia* prevailed (Harris 2009, 209; see Cic., *Marcell*., 9). This aspect of Caesar's propaganda might have had reflections in the architecture, which are analysed in Section 5.1.2.

Later in the dictator's life Scipio Africanus too seems to have become a model, even if he had been previously used for different and irreconcilable purposes by his adversaries. Indeed, a statue of the great general had been dedicated in the temple of Jupiter (as a statue of Caesar was placed in the temple of Quirinus: Cass. Dio 43, 45, 2-3; Cic., *Att*., 12, 45, 2 and 13, 28, 3); another one was allowed to be carried together with those of the gods during the *pompa circensis* (App., *Hisp*., 23, 89). In addition, he had been deified after his death. All this made him an appealing figure for late Caesarian propaganda (Zecchini 2001, 125-126). Furthermore, Oppius, one of Caesar's most trustworthy collaborators, wrote a biography of Scipio Africanus (Gell., NA, 6, 1, 1; see Canfora 1999, 303), around whom a legend of sorts had developed (Gabba 1975). Depending on the interpretation of Caesar's intentions after his first dictatorship, this interest in the figure of Scipio Africanus can be interpreted in two different (but not necessarily opposing) ways: either as a means to legitimate his assumption of the dictatorship and, perhaps, of a more stable power, or as a (failed) attempt to dispel the suspicion of *adfectatio regni* by drawing comparison between himself and such a strong (aristocratic) model of behaviour.

As will be explained below, the model of Scipio Africanus could also have helped to justify the strong connection that Caesar had long sought to establish between himself and Jupiter.

4.3.4 Furius Camillus

A further model that Zecchini (2001, 127-129) attributes to Caesar's last years is Furius Camillus, primarily in connection to the title of *parens patriae* received by Caesar between 45 and 44 BC (Cass. Dio, 44, 4, 4). It is interesting to see how the figure of Camillus had become an *exemplum* through subsequent overlapping of comparisons with other famous characters; Zecchini (2001, 127) notes that he might have been included in

Caesar's propaganda because of the tradition that established parallels between him and the Scipiones (see also Momigliano 1942a, 112-113). He also observes (Zecchini 2001, 127-128) Camillus' two other appealing characteristics: he had been the winner of the conflict against the Gauls which had followed the disastrous sack of the city in 390, and he had been a strong supporter of *concordia*, by dedicating a temple to it in 367 (Plut., *Camill*., 42; Ov., *Fast*., 1, 641-644) and by supporting the approval of the *Liciniae-Sextiae* laws. Zecchini (2001, 127-128) maintains that the significance of that figure was such that it is likely that the attribution to Camillus of the building of the temple of Concordia, as well as other events in his life (triumph on a *quadriga* drawn by four white horses; repetition of the *Feriae Latinae* on the occasion of his victories against the Gauls), had been invented by the Caesarian propaganda, which aimed to create precedents for the Caesar's deeds and honours . Zecchini here follows Weinstock's (1971, 68-75) hypothesis, which refers in particular to the use of a chariot pulled by four white horses by both Camillus and Caesar during their triumphs.

In fact, Weinstock says that the models for the use of white horses lie both in the Greek world (the gods Zeus and Helios, the kings Amphiaraus and Rhesus and the tyrants Dionysius I, Dionysius II, Nysaeus and Hieronymus had chariots pulled by white horses; the Dioscuri, Eos, Hemera rode them; see Weinstock 1971, 71-73 for primary sources), but also in the Roman world, since Aeneas saw them when he reached Italy (Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 537) and they pulled the chariot of king Latinus (Verg., *Aen.*, 12, 161). Propertius (4, 1, 32) even states that Romulus held a triumph with a chariot pulled by white horses. Weinstock (1971, 69) then mentions a passage from Plautus (*Asin.*, 278) from which it is possible to infer that by the beginning of the 2nd century BC the white horses were commonly regarded as a divine attribute. Potentially, therefore Camillus aimed to represent himself as Jupiter (and the triumphator was likened to the father of the gods on the day of the triumph), also because he painted his face red during the triumph (Plin., *HN*, 33, 111), and he was perhaps the first one to do so (Weinstock 1971, 73). Weinstock asks if it was the historical Camillus who brought these innovations to the triumphal ceremony, and concludes that it would have been too early for him to introduce a Greek innovation to Roman practice in the 4th century BC (Weinstock 1971, 74). Therefore either it was a pre-Caesarian reinterpretation by a Greek historian (which attracted Caesar's attention) or a post-Caesarian one, either by a Caesarian supporter trying to

create an illustrious precedent for Caesar or by an opposer, to make it a sign of arrogance (Weinstock 1971, 74).

Weinstock's argument seems a little convoluted, and it rests on the controversial interpretation of Caesar seeking a Hellenistic monarchy at the end of his life. Zecchini's hypothesis of a use of Camillus' model by Caesar can nevertheless be still accepted in light of a recent contribution by Gärtner (2008), who challenges the vision that in Livy's fifth book of the *Ab Urbe condita* Camillus possesses characteristics that are a clear reflection of the Augustan ones, making it therefore an expression of the régime. Gärtner proposes that the figure of Camillus underwent a reinterpretation during the 60s of the first century BC, and was thus already exploited for self-representation by Late Republican political figures. It is generally agreed that the information regarding Camillus belongs partly to an older layer of transmission (a 'historical core') and partly to a younger layer of transmission, which was elaborated between the third and the first centuries BC (Gärtner 2008, 29-32 with extensive bibliography). The fact that the 'younger layer' was established one generation before the Principate is argued by Gärtner through comparison of the three sources which transmit it, namely Livy, Dionysius and Plutarch. Although Dionysius must have known Livy's first pentad, he only mentions pre-Livian sources, and in any case he must have found Livy's account too short for his use; in any case, there are many differences between the two accounts, and the shared similarities might be due to common earlier sources (Gärtner 2008, 32-33). As far as Plutarch is concerned, it is not possible to establish if his similarities with Livy belong to an earlier account, but he often offers a more detailed picture than Dionysius and Livy, or incompatible versions, presenting a more traditional account that most likely derives from a pre-Livian source (Gärtner 2008, 34). In order to find a *terminus ante quem*, Gärtner firstly explains that, since Livy and Dionysius tend to present and discuss variants of the same event, it is reasonable to assume that the 'younger layer' of the Camillus legend derive from earlier works consulted by the two historians, such as Licinius Macer, Valerius Antias and Claudius Quadrigarius, and was thus accepted as early as the 60s BC. Secondly, he maintains that Plutarch's statement that Camillus was the only one to have had white horses for his triumphal procession must come from a source earlier than Caesar's triumph of 46 BC, and that the quantity of ransom money to be paid to the Gauls after the Gallic sack referred by Livy and Plutarch (1,000 pounds - a seemingly too 'round' amount) goes back to sources older than 52 BC, when 2,000 pounds of gold (the

amount reported by Dionysius) were found in the base of the statue of Jupiter in the Capitol (Plin., *HN*, 33, 14; Gärtner 2008, 35).

Most importantly, Gärtner (2008, 45-49) identified a number of passages in which Cicero mentioned Camillus and used the dictator's story as a meter of comparison for his own life (especially after his return from the exile), perhaps even implicitly presenting himself as a second Camillus (a good number of 'Camillan' motifs can be found in Cicero's speeches written after the exile). From this, Gärtner (2008, 49) suggests that Camillus was probably an important figure of reference in late Republican political discourse and was used (and, it could be added, was easily recognised) as a model for self-representation. Furthermore, he points out that the crossing of the Rubicon by Caesar is presented like a second Gallic invasion in the poem of Lucan (who probably used Livy as a source), and that similar themes are also found in Cassius Dio and Appian; Gärtner therefore hypothesises that these motifs, in the light of Cicero's use of Camillus as a model, could derive from a historiographical tradition that so presented Caesar's actions, and saw Pompey as a second and less fortunate Camillus; this could point to an exploitation of the Camillus' paradigm in late Republican politics (Gärtner 2008, 49-51).

Overall, it is difficult to state that the refashioning of Camillus' figure was due to the Caesarian propaganda, but it is more likely that Caesar exploited a tradition that had been established in that period and that was recognisable and understood in the context of late Republican political discourse.

4.3.5 Romulus

The first king of Rome had been *pater patriae* as well, and Zecchini (2001, 129) connects this with Caesar's monarchy and deification. It is likely that the paramount reason for Caesar's link with Romulus is the fact that Rome's founder was his ancestor; furthermore, according to one of the legends related to Romulus' deification, when the king had ascended among the gods, it had been a member of the *gens Iulia* who witnessed the event (Cic., *Rep*., 2, 20; Liv., 1, 16; Plut., *Rom*., 28, 1-3; this version had perhaps been fostered by Caesar himself; see Zecchini 2001, 45 and 129). The dictator tried therefore to promote the image of Romulus as Rome's founder rather than as a tyrant, and endorsed the cult of Quirinus (Zecchini 2001, 129); his interest in Romulus was already clear when in 58 Sex. Julius Caesar, Caesar's cousin (Cic., *Har. resp*., 12), was elected *flamen Quirinalis*, and became more obvious in 45 when, as it will be seen in Section 5.1.4, a statue of Caesar

was dedicated inside the temple of Quirinus, which he probably refurbished (Cass. Dio, 43, 45, 2-3; Cic., *Att*., 12, 45, 2 and 13, 28, 3; see Zecchini 2001, 45-46; Coarelli 1999a, 185; see also Gazetteer entry: *aedes Quirini*).

4.3.6 Servius Tullius

The sixth king of Rome remained in the minds of the citizens as the one who guaranteed the people's freedom by instituting the *comitia centuriata*, and who established the cult of Fortuna on the other side of the river Tiber. The model had been fostered by Sulla, who made him a precedent for the *optimates*, but during the first century BC there seems to have been a re-elaboration by the *populares*: in Appian (*Lib*., 17, 112) and Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.*, 4, 9-13) the king is represented as a champion of the people (Zecchini 2001, 130). Was this change due to Caesar? . Zecchini struggles to find parallels between the two figures, but accepts the hypothesis of Sordi (2000, 311-312) that the *imperium* of Servius Tullius, albeit individual but considered distinctly 'mild and moderate' (Liv., 1, 48, 9), was taken as a historical model for Caesar's dictatorship. This was probably conceived as an office subordinated only to popular consent, ideally a diarchy between the *imperator* and the people in arms against the *factio paucorum* (before crossing the Rubicon, Caesar held a *contio* with his soldiers, whereby he appealed to them as citizens: Caes., *B civ*., 1, 7, 7).

4.3.7 Other Models

The last paragon that Zecchini (2001, 131-132) identifies is Dionysios, the tyrant of Syracuse, primarily because his form of government is the most similar to the Caesarian one; however, the author is very cautious in this respect. But it is possible to propose two further models for Caesar, which seem to go back to the tradition of his family: Ancus Marcius and Numa Pompilius.

4.3.8 Ancus Marcius

In his speech at the funeral of his aunt Julia in 69, Caesar emphasised her descent from the goddess Venus, through the *gens Iulia*; but he also claimed that she was descended from the king Ancus Marcius, on her mother's side (Suet., *Iul*., 6, 1). Smith (2010, 254) points out that by the time of Ennius (end of 3rd- beginning of 2nd century BC) Ancus Marcius was considered a '*popularis*' king, who had redistributed land to the people (Enn., *Ann.*, 37 Skutsch), and that the relationship between the king and Caesar's *gens*

was most likely already established. Although the reference to the *popularis* stance proclaimed by Caesar is clear, the lineage from Venus became more important in Caesarian propaganda; it is nevertheless intriguing that the Forum of Caesar was built in close proximity to a derivation of the Aqua Marcia, the aqueduct promoted in 144 BC by the praetor Q. Marcius Rex (Plin., *HN*, 31, 41 and 36, 121; Frontin., *Aq*., 1, 7; see Section 5.1.2.3).

4.3.9 Numa Pompilius

According to Eutropius (1, 5), Ancus Marcius was a grandson of king Numa. Although many *gentes* claimed descent from him (Smith 2006, 35-36; for example, the Aemilii Lepidi: Gaggiotti 1985b, 60-61), as Section 5.1.1.1 will discuss, Caesar, through L. Aemilius Paullus, undertook the refurbishment of the basilica Aemilia, which was connected with Numa, between the years 51 and 50. Even though there were other reasons for Caesar to promote this building, a reference to the figure of the second king might have fitted with his propagandistic needs then: in fact, not only had Numa been the first *pontifex* (Plut., *Numa*, 9, 1), but he had a reputation for being able to control his passions, for being modest and averse to any form of luxury (Plut., *Numa*, 3, 7-8), and even for preferring peace to war (Plut., *Numa*, 5, 7). Furthermore, later in Caesar's life, the model of Numa became even more appropriate: he instituted the third *flamen*, the *flamen Quirinalis* (Plut., *Numa*, 7, 9); he carried out a reform of the calendar (Plut., *Numa*, 18); and when the Romans asked him to become king of Rome, 'in order to avoid another sedition and civil war', he initially refused (Plut., *Numa*, 5-6). Finally, among the

Figure 4.5: Quinarius minted by Caesar in 48-47 BC (RRC 452/3)

prodigies that preceded Caesar's death, Cassius Dio refers to twelve shields of Mars which stood in the house of the *pontifex maximus* (one of which had been received from the god by Numa, who gave an order to disguise it among eleven other identical ones, lest it was stolen; Plut., *Numa*, 13, 2-6), resonated during the night before the assassination (Cass. Dio, 44, 17, 2). Furthermore, during the first years of the civil war, when Caesar needed to legitimate his position through his office of *pontifex maximus*, one of those shields is represented on a *quinarius* (RRC 452/3; fig. 4.5).

4.3.10 The Gods: Venus

As far as Caesar's references to the protection of gods are concerned, Venus naturally occupies a prominent place. There is no space here to unravel the complex issues connected to the theology of Venus and to the particularities related to her characterisation of Genetrix in the temple of Caesar's Forum; nevertheless, it is important to stress that Caesar attributed great importance to this goddess, presenting her as the ancestor of his *gens*. In his famous speech at his aunt Julia's funeral he stated that the Iulii descended directly from Venus (Suet., *Iul*., 6, 1), with Iullus, the ancestor of the gens Iulia, being the son of Aeneas. Caesar was not the first in his family to underline this divine descent: this effort is already evident in the coins minted in 129 by Sex. Julius Caesar, praetor of 123, and in those minted in 103 by L. Julius Caesar, consul in 90 in which Venus is represented in a biga with Cupid (Smith 2010, 252; RRC 258/1 and 320/1; figs. 4.6 and 4.7). Furthermore, the consul of 64, L. Julius Caesar, established a strong relationship with the city of Ilion (Smith 2010, 253).

Figure 4.6: Denarius minted by Sex. Iulius Caesar in 129 BC (RRC 258/1)

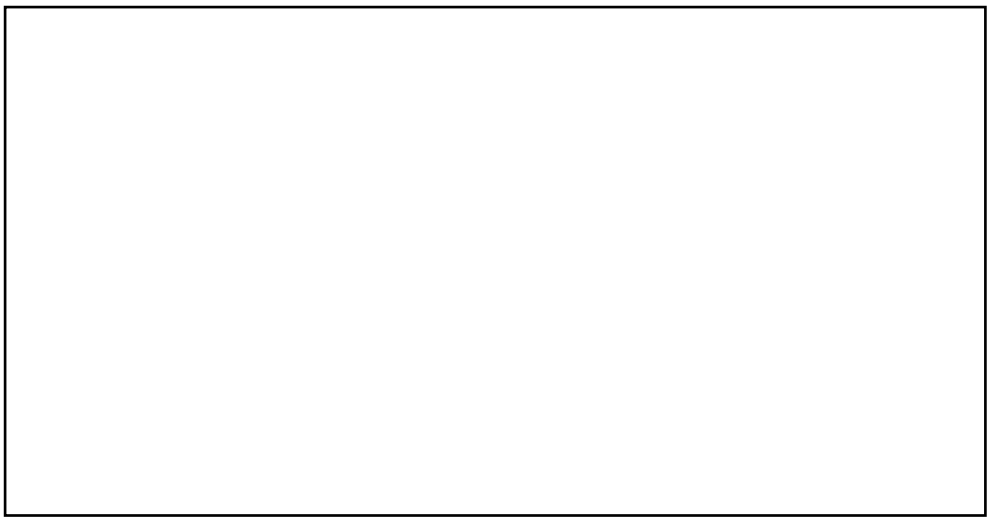

Figure 4.7: Denarius minted by L. Iulius Caesar in 103 BC (RRC 320/1)

As discussed above (Section 4.2.3), many *gentes* claimed their origin from the mother of the Romans, Venus; the actions of the young Caesar can therefore be placed in the context of the political struggle among the *gentes* of the Late Republic, where the celebration of the ancestors during funerals was meant to justify the family's present pre-eminence (Lincoln 1993, 390-391).

Caesar seems to have had the intention of presenting himself as the favourite of Venus at least from the beginning of the Gallic War, when he allowed his legions to bear the image of a bull on their standards - referring to the constellation of Taurus, under which Venus was ascendant (Wardle 2009, 107). In direct competition with Pompey, he chose *Venus Victrix* as his password at Pharsalus (App., *B civ*., 2, 76), and during the night before the battle he vowed a temple to her (App., *B civ*., 2, 68). He subsequently dedicated the temple in his Forum to *Venus Genetrix* in 46 (App., *B civ.*, 2, 102). The reasons for the change in the epithet of the goddess help explain the ideology of *concordia* and the strong claim to victory against Pompey which are present in the propaganda conveyed by the Forum of Caesar, and are analysed in Section 5.1.2.3.

4.3.11 The Gods: Veiovis – Iuppiter

In the context of the efforts expended by Roman *gentes* to ennoble their origin as much as possible, one can note that the Iulii aimed also to connect themselves to the god Veiovis. Evidence for this is the inscription of the altar at Bovillae, dated to around 100 BC (Weinstock 1971, 8; Smith 2010, 252), which reads VEDIOVEI PATREI GENTEILES IULEI VEDI[OVEI] AARA | LEEGE ALBANA DICATA (CIL XIV

2387). Interestingly, the god was strongly connected to Jupiter (Weinstock 1971, 8; Smith 2010, 252), being either his chthonic counterpart or a 'young Iuppiter' (Weinstock 1971, 8-9; Distelrath 2010, 257). In order to explain this interest of the *gens Iulia* in the cult of Veiovis, Weinstock (1971, 9-11) analyses the name Iulus, and highlights that L. Iulius Caesar (consul in 64 BC) connected it with the Greek words *iobólos* and *íoulos* - 'the good archer' or 'the youth whose first beard is growing' (this the aspect of Ascanius when he fought against and defeated the king Mezentius). Furthermore, in the *Origo gentis Romanae* (15, 5; see Weinstock 1971, 9 and f. 7) the form *Iullus* is explained as the diminutive of *Iovis*, and thus denotes the young Jupiter, his son. Weinstock (1971, 10) proves both etymologies to be incorrect, but rightly points out that what is fundamental is that this connection was created by the *gens Iulia* because they believed in this etymological derivation. They therefore identified Veiovis with Iulus, particularly because, at his death, Aeneas became *Iuppiter Indiges*, and was dedicated a temple by his son Ascanius-Iulus.

In his propaganda, while Caesar prioritised Venus, , in emphasising his *gens*' connections with Jupiter, the general seems to have followed a trend: Caesar's family tried to establish this link early in his life, when he was designated *flamen Dialis*, even though the inauguration, because of Sulla's opposition, never took place (Plut, *Caes*, 1, 1; Suet., *Iul*., 1, 1). As Smith (2010, 253) notes, in light of Caesar's very young age, the appointment would have brought honour mainly to his family rather than to him, , but it shows the *gens*' ongoing interest to maintain a connection with the father of the gods.

Some hints point to attempts by Caesar himself to connect to Rome's most important god. Cassius Dio (37, 44, 1-2) informs us that, in 62 BC, Caesar apparently tried to strip Catulus of his commission for completing the refurbishment of the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus by entrusting it to Pompey, but without success. Suetonius (*Iul*., 15) reports the same event, but without specifying who had to take care of the refurbishment (he just says *in alium*). Unfortunately no contemporary source attests this. Yet it is interesting to note that such an action on Caesar's part would be consistent with events at the time: in 62 BC Caesar was praetor (Vell. Pat., 2, 43, 4; Cass. Dio, 37, 44), but had just been elected *pontifex maximus* in the previous year, when he heavily defeated Catulus against every expectation (Plut., *Caes.*, 7, 4; Suet., *Iul.*, 13; Cass. Dio, 37, 37, 2), thereby attracting the hatred of the old patrician (Sall., *Bell. Cat.*, 49, 2; the hostility between the two men is even attested by Cicero, *Att.*, 2, 24, 3).

According to Cassius Dio (43, 14, 6) it also seems that in 46 Caesar obtained the approval of the Senate for including his name on that temple's inscription (this measure was never carried out: see Tac., *Hist*., 3, 72). In the same year he made clear his devotion to the god by climbing the stairs of the temple on his knees during the first day of his triumph, in order to avert a bad omen (Cass. Dio, 43, 21, 2). These and other pieces of information (for example the Senate addressing Caesar as Iuppiter Iulius, and electing Anthony his flamen: Cass. Dio, 44, 6, 4) come from Dio, and might therefore be biased (although Cicero, *Phil.*, 2, 110 confirms the role of Anthony as flamen); nevertheless, we can highlight that a 'familiar' connection with Rome's most powerful god would have proved pivotal for Caesar after 48 BC, in order to legitimise his dictatorship: the *imperium* of the dictator, in fact, directly emanated from Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Sabbatucci 1988, 312).

4.3.12 The Gods: Quirinus

Together with Jupiter and Mars, Quirinus was the third god of the archaic Capitoline triad. Having been identified with the deified Romulus from at least the 3rd century BC (Weinstock 1971, 183), it is not surprising that Caesar aimed to connect his person with him; in this respect, we should note what Zecchini (2001, 44-46) says about a legend concerning Romulus/Quirinus and an ancestor of the *gens Iulia*. Cicero, in his *De re publica* (2, 20; followed by Livy, 1, 16), refers to the legend of Julius Proculus, a *vir agrestis* to whom Romulus, after his death, appeared to announce his deification and his subsequent transformation into Quirinus; Plutarch mentions the same story, but describes Proculus as a noble man from Alba (Plut., *Rom*., 28, 1-3). Zecchini (2001, 45) notes that this established a particular relationship between the Iulii and Romulus/Quirinus, and consequently argues that, if not invented by Caesar himself, this story was exploited by him to stress the predilection of the gods for the Julian family. Another sign of Caesar's interest in Quirinus was the election of his cousin, Sex. Julius Caesar, to the flaminate of Quirinus in 58. Zecchini (2001, 45) hypothesises that this strong claim of the cult of Quirinus to the gens Iulia might be connected with Cicero's first mention of Proculus' story a few years later.

The identification of Romulus with Quirinus and his descent from Iulus, the ancestor of the *gens Iulia*, therefore justify his strong interest in this god, and, as discussed in Section

5.1.4, provides a powerful reason for the dedication of Caesar's statue in the temple of Quirinus and the probable reconstruction of the temple itself by the dictator.

4.3.13 Clementia et Concordia

Caesar Oppio Cornelio salutat

Gaudeo mehercule vos significare litteris quam valde probetis ea quae apud Corfinium sunt gesta. Consilio vestro utar libenter et hoc libentius quod mea sponte facere constitueram ut quam lenissimum me praeberem et Pompeium darem operam ut reconciliarem. Temptemus hoc modo si possumus omnium voluntates recuperare et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere praeter unum L. Sullam, quem imitaturus non sum. Haec nova sit ratio vincendi ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Id quem ad modum fieri possit non nulla mihi in mentem veniunt et multa reperiri possunt. De his rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis.

Caesar to Oppius and Cornelius

I am very glad that you communicated to me by letter your unconditional approval for the events that have happened in Corfinium. I will readily accept your advice, and even more so because I had decided by myself to act in a way so as to present myself as most moderate and to make every effort towards a reconciliation with Pompey. Let us try in this way to see if we can win back the general consent and avail ourselves of a long-term victory, since the others, by means of cruelty, were not able to escape the hatred, nor preserve the results of their victory for a long time, with the only exception of L. Sulla, whom I have no intention of imitating. Let this be the new method to win; that we make clemency and magnanimity our strong point. As to how this can be achieved, several ideas spring to my mind, and many others can be devised. I ask that you reflect on these issues.

This first paragraph of Caesar's letter (written on 5th March 49) to his collaborators Oppius and Balbus (Cic., *Att*., 9, 7c, 1), who subsequently sent it to Cicero, is considered

to be the prime testimony of the course of politics that Caesar aimed to pursue after the beginning of the Civil War, and which developed after the siege of Corfinium (Lassandro 1991, 198-199 with further bibliography). Following the terminology employed by Cicero in his letters after the beginning of the Civil War and in the Caesarian orations, this type of policy is described as resorting to the virtue of *Clementia* - a word not commonly used before that conflict, with other words preferred, such as *misericordia*, *lenitas*, *modestia*, *temperantia*, *humanitas* (Weinstock 1971, 236). Weinstock underlines that before the Civil War *clementia* seems to have been applied either to denote Roman rule abroad or in a legal context, and that Caesar used it only twice in the *de bello gallico* (in two reported speeches) and never in his *de bello civili* (Weinstock 1971, 236); he therefore concludes that Cicero must have been the first to begin using this word to describe Caesar's course of politics, and that, through the help of his friends and other senators, the meaning of this word changed from indicating the virtue of the Roman State and of the general towards the enemies to describing that of the ruler towards his citizens (Weinstock 1971, 238-239). It would be interesting to know whether, at least at the outset, this particular word was used with a polemic intent, Caesar having been declared a *hostis publicus* when the civil war broke out (it would have been *clementia* in reverse: by the enemy towards the Roman people); regardless, the *clementia Caesaris* became a watchword of that kind of policy, so that a temple to it was decreed (App., *B civ*. 2, 106; Cass. Dio 44, 6, 4; Plut., *Caes*., 57, 4; see also the denarius of P. Sepullius Macer: RRC 480/21; fig. 4.8).

Figure 4.8: Denarius minted by P. Sepullius Macer in 44 BC (RRC 480/21)

Canfora (1999, 169) describes Caesar's clemency as the response of the general to his need to find a political way out of the civil war, and states - as Caesar himself stressed in the letter mentioned above - that his main objective was to obtain the largest possible consent, or, in Cicero's words, the *consensus bonorum omnium*. This latter intent, nevertheless, seems to have characterised Caesar's political life from the beginning, and could also be described as the pursuit of *concordia*.

One can agree with Raauflaub's (2010a, 145) opinion that Caesar, being a brilliant politician, was able to combine his own interests with those of the State. Raauflaub (2010b, 162) also argues that Caesar aimed to form what he calls a 'grand coalition of good citizens and true Romans', which drew on the experience of the Gracchi brothers and of Livius Drusus and resembled Cicero's *concordia ordinum* (Raauflaub 2010b, 164). This effort towards the attainment of the broadest possible support stands out during Caesar's consulate, particularly in relation to his agrarian laws (2010a, 146, 2010b, 162-164), and especially during the Civil War (2010a, 148-151; 2010b, 165-167). Leaving aside the real intentions of the future dictator and how these evolved, there was certainly an intention to appear, even though decisively lined up with the *populares*, as a moderate and conciliatory leader from at least 63(see above, p. 101; see also Raauflaub 2010a, 152). It is therefore possible to suggest that, in Caesar's self-representation, the theme of the pursuit of moderation and *concordia* was present from at least his election to the *pontificatus maximus*, and that, in the scope of this broader ideology, he decided to add the theme of *clementia*, as a natural consequence of his politics up to that point, once the civil war had started. These two themes remained in the propaganda of the dictator, in spite of the sharp change in his politics registered from 46 (Raauflaub 2010a, 152): both the theme of *clementia* and that of *concordia*, represented by the clasped hands, can be found, for instance, in the coinage of 44 BC (RRC 480/6; 21; 24; figg. 4.8 and 4.9), and,

Figure 4.9: 1. Denarius minted by L. Aemilius Buca in 44 BC (RRC 480/6); 2. Quinarius (obverse) minted by L. Aemilius Buca in 44 BC (RRC 480/24)

as mentioned above, a temple to the *clementia Caesaris* was decreed, as well as one to the *Concordia Nova* in 44 (Cass. Dio, 44, 4, 5).

4.4 Final Remarks

From this brief analysis of the propaganda themes of Caesar and Pompey some important aspects can be underlined. Firstly, that they comprised historical figures (of both recent and more ancient, if not mythical, past), gods, heroes and divine qualities. Secondly, that not all of these themes are in constant use, but could be discarded or, in some cases, subsequently revived to fit propagandistic purposes. One example is the use of the figure of Hercules by Pompey, who revived it as his main propaganda theme when Venus was no longer seen as appropriate; or the use of the figure of Marius by Caesar, who re-emphasised it in his propaganda at the time of the Gallic Wars. The two generals also shared some of these propaganda themes, such as Scipio Aemilanus and Venus, even though Caesar, having connected his public image to the respect of traditions more than Pompey, could use them more effectively and for longer (particularly in the case of Venus, because of the connection with his family).

Even though the ancient sources often compare Caesar with Alexander the Great, this link is not included in the list of his propaganda themes, since there seems to be no evidence of its use in politics by Caesar himself. What has already been observed by some scholars (see, for example, Vervaet 2014, 146, f. 79) is, by contrast, that the commander sought to overcome the exploits of his political enemy Pompey, who wanted to go beyond Alexander's feats. As it will be explained in Chapter 6 (see Section 6.1.2), this aspect emerges in the architectural outputs of the two commanders.

Chapter 5

Caesar's and Pompey's Buildings in Rome: Art, Architecture and Archaeology

This chapter analyses the available archaeological evidence, decoration and interpretations of the monuments built, rebuilt or refurbished by Caesar and Pompey; the evidence can be read in conjunction with the data presented in full in the Gazetteer. The buildings are considered individually here, but with their chronological analysis presented in Chapter 6. The order in which the monuments are listed here relates to the Augustan division of the city into *regiones*, so as to offer a logical progression. My starting point is the central area of the city, with the Roman Forum and the neighbouring area (Sections 5.1.1-3); the analysis then proceeds in anti-clockwise direction to the northern part of the city (Quirinal; Section 5.1.4), through the Campus Martius (Section 5.2), and ends in the area of the Velabrum and of the Vallis Murcia (Section 5.3).

5.1 – At the Heart of the Republic: the Forum Romanum and its Environs

5.1.1 The Forum Romanum

Long the centre of the city's public life, the Roman Forum is a key area for the analysis of how architecture and topography were exploited to convey political propaganda in the Late Republic. This sector of the city constituted its physical and symbolic beating heart, and served as a theatre for the everyday "spectacle of politics" discussed in Chapter 3. The vast majority of the public events or activities, such as trials (Cicero, in *Verr.*, 2, 5, 143, describes the Forum as "full of tribunals"), funerals of the aristocracy (inferred from Cic., *De orat.*, 2, 225; see also Flower 2006, 334-335), some religious ceremonies (for example, the Lupercalia of February 44 BC; see Nic. Damasc., *Aug.*, 20-21; Plut., *Ant.*, 12, 6; Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 85-86), gladiatorial games (see Cic., *Phil.*, 6, 13 and *Mur.*, 72) and *contiones* (Mouritsen 2001, 24) took place in this area. The Forum was therefore frequented on a daily basis by a large number of people (Cicero gives us a glimpse of the diversity of the forensic crowd in *Cael.*, 21) and was a central point of passage (Newsome

2011, 294-299); accordingly its space is listed by Cicero as first among the communal spaces of the citizens (Cic., *Off.*, 1, 53).

For these reasons, the Roman Forum was repeatedly the focus of the construction and restoration of buildings; it was repaved, and statues and other honorific monuments were erected. All these interventions were loaded with political and ideological significance. One of the first building activities which had a striking impact on the definition of the space of the Forum goes back as far as the beginning of the fifth century BC, with the construction of the temples of the Castores and of Saturn, both expressions of the aristocratic élite and of its rejection of the Etruscan monarchy that had privileged the area of the Forum Boarium (Torelli 2010, 111-112). Subsequently, many magistrates (mainly censors, aediles or victorious generals, as detailed in Section 3.3) added to the monumentalisation of the area, but despite this, as La Rocca (2012, 64) has pointed out, none of them intervened in the frame of a broader urbanistic project for the entire city.

While Sulla probably did not engage in a project that encompassed all Rome, he planned to intervene heavily on the western side of the Forum, entailing a deep and dramatic change in its visual impact. Between 78 and 65 BC that side underwent a radical change in its aspect, that had been earlier characterised by the depression between the higher ground of the Capitolium *sensu stricto* and that of the Arx. Coarelli (2010, 123; 127) hypothesises the involvement of Sulla in the works of the consul of 78 BC Q. Lutatius Catulus (CIL I^2 737 = VI 1314; CIL I^2 736 = VI, 1313), who regularised the eastern slope

Figure 5.1: The 'Tabularium' in the Roman Forum.

of the Capitoline hill facing the Roman Forum with the construction of the 'Tabularium', or state archive (Fig. 5.1).

The presence of Sulla behind Catulus' works is not testified by any ancient source, but is supposed from the fact that Lutatius Catulus had been a fierce collaborator of Sulla (he had been backed by the dictator in the elections to the consulate: Plut., *Sull*., 34, 8; App., *B civ*., 1, 12, 105), and that the works for the 'Tabularium' might have been part of a larger project that included the refurbishment of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after the fire of 83 BC (Mura Sommella 1999, 17; Torelli 2010, 152, who also includes Sulla's reconstruction of the curia of the Senate in the project; Palombi 2010, 78). In fact, Sulla began the reconstruction of the temple (Val. Max., 9, 3, 8; Tac., *hist.*, 3, 72, 3; Plut., *Publ.*, 15, 1), but he died before it could be concluded; the Senate entrusted the completion to Catulus, who dedicated it in 69 BC (Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 4, 69; Liv., *Perioch.*, 98; Val. Max., 6, 9, 5; Mart., 5, 10, 6; Plut., *Publ.*, 15, 1; Tac., *hist.*, 3, 72, 3; Suet., *Iul.*, 15, 1 and *Aug.*, 94, 8). The 'Tabularium' therefore has to be considered part of the material representation of Sulla's power in Rome and of his reforms between 83 and 78 BC. Even if this new façade towards the Forum had been the product of Catulus' own initiative, it certainly represented the predominance of the faction of the *optimates*, of which Catulus was considered the leader, particularly after the defeat of Lepidus in 77 BC (Elvers 2005, 897).

The identification of the building of the Capitoline hill with the 'Tabularium' has recently been challenged, particularly by Purcell (1993), followed by von Hesberg (1995), Tucci (2005), Mazzei (2009) and Coarelli (2010), who have pointed out that the layout of the 'Tabularium' does not correspond to what could be expected for an archive (or at least that it does not seem that the 'Tabularium' could be seen as the architectural prototype for the archives in the colonies - see Mazzei 2009, 310). The structure has been consequently interpreted as the *Atrium Libertatis* (Purcell 1993) or of the *Atrium Publicum in Capitolio* (Mazzei 2009). However, the observations of von Hesberg (1995) on some architectural fragments found in the area of the *Porticus Deorum Consentium* lead him to think that they belonged to a temple (the one in the garden of the Ara Coeli), and not to an hypothesized second floor of the 'Tabularium'. This claim was the starting point for Tucci's (2005) demonstration of the existence of a temple (corresponding to the late Republican phase of the temple of Juno Moneta) at the top of the structure of the 'Tabularium'; however, Coarelli's further observations on the archaeological evidence of the 'Tabularium', together with his analysis of the *Fasti fratrum Arvalium* and of the *Fasti*

Figure 5. 2: Reconstruction of the 'Tabularium' and of the temples of Venus Victrix (centre), Fausta Felicitas (right) and Genius Populi Romani (left).

Amiternini, suggest that the main temple on the 'Tabularium' was dedicated to Venus Victrix and was flanked by two smaller temples: the northern one dedicated to Fausta Felicitas and the southern one to the Genius Populi Romani (Fig. 5.2). As mentioned earlier, according to Coarelli (2010, 127) the whole structure had been planned by Sulla and completed by Lutatius Catulus. He also hypothesises (Coarelli 2010, 126, fig.15) that, if his reconstruction of the complex is correct, it must have had an impressive visual impact from the Roman Forum, , and would have been an unmistakable and very strong assertion of Sulla's ideology and power (Coarelli 2010, 129) - a material representation of his freedom of action after 82 BC, witnessed by the institution of the proscription lists and by his assumption of the dictatorship (*pace* La Rocca 2012, 66, who argues that Sulla would not have risked so much; in fact, Cicero says that Sulla's proscriptions went far beyond what was allowed by the *mos maiorum*: Cic., *Q. Rosc*., 153).

The projects of Sulla perhaps also comprised the repaving of the Forum in travertine slabs, carried out under one of the Aurelii Cottae (either Gaius Aurelius Cotta, consul in 75 BC, or his brother Marcus, consul in 74 BC; see Palombi 2010, 78); this repaving is closely

related to Floor VI of the comitium and to the so-called *Caesarian Galleries*, which are normally related to the gladiatorial games organised by Caesar for his triumph in 46 BC (Plin., *HN.*, 19, 23; Cass. Dio 43, 22, 3), but which most likely had a hydraulic function (Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 52-66; restated in Giuliani 2012, 10-16; see also Liverani 2008, 43 and 47).

Figure 5.3: Schematic plan of the Roman Forum around 54 BC. In grey, the extant buildings; in line pattern the non extant buildings with known position; in dashed line, buildings whose location is only hypothesised; in red, area of the location of the curia Hostilia according to Amici 2004-05.

The first person to realise a proper project for the expansion of Rome was Julius Caesar, with his *Lex Iulia de Urbe augenda* of 45 BC (Tortorici 2012, 11). Yet, the general began his interventions almost ten years before the approval of that law, when, in October 54, he asked Cicero to buy the land for the construction of the Forum of Caesar (Cic., *ad Att*., 4, 16, 8). As will be explained below, he was most probably behind the building activity of Aemilius Lepidus in the Roman Forum at this time. By contrast, Pompey did not commit to any intervention in that area, apart from trying to be involved, by will of Caesar, in the refurbishment of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in 62 BC, but without success (Cass. Dio, 37, 44, 1-2).

Caesar's works began in 54 BC (Fig. 5. 3) after the dedication of the Pompeian theatrical complex in the Campus Martius in 55 BC and in the same year in which his alliance with Pompey ended because of the death of his daughter Julia (Plut., *Caes.*, 23, 5-6). His interventions, ongoing until his death, affected the whole area of the Forum, involving the rebuilding and refurbishment of monuments on three sides.

5.1.1.1 – Basilica Aemilia, Basilica Iulia

In a letter to his friend Atticus, Cicero records that in c. 55-54 BC L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus refurbished the basilica Aemilia (Cic., *Att*. 4, 16, 8; App., *B Civ*. 2, 26; Plut., *Caes*. 29, 3), and began construction of the basilica Iulia in the place of the old basilica Sempronia (or at least this is how the expression "*illam autem quam locavit*" is usually interpreted; see Cic., *Att*. 4, 16, 8). In so doing, he was taking care of the two long sides of the Roman Forum. Considering that the second basilica carries the name of Caesar's *gens* and that, according to Plutarch (*Caes.*, 29), in 51 BC the general gave to Aemilius Paullus 1500 talents for the completion of the first one , it is probable that Paullus was working under the direction of Caesar at least for some time. But, before discussing the relationship between the two men, it is crucial to highlight two aspects connected to the basilica Aemilia that will prove to be important for its analysis in the frame of Caesar's building programme.

The basilica Aemilia has been the object of several studies, which mainly focus on the phases following the fire of 14 BC, and on the Augustan phase in particular (see, for example, Bauer 1988; Freyberger 2010; Lipps 2011). Fewer scholars have focused their attention on the mid- and late Republican phases, among which it is important to mention Bauer (1993a and 1993b), whose studies unfortunately remain incomplete; Duckworth

(1955) and Gaggiotti (1985) both suggested the presence of an earlier basilica built after 210 BC (which was then substituted by the basilica Fulvia in 179 BC) on the basis of a rigorous philological analysis of a passage of Plautus' *Curculio* (Plaut., *Curc*., 4, 1, 472). This seems to be confirmed by the archaeology, since an earlier phase of the basilica has been discovered under that of 179 BC (see Gazetteer: *Basilica Fulvia-Aemilia (Paulli)* and the phase in red in fig. G03). Gaggiotti's (1985, 56-60) paper is particularly interesting, since he highlights the fact that the basilica mentioned by Plautus (whose comedies date earlier than 184 BC, year of his death and year of foundation of another basilica, the Porcia) is put in topographical connection with the *Forum Piscarium*. He then notices that from a passage of Livy (27, 11, 16), presenting the events of 209 BC, it is possible to infer the close proximity of the Forum Piscarium and of a building that the historian calls *Atrium Regium*. Gaggiotti therefore points to the contemporaneity between the events narrated by Livy and the chronology of Plautus' comedies, to the similar topographical position of the two buildings and to the very close semantic correspondence between the adjective *regium* and the word *basilica*, that entered the Latin language through the cultural influence of the Greek literature (which happened particularly thanks to the Hellenistic comedy). The Latin *atrium regium* was therefore the translation of the Greek *aulé basiliké* (also considering that the term *aulé*, according to the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (2, 2460), denotes, in the Hellenistic period, the palace of the dynast). This would also imply an ideological reference to the sphere of juridical administration and to the functions exercised by the Hellenistic dynasts. Gaggiotti adds that there could be an ideological connection with the more ancient Athenian political structures too, and that the *Atrium Regium* might have indicated the part of the residence used by the king to deal with his subjects (a similar function, in the relationship between *patronus* and *clientes*, was carried out in the *atrium* of the Roman domus, which in some cases acquired the aspect of a basilica; Gaggiotti 1985, 58).

Therefore, Gaggiotti (1985, 59) maintains, it is possible to connect the *Atrium Regium* with a piece of information provided by Cassius Dio (1, 6, 2), according to which Numa had his *archeîa* (offices) on the via Sacra: one of these *archeîa* arguably was the *Atrium Regium*, that, if it was located where the basilica Aemilia is, would have been indeed along that road.

Gaggiotti (1985, 60-62) explains that this probable connection with king Numa makes clearer why the *gens Aemilia* had a particular association with the building. In fact, the

Aemilii were one of the aristocratic families that traced their origin back to the origins of Rome, and considered themselves the descendants of the king Numa, who had a son, Mamercus, whose nickname was *Aimýlos* (Plut., *Numa*, 8, 18-19). This tradition was fostered by the family of the *Aemilii Mamerci*, and, when that branch of the *gens* disappeared, the *Aemilii Lepidi* took over, the branch of the *Lepidi* probably affirmed itself as the most genuine one, since the word *Aimýlos*, derived from *aimylía*, the grace of speech, finds its perfect translation into Latin in *Lepidus* (Gaggiotti 1985, 60).

It is therefore plausible that, if Gaggiotti's hypothesis is correct, during the Late Republic it was believed that the site where the basilica Aemilia stood was in some way connected to Numa. The exclusive patronage of the *Aemilii* on the basilica is well attested by the sources (see Gazetteer entry: *Basilica Fulvia-Aemilia (Paulli)*), and Gaggiotti's (1985, 62) suggestion that the main promoter of the ideological value of the basilica Aemilia was M. Aemilius Lepidus, censor in 179 BC, seems reasonable: Lepidus could have had the necessary prestige to consolidate that connection, since not only had he been consul twice (187 and 175 BC) and censor, but he had also been *princeps senatus* six times and *pontifex maximus* for more than 20 years (Elvers 2002, 210).

At the end of the eighties the commonly accepted topographical position of the basilica Aemilia and its correspondence to the basilica Fulvia had been questioned by Steinby (1987; 1988; 1993). Taking as a starting point the passage of Varro (*ling.,* 6, 2; see also Plin., *HN*, 7, 60, 215) where the author describes the installation of a water clock in the *basilica Aemilia et Fulvia*, Steinby argues that no other building was ever referred to by two names (Steinby 1987, 172; the author offers a new interpretation in Steinby 2012, 55 – it is the proof of a subsequent intervention of L. Aemilius Paulus, the censor of 164 BC). Therefore the basilica Aemilia must have been something different from the basilica Fulvia; she identifies the former in three foundation walls located south-east of the temple of the Castores (Steinby 1987, 174-175). This hypothesis sparked much interest, but was nevertheless disproved by Carnabuci (1991, 280-287) and Harris (1995, 373-374), who argued against the fact that those walls are parallel and attributed them to substruction walls of the Palatine hill. More recently, Steinby (2012, 55 and 61) accepted the identification of the basilica Aemilia with the basilica Fulvia , but restates her identification of the three foundation walls next to the temple of the Castores with a monument built by representatives of the *gens Aemilia* . As explained above, however, this reconstruction had already been convincingly refuted by Carnabuci (1991, 285-287).

Having considered the previous context of the basilica Aemilia and established its topographical position, it is possible to proceed to assess the relationship between Caesar and the *Aemilii*, the *gens* to which Paullus belonged, and of the reasons for Caesar's involvement in Paullus' projects. As noted previously, Plutarch states that Lepidus received 15,000 talents from Caesar in 51/50 BC for the completion of the basilica Aemilia (*Caes.*, 29, 3); given the vast sum, and given the name attributed to the other basilica, it is suggested that Caesar had a strong interest in both buildings (Coarelli actually says that he was trying to hide his true intentions using Paullus as a puppet: 1988b, 70; Lipps states that it is not possible to know if Caesar was the inspirer of the basilica Aemilia: 2011, 18). It is also interesting to note that Plutarch states explicitly that Caesar corrupted Paullus (Plut., *Pomp*., 58, 2).

As far as his political stance is concerned, Paullus was a representative of the *optimates* (Weigel 1979, 637). He did not seem to have had a good relationship with Caesar, if it is true that the latter was behind the 'Vettius affair', by which Paullus was accused of being one of the leaders of a conspiracy against Pompey in 59 BC (Weigel 1979, 639). Nevertheless, during his Gallic campaigns Caesar had to work hard to secure the support of some of the most important exponents of the senatorial faction, as he did with Cicero (who, coincidentally, was a close friend of Paullus; Weigel 1979, 639). Paullus might have been among these people. A clue might be inferred from Cicero's famous letter to Atticus (*Att.*, 4, 16, 8), concerning Paullus' works on the basilicas and Cicero's and Oppius' commitment to other Caesarian projects:

> *Paulus in medio foro basilicam iam paene texerat isdem antiquis columnis. Illam autem quam locavit facit magnificentissimam. Quid quaeris? nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. Itaque Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet, <in> monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus, contempsimus sexcenties HS; cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia. Efficiemus rem gloriosissimam. Nam in campo Martio saepta tributis comitiis marmorea sumus et tecta facturi eaque cingemus excelsa porticu, ut mille passuum conficiatur. Simul adiungetur huic operi villa etiam publica. Dices 'quid mihi hoc monumentum proderit?' At quid id laboramus? <habes> res Romanas.*

> Paulus has already almost finished the roofing of the basilica located at the centre of the forum, using the same old columns. The one he subcontracted, he is building with great magnificence. What can one say? There is nothing more admired and more glorious. So Caesar's friends, I mean Oppius and I - and you can as well be green with envy - we have just spent sixty million sesterces for that monument that you used to praise so much, so as to enlarge the forum up to the *Atrium Libertatis*; we could not reach an agreement with the private owners for a smaller sum. We shall realise something really magnificent. As for the Campus Martius, we are going to build roofed marble enclosures for the tribal assemblies, and we will enclose them with a high portico, a mile long. To these works the Villa Publica will also be added. You might say: 'How could this structure benefit me?' But why should we concern ourselves about that? You have now the latest news from Rome.

This passage follows a paragraph in which Cicero talks to Atticus about some letters received from Caesar and from his brother Quintus, where the general seems to demonstrate great affection for him. He then says that he is eager to know the outcome of Caesar's expedition to Britain, even if, as far as he knows, there is no great expectation about the wealth of that territory. Caesar was nevertheless expected to return soon triumphant from Gaul, and this is perhaps the reason why he had instructed Cicero and Oppius to buy the area for his 'extension of the forum' (which will subsequently become the Forum of Caesar).

Wiseman (1993, 182) proposes that the Aemilii family was still powerful and that Paullus was refurbishing the basilica Aemilia and building another one in order to celebrate his ancient family. His architectural initiative was therefore completely consistent with the tradition of Republican euergetism, and in competition with that of Pompey and Caesar. It has indeed to be taken into account that competition within the aristocracy, carried out through euergetic activity, was present at least until the beginning of the 50s BC (for example, the refurbishment of the Fornix Fabianus by Q. Fabius Maximus in 57 BC; see Chioffi 1995, 264). From this viewpoint, it might be possible that the orator, speaking about Paullus' works first and *then* about what he is doing with Oppius on behalf of Caesar, intended to contrast these two things. In support of this argument is Cicero's use of the conjunction *itaque*, that commonly has a conclusive connotation, indicating the consequence of what is written before (Leumann *et al.* 1965, 513). The same intention

might be behind the use of the expression *Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium*, which seems to highlight a difference (with a certain amount of irony that Cicero's self-inclusion among Caesar's friends might have had), to establish a distinction between Paullus' and Caesar's friends.

Whatever the situation between Paullus and Caesar in 54 BC, it is evident that in 51 the general was eager to link his name to the basilicas. It is here suggested that Caesar had many reasons for offering such a large sum of money to Paullus; in fact, the basilica Aemilia was strictly connected with the gens of the Aemilii, but had two characteristics that made it propagandistically important in the dictator's eyes: a shield with the image of a Gaul had been hung over the *tabernae novae* by his uncle Marius (Cic., *de or*. 2, 266; Quint., *Inst*. 6, 3, 38; Plin., *HN*, 35, 8, 24-25), and, in the mid-first century BC, according to the most widely accepted interpretation (see Cappelli 1993: 58, f. 7), the basilica already hosted the marble frieze (or panels) depicting images of the origin of Rome (see, for example, Coarelli 1985, 207; Cappelli 1993; Zappalà 2008). It appears that the connection with Marius and his victories against the Gauls (a comparison that had been already established by Cicero, in favour of Caesar, after the Lucca conference; Cic., *prov. cons.*, 32) had a pivotal role at a moment when Caesar had to secure as many supporters as he could in Rome, particularly after the death of Crassus in June 53 BC and the designation of Pompey as consul *sine collega* in February 52; furthermore, the frieze of the basilica Aemilia might have had a role in the context of Caesar's attempt to insist on the connection of his family with Romulus as the founder of Rome (see Zecchini 2001, 129 and Section 4.3.5).

The probable ideological connection of this monument to Numa, as explained in Section 4.3.9, might have constituted another appealing characteristic for the *pontifex maximus* in office. It is perhaps because of the importance that the basilica Aemilia had for Caesar that the portico in front of its tabernae was called *porticus Iulia*, before its name was temporarily changed in *porticus Gai et Luci* after the Augustan reconstruction (Coarelli 1985, 175; Freyberger 2012, 54-55; the identification of the *porticus Iulia*, as labelled in Schol., *Pers.*, 4, 49, or *stoà Ioulia*, as listed in Cass. Dio 56, 27, 5, with the *porticus Gai et Luci* has been established by many scholars, for example Van Deman 1913, 26-28; Coarelli 1985, 171-175; Steinby 1987, 149; Carnabuci 1991, 307-314; Palombi 1999, 124-125).

As far as the basilica Iulia is concerned, it has already been observed that it lies over the basilica Sempronia (Giuliani and Verduchi 1993: 177; see Gazetteer entry: *Basilica Iulia*), which had been built by the father of the Gracchi brothers (who, as explained in Section 4.3.2, were another of Caesar's models; see Zecchini 2001: 120-124). It is very interesting that the basilica Sempronia had been built on the remains of the domus of Scipio Africanus (Liv., 44, 16, 10): the basilica Iulia was in this way linked to a previous building that had a strong *popularis* connotation (an aspect that is not surprising, given the intention of its promoter to present himself as the new leader of that faction), but also to the house of a model of virtue for the senatorial order such as Scipio. It might have thus represented, as will become clearer through further analysis of Caesarian building activity, the policy of *concordia ordinum* that marks Caesar's politics in the latter part of his life.

5.1.1.2 The Temple of Felicitas

If L. Aemilius Paullus was an exponent of the *optimates*, his younger brother M. Aemilius Lepidus could be described as a Caesarian from early on (Weigel 1992, 20): in 47 BC he was commissioned by Caesar to construct the temple of Felicitas in the place of the curia Cornelia (Cass. Dio 44, 5, 2), which in turn had constituted the rebuilding of the curia Cornelia built by Sulla and destroyed by a fire in 52 BC together with the basilica Porcia (Ascon., *Mil.*, 33).

The position of the curia from its origins to its destruction, and thus also of the temple of Felicitas, is deeply controversial. The most widely accepted theory is that expounded by Coarelli in the first volume of his book about the Roman Forum (Coarelli 1983, 153-156), where he places the old curia Hostilia (and its refurbishment as curia Cornelia) on the hill where the church of the SS. Luca e Martina is located (Fig. 5.1.3 above); this reconstruction is mainly based on the literary sources, since the archaeological remains are very few and controversial (Delfino 2014, 245). Coarelli's theory has been recently criticised by Amici (2004-05, 372-377), who states that the old curia was located in the same place where the curia Iulia now stands (Fig. 5.1.3). Nevertheless, this argument is rather problematic in relation to the written sources that relate the curia to the use of the comitium as a solar clock (Plin., *HN*, 7, 60; Varro, *Ling.*., 6, 9, 89 and 6, 2, 5; Cens., *DN*, 24, 3).

Amici (2004-05) bases her hypothesis for the position of the curia Hostilia on the archaeological evidence for the republican comitium area (which she re-examined), on the orientation of the different structures present in the sector and on the relative altitudes of its archaeological layers. The main evidence is the presence of five steps of tufa blocks, dated to the 6th century BC, located just north of the comitium area and with the same orientation later acquired by the curia Iulia; they apparently led to a building located almost 1.50 m higher than the floor related to the comitium (Amici 2004-05, 352-354; fig. 5.4). This orientation (NE-SW), shared by other small archaeological structures

Figure 5.4: Schematic plan and reconstruction of the third phase of the comitium, which shows the position of the steps (in yellow) with the same orientation acquired by the curia Iulia (in dashed line in the plan).

located in the area behind the curia Iulia, coexisted with another orientation (NW-SE) from the 2nd century BC, which was shared by the Sullan refurbishment of the area (Amici 2004-05, 369). This latter orientation, in fact, is witnessed by a section of a large sewer of the Sullan period, located underneath the curia Iulia, which seems to follow the foundation walls of a pre-existing structure (fig. 5.5). This building might perhaps be identified, according to Amici (2004-05, 369), with the basilica Porcia, built in 184 BC by Cato the Elder (Plut., *Cato min*., 5.1; *Vir. Ill*., 47; Liv., 39, 44, 7).

Although Amici's (2004-05, 359) doubts on Coarelli's reconstruction first of a square and then of a round comitium are justified (mainly because of issues of space), the location of the basilica Porcia and of the curia Hostilia/Cornelia that she suggests do not seem entirely convincing. The main problem seems to be that there is not enough archaeological evidence to back any of the two hypotheses.

Figure 5.5: Plan of the area later occupied by the curia Iulia during the 2nd century BC (left) and the Sullan period (right). A: location of the curia Hostilia according to Amici 2004-05; B: location of the basilica Porcia according to Amici 2004-05; C: sewer of the Sullan period; D: location of the curia Cornelia according to Amici 2004-05.

In relation to Amici's suggestion, it might be observed that is difficult to explain why, for example, if Sulla conferred such importance to the institution of the Senate that he decided to double the number of its members and to build a bigger curia, the orientation of the Sullan structures, and perhaps of the floor paving between the curia and the comitium (albeit only a very small section survives), does not follow that of the curia Iulia. In addition, the excavations carried out in the area of the Forum of Caesar by Delfino (2014, 64-136) brought to light sections of various private buildings, dated from the 6th to the beginning of the 1st century BC, that seem to share the same orientation of the steps highlighted by Amici. It is therefore here hypothesised that the orientation of the steps might not have been due to the presence of a single building, albeit an important one, but to the orientation of a whole residential area in the *Argiletum*.

During the 1998-2000 and 2004-2008 excavations in the Imperial fora, some geomorphological sections of the area around the Forum of Caesar were created, based on previous and new surveys of the virgin soil (Delfino 2014, 45). One of them illustrates the geomorphological profile from the area behind the first taberna of the Forum of Caesar to the comitium, crossing the location of the church of the SS. Luca and Martina (fig. 5.6). It is possible to see that there seems to be a sharp drop in altitude between the points 18 (around 22 m asl) and 19 (around 14 m asl) just under the church. Delfino (2014, 47

Figure 5.6: Above, plan of the Imperial Fora; in red, location of the geomorphological section C-C'. Below, geomorphological section from the area of the first taberna of Caesar's Forum to the comitium area.

and 246) therefore suggests the presence of an artificial cut, most likely carried out in ancient times, that allowed the creation of a flat surface at 14 m asl, whose existence had already been highlighted by Ammermann and Filippi (2000, pp. 33-37, but p. 36 in particular) and that was located under the modern church of the SS. Luca and Martina. This would be also backed by the presence of a wall of tuff blocks and of a black and white mosaic floor connected to it underneath the south-eastern corner of the church, at 14 m asl and with a NW-SE orientation (Delfino 2014, 245-246; for the original publication of the archaeological evidence: Colini 1933, 262; Bartoli 1963, 261; fig. 5.7), which imply the presence of a building in that area. This monument has been interpreted

Figure 5.7: Plan of the area between the Church of the SS. Luca and Martina and the Carcer. In red, excavation area on the south-eastern corner of the church, where the wall of tuff blocks and the black and white mosaic floor have been located in 1933.

in different ways: as the curia Cornelia (Coarelli 1983, 156), as the temple of Felicitas (Tortorici 1993, 332, LTUR I; 1995, 245-246, LTUR II; Delfino 2014, 247), dedicated by Lepidus in the place of the old curia (Cass. Dio, 44, 5, 1), or as the Atrium Libertatis (Amici 1999, 309).

Keeping in mind the lack of archaeological evidence, it is nevertheless important that, as Delfino (2014, 246-247) notes, the above mentioned data would imply the presence of enough space for a large building, such as the curia Hostilia (and, subsequently, the curia Cornelia), in the area of the modern church of the SS. Luca and Martina. This would also imply that the curia would not have to be placed too far from the comitium area, and in a position and with an orientation that would comply with the indications offered by the ancient sources (Plin., *HN*., 7, 212). Furthermore, it is here thought that, if the identification of the remains of a republican building under the curia Iulia with the basilica Porcia is correct, as suggested by Amici (2004-05, 369), this would also comply with the

topographical indication of the basilica Porcia by Plutarch (*Cat. mai.*, 19, 3), who places it 'at the foot of the curia'.

Having established its topographical position, it is important to investigate which type of ideology this building expressed. As already noted, the fact that Caesar gave the commission for the temple of Felicitas to Lepidus has an important political value: with that monument, the meeting place of the Senate was to be destroyed and replaced - a subversive action that could be made in some way less provocative if carried out by the exponent of one of the oldest and most important families of the senatorial aristocracy (Delfino 2014, 247). At the same time, the initiative had the clear aim to erase the name of Sulla and any memory of him from the Senate House (as highlighted by Cassius Dio, 44, 5, 2; see Coarelli 1983, 135 and 154; Coarelli 1985, 236; Tortorici 1995, 245-246; Carafa 1998, 158; Clark 2007, 229-230; Liverani 2009, 23-24; Delfino 2014, 244).

Clark (2007, 230-232) focuses on the particular aspect of the dedication of the temple to Felicitas, and compares the temple to the same goddess on the cavea of Pompey's theatre to Caesar's temple as a part of a more extended complex comprising the Forum Romanum and Caesar's Forum . She makes a parallel with the dedication of a temple to Libertas on the site of Cicero's house by Clodius (Clark 2007, 242); Clodius had in fact destroyed the orator's house to build that temple, which became part of his properties on the Palatine, so highlighting his success in defying the 'tyrant' Cicero with the help of Libertas (Clark 2007, 210). According to Clark (2007, 242), Caesar in the same way destroyed the Senate House that bore Sulla's name, replacing it with a temple dedicated to a "divine quality" that was connected both with the old dictator and with Pompey, giving it a new significance in the context of his new architectural complex (Clark 2007, 242). Clearly Caesar's intent was to stress the new course of history that his victory had brought about.

However, a further observation is required. As mentioned in Section 4.2.7, *Felicitas* was a quality that had been strongly connected with Sulla, who had the *agnomen* of *Felix*; as Clark underlines, it is possible that the reference to a certain divine quality was sufficient to recall to the minds of the listeners a person who had been connected to it. Clark refers to a passage of Cicero, *red. pop.*, 19, where Marius is said to have had to fight against Fortuna: she sees a reference to the rivalry between Marius and Lutatius Catulus, who had built a temple to the Fortuna Huiusce Diei (2007, 214). Potentially a mental connection could be established between *Felicitas* and a man whose *agnomen* referenced

this quality; in this context, it is important to remember that Sulla's *Felicitas* was one of the central ideas of his *Memories* (Gabba 1975, 14). I would argue that Caesar's choice of that divine quality for the dedication of the temple may have had the purpose of preserving a reference to the old dictator in the place where he had restored the old Senate House; also because the monument would not have been very far from Sulla's temple of *Fausta Felicitas* on the Capitoline hill (see above). This duplicity in the reading of the meaning of the temple fits well in the panorama of ideological ambiguity that characterises Caesar's politics after Pharsalus (see Section 6.1.2 for further analysis).

A final consideration of the reasons for Caesar's political connection with members of the *gens Aemilia* might be seen in terms of 'public image' and, ultimately, of attempts to legitimise power. Taking into account the supremacy of that family, consistent with its antiquity and patrician status, the (at least nominal) involvement of its members in the dictator's projects might also have been meaningful, especially before the Civil War, because of their commitment towards grain provision (this 'family tradition' is assessed in Allely 2000), essential for Caesar in order to gain supporters for his own measures in that direction. It is notable that, some years later, Augustus dedicated the same attention to the basilica Aemilia, whose reconstruction he committed to Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, the son of the noted L. Aemilius Paullus (Hayne 1973, 499). Significantly, both branches of the *gens* Aemilia subsequently had a strong connection with the imperial family (see Hayne 1973; though Augustus successfully downplayed the importance of the triumvir Lepidus' branch: Weigel 1985, 181-182).

5.1.1.3 A New Platform for the Tribunes: the Caesarian Rostra

Caesar's last intervention in the Forum Romanum was the creation of a new platform for the tribunes. At the end of 45 the *Rostra* of the comitium were moved to the western side of the Forum, in the place where, according to Livy (41, 27, 7), the porticus from the temple of Saturn to the *Senaculum* stood (Cass. Dio, 43, 49, 1; Coarelli 1985, 238); the remaining structures of the old comitium were eliminated and the area was refurbished (Carafa 1998, 158-159). The new building was probably dedicated in January 44 BC (Coarelli 1985, 238) (Fig. 5.8).

As highlighted by various scholars (including Coarelli 1985, 237), Caesar's intervention had the clear aim of dismantling the symbols related to the old Republican system. The transfer of the *Rostra* from the comitium, subordinated to the Senate represented by the

curia, to the western side of the Forum, on its central axis, stresses the importance given to the popular assemblies, the *contiones* (see, for example, Torelli 2010: 156). Furthermore, the structure was connected, on its northern side, to the *Mundus*, the topographical and ideological centre of the city.

It is therefore clear that with this building Caesar aimed to (at least nominally) give centrality to the decisional power of the people (as he did with the rebuilding of the *Saepta*; see below, Section 5.2.3), reaffirming his own role as the leader of the *popularis* faction. The repositioning and the reconstruction of the monument corresponded to the revolutionary intentions of his State reforms. Nevertheless it is thought here that, as for other monuments, the meaning of this one is far from being unambiguous.

It is important to consider the broader topographical context in which the Caesarian *Rostra* were located: they stood in front of the temple of *Concordia,* and of the so-called Tabularium (and, if we are to believe Coarelli's reconstruction, of the three Sullan temples on the top of it; Fig. 5.8). The significance of the 'Tabularium', be it a Sullan building or not, has already been mentioned: they were the material representation of the power of the optimate faction and of the success of the Sullan line. The temple of *Concordia* had already become a symbol of the power of the *optimates*, disguised as *Concordia ordinum*, as a consequence of its reconstruction and of the construction of the adjacent basilica Opimia by L. Opimius after the slaughter of the Gracchans in 121 BC (App., *BCiv.*, 1, 26). Nevertheless, according to tradition the temple had been built by Furius Camillus (Ov., *Fast.*, I, 641-644; Plut., *Cam.* 42, 4-6), one of Caesar's models (see Section 4.3.4), in celebration of his military success against the Gauls and in pursuit of the ideal of *concordia ordinum* (for example, despite his patrician origins, he gave support to the approval of the Liciniae-Sextiae laws). So the Rostra, a monument with strong *popularis* connotations, stood in front of a group of buildings, one of which was thought to have been promoted by Camillus, who was himself a symbol of *Concordia*, and the others either planned by the perpetrator of the proscriptions (and Caesar's most bitter enemy), if Coarelli's theory is correct, or, at least, by a man, Catulus, who had collaborated with Sulla and had been seen as one of the leading figures of the *optimates*. These constructions functioned therefore as a backdrop for the new platform of the tribunes, conferring on

Figure 5.8: Schematic map of the Roman Forum around 44 BC.

activities there an idea of collaboration with the other components of society: the message implied that the *popularis* leader had triumphed, but the popular assemblies always had to work together with the Senate and respect its authority. This synthesis of the concepts of *Concordia* and *Clementia* was also expressed by the fact that Caesar decided to restore the statues of Sulla and Pompey on the platform (Cass. Dio, 43, 49, 1; see also Suet., *Iul.*, 75); however, the balance of power clearly leant towards the *populares*, since statues of Caesar himself were placed next to them, and since the tribunes (or the other magistrates),

when climbing onto the Rostra, were obliged to turn their back to the symbols of the aristocracy in the backdrop. The importance of this movement can be inferred by the scandal that the action of C. Gracchus caused when, speaking from the *Rostra* in the comitium, he turned his back to the Senate in order to address the people in the square, as Plutarch reports (Plut., *C. Gracc.* 5, 3).

Considering only the limited area of the Forum Romanum, the complexity of the Caesarian propaganda begins to emerge; it is also clear that it is possible to trace some of the themes analysed in Section 4.3 not only in the individual monument and in its decoration, but also in relation to its context. The leitmotiv of Concordia and of the collaboration with the optimate faction seems to permeate these interventions, but a change in tone can be noticed in the last two monuments, built after the victory of Pharsalus.

5.1.2 The Forum of Caesar

One of the most important city-planning innovations undertaken by Caesar was the creation of a new square, perhaps initially meant to be an extension of the Forum Romanum, whose spaces were no longer adequate for the activities that took place there.

The first mention of this project is in the previously discussed letter from Cicero to Atticus, written in October 54 BC (Cic., *Att.*, 4, 16, 8; for the start of the works, see also Suet., *Iul*., 26, 2; Plin., *HN*, 36, 25, 103), where the orator, after informing his friend about Aemilius Paullus' works, reports on the purchase of the land needed for an extension of the forum 'up to the *Atrium Libertatis*', entrusted to him and to Gaius Oppius by Caesar himself. This area, whose acquisition, according to Cicero, cost 60 million sesterces (100 according to Suetonius; Suet., *Iul.*, 26, 2; see also Plin., *HN*, 36, 103), lay between the saddle that connected the Quirinal to the Capitoline hill and the path of the *Argiletum*, and was part of the city district that most probably had the same name (Palombi 2005a, 84). During the late Republic this was a residential space, that hosted both *domus* and streets (Delfino 2014, 124-136), implying that the impact of Caesar's work on the landscape was enormous; it required the removal of a part of the south-eastern slope of the Capitoline hill in order to obtain an even surface (Delfino 2014, 138). The choice of the area was certainly not casual: not only was it inside the *pomerium*, but it also featured a heavily urbanised space, the reason why so much work was needed in order to accommodate the new complex. The resultant proximity to the Senate house and to the

Atrium Libertatis (that hosted the activity of the censors and whose exact location is a matter of debate; see Section 5.1.3) must similarly have been deliberate (Ulrich 1993, 56).

5.1.2.1 A 'new' Caesarian phase

The latest excavations in the Forum of Caesar, carried out between 2005 and 2008 within the "Imperial Fora" Project, not only provided further evidence for the pre-Caesarian phases, but also allowed the identification of two different phases of construction of the complex (these already hypothesized by other scholars: see Delfino 2014, 146 f. 659 for full references): the first one between 54 and 46 BC, and the second one between 42 and 29 BC (Delfino 2014, 136) (Figg. 5.9 and 5.10).

These discoveries have helped to give more weight to the view that the Forum of Caesar was not conceived in its final form from the outset (see, for example, Hastrup 1962; Ulrich 1993), primarily because Caesar in 54 BC could not foresee the subsequent developments of his relationship with Pompey and the Senate, nor could he predict, for example, the fire that destroyed the curia Hostilia and the basilica Porcia in 52 BC. It might, therefore, be possible that Cicero was expressing Caesar's real ideas when he said that the land he had purchased was needed for an extension of the Roman Forum, which, perhaps, was meant to host a triumphal monument (*spolia*?) to commemorate the general's victorious campaigns in Gaul. Amici (1991, 31-32 and 35) notes that the presence of natural soil, left in place during the levelling works inside the core of the podium of the temple of Venus Genetrix, demonstrates that there was a plan to erect something there, although this does not mean that this monument had to be a temple (Delfino 2014, 183). Currently it is not possible to speculate further; what is known from the sources is that in 48 BC, the night before the battle of Pharsalus, Caesar vowed a temple to Venus Victrix, and subsequently, in 46 BC, he dedicated the temple in his forum to Venus Genetrix (App., *B Civ*., 2, 102, 424; Cass. Dio, 43, 22, 2, 3). This dedication underlines the connection of his *gens* with the goddess, who was also presented, by extension, as the progenitor of the entire Roman people. A turning point in Caesar's projects might have also occurred in 52 BC: Suetonius testifies that the building works for the complex began in that year, after Caesar had been granted the opportunity to stand as a candidate *in absentia* for the elections for the consulate in 49 BC. This must have been a political victory for the general in the year in which he had to face a major revolt of Gallic tribes and when his former ally Pompey had been elected consul *sine collega*.

Figure 5.9: Reconstruction plan of the Forum of Caesar in its first phase (54-46 BC). The structures in dark grey indicate the archaeological evidence; those in lighter grey indicate the reconstruction.

The dedication of the temple (which was not yet completed) in 46 BC was performed at the same time as that of the rest of the complex (excluding the *tabernae*; App., *B Civ*., 2,

Figure 5.10: Reconstruction plan of the Forum of Caesar, that shows the superposition of its second phase (42-29 BC) on the first phase (54-46 BC). The structures in dark grey indicate the archaeological evidence; those in lighter grey indicate the reconstruction.

102, 424; Cass. Dio, 43, 22, 2, 3), which at that stage was composed of an almost square central area, surrounded on three sides by *porticus duplices* divided into two naves. The

north-western side of the square was dominated by the structure of the temple and closed by a retaining wall presenting two apses at each side of the temple (see fig. 5.9; see Gazetteer entry: *Forum Caesaris* for references). One of the most important results of the discovery of two different archaeological phases of the forum of Caesar was that, in contrast to its second phase, in which the Forum presented an open portico on its south-eastern side towards the *Argiletum*, in its first phase it was likely conceived as a closed complex, divided from the street by a wall that most probably presented two non-monumental entrances at both its ends (Delfino 2014, 150-151). This means that the square, at least in that phase, was conceived as a closed space, as the following imperial fora would be; as a result, it could be described even more as a *temenos* (App., *B Civ.*, 2, 102). Furthermore, the most notable feature of this phase of the Forum is that the curia Iulia had not yet been conceived as a part of the complex (Delfino 2014, 5 and 146) (see fig. 5.10).

5.1.2.2 Decoration: griffins

The decoration of the Caesarian phase (54-46 BC) of the Forum has been partly preserved, especially in the porticoes that probably were not affected by the Trajanic restorations (Milella 2010a, 14). The architecture and decoration of the porticoes are described in the gazetteer (see Gazetteer entry: *Forum Caesaris*); it is however important to underline that their first order was decorated with an ionic frieze which perhaps featured the presence of pairs of facing griffins, crouching on their hind legs and divided by vases, and of vegetal elements, perhaps tufts of acanthus (Delfino 2014, 170) (Fig. 5.11). As far as the temple is concerned, it was much affected by the interventions for the construction of the Forum of Trajan, but recent studies have hypothesised that a small part of the Caesarian decoration has survived: fragments of a cornice characterised by a simple meander and of a frieze with standing griffins watered by cupids in acanthus and divided by *kantharoi*, previously ascribed to the porticoes (Maisto and Pinna Carboni 2010, 440-441), have been lately attributed to the external peristasis of the temple (Delfino 2014, 170, f. 815) (Figs. 5.12 and 5.13).

