

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BUILDING OPERATIONS IN ROME
FROM THE DEATH OF CAESAR TO THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

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INTRODUCTION.



DURING the past year, while engaged upon certain studies in connection with Augustan Rome, I had occasion to consult numerous works on Roman Topography and Roman History dealing with the monuments of this period. I was surprised to find a great many discrepancies in the dating of the monuments in the more important works consulted. Some of these discrepancies go back to conflicting statements in the ancient sources, but many of them have been due to other causes: errors in rendering *ab urbe condita* dates into terms of the Christian era¹; the placing of « B. C. » after a year when « A. D. » was intended, and *vice versa*; printers' errors which were not corrected in proof; and careless indexing, as, for instance, in the case of the chronological index in LANCIANI'S *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. In some current works the rebuilding of the temple of Hercules Musarum is dated in 29 B. C. apparently because an author was misled by his notes into thinking that « Aug. 29 » (= SÜETONIUS, *Augustus*, 29) was a date. Such errors are often accidental slips — we all have made them. They have not stopped however with the four or five authoritative works in which they originally occurred, but as these books have frequently been consulted by writers on history, topography, or art, the errors have been copied into their works in turn, since the average scholar feels that he has done his duty, if, in a matter in which he is not an expert, he has taken his information from some recognized authority. The errors are the more likely to remain latent because the dates are not always documented.

As I have recently had occasion to go through the entire list of datable Roman monuments from 44 B. C. to 14 A. D., and to compare the dates with the ancient sources,

¹ For instance, in *C. I. L.*, I², p. 181, the year 765 A. U. C. is given as 11 A. D., while on p. 308 it is rendered as 12 A. D.

historical, literary, epigraphic, and numismatic, it has been suggested to me that a chronological table of the datable monuments, with documentation of the sources containing the chronological references, might prove helpful to workers in the fields of history, archaeology and topography.

Such a table should normally follow rather than precede a series of chapters dealing with (1) the building operations of the *triumphales* and other *imperatores* except Agrippa and Augustus, (2) the buildings of Agrippa and his sister Vipsania, (3) the building operations of Augustus in his own name and that of his family, (4) monuments erected in honor of Augustus and members of his family by the Senate, *plebs*, *vicomagistri*, etc., (5) monuments erected by consuls, praetors, etc., exclusive of Augustus and Agrippa, and (6) buildings and other monuments not included in these groups. Since, however, there is room in the present volume of the *Memoirs* of the Academy for only one of these chapters, namely, that on the building operations of the *triumphales*, which involves the largest proportion of controversial questions, I am printing together with this chapter, in provisional form, the chronological table of the datable monuments from 44 B. C. to 14 A. D. The notes under the various headings contain the references to ancient authorities on which the dating is based. But eventually, for completeness, it will be necessary, after the printing of the other chapters, to reprint the index in revised form with cross references to these later chapters regarding questions of a controversial nature.

THE BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF THE *VIRI TRIUMPHALES*

FROM 44 B. C. TO 14 A. D.

THIS period, from the death of Julius Caesar to the death of Augustus, is the one in which Rome underwent its greatest transformation, so that Augustus was not guilty of excessive exaggeration when he said that he had found Rome a city of brick and had left it a city of marble.¹ Augustus in making this statement probably had in mind only the period from the beginning of the principate. During this later period he was no doubt responsible, either directly or indirectly, for most of the building activities which resulted in the transformation of the city. But during the ten years of his triumvirate, and indeed until after Actium, he was only in part a factor. He had no control over Lepidus, so long as he functioned as triumvir, or over the various partisans of Antony such as Munatius Plancus, Asinius Pollio, Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Sosius. We may be sure, however, that even in this period he was at least consulted in regard to the public works of Agrippa and his other generals such as Domitius Calvinus, Marcus Philippus, L. Cornificius, and Statilius Taurus, and may have inspired a number of them.

The building activities from the death of Caesar to the death of Augustus fall into several groups: (1) the building operations of the *triumphales* and other *imperatores* except Agrippa and Augustus, (2) the extensive building activities of Agrippa, (3) the building operations of Augustus in his own name and that of members of his family, (4) monuments erected in honor of Augustus and members of his family by the Senate, *plebs*, *vicomagistri*, etc., (5) monuments erected by consuls, praetors, and other officials, exclusive of Augustus and Agrippa, and (6) buildings and other monuments not included in these groups.

The first of these groups, the building operations of the *virii triumphales*, is a most important one, which deserves to be treated by itself, independently of the building activities of the emperor. There are several reasons for this: (1) because of the fact that in commemorating their triumphs by erecting a monumental building these *virii triumphales* were following a long established tradition; (2) because of the tendency to credit Augustus

¹ Suetonius, *Aug.*, 28, 3: *urbem...excoluit adeo, ut ciam accepisset.*
iure sit gloriatus, « marmoream se relinquere, quam lateri-

with the initiative for a number of buildings with which he had little or nothing to do, an error shared even by Suetonius; (3) because this group, as a group, has not received sufficient attention from writers on Roman topography, who have frequently dated building operations of the *triumphales* from their consulships rather than from their triumphs. In illustration of the third of these points one may mention the case of C. Sosius. Those who ascribe to him the restoration of the temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius have sought to date this restoration from his consulship in 32 B. C.¹ They are confronted with the difficulty that Sosius, who was Antony's agent, fled to Antony in the East within the first month of his consulship, and could not have conducted any building operation in his consulship, or indeed until after Actium. But there is no necessity of facing this dilemma, since Sosius celebrated his triumph over Judaea on Sept. 3, 34 B. C., and by relating the restoration of the temple, and the installation of the works of art described by Pliny,² to his triumph rather than to the consulship, the difficulty is removed.³ There was no cogent reason why a consul should build a building except by order of the Senate, but in the case of the *triumphalis* there was a long tradition, almost as old as the republic, of commemorating a triumph by erecting a temple or public building *de manubiis*.

Suetonius, *Aug.*, 29, after giving a list of the more important works built by Augustus himself in his own name, and of some of the buildings erected by him in the name of others, goes on to say:

Sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis vel reffectis et excultis urbem adornarent. Multaque a multis tunc exstructa sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis Musarum, a L. Cornificio aedes Dianae, ab Asinio Pollione atrium Libertatis, a Munatio Planco aedes Saturni, a Cornelio Balbo theatrum, a Statilio Tauro amphitheatrum, a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia.

Suetonius has here listed the monuments which seemed to him the most important, after those of Augustus himself. They are not in chronological order, and Suetonius was probably, at the moment, not thinking of them in terms of triumphs. But the fact remains, and it seems to have escaped the attention of the commentators, that all of the men whose names are mentioned were *virii triumphales* with the sole exception of Agrippa, who, though more deserving of a triumph than any of them, steadfastly refused to accept the honor. In the next chapter Suetonius does have the *triumphales* and the *manubialis pecunia* definitely in mind in connection with the repairing and repaving of the roads:

Quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda, reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit.