The presence of the griffins in the frieze decoration both in the porticoes and in the temple and that of the cupids on the frieze of the latter are worthy of attention. Griffins were

Figure 5.11: Reconstruction of the ionic frieze which decorated the first order of the porticoes of the Forum of Caesar.

considered the guardians of moderation, in contrast with any type of excess and fighting against *hýbris*, and were also the zoomorphic symbol of Nemesis (Delplace 1980, 412). As far as the first aspect is concerned, its connection with the public attitude of Caesar is clear from the fact that he (and his entourage) always tried to promote *temperantia* as one of the main features of his character (see Zecchini 1995, 600-601 and 603; on this topic, see also the analysis of Timomachus' paintings in the temple of Venus Genetrix below), since this constituted one of the fundamental virtues of a good man of government (it was possessed by Scipio Aemilianus, considered as such by his supporters; see Cic., *Rep.*, 6, 12; Polyb., 31, 25, 8; for Scipio Aemilianus as a model for Caesar see Section 4.3.3). On the other hand, Nemesis was seen as the goddess of rightful vengeance and retribution, and in order to accomplish her task as guarantor of justice she was often helped by griffins (Fortea-Lopez 1994, 40-42). The presence of a symbol of this deity in the Forum of Caesar is particularly important in the frame of the function of the complex, aimed at the administration of justice (App., *B Civ*., 2, 102). Furthermore, Nemesis, being able to enter the Underworld, was also conceived as the protector of graves (Delplace 1980, 413). This

is particularly interesting if related to the discovery of Iron Age graves during the levelling works of the Forum (Delfino 2014, 138), and could constitute a reference to this funerary presence in the area (see also the section below for a connection between Venus and tombs).

Figure 5.12: Fragments of a cornice with simple meander (and reconstructive scheme) attributed to the Caesarian phase of the temple of Venus Genetrix.

Figure 5.13: Fragments and reconstruction of frieze with standing griffins watered by cupids in acanthus and divided by kantharoi, attributed to the Caesarian phase of the temple of Venus Genetrix.

Taking into account the friezes on the temple of Venus, with their representation of griffins watered by cupids in acanthus, it is important to point out that the latter figure, in relation to the Forum of Trajan, has been interpreted as referring to the Hellenistic origins of Eros, linked to Nemesis and Victoria, and it therefore celebrates the military victories of the emperor (Packer 1997, 278). Since the pattern of griffins watered by cupids has already been seen as a metaphor for the pacification of the East (the cupids tame the griffins; Ungaro and Milella 1995, 196), it is here maintained that this representation, in the context of Caesar's Forum, might refer either to his planned campaigns against the Parthians, or, more likely, to his victories in Asia. This metaphor is perhaps to be considered even more meaningful than in Trajan's Forum since Cupid was the son of Venus (Grafton *et al.* 2010, 244), progenitor of the *gens Iulia*: it might have therefore represented a more precise reference to *Caesar* conquering and pacifying the East, a theme that would have addressed the political attacks regarding an alleged will of the dictator to move to Alexandria or Ilium (Troy), bringing with him 'all the resources of the empire' (see Suet., *Iul.*, 79), but also an attack on the Pompeian propaganda that saw Pompey as the pacifier of the East (see 4.2.4).

5.1.2.3 Decoration: the meander

The presence of the simple meander in the decoration of the temple also merits careful consideration. In a recent article, Polito (2002) has analysed the significance of this pattern in Greek and Roman art, offering a very interesting interpretation of the meander as represented on the external wall of the Ara Pacis. His analysis starts from the observation that the motif of the single meander in the context of the Augustan art has not received much attention, in spite of its frequent presence in key-points of the structure of many Augustan monuments, sometimes with monumental proportions. He argues that it is difficult to think that a motif that possesses such prominent dimensions and visual relevance can only be decorative (Polito 2002, 91). He then lists some Augustan monuments where the meander has those characteristics – the Ara Pacis, the temple of Augustus in Ankara, that of Mars Ultor in Rome, one of the Augustan arches of the Roman Forum, the *Maison Carré* in Nîmes and probably the base of the niches with the statues of the *summi viri* and of the member if the *gens Iulia* in the forum of Augustus. Furthermore, even in the cases where the meander did not have a prominent position, he does not consider it to be a subordinate decorative motif; this is supported by the evidence in the image of a temple on a series of reliefs (the *Kitharödenreliefs*), where the building

Figure 5.14: Relief with Apolline Triad (Kitharödenrelief), 30-20 BC; Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

is represented as having two friezes, one of which is over dimensioned and presents a meander (Polito 2002, 95;fig. 5.14).

The use of the meander declined after the Augustan period, but it was very common before, from prehistory, to geometric pottery, Greek architecture, Etruscan and Italic terracotta architecture and painting from the archaic period, as well as in vases and other supports. During the late classical period the use of the meander increases again, and the motif is present in architecture, painting, mosaics, reliefs and pottery. In the Italian area, it is common between the 4th and 3rd century BC in terracotta decoration and painting, and, later, under Hellenistic influence, in second style painting and in the mosaics (Polito 2002, 96-99, with extensive bibliography in the footnotes). From this vast evidence, it is possible to identify some common but very specific characteristics, which can be interpreted only taking into account that, particularly in the Hellenistic-Roman period every single meaning which a particular shape could express might have been individually 'activated' on a specific work of art (or monument) in relation to its context and to necessities (Polito 2002, 100; on the 'activation' of the individual meanings, see Zanker 1999a, 40-48; 1999b, 119-131).

The meander is often present in relation to figurative texts, such as those of the archaic terracotta slabs of Cerveteri, or in the François tomb, or in other examples from the Etruscan and eastern-Mediterranean area (for example, the meander surrounding mosaic emblemata) (Polito 2002, 100). Concerning the meander in the mosaics, Polito (2002, 100-101, with bibliography) points to its recurrent presence around emblemata, as threshold or floor frame in the public areas of Hellenistic-Roman houses; some scholars (Strocka 1991, 106; De Vos, 1985, 84-85) interpreted it as a way of increasing the prestige of those rooms by its reference to antiquity. But how did the meander acquire such value?

Polito explains that the denomination 'meander' is ancient, but it is not the original one (Himmelmann 1968, 269): at the beginning, it was probably understood as the 'labyrinth'. The door of the labyrinth in Crete in pottery representations of Theseus' myth often has a meander frame, and on the coins of Cnossos the labyrinth is represented as a square meander (Polito 2002, 101; Kraay 1966, 346 and pl. 165; fig. 5.15). Polito reports other examples of this connection, among which one is particularly important for this thesis: in the House of the Labyrinth in Pompeii, dated to 70-60 BC, there is an emblem with Theseus and the Minotaur surrounded by a meander frame (Polito 2002, 102). He also notices that the labyrinth has been interpreted as the palace of the king (thus its value of prestige), and subsequently metaphor for the entire city (Cordano 1980, 7-15); probably for this reason, in Hellenistic floor mosaics the labyrinth is often associated with the city walls (Polito 2002, 102-103 with bibliography).

Although it is not the original one, the denomination 'meander' is nevertheless ancient, and it was associated with the river *Maíandros/Maeander* in Frisia. This is clear from the fact that many series of coins minted from the end of the 4th century BC by the cities along the river presented the meander motif, such as Apameia on the Meander (in this case it is particularly interesting that some coins struck in 88-40 BC present the river as a meander; Hoover 2012, 234 and 238-240; see fig. 5.16) or Magnesia (Kraay 1966, 357, coin 610 and plate 181-610; see fig. 5.17). It also has to be noted that in the latter city the temple of Artemis Leukophryene presents a meander motif around the walls of the cella, which has been interpreted as a reference to the river (Polito 2002, 105-106 with bibliography).

Subsequently, Polito analyses the types of figurative texts associated with the meander, and he isolates 1) myths connected to the Asiatic or Trojan context and 2) scenes that

Figure 5.15: staters from Cnossos, second half of 5th – half of the 4th century BC.

have their origin in the myth and in the Homeric epos, such as chariot races. It seems therefore that the motif was used, in the Hellenistic period, to emphasise the value of images and places and to suggest a relation with the epic tradition (Polito 2002, 106-108).

From this perspective, the meander sculpted on the Ara Pacis and under the niches of the Forum of Augustus might acquire the value of expressing, in parallel with the aulic nature of the monumental context, the connection with Asia Minor and, in particular, with the Trojan myth and the origins of the *gens Iulia*. Furthermore, in the Ara Pacis the motif

Figure 5.16: Brass coins from Apameia on the Meander. Struck around 88-40 BC.

Figure 5.17: Tetradrachm from Magnesia on the Meander; reverse. Around 150 BC.

could also be a reference to the labyrinth as image of the city, and thus to Rome (or to its boundaries), or, more simply, a reference to the river, and so be a symbol of fertility (Polito 2002, 108-109).

In the temple of Mars Ultor the meander could represent sacral delimitation, as it seems to denote the sacral character of places like the temple of Prinias, the Didymaion of Miletus and the tholos of Epidaurus (Polito 2002, 102 and 110); finally, the meander in the *Kitharödenreliefs*, in association with a temple that seems to be dedicated to Victoria, might refer to the chariot races and the notion of agonistic victory, metaphor of the military victory, pertaining to the success at Atium (Polito 2002, 110).

For these reasons, it seems plausible, as Polito concludes, that the motif of the meander, present in the archaic period, re-elaborated during the Hellenistic period, through which it arrived in Italy and was very often represented in the second style painting and contemporary mosaic, was re-used and perfected in Augustan art. The scholar also adds that those instances where the motif does not seem to have any meaning do not jeopardise his interpretation: it is possible that in some later examples the meander became an element conceived as part of an established decorative tradition which originated in Asia Minor (Polito 2002, 110-111).

To summarise, the scholar identifies a number of messages that could be conveyed by the meander:

- connection with the Trojan myths (Polito 2002, 103);
- a sacred boundary, therefore, in a metaphorical sense, the city walls or even the whole city (and in a Roman perspective, the limits of the *Roma quadrata*) (Polito 2002, 101-103);
- an association with chariot races, and so with agonistic victory, which was seen as a metaphor for military victory (Polito 2002, 110);
- since it derives its denomination from the winding of the river Meander in Frisia, it is therefore also a metaphor of the river (Polito 2002, 105).

He also highlights that the motif had been denominated 'meander' since the 4th century BC, and that it was particularly common during the Late Republic (Polito 2002, 105 and 110).

Before proceeding to the analysis of this pattern in the Forum of Caesar, one question needs to be asked: how many people could understand the meanings listed above? As mentioned, the meander was a motif commonly represented even on everyday objects and, as Polito points out, there were instances in which it began to be used just as a

decorative motif, without a precise semantic meaning. It might be sensible to suppose that at least the association of the meander/labyrinth with the myth of Theseus and the minotaur was widely understood, if one considers the inscription *Labyrinthus. Hic habitat Minotaurus* (CIL IV, 2331), associated with the sketch of a labyrinth, found in the peristyle of the house of the Lucretii (IX, 3, 5-24) in Pompeii (Fig. 5.18). The association

Figure 5.18: inscription and sketch of a labyrinth from the house of the Lucretii (IX, 3, 5-24) in Pompeii. The inscription reads: '*Labyrinthus. Hic habitat Minotaurus*', 'Labyrinth. Here lives the Minotaur'.

between the labyrinth and the palace of the king or the city might have been more difficult for a wide audience, and it could only have been made only by more educated people. Nevertheless, the idea that the presence of the meander motif underlined the prestige or antiquity of a location or of the themes represented could have been more common, if, as De Vos (1985, 84) emphasises, the motif was commonly present in frescoes and mosaics in the atria of the Roman domus and on public buildings. Finally, the association with the water of the river Meander might have been less obvious to people who had never see the coins from Asia Minor or had never heard of it.

In the context of the Forum of Caesar, the association of the meander on the cornice of the external peristasis of the temple of Venus with the myths of Troy and the figure of Aeneas - and thus with the Caesarian propaganda about the Trojan origins of the *Iulii* - has already been recognised (Maisto and Pinna Carboni 2010, 441). It might be added that if that was the position of this decoration, it would recall that of the peristasis of the temple of Mars Ultor in the later Forum of Augustus: the meander here is interpreted by

Polito as a sacred delimitation (Polito 2002, 110). If his hypothesis is correct, it might be inferred that if the meander is a metaphor of the city walls of Rome, then its presence on the temple of Venus in her connotation as Genetrix, the mother of the Roman people, could be particularly significant: the goddess, mother of the Roman people, was surrounded by the transposition of the sacred boundaries of the *Roma quadrata*, the very first city limit following Romulus' foundation rites.

As mentioned above, in relation to the Ara Pacis the connotation of the meander as a river has been interpreted by Polito (2002, 109-110) as a reference to the fertility brought by water, and therefore to the golden age brought by the reign of Augustus. This connection with water would be compatible with the ideological programme displayed in the Forum of Caesar: Delfino (2010c) has highlighted some strong references to water that seem to characterise certain aspects of the complex. The first one is the presence of shells, discovered at the bottom of the Caesarian fill of a cistern, of a late-archaic pit and of some iron-age tombs cut by the Caesarian levelling works in the Forum area (Delfino 2010c, 169-172): the offering of shells to Venus and to the Nymphs is widely attested in the Greek-Roman world, also in connection to tombs, because of their link to the feminine sphere and to its connotation of regeneration (see Delfino 2010c, 173 and footnotes 15 and 16 for references). The deposition of these shells has been described as intentional, particularly as a ritual offering to maintain the *pax deorum* after the disturbances caused by the works in an area that previously hosted tombs and flowing water (Delfino 2010c, 174). All these characteristics acquire a clearer meaning if relationed to the presence of places connected to water in the area surrounding the Forum of Caesar: the source of the *Tullianum* and the nearby *Porta Fontinalis*, close to the *aedes fontis*, and the cult of Venus Cloacina next to the comitium, near which lay the spring of *Lautolae* (Delfino 2010c, 174-176). Furthermore, it is notable that a derivation of the *Aqua Marcia* most probably passed behind the temple of Venus Genetrix (Tortorici 1993, 21; see also Cattalini 1993, 68-69 and Delfino 2014, 250) (Fig. 5.19). It seems clear then that the Forum of Caesar has been properly inserted in a context strongly characterised by the presence of water and of the cults and rites associated with it; it is also interesting to note that Caesar himself, in his capacity of *pontifex maximus*, had a connection with the management of waters and of the cults related to them and their underworld deities (Delfino 2010c, 177-178; Piccialuga 2010). In this context, the presence of the temple of Venus Genetrix, of fountains (whose chronology has not yet been established) in front of it, dedicated to the

nymphs Appiades, and of other fountains inside the square and probably against the external wall of its south-eastern side (see Gazetteer entry: *Forum Caesaris*; Delfino 2014, 160-161) acquires a clear meaning and could most probably find its justification in the historical sacral aquatic connotation of the area (Delfino 2010c, 179) (see fig. 5.19). Hence, there is scope to hypothesise that, if the meander cornice was indeed part of the decoration of the temple, this could also have constituted a symbol of the religious and environmental context.

Polito has also noted the possible association of the meander with military victory. At the temple of Venus Genetrix this aspect is less evident, but it is here supposed that it might be extant nonetheless. To understand this, we must consider what Appian says about the vow and dedication of the temple: in fact, he narrates how, on the night before the battle of Pharsalus, Caesar invoked Mars and Venus, and vowed a temple to the latter with the epithet of Victrix (the Bringer of Victory) if everything went well (App., *B Civ*., 2, 68); however, shortly afterwards, describing the quadruple triumph of 46 BC, Appian refers to the goddess as Genetrix (*B Civ.*, 2, 102). It has already been observed that Caesar's vow resembles a rite of *evocatio* (Orlin 2007, 69): one can think of the rite performed by Scipio Africanus (who was one of the models of Caesar - see Section 4.3.3) in front of the city walls of Carthage, where the general invoked the gods protecting the city and vowed to build temples and institute games for them in Rome (Macr., *Sat.*, 3, 9, 8). While we do not possess any elements that suggest that Caesar did perform an *evocatio*, it is interesting to note that, when he dedicated the temple, he also established games in honour of Venus Genetrix (App., *B Civ.*, 3, 28; Cass. Dio, 45, 6, 4); even more curious is the fact that these games, as Schilling (1954, 315) highlighted, were either called *ludi Veneris Genitricis* (or *Aphrodites Geneteiras*) (App., *B Civ.*, 3, 28; Plin., *HN*, 2, 23, 93; Obseq., 68; see also Cass. Dio, 45, 6, 4), or *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* (games of Caesar's Victory) (Suet., *Aug.*, 10, 2; Inscr. Ital. XIII, 2 (1963) 47. 78. 92. 178-179. 188-189. 486.). The scholar therefore affirms that the traits of Victoria (Victory), and also of Felicitas (characteristic of the victorious general), had been spontaneously absorbed by Venus Genetrix (Schilling 1954, 314), and it is notable that Caesar decided to perform both the dedication of the temple of Venus (and of the rest of the forum) and the institution of the games during the last part of his triumph in 46 BC.

In order to understand the importance of this point it is helpful to consider Scheid's (1983) analysis of Roman religion. Examining its development during the late Republic, he

Figure 5.19: Reconstruction plan of the Forum of Caesar (first phase), which shows the hydraulic system of the complex (adduction system in blue; outflow system in red).

points out that one of the main religious problems in that period of civil wars was the manipulation of the state religion on the part of the different parties that were struggling for power (Scheid 1983, 130-131); he subsequently explains that even if the fundamental

principles of this religion and the function of its cults remained the same, every faction possessed its own 'religion' and especially its own cult, that distinguished it from the others and around which that group was organised (Scheid 1983, 132). The origin of this mechanism lay in the need of the individual leaders to legitimise their position (Scheid 1983, 133). Caesar was the first one to try and recreate the unity of the public cult (Scheid 1983, 134), and from the analysis that has been carried out so far it seems that he intended to do this by incorporating and absorbing the cults of his political antagonists in his personal cult of Venus, further legitimised by the fact that his *gens* had been generated by that goddess. This also means that, because of this divine descent and of the consequent benevolence of Venus, Caesar 'stole', or, better, 'reclaimed' the protection of the goddess, worshipped by Pompey as Victrix; she rewarded the future dictator by granting him the victory at Pharsalus.

Figure 5.20: Denarii minted by Caesar in 46-45 BC (1: RRC 468/1; 2: RRC 468/2)

Returning therefore to the motif of the meander on the temple's decoration, it is here believed that it is plausible to identify in it the last meaning isolated by Polito, the reference to military victory (which, as said before, derived from the agonistic victory, notably in the chariot races, that are part of the Roman *ludi*), both in connection to Caesar's triumphs over Gaul, Africa and Asia but particularly to his victory against Pompey, for which he could not explicitly celebrate a triumphal ceremony.

Westall (1996, 99-109) is very critical of this ambiguous and undifferentiated use of the epithets *Genetrix* and *Victrix* for Caesar's Venus; yet it is not very clear why he dismisses Appian's account of the vow of the temple to Venus Victrix as a mistake (Westall 1996, 106) and subsequently affirms that the denomination of the games established by Caesar as *ludi Veneris Genitricis* - referred to by more than one source - is simply due to a common source (identified as Livy) or to a reference to the place and to the moment in which the games were established (Westall 1996, 108). It is here maintained that these variances in the epithet of the goddess further testify to the fact that, at some point, most probably after Pharsalus, Caesar's Venus *became* Genetrix and absorbed the characteristics of Pompey's (and Sulla's) Venus Victrix (for the reasons explained above); indeed, one should observe how on two coins struck in 46-45 BC Caesar represents Venus on one side and a trophy on the other (RRC 468/1-2; fig. 5.20), and that similarly Cassius Dio (43, 43, 3) refers to Caesar's signet ring representing Venus adorned with weapons. These attributes seem more typical of a Venus Victrix; the fact that, some years later, a Venus clearly identified as Genetrix on an aureus of Hadrian (RE3, 307, n.529; see also Westall 1996, 110; fig. 5.21) is represented bearing weapons might further point to an incorporation of Venus Victrix' attributes by Venus Genetrix.

Figure 5.21: Aureus minted by Hadrian in 128-132 AD (RE3, 307, n. 529)

5.1.2.4 Aedes Veneris Genetricis

The fact that the temple, as the focal point of the entire forum, might not have been conceived in the same form that it had afterwards and that it might have been dedicated to a Venus who was not yet *Genetrix* has been suggested more than once (Delfino 2014, 249 and 183 f. 909 for further references). The turning point in Caesar's decision is placed at the battle of Pharsalus - the moment in which the general's politics towards the Senate and the Republic changed. As explained above, Delfino (2010c) has underlined the strong connection between the area of the forum of Caesar and the presence of water (and of the cults related to it), which might have eventually provided the best justification for Caesar's decision to build a monument dedicated to Venus in the area (Delfino 2014, 250). This characteristic, together with the presence of fountains in the square (see Gazetteer entry: *Forum Caesaris*) and of the slope of the saddle between Capitoline and Quirinal hill, which, according to Delfino, might have been articulated in terraces with niches where the temple to Venus could have been inserted, has led Delfino to hypothesise that the aspect of this side of the forum could have had a visual effect similar to the theatre and temple *in summa cavea* of Pompey's complex (Delfino 2014, 251). Furthermore, it might be reminiscent of the architectural typology of the nymphaea (Delfino 2014, 251; see also Gros 1976, 142); this is a characteristic that was maintained in the final (or post-Pharsalus) project of the forum, since, as Amici has demonstrated (Amici 1991, 42-46), the western side of the forum presented two apses at the end of the northern and southern porticoes and two smaller apses in the spaces between the porticoes and the temple; furthermore, the temple was included inside the saddle behind it for half its length (Ulrich 1993, 62). Nevertheless, this five-apse (including that of the temple; see Gazetteer entry: *Forum Caesaris*) system did not have a strong visual impact on the people who entered the forum, since the porticoes' apses were hidden by the columns and the temple apse could not be seen from the outside (Amici 1991, 45).

The aspect of the western side of the forum of Caesar could therefore have been conceived, at least at the beginning, as a structure similar to a nymphaeum; nevertheless, it is here considered dubious that the whole construction looked like it had been 'inserted' inside the slopes of the Capitoline and Quirinal hill and of the saddle between them. In fact, according to the reconstruction of the complex that has been suggested by scholars, the temple reached a height of 26 m (Amici 1991, 97) and the porticoes were almost 20 m high (Delfino 2014, 158): this means that, according to the reconstruction of the slope

height from which the cut for the forum proceeded (between 18-20 m above sea level; Delfino 2014, 44), the buildings might have obscured the view from the square to the saddle behind the temple and, at least partly, to the slope of the Capitoline hill behind the tabernae, particularly because, according to recent studies (Delfino 2014, 136) the floor level of the Forum is at 14 m above sea level. Nevertheless, the temple was surely presented as recessed in the north-western side of the forum.

5.1.2.5 Works of art in the temple: statues and gems

The sources report that the temple of Venus was used by Caesar for meetings with the Senate (Liv., *perioch*., 116; Suet., *Iul*., 78, 1; Cass. Dio, 44, 8, 1-2), which were most probably held in the pronaos, or in the cella (when Caesar received the Senate there in 44 BC, he was probably sitting in the axial intercolumnation of the pronaos: Gros 1996, 307). It has in fact been pointed out during the last excavations that the podium of the temple of Venus Genetrix was 1.40 m shorter than that of the present structure, implying that the landing between the two staircases on the sides and the central one was only 1.10 m wide (Delfino 2014, 150 f. 684), therefore there was insufficient space to accommodate a Senate meeting. Inside the cella Caesar had placed various works of art: first of all, the cult statue of Venus Genetrix, which had been sculpted by Archesilaos and was not finished at the moment of the inauguration of the complex (Plin., *HN,* 35, 45, 155-156). It has been hypothesised that this statue was initially made of terracotta, a feature that might be connected to the revival of Roman tradition typical of Caesarian propaganda (La Rocca 1995, 50). Unfortunately, the iconography of the statue is not known, even if some hypotheses have been put forward, particularly thanks to the numismatic iconography of Venus Genetrix: for example, a coin minted by M. Mettius in 44 BC, representing Venus holding a Victory with her right hand and a shield with her left hand, with a spear resting on her left shoulder (Westall 1996, 110; see RRC 480, 3-4; fig. 5.22). It has also been suggested that a coin minted by the *tresvir monetalis* Mn. Cordius Rufus in 46 BC carries the initial iconography of Venus, holding in her right hand a scale instead of a Victory (Westall 1996, 110; RRC 463, 1a; fig. 5.23). On other occasions the iconography of the statue has been put in connection with that of a statue of Venus exhibited at the Louvre museum (Tortorici 1991, 112, f. 283 and 113, fig. 61; accepted by Meneghini 2009, 45 f. 23; see fig. 5.24).

Figure 5.22: 1: Denarius minted by M. Mettius in 44 BC (RRC 480/3); 2: Denarius minted by L. Aemilius Buca in 44 BC (RRC 480/4)

Figure 5.23: Denarius minted by Mn. Cordius Rufus in 46 BC (RRC 463/1a)

Figure 5.24: Statue of Venus identified as reflecting the iconography of the statue of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Nevertheless, Caesar decorated the temple with other works of art, whose ideological significance is not always easy to read. As Westall has emphasized, according to Pliny Caesar dedicated a cuirass made of pearls in the temple, and took care to explain its origin by means of an inscription (Plin., *HN*, 9, 57, 116): this was clearly a visual representation of his victorious (at least according to his *Commentarii*) campaigns to Britain, and a response to Pompey's parading of a bust of himself, made of pearls, during his triumph in 61 (Westall 1996, 90-91; see Plin., *HN*, 37, 14-16). Furthermore, it has been pointed out (Flory 1988, 499) that, during his triumph in 46 BC, Caesar paraded a statue of

captivus Oceanus (the captured Ocean; Flor., 2, 13, 88): since pearls were seen as a product of the Ocean (see Tac., *Agr.*, 12), the cuirass represented the weapon 'stripped' from the enemy and then offered as part of the *spolia* in the temple of the goddess that had granted victory (moreover, the pearls were a particularly appropriate offer to Venus; Flory 1988, 500 f. 12). Flory (1988, 500) also highlights that, celebrating a triumph over Ocean, Caesar claimed to have surpassed the achievements of Pompey and Alexander the Great.

Another comparison with Pompey, but favourable to Caesar, must have been cast when looking at the six *dactylothecae*, the collections of engraved gems, which the temple hosted; their purpose might have been the celebration of Caesar's victory at Alexandria, but they also served as a reminder of the dedication of one of them, that had been owned by the king Mithridates VI, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by Pompey (Westall 1996, 91; see Plin., *HN*, 37, 5, 11).

Appian (*B civ*., 2, 102) affirms that the dictator also put a golden or gold statue of Cleopatra in the temple, but, following Westall's opinion (Westall 1996, 92; see also Delfino 2014, 4), Cassius Dio's statement about the dedication of the statue by Augustus during his triumph in 29 BC is preferred (Cass. Dio, 51, 22, 3).

The cuirass and the *dactylothecae* were most likely part of Caesar's propagandistic programme. It is particularly important that Caesar decided to dedicate them in the temple of his own patron goddess, inside a complex that he inaugurated on the last day of his quadruple triumph (Cass. Dio, 22, 3), and that, in the case of the cuirass, he took care of pointing out their Britannic origin (perhaps by means of an inscription; see above). This would already be sufficient to attribute to the objects a propagandistic value of celebration of Caesar's victories; but the clear parallel cast with Pompey's pearl portrait and *dactylotheca* seems to confer to the dedication of these two objects a more politically charged character, particularly after Caesar's victory at Pharsalus and in view of his shortly following campaign against the Pompeians in Spain (see Appendix A: Chronology Table).

5.1.2.6 Works of art in the temple: the pinakes of Ajax and Medea

Pliny also informs us that Caesar dedicated two *tabulae*, painted by Timomachos of Byzanthium and representing Ajax and Medea, for which he paid 80 talents (Plin., *HN*,

7, 38, 126; 35, 8, 26 and 136). The interpretation of these paintings is difficult, since we know little about the iconography of the painting with Ajax and nothing about the one with Medea (see below for modern theories); furthermore, it is not possible to know if other paintings were present in the temple, a factor that would affect any attempt of interpretation. Very little is known about Timomachos – Pliny (*HN*, 35, 40, 136) cites some of his works, praising their quality, and says that he was a contemporary of Caesar; this last statement has been disputed by the vast majority of the scholars, who place him in the Hellenistic period (Brunn 1859, 280-282; Sauron 2001, 188-189 with bibliography). In the same passage, Pliny also informs us that Caesar paid 80 talents for the paintings. It might therefore be that the dictator put them in the temple because of the fame of their painter, or because they were fine works of art; Schilling (1954, 313, f. 1) maintained that these two paintings only had a decorative purpose. It has to be noted, however, that Pliny (*HN*, 35, 8, 26) explicitly says that Caesar was the first one to give great public importance to pictures by dedicating those two *pinakes* in the temple of Venus. He then mentions Agrippa, reporting that there was a speech by him on the importance of making all statues and pictures national property, instead of 'hiding' them in private residences. I agree with Bounia (2004, 201) that in so doing Pliny attributes to art a political power.

One might also argue that the location of the dedication - the temple of the patron goddess of the *gens Iulia* -, the strong triumphal character of the complex and the historical moment in which its inauguration took place (after the defeat of Pompey and Caesar's appointment to his first dictatorship) could point to a more elaborate interpretation. Two other elements might be added. First, the association of the subject of Ajax with that of Medea might not be a coincidence: we know in fact that those two characters were also associated in a couple of paintings in Cyzicus (Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 4, 135). These cannot be the paintings that Caesar bought (Sauron 2001, 189; *contra* Westall 1996, 93), because Pliny (*HN*, 35, 8, 26) reports that it was Agrippa who bought a picture of Ajax (which we might presume is the same as the one mentioned by Cicero) from the city of Cyzicus, together with one of Venus, but it is interesting that the two characters of Ajax and Medea seem to be associated in some way (although it is difficult to say what meaning this might have had). Secondly, the factor of allegorical reading has to be taken into account. Allegorical representations were common in the Roman world, for example in the images carried during the triumphal processions and in the personifications of Roman provinces, but this

type of reading also implies the question of broader cultural and historical connections that might be made by more educated individuals (Rutledge 2012, 88-90).

Therefore, the artistic value of the paintings and the fame of their creator certainly played a role in Caesar's choice, demonstrating his taste for Greek art and his desire of making it public (already a political statement by itself). Nevertheless, other reasons, connected to the choice of those particular subjects and the conceivable associations that they might suggest, might have been also extant; some possible interpretations are here presented.

Figure 5.25: Fresco from Herculaneum, representing Medea planning the murder of her children, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 8976.

Westall (1996, 93-98), Sauron (2001) and Harris (2002) have convincingly argued that if Caesar had decided to locate these two works of art inside the temple of his protector goddess, they must have expressed some sort of message (Westall 1996, 93; Sauron 2001, 188, Harris 2002, 21). We know from the sources that the *pinax* depicting Ajax represented him seated, worn out and mad, contemplating his suicide (Philostr., *VA*, 2, 22; Ov., *Tr*., 2, 525); Sauron points out that the fact that the hero was described as being afflicted and meditative might suggest that he was represented in the pose of melancholy and meditation (that is, with his head on his right hand; Sauron 2001, 189). As far as the painting with Medea is concerned, we do not possess any precise description (Pliny just says that it was unfinished: Plin., *HN*, 35, 40, 145), but the written sources describe her as being torn by the contrasting feelings of her rage and jealousy against Jason and of her love and pity for her children (*Anth. Plan.*, IV, 135; 136; 138; 139). This description had led many scholars to identify an influence of Timomachus' painting in the representations of Medea which can be found in Herculaneum or in the house of the Dioscures in Pompeii (see, for example, Harris 2002, 22; figg. 5.25 and 5.26), whereas Sauron (2001, 189) compares them with the iconography in the fresco of the house of Jason in Pompeii, where

Figure 5.26: Fresco from the house of Dioscures in Pompeii, representing Medea planning the murder of her children, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 8977.

Figure 5.27: Fresco from the house of Jason in Pompeii, representing Medea seating and looking at her children, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 114321.

Medea is represented as seated, holding a sword with her left arm and holding her head with her right hand (gesture of melancholy) (fig. 5.27). According to Sauron this hypothesis is seen as significant particularly because of the fact that it would mean that the two protagonists of the paintings were represented in the same pose (Sauron 2001, 189). In this respect Sauron emphasises that Ovid, who most probably refers to these two paintings, points out their unity of style, particularly in the representation of the wrath of the protagonists (Ov., *Tr.*, 2, 525-527).

Various interpretations have been given of the iconography of these pictures and their meaning in the frame of the temple of Venus Genetrix and of Caesarian ideology. On one level, Sauron agrees with Arcellaschi that Medea and Ajax recall the confrontation between the Eastern and the Western world (a theme that, as it has been seen above, might be also present on the temple's frieze), and that Medea in particular could represent the

possibility of alliance between them (Sauron 2001, 192; Arcellaschi 1990, 218). Nevertheless, he deepens the analysis and recognises that the common feature of the two characters is that they were both the victims of a terrible *iniquitas*, the ingratitude of other people (the Achaeians for Ajax and Jason for Medea), and that this feature puts them in a relationship with Caesar (Sauron 2001, 192-193). The general, in fact, repeatedly states that he was driven to begin a civil war because of the *iniquitas*, *iniuria* and *invidia* of his adversaries (Caes., *B Civ.*, 1, 6 and 8; see Sauron 2001, 193), therefore *non sua voluntate*. The two paintings in his temple would therefore recall the tragedy of the civil war; however, they also underline that Caesar did not respond to his enemies' offense with an uncontrollable madness, but by putting his faith in Venus, who allowed him to win the battle of Pharsalus (Sauron 2001, 198).

Westall's interpretation of the presence of Medea is very similar: he highlights the theme of Medea's betrayal and not only hypothesises a parallel between Pompey and Jason, but also one between Medea's part in the destruction of her brother Apsyrtos and Pompey's defeat by Caesar (Westall 1996, 97). As far as Ajax is concerned, the scholar focuses his attention on a very interesting point: the reaction of Pompey after his defeat at Pharsalus was often compared by the sources with the behaviour of Ajax contemplating suicide (Plut., *Pomp.*, 72, 1-3; App., *B Civ.*, 2, 81, 339; see Westall 1996, 95), and therefore the painting depicting the hero could bear a reference to Pompey's defeat. Ajax' story was known by the Romans through the tragedies represented in the theatre, for example the *Aiax Mastigophorus* (the 'Ajax punisher of himself') of Livius Andronicus, which was probably derived from the *Ajax* of Sophocles (Manuwald 2011, 192). If the comparison between Ajax' and Pompey's reaction was already made during the Late Republic, this could have been an interesting reference to recent events: it was not uncommon for the Romans, in fact, to make immediate associations between myth and current affairs (Rutledge 2012, 232, f. 34; see Cicero's attack on Clodia using a comparison with Medea in *Cael.*, 18).

The theme of the uncontrollable reaction is also recognised by Harris, who sees Ajax and Medea as symbols of wrath (Harris 2002, 25), and relates this to the debate on the control of passions on the part of men of government, which was particularly lively during the Late Republic (Harris 2002, 25-28). Caesar had always tried to present himself as a controlled person (Harris 2002, 26), and this attitude was the basis on which the image of Caesar as promoter of *Clementia* was built (Harris 2002, 28), a characteristic that found

its philosophical origin in the aforementioned debate (Harris 2002, 25). It is, however, not very clear why the connection between Caesar and these symbols of wrath constituted a guarantee of the use of *Clementia* by the dictator, as the scholar argues (Harris 2002, 29).

Nevertheless, these three interpretations, if correct, might be considered in relation to one another, if the pictures are interpreted together with the context in which they had been placed. The location of the paintings inside the temple and the consequent presence of the cult statue of Venus Genetrix (with all the implications of the choice of this epithet analysed above) might give, in my opinion, a key to understanding the ideology behind them. The fact that Caesar put his faith in the goddess who subsequently granted him the victory at Pharsalus is not the only reason why the dictator did not behave like Ajax and Medea: in fact, Venus, as already pointed out, was considered the progenitor of the *gens Iulia*, and Caesar had therefore a good reason to be preferred to Pompey. Apart from being connected to the erotic sphere, Venus was also the goddess who induced the prevailing of sentiments over reason (Maisto and Vitti 2009, 73); nevertheless, in spite of this, Caesar's behaviour after the civil war (and, more broadly, the strong control over emotions that he had always showed, the *temperantia*), including his *Clementia*, showed that he was in complete control of himself, and this implied (in relation to the aforementioned debate on the necessity of control over passions by men of government) that he truly was the right person to rule the State.

Rutledge (2012, 231) recently suggested another possible reading of the figure of Ajax: it was in fact possible that the hero's suicide recalled that of Cato in 46 BC; that event had in fact struck the Roman opinion, so much that people showed their grief when, during his triumph, Caesar showed a painting depicting Cato's death (App., *B Civ.*, 2, 101).

Another possible metaphorical interpretation of the paintings can be suggested: Ajax and Medea might also be a metaphor of the two choices that were presented to Caesar just before crossing the Rubicon: a civil war (Medea killing her children) or a political 'suicide' (Ajax; see what Suetonius makes Caesar say after Pharsalus: 'This is what they wanted! After having accomplished all these glorious deeds, I, Gaius Caesar, would have been condemned, if I had not resorted to the help of my troops!'; Suet., *Iul.*, 33; see also Plut., *Caes.*, 46).

5.1.2.7 Works of art in the Forum: statues

At least two other statues were placed in the square by the will of Caesar. The first one was publicly (Plut., *Brut*., 14, 2) dedicated to him (Plin., *HN*, 34, 10, 18) and has been identified with the *statua loricata divi Iuli* where the *senatusconsultum* of 52 AD had been hung (Cadario 2006, 33 with references; see Plin., *Ep*., 8, 6, 13). This statue was most probably related to the temple of Venus, establishing a parallel, as will be seen, with the Pompeian complex in the Campus Martius (Westall 1996, 92; Cadario 2006, 33; Delfino 2014, 182): in fact, it was most probably located in the niche formed by the two foreparts of the south-eastern short side of the Forum (Delfino 2014, 182), if dedicated in 46 BC, or was anyway meant to be on that side of the Forum even after its enlargement, if dedicated later in 45 BC (see Cadario 2006, 34 about the chronology of the statue). It is interesting that Pliny refers to it as the first cuirassed statue in Rome, a statement to be interpreted as referring to the fact that it was the first one to be dedicated *inside* the pomerium (Cadario 2006, 34); this characteristic was most probably due to Caesar's status of *imperator* as promoter of the Forum (Cadario 2006, 33; this is the reason for considering this statue in the present research, even if it was not personally dedicated by Caesar). Cadario also points out that even if the iconography of a cuirassed statue might refer to that of the Hellenistic kings, it nevertheless found a close element of comparison in Rome in the representation of Romulus, for whom the cuirass was a customary feature (Cadario 2006, 35, with references). Unfortunately, the real aspect of the statue is unknown; the only existing ancient cuirassed statue of Caesar, similar to one found in the Forum of Trajan, is dated to the Trajanic period, and it is said to have been found in the Forum of Caesar (the information cannot unfortunately be verified; Cadario 2006, 35). It is nevertheless interesting that the cuirass shows at its centre two facing griffins, which, as already discussed above, were an iconographic theme not only of the Forum of Trajan but also of the Forum of Caesar.

Inside the square of his Forum Caesar also dedicated a bronze equestrian statue, that represented himself mounting his horse; this statue was located in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix (Suet., *Iul*., 61, 1; Plin., *HN*, 8, 64, 155) and is described by Statius in relation to the equestrian statue of Domitian in the Roman Forum (Stat., *Silv*., 1, 1, 84-90). It was originally a statue of Lysippus representing Alexander the Great mounting his horse Bucephalus, but the head of Alexander was substituted with that of Caesar (Cadario 2006, 35). Doubts have been raised about the identity of the statue described by Statius

and the one described by Suetonius and Pliny, who only talk about a horse; some scholars, therefore, state that Lysippus' statue of Alexander only represented Bucephalus, and that Caesar added his own statue (Moreno 1981, 202; Morselli 1995, 300 with references; Meneghini 2009, 46). In both cases, the exact iconography of the statue is unknown; nevertheless, a hypothesis about its type has been put forward by Delfino (Delfino *et al*. 2010), who has identified a part of the base of the equestrian statue of Caesar in five marble fragments pertaining to a long-shaped pedestal crowning. These fragments are characterised by the presence of recesses for iron clamps, whose mutual position would be compatible with the presence of an equestrian bronze statue, with a horse 4.90 m long from head to tail, 3.35 m high up to the withers and leaning on three legs; the whole monument would have been 7.50 m high (Delfino *et al*. 2010, 352-353; fig. 5.28). The statue therefore represented a knight mounting a walking horse (Delfino *et al.* 2010, 353), facing the temple (Delfino 2014, 182), and corresponding to the iconographical tradition of late-republican equestrian statues (Delfino *et al.* 2010, 361; fig. 5.29). The identification of the pedestal fragments with those pertaining to Caesar's statue is strongly suggested by the presence of a large spoliation pit on the middle axis of the square, 27 m from the temple of Venus Genetrix, which might have hosted the pedestal (Delfino *et al.* 2010, 353).

The use of a Hellenistic statue by Caesar as imperator fits perfectly in the late Republican Roman tradition, as does the practice of replacing the faces of the statues (Delfino 2014, 252); these characteristics, together with the probable iconography of the statue, are appropriate in the frame of Caesar's propaganda of revival and respect of traditions (see Delfino 2014, 253). It has also been underlined that, contrary to what was previously thought (for example, La Rocca 1995, 38), this statue is not to be considered an example of *imitatio Alexandri* but would place Caesar on a par with the Hellenistic king, if not in a position of superiority. In fact, this statue was most probably dedicated in 46 BC, on the occasion of Caesar's triumph (Cadario 2006, 36), and it was perhaps part of the spoils brought to Rome (Cadario 2006, 27 and 36) after the defeat of Alexandria in 47 BC (*Bell. Alex*., 32; Plut., *Caes*., 49, 9; Cass. Dio, 42, 43). The replacement of the face of Alexander, founder of the conquered city, with that of its conqueror (or the placement of Caesar's statue on Bucephalus) might have therefore symbolised his superiority over the great Hellenistic king (Cadario 2006, 37; see also Gruen 1998, 188). Cadario suggests that the statue celebrated Caesar's triumph in Alexandria, but it might have also recalled a similar

Figure 5.28: Fragments of a pedestral crowning pertaining to the base of the equestrian statue of the Forum of Caesar.

cuirassed equestrian statue of Alexander as the founder of that city, casting a parallel with Caesar as new founder of Rome (Cadario 2006, 36-37).

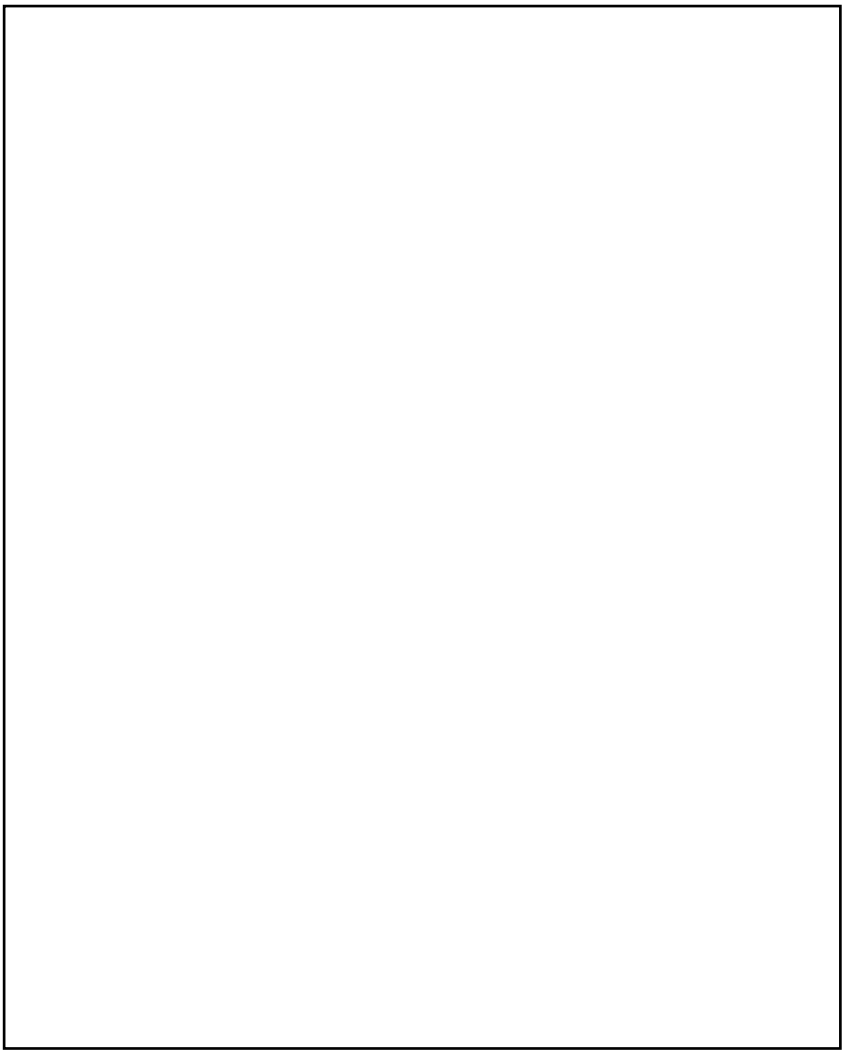

Figure 5.29: Schematic reconstructive section of the equestrian statue of the Forum of Caesar.

Finally, Suetonius says that at its birth Caesar's horse was seen by the augurs as a sign of his owner's supremacy in the world (Suet., *Iul*., 61); this horse was similar to Alexander's Bucephalus (La Rocca 1995, 38) that, according to the tradition, was born in Pharsalus (Plin., *HN*, 8, 154). Since the horse represented in the statue could be alternatively seen either as Caesar's own horse, or as Bucephalus, it might therefore be tempting to see in the statue a further reference to Caesar's victories, particularly to that in the civil war: the victory 'born' at Pharsalus sanctioned the dictator's supremacy. Considering that Pompey the Great continuously made references to his resemblance to Alexander the Great, the ideology of overcoming the great commander might also imply an allusion to Pompey's defeat.

5.1.2.8 Changing propaganda

It is now possible to present some preliminary conclusions about the ideology that was behind the structures of the Forum of Caesar. From the start of the works to Caesar's death the character of the complex seems to have changed at least three times, mirroring the frantic historical and political events that characterised the central years of the first century BC (Delfino 2014, 183; see Appendix A: Chronology Table). The first idea of Caesar was most probably to build a *monumentum* that did not include a new Senate house nor a temple dedicated to Venus Genetrix; after Pharsalus the complex possessed a stronger dynastic connotation, and finally, in January 44 BC, the permission to build a new curia was granted by the Senate (Cass. Dio, 44, 5,1), strengthening the authoritarian character of the complex. Delfino (2014, 177-183) has analysed the architectural models that constituted the cultural basis of the structure of the forum, underlining the importance of the example of the Pompeian complex in the Campus Martius, with which Caesar's monument was competing (Delfino 2014, 182); a reference to the Hellenistic scenographical architecture, similar to that of the sanctuaries in Latium (Delfino 2014, 182) is here considered less likely, for the reasons explained above, but it is possible to share the view of a strong similarity with the two *porticus* of the southern Campus Martius (*porticus Metelli* and *Octavia*) (Delfino 2014, 179 and 182).

As often noted, the Forum of Caesar had strong propagandistic and self-celebratory features (see, for example, Zanker 1984, 9; La Rocca 2001, 185-186; La Rocca 2006, 124; Delfino 2014, 178); the question is what was the evolution, from the start of the works to the dedication of the complex, of the propaganda that was meant to be expressed there. It is important to remember that only after the dedication of the temple of Venus Genetrix did the Forum acquire the aspect of a *temenos* for the cult of the goddess (Gros 1996, 212; La Rocca 2001, 186, Delfino 2014, 178). After the considerations presented above, it is possible to recognise some themes that closely follow Caesarian propaganda, as outlined in Section 4.3, and how these themes were modified or became more or less important in relation to one another. Furthermore, it seems clear that the complex expressed a series of different messages that could be understood on different levels: some of them were evident, and could most probably be grasped by the majority of people who frequented the square, whereas others were likely meant to be read and understood by a smaller and specific group, who also possessed the education and knowledge of politics

that was necessary to decrypt them. The crux is to understand the reasons for the presence of these messages and therefore, in modern terms, their 'target audience'.

As Cicero's letter reports, in 54 BC Caesar presented his project of the Forum as an extension of the Roman Forum, and in the light of this it is possible to justify the juridical function that this new space acquired and to frame it within Caesar's projects of the promotion of new public political spaces (together with the Saepta in the Campus Martius). From the point of view of propaganda, this characteristic appears to be connected to the desire of Caesar to present himself as the guarantor of justice, also in relation to his role as *pontifex maximus*, and in the light of the shaky alliance with Pompey. In a broader frame, this allowed him to present himself as the right person (or as the leader of the right faction) for government. This message is expressed through the decoration of the porticoes and of the temple, in which, as it has been seen, the griffins have to be read as a symbol and as the aides of Nemesis, the goddess who assured justice. The many references to water which can already be connected to this initial phase of the complex can also indicate that, most probably, a place for the cult of Venus had already been planned, as suggested by Delfino (Delfino 2014, 251): this characteristic, in connection with the established presence of places and cults connected to water in the surrounding area, might express Caesar's pursuit of the necessary legitimation for the presence of this large complex in such a central area of the city. In this way, while justifying the presence of Venus, he clearly fulfilled the propagandistic aim of celebrating the *gens Iulia*: in fact, the first mention of its divine origin had been made, according to the sources, by Caesar already in 69 BC, when he delivered a speech on the occasion of the funeral of his aunt Julia (Plut., *Caes.*, 5, 2; Suet., *Iul.*, 6). Aside from this, it is interesting to note that on that occasion Caesar also highlighted the descent of his aunt (and therefore of his father) from the *Marcii Reges*, and consequently from the king Ancus Marcius: it is a curious coincidence that a part of the *Aqua Marcia* passed just behind the north-western side of the Caesarian complex (see p. 151).

In 52 BC, when the curia Hostilia and the basilica Porcia burnt down, according to Suetonius the works in the Forum began. Delfino (2014, 249) identified the possibility that, after having had the opportunity to connect the curia with his square, the dictator aimed to recreate the relationship that had existed between the curia Hostilia and the basilica Porcia (that similarly had a juridical function; D'Alessio 2010, 58) before the fire of 52 BC; it might nevertheless be possible that this intention had already been present

immediately after that event: it is not possible to know if Caesar already aimed to connect the Senate house to his complex, but even in the case of a reconstruction in the same place as the old curia Hostilia, the relation between the two buildings must have been evident.

In the following years (or perhaps already from 52, when Caesar's candidacy *in absentia* for the consulate of 49 BC had just been overwhelmingly approved; see Raauflaub 2010a, 147), the Forum of Caesar seems to acquire the characteristics of a triumphal monument in a more defined way. It is important to consider that the complex was most probably conceived as a gift *ex manubiis* by the victorious general to the Senate and the Roman people (Zanker 2008, 74; see Suet., *Iul.*, 26, 2). As highlighted before, this feature of the Forum had been most likely anticipated at the very beginning of the project, when the outcome of the campaigns in Gaul and Britain seemed to be already settled; the war was still far from being brought to conclusion though, and some works had to be postponed, so further references to victories were added in the following years.

When the complex was inaugurated, at the end of Caesar's triumphal celebration in 46 BC, it was still incomplete. This means that it is possible that part of its decorative display acquired its complete meaning only at a later moment, or was modified 'in progress'. For example, if we consider the decoration of the frieze of the porticoes, it might be legitimate to suppose that their connection to the juridical function of the forum had been conceived from the beginning; nevertheless, the choice of the griffins, which express that message, but which are also the guardians of moderation, might have been implemented when the latter ideology became important. Subsequently, their reference to Nemesis as the goddess of the right vengeance might have been 'activated' after the addition of Timomachus' paintings in the temple of Venus (see page 165). In consequence of this conception, the elements which were inserted throughout the construction period of the Forum up to the death of Caesar (when the complex was still not completed; Octavian will take up the works and bring them to an end: *R. Gest. Div. Aug.*, 1, 20) conformed to those messages planned from the beginning but also combined other ideologies related to the developments of the political scene and of Caesar's propaganda.

From this perspective, as discussed above, it is possible to see that, after the triumph of 46 BC, many characteristics of the complex are related to the concept of military triumph or directly to Caesar's victorious campaigns. This has been seen in the decoration of the temple (frieze with griffins watered by cupids and peristasis with meander pattern), in the

cuirassed statue on the south-eastern side of the complex, in some objects offered in the temple (cuirass made of pearls from Britannia, the collection of engraved gems), and in the equestrian statue in the centre of the square; even the temple of Venus had been vowed to the goddess upon victory at the battle of Pharsalus.

This must have been a message that, in its broad sense, could be understood by the majority of the population. On the other hand, after the victory at Pharsalus, something more specific and addressed to a much smaller and very educated group of people seems to be displayed. The denomination of the goddess to which the temple was dedicated and of the games celebrated in her honour, the meaning of Timomachus' paintings and of the equestrian statue that have been analysed above show a precise reference to the victory over Pompey. This message could most likely be interpreted in two complementary ways: either as an affirmation of supremacy by Caesar, or as the confirmation that he was the right man for government. It is interesting to underline that most of this ideology could be deduced from the objects inside the temple or from the relation of other objects with them (it does not have to be deemed a coincidence that the knight on the equestrian statue faces the temple), and that the assemblies of the Senate were most probably held inside the pronaos of the temple; the senators, or the aristocrats in general, were most likely the only ones who could understand and had physical access to the highly sophisticated references embedded in that iconography.

In conclusion, by the death of Caesar the Forum displays a series of messages which were partly planned from the beginning, partly added following the development of political events. Every message had a different function and its comprehensibility was pitched according to the group of people that it was meant to address, and, as already seen in the Roman Forum, its meaning could be ambivalent. The Forum of Caesar conveyed therefore a clear idea of the supremacy of its promoter and of his *gens*, but also an image of Caesar as the leader who provides new spaces for public use, guaranteeing justice after a long period of civil war, and demonstrating the necessary *pietas* towards a goddess who certainly was the ancestor of the Iulii, but primarily the mother of the Romans.

5.1.3 The Atrium Libertatis

In Cicero's aforementioned letter to Atticus (*Att*., 4, 16, 8), the orator described to his friend the projects that Caesar had in mind, and talked about the planned enlargement of the Roman Forum; he explains that this will be 'up to the Atrium Libertatis'. The location

of this building, which was the official office of the censors, where their archive was kept (Liv., 43, 16, 13), is still a matter of debate. Castagnoli (1946) first located it behind the temple of Venus Genetrix of the Forum of Caesar, on the saddle between the Capitoline hill and the Quirinal hill (plate 1); this view is shared by Tortorici (1991, 75), Coarelli (1993a) and also accepted by Meneghini (2009, 19). A radically different interpretation of Cicero's letter is that of Purcell (1993), who suggests that the area bought by the orator should be identified not with the space subsequently occupied by the Forum of Caesar, but with that on the western side of the Roman Forum, at the foot of the so-called 'Tabularium' (Purcell 1993, 130-135). In consequence of this, he maintains that the Atrium Libertatis could be identified with the Tabularium itself (Purcell 1993, 135). Finally, Amici (1999) suggests that the Atrium Libertatis should be placed on the hill where now the church of SS. Luca and Martina now stands; the remains of a tufa wall in that area are also attributed to that building (Amici 1999, 302-309).

It is not in the scope of this research to solve the thorny problem of the location of the Atrium Libertatis; although Tortorici's and Coarelli's arguments seem the most compelling. The interest in this monument and the reason for its inclusion is due to the fact that most of the above mentioned scholars reasonably put the project of a refurbishment of the Atrium Libertatis, which was later carried out after 39 BC by Asinius Pollio (Suet., *Aug*., 29; Isid., *Orig*., 6, 5, 2), in connection with Caesar or with the Caesarian interventions in the area of his forum (Tortorici 1991, 76-77 and 106-107; Coarelli 1993a, 133; Amici 1999, 319; Meneghini 2009, 19). Tortorici and Coarelli consider it to be possible that Pollio's refurbishment was the fulfilment of a planned intent of Caesar, particularly taking into account that Pollio realised there Rome's first public library (Plin., *nat. hist*., 36, 33), a project also attributed to the dictator by Suetonius (*Caes*., 44). Tortorici, based on his suggestion for the location of the Atrium Libertatis, also inserts this building in the ideological frame of the Forum of Caesar: in fact, the latter would constitute an ideal connection between the new type of government offered by Caesar and the old republican traditions, represented by the curia and the office of the censors (Tortorici 1991, 77). As seen above, it is now known that the curia was probably not included in the original project of the new Forum, but the old curia Cornelia was in any case in its vicinity. Additionally, the forum of Caesar connected the Atrium Libertatis, where the censors archived those laws which more closely concerned the citizens' morality, with the temple of Felicitas: that space was therefore in-between two buildings

which represented two of the main points of Caesar's ideology, morality and prosperity (Tortorici 1991, 77).

A further important ideological aspect of the operation of refurbishment of the Atrium Libertatis is suggested by Coarelli (1993a, 133). He notes that Caesar's projects in the area of the Forum are in connection with other interventions in the Campus Martius, namely on the Saepta and on the Villa Publica (see Section 5.2.2). Since in these two buildings the operations of vote and census took place, a refurbishment of the main office of the censors would not have been out of place. It has also to be added that all of this should be considered in the light of the hopes for a new census in 55-54 BC (see Cic., *Att*., 4, 9, 1), particularly expected by the people of the Transpadana, and to the civic values connected to voting that the census represented: the meaning of these building interventions in the frame of Caesar's politics will be analysed in more depth in Section 5.2.2.

5.1.4 The Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal Hill

Cassius Dio records that in 45 a statue of Caesar was dedicated by the Senate inside the temple of Quirinus, bearing the inscription '*theò anikéto*', 'to the invincible god' (Cass. Dio, 43, 45, 3; the presence of the statue is also testified by Cicero in *Att*., 12, 45, 2; 12, 48, 2 and 13, 28, 3). The precise location of the temple on the Quirinal hill has been a matter of debate even in recent times (Manca di Mores 1982-83; Carafa 1993; Coarelli 1999a; Carandini 2007; Carandini 2012, 452-453; Coarelli 2014, 83-112); nevertheless, Coarelli's analysis of the substruction structures, known as 'Circo di Flora' (fig. 5.30), visible under Palazzo Barberini and of the other archaeological evidence from the same area provides valid reasons to support the location of the temple there (plate 1).

In fact, Coarelli (2014, 87-91) rightly disproves Carandini's hypothesis: as stated in Capanna's (2007) report on the geophysical survey carried out in the area of the Giardini del Quirinale, where Carandini locates the temple, the anomalies emerged from it are very fragmentary and not parallel or perpendicular to each other, so, Coarelli affirms, cannot be used to prove the presence of a portico surrounding a temple. On the contrary, the presence of walls, that the anomalies seems to imply, can be attributed to the existence, in that area, of a large *hortus*, in connection with a domus. This hypothesis can be sustained by the evidence from surveys, carried out at the beginning of the 20th century on the occasion of the opening of the Umberto I gallery, that runs underneath the Giardini

Figure 5.30: Substruction structures in *opus reticulatum* (left) and detail (right), visible behind via Barberini in Rome and probably in connection with the temple of Quirinus.

Figure 5.31: Reconstruction of the temple of Quirinus in the area of Palazzo Barberini by Coarelli.

del Quirinale. During these surveys remains of a large imperial domus emerged; the presence of fistulae in situ with the name of the *praefectus praetorio* C. Flavius Plautianus led to the identification of its owner (Coarelli 2014, 91-92).

The above mentioned substruction structures recognised by Coarelli run on the southern side of via Barberini (see fig. 5.31), and are now only partially preserved, although a 1616 print of Alò Giovannoli represents seven blind arches with facing in *opus reticulatum*. The extant arches measure around 10 m in height, and the construction technique, with facing in a reticulate of tufa blocks, suggests a caesarian-augustan chronology. These structures seem to have been used to widen the surface of the Quirinal hill (Coarelli 2014, 94). Furthermore, during the 17th century, in the area east of via delle Quattro Fontane (fig. 5.31), similar substruction structures were discovered, and on the surface at the top of these, a large section of a mosaic, made of minute black and white tesserae. This evidence was presented by Pietro Sante Bartoli, and the mosaic style that seems to be described, as Coarelli notes, might be related to the Augustan period, perhaps to the refurbishment of 16 BC (Cass. Dio, 54, 19, 4), and might belong to the portico surrounding the temple, described by Martial (11, 1, 9-12; Coarelli 2014, 96).

Coarelli therefore suggests that the platform created by the substruction structures hosted a great building, that could have been the temple of Quirinus if one considers the following:

- the relation of close proximity, confirmed by Festus (Paul-Fest., 255 L), between the temple and the *porta Quirinalis*, which allowed access through the city walls to the modern via delle Quattro Fontane (Coarelli 2014, 86);
- the testimony of Cicero (*leg*., 1, 1, 3; *Att*., 4, 1, 4), who placed Atticus' house next to the temple of Salus (located close to the modern Piazza del Quirinale) and not far from the temple of Quirinus (Coarelli 2014, 87);
- the proximity of Martial's house, situated on the north-western area of the Quirinal, to the temple of Quirinus (Mart., 10, 58, 10 and 11, 1, 1; Coarelli 2014, 87; for the analysis of the position of Martial's house, see Coarelli 2014, 281-286);
- the fact that an inscription by L. Aemilius Paulus, probably the praetor of 191 BC, with dedication to Quirinus was discovered *in hortis Quirinalibus pontificiis* at the time of pope Urbanus VIII Barberini, which arguably means that the *horti* are not the Giardini del Quirinale but the area of Barberini Palace (Coarelli 2014, 93; Ziolkowski 1992, 141);
- the discovery in 1637 of two bilingual inscriptions, dedicated by Asian peoples during the late Republic, during the works for the construction of the Barberini

> Palace. These inscriptions are very similar to the bilingual dedications by Asian population related to the cult of Jupiter Capitolinus, but the former are dedicated to the populus Romanus only, a factor that might be explained uniquely if the deity referred to is Quirinus (Coarelli 2014, 107-112).

For this reasons, Coarelli's suggestion for the location of the temple of Quirinus is here considered the most probable.

There is no evidence to affirm that Caesar promoted an intervention at the temple, even though the fact that the building was destroyed by a fire in 49 BC (Cass. Dio, 41, 14, 2-3) and that Caesar's statue was then dedicated there in 45 suggest that a refurbishment was carried out, probably by him (Coarelli 1999a, 185; 2014, 96-97). This decision would certainly fit with the ideology connected to the figure of Romulus (see Section 4.3.5) which was being promoted by the patrician particularly during that period. Furthermore, it has to be considered that the temple was located in the same place as a previous *sacellum Quirini* (Coarelli 1999c), whose construction had been ordered by Romulus himself to Julius Proculus (Cic., *rep*., 2, 10; *leg*., 1, 3; Ov., *fast*., 2, 511; *Vir. Ill*., 2, 13) or by Numa (Dion. Hal., 2, 63, 3): that building was therefore reminiscent either of Romulus' preference for an ancestor of the *gens Iulia* (which might have been a way of justifying a deification: Cadario 2006, 47), or of the king Numa, who, as seen above (Section 4.3.9) might have been one of Caesar's models.

The monument might have therefore had much propagandistic appeal for Caesar, although his promotion of a refurbishment is only a hypothesis. As far as the dedication of Caesar's statue is concerned, it is equally difficult to establish if that was the result of a decision of the dictator or not. Cadario (2006, 37-38) considers it together with two other statues of Caesar, decreed by the Senate, mentioned by Cassius Dio (43, 45, 2-3): one that had to parade together with those of the gods during the *pompa triumphalis* (perhaps it was the same statue: Cadario 2006, 46), the other to be located in front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus among the statues of the kings. Cadario argues that these three honours have to be considered part of a single 'Romulean programme' (2006, 38), and that they show the intent of placing Caesar among the personalities of the Roman myth. Taking into consideration the comments of Cassius Dio and of Plutarch on the honours decreed to Caesar - that the Senate's flattery was excessive (Cass. Dio, 43, 44, 3) and that the accumulation of privileges was partly designed by his enemies to make

him odious (Plut., *Caes*., 57, 2-3) – it is even harder to judge if those statues should be included in Caesar's propagandistic programme or if they were just an expedient to attack him. In fact, although the value of Cassius Dio as a historical source for the Caesarian period had been re-evaluated, and his work is now considered fairly reliable (see Section 2.2.1), and although both Plutarch and Cassius Dio report the same judgement, it is also true that, as Ferrary (2010, 10) highlights, the theme of the Senate accumulating honours to make the ruler become unpopular is a recurring element in imperial historiography, and has its origin in the political polemic that arose after the ides of March (see Mark Anthony's letter to Hirtius quoted by Cicero in *Phil.*, 13, 40).

However, there might be clues that imply the presence of the dictator's shadow behind the Senate's decision. First, the choice to dedicate the statue in that specific temple, thus strengthening the bond with Romulus-Quirinus and recalling the story of Julius Proculus. As mentioned, Cadario sees this as a way to emphasise the long relationship of Caesar's *gens* with the king who became god: this long-time, close proximity with Rome's founder would have justified a close comparison with Caesar, and consequently the dictator's deification (Cadario 2006, 47). Nevertheless, Romulus' choice primarily demonstrates his preference for Caesar's *gens*, and this has an important implication. As Cadario notes, Caesar had become an augur in 57 BC, and was trying to foster the superiority of the Roman *auspicatio* over the Etruscan *haruspices* (who were mainly favourable to the Senate). Being a dictator his *auspicia* were greater than those of the other magistrates, and it has also to be added that he was the *pontifex maximus* too. All these characteristics put Caesar in a position of being the one who was best equipped to communicate with the gods and, thus, to preserve the *pax deorum*, on which the same survival of Rome depended. His particular status also implied a delegitimisation of the auspices taken by the other senators, the politically unfair use of which he had tried to fight since his first consulate (see his strong contrasts with his colleague Bibulus and the support given to the *lex Clodia* in the following year: Zecchini 2001, 41).

Finally, it is interesting to turn attention to the epithet used on the inscription on the statue (*aníketos*). This dedication 'to the invincible god' is still a matter of lively (and probably unsolvable) debate: it is in fact not clear if it referred to Caesar or to Quirinus (Cadario 2006, 48; see Zecchini 2001, 46, f.60 for bibliography). Zecchini (2001, 46) points out that the fact that the inscription was in dative might suggest that it was referred to the god; nevertheless, Quirinus never had the epithet of *invictus*, even if the characteristic of

invincibility might have passed to him from Romulus (Cadario 2006, 48). Consequently, Cadario underlines that in the light of the close connection established between Caesar and Quirinus, the invincibility of the latter could have been reflected on the former.

This observation allows further reflection on the presence of this attribute (which, as said, most probably corresponded to the Latin *invictus*: see its use in Weinstock 1957) on Caesar's statue. One element in particular has to be taken into account: *invictus* was the epithet of Hercules of whom Pompey had been particularly fond (see Section 4.2.4), as well as that of Alexander the Great (with whom Pompey had often been compared: see Section 4.2.2). Caesar's statue had been dedicated just after the battle of Munda, where the dictator had defeated the forces of the Pompeians; the choice of the epithet to be attributed to Quirinus might therefore not have been casual, and could be understood in the frame of the 'appropriation of gods' that seems to have taken place already with the dedication of the temple in Caesar's forum to Venus Victrix/Genetrix. From this perspective, the real 'invincible god' was the one who had a particular relationship with the Iulii, the one who had protected him; the deification of the king who, as Caesar, descended from the mother of the Romans, Venus. This appropriation of the epithet by Caesar for the god of the Quirites might therefore have been a reference to his personal victory over Pompey (a theme which, as seen, could also be present in the Forum of Caesar from 46 BC), which was also a victory of the Romans (see Caesar's insistence to underline that he undertook the civil war to protect not only his own *dignitas* but to free the Roman people from the power of a small faction; Caes., *B Civ.*, 1, 22).

5.2 – *Extra Pomerium*: the Campus Martius

The Campus Martius, the area consecrated to the god Mars outside the sacred boundary of the city, already hosted some important buildings by the end of the 2nd century BC, although it was more systematically and substantially urbanised from the Late Republic. One of the most significant interventions was due to Pompey, who located his theatrical complex in that area, annexed to his private house (Plut., *Pomp.*, 40, 9); the monuments of his political ally and then enemy Caesar followed from the ensuing years. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in the years of his dictatorship the patrician elaborated a consistent and farsighted plan with the *lex Iulia de Urbe augenda* (reported by Cicero, *Att.*, 13, 33a, 1; Suetonius, *Iul.*, 44, 1 refers to it as *de ornanda instruendaque*

urbe), in which the Campus Martius was to undergo substantial and, as it will be seen in Section 5.2.5, partly utopian modifications.

5.2.1 *Theatrum Lapideum*

During the 60s BC Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, at the top of his career, possessed a vast area in the central part of the Campus Martius (Coarelli 1997a, 545). The characteristics of this part of the city, which was located just outside the *pomerium* (Cass. Dio, 40, 50, 2) and hosted many structures and monuments connected to military triumphs (and in particular to maritime victories) (Coarelli 1997a, 543-544), made it Pompey's chosen area to locate his personal triumphal monument: an enormous complex comprising a theatre and a *porticus post scaenam* and extending from the *via Triumphalis* to the area of the temples of Largo Argentina (plate 1 and fig. 5.32). The building was dedicated on 29th September 55 BC (Coarelli 1971-72, 99, f. 2), during Pompey's second consulship, while the dedication of the sacellum to Victoria took place in 52 BC (Coarelli 1997a, 567-570).

Despite its remarkable dimensions, not many structures of the theatre are visible today. The enormous impact that it had on Rome's urban landscape can be inferred from the presence of the cavea which determined the development of subsequent building activity, so its shape can still be recognised in modern topography; nevertheless, many aspects of the structure, both of the theatre and of the portico and curia connected to it, are still a matter of debate. A partial help has been provided by some fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (fragments 37a, 37b, 37c, 37d, 37e, 37l, 39ac, 39b, 39de, 39f, 39g), even though two of them are known only by Renaissance drawings (fragments 37b and 39de). Recently, the attribution of fragment 39f has been disputed by Monterroso Checa (2007 and 2010, 187-197), who has suggested a connection with the stadium of Domitian (Monterroso Checa 2007, 141-144). The *Forma Urbis* also shows a further portico, running along the northern side of Pompey's, called *Hecatostylum*; nevertheless, the chronology of this structure, which has to be identified with the *Porticus Lentulorum*, and perhaps also with the *Porticus ad Nationes*, has not been clearly established and is very controversial (Coarelli 1997a, 165-168 and 1996d; Sear 2006, 61; although this identification is the object of a strong debate: see Monterroso Checa 2008 and 2009a; Cadario 2011, 20; Orlandi 1999, 126). For this reason, in this research the accepted chronology for the *Porticus Lentulorum* will be that of Coarelli (1997a, 165-168), who

Figure 5.32: Reconstruction plan of the theatrical complex of Pompey in the Campus Martius by Carandini (55 BC).

dates it to the Augustan period (even if not after 18 BC) but remains open to other possibilities; therefore the building shall not be considered in this research.

5.2.1.1 The Temple of Venus Victrix

One of the main points of discussion in the scholarship is the structure and position of the temple of Venus Victrix, which the sources place at the top of the cavea (Tert., *Spect.*, 10, 5). The commonly accepted interpretation places the temple at the top of the structure protruding from the centre of the external part of the cavea (fig. 5.32). This interpretation is based on the discovery of the northern and southern walls of it by Baltard and Righetti respectively (Packer et al. 2007, 511 and f. 19), and on the identification of a curved structure under the Palazzo Pio (which now overlies the theatre) as the apsis of the temple by Baltard (who found evidence of it in old reports; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 112 f. 60 and 64). However, Monterroso Checa (2010, 247-261) recently disputed this reconstruction, instead placing the temple on the top of the cavea but inside its perimeter, whereas the platform protruding from the latter should be interpreted as a staircase to the media and summa cavea. Furthermore, he maintains that the temple of Venus possessed a transversal cella (Monterroso Checa 2010, 270; fig. 5.33).