He here gives no names, but accident has preserved to us the record of the road-building operations of Calvisius, who triumphed in B. C. 28, and Messalla, who triumphed in 27.⁴

¹ PLATNER, *Top.*, 344, places the restoration in 32 B. C.; FRANK, *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, 134, "about 31 B. C." (See p. 27, note 4).

² *N. H.*, xiii, 53; xxxvi, 28.

³ See pp. 25 f.

⁴ See pp. 34 f.

TACITUS, *Ann.*, iii, 72, gives a smaller list of public men, besides Augustus, who constructed buildings in the Augustan Age. He is speaking of the request made to the Senate by M. Lepidus in the year 22 A. D. that he be permitted to restore the Basilica Pauli, as a monument of the Aemilian family. The historian then goes on to say :

Erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia ; nec Augustus arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbum hostiles exuvias aut abundantis opes ornatum ad urbis et posterum gloriam conferre. Quo tum exemplo Lepidus, quamquam pecuniae modicus, avitum decus recoluit.

The three men selected by him as examples from the Augustan Age are all in the list of Suetonius, *Aug.*, 29. All of them were *triumphales*, as has been already stated, and one wonders why Tacitus chose to qualify the words *hostiles exuvias* by adding *aut abundantis opes*, unless we are to assume that these men supplemented the *manubialis pecunia* from their own ample means.

There has been an undue tendency to credit Augustus with the initiative for the erection of buildings by the *triumphales*, which is perhaps based upon the statement of Suetonius (*Aug.*, 29) : *Sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est*. As a matter of fact, two of the six *triumphales* in his limited list, Munatius Plancus, who triumphed in 43 B. C., and Asinius Pollio, who triumphed in 39, were both men over whom, as followers of Antony, Octavian could have had little or no control, and C. Sosius, who triumphed in 34 B. C., was Antony's avowed agent. TACITUS (*l. c.*) uses less positive language, *nec Augustus arcuerat*, although the three men of whom he is speaking were all generals operating under the *imperium maius* of Octavian either as triumvir or as *princeps* and Augustus.

In fact, the *triumphales* were but following a long-established practice which goes far back in the history of the republic. The custom of commemorating a triumph by a public building *de manubiis* is one not only attested by frequent references to such buildings in the historical records of the republic but also recognized by tradition as one of the concomitants of a triumph. Rullus in his Agrarian Law of 63 B. C. proposed among other features¹ that all *aurum, argentum ex praeda, ex manubiis, ex coronario ad quoscumque pervenit neque relatum est in publicum neque in monumento consumptum* should be declared and delivered to the proposed commission of ten who were to purchase lands for the *plebs*. Cicero's own opposition to this proposal, voiced in his second speech in the Senate *de Lege Agraria*, was directed

¹ Cic., *de leg. Agrar.*, ii, 59-61. As the whole context is interesting I shall quote the passage at length :

'Aurum, argentum ex praeda, ex manubiis, ex coronario ad quoscumque pervenit neque relatum est in publicum neque in monumento consumptum', id profiteri apud decemviros et ad eos referri iubet. Hoc capite etiam quaestionem de clarissimis viris qui populi Romani bella gesserunt, iudiciumque de pecuniis repetundis ad decemviros translatum videtis. Horum erit nunc iudicium, quantae cuiusque manubiae fuerint, quid relatum, quid residuum sit ; in posterum vero lex haec imperatoribus

vestris constituitur, ut, quicumque de provincia decesserit, apud eosdem decemviros, quantum habeat praedae, manubiarum, auri coronarii, profiteatur. Hic tamen vir optimus eum quem amat excipit, Cn. Pompeium.... (61). Nam si est aequum praedam ac manubias suas imperatores non in monumenta deorum immortalium neque in urbis monumenta conferre, sed ad decemviros tanquam ad dominos reportare, nihil sibi appetit praecipui Pompeius, nihil ; vult se in communi atque in eodem quo ceteri iure versari.

against two of its provisions: (1) that the proposed Agrarian Commission should be the judges in such cases in regard to moneys of which they were to have the spending, and (2) the explicit exception which it made in the case of Pompey. But even this portion of the Agrarian Law was to apply only to moneys which had not been turned over to the State or spent upon a monument, showing that the erection of such a monument by a *triumphator* was a recognized right. *Praeda* and *manubiae* may be translated «booty,» and «the sale thereof.» The *aurum coronarium* consisted of voluntary or forced contributions to the expenses of a triumph, nominally for the *corona triumphalis*, from cities in regions affected by a victory. Augustus, in the *Res Gestae*,¹ states that in his fifth consulship he sent back 35,000 pounds weight of coronary gold contributed for his triumph by the *municipia* and *coloniae* of Italy, and that thereafter he declined to accept such contributions on the various occasions on which he was acclaimed *imperator*.

The triumphant general probably had in practice a considerable amount of latitude in the expenditure of moneys from these three sources: (1) in paying largesses to his soldiers, (2) in paying the expenses of the triumph, and (3) in the erection of a temple or public building. That some of these moneys served to enrich him personally through the connivance of quaestors, tribunes and other officials was no doubt but too common an occurrence. But that he was at least liable at any time to be called to account for his expenditures of these semi-public moneys is proven by this proposed law of Rullus.

We may assume, therefore, that when a victorious general undertook to build a temple or public building *de manubiis* it was carried through to completion with reasonable promptness, since, aside from considerations of ambition, however much the general might juggle his expense accounts, the progress of the building was something that all could see.

We may also safely assume that where a public building of some magnitude is ascribed to a general who is known to have received a triumph, the building, in the absence of other data, is with the greatest probability to be connected with the victory and the triumph, since the option of spending the *manubiae* upon such a building created the condition most favorable for the erection of a monument on a large scale. Certainly, without positive information to the contrary, we should use for dating such a building the date for the triumph in preference to the year in which a given man happened to hold the consulship.

From the buildings in regard to which we have definite data, we may assume for those in regard to which we have little information a period of at least four or five years between the time of the triumph or the victory and the time of completion. Five years seems a long time, but when one considers that most of the buildings, with the exception of the Regia, were decorated with columns, — sometimes in large numbers in the case of porticos, — incrustations and pavements of foreign marbles, pediments and friezes involving careful

¹ Chapter 21.

and minute stone cutting, this period is not excessive. The amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus was dedicated in 30 B. C.,¹ four years after his triumph in 34 B. C. The theatre of Balbus was dedicated in 13, six years after his triumph of 19 B. C. Seventeen years elapsed between the triumph of Tiberius and the completion of the temple of Concord, the reconstruction of which he undertook on the day of his triumph in 7 B. C.; but his voluntary exile in Rhodes which occurred shortly after probably delayed building operations.² The list given by SUETONIUS, in the last sentence of *Aug.* 29, which includes the theatre of Balbus and the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, comprises what seem to have been considered in his day outstanding monuments, and therefore must have consumed on the average at least five years in building. The fact that only one of the buildings on the list, the temple of Saturn, has left tangible remains above ground, that the Aedes Dianae of Cornificius can only be located in a general way on the Aventine, and that the sites of the Atrium Libertatis of Asinius Pollio and the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus are still matters of conjecture, serves to show how much of what was considered great in Ancient Rome must still be hidden under the modern city and how little we know even now about Augustan Rome.

The list given by Suetonius was limited to the building operations of the following *triumphales*: L. Munatius Plancus, C. Asinius Pollio, T. Statilius Taurus, L. Marcius Philippus, L. Cornificius, L. Cornelius Balbus. It does not exhaust the list of *triumphales* who erected monuments. From the historians, casual references in other ancient writers, and inscriptions we are able to add: M. Aemilius Lepidus the triumvir, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, C. Sosius, C. Calvisius Sabinus, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. To these we may also add the building activities of Augustus after 29 B. C. and those of Tiberius after his first triumph in 7 B. C. We have as yet no record of building operations of the following *triumphales*: P. Vatinius, L. Antonius, L. Marcius Censorinus, P. Ventidius, C. Norbanus Flaccus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, C. Carrinas, L. Autronius Paetus, M. Licinius Crassus, Sex. Appuleius, L. Sempronius Atratinus. It is not improbable that some of these also will be found to have built either buildings or roads, especially the group whose triumphs fall after B. C. 29, to whom Augustus set the example of road building instead of the construction of more spectacular monuments. Not a single inscription has yet been found to record even Messalla's rebuilding of the Via Latina, and we should be in complete ignorance of it except for a vague reference in TIBULLUS.³

¹ DIO, li, 23, 1, mentions the dedication among the events of 29. But he gives the date as the *fourth* consulship of Caesar, = 30 B. C.

² Similarly several of the buildings begun by Agrippa, which however were on a vaster scale, were not dedicated until the year 7 B. C., five years after his death. In the case of the structures of Augustus, the temple of Apollo

vowed in 36 B. C. was not dedicated until 28; his mausoleum begun in 28 B. C. was still unfinished in 23; and the theatre which he erected in honor of Marcellus was not finished until 13 B. C., according to Dio, or 11 according to Pliny, 10 or 12 years after Marcellus's death.

³ i, 7, 57 f.

In the following pages I give in chronological order the list of the *triumphales* from L. Munatius Plancus to the second triumph of Tiberius, with an account of their building operations. I have naturally accorded more space to those *triumphales* whose monuments are relatively obscure, or about whose works there is controversy, especially in the matter of dating. Those monuments about which there is little controversy, and which have been adequately discussed in the manuals on topography or on the monuments, have been treated in less detail. The *triumphales* for whom we have as yet no record of building operations are simply listed, with the date of their triumphs, without further comment.

I have not thought it necessary to include ovations in the list of triumphs. The ovation was an honor distinctly inferior to the triumph, and does not seem to have been commemorated by a monumental building. The ovations thus omitted are: the ovations of Octavian and Antony celebrated at the end of 40 B. C., after the pact of Brundisium, by virtue of the fact that each had made peace with the other; the ovation of Octavian on November 13, 36 B. C., after the completion of the war with Sextus Pompey, which Octavian, for political reasons, chose to regard as a servile war; the ovation of Drusus in 11 B. C. and of Tiberius in the same year (or perhaps in 9 B. C.) for victories won under the *imperium maius* of Augustus.

In giving the list of *triumphales* from 43 B. C. to 19 B. C. I have made use of the excellent edition of, and commentary on, the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini*¹ by Senator ETTORE PAIS, to whom I make grateful acknowledgment.

¹ *Fasti Triumphales Populi Romani*, Rome, 1920.

43 B. C., DECEMBER 29.

Triumph of L. Munatius Plancus, ex Gallia.

He rebuilds the Temple of Saturn.

Fasti Triumph. Cap. :

L·MVNATIVS·L·F·L·N·PLANCVS·PRO·COS·AN·*ccc*x
EX·GALLIA | III·K·IAN

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

l·munaTius·l·f·l·N·PLANCVS·EX·GALL/a
/III·K IAN·TRIVMPHAVIT·...

The year is missing in the *Fast. Cap.*, but is supplied by VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii, 67, 4, who, à propos of the proscription of 43 B. C., tells how the soldiers of Lepidus and Plancus as they marched in the triumphal processions sang *inter execrationem civium* the punning verse :

De germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant consules.

They were consuls designate for 42 B. C., and Plancus had succeeded in having his brother Plotius placed on the proscription list, and Lepidus his brother Paullus.

Plancus, who had seen service under Julius Caesar in Spain and Africa, was proconsul in Farther Gaul in 44 and 43 B. C. He was already mentioned as *imperator* by Cicero¹ in December of 44. Though Cicero made every effort to have him join with the senatorial party against Antony, both before and after Mutina, he finally joined Antony,² and became one of the henchmen of the triumvirs. He was consul for the year 42 B. C. along with Lepidus, entering upon his consulship three days after his triumph.

¹ *Phil.*, iii, 38.

² *Cic.*, *ad Fam.*, x, 6, 1; 33, 1; xi, 19, 2; *Phil.*,
xiii, 44; *LIVY*, *Per.*, 120; *VELL.*, ii, 63; *APPIAN*, *B. C.*,

iii, 46, 72, 74, 81, 90, 96, 97; *DIO*, xlvi, 29, 53; *PLUT.*,
Ant., 18.

That Plancus rebuilt *de manibiis* the Temple of Saturn is attested by the inscription on his tomb above Gaeta, *C. I. L.*, x, 6087 :

L · MVNATIVS · L · F · L · N · L · PRON
 PLANCVS · COS · CENS · IMP · ITER · VII · V | R
 EPVLON · TRIVMP · EX · RAETIS¹ · AED · SATVRNI
 FECIT · DE · MANIB | S · AGROS · DIVISIT · IN · ITALIA
 BENEVENTI · IN · GALLIA · COLONIAS · DEDVXIT
 LVGV DVNVM · ET · RAVRICAM

The restoration of the Temple of Saturn is also attested by SUET., *Aug.*, 29, 5, and is perhaps referred to in a fragmentary inscription found near the arch of Septimius Severus, *C. I. L.*, vi, 1316 :

L · PLANCVS · L · F · COS ·
 IMP · ITER · DE · MANIB ·

The temple of Saturn at the southwest corner of the Forum had been constructed originally by the consuls for the year 498 B. C.,² and in addition to its functions as a temple it housed the state treasury which was consequently called the *aerarium Saturni*. The existing high podium of travertine and concrete, 22.50 × 40 metres, belongs to the restoration of Plancus, but embedded in the mass of concrete are a few courses of *cappellaccio* structure which Frank believes to have belonged to the original building.³ This podium may have contained strong rooms for the storage of money, but thus far none have been found. The existing superstructure, consisting of eight columns of the pronaos, with the entablature, does not belong to the temple of Plancus but to a fourth century restoration in debased style. The temple is represented on fragments⁴ of the Marble Plan, which make its identification certain.