Since this suggestion has been accepted by more than one scholar (see, for example, Schröter 2008, 33; Gros 2011, 281; Sauron 2011, 144), it is necessary to proceed to a

Figure 5.33: Reconstruction plan of the theatrical complex of Pompey after Monterroso Checa.

deeper analysis. The arguments that Monterroso Checa presents concern the architectural form: he maintains that the thickness of the northern and southern walls (made of peperino stone) of the platform, which is slightly less than 2 m, would not have been enough to sustain the weight of a temple placed at around 37 m from the ground (Monterroso Checa 2010, 247-248). This is particularly because, since there is no evidence of binding structures between them, the weight would have made them fall outwards, since they are considered a self-supporting structure (Monterroso Checa 2010, 248). Furthermore, the space between the two walls is too wide to allow the construction of a vault that would have directed the weight towards them (Monterroso Checa 2010, 248). Monterroso Checa also disputes the presence of the apse of the temple, asserting that there is no autoptic evidence for it and, if it exists, it is not possible to verify its chronology (Monterroso Checa 2010, 248). He therefore offers a series of examples of theatres that present a similar protruding structure, often hosting a staircase (Monterroso Checa 2010, 251-257).

This interpretation, accepted by Gros (2011, 281) and Sauron (2011, 144), is fascinating; however, in my opinion, it presents some issues that merit further consideration. It is surely not possible to verify the presence or the chronology of the apsis of the temple that Baltard drew in his plan of the theatre, mainly because the scholar himself admits to having found evidence of it only in old reports (Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 115 f. 64). It is also true, however, that the survey of the French architect, upon verification of the position of some structures with modern technologies, has proved to have been very accurate (Packer 2014, 20), so it might be supposed at least that he thoroughly checked the data in his possession. Moreover, it is difficult to ignore the fact that the façade of Palazzo Pio towards Campo dei Fiori follows a curved line that seems to correspond to the curved wall on Baltard's plan (Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 112 f. 60): the chronology of it can be reasonably questioned, but it seems more difficult to do so with regard to its presence. As far as the thickness of the walls of the platform is concerned, doubts can be raised in reference to their inability to sustain a structure like a temple placed at 37 m from the ground (my deepest gratitude goes to prof. Fulvio Cairoli Giuliani, whom I informally consulted). Furthermore, the reason why this platform has to be considered a self-supporting structure does not seem to be clear, since it might be leaning on the cavea of the theatre, and was most probably toothed to it; if this was the case, that might also explain the hypothesised presence, at the western end of the central radial walls of the theatre in correspondence to the platform, of two chambers (Filippi *et al.* 2015, 357, fig.

12; see fig. 5.34). As it can be seen from the figure, the presence of these chambers is suggested by the shorter length of the (known) radial walls of the theatre in that sector. Furthermore, a part of these structures is showed on the plan published by Baltard in 1837 (fig. 5.35), although unfortunately this area is no longer accessible, due to the superimposition of modern buildings (Filippi *et al.* 2015, 349 and f. 6). Nevertheless, Baltard's survey has proven to be very accurate, and his documentation can therefore be used for areas that are no longer accessible (Packer 2014, 27; Filippi *et al.*, 2015, 349, f. 7).

Figure 5.34: Reconstruction plan of the theatre of Pompey. In black, the documented structures; in grey, the reconstruction proposed by Filippi et al. 2015. The letter A marks a staircase surveyed by the authors; letter B marks a staircase seen by Pellegrini at the end of the 19th century; letter C marks a staircase seen by Baltard at the beginning of the 19th century.

Figure 5.35: Plan of the theatre of Pompey drawn by Baltard.

Monterroso Checa (2010, 248) also argues that these two walls are too far from one another (16 m) to allow them to be bound by vaults in order to sustain the weight of the temple, which could not be borne by anything else, since the space between them 'is empty'. Nevertheless, when he reconstructs a staircase between them, Monterroso Checa hypothesises a third parallel wall between these two (Monterroso Checa 2010, 249). On the other hand, an alternative solution might be possible: the structure could in fact have been connected to the cavea through wooden-beam structures, which would have strengthened it significantly (my gratitude is again directed to prof. Giuliani for his invaluable suggestions).

The examples that Monterroso Checa (2010, 251-257) draws on in order to demonstrate his point are various and are taken both from Italy and from the provinces. However, in most of the buildings where the platform protruding from the cavea has been interpreted as a staircase thanks to the archaeological evidence, the theatre is only partly *exaggeratum*, since the *ima cavea* still leans on a slope. This implies that in these

buildings it was impossible to build internal staircases between the radial walls of the cavea, and the only way to access the seats was therefore either from the *aditus* or from an external staircase. This is not the case for Pompey's theatre though, where evidence of internal staircases, with travertine steps, has been found (Packer 2014, 23); it is therefore difficult to understand why there would have been the need to build an additional staircase outside the cavea. The same might be said for the theatres of *Carsulae* and *Iguvium* (Monterroso Checa 2010, 251-252 and 258-261), which were built *in plano* but do not show evidence for the presence of internal staircases in the cavea. A particular case is that of *Saepinum* (Monterroso Checa 2010, 252-254), where the external staircase protruding from the cavea is justified by the fact that the theatre leaned against the city walls; the external staircase provided therefore a direct access from the outside of the city to the theatre. It has furthermore to be noted that Sear (2006, 60), contesting Richardson's suggestion that the squares in the fragment 39f of the *Forma Urbis Romae* represent trees and not columns, presents other examples of theatres with temples protruding considerably from the cavea, such as the one in Caesarea (whose chronology has been established between 25 and 10 BC; Sear 2006, 271-272).

As far as the temple of Venus is concerned, it is not possible to reconstruct its architectural aspect, nor its exact position, since there is no archaeological evidence relating to it. Nevertheless, it might be argued that its location on the protruding platform would have given a stronger impression of the cavea as a staircase to it, whereas in the other case the illusion would have been less powerful.

5.2.1.2 The Presence (or not) of a Scaenae Frons

A second point of debate is related to the *scaenae frons*; in particular, whether it was made of stone or of wood in Pompey's time (and therefore if it was a permanent or a temporary structure). The *scaenae frons* that is shown on the Forma Urbis, fragment 39de, is commonly considered to be either the reconstruction after the fire of 80 AD (Sear 1993, 688) or to belong to the Severan period (Tosi 2003a, 22); that part of the theatre was in fact repeatedly destroyed by fires (Tosi 2003b, 667). For this reason, and also for a question of visual perspectives from the curia in the portico to the temple of Venus, there are some who hypothesise that, in Pompey's time, the *scaenae frons* was a wooden structure (more recently Gleason 1994, 21; Beacham 1999, 65); however, the majority of the scholars agree that it was made of stone, and they maintain that a wooden structure

would have not been compatible with the grandiosity of the rest of the theatre (Sear 1993, 687; Gros 2011, 282; Schröter 2008, 32 does not take a side). Even if it is appealing to imagine a line of vision going from the curia to the temple of Venus, facilitated by the presence of two groves of plane trees, one on each half of the area enclosed by the porticoes, it has to be pointed out here that the efforts of the late republican magistrates were directed to the *scaenae frontes* of temporary theatres (see, for example, Val. Max., 2, 4, 6, or Plin., *HN.*, 36, 24, 114-115, where he described the splendour of the *scaenae frons* of Scaurus' theatre). Nevertheless, in the absence of archaeological data regarding the Pompeian phase of it, the problem will remain unsolved; however, Suetonius' statement related to Augustus moving the statue of Pompey from the curia to the opposite side of the portico (Suet., *Aug*., 31) is not, in my opinion, to be taken as a proof of the existence of the *scaenae frons* at that time (as Schröter 2008, 32 suggests). In fact, taking a closer look at the Latin text:

> *Pompei quoque statuam contra theatri eius regiam marmoreo iano superposuit translatam e curia, in qua C. Caesar fuerat occisus*.
>
> He (*scil*. Augustus) also put a statue of Pompey, moved from the curia where C. Caesar had been murdered, on a marble arch in front of a portico of the former's theatre.

it might be highlighted that *regiam* has mostly been translated not as an adjective but as a noun meaning 'a roofed colonnade, basilica, portico' (this is the translation provided by the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, where Suetonius' passage is taken as an example; the same translation for that passage is provided by K. E. Georges' - F. Calonghi's and by L. Castiglioni's - S. Mariotti's Latin dictionaries), without reference to the theatre's stage.

5.2.1.3 The Decorative Programme

Being a monument built for propagandistic purposes, the Pompeian complex presented a vast decorative programme that has received much attention (for example, Coarelli 1971-72; Sauron 1987 and 1994, 249-314; Coarelli 1997a; Cadario 2011, to cite but a few of them). Since, as mentioned above, scant archaeological evidence concerning the *porticus* is available, the debates are mainly based on the evidence provided by the literary sources; nevertheless, on the whole, the picture of the monument's decoration can only be very partially reconstructed, particularly because, even if fragments or entire statues were

found in the area of the Pompeian complex (Coarelli 1971-1972, 107-118), their relationship to its original decoration is not always verifiable (Schröter 2008, 33-34; Cadario 2011, 22-23). The same problem concerns the literary sources: it is certainly difficult, if not sometimes impossible, to know if a particular work of art described or mentioned by an author who lived after the Augustan refurbishment is to be referred to the original Pompeian project or is the result of a later addition or modification. The interpretations of the decorative programme of the complex that have been offered by scholars are therefore necessarily founded on suppositions, and those presented in this research are no exception; nevertheless, the purpose here is to offer plausible hypotheses by combining data from different sources.

Cadario (2011, 11-12) has convincingly argued that, because of its propagandistic importance, the decoration of the complex was carefully set up: in fact, Cicero shows that Pompey asked the orator's friend Atticus for help in order to obtain and place the statues to be displayed in it (Cic., *Att*., 4, 9, 1). Furthermore, Sauron (1987, 467-473) has suggested that behind the project of the complex the presence of Varro can be recognised (this interpretation has been accepted by Coarelli 1997a, 575-576 and Gros 1999a, 149, but it has to be noted that no ancient source mentions Varro's involvement). Both the decoration and the architectural form of the monument had therefore been accurately planned, since they both most likely had to convey a series of messages which were fundamental for the general's public image. In fact, as argued in Section 5.1.2.6, political power can be attributed to art, and, as in the case of the Forum of Caesar, the strong triumphal character of the Pompeian complex and the historical context of its dedication (described in Section 4.2.8) suggest a further function of it that goes beyond its use as an entertainment building decorated by beautiful works of art. Atticus' involvement in the choice and placement of the statues implies that it was not enough for Pompey to display his triumphal booty, but that he needed an expert to organise the decoration of his complex. Furthermore, as in the Forum of Caesar, the possibility of allegorical reading of works of art by more educated individuals has to be taken into account. Some possible and perhaps co-existing interpretations are presented below.

5.2.1.4 Coponius' Nationes

There are some elements that can be securely linked to the decoration of the complex as it was before the Augustan interventions of 23 BC. The presence of fourteen statues

representing the populations (*nationes*) that Pompey had subdued is confirmed by Suetonius (*Nero*, 46) and particularly Pliny (*HN.*, 36, 4, 41), who also indicates Coponius as their author. Where these statues were located in the complex is however a matter of debate, since if Pliny says *circa Pompeium*, Suetonius provides an even more vague *ad Pompei theatrum*. Many scholars have placed them, for reasons of denomination, in the *porticus ad Nationes* (Coarelli 1996d, 10 and 1997a, 167), which nevertheless, as noted above (page 183), was most probably built during the Augustan age; its identification with the Hecatostylum of the *Forma Urbis Romae*, which seems to correspond to the *porticus Lentulorum* (see Coarelli 1997a, 167) is now doubted (see Liverani 1995, 245; Monterroso Checa 2008 and 2009a). La Rocca (1988, 287) has suggested that these statues were previously placed on the northern side of (or perhaps around) the *porticus post scaenam*, and subsequently moved to the *porticus Lentulorum*; on the other hand, because of Pliny's use of the preposition *circa* (which indicates a circular disposition), Monterroso Checa (2009a, 186) and Cadario (2011, 21) place them around the portico that ran along the top of the theatre cavea. A further suggestion is that of Gagliardo and Packer (2006, 151), who hypothesise their location at the top of the *scaenae frons*. Coarelli (1971-72, 374-375) and Palma Venetucci (2008-09, 179) identified the fourteen nations in a series of statues discovered in the area of the theatrical complex: the Melpomene (now at the Petit Palais in Paris), the Ceres-Demetra (at the Vatican Museums), the Urania Farnese (at the National Museum of Naples), three statues from Palazzo Borghese, the Tusnelda Della Valle (Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi) and the Girl of Palazzo Doria. Nevertheless, these statues have been subsequently identified as a group of Muses (La Rocca 1990, 434; Sauron 1994, 261-262; Coarelli 1997b, 518; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 155; Cadario 2011, 22); Cadario (2011, 22) has argued most convincingly that since stylistic differences can be identified in the statues, these cannot correspond to the fourteen Nations of Coponius, which were the result of a single order. Already from this example it can be clearly seen that, even if it is possible to know with certainty that the statues of the *Nationes* had been commissioned by Pompey, their aspect and their position in relation to the complex are most likely impossible to determine, making the interpretation of the propagandistic message of the building necessarily hypothetical.

5.2.1.5 Mirabiles Fama Effigies

Pliny (*HN.*, 7, 3, 34) informs us of the presence in the complex of *mirabiles fama effigies* (statues or portraits which were exceptional because of their fame), and provides the names of Eutyches of Tralles (who had given birth to 30 children) and Alcippe (who had given birth to an elephant). In a well-known article Coarelli (1971-72) noticed that in the oration *Ad Graecos* of the Christian apologist Tatian the same two statues are mentioned in a list of other statues which the author himself had seen in Rome (Tat., *Graec.*, 33-35). Furthermore, a 'Mystis' is also included, whose name also appears in an inscription found in the storage room of Largo Argentina, and therefore, Coarelli thinks, most probably coming from the Pompeian complex (Coarelli 1971-72, 100-101). The scholar therefore hypothesised that some of the other statues listed by Tatian could have been among the number of those included in the portico of Pompey, although he maintains that some of them were most likely not located there (like the Ganimedes, located in the Templum Pacis, as Juvenal, 3, 9, 22 affirms; the group of Eteocles and Polynices, perhaps located in front of the temple of the Fortuna Huiusce Diei, as it could be inferred from Pliny, *HN.*, 34, 19, 60, although see 5.2.1.15; the Europa, which was in Taranto at Pompey's time, as Cicero, *Verr.*, 2, 4, 135 states, and probably remained there in the Republican period, as Varro, *L.L.*, 5, 31 seems to imply; see Coarelli 1971-72, 103-104).

Coarelli singled out the representations of Phryne, Glykera, Argeia, Neaera, Lais, Pannychis, Sapphos, Corinna, Telesilla, Melanippe, Praxilla, Myro, Anyte, Alkippe, Pasiphae, Besantis, Euante, but Evans (2009) and Cadario (2011, 31-43) added all the other ones mentioned by Tatian to the list: Learchis, Erinna, Myrtis, Praxagoris, Cleito, Mnesarchis, Thaliarchis, Panteuchis, Harmonia, a 'woman with bracelets' and other statues of famous men. The latter stance seems the more sensible one, since, although Coarelli's selection is clearly justifiable (he chooses the statues connected with the themes of Venus, theatre and poetry), it will be seen below (Section 5.2.1.7) that other themes were also present in the decoration of the theatre.

Since the inscription with the name of Mystis and four fragments of similar inscriptions have been found on three different sides of the *porticus post scaenam*, it is very likely that the statues were located inside the portico (Coarelli 1971-72, 101-102), even though Pliny describes them as *ornamenta theatri* (Plin., *HN.*, 7, 3, 34; Cadario 2011, 43 points

out that only in book 35 is Pliny more precise when he describes the location of decorative elements).

According to the different interpretations presented by the scholars, the statues of women can be divided into different groups:

1) Those related to the cult of the Pompeian Venus and those related to the sphere of theatre and poetry (Coarelli 1971-72, 105);
2) Nine mortal Muses, nine "lesser mortal" Muses, theatrical heroines, marvels of nature (Evans 2009, 129-141);
3) Women poets, immoral women (women who had remarkable births and courtesans), mythical heroines (Cadario 2011, 31-37).

At the beginning of paragraph 33 of his oration, where Tatian presents the first part of the list of statues under consideration, the apologist reacts to the opinion of the Greeks, who, he says, jeer at the discussions of Christian women, boys and girls, considering them nonsensical. He answers that Greek women talked nonsensically too, and nonetheless some of them were represented in statues, which testifies to the madness of the Greeks' behaviour. This first sub-list begins with Praxilla (who 'said nothing useful in her poems') and ends with Thaliarchis; since Praxilla is clearly a poet, and some of the other women mentioned are known to be poets, it seems highly probable that this was the occupation of all women at the beginning of his list. As mentioned, some of them are known to us, such as:

- Praxilla, who innovatively suggested that Dionysus was the son of Aphrodite and not of Semele (Robbins 2007, 784);
- Sapphos, whom Tatian defines as *hetaira*, prostitute (Tatian, *Graec*., 33), and whose statue has been recognised in the one cited by Cicero in the *Verrinae* (Cic., *Verr*., 2, 4, 57 and 126-127; see Evans 2009, 127);
- Erinna, who was the author of a work entitled 'Distaff' (Anth. Pal., 9, 190, 3);
- Myrtis, whom the Suda describes as teacher of Corinna and Pyndarus;
- Myro (Coarelli 1971-72, 104);
- Anyte, an arcadic poet (Degani 2002, 812);
- Telesilla (Robbins 2009, 231);
- Corinna (Robbins 2003, 789).

The other women mentioned among them are unknown to us, but they are thought to be poets as well: Learchis, Praxagoris, Cleito, Mystis (whom Coarelli 1971-72, 102 identifies as a courtesan), Mnesarchis and Thaliarchis. Evans (2009, 129-130) includes a Nossis as well, but Cadario (2011, 33, f.78) correctly notes that Nossis was a conjecture in order to correct the name Mystis, not otherwise attested before Coarelli's (1971-72) article, on the manuscripts. This group, as Cadario (2011, 35) states, is therefore to be considered as composed of 14 poets (Cadario 2011, 35, f. 84 notices that their inclusion in the two groups of 9 'mortal Muses' and 9 'lesser mortal Muses' proposed by Evans 2009, 129-141 finds no comparisons).

As far as the other women are concerned, a group of them were famous for their prodigious childbirths: as stated above (page 192), Alcippe gave birth to an elephant (after being raped by Halirrhotus, the son of Poseidon; Apollod., 3, 14, 2) and Eutyche had thirty children; Euante, daughter of Dionysos and Ariadne (Hes., *Theog*., 947; Hyg., *Astr*., 2, 5), gave birth in the Peripathos (Tatian, *Graec*., 34); Besantis, queen of the Paeonians, had a black child (Tatian, *Graec*., 33). It is here thought that Pasiphae and Melanippe should be added to this list, since the first one bore the Minotaur, and the second had two children by Poseidon, and they were raised by a cow (see Cadario 2011, 37, f. 93); perhaps Panteuchis has to be added as well, since she became pregnant after having been raped (Tatian, *Graec*., 33).

The last group is made up of at least four courtesans:

- Phryne, who had been the model for the Aphrodite of Cnidos of Praxiteles and the Aphrodite Anadyoumene of Apelles (see Walter 2007, 198);
- Glycera, the lover of Menander (see Badian 2004, 880);
- Neaera, who had illegally married an Athenian citizen (Ath., 13, 5);
- Lais (a courtesan from Corinth – see Strothmann 2005, 174; there was nevertheless another courtesan with the same name who was killed in a temple of Aphrodite; see Plut., *Mor*., 767F and Ath., 13, 589ab).

It would be very appealing to put in relation the presence of this latter woman to the verses 10-12 of Catullus' carmen 55 (for an interpretation of that carmen in relation to the statues, see Wiseman 1980):

> *'Camerium mihi, pessimae puellae'.*
> *Quaedam inquit: 'Nudum reduce pectus:*
> *en heic in roseis latet papillis'.*
> 'Give me back Camerius, you shameful girls!'
> One of them says: 'Strip my breasts:
> here, he hides between my pink nipples'.

In fact, it is said by Athenaeus (13, 54) that the breasts of Lais from Corinth had been used as a model by painters such as Apelles .

Among the courtesans, Coarelli (1971-72, 104) includes Argeia as well, even if Tatian (*Graec*., 33) only says that she was a lyre player, and Pannychis, who is not listed by Tatian; Evans (2009, 134) includes Mystis among them.

The fact that images of famous courtesans were placed in public locations was appreciated from the fourth century BC onwards (see Cadario 2011, 40); for example, Plut., *Pomp*., 2, 4, reports the dedication of a portrait of the courtesan Flora in the temple of the Castores by Caecilius Metellus, and their presence in the Pompeian complex, as noted by Kuttner (1999, 347), might be a reference to the temple of Venus Erycina outside Porta Collina in Rome, where prostitutes worshipped Venus on 23rd April, *dies natalis* of the temple and date of the *Vinalia Priora* (Ov., *Fast*., 4, 863-876; Plut., *Quaest. Rom*., 45). An interesting interpretation has been suggested by Evans (2009, 132-135). The scholar points out that Phryne, Glycera, Lais and Neaera were in fact names of famous courtesans (she also adds Mystis to the list), but they were also the names of characters of some Greek comedies: Glycera and Lais (Prop., 2, 6, 3-18) featured in two plays of Menander, Neaera was the title of two comedies by Philemon and Timocles (Ath., 13, 590A and 5910) and Phryne was the name of a prostitute in a play of Timocles (Ath., 13, 567E-F). Evans (2009, 134) notes that the representation of comedic heroines would be more logical inside a theatrical complex, and she also adds that Melanippe, who is called "the wise" by Tatian (*Graec*., 33), perhaps as a reference to the tragedy *Melanippe sophé* by Euripides, might represent one of a group of tragic heroines (even though, as argued above, she could be inserted among the 'natural marvels'). Tatian did not recognise them as such because most probably these women were represented without any recognisable characteristic other than the saffron-coloured pallium which denoted them as courtesans (Evans 2009, 138); nevertheless, if, as Evans hypothesises (2009, 138), the connotation

of comedic heroines was expressed by the inscription of the statues, Tatian would have had to have read it, since he knows the names of the women represented. However, it is true that in Roman society there was an established connection between the profession of actress and that of prostitute (French 1998, 296), and the Christian apologist could probably have exploited this bias in favour of his attack against Greek costumes.

This interpretation has been questioned by Cadario (2011, 38-39), who, while admitting that the theatrical theme was present in the decoration of the building (fragments with inscriptions related to the attic theatre - see Coarelli 1971-72, 105 – and masks pertaining to the Augustan refurbishment – see Cacciotti 2008-2009), maintains that Phryne, Glycera, Neaera and Lais were renowned more as courtesans than as main characters of comedies (Cadario 2011, 39 and f. 101). He therefore believes it to be very unlikely that people could recognise them in this latter role, even if they were probably represented with the iconography of the actress that interprets a courtesan (see the example of Prassiteles, who according to Pliny, *HN*., 34, 70 sculpted Phryne as *meretrix gaudens*, a character of the attic comedy; Cadario 2011, 39, f. 102), particularly because the inscription of the statue would have reported the profession of the character and not her literary success (Cadario 2011, 39).

Nevertheless, it is argued here that both interpretations can be reconciled: in fact, one does not exclude the other. At Pompey's time, most people, even those who were not educated or who could not read, would have most likely recognised the type of the prostitute by the attitude and the clothes in which these women were probably represented, and would have connected it both to the general theatrical environment and to the profession of the character. People who could read Greek, would have read their names and maybe their profession of *hetairai*; more educated people could have also made all the mental connections with the historical biographies of those women and the story of their literary counterparts (the inscriptions found in the area of Largo Argentina were in that language; see Coarelli 1971-72, 100-101 – furthermore, if some of these statues were part of the spoils brought by Pompey from the East, it is most likely that the inscriptions on them were in Greek). It might be possible, therefore, that these statues represented both the courtesans and the corresponding comedy heroines at the same time, making in this way reference to both the theatrical environment and to the above mentioned connection between courtesans and the cult of Venus (it has to be underlined that even if Praxiteles' *meretrix gaudens* is thought to have been in the theatre of Dionysus

in Athens – Corso 2004, 311 – some dedications for courtesans were in Greek sanctuaries: see Keesling 2006).

It is here maintained that the presence of the statue of Harmonia (if it was there in Pompey's time) might be interpreted in a different way. She could be read as the personification of the concept expressed by her name (see, for example, Aesch., *Supp*., 1039-1042); this would be in agreement with some aspects of Pompey's ideology at the end of the sixties- beginning of the fifties, when he tried to present himself as the guarantor of stability (see Section 4.2.8). In any case, Harmonia was the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite as well as the wife of Cadmus (Waldner 2004, 1145), and she was also considered the mother of the Muses (Eur., *Med*., 831): her presence would therefore fit with the messages and the other characters presented in the complex (for the painting representing Cadmus and Europa that had been hung in the portico see Plin., *HN*., 35, 37, 114).

5.2.1.6 Statues of Men

In Tatian's list, among the women that he considers shameful and unworthy of being immortalised in works of art, there is space, as mentioned before, for some male figures: Sophron and Aesop (Tatian., *Graec*., 34). These two characters might fit with the presence of other 'intellectuals' in the complex (and Aesop might be a reference to the plays held at the dedication of the theatre, when a poet with the same name appeared on stage: Cic., *Fam*., 7, 1), and the same can be valid for the possible existence of statues of philosophers (inscriptions with the names of Plato, Xenocrates, Maximos and Cratippus have been attested during the 16th century in the area of the Campus Martius; see Palma Venetucci 2008-2009, 184). The Christian apologist also includes Phalaris, who was considered as the stereotype of the cruel and ruthless tyrant (see, for the Late Republic, Cic., *Att*., 7, 12 and 20; *Off*., 2, 26; *Verr*., 2, 4, 73; *Rep*., 1, 44), and Hephaestion; this latter character might have been part of a group of statues of Macedonians, as the presence of an inscription for a statue of Seleucos might suggest (Cadario 2011, 44-45; for the inscription, see Coarelli 1971-72, 102, f. 14). To these statues, connected with the heroic-military theme, might be added a torso of a male statue found in the area of Largo Argentina (Cadario 2011, 44; for the torso, see Coarelli 1971-72, 117-118, who also points out another torso kept in Palazzo Spada). As it will be seen below, these themes would be congruous with the ideology of triumph expressed by the Pompeian complex,

as well as with the desire of Pompey to be compared with Alexander the Great (see Section 4.2.2).

5.2.1.7 Paintings

Cadario (2011, 45) puts these statues, related to the 'Alexandrian' ideology of Pompey, in connection with a painting representing the great Macedonian general, which was executed by Nicias and which Pliny places in the portico in a very prominent location (*in Pompei porticibus praecellens*; Plin., *HN.*, 35, 40, 132). Other paintings adorned Pompey's porticoes: one had been painted by Antiphilus, and represented Cadmos and Europa (Plin., *HN.*, 35, 37, 114); another featured a sacrifice of oxen and had been a work of Pausias (Plin., *HN.*, 35, 40, 126; see Brendel 1930, 218-219). The last one mentioned by Pliny was a work of Polygnotos and represented a man holding a shield; according to the author it was not possible to tell if he was *ascendens* or *descendens* (Plin, *HN.*, 35, 35, 59). This last painting was originally placed just outside the curia Pompeia, and moved when Augustus walled it up after Caesar's murder.

The meaning of these pictures inside the broader Pompeian ideology pertaining to the theatrical complex has not often been discussed. In addition to the relation between Alexander's portrait and Pompey's desire to be compared to him, Cadario (2011, 29-30) also suggests that the presence of Cadmos and Europa is directly connected to the insistence on geographical themes both during Pompey's triumphs and in the theatre itself (for example, the statues of the Nations); the subject of this picture would be an allusion to myths connected to Asia. The man holding a shield mentioned by Pliny is interpreted as an *apobates*, one of the athletes who during the celebration of the *Panathenaia* competed in a chariot race by stepping on and off running chariots, so re-enacting the games in which the Homeric heroes took part. This is seen as an allusion to the *ludi* in the Circus Maximus that took place for the inauguration of the theatre, even if the scholar also underlines that the presence of this artwork might also be justified by the simple artistic valour of a picture of Polygnotus (Cadario 2011, 30-31). However, Gros (1999a, 148) suggests that the figure of the man is that of Capaneus, one of the heroes who fought with Polynices in the myth of the Seven against Thebes. The painting representing the sacrifice of oxen has been studied by Brendel (1930, 218-219), who recognised it as the prototype of the representation of sacrifices of bovines in Roman art. Cadario (2011, 28) argues that these pictures were already part of Pompey's project for the decoration of his

complex, as were the curtains or tapestries (*aulaea attalica*; Prop., 2, 32, 11); the scholar points to the presence of *tabulae pictae* and *vestes attalicae* among the ornaments retrieved by Scaurus when his wooden theatre was dismantled (Plin., *HN*., 36, 115) as a hint that those objects were already used in the middle of the first century BC. Furthermore, to back his argument he refers to Varro (in Non., 537; *Menippeae*, 212), who mentioned the *aulea attalica* and *Sardiana tapeta*, and to the fact that, according to Pliny (*HN*., 35, 35, 59) Polygnotus' painting was originally located *ante curiam*, but then moved (probably when Augustus walled up the room: Cadario 2011, 28).

5.2.1.8 Pompey's Statue

The last decorative element of the complex that can be referred to Pompey's time with certainty is the statue (or one of the statues) of the general, which was the result of a public dedication (Plut., *Brut.*, 14, 2), placed inside the curia Pompeia in a very prominent position (for the ancient sources see the Gazetteer entry: *Opera Pompeiana*). Cadario (2011, 46-47) places the dedication of this statue in 52 BC, since he hypotheses that the exaedra on the eastern side of the portico had not been used as a meeting place for the Senate from the beginning, but just after the funerals of Clodius in January 52. In fact, at that time Pompey still held the *imperium* (he could not therefore enter the *pomerium*), and was afraid of being assassinated by Milo, so he persuaded the Senate to meet inside his complex (Ascon., *Mil*., 52c; Cass. Dio, 40, 50, 2). It is here thought, however, that there is no need to move the beginning of the use of the exaedra as a meeting place of the Senate to 52 BC, since, if the dedication of the statue took place in that year, this could have been simply the result of the change in the balance of power between Pompey and the Senate, as Cadario (2011, 47) points out, highlighted by the appointment of the general as consul *sine collega* for that year (but it has to be noted that Plutarch reports that the statue was dedicated "when he adorned the place with the porticoes and the theatre"; Plut., *Brut.*, 14).

The aspect of the statue is not known (Cadario 2011, 50); the most common interpretation (see Coarelli 1971-72, 118 for a brief description of its discovery) identifies it with the Pompeo Spada exhibited in Palazzo Spada in Rome (Fig. 5.36). Coarelli (1971-72, 118-121) states that the stylistic characteristics of it are compatible with a late-republican chronology (the head is a refurbishment of the 14th century), and that the presence of the sphere does not constitute a problem: in fact, this element appears on a coin minted by

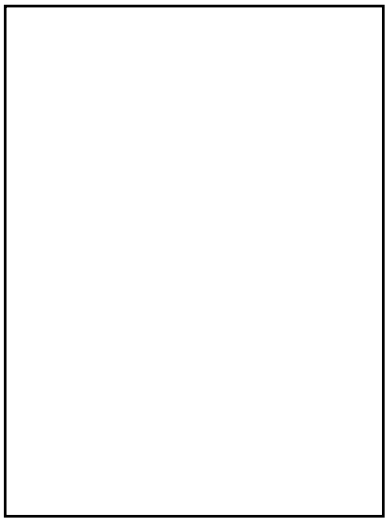

Figure 5.36: Statue from Palazzo Spada, so-called 'Pompeo Spada'.

Faustus Sulla in 55 BC in honour of Pompey himself, with a likely reference to his third triumph in 61 BC (Coarelli 1971-72, 121; see also Sauron 1987, 460; 1994, 256; Palma Venetucci 2008-09, 185). Nevertheless, this identification is challenged by various scholars, who attribute it to the Flavian or Trajanic periods, or to Domitian (for bibliography see Cadario 2011, 51, f. 145); Cadario (2011, 50) suggests that because of the public dedication it is probable that the statue was wearing the *habitus consularis* (as it had been suggested by Giuliani 1986, 269, f. 29). La Rocca (1988, 278-282), on the contrary, hypotheses that the statue portrayed Pompey as Poseidon, perhaps with his foot on a ship's prow, or a personification of a defeated nation, or a panoply of weapons.

5.2.1.9 Other Statues

The sources report the existence of other statues in the complex, but it is not possible to establish if they were already part of Pompey's decorative programme or if they were a later addition. The first group is made up of statues of wild animals, whose presence next to plane trees (identified as those of Pompey's portico: Cadario 2011, 27) is attested by Martial (3, 19); Palma Venetucci (2008-09, 180-181) interprets them as a reference to Pompey's wars against the pirates (in this way the complex would make reference to all the wars that the general fought), since she connects them to a passage of Plutarch's Life of Pompey (*Pomp*., 28, 2, 4), where the author casts a comparison between wild beasts and pirates. However, it can here be noticed that they might have been simply a reference to the wild beasts hunts held in the Circus Maximus in occasion of the dedication of the theatre (Plut., *Pomp*. 52, 5; Cass. Dio, 39, 38, 1-5). The second group, whose chronology

is uncertain, is that of the statues which decorated the fountains along the central path of the portico framed by the two plane groves: in fact, the first mention of them is to be found in Propertius (2, 32, 13-16). The author describes statues of Triton (a common subject in fountains; see Cadario 2011, 25) and of Maro; Cadario (2011, 25-26) notes that this latter character is more rare and is normally connected to the Dionysiac theme (Maro had accompanied Dionysos both to India and against the pirates: Nonnus, *Dion*., 15, 141-142; 19, 176-177 and 293-294; Fil. Mai. *Imag*., 1, 19; see Cadario 2011, 27, f. 53), which was frequent in the late republican private gardens (see Cadario 2011, 27 f. 52 for further bibliography). It might therefore be possible that these statues were part of the original project, since references to Dionysos are present in the Pompeian propaganda (Cadario 2011, 27): in fact, a parallel had been established between Pompey and Dionysos as conqueror of India (Plin., *HN.*, 8, 2, 4; see also Section 4.2.6).

5.2.1.10 Trees

As underlined before, the greatest difficulty that underlies a correct reconstruction of Pompey's decorative programme in the theatre is that it will never be possible to be certain that all of the decorative elements described by the sources had always been there from the beginning or if the picture that results is just the outcome of consecutive refurbishments and additions. Nevertheless, thanks to two passages (Suet., *Iul.*, 81, 6; Mart., 9, 61) it can be affirmed that from its dedication the *porticus Pompeiana* hosted some plane trees, organised in what Martial calls *nemus duplex* (therefore in two groves, where the trees were probably organised in rows; see Mart., 2, 14, 10; Cadario 2011, 24, f. 43). The plane trees were already a common feature in the gardens in Rome (Gleason 1994, 19), however their presence in the portico of Pompey's complex might be justified by other reasons: in fact, this species of tree was connected to the cults of Venus and Dionysos, which had such importance in the general's propaganda (and the presence of a grove might recall the *lucus*, frequently present in the Italic sanctuaries; see Cadario 2011, 24-25). Furthermore, since the plane tree was considered to have Asiatic origin, it restated the Asiatic location of the last triumph of its promoter (Cadario 2011, 25).

Cadario points out that, apart from evoking a literary environment (2011, 25, f. 46), this type of tree was recommended by Vitruvius (*De Arch.*, 5, 11, 4) in order to offer some shade in the *gymnasia* (Cadario 2011, 25). The *porticus post scaenam* of Pompey's theatre looks indeed like a Greek *gymnasium*, a model that had already been exploited in

other theatrical contexts in the Roman world (see, for example, the theatre of the city of Pompeii; Coarelli 1997a, 576); if the detachment from pedagogic and sport-related activities had already become a reality in the Greek *gymnasia* of the 4th century BC (Sauron 1987, 459), the most important innovation of this portico is, according to Coarelli (1997a, 576), the presence of the heroic cult of its promoter. In fact, according to him, the curia Pompeia in the portico had most probably a temple-like aspect, which means that Pompey's statue, situated inside it, acquired the characteristics of a divine effigy, connoting the place as a *heroon*. Being on the main east-west axis of the complex, the statue was also in direct relationship with the temple of Venus and therefore with the goddess herself (Coarelli 1997a, 574-575).

5.2.1.11 A place for a Hero?

It is from similar considerations that Sauron (1987, 459) begins his interpretation of the Pompeian complex. He states that the real innovation of Pompey was the decoration programme that was displayed inside the portico (Sauron follows the interpretation of Coarelli 1971-72), as well as the iconography of the statue of Pompey in the curia (he identifies it in the Pompeo Spada, in agreement with Coarelli; Sauron 1987, 460): he considers it to be that of a mythical hero, to which the portrait of Pompey and the symbol of the *kosmokrator* had been added (Sauron 1987, 460). The key point, according to Sauron, is the relationship between the statue of Pompey as a hero and those of the women: people would have recognised there the theme of the hero visiting the Underworld and meeting groups of heroines, as Ulysses did (Sauron 1987, 461). The three groups that Pompey as a hero encounters are, as noted above, the courtesans, the poets and the women who had exceptional births, who can be connected, respectively, to the goddesses Venus, Minerva and Juno (Sauron 1987, 462). These three goddesses were also the protagonists of the myth of Paris' judgement, and this is the reason why the Venus worshipped in the theatre's temple has the epithet of Victrix; similarly, the other divine qualities hosted in the nearby sacella have a reference to Minerva (Honos and Virtus seen as the talent of the individual – in the Pompeian complex the poetic talent) and to Juno (Felicitas intended as fertility) (Sauron 1987, 463). In this context, Pompey would have been presented as under the protection of a Venus who, having won Paris' judgement, is the guarantor of the victories of Rome and of its *imperator*; furthermore, he would also have been presented as the hero who visited the Underworld *during his life*, equalling the deeds of Hercules and Dionysos (Sauron 1987, 463-464). Starting from this interpretation

of the portico's decorative programme, Sauron (1987, 465-467) then suggests an analysis of the whole complex through the topography presented in Homer's works: the cavea of the theatre (where the Trojan myths were staged) represented the *oikoumene*, above which the gods stand (Venus, Honos and Virtus, Felicitas). The *porta regia* of the scaena symbolised the entrance to the Underworld, illustrated in the portico.

This interesting reading of Pompey's monument has recently been convincingly challenged by Cadario (2011, 53-55); as explained above, the statues of the women included in Tatian's description (*if* they all can be referred to the portico of Pompey) might have been only a small part of the statues hosted in the complex, and while they (or at least those of Eutyches and Melanippe) may be attributed to the original project, the statue representing Pompey in the curia is the result of a public dedication, and cannot therefore have been included in the original iconographic programme (even if it can be argued that this does not exclude a symbolic reading of the theatre and of the temple on it). Furthermore, the courtesans and the women that had extraordinary births should be seen in relation to Venus, with allusions to her power of seduction, fertility and eros; whereas for the women poets, whose presence would be proper in a theatre in any case, there might have been an allusion to the erotic themes of their poems. The presence of statues of women was therefore more likely meant to emphasise the centrality of Venus in the complex and her role as protector of Pompey (Cadario 2011, 55).

5.2.1.12 A Gymnasium for Promenades and Otium

Referring back to the derivation of Pompey's portico from the model of the *gymnasium*, Cadario (2011, 56-59) has also highlighted that one of the main themes that emerges from the written sources in relation to the complex is the act of frequenting it in order to go for a walk. The idea of the stroll as a social activity had begun to be introduced in the Greek world around the end of the 5th century BC, and the portico of Pompey was the first structure in Rome to offer adequate space for it and for the citizens' *otium* (Cadario 2011, 57-58). This space was nevertheless characterised by a decorative setting that referred to the world from which it derived, but because of the presence of the gardens and of other elements it also bore a reference to the houses of the élite (Cadario 2011, 57-59 and f. 161).

Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 175) states that it was not the porticus in themselves that created the mental connection with the Greek *gymnasia*, but the way in which they were fitted

out (see also Sauron 1987, 459). It was the fact that Pompey decorated his portico with statues, paintings and gardens that facilitated its reading as a space for leisure, and even more, it was because he decorated the portico with works of art *from Greece* that the place could evoke a defined Greek context (see Cicero's letter to Atticus where the orator asks his friend to procure statuary from Greece, suitable for a *gymnasium*, to be collocated in his villa in Tusculum; Cic., *Att.*, 1, 6, 2; 1, 10, 3; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 171 and 175).

Pompey's purpose was therefore to present to his public a space that had to be perceived as a Greek *gymnasium*. This type of building was originally used in Greece for athletic and military training, and, particularly because Pompey's monument was located in the Campus Martius, it was most probably meant to evoke that original function to the majority of the Roman population: in Cicero's *De oratore*, one of the protagonists, the illustrious orator L. Licinius Crassus, states that those buildings had been devised by the Greeks *exercitationis et delectationis causa* (for training and leisure), and not for philosophical discussion (Cic., *De or*., 2, 21; see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 172). By decorating it with statues, fountains and gardens Pompey wanted to stress the aspect connected to entertainment and relaxation, that is, in Latin words, to *otium*.

5.2.1.13 Further Interpretations

After outlining the interpretations that have been suggested in the existing scholarship, it is now possible to propose a further reading of the Pompeian complex, without the pretention of giving an alternative explanation but, on the contrary, with the aim of integrating it with those summarised above, and at the same time taking into account all the limits and problems inherent to this research.

As already underlined, the monument should be considered primarily a triumphal one, for the reasons and characteristics outlined above, and therefore it clearly celebrated the figure and deeds of Pompey himself through the centrality given to his protector goddess and through the constant reference to his victorious campaigns, thanks to its architectural typology and decoration. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the typology of the imperial fora can already be glimpsed in it (Sauron 1987, 472), and that its construction offered an alternative focus to the Roman forum for the city's population (Cadario 2011, 15). These observations point to other aspects of the Pompeian complex, and a more detailed analysis of its architectural organisation yields, in my opinion, further insights.

5.2.1.14 Curia-Comitium, Curia-Theatrum

First, it is necessary to look back to the original political heart of the city, the Roman Forum, and in particular to the structure of the old Republican complex of the curia – comitium, as suggested by Coarelli (Fig. 5.37). Analysing the sources, Coarelli proposed a reconstruction of the complex curia – comitium placing the curia on its northern side, the Rostra opposite the curia, the *Graecostasis* on the western side and the tribunals of the praetors on the northern side of the comitium, in front of the curia (Coarelli 1983, 141-145 and 152-159). Furthermore, he suggested a reconstruction of the comitium as a circular building, similar to the Greek *ekklesiasteria* or to some other examples of comitia in the Roman colonies (the most notable one is the comitium of Cosa) from the beginning of the 3rd century BC (Coarelli 1983, 148-152). While the circular shape of the comitium is still a matter of debate (see, for example, Amici 2004-2005, 359), for this research it is important to point out that the Rostra, that have been excavated, certainly followed a

Figure 5.37: The curia-comitium complex of the Forum Romanum after Coarelli 1983.

curved line from the phase 5 of the comitium (first half of the 3rd century BC; see Gazetteer entry: *Comitium*).

The comitium, and particularly the Rostra inside it, was the place where originally the *comitia tributa* took place, as well as some *contiones*; it was therefore the place where the people held their assemblies and were summoned by the magistrates and could, in the forms established by Roman law, 'express' their opinion and will (see Section 3.2.1). In fact, Cicero, in his oration *Pro Sestio*, delivered in 56 BC (therefore one year before the dedication of the Pompeian complex), states (Cic., *Sest.*, 106):

> *Etenim tribus locis significari maxime de re publica populi Romani iudicium ac voluntas potest, contione, comitiis, ludorum gladiatorumque consessu*.
>
> In fact, the opinion and the will of the Roman people on the subject of politics can be most clearly expressed in three occasions: during the public assemblies, during the *comitia*, and during the shows of the *ludi* and of the gladiatorial games.

From this passage, as well as from another one where Cicero refers to the theatre and the curia in Rhodes as the two places where political decisions were taken (Cic., *Rep*., 3, 48), it can be inferred that not only the comitium, but also the theatre was considered one of the places in which it was possible for the people to convene for political purposes (especially during the Late Republic: see Section 3.2.2). According to Frézouls (1983, 200) this is one of the reasons why the *optimates* were so hostile to the construction of a permanent theatre inside the Urbs. Considering the shape and functions of the comitium and Cicero's statements, as well as the importance that theatres began to acquire as places for the expression of political opinion during the Late Republic, it is possible to draw the attention back to the Pompeian complex.

As stated above, it was composed of a theatre (on its western side), a curia (which was an inaugurated space, a *templum*; see Varro, in Gell., *NA*, 14, 7, 7) on the opposite side, and a *porticus*; on the eastern side of this *porticus*, in front of the curia, justice was administered (Coarelli 1997a, 579; see App., *B civ.*, 2, 115). It can be noticed therefore that the Pompeian complex hosted some of the most important functions of the complex curia-comitium (and in the same relative topographical position; fig. 5.38); furthermore, it did so in a historical moment in which most parts of the Republican comitium in the Roman Forum had already been obliterated by consecutive refurbishments (the last of

Figure 5.38: Comparison between the curia-comitium complex of the Forum Romanum and the theatrical complex of Pompey; a.: curia comitium complex; b.: theatrical complex of Pompey.

which had taken place under Sulla). It is therefore suggested here that Pompey's monument had been conceived, at a theoretical level, as a reproduction, on a much larger scale, of the curia-comitium complex of the Forum (an analogy between Pompey's theatre and a comitium has already been suggested by Sauron 1987, 472; a recreation of the connection between curia and comitium has been pointed out by Delfino 2014, 242). There are clearly some striking differences: the similarity does not imply that the theatre of Pompey was used exactly as the Rostra. Nevertheless, because of its typology, the theatre was tied to the idea of Greek democracy (Frézouls 1983, 194), and during the Late Republic strong political messages were conveyed in those buildings through dramatic performances (Frézouls 1983, 200; see, for example, what happened to Pompey in 59 BC: Cic., *Att.*, 2, 19, 3). An additional aspect of the theatre of Pompey has to be taken into account. In his article on the spectators and spectator comfort in Roman entertainment buildings, Rose (2005) proposes a method to calculate the number of

spectators that could be hosted in those monuments. He applies it to the theatre of Marcellus, the Colosseum and the Circus Maximus, since they set the standard for the following Roman buildings of that type; in addition, it has to be highlighted that he establishes the position of the different social classes according to the rules of the *lex Iulia theatralis*, approved by Augustus (Rose 2005, 99-100). By doing this, he reaches a very interesting conclusion: after calculating the surface and capacity of each *maenianum* of the theatre of Marcellus and of the Colosseum (the Circus Maximus is excluded for lack of enough evidence to estimate the surface of the individual *maeniana* with enough accuracy), the conclusion is that only 15-20% of the buildings was reserved for the lower classes in the *summa cavea* (Rose 2005, 118). This indicates that, contrary to the common perception of the entertainment buildings as institutions for the Roman mob, they were much more focused on the middle and upper classes (which would have occupied 60-75% of the building; Rose 2005, 118-119 and 127).As far as the theatre of Pompey is concerned, the archaeological evidence is very scant, and calculating the surface of each *maenianum* and their respective capacity might be problematic. Nevertheless, an experiment might be carried out on the basis of the data gathered by Filippi and her team (Filippi *et al.* 2015) during their last survey of the structures of the theatre, where not only the new structures have been entered, but also those surveyed in previous campaigns and those surveyed by Baltard (Filippi *et al.* 2015, 348 and 349, f. 7). Therefore, the measurements might be gathered from their reconstruction of the cavea in figure 21, page 364 (see fig. 5.39).

Figure 5.39: Section of the theatre of Pompey along the central axis and reconstruction of the cavea, and of its connection with the *scaenae frons*.

Rose (2005, 116 and 118) presents the formulae for calculating the surface of the theatre of Marcellus and of its individual maeniana, and proposes three standard dimensions of the seating area for each spectator, basing his hypothesis on modern requirements for spectator comfort, on Vitruvius' (*Arch.*, 5, 6, 3-4) suggestions and on archaeological evidence (the incisions for every fifth spectator in the seating block of the amphitheatre in Arles and those in the second phase of the amphitheatre of Pola). Therefore, he proposes three standard dimensions: 0.3x0.5 m (0.15 m^2); 0.4x0.7 m (0.28 m^2); 0.5x0.8 m (0.4 m^2) (Rose 2005, 114-115).

The measurements provided by Filippi and her team have been here used to calculate the surface and seating capacity of the theatre of Pompey using Rose's method, and the results are presented in Table 1 (for calculating seating capacity, a 10% of the cavea area has been deducted for non-seating areas, as suggested by Rose 2005, 115). Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, since the archaeological evidence of the theatre of Pompey is so scant, these number have to be considered hypothetical.

Table 1: Estimated surface and number of spectators for each *maenianum* (for different seating standards) for the theatre of Pompey. The number of spectators has been calculated deducing 10% of the cavea surface for non-seating areas.

THEATRE OF POMPEY

(estimated surface of the cavea: 6959.54 m^2 ; -10%: 6263.59 m^2)

	Surface (-10%)	0.15 m^2	0.28 m^2	0.4 m^2	Percentage of total capacity
Podium	476.47 m^2 (428.82 m^2)	2859	1532	1072	6.8%
Ima cavea	1174.14 m^2 (1056.73 m^2)	7045	3774	2642	16.9%
Media cavea	1302.56 m^2 (1172.30 m^2)	7815	4187	2931	18.7%
Summa cavea	2780.20 m^2 (2502.18 m^2)	16681	8936	6255	39.9%
Upper gallery	1226.17 m^2 (1103.55 m^2)	7357	3941	2759	17.6%

As it can be seen from the numbers obtained, the percentage for the people hosted in the *summa cavea* of the theatre of Pompey is much higher than that of the theatre of Marcellus. If the dimension of the theatre is confirmed by further archaeological evidence, this might point to a much more even distribution of the spectators across the different social classes. However, this distribution has been calculated on the basis of the *lex Iulia theatralis*, that came into application only in the age of Augustus. At Pompey's time the distribution of the seats might have been different, although it might have been already affected by the *lex Roscia theatralis*, assigning the first 14 rows of the *ima cavea* to the equestrian class and approved in 67 BC (Cic., *Mur.*, 40; *Phil.*, 2, 44; *Att.*, 2, 19, 3).

It is not easy to answer the question of who might have understood the reference of the Pompeian complex to the curia-comitium complex; however, Cicero's statements show that at least the upper class would have linked the theatre with the public assemblies. Furthermore, one has to consider a very important factor: up to Pompey's time, the only *curia Senatus* was the curia Hostilia/Cornelia (the other *curiae* were mainly used on the occasion of sacred festivals). It is probable therefore that the presence, on one side, of a building reminiscent of popular assemblies and, on the opposite side, of the only other *curia Senatus* (before the curia Iulia) could induce a mental connection with the traditional curia-comitium complex of the Roman Forum.

It is particularly striking that, in order to provide a new focal point for the city populace, Pompey chose a shape and topographical position of the functions of the complex which are reminiscent of the old political heart of the Republic (as is the topographical relationship with the Capitolium; Delfino 2014, 242). In this respect, it is even more interesting to note that the position of the Augustan *Porticus Lentulorum* (probable place where the dedications to magistrates and emperors from the foreign provinces were located; Orlandi 1999, 125) in relation to the curia and the theatre is the same as that of the *Graecostasis* of the comitium, the place where foreign ambassadors were received (Varro, *Ling.*, 5, 155; the *Graecostasis* existed at least until 57 BC: see Cic., *Ad. Q. fr.*. 2, 1, 3), in relation to the curia and the Rostra (see fig. 5.38, b).

A further analogy that might be noticed between Pompey's cavea and the Rostra can be found in the characteristics of the Pompeian cult. Coarelli's observations are relevant here: Plutarch (Plut., *Sull.*, 11, 1-2) refers to what happened during a ceremony for Mithridates, in which the king was being crowned by a Victory in a theatre; a very similar

scene was later represented, but in a private context, by Metellus Pius in Spain, on the occasion of the war against Sertorius (Sall., *Hist.*, 3, 10). Therefore, in the celebrations for the dedication of the theatre by Pompey, with plays that represented his victories under the gaze of the goddess Venus Victrix, Coarelli (1997a, 563-565) underlines a strong reference to the power of the Hellenistic monarchs. However, it might also be noted that Plutarch (*Rom*., 24, 5) reports the presence in the Volcanal, next to the Rostra of the comitium, of a statue of Romulus crowned by a Victoria; this would constitute another analogy with the monument in the Forum and would further prove the intention of Pompey to provide new spaces for public business, but away from the traditional political centre of the city and on private land (it will be seen below how Caesar responded to this political initiative). The Pompeian complex, nevertheless, presents a fundamental difference with the curia-comitium complex of the Forum: while the latter was dominated by the towering presence of the curia, in the former not only is the curia dwarfed by the dimension of the theatre, but both are on a lower plane in relation to the temple of the Pompeian goddess, Venus Victrix (see Delfino 2014, 242). Apart from being a reference to the extraordinary military powers conferred to Pompey in the East, and to his consequent position of *super pares*, this setting might strengthen the reference to the fact that it was his personal goddess who also was the protector of the Roman people and the guarantor of its predominance. From this, the notion that Pompey is the right man for government might follow as a consequence.

Keeping in mind this fundamental concept, it is necessary now to turn attention to the *porticus post scaenam*. Taking into account the caveats about our knowledge of its decoration outlined above, it is important to note that the groups of statues and the pictures have always been considered and analysed in separate groups. Nevertheless, there seems to be a theme that connects at least some of them: the cycle of Thebes.

5.2.1.15 '[…]flamma […] geminoque cacumine surgit Thebanos imitata rogos' (Luc., I, 550-552)

Coarelli (1971-72, 104, f. 20) notes that the statues of Eteocles and Polynices listed by Tatian (*Graec*., 34), sculpted by Pythagoras, are to be connected to the seven statues of the same sculptor described by Pliny (*HN.*, 34, 19, 60), who said they were *ad aedem Fortunae Huiusce Diei*, therefore in the proximity of the Pompeian complex. In a recent article, Sande (2014, 54) has convincingly suggested that the two authors might be

speaking of two different groups of statues. It is here argued that these statues might have been inside the portico of the theatre of Pompey for a specific propagandistic reason. In fact, if the lists of its statues and paintings are considered, it might be noticed that some of their subjects are in a way related to the Theban cycle:

- the picture with Cadmus and Europa: Cadmus was the brother of Europa; when his sister was kidnapped by Zeus, he set off in search of her, but the oracle of Delphi told him to follow a cow until it lay down to rest, and to found a city in that point: this city was Thebes (Heinze 2003, 867);
- a statue of Harmonia: Harmonia was the daughter of Aphrodite and Ares, who gave her as a wife to Cadmus (Waldner 2004, 1145);
- a statue of Argeia: Argeia was the wife of Polynices (Graf 2002, 1056);
- a statue of Melanippe: Melanippe had twins from Poseidon; one of them, Boetus, was the ancestor of the Boeotians (Waldner 2006, 617);
- the picture with Alexander the Great: Alexander razed to the ground the city of Thebes in 335 BC, sparing only the sanctuaries, the house of Pindarus and the properties of the allies of Macedon (Fell 2009, 412).

Furthermore, some other characters share a connection with the city: Myrtis the poet came from Thebes, and was the master of Pindarus (Zweig Vivante 2010, 711); another one of her disciples, Corinna, wrote a "Seven against Thebes" (Robbins 2003, 790); the courtesan Phryne offered to rebuild Thebes after Alexander destroyed it (Walter 2007, 198). It is also to be taken into account that both the divine models of Pompey, Hercules and Dionysus, had been born in Thebes (Klodt 2009, 418).

Being aware of all the caveats highlighted above, connected to the scantiness of archaeological evidence for the decoration of the theatre, this interpretation is hypothetical. Furthermore, it attempts to uncover only one of the many themes that might have been present in such a vast complex as the one under analysis, and this is the reason why only a part of the available evidence is considered; evidence that probably could express more than one meaning, and therefore be an element linked to more than one theme.

It is now important to consider how the city of Thebes and its myths were perceived by the Romans, in order to understand what reason might have led Pompey to insert this theme in his complex. The Theban material was present both in poems and in tragic poetry

in the Greek world (Braund 2006, 263-264), but even in the Latin world, in the works of Pacuvius and Accius, in Ovid, Seneca, Lucan (Braund 2006, 264 and 266-267) and clearly in Statius' Thebaid. Braund (2006, 266) has interestingly noticed that the myths of Thebes are more common in the literature of the late Republican period than in the Augustan age: this is clearly due to the fact that the myth, and the events of the Seven against Thebes in particular (which is the episode of Thebes' mythology most commonly represented in ancient art; Napoli 1960, 464), was a reference to the civil war or, more generally, to Roman political tension (Cicero uses two quotes from Euripides' *Phoenissae* while referring to Julius Caesar in *Att*. 2, 25, 1 and 7, 11, 1; see also McNelis 2007, 4). It is no coincidence that Accius, who died in 80 BC, wrote tragedies with a Theban theme, since, as Braund (2006, 260) states, 'we can readily accept the notion that any ancient poet's choice of mythological material is likely to be imbued with significance for his contemporary audience'.

It is here suggested that the possible presence of a statue group of (at least) Eteocles and Polynices and the other references to the vicissitudes of that city in Pompey's portico might be connected with what happened before Pompey's return from the East to Rome. After his successes in the Eastern provinces, Pompey had increased his power and influence, and his return to Italy reminded a worried aristocracy of Sulla's return to Italy from the East in 83 BC, which was followed by a series of bloody events ending up in his dictatorship and proscriptions (Seager 1979, 72). In contrast, Pompey decided to disband his troops and to return to Rome as a private citizen, after having also written some dispatches to the Senate at the beginning of 62 BC, in order to assure the assembly that he had no intentions of causing civil strife (Cic., *Fam*., 5, 7, 1; see Gruen 1970, 237). The key for understanding the presence of the kings of the Seven against Thebes might be the presence of the painting of Alexander the Great (and perhaps of the statues of the Macedonians; see page 197): as Alexander razed Thebes to the ground, sealing its downfall (Fell 2009, 412), Pompey returned to Rome with the firm intention not to resume the civil strife that had plagued it in its recent past and to restore social peace (there is nevertheless a fundamental difference between the two generals, which will be analysed below).

5.2.1.16 Guarantor of Social Peace

How does this ideology fit in the frame of the historical events of the late 60s – early 50s BC? It is necessary to look back at the events that took place between the Catilinarian conspiracy and the dedication of the Pompeian theatre, of which a short account has been given in Section 4.2.8. There, it has been seen how difficult the situation in Rome was, and how Pompey aimed to present himself as a moderate, as 'the right man for government'. He was in fact seeking both the approval of the lower classes and that of the Senate, aiming to present himself as a man who had social peace and welfare at heart.

In this context, the observations of Frézouls (1983, 204-214) are particularly interesting. He has tried to understand the political reasons for the construction of the theatre of Pompey, and has drawn the attention to the *senatusconsultum* of 64 BC, whereby the *collegia* 'which appeared to be against the Republic' were suppressed (Ascon., *Pis*., 7; it refers most probably not to the religious ones, but to the professional ones and those of the *vici*: Frézouls 1983, 208); these *collegia* organised their own *ludi*, which were also forbidden as a consequence of the *senatusconsultum*. From the political utilisation of the *collegia* it can be inferred that their *ludi* were in some way connected to the current political events, and that therefore their suppression frustrated the population, both politically and on the entertainment level. The theatres became in this way the only place where the collective expression of political opinion was tolerated. Nevertheless, in January 58 Clodius re-established the *collegia* by means of a plebiscite, but, because of the use that the tribune made of them for his violent purposes, the Senate abolished again all the associations in February 56 BC. By building a stone theatre, Pompey could offer a permanent (and easily controllable) space that responded to the entertainment needs of the population, without reconstituting the collegial *ludi* – a 'solution of compromise' and 'a work of pacification and good sense' (Frézouls 1983, 213-214).

It is here considered possible that the political message underlying the Pompeian complex aimed to celebrate Pompey as the right man for government, the one who could re-establish, maintain and guarantee, under the protection of Venus Victrix, the *concordia ordinum*; the one who could ensure the domination on the Roman territories, thanks to his personal military ability and to the protection of the goddess; the one who could secure the moral and material prosperity of the State (the latter had been emphasised during his triumph in 61; Temelini 2006, 1), putting himself at the service of the Republic.

5.2.1.17 Different Levels of Messages

The theatre of Pompey, as seen in relation to the Forum of Caesar, therefore expressed different messages on different levels. The basic message was the one connected to Pompey's military victories and triumphs, and could almost certainly be understood by everybody. The epithet of the goddess Venus, *Victrix*, was a clear reference to it, and the same must have been valid for the representations of the fourteen nations conquered by the general, as well as for the 'exotic' (or at least 'non-Roman') environment exhibited in the portico. The impressive dimensions of the complex, a reflection of the greatness of Pompey's successes, must have awed the population, that was most probably pleased by having been offered such an extensive and permanent (and comfortable) place for entertainment. In fact, although the theatre certainly could not host the entirety of the Roman population, it was the largest Roman theatre ever built (Sear 2006, 57). It seems that performances in public festivals or triumphal celebrations could attract diverse audiences, although the relative proportion of the different social classes is uncertain (Manuwald 2011, 98). As mentioned in Section 3.2.2, the audience of a performance could be partly selected, but, as Manuwald (2011, 98, f. 197) observes, Cicero's comments on the behaviour of audiences make sense only in the light of a certain freedom of access. As far as the aristocracy is concerned, by building a permanent stone theatre Pompey saw not only that his successes be remembered long after their celebration, but also that nobody could outdo his glory for promoting such a monument (or at least that it was very difficult and expensive in terms of money and time). Klar (2006, 177) has in fact suggested that the reason Scipio Nasica approved the demolition of the stone theatre promoted by C. Cassius Longinus and M. Valerius Messala in 154 BC was that otherwise he would have been denied the glory of building a *scaenae frons* and a temporary theatre for the games for his triumph. Furthermore, the notable size of the theatre implied that most probably it could be seen from the beginning of the *via Triumphalis*, where the triumphing generals and their armies crossed the river Tiber to enter the city, thus forcing every other *triumphator* to cast a comparison with the conqueror of the three known continents.

5.2.1.18 A 'Scipionic' Man of Government

An environment such as the portico (whose setting as a garden could in any case be justified by the fact that Venus was the protector of them; Schilling 1954, 24) was therefore clearly meant to be perceived as a 'Greek' space, with statues that could be

grouped into themes, following a typical Hellenistic taste for eclectism, and allowing the introduction of the 'stroll' as a social activity (as it was customary in Greece; see p. 203). In this way, Pompey was not only trying to transform the *physical* aspect of Rome, in order to contribute to its remodelling into a more Hellenistic (and hence 'modern') city, but also the habits of its inhabitants, thus 'educating' them towards the new cultural challenges posed by the expansion of the Roman territories. This aspect is particularly interesting if put in connection with the conception of the good man of government which, in Rome, has its origins in the ideology expressed by the Scipionic circle, subsequently re-elaborated following the evolving needs of the Roman State. The aim of the leader is to provide for the common good, and against the moral decadence of the citizens, since a society founded on good moral principles is also characterised by social order and peace; in order to achieve and maintain this, it is nevertheless necessary to continuously pursue those principles, and the leader must possess unselfishness, moderation and wisdom, and seek glory for the service of the State (Dosi 2006, 48-50). The message that the *optimates* aimed to convey was that the only way to attain that social peace was through war (Dosi 2006, 51).

In light of this, it seems easier to understand the lavish display of the material benefits of Pompey's conquests, his 'perpetual triumph' in the complex of the Campus Martius; the presence, next to Venus Victrix, of the sacella dedicated to Honos, Virtus and Felicitas (and perhaps Victoria) acquires an even stronger significance as well. An attempt to moral admonishment might be grasped in the display of the statues of Eteocles and Polynices: in relation to the debate on the control of passions by men of government already mentioned above (see Section 5.1.2.6), the two brothers fighting each other, a metaphor for civil war, can be seen as symbols of wrath. In fact, in the words of Cicero (*Marcell*., 9) civil war is a time of *iracundia* (see Harris 2009, 209), but the story of Eteocles and Polynices was used as an example against rage for moral educational purposes already in the sixth century BC (Harris 2009, 156). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that both Plato and Xenocrates, whose statues, as seen, were perhaps present in the portico, discussed anger and control of passions in their works, and that the possible presence of a statue of Phalaris, the stereotype of the cruel tyrant, can be justified by the fact that tyrants were known to be subject to wrath (on tyrants and rulers see Harris 2009, 195 and 234 but also *passim*). Alexander the Great was also famous in the Greek world for his fits of anger (Harris 2009, 235; see also Liv., 9, 18), and, in particular, the destruction of

Thebes was seen as a consequence of that (Pol., 5, 10, 6; Diod. Sic. 17, 8, 2 and 6; Plut., *Alex*., 13, 2). In contrast to the kings portrayed in the portico, Pompey was known to be moderate, and capable of controlling his passions (there are many examples of this in Plutarch, in particular *Pomp*., 1, 4; 53, 2) and, in addition, the prominent position of the temple of Venus Victrix and of the connected sacella was clearly an affirmation of the fact that his actions were under the guide of that goddess and those 'divine qualities', making the aforementioned statues an admonishment and a political statement.

5.2.1.19 Concordia Ordinum

As mentioned above, one of the aims of the good leader is to maintain social peace: that is *concordia* (*ordinum*). By creating a structure that in its topography of functions recalled the complex curia-comitium in the Forum, Pompey re-established the relationship between the two assemblies; furthermore, by subordinating them to Venus Victrix, Honos, Virtus and Felicitas, he might have also tried to symbolise an intent of reunification of the divine entities that had been the respective protectors of two violently opposed factions in recent times (Marians and Sullans, as Coarelli 1997a, 570 underlines; this, as noted in Section 5.1.2.3, has been realised in a more accomplished way by Caesar's Venus Genetrix). Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the complex stood on private land, connected with Pompey's private *villa*; he might have wanted to stress the necessity of a good, illuminated governor (clearly, Pompey himself) in order to achieve and maintain that social peace so indispensable for the survival of the Roman State.

5.2.2 Pompey's Temple of Minerva

Pliny (*HN*., 7, 26, 97) records that, after the Eastern campaign, Pompey dedicated a temple to Minerva *de manubiis*, in 61 BC, perhaps in the context of his triumph (Greenhalgh 1980, 176), and also reports the dedicatory inscription for it. The same monument is most likely mentioned by Diodorus Siculus too (40, 4), who cites a dedicatory inscription, very similar to that reported by Pliny (Palombi 1996b, 253). The location of the temple has not yet been established: Palombi (1996b, 253-254) lists three possibilities, of which the second and the third one – namely, that the temple was either the *aedes Minervae* outside Porta Capena, recorded by the Cataloghi Regionari, or the *templum Minervae* between the Forum and the Velabrum – are deemed as the most likely ones. In either of the cases, the temple would have been located in a place connected to

the triumph (Palombi 1996b, 253-254), therefore in accordance to the context of the dedication. As already mentioned in Section 4.2.5, the reasons for the choice of that goddess might either be connected to the maritime context of Pompey's victory over the pirates, or, perhaps more likely, given the more ample ideology expressed by the Pompeian complex, to the patronage of Minerva over Hercules, with whom Pompey aimed to be assimilated.

5.2.3 A New Building for the *Comitia*: the Saepta

As seen in Section 5.2.1, the inauguration of the Pompeian complex in the Campus Martius was followed by the beginning of Caesar's building activity. Cicero's letter to Atticus concerning the Forum of Caesar also informs us about the beginning of the activity for the reconstruction of the *Saepta* (Cic, *Att*., 4, 16, 8; see Gazetteer entry: *Saepta (Ovile) and Diribitorium*), in connection (perhaps; Agache 1987, 227 f. 77) with the refurbishment (or at least the inclusion in the complex of the Saepta) of the *Villa Publica* (see Gazetteer entry: *Villa Publica*). Caesar never managed to see the end of the works, which were finished by M. Aemilius Lepidus in 27 BC (Cass. Dio, 53, 23, 1; fig. 5.40); it is therefore not possible to know what kind of decoration had been planned for the monument, although it is to be taken into account that Agrippa placed marble tablets and paintings in it (Cass. Dio, 53, 23, 1) and that the porticoes all around the space for the voting procedures were adorned with works of art and various species of plants (Gatti 1937, 91), similar to the portico of the nearby Pompey's theatre.

Nothing has remained of the Caesarian phase of this building, but from Cicero's letter it is possible to gather that its two main innovations comprised the material with which they were built (marble, possibly from Luni; Coarelli 1997a, 581) and some kind of roofing (perhaps canopies or awnings that covered the voting lanes; Coarelli 1997a, 581). The dimensions of the Caesarian monument corresponded to those of its Augustan phase (Coarelli 1997a, 159), and the former was most likely not very different in its proportions to the Republican building (Taylor 1966, 52; Agache 1987, 227; Coarelli 1997a, 159). Caesar therefore aimed to make the Saepta stand out in the landscape of the Campus Martius and give them an aspect more in line with the times and with the (theoretical) importance of the popular assemblies, while maintaining the same location, orientation and dimensions as a sign of respect towards traditions. It has already been underlined (Agache 1987, 228-229) that this action, together with the initial project of the Forum of

Caesar, was meant to propagandistically highlight Caesar's attachment to the traditional places of power of the Republic, and it should be put in connection, as it will be explained in Section 6.1.2, with the subsequent works on the Rostra in the Forum. Considering the Villa Publica, Agache (1987, 230) points out that it evoked two Republican values of the Roman citizens, that is the access to voting – as a consequence of one's registration in the list of citizens during the *census* - and the duty to war – since the *dilectus* was carried out there (Varro, *Rust*., 3, 2, 4), values which Caesar aimed to promote. Furthermore, considering that the Villa Publica was the location where the censors proceeded with the census of the Roman citizens, Agache (1987, 225) puts Caesar's decision in connection with the fact that the last lists of citizens had been compiled in 70-69 BC, and that a new census was expected in 55-54 BC (see Cic., *Att*., 4, 9, 1). This situation of stalemate was one of the reasons for discontent among the people of Transpadana, who wanted to be included in the list and whose cause Caesar had backed since 69 or 68 BC (Suet., *Iul.*, 8). The decision to renew that building might therefore be framed inside the ideology of *concordia* that Caesar began to promote after the dissolution of the triumviral pact with Pompey (see Agache's discussion on the coin with the representation of the Villa Publica and the inscription CONCORDIA of the *triumvir monetalis* P. Fonteius; Agache 1987, 215-222; 228-229; 233).

More importantly, the contrast between Caesar's new Saepta and Villa Publica and Pompey's theatre complex has been frequently underlined. Not only the location of the former buildings and the date of the beginning of their works (shortly after the inauguration of Pompey's theatre) express a desire for confrontation, but also their functions, which, for Coarelli (1997a, 582), are ideologically rooted in the anti-senatorial politics, celebrating the sites of the popular *libertas* in sharp contrast with Pompey's monuments. Two other observations can be added to this: first, Taylor (1966, 48) affirms that the innovation of the awnings covering the lanes of the Saepta might have been introduced by Caesar in order to prevent the citizens from being tempted to go and sit in the shade of the *velaria* in the theatre of Pompey for their meetings and assemblies, instead of standing under the sun. Taylor (1966, 53-54) calculates a maximum of 70,000 voters that could be hosted in the Saepta, but she also points out that 1) it is unlikely that the entire space of the building was used for queuing, since other activities might have

Figure 5.40: Reconstruction plan of the Saepta Iulia in the Campus Martius, 7 BC phase.

required some space (such as provisions for the writing of the vote on the ballots), and 2) the number of voters was not equal throughout the tribes. Nevertheless, it might be suggested that even if the capacity of the Saepta were one and a half times greater than

that of the theatre of Pompey, the comparison between Caesar's and Pompey's buildings has to be intended more as ideological, rather than based on actual numbers.

Secondly, Agache (1987, 230 f. 89) points out that there might be a parallel in the structure of Caesar's and Pompey's buildings in the Campus Martius. She takes into consideration Plutarch's information about the construction of Pompey's new private house (*villa*, in Latin) annexed to his theatre (Plut., *Pomp*., 40, 9), and highlights that in Cicero's letter to Atticus mentioned above there might be an ironic parallel between the two monuments, by using the expression *villa etiam publica*. The conjunction *etiam* isolates the adjective *publica*, and, according to Agache, puts it in contrast with Pompey's *villa*, which was private. She therefore affirms that Caesar aimed to contrast his *public* Saepta and Villa with Pompey's *private* theatre and residence (since they had both been built on private land).

In the light of this, the hypothesis suggested above (p.207), that the Pompeian complex can be seen as a reproduction, on a bigger scale, of the curia-comitium complex of the Roman Forum, acquires a stronger meaning: not only did Caesar want to obstruct the use of the stone theatre as a place for popular assemblies by giving the people a place that was equally comfortable and monumental, but the reconstruction of the Saepta and Villa Publica symbolises the general's propagandistic intention of reaffirming the public character of the location of popular assemblies (and of the use of the Campus Martius). Taking into account that the Campus Martius, before the progressive privatisation of part of its land during the Late Republic, had been a land for public use because it had been removed from the kings after the monarchic period (Liv., 2, 5, 2), it is easy to see the ideological impact that Caesar's actions might have had (on the privatisation of the Campus Martius: Oros., 5, 18, 27; see also Coarelli 1997a, 545; Albers 2008, 20).