We have no information as to when Plancus dedicated the temple, or how long a time was consumed in the rebuilding.

Plancus, although in 27 B. C. he proposed that the title of *Augustus* be conferred on Octavian, was a partisan of Antony until shortly before the final break between him and Octavian, sharing Fulvia's flight after the fall of Perusia, and Antony's revels at the court of Cleopatra.⁵ Octavian is consequently not to be credited with inspiring the reconstruction of this particular building as might perhaps be inferred from SUETONIUS, *Aug.*, 29.

¹ It will be noted that the inscription says *ex Raetis*, while VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii, 67, the *Fast. Cap.*, and the *Tab. Barb.* all agree in stating that his triumph was *ex Gallia*. It also states that he was *imperator iterum* (he was already *imperator* in Dec., 44 B. C., Cic., *Phil.*, iii, 38), and as the inscription was carved after his censorship in 22 B. C., there may have been some reason why he or his family chose to be silent about the episode of the Gallic triumph and to lay the emphasis on his Raetian

campaign instead. PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxv, 108, mentions a statue on the Capitol representing *Victoria quadrigam in sublime rapiens* which Plancus had placed there as *imperator*. It was probably a dedication connected with the triumph.

² LIVY, ii, 21, 1; DIONYS., vi, 1, 4; JORDAN, i, part 2, 360-363; PLATNER-ASHBY, *Top. Dict.*, 463 f.

³ *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, 51-54.

⁴ JORDAN, *F. U. R.*, 22, 23.

⁵ VELLEIUS, ii, 76, 2; 83, 3.

43 B. C., DECEMBER 31.

Triumph of M. Aemilius Lepidus, ex Hispania.

Completion of the Saepta begun by Julius Caesar.

Fasti Triumph. Cap. :

M·AIMILIVS·M·F·Q·N·LEPIDVS·II·III·VIR·R·P·c·a·dccc
PRO·COS·EX·HISPANIA· PRIDIE·K· *ian*

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

m·AEMILIVS·LEPIDVS·ITRVM·EX·HISPANIA
PRID·K·IAN·TRIVMPHAVIT·PALMAM·DEdit

The second triumph of Lepidus — the first had already been celebrated in 47 B. C. — followed that of Plancus, according to the *Fasti*, by two days. VELLEIUS, ii, 67, included both Lepidus and Plancus in the gruesome jests of the soldiers to the effect that these two consuls — they were really as yet consuls designate — were triumphing over “brothers german,” not the Gauls, referring to the inclusion in the proscription lists of Plotius the brother of Plancus and Paullus the brother of Lepidus, who triumphed *ex Hispania*, but the jokesters could not be expected to sacrifice a good pun for the sake of accuracy; and, in fact, both Plancus and Lepidus for the greater part of the year 43 had been in Gaul, waiting to see whether it would be more politic to join the Senatorial party on the one hand, as Cicero had so confidently hoped, or on the other hand to join Antony. Both did eventually join Antony, Lepidus becoming one of the triumvirs on November 27, 43 B. C., and both were *consules designati* for the year 42 B. C.

Lepidus in 44 B. C. had been *magister equitum* for the second time, but was also acting governor of Hispania Citerior and of Gallia Narbonensis. In this connection he had aided through diplomacy, rather than through military operations, in arranging terms with Sextus Pompey. For this the Senate on November 28, 44 B. C., had decreed a *supplicatio* in his honor,¹ and a few weeks later, on motion of Cicero,² a gilded equestrian statue of Lepidus was placed on the rostra, only to be torn down after he was declared a public enemy for joining Antony.³

SENATOR PAIS⁴ connects with this triumph the dedication by Lepidus of the temple of Felicitas recorded by DIO CASSIUS, xliv, 5, 2. But chronology is against this supposition,

¹ Cic., *Phil.*, iii, 23.

² Cic., *Phil.*, v, 40 f.

³ Cic., *ad Brut.*, i, 15, 9; VELLEIUS, ii, 61; Cic., *Phil.*, xiii, 9; DIO, xlvi, 51.

⁴ *Fast. Cap. Triumph.*, p. 289; discussed at length in an Excursus, pp. 481-3. Pais ingeniously connects the building of the temple of Felicitas with the portent which occurred to Julius Caesar on the first day of his

since Dio expressly says that Lepidus brought it to completion « while master of horse, » in other words, not later than 44 B. C. Accordingly, if the temple of Felicitas is to be connected with a triumph of Lepidus it must be with the first triumph.

There is, however, another building operation of magnitude which may be connected with this second triumph of Lepidus. CICERO (*Att.*, iv, 16, 14) writes to Atticus in 54 B. C. of one of Caesar's grandiose plans to make of the *Saepta*, used for holding the *Comitia Tributa*, a marble structure with a roof, and to surround it with a lofty portico a mile in extent. That this edifice was continued, and perhaps completed, structurally at least, by Lepidus is attested by DIO, liii, 23, who says :

« After this he [Augustus] became consul for the eighth time, together with Statilius Taurus [B. C. 26], and Agrippa dedicated the structure called the *Saepta* ; for, instead of undertaking to repair a road, Agrippa had adorned with marble incrustations and with paintings this edifice in the Campus Martius which had been constructed by Lepidus, with porticoes all around it, for the meetings of the *Comitia Tributa*, and he named it the *Saepta Julia* in honor of Augustus. »

We gather from this that the *Saepta* had not been completed, if indeed begun, at Caesar's death ; and that Lepidus undertook either to complete, or to build it. We may infer that the final touches had not been put upon it in the way of decoration by the time of the break between Octavian and Lepidus in 36 B. C., and that the completion of the decoration, and the dedication, fell to the lot of Agrippa after Lepidus became a virtual prisoner at Circeii.

There was little opportunity for prosecuting Caesar's extensive building plans between the Ides of March of 44 B. C. and the formation of the second Triumvirate on November 27, or the second triumph of Lepidus on December 31 of the year 43. After November 27 the Caesarian party was supreme in the West, and was bent upon magnifying the former dictator to the highest degree.¹ Octavian undertook to complete Caesar's plans for the Forum and the Basilica Julia, the triumvirs were commissioned to rebuild the Curia Julia and build the temple of Julius, and it was only natural that Lepidus, who had been Caesar's master of horse on two occasions, should claim a special share in the completion of Caesar's building programme by undertaking to finish the *Saepta*, which the dictator had planned and perhaps begun.²

triumph in 46 B. C., when the axle of his triumphal car broke down directly opposite the temple of Felicitas built by Lucullus. He considers the building of the temple of Felicitas by Lepidus as an expiation to counteract the portent. In this he may be right. But his chronology cannot be, since, aside from the statement of Dio that Lepidus completed the temple while master of horse — *i. e.*, not later than 44 B. C. —, there would be no point in expiating this piece of ill-luck to Caesar after Caesar's death and especially after he had received divine honors from the triumvirs, of whom Lepidus was himself

one, among the early acts of their régime.

¹ DIO, xlvii, 18.

² For the plan and existing remains of this huge structure, which extended along the west side of the Via Flaminia for a distance of 440 metres and with a width of 60 metres, see : LANCIANI, *Ruins and Excavations*, 473 f. ; PLATNER-ASHBY, *Top. Dict.*, 460 f. ; JORDAN-HUELSEN, *Top.*, I, part 3, 558-564 ; GILBERT, *St. Rom.*, iii, 174-176 ; also LANCIANI, in *Mon. d. Lincei*, i, 471-473 ; HUELSEN, in *Bull. Com.* 1893, 119-142 ; JORDAN, *F. U. R.*, 34-36.

We have thus far no records of building operations by the next three *triumphales* :

- B. C. 42, July 31. *The deferred triumph of P. Vatinius.*
 B. C. 41, Jan. 1. *The triumph of L. Antonius.*
 B. C. 39, Jan. 1. *The triumph of L. Marcius Censorinus.*

39 B. C., OCTOBER 25.

Triumph of C. Asinius Pollio, ex Parthinis.

He rebuilds the Atrium Libertatis de manibiis, and establishes in it the first Public Library.

Fasti Triumph. Cap. :

C·ASINIVS·CN·F·POLLIO PRO·COS· AN·*dccxiii*
 EX·PARTHINEIS · VIII·K·NOVEM

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

C·ASINIVS·EX·PARTHINIS·A·D·VIII·K·NOV·TRIVMPHAVIT·PALMAM·*dEDit*

Pollio's consulship, celebrated by VIRGIL in *Ecl.*, iv, was in 40 B. C. Acting under orders from Antony he waged war on the Parthini in Illyricum who had favored Brutus (APP., *B. C.*, v, 75). The ancient commentators on HORACE'S *Odes*, ii, 1, 15 (PSEUDO-ACRO and PORPHYRIO) and on VIRGIL'S *Eclogues* (SERV. on *Ecl.*, iii, 88, viii, 12, and *Schol. Bernensia* on *Ecl.* iv, 1, and viii, 6) speak of the capture of Salonae, and the fact that one of Pollio's sons received the cognomen Saloninus. DIO, xlvi, 41, 7, speaks of this expedition among the events of the year 39 B. C., and C. I. L., i, 2d. ed., p. 180, and PAIS, *op. cit.*, 294, agree in placing the triumph in that year.¹

It is but natural that Asinius Pollio, to commemorate his triumph, should have erected a monument in keeping with his own literary interests by rebuilding the Atrium Libertatis, which contained the archives of the Censors, and establishing in it the first public library in Rome, which he adorned with the portraits of distinguished authors. Suetonius, *Aug.*, 29, 5, in his list of important monuments built by contemporaries of Augustus, says: *ab Asinio Pollione Atrium Libertatis*. The Atrium and the library are definitely connected with each other by OVID (*Trist.*, iii, 1, 71 f.), and with the triumph and the *manibiae* by PLINY (*N. H.*, vii, 115; xxxv, 10) and ISIDORE (*Orig.*, vi, 5). The passage of ISIDORE, probably derived from Suetonius, reads as follows: *primum autem Romae bibliothecas publicavit Pollio,*

¹ It should be noted, however, that SERVIUS in connection with both *Ecl.*, iii, 88 and iv, i speaks of the triumph as coming before the consulship.

Graecas simul et Latinas, additis auctorum imaginibus in atrio quod de manubiis magnificentissimum instruxerat. PLINY (*N. H.*, vii, 115) gives the additional information that, of living authors, Varro alone was included: *M. Varronis in bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est, unius viventis posita imago est....* The reason for making an exception in Varro's case is perhaps explained by a passage of Suetonius, *Div. Jul.*, 44, where he gives a list of Caesar's many plans for beautifying the city: *bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum et digerendarum.* As Pollio was really carrying out a project of Julius Caesar it was but natural that the scholar who had been asked by Caesar to begin the work of collecting should receive special honor.

This monument of Pollio housed not merely a public library, but also an important art collection by Greek masters. PLINY¹ mentions works by Arcesilas, Cleomenes, Heniochus (?), Stephanus, Tauriscus of Tralles, Cephisodotus the son of Praxiteles, and Papyrus the pupil of that same master. The collection also included Sileni (and possibly other statues) by Praxiteles himself, and the famous group of Dirce, Amphion, Zethus and the bull imported from Rhodes, the work of Apollonius and Tauriscus, generally believed to be the Farnese group now in the Naples museum.

It is not known when the Atrium and library were completed, and we have no record of the dedication. But the work was obviously finished some considerable time before the death of Varro, which Jerome places in 28 B. C., and also before the dedication in that year of the temple of Apollo, with its library.

The location of this important monument still remains one of the unsolved problems of Roman topography. The *locus classicus* is a letter of Cicero to Atticus, written in 54 B. C. (*Cic., Att.*, iv, 16, 14), in which he is speaking of the grandiose building plans of Caesar and his friends, perhaps with semi-jocular exaggeration: *ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus.* It was far enough away from the Forum for the German troops quartered there,² who were summoned to Galba's assistance when that prince had been set upon in the Forum, to lose their way. It may also have been near the temple of the Nymphs,³ which the Arval Calendar for Aug. 23 states was *in campo*. Jordan's guess⁴ is as good as any — he puts his conjecture in the form of a query, — that it may have been cleared away to make room for the Forum of Trajan. We may perhaps follow the query farther and ask whether the word LIBERTATIS on the marble plan in the north apse of the Forum of Trajan (*F. U. R.*, fr. 25, pp. 28-31 ed. Jordan), instead of referring to a *sacellum* of Libertas, as has been supposed, may not have been balanced on the plan

¹ PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 23, 24, 33.

² TAC., *Hist.*, i, 31; Suet., *Galba*, 20; cfr. PLUT., *Galba*, 26.

³ CIC., *Pro Milone*, 73: *eum qui aedem Nympharum incendit, ut memoriam publicam recensionis tabulis publicis*

impresam exstingueret. It is not clear whether these records were in the temple of the Nymphs or were those kept in the Atrium Libertatis which Clodius hoped to burn by setting fire to a neighboring building.

⁴ *Top.*, i, part 2, 461.

by the word *ATRIUM* in the corresponding south apse, indicating that this part of the Forum continued to be called *Atrium Libertatis* at the time when the plan was made; and also whether any significance should be attached to the fact that Trajan built at the north-west end of this same Forum two libraries,¹ one Greek and the other Latin. Is this to be regarded as a mere coincidence, or was Trajan continuing on a larger scale a tradition begun by Asinius Pollio when he established the first public library in the *Atrium Libertatis*?