5.2.4 Caesar's Temporary Stadium and *Naumachia*

After the celebrations for his triumphs in 46, as Suetonius (*Iul.*, 39) mentions, Caesar offered various kind of spectacles, including *naumachiae*, for which he excavated an artificial lake (Plutarch, *Caes*., 55, 4 also says that Caesar offered *naumachiae* and gladiatorial shows to honour his deceased daughter); he also built a temporary stadium in the Campus Martius.

The location of both buildings has been a matter of discussion. Coarelli (1997a, 585) points out that only the western and the central part of the Campus Martius would have offered enough free space for the construction of a stadium, and he also hypotheses that the temporary stadium erected by Augustus after his triumph in 28 (Cass. Dio 53, 1, 5; Suet., *Aug*., 43, 1) occupied the same place. Following Castagnoli's (1947, 146-147) suggestion that the two inscriptions (CIL IV 385=30751; 386), found north of the stadium of Domitian and commemorating the *ludi votivi* of 13 and 7 BC, have to be put in connection with the place where Caesar's and Augustus' *stadia* were, Coarelli (1997a, 585) postulates that the stadium of Domitian has to be considered the permanent version of the preceding *stadia* (this hypothesis has been now widely accepted; see, for example, Liverani 2008, 49; Tortorici 2012, 27) (Plate 1).

As far as the lake for the *naumachia* is concerned, Suetonius says that it was located in the area called *Codeta minor*; Cassius Dio provides further information, pointing out that the lake had been excavated in the Campus Martius (Cass. Dio, 43, 23, 4). The problem concerning its location is not only due to the fact that the location of the *Codeta minor* is not known, but also that Suetonius' text is corrupted, at that point, in the manuscripts: the *naumachia* is described, depending on the edition of the manuscript, either as *in minore Codeta* (in the Codeta minor) or *in morem cochleae* (in the shape of a shell) (Coleman 1993, 50). Nevertheless, the first emendation is the most widely accepted (Coleman 1993, 50), and, in addition, Coleman's (1993, 50, f. 5) arguments against the latter are convincing.

Coarelli (1997a, 19-20) therefore elaborated a hypothesis of Ashby (Platner and Ashby 1965, 128) - that the *Codeta minor* should be placed on the opposite side of the river Tiber in relation to the *Codeta maior* -, and located the *naumachia Caesaris* in an area called 'Vallicella', west of the modern Piazza Navona (Plate 1). The *naumachia* and the stadium were therefore standing in close proximity (Coarelli 1997a, 19 and 585; see also Tosi 2003e, 816 with bibliography in f.3; *contra* Cordischi 1999, 57 and 60 who places the *Codeta minor* on the other side of the Tiber and states the identity between the *naumachia Caesaris* and *Augusti*).

In Caesar's intentions, according to Suetonius (*Iul.*, 44), the *naumachia* should have been filled in in order to make space for a temple of Mars; the latter project was never implemented, because of Caesar's death, but the former was, although for a different

reason. In fact, the Senate buried the *naumachia*, justifying this action with hygienic reasons in consequence of a pestilence (Cass. Dio, 45, 17, 8), but, as Coarelli (1997a, 20) notes, this action has to be read as a political will to oppose Caesar's memory. The decision, Cassius Dio says, was taken by the Senate in 43 BC together with that of not implementing Caesar's request for the construction of a new curia (a project approved by the same assembly at the beginning of 44 BC; Cass. Dio, 44, 5,1), but rebuilding the old curia Hostilia instead. Since the two decisions were taken by the Senate at the same time and after Caesar's death, this has been seen as a sign of a temporary pre-eminence in the Senate of the anti-Caesarian faction (see Liverani 2008, 46).

Caesar's project for a temple of Mars is even more interesting if connected to Coarelli's (1997a, 584-585) suggestion that Caesar's *naumachia* had been purposely built in an area inside, or just outside, of Pompey's properties in the Campus Martius (for a detailed discussion on the location of Pompey's *horti*, see Coarelli 1997a, 546-559). In this way, not only would both the stadium and the *naumachia* have been in the proximity of the *via Triumphalis*, but the close connection with Pompey's *horti* might have to be referred to Caesar's triumph over (even if not explicitly) the Pompeians (Coarelli 1997a, 585).

5.2.5 A Plan for the City: the *Lex Iulia de Urbe augenda, ornanda et instruenda*

It is clear that Caesar had in mind to carry out precise and extensive plans for the urban development of Rome from 45 BC. It is in fact in that year that Cicero, who after the death of his daughter wanted to build a sacellum in her memory (Cic., *Att*., 12, 18, 1), had to back down from the purchase of Scapula's horti *trans Tiberim* because of Caesar's projects (Cic., *Att*., 13, 33a, 1). Both in this letter and in another one (Cic., *Att*., 13, 20, 1) Cicero refers to those projects as *de Urbe augenda*, on the extension of the City, whereas Suetonius (*Iul.*, 44) uses the phrase *de ornanda instruendaque Urbe*, about the improvement and the re-organisation of the City. It is therefore likely that the complete name of the law that Caesar wanted to be approved was *lex Iulia de Urbe augenda, ornanda et instruenda* (Tortorici 2012, 29).

From another letter of Cicero to Atticus (Cic., *Att*., 13, 35-36, 1) it is possible to gather that the project had been entrusted to an Athenian architect (Tortorici 2012, 29; see also Liverani 2008, 49; for other scholars it was an Egyptian one: Coarelli 1977a, 837; Castagnoli 1981; Coarelli 1997a, 586), who had arrived in Rome two years before; it is

therefore likely that the planning of those activities had begun in 47 BC, when Caesar's power was already strong enough (Tortorici 2012, 30).

Caesar's urban planning projects included an extensive building activity in the Campus Martius and, in order to accomplish it, some extensive infrastructural interventions, such as the deviation of a stretch of the river Tiber (Cic., *Att.*, 13, 33a, 1) to extend the area for construction and to help prevent floods (Tortorici 2012, 33). This deviation had to be implemented from the Milvian bridge to the Vatican hill, so as to move the functions of the Campus Martius to the Campus Vaticanus (Cic., *Att*., 13, 33a, 1) (Fig. 5.41; other

Figure 5.41: Reconstruction of Caesar's project of deviation of the river Tiber after Liverani (in dashed line, reconstruction after Tortorici).

reconstructions in Tortorici 2012, 30, fig. 17 and Rodriguez Almeida 1984, 68-69, fig. 24). Religious reasons perhaps have also to be taken into account for this action, as Le Gall suggested (Le Gall 1952, 115-116); in fact, since the religious boundary of Rome extended up to the river Tiber, and could not be extended beyond it, Caesar probably wanted to deviate a stretch of it in order to expand the *pomerium* and to gain new building space in the Campus Martius.

Further projects for the city of Rome comprised, as reported by Suetonius (*Iul.*, 44), the construction of a temple to Mars in the place of the *naumachia* excavated in the Campus Martius (which was never carried out, as mentioned in Section 5.2.4), that of a public library, which had to be hosted in the Atrium Libertatis (see Section 5.1.3) and that of a theatre on the slope of the Capitoline hill, which is analysed below.

It is clear therefore that Caesar, as Pompey before him, had understood that the Campus Martius could be the main development area of Rome (Tortorici 2012, 33). The main idea behind these projects has been recognised as being the desire to elevate Rome to the same level as the other Hellenistic cities, and to Alexandria in particular (Gros 2010, 282, who also draws a direct parallel between the structure of Alexandria and the organisation of the Campus Martius).

5.2.6 Jupiter or Apollo? The Theatre of Caesar

In his intent of responding to Pompey's architectural interventions, Caesar decided, as mentioned, to include the creation of another stone theatre in his urbanistic projects of the *lex Iulia de Urbe augenda*. The construction of this new building began in 45 BC (Cass. Dio 43, 49, 2; Suet., *Iul.*, 44, 1), presumably after the celebration of the triumph against the Pompeians at the beginning of October. There is however some debate about the original location of Caesar's project (see Gazetteer entry: *Theatrum Caesaris*), mainly as a consequence of the contrasting information provided by the aforementioned sources. In fact, if Suetonius locates the theatre on the slope of the Capitoline hill (*theatrum summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans*), Cassius Dio identifies it with Augustus' theatre of Marcellus, and reports that Caesar had only had the time to lay the foundations (43, 49, 2; 53, 30, 5). Some scholars tend to interpret both sources as referring to the same location (Coarelli 1997a, 587-588, identifies it with the slope of the Capitoline hill; Ciancio Rossetto 1999, 31 with the current location of the theatre of Marcellus, as Gros 2011, 282) or to consider the latter source more reliable, or to attribute Suetonius'

testimony as reporting an initial project of Caesar, which was never carried out (see, for example, Sear 2006, 61-62; Palombi 1996a, 851; Tosi 2003a, 24).

It is important to underline that Cassius Dio (43, 49, 3) informs us that when the works for the foundations began, Caesar was heavily criticised for destroying some buildings (among which there were some temples) in order to free the space for the theatre, and Pliny (*HN.*, 7, 36, 121) specifies that the temple of Pietas was among them (Coarelli 1997a, 448 and 586). During recent excavations, foundations of a temple have been recognised under the Aula Regia of the Augustan theatre, and they have been interpreted as those of the temple of Pietas (Ciancio Rossetto 1994-95, 199-200; see Section 2.1.8 for details). Furthermore, petrographic analyses on the building materials of the theatre of Marcellus have found that the mortar at the base of the concrete used for its substructure is slightly different from that used in the Augustan structures, pointing to an earlier chronology (around 44 BC) (Jackson *et al*. 2011, 733). As a consequence, the piling in timber used to stabilise the soil (laid down before pouring 6.35 m of concrete for the substructure; Ciancio Rossetto and Buonfiglio 2010, 56) would have to be logically attributed to the Caesarian phase. These data seem to confirm the location of the Caesarian theatre provided by Cassius Dio and Pliny (Plate 1). The fact that Augustus' *Res Gestae* (21, 1) report the acquisition of the majority of the land needed for the theatre (which Tosi 2003b, 673 sees in contrast to what Cassius Dio affirms about the demolitions and the beginning of the works carried out by Caesar) is not considered binding here, since the Latin text ('*Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a privatis empto feci',* 'I built a theatre next to the temple of Apollo, on a land purchased for its most part from private citizens') does not seem to necessarily imply that the land had been purchased by Augustus rather than by Caesar.

The project mentioned by Suetonius might therefore be considered a previous one, subsequently changed. In this respect, the context of Suetonius' passage is interesting: in *Iul.*, 44 it seems that the historian only listed projects that Caesar was not able to carry out. In fact, together with the theatre on the slope of the Capitoline hill, he mentioned a temple to Mars in the Campus Martius, in the same place where Caesar's naumachia had been (see Section 5.2.4), the production of books 'summarising the best and the essential of vast aggregate of the existing laws', the building of a Greek and a Latin library, and various other projects, concerning water management and war, for the rest of the Roman possessions.

The theatre location initially planned by Caesar has been widely discussed, and while Purcell (1993, 126 f. 9), Wiseman (1989, 152) and Palombi (1996a, 851) identified it on the slope of the Arx towards the Roman Forum, Coarelli (1997a, 587) convincingly argued that the monument should more likely be placed on the slope of the Capitoline Hill west of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Plate 1). In fact, *mons Tarpeius* does not have to be intended as *saxum Tarpeium* but as referring to the whole *Capitolium* (Coarelli 1997a, 587).

In that way, as Coarelli (1997a, 588) noted, the theatre would have been in connection both with the temple of Jupiter (which would have been in a position similar to that of the temple of Venus Victrix in relation to the theatre of Pompey, at the top of the cavea, although not oriented towards it for sacral reasons) and with the temples of Apollo and Bellona. This was the usual building location of the provisional *theatrum et proscaenium ad Apollinis* (Liv., 40, 51, 3) and a place historically connected to the *gens Iulia*, since the temple of Apollo had been built by the consul of 431 BC C. Iulius (Liv., 4, 29, 7); the most important cult of the city would have been therefore connected to the personal cult of the dictator (Coarelli 1997a, 588).

In this respect, it is possible to add some observations that might further justify Caesar's initial projects. As observed in Section 4.3.11, Caesar aimed to establish a strong connection between himself and Jupiter. Being the *pontifex maximus*, this was of primary importance, and it also helped legitimate his position: he was not only protected by Venus, the mother of the Romans, but he was also very *pius* towards the most powerful of the Roman gods (so as to preserve his favour and also the *pax deorum*, fundamental for the prosperity of the Roman State). It has to be remembered that in 46 BC, on the first day of his four triumphs *ex Gallia*, *ex Aegypto*, *ex Ponto*, *ex Africa* (Liv., *Per*., 115; Cass. Dio, 43, 19; App., *B civ*. 2, 101; Suet., *Iul*., 37; Plut., *Caes*., 55), he climbed the stairs of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on his knees (Cass. Dio, 43, 21, 2), to demonstrate his devotion and dependence towards the god. In the same year, he managed to persuade the Senate that his name be written on the inscription of that temple (Cass. Dio, 43, 14, 6; this measure was never carried out: see Tac., *Hist*., 3, 72); the joint presence of a temple and of a theatre for the celebration of the ceremonies dedicated to Jupiter with Caesar's name on them (it has to be remembered that names on monuments could not be erased; see Section 3.2.6) would have preserved the memory of his devotion to and particular relationship with the god.

This desire to fix on Rome's landscape his relationship with Jupiter was a way for Caesar to underline (and legitimate) his position of pre-eminence as a dictator (it has to be noted that the *imperium* - and the dictator's one in particular – was directly conferred by Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*; Sabbatucci 1988, 312), but also to establish a parallel (favourable for himself) with Pompey's theatre: the temple of Venus Victrix seemed to compete with the Capitoline hill, being, most probably, as tall as the Arx, and being comparable to it for its use for some ceremonies and for its cults (Gros 1999b, 38).

Another feature of this building that has to be highlighted is that a theatre on the western side of the Capitoline hill would have been located not only along the triumphal route (as noticed by Monterroso Checa 2009b, 36; the author, though, refers Cassius Dio's, Pliny's and Suetonius' information to one single project), but at the beginning *and* at the end of the triumphal path inside the *pomerium* (that is, just before the *Porta Triumphalis* and next to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; see Section 6.2.2 for an overview on the triumphal route). In this way, if Pompey's theatre reminded every triumphing general of his own victories by being likely visible from the beginning of the *Via Triumphalis*, Caesar's theatre would have had the same purpose, and it would also have been located next to some of the most important buildings with connection to the triumph: the temples of Apollo and Bellona, where the Senate met to decide if a general could be honoured with the celebration of a triumph (La Rocca 2008, 37); the *Porta Triumphalis*, through which the *pompa* had to pass (Cic., *Pis*., 23, 55; Apul., *Mag*., 17); the temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, where the triumphal ceremony ended (La Rocca 2008, 51).

In his article on the theatre of Marcellus, Monterroso Checa (2009b, 18) accepts and expands the hypothesis already elaborated by La Rocca (1993, 25.; see also La Rocca 1995b, 110; 2008, 39-40), that the triumphal parades passed through the theatres; he therefore affirms that, if Caesar's theatre had been located on the western side of the Capitoline hill, the triumphal procession would have been forced to pass through it (Monterroso Checa 2009b, 36), as it did subsequently in the theatre of Marcellus (Monterroso Checa 2009b, 18-19). If this reconstruction of the triumphal path is correct, this would have surely constituted a strong reason for locating both projects in that area. Caesar's initial plan might also have had another motivation: in 69 BC Q. Lutatius Catulus had built a temporary theatre on the *Capitolium* in order to celebrate the dedication of the temple of Jupiter, which he had refurbished (Plin., *HN.* 19, 6, 23; Papi 1999a, 31). Since, as mentioned above, Caesar had succeeded in persuading the Senate to approve the

substitution of Catulus' name on the temple with his, he might have wanted to cancel even the memory of his enemy's theatre from that place. He then subsequently had to modify his plans; it might be hypothesised that, apart from reasons of *natura loci*, either the project could not be approved, or it pointed too much to the enmity between Caesar and the Sullan censor (who was a leader of the *optimates* and had strongly opposed any modification of the Sullan legislation; Canfora 1999, 443), thus clashing with the dictator's policy of *clementia* and *concordia*. In any case, the location of the theatre of Marcellus, as noted above, would have been perhaps more in line with Caesar's propaganda of respect of traditions that characterised the last period of his life, and with his desire to celebrate the antiquity and importance of his *gens*.

5.3 – Forum Boarium and Circus Maximus

5.3.1 – *Imago Alexandri*? The Hercules Pompeianus

The southern area of the Forum Boarium had been strictly connected, from the archaic period, to the cult of Hercules, being the place where, according to the legend, the hero slew the monster Cacus (Ziolkowski 1992, 46). It is here that Pompey decided to dedicate to him a temple, which was called *aedes Herculis Pompeiani* after the general and was located *ad circum Maximum* (Vitr., *De arch.*, 3, 3, 5) (Plate 1).

There has been much discussion on the localisation and denomination of the cults of Hercules in the Forum Boarium, and the Pompeian temple has been identified with that of Hercules Invictus, in connection to the Ara Maxima, also located next to the Circus Maximus (Coarelli 1988a, 77-80); in fact, as noted in Section 4.2.4, the general's devotion to Hercules Invictus is demonstrated, for example, by the fact that the name of that hero had been used as a watchword at Pharsalus (Plut., *Pomp*., 69, 1-3; App., *B civ*., 2, 76, 319-320). The fact that the temple is described by Vitruvius (3, 3, 5) as having archaic features, such as presenting an aerostyl style, being low and wide, with terracotta or bronze statues on the pediment, *tuscanico more*, has been taken as a suggestion that the intervention of Pompey only involved a refurbishment (Coarelli 1988a, 80; 1996a, 20), but no evidence to support this statement is extant. The original temple had perhaps been dedicated, in connection to the Ara Maxima, by the censor of 312 BC Appius Claudius Caecus, who might have introduced the cult of Hercules Invictus, connected to the Hellenistic ideology of victory (although it is not possible to exclude that the temple's

construction had taken place in the archaic period; Coarelli 1988a, 82; 1996a, 20-21). The epithet Invictus (corresponding to the Greek *aníketos*) having been firstly attributed to Hercules and to Alexander the Great at the latter's time, the reason for Pompey to choose this particular cult is clear (Coarelli 1988a, 82; see Section 4.2.2 for Alexander the Great as a model for Pompey); furthermore, the general's action might have also been inspired by Sulla's rebuilding of the temple of Hercules Magnus Custos next to the Circus Flaminius (Ziolkowski 1992, 46; see Section 4.2.1 for Sulla as a model for Pompey).

The precise date for the temple's dedication by Pompey has not been established yet, and it is doubtful that it will ever be possible (Rawson 1970, 36-37; Marshall 1974, 84). The *Fasti Amiternini* (CIL I^2 p.244 = Inscr. It XIII 2.191) and the *Fasti Allifani* (CIL I^2 p. 217 = InscrIt XIII 2.181) report the existence of a festival of Hercules Invictus on 12th August, on the same day of the festival for Venus Victrix, Honos, Virtus and Felicitas *in theatro marmoreo* (that is, the day of the inauguration of Pompey's theatre; Marshall 1974, 81), but the sources do not allow greater accuracy regarding the year of dedication of the temple. Nevertheless, Rawson (1970) and Marshall (1974) have attempted to identify at least a likely time range for the dedication: after Pompey's first triumph (between 81 and 79 BC), in competition with Sulla, or after his return from the campaign in Spain, in occasion of his consulate and in competition with Crassus (70 BC) (Rawson 1970, 31 and 33). Alternatively, in 70 BC or in 55 BC, together with the dedication of the temple and shrines at the top of Pompey's theatre cavea (Marshall 1974, 83, following Weinstock 1971, 39). Nevertheless, for the reasons explained by Rawson (1970, 31-32), an early chronology of the temple, in connection with Pompey's first triumph, is here considered more likely.

5.3.2 – The Circus Maximus

The celebration of his triumph in 46 BC provided Caesar with the occasion to intervene on a building that constituted one of the most ancient features of Rome: the Circus Maximus had been in fact, according to tradition, built by either Tarquinius Priscus (Liv., 1, 35, 7-9; Dion. Hal. 3, 68, 1) or Tarquinius Superbus (Liv., 1, 56, 2; Vir. Ill. 8.3), or by both (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*., 4, 44, 1) on the occasion of the institution of the *Ludi Romani* (Liv., 1, 35, 8-9) (fig. 5.42 and plate 1). The area had already housed the games of *Consualia*, held for the first time by Romulus (Plut., *Rom*., 14, 3; Tert., *Spect*., 5, 5; Varro, *Ling*., 6, 20). At the beginning, its structure had been very likely temporary and made of

wood, but it was subsequently more systematically fitted out during the second half of the 4th century BC, and the first stone structures appeared during the 2nd century BC (Ciancio Rossetto 1993, 273). Caesar's interventions defined its subsequent shape and organisation (Plin., *HN*., 36, 24, 102; Suet., *Iul*., 39, 2; see Ciancio Rossetto 1993, 273; Marcattili 2009, 158), as it has been suggested, at least for its side towards the Palatine, by the structures in *opus reticulatum* and travertine blocks of this phase, on which the Domitianic-Trajanic structures lie (Ciancio Rossetto 1993, 273-274). Nevertheless, the works were completed by Augustus, who also, through Agrippa, restored the sectors that had been destroyed by a fire in 31 BC (Cass. Dio 50, 10, 3; see Marcattili 2009, 158).

The Circus Maximus had a very important characteristic that very likely attracted Caesar's interest: not only, on the occasion of a show, could it house a far greater number of people than a theatre, but also it constituted one of the main points of passage of the triumphal ceremony (see Section 6.2.2). This had been the reason why the proconsul Stertinus had erected a triumphal arch *in circo Maximo* in 196 BC, as a substitution for not having been conceded a triumph (Liv., 33, 27, 4), and why Pompey decided, as seen above, to refurbish the temple of Hercules Invictus, which was located next to the main entrance of the *carceres* of the Circus Maximus. Nevertheless, leaving aside Caesar's self-celebratory needs, there might be further motives for him to choose to intervene in such a substantial way on that monument. Firstly, one of the main new features of the circus was the creation of an *euripus*, a canal, all around the space of the arena (Suet., *Iul*., 39, 2), which was meant to function as a protection for the spectators from the wild beasts used during the games, but most probably also served the purpose of providing a drain for the excess of water of the *vallis Murcia* (Humphrey 1986, 74). The valley where the circus was located, centrally between the Aventine and the Palatine hills, was in fact originally a swampy area, where the waters coming down from the two hills collected and flowed towards the river Tiber (Marcattili 2009, 13-15).

It has already been mentioned, in relation to the Forum of Caesar (Section 5.1.2.3), that Caesar, in his role of *pontifex maximus*, had a connection with the management of waters and of the cults related to them; the complete re-arrangement of the area might therefore

Figure 5.42: Reconstruction of the plan of the Circus Maximus during the 3rd century AD.

have been justified by it. It is also to be taken into account that in the arena of the circus there was the fanum of (Venus) Murcia, a deity strictly connected to the Aventine hill but also to the river that crossed the valley (Marcattili 2009, 108-109), and subsequently

identified with the cult of Venus Verticordia (Coarelli 1988a, 296 f.78 affirms that Murcia has to be considered only a popular denomination of Venus Verticordia), but in connection, from the monarchic age, with that of Fortuna Virilis (Marcattili 2009, 109). The presence of a cult of Venus, and particularly of a Venus (Murcia) connected with the rape of the Sabine women (Coarelli 1988a, 299), and therefore with the subsequent foundation of the Roman community, might have constituted another appealing characteristic for Caesar (it would be interesting to verify if the inclusion inside the circus of the fanum of Murcia – Coarelli 1988a, 299; Marcattili 2009, 122 – was carried out in this phase). A connection with the same mythical event is possessed also by another cult of the circus, that of Consus: this cult had been discovered by Romulus, and it was during the festival in his honour that the Sabine women were kidnapped (Plut., *Rom*., 14, 3-5; Varro, *Ling*., 6, 20; Serv., *Aen*., 8, 636). Furthermore, Consus had a strong connection with the first king of Rome, because it most probably constituted his funerary connotation (Sabbatucci 1988, 275; see also Marcattili 2009, 46; for a detailed explanation of this connection see Marcattili 2009, 45-53). Romulus was also assimilated to *Sol*, whose cult was similarly present in the circus from a very ancient period (Marcattili 2009, 37; Tertullian, *Spect*., 8, 3 says that *circus Soli principaliter consecratur*, the circus was mainly consecrated to the Sun). The strong connection with the founder of Rome, with a pivotal event in the creation of the community and with the goddess mother of the Romans is therefore very clear, and, as seen in Section 4.3, these are themes that correspond to the Caesarian propaganda. It is also to be noted that Sol expresses the function of the king as a guarantor of time, and therefore of the control on every public activity (and of its performance at the correct moment) (Marcattili 2009, 41). It is very interesting that it is also in 46 BC that Caesar, as *pontifex maximus*, carried out the calendar reform, adjusting the year on the sun's course, thus putting an end to the arbitrary adjustments of the pontiffs (Suet., *Iul*., 40).

Chapter 6

Debating Propaganda, Power and Art:

Caesar's and Pompey's Euergetism in Rome

The analysis of the individual buildings promoted by Caesar and Pompey has already resulted in the identification of many of the propagandistic themes which were discussed in Chapter 4. The political personalities and ideas of the two generals emerge strongly from the monuments, but, as highlighted in the Introduction, it is only in the context of the city of Rome as a whole that it is possible to gain a fuller picture of the significance and reasons for their euergetic activity in the *Urbs*. By looking at their interventions diachronically and inserting the monuments in their historical context, there is potential for recognising their ideological development, for identifying the political contrasts, and for discovering how each leader exploited or modified space and also how their activities were shaped by it.

This Chapter will therefore place the monuments in the diachronic development of the propaganda of Pompey (Section 6.1.1) and Caesar (Section 6.1.2.). Subsequently, two specific cases, that of the Forum Romanum (Section 6.2.1) and of the triumphal path (Section 6.2.2) will illustrate the wider impact on the city and on its citizens.

6.1 '[…] urbis o putissimei,/ socer generque […]' (Catull., 29, 23-24)

6.1.1 Pompey, Successful General and *primus inter pares*

The building activity of Pompey probably begins with the dedication of the temple of Hercules Pompeianus in the Forum Boarium, in front of the entrance of the triumphal path in the Circus Maximus (see Section 5.3.1). If the dedication took place in the context of the general's first triumph, either in 81 or in 79 BC, this building is the first in a series of three monuments connected to triumphs (including the temple of Minerva and the theatrical complex in the Campus Martius), and its ideology might well correspond with the perceived importance of self-promotion that characterised the career of Pompey. The sources explicitly explain that Sulla did not want to allow him to triumph after his victorious campaign in Africa, because he did not possess praetorian or consular rank. In

response to this prohibition, Pompey answered that more people admired the rising sun than the setting one, surprising Sulla, who then gave his approval to the triumphal ceremony (Plut., *Pomp*., 14, 1-5). Even if this exchange of words was invented by Plutarch, the episode meant to imply that, although Pompey admired the old dictator and was always loyal to him (see Section 4.3.1), there could be contrasts between the two men;, this can be seen, for example, in the way that, when Sulla ordered Pompey to disband his army at the end of the campaign in Africa, Pompey's troops protested (Plut., *Pomp.*, 13), probably encouraged to do so by Pompey himself (Seager 1979, 11).

The temple of Hercules Pompeianus, if built on that occasion, might therefore be a product of this moment of conflict (Rawson 1970, 31-32): Pompey desired to be singled out for his military capabilities and endeavours, and therefore decided to refurbish a temple dedicated to Hercules *Invictus*, the 'invincible' Hercules. Pompey chose a mythological figure strongly connected to the triumph, thus entering into competition with Sulla, who was particularly devoted to the hero and had himself refurbished a temple dedicated to him (Ziolkowski 1992, 46; Rawson 1970, 31). This also allowed the young *eques* to cast a comparison between his deeds and those of Alexander the Great, who viewed himself a descendant of Hercules (Rawson 1970, 32; Stafford 2012, 142-145). Furthermore, by choosing a temple which lay on one of the most important points of passage of the triumphal ceremony (see below), every other triumphing general would have remembered Pompey, and he would have placed himself at the same level of the other *triumphatores* before him, including Sulla: the temple that the dictator had refurbished in fact stood next to the Circus Flaminius, another important venue on the triumphal parade (La Rocca 1995b, 109).

The dedications of the two other public buildings promoted by Pompey, as seen, are likewise connected to the ideology of triumph. The temple of Minerva was dedicated *de manubiis* in 61 BC (Plin., *HN*, 7, 26, 97), probably in the context of Pompey's triumph *de orbe universo*, and was likely located in a context connected to the triumph (Palombi 1996b, 253-254). Similarly, the theatre complex, although dedicated in 55 BC, was located next to the *via Triumphalis* and presented, as explained in Section 5.2.1, many propagandistic themes connected to the military victories celebrated by its dedicant in 61 BC.

If all these buildings clearly reflected the recognised significance of the celebration of military victories (the importance for political careers has been pointed out in Section 3.2.4), it is here argued that there was another message at play in the Pompeian propaganda that emerges from his monuments. It was stressed at the end of Section 4.3.4 that Hercules was seen as the model of the conqueror of the world, exploited by Pompey through the figure of Alexander the Great, who was equally admired by the Romans for the greatness of his deeds (Martin 1998, 25). Evidently, therefore, Pompey was looking at the Hellenistic world, likely from the beginning of his political career, when looking for a way by which to celebrate his military activity; this ideology was then better defined and adapted to the new image of Pompey as peacemaker and civiliser during and after the Eastern campaign. Nevertheless, Santangelo (2007, 232) has pointed out that the presence of Venus in Pompey's ideology during the 50s BC stressed that the general was acting on behalf of Rome. One can suggest that this connection to the Roman tradition was already present in the dedication of the temple of Minerva and also in that of the temple of Hercules Pompeianus: in fact, Santangelo (2007, 232)noted that Minerva was one of the gods of the Capitoline triad, worshipped in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill; but the Hercules Invictus of the Ara Maxima, to which the Pompeian temple was connected (Coarelli 1996a, 20-21), was also related to the myths concerning the origin of Rome (see Liv., 1, 7, 10-12). Furthermore, Pompey most probably decided to maintain the archaic aspect of the temple, since Vitruvius (*De arch.*, 3, 3, 5) described it as Tuscan, a characteristic that might imply a deliberate reference to Roman tradition.

This double meaning of the Pompeian propaganda appears throughout the general's whole euergetic activity, although in his last dedication, namely the theatrical complex, the two messages seem to find a more refined balance and an ideological justification: Venus, the mother of the Romans, with the epithet of Victrix, mirroring the dominion of Rome, towered over a complex that was meant to be perceived as a Greek (or at least exotic) space (see Section 5.2.1.12) – the theatre and the portico. This might have conveyed the idea of universalism, of Roman rule over the known world ('over land and sea'), which, as Clarke notes (1999, 311), was a core theme of Pompey's self-representation after the Eastern campaign.

As noted in Section 5.2.1.14, the prominent position over the complex of the temple of Venus Victrix, the goddess who not only protected the Roman people, but also favoured Pompey in his victories implied that the general was the rightful person to rule the State.

The temple of Venus was in direct dialogue with the curia of the Senate, on the opposite side of the *porticus post scaenam*: Pompey wanted to rule *with* the Senate, to be a *primus*, but *inter pares*. In this context, the message of universalism can fit in a structure that was reminiscent, on a larger scale, of the curia-comitium complex in the Roman Forum. Furthermore, the message which conveyed the idea of Pompey as a guarantor of peace, examined in Sections 5.2.1.15-16, had in this way a much broader scope, not only referring to social peace in Rome, but also to Pompey's pacifying activity in the provinces (on which see Villani 2013, 345-347, and Cic., *Prov. cons*., 31; *Sest*., 31, 68).

6.1.2 Caesar, Moderate *Popularis* and Civil War Victor

If we exclude the temporary structures set up in the Forum and Capitolium during his aedileship (Suet., *Iul.*, 10), Caesar began his building programme in 54 BC, with his projects for the 'extension of the Forum' (which became the *Forum Iulium*) and for the Campus Martius (Saepta and Villa Publica; see Cic., *Att*., 4, 16, 8). In that year, because of the death of his daughter Julia, who was married to Pompey, the alliance between the two men became extremely difficult; this is commonly seen as one of the reasons for the beginning of Caesar's building activity as an answer to the dedication of Pompey' theatre in 55 BC (see, most recently, Liverani 2008, 49; Tortorici 2012, 18; Delfino 2014, 2). The prominent competition between the two men in that particular year was seen by Canfora (1999, 122) in relation to Caesar's campaigns to Britain, but had already been identified in the later triumph of Caesar in 46 BC by Flory (1988, 499-500) and Westall (1996, 90-91). In fact, Canfora points to one of Catullus' poems (Catull., 11) which at one point refers to those campaign, stating (vv. 10-12):

> *[...]* Caesaris *videns monimenta* magni*,*
> *Gallicum Rhenum, horribilesque ulti-*
> *mosque Britannos; [...]*
>
> […] seeing the places of victory *of Caesar the Great*,
> the Gallic Rhine, and the monstrous and
> distant Britons; […]

It is evident that Catullus here calls Caesar *Magnus* in clear antithesis to *Pompeius Magnus* (Canfora 1999, 122). The reference is to the aforementioned Pompeian propaganda theme of Pompey as the conqueror of the boundaries of the world (see

Sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.4), and to Caesar's response to it. It seems legitimate to think that the comparison cast in Catullus' poem was one intentionally spread through Caesarian propaganda, and one recognised by the citizens of Rome, and perhaps even negatively exploited by the counterpropaganda of his political enemies. The political meaning of the dedication of the cuirass made of pearls in the temple of Venus Genetrix, (analysed in Section 5.1.2.5) points to a will, on Caesar's part, to challenge that image of Pompey. More than an *imitatio Pompeii* - as hypothesised by Vervaet (2014, 146, f. 79) - Caesar's intention was clearly to outdo the exploits of his political enemy, particularly after Pharsalus, in order to first present himself as the right man for government and, after 46 BC, in order to stress and legitimate his predominance. The development not only of this theme, but also of Caesar's other political ideas and attitudes, emerge strongly in his euergetic activity from 54 BC to his death.

From the first two projects it is possible to see the effect of Caesar's decision to present himself as the new leader of the *popularis* faction on the one hand, but to underline his moderate position and his respect of traditions on the other. The general chose two areas connected with the ancient political tradition of the Republic: the Roman Forum and the place for the assemblies of the *comitia centuriata*; furthermore, both his plans were made, at least nominally, in the 'public interest', since the area next to the Forum would have provided a much-needed space for juridical activity, whereas the reconstruction of the Saepta would have created a more comfortable setting for voting operations.

As discussed in Chapter 5, this is not the only political aim of these works. It has in fact been seen how one of the aims of Pompey's theatre complex was to shift the focus from the city's old Republican political centre to a new pole, in an under-urbanised area that, meanwhile, had become part of Pompey's private property (see Section 5.2.1). That monument also provided a new space for popular gathering, in the shadow of Pompey's patron goddess and of the general's close relationship with the Senate. Caesar's works in the Forum aimed, ostensibly, to give new strength to the old political centre, while, at the same time, the new Saepta re-stated the importance of the popular assemblies in their *public* traditional location (Agache 1987, 228-229 and analysis at the end of Section 5.2.2). Also, if the refurbishment of the Villa Publica aimed to underline the importance of the census for the political activity of the citizens, this has to be put in connection with the probable parallel reconstruction of the Atrium Libertatis (Coarelli 1993a, 133; see analysis in Section 5.1.3). The theme of Concordia seems then to emerge not only from

these latter activities (see Section 5.2.2) but from the whole Caesarian activity of that year.

At the start of July 54 BC everything pointed to a successful Gallic campaign (Canfora 1999, 121); furthermore, the *supplicatio* for Caesar decreed by the Senate in 55 (Caes., *B Gall*., 4, 38, 5; Suet., *Iul.*, 24; Cass. Dio, 39, 53, 2) implied a successive award of a triumph (as usually happened: Lange 2013, 69). The new 'extension of the Forum' and the Saepta could therefore have been designed to celebrate the triumph of their promoter, as seen in the analysis of the decoration of the Forum of Caesar (Sections 5.1.2.2-7) and as it might be inferred by the works of art placed in it by Agrippa (Gatti 1937, 91). The works in the Campus Martius long stalled (Caesar never saw their completion), while it is possible that the demolition of the previously existing residential area and the levelling works for the Forum of Caesar proceeded slowly. The proper building activity began only in 52 BC (Suet., *Iul.*, 26), but the complex was inaugurated only in 46, still uncompleted: the cult statue of Venus was unfinished (Plin., *HN*, 35, 45, 155-156), as most likely were the *tabernae* (see Amici 1991, 40-41).

Following the death of Crassus and the consequent dissolution of the Triumvirate, and especially after the appointment of Pompey as *consul sine collega*, Caesar tried to establish his presence in Rome by beginning work for his Forum in 52 BC and by corrupting Aemilius Paullus in 51, connecting in this way, as argued in Section 5.1.1.1, the basilicae Aemilia and Iulia to his person. Again, choosing an exponent of the *optimates*, he confirmed his pursuit of Concordia, as he had already done by entrusting Cicero with the purchase of the land for his new Forum; furthermore this message is expressed by the choice of the basilica Iulia, which stood over the old basilica Sempronia and the house of Scipio Africanus. The political meaning of the basilica Aemilia, as expressed by Marius' shields, the frieze and the connection with the ancient *Atrium Regium*, has to be read in the context of Caesar's intent to re-state his position as head of the *populares*, his role as *pontifex maximus* and his respect for Roman tradition and his consequent suitability as a man of government. His decision to intervene again in the traditional political centre of the city might be seen as in line with his previous euergetic activity in the area.

The historical events of the following year, the strong tensions with the Senate and with Pompey and the consequent outbreak of the civil war led to a predictable break in Caesar's

building activity. As mentioned in Section 5.1.4, no evidence is available to confirm a refurbishment of the temple of Quirinus by Caesar after the fire of 49 BC (Cass. Dio, 41, 14, 2-3). If this was the case, it would be reasonable to place this activity to 47 BC, when the works for the temple of Felicitas began (see Section 5.1.1.2), and when, after the victory of Zela, Caesar was again in Rome (Plut., *Caes*., 51, 1; see Appendix 1: Chronological Table).

In the analysis of the political significance of the Forum of Caesar it has already been argued that the year 48 BC constitutes a turning point in Caesar's propaganda (see also Raauflaub 2010a, 152). Already from the beginning of the civil war, but especially after the defeat of Pompey and his subsequent death in Egypt, the Caesarian messages focus on the theme of clemency, added to that of moderation and Concordia, which had been present at least since the time of his election as *pontifex maximus* (see Section 4.2.13). The theme of Caesar as moderate leader of the *populares*, seeking collaboration with the Senate, was present from the outset of his euergetic activity; nevertheless, from the analysis of the monuments themselves it appears that from 47 BC the monuments begin to show ambiguity in the messages which they conveyed. While Caesar's position needed legitimation, his propaganda also becomes, in certain aspects, more aggressive.

As explained in Section 5.1.1.2, the ambiguous meaning of the temple of Felicitas, which obliterated the old traditional meeting place of the Senate, the curia Cornelia – and so the material memory of Sulla, was dedicated to the divine quality that had defined the *cognomen* of the old dictator, and that was also reminiscent of the *sacellum* to Felicitas on the theatre of Pompey. Another consequence is the many levels of meaning of the decoration and architecture of the Forum of Caesar (see Section 5.1.2) which, while celebrating the military exploits of its dedicant in the East and in Gaul, as well as Caesar's qualities and abilities that made him the right man to rule Rome and its territories, also aimed to communicate to the *factio* of the *optimates* that he had been the triumphant part in the civil war. Based on the examination of a section of the decoration of the Pompeian complex, referring to the city of Thebes and meant to celebrate Pompey as the peacemaker (see Sections 5.2.1.15-16), it is argued that the interpretation given by Westall (1996), Sauron (2001) and Harris (2002) of the paintings of Ajax and Medea dedicated in the temple of Venus Genetrix by Caesar (Section 5.1.2.6) has to be read as a direct response to that. In spite of Pompey celebrating his own *temperantia* and control of his passions, as well as his desire to avoid civil war, Caesar, in order to avoid a conflict that Pompey

and the Senate rendered inevitable (Sauron 2001, 193; see also Gelzer 1967, 443; Collins 1973, 957; Henderson 1998, 37-69), aims to demonstrate the contrary. From Cicero's letters we gather that, during the civil war, Pompey barely controlled his anger (see, for example, Cic., *Att*., 8, 16, 2 and 9, 10, 2): this might be a further argument in support of the painting of Ajax referring to Pompey and of both paintings as symbols of wrath, or lack of control of passions. This might have also been a criticism aimed at the Senate: Caesar comments with ironic distance, for example, on the fact that before Pharsalus some senators were scuffling over which one of them would become *pontifex maximus* after Caesar's defeat (and anticipated death) (Caes., *B Civ.*, 3, 83).

If the paintings in the temple of Venus Genetrix were a blunt answer to the noted message of Pompey in his complex, they would strengthen further challenges to the Pompeian propaganda (the cuirass of pearls, the *dactylotecae* and the equestrian statue: see Sections 5.1.2.5 and 5.1.2.7) present in the Forum of Caesar. Another attack on Pompey's lack of control comes in the presence of the griffins as symbols of Nemesis in the porticoes' frieze of that monument. As previously discussed, the goddess represented the right measure, which fights against the *hýbris* (Delplace 1980, 412), and Sablayrolles (2006, 350-351) points out that it was a widely held opinion in Rome that Pompey, during his Eastern campaign, fell prey to his *hýbris* to reach the boundaries of the world. In this respect, it is interesting to note that Plutarch (*Pomp*., 38, 4) affirmed that, by ceasing to chase Mithridates and by pursuing his exploration of the last boundaries of the world, Pompey exposed himself to the attacks of Nemesis (see Sablayrolles 2006, 350-351). Indeed, in a broader perspective on Pompey's life, Gabba (1956, 126-127) points out that the sudden and tragic defeat of Pompey, in contrast with his previous successes, had a remarkable impact on his contemporaries; the concept of Nemesis as a cause of Pompey's ruin is in fact mentioned by Cicero (*Tusc.*, 1, 86). In addition, in a letter to Cicero written in April 49 BC, Caesar affirmed that Fortune had already joined him and abandoned Pompey (Cic., *Att.*, 10, 8b, 1), and it is intriguing that Appian (*B Civ.*, 2, 90) refers of the dedication by Caesar to Nemesis of a plot of ground near Alexandria where he had Pompey's head buried.

As Section 5.1.2.8 showed, it is very likely that this strong statement of victory over Pompey expressed in the Forum of Caesar was understood only by the aristocracy, or by those who had the necessary education to decrypt the highly sophisticated references that were being made. A less cryptic but short-term way of conveying the same concept might

be found, as Coarelli (1997a, 584-585) suggests, in the location of Caesar's temporary stadium and *naumachia* in an area that was inside, or in close proximity to, the *horti* of Pompey in the Campus Martius. In both cases, the context of the dedication were Caesar's triumphs in 46 BC, which were not explicitly celebrated over Roman citizens (and Caesar carefully avoided any reference to Pompey), but paraded different references to the civil war (see App., *B Civ.*, 2, 101).

Another monument to be dedicated in the context of the triumphs of 46 BC was the Circus Maximus. Section 5.3.2 revealed how this area was strongly connected with the figure of Romulus and with Venus, and it is therefore clear how the reconstruction of the monument fitted with the needs of power legitimation of the Caesarian propaganda in that moment. However, since the cults of Venus Murcia and of Consus, present in the Circus, were related to the mythical episode of the rape of the Sabine women and, therefore, to the foundation of the Roman community, it would be interesting to see in it a reference to a re-foundation of a new city community after the civil war.

Just before 45 BC another important turning point in Caesar's thinking probably came, since he seems to have progressively abandoned his intentions (or hopes) of collaboration with the Senate (Raauflaub 2010a, 152). That year saw the last two monuments promoted by the dictator before his death. The first was a theatre (the later theatre of Marcellus), that, as seen in Section 5.2.6, was strictly connected to the triumphal route. This can be viewed as another answer to Pompey's complex in the Campus Martius, taking into account that, in that year, Caesar celebrated the triumph over Pompey's sons in Spain (for the innovative character of this triumph see Lange 2013, 77). The second building was the tribune of the Rostra, moved from their previous location in the comitium to the western side of the Roman Forum. As for the temple of Felicitas, they displayed an ambiguous message that on the one hand conveyed an intention to collaborate with the Senate and show clemency towards the enemies, while at the same time stating the victory of the *popularis* leader on the *factio* of the *optimates*; however, the latter message seems stronger and somehow more aggressive (see Section 5.1.1.3).

6.2 The Power of Architecture

6.2.1 A 'Caesarian' Forum

The construction of the Rostra constituted the last act of Caesar's euergetic activity. With that building the dictator was going back to the Roman Forum, re-stating the importance of the popular assemblies, but in a radically different political environment. It can be argued that the extent to which the political situation in Rome had changed was reflected architecturally by the shift of the Rostra to the western side of the Roman Forum, almost completing and giving sense to a picture that had been built throughout the years, and that, in 45 BC, could be exploited.

Ideologically, as Sumi (2011, 209) has convincingly argued , the south-eastern part of the Forum had historically been the *populares* part, whereas the north-western part, with the temple of Saturn, the so-called 'Tabularium', the temple of Concordia and the curia had always been the bulwark of the aristocracy (see Appian, *B Civ.*, 1, 26, who states that Opimius' temple of Concord sealed the victory of the aristocracy). Considering the topographical position of the Caesarian Rostra, and taking into account that they probably replaced the *porticus* which, according to Livy, ran from the temple of Saturn to the Senaculum and up to the curia (Coarelli 1985, 242), some important observations can be made regarding the significance of these architectural changes.

Though a *porticus* is a place of passage, it nevertheless constitutes a delimitation and a visual barrier. Such might have been the impression of the people entering the Forum through the Via Sacra: the *porticus* created a sort of boundary and, at the same time, a monumentalisation of the 'aristocratic part' of the Forum, which, incidentally, because of the slope of the Capitoline hill, stood on higher ground. Removing the *porticus*, its delimitation was replaced by a monument which was most probably shorter and lower, which, as seen in Section 5.1.1.3, represented a desire of collaboration with the Senate but had at the same time a strong *popularis* connotation, in spite of the messages of *Concordia* and *Clementia*.

The Rostra now delimited the Forum on its western side, thus cutting off the 'aristocratic' part and, interestingly, determining an area characterised almost solely by major buildings either connected to the *popularis* tradition and, thereby, to Caesar, or directly related to him: the Regia, that delimited the eastern side of the Forum, was in fact the domicile of

the *pontifex maximus*, a religious office performed by Caesar from 63 BC to his death. This '*popularis*/Caesarian' area therefore became the space where all the main political, social and religious activities took place.

All of this must have caused a change in the visual impact of the Roman Forum on visitors. If entering it from the *Sacra Via*, the first elements on which attention must have been focused before Caesar's interventions were the components of the 'aristocratic' part of it, on the western side of the square. The idea conveyed must have been one of power and control of the *optimates* over the political and religious life of the city. Coarelli's reconstruction of the impact of the Sullan temples on the Tabularium, if correct, might offer an idea of this visual impact (see fig. 5.2). When the Caesarian *Rostra* were added next to the *Mundus*, they helped focus attention on the *popularis* space.

Looking at the topography of the Roman Forum (Fig. 6.1), we can identify other elements: in particular the lines of access and movement (with the exception of the *Lautumiae*) now came to lead to the 'Caesarian zone'. In fact, the *vicus Tuscus*, the *Sacra via*, the *Argiletum* and the *vicus Vestae* directly entered that area; people who came from the *vicus Iugarius*, which terminated between the basilica Iulia and the temple of Saturnus, had their gaze directed towards that area too, since the bulk of the elevated podium of the temple most probably blocked the view of the western side of the Forum. As far as the road of the *Lautumiae* is concerned, it can be noted that, even though the road did not directly enter the 'Caesarian area', it flanked the Forum of Caesar.

The central area of the Roman Forum, at the heart of Rome's political, juridical and religious life, by 44 BC had become a space surrounded by monuments that either recalled or directly referred to the figure of Caesar. According to the dictator's propaganda of *Concordia*, the buildings connected to the aristocracy were not excluded; they were nevertheless used as a backdrop and framed inside the Caesarian ideology of *Clementia* and *Concordia*. Furthermore, as Gros (2010, 272) has underlined, considering the historical and ideological connection of most of the monuments in the Forum with the great personalities of Roman history (Camillus, the Gracchi brothers, the *gens* Aemilia, etc.), Caesar's works visually represented the idea of respect and revival of traditions that would underpin Augustan politics in later years.

Figure 6.1: Schematic map of the Roman Forum around 44 BC.

6.2.2 A 'Triumph' for Propaganda

The re-contextualisation of the Roman Forum by Caesar can be inserted in a broader context: namely the path of the triumphal *pompa*. In Section 3.2.4 we saw how important for the glorification of individuals and of their personal and military virtues the ceremony of triumph was. However, we highlighted that the exact path followed by the parade is still much debated (Plate 2). Some scholars consider it as fixed through time (see Coarelli 1968), whereas others allow different degrees of flexibility. For example, Morpurgo

(1908) maintained that the *Porta Triumphalis* was not fixed (an argument also sustained by Wiseman 2007 and 2008, 390-392, but disputed by Makin 1921 and Beard 2007, 92-106t). Nevertheless, some stages of the *pompa* seem to have remained constant: the passage through the *Porta Triumphalis*; the route through the Circus Maximus (see Plut., *Aem*., 32, 1); the arrival to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Varro, *Ling*., 6, 68; Cic., *Verr*., 2, 5, 77; Verg., *Aen*., 6, 836; Ov., *Tr*., 4, 2, 55-56; *Pont*., 2, 1, 57; *Met*., 1, 560; Liv., 45, 39, 11; Luc., 8, 553-554 and 9, 79-81; Suet., *Tib*., 2, 4; Plin., *HN*, 7, 145; Jos., *BI*., 7, 153; App., *Pun*., 66) through the via Sacra (Hor., *Epod*., 7, 7-8; Prop., 2, 1, 34 and 3, 4, 22), the Roman Forum (Ov., *Pont*., 2, 1, 42; Suet., *Iul*., 78, 2; Dio Cass., 44, 49, 3) and the *clivus Capitolinus*. The section of the procession path that was meant to encircle the Palatine Hill had not been questioned until recently, when doubts have been expressed and, at least for the Republican and early imperial period, the Palatine Hill was excluded from the *pompa* (see, for example, Östenberg 2010). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage in new discussion about the triumphal route, nevertheless we should concur with Östenberg's (2010, 304) stance – namely that the context of the ceremony demanded a high level of continuity and repetition, but that some variations were possible, especially in relation to modifications in the cityscape..

We should draw attention to how much the existence of these fixed landmarks, tightly related to the triumphal parade, influenced both Caesar and Pompey in their choice for the location of some of their monuments. The space of the triumphal *pompa* thus defined, or shaped at least part of the euergetic activity of the generals (as had been the case with other *triumphatores*), who also exploited it to maximise the effect of their propaganda. All of Pompey's monuments seem to lie along the triumphal path: the temple of Hercules Pompeianus in front of the western entrances of the Circus Maximus; the theatre complex next to the *via Triumphalis*; and the temple of Minerva likely either between the Forum and the *Velabrum* (so along the probable path of the triumph) or outside Porta Capena, where other triumphal monuments were located (Palombi 1996b, 253-254). This clearly reflects Pompey's propaganda, which always aimed to underline his personal military valour and his victories. Even when the general began to promote himself as a good man of government, the focus always tended to remain on his military abilities (Section 4.2).

For Caesar the situation is slightly different. He too celebrated his own military achievements, but his public image, as described in Section 4.3, also comprised the respect of traditions, his role as leader of the *populares* and as *pontifex maximus* in office.

The monuments he promoted along the triumphal path were all dedicated, used, or built in relation to a triumph. The wooden stadium and the *navalia* for the triumph of 46, in the vicinity of the *via Triumphalis* and in contrast to Pompey's theatre (and probably inside or near his *horti*; see Section 5.2.4); on the same occasion, Caesar offered shows in his newly rebuilt Circus Maximus (Suet., *Iul.*, 39). The latter monument might even have been a response to the presence of the temple of Hercules Pompeianus just outside its entrances; Pompey's building might have seemed almost modest in comparison to the magnificence and remarkable dimensions of the new Circus (see Gazetteer entry: *Circus Maximus*).

The last day of Caesar's triumph, in 46 BC, saw the dedication of the (unfinished) Forum of Caesar, which was therefore incorporated in the ceremony (Cass. Dio, 43, 22, 2-3), and accordingly hosted objects and decorative motifs related to victory (see Section 5.1.2). Furthermore, as shown in Section 5.2.6, the project for a theatre leaning on the southern slope of the Capitoline hill placed it both at the beginning and at the end of the triumphal route inside the *pomerium*, and had to be begun in 45 BC, the year of the triumph over Pompey's sons. The other theatre built in its place, the future theatre of Marcellus, was probably subsequently incorporated in the triumphal route, and in clear competition with Pompey's theatre.

6.3 Final Remarks

This overview and comparison of Pompey's and Caesar's architecture over time highlight two notable aspects that are worthy of further brief consideration.

First, the monuments can be viewed as a perfect mirror of the fierce competition between Caesar and Pompey, with the former referring to specific aspects of the Pompeian monuments and providing targeted answers – as with the public and traditional character of the Saepta in response to the private and innovative character of Pompey's theatrical complex. Furthermore, the many references to Caesar's victory over Pompey that are present in the Forum of Caesar are consistent with the picture that emerges from the latest research on triumphs in times of civil war: in the age of Marius, Sulla, Caesar and Pompey triumphs over Roman citizens were celebrated, but mostly integrated with or disguised as victories over foreign enemies; nevertheless, in his last triumph Caesar went slightly further, since even though it was most probably a triumph *ex Hispania*, it was celebrated

only over civil opponents (Lange 2013, 69-78; on this debate, see also Havener 2014 and 2016; Östenberg 2014). In his Forum, which was partly a triumphal monument, Caesar did not explicitly represent his victories over Pompey or the Pompeians, but he did insert references to those victories as well as to those on foreign enemies.

Secondly the new city monuments conveyed different types of messages, and ones that could contain multiple meanings, to which people had diverse access in relation to their education and social background. Certain messages were specifically targeted only to a particular category of people, as most evident in the Forum of Caesar. This does not mean that there was a hierarchy of importance, but rather that there was a careful planning of the types of messages being addressed to particular sections of the public. Monuments could, therefore, be propaganda – blatant and sizeable. We may lack the inscriptions that would have adorned them and no doubt declared their significance, but the structures and sites themselves and the scattered contemporary literary sources give good voice to the politics at play.

Chapter 7

Conclusions: Rome as a Forum for Propaganda

The results of this research offer a revised, more defined and more composite picture of how public architecture was exploited for propaganda purposes during the age of Caesar and Pompey. It has been seen that the messages expressed by architecture and by decoration could refer to the general purpose of the building, to the status and intentions of its promoter, as well as to the broader significance of both in that historical and political context. For this reason, the thesis provides further support to the idea of how the study of the deeper political meaning of the buildings and of the space that they occupied and shaped is a fundamental tool in the study of history: an example of this can be seen in the clear evidence of strong competition by part of Caesar against Pompey in the monumental evidence.

The analysis of the monuments and the overall interpretation show that the messages to be displayed in the monuments were carefully chosen, also in relation to the public for which they were meant; this implies that behind those messages there is a precise intention of the promoter of the monument. As a consequence, this invites to reflect on the problem of the relationship between the promoter and the people involved in the building industry: as DeLaine (2000, 120) pointed out, the written sources provide little evidence for the latter, and mainly architects are represented in them. Since there is evidence of Caesar and Pompey entrusting some aspects of the construction process to other people (Pompey asked Atticus to supervise the placement of some statues in his theatrical complex: Cic, *Att*., 4, 9, 1; Caesar entrusted the organisation of a Greek and a Latin public library to Varro: Suet., *Iul*., 42), it would be interesting to investigate if they only gave instructions on the typology of the monument and on the messages that they wanted it to convey, or if they already had a precise project, on which they might have been given advice, but that all the other people involved in the construction process had to follow (on the topic of patronage, see most recently Von Hesberg 2015 and Wescoat 2015).

This thesis also shows how monuments were fluid entities: the themes of propaganda can be modified alongside the construction process, because of changes in the political situation and in the promoter's propagandistic needs. In this case, the Forum of Caesar

offers a valuable example, since it was built during a period of considerable transformation in politics, and eight years passed between the beginning of the works and its dedication (see section 5.1.2.1).

Referring back to the definition presented in section 3.1, it is then possible to demonstrate that Caesar's and Pompey's propaganda on public architecture was deliberate and systematic, and had the purpose to shape perceptions (Pompey offering a Greek/exotic space in his theatrical complex; Caesar extending or refurbishing areas connected to tradition), manipulate cognitions (Pompey's outstanding position as *primus inter pares* guaranteed peace and the dominion of Rome; Caesar sparked off the civil war in order to protect the people's freedom) and direct behaviour (in order to gain legitimation and consent). Monuments have been therefore confirmed as being a fundamental part of political propaganda, and consequently a mirror of the political struggle that marked the end of the Roman Republic.

Gazetteer - Introduction

The main aim of this Gazeteer is to classify the buildings constructed or refurbished by Caesar or Pompey. The information collected for each building includes:

- location;
- chronology (up to the late Republic);
- primary sources;
- secondary sources;
- description of the structure (up to the late Republic);
- plans (late Republican phase, if possible);
- architectural decoration (late republican phase);
- artistic decoration (statues, paintings, other objects – late republican phase);
- function (up to the late Republic).

The buildings have been grouped in alphabetical order and they are related to a plan of the city of Rome during the Late Republican phase. Every building has been assigned a number that indicates its position in the plates 1 and 2.

The creation of this gazeteer has been meant to provide a clear picture of what evidence is possessed for each building during the Late Republican period, and to facilitate comparison between them.

	AEDES FELICITATIS
Location	Northern side of the Roman Forum, under the modern church of SS. Luca e Martina? (Tortorici 1995, 246)
Chronology	**47 BC:** Beginning of works by M. Aemilius Lepidus (CASS. DIO, 44, 5, 2) **46 BC (?)**: End of works (Tortorici 1995, 246)
Main primary sources	**Literary**: CASS. DIO, 44, 5, 2 (on the construction of the temple);
Secondary sources	**Tortorici 1995** (LTUR entry);
Description	According to Cassius Dio, the building was built in the place of the curia Hostilia (CASS. DIO, 44, 5, 2). Its aspect is not known. Some remains (wall section in *opus quadratum*, fragments of architectural decoration, capital), which follow the orientation of the Forum of Caesar and which have been found under the southern corner of the church of SS. Luca and Martina, might perhaps belong to this structure (Tortorici 1995, 246). (Coarelli 1983, 154 identified the wall section in opus quadratum as a terracing wall).
Phases (plan)	-
Decoration (architecture)	None surviving.
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	None surviving.
Function	Temple of the goddess *Felicitas*.

	AEDES HERCULIS POMPEIANI
Location	Close to the *carceres* of the Circus Maximus (Ziolkowski 1992, 48); south of the main entrance of the Circus Maximus (Coarelli 1988a, 84).
Chronology	**292-269/266 BC:** construction of the temple of Hercules Invictus *ad Circum Maximum* (InscrIt XIII, 2,180-181 and 190-191) (Ziolkowski 1992, 48) (312 BC? See Coarelli 1988a, 80-82) **first half of the 1st century BC:** refurbishment as the temple of Hercules Pompeianus by Pompey the Great (Ziolkowski 1992, 46; Coarelli 1996a, 20).
Main primary sources	**Literary:** MACROB., *Sat.*, 3, 6, 16 (on the connection of the temple with the Ara Maxima); PLIN., *HN.*, 34, 57 (on the presence of a bronze statue of Hercules by Miron); VITR., *De arch.*, 3, 3, 5 (description of the temple as *tuscanico more*). **Epigraphic:** InscrIt XIII, 2,180-181 and 190-191
Secondary sources	**Coarelli 1988a,** 77-84 (discussion on the identification and location of the Pompeian temple); **Coarelli 1996a** (LTUR entry); **Ziolkowski 1992**, 46-50 (catalogue entry for the temple of Hercules Invictus *ad Circum Maximum*).
Description	**first half of the 1st century BC:** Vitruvius describes the building as having the characteristics of a Tuscan temple (VITR., *De arch.*, 3, 3, 5); therefore, Pompey's refurbishment must have maintained the aspect of the previous temple. The temple was most probably connected to the Ara Maxima of Hercules in the same area (Coarelli 1996a, 20; see MACROB., *Sat.*, 3, 6, 16). It is possible that the podium with large blocks located behind the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin belongs to this temple (Ziolkowski 1992, 48); Coarelli (1988a, 84), by contrast, considers that the tufa blocks discovered in via della Greca in 1911 might be part of what remains of the temple's podium, and that they are located too far from the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin to be referred to the same building found behind it, although they both share the same orientation.
Phases (plan)	-
Decoration (architecture)	None surviving.
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	Bronze statue of Hercules by Miron (PLIN., *HN.*, 34, 57).

Function	Temple of Hercules Invictus (Coarelli 1996a, 20).

	AEDES QUIRINI
Location	On the Quirinal Hill, where now the "Giardini del Quirinale" are located (Carandini 2007 and 2012, 452; Carafa 1993; Hülsen 1894, 405 ff.; Lanciani 1893-1901, tab. 16); or under the church of S. Maria della Vittoria (Manca di Mores 1982-83); or under Palazzo Barberini (Coarelli 1999a and 2014).
Chronology	**325 BC:** *votum* by the dictator L. Papirius Cursor (LIV., 10, 46, 7); **293 BC** (17th of February - *Quirinalia*): dedication by the consul L. Papirius Cursor (son of the dictator) *ex manubiis* (LIV., 10, 46, 7); **206 BC:** the temple is struck by lightening (LIV., 28, 11, 4); **49 BC:** fire which damaged the temple (CASS. DIO 41, 14, 2-3); **45 BC:** dedication of a statue of Caesar in the temple (CASS. DIO 43, 45, 2-3; CIC., *Att*., 12, 45, 2 and 13, 28, 3) and probable reconstruction of the temple by Caesar (Coarelli 1999a, 185).
Main primary sources	**Literary:** CASS. DIO 41, 14, 2-3 (on the fire of 49 BC); 43, 45, 2-3 (on the dedication of a statue of Caesar in the temple); CIC., *Att*., 12, 45, 2 and 13, 28, 3 (on the dedication of a statue of Caesar in the temple); LIV., 10, 46, 7 (on the votum and dedication of the temple, and on the placement of spoils inside it); 28, 11, 4 (on the lightening which struck the temple in 206 BC); PLIN., *HN*., 7, 213 (on the solarium installed in the temple); 15, 120-121 (on the two myrtle plants); VITR., *De arch.*, 3, 2, 7 (on the aspect of the temple in its Caesarian phase);
Secondary sources	**Carandini 2007** (on the location of the temple in the Giardini del Quirinale); **Carandini 2012**, 452-453 (on the location of the temple in the Giardini del Quirinale); **Carafa 1993** (on the location of the temple in the Giardini del Quirinale); **Coarelli 1999a** (LTUR entry); **Coarelli 2014**, 83-112 (on the different hypotheses about the location of the temple, on the new archaeological data about it, and on the analysis of the Augustan fronton); **Hülsen 1894**, 405 ff.; **Lanciani 1893-1901**, tab. 16 (Forma Urbis Romae); **Manca di Mores 1982-83** (on the location of the temple under the church of S. Maria della Vittoria);
Description	**45 BC phase:** On the southern side of via Barberini an *opus caementicium* wall has been discovered; the podium is sustained on its northern side by arches faced by *opus reticulatum* (Coarelli 1999a, 186). There is no surviving archaeological evidence of the building on top of it; nevertheless, its aspect was described by VITRUVIUS (*De arch.*, 3, 2, 7) as a dypteros, octastyle temple with *pronaos* and *posticum*.

Phases (plan)

Fig. G01: Reconstruction plan of the temple of Quirinus (Augustan phase) after Carandini.

Fig. G02: Reconstruction of the temple of Quirinus (Augustan phase) by Coarelli.

Decoration (architecture)	**45 BC:** Vitruvius describes the temple as characterised by the Doric order (III, 2, 7).
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	**293 BC:** spoils of the Samnites defeated by Papirius Cursor the dictator dedicated in the temple (LIV., 10, 46, 7); first *solarium* of Rome installed by Papirius Cursor the consul (PLIN., *HN*., 7, 213); **45 BC:** dedication of a statue of Caesar in the cella of the temple (CASS. DIO 43, 45, 2-3; CIC., *Att*., 12, 45, 2 and 13, 28, 3). Two myrtle plants, called *patricia* and *plebeia*, are attested in the area of the temple from before the Social War (PLIN., *HN*., 15, 120-121).
Function	Temple of Quirinus.

	BASILICA FULVIA - AEMILIA (PAULLI)
Location	North-east side of the Roman Forum
Chronology	**179 BC:** Construction by the censors M. Fulvius Nobilior and M. Aemilius Lepidus, with the name of *basilica Fulvia* (LIV., 40, 51) (an earlier phase, maybe corresponding to the *atrium regium*, has been referred to the information provided by PLAUT. *Capt*., 815 and *Curc*., 472; it was built most probably after the fire in 210 BC) (Duckworth 1955; Gaggiotti 1985; Coarelli 1985; 138; Bauer 1999a, 173). **159 BC:** installation of a water clock in the basilica by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum (and the first mention of it as *basilica Aemilia et Fulvia*) (VARRO, *Ling*., 6, 2; CENSORINUS., *DN*., 23, 7; PLIN., *HN*., 7, 215) **Beginning of the 1st century BC:** setting of a picture of a Gaul by Marius over the *Tabernae Novae* (CIC., *De or*., 2, 266; QUINT., *Inst*., 6, 3, 38) (PLIN., *HN*., 35, 24-25 locates it over the *Tabernae Veteres*) **78 BC:** M. Aemilius Lepidus displayed some shields depicting images of his ancestors (PLIN., *HN*., 35, 13) **61 BC:** a coin of M. Aemilius Lepidus witnesses a refurbishment (AIMILIA REF) (RRC 419/3 a-b) (representation of the façade of the basilica; see Coarelli 1985, 204-209; *contra* Fuchs 1956 and Richardson 1979) **55 BC:** refurbishment by L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus (CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8; APP., *B civ*., 2, 26; PLUT., *Caes*., 29, 2-3); attribution of the name *basilica Paulli*, employed up to Late Antiquity (Lipps 2011, 18) (inaugurated by L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus in 34 BC - see CASS. DIO, 49, 42) • Steinby 1987, 1988, 1999 considers that the basilica Aemilia was a different building from the basilica Fulvia, and was located on the eastern side of the Roman Forum, under the temple of the Divus Iulius.
Main primary sources	**Literary**: LIV., 40, 51 (for the construction of the basilica by Fulvius Nobilior); PLAUT., *Capt*., 815; *Curc*., 472 (for the earlier phases); CENSORINUS., *DN*., 23, 7 (for the installation of the water clock); CIC., *De or*., 2, 266; *Att*., 4, 17 (on Lepidus' refurbishment); QUINT., *Inst*., 6, 3, 38 (for the picture of a Gaul hung by Marius); PLIN., *HN*., 35, 13 (for the shields hung by Aemilius Lepidus) and 24-25 (for the image of a Gaul over the *tabernae Veteres*) **Coins**: Denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus, 61 BC (RRC 419/3a)
Secondary sources	**Albertson 1990** (on the frieze); **Bauer 1988** (on the archaeological data for the basilica); **Bauer 1993a** (on the basilica Fulvia and the pre-179 BC phase); **Bauer 1993b** (on the basilica Paulli); **Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976**, n.49 (on the frieze); **Cappelli 1993** (on the frieze); **Coarelli 1985**, 135-140, 204-209 (on the archaeological data for the basilica and the interpretation of Lepidus' coin); **Duckworth 1955** (on the pre-179 phase); **Ertel et al. 2007** (description of the phases from 210 BC to the Augustan reconstruction; analysis of the frieze); **Gaggiotti 1985b** (on the pre-179 phase; on the connection between the terms *basilica* and *atrium regium*; on the connection of king Numa with the basilica Aemilia; on the

	ideological connection between the Aemilii Lepidi with Numa and therefore with the basilica Aemilia; on Aemilius Lepidus, censor in 179 BC); **Freyberger 2010** (on the architecture, function and decoration of the basilica); **Lipps 2011** (monograph on the basilica Aemilia); **Mattern 1997** (on the phases of the basilica from 55 BC onwards); **Steinby 1987, 1988, 1993a** (on the basilica Aemilia as a different building from the basilica Fulvia);
Description	The building constituted a unified building complex (*porticus*, *tabernae* and hall) from the beginning (Bauer 1999, p. 173). The following description will mainly follow Bauer 1999; a different sequence of phases is described in Ertel *et al.* 2007 ('post 210 BC' phase; 'pre-80 BC' phase; 'post 14 BC' phase). **pre-179 BC phase:** Floor of the southern portico located 1.50-1.60 m under that of the Augustan phase. Floor of the hall made of Monteverde tufa, located 1 m under that of the basilica Paulli; underneath, a small sewer marked the interaxis of the hall. The hall was divided into three naves (with the central one that was larger than the other two), and there was a portico on the northern side of the basilica. The columns of the southern side of the central nave stood at a distance of two intercolumns from those of its northern side; therefore they were aligned with those of the basilica Paulli. (Bauer 1999a, 174-175) **179 BC phase:** The row of the tabernae probably consisted of 20 rooms divided between the 10th and the 11th room by a larger passage that provided the (only?) entrance to the hall (this means that in this phase the basilica was longer towards the east than it was in the Augustan phase). The positions of the staircases to the upper floor are unknown. The façade of the building was located 3 m behind that of the Augustan building (the western corner of the portico in front of the tabernae was found in 1972), and the thickness of the western wall was twice that of the *tabernae*'s walls (this wall becomes gradually thicker towards the place where most probably the corner pillar was). It seems that the portico and the row of tabernae were longer (towards the east) than those of the basilica Paulli. It is unknown if walls or columns delimitated the hall on the three external sides; the NE side foundations are located under the colonnade of the basilica Paulli. The foundations of the NW side suggest an oblique pattern, that is nevertheless unverifiable on its central part, where new *opus caementicium* foundations replaced the Grotta Oscura tufa ones during the late Republic. The eastern ends of the hall's walls are roughly cut, which suggests that in this phase the hall extended towards the east more than that of the basilica Paulli. The floor of the hall was of travertine and lay 0.60 m under that of the basilica Paulli; under this floor was a big sewer 1.60 m high and with a trapezoidal section (interpreted as a foundation wall for the southern side of the hall by Fuchs 1956; Richardson 1979; Coarelli 1985), which marked the interaxis of the hall. The hall was divided into three naves, but the central nave was broader than that of the former phase, therefore the northern portico had to be removed. The intercolumnation between the 8th and the 9th column on each longer side was slightly broader, in correspondence to the entrance to the internal hall. The wall that divided the hall from the tabernae most probably had half columns. (Bauer 1993a, 173-175)

78 BC phase:

The floor of the southern portico lies 1.20 m under that of the Augustan phase (it is not clear if it belongs to the 55 BC phase) (Bauer 1993b, 184)

55 BC phase:

Rebuilding of the southern portico and the tabernae, repeating the plan of the previous phase (during this phase or just before), utilising red Anio tufa. According to Coarelli (1985, 173-176), it was called *porticus Iulia*. Reconstruction of the hall with the same interaxis as the basilica Fulvia (most probably the old columns were reused; see CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8). The hall is shorter towards the east and west. The new column foundations were laid down by excavating a pit on the old foundations, filling this with *opus caementicium* and placing over this Anio tufa and travertine blocks (there was no *opus caementicium* layer for the columns of the northern portico). The intercolumnation of the northern portico did not correspond to that of the inner colonnades (it had a larger intercolumnation at its centre, whereas a larger space lay between the columns of the inner colonnades in correspondence with the central entrance from the southern portico). The lateral naves had vaults of *opus caementicium*. The thickness of the wall between the tabernae and the hall was doubled (Bauer 1993b, 184; Mattern 1997, 40)

Phases (plan)	**Fig G03**: Plan of the pre-179 (red)/ 79 (green) /14 BC phases of the basilica Fulvia-Aemilia-Paulli.
Decoration (architecture)	**pre 179 and 179 BC phases:** None surviving.