The names *Libertas*, *Atrium Libertatis*, are preserved on three inscriptions² of the first century A.D. A sixth century inscription³ seems to show that at that time the name *Atrium Libertatis* was given to the court between the *Secretarium Senatus* and the *Curia*, although that was not its location in the time of Asinius Pollio, and the group of the Farnese Bull which apparently once adorned it was found in the Baths of Caracalla, showing that its art treasures had probably been redistributed.⁴

We have thus far no record of any building operations in commemoration of the next triumph recorded in the *Fasti Triumph. Cap.* and the *Tab. Triumph. Barb.*:

38 B. C., Nov. 27. *Triumph of P. Ventidius, ex Tauro Monte et Partheis.*

36 B. C., JULY 17.

Triumph of Cn. Domitius Calvinus, ex Hispania.

Rebuilding of the Regia.

Fasti Triumph. Cap., ann. 717 = 718 Varr. = 36 B. C.:

CN·DOMITIVS·M·F·M·N·CALV|NVS·AN·DCCXVII
PRO·COS·EX·HISPANIA·XVI·K·SEXT|L

Tab. Triumph. Barb.:

CN·DOMITIVS·CALVINVS·EX·HISPAN·XVI·K·SEX·TRIVMP·PALMAM·DEDI

Calvinus, after his second consulship in 40 B. C., was sent as governor to Spain, which was one of the provinces under the jurisdiction of Octavian. There he established

¹ *Hist. Aug.*, Aurel., 8, 1; 24, 7; *Gell.*, xi, 17; DIO CASS., lxxviii, 16; cf. also *C. I. L.*, vi, 9446, an epitaph of a certain *grammaticus* called Bonifatius in which the libraries are called *Atria Traiani*.

² *C. I. L.*, vi, 470; 472 (reign of Nerva); 10025.

³ *C. I. L.*, vi, 1794.

⁴ For other references see: *Cic.*, *Pro Milon.*, 59; *Livy*, xxv, 7, 12; xxxiv, 44, 5; xliii, 16, 13; xlv, 15, 5;

OVID, *Fasti*, iv, 621-624; FESTUS, 277 L.; cf. MOMMSEN, in *Hermes*, xxiii, 1888, 631-633; G. B. DE ROSSI and G. GATTI, in *Bull. Com.*, 1889, 362 f.; HUELSEN, in *Röm. Mitt.*, iv, 1889, 240 f.; GILBERT, iii, 162 f.; C. E. BOYD, *Publ. Libraries in Rome*, Chicago, 1915, 3-5, 31; E. DE RUGGIERO, *Diz. Epig.*, i, 760 f.; ROSCHER, *Lex.*, ii, 2032; PAULLY-WISSOWA, xiii, 103 f.; PLATNER-ASHBY, 56 f.

a reputation for rigorous discipline¹ in his treatment of the army. Among the operations for which he received a triumph was the putting down of the uprising of the Cerretani.²

DIO makes several interesting comments in regard to the restraint shown by Calvinus in accepting the usual coronary gold, and the fact that he did not spend all of the amount upon the festivities connected with the triumph, but spent the greater portion in rebuilding the Regia. The whole passage deserves quoting (DIO CASSIUS, xlvi, 42, 4-6):³

The gold customarily given by the cities for the triumph Calvinus took from the Spanish towns alone, and of it he spent only a part on the festival, but the greater part on the Regia. This had been burned down, and he now rebuilt and dedicated it, adorning it splendidly with various objects and with statues in particular, which he asked Caesar to send him, intimating that he would give them back. And when asked for them later, he did not return them, excusing himself by a witticism. Pretending he had not enough assistants, he said: "Send some men and take them." And thus Caesar, since he shrank from the sacrilege, allowed them to remain as votive offerings.⁴

As Dio says, Calvinus showed restraint in the acceptance of coronary gold, and the monument which he rebuilt was small compared with those of other *triumphatores*, but none the less an important one, the restoration of which in solid blocks of marble could not have been inexpensive.

The Regia was said to have been built and occupied by Numa, and to have been the house of the *Rex Sacrificulus*, and of the *Pontifex Maximus*. In historical times it was simply the official headquarters of the *Pontifex Maximus*.⁵ It was a consecrated *fanum* and contained the *Sacrarium Martis*, in which were preserved the sacred spears and shields which the *Salii* carried in their processions. It also contained the *Sacrarium Opis Consiviae*, the archives of the Pontifices, and the tablets from which the *Annales Maximi* were compiled were hung on the outer wall of the republican building. It was also a meeting place for various sacred colleges.⁶ Before the fire mentioned by Dio, about which we have no further details, it had been burned and restored in 148 B. C.⁷

The building is one of great historical interest, since the Regia of Calvinus bore carved

¹ VELL., ii, 78, 3.

² DIO CASS., xlvi, 42.

³ Cary's translation.

⁴ The triumph was celebrated on July 17, at a time when Octavian was himself suffering little but disasters in the last campaign against Sextus Pompey. This circumstance, and the fact that Calvinus was celebrating a triumph for lesser achievements, make it clear that Agrippa's consistent refusal to celebrate triumphs was determined by his own inclination, and his sense of the fitness of things, rather than by any possible attitude of jealousy on the part of Octavian.

The incident of the statues has another interesting bearing upon our conception of Octavian's character. That he permitted himself with good grace to be tricked out of the statues by one of his own subordinates is an

indication that he had a human side which could take an expensive joke in good part.

From PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 48, we may infer that the statues in question were two of the four Caryatids which had formerly supported the tent of Alexander the Great, and which Augustus brought to Rome from Egypt. The remaining two were later placed at the entrance to the temple of Mars Ultor.

⁵ By a strange irony of fate, Lepidus, the nominal incumbent of the Pontificate, became, in the very year of Calvinus' triumph, a virtual prisoner at Circeii, and though he retained the title of *Pontifex Maximus* until his death in 13 B. C., he had no opportunity to use the fine marble edifice which Calvinus now was building.

⁶ PLATNER-ASHBY, 440-443.

⁷ OBSEQ. 19; LIV., *Epit. Oxyrh.*, 127-129.

upon its walls — partly as decorative features and partly to emphasise one of the main functions of the building — the list of consuls from the beginning of the republic, and the *triumphatores* from Romulus down.¹ The *Fasti Consulares* (483 B. C. - 13 A. D.) were inscribed in four double panels on the south and west sides, and the *Fasti Triumphales* (Romulus to Balbus, 19 B. C.) on the pilasters of the south side. The extensive fragments in the Palazzo dei Conservatori are among our most precious historical records. There is every reason to think that they were carved on the building immediately after its completion by Calvinus. We have no definite information about the time of the dedication, but if the statues referred to in the passage of DIO, already cited, were among those mentioned by PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 48, the dedication must have taken place after 30 or 29 B. C. The *Fasti Consulares* continued to be entered until 13 A. D. The *Fasti Triumphales* end with Cornelius Balbus in 19 B. C. As this pilaster was now full, there was no room for the entry of the two triumphs of Tiberius which were celebrated during the reign of Augustus.²

The round marble base which now stands at the top of the flight of steps of the temple on the Palatine, facing the Circus, formerly called the temple of Jupiter Victor, but now more generally believed to be the temple of Apollo, bears an inscription connecting it with the triumph of Calvinus, since it states that it was erected *de manibeis*. It reads as follows (*C. I. L.*, vi, 1301):

CN·DOMITIVS·M·F·CALVINVS
PONTIFEX
COS·ITER·IMPER·
DE·MANIBEIS

It was found on the Palatine, « *in loco quo Aream Palatinam fuisse volunt* »; but even that may not have been its original site. Its original position may have been somewhere within the precinct of the Regia.