	55 BC phase: The AD 283 parietal decoration belongs to the 2nd Pompeian style. The hall's floor in the lateral naves is made of bardiglio marble, whereas the central nave floor is composed of cipollino, africano, pavonazzetto, giallo antico and portasanta marble. The inner columns were made of africano and had Corinthian capitals; the columns of the northern portico were of cipollino; the material of the external columns is unknown, but their capitals were ionic. There was a frieze around the central nave, where the geison of the first order protruded over every column. We can relate only the first order of the hall to this phase, meaning that either the second order was still to be completed before the following phase, or that it was destroyed by the fire in 14BC. (Bauer 1993b, 184-185)
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	**pre 179 and 179 BC phases:** 159 BC: water clock installed by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum (VARRO, *Ling*., 6, 2; CENSORINUS., DN, 23, 7; PLIN., *HN*., 7, 215); beginning of the 1st century BC: picture of a Gaul hung by Marius over the *Tabernae Novae* (CIC., *De or*., 2, 266; QUINT., *Inst*., 6, 3, 38) (PLIN., *HN*., 35, 24-25 locates it over the *Tabernae Veteres*); 78BC: shields hung on the basilica by M. Aemilius Lepidus, depicting images of his ancestors (PLIN., *HN.*, 35, 13). **55 BC:** Frieze with the representation of images connected with the Romulan-Sabine cycle, the Trojan-Lavinian cycle, the saga of Alba Longa and Romulus' birth (Cappelli 1993, 57) (for Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976, 49 and Albertson 1990 it is connected only with the Romulan cycle – for Albertson 1990 it also contains elements of political parody); it lay over the first order architrave of the central nave of the basilica (Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976; Albertson 1990; Cappelli 1993, 57) (for Freyberger 2010, 39 the plates that we possess were not part of a frieze, but they were set in the internal walls of the hall as decorative reliefs); • The dating of the frieze is controversial; most scholars place it to 55-54 BC, but others think it was connected to the Sullan refurbishment (Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976, n.49; Coarelli 1985, 206-207), to the Augustan one (Strong 1976, 78-79; Kampen 1991, 452 ff.; Freyberger 2010, 41-45), to the imperial period (Simon 1966, 842).
Function	Bank; selling of luxurious goods; judiciary function (civil actions, financial tribunals) (Freyberger 2010, 23-29)

	BASILICA IULIA
Location	Regio VIII, on the southern side of the Roman Forum, between the temple of Saturn and the temple of the Castores (*R. GEST. DIV. AUG.*, 20, 3; SUET., *Aug*., 29)
Chronology	**54 BC:** Construction by L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus (CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8) **46 BC:** inauguration, but works not yet finished (JER., *Chron.*)
Main primary sources	**Literary:** CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8 (for the date of construction); JER., *Chron.* (date of inauguration); *R. GEST. DIV. AUG.*, 20, 3 (for the position); SUET., *Aug*., 29 (for the position) **Epigraphic:** FUR 18b-d
Secondary sources	**De Felice 2012** (on the basilica Iulia from its construction to Late Antiquity); **Giuliani and Verduchi 1993** (LTUR entry); **Tortorici 2012** (on the Caesarian town-planning)
Description	Basilica composed of five naves (at least in its Augustan phase – Giuliani and Verduchi 1993, 178); it might be possible that the *tabernae* were located on the northern side, as in the previous *basilica Sempronia* (De Felice 2012, 196-197). At the present state of knowledge, no archaeological remains of the Caesarian phase survived (De Felice 2012, 209).

Phases (plan)	**Fig. G04**: Reconstruction plan of the basilica Iulia in the Augustan phase.
Decoration (architecture)	None surviving.
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	None surviving.
Function	Juridical activity; monetary activity (see Giuliani and Verduchi 1993); money changers' offices (De Felice 2012)

	CIRCUS MAXIMUS
Location	Valley between the Palatine hill and the Aventine hill (*vallis Murcia*) (Ciancio Rossetto 1993, 272; Tosi 2003, 30).
Chronology	**Construction:** 6th century BC, by Tarquinius Priscus (LIV., I, 35, 7-9; DION. HAL., *Ant. Rom.*, 3, 68, 1), or Tarquinius Superbus (LIV., 1, 56, 2; VIR. ILL., 8.3) or both (DION. HAL., *Ant. Rom.*, 4, 44, 1); **363 BC:** games stopped by a flood of the river Tiber (LIV., 7, 3, 1-2); **329 BC:** first re-arrangement (construction of the *carceres*: VARRO, *Ling*., 5, 153; LIV., 8, 20, 2); **around 230 BC:** painting of the *carceres* (CIC., *Div*., 1, 108); **202 BC:** flood of the river Tiber that affects the preparations for the *Ludi Apollinares* (LIV., 30, 38, 10-12); **196 BC:** first arch by L. Stertinius along the path of the triumphal ceremony (LIV., 33, 27, 3-5); **178 BC:** fire which destroyed a great part of the Circus (OBSEQ., 8); **174 BC:** refurbishment by the censors Fulvius Flaccus and Postumius Albinus (LIV., 41, 27, 6); **167 BC:** a temporary stage is built for flute players, scenic artists and dancers (POL., 30, 22) **46 BC:** stable stone structure set up under Caesar (PLIN., *HN*., 36, 24, 102; SUET., *Iul*., 39, 2).
Main primary sources	**Literary:** CIC., *Div*., 1, 108 (painting of the carceres around 230 BC); DION. HAL., *Ant. Rom.*, 3, 68, 1-4 (construction by Tarquinius Priscus and description of the circus); 4, 44, 1 (construction by both Tarquinius Priscus and Tarquinius Superbus); FEST., 201 L (on the *turres* next to the *carceres*); 464L (seats for M'. Valerius Maximus and descendants); LIV., 1, 35, 7-9 (construction by Tarquinius Priscus); 1, 56, 2 (construction by Tarquinius Superbus); 2, 31, 3(seats for M'. Valerius Maximus and descendants); 7, 3, 1-2 (Tiber flood stops games in 363 BC); 8, 20, 2 (construction of carceres in 329 BC); 30, 38, 10-12 (Tiber flood in 202 BC); 33, 27, 3-5 (arch of Stertinius); 34, 44, 5 (reservation of seats for senators in 174 BC); 39, 7, 8-9 (portent of 187 BC related to the statue of Pollentia); 40, 2, 1-2 (portent of 182 BC related to the statues on the *spina*); 41, 27, 6 (refurbishing of 174 BC); OBSEQ., 8 (fire in 178 BC); PLIN., *HN*., 7, 84 (on the use of the circus for running competitions); 8, 21 (on the cages for protection during *venationes* in Pompey's time); 36, 24, 102 (Caesarian interventions); POL., 30, 22 (temporary stage in the circus); SUET., *Iul*., 39, 2 (Caesarian interventions); TAC., *Ann*., 15, 74, 1 (about the cult of *Sol*); TERT., *Spect*., 8 (on the statues on the *spina*); VARRO, *Ling*., 5, 153 (construction of *carceres*

	in 329 BC and on the *turres* next to the *carceres*); VIR. ILL., 8.3 (construction by Tarquinius Superbus). **Epigraphic:** InscrIt 13.3, 78 (seats for M'. Valerius Maximus and descendants).
Secondary sources	**Ciancio Rossetto 1993** (LTUR entry); **Humphrey 1986**, 56-294 (description of architecture, decoration, functions); **Marcattili 2009** (monograph on the Circus Maximus, with architectural data, analysis of the cults and of its ideology); **Tosi 2003a**, 30-32 (list of archaeological evidence, sources and architectural data in the catalogue for the *Regio I Latium et Campania*).
Description	**6th century BC:** The valley was reclaimed through the construction of canals, and temporary wooden seats on a frame were set up; in a second phase a sewer was built, the path of which is not known; gradually the area was most probably equipped with substructures in order to site the spectators' seats (some seats seem to be reserved, as that of the dictator of 494 BC, M'. Valerius Maximus, and of his descendants; see InscrIt 13.3, 78; FEST., 464L; LIV., 2, 31, 3). The floods reported by the sources attest that the circus did not have surrounding walls (Humphrey 1986, 64-68; Ciancio Rossetto 1993, 272-273). In this period some religious buildings were most probably already present inside the circus, such as the shrine of Murcia (Humphrey 1986, 95-97), or the underground altar of Consus (Humphrey 1986, 61). **329 BC:** The *carceres*, made of wood, were built for the first time (VARRO, *Ling*., 5, 153; LIV., 8, 20, 2) (see Humphrey 1986, 69); **around 230 BC:** The *carceres* were painted (CIC., *Div*., 1, 108); in this period the *carceres* were perhaps enclosed on both sides by two *turres*, crenelated towers from which the presiding magistrates gave the start signal and watched the competition (VARRO, *Ling*., 5, 153; FEST. 201 L; see Marcattili 2009, 160-161). **196 BC:** A *fornix* was built by L. Stertinius (LIV., 33, 27, 3-5); its position is not known, since Livy does not specify it (Humphrey 1986, 69), but Marcattili (2009, 183-184) locates in on the north-western side of the Circus, on the Palatine side; **174 BC:** The censors refurbished the *carceres*, set up (or refurbished) the *ova*, the *metae* and 'iron cages' (LIV., 41, 27, 6), which might either be the cages to fence in the beasts for the *venationes*, or those for the protection of spectators, as are those attested at Pompey's time (PLIN., *HN*., 8, 21) (Humphrey 1986, 71); the censors also ordered the *aediles curules* to set up specific seats for

senators (LIV., 34, 44, 5), which might mean that there were inscribed stone seats in front of the wooden ones or reserved places for curule chairs (Humphrey 1986, 70).There might already have been statues on columns on the barrier in the middle of the arena, since Livy mentions a portent related to some of them in 182 BC (LIV., 40, 2, 1-2; see Humphrey 1986, 70);

46 BC:

First stone structures built by Julius Caesar (PLIN., *HN*., 36, 24, 102; SUET., *Iul*., 39, 2). Dionysus of Halicarnassus describes it as 421 m long (3.5 stadia) and 118 m wide (4 plethra), with an *euripus* which went around the arena and was 2.96 m (10 ft.) wide and deep. The cavea had three orders, the first stone-built, whereas the media and summa cavea were of wood. The *carceres* were not covered and on the external part of the circus there was an ambulatory, which had only one order, that allowed access to the upper parts of the buildings, and which also hosted some shops (DION. HAL., *Ant. Rom.*, 3, 68, 1-4). The present structure of the circus dates back to the Trajanic era, although the north-eastern part of the hemicycle corresponds to the Caesarian phase, the walls of which were made of concrete faced by *opus reticulatum*, and reinforced by blocks of travertine at the points of greatest pressure (Ciancio Rossetto 1993, 273-274); the cavea lies on parallel walls (or concentric, in correspondence of the hemicycle), which are intersected by perpendicular or radial walls (Ciancio Rossetto 1993, 275-276).

The presence of some cults in the Circus Maximus is attested by the sources. The temple of the Sun is mentioned as a *vetus aedes* by TACITUS (*Ann*., 15, 74, 1) for the year 65 AD, and a reference to the same cult might appear on a *denarius* of Mark Anthony of 42 BC (Humphrey 1986, 91).

Phases (plan)

Fig. G05: Plan of the remaining structures of the cavea in the hemicycle.

	Fig. G06: Reconstruction of the plan of the Circus Maximus during the 3rd century AD.
Decoration (architecture)	None surviving.

Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	**196BC:** Gilded statues on the arch of Stertinius (Humphrey 1986, 100). **from 187 BC** (at least): Statue of Pollentia (on the spina?) (LIV., 39, 7, 8-9), statues on columns on the *spina* (LIV., 40, 2, 2) (of the goddesses Seia, Messia and Tutilina, mentioned by Tertullian in *Spect*., 8?) (Humphrey 1986, 70).
Function	Structure which hosted horse races, chariot races, *venationes*, athletic competitions (such as running; see PLIN., *HN*., 7, 84) and music and dance shows (see POL., 30, 22) (Humphrey 1986, 64-71).

	COMITIUM
Location	Northern side of the Roman Forum.
Chronology	**6th century BC:** creation of the *comitium* by Tullus Hostilius (CIC., *Rep*., 2, 11) or by Titus Tatius (TAC., *Ann*., 12, 24); **around 338 BC:** refurbishment of the area by C. Maenius, who hangs the rostra of Antium to the southern podium (PLIN., *HN*., 34, 20); **263 BC:** end of the use of the comitium as a sundial, because of the installation of the solarium by M' Valerius Maximus Messalla (Coarelli 1993a, 311); **around 91 BC:** refurbishment of the area by Aurelius Cotta (Coarelli 1993a, 313); **around 45 BC:** obliteration (Caesar's interventions) (Coarelli 1993a, 312).
Main primary sources	**Literary:** CIC., *Balb*., 23, 53 (on the presence of the *Foedus Cassianum* on the Rostra); *Dom*., 130 (on the *signum Concordiae* by Q. Marcius Philippus); *Leg. Manil*., 24, 70 (on the status of the comitium as a *templum*); *Phil*., 9, 2, 4 (statues of the ambassadors on the Rostra); *Rep*., 2, 11 (foundation by Tullus Hostilius); *Sest*., 35, 75-76 and *Vat*., 10, 24 (on the status of the comitium as a *templum*); DIOD. SIC., 12, 26 (on the presence of the XII tables on the Rostra); EUTR., 2, 7 (equestrian statue of C. Maenius); 2, 17 (on the statue of L. Furius Camillus); LIV., 2, 56, 10 and 3, 17, 1 (on the status of the comitium as a *templum*); 4, 17, 6 (statues of the ambassadors on the Rostra); 8, 13, 9 (equestrian statue of C. Maenius); 8, 14, 12 (on the rostra of the Antium ships and on the status of the comitium as a *templum*); 9, 46, 6 (shrine of Concordia *in area Volcani*); PLIN., *HN*., 7, 214 (installation of a *horologium* by Q. Marcius Philippus); 33, 19 (shrine of Concordia on the Graecostasis); 34, 20 (on the rostra hung by C. Maenius); 34, 23 (statues of the ambassadors on the Rostra and statue of Furius Camillus); 34, 26 (on the statues of Alcibiades and Pithagoras); PLUT., *Numa*, 8, 20 (on the statues of Alcibiades and Pithagoras); POMPON., 1, 2, 2, 4 (on the presence of the XII tables on the Rostra); TAC., *Ann*., 12, 24 (foundation by Titus Tatius); VARRO *Ling*., 5, 155 (on the Graecostasis as place for the meeting of foreign ambassadors); ZON., 7, 18 (on the presence of the XII tables on the Rostra). **Coins:** RRC 381 (statue of Sulla).
Secondary sources	**Amici 2004-05** (re-examination of the archaeological remains; confutation of Coarelli's reconstruction of a square comitium – phases 3/4 – and of a circular comitium – phases 5/6); **Coarelli 1983**, 119-160 (re-examination of the archaeological evidence proposed by Gjerstad and establishment of a new chronology; analysis and interpretation of the archaeological data; analysis of the topography of the area); **Coarelli 1993a** (LTUR entry - Comitium); **Coarelli 1995** (LTUR entry - Graecostasis); **Coarelli 1999b** (LTUR entry - Rostra, republican period); **Ferroni 1993c** (LTUR entry - Concordia, aedicula); **Verduchi 2000** (LTUR entry - tribunal praetoris).

Description	**Phase 1 (floor 1) – end of 7th century BC:** Floor constituted by a trampled surface, containing ceramic material; no traces of buildings; destroyed by a fire (Coarelli 1983, 121-122; 1993a, 313). **Phase 2 (floor 2) – third quarter of the 6th century BC:** presence of an irregular floor made of tufa slabs, on which the boundary stone of the Forum was lying (Coarelli 1983, 122; 1993a, 313). **Phase 3 (floor 3) – end of the 6th/ half of the 5th century BC:** The podia C (Rostra) and E (Graecostasis), which both have three steps made of irregular *opus quadratum* of Capitolium tufa blocks on its northern side, are built; they are separated by the platform D (Volcanal), to which access was given by two steps on its northern side; it hosted a small altar (with a different orientation from the podia) (Coarelli 1983, 124; 1993a, 313; 1995, 373). In 304 BC the *aedicula aerea Concordiae* was built on the Graecostasis by Cn. Flavius (PLIN., *HN*., 33, 19 - for LIV., 9, 46, 6 it was built *in area Volcani*) (Coarelli 1995, 373; Ferroni 1993c, 320). To this phase Amici (2004-05, 353-354) assigns the five steps in tufa blocks (F) north-east of the podium C. **Phase 4 (floor 4) - second al of the 4th century BC (338 BC by C. Maenius?):** First paving of the area, which covers the first two steps of the podium C and the first step of the podium E; the podium C was raised, and three steps were added on its northern side. On the eastern side of the podium C, its steps curve towards the north. One step was added to the podium E. In the platform D the monument G, in Grotta Oscura tufa, was built in the place of the previous altar. In a second phase, the platform D was expanded towards south, with the construction of the podium H, in Grotta Oscura tufa, and the southern wall of the podium C is rebuilt in the same material (Coarelli 1983, 124-126). **Phase 5 (floor 5) - 263 BC (by M'. Valerius Maximus Messalla?):** Reconstruction of the podium C in Monteverde tufa, with a different shape (arc of a circle); on the platform D a lower shaft of a very tapered Monteverde tufa column (monument K) is built. The podium E was most probably reconstructed, even if no evidence of it has been found (Coarelli 1983, 126; 1993a, 313). The first three steps of F are covered by the new floor level (Amici 2004-05, 358). **Phase 6 (floor 6) - beginning of the 1st century BC (by C. Aurelius Cotta?):** Repaving of the comitium in travertine; the Volcanal was covered by slabs of black marble (*Lapis Niger*) and some pits (M, N, O, P), made of Anio tufa, were built. Next to the podium C a drain made of *opus quasi reticulatum* of Anio and Grotta Oscura tufa (U) was built. Construction of the platform L, in Monteverde tufa, south of the podium E. (Coarelli 1983, 126-127; 1993a, 313). **Phase 7 (floor 7) - around 45 BC (by Caesar?):**

	The monuments of the comitium are eventually covered by a paving in Luni marble and travertine, with the same orientation as the curia Iulia (Coarelli 1983, 127; 1993a, 313).
Phases (plan)	**Fig. G07**: Plan of the comitium area after Gjerstad.
Decoration (architecture)	**Phases 3-4:** On the northern side of the platform D, on the second step, a rectangular double base with a *cyma reversa* cornice, in Grotta Oscura tufa (Coarelli 1983, 125).
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	**From the beginning of the 5th century BC:** XII tables hung to the Rostra (DIOD. SIC., 12, 26; ZON., 7, 18; POMPON., 1, 2, 2, 4); **From the beginning of the 5th century BC:** Bronze plate with text of the *Foedus Cassianum* hung to the Rostra (CIC., *Balb*., 23, 53); **From the end of the 5th century BC until the Sullan restoration:** On the Rostra, statues of the ambassadors Tullus Cloelius, L. Roscius, Sp. Nautius and C. Fulcinius, killed in Fidenae in 438 BC (LIV., 4, 17, 6; PLIN., *HN*, 34, 23; CIC., *Phil*., 9, 2, 4); **From 338 BC:** Rostra of the ships of Antium hung to the Rostra (LIV., 8, 14, 12) by C. Maenius (PLIN., *HN*, 34, 20); probably from the same year, installation of an equestrian statue of C. Maenius (LIV., 8, 13, 9; EUTR., 2, 7) and of L. Furius Camillus (PLIN., *HN*, 34, 23; EUTR., 2, 17) (Coarelli 1999b, 212); **From the beginning of the 3rd century BC:**

	Statues of Pithagoras and Alcibiades on the *cornua comitii* (eliminated after Sullan reconstruction of the curia) (PLIN., *HN*, 34, 26; PLUT., *Numa*, 8, 20); **During the 3rd century BC:** Installation of a *horologium* in the comitium by M' Valerius Maximus Messalla (Coarelli 1993a, 311); **164 BC:** Installation of a *horologium* (PLIN., *HN*, 7, 214) and of a *signum Concordiae* (CIC., *Dom*., 130) in the comitium by Q. Marcius Philippus; **Around 80 BC:** Installation of an equestrian statue of Sulla on the Rostra (Coarelli 1999b, 213).
Function	Inaugurated *templum* (LIV., 2, 56, 10; 3, 17, 1; 8, 14, 12; CIC., *Vat*., 10, 24; *Sest*., 35, 75-76; *Leg. Manil*., 24, 70). Originally seat of the *comitia curiata*; of the *comitia tributa* (until 145 BC); of some magistrates: *tribunalia* (of the praetors: until 161 BC), *Rostra*; meeting place for foreign ambassadors (*Graecostasis*; VARRO *Ling.* 5, 155) (Coarelli 1993a, 309, 312; Verduchi 2000, 88).

	FORUM CAESARIS
Location	Western edge of the Argiletum valley, between the hill where the church of SS. Luca e Martina now stands and the Quirinal hill (Delfino 2014, 30).
Chronology	**54 BC:** beginning of the works (CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8; SUET., *Iul*., 26, 2; PLIN., *HN*, 36, 25, 103); **52 BC:** Caesar receives from the Senate permission to build the new curia (CASS. DIO, 40, 50, 2); **46 BC:** dedication of the complex (APP., *B Civ*., 2, 102, 424; CASS. DIO, 43, 22, 2, 3)
Main primary sources	**Literary:** APP., *B Civ*., 2, 10, 68 (on the *votum* of the temple to Venus Victrix); 2, 102, 424; (on the function of the forum, on the dedication of the complex and on the statue of Cleopatra in the temple); CASS. DIO, 43, 22, 2, 3 (on the dedication of the complex); 40, 50, 2 (on the Senate's permission to build the new curia); 51, 22, 3 (on the statue of Cleopatra in the temple); CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8 (on the Caesarian projects of 54 BC); PLIN., *HN*., 8, 155 (on the equestrian statue of Caesar); 9, 57, 116 (on the cuirass with pearls in the temple); 35, 9, 26; 40, 136 (on the tabulae with Aiax and Medea in the temple); 35, 45, 155-156 (on the statue of Venus in the temple); 36, 25, 103 (on the construction of the forum); 37, 5, 11 (on the six *dactylothecae* in the temple); STAT., *Silv*., 1, 1, 84-90 (on the equestrian statue of Caesar); SUET., *Iul*., 26, 2 (on the construction of the forum); 61 (on the equestrian statue of Caesar); VITR., *De arch.*, 3, 3, 2 (description of the temple);
Secondary sources	**Amici 1991** (monograph on the complex); **Delfino 2008**; **2010a** (on the results of the latest excavations in the Forum); **2014** (monograph on the archaic, republican and Caesarian phases of the area and on their interpretation, on the geological analysis of the area, on the history of excavations); **Delfino et al. 2010** (on the equestrian statue of Caesar); **Maisto and Vitti 2009** (on the decoration and phases of the temple); **Maisto and Pinna Carboni 2010** (on the architectural decoration of the porticoes); **Meneghini 2009,** 43-54 (on the whole complex); **Milella 2010a**; **2010b** (on the decoration of the forum);
Description	**54 BC** (from Delfino 2014, 136-183)**:** Dimensions of the complex: 136.7 x 75.9 m; occupied area: around 10000 sq. m. SQUARE: the space for the square was obtained through the excavation of the north-eastern slope of the Capitol hill, and it had a NW-SE orientation. The square was paved with travertine slabs, and it presented a slope from the north-western to its south-eastern side and from its centre to the north-eastern and south-western edges. On its north-western side, it was occupied by a retaining wall with two apses, which framed the structure of the temple of Venus Genetrix; 27 m east of it there was most probably an equestrian statue of Caesar (the location of this statue has been suggested because of the presence

of a medieval spoliation pit in that point and because of the discovery, in the same area, of five marble fragments pertaining to a long-shaped pedestal crowning). Under the north-eastern and south-western edges of the square there were two drains, 0.60 m wide and 1 m high (only the south-western one has been excavated; see Delfino 2014, 139), connected to the surface of the square through sewer covers.

PORTICOES: the porticoes surrounded the square on its north-eastern, south-eastern and south-western sides. Their floor was raised 1 m higher than that of the square, to which it was connected through three Luni marble steps, and paved in white Luni marble slabs. The porticoes were *porticus duplices* (*contra*: Amici 1991, 37-39) and they were divided into two naves, 13m wide, by marble columns; on the first order, the columns towards the square had an intercolumnation of 2 m and were 6.5 m high, whereas those in the central row of the portico had an intercolumnation of 4 m and were 6.5 m high. On the second order, the columns were most probably 4.73 m high and perhaps made of peperino stone. The colonnade sustained a single-pitched roof. The back wall of the porticoes was in *opus quadratum* of travertine, and delimited the space of the forum on its north-east and south-east side, whereas on the south-west side it divided it from the *tabernae*. The back wall of the south-eastern side of the forum also presented a recess on its centre, and two entrances at its far ends; on its external side towards the Argiletum there might have been a structure leaning against it, perhaps a fountain. The north-western ends of the long porticoes were constituted by an apse, screened by four pillars (Amici 1991, 42).

TABERNAE: behind the south-western back wall of the portico there were 19 *tabernae*, which were also functional in order to retain the slope of the Capitol hill behind them. The profile of their back walls is irregular, therefore the rooms have different dimensions. Their front wall was made of peperino blocks; every room has an access towards the portico, and over every access there was first a rectangular and then a semi-circular opening; the rooms were divided by *opus reticulatum* walls. At the moment of the dedication in 46 BC, the *tabernae* were not yet completed.

TEMPLE: the temple of the forum was voted to Venus Victrix in 48 BC (APP., *B civ.*, 2, 10, 68) and then dedicated to Venus Genetrix in 46 BC (APP., *B civ.*, 2, 102). It was an octastyle, pycnostyle temple (VITR., *De arch.*, 3, 3, 2), *peripteros sine postico*. The podium was 5 m high and its core is constituted by a spared part of the hill slope cut to obtain the space for the forum, covered then by concrete. The rear side of the temple presents an apse, which is in direct contact with the soil of the saddle between the Capitol and the Quirinal hills, whereas on the other three sides the concrete was faced by blocks of tufa and slabs of marble. Access to the cella was given by two lateral staircases going from the rear to the front of the podium, leading to a landing, and by another central staircase. Little evidence of the temple structure survives: the dimension and shape of the cella can be inferred by its foundations in tufa blocks, and the peperino stone plinths against the internal side of the cella walls can be attributed to this phase (Amici 1991, 31-35). The podium was

	1.40 m shorter than thought before, as can be seen by the difference in the texture of the concrete in its front part and by the presence of some peperino blocks on its south-west corner, covered by the Trajanic concrete in a following phase (Delfino 2014, 150).
Phases (plan)	**Fig. G08**: Reconstruction plan of the Forum of Caesar (first phase). The structures in dark grey indicate the archaeological evidence; those in lighter grey indicate the reconstruction.

Decoration (architecture)	PORTICOES: the columns towards the square were fluted, reeded on their inferior third and had Corinthian capitals and Attic bases; the median columns were fluted and had Ionic capitals. The first order hosted a frieze with, probably, facing griffins, crouching on their hind legs, and vegetal elements. It might be possible that during the Caesarian phase this frieze was composed by terracotta slabs, which were substituted by marble slabs in the following Augustan phase.
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	SQUARE: equestrian statue of Caesar (PLIN., *HN*, 8, 155; SUET., *Iul.*, 61; STAT., *Silv*., 1, 1, 84-90), probably 7.5 m high, with a high-stepping horse, on a marble rectangular pedestal with a crown moulding. TEMPLE: a statue of Venus sculpted by Archesilaos (PLIN., *HN*, 35, 45, 155-156); two *tabulae* with Aiax and Medea, depicted by Timomachos of Byzantium (PLIN., *HN*, 35, 9, 26 and 40, 136); a cuirass decorated with pearls from Britannia (PLIN., *HN*, 9, 57, 116); six *dactylothecae* (PLIN., *HN*, 37, 5, 11); a golden or gold-plated statue of Cleopatra (CASS. DIO, 51, 22, 3; APP., *B civ.*, 2, 102, 424).
Function	Square with juridical function (APP., *B civ.*, 2, 102).

	OPERA POMPEIANA
Location	Central part of the Campus Martius, west of Largo Argentina (Coarelli 1997a, 539), outside the pomerium (CASS. DIO, 40, 50, 2).
Chronology	**after 61 BC:** beginning of works (Gros 1999, 36). **55 BC:** dedication of the theatre and of the temple of Venus Victrix (CIC., *Fam*., 15, 1; *Pis*., 27, 65; ASCON., *Pis*., 11); **52 BC:** dedication of the temple of Victoria (GELL., *NA*., 10, 1, 6-9; see Coarelli 1997a, 568; Sear 2006, 58 considers this the date of the dedication of the temple of Venus).
Main primary sources	**Literary:** APP., *B civ.*, 2, 16, 117 (statue of Pompey in the curia); 2, 114-115 (on the juridical activity in the porticoes in front of the curia); ASCON., *Mil*., 67 (curia as meeting place for the Senate); *Pis*., 11 (dedication of the complex); CASS. DIO, 40, 50, 2 (for the position of the complex); 44, 16 (curia as meeting place for the Senate); 50, 8, 3 (statue of Victoria on the *scaena*); CIC., *Div*., 2, 9, 23 (statue of Pompey in the curia); *Fam*., 7, 1; *Pis*., 27, 65 (dedication of the complex); GELL., *NA*, 10, 1, 6-9 (dedication of the temple of Victoria); 14, 7, 7 (curia as meeting place for the Senate); PLIN., *HN*, 7, 34 (statues of Eutychis and Alcippe); 35, 59 (painting of Polygnotus of Thasos); 114 (painting of Antiphilos); 126 (painting of Pausias); 132 (painting of Nicia); 36, 41 (statues of the 14 Nations); PLUT., *Brut*., 14, 2; *Caes*., 66, 1-2; 66,6-7 (statue of Pompey in the curia); SUET., *Aug*., 31, 9 (on the triumphal arch); *Nero*, 46 (statues of the 14 Nations); TERT., *Spect*, 10, 5 (presence of the temple of Venus Victrix on the top of the cavea). **Epigraphic:** FUR fr.39 a-c;
Secondary sources	**Coarelli 1971-72** (on the decoration of the porticoes); **1993b** (LTUR entry: Curia Pompei, Pompeiana); **1997a** (566-580) (on the archaeological data and ideological interpretation of the Pompeian complex); **Gagliardo and Packer 2006** (on the history of studies and excavations, on the existing archaeological data and on their 2002-2003 excavation campaign); **Gros 1994**; **Gros 1999a** (LTUR entry: Porticus Pompei); **Gros 1999b** (LTUR entry: Theatrum Pompei); **Orlandi 1999** (LTUR entry: Porticus Lentulorum); **Packer *et al.* 2007** (on their 2005 excavation campaign); **Sear 2006**, 57-61 (models, dedication, architectural structure of the complex);
Description	THEATRE: The theatre stood on a three-stepped podium (Packer et al. 2007, 515). The aspect of the cavea of the theatre can be inferred by the (albeit scant) archaeological evidence and by the FUR (Coarelli 1997a, 566), even though its plan is not clear yet (especially as far as the number of *ambulacra* is concerned) (Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 102). The cavea and the orchestra had a semi-circular shape; the aspect of the *scaena* for this phase is not known, since this part of the building underwent subsequent restoration. At the top of the cavea there was a temple of Venus Victix (TERT., *Spect*, 10, 5),

characterised by an apse on its rear part, and two sacella of Honos and Virtus and Felicitas (Sear 2006, 58, f. 105 adds Hercules Invictus); the position of the sacellum of Victoria is not sure: it might have been either on the top of the cavea or on the *scaena*, since CASSIUS DIO (50, 8, 3) mentions a statue of Victoria there (Coarelli 1997a, 566-569). The temple of Venus was not centred on the axis of the theatre but slightly south of it. The walls supporting it were most probably of peperino, faced by another material (given the presence of iron supports), unlike the internal walls of the theatre, which had no facing. The staircases (whose position is not surely known) were made of travertine. The cavea had a diameter of 156.8 m and the height of the arches on the ground floor of the façade was 6.15 m, whereas their width was variable all around its external side. The first order should have been 9.59 m high (Parker et al. 2007, 511-512 and 515-516).

CURIA: The curia was located at the centre of the eastern side of the *porticus post scaenam*, of which it constituted an *exaedra* (Coarelli 1993c, 335); it was an *opus quadratum* building in Anio tufa, 24 m wide and around 20 m long, and its aspect should have recalled that of a temple (Coarelli 1993c, 335; 1997a, 572 and 574).

PORTICOES: The *porticus post scaenam* was located east of the theatre, but little archaeological evidence remains (a part of the curia has been identified west of the temple B in Largo Argentina and a part of the eastern area of the gardens has been discovered during the excavations underneath the Teatro Argentina) (Gros 1999a, 149). According to the *Forma Urbis Romae*, in its central area it was occupied by two rectangular groves of plane trees, separated by an alley 12 m wide and flanked on their long sides by small fountains topped by statues (Coarelli 1997a, 573-576). Its dimensions were 180x135 m; the porticoes on the longer sides had two naves, and on their back walls there were rectangular or semi-circular prostyle *exedrae* (Gros 1999a, 148). It is controversial if the *porticus ad Nationes* was one of the porticoes of the *porticus post scaenam* or if it has to be identified with the *Porticus Lentulorum* or *Hecatostylum* (whose building date is either around 50 BC or in the Augustan period, but before 18 BC) (Orlandi 1999, 125-126). On the western side of the porticoes, just behind the building of the *scaena* (SUET., *Aug*., 31, 9), there was a triumphal arch, probably connected with Pompey's triumph on Mithridates in 61 BC (Palombi 1993, 103).

Phases (plan)

Fig. G09: Reconstruction plan of the theatrical complex of Pompey in the Campus Martius (55BC).

Decoration (architecture)	THEATRE: very little evidence of the architectural decoration; the documentation of excavations carried out in 1837 shows an external first Tuscan or Doric order of travertine or tuff. The second and third orders should have been Ionic and Corinthian respectively, similar to the Augustan phase of the theatre of Marcellus; the façade of the *scenae frons* in this period must have been simple (Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 115-116). On the internal side of the *ambulacrum*, at least the two piers on the opposite sides of the foundations of the temple of Venus must have had pilasters with stucco fluting, framing the eastern wall of the foundations of the temple, which was faced with stucco and maybe decorated either with stucco or paint. The floor of the ambulatory was paved with slabs of travertine (Packer et al. 2007, 515).
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	PORTICOES: painting representing Capaneus by Polygnotus of Thasos next to the entrance of the curia (PLIN., *HN*, 35, 59); other paintings depicted a Cadmos with Europe (by Antiphilos) (PLIN., *HN*, 35, 114), a sacrifice of oxen (by Pausias) (PLIN., *HN*, 35, 126) and an Alexander (by Nicia of Ephesus) (PLIN., *HN*, 35, 132); statues of the 14 Nations in the Porticus ad Nationes, by Coponius (PLIN., *HN*, 36, 41; SUET., *Nero*, 46); three series of statues in the porticoes: of *hetairai* (Mystis, Phryne, Glykera, Argeia, Neaira, Lais, Pannychis), poetesses (Sapphos, Corinna, Telesilla, Melanippe, Praxilla, Myra, Anite) and women famous for how they gave birth to their children (Eutychis, Alcippe – see PLIN., *HN*, 7, 34 - Pasifae, Besantis, Euanthe) (Coarelli 1971-72, 104). CURIA: statue of Pompey (PLUT., *Brut*., 14, 2; *Caes*., 66, 1-2; 66,6-7; APP., *B civ.*, 2, 16, 117; CIC., *Div*., 2, 9, 23; *Phil.*, 1, 36; NIC. DAM., *Aug.*, 23, 83 and 24, 90; SUET., *Aug.*, 31, 5; CASS. DIO, 45, 52, 1; ZON., 10, 11, 491)
Function	THEATRE: location for plays, mimes, exhibitions, concerts, other musical representations and ceremonies (Gros 1994, 293-294). PORTICOES: shelter in case of rain, gallery of painting and sculptures, public and private meeting place (Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 95). CURIA: meeting place for the Senate (GELL., *NA*, 14, 7, 7; ASCON., *Mil*., 67; CASS. DIO 44, 16); the area of portico in front of it was most probably used for juridical activity (Coarelli 1997a, 579; see APP., *B civ.*, 2, 114-115).

	ROSTRA CAESARIS
Location	Western side of the Forum Romanum.
Chronology	**Beginning of 44 BC:** construction by Julius Caesar (CASS. DIO, 43, 49; RRC 473/1) (Coarelli 1985, 238; Verduchi 1999, 214).
Main primary sources	**Literary:** CASS. DIO, 43, 49 (for the construction, the position, the statues and the inscription of Mark Anthony); FLOR., 1, 5 (for the *rostra*). **Epigraphic:** RRC 473/1.
Secondary sources	**Coarelli 1985**, 237-257 (on the archaeological data); **Verduchi 1999** (on the archaeological data).
Description	Semi-circular hemicycle with a nucleus in concrete made with tufa blocks; maybe built in two phases, since the northern half seems to have been built first. The facing was made by portasanta slabs (originally separated by small pillars of African marble); the base blocks of white marble have been reused (their curvature is not the same of that of the hemicycle and each of them has a Greek letter inscribed, but they are not placed in the right alphabetical order). On the Capitol hill side, there were six steps made of travertine, which begin from a level higher than that of the front, because of the slope of the area (Verduchi 1999, 214).

Phases (plan)	**Fig. G10**: Plan of the *Rostra Caesaris* and *Rostra Augusti*.
Decoration (architecture)	Facing decorated with portasanta slabs divided by small pillars made of African marble; base blocks of white marble.
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	Ships' *rostra*, replaced after the destruction of the old Rostra, fastened to the small pillars on the façade (FLOR., 1, 5; RRC 473/1); statues of Sulla and Pompey (CASS. DIO 43, 49); inscription of dedication with the name of Mark Anthony (CASS. DIO, 43, 49).
Function	Orators' tribune.

	SAEPTA (OVILE) AND DIRIBITORIUM
Location	Central part of the Campus Martius (Coarelli 1997a, 157).
Chronology	**5th century BC:** creation of a fenced space for the popular assemblies (Torelli 2010, 114-115); **54 BC:** beginning of the reconstruction by Caesar, continued by M. Aemilius Lepidus (CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8; CASS. DIO, 53, 23); **26 BC:** end of works and dedication by Agrippa (CASS. DIO, 53, 23).
Main primary sources	**Literary:** CASS. DIO, 53, 23 (for the construction of the complex by Caesar, and the works of Aemilius Lepidus and Agrippa); CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8 (for the construction of the complex by Caesar); SERV., *Ecl*., 1, 33 (on the old aspect, function and denomination of the Saepta).
Secondary sources	**Coarelli 1997a**, 155-164 and 580-582 (about the position, the structure and the meaning of the building); **Gatti 1937** (identification of the fragments of the Forma Urbis Romae pertaining to it and location of the monument); **Gatti 1999** (LTUR entry);
Description	**from the 5th century BC:** Creation of a wooden fenced space, called *Ovile* for its resemblance to a sheep pen (SERV., *Ecl*., 1, 33), the dimensions of which are unknown (Torelli 2010, 114; Coarelli 1997a, 159). The internal space was divided into lanes, in order to allow the division by tribes or *centuriae* of the people while voting; on its southern side was the open space of the Diribitorium, which was accessible through *pontes*, wooden boardwalks (Coarelli 1997a, 161). **54 BC:** The building (comprising both Saepta and Diribitorium) was constructed in the same place of the republican Ovile (Gatti 1999, 228). Since the Augustan Saepta were a completion of the Caesarian ones (CASS. DIO, 53, 23), it is probable that they had the same dimensions (Coarelli 1997a, 158-159). The area of the Caesarian Saepta was surrounded by porticoes on three sides (but not on the southern side), which were 310 m long on the eastern and western sides, and 120 m on the northern (excluding the Diribitorium). It is possible that the *porticus* was *duplex* (Coarelli 1997a, 158) and that the Diribitorium was roofed, as perhaps were the lanes (Coarelli 1997a, 581). Only the brick wall discovered next to the eastern side of the Pantheon can be associated with the monument (and most probably it belonged to the *porticus Argonautarum*, the western part of the portico of the Saepta) (Gatti 1999, 228).

Phases (plan)

Fig. G11: Reconstruction plan of the *Saepta Iulia* in the Campus Martius, 7 BC phase.

Decoration (architecture)	**54 BC:** The whole complex was decorated with marble from Luni (Coarelli 1997a, 581).
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	None surviving.
Function	*Templum* (inaugurated space) (Coarelli 1997a, 156); space for the voting operations of the *comitia centuriata*, *tributa* and *curiata* (Saepta) (Gatti 1999, 228); space for vote scrutiny (Diribitorium) (Coarelli 1997a, 163).

	THEATRUM CAESARIS (MARCELLI?)
Location	In the same place as the theatre of Marcellus (CASS. DIO, 43, 49, 2 and 53, 30, 5); or on the slope of the Capitol Hill (SUET., *Caes*, 44, 1) (southern slope? See Coarelli 1997a, 588; north-eastern slope? See Palombi 1996, 851).
Chronology	**45 BC:** beginning of construction (CASS. DIO 43, 49, 2; SUET., *Iul.*, 44, 1); **17 BC:** construction completed by Augustus (Tosi 2003, 27).
Main primary sources	**Literary:** CASS. DIO, 43, 49, 2 and 53, 30, 5 (on Caesar's construction of a theatre and on Augustus completing it as the theatre of Marcellus); 42, 49, 3 (on the destruction of sacred buildings in order to build the theatre); SUET., *Caes*, 44, 1 (on the Caesarian project of a theatre on the slope of the Capitol hill). **Epigraphic:** CIL VI 32323.157 (on the use of the theatre for the *Ludi Saeculares*).
Secondary sources	**Ciancio Rossetto 1994-95** (on the latest results of the excavations of that period: discovery of the foundations of the temple of Pietas); 1999 (LTUR entry); 2010 (on the building techniques and project of the theatre); **Coarelli 1997a**, 448 (on the destruction of the temple of Pietas by Caesar) and 586-588 (on Caesar's theatre project); **Fidenzoni 1970** (monograph on the building); **Jackson et al. 2011** (analysis of the building materials of the theatre); **Palombi 1996a**, 851 (on the Caesarian project of a theatre on the NE slope of the Capitol hill); **Purcell 1993**, 126, f. 9 (on the Caesarian project of a theatre on the NE slope of the Capitol Hill); **Tosi 2003a**, 24-27 (entries: *Teatro di Cesare* and *Teatro di Marcello*; list of archaeological evidence, sources and architectural data in the catalogue for the *Regio I Latium et Campania*); **Wiseman 1989**, 14, f.52 (on the Caesarian project of a theatre on the NE slope of the Capitol Hill);
Description	The sources and recent scholarship do not agree on the original position of the theatre begun by Caesar in 45 BC, in the context of his projects *de ornanda instruendaque urbis*, and Ciancio Rossetto admits (2010, 51, f. 3) that the question is very complicated. If the original project envisaged a theatre lying on the slope of the Capitol hill, as Suetonius affirms (SUET., *Iul.*, 44, 1), it might be possible that it changed for some reason. The position of the theatre on the Capitol Hill has been an object of discussion, since some scholars (Purcell 1993, 126, f. 9; Wiseman 1991, 14, f. 52; Palombi 1996, 851) locate it on the north-eastern slope of the hill, in connection with the forum of Caesar; this position has been criticised by Coarelli in particular (1997a, 586-588), who locates the original Caesarian project on the southern slope. Nevertheless, CASSIUS DIO (43, 49, 2 and 53, 30, 5) states that Augustus completed the Caesarian project, which therefore would be located in the same place as the theatre of Marcellus. This position might perhaps be sustained by the recent analyses on the building materials of the theatre, which

	reported the presence in the base of the substructure of the theatre of a type of mortar whose composition is slightly different from that of the Augustan structures' mortar, and might therefore suggest an earlier phase of construction (Jackson *et al*. 2011, 733). As a consequence, the oak posts used to stabilise the clay soil of the area and the casting of *opus caementicium* that makes up the foundation of the cavea and orchestra (Ciancio Rossetto 2010, 55-56) should belong to the Caesarian phase (Ciancio Rossetto 1999, 31). This hypothesis might be further confirmed by the fact that the sources affirm that Caesar destroyed some sacred buildings in order to build his theatre (CASS. DIO, 42, 49, 3), most probably including the temple of Pietas (Coarelli 1997a, 448), whose foundations have been found under the Aula Regia of the theatre of Marcellus (Ciancio Rossetto 1994-95, 199-200).
Phases (plan)	**Fig. G12**: Reconstructive plan of the theatre of Marcellus (Imperial phase).
Decoration (architecture)	None belonging to the Caesarian phase.

Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	None belonging to the Caesarian phase.
Function	Completed by Augustus (CASS. DIO 43, 49, 2 and 53, 30, 5); in 17 BC the theatre was used for the *Ludi Saeculares* (CIL VI 32323.157); the types of theatrical plays performed in the theatre are probably those represented through the marble masks which decorated the arch keystones of the first and second order of the façade (Ciancio Rossetto 1999, 34); the area of the *fornices*, on the lower order, was most probably occupied by shops (Ciancio Rossetto 1999, 33).

	VILLA PUBLICA
Location	Next to the *aedes Catuli* (*aedes Fortunae huiusce diei*) (VARRO, *Rust*., 3, 5, 12) and in close proximity to the Saepta (VARRO, *Rust*., 3, 2, 1-2; 3, 5, 18; 3, 7, 1), *in Campo Martio extremo* (VARRO, *Rust*., 3, 2, 5).
Chronology	**435 BC:** construction by the censors C. Furius Pacilus and M. Geganius Macerinus (LIV., 4, 22, 7); **194 BC:** refurbishment by the censors Sex. Aelius Paetus and C. Cornelius Cethegus (LIV., 34, 44, 5); **98 BC:** refurbishment *de manubiis* by the consul T. Didius (Agache 1987, 231); **54 BC:** the Caesarian projects in the Campus Martius involve the Villa Publica (CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8).
Main primary sources	**Literary:** CIC., *Att*., 4, 16, 8 (on the Caesarian projects for 54 BC); HEGESIPP., 7, 5, 4 (on the Villa Publica as residence of the *imperatores* before the triumph); LIV., 4, 22, 7 (on the date of construction); 30, 21, 12; 33, 24, 5 (on the Villa Publica as a place to host foreign ambassadors); 34, 44, 5 (on the refurbishment of 194 BC); VARRO, *Rust*., 3, 2, 1-2 and 5; 3, 5, 12 and 18; 3, 7, 1 (on the position of the building); 3, 2, 3-4 (on the Villa Publica as an example of simplicity and on its use for the census). **Numismatic:** RRC 429/2 (*denarius* of the *triumvir monetalis* P. Fonteius Capito, 55 BC).
Secondary sources	**Agache 1987** (on the ideological meaning of the representation of the Villa Publica on Fonteius' coin); **Agache 1999** (LTUR entry); **Beard 2007,** 92-96 (no connection between the Villa Publica and the ceremony of triumph); **Coarelli 1997a**, 164-175 (description of the building, discussion about its position and its ideological relationship with the surrounding structures).
Description	No archaeological evidence of this building has been found; the only data that we possess are from literary or numismatic sources (Coarelli 1997a, 173). **98 BC:** The denarius of P. Fonteius Capito represents the project of the Villa Publica as a two-storey building, on whose ground floor is an arcaded and colonnaded portico with, perhaps, doors or gates. The first floor hosts an attic with semi-columns, over which another portico, supporting a roof, can be seen (perhaps, being smaller, this portico was located behind the façade of the attic); it is described as an example of architectural simplicity by VARRO (*Rust*., 3, 2, 3-4) (Coarelli 1997a, 173-174; Agache 1999, 203).
Phases (plan)	-

Decoration (architecture)	None surviving.
Decoration (statues, paintings, other objects)	None surviving.
Function	Location in which the *census* was carried out (VARRO, *Rust*., 3, 2, 4) and where, in periods of war, the ambassadors of the foreign nations were hosted (LIV., 30, 21, 12 and 33, 24, 5); perhaps accommodation of the *imperatores* waiting for the triumphal ceremony (HEGESIPP., 7, 5, 4) (*contra* Beard 2007, 92-96).

Appendix A: Chronology Table

Note: the information displayed in the Chronology Table has been taken from Gelzer 1968; Leach 1978; Canfora 1999; Christ 2004.

Caesar		Pompey		Year (BC)	Monuments	Main events in Rome	
		Birth (29 September)		106		January, birth of Cicero	
Birth (12 or 13 July)				100			
				88		Consulate of Sulla	
Flamen Dialis (appointment to?)				87			
		Marriage with Antistia		86			
Divorce from Cossutia; marriage with Cornelia, daughter of Cinna		P. fights on Sulla's side; acclaimed *imperator*		83		Sulla arrives at Brindisi	
Refusal to divorce from Cornelia (ordered by Sulla)	Military service in the Eastern provinces (to escape from Sulla)	Divorce from Antistia and marriage with Aemilia, Sulla's stepdaughter, who died later in the year;	Pompey fights for Sulla in North Africa and Sicily	82		Battle of Porta Collina; beginning of the Sullan proscriptions;	Sulla *dictator*
				81			
Ambassador at the court of Nicomedes IV of Bithinia		Marriage with Mucia		80			
		Triumph (1) (12 March) (?) (perhaps in 81?)		79	Dedication of the temple of Hercules Pompeianus (?) (Pompey)		

Caesar	Pompey		Year (BC)	Monuments	Main events in Rome	
Return to Rome		Entrusted the war against Lepidus by the Senate	78		Sulla's death; conspiration of M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 78)	
Accusations against Gn. Cornelius Dolabella and C. Antonius Hybrida, men of Sulla, for official misconduct			77			
		Imperium proconsulare against Sertorius in Spain	76			
			74			Third Mithridatic war
Appointed in the college of *pontifices*			73		War against Spartacus	
Military tribune (perhaps in 71?)			72			
	Defeat of the last rebels of Spartacus; Triumph (2) (29 December)		71			
	Consulate (1) with Crassus		70	Dedication of the temple of Hercules Pompeianus (?) (Pompey)		
Questor in Hispania Ulterior at the command of C. Antistius Veteres; eulogies for the deaths of the aunt Julia and of the wife Cornelia			69			
Marriage to Pompeia			68			

Caesar	Pompey		Year (BC)	Monuments	Main events in Rome	
Supporter of the *lex Gabinia*		*Imperium* against the pirates	67			
Supporter of the *lex Manilia*	*Lex Manilia*: command against Mitridates VI		66			
Curule edile		Re- organisation of Asia and Near East	65			
			64		*Senatusconsultum ultimum* on the suppression of the *collegia*	
pontifex maximus			63		Conspiration of Catiline	
Praetor; divorce from Pompeia because of the Bona Dea scandal	Return from the Eastern provinces; divorce with Mucia		62			
Propraetor in Spain	Triumph (3) (28-29 September)		61	Dedication of the temple of Minerva (Pompey); beginning of the works for the Pompeian complex (?) (Pompey)	The Senate opposes Pompey's administrative organisation of the Near Eastern provinces	
First Triumvirate with Crassus			60		First Triumvirate	

Caesar		Pompey	Year (BC)	Monuments	Main events in Rome	
Consulate (1); obtaining of the *proconsulare imperium* in Gaul and Illyricum for 5 years; marriage with Calpurnia		Marriage with Julia (Caesar's daughter)	59			
Gallic wars (from March 58)			58		Re-establishment of the *collegia* by Clodius	Cicero's exile
		Curator annonae	57		15-days *supplicatio* for Caesar's deeds in Gaul decreed by the Senate (end of September)	
	Lucca conference (April)		56		The Senate re-abolishes the *collegia* (February)	
First expedition in Britannia	obtaining of a 5-years extension of the imperium in Gaul	Consulate (2) with Crassus; obtaining of a 5-years *imperium* in Spain	55	Dedication of the Pompeian complex in the Campus Martius (Pompey) (29 September)	Crassus obtains of a 5-years *imperium* in Syria; 20-days *supplicatio* for Caesar's deeds in Gaul decreed by the Senate (Autumn)	

Caesar		Pompey		Year (BC)	Monuments	Main events in Rome
Second expedition in Britannia; revolt of the Eburones, Senones and Treviri		Death of Julia (September)		54	Purchase of the land for 'an extension of the Forum' (Caesar) (from October); beginning of the works for the Saepta and for the Villa Publica (Caesar) (from October); beginning of the works for the refurbishment of the basilica Aemilia and for the construction of the basilica Iulia (Paullus)	
				53		Death of Crassus at Carrhae (12 June)

Caesar		Pompey		Year (BC)	Monuments	Main events in Rome	
Revolt of the Gallic tribes (February); defeat in Gergovia (May/June); victory of Alesia (August/September)	Caesar is allowed to stand *in absentia* for the consulate of 49	*Consul sine collega* (February?)		52	Beginning of the works in the Forum Iulium (Caesar); dedication of a sacellum to Victoria in the Pompeian complex (?) (Pompey)	Murder of Clodius and destruction of the curia Cornelia (18 January); 20-days *supplicatio* for Caesar's deeds in Gaul decreed by the Senate (end of the year)	
				51	Corruption of Aemilius Paullus; 1.500 talents for the completion of the basilicae Aemilia and Iulia (Caesar)		
	Negotiations		Illness	50			
Passage of the Rubicon (10 January); entrance in Rome (31 March); campaign against the Pompeians in Spain (from April); appointment to dictatorship (1) (mid-			Escape from Rome (17 January)	49	Beginning of the refurbishment of the temple of Quirinus (?) (Caesar)	*Senatusconsultum ultimum* against Caesar (7 January); Escape of the consuls and of the senators (18 January); *Lex Roscia* on the	Civil War

Caesar		Pompey		Year (BC)	Monuments	Main events in Rome
October); return to Rome (2-12 December)						citizenship of the Transpadani (11 March)
Consulate (2); dictatorship (2)	in Alexandria (2 October 48 – 28 June 47)	Defeat of Caesar at Dyrrachium (17 July); defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus (9 August)	Escape to Egypt; murdered by Ptolemy (28 September)	48		Pompey's sons escape to North Africa
Victory of Zela (2 August); in Rome (4 October-beginning of December)				47	Beginning of the works for the temple of Felicitas (Caesar)	
Consulate (3); victory of Tapsus (6 April); return to Rome (25 July); triumph *ex Gallia, Aegypto, Ponto, Africa de rege Iuba* (August); in Spain (from November?); dictatorship (3)				46	Wooden stadium and naumachia in the Campus Martius (Caesar); the Circus Maximus is refurbished (Caesar); dedication of the temple of Felicitas (Caesar);	Cn. Pompeius (son) in Spain (beginning of April); suicide of Cato (night between 12 and 13 April)

Caesar	Pompey	Year (BC)	Monuments	Main events in Rome	
			dedication of the Forum Iulium and of the temple of Venus Genetrix (Caesar) (25-26 September)		
Consulate (4); dictatorship (4); victory at Munda against the Pompeians (17 March); writing of the testament - adoption of Octavian (13 September); return to Rome and triumph on Pompey's sons (October)		45	*Lex Iulia de Urbe augenda, ornanda et instruenda* (Caesar); a statue of Caesar is dedicated in the temple of Quirinus; beginning of the works for the theatre of Caesar (Caesar); the Rostra are moved to the western side of the Roman		

Caesar	Pompey	Year (BC)	Monuments	Main events in Rome
			Forum (Caesar) (end of the year)	
Consulate (5); appointment to *imperator* (14 January); appointment to *dictator perpetuus* (14 February); murdered in the curia Pompeia (15 March)		44		

Appendix B: Catalogue of Key Ancient Texts

The translations of the ancient texts presented in the body of the thesis are by the author.

The bibliographical references for the translations provided in this Appendix can be found in the section 'Primary Sources' of the Bibliography.

Appian

Bella civilia

1, 26

[…] καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ἐκάθαιρεν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ νεὼν Ὁμονοίας αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ προσέταξεν ἐγεῖραι.

After this a lustration of the city was performed for the bloodshed, and the Senate ordered the building of a temple to Concord in the forum.

2, 26

Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οἱ μάλιστα ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τοὐπιὸν ᾑρέθησαν ὕπατοι, Αἰμίλιός τε Παῦλος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ προτέρου Μαρκέλλου, δήμαρχός τε Κουρίων, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ ὅδε τῷ Καίσαρι καρτερὸς καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον εὐχαριτώτατος καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατος. τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ Κλαύδιον μὲν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ὑπαγαγέσθαι χρήμασι, Παῦλον δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπρίατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ μήτε συμπράττειν μήτε ἐνοχλεῖν, Κουρίωνα δὲ καὶ συμπράττειν ἔτι πλειόνων, εἰδὼς ἐνοχλούμενον ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολλῶν.

Παῦλος μὲν δὴ τὴν Παύλου λεγομένην βασιλικὴν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέθηκε Ῥωμαίοις, οἰκοδόμημα περικαλλές· […]

For this reason the bitterest enemies of Caesar were chosen consuls for the ensuing year: Aemilius Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the Marcellus before mentioned. Curio, who was also a bitter enemy of Caesar, but extremely popular with the masses and a most accomplished speaker, was chosen tribune. Caesar was not able to influence Claudius with money, but he bought the neutrality of Paulus for 1500 talents and the assistance of Curio with a still larger sum, because he knew that the latter was heavily burdened with debt.

With the money thus obtained Paulus built and dedicated to the Roman people the Basilica that bears his name, a very beautiful structure, […]

2, 68

θυόμενός τε νυκτὸς μέσης τὸν Ἄρη κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόγονον Ἀφροδίτην (ἐκ γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Ἴλου τοῦ Αἰνείου τὸ τῶν Ἰουλίων γένος παρενεχθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἡγεῖτο εἶναι), νεών τε αὐτῇ νικηφόρῳ χαριστήριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιήσειν εὔχετο κατορθώσας.

He offered sacrifice at midnight and invoked Mars and his own ancestress, Venus (for it was believed that from Aeneas and his son, Ilus, was descended the Julian race, with a slight change of name), and he vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank-offering to her as the Bringer of Victory if everything went well.

2, 76

οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἐμηχανῶντο καὶ περιήεσαν ἑκάστους, καθιστάμενοί τε τὰ ἐπείγοντα καὶ ἐς εὐτολμίαν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ τὰ συνθήματα ἀναδιδόντες, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ Ἀφροδίτην νικηφόρον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Ἡρακλέα ἀνίκητον.

Thus they laid their plans against each other, and each commander passed through the ranks of his own troops, attending to what was needful, exhorting his men to courage, and giving them the watchword, which on Caesar's side was "Venus the Victorious," and on Pompey's "Hercules the Invincible."

2, 81

Πομπήιος δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὴν τροπὴν εἶδεν, ἔκφρων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπῄει βάδην ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκαθέζετο ἄναυδος, οἷόν τι καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντά φασιν ἐν Ἰλίῳ παθεῖν, ἐν μέσοις πολεμίοις ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας.

When Pompey saw the retreat of his men he became bereft of his senses and retired at a slow pace to his camp, and when he reached his tent he sat down speechless, resembling Ajax, the son of Telamon, who, they say, suffered in like manner in the midst of his enemies at Troy, being deprived of his senses by some god.

2, 101-102

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Καίσαρος πολέμῳ τέλος ἐγίγνετο, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπανελθὼν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐθριάμβευε τέσσαρας ὁμοῦ θριάμβους, ἐπί τε Γαλάταις, ὧν δὴ πολλὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἔθνη προσέλαβε καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύνατο, καὶ Ποντικὸν ἐπὶ Φαρνάκει καὶ Λιβυκὸν ἐπὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχήσασι τῷ Σκιπίωνι· ἔνθα καὶ Ἰόβα παῖς, Ἰόβας ὁ συγγραφεύς, βρέφος ὢν ἔτι παρήγετο. παρήγαγε δέ τινα καὶ τῆς ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίας θρίαμβον Αἰγύπτιον, μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαλατῶν καὶ Φαρνάκους. τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φυλαξάμενος ἄρα, ὡς ἐμφύλια οὐκ ἐοικότα τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπαίσια, ἐπιγράψαι θριάμβῳ, παρήνεγκεν ὅμως αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τὰ παθήματα ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν εἰκόσι καὶ ποικίλαις γραφαῖς, χωρίς γε Πομπηίου· τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον ἐφυλάξατο δεῖξαι, σφόδρα ἔτι πρὸς πάντων ἐπιποθούμενον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς, καίπερ δεδιώς, ἔστενε, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἴδοι Λεύκιόν τε Σκιπίωνα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλησσόμενον ἐς τὰ στέρνα ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθιέμενον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἢ Πετρήιον ἐπὶ διαίτῃ διαχρώμενον ἑαυτόν, ἢ Κάτωνα ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ διασπώμενον ὡς θηρίον· Ἀχιλλᾷ δ᾽ ἐφήσθησαν καὶ Ποθεινῷ καὶ τὴν Φαρνάκους φυγὴν ἐγέλασαν.

102. Χρήματα δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς θριάμβοις φασὶ παρενεχθῆναι μυριάδας ἓξ καὶ ἥμισυ ταλάντων καὶ στεφάνους δύο καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ δισχιλίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, ἕλκοντας ἐς δισμυρίας καὶ δεκατέσσαρας καὶ τετρακοσίας λίτρας. ἀφ᾽ ὧν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ θριάμβῳ διένειμε, τὰ ὑπεσχημένα πάνθ᾽ ὑπερβάλλων, στρατιώτῃ μὲν ἀνὰ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς, λοχαγῷ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχῃ καὶ ἱππάρχῃ τὸ ἔτι διπλάσιον καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἑκάστῳ μνᾶν Ἀττικήν. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θέας ποικίλας ἵππων τε καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ πεζομαχίας ἀνδρῶν χιλίων πρὸς ἑτέρους χιλίους καὶ ἱππομαχίαν διακοσίων πρὸς ἴσους καὶ ἀναμὶξ ἄλλων πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων ἀγῶνα ἐλεφάντων τε μάχην εἴκοσι πρὸς εἴκοσι καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐρετῶν

τετρακισχιλίων, ἐπιβεβηκότων ἐς μάχην χιλίων ἑκατέρωθεν. ἀνέστησε καὶ τῇ Γενετείρᾳ τὸν νεών, ὥσπερ εὔξατο μέλλων ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μαχεῖσθαι· καὶ τέμενος τῷ νεῳ περιέθηκεν, ὃ Ῥωμαίοις ἔταξεν ἀγορὰν εἶναι, οὐ τῶν ὠνίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πράξεσι συνιόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, καθὰ καὶ Πέρσαις ἦν τις ἀγορὰ ζητοῦσιν ἢ μανθάνουσι τὰ δίκαια. Κλεοπάτρας τε εἰκόνα καλὴν τῇ θεῷ παρεστήσατο, ἣ καὶ νῦν συνέστηκεν αὐτῇ. τὸ δὲ τοῦ δήμου πλῆθος ἀναγραψάμενος ἐς ἥμισυ λέγεται τῶν πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενομένων εὑρεῖν· ἐς τοσοῦτο καθεῖλεν ἡ τῶνδε φιλονικία τὴν πόλιν.

This was the end of Caesar's war in Africa, and when he returned to Rome he had four triumphs together: one for his Gallic wars, in which he had added many great nations to the Roman sway and subdued others that had revolted; one for the Pontic war against Pharnaces; one for the war in Africa against the African allies of L. Scipio, in which the historian Juba (the son of King Juba), then an infant, was led a captive. Between the Gallic and the Pontic triumphs he introduced a kind of Egyptian triumph, in which he led some captives taken in the naval engagement on the Nile. Although he took care not to inscribe any Roman names in his triumph (as it would have been unseemly in his eyes and base and inauspicious in those of the Roman people to triumph over fellow-citizens), yet all these misfortunes were represented in the processions and thechap. xv men also by various images and pictures, all except Pompey, whom alone he did not venture to exhibit, since lie was still greatly regretted by all. The people, although restrained by fear, groaned over their domestic ills, especially when they saw the picture of Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, wounded in the breast by his own hand, casting himself into the sea, and Petreius committing self-destruction at the banquet, and Cato torn open by himself like a wild beast. They applauded the death of Achillas and Pothinus, and laughed at the flight of Pharnaces.

102. It is said that money to the amount of 60,500 [silver] talents was borne in the procession and 2822 crowns of gold weighing 20,414 pounds, from which wealth Caesar made apportionments immediately after the triumph, paying the army all that he had promised and more. Each soldier received 5000 Attic drachmas, each centurion double, and each tribune of infantry and prefect of cavalry fourfold that sum. To each plebeian citizen also was given an Attic mina. He gave also various spectacles with horses and music, a combat of foot-soldiers, 1000 on each side, and a cavalry fight of 200 on each side. There was also another combat of horse and foot together. There was a combat of elephants, twenty against twenty, and a naval engagement of 4000 oarsmen, where 1000 fighting men contended on each side. He erected the temple to Venus, his ancestress, as he had vowed to do when he was about to begin the battle of Pharsalus, and he laid out ground around the temple which he intended to be a forum for the Roman people, not for buying and selling, but a meeting-place for the transaction of public business, like the public squares of the Persians, where the people assemble to seek justice or to learn the laws. He placed a beautiful image of Cleopatra by the side of the goddess, which stands there to this day. He caused an enumeration of the people to be made, and it is said that it was found to be only one half of the number existing before this war. To such a degree had the rivalry of these two men reduced the city.

2, 106

καὶ νεὼς ἐψηφίσαντο πολλοὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καθάπερ θεῷ καὶ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐπιεικείας, ἀλλήλους δεξιουμένων· […]

Many temples were decreed to him as to a god, and one was dedicated in common to him and the goddess Clemency, who were represented as clasping hands.

2, 115

οἱ δ᾽ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἕωθεν κατὰ τὴν στοὰν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῖς δεομένοις σφῶν ὡς στρατηγῶν εὐσταθέστατα ἐχρημάτιζον, […]

Brutus and Cassius were early at the portico in front of the theatre, very calmly engaging in public business as praetors with those seeking their services.

3, 28

ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑξῆς θέαις ἔτι παραλογώτερον, ἃς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ Γενετείρᾳ, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεὼν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἅμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνετίθει.

He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavian himself, which had been instituted by his father in honour of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself.

Bella Mithridatica

117

αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἦν, καὶ τοῦδε λιθοκολλήτου, χλαμύδα ἔχων, ὥς φασιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, εἴ τῳ πίστον ἐστιν· […]

Pompey himself was borne in a chariot studded with gems, wearing, it is said, a cloak of Alexander the Great, if anyone can believe that.

Arrian

Anabasis

5, 29

Οἱ δὲ ἐβόων τε οἷα ἂν ὄχλος ξυμμιγὴς χαίρων βοήσειε καὶ ἐδάκρυον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ σκηνῇ τῇ βασιλικῇ πελάζοντες ηὔχοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, ὅτι πρὸς σφῶν μόνων νικηθῆναι ἠνέσχετο. ἔνθα δὴ διελὼν κατὰ τάξεις τὴν στρατιὰν δώδεκα βωμοὺς κατασκευάζειν προστάττει, ὕψος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς μεγίστους πύργους, εὖρος δὲ μείζονας ἔτι ἢ κατὰ πύργους, χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐς τοσόνδε ἀγαγοῦσιν αὐτὸν νικῶντα καὶ μνημεῖα τῶν αὑτοῦ πόνων. ὡς δὲ κατεσκευασμένοι αὐτῷ οἱ βωμοὶ ἦσαν, θύει δὴ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἱππικόν. καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ Πώρῳ ἄρχειν προσέθηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην ἀνέστρεφε. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ ἐπανῄει ὀπίσω. καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξῳκοδομημένην, ἥντινα Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἐκτειχίσαι ἐτάχθη· καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυνοικίσας τῶν τε προσχώρων ὅσοι ἐθελονταὶ κατῳκίζοντο καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὅ τι περ ἀπόμαχον, αὐτὸς τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ κατάπλῳ παρεσκευάζετο τῷ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης τε ὁ τῆς ὁμόρου Ἀβισάρῃ χώρας ὕπαρχος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβισάρου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι, δῶρά τε κομίζοντες ἃ μέγιστα παρ᾽ Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοὺς παρ᾽ Ἀβισάρου ἐλέφαντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς τριάκοντα· Ἀβισάρην γὰρ νόσῳ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι ἐλθεῖν. ξυνέβαινον δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπεμφθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀβισάρην. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεύσας οὕτως ἔχειν Ἀβισάρῃ τε τῆς αὑτοῦ χώρας σατραπεύειν ἔδωκεν καὶ Ἀρσάκην τῇ Ἀβισάρου ἐπικρατείᾳ προσέθηκεν· καὶ φόρους οὕστινας ἀποίσουσι τάξας θύει αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ ποταμῷ. καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ διαβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ἧκεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῶν Βουκεφάλων ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ὄμβρων πεπονηκότα ἦν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκόσμει.

They shouted in the way a heterogeneous crowd would do in joy, and most of them began to weep; others drew near the royal tent and invoked blessings on Alexander, since he had submitted to defeat at their hands alone. Then he divided the army into twelve parts and ordered each to set up an altar as high as the greatest towers, and in breadth even greater than towers would be, as thank-offerings to the gods who had brought him so far as a conqueror, and as memorials of his own exertions.

When the altars had been built for him, he performed the customary sacrifices on them, and held athletic and equestrian games. He added the territory as far as the river Hyphasis to Porus' dominion, and he himself began to return towards the Hydraotes. After crossing it, he went back again to the Acesines, and there he found the city already built which he had instructed Hephaestion to fortify; as its inhabitants he settled any of the tribesmen who volunteered to settle there and mercenaries no longer fit for service, while he himself made preparations for the voyage down to the Great Sea.

At this point Arsaces the hyparch of the territory next to Abisares came to him with Abisares' brother and his other relatives, bringing gifts which Indians account of chief value and the

elephants from Abisares, numbering about thirty; Abisares (they said) had been unable through illness to attend. The envoys sent by Alexander to Abisares arrived at the same time. Thus, being easily convinced that the facts were as stated, he gave Abisares the satrapy of his own land, and attached Arsaces to Abisares' dominion, and, having fixed the tribute they should bring, he sacrificed at the river Acesines. Then crossing the Acesines again, he came to the Hydaspes, where with the help of his troops he restored the parts of the cities of Nicaea and Bucephala which had been damaged by heavy rains, and settled all other affairs in the country.

Asconius

Pro Milone

33

Populus duce Sex. Clodio scriba corpus P. Clodi in curiam intulit cremavitque subselliis et tribunalibus et mensis et codicibus librariorum; quo igne et ipsa quoque curia flagravit, et item Porcia basilica quae erat ei iuncta ambusta est.

The populace, led by Sex. Cloelius the scriba, took off the body of P. Clodius into the senate house and cremated it on a pyre of benches, platforms, tables, and copyists' notebooks, and in the conflagration the senate house itself caught fire and also the adjoining basilica Porcia was engulfed in flame.

Caesar

De Bello Civili

1, 6-8

Proximis diebus habetur extra urbem senatus. Pompeius eadem illa quae per Scipionem ostenderat agit. Senatus virtutem constantiamque collaudat. Copias suas exponit: legiones habere sese paratas X; praeterea cognitum compertumque sibi alieno esse animo in Caesarem milites, neque iis posse persuaderi uti eum defendant aut sequantur saltem. De reliquis rebus ad senatum refertur: tota Italia dilectus habeatur; Faustus Sulla pro praetore in Mauretaniam mittatur; pecunia uti ex aerario Pompeio detur. Refertur etiam de rege Iuba: ut socius sit atque amicus. Marcellus consul passurum in praesentia negat. De Fausto impedit Philippus, tribunus plebis. De reliquis rebus senatus consulta perscribuntur. Provinciae privatis decernuntur, duae consulares, reliquae praetoriae. Scipioni obvenit Syria, L. Domitio Gallia. Philippus et Cotta privato consilio praetereuntur, neque eorum sortes deiciuntur. In reliquas provincias praetores mittuntur. Neque exspectant—quod superioribus annis acciderat—ut de eorum imperio ad populum feratur, paludatique votis nuncupatis exeunt. Consules—quod ante id tempus accidit numquam—ex urbe proficiscuntur lictoresque habent in urbe et Capitolio privatim contra omnia vetustatis exempla. Tota Italia dilectus habentur, arma imperantur, pecuniae a municipiis exiguntur e fanis tolluntur. Omnia divina humanaque iura permiscentur.

7. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar apud milites contionatur. Omnium temporum iniurias inimicorum in se commemorat. A quibus deductum ac depravatum Pompeium queritur invidia atque obtrectatione laudis suae, cuius ipse honori et dignitati semper faverit adiutorque fuerit. novum in re publica introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunicia intercessio armis notaretur atque opprimeretur [quae superioribus annis armis esset restituta]: Sullam nudata omnibus rebus tribunicia potestate tamen intercessionem liberam reliquisse; Pompeium, qui amissa restituisse videatur omnia, etiam quae ante habuerint ademisse; quotienscumque sit decretum darent operam magistratus ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet, qua voce et quo senatus consulto populus Romanus ad arma sit vocatus, factum in perniciosis legibus, in vi tribunicia, in secessione populi, templis locisque editioribus occupatis. Atque haec superioris aetatis exempla expiata Saturnini atque Gracchorum casibus docet. (Quarum rerum illo tempore nihil factum, ne cogitatum quidem. Nulla lex promulgata, non cum populo agi coeptum, nulla secessio facta.) Hortatur, cuius imperatoris ductu VIIII annis rem publicam felicissime gesserint plurimaque proelia secunda fecerint, omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacaverint, ut eius existimationem dignitatemque ab inimicis defendant. Conclamant legionis tertiae decimae, quae aderat, milites—hanc enim initio tumultus evocaverat, reliquae nondum convenerant—sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis iniurias defendere.

8. Cognita militum voluntate Ariminum cum ea legione proficiscitur. Ibique tribunos plebis qui ad eum confugerant convenit. Reliquas legiones ex hibernis evocat et subsequi iubet. Eo L. Caesar adulescens venit, cuius pater Caesaris erat legatus. Is reliquo sermone confecto cuius rei causa venerat habere se a Pompeio ad eum privati offici mandata demonstrat: velle Pompeium se Caesari purgatum; ne ea quae rei publicae causa egerit in suam contumeliam

vertat; semper se rei publicae commoda privatis necessitudinibus habuisse potiora; Caesarem quoque pro sua dignitate debere et studium et iracundiam suam rei publicae dimittere neque adeo graviter irasci inimicis cum illis nocere se speret rei publicae noceat. Pauca eiusdem generis addit cum excusatione Pompei coniuncta. Eadem fere atque isdem rebus praetor Roscius agit cum Caesare sibique Pompeium commemorasse demonstrat.

On the following days the senate met outside the city. Pompey made the points he had indicated through Scipio. He praised the senate for courageously standing firm, then stated his troop strength. "I have ten legions ready. Furthermore, I know on good evidence that the soldiers are estranged from Caesar and cannot be convinced to defend or even follow him." The remaining issues were referred to the senate: recruitment should be undertaken throughout Italy, Faustus Sulla sent as propraetor to Mauretania, public funds provided to Pompey. There was also a motion about King Juba, that he should be an ally and friend. The consul Marcellus declared that he would not permit this at that time. The Faustus proposal was blocked by the tribune Philippus. On the remaining issues senatorial decrees were recorded. Provincial commands were assigned to men in private life, two at the consular level, the rest praetorian. Scipio got Syria, Lucius Domitius Gaul. The reason Philippus and Cotta were bypassed was not disclosed; their lots were not even cast. Ex-praetors were sent to the remaining provinces. These men did not wait—as had happened in prior years—for the bill ratifying their commands to be put to the assembly; they departed in uniform after announcing their vows. The consuls left Rome without taking the auspices, another thing that never happened before that occasion, and used lictors in Rome in a private capacity, contrary to every precedent. Troops were recruited throughout Italy, weapons were requisitioned, money was extorted from towns and taken from temples. All rights, divine and human, were thrown into confusion.

7. After learning of these matters Caesar addressed the soldiers. He mentioned the perpetual series of injuries inflicted by his enemies. It was by these men, he protested, that Pompey had been steered astray, jealous and critical of Caesar's renown, although he himself had always favored and promoted Pompey's prestige and dignity. He protested that an unprecedented practice had been introduced into the republic, such that the tribunes' veto was censured and suppressed by force. "Sulla, although he completely stripped the tribunes of power, nevertheless left their veto unencumbered. Pompey, who is known for having restored everything they lost, has taken away even what they had before. Whenever the senatorial decree exhorting officials to take care that the republic suffer no harm has been issued—and the decree thus worded is the Roman people's call to arms—it has been done in situations involving subversive legislation, violent tribunes, or the people's secession to occupied temples and heights." These past instances, he explained, had come at the cost of disaster to Saturninus and the Gracchi. (On that occasion none of these actions had been taken or even contemplated. No law had been proposed, no popular assembly convened, and no secession had taken place.) He urged the men to protect from his enemies the reputation and prestige of a man under whose leadership they had done the republic's business with outstanding good fortune for nine years while fighting a huge number of successful battles and pacifying the whole of Gaul and Germany. A shout went up from the soldiers of the thirteenth legion—it was at hand, since he

had summoned this one at the start of the emergency; the rest had not yet arrived that they were ready to protect their commander and the tribunes from injury.

8. Apprised of the soldiers' goodwill he set out with the thirteenth legion for Ariminum, where he met the tribunes who had taken refuge with him. He summoned the rest of his legions from winter quarters and ordered them to follow immediately. Lucius Caesar came to Ariminum; his father was one of Caesar's officers. After finishing the conversation that was the official reason for his journey, he indicated that he had a message of a personal nature from Pompey for Caesar. "Pompey wants to clear himself in your eyes, Caesar. You should not twist the things he did on behalf of the republic into disrespect for yourself. He has always considered the republic's advantage more important than personal relationships. You, too, given your standing, ought to dismiss partisan acrimony for the republic's sake, and you should not be in such a rage at your enemies that in the hope of harming them you harm the republic." He added a few things of the same sort relevant to excusing Pompey. The praetor Roscius made nearly the same points on the same subjects with Caesar and indicated that the arguments were Pompey's.

3, 83

Iam de sacerdotio Caesaris Domitius Scipio Spintherque Lentulus cotidianis contentionibus ad gravissimas verborum contumelias palam descenderunt, cum Lentulus aetatis honorem ostentaret, Domitius urbanam gratiam dignitatemque iactaret, Scipio adfinitate Pompei confideret. Postulavit etiam L. Afranium proditionis exercitus Acutius Rufus apud Pompeium, quod gestum in Hispania diceret. Et L. Domitius in consilio dixit: placere sibi bello confecto ternas tabellas dari ad iudicandum iis qui ordinis essent senatori belloque una cum ipsis interfuissent; sententiasque de singulis ferrent qui Romae remansissent quique intra praesidia Pompei fuissent neque operam in re militari praestitissent; unam fore tabellam iis liberandos omni periculo censerent; alteram, qui capitis damnarent; tertiam, qui pecunia multarent. Postremo omnes aut de honoribus suis aut de praemiis pecuniae aut de persequendis inimicitiis agebant, neque quibus rationibus superare possent sed quemadmodum uti victoria deberent cogitabant.

By now in their daily squabbles on the subject of Caesar's priesthood Domitius, Scipio, and Lentulus had sunk to open and extremely offensive insults, with Lentulus flaunting the prestige of his age, Domitius boasting about his influence and standing in Rome, and Scipio trusting in his relationship with Pompey. Acutius Rufus even brought a charge of betraying the army against Lucius Afranius, with Pompey as judge, the grounds being Rufus' statement that the war in Spain was conducted badly. Lucius Domitius said in council: "In my opinion, once the war is over, three tablets should be provided for the verdicts of those who are of senatorial standing and have taken part with us in the fighting, and we should record a vote on every man who stayed in Rome or who was under Pompey's protection but did not contribute to the military effort: one tablet for those who decide that they should be completely exonerated, another for those who sentence them to death, and a third for those who impose a monetary penalty." In short, everyone was concerned with offices for themselves or financial rewards or

getting back at their enemies, not thinking about what strategies would enable them to win but about how they ought to put their victory to use.

De Bello Gallico

4, 38

Caesar postero die Titum Labienum legatum cum eis legionibus quas ex Britannia reduxerat in Morinos, qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui cum propter siccitates paludum quo se reciperent non haberent, quo perfugio superiore anno erant usi, omnes fere in potestatem L. Labieni pervenerunt. At Q. Titurius et L. Cotta legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, aedificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Caesarem receperunt. Caesar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Eo duae omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt, reliquae neglexerunt. His rebus gestis, ex litteris Caesaris dierum viginti supplicatio a senatu decreta est.

The next day Caesar sent Titus Labienus, the lieutenant-general, with the legions which he had brought back from Britain, against the Morini, who had renewed hostilities. The enemy had no place of retreat, by reason of the dryness of the marshes, their refuge in the previous year; almost all of them, therefore, came and surrendered to Labienus. As for Quintus Titurius and Lucius Cotta, the lieutenant-generals who had led legions into the territory of the Menapii, they did not return to Caesar until they had laid waste all the fields of the natives, cut down the corn-crops, and burnt the buildings, because the Menapii had all hidden in their densest forests. Then Caesar established the winter quarters of all the legions in Belgic territory. Thither no more than two of the British states sent hostages; the remainder omitted to do so. And for these achievements, upon receipt of Caesar's despatches, the Senate decreed a public thanksgiving of twenty days.

Cassius Dio

Roman History

1, 6, 2

Ὅτι ὁ Νουμᾶς ᾤκει ἐν κολωνῷ τῷ Κυριναλίῳ ὠνομασμένῳ ἅτε καὶ Σαβῖνος ὤν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἀρχεῖα ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ εἶχε, καὶ τάς τε διατριβὰς πλησίον τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν.

Numa dwelt on the hill called Quirinal, because was he a Sabine, but he had his official residence on the Sacred Way; he used to spend his time near the temple of Vesta, although occasionally he would remain in the country.

37, 44, 1-2

Γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδ᾽ ὁ Καῖσαρ (ἐστρατήγει δέ) οὐδὲν ἔτ᾽ ἐνεωτέρισεν. ἔπραττε μὲν γὰρ ὅπως τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κατούλου ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἀφαιρεθείη (κλοπῆς τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ηὔθυνε, καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν ἀνηλωμένων χρημάτων ἀπῄτει), τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπηίῳ τὰ λοιπὰ προσεξεργάσασθαι ἐπιτραπείη. ἦν γάρ τινα, ὡς ἐν τηλικούτῳ καὶ τοιούτῳ ἔργῳ, ἡμιτέλεστα· ἢ ἐκεῖνός γε ἐπλάττετο εἶναι, ὅπως ὁ Πομπήιος τήν τε δόξαν τῆς ἐκποιήσεως αὐτοῦ λάβῃ καὶ τὸ αὑτοῦ ὄνομα ἀντεπιγράψῃ.

After this occurrence not even Caesar, who was now praetor, ventured any further innovation. He had been endeavouring to secure the removal of the name of Catulus from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, charging him with embezzlement and demanding an account of the expenditures he had made, and to have Pompey entrusted with the construction of the remainder of the edifice; for many parts, considering the size and character of the work, were but half finished, or at any rate Caesar pretended this was the case, in order that Pompey might gain the glory for its completion and inscribe his own name instead.

39, 38, 1-5

Κἀν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ θέατρον, ᾧ καὶ νῦν λαμπρυνόμεθα, καθιέρωσε, καὶ ἔν τε ἐκείνῳ θέαν καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ ἀγῶνος γυμνικοῦ κἀν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἵππων ἅμιλλαν καὶ θηρίων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν σφαγὰς ἐποίησεν. λέοντές τε γὰρ πεντακόσιοι ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ἀναλώθησαν, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ὀκτωκαίδεκα πρὸς ὁπλίτας ἐμαχέσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ἠλεήθησαν γάρ τινες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου γνώμην, ἐπειδὴ τραυματισθέντες τῆς μάχης ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ περιιόντες τάς τε προβοσκίδας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέτεινον καὶ ὠλοφύροντο οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λόγον παρασχεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ὅρκους οἷς πιστεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ἐπεπεραίωντο ἐπιβοώμενοι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον πρὸς τιμωρίαν σφῶν ἐπικαλούμενοι. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι οὐ πρότερον τῶν νεῶν ἐπέβησαν πρὶν πίστιν παρὰ τῶν ἀγόντων σφᾶς ἔνορκον λαβεῖν, ἢ μὴν μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἴτ᾽ ὄντως οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχει, οὐκ οἶδα· ἤδη γάρ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς πατριώτιδος αὐτοὺς ἐπαΐειν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γιγνομένων συνιᾶσιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς νουμηνίαις, πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

τὴν σελήνην ἐλθεῖν, πρός τε ὕδωρ ἀείνων ἀφικνεῖσθαι κἀνταῦθα καθαρμόν τινά σφων ποιεῖσθαι.

During these same days Pompey dedicated the theatre in which we take pride even at the present time. In it he provided an entertainment consisting of music and gymnastic contests, and in the Circus a horse-race and the slaughter of many wild beasts of all kinds. Indeed, five hundred lions were used up in five days, and eighteen elephants fought against men in heavy armour. Some of these beasts were killed at the time and others a little later. For some of them, contrary to Pompey's wish, were pitied by the people when, after being wounded and ceasing to fight, they walked about with their trunks raised toward heaven, lamenting so bitterly as to give rise to the report that they did so not by mere chance, but were crying out against the oaths in which they had trusted when they crossed over from Africa, and were calling upon Heaven to avenge them. For it is said that they would not set foot upon the ships before they received a pledge under oath from their drivers that they should suffer no harm. Whether this is really so or not I do not know; for some in time past have further declared that in addition to understanding the language of their native country they also comprehend what is going on in the sky, so that at the time of the new moon, before that luminary comes within the gaze of men, they reach running water and there perform a kind of purification of themselves.

39, 53, 1-2

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀναπλεύσας τὰ ταραχθέντα καθίστατο, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας μήτε ἑαυτῷ μήτε τῇ πόλει προσκτησάμενος πλὴν τοῦ ἐστρατευκέναι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς δόξαι. τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρῶς ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ οἱ οἴκοι Ῥωμαῖοι θαυμαστῶς ἐμεγαλύνοντο· ἐμφανῆ τε γὰρ τὰ πρὶν ἄγνωστα καὶ ἐπιβατὰ τὰ πρόσθεν ἀνήκουστα ὁρῶντές σφισι γεγονότα, τήν τε μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ὡς καὶ παροῦσαν ἔργῳ ἐλάμβανον, καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα καταπράξειν προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ ἔχοντες ἤδη ἠγάλλοντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν διὰ ταῦτα ἱερομηνίας ἐπὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἀγαγεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο·

So he sailed back to the mainland and put an end to the disturbances. From Britain he had won nothing for himself or for the state except the glory of having conducted an expedition against its inhabitants; but on this he prided himself greatly and the Romans at home likewise magnified it to a remarkable degree. For seeing that the formerly unknown had become certain and the previously unheard-of accessible, they regarded the hope for the future inspired by these facts as already actually realized and exulted over their expected acquisitions as if they were already within their grasp; hence they voted to celebrate a thanksgiving for twenty days.

41, 14, 2-3

ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὰ τέρατα ἐγένετο, συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει τούτῳ τε τῷ ἔτει καὶ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἕτερα. ὄντως γάρ που ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λύκοι τε καὶ βύαι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει ὤφθησαν, καὶ σεισμοὶ συνεχεῖς μετὰ μυκηθμῶν ἐγένοντο, πῦρ τε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς διῇξε, καὶ ἕτερον ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν κατέφλεξεν.

These were the portents which came to him personally, but for the whole capital others had occurred both that year and a short time previously; for there is no doubt that in civil wars the state is injured by both parties. Hence many wolves and owls were seen in the city itself and continual earthquakes with bellowings took place, fire darted across from the west to the east, and another fire consumed the temple of Quirinus as well as other buildings.

42, 18, 3

ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ὀψὲ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον πρὶν τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα ἰδεῖν, ἐπίστευσαν (ἐνεγέγλυπτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τρόπαια τρία, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου), ὡς δ᾽ οὖν ἐτεθνήκει, φανερῶς τε ἤδη τὸν μὲν ἐπῄνουν τὸν δὲ ἐλοιδόρουν, καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐδύναντο ἐσηγοῦντο δοθῆναι τῷ Καίσαρι.

Even when he had died, they did not believe it for a long time, not, in fact, until they saw his seal-ring that had been sent; it had three trophies carved on it, as had that of Sulla. So when he was really dead, at last they openly praised the victor and abused the vanquished, and proposed that everything in the world which they could devise should be given to Caesar.

43, 14, 6-7

καὶ προσέτι ἐπί τε ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπάτων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καθίζειν καὶ γνώμην ἀεὶ πρῶτον ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔν τε ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις ἁπάσαις ἀποσημαίνειν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα τισὶν ὁ δῆμος πρότερον ἔνεμεν ἀποδεικνύναι ἐψηφίσαντο. ἅρμα τέ τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Διὶ ἱδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπὶ εἰκόνα αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης χαλκοῦν ἐπιβιβασθῆναι, γραφὴν ἔχοντα ὅτι ἡμίθεός ἐστι, τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Κατούλου, ὡς καὶ τὸν νεών, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τῇ ἐκποιήσει εὐθύνειν ἐκεῖνον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐκτελέσαντος, ἀντεγγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσαν. ταῦτα δὲ μόνα κατέλεξα οὐχ ὅτι καὶ μόνα ἐψηφίσθη (παμπληθῆ τε γὰρ ἐσεφέρετο καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκυροῦτο) ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρήκατο, ταῦτα δὲ προσεδέξατο.

They moreover voted that he should sit in the senate upon the curule chair with the successive consuls, and should always state his opinion first, that he should give the signal at all the games in the Circus, and that he should have the appointment of the magistrates and whatever honours the people were previously accustomed to assign. And they decreed that a chariot of his should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod, and that his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in place of that of Catulus on the ground that he had completed this temple after undertaking to call Catulus to account for his building of it. These are the only measures I have recorded, not because they were the only ones voted,—for a great many measures were proposed and of course passed,—but because he declined the rest, whereas he accepted these.

43, 19

Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρῶς, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐπί τε τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις ἅμα νίκαις ἦν, ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τῶν τε Γαλατῶν καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ

Ἰόβου τετραχῇ χωρὶς τέσσαρσιν ἡμέραις ἔπεμψε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ηὔφρανέ που τοὺς ὁρῶντας, ἡ δ᾽ Ἀρσινόη ἡ Αἰγυπτία (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις παρήγαγε) τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ῥαβδούχων καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἀπολωλότων πομπεῖα δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπησεν. ὅ τε γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ὁ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ἐπαχθέστατόν σφισιν ὄχλον, ἅτε μήπω πρότερον τοσούτους ἅμα ἑορακόσι, παρέσχε· καὶ ἡ Ἀρσινόη γυνή τε οὖσα καὶ βασιλίς ποτε νομισθεῖσα ἔν τε δεσμοῖς, ὃ μηπώποτε ἔν γε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγεγόνει, ὀφθεῖσα πάμπολυν οἶκτον ἐνέβαλε, κἀκ τούτου ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη παρωδύραντο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνη μὲν διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀφείθη, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐερκιγγετόριξ ἐθανατώθησαν.

After this he conducted the whole festival in a brilliant manner, as was fitting in honour of victories so many and so decisive. He celebrated triumphs for the Gauls, for Egypt, for Pharnaces, and for Juba, in four sections, on four separate days. Most of it, of course, delighted the spectators, but the sight of Arsinoë of Egypt, whom he led among the captives, and the host of lictors and the symbols of triumph taken from the citizens who had fallen in Africa displeased them exceedingly. The lictors, on account of their numbers, appeared to them a most offensive multitude, since never before had they beheld so many at one time; and the sight of Arsinoë, a woman and once considered a queen, in chains,—a spectacle which had never yet been seen, at least in Rome,—aroused very great pity, and with this as an excuse they lamented their private misfortunes. She, to be sure, was released out of consideration for her brothers; but others, including Vercingetorix, were put to death.

43, 21, 2

καὶ τότε μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς γόνασιν ἀνερριχήσατο μηδὲν μήτε τὸ ἅρμα τὸ πρὸς τὸν Δία ἀνιδρυθὲν αὐτῷ μήτε τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ κειμένην μήτε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῆς ὑπολογισάμενος, ὕστερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀπήλειψεν.

On this occasion, too, he climbed up the stairs of the Capitol on his knees, without noticing at all either the chariot which had been dedicated to Jupiter in his honour, or the image of the inhabited world lying beneath his feet, or the inscription upon it; but later he erased from the inscription the term “demigod.”

43, 22, 2-3

τὴν γὰρ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κεκλημένην κατεσκεύαστο· καὶ ἔστι μὲν περικαλλεστέρα τῆς Ῥωμαίας, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τὸ ἐκείνης ἐπηύξησεν, ὥστε καὶ μεγάλην αὐτὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι. ταύτην τε οὖν καὶ τὸν νεὼν τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὡς καὶ ἀρχηγέτιδος τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ οὔσης, ποιήσας καθιέρωσεν εὐθὺς τότε· καὶ πολλούς γε ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἀγῶνας ἔθηκε…

For he had himself constructed the forum called after him, and it is distinctly more beautiful than the Roman Forum; yet it had increased the reputation of the other so that that was called the Great Forum. So after completing this new forum and the temple to Venus, as the founder of his family, he dedicated them at this very time, and in their honour instituted many contests of all kinds.

43, 23, 4

καὶ τέλος ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ οὐδὲ ἐν λίμνῃ τινὶ ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἐποίησε· χωρίον γάρ τι ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κοιλάνας ὕδωρ τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσῆκε καὶ ναῦς ἐσήγαγεν.

Finally he produced a naval battle, not on the sea nor on a lake, but on land; for he hollowed out a certain tract on the Campus Martius and after flooding it introduced ships into it.

43, 43, 3

τό τε ὅλον τῇ τε Ἀφροδίτῃ πᾶς ἀνέκειτο, καὶ πείθειν πάντας ἤθελεν ὅτι καὶ ἄνθος τι ὥρας ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔχοι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γλύμμα αὐτῆς ἔνοπλον ἐφόρει, καὶ σύνθημα αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις κινδύνοις ἐποιεῖτο.

In general he was absolutely devoted to Venus, and was anxious to persuade everybody that he had received from her a kind of bloom of youth. Accordingly he used also to wear a carven image of her in full armour on his ring and he made her name his watchword in almost all the greatest dangers.

43, 44, 3

καὶ τοσαύτῃ τε ὑπερβολῇ κολακείας ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τούς τε ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ οὕτω καλεῖσθαι ψηφίσασθαι, μήτε τέκνον τι αὐτοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ γέροντος ἤδη ὄντος.

And such excessive flattery did they employ as even to vote that his sons and grandsons should be given the same title, though he had no child and was already an old man.

43, 45, 2-3

καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ ἐλεφάντινον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἅρμα ὅλον ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις μετὰ τῶν θείων ἀγαλμάτων πέμπεσθαι ἔγνωσαν. ἄλλην τέ τινα εἰκόνα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν Θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ ἐπιγράψαντες, καὶ ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρὰ τοὺς βασιλεύσαντάς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνέθεσαν.

And they decreed at this time that an ivory statue of him, and later that a whole chariot, should appear in the procession at the games in the Circus, together with the statues of the gods. Another likeness they set up in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription, “To the Invincible God,” and another on the Capitol beside the former kings of Rome.

43, 49, 1-3

Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπράχθη· τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐδικτατόρευσέ τε ἅμα τὸ πέμπτον, ἵππαρχον τὸν Λέπιδον προσλαβών, καὶ ὑπάτευσε τὸ πέμπτον, συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσελόμενος, στρατηγοί τε ἑκκαίδεκα ἦρξαν (καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη . . .), καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐν μέσῳ που πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὂν ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον ἀνεχωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ Σύλλου τοῦ τε Πομπηίου εἰκὼν ἀπεδόθη. καὶ ἐπί τε τούτῳ εὔκλειαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔσχεν, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆς παρεχώρησε. θέατρόν τέ τι κατὰ τὸν Πομπήιον οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐθελήσας προκατεβάλετο μέν, οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν

ὁ Αὔγουστος μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκποιήσας ἀπὸ Μάρκου Μαρκέλλου τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ ἐπωνόμασε· τὰς δὲ οἰκίας τούς τε ναοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ὄντας ὁ Καῖσαρ καθελὼν αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, ὅτι τε τὰ ἀγάλματα, ξύλινα πλὴν ὀλίγων ὄντα, κατέκαυσε, καὶ θησαυροὺς χρημάτων συχνοὺς εὑρὼν πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐσφετερίσατο.

These were the events at this time. The next year, during which Caesar was at once dictator for the fifth time, with Lepidus as master of the horse, and consul for the fifth time, choosing Antony as his colleague, sixteen praetors were in power,—a custom, indeed, that was continued for many years,—and the rostra, which was formerly in the centre of the Forum, was moved back to its present position; also the statues of Sulla and of Pompey were restored to it. For this Caesar received praise, and also because he yielded to Antony both the glory of the work and the inscription on it. Being anxious to build a theatre, as Pompey had done, he laid the foundations, but did not finish it; it was Augustus who later completed it and named it for his nephew, Marcus Marcellus. But Caesar was blamed for tearing down the dwellings and temples on the site, and likewise because he burned up the statues, which were almost all of wood, and because on finding large hoards of money he appropriated them all.

44, 4, 4-5

πρός τε τούτοις τοιούτοις οὖσι πατέρα τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπωνόμασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τά τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς τε ναοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πᾶσιν ἀνδριάντα τινὰ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ ἐπί γε τοῦ βήματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολιορκίας ἐξῃρημένου, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις νενομισμένων ἱδρύσαντο.

In addition to these remarkable privileges they named him father of his country, stamped this title on the coinage, voted to celebrate his birthday by public sacrifice, ordered that he should have a statue in the cities and in all the temples of Rome, and they set up two also on the rostra, one representing him as the saviour of the citizens and the other as the deliverer of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns customary for such achievements.

44, 5, 1-2

ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τά τε ἕλη οἱ τὰ Πομπτῖνα χῶσαι καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορύξαι βουλευτήριόν τέ τι καινὸν ποιῆσαι προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὁστίλιον καίπερ ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθῃρέθη, πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναὸν Εὐτυχίας ἐνταῦθ᾽ οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὃν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἱππαρχήσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σώζοιτο καὶ ἕτερον ἐκ καινῆς κατασκευασθὲν Ἰούλιον ὀνομασθείη, ὥσπερ που καὶ τόν τε μῆνα ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγέννητο Ἰούλιον κἀκ τῶν φυλῶν μίαν τὴν κλήρῳ λαχοῦσαν Ἰουλίαν ἐπεκάλεσαν.

When he had accepted these, they assigned to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes, cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus, and constructing a new senate-house, since that of Hostilius, although repaired, had been demolished. The reason assigned for its destruction was that a temple of Felicitas was to be built there, which Lepidus, indeed, brought to completion while master of the horse; but their real purpose was that the name of Sulla should not be preserved on it, and that another senate-house, newly constructed, might be

named the Julian, even as they had called the month in which he was born July, and one or the tribes, selected by lot, the Julian.

44, 6, 4

καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ τ᾽ Ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥσπερ τινὰ Διάλιον προχειρισάμενοι.

And finally they addressed him outright as Jupiter Julius and ordered a temple to be consecrated to him and to his Clemency, electing Antony as their priest like some flamen Dialis.

44, 8, 1-2

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ ποτε ἡμέρᾳ τά τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μείζω σφῶν ψηφισάμενοι (πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ Κασσίου καί τινων ἄλλων, οἳ περιβόητοι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπαθόν τι, ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἡ ἐπιείκεια αὐτοῦ διεφάνη, τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐγνώσθη) προσῆλθον αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου προνάῳ καθημένῳ ὡς καὶ πάντες ἅμα τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσιν ἀπαγγελοῦντες (ἀπόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀναγκαστοὶ ἀλλ᾽ ἐθελονταὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἐχρημάτιζον), καθήμενός σφας, εἴτ᾽ οὖν θεοβλαβείᾳ τινὶ εἴτε καὶ περιχαρείᾳ, προσεδέξατο, καὶ ὀργὴν ἐκ τούτου πᾶσιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλεν ὥστε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν.

Indeed, when once they had voted to him on a single day an unusually large number of these honours of especial importance,—which had been granted unanimously by all except Cassius and a few others, who became famous for this action, yet suffered no harm, whereby Caesar's clemency was conspicuously revealed,—they then approached him as he was sitting in the vestibule of the temple of Venus in order to announce to him in a body their decisions; for they transacted such business in his absence, in order to have the appearance of doing it, not under compulsion, but voluntarily. And either by some heaven-sent fatuity or even through excess of joy he received them sitting, which aroused so great indignation among them all, not only the senators but all the rest, that it afforded his slayers one of their chief excuses for their plot against him.

44, 17, 2

πρὸς δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ σημεῖα οὔτ᾽ ὀλίγα οὔτ᾽ ἀσθενῆ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· τά τε γὰρ ὅπλα τὰ Ἄρεια παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τότε ὡς καὶ παρὰ ἀρχιερεῖ κατά τι πάτριον κείμενα ψόφον τῆς νυκτὸς πολὺν ἐποίησε, καὶ αἱ θύραι τοῦ δωματίου ἐν ᾧ ἐκάθευδεν αὐτόμαται ἀνεῴχθησαν.

Moreover, omens not a few and not without significance came to him: the arms of Mars, at that time deposited in his house, according to ancient custom, by virtue of his position as high priest, made a great noise at night, and the doors of the chamber where he slept opened of their own accord.

45, 6, 4

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου ἐκποιήσει καταδειχθεῖσαν, ἣν ὑποδεξάμενοί τινες ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιτελέσειν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὴν τῶν Παριλίων ἱπποδρομίαν, ἐποιοῦντο, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους θεραπείᾳ, ὡς καὶ προσήκουσαν διὰ τὸ γένος, τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι διέθηκε.

After this came the festival appointed in honour of the completion of the temple of Venus, which some, while Caesar was still alive, had promised to celebrate, but were now holding in slight regard, even as they did the games in the Circus in honour of the Parilia; so, to win the favour of the populace, he provided for it at his private expense, on the ground that it concerned him because of his family.

45, 17, 8

ἐπεγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ λοιμὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς πάσῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἰσχυρός, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τό τε βουλευτήριον τὸ Ὀστίλιον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγεγόνει συγχωσθῆναι ἐψηφίσθη·

Succeeding these terrors a terrible plague spread over nearly all Italy, because of which the senate voted that the curia Hostilia should be rebuilt and that the spot where the naval battle had taken place should be filled up.

50, 10, 3

καὶ πῦρ ἄλλα τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου πολὺ τό τε Δημήτριον καὶ ἕτερον ναὸν Ἐλπίδος ἔφθειρεν.

Fire also consumed a considerable portion of the Circus itself, along with the temple of Ceres, another shrine dedicated to Spes, and a large number of other structures.

51, 22, 3

καὶ οὕτως ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καίπερ καὶ ἡττηθεῖσα καὶ ἁλοῦσα ἐδοξάσθη, ὅτι τά τε κοσμήματα αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν ἀνάκειται καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ χρυσῇ ὁρᾶται.

Thus Cleopatra, though defeated and captured, was nevertheless glorified, inasmuch as her adornments repose as dedications in our temples and she herself is seen in gold in the shrine of Venus.

53, 1, 5

τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν σταδίου τινὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὁπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐγένετο.

On the present occasion, moreover, a gymnastic contest was held, a wooden stadium having been constructed in the Campus Martius, and there was a gladiatorial combat between captives.

53, 23, 1

Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο αὐτός τε τὸ ὄγδοον σὺν τῷ Ταύρῳ τῷ Στατιλίῳ ὑπάτευσε, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τὰ Σέπτα ὠνομασμένα καθιέρωσεν· ὁδὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἐπισκευάσειν ὑπέσχετο, ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ στοαῖς πέριξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας συνῳκοδομημένα καὶ πλαξὶ λιθίναις καὶ ζωγραφήμασιν ἐπεκόσμησεν, Ἰούλια αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου προσαγορεύσας.

After this he became consul for the eighth time, together with Statilius Taurus, and Agrippa dedicated the structure called the Saepta; for instead of undertaking to repair a road, Agrippa had adorned with marble tablets and paintings this edifice in the Campus Martius, which had been constructed by Lepidus with porticos all around it for the meetings of the comitia tributa, and he named it the Saepta Iulia in honour of Augustus.

53, 30, 5

καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αὔγουστος δημοσίᾳ τε ἔθαψεν, ἐπαινέσας ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον ὃ ᾠκοδομεῖτο κατέθετο, τῇ τε μνήμῃ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ προκαταβληθέντος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, Μαρκέλλου δὲ ὠνομασμένου ἐτίμησεν, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῆν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν δίφρον τε ἀρχικὸν ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐσφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τελούντων αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι ἐκέλευσε.

Augustus gave him a public burial after the customary eulogies, placing him in the tomb which he was building, and as a memorial to him finished the theatre whose foundations had already been laid by the former Caesar and which was now called the theatre of Marcellus. And he ordered also that a golden image of the deceased, a golden crown, and a curule chair should be carried into the theatre at the Ludi Romani and should be placed in the midst of the officials having charge of the games.

56, 27, 5

ἥ τε στοὰ ἡ Ἰουλία καλουμένη ᾠκοδομήθη τε ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ τε Γαΐου καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου τῶν Καισάρων, καὶ τότε καθιερώθη.

The Porticus Iulia, as it was called, was built in honour of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and was now dedicated.

Cicero

De oratore

2, 266

Valde autem ridentur etiam imagines, quae fere in deformitatem, aut in aliquod vitium corporis ducuntur cum similitudine turpioris: ut meum illud in Helvium Manciam 'Iam ostendam cuiusmodi sis'; cum ille 'Ostende, quaeso,' demonstravi digito pictum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub Novis, distortum, eiecta lingua, buccis fluentibus; risus est commotus: nihil tam Manciae simile visum est; ut cum Tito Pinario mentum in dicendo intorquenti 'tum ut diceret, si quid vellet, si nucem fregisset.'

"Caricatures also provoke loud laughter: as a rule, they are levelled against ugliness or some physical defect, and involve comparison with something a little unseemly; an example was that remark of mine to Helvius Mancia, 'I will now show what manner of man you are,' to which he answered, 'Pray show me,' whereupon I pointed out with my finger a Gaul depicted on the Cimbrian shield of Marius, which hung below the New Shops, with the body twisted, the tongue protruding and the cheeks baggy: this raised laughter, for nothing so like Mancia was ever seen. Another instance was my telling Titus Pinarius, who kept twisting his chin when he was speaking, that the time for his observations, if he wished to say anything, would come when he had finished cracking his nut.

De provinciis consularibus

31-32

Iam diu mare videmus illud immensum, cuius fervore non solum maritimi cursus, sed urbes etiam et viae militares iam tenebantur, virtute Cn. Pompei sic a populo Romano ab Oceano usque ad ultimum Pontum tamquam unum aliquem portum tutum et clausum teneri; nationes eas, quae numero hominum ac multitudine ipsa poterant in provincias nostras redundare, ita ab eodem esse partim recisas, partim repressas, ut Asia, quae imperium antea nostrum terminabat, nunc tribus novis provinciis ipsa cingatur. Possum de omni regione, de omni genere hostium dicere. Nulla gens est, quae non aut ita sublata sit, ut vix exstet, aut ita domita, ut quiescat, aut ita pacata, ut victoria nostra imperioque laetetur.

Bellum Gallicum, patres conscripti, C. Caesare imperatore gestum est, antea tantum modo repulsum. Semper illas nationes nostri imperatores refutandas potius bello quam lacessendas putaverunt. Ipse ille C. Marius, cuius divina atque eximia virtus magnis populi Romani luctibus funeribusque subvenit, influentes in Italiam Gallorum maximas copias repressit, non ipse ad eorum urbes sedesque penetravit. Modo ille meorum laborum, periculorum, consiliorum socius, C. Pomptinus, fortissimus vir, ortum repente bellum Allobrogum atque hac scelerata coniuratione excitatum proeliis fregit eosque domuit, qui lacessierant, et ea victoria contentus re publica metu liberata quievit. C. Caesaris longe aliam video fuisse rationem. Non enim sibi solum cum iis, quos iam armatos contra populum Romanum videbat, bellandum esse duxit, sed totam Galliam in nostram dicionem esse redigendam.

But as for myself, Conscript Fathers, I feel that to-day our assignment of the provinces should aim at the maintenance of a lasting peace. For who does not see that in all other quarters we are free from any danger and even from any suspicion of war? We have long seen how those vast seas, whose unrest endangered not only voyages but even cities and military roads, have become, thanks to the valour of Gnaeus Pompeius, from the Ocean to the farthest shores of Pontus, as it were one safe and closed harbour in the control of the Roman People; how, thanks also to Pompeius, of those peoples whose surging multitudes could sweep over our provinces, some have been cut off, others driven back; and how Asia, once the frontier of our power, is now itself bounded by three new provinces. I can speak of every region of the world, of every kind of enemies. There is no race which has not either been so utterly destroyed that it hardly exists, or so thoroughly subdued that it remains submissive, or so pacified that it rejoices in our victory and rule.

Under Gaius Caesar's command, Conscript Fathers, we have fought a war in Gaul; before we merely repelled attacks. Our commanders always thought that those peoples ought to be beaten back in war rather than attacked. The great Gaius Marius himself, whose divine and outstanding bravery was our stay after grievous disasters and losses suffered by the Roman People, drove back vast hordes of Gauls that were streaming into Italy, but did not himself penetrate to their cities and dwelling-places. Just recently that gallant man, who was associated with me in my labours, my dangers, and my counsels, I mean Gaius Pomptinus, broke up by his battles a war that was begun on a sudden by the Allobroges and fomented by this wicked Conspiracy, subdued those who had attacked us, and content with that victory, after the country had been freed from alarm, rested on his laurels. Gaius Caesar's plans, I observe, have been far different. For he did not think that he ought to fight only against those whom he saw already in arms against the Roman People, but that the whole of Gaul should be brought under our sway.

De re publica

2, 20

sed profecto tanta fuit in eo vis ingenii atque virtutis, ut id de Romulo Proculo Iulio, homini agresti, crederetur, quod multis iam ante saeculis nullo alio de mortali homines credidissent; qui inpulsu patrum, quo illi a se invidiam interitus Romuli pellerent, in contione dixisse fertur a se visum esse in eo colle Romulum, qui nunc Quirinalis vocatur; eum sibi mandasse, ut populum rogaret, ut sibi eo in colle delubrum fieret; se deum esse et Quirinum vocari.

And yet certainly there was in Romulus such conspicuous ability that men believed about him, on the authority of that untutored peasant Proculus Julius, that which for many ages before they had not believed about any human being. For we are told that this Proculus, at the instigation of the senators, who wanted to free themselves from all suspicion in regard to Romulus' death, stated before a public assembly that he had seen Romulus on the hill now called Quirinal; and that Romulus had charged him to ask the people to build him a shrine on that hill, as he was now a god and was called Quirinus.

Epistulae ad Atticum

1, 6, 2

Haec habebam fere quae te scire vellem. tu velim, si qua ornamenta γυμνασιώδη reperire poteris quae loci sint eius quem tu non ignoras, ne praetermittas. nos Tusculano ita delectamur ut nobismet ipsis tum denique cum illo venimus placeamus. quid agas omnibus de rebus et quid acturus sis fac nos quam diligentissime certiores.

That is about all I have to tell you. If you succeed in finding any objets d'art suitable for a lecture hall, which would do for you know where, I hope you won't let them slip. I am delighted with my place at Tusculum, so much so that I feel content with myself when, and only when, I get there. Let me know in full detail about everything you are doing and intending to do.

1, 10, 3

Signa nostra et Hermeraclas, ut scribis, cum commodissime poteris, velim imponas, et si quid aliud οἰκεῖον eius loci quem non ignoras reperies, et maxime quae tibi palaestrae gymnasique videbuntur esse. etenim ibi sedens haec ad te scribebam, ut me locus ipse admoneret. praeterea typos tibi mando quos in tectorio atrioli possim includere et putealia sigillata duo.

Yes, I should be grateful if you would ship when you most conveniently can my statues and Heracles herms and anything else you may discover that would be convenable you know where, especially things you think suitable to a palaestra and lecture hall. In fact I am sitting there now as I write, so that the place itself is a reminder. Further please get me some bas-reliefs which I can lay in the stucco of the small entrance hall and two figured puteals.

4, 9, 1

nos hic cum Pompeio fuimus. multum mecum de re publica, sane sibi displicens, ut loquebatur (sic est enim in hoc homine dicendum), Syriam spernens, Hispaniam iactans, hic quoque ut loquebatur—et opinor, usquequaque, de hoc cum dicemus, sit hoc quasi 'καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου.' tibi etiam gratias agebat quod signa componenda suscepisses; in nos vero suavissime mehercule est effusus.

I have been with Pompey here. He discussed politics with me a good deal, not without much self-dissatisfaction from what he said (one has to put it that way in his case), scorning Syria, spurning Spain—again, from what he said. Indeed, every time we speak of Pompey I think it should be with this refrain, like 'This also says Phocylides.' He further spoke appreciatively of your undertaking to arrange his art collection. Towards myself I must say he was most agreeably effusive.

4, 16, 8

Paulus in medio foro basilicam iam paene texerat isdem antiquis columnis. illam autem quam locavit facit magnificentissimam. quid quaeris? nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. itaque Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet, <in> monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus,

contempsimus sescenties sestertium; cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia. efficiemus rem gloriosissimam. iam in campo Martio saepta tributis comitiis marmorea sumus et tecta facturi eaque cingemus excelsa porticu ut mille passuum conficiatur. simul adiungetur huic operi villa etiam publica. dices 'quid mihi hoc monumentum proderit?' at quid id laboramus? <Habes> res Romanas. non enim te puto de lustro, quod iam desperatum est, aut de iudiciis quae lege Clodia fiunt quaerere.

Paulus has now almost roofed his basilica in the middle of the Forum, using the original antique pillars. The other one, which he gave out on contract, he is constructing in magnificent style. It is indeed a most admired and glorious edifice. So Caesar's friends (I mean Oppius and myself, choke on that if you must) have thought nothing of spending sixty million sesterces on the work which you used to be so enthusiastic about, to widen the Forum and extend it as far as the Hall of Liberty. We couldn't settle with the private owners for a smaller sum. We shall achieve something really glorious. As for the Campus Martius, we are going to build covered marble booths for the Assembly of Tribes and to surround them with a high colonnade, a mile of it in all. At the same time the Villa Publica will be attached to our building. You'll say, 'What good will such a structure be to me?' Now why should we worry ourselves about that? Well, there you have the news of Rome—I don't suppose you are interested in the census, which has now been given up as a bad job, or the trials under the lex Clodia.

8, 16, 2

propitium sperant, illum iratum putant. quas fieri censes ἀπαντήσεις ex oppidis, quos honores? 'metuunt' inquies. credo, sed mehercule illum magis; huius insidiosa clementia delectantur, illius iracundiam formidant.

In him they hope to find a gracious power, while Pompey they think is an angry one. You can imagine the town deputations and official compliments. You will say they are frightened. I dare say they are, but I'll be bound they're more frightened of Pompey than of Caesar. They are delighted with his artful clemency and fear the other's wrath.

9, 10, 2

quae minae municipiis, quae nominatim viris bonis, quae denique omnibus qui remansissent! quam crebro illud 'Sulla potuit, ego non potero?'

What threats to the municipalities, to honest men individually named, to everyone who stayed behind! 'What Sulla could do, I can do'—that was the refrain.

12, 45, 2

De Caesare vicino scripseram ad te quia cognoram ex tuis litteris. eum σύνναον Quirino malo quam Saluti.

I put that in about your neighbour Caesar because I had learned of it from your letter. I prefer to have him sharing a temple with Quirinus than with Wealth.

13, 20, 1

A Caesare litteras accepi consolatorias datas prid. Kal. Mai. Hispali. de urbe agenda quid sit promulgatum non intellexi. id scire sane velim. Torquato nostra officia grata esse facile patior eaque augere non desinam.

I have received a letter of consolation from Caesar dispatched on 30 April from Hispalis. I do not understand what has been announced about the enlargement of Rome. I should very much like to know about that. I am pleased to hear that Torquatus is grateful for my good offices, and I shall go on adding to them.

13, 28, 3

si enim pervenissent istae litterae, mihi crede, nos paeniteret. quid? tu non vides ipsum illum Aristoteli discipulum, summo ingenio, summa modestia, postea quam rex appellatus sit, superbum, crudelem, immoderatum fuisse? quid? tu hunc de pompa, Quirini contubernalem, his nostris moderatis epistulis laetaturum putas?

If that letter had reached its destination, I should have been sorry, believe me. Let me remind you that even Aristotle's pupil, eminent as were his gifts and excellent as was his conduct, became a cruel and intemperate tyrant once he ascended the throne. And do you suppose that this figure in the procession, this fellow lodger of Quirinus', will be gratified by a sober letter like mine?

13, 33a, 1

sed casu sermo a Capitone de urbe augenda, a ponte Mulvio Tiberim perduci secundum montis Vaticanos, campum Martium coaedificari, illum autem campum Vaticanum fieri quasi Martium campum. 'quid ais?' inquam; 'at ego ad tabulam ut, si recte possem, Scapulanos hortos.' 'cave facias' inquit; 'nam ista lex perferetur; vult enim Caesar.' audire me facile passus sum, fieri autem moleste fero. sed tu quid ais? quamquam quid quaero? nosti diligentiam Capitonis in rebus novis perquirendis. non concedit Camillo.

But Capito happened to be talking of the enlargement of the city, saying that the Tiber is being diverted at the Mulvian Bridge to run alongside of the Vatican hills, that the Campus Martius is being built over and the other Campus, the Vaticanus, is becoming a new Campus Martius. 'What's that?' said I, 'I was going to the auction to buy the Scapula estate if I could get it at a reasonable figure.' 'Better not,' said he. 'This law will go through. Caesar wants it.' I was not sorry to hear of this, but I am sorry it is happening. But what do you say?—though I don't know why I ask. You know Capito's assiduity in ferreting out news. He rivals Camillus.

13, 35-36

O rem indignam! gentilis tuus urbem auget quam hoc biennio primum vidit, et ei parum magna visa est quae etiam ipsum capere potuerit. hac de re igitur exspecto tuas litteras. Varroni scribis te, simul ac venerit. dati igitur iam sunt nec tibi integrum est: hui, si scias quanto periculo tuo! aut fortasse litterae meae te retardarunt, si eas nondum legeras cum has proximas scripsisti.

scire igitur aveo quo modo res se habeat. De Bruti amore vestraque ambulatione, etsi mihi nihil novi adfers sed idem quod saepe, tamen hoc audio libentius quo saepius, eoque mihi iucundius est quod tu eo laetaris, certiusque eo est quod a te dicitur.

Monstrous! Your namesake is enlarging Rome, which two years ago he had never seen, and Caesar thinks it too small though it's big enough to hold him! So I expect a letter from you on the subject. You say you will make the presentation to Varro as soon as he arrives. So it is done and your boats are burned. Ah, if you only knew what a risk you are running! Or perhaps my letter held you back, if you had not read it when you wrote your last. I am dying to know how the matter stands. As to Brutus' affection and your walk together, you tell me nothing new, only what you have told me many times before. Yet the oftener I hear it the gladder it makes me, and I find it all the more agreeable because it gives you pleasure and believe it the more implicitly because it is you who say it.

Epistulae ad Familiares

5, 7, 1-3

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO S. D. CN. POMPEIO CN.F. MAGNO IMPERATORI

S. t. e. q. v. b.; e.

Ex litteris tuis quas publice misisti cepi una cum omnibus incredibilem voluptatem; tantam enim spem oti ostendisti quam ego semper omnibus te uno fretus pollicebar. sed hoc scito, tuos veteres hostis, novos amicos, vehementer litteris perculsos atque ex magna spe deturbatos iacere.

Ad me autem litteras quas misisti, quamquam exiguam significationem tuae erga me voluntatis habebant, tamen mihi scito iucundas fuisse. nulla enim re tam laetari soleo quam meorum officiorum conscientia; quibus si quando non mutue respondetur, apud me plus offici residere facillime patior. illud non dubito, quin, si te mea summa erga te studia parum mihi adiunxerint, res publica nos inter nos conciliatura coniuncturaque sit.

Ac ne ignores quid ego in tuis litteris desiderarim, scribam aperte, sicut et mea natura et nostra amicitia postulat. res eas gessi quarum aliquam in tuis litteris et nostrae necessitudinis et rei publicae causa gratulationem exspectavi; quam ego abs te praetermissam esse arbitror quod verere ne cuius animum offenderes. sed scito ea quae nos pro salute patriae gessimus orbis terrae iudicio ac testimonio comprobari; quae, cum veneris, tanto consilio tantaque animi magnitudine a me gesta esse cognosces ut tibi multo maiori quam Africanus fuit [a] me non multo minore quam Laelium facile et in re publica et in amicitia adiunctum esse patiare.

From M. Tullius Cicero, son of Marcus, to Cn. Pompeius Magnus, son of Gnaeus, Imperator, greetings.

I hope all is well with you and the army, as it is with me.

Like the rest of us I was immeasurably delighted with your dispatch, in which you have held out the bright prospect of a peaceful future; such a prospect as I have ever been promising to

all and sundry in reliance on your single self. I must tell you, however, that it came as a severe blow to your old enemies, nowadays your friends; their high hopes dashed, they despond.

Your personal letter to me evinces but little of your friendly sentiments towards me, but you may be sure that it gave me pleasure all the same. My chief joy is apt to lie in the consciousness of my services to others. If these fail of a like response, I am perfectly content that the balance of good offices should rest on my side. I have no doubt that if my own hearty good will towards you does not suffice to win your attachment, the public interest will join us in confederacy.

Not to leave you in ignorance of the particular in which your letter has disappointed me, let me speak plainly, as becomes my character and our friendly relations. My achievements have been such that I expected to find a word of congratulation upon them in your letter, both for friendship's sake and that of the commonwealth. I imagine you omitted anything of the sort for fear of giving offence in any quarter. But I must tell you that what I have done for the safety of the country stands approved in the judgement and testimony of the whole world. When you return, you will find that I have acted with a measure of policy and a lack of self-regard which will make you well content to have me as your political ally and private friend—a not much lesser Laelius to a far greater Africanus.

Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem

2, 3, 3

A. d. vi Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis fuit, ut Pompeius adesset. acta res est graviter a Pompeio. eo die nihil perfectum est. a. d. v Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis. senatus consultum factum est ea quae facta essent a. d. vii Id. Febr. contra rem publicam esse facta. eo die Cato vehementer est in Pompeium invectus et eum oratione perpetua tamquam reum accusavit; de me multa me invito cum mea summa laude dixit, cum illius in me perfidiam increparet. auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. respondit ei vehementer Pompeius Crassumque descripsit dixitque aperte se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore quam Africanus fuisset, quem C. Carbo interemisset.

On 8 February the Senate met in the temple of Apollo in order that Pompey could be present. Pompey spoke strongly—nothing concluded that day. 9 February, Senate in temple of Apollo. A decree was passed pronouncing the doings of 7 February contrary to public interest. That day C. Cato delivered a broadside against Pompey—a set speech like a prosecuting counsel's with Pompey in the dock. He said many highly laudatory things about me, which I could have done without, denouncing Pompey's treachery towards me. He was heard in rapt silence. Pompey replied warmly, making oblique allusion to Crassus and saying plainly that he intended to take better care of his life than Africanus had done, whom C. Carbo murdered.

In Catilinam

4, 9

Nunc, patres conscripti, ego mea video quid intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam quae popularis habetur secutus est, fortasse minus erunt

hoc auctore et cognitore huiusce sententiae mihi populares impetus pertimescendi; sin illam alteram, nescio an amplius mihi negoti contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae vincat. Habemus enim a Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitas et maiorum eius amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem saluti populi consulentem.

Now, gentlemen, it is clear to me where my own interest lies. If you adopt the motion of Gaius Caesar, since he has taken what we call the democratic side in politics, it may be that I shall have less need to fear the attacks of the people because it is he who is proposing and advocating this motion; but if you adopt the alternative, I fear that more trouble may be brought down upon my head. But let the interests of the Republic count for more than considerations of danger to myself. Now we have from Caesar, as his standing and the distinction of his ancestors required, a proposal—a pledge almost—of his lasting attachment to the Republic. We well know how deep lies the gulf between the fickleness of demagogues and the true democratic spirit which has the interests of the people at heart.

In Verrem

2, 4, 69

Hoc loco, Q. Catule, te appello; loquor enim de tuo clarissimo pulcherrimoque monumento.

And in this matter I appeal to you, Quintus Catulus; for it is of your own famous and beautiful building that I am speaking.

Pro Archia

24

Quid? noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adaequavit, nonne Theophanem Mitylenaeum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in contione militum civitate donavit […]

Again, did not he to whom our own age has accorded the title of Great, whose successes have been commensurate with his high qualities, present with the citizenship before a mass meeting of his troops Theophanes of Mytilene, the historian of his campaigns?

Pro Balbo

9

Hic ego nunc cuncter [sic agere, iudices, non esse fas dubitari, quin, quod Cn. Pompeium fecisse constet, id non solum licuisse, sed etiam decuisse fateamur]? Quid enim abest huic homini, quod si adesset, iure haec ei tribui et concedi putaremus? Ususne rerum? Qui pueritiae tempus extremum principium habuit bellorum atque imperiorum maximorum, cuius plerique aequales minus saepe castra viderunt, quam hic triumphavit, qui tot habet triumphos, quot orae sunt partesque terrarum, tot victorias bellicas, quot sunt in rerum natura genera bellorum. An ingenium? Cui etiam ipsi casus eventusque rerum non duces, sed comites consiliorum fuerunt,

in quo uno ita summa fortuna cum summa virtute certavit,ut omnium iudicio plus homini quam deae tribueretur. An pudor, an integritas, an religio in eo, an diligentia umquam requisita est? Quem provinciae nostrae, quem liberi populi, quem reges, quem ultimae gentes castiorem, moderatiorem, sanctiorem non modo viderunt, sed aut sperando umquam aut optando cogitaverunt?

Am I now to hesitate, gentlemen, [to maintain that it is monstrous to doubt that, in what it is agreed that Gnaeus Pompeius did, he did not only what was lawful, but also what was befitting]? For what does he lack, the possession of which would make us hold that this privilege is rightly given and allowed to him? Is it experience of affairs, when the end of his youth was the beginning of his warlike career and his most important commands; when most of his equals in age have seen fewer camps than he has gained triumphs; when he can count as many triumphs as there are countries and parts of the earth; when he has won as many victories in war as there are kinds of war in the world? Or is it ability, when even the chances and issues of events have been not the leaders but the associates of his policy; when in him alone there has been such rivalry between Fortune and valour at their highest, that in the judgment of all men more credit was attributed to the man than to the divinity? Has honour, has integrity, has piety, has application ever been found wanting in him? Is there a man whom our provinces, whom free peoples, whom kings, whom most distant races, have ever, I do not say seen, but ever imagined in their hopes or dreams, more upright, more self-controlled, more righteous?

16

Etenim, si Pompeius abhinc annos quingentos fuisset, is vir, a quo senatus adulescentulo atque equite Romano saepe communi saluti auxilium expetisset, cuius res gestae omnes gentes cum clarissima victoria terra marique peragrassent, cuius tres triumphi testes essent totum orbem terrarum nostro imperio teneri, quem populus Romanus inauditis honoribus singularibusque decorasset, si nunc apud nos id, quod is fecisset, contra foedus factum diceretur, quis audiret?

For if Pompeius had lived five hundred years ago, a man from whom the Senate, when he was a mere youth and a Roman Knight, had often sought help for the safety of the State, whose exploits, crowned by glorious victory on land and sea had compassed all peoples, whose three triumphs were a witness that the whole world was subject to our Empire, whom the Roman People had invested with unexampled and outstanding honours,—if to-day it should be said among us that what such a man had done was done contrary to a treaty, who would listen?

Pro lege Manilia

30

Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla huius virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam; testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate explicavit; testis est Africa, quae magnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit; testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris iter in Hispaniam Gallorum internicione patefactum est; testis est Hispania, quae saepissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit; testis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae cum servili bello

taetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit, quod bellum exspectatione eius attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum; testes nunc vero iam omnes sunt orae atque omnes exterae gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia cum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus.

Italy is my witness, which, as the great conqueror, Lucius Sulla himself admitted, was set free by the able cooperation of Pompeius. Sicily is my witness, which, beset on every side with numerous perils, was released not by the terror of his arms but by the swiftness of his strategy. Africa is my witness, which, overwhelmed by great hosts of the enemy, was drenched with the blood of the same. Gaul is my witness, through which a way was opened into Spain for our legions by the utter destruction of the Gauls. Spain is my witness, which many a time beheld countless foes by him conquered and laid low. Italy is my witness again and again, which, when in the throes of the shameful and perilous Slave war, sought aid from him though far away and saw that war reduced and brought low by the expectation of his coming, dead and buried on his arrival. Nay, every region is my witness and every foreign nation and people, and lastly every sea, both in its whole expanse and in the separate creeks and harbours of its coasts.

48

Itaque non sum praedicaturus, quantas ille res domi et militiae, terra marique, quantaque felicitate gesserit, ut eius semper voluntatibus non modo cives adsenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes oboedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint; […]

And so I do not intend to proclaim his great achievements in peace and war, by land and sea, nor the great good luck that has attended them, in that his wishes have always secured the assent of his fellow-citizens, the acceptance of his allies, the obedience of his enemies, and even the compliance of wind and weather; […]

60

At enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta maiorum. Non dicam hoc loco maiores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse, non dicam duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta duasque urbes potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas; non commemorabo nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Iugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret;in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.

But, I am told, “Let no innovation be made contrary to usage and the principles of our forefathers.” I forbear to mention here that our forefathers always bowed to precedent in peace but to expediency in war, always meeting fresh emergencies with fresh developments of policy: I forbear to mention that two mighty wars, those against Carthage and against Spain, were brought to an end by a single commander and that the two most powerful cities, Carthage and Numantia, which more than any others constituted a menace to our empire, were both alike

destroyed by Scipio. I forbear to remind you that, more recently, you and your fathers decided that the hopes of this empire should be reposed in Gaius Mari us alone, and that he should direct successive wars against Jugurtha, the Cimbrians, and the Teutons. As for Gnaeus Pompeius, in whose case Quintus Catulus desires that no new precedent should be established, call to mind how many new precedents have already been established in his case with the entire approval of Quintus Catulus.

Pro Sestio

31, 67-68

Hic aliquando, serius, quam ipse vellet, Cn. Pompeius invitissimis iis, qui mentem optimi ac fortissimi viri suis consiliis fictisque terroribus a defensione meae salutis averterant, excitavit illam suam non sopitam, sed suspicione aliqua retardatam consuetudinem rei publicae bene gerendae. Non est passus ille vir, qui sceleratissimos cives, qui acerrimos hostes, qui maximas nationes, qui reges, qui gentes feras atque inauditas, qui praedonum infinitam manum, qui etiam servitia virtute victoriaque domuisset, qui omnibus bellis terra marique compressis imperium populi Romani orbis terrarum terminis definisset, rem publicam everti scelere paucorum, quam ipse non solum consiliis, sed etiam sanguine suo saepe servasset; accessit ad causam publicam, restitit auctoritate sua reliquis rebus, questus est de praeteritis. Fieri quaedam ad meliorem spem inclinatio visa est. Decrevit senatus frequens de meo reditu Kalendis Iuniis dissentiente nullo referente L. Ninnio, cuius in mea causa numquam fides virtusque contremuit. Intercessit Ligus iste nescio qui, additamentum inimicorum meorum. Res erat et causa nostra eo iam loci, ut erigere oculos et vivere videretur. Quisquis erat qui aliquam partem in meo luctu sceleris Clodiani attigisset, quocumque venerat, quod iudicium cumque subierat, damnabatur; inveniebatur nemo, qui se suffragium de me tulisse confiteretur. Decesserat ex Asia frater meus magno squalore, sed multo etiam maiore maerore. Huic ad urbem venienti tota obviam civitas cum lacrimis gemituque processerat; loquebatur liberius senatus; concurrebant equites Romani; Piso ille, gener meus, cui fructum pietatis suae neque ex me neque a populo Romano ferre licuit, a propinquo suo socerum suum flagitabat; omnia senatus reiciebat, nisi de me primum consules rettulissent.

Here at length, later than he himself might have wished, utterly against the will of those who, by their advice and false alarms, had turned the mind of the best and bravest of men from undertaking my defence—here at length Gnaeus Pompeius revived that old practice of his of service for the welfare of the State, which had indeed never slept, but had been rendered inactive by some sort of suspicion. That hero, who by the valour of his victorious arms had conquered our most impious citizens, our bitterest enemies, mighty tribes, kings, savage and hitherto unknown peoples, countless hordes of pirates and a band of slaves as well, who, after he had put an end to all wars both on land and sea, had set the boundary of the Empire of the Roman People at the limits of the world, could not suffer the crimes of a few to overthrow that State which he had often saved not only by his policy, but even by his own blood. He took up the cause of the State; he resisted by his influence any further proceedings; he lodged complaints of what had been done. There seemed to be a sort of tendency towards better hopes. On the first of June a full Senate unanimously passed a decree for my return, moved by Lucius

Ninnius, whose loyalty and courage in my cause have never wavered. Some one named Ligusa interposed his veto, some nobody, some addition to the ranks of my enemies. The situation and my cause were now such that they seemed to lift up their eyes and live. All those who at the time of my sorrow had taken any part in the crime of Clodius, wherever they showed themselves, whatever court of justice they entered, were condemned; no one was found to acknowledge that he had voted about me. My brother had left Asia in deep mourning, with far deeper sorrow in his heart. When he approached the city, all the people went forward to meet him with tears and lamentation. The Senate was speaking more frankly; the Roman Knights held frequent meetings. Piso, my son-in-law, who was not permitted to reap the fruits of his affection either from me or from the Roman People, urgently demanded from his kinsman the restoration of his father-in-law; the Senate refused to consider anything until the consuls had first brought in a motion about me.

61, 129

Nam quid ego illa de me divina senatus consulta commemorem? vel quod in templo Iovis optimi maximi factum est, cum vir is, qui tripertitas orbis terrarum oras atque regiones tribus triumphis adiunctas huic imperio notavit, de scripto sententia dicta mihi uni testimonium patriae conservatae dedit; […]

Why need I mention those decrees of the Senate, full of more than human goodwill towards me? or what took place in the Temple of Juppiter Best and Greatest, when that hero, who marked three separate regions and divisions of the world as having been added to our Empire by his three triumphs, delivering his speech from writing, declared that I alone had saved the State; […]

Diodorus Siculus

Historiae

17, 95, 1

Κρίνας δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταύτης τοὺς ὅρους θέσθαι τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμοὺς πεντήκοντα πηχῶν ᾠκοδόμησεν, ἔπειτα τριπλασίαν τῆς προϋπαρχούσης στρατοπεδείαν περιβαλόμενος ὤρυξε τάφρον τὸ μὲν πλάτος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ βάθος τεσσαράκοντα· […]

Thinking how best to mark the limits of his campaign at this point, he first erected altars of the twelve gods each fifty cubits high and then traced the circuit of a camp thrice the size of the existing one. Here he dug a ditch fifty feet wide and forty feet deep, […]

40, 4

Ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος τὰς ἰδίας πράξεις ἃς συνετέλεσεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναγράψας ἀνέθηκεν, ὧν ἐστιν ἀντίγραφον τόδε. Πομπήιος Γναΐου υἱὸς Μέγας αὐτοκράτωρ τὴν παράλιον τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐντὸς Ὠκεανοῦ νήσους ἐλευθερώσας τοῦ πειρατικοῦ πολέμου, ὁ ῥυσάμενός ποτε πολιορκουμένην τὴν Ἀριοβαρζάνου βασιλείαν, Γαλατίαν τε καὶ τὰς ὑπερκειμένας χώρας καὶ ἐπαρχίας, Ἀσίαν, Βιθυνίαν, ὑπερασπίσας δὲ Παφλαγονίαν τε καὶ τὸν Πόντον, Ἀρμενίαν τε καὶ Ἀχαΐαν, ἔτι δὲ Ἰβηρίαν, Κολχίδα, Μεσοποταμίαν, Σωφηνήν, Γορδυηνήν, ὑποτάξας δὲ βασιλέα Μήδων Δαρεῖον, βασιλέα Ἀρτώλην Ἰβήρων, βασιλέα Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίων, βασιλέα Ἀρέταν Ναβαταίων Ἀράβων, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Κιλικίαν Συρίαν, Ἰουδαίαν, Ἀραβίαν, Κυρηναϊκὴν ἐπαρχίαν, Ἀχαιούς, Ἰοζυγούς, Σοανούς, Ἡνιόχους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φῦλα τὰ μεταξὺ Κολχίδος καὶ Μαιώτιδος λίμνης τὴν παράλιον διακατέχοντα καὶ τοὺς τούτων βασιλεῖς ἐννέα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐντὸς τῆς Ποντικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης κατοικοῦντα, καὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῖς ὅροις τῆς γῆς προσβιβάσας, καὶ τὰς προσόδους Ῥωμαίων φυλάξας, ἃς δὲ προσαυξήσας, τούς τε ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀφιδρύματα τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν κόσμον τῶν πολεμίων ἀφελόμενος ἀνέθηκε τῇ θεῷ χρυσοῦς μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἑξήκοντα, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριακόσια ἑπτά.

Pompey had inscribed on a tablet, which he set up as a dedication, the record of his achievements in Asia. Here is a copy of the inscription: “Pompey the Great, son of Gnaeus, Imperator, having liberated the seacoast of the inhabited world and all islands this side Ocean from the war with the pirates—being likewise the man who delivered from siege the kingdom of Ariobarzanes, Galatia and the lands and provinces lying beyond it, Asia, and Bithynia; who gave protection to Paphlagonia and Pontus, Armenia and Achaia, as well as Iberia, Colchis, Mesopotamia, Sophenê, and Gordyenê; brought into subjection Darius king of the Medes, Artoles king of the Iberians, Aristobulus king of the Jews, Aretas king of the Nabataean Arabs, Syria bordering on Cilicia, Judaea, Arabia, the province of Cyrenê, the Achaeans, the Iozygi, the Soani, the Heniochi, and the other tribes along the seacoast between Colchis and the Maeotic Sea, with their kings, nine in number, and all the nations that dwell between the Pontic and the Red Seas; extended the frontiers of the Empire to the limits of the earth; and secured and in some cases increased the revenues of the Roman people—he, by confiscation of the

statues and the images set up to the gods, as well as other valuables taken from the enemy, has dedicated to the goddess twelve thousand and sixty pieces of gold and three hundred and seven talents of silver."

Gellius

Noctes Atticae

6, 1, 1

Admiranda quaedam ex annalibus sumpta de P. Africano superiore.

Quod de Olympiade, Philippi regis uxore, Alexandri matre, in historia Graeca scriptum est, id de P. quoque Scipionis matre qui prior Africanus appellatus est memoriae datum est. Nam et C. Oppius et Iulius Hyginus, aliique qui de vita et rebus Africani scripserunt, matrem eius diu sterilem existimatam tradunt, P. quoque Scipionem, cum quo nupta erat, liberos desperavisse. Postea in cubiculo atque in lecto mulieris, cum absente marito cubans sola condormisset, visum repente esse iuxta eam cubare ingentem anguem eumque, his qui viderant territis et clamantibus; elapsum inveniri non quisse. Id ipsum P. Scipionem ad haruspices retulisse; eos, sacrificio facto, respondisse fore ut liberi gignerentur, neque multis diebus postquam ille anguis in lecto visus est, mulierem coepisse concepti fetus signa atque sensum pati; exinde mense decimo peperisse natumque esse hunc P. Africanum qui Hannibalem et Carthaginienses in Africa bello Poenico secundo vicit. Sed et eum inpendio magis ex rebus gestis quam ex illo ostento virum esse virtutis divinae creditum est.

Id etiam dicere haut piget, quod idem illi quos supra nominavi litteris mandaverint, Scipionem hunc Africanum solitavisse noctis extremo, priusquam dilucularet, in Capitolium ventitare ac iubere aperiri cellam Iovis atque ibi solum diu demorari, quasi consultantem de republica cum Iove, aeditumosque eius templi saepe esse demiratos, quod solum id temporis in Capitolium ingredientem canes semper in alios saevientes neque latrarent eum neque incurrerent.

Has volgi de Scipione opiniones confirmare atque approbare videbantur dicta factaque eius pleraque admiranda. Ex quibus est unum huiuscemodi: Assidebat oppugnabatque oppidum in Hispania, situ, moenibus, defensoribus validum et munitum, re etiam cibaria copiosum, nullaque eius potiundi spes erat, et quodam die ius in castris sedens dicebat atque ex eo loco id oppidum procul visebatur, Tum e militibus, qui in iure apud eum stabant, interrogavit quispiam ex more in quem diem locumque vadimonium promitti iuberet; et Scipio, manum ad ipsam oppidi quod obsidebatur arcem protendens, “Perendie,” inquit, “sese sistant illo in loco.” Atque ita factum; die tertio, in quem vadari iusserat, oppidum captum est eodemque eo die in arce eius oppidi ius dixit.

Some remarkable stories about the elder Publius Africanus, drawn from the annals.

The tale which in Grecian history is told of Olympias, wife of king Philip and mother of Alexander, is also recorded of the mother of that Publius Scipio who was the first to be called Africanus. For both Gaius Oppius and Julius Hyginus, as well as others who have written of the life and deeds of Africanus, declare that his mother was for a long time thought to be barren, and that Publius Scipio, her husband, had also given up hope of offspring; that afterwards, in her own room and bed, when she was lying alone in the absence of her husband and had fallen asleep, of a sudden a huge serpent was seen lying by her side; and that when those who had

seen it were frightened and cried out, the snake glided away and could not be found. It is said that Publius Scipio himself consulted soothsayers about the occurrence; that they, after offering sacrifice, declared that he would have children, and not many days after that serpent had been seen in her bed, the woman began to experience the indications and sensation of conception. Afterwards, in the tenth month, she gave birth to that Publius Scipio who conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa in the second Punic war. But it was far more because of his exploits than because of that prodigy that he too was believed to be a man of godlike excellence.

This too I venture to relate, which the same writers that I mentioned before have put on record: This Scipio Africanus used often to go to the Capitolium in the latter part of the night, before the break of day, give orders that the shrine of Jupiter be opened, and remain there a long time alone, apparently consulting Jupiter about matters of state; and the guardians of the temple were often amazed that on his coming to the Capitolium alone at such an hour the dogs, that flew at all other intruders, neither barked at him nor molested him.

These popular beliefs about Scipio seemed to be confirmed and attested by many remarkable actions and sayings of his. Of these the following is a single example: He was engaged in the siege of a town in Spain, which was strongly fortified and defended, protected by its position, and also well provisioned; and there was no prospect of taking it. One day he sat holding court in his camp, at a point from which there was a distant view of the town. Then one of the soldiers who were on trial before him asked in the usual way on what day and in what place he bade them give bail for their appearance. Then Scipio, stretching forth his hand towards the very citadel of the town which he was besieging, said: “Appear the day after to-morrow in yonder place.” And so it happened; on the third day, the day on which he had ordered them to appear, the town was captured, and on that same day he held court in the citadel of the place.

Livy

Ab Urbe Condita

1, 16

His inmortalibus editis operibus cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent; manavit enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Et consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor, in contionem prodit. “Romulus” inquit, “Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitissem, petens precibus ut contra intueri fas esset, ‘Abi, nuntia,’ inquit ‘Romanis caelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.’ Haec,” inquit, “locutus sublimis abiit.” Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide inmortalitatis lenitum sit.

When these deathless deeds had been done, as the king was holding a muster in the Campus Martius, near the swamp of Capra, for the purpose of reviewing the army, suddenly a storm came up, with loud claps of thunder, and enveloped him in a cloud so thick as to hide him from the sight of the assembly; and from that moment Romulus was no more on earth. The Roman soldiers at length recovered from their panic, when this hour of wild confusion had been succeeded by a sunny calm; but when they saw that the royal seat was empty, although they readily believed the assertion of the senators, who had been standing next to Romulus, that he had been caught up on high in the blast, they nevertheless remained for some time sorrowful and silent, as if filled with the fear of orphanhood. Then, when a few men had taken the initiative, they all with one accord hailed Romulus as a god and a god’s son, the King and Father of the Roman City, and with prayers besought his favour that he would graciously be pleased forever to protect his children. There were some, I believe, even then who secretly asserted that the king had been rent in pieces by the hands of the senators, for this rumour, too, got abroad, but in very obscure terms; the other version obtained currency, owing to men’s admiration for the hero and the intensity of their panic. And the shrewd device of one man is also said to have gained new credit for the story. This was Proculus Julius, who, when the people were distracted with the loss of their king and in no friendly mood towards the senate, being, as tradition tells, weighty in council, were the matter never so important, addressed the

assembly as follows: "Quirites, the Father of this City, Romulus, descended suddenly from the sky at dawn this morning and appeared to me. Covered with confusion, I stood reverently before him, praying that it might be vouchsafed me to look upon his face without sin. 'Go,' said he, 'and declare to the Romans the will of Heaven that my Rome shall be the capital of the world; so let them cherish the art of war, and let them know and teach their children that no human strength can resist Roman arms.' So saying," he concluded, "Romulus departed on high." It is wonderful what credence the people placed in that man's tale, and how the grief for the loss of Romulus, which the plebeians and the army felt, was quieted by the assurance of his immortality.