¹ For reproductions of the *Fasti*, see PAIS, *Fasti Triumph. Cap.*, Rome, 1920, pls. i-xviii.

² For the extensive literature on the Regia and the excavations see PLATNER-ASHBY, 442 f.

34 B. C., JUNE 30.

*Triumph of T. Statilius Taurus, ex Africa.
He Builds a Stone Amphitheatre in the Campus Martius.*

Fasti Triumph. Cap., ann. 719 = 720 Varr. = 34 B. C. :

T·STATILIVS·T·F·TAVRVS·PROCOS·ANN·DCCXIX
EX·AFRICA PR|DIE·K·IVL

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

T·STATILIVS·TAVRVS·EX·AFRICA·PRID·K·IVL·TRIUMP·PALMAM·DEDIT

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS¹ mentions Statilius together with Agrippa as a man whom Augustus employed and promoted to positions of prominence in spite of his lack of lineage. He had been *consul suffectus* in 37 B. C.² with Agrippa³ and was later *consul ordinarius* with Augustus in 26. He was one of Octavian's generals in the war with Sextus Pompey and, after the fall of Lepidus at the conclusion of that war, was commissioned to take over Africa, which had been the province of Lepidus.⁴ It is thought that it is he who is referred to by TERTULLIAN⁵ as the rebuilder of Carthage. It was for services in connection with his governorship that he received his triumph. Immediately after his triumph — 34 B. C. — he served Octavian as *legatus* in the Dalmatian War; at Actium he was in charge of the land forces; and in 29 B. C. he defeated the Cantabri, Vaccaeii and Astures in Spain. Though thrice⁶ acclaimed *imperator*, he celebrated but one triumph.

With this triumph we must associate the stone amphitheatre built by Statilius in the Campus Martius, not merely on the basis of the general inference to be drawn from SUE-
TONIUS, *Aug.*, 29, 5, but also on the specific statement of Tacitus.⁷ Its dedication is recorded by DIO CASSIUS, li, 23, 1, as taking place in 30 B. C.⁸ :

And, while Caesar was still in his fourth consulship, Statilius both constructed at his own expense and dedicated with gladiatorial contests a hunting theatre of stone in the Campus Martius. Because of this he was permitted by the people to choose one of the praetors each year.

DIO is concerned chiefly with the dedication, whereas TACITUS connects the building with the triumph by the use of the words *hostiles exuvias*. The period of construction thus

¹ ii, 127, 1.

² *Fast. Biond.*, in *C. I. L.*, 1², p. 65.

³ *C. I. L.*, iv, 2437.

⁴ DIO, xlix, 14, 6.

⁵ *De Pallio*, 1.

⁶ *C. I. L.*, ii, 3556.

⁷ *Ann.*, iii, 72.

⁸ PAIS, p. 302, erroneously places the dedication in 29 B. C. DIO mentions the dedication together with the events of 29, but takes pains to state that it took place in Caesar's *fourth* consulship = 30 B. C.

occupied four years, a relatively short period for so large a monument if compared with the theatre of Marcellus, the theatre of Balbus, the temple of Concord, and the temple of Castor. This is the more surprising in view of the fact that the Roman world during the years 32 and 31 B. C. was preoccupied with the struggle between Antony and Octavian, and Statilius was himself in command of the land forces at Actium.

In connection with the reign of Augustus the amphitheatre is mentioned by STRABO,¹ in addition to the passages from Suetonius and Tacitus already cited; in connection with the reign of Caligula it is mentioned by Suetonius,² who says that Caligula gave *munera gladiatoria partim in amphitheatro Tauri partim in Saeptis*, and by DIO,³ who records that Caligula erected wooden stands because he despised the amphitheatre of Taurus. After this it ceases to be mentioned except by the excerpt of XIPHILINUS⁴ from DIO which mentions its destruction in the fire of Nero. Three inscriptions⁵ from the Columbarium of the Statilii mention a *custos*, an *ostiarius*, and a *vicar(ius) de or ab amphitheatro*. We have no information as to where it stood beyond the fact that it was in the Campus Martius. LANCIANI⁶ supposed that Monte Giordano marks the site, but HÜLSEN⁷ prefers this location for the Odeum of Domitian and thinks that the amphitheatre probably stood somewhere in the southern part of the Campus Martius.

34 B. C., SEPTEMBER 3.

Triumph of C. Sosius, ex Iudaea.

He builds the Temple of Apollo Sosianus.

Fasti Triumph. Cap., ann. 719 = 720 Varr. = 34 B. C. :

C·SOSIVS·C·F·T·N·PROCOS·EX·IVDAEA·AN·BCCXIX
III·NONAS·SEPTEMBR

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

C·SOSSIVS·EX·IVDAEA·III·NON·SEPT
TRIUMPH·PALMAM·DEDIT

Like Domitius Ahenobarbus, his colleague in the consulship for the eventful year 32 B. C., Sosius was one of Antony's generals, and after his triumph in 34 B. C., one of his agents at Rome. In 38 B. C. Antony had appointed him governor of Syria, and en-

¹ v, 3, 8.

² *Caius*, 18, 1.

³ lix, 10, 5.

⁴ *Dio*, lxii, 18, 2.

⁵ *C. I. L.*, vi, 6226-6228.

⁶ *F. U. R.*, fol. 14.

⁷ *Top.*, i, part 3, pp. 594 f.



trusted him with the war against the Jews.¹ Previously, in 39 B. C., he had had him made consul designate, with the understanding that he was to hold that office in 36 B. C.² (He actually held it in 32.) As governor of Syria, with the rank of proconsul, he defeated the Aradii,³ and in company with Herod besieged and took Jerusalem⁴ in 37 B. C., for which exploits he celebrated his triumph in 34. He is referred to as *triumphalis* in an inscription (*C. I. L.*, ix, 4855). A series of coins, apparently of Zacynthus (*BAB.*, *Monn.*, ii, pp. 463-465, nos. 1-4) describe Sosius as *q(uaestor)* (no. 1), *imp(erator)* with a representation of a trophy (no. 2), *co(n)s(ul) desig(natus)* with a tripod on the reverse and a head of Apollo on the obverse (no. 3), and as consul with a dolphin and trident on the reverse (no. 4).⁵

After his triumph Sosius appears to have remained in Rome as Antony's agent. On Jan. 1, 32 B. C., he entered upon his consulship, and inveighed against Octavian in the Senate. Before the end of January he fled to Antony together with his colleague in the consulship, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.⁶ In 31 B. C., shortly before the battle of Actium, he inflicted a defeat upon a detachment of Caesar's fleet, but was defeated in turn⁷ by Agrippa. He commanded a part of Antony's fleet at Actium,⁸ hid for some time after the battle, was captured,⁹ but allowed to go free by Caesar. A C. Sosius is in the list of the *xv viri sacris faciundis* in the *Act. Lud. Saec.* of 17 B. C., but it is not certain that it was he:¹⁰ it may have been a son.