26, 19

Hic mos, quem per omnem vitam servabat, seu consulto seu temere volgatae opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit stirpis eum divinae virum esse, rettulitque famam in Alexandro Magno prius volgatam, et vanitate et fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, et in cubiculo matris eius visam persaepe prodigii eius speciem interventuque hominum evolutam repente atque ex oculis elapsam.

This custom, which he maintained throughout his lifetime, confirmed in some men the belief, whether deliberately circulated or by chance, that he was a man of divine race. And it revived the tale previously told of Alexander the Great and rivalling it as unfounded gossip, that his conception was due to an immense serpent, and that the form of the strange creature had very often been seen in his mother's chamber, and that, when persons came in, it had suddenly glided away and disappeared from sight.

41, 27, 7

[…] et clivum Capitolinum silice sternendum curaverunt, et porticum ab aede Saturni in Capitolium ad senaculum, ac super id curiam.

[…] and they arranged for the pavement with flint of the Clivus Capitolinus and for the construction of a portico from the temple of Saturn to the assembly-room of the senators on the Capitoline, and, above it, to the curia.

44, 16, 10

Ad opera publica facienda cum eis dimidium ex vectigalibus eius anni attributum ex senatus consulto a quaestoribus esset, Ti. Sempronius ex ea pecunia, quae ipsi attributa erat, aedes P. Africani pone Veteres ad Vortumni signum lanienasque et tabernas coniunctas in publicum emit basilicamque faciendam curavit, quae postea Sempronia appellata est.

As half the revenues of the year had by decree of the senate been assigned by the quaestors to the censors for the construction of public works, Titus Sempronius, out of the funds assigned to him, bought for the state the house of Publius Africanus behind the Old Shops in the direction of the statue of Vortumnus, as well as the butcher's stalls and the shops adjacent, and saw to the construction of the basilica which afterward received the name of Sempronian.

Periochae

98

Templum Iovis in Capitolio, quod incendio consumptum ac refectum erat, a Q. Catulo dedicatum est.

The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which had been destroyed by fire and restored, was dedicated by Quintus Catulus.

115

Caesar quattuor triumphos duxit, ex Gallia, ex Aegypto, ex Ponto, ex Africa, epulum et omnis generis spectacula dedit.

Caesar conducted four triumphs, for the campaigns in Gaul, in Egypt, in Pontus, and in Africa; he gave a banquet and all sorts of shows.

116

Caesar ex Hispania quintum triumphum egit. Et cum plurimi maximique honores ei a senatu decreti essent, inter quos ut parens patriae appellaretur et sacrosanctus ac dictator in perpetuum esset, invidiae adversus eum causam praestiterunt, quod senatui deferenti hos honores, cum ante aedem Veneris Genetricis sederet, non adsurrexit, […]

When a great abundance of the highest distinctions were voted him by the senate, among which were the title of Father of the Fatherland, inviolability, and dictatorship for life, occasions for a grudge against him were created because he did not rise from his seat before the temple of Mother Venus when the senate came to present him with these distinctions, […]

Lucan

Pharsalia

1, 324-335

Nunc quoque, ne lassum teneat privata senectus,
Bella nefanda parat suetus civilibus armis
Et docilis Sullam scelerum vicisse magistrum.
Utque ferae tigres nunquam posuere furorem,
Quas nemore Hyrcano, matrum dum lustra secuntur,
Altus caesorum pavit cruor armentorum,
Sic et Sullanum solito tibi lambere ferrum
Durat, Magne, sitis. Nullus semel ore receptus
Pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces.
Quem tamen inveniet tam longa potentia finem?
Quis scelerum modus est? ex hoc iam te, inprobe, regno
Ille tuus saltem doceat descendere Sulla.

Now once again, to escape the burden of an obscure old age, Pompey is scheming unlawful warfare. Civil war is familiar to him: he was taught wickedness by Sulla and is like to outdo his teacher. As the fierce tiger, who has drunk deep of the blood of slain cattle when following his dam from lair to lair in the Hyrcanian jungle, never after loses his ferocity, so Magnus, once wont to lick the sword of Sulla, is thirsty still. When blood has once been swallowed, it never permits the throat it has tainted to lose its cruelty. Will power so long continued ever find an end, or crime a limit? He is never content; but let him learn one lesson at least from his master, Sulla—to step down at this stage from his unlawful power.

7, 307

Cum duce Sullano gerimus civilia bella.

The general, against whom we carry on civil war, is Sulla's pupil.

Macrobius

Saturnalia

3, 9, 7-8

est autem carmen huius modi quo di evocantur cum oppugnatione civitas cingitur:
si deus, si dea est, cui populus civitasque Carthaginiensis
est in tutela, teque maxime, ille qui urbis
huius populique tutelam recepisti, precor venerorque
veniamquea vobis peto ut vos populum civitatemque
Carthaginiensem deseratis, loca templa
sacra urbemque eorum relinquatis, absque his abeatis
eique populo civitatique metum formidinem
oblivionem iniciatis, propitiique Romam ad
me meosque veniatis, nostraque vobis loca templa
sacra urbs acceptior probatiorque sit, mihique populoque
Romano militibusque meis propitii sitis.
si ita feceritis ut sciamus
intellegamusque,
voveo vobis templa ludosque facturum.

The following is the spell used to call the gods forth when a city is surrounded and under siege:
I call upon the one in whose protection are the people
and community of Carthage, whether it be a god
or a goddess, and upon you above all, who have undertaken
to protect this city and people, and ask you
all for your favour: may you all desert the people
and community of Carthage, leave their sacred
places, temples, and city, and depart from them,
and upon this people and community heap fear,
dread, forgetfulness, and come to Rome, to me and
my people, with kindly spirit, and may our sacred
places, temples, city be more acceptable and approved
in your sight, and may you be well disposed
to me and the Roman people and my army. If you all
should do these things so that we know and understand
them, I vow that I will make temples and
games for you.

Martial

Epigrammata

2, 14, 9-10

inde petit centum pendentia tecta columnis,
illinc Pompei dona nemusque duplex.

Thence he seeks the roof supported by a hundred columns, and from there the gift of Pompey and the double wood.

3, 19

Proxima centenis ostenditur ursa columnis,
exornant fictae qua platanona ferae.
huius dum patulos alludens temptat hiatus
pulcher Hylas, teneram mersit in ora manum.
vipera sed caeco scelerata latebat in aere,
vivebatque anima deteriore fera.
non sensit puer esse dolos, nisi dente recepto
dum perit. o facinus, falsa quod ursa fuit!

A bear is shown close to the Hundred Columns, where sculpted beasts adorn the plane grove. As fair Hylas was playing beside it and testing its gaping jaws, he plunged his tender hand into its mouth. But an accursed viper was lurking in the darkness of the bronze, and the animal lived with a life worse than its own. The boy only realized there was a trap as he died from the bite. Too bad that it was not a real bear!

9, 61

In Tartesiacis domus est notissima terris,
qua dives placidum Corduba Baetin amat,
vellera nativo pallent ubi flava metallo
et linit Hesperium brattea viva pecus.
aedibus in mediis totos amplexa penates
stat platanus densis Caesariana comis,
hospitis invicti posuit quam dextera felix,
coepit et ex illa crescere virga manu.
auctorem dominumque nemus sentire videtur:
sic viret et ramis sidera celsa petit.
saepe sub hac madidi luserunt arbore Fauni
terruit et tacitam fistula sera domum;
dumque fugit solos nocturnum Pana per agros,
saepe sub hac latuit rustica fronde Dryas.

atque oluere lares comissatore Lyaeo
crevit et effuso laetior umbra mero;
hesternisque rubens †delecta† est herba coronis
atque suas potuit dicere nemo rosas.
o dilecta deis, o magni Caesaris arbor,
ne metuas ferrum sacrilegosque focos.
perpetuos sperare licet tibi frondis honores:
non Pompeianae te posuere manus.

There is a famous house in the land of Tartessus, where wealthy Corduba loves tranquil Baetis and yellow fleeces are pale with native ore and living foil coats the Hesperian flock. In the midst of the mansion, embracing the entire dwelling, stands a plane, Caesar's plane, with dense foliage, planted by the unconquered guest's auspicious hand; from that hand the shoot began to grow. The tree seems to feel its author and lord: so green is it, so it seeks the high stars with its branches. Often did tipsy Fauns play under this tree and a late pipe alarm the silent house; and by night fleeing Pan through the lonely fields, a rustic Dryad often hid below these leaves. And the dwelling was fragrant with reveling Lyaeus; the shade grew more luxuriant with wine's effusion, and the blushing grass was painted with yesternight's garlands: nobody could tell which roses were his own. O beloved of the gods, o great Caesar's tree, fear not steel or sacrilegious hearths. You may expect the glories of your foliage to last for ever: the hands that planted you were not Pompey's.

Obsequens

Prodigia

68

Ludis Veneris Genetricis, quos pro collegio fecit, stella hora undecima crinita sub septentrionis sidere exorta convertit omnium oculos. Quod sidus quia ludis Veneris apparuit, divo Iulio insigne capitis consecrari placuit.

At the festival of Mother Venus, which he conducted for the college, a comet appearing at the eleventh hour under the constellation of the Bear drew the eyes of everyone. Since this star appeared at the festival of Venus, it was decided to dedicate it as a crown-jewel to the deified Julius.

Ovid

Fasti

1, 641-644

Furius antiquam populi superator Etrusci
voverat et voti solverat ille fidem.
causa, quod a patribus sumptis secesserat armis
volgus, et ipsa suas Roma timebat opes.

Furius, the vanquisher of the Etruscan folk, had vowed the ancient temple, and he kept his vow. The cause was that the common folk had taken up arms and seceded from the nobles, and Rome dreaded her own puissance.

Tristia

2, 525-527

utque sedet vultu fassus Telamonius iram,
inque oculis facinus barbara mater habet,
sic madidos siccat digitis Venus uda capillos
et modo maternis tecta videtur aquis.

there sits not only the Telamonian with features confessing wrath and the barbarian mother with crime in her eyes, but Venus as well, wringing her damp hair with her hands and seeming barely covered by her maternal waves.

Philostratus

Vita Apollonii

2, 22

“Ὅθεν εἴποιμ᾽ ἂν καὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας τὰ τῆς γραφικῆς ἔργα μιμητικῆς δεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ τις τὸν γεγραμμένον ἵππον ἢ ταῦρον μὴ τὸ ζῷον ἐνθυμηθείς, ᾧ εἴκασται, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τὸν Αἴαντά τις τὸν Τιμομάχου ἀγασθείη, ὃς δὴ ἀναγέγραπται αὐτῷ μεμηνώς, εἰ μὴ ἀναλάβοι τι ἐς τὸν νοῦν Αἴαντος εἴδωλον καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονότα τὰ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ βουκόλια καθῆσθαι ἀπειρηκότα, βουλὴν ποιούμενον καὶ ἑαυτὸν κτεῖναι.

“I would say, then, that those who view the works of painters need the imitative faculty, since no one will praise the picture of a horse or bull if he has no idea of the creature represented. No one is likely to admire Timomachus’s Ajax, when the artist represents him as insane, if he does not call to mind the image of Ajax and how he is likely to have looked after killing the cattle at Troy, sitting in despair and turning over the thought of suicide.

Pliny the Elder

Historia Naturalis

2, 23, 93

Cometes in uno totius orbis loco colitur in templo Romae, admodum faustus divo Augusto iudicatus ab ipso, qui incipiente eo apparuit ludis quos faciebat Veneri Genetrici non multo post obitum patris Caesaris in collegio ab eo instituto.

The only place in the whole world where a comet is the object of worship is a temple at Rome. His late Majesty Augustus had deemed this comet very propitious to himself; as it had appeared at the beginning of his rule, at some games which, not long after the decease of his father Caesar, as a member of the college founded by him he was celebrating in honour of Mother Venus.

3, 3, 18

Citerioris Hispaniae sicut conplurium provinciarum aliquantum vetus forma mutata est, utpote cum Pompeius Magnus tropaeis suis quae statuebat in Pyrenaeo dccclxxvi oppida ab Alpibus ad fines Hispaniae ulterioris in dicionem ab se redacta testatus sit. nunc universa provincia dividitur in conventus septem, Carthaginiensem Tarraconensem Caesaraugustanum Cluniensem Asturum Lucensem Bracarum. accedunt insulae quarum mentione seposita civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis ccxciii continet oppida clxxxix, in iis colonias xii, oppida civium Romanorum xiii, Latinorum veterum xviii, foederatum unum, stipendiaria cxxxv.

The old shape of Hither Spain has been considerably altered, as has been that of several provinces, in as much as Pompey the Great on his trophies which he set up in the Pyrenees testified that he had brought into subjection 876 towns between the Alps and the borders of Further Spain. Today the whole province is divided into seven jurisdictions, namely those of Cartagena, Tarragon, Saragossa, Clunia, Astorga, Lugo, Braga. In addition there are the islands which will be mentioned separately, but the province itself contains, besides 293 states dependent on others, 189 towns, of which 12 are colonies, 13 are towns of Roman citizens, 18 have the old Latin rights, one is a treaty town and 135 are tributary.

7, 3, 34

Pompeius Magnus in ornamentis theatri mirabiles fama posuit effigies ob id diligentius magnorum artificum ingeniis elaboratas, inter quas legitur Eutychis a viginti liberis rogo inlata Trallibus enixa xxx partus, Alcippe elephantum, quamquam id inter ostenta est, namque et serpentem peperit inter initia Marsici belli ancilla et multiformes pluribus modis inter monstra partus eduntur.

Pompey the Great among the decorations of his theatre placed images of celebrated marvels, made with special elaboration for the purpose by the talent of eminent artists; among them we read of Eutychis who at Tralles was carried to her funeral pyre by twenty children and who had

given birth 30 times, and Alcippe who gave birth to an elephant—although it is true that the latter case ranks among portents, for one of the first occurrences of the Marsian War was that a maidservant gave birth to a snake, and also monstrous births of various kinds are recorded among the ominous things that happened.

7, 26, 95-97

Verum ad decus imperii Romani, non solum ad viri unius pertinet, victoriarum Pompei Magni titulos omnes triumphosque hoc in loco nuncupari, aequato non modo Alexandri Magni rerum fulgore, sed etiam Herculis prope ac Liberi patris. igitur Sicilia recuperata, unde primum Sullanus in reip. causa exoriens auspicatus est, Africa vero tota subacta et in dicionem redacta, Magnique nomine in spolium inde capto, Eques Romanus, id quod antea nemo, curru triumphali revectus et statim ad solis occasum trangressus, excitatis in Pyrenaeo tropaeis, oppida dccclxxvi ab Alpibus ad finis Hispaniae ulterioris in dicionem redacta victoriae suae adscripsit et maiore animo Sertorium tacuit, belloque civili quod omnia externa conciebat extincto iterum triumphales currus Eques Romam induxit, totiens imperator ante quam miles. postea ad tota maria et deinde solis ortus missus infinitos retulit patriae titulos more sacris certaminibus vincentium—neque enim ipsi coronantur, sed patrias suas coronant; hos ergo honores urbi tribuit in delubro Minervae quod ex manubiis dicabat:

Cn. Pompeius Magnus imperator bello xxx annorum confecto fusis fugatis occisis in deditionem acceptis hominum centiens viciens semel lxxxiii depressis aut captis navibus dcccxlvi oppidis castellis mdxxxviii in fidem receptis terris a Maeotis ad Rubrum mare subactis votum merito Minervae.

But it concerns the glory of the Roman Empire, and not that of one man, to mention in this place all the records of the victories of Pompey the Great and all his triumphs, which equal the brilliance of the exploits not only of Alexander the Great but even almost of Hercules and Father Liber. Well then, after the recovery of Sicily, which inaugurated his emergence as a champion of the commonwealth in the party of Sulla, and after the conquest of the whole of Africa and its reduction under our sway, and the acquirement as a trophy therefrom of the title of The Great, he rode back in a triumphal chariot though only of equestrian rank, a thing which had never occurred before; and immediately afterwards he crossed over to the West, and after erecting trophies in the Pyrenees he added to the record of his victorious career the reduction under our sway of 876 towns from the Alps to the frontiers of Further Spain, and with greater magnanimity refrained from mentioning Sertorius, and after crushing the civil war which threatened to stir up all our foreign relations, a second time led into Rome a procession of triumphal chariots as a Knight, having twice been commander-in-chief before having ever served in the ranks. Subsequently he was despatched to the whole of the seas and then to the far east, and he brought back titles without limit for his country, after the manner of those who conquer in the sacred contests—for these are not crowned with wreaths themselves but crown their native land; consequently he bestowed these honours on the city in the shrine of Minerva that he was dedicating out of the proceeds of the spoils of war:

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, Commander in Chief, having completed a thirty years' war, routed, scattered, slain or received the surrender of 12,183,000 people, sunk or taken 846 ships, received the capitulation of 1538 towns and forts, subdued the lands from the Maeotians to the Red Sea, duly dedicates his offering vowed to Minerva.

7, 36, 121

humilis in plebe et ideo ignobilis puerpera, supplicii causa carcere inclusa matre cum impetrasset aditum, a ianitore semper excussa ante ne quid inferret cibi, deprehensa est uberibus suis alens eam. quo miraculo matris salus donata filiae pietati est ambaeque perpetuis alimentis, et locus ille eidem consecratus deae, C. Quinctio M'. Acilio coss. templo Pietatis extructo in illius carceris sede, ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est.

A plebeian woman of low position and therefore unknown, who had just given birth to a child, had permission to visit her mother who had been shut up in prison as a punishment, and was always searched in advance by the doorkeeper to prevent her carrying in any food; she was detected giving her mother sustenance from her own breasts. In consequence of this marvel the daughter's pious affection was rewarded by the mother's release and both were awarded maintenance for life; and the place where it occurred was consecrated to the Goddess concerned, a temple dedicated to Filial Affection being built on the site of the prison, where the Theatre of Marcellus now stands, in the consulship of Gaius Quinctius and Manius Acilius.

7, 38, 126

Aristidis Thebani pictoris unam tabulam centum talentis rex Attalus licitus est, octoginta emit duas Caesar dictator, Medeam et Aiacem Timomachi, in templo Veneris Genetricis dicaturus.

King Attalus bid 100 talents for one picture by the Theban painter Aristides; the dictator Caesar purchased two by Timomachus for 80, the Medea and the Ajax, to dedicate them in the temple of Venus Genetrix.

7, 60, 215

[…] tunc Scipio Nasica collega Laenatis primus aqua divisit horas aeque noctium ac dierum, idque horologium sub tecto dicavit anno urbis dxcv: tamdiu populo Romano indiscreta lux fuit.

[…] when Scipio Nasica the colleague of Laenas instituted the first water-clock dividing the hours of the nights and the days equally, and dedicated this time-piece in a roofed building, b.c. 159. For so long a period the divisions of daylight had not been marked for the Roman public.

8, 2, 4

Romae iuncti primum subiere currum Pompei Magni Africano triumpho, quod prius India victa triumphante Libero patre memoratur. Procilius negat potuisse Pompei triumpho iunctos egredi porta.

At Rome they were first used in harness to draw the chariot of Pompey the Great in his African. triumph, as they are recorded to have been used before when Father Liber went in triumph after his conquest of India. Procilius states that at Pompey's triumph the team of elephants were unable to pass out through the gate.

8, 7, 20

Pompei quoque altero consulatu, dedicatione templi Veneris Victricis, viginti pugnavere in circo aut, ut quidam tradunt, xvii, Gaetulis ex adverso iaculantibus, mirabili unius dimicatione, qui pedibus confossis repsit genibus in catervas, abrepta scuta iaciens in sublime, quae decidentia voluptati spectantibus erant in orbem circumacta, velut arte non furore beluae iacerentur. magnum et in altero miraculum fuit uno ictu occiso; pilum etenim sub oculo adactum in vitalia capitis venerat.

Also in Pompey's second consulship, at the dedication of the Temple of Venus Victrix, twenty, or, as some record, seventeen, fought in the Circus, their opponents being Gaetulians armed with javelins, one of the animals putting up a marvellous fight—its feet being disabled by wounds it crawled against the hordes of the enemy on its knees, snatching their shields from them and throwing them into the air, and these as they fell delighted the spectators by the curves they described, as if they were being thrown by a skilled juggler and not by an infuriated wild animal. There was also a marvellous occurrence in the case of another, which was killed by a single blow, as the javelin striking it under the eye had reached the vital parts of the head.

8, 64, 155

nec Caesaris dictatoris quemquam alium recepisse dorso equus traditur, idemque similis humanis pedes priores habuisse, hac effigie locatus ante Veneris Genetricis aedem.

Also the horse that belonged to Caesar the Dictator is said to have refused to let anyone else mount it; and it is also recorded that its fore feet were like those of a man, as it is represented in the statue that stands in front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.

9, 57, 116

in Britannia parvos atque decolores nasci certum est, quoniam divus Iulius thoracem quem Veneri Genetrici in templo eius dicavit ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intellegi.

It is established that small pearls of poor colour grow in Britain, since the late lamented Julius desired it to be known that the breastplate which he dedicated to Venus Genetrix in her temple was made of British pearls.

19, 6, 23

In theatris tenta umbram fecere, quod primus omnium invenit Q. Catulus cum Capitolium dedicaret.

Linen cloths were used in the theatres as awnings, a plan first invented by Quintus Catulus when dedicating the Capitol.

34, 10, 18

Graeca res nihil velare, at contra Romana ac militaris thoraces addere. Caesar quidem dictator loricatam sibi dicari in foro suo passus est.

The Greek practice is to leave the figure entirely nude, whereas Roman and military statuary adds a breastplate: indeed the dictator Caesar gave permission for a statue wearing a cuirass to be erected in his honour in his Forum.

34, 16, 33

Fuisse autem statuariam artem familiarem Italiae quoque et vetustam, indicant Hercules ab Euandro sacratus, ut produnt, in foro boario, qui triumphalis vocatur atque per triumphos vestitur habitu triumphali, […]

That the art of statuary was familiar to Italy also and of long standing there is indicated by the statue of Hercules in the Cattle Market said to have been dedicated by Evander, which is called 'Hercules Triumphant,' and on the occasion of triumphal processions is arrayed in triumphal vestments; […]

34, 19, 60

Fuit et alius Pythagoras Samius, initio pictor, cuius signa ad aedem Fortunae Huiusce Diei septem nuda et senis unum laudata sunt.

There was also anotherc Pythagoras, a Samian, who began as a painter; his seven nude statues now at the temple of To-day's Fortune and one of an old man are highly spoken of.

35, 8, 24-26

deinde video et in foro positas volgo. hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub Veteribus; cum testis compellatus instaret: dic ergo, Crasse, qualem me noris? talem, inquit, ostendens in tabula inficetissime Gallum exerentem linguam. in foro fuit et illa pastoris senis cum baculo, de qua Teutonorum legatus respondit interrogatus, quantine eum aestimaret, donari sibi nolle talem vivum verumque.

Sed praecipuam auctoritatem publice tabulis fecit Caesar dictator Aiace et Media ante Veneris Genetricis aedem dicatis, post eum M. Agrippa, vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis. exstat certe eius oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli. verum eadem illa torvitas tabulas duas Aiacis et Veneris mercata est a Cyzicenis hs |xii|; […]

After this I see that they were commonly placed even in the forum: to this is due the famous witticism of the pleader Crassus, when appearing in a case Below The Old Shops; a witness called kept asking him: 'Now tell me, Crassus, what sort of a person do you take me to be?' 'That sort of a person,' said Crassus, pointing to a picture of a Gaul putting out his tongue in a very unbecoming fashion. It was also in the forum that there was the picture of the Old

Shepherd with his Staff, about which the Teuton envoy when asked what he thought was the value of it said that he would rather not have even the living original as a gift!

But it was the Dictator Caesar who gave outstanding public importance to pictures by dedicating paintings of Ajax and Medea in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix; and after him Marcus Agrippa, a man who stood nearer to rustic simplicity than to refinements. At all events there is preserved a speech of Agrippa, lofty in tone and worthy of the greatest of the citizens, on the question of making all pictures and statues national property, a procedure which would have been preferable to banishing them to country houses. However, that same severe spirit paid the city of Cyzicus 1,200,000 sesterces for two pictures, an Ajax and an Aphrodite; […]

35, 35, 59

huius est tabula in porticu Pompei, quae ante curiam eius fuerat, in qua dubitatur ascendentem cum clupeo pinxerit an descendentem.

There is a picture by this artist in the Portico of Pompeius which formerly hung in front of the curia which he built, in which it is doubtful whether the figure of a man with a shield is painted as going up or as coming down.

35, 37, 114

parva et Callicles fecit, item Calates comicis tabellis, utraque Antiphilus. namque et Hesionam nobilem pinxit et Alexandrum ac Philippum cum Minerva, qui sunt in schola in Octaviae porticibus, et in Philippi Liberum patrem, Alexandrum puerum, Hippolytum tauro emisso expavescentem, in Pompeia vero Cadmum et Europen.

Callicles also made small pictures, and so did Calates of subjects taken from comedy; both classes were painted by Antiphilus, who executed the famous picture of Hesione and an Alexander and a Philip with Athene which are now in the school in Octavia's Porticoes, and in Philippus' Portico a Father Liber or Dionysus, a Young Alexander, a Hippolytus alarmed by the Bull rushing upon him, and in Pompey's Portico a Cadmus and Europa.

35, 40, 126

Pausias autem fecit et grandes tabulas, sicut spectatam in Pompei porticu boum immolationem.

But Pausias also did large pictures, for instance the Sacrifice of Oxen which formerly was to be seen in Pompey's Portico.

35, 45, 155-156

idem magnificat Arcesilaum, L. Luculli familiarem, cuius proplasmata pluris venire solita artificibus ipsis quam aliorum opera; ab hoc factam Venerem Genetricem in foro Caesaris et, priusquam absolveretur, festinatione dedicandi positam; […]

Varro also speaks very highly of Arcesilaus, who was on terms of intimacy with Lucius Lucullus, and says that his sketch-models of clay used to sell for more, among artists themselves, than the finished works of others; and that this artist made the statue of Venus Genetrix in Caesar's Forum and that it was erected before it was finished as there was a great haste to dedicate it; […]

35, 40, 132

fecit et grandes picturas, in quibus sunt Calypso et Io et Andromeda; Alexander quoque in Pompei porticibus praecellens et Calypso sedens huic eidem adscribuntur.

He also executed some large pictures, among them a Calypso, an Iod and an Andromeda; and also the very fine Alexander in Pompey's Porticoes and a Seated Calypso are assigned to him.

35, 40, 136

Timomachus Byzantius Caesaris dictatoris aetate Aiacem et Mediam pinxit, ab eo in Veneris Genetricis aede positas, lxxx talentis venundatas. talentum Atticum X vi taxat M. Varro.

Timomachus of Byzantium in the period of Caesar's dictatorship painted an Ajax and a Medea, placed by Caesar in the temple of Venus Genetrix, having been bought at the price of 80 talents (Marcus Varro rates the Attic talent at 6000 denarii).

35, 40, 145

illud vero perquam rarum ac memoria dignum est, suprema opera artificum inperfectasque tabulas, sicut Irim Aristidis, Tyndaridas Nicomachi, Mediam Timomachi et quam diximus Venerem Apellis, in maiore admiratione esse quam perfecta, quippe in iis liniamenta reliqua ipsaeque cogitationes artificum spectantur, atque in lenocinio commendationis dolor est manus, cum id ageret, exstinctae.

It is also a very unusual and memorable fact that the last works of artists and their unfinished pictures such as the Iris of Aristides, the Tyndarus' Children of Nicomachus, the Medea of Timomachus and the Aphrodite of Apelles which we have mentioned, are more admired than those which they finished, because in them are seen the preliminary drawings left visible and the artists' actual thoughts, and in the midst of approval's beguilement we feel regret that the artist's hand while engaged in the work was removed by death.

36, 4, 41

idem et a Coponio quattuordecim nationes, quae sunt circa Pompeium, factas auctor est.

Varro relates also that it was Coponius who was responsible for the fourteen figures of the Nations that stand around Pompey's theatre.

36, 24, 102

nec ut circum maximum a Caesare dictatore exstructum longitudine stadiorum trium, latitudine unius, sed cum aedificiis iugerum quaternum, ad sedem ccl, inter magna opera dicamus:

Even if we are not to include among our great achievements the Circus Maximus built by Julius Caesar, three furlongs in length and one in breadth, but with nearly three acres of buildings and seats for 250,000, […]

36, 25, 103

pyramidas regum miramur, cum solum tantum foro exstruendo hs |m̄| Caesar dictator emerit […]

We admire the pyramids of kings when Julius Caesar gave 100,000,000 sesterces merely for the ground on which his forum was to be built, […]

37, 5, 11

[…] diuque nulla alia fuit, donec Pompeius Magnus eam quae Mithridatis regis fuerat inter dona in Capitolio dicaret, ut Varro aliique aetatis eius auctores confirmant, multum praelata Scauri. hoc exemplo Caesar dictator sex dactyliothecas in aede Veneris Genetricis consecravit, Marcellus Octavia genitus unam in aede Palatini Apollinis.

For many years there was no other until Pompey the Great dedicated in the Capitol among his other offerings a ring cabinet that had belonged to King Mithridates. This, as Varro and other authorities of the period confirm, was far inferior to that of Scaurus. Pompey's example was followed by Julius Caesar, who during his dictatorship consecrated six cabinets of gems in the temple of Venus Genetrix, and by Marcellus, Octavia's son, who dedicated one in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

37, 6, 14-16

erat et imago Cn. Pompei e margaritis, illa relicino honore grata, illius probi oris venerandique per cunctas gentes, illa, inquam, ex margaritis, illa, severitate victa et veriore luxuriae triumpho! numquam profecto inter illos viros durasset cognomen Magni, si prima victoria sic triumphasset! e margaritis, Magne, tam prodiga re et feminis reperta, quas gerere te fas non sit, fieri tuos voltus? sic te pretiosum videri? non ergo illa tua similior est imago quam Pyrenaei iugis inposuisti? grave profecto, foedum probrum erat, ni verius saevum irae deorum ostentum id credi oporteret clareque intellegi posset iam tum illud caput orientis opibus sine reliquo corpore ostentatum.

Furthermore, there was Pompey's portrait rendered in pearls, that portrait so pleasing with the handsome growth of hair swept back from the forehead, the portrait of that noble head revered throughout the world—that portrait, I say, that portrait was rendered in pearls. Here it was austerity that was defeated and extravagance that more truly celebrated its triumph. Never, I think, would his surname 'the Great' have survived among the stalwarts of that age had he celebrated his first triumph in this fashion! To think that it is of pearls, Great Pompey, those wasteful things meant only for women, of pearls, which you yourself cannot and must not wear, that your portrait is made! To think that this is how you make yourself seem valuable! Is not then the trophy that you placed upon the summit of the Pyrenees a better likeness of yourself? This, to be sure, would have been a gross and foul disgrace were it not rather to be deemed a

cruel omen of Heaven's wrath. That head, so ominously manifested without its body in oriental splendour, bore a meaning which even then could not be mistaken.

Plautus

Curculius

4, 1, 470-472

qui periurum conuenire uolt hominem ito in comitium;
qui mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinae sacrum,
dites, damnosos maritos sub basilica quaerito.

Anyone who wants to meet a perjurer should go to the assembly place. Anyone who wants to meet a liar and a braggart must look for him at the temple of Venus Cloacina, and anyone who wants to meet rich and married wasters must look below the colonnaded hall.

Plutarch

Brutus

14, 2

ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ τόπου θεῖον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν· στοὰ γὰρ ἦν μία τῶν περὶ τὸ θέατρον, ἐξέδραν ἔχουσα ἐν ᾗ Πομπηΐου τις εἰκὼν εἱστήκει, τῆς πόλεως στησαμένης ὅτε ταῖς στοαῖς καὶ τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἐκόσμησεν.

It was thought, too, that the place of meeting was providentially in their favour; for it was one of the porticoes about the theatre, containing a session-room in which stood a statue of Pompey. This statue the city had erected in his honour when he adorned that place with the porticoes and the theatre.

Caesar

5, 1-5

δευτέραν δὲ καὶ καταφανεστέραν ὅτε, τῆς Μαρίου γυναικὸς Ἰουλίας ἀποθανούσης, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὢν αὐτῆς ἐγκώμιόν τε λαμπρὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διῆλθε, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἐτόλμησεν εἰκόνας Μαρίου προθέσθαι, τότε πρῶτον ὀφθείσας μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σύλλα πολιτείαν, πολεμίων τῶν ἀνδρῶν κριθέντων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐνίων καταβοησάντων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ δῆμος ἀντήχησε λαμπρῶς, δεξάμενος κρότῳ καὶ θαυμάσας ὥσπερ ἐξ Ἅιδου διὰ χρόνων πολλῶν ἀνάγοντα τὰς Μαρίου τιμὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ γυναιξὶ πρεσβυτέραις λόγους ἐπιταφίους διεξιέναι πάτριον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, νέαις δὲ οὐκ ὂν ἐν ἔθει πρῶτος εἶπε Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης· καὶ τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ χάριν τινὰ καὶ συνεδημαγώγησε τῷ πάθει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς ἥμερον ἄνδρα καὶ περίμεστον ἤθους ἀγαπᾶν.

Θάψας δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα ταμίας εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἑνὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Βέτερι συνεξῆλθεν, ὃν αὐτόν τε τιμῶν ἀεὶ διετέλεσε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν πάλιν αὐτὸς ἄρχων ταμίαν ἐποίησε. γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης τρίτην ἠγάγετο γυναῖκα Πομπηΐαν, ἔχων ἐκ Κορνηλίας θυγατέρα τὴν ὕστερον Πομπηΐῳ Μάγνῳ γαμηθεῖσαν. χρώμενος δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις ἀφειδῶς, καὶ δοκῶν μὲν ἐφήμερον καὶ βραχεῖαν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων δόξαν, ὠνούμενος δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις τὰ μέγιστα μικρῶν, λέγεται πρὶν εἰς ἀρχήν τινα καθίστασθαι χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων γενέσθαι χρεωφειλέτης ταλάντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐπιμελητὴς πάμπολλα χρήματα προσανάλωσε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ ἀγορανομῶν ζεύγη μονομάχων τριακόσια καὶ εἴκοσι παρέσχε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ θέατρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ δεῖπνα χορηγίαις καὶ πολυτελείαις τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατέκλυσε φιλοτιμίας, οὕτω διέθηκε τὸν δῆμον ὡς καινὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς καινὰς δὲ τιμὰς ζητεῖν ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμείψαιντο.

A second and more conspicuous proof he received when, as nephew of Julia the deceased wife of Marius, he pronounced a splendid encomium upon her in the forum, and in her funeral procession ventured to display images of Marius, which were then seen for the first time since the administration of Sulla, because Marius and his friends had been pronounced public enemies. When, namely, some cried out against Caesar for this procedure, the people answered

them with loud shouts, received Caesar with applause, and admired him for bringing back after so long a time, as it were from Hades, the honours of Marius into the city. Now, in the case of elderly women, it was ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations over them; but it was not customary in the case of young women, and Caesar was the first to do so when his own wife died. This also brought him much favour, and worked upon the sympathies of the multitude, so that they were fond of him, as a man who was gentle and full of feeling.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out to Spain as quaestor under Vetus, one of the praetors, whom he never ceased to hold in high esteem, and whose son, in turn, when he himself was praetor, he made his quaestor. After he had served in this office, he married for his third wife Pompeia, having already by Cornelia a daughter who was afterwards married to Pompey the Great. He was unsparing in his outlays of money, and was thought to be purchasing a transient and short-lived fame at a great price, though in reality he was buying things of the highest value at a small price. We are told, accordingly, that before he entered upon any public office he was thirteen hundred talents in debt. Again, being appointed curator of the Appian Way, he expended upon it vast sums of his own money; and again, during his aedileship, he furnished three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators, and by lavish provision besides for theatrical performances, processions, and public banquets, he washed away all memory of the ambitious efforts of his predecessors in the office. By these means he put the people in such a humour that every man of them was seeking out new offices and new honours with which to requite him.

6, 1-3

Δυεῖν δὲ οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσεων, τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Σύλλα μέγα δυναμένης, τῆς δὲ Μαριανῆς, ἣ τότε κατεπτήχει καὶ διέσπαστο κομιδῇ ταπεινὰ πράττουσα, ταύτην ἀναρρῶσαι καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι βουλόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἀγορανομικαῖς φιλοτιμίαις ἀκμὴν ἐχούσαις εἰκόνας ἐποιήσατο Μαρίου κρύφα καὶ Νίκας τροπαιοφόρους, ἃς φέρων νυκτὸς εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέστησεν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς θεασαμένους μαρμαίροντα πάντα χρυσῷ καὶ τέχνῃ κατεσκευασμένα περιττῶς (διεδήλου δὲ γράμμασι τὰ Κιμβρικὰ κατορθώματα) θάμβος ἔσχε τῆς τόλμης τοῦ ἀναθέντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλος), ταχὺ δὲ περιϊὼν ὁ λόγος ἤθροιζε πάντας ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν.

There were two parties in the city, that of Sulla, which had been all powerful since his day, and that of Marius, which at that time was in an altogether lowly state, being cowed and scattered. This party Caesar wished to revive and attach to himself, and therefore, when the ambitious efforts of his aedileship were at their height, he had images of Marius secretly made, together with trophy-bearing Victories, and these he ordered to be carried by night and set up on the Capitol. At day-break those who beheld all these objects glittering with gold and fashioned with the most exquisite art (and they bore inscriptions setting forth the Cimbrian successes of Marius) were amazed at the daring of the man who had set them up (for it was evident who had done it), and the report of it quickly spreading brought everybody together for the sight.

19, 4

ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀποδειλιῶντας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ νέων αὐτῷ συνεξῆλθον ὡς δὴ τρυφῇ χρησόμενοι καὶ χρηματισμῷ τῇ μετὰ Καίσαρος στρατείᾳ, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν παρὰ γνώμην οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καὶ μαλακῶς ἔχοντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη τὸ δέκατον τάγμα μόνον παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους πορεύσεσθαι, μήτε κρείττοσι μέλλων Κίμβρων μάχεσθαι πολεμίοις μήτε αὐτὸς ὢν Μαρίου χείρων στρατηγός.

Seeing that his officers were inclined to be afraid, and particularly all the young men of high rank who had come out intending to make the campaign with Caesar an opportunity for high living and money-making, he called them together and bade them be off, since they were so unmanly and effeminate, and not force themselves to face danger; as for himself, he said he would take the tenth legion alone and march against the Barbarians; the enemy would be no better fighters than the Cimbri, and he himself was no worse a general than Marius.

29, 3

μετὰ δὲ Μάρκελλον, ἤδη Καίσαρος τὸν Γαλατικὸν πλοῦτον ἀρύεσθαι ῥύδην ἀφεικότος πᾶσι τοῖς πολιτευομένοις, καὶ Κουρίωνα μὲν δημαρχοῦντα πολλῶν ἐλευθερώσαντος δανείων, Παύλῳ δὲ ὑπατεύοντι χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δόντος, ἀφ᾽ ὧν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκεῖνος, ὀνομαστὸν ἀνάθημα, τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσεκόσμησεν ἀντὶ τῆς Φουλβίας οἰκοδομηθεῖσαν, οὕτω δὴ φοβηθεὶς τὴν σύστασιν ὁ Πομπήϊος ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἔπραττεν ἀποδειχθῆναι διάδοχον Καίσαρι τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ πέμπων ἀπῄτει τοὺς στρατιώτας οὓς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Κελτικοὺς ἀγῶνας.

But after the consulship of Marcellus, Caesar having now sent his Gallic wealth for all those in public life to draw from in copious streams, and having freed Curio the tribune from many debts, and having given Paulus the consul fifteen hundred talents, out of which he adorned the forum with the basilica, a famous monument, erected in place of the Fulvia,—under these circumstances Pompey took fright at the coalition, and openly now, by his own efforts and those of his friends, tried to have a successor appointed to Caesar in his government, and sent a demand to him for the return of the soldiers whom he had lent him for his Gallic contests.

55, 1-3

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Λιβύης, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἐμεγαληγόρησε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς τοσαύτην κεχειρωμένος χώραν ὅση παρέξει καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον σίτου μὲν εἴκοσι μυριάδας Ἀττικῶν μεδίμνων, ἐλαίου δὲ λιτρῶν μυριάδας τριακοσίας. ἔπειτα θριάμβους κατήγαγε τὸν Αἰγυπτιακόν, τὸν Ποντικόν, τὸν Λιβυκόν, οὐκ ἀπὸ Σκηπίωνος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ Ἰόβα δῆθεν τοῦ βασιλέως. τότε καὶ Ἰόβας υἱὸς ὢν ἐκείνου κομιδῇ νήπιος ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παρήχθη, μακαριωτάτην ἁλοὺς ἅλωσιν, ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Νομάδος Ἑλλήνων τοῖς πολυμαθεστάτοις ἐναρίθμιος γενέσθαι συγγραφεῦσι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους στρατιώταις τε μεγάλας δωρεὰς ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνελάμβανεν ἑστιάσεσι καὶ θέαις, ἑστιάσας μὲν ἐν δισμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις τρικλίνοις ὁμοῦ σύμπαντας, θέας δὲ καὶ μονομάχων καὶ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν παρασχὼν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἰουλίᾳ πάλαι τεθνεώσῃ.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰς θέας γενομένων τιμήσεων ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων δυεῖν καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἐξητάσθησαν αἱ πᾶσαι πεντεκαίδεκα. τηλικαύτην ἡ στάσις ἀπειργάσατο συμφορὰν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπανάλωσε τοῦ δήμου μέρος, ἔξω λόγου τιθεμένοις τὰ κατασχόντα τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἀτυχήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας.

But to resume, when Caesar came back to Rome from Africa, to begin with, he made a boastful speech to the people concerning his victory, asserting that he had subdued a country large enough to furnish annually for the public treasury two hundred thousand Attic bushels of grain, and three million pounds of olive oil. Next, he celebrated triumphs, an Egyptian, a Pontic, and an African, the last not for his victory over Scipio, but ostensibly over Juba the king. On this occasion, too, Juba, a son of the king, a mere infant, was carried along in the triumphal procession, the most fortunate captive ever taken, since from being a Barbarian and a Numidian, he came to be enrolled among the most learned historians of Hellas. After the triumphs, Caesar gave his soldiers large gifts and entertained the people with banquets and spectacles, feasting them all at one time on twenty thousand dining-couches, and furnishing spectacles of gladiatorial and naval combats in honour of his daughter Julia, long since dead.

After the spectacles, a census of the people was taken, and instead of the three hundred and twenty thousand of the preceding lists there were enrolled only one hundred and fifty thousand. So great was the calamity which the civil wars had wrought, and so large a portion of the people of Rome had they consumed away, to say nothing of the misfortunes that possessed the rest of Italy and the provinces.

57, 2-4

τιμὰς δὲ τὰς πρώτας Κικέρωνος εἰς τὴν βουλὴν γράψαντος, ὧν ἁμῶς γέ πως ἀνθρώπινον ἦν τὸ μέγεθος, ἕτεροι προστιθέντες ὑπερβολὰς καὶ διαμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐξειργάσαντο καὶ τοῖς πρᾳοτάτοις ἐπαχθῆ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λυπηρὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν ψηφιζομένων, οἷς οὐδὲν ἧττον οἴονται συναγωνίσασθαι τῶν κολακευόντων Καίσαρα τοὺς μισοῦντας, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστας κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ προφάσεις ἔχωσι καὶ μετὰ μεγίστων ἐγκλημάτων ἐπιχειρεῖν δοκῶσιν.

It was Cicero who proposed the first honours for him in the senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man; but others added excessive honours and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious even to the mildest citizens because of the pretension and extravagance of what was decreed for him. It is thought, too, that the enemies of Caesar no less than his flatterers helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be thought to have the best reasons for attempting his life.

Camillus

42, 4-6

τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς μὲν Ὁμονοίας ἱερόν, ὥσπερ εὔξατο Κάμιλλος, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄποπτον ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἱδρύσασθαι, […]

On the following day they held an assembly and voted to build a temple of Concord, as Camillus had vowed, and to have it face the forum and place of assembly, to commemorate what had now happened.

C. Graccus

5, 3

τοῦτον τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρων τά τε ἄλλα λέγεται σπουδάσαι διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντων δημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀφορώντων καὶ τὸ καλούμενον κομίτιον, πρῶτος τότε στραφεὶς ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγορῆσαι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω ποιεῖν ἐξ ἐκείνου, μικρᾷ παρεγκλίσει καὶ μεταθέσει σχήματος μέγα πρᾶγμα κινήσας καὶ μετενεγκὼν τρόπον τινὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὡς τῶν πολλῶν δέον, οὐ τῆς βουλῆς, στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς λέγοντας.

In his efforts to carry this law Caius is said to have shown remarkable earnestness in many ways, and especially in this, that whereas all popular orators before him had turned their faces towards the senate and that part of the forum called the "comitium," he now set a new example by turning towards the other part of the forum as he harangued the people, and continued to do this from that time on, thus by a slight deviation and change of attitude stirring up a great question, and to a certain extent changing the constitution from an aristocratic to a democratic form; for his implication was that speakers ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

Cicero

33, 1

Ὁ δὲ Κλώδιος ἐξελάσας τὸν Κικέρωνα κατέπρησε μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, κατέπρησε δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ναὸν Ἐλευθερίας ἐπῳκοδόμησε· […]

As for Clodius, after driving Cicero away he burned down his villas, and burned down his house, and erected on its site a temple to Liberty; […]

Pompeius

1, 4

αἰτία δὲ τοῦ μὲν μίσους ἐκείνῳ μία, χρημάτων ἄπληστος ἐπιθυμία, τούτῳ δὲ πολλαὶ τοῦ ἀγαπᾶσθαι, σωφροσύνη περὶ δίαιταν, ἄσκησις ἐν ὅπλοις, πιθανότης λόγου, πίστις ἤθους, εὐαρμοστία πρὸς ἔντευξιν, ὡς μηδενὸς ἀλυπότερον δεηθῆναι μηδὲ ἥδιον ὑπουργῆσαι δεομένῳ. προσῆν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ταῖς χάρισι καὶ τὸ ἀνεπαχθὲς διδόντος καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν λαμβάνοντος.

And whereas there was one sole reason for the hatred felt towards Strabo, namely, his insatiable desire for money, there were many reasons for the love bestowed on Pompey; his modest and temperate way of living, his training in the arts of war, his persuasive speech, his trustworthy character, and his tact in meeting people, so that no man asked a favour with less offence, or

bestowed one with a better mien. For, in addition to his other graces, he had the art of giving without arrogance, and of receiving without loss of dignity.

2, 2-4

ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀναστολὴ τῆς κόμης ἀτρέμα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα ῥυθμῶν ὑγρότης τοῦ προσώπου, ποιοῦσα μᾶλλον λεγομένην ἢ φαινομένην ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνας. ᾗ καὶ τοὔνομα πολλῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ συνεπιφερόντων οὐκ ἔφευγεν ὁ Πομπήϊος, ὥστε καὶ χλευάζοντας αὐτὸν ἐνίους ἤδη καλεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. διὸ καὶ Λεύκιος Φίλιππος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, συνηγορῶν αὐτῷ, μηδὲν ἔφη ποιεῖν παράλογον εἰ Φίλιππος ὢν φιλαλέξανδρός ἐστιν.

His hair was inclined to lift itself slightly from his forehead, and this, with a graceful contour of face about the eyes, produced a resemblance, more talked about than actually apparent, to the portrait statues of King Alexander. Wherefore, since many also applied the name to him in his earlier years, Pompey did not decline it, so that presently some called him Alexander in derision. Hence, too, Lucius Philippus, a man of consular rank, when pleading in his behalf, said that he was doing nothing strange if, being Philip, he loved Alexander.

2, 9-12

Πομπήϊος δὲ καὶ τῇ Δημητρίου τοῦ ἀπελευθέρου γυναικί, πλεῖστον ἰσχύσαντος παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ταλάντων ἀπολιπόντος οὐσίαν, ἐχρῆτο παρὰ τὸν αὑτοῦ τρόπον οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς οὐδὲ ἐλευθερίως, φοβηθεὶς τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτῆς ἄμαχόν τινα καὶ περιβόητον οὖσαν, ὡς μὴ φανείη κεκρατημένος. οὕτω δὲ πάνυ πόρρωθεν εὐλαβὴς ὢν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πεφυλαγμένος, ὅμως οὐ διέφυγε τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ψόγον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν παριδεῖν καὶ προέσθαι χαριζόμενος ἐκείναις.

Τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐκολίας καὶ λιτότητος καὶ ἀπομνημόνευμα λέγεται τοιοῦτον. ἰατρὸς αὐτῷ νοσοῦντι καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντι πρὸς τὰ σιτία κίχλην προσέταξε λαβεῖν. ὡς δὲ ζητοῦντες οὐχ εὗρον ὤνιον (ἦν γὰρ παρ᾽ ὥραν), ἔφη δέ τις εὑρεθήσεσθαι παρὰ Λευκόλλῳ δι᾽ ἔτους τρεφομένας, "Εἶτα," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ Λεύκολλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπήϊος οὐκ ἂν ἔζησε;" καὶ χαίρειν ἐάσας τὸν ἰατρὸν ἔλαβέ τι τῶν εὐπορίστων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

Moreover, Pompey also treated the wife of Demetrius his freedman (who had the greatest influence with him and left an estate of four thousand talents) with a lack of courtesy and generosity unusual in him, fearing lest men should think him conquered by her beauty, which was irresistible and far-famed. But though he was so extremely cautious in such matters and on his guard, still he could not escape the censures of his enemies on this head, but was accused of illicit relations with married women, to gratify whom, it was said, he neglected and betrayed many public interests.

As regards his simplicity and indifference in matters pertaining to the table, a story is told as follows. Once when he was sick and loathed his food, a physician prescribed a thrush for him. But when, on enquiry, his servants could not find one for sale (for it was past the season for them), and someone said they could be found at Lucullus's, where they were kept the year round, "What then," said he, "if Lucullus were not luxurious must Pompey have died?" and

paying no regard to the physician he took something that could easily be procured. This, however, was at a later time.

8, 3-5

ὡς γὰρ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας προσιόντα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν παρεστῶσαν εὐανδρίᾳ τε θαυμαστὴν καὶ διὰ τὰς κατορθώσεις ἐπηρμένην καὶ ἱλαράν, ἀποπηδήσας τοῦ ἵππου καὶ προσαγορευθείς, ὡς εἰκός, αὐτοκράτωρ ἀντιπροσηγόρευσεν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Πομπήϊον, οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ἀνδρὶ νέῳ καὶ μηδέπω βουλῆς μετέχοντι κοινώσασθαι τοὔνομα τοῦτο Σύλλαν, περὶ οὗ Σκηπίωσι καὶ Μαρίοις ἐπολέμει. καὶ τἆλλα δὲ ἦν ὁμολογοῦντα ταῖς πρώταις φιλοφροσύναις, ὑπεξανισταμένου τε προσιόντι τῷ Πομπηΐῳ καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπάγοντος τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἃ πρὸς ἄλλον οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἑωρᾶτο ποιῶν, καίπερ ὄντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν περὶ αὐτόν.

Οὐ μὴν ἐκουφίσθη γε τούτοις ὁ Πομπήϊος, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενος, ἣν ἔχων ὁ Μέτελλος ἐδόκει μηδὲν ἄξιον πράττειν τῆς παρασκευῆς, οὐ καλῶς ἔφη ἔχειν πρεσβύτερον καὶ προὔχοντα δόξῃ στρατηγίας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, βουλομένῳ μέντοι τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ κελεύοντι συμπολεμεῖν καὶ βοηθεῖν ἕτοιμος εἶναι.

For when Sulla saw him advancing with an admirable army of young and vigorous soldiers elated and in high spirits because of their successes, he alighted from off his horse, and after being saluted, as was his due, with the title of Imperator, he saluted Pompey in return as Imperator. And yet no one could have expected that a young man, and one who was not yet a senator, would receive from Sulla this title, to win which Sulla was at war with such men as Scipio and Marius. And the rest of his behaviour to Pompey was consonant with his first tokens of friendliness; he would rise to his feet when Pompey approached, and uncover his head before him, things which he was rarely seen to do for any one else, although there were many about him who were of high rank.

Pompey, however, was not made vain by these things, but when Sulla would have sent him forthwith into Gaul, where, as it was thought, Metellus was doing nothing worthy of the armament at his disposal, he said it was not right for him to take the command away from a man of great reputation who was his senior, but that if Metellus wished and bade him do so, he was ready to assist him in carrying on the war.

13, 7-8

καὶ προελθὼν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ὡς ἐνῆν προθυμότατα μεγάλῃ φωνῇ Μάγνον ἠσπάσατο, καὶ τοὺς παρόντας οὕτως ἐκέλευσε προσαγορεῦσαι. σημαίνει δὲ τὸν μέγαν ὁ Μάγνος. ἕτεροι δέ φασιν ἐν Λιβύῃ πρῶτον ἀναφώνημα τοῦτο τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς γενέσθαι, κράτος δὲ λαβεῖν καὶ δύναμιν ὑπὸ Σύλλα βεβαιωθέν.

So he went out and met him, and after giving him the warmest welcome, saluted him in a loud voice as “Magnus,” or The Great, and ordered those who were by to give him this surname. Others, however, say that this title was first given him in Africa by the whole army, but received authority and weight when thus confirmed by Sulla.

14, 1-5

Ἐκ τούτου θρίαμβον ᾔτει Πομπήϊος, ἀντέλεγε δὲ Σύλλας. ὑπάτῳ γὰρ ἢ στρατηγῷ μόνον, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος. διὸ καὶ Σκηπίων ὁ πρῶτος ἀπὸ μειζόνων καὶ κρειττόνων ἀγώνων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Καρχηδονίων κρατήσας οὐκ ᾔτησε θρίαμβον· ὕπατος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ στρατηγός. εἰ δὲ Πομπήϊος οὔπω πάνυ γενειῶν εἰσελᾷ θριαμβεύων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ᾧ βουλῆς διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐ μέτεστι, παντάπασιν ἐπίφθονον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐκείνῳ. ταῦτα πρὸς Πομπήϊον ὁ Σύλλας ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐάσων, ἀλλὰ ἐνστησόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ κωλύσων τὸ φιλόνεικον ἀπειθοῦντος.

Ὁ δὲ Πομπήϊος οὐχ ὑπέπτηξεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐννοεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Σύλλαν ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλείονες ἢ δυόμενον προσκυνοῦσιν, ὡς αὐτῷ μὲν αὐξανομένης, μειουμένης δὲ καὶ μαραινομένης ἐκείνῳ τῆς δυνάμεως. ταῦτα ὁ Σύλλας οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐξακούσας, ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀκούσαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τοῦ σχήματος ἐν θαύματι ποιουμένους, ἤρετο τί τὸ λεχθὲν εἴη. πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ καταπλαγεὶς τοῦ Πομπηΐου τὴν τόλμαν ἀνεβόησε δὶς ἐφεξῆς, "Θριαμβευσάτω." πολλῶν δὲ δυσχεραινόντων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτούς, ὥς φασι, βουλόμενος ἀνιᾶν ὁ Πομπήϊος, ἐπεχείρησεν ἐλεφάντων ἅρματι τεττάρων ἐπιβὰς εἰσελαύνειν· ἤγαγε γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης τῶν βασιλικῶν συχνοὺς αἰχμαλώτους· ἀλλὰ τῆς πύλης στενωτέρας οὔσης ἀπέστη καὶ μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους.

After this, Pompey asked for a triumph, but Sulla opposed his request. The law, he said, permitted only a consul or a praetor to celebrate a triumph, but no one else. Therefore the first Scipio, after conquering the Carthaginians in Spain in far greater conflicts, did not ask for a triumph; for he was not consul, nor even praetor. And if Pompey, who had scarcely grown a beard as yet, and who was too young to be a senator, should ride into the city in a triumph, it would not only make Sulla's government altogether odious, but also Pompey's honour. This was what Sulla said to Pompey, declaring that he would not allow his request, but would oppose him and thwart his ambition if he refused to listen to him.

Pompey, however, was not cowed, but bade Sulla reflect that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun, intimating that his own power was on the increase, while that of Sulla was on the wane and fading away. Sulla did not hear the words distinctly, but seeing, from their looks and gestures, that those who did hear them were amazed, he asked what it was that had been said. When he learned what it was, he was astounded at the boldness of Pompey, and cried out twice in succession: "Let him triumph!" Further, when many showed displeasure and indignation at his project, Pompey, we are told, was all the more desirous of annoying them, and tried to ride into the city on a chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought many from Africa which he had captured from its kings. But the gate of the city was too narrow, and he therefore gave up the attempt and changed over to his horses.

27, 6

ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν συνεστώτων ἔτι καὶ πλανωμένων ἔξω πειρατηρίων ἐνίοις δεηθεῖσιν ἐπιεικῶς ἐχρήσατο καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τὰ σώματα κακὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς οἱ λοιποὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους διέφευγον ἡγεμόνας, Πομπηΐῳ δὲ φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐνεχείριζον.

Some of the pirate bands that were still roving at large begged for mercy, and since he treated them humanely, and after seizing their ships and persons did them no further harm, the rest became hopeful of mercy too, and made their escape from the other commanders, betook themselves to Pompey with their wives and children, and surrendered to him.

38, 4

αὐτὸν δέ τις ἔρως καὶ ζῆλος εἶχε Συρίαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἐλάσαι θάλασσαν, ὡς τῷ περιϊόντι τὴν οἰκουμένην πανταχόθεν Ὠκεανῷ προσμίξειε νικῶν· […]

Moreover, a great and eager passion possessed him to recover Syria, and march through Arabia to the Red Sea, in order that he might bring his victorious career into touch with the Ocean which surrounds the world on all sides; […]

40, 8-9

καίτοι Πομπήϊος αὐτὸς ἄχρι τοῦ τρίτου θριάμβου μετρίως καὶ ἀφελῶς ᾤκησεν. ὕστερον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καλὸν καὶ περιβόητον ἀνιστὰς θέατρον, ὥσπερ ἐφόλκιόν τι, παρετεκτήνατο λαμπροτέραν οἰκίαν ἐκείνης, ἀνεπίφθονον δὲ καὶ ταύτην, ὥστε τὸν γενόμενον δεσπότην αὐτῆς μετὰ Πομπήϊον εἰσελθόντα θαυμάζειν καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι ποῦ Πομπήϊος Μάγνος ἐδείπνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω λέγεται.

and yet Pompey himself, up to the time of his third triumph, had a simple and modest house. After that, it is true, when he was erecting the famous and beautiful theatre which bears his name, he built close by it, like a small boat towed behind a ship, a more splendid house than the one he had before. But even this was not large enough to excite envy, so that when he who succeeded Pompey as its owner entered it, he was amazed, and inquired where Pompey the Great used to sup. At any rate, so the story runs.

42, 8-9

καὶ γὰρ εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἀφικόμενος τήν τε πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσε διὰ Θεοφάνη, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πάτριον ἐθεάσατο τῶν ποιητῶν, ὑπόθεσιν μίαν ἔχοντα τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις. ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ περιεγράψατο τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τύπον, ὡς ὅμοιον ἀπεργασόμενος τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, μεῖζον δὲ καὶ σεμνότερον.

For instance, when he came to Mitylene, he gave the city its freedom, for the sake of Theophanes, and witnessed the traditional contest of the poets there, who now took as their sole theme his own exploits. And being pleased with the theatre, he had sketches and plans of it made for him, that he might build one like it in Rome, only larger and more splendid.

42, 11

ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὅμοια τοῦ Πομπηΐου· τῇ πόλει δὲ ἐπιδοὺς εἰς ἐπισκευὴν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα λαμπρότατος ἀνθρώπων ἤλπιζεν ἐπιβήσεσθαι τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ποθῶν ὀφθήσεσθαι τοῖς οἴκοι ποθοῦσιν.

At Athens, too, he not only treated the philosophers with like munificence, but also gave fifty talents to the city towards its restoration. He therefore hoped to set foot in Italy with a reputation more brilliant than that of any other man, and that his family would be as eager to see him as he was to see them.

45, 7

μέγιστον δὲ ὑπῆρχε πρὸς δόξαν καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν πώποτε Ῥωμαίων γεγονός, ὅτι τὸν τρίτον θρίαμβον ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης ἠπείρου κατήγαγεν. ἐπεὶ τρίς γε καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν ἕτεροι τεθριαμβευκότες· ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἐξ Εὐρώπης, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τελευταῖον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰσαγαγὼν τρόπον τινα τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐδόκει τοῖς τρισὶν ὑπῆχθαι θριάμβοις.

But that which most enhanced his glory and had never been the lot of any Roman before, was that he celebrated his third triumph over the third continent. For others before him had celebrated three triumphs; but he celebrated his first over Libya, his second over Europe, and this his last over Asia, so that he seemed in a way to have included the whole world in his three triumphs.

46, 1-2

Ἡλικίᾳ δὲ τότε ἦν, ὡς μὲν οἱ κατὰ πάντα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὸν καὶ προσβιβάζοντες ἀξιοῦσι, νεώτερος τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τεττάρων ἐτῶν, ἀληθείᾳ δὲ τοῖς τετταράκοντα προσῆγεν. ὡς ὤνητό γ᾽ ἂν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ βίου παυσάμενος, ἄχρι οὗ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχην ἔσχεν· ὁ δὲ ἐπέκεινα χρόνος αὐτῷ τὰς μὲν εὐτυχίας ἤνεγκεν ἐπιφθόνους, ἀνηκέστους δὲ τὰς δυστυχίας.

His age at this time, as those insist who compare him in all points to Alexander and force the parallel, was less than thirty-four years, though in fact he was nearly forty. How happy would it have been for him if he had ended his life at this point, up to which he enjoyed the good fortune of Alexander! For succeeding time brought him only success that made him odious, and failure that was irreparable.

52, 5

ἀλλὰ Κράσσος μὲν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς ὑπατείας, Πομπήϊος δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἀναδείξας ἀγῶνας ἦγε γυμνικοὺς καὶ μουσικοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει, καὶ θηρῶν ἁμίλλας ἐν οἷς πεντακόσιοι λέοντες ἀνῃρέθησαν, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν ἐλεφαντομαχίαν, ἐκπληκτικώτατον θέαμα, παρέσχεν.

But although Crassus went out to his province at the expiration of his consulship, Pompey opened his theatre and held gymnastic and musical contests at its dedication, and furnished combats of wild beasts in which five hundred lions were killed, and above all, an elephant fight, a most terrifying spectacle.

53, 2

καὶ περιβόητον ἦν τῆς κόρης τὸ φίλανδρον, οὐ καθ᾽ ὥραν ποθούσης τὸν Πομπήϊον, ἀλλ᾽ αἴτιον ἔοικεν ἥ τε σωφροσύνη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι μόνην γινώσκοντος τὴν γεγαμημένην, ἥ τε σεμνότης οὐκ ἄκρατον, ἀλλ᾽ εὔχαριν ἔχουσα τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ μάλιστα γυναικῶν ἀγωγόν, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲ Φλώραν ἁλῶναι τὴν ἑταίραν ψευδομαρτυριῶν.

Indeed, the fondness of the young woman for her husband was notorious, although the mature age of Pompey did not invite such devotion. The reason for it, however, seems to have lain in the chaste restraint of her husband, who knew only his wedded wife, and in the dignity of his manners, which were not severe, but full of grace, and especially attractive to women, as even Flora the courtesan may be allowed to testify.

58, 2

ὧν καὶ Παῦλος ἦν ὁ ὕπατος ἐπὶ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ταλάντοις μεταβαλόμενος, καὶ Κουρίων ὁ δήμαρχος ἀμηχάνων πλήθει δανείων ἐλευθερωθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος διὰ φιλίαν Κουρίωνος ὧν ὠφελεῖτο μετέχων.

Among these was Paulus the consul, who was won over by a bribe of fifteen hundred talents; and Curio the popular tribune, whom Caesar set free from innumerable debts; and Mark Antony, whose friendship for Curio's obligations.

72, 1-3

Τραπομένων δὲ τούτων, ὡς κατεῖδε τὸν κονιορτὸν ὁ Πομπήϊος καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάθος εἴκασεν, ᾧ μὲν ἐχρήσατο λογισμῷ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅμοιος παράφρονι καὶ παραπλῆγι τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ μηδ᾽ ὅτι Μάγνος ἐστὶ Πομπήϊος ἐννοοῦντι, μηδένα προσειπὼν ἀπῄει βάδην εἰς τὸν χάρακα, πάνυ τοῖς ἔπεσι πρέπων ἐκείνοις·

Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Αἴανθ᾽ ὑψίζυγος ἐν φόβον ὦρσε·
στῆ δὲ ταφών, ὄπιθεν δὲ σάκος βάλεν ἑπταβόειον,
τρέσσε δὲ παπτήνας ἐφ᾽ ὁμίλου.

τοιοῦτος εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθὼν ἄφθογγος καθῆστο, μέχρι οὗ τοῖς φεύγουσι πολλοὶ διώκοντες συνεισέπιπτον· τότε δὲ φωνὴν μίαν ἀφεὶς ταύτην, "Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολήν;" ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν εἰπών, ἀναστὰς καὶ λαβὼν ἐσθῆτα τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ πρέπουσαν ὑπεξῆλθεν.

After his infantry was thus routed, and when, from the cloud of dust which he saw, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry, what thoughts passed through his mind it were difficult to say; but he was most like a man bereft of sense and crazed, who had utterly forgotten that he was Pompey the Great, and without a word to any one, he walked slowly off to his camp, exemplifying those verses of Homer:

But Zeus the father, throned on high, in Ajax stirred up fear;
He stood confounded, and behind him cast his shield of seven ox-hides,
And trembled as he peered around upon the throng.

In such a state of mind he went to his tent and sat down speechless, until many pursuers burst into the camp with the fugitives; then he merely ejaculated: "What! even to my quarters?" and without another word rose up, took clothing suitable to his present fortune, and made his escape.

Romulus

24, 5

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις καὶ χαλκοῦν ἐκόμισε τέθριππον ἐκ Καμερίας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀνέστησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ποιησάμενος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ Νίκης στεφανούμενον.

Among other spoils he brought also a bronze four-horse chariot from Cameria, and dedicated it in the temple of Vulcan. For it he had a statue made of himself, with a figure of Victory crowning him.

28, 1-3

Οὕτως οὖν ἄνδρα τῶν πατρικίων γένει πρῶτον, ἤθει τε δοκιμώτατον, αὐτῷ τε Ῥωμύλῳ πιστὸν καὶ συνήθη, τῶν ἀπ᾽ Ἄλβης ἐποίκων, Ἰούλιον Πρόκλον, εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθόντα καὶ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἔνορκον ἱερῶν ἁψάμενον εἰπεῖν ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς ὁδὸν αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι Ῥωμύλος ἐξ ἐναντίας προσιὼν φανείη, καλὸς μὲν ὀφθῆναι καὶ μέγας, ὡς οὔποτε πρόσθεν, ὅπλοις δὲ λαμπροῖς καὶ φλέγουσι κεκοσμημένος. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐκπλαγεὶς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν "Ὦ βασιλεῦ," φάναι, "τί δὴ παθὼν ἢ διανοηθεὶς ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν αἰτίαις ἀδίκοις καὶ πονηραῖς, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὀρφανὴν ἐν μυρίῳ πένθει προλέλοιπας;" ἐκεῖνον δ᾽ ἀποκρίνασθαι, "Θεοῖς ἔδοξεν, ὦ Πρόκλε, τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι μετ᾽ ἀνθρώπων χρόνον, ἐκεῖθεν ὄντας, καὶ πόλιν ἐπ᾽ ἀρχῇ καὶ δόξῃ μεγίστῃ κτίσαντας αὖθις οἰκεῖν οὐρανόν. ἀλλὰ χαῖρε, καὶ φράζε Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι σωφροσύνην μετ᾽ ἀνδρείας ἀσκοῦντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρωπίνης ἀφίξονται δυνάμεως. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν εὐμενὴς ἔσομαι δαίμων Κυρῖνος." ταῦτα πιστὰ μὲν εἶναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει διὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ διὰ τὸν ὅρκον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δαιμόνιόν τι συνεφάψασθαι πάθος ὅμοιον ἐνθουσιασμῷ· μηδένα γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ διαβολὴν ἀφέντας εὔχεσθαι Κυρίνῳ καὶ θεοκλυτεῖν ἐκεῖνον.

At this pass, then, it is said that one of the patricians, a man of noblest birth, and of the most reputable character, a trusted and intimate friend also of Romulus himself, and one of the colonists from Alba, Julius Proculus by name, went into the forum and solemnly swore by the most sacred emblems before all the people that, as he was travelling on the road, he had seen Romulus coming to meet him, fair and stately to the eye as never before, and arrayed in bright and shining armour. He himself, then, affrighted at the sight, had said: "O King, what possessed thee, or what purpose hadst thou, that thou hast left us patricians a prey to unjust and wicked accusations, and the whole city sorrowing without end at the loss of its father? "Whereupon Romulus had replied: "It was the pleasure of the gods, O Proculus, from whom I came, that I should be with mankind only a short time, and that after founding a city destined to be the greatest on earth for empire and glory, I should dwell again in heaven. So farewell, and tell the Romans that if they practise self-restraint, and add to it valour, they will reach the utmost heights of human power. And I will be your propitious deity, Quirinus." These things seemed

to the Romans worthy of belief, from the character of the man who related them, and from the oath which he had taken; moreover, some influence from heaven also, akin to inspiration, laid hold upon their emotions, for no man contradicted Proculus, but all put aside suspicion and calumny and prayed to Quirinus, and honoured him as a god.

Sertorius

18, 8

ἐκεῖνος δ᾽ ἀκούσας ἐγέλασε, καὶ τὸν Σύλλα μαθητὴν (οὕτω γὰρ τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐπισκώπτων προσηγόρευεν) αὐτὸς ἔφη διδάξειν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν κατόπιν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον βλέπειν.

When Sertorius heard of this, he gave a laugh, and said that to Sulla's pupil (for thus he was wont to style Pompey in jest) he himself would give a lesson, namely, that a general must look behind him rather than in front of him.

Sulla

11, 1-2

Λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐν αἷς ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκίνει τὸν στόλον, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Μιθριδάτῃ διατρίβοντι περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον ἐπισκῆψαι δαιμόνια, καὶ Νίκην στεφανηφόρον καθιεμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Περγαμηνῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔκ τινων ὀργάνων ἄνωθεν ὅσον οὔπω τῆς κεφαλῆς ψαύουσαν συντριβῆναι, καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἐκπεσόντα κατὰ τοῦ θεάτρου φέρεσθαι χαμᾶζε διαθρυπτόμενον, ὥστε φρίκην μὲν τῷ δήμῳ, ἀθυμίαν δὲ πολλὴν Μιθριδάτῃ παρασχεῖν, καίπερ αὐτῷ τότε τῶν πραγμάτων ἐλπίδος πέρα προχωρούντων.

And it is said that about the time when Sulla was moving his armament from Italy, Mithridates, who was staying at Pergamum, was visited with many other portents from Heaven, and that a Victory with a crown in her hand, which the Pergamenians were lowering towards him by machinery of some sort, was broken to pieces just as she was about to touch his head, and the crown went tumbling from her hand to the ground in the midst of the theatre, and was shattered, whereat the people shuddered, and Mithridates was greatly dejected, although at that time his affairs were prospering beyond his hopes.

Polybius

Historiae

31, 25-30

ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν λοιπὸν ἤδη κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων πεῖραν αὐτῶν διδόντες ἀλλήλοις εἰς πατρικὴν καὶ συγγενικὴν ἦλθον αἵρεσιν καὶ φιλοστοργίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Πρώτη δὲ τις ἐνέπεσεν ὁρμὴ καὶ ζῆλος τῶν καλῶν τὸ τὴν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ παραδραμεῖν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τοὺς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχοντας. ὧν δὲ μέγας οὗτος καὶ δυσέφικτος ὁ στέφανος εὐθήρατος ἦν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὁρμὴν τῶν πλείστων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐρωμένους τῶν νέων, οἱ δ᾽ εἰς ἑταίρας ἐξεκέχυντο, πολλοὶ δ᾽ εἰς ἀκροάματα καὶ πότους καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις πολυτέλειαν, ταχέως ἡρπακότες ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εὐχέρειαν. καὶ τηλικαύτη τις ἐνεπεπτώκει περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων ἀκρασία τοῖς νέοις ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἐρώμενον ἠγορακέναι ταλάντου, πολλοὺς δὲ ταρίχου Ποντικοῦ κεράμιον τριακοσίων δραχμῶν. ἐφ᾽ οἷς καὶ Μάρκος εἶπέ ποτε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι μάλιστ᾽ ἂν κατίδοιεν τὴν ἐπὶ <τὸ> χεῖρον προκοπὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἐκ τούτων, ὅταν πωλούμενοι πλεῖον εὑρίσκωσιν οἱ μὲν εὐπρεπεῖς παῖδες τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ δὲ κεράμια τοῦ ταρίχου τῶν ζευγηλατῶν. συνέβη δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν αἵρεσιν οἷον ἐκλάμψαι κατὰ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ καταλυθείσης τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείας δοκεῖν ἀδήριτον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν τὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίαν, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἐπίφασιν γενέσθαι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας περί τε τοὺς κατ᾽ ἰδίαν βίους καὶ περὶ τὰ κοινά, τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετακομισθέντων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην χορηγίων. πλὴν ὅ γε Σκιπίων ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντιταξάμενος καὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ὁμολογούμενον καὶ σύμφωνον ἑαυτὸν κατασκευάσας κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐν ἴσως πέντε τοῖς πρώτοις ἔτεσι πάνδημον ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπ᾽ εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ καθαρότητι διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἄλλων. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καλὴν μὲν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς συμβίωσιν, καλὰς δ᾽ ἐκ φύσεως ὁρμὰς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δέον· πολλὰ δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ταὐτόματον συνήργησε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην.

26. Πρώτη μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον ἡ τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πατρὸς μήτηρ, ἥτις ἦν ἀδελφὴ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λευκίου, γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πάππου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ μεγάλου προσαγορευθέντος. ταύτης ἀπολιπούσης οὐσίαν μεγάλην κληρονόμος ὢν πρῶτον ἐν τούτοις ἔμελλε πεῖραν δώσειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως. συνέβαινε δὲ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ προειρημένῃ γυναικί, μεγαλομερῆ τὴν περίστασιν ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ἐξόδοις, ἅτε συνηκμακυῖαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τῇ Σκιπίωνος· χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἀπήνην κόσμου καὶ τὰ κανᾶ καὶ τὰ ποτήρια καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, ποτὲ μὲν ἀργυρᾶ, ποτὲ δὲ χρυσᾶ, πάντα συνεξηκολούθει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐξόδους αὐτῇ, τό τε τῶν παιδισκῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῶν παρεπομένων πλῆθος ἀκόλουθον ἦν τούτοις. ταύτην δὴ τὴν περικοπὴν ἅπασαν εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν τῆς Αἰμιλίας τάφον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ μητρί, . . . ᾗ συνέβαινε κεχωρίσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου πρότερον ἤδη χρόνοις πολλοῖς, τὴν δὲ τοῦ βίου χορηγίαν

ἔλλιπεστέραν ἔχειν τῆς κατὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν φαντασίας. διὸ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἀνακεχωρηκυίας αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξόδων, τότε κατὰ τύχην οὔσης ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πανδήμου θυσίας, ἐκπορευομένης αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ τῆς Αἰμιλίας περικοπῇ καὶ χορηγίᾳ, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τῶν ὀρεοκόμων καὶ τοῦ ζεύγους καὶ τῆς ἀπήνης τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπαρχούσης, συνέβη τὰς γυναῖκας θεωμένας τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος χρηστότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ πάσας προτεινούσας τὰς χεῖρας εὔχεσθαι τῷ προειρημένῳ πολλὰ κἀγαθά. τοῦτα δὲ πανταχῇ μὲν ἂν εἰκότως φαίνοιτο καλόν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ θαυμαστόν· ἁπλῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὶ δίδωσι τῶν ἰδίων 0ὑπαρχόντων ἑκὼν οὐδέν. πρώτη μὲν οὖν αὕτη καταρχὴ τῆς ἐπὶ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ φήμης αὐτῷ συνεκύρησε καὶ μεγάλην ἐποίησε προκοπήν, ἅτε τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν γένους καὶ λάλου καὶ κατακοροῦς ὄντος, ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι ἂν ὁρμήσῃ.

27. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς Σκιπίωνος μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου θυγατράσιν, ἀδελφαῖς δὲ τοῦ κατὰ <θέσιν> πατρός, . . . λαβόντος, αὐτὸν ἔδει τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀποδοῦναι τῆς φερνῆς. ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ συνέθετο μὲν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν θυγατέρων πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δώσειν, τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ παραχρῆμα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔδωκεν ἡ μήτηρ, τὸ δ᾽ ἥμισυ κατέλειπεν ἀποθνήσκουσα προσοφειλόμενον, ὅθεν ἔδει τὸν Σκιπίωνα διαλύειν τοῦ<το> τὸ χρέος ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφαῖς. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους δέον ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ προσοφειλόμενα χρήματα τῆς φερνῆς ταῖς γυναιξί, προδοθέντων τῶν πρώτων ἐπίπλων εἰς δέκα μῆνας κατὰ τὸ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἔθος, εὐθέως ὁ Σκιπίων συνέταξε τῷ τραπεζίτῃ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ταλάντων ἑκατέρᾳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ἐν τοῖς δέκα μησί. τοῦ δὲ Τεβερίου <καὶ> τοῦ Νασικᾶ Σκιπίωνος, οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἄνδρες τῶν προειρημένων γυναικῶν, ἅμα τῷ διελθεῖν τοὺς δέκα μῆνας προσπορευομένων πρὸς τὸν τραπεζίτην καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ τι συνετέτακτο Σκιπίων αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, κἀκείνου κελεύοντος αὐτοὺς κομίζεσθαι καὶ ποιοῦντος τὴν διαγραφὴν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ταλάντων, ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐ πᾶν κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τρίτον μέρος κομίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. τοῦ δὲ φάσκοντος οὕτως αὐτῷ συντεταχέναι τὸν Σκιπίωνα, διαπιστήσαντες προῆγον ἐπὶ τὸν νεανίσκον, διειληφότες ἐκεῖνον ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπασχον οὐκ ἀλόγως· οὐ γὰρ οἷον πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δοίη τις ἂν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τάλαντον ἓν πρὸ τῆς τεταγμένης ἡμέρας· τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι καὶ τηλικαύτη παρὰ πάντας ἅμα μὲν ἀκρίβεια περὶ τὸ διάφορον, ἅμα δὲ λυσιτέλεια περὶ τὸν χρόνον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσπορευθέντων αὐτῶν καὶ πυνθανομένων πῶς τῷ τραπεζίτῃ συντέταχε, τοῦ δ᾽ εἰπόντος ἀποδοῦναι πᾶν τὸ χρῆμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ἅμα τὸ κηδεμονικὸν ἐμφανίζοντες· ἐξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους χρῆσθαι τοῖς διαφόροις ἱκανὸν ἔτι χρόνον. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἔφησεν ἀγνοεῖν τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀκρίβειαν τηρεῖν, τοῖς δὲ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις ἁπλῶς χρῆσθαι <καὶ> γενναίως κατὰ δύναμιν. διὸ παραλαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε πᾶν τὸ χρῆμα παρὰ τοῦ τραπεζίτου. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες ἐπανῆγον σιωπῶντες, καταπεπληγμένοι μὲν τὴν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος μεγαλοψυχίαν, κατεγνωκότες δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν μικρολογίας, καίπερ ὄντες οὐδενὸς δεύτεροι Ῥωμαίων.

28. Μετὰ δ᾽ ἔτη δύο μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λευκίου καὶ καταλιπόντος κληρονόμους τῆς οὐσίας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Φάβιον, καλόν τι καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Λεύκιος ὑπάρχων ἄτεκνος διὰ τὸ τοὺς <μὲν> εἰς ἑτέρας οἰκίας ἐκδεδόσθαι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους υἱούς, οὓς ἔτρεφε διαδόχους [καὶ] τοῦ γένους, πάντας μετηλλαχέναι, τούτοις ἀπέλιπε τὴν οὐσίαν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων θεωρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καταδεέστερον ὄντα τοῖς

ὑπάρχουσιν ἐξεχώρησε πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, οὔσης τῆς ὅλης τιμήσεως ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα, διὰ τὸ μέλλειν οὕτως ἴσον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὸν Φάβιον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου περιβοήτου, προσέθηκεν ἕτερον τούτῳ δεῖγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως ἐμφανέστερον· βουλομένου γὰρ τἀδελφοῦ μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ποιεῖν, οὐ δυναμένου δὲ δέξασθαι τὴν δαπάνην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων, καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἰσήνεγκεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας. ἔστι δ᾽ οὐκ ἐλάττων ἡ σύμπασα τριάκοντα ταλάντων, ἐάν τις μεγαλομερῶς ποιῇ. . . . φήμης περὶ αὐτοῦ <δια>διδομένης, μετήλλαξεν ἡ μήτηρ. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κομίσασθαί <τι> ὧν πρότερον ἐδωρήσατο, περὶ ὧν ἀρτίως εἶπον, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὐσίαν τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἅπασαν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, ἧς οὐδὲν αὐταῖς προσῆκε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. διὸ πάλιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν παραλαβουσῶν τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις κόσμον καὶ τὴν περίστασιν τὴν τῆς Αἰμιλίας, πάλιν ἐκαινοποιήθη τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ φιλοίκειον τῆς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος προαιρέσεως. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν προκατεσκευασμένος ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας Πόπλιος Σκιπίων προῆλθε πρὸς τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν σωφροσύνῃ καὶ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ. εἰς ἣν ἴσως ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα δαπανήσας, τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἦν προειμένος τῶν ἰδίων, ὁμολογουμένην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπὶ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ φήμην, οὐχ οὕτω τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων τὸ προκείμενον κατεργασάμενος ὡς τῷ καιρῷ τῆς δόσεως καὶ τῷ χειρισμῷ τῆς χάριτος. τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην περιεποιήσατο δαπανήσας μὲν οὐδέν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποικίλων ἡδονῶν ἀποσχόμενος προσεκέρδανε τὴν σωματικὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν εὐεξίαν, ἥτις αὐτῷ παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν βίον παρεπομένη πολλὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀπέδωκεν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν πρότερον ἀπέσχετο τῶν προχείρων ἡδονῶν.

29. Λοιποῦ δ᾽ ὄντος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν <μέρους) καὶ κυριωτάτου σχεδὸν ἐν πάσῃ μὲν πολιτείᾳ μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, μεγίστην ἔδει καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ποιήσασθαι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν τι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τῆς τύχης ἐγένετο συνέργημα. τῶν γὰρ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλικῶν μεγίστην ποιουμένων σπουδὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνεικότων τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τόπους πρὸς τὴν τῶν θηρίων συναγωγήν, ταῦτα συνέβη τὰ χωρία τετηρῆσθαι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, πάντα τὸν τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον, κεκυνηγῆσθαι <δὲ> μηδέποτε τῶν τεττάρων ἐτῶν διὰ τοὺς περισπασμούς· ᾗ καὶ θηρίων ὑπῆρχε πλήρη παντοδαπῶν. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου λαβόντος κρίσιν, ὁ Λεύκιος καλλίστην ὑπολαμβάνων καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς νέοις τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια, τούς τε κυνηγοὺς συνέστησε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια παρέδωκε τούτῳ πᾶσαν· ἧς ἐπιλαβόμενος ὁ προειρημένος καὶ νομίσας οἱονεὶ βασιλεύειν, ἐν τούτῳ κατεγίνετο πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ὅσον ἐπέμεινε τὸ στρατόπεδον μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. γενομένης δὲ μεγάλης ἐνθουσιάσεως περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ὡς κατά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμαίως ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκείως διακειμένου, καθάπερ εὐγενοῦς σκύλακος, ἐπίμονον αὐτοῦ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας ὁρμήν. διὸ καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ προσλαβὼν τὸν τοῦ Πολυβίου πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐνθουσιασμόν, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νέων περὶ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τοὺς χαιρετισμοὺς ἐσπούδαζον, κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ποιούμενοι τὴν διατριβήν, καὶ διὰ τούτων συνιστάνειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν ταῖς κυνηγεσίαις ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀεί τι ποιῶν καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον καλλίω δόξαν ἐξεφέρετο τῶν ἄλλων. οἷς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βλάψαιέν τινα τῶν πολιτῶν· ὁ γὰρ τῶν κρίσεων τρόπος τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιφέρειν εἴωθεν· ὁ δ᾽ ἁπλῶς οὐδένα λυπῶν ἐξεφέρετο τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ δόξαν πάνδημον, ἔργῳ πρὸς λόγον ἁμιλλώμενος. τοιγαροῦν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοσοῦτον παρέδραμε

τοὺς καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ὅσον οὐδείς πω μνημονεύεται Ῥωμαίων, καίπερ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν πορευθεὶς ἐν φιλοδοξίᾳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα.

30. Ἐγὼ δὲ πλείω πεποίημαι λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς Σκιπίωνος αἱρέσεως ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ἡδεῖαν μὲν ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ὠφέλιμον δὲ τοῖς νέοις τὴν τοιαύτην ἱστορίαν, μάλιστα δὲ βουλόμενος πίστιν παρασκευάζειν τοῖς λέγεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἑξῆς βύβλοις περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μήτε διαπορεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας διὰ τὸ παράδοξά τινα φανήσεσθαι τῶν συμβαινόντων μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτόν, μήτ᾽ ἀφαιρουμένους τἀνδρὸς <τὰ> κατὰ λόγον γεγονότα κατορθώματα τῇ τύχῃ προσάπτειν, ἀγνοοῦντας τὰς αἰτίας, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστα συνέβη γενέσθαι, πλὴν τελέως ὀλίγων, ἃ δεῖ μόνα προσάπτειν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ταὐτομάτῳ.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμεῖς διεληλυθότες κατὰ τὴν παρέκβασιν αὖθις ἐπάνιμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκτροπὴν τῆς ὑποκειμένης διηγήσεως.

From that time onward continuing in the actual conduct of life to give proof to each other of their worth, they came to regard each other with an affection like that of father and son or near relations.

The first direction taken by Scipio's ambition to lead a virtuous life, was to attain a reputation for temperance and excel in this respect all the other young men of the same age. This is a high prize indeed and difficult to gain, but it was at this time easy to pursue at Rome owing to the vicious tendencies of most of the youths. For some of them had abandoned themselves to amours with boys and others to the society of courtesans, and many to musical entertainments and banquets, and the extravagance they involve, having in the course of the war with Perseus been speedily infected by the Greek laxity in these respects. So great in fact was the incontinence that had broken out among the young men in such matters, that many paid a talent for a male favourite and many three hundred drachmas for a jar of caviar. Regarding this, Cato once said in a public speech that it was the surest sign of deterioration in the republic when pretty boys fetch more than fields, and jars of caviar more than plowmen. It was just at the period we are treating of that this present tendency to extravagance declared itself, first of all because they thought that now after the fall of the Macedonian kingdom their universal dominion was undisputed, and next because after the riches of Macedonia had been transported to Rome there was a great display of wealth both in public and in private. Scipio, however, setting himself to pursue the opposite course of conduct, combating all his appetites and moulding his life to be in every way coherent and uniform, in about the first five years established his universal reputation for strictness and temperance.

In the next place he sedulously studied to distinguish himself from others in magnanimity and cleanhandedness in money matters. In this respect the part of his life he spent with his real father was excellent support for him, and he had good natural impulses toward the right; but chance too helped him much in carrying out this resolve.

26. The first occasion was the death of the mother of his adoptive father. She was the sister of his own father, Lucius Aemilius, and wife of his grandfather by adoption, the great Scipio. He inherited from her a large fortune and in his treatment of it was to give the first proof of his high principle. This lady whose name was Aemilia, used to display great magnificence

whenever she left her house to take part in the ceremonies that women attend, having participated in the fortune of Scipio when he was at the height of his prosperity. For apart from the richness of her own dress and of the decorations of her carriage, all the baskets, cups, and other utensils for the sacrifice were either of gold or silver, and were borne in her train on all such solemn occasions, while the number of maids and men-servants in attendance was correspondingly large. Immediately after Aemilia's funeral all these splendid appointments were given by Scipio to his mother, who had been for many years separated from her husband, and whose means were not sufficient to maintain a state suitable to her rank. Formerly she had kept to her house on the occasion of such functions, and now when a solemn public sacrifice happened to take place, and she drove out in all Aemilia's state and splendor, and when in addition the carriage and pair and the muleteers were seen to be the same, all the women who witnessed it were lost in admiration of Scipio's goodness and generosity and, lifting up their hands, prayed that every blessing might be his. Such conduct would naturally be admired anywhere, but in Rome it was a marvel; for absolutely no one there ever gives away anything to anyone if he can help it. This then was the first origin of his reputation for nobility of character, and it advanced rapidly, for women are fond of talking and once they have started a thing never have too much of it.

27. In the next place he had to pay the daughters of the great Scipio, the sisters of his adoptive father, the half of their portion. Their father had agreed to give each of his daughters fifty talents, and their mother had paid the half of this to their husbands at once on their marriage, but left the other half owing on her death. Thus Scipio had to pay this debt to his father's sisters. According to Roman law the part of the dowry still due had to be paid to the ladies in three years, the first instalment, of the liquid assets, to be made within ten months according to Roman usage. But Scipio at once ordered his banker to pay each of them in ten months the whole twenty-five talents. When the ten months had elapsed, and Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, who were the husbands of the ladies, applied to the banker and asked him if he had received any orders from Scipio about the money, and when the banker asked them to receive the sum and made out for each of them a transfer of twenty-five talents, they said he was mistaken; for according to law they should not at once receive the whole sum, but only a third of it. But when he told them that these were Scipio's orders, they could not believe it, but went on to call on the young man, under the impression that he was in error. And this was quite natural on their part; for not only would no one in Rome pay fifty talents three years before it was due, but no one would pay one talent before the appointed day; so universal and so extreme is their exactitude about money as well as their desire to profit by every moment of time. However, when they called on Scipio and asked him what orders he had given the banker, and he told them he had ordered him to pay the whole sum to his two sisters, they said he was mistaken, at the same time insisting on their care for his interests, since he had the legal right to use the sum for a considerable time yet. Scipio answered that he was quite aware of that, but that while as regards strangers he insisted on the letter of the law, he behaved as far as he could in an informal and liberal way to his relatives and friends. He therefore begged them to accept the whole sum from the banker. Gracchus and Nasica on hearing this went away without replying, astounded at Scipio's magnanimity and abashed at their own meanness, although they were second to none in Rome.

28. Two years later, when his own father Aemilius died, and left him and his brother Fabius heirs to his estate, he again acted in a noble manner deserving of mention. Aemilius was childless, as he had given some of his sons to be adopted by other families and those whom he had kept to succeed him were dead, and he therefore left his property to Scipio and Fabius. Scipio, knowing that his brother was by no means well off, gave up the whole inheritance, which was estimated at more than sixty talents, to him in order that Fabius might thus possess a fortune equal to his own. This became widely known, and he now gave an even more conspicuous proof of his generosity. His brother wished to give a gladiatorial show on the occasion of his father's funeral, but was unable to meet the expense, which was very considerable, and Scipio contributed the half of it out of his own fortune. The total expense of such a show amounts to not less than thirty talents if it is done on a generous scale. While the report of this was still fresh, his mother died, and Scipio, far from taking back any of the gifts I mentioned above, gave both them and the remainder of his mother's property to his sisters, who had no legal claim to it. So that again when his sisters had thus come into the processional furniture and all the establishment of Aemilia, the fame of Scipio for magnanimity and family affection was again revived.

Having thus from his earliest years laid the foundations of it, Publius Scipio advanced in his pursuit of this reputation for temperance and nobility of character. By the expenditure of perhaps sixty talents—for that was what he had bestowed from his own property—his reputation for the second of these virtues was firmly established, and he did not attain his purpose so much by the largeness of the sums he gave as by the seasonableness of the gift and the gracious manner in which he conferred it. His reputation for temperance cost him nothing, but by abstaining from many and varied pleasures he gained in addition that bodily health and vigour which he enjoyed for the whole of his life, and which by the many pleasures of which it was the cause amply rewarded him for his former abstention from immediate pleasures.

29. It remained for him to gain a reputation for courage, nearly the most essential virtue in all states and especially so in Rome; and for this the training required of him was correspondingly severe. Chance, however, assisted him also in this determination. For the members of the royal house of Macedon had always been devoted to hunting, and the Macedonians had reserved the most suitable areas for breeding game. These districts during the war had been as carefully preserved as formerly, but had never been hunted for four years owing to the exigencies of the times, so that there was an abundance of big game of every kind. When the war had been brought to a conclusion, Aemilius, thinking that hunting was the best training and amusement for the young men, placed the royal huntsmen at Scipio's disposal, and gave him complete control over the preserves. Scipio, availing himself of this and regarding himself as being nearly in the position of king, spent the whole time that the army remained in Macedonia after the battle of Pydna in this pursuit, and, as he became a very enthusiastic sportsman, being of the right age and physique for such an exercise, like a well-bred dog, this taste of his for hunting became permanent. So that when he arrived in Rome and when he found in Polybius one equally devoted to the chase, all the time that other young men gave up to law affairs and greetings, spending the whole day in the forum and thus trying to court the favour of the populace, Scipio was occupied by the chase, and by his brilliant and memorable exploits,

acquired a higher reputation than anyone. For the others could not win praise except by injuring some of their fellow citizens, this being the usual consequence of prosecutions in the law courts; but Scipio, without ever vexing a soul, gained this universal reputation for courage, matching his deeds against their words. So that in a short space of time he had outstripped his contemporaries more than is recorded of any other Roman, although the path he pursued to gain glory was quite the opposite of that followed by all others in accordance with Roman usage and custom.

30. I have spoken at such length of the development of Scipio's character from his earliest years partly because I thought the story would be agreeable to those advanced in years and salutary for the young, but chiefly in order to secure credence for all I shall have to tell of him in the books which follow, so that readers may neither hesitate to accept as true anything in his subsequent life that seems astonishing nor depriving the man himself of the credit of his meritorious achievements put them down to chance from ignorance of the true cause of each. There were some few exceptions which we may assign to good luck and chance.

After this long digression I will now resume my regular narrative.

Propertius

Elegiae

2, 32, 11-16

scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis
porticus, aulaeis nobilis Attalicis,
et platanis creber pariter surgentibus ordo,
flumina sopito quaeque Marone cadunt,
et sonitus lymphis toto crepitantibus orbe,
cum subito Triton ore refundit aquam.

Pompey's portico, I take it, is not good enough for you, with its shady columns, resplendent with brocaded awnings, or the dense avenue of plane-trees rising evenly, the streams which issue out of the slumbering Maro, or the sound of the water which splashes all round the basin, when the Triton suddenly pours forth a fountain from his lips.

Quintilian

Institutiones

6, 3, 38

Rarum est ut oculis subicere contingat, ut fecit C. Iulius: qui cum Helvio Manciae saepius obstrepenti sibi diceret: 'iam ostendam qualis sis', isque plane instaret interrogatione qualem tandem se ostensurus esset, digito demonstravit imaginem Galli in scuto Cimbrico pictam, cui Mancia tum simillimus est visus: tabernae autem erant circa forum ac scutum illud signi gratia positum.

The possibility of ocular demonstration is rare: but Gaius Julius once had the opportunity. Helvius Mancia was repeatedly and noisily attacking him, and he retorted "Now I'll show what you're like"; whereupon Mancia actually pressed him in his questioning to say what he was going to show he was like, and Julius pointed to the painting of a Gaul on a Cimbric shield, to which indeed Mancia was then seen to possess a strong resemblance.

Res Gestae Divi Augusti

1, 20

Forum Iúlium et basilicam, | quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coepta profligate|que opera á patre meó perféci et eandem basilicam consumptam in‖cendio ampliáto eius solo sub titulo nominis filiórum m(eorum i)n|cohavi et, si vivus nón perfecissem, perfici ab heredib(us iussi.)

I completed the Julian Forum and the basilica which was between the temple of Castor and the temple of Saturn, works begun and far advanced by my father, and when the same basilica was destroyed by fire I began its reconstruction on an enlarged site, to be inscribed with the names of my sons, and ordered that in case I should not live to complete it, it should be completed by my heirs.

Sallust

Historiae

3, 10

At Metellus in ulteriorem Hispaniam post annum regressus magna gloria concurrentium undique, virile et muliebre secus, per vias et tecta omnium visebatur. Eum quaestor C. Urbinus aliique, cognita voluntate, quom ad cenam invitaverant, ultra Romanum ac mortalium etiam morem curabant, exornatis aedibus per aulaea et insignia, scenisque ad ostentationem histrionum fabricatis; simul croco sparsa humus, et alia in modum templi celeberrimi. Praeterea tum sedenti [in] transenna demissum Victoriae simulacrum cum machinato strepitu tonitruum coronam capiti inponebat, tum venienti ture quasi deo supplicabatur. Toga picta plerumque amiculo erat ei accumbenti; epulae vero quaesitissumae, neque per omnem modo provinciam, sed trans maria ex Mauretania volucrum et ferarum incognita antea plura genera. Quis rebus aliquantam partem gloriae dempserat, maxumeque apud veteres et sanctos viros, superba illa, gravia, indigna Romano imperio aestimantis.

But Metellus, returning to Farther Spain after a year, received a glorious reception on the part of everyone, men and women, pouring from everywhere through the streets and buildings. Whenever his quaestor Gaius Urbinus and others, knowing his wishes, invited him to a dinner, they looked after him in a fashion that was not typically Roman or even in keeping with mortal standards. Houses were fitted out with tapestries and finery; stages were constructed for the display of actors. At the same time, the ground was sprinkled with saffron, and there were other extravagances after the fashion of a festive temple. Moreover, at that time, while he was seated, a likeness of Victory, which was let down with a network of cords, to the accompaniment of a mechanically produced din of thunder claps, used to place a crown upon his head; at that time, when he made his approach, they used to worship him with incense, as though he were a god. An embroidered toga generally served as his outer garment when he reclined at table. The food was sought from far and wide, not only throughout the whole of the province but also a great many previously unknown kinds of birds and game from across the sea, from Mauretania. And by such extravagances, he had lessened his distinction to some extent, and especially so in the eyes of older, upright men who regarded those practices as haughty, heavy-handed, and unbecoming a Roman commander.

3, 62

Sed Pompeius a prima adulescentia sermone fautorum similem fore se credens Alexandro regi, facta consultaque eius quidem aemul[at]us erat.

But Pompey, believing from his earliest youth, thanks to the flattery of his supporters, that he would be like King Alexander, was an emulator of that man's deeds and intentions.

3, 63

de victis Hispanis tropaea in Pyrenaei iugis constituit

he [Pompey] set up on the slopes of the Pyrenees trophies for his conquests of the Spaniards

Statius

Silvae

1, 1, 29-31

at laterum passus hinc Iulia tecta tuentur,
illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli,
terga pater blandoque videt Concordia vultu.

But the spread of the flanks is surveyed from one side by the Julian structure and from the other by the palace of martial Paullus. The back your father beholds, and Concord with her smiling face.

1, 1, 84-90

Cedat equus Latiae qui contra templa Diones
Caesarei stat sede Fori, quem traderis ausus
Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci (mox Caesaris ora
mirata cervice tulit); vix lumine fesso
explores quam longus in hunc despectus ab illo.
quis rudis usque adeo qui non, ut viderit ambos,
tantum dicat equos quantum distare regentes?

Let that horse yield who stands in Caesar's Forum opposite Latian Dione's temple, whom you, Lysippus (so 'tis said), dared make for Pella's captain (soon it was amazed to bear Caesar's likeness on its neck); with your tired eyes you would scarcely discern how far down the view is from this horse to that. Who so unschooled as, seeing both, not to declare the horses as far apart as their riders?

Suetonius

Divus Iulius

6, 1

Quaestor Iuliam amitam uxoremque Corneliam defunctas laudavit e more pro rostris. Et in amitae quidem laudatione de eius ac patris sui utraque origine sic refert: Amitae meae Iuliae maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum diis inmortalibus coniunctum est. Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra. Est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent, et caerimonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges."

When quaestor, he pronounced the customary orations from the rostra in praise of his aunt Julia and his wife Cornelia, who had both died. And in the eulogy of his aunt he spoke in the following terms of her paternal and maternal ancestry and that of his own father: "The family of my aunt Julia is descended by her mother from the kings, and on her father's side is akin to the immortal Gods; for the Marcii Reges (her mother's family name) go back to Ancus Marcius, and the Julii, the family of which ours is a branch, to Venus. Our stock therefore has at once the sanctity of kings, whose power is supreme among mortal men, and the claim to reverence which attaches to the Gods, who hold sway over kings themselves."

10

Aedilis praeter comitium ac Forum basilicasque etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus extructis, in quibus abundante rerum copia pars apparatus exponeretur. Venationes autem ludosque et cum collega et separatim edidit, quo factum est, ut communium quoque inpensarum solus gratiam caperet nec dissimularet collega eius Marcus Bibulus, evenisse sibi quod Polluci; ut enim geminis fratribus aedes in Foro constituta tantum Castoris vocaretur, ita suam Caesarisque munificentiam unius Caesaris dici. Adiecit insuper Caesar etiam gladiatorium munus, sed aliquanto paucioribus quam destinaverat paribus; nam cum multiplici undique familia conparata inimicos exterruisset, cautum est de numero gladiatorum, quo ne maiorem cuiquam habere Romae liceret.

When aedile, Caesar decorated not only the comitium and the Forum with its adjacent basilicas, but the Capitol as well, building temporary colonnades for the display of a part of his material of which there was a great deal. He exhibited combats with wild beasts and stage-plays too, both with his colleague and independently. The result was that Caesar alone took all the credit even for what they spent in common, and his colleague Marcus Bibulus openly said that his was the fate of Pollux: "For," said he, "just as the temple erected in the Forum to the twin brethren, bears only the name of Castor, so the joint liberality of Caesar and myself is credited to Caesar alone." Caesar gave a gladiatorial show besides, but with somewhat fewer pairs of combatants than he had purposed; for the huge band which he assembled from all quarters so terrified his opponents, that a bill was passed limiting the number of gladiators which anyone was to be allowed to keep in the city.

11

Conciliato populi favore temptavit per partem tribunorum, ut sibi Aegyptus provincia plebiscito daretur, nanctus extraordinarii imperii occasionem, quod Alexandrini regem suum socium atque amicum a senatu appellatum expulerant resque vulgo improbabatur. Nec obtinuit adversante optimatium factione; quorum auctoritatem ut quibus posset modis in vicem deminueret, tropaea Gai Mari de Iugurtha deque Cimbris atque Teutonis olim a Sulla disiecta restituit, atque in exercenda de sicariis quaestione eos quoque sicariorum numero habuit, qui proscriptione ob relata civium Romanorum capita pecunias ex aerario acceperant, quamquam exceptos Corneliis legibus.

Having won the goodwill of the masses, Caesar made an attempt through some of the tribunes to have the charge of Egypt given him by a decree of the commons, seizing the opportunity to ask for so irregular an appointment because the citizens of Alexandria had deposed their king, who had been named by the senate an ally and friend of the Roman people, and their action was generally condemned. He failed however because of the opposition of the aristocratic party; wishing therefore to impair their prestige in every way he could, he restored the trophies commemorating the victories of Gaius Marius over Jugurtha and over the Cimbri and Teutoni, which Sulla had long since demolished. Furthermore in conducting prosecutions for murder, he included in the number of murderers even those who had received moneys from the public treasury during the proscriptions for bringing in the heads of Roman citizens, although they were expressly exempted by the Cornelian laws.

15, 1

Primo praeturae die Quintum Catulum de refectione Capitoli ad disquisitionem populi vocavit rogatione promulgata, qua curationem eam in alium transferebat; verum impar optimatium conspirationi, quos relicto statim novorum consulum officio frequentes obstinatosque ad resistendum concucurrisse cernebat, hanc quidem actionem deposuit.

On the first day of his praetorship he called upon Quintus Catulus to render an account to the people touching the restoration of the Capitol, proposing a bill for turning over the commission to another. But he withdrew the measure, since he could not cope with the united opposition of the aristocrats, seeing that they had at once dropped their attendance on the newly elected consuls and hastily gathered in throngs, resolved on an obstinate resistance.

24

Sed cum Lucius Domitius consulatus candidatus palam minaretur consulem se effecturum quod praetor nequisset adempturumque ei exercitus, Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem provinciae suae Lucam extractos conpulit, ut detrudendi Domitii causa consulatum alterum peterent, perfecitque per utrumque, ut in quinquennium sibi imperium prorogaretur. Qua fiducia ad legiones, quas a re publica acceperat, alias privato sumptu addidit, unam etiam ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico—Alauda enim appellabatur—quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam et ornatam postea universam civitate donavit. Nec deinde ulla belli occasione, ne iniusti quidem ac periculosi abstinuit, tam foederatis quam

infestis ac feris gentibus ultro lacessitis, adeo ut senatus quondam legatos ad explorandum statum Galliarum mittendos decreverit ac nonnulli dedendum eum hostibus censuerint. Sed prospere cedentibus rebus et saepius et plurium quam quisquam umquam dierum supplicationes impetravit.

When however Lucius Domitius, candidate for the consulship, openly threatened to effect as consul what he had been unable to do as praetor, and to take his armies from him, Caesar compelled Pompeius and Crassus to come to Luca, a city in his province, where he prevailed on them to stand for a second consulship, to defeat Domitius; and he also succeeded through their influence in having his term as governor of Gaul made five years longer. Encouraged by this, he added to the legions which he had received from the state others at his own cost, one actually composed of men of Transalpine Gaul and bearing a Gallic name too (for it was called Alauda), which he trained in the Roman tactics and equipped with Roman arms; and later on he gave every man of it citizenship. After that he did not let slip any pretext for war, however unjust and dangerous it might be, picking quarrels as well with allied, as with hostile and barbarous nations; so that once the senate decreed that a commission be sent to inquire into the condition of the Gallic provinces, and some even recommended that Caesar be handed over to the enemy. But as his enterprises prospered, thanksgivings were appointed in his honour oftener and for longer periods than for anyone before his time.

26, 1-2

Eodem temporis spatio matrem primo, deinde filiam, nec multo post nepotem amisit. Inter quae, consternata Publi Clodi caede re publica, cum senatus unum consulem nominatimque Gnaeum Pompeium fieri censuisset, egit cum tribunis plebis collegam se Pompeio destinantibus, id potius ad populum ferrent, ut absenti sibi, quandoque imperii tempus expleri coepisset, petitio secundi consulatus daretur, ne ea causa maturius et inperfecto adhuc bello decederet. Quod ut adeptus est, altiora iam meditans et spei plenus nullum largitionis aut officiorum in quemquam genus publice privatimque omisit. Forum de manubiis incohavit, cuius area super sestertium milies constitit.

Within this same space of time he lost first his mother, then his daughter, and soon afterwards his grandchild. Meanwhile, as the community was aghast at the murder of Publius Clodius, the senate had voted that only one consul should be chosen, and expressly named Gnaeus Pompeius. When the tribunes planned to make him Pompey's colleague, Caesar urged them rather to propose to the people that he be permitted to stand for a second consulship without coming to Rome, when the term of his governorship drew near its end, to prevent his being forced for the sake of the office to leave his province prematurely and without finishing the war. On the granting of this, aiming still higher and flushed with hope, he neglected nothing in the way of lavish expenditure or of favours to anyone, either in his public capacity or privately. He began a forum with the proceeds of his spoils, the ground for which cost more than a hundred million sesterces.

37

Confectis bellis quinquiens triumphavit, post devictum Scipionem quater eodem mense, sed interiectis diebus, et rursus semel post superatos Pompei liberos. Primum et excellentissimum triumphum egit Gallicum, sequentem Alexandrinum, deinde Ponticum, huic proximum Africanum, novissimum Hispaniensem, diverso quemque apparatu et instrumento. Gallici triumphi die Velabrum praetervehens paene curru excussus est axe diffracto ascenditque Capitolium ad lumina, quadraginta elephantis dextra sinistraque lychnuchos gestantibus. Pontico triumpho inter pompae fercula trium verborum praetulit titulum VENI·VIDI·VICI non acta belli significantem sicut ceteris, sed celeriter confecti notam.

Having ended the wars, he celebrated five triumphs, four in a single month, but at intervals of a few days, after vanquishing Scipio; and another on defeating Pompey's sons. The first and most splendid was the Gallic triumph, the next the Alexandrian, then the Pontic, after that the African, and finally the Spanish, each differing from the rest in its equipment and display of spoils. As he rode through the Velabrum on the day of his Gallic triumph, the axle of his chariot broke, and he was all but thrown out; and he mounted the Capitol by torchlight, with forty elephants bearing lamps on his right and his left. In his Pontic triumph he displayed among the show-pieces of the procession an inscription of but three words, "I came, I saw, I conquered," not indicating the events of the war, as the others did, but the speed with which it was finished.

39, 2-4

Circensibus spatio Circi ab utraque parte producto et in gyrum euripo addito quadrigas bigasque et equos desultorios agitaverunt nobilissimi iuvenes. Troiam lusit turma duplex maiorum minorumque puerorum. Venationes editae per dies quinque ac novissime pugna divisa in duas acies, quingenis peditibus, elephantis vicenis, tricenis equitibus hinc et inde commissis. Nam quo laxius dimicaretur, sublatae metae inque earum locum bina castra exadversum constituta erant. Athletae stadio ad tempus exstructo regione Marti campi certaverunt per triduum. Navali proelio in minore Codeta defosso lacu biremes ac triremes quadriremesque Tyriae et Aegyptiae classis magno pugnatorum numero conflixerunt.

For the races the circus was lengthened at either end and a broad canal was dug all about it; then young men of the highest rank drove four-horse and two-horse chariots and rode pairs of horses, vaulting from one to the other. The game called Troy was performed by two troops, of younger and of older boys. Combats with wild beasts were presented on five successive days, and last of all there was a battle between two opposing armies, in which five hundred foot-soldiers, twenty elephants, and thirty horsemen engaged on each side. To make room for this, the goals were taken down and in their place two camps were pitched over against each other. The athletic competitions lasted for three days in a temporary stadium built for the purpose in the region of the Campus Martius. For the naval battle a pool was dug in the lesser Codeta and there was a contest of ships of two, three, and four banks of oars, belonging to the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, manned by a large force of fighting men.

40

Conversus hinc ad ordinandum rei publicae statum fastos correxit iam pridem vitio pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adeo turbatos, ut neque messium feriae aestate neque vindemiarum autumno conpeterent; annumque ad cursum solis accommodavit, ut trecentorum sexaginta quinque dierum esset et intercalario mense sublato unus dies quarto quoque anno intercalaretur. Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Ianuariis novis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem ac Decembrem mensem interiecit duos alios; fuitque is annus, quo haec constituebantur, quindecim mensium cum intercalario, qui ex consuetudine in eum annum inciderat.

Then turning his attention to the reorganisation of the state, he reformed the calendar, which the negligence of the pontiffs had long since so disordered, through their privilege of adding months or days at pleasure, that the harvest festivals did not come in summer nor those of the vintage in the autumn; and he adjusted the year to the sun's course by making it consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, abolishing the intercalary month, and adding one day every fourth year. Furthermore, that the correct reckoning of seasons might begin with the next Kalends of January, he inserted two other months between those of November and December; hence the year in which these arrangements were made was one of fifteen months, including the intercalary month, which belonged to that year according to the former custom.

42

Octoginta autem civium milibus in transmarinas colonias distributis, ut exhaustae quoque urbis frequentia suppeteret, sanxit, ne quis civis maior annis viginti minorve quadraginta, qui sacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italia abesset, neu qui senatoris filius nisi contubernalis aut comes magistratus peregre proficisceretur; neve ii, qui pecuariam facerent, minus tertia parte puberum ingenuorum inter pastores haberent. Omnisque medicinam Romae professos et liberalium artium doctores, quo libentius et ipsi urbem incolerent et ceteri adpeterent, civitate donavit. De pecuniis mutuis disiecta novarum tabularum expectatione, quae crebro movebatur, decrevit tandem, ut debitores creditoribus satis facerent per aestimationem possessionum, quanti quasque ante civile bellum comparassent, deducto summae aeris alieni, si quid usurae nomine numeratum aut perscriptum fuisset; qua condicione quarta pars fere crediti deperibat. Cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit. Poenas facinorum auxit; et cum locupletes eo facilius scelere se obligarent, quod integris patrimoniis exsulabant, parricidas, ut Cicero scribit, bonis omnibus, reliquos dimidia parte multavit.

Moreover, to keep up the population of the city, depleted as it was by the assignment of eighty thousand citizens to colonies across the sea, he made a law that no citizen older than twenty or younger than forty, who was not detained by service in the army, should be absent from Italy for more than three successive years; that no senator's son should go abroad except as the companion of a magistrate or on his staff; and that those who made a business of grazing should have among their herdsmen at least one-third who were men of free birth. He conferred citizenship on all who practised medicine at Rome, and on all teachers of the liberal arts, to make them more desirous of living in the city and to induce others to resort to it. As to debts,

he disappointed those who looked for their cancellation, which was often agitated, but finally decreed that the debtors should satisfy their creditors according to a valuation of their possessions at the price which they had paid for them before the civil war, deducting from the principal whatever interest had been paid in cash or pledged through bankers; an arrangement which wiped out about a fourth part of their indebtedness. He dissolved all guilds, except those of ancient foundation. He increased the penalties for crimes; and inasmuch as the rich involved themselves in guilt with less hesitation because they merely suffered exile, without any loss of property, he punished murderers of freemen by the confiscation of all their goods, as Cicero writes, and others by the loss of one-half.

44

Nam de ornanda instruendaque urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio plura ac maiora in dies destinabat: in primis Martis templum quantum nusquam esset, exstruere repleto et conplanato lacu, in quo naumachiae spectaculum ediderat, theatrumque summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans; ius civile ad certum modum redigere atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia optima quaeque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros; bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum; siccare Pomptinas paludes; emittere Fucinum lacum; viam munire a mari Supero per Appennini dorsum ad Tiberim usque; perfodere Isthmum; Dacos, qui se in Pontum et Thraciam effuderant, coercere; mox Parthis inferre bellum per Armeniam minorem nec nisi ante expertos adgredi proelio. Talia agentem atque meditantem mors praevenit.

In particular, for the adornment and convenience of the city, also for the protection and extension of the Empire, he formed more projects and more extensive ones every day: first of all, to rear a temple to Mars, greater than any in existence, filling up and levelling the pool in which he had exhibited the sea-fight, and to build a theatre of vast size, sloping down from the Tarpeian rock; to reduce the civil code to fixed limits, and of the vast and prolix mass of statutes to include only the best and most essential in a limited number of volumes; to open to the public the greatest possible libraries of Greek and Latin books, assigning to Marcus Varro the charge of procuring and classifying them; to drain the Pomptine marshes; to let out the water from Lake Fucinus; to make a highway from the Adriatic across the summit of the Apennines as far as the Tiber; to cut a canal through the Isthmus; to check the Dacians, who had poured into Pontus and Thrace; then to make war on the Parthians by way of Lesser Armenia, but not to risk a battle with them until he had first tested their mettle. All these enterprises and plans were cut short by his death.

61

Utebatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis et in modum digitorum ungulis fissis, quem natum apud se, cum haruspices imperium orbis terrae significare domino pronuntiassent, magna cura aluit nec patientem sessoris alterius primus ascendit; cuius etiam instar pro aede Veneris Genetricis postea dedicavit.

He rode a remarkable horse, too, with feet that were almost human; for its hoofs were cloven in such a way as to look like toes. This horse was foaled on his own place, and since the

soothsayers had declared that it foretold the rule of the world for its master, he reared it with the greatest care, and was the first to mount it, for it would endure no other rider. Afterwards, too, he dedicated a statue of it before the temple of Venus Genetrix.

75

[…] sed et statuas Luci Sullae atque Pompei a plebe disiectas reposuit; […]

[…]and he actually set up the statues of Lucius Sulla and Pompey, which had been broken to pieces by the populace.

78, 1

Verum praecipuam et exitiabilem sibi invidiam hinc maxime movit. Adeuntis se cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis universos patres conscriptos sedens pro aede Veneris Genetricis excepit.

But it was the following action in particular that roused deadly hatred against him. When the Senate approached him in a body with many highly honorary decrees, he received them before the temple of Venus Genetrix without rising.

79

Adiecit ad tam insignem despecti senatus contumeliam multo arrogantius factum. Nam cum in sacrificio Latinarum revertente eo inter inmodicas ac novas populi acclamationes quidam e turba statuae eius coronam lauream candida fascia praeligata inposuisset et tribuni plebis Epidius Marullus Caesetiusque Flavus coronae fasciam detrahi hominemque duci in vincula iussissent, dolens seu parum prospere motam regni mentionem sive, ut ferebat, ereptam sibi gloriam recusandi, tribunos graviter increpitos potestate privavit. Neque ex eo infamiam affectati etiam regii nominis discutere valuit, quanquam et plebei regem se salutanti Caesarem se, non regem esse responderit et Lupercalibus pro rostris a consule Antonio admotum saepius capiti suo diadema reppulerit atque in Capitolium Iovi Optimo Maximo miserit. Quin etiam varia fama percrebruit migraturum Alexandream vel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii exhaustaque Italia dilectibus et procuratione urbis amicis permissa, proximo autem senatu Lucium Cottam quindecimvirum sententiam dicturum, ut, quoniam fatalibus libris contineretur, Parthos nisi a rege non posse vinci, Caesar rex appellaretur.

To an insult which so plainly showed his contempt for the Senate he added an act of even greater insolence; for at the Latin Festival, as he was returning to the city, amid the extravagant and unprecedented demonstrations of the populace, someone in the press placed on his statue a laurel wreath with a white fillet tied to it; and when Epidius Marullus and Caesetius Flavus, tribunes of the people, gave orders that the ribbon be removed from the wreath and the man taken off to prison, Caesar sharply rebuked and deposed them, either offended that the hint at regal power had been received with so little favour, or, as he asserted, that he had been robbed of the glory of refusing it. But from that time on he could not rid himself of the odium of having aspired to the title of monarch, although he replied to the commons, when they hailed him as king, “I am Caesar and no king,” and at the Lupercalia, when the consul Antony several times

attempted to place a crown upon his head as he spoke from the rostra, he put it aside and at last sent it to the Capitol, to be offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Nay, more, the report had spread in various quarters that he intended to move to Ilium or Alexandria, taking with him the resources of the state, draining Italy by levies, and leaving the charge of the city to his friends; also that at the next meeting of the Senate Lucius Cotta would announce as the decision of the Fifteen, that inasmuch as it was written in the books of fate that the Parthians could be conquered only by a king, Caesar should be given that title.

81, 6

Pridie autem easdem Idus avem regaliolum cum laureo ramulo Pompeianae curiae se inferentem volucres varii generis ex proximo nemore persecutae ibidem discerpserunt.

[…] and on the day before the Ides of that month a little bird called the king-bird flew into the Hall of Pompey with a sprig of laurel, pursued by others of various kinds from the grove hard by, which tore it to pieces in the hall.

Divus Augustus

10, 2

Ludos autem victoriae Caesaris non audentibus facere quibus optigerat id munus, ipse edidit.

Furthermore, since those who had been appointed to celebrate Caesar's victory by games did not dare to do so, he gave them himself.

43, 1

Spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia omnes antecessit. Fecisse se ludos ait suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent, ter et vicies. Fecitque nonnumquam etiam vicatim ac pluribus scaenis per omnium linguarum histriones, munera non in Foro modo, nec in amphitheatro, sed et in Circo et in Saeptis, et aliquando nihil praeter venationem edidit; athletas quoque exstructis in campo Martio sedilibus ligneis; item navale proelium circa Tiberim cavato solo, in quo nunc Caesarum nemus est.

He surpassed all his predecessors in the frequency, variety, and magnificence of his public shows. He says that he gave games four times in his own name and twenty-three times for other magistrates, who were either away from Rome or lacked means. He gave them sometimes in all the wards and on many stages with actors in all languages, and combats of gladiators not only in the Forum or the amphitheatre, but in the Circus and in the Saepta; sometimes, however, he gave nothing except a fight with wild beasts. He gave athletic contests too in the Campus Martius, erecting wooden seats; also a seafight, constructing an artificial lake near the Tiber, where the grove of the Caesars now stands.

Nero

46

Numquam antea somniare solitus occisa demum matre vidit per quietem navem sibi regenti extortum gubernaculum trahique se ab Octavia uxore in artissimas tenebras et modo pinnatarum formicarum multitudine oppleri, modo a simulacris gentium ad Pompei theatrum dedicatarum circumiri arcerique progressu; […]

Although he had never before been in the habit of dreaming, after he had killed his mother it seemed to him that he was steering a ship in his sleep and that the helm was wrenched from his hands; that he was dragged by his wife Octavia into thickest darkness, and that he was now covered with a swarm of winged ants, and now was surrounded by the statues of the nations which had been dedicated in Pompey's theatre and stopped in his tracks.

Tacitus

Historiae

3, 72

Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque rei publicae populi Romani accidit, nullo externo hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis, sedem Iovis Optimi Maximi auspicato a maioribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita urbe neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum excindi. Arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello, sed fraude privata: nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum, quibus armorum causis? Quo tantae cladis pretio? Stetit dum pro patria bellavimus. Voverat Tarquinius Priscus rex bello Sabino, ieceratque fundamenta spe magis futurae magnitudinis quam quo modicae adhuc populi Romani res sufficerent. Mox Servius Tullius sociorum studio, dein Tarquinius Superbus capta Suessa Pometia hostium spoliis exstruxere. Sed gloria operis libertati reservata: pulsis regibus Horatius Pulvillus iterum consul dedicavit ea magnificentia quam immensae postea populi Romani opes ornarent potius quam augerent. Isdem rursus vestigiis situm est, postquam interiecto quadringentorum quindecim annorum spatio L. Scipione C. Norbano consulibus flagraverat. Curam victor Sulla suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum felicitati eius negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tanta Caesarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit. Ea tunc aedes cremabatur.

This was the saddest and most shameful crime that the Roman state had ever suffered since its foundation. Rome had no foreign foe; the gods were ready to be propitious if our characters had allowed; and yet the home of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, founded after due auspices by our ancestors as a pledge of empire, which neither Porsenna, when the city gave itself up to him, nor the Gauls when they captured it, could violate—this was the shrine that the mad fury of emperors destroyed! The Capitol had indeed been burned before in civil war, but the crime was that of private individuals. Now it was openly besieged, openly burned—and what were the causes that led to arms? What was the price paid for this great disaster? This temple stood intact so long as we fought for our country. King Tarquinius Priscus had vowed it in the war with the Sabines and had laid its foundations rather to match his hope of future greatness than in accordance with what the fortunes of the Roman people, still moderate, could supply. Later the building was begun by Servius Tullius with the enthusiastic help of Rome's allies, and afterwards carried on by Tarquinius Superbus with the spoils taken from the enemy at the capture of Suessa Pometia. But the glory of completing the work was reserved for liberty: after the expulsion of the kings, Horatius Pulvillus in his second consulship dedicated it; and its magnificence was such that the enormous wealth of the Roman people acquired thereafter adorned rather than increased its splendour. The temple was built again on the same spot when after an interval of four hundred and fifteen years it had been burned in the consulship of Lucius Scipio and Gaius Norbanus. The victorious Sulla undertook the work, but still he did not dedicate it; that was the only thing that his good fortune was refused. Amid all the great works built by the Caesars the name of Lutatius Catulus kept its place down to Vitellius's day. This was the temple that then was burned.

Tatian

Ad Graecos

33-35

33 Διὰ τοῦτο προὐθυμήθην ἀπὸ τῶν νομιζομένων παρ᾽ ὑμῖν τιμίων παριστᾶν ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα σωφρονεῖ, τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα ἔθη μανίας ἔχεται πολλῆς. οἱ γὰρ ἐν γυναιξὶ καὶ μειρακίοις παρθένοις τε καὶ πρεσβύταις φλυαρεῖν ἡμᾶς λέγοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ σὺν ὑμῖν εἶναι χλευάζοντες ἀκούσατε τῶν παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι πραγμάτων τὸν λῆρον. ληπαίνει γὰρ μᾶλλον διὰ δόξης πολλῆς τῶν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐθῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀσχημονεῖ. Πράξιλλαν μὲν γὰρ Λύσιππος ἐχαλκούργησεν μηδὲν εἰποῦσαν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων χρήσιμον, Λεαρχίδα δὲ Μενέστρατος, Σιλανίων δὲ Σαπφὼ τὴν ἑταίραν, Ἤπινναν τὴν Λεσβίαν Ναυκύδης, Βοΐσκος Μυρτίδα, Μυρὼ τὴν Βυζαντίαν Κηφισόδοτος, Γόμφος Πραξαγορίδα καὶ Ἀμφίστρατος Κλειτώ. τί γάρ μοι περί Ἀνύτης λέγειν Τελεσίλλης τε καὶ Νοσσίδος; τῆς μὲν γὰρ Εὐθυκράτης τε καὶ Κηφισόδοτος, τῆς δὲ Νικήρατος, τῆς δὲ Ἀριστόδοτός εἰσιν οἱ δημιουργοί- Μνησαρχίδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας Εὐθυκράτης, Κορίννης Σιλανίων, Θαλιαρχίδος τῆς Ἀργείας Εὐθυκράτης. ταύτας δὲ εἰπεῖν προὐθυμήθην, ἵνα μηδὲ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ξένον τι πράττεσθαι νομίζητε καὶ συγκρίναντες τὰ ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν ἐπιτηδεύματα μὴ χλευάζητε τὰς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν φιλοσοφούσας. καὶ ἡ μὲν Σαπφὼ γύναιον πορνικὸν ἐπωτομανές, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀσέλγειαν ᾄδει- πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν σωφρονοῦσιν, καὶ περὶ τὰς ἠλακάτας αἱ παρθένοι τὰ κατὰ θεὸν λαλοῦσιν ἐκφωνήματα σπουδαιότερον τῆς παρ᾽ ὑμῖν παιδός. τούτου χάριν αἰδέσθητε, μαθηταὶ μὲν ὑμεῖς τῶν γυναίων εὑρισκόμενοι, τὰς δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πολιτευομένας σὺν τῇ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁμηγύρει χλευάζοντες. τί γὰρ ὑμῖν ἡ Γλαυκίππη σεμνὸν εἰσηγήσατο, παιδίον ἥτις τεράστιον ἐγέννησεν καθὼς δείκνυσιν αὐτῆς ἡ εἰκών, Νικηράτου τοῦ Εὐκτήμονος Ἀθηναίου τὸ γένος χαλκεύσαντος; εἰ γὰρ ἐκύησεν ἐλέφαντα, τί τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ δημοσίας ἀπολαῦσαι τιμῆς τὴν Γλαυκίππην; Φπύνην τὴν ἑταίραν ὑμῖν Πραξιτέλης καὶ Ἡπόδοτος πεποιήκασιν, καὶ Παντευχίδα συλλαμβάνουσαν ἐκ φθοπέως Εὐθυκράτης ἐχαλκούπγησεν. Βησαντίδα τὴν Παιόνων βασίλισσαν, ὅτι παιδίον μέλαν ἐκύησεν, Δεινομένης διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης μνημονεύεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν. ἐγώ καὶ Πυθαγάρου κατέγνωκα τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπί τοῦ ταύρου καθιδρύσαντος καὶ ὑμῶν, οἵτινες τοῦ Διὸς τὸν κατήγορον διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τέχνην τετιμήκατε. γελῶ καὶ τὴν Μίκωνος ἐπιστήμην μόσχον ποιήσαντος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ Νίκην, ὅτι τὴν Ἀγήνορος ἁρπάσας θυγατέρα μοιχείας καὶ ἀκρασίας βραβεῖον ἀπηνέγκατο. διὰ τί Γλυκέραν τὴν ἑταίραν καὶ Ἀργείαν τὴν ψάλτριαν ὁ Ὀλύνθιος Ἡρόδοτος κατεσκεύασεν; Βρύαξις Πασιφάην ἔστησεν, ἧς τὴν ἀσέλγειαν μνημονεύσαντες μονονουχί καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς νῦν τοιαύτας εἶναι προῄρησθε. Μελανίππη τις ἦν σοφή- διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην ὁ Λυσίστρατος ἐδημιούργησεν- ὑμεῖς δὲ εἶναι παρ᾽ ἡμῖν σοφὰς οὐ πεπιστεύκατε. πάνυ γοῦν σεμνὸς καὶ ὁ τύραννος Φάλαρις, ὅς τοὺς ἐπιμαστιδίους θοινώμενος παῖδας διὰ τῆς Πολυστράτου τοῦ Ἀμπρακιώτου κατασκευῆς μέχρι νῦν ὥς τις ἀνὴρ θαυμαστὸς δείκνυται- καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀκραγαντῖνοι βλέπειν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ προειρημένον διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωποφαγίαν ἐδεδίεσαν, οἷς δὲ μέλον ἐστὶ παιδείας αὐχοῦσιν ὅτι δι᾽ εἰκόνος αὐτὸν θεωροῦσι. πῶς γὰρ οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀδελφοκτονίαν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν τετιμῆσθαι, οἳ Πολυνείκοθς καὶ Ἐτεοκλέους ὁπῶντες τὰ σχήματα [καὶ] μὴ σὺν τῷ ποιήσαντι Πυθαγόρᾳ καταβοθρώσαντες συναπόλλυτε τῆς κακίας τὰ ὑπομνήματα; τί μοι διὰ τὸν Περικλύμενον γύναιον, ὅπερ ἐκύσε τριάκοντα παῖδας, ὡς θαυμαστὸν ἡγεῖσθε καὶ κατανοεῖν ποίημα; πολλῆς γὰρ ἀκρασίας ἀπενεγκαμένην τὰ ἀκροθίνια

βδελύττεσθαι καλὸν ἦν, τῇ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους συὶ παρεικαζομένην, ἥτις καὶ αὐτὴ διὰ τὸ ὅμοιον μυστικωτέρας, ὥς φασιν, ἠξίωται θεραπείας. ἐμοίχευσεν δὲ Ἄρης τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν Ἁρμονίαν Ἄνδρων ὑμῆν κατεσκεύασεν. λήρους τε καὶ φλυαρίας Σώφρων διὰ συνταγμάτων παραδοὺς ἐνδοξότερος χάριν τῆς χαλκευτικῆς ἢ μέχρι νῦν ἐστιν- καὶ τὸν ψευδολόγον Αἴσωπον ἀείμνηστον οὐ μόνον τὰ μυθολογήματα, καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸν Ἀπιστόδημον δὲ πλαστικὴ περισπούδαστον ἀπέδειξεν. εἶτα πῶς οὐκ αἰδεῖσθε τοσαύτας μὲν ἔχοντες μοιητρίας οὐκ ἐπί τι χρήσιμον, πόρνας δὲ ἀπείπους καὶ μοχθηποὺς ἄνδρας, τῶν δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν γυναικῶν διαβάλλοντες τὴν σεμνότητα; τί μοι σπουδαῖον μανθάνειν Εὐάνθην ἐν Περιπάτῳ τεκεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Καλλιστράτου κεχηνέναι τέχνην; καὶ πρὸς τὰ Καλλιάδου Νεαίρᾳ προσέχειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς; ἑταίρα γὰρ ἦν. Λαῖς ἐπόρνευσεν, καὶ ὁ πόρνος αὐτὴν ὑπόμνημα τῆς πορνείας ἐποίησεν. διὰ τί τὴν Ἡφαιστίωνος οὐκ αἰδεῖσθε πορνείαν καὶ εἰ πάνυ Φίλων αὐτὸν ἐντέχνως ποιεῖ; τίνος δὲ χάριν διὰ Λεωχάρους Γανυμήδη τὸν ἀνδρόγυνον ὥς τι σπουδαῖον ἔχοντες κτῆμα τετιμήκατε καὶ ὃ ψελιούμενόν τι γύναιον Πραξιτέλης ἐδημιούργησεν; ἐχρῆν δὲ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος παραιτησαμένους τὸ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν σπουδαῖον ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ Φιλαινίδος μηδὲ Ἐλεφαντίδος τῶν ἀρρήτων ἐπινοιῶν ἀντιποιουμένους τὴν ἡμετέραν πολιτείαν βδελύττεσθαι.

35 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐ παρ' ἄλλου μαθὼν ἐξεθέμην, πολλὴν δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσας γῆν καὶ τοῦτο μὲν σοφιστεύσας τὰ ὑμέτερα, τοῦτο δὲ τέχναις καὶ ἐπινοίαις ἐγκυρήσας πολλαῖς, ἔσχατον δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐνδιατρίψας πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὡς αὐτούς ἀνακομισθείσας ἀνδριάντων ποικιλίας καταμαθών.

For this reason I want to prove from what you consider honourable that our behaviour is chaste, while yours borders on madness. You say that we talk rubbish at meetings of women and boys and girls, and you jeer at us because we do not go along with you; just listen how nonsensical Greek doings are! Your usual practices are the more nonsensical because they are well thought of, and are brought into discredit through your womankind. For Lysippus made a bronze statue of Praxilla, though she said nothing useful in her poems; other statues were made by Menestratus of Learchis, Silanion of Sappho the prostitute, Naucydes of Erinna the Lesbian, Boiscus of Myrtis, Cephisodotus of Myro the Byzantine, Gomphus of Praxagoris and Amphistratus of Clito. Why mention Anyte and Telesilla and Nossis? Euthycrates and Cephisodotus sculpted the first, Niceratus the second and Aristodotus the third, Euthycrates Mnesarchis the Ephesian, Silanion Corinna, Euthycrates Thaliarchis the Argive. I want to mention these women so that you may not think that we indulge in strange activities, or jeer at the women who philosophize among us, when you compare the practices before your own eyes. Sappho was a wanton girl, maddened by love, and sang of her own lewdness, whereas all our women are chaste, and our girls at their distaffs talk in godly terms to better effect than that girl of yours. For this reason you ought to feel ashamed that you turn out to be girls' pupils, yet at the same time you jeer at the women who follow our way of life and the gathering of which they are part. What lesson in nobility did you learn from Glaucippe who bore a monstrous child, as we know from the statue of her which was cast by Niceratus son of Euctemon, an Athenian by birth? For if she became pregnant with an elephant, what reason was there for Glaucippe to enjoy public honour? Praxiteles and Herodotus sculpted Phryne the prostitute for you, and Euthycrates cast in bronze Panteuchis when she was pregnant by rape. Dinomenes

contrived that Besantis, queen of the Paeonians, should be remembered through his art because she bore a black child. For my part I also condemn Pythagoras for seating Europa on a bull, as well as you who because of his art have honoured Zeus' accuser. And I ridicule the skill of Mico, who made a calf and set Victory on it, because by abducting Agenor's daughter it won a prize for adultery and immorality. Why did Herodotus the Olynthian sculpt Glycera the prostitute and Argeia the lyre-player? Bryaxis erected a statue of Pasiphae, and when you thus record her lasciviousness you almost show that you would prefer women now to be like her. There was a Melanippe who was wise, and because of this Lysistratus sculpted her, but you do not believe that there are any wise women among us. Another very fine figure is the tyrant Phalaris, who because he made sacrifices of unweaned babies is represented to this day by the artistry of Polystratus the Ambraciot as a marvellous man. The people of Acragas (Agrigento) were afraid to look at his face because of his cannibalism, but the devotees of culture boast of having seen his statue. Surely it is a standing reproach that you have come to respect fratricide, for you keep the figures of Polynices and Eteocles before your eyes, instead of burying them and destroying such memorials of wickedness along with Pythagoras their creator. And why, pray, because of Periclymenus do you treat that silly woman who bore thirty children as a marvel to be seen at all costs? It would have been right for her to have been given the prize for total lack of self-control, and then to be abominated in the likeness of the Roman sow, which for a similar reason has itself been judged worthy of what they tell me is a more mystic cult. Then Ares seduced Aphrodite, and Andron made a carving of their offspring Harmonia for you. Sophron transmitted drivel and nonsense in his writings, yet his reputation is all the greater because of the bronze statue of him which exists to the present day. And that liar Aesop – not only did his tall stories give him perpetual fame, but Aristodemus' sculpture of him brought him much attention. After all this you not ashamed, when you have so many good-for-nothing poetesses, innumerable prostitutes and scoundrels, and yet you disparage the fair name of our women? What good does it do me to learn that Euanthe gave birth in the Peripatus or to gape at Callistratus' art? Or to glue my eyes to Calliades' Neaera – that prostitute? Lais too was a prostitute, and her seducer made her statue in memory of her prostitution. Why are you not ashamed of Hephaestion's lewdness, even if Philon does represent him with consummate art? Why on account of Leochares have you given honour to Ganymedes the hermaphrodite as if you owned a treasure, and also the 'woman with bracelets' which Praxiteles sculpted? You ought rather to reject every image of this kind and pursue what is truly excellent, and not malign our way of life while espousing the unspeakable ideas of Philaenis or Elephantis.

35 All this I set down not from second-hand knowledge, but after much travel. I followed your studies and came across many devices and many notions, and finally I spent time in the city of the Romans and got to know the varieties of statues which they brought home with them from you.

Tertullian

De Spectaculis

10, 5

Ita cum de originibus ludorum ad circenses transiimus, inde nunc ad scaenicos ludos dirigemus a loci vitio. Theatrum proprie sacrarium Veneris est. Hoc denique modo id genus operis in saeculo evasit. Nam saepe censores nascentia cum maxime theatra destruebant moribus consulentes, quorum scilicet periculum ingens de lascivia providebant, ut iam hic ethnicis in testimonium cedat sententia ipsorum nobiscum faciens et nobis in exaggerationem disciplinae etiam humana praerogativa. Itaque Pompeius Magnus solo theatro suo minor cum illam arcem omnium turpitudinum extruxisset, veritus quandoque memoriae suae censoriam animadversionem Veneris aedem superposuit et ad dedicationem edicto populum vocans non theatrum, sed Veneris templum nuncupavit, cui subiecimus, inquit, gradus spectaculorum. Ita damnatum et damnandum opus templi titulo praetexit et disciplinam superstitione delusit.

So, as we turned from the origins of the games to the shows of the circus, now we will turn to the plays of the stage, beginning with the evil character of the place. The theatre is, properly speaking, the shrine of Venus; and that was how this kind of structure came to exist in the world. For often the censors would destroy the theatres at their very birth; they did it in the interests of morals, for they foresaw that great danger to morals must arise from the theatre's licentiousness. So here the Gentiles have their own opinion coinciding with ours as evidence, and we have the preliminary judgement of human morality to reinforce Christian law. So when Pompey the Great—and there was nothing except his theatre greater than himself—when Pompey had built that citadel of all uncleanness, he was afraid that some day the censors would condemn his memory; so he built on top of it a chapel to Venus, and, when he summoned the people by edict to its dedication, he called it not a theatre but a temple of Venus, "under which," he said, "we have set seats for viewing the shows." So a structure, condemned and deservedly condemned, he screened with the title of a temple, and humbugged morality with superstition.

Varro

De Lingua Latina

6, 2

Solarium dictum id, in quo horae in sole inspiciebantur, quod Cornelius in basilica Aemilia et Fulvia inumbravit.

Solarium 'sun-dial' was the name used for that on which the hours were seen in the sol 'sunlight'; or also there is the water-clock, which Cornelius set up in the shade in the basilica of Aemilius and Fulvius.

Velleius Paterculus

Historia Romana

2, 29

Fuit hic genitus matre Lucilia stirpis senatoriae, forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur aetatis, sed ea dignitate constantiaque, quae in illam conveniens amplitudinem fortunamque eum ad ultimum vitae comitata est diem; innocentia eximius, sanctitate praecipuus, eloquentia medius, potentiae, quae honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non vi ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus, dux bello peritissimus civis in toga, nisi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem, modestissimus, amicitiarum tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fidelissimus, in accipienda satisfactione facillimus, potentia sua numquam aut raro ad impotentiam usus, paene omnium vitiorum expers, nisi numeraretur inter maxima in civitate libera dominaque gentium indignari, cum omnes cives iure haberet pares, quemquam aequalem dignitate conspicere.

On the side of his mother Lucilia he was of senatorial stock. He was distinguished by a personal beauty, not of the sort which gives the bloom of youth its charm, but stately and unchanging, as befitted the distinction and good fortune of his career, and this beauty attended him to the last day of his life. He was a man of exceptional purity of life, of great uprightness of character, of but moderate oratorical talent, ambitious of such power as might be conferred upon him as a mark of honour, but not that which had to be forcibly usurped. In war a resourceful general, in peace a citizen of temperate conduct except when he feared a rival, constant in his friendships, easily placated when offended, loyal in re-establishing terms of amity, very ready to accept satisfaction, never or at least rarely abusing his power, Pompey was free from almost every fault, unless it be considered one of the greatest of faults for a man to chafe at seeing anyone his equal in dignity in a free state, the mistress of the world, where he should justly regard all citizens as his equals.

2, 43, 4

Reliqua eius acta in urbe, nobilissima Cn. Dolabellae accusatio et maior civitatis in ea favor, quam reis praestari solet, contentionesque civiles cum Q. Catulo atque aliis eminentissimis viris celeberrimae, et ante praeturam victus in maximi pontificatus petitione Q. Catulus, omnium confessione senatus princeps, et restituta in aedilitate adversante quidem nobilitate monumenta C. Marii, simulque revocati ad ius dignitatis proscriptorum liberi, et praetura quaesturaque mirabili virtute atque industria obita in Hispania (cum esset quaestor sub Vetere Antistio, avo huius Veteris consularis atque pontificis, duorum consularium et sacerdotum patris, viri in tantum boni, in quantum humana simplicitas intellegi potest) quo notiora sunt, minus egent stilo.

As for the rest of his acts after his return to the city, they stand in less need of description, since they are better known. I refer to his famous prosecution of Gnaeus Dolabella, to whom the people showed more favour than is usually exhibited to men under impeachment; to the well-known political contests with Quintus Catulus and other eminent men; to his defeat of Quintus

Catulus, the acknowledged leader of the Senate, for the office of *pontifex maximus*, before he himself had even been praetor; to the restoration in his aedileship of the monuments of Gaius Marius in the teeth of the opposition of the nobles; to the reinstatement of the children of proscribed persons in the rights pertaining to their rank; and to his praetorship and quaestorship passed in Spain, in which he showed wonderful energy and valour. He was quaestor under Vetus Antistius, the grandfather of our own Vetus, the consular and pontiff, himself the father of two sons who have held the consulship and the priesthood and a man whose excellence reaches our highest conception of human integrity.

2, 53, 3

Hic post tres consulatus et totidem triumphos domitumque terrarum orbem sanctissimi atque praestantissimi viri in id evecti, super quod ascendi non potest, duodesexagesimum annum agentis pridie natalem ipsius vitae fuit exitus, in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam.

So died in his fifty-eighth year, on the very eve of his birthday, that upright and illustrious man, after holding three consulships, celebrating three triumphs, conquering the whole world, and attaining to a pinnacle of fame beyond which it is impossible to rise. Such was the inconsistency of fortune in his case, that he who but a short time before had found no more lands to conquer now found none for his burial.

Vitruvius

De Architectura

3, 3, 5

In araeostylis autem nec lapideis nec marmoreis epistyliis uti datur, sed inponendae de materia trabes perpetuae. Et ipsarum aedium species sunt varicae, barycephalae, humiles, latae, ornanturque signis fictilibus aut aereis inauratis earum fastigia tuscanico more, uti est ad Circum Maximum Cereris et Herculis Pompeiani, item Capitoli.

In araeostyle buildings it is not given to use stone or marble architraves, but continuous wooden beams are to be employed. And the designs of the buildings themselves are straddling, top-heavy, low, broad. The pediments are ornamented with statues of terra-cotta or gilt bronze in the Etruscan fashion, as is the Temple of Ceres at the Circus Maximus, Pompey's Temple of Hercules, and the Capitoline Temple.

Plates

Key

In grey, the extant buildings; in line pattern the non extant buildings with known position; in dashed line, buildings whose location is only hypothesised.

1. Forum Romanum (for schematic plan of the Forum in 44 BC, see Plate 3)
2. Forum of Caesar
3. Atrium Libertatis
4. Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus
5. Via Sacra
6. Vicus Iugarius
7. Vicus Tuscus
8. Circus Maximus
9. Temple of Hercules Pompeianus
10. Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta
11. Project for Caesar's theatre
12. Theatre of Marcellus
13. Temples of Apollo and Bellona
14. Porticus Metelli
15. Circus Flaminius
16. Opera Pompeiana
17. Sacred Area of Largo Argentina
18. Saepta
19. Stadium of Caesar
20. Naumachia Caesaris?
21. Temple of Quirinus

Plate 1: Schematic map of Rome in 44 BC.

Plate 2: Schematic map of Rome in 44 BC, showing some hypotheses about the triumphal route in the Republican period.

Plate 3: Schematic map of the Forum Romanum in 44 BC.

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