The historians do not record the erection or the dedication of a building to commemorate the triumph of Sosius. But from references in Pliny it has been inferred that he rebuilt the temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius originally dedicated by Cn. Julius in 431 B. C.¹¹ and restored in 353.¹² The temple, as we learn from the *Hemerologium* of the Arval Brothers,¹³ was in the vicinity of the later theatre of Marcellus: *Apollini ad theatrum Marcelli*. ASCONIUS, commenting on CIC., *In Toga Candida*, p. 81, emphasizes the fact that the temple referred to by Cicero was not the famous temple built by Augustus on the Palatine: *Sed illam demonstrari quae est extra portam Carmentalem inter forum holitorium et Circum Flaminium. Ea enim sola tum quidem (?) Romae Apollinis aedes*. The temple, as restored by Sosius, (if the identification is correct), was apparently called *templum Apollinis*

¹ JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xix, 15 f.; *Bell. Jud.*, i, 17, 2-18, 3.

² APPIAN, *B. C.*, v, 73. But his information is sketchy.

³ DIO, ii, 22, 3.

⁴ DIO, ii, 22, 3; PLUT., *Ant.*, xxxiv, 6; SENECA, *Suas.*, ii, 21; TAC., *Hist.*, v, 9.

⁵ No. 2 no doubt refers to his taking of Jerusalem in 37 B. C. No. 3, an ancient type in the coinage of Zacynthus, is surely later than No. 2, and by reason of the words *cos. desig.* cannot be later than 33 B. C. No. 4 must have been struck in 32 B. C., and in any event not later than the battle of Actium.

⁶ DIO, i, 2, 2.

⁷ DIO, i, 14, 1 f., who also says that he lost his life:

but as he refers to him later, this is an error.

⁸ VELL, ii, 85, 2.

⁹ DIO, li, 2, 4.

¹⁰ WISSOWA, quoted in *Eph. Epigr.*, viii, p. 241, seems to have thought that the tripod on Coin no. 3 referred to the quindecimvirate, but this Apollo-tripod type was an old one in the coinage of Zacynthus and its reintroduction by Sosius at this particular time is capable of a different explanation. (See p. 27).

¹¹ LIVY, iv, 29, 7.

¹² ID., vii, 20, 9.

¹³ *C. I. L.*, i², p. 215.

Sosiani,¹ and *Apollo Sosianus*,² to distinguish it from the new temple on the Palatine which was vowed by Octavian in 36 B. C. and dedicated in 28 B. C. This new temple must have been in process of erection when Sosius was rebuilding the old one on the Campus Martius.³

The topographers have connected the reconstruction by Sosius with his consulship in 32 B. C., or have arbitrarily and erroneously placed it in 31 B. C.⁴ Sosius was indeed consul in 32 B. C., but, as we have seen on p. 26, he left Rome and fled to Antony with his colleague Domitius Ahenobarbus before the third meeting of the Senate in January of that year. He was with Antony at Actium. His absence from Rome and the Civil War must have prevented any building operations on his part in 32 or 31. Though he was pardoned by Octavianus, it is not likely that, after the elimination of Antony, so rabid an Antonian would have been allowed to rebuild a temple of Apollo in rivalry with the temple of Apollo which Octavianus was then himself building. The rebuilding must therefore be placed before 32 B. C., when Sosius was an out-and-out opponent of Octavian. The only possible time seems to be between 34 and 32 B. C., when Sosius, after the celebration of his triumph, stayed on in Rome as Antony's agent, and consul designate. It was as *Cos. Desig.*, and therefore before the end of 33 B. C., that he struck coin No. 3 with the head of Apollo and tripod. This was a type five centuries old in the coinage of Zacynthus, where the worship of Apollo played an important role. The reason for bringing back this ancient type at this particular time may bear some relation to his new interest in the Apollo cult in connection with the statue and the temple.⁵ Seleucia, from which he brought the statue of Apollo of cedar wood (see p. 28), was in his province of Syria, and the statue was apparently transported to Rome with the triumph and commemorative temple in mind.

PLINY in three passages of his *Natural History* mentions works of art existing in his day in the temple: (1) xxxvi, 34:.... *ad Octaviae vero porticum Apollo Philisci Rhodii in delubro suo, item Latona et Diana et Musae novem et alter Apollo nudus. Eum qui citharam in eodem*

¹ PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 28.

² *Id.*, *N. H.*, xiii, 53.

³ At this time there was going on in Rome a good deal of "jockeying for position" between the friends of Octavian and the agents of Antony. The fact that Octavian was building a new temple of Apollo on the Palatine was sufficient reason for an Antonian to endeavor to offset any religious advantage which might thus accrue to Octavian, by rebuilding the old temple with its four hundred years of religious tradition behind it.

⁴ PLATNER, *Rom. Top. and Mon.*, 344, places the restoration in 32 B. C. JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, part 3, 536, states that it was restored by a C. Sosius, probably the consul of 32 B. C. Those who place it in 31 B. C. were perhaps influenced by the fact that DIO, i, 10, 3, mentions a fire which in that year destroyed the neighboring temple of

Spes, some hundred meters distant. FRANK, *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, 134, says: "As is well known a certain Sosius reconstructed the temple about 31 B. C., and filled it with works of art." DELBRÜCK, *Der Apollotempel auf dem Marsfelde*, who denies any connection between the templum Apollinis Sosiani and the great temple of the Campus Martius, remarks (p. 3) that C. Sosius was in 31 B. C. legatus of Antony in Syria and Cilicia. He is here in error: the Syrian governorship belongs to 38-36 B. C. In 31 he was legatus of Antony at Actium. None of these scholars has noted that Sosius was a *triumphalis*. Even PAIS, *Fasti Triumphales*, 302, failed to observe that a building had been associated with Sosius.

⁵ For a less probable interpretation, see p. 26, note 10.

templo tenet Timarchides fecit,... (2) xxxvi, 28: *Par haesitatio est in templo Apollonis Sosiani, Niobae liberos morientes Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit,...* In these two passages PLINY is chiefly concerned with the identification of the works of famous sculptors. (3) xiii, 53: *Cedrinus est Romae in delubro Apollo Sosianus, Seleucia advectus.* Here the emphasis is upon the material of the statue and the provenance. It is noteworthy that in the first passage cited above, there were in the temple, besides Latona, Diana and the nine Muses, no less than three statues of Apollo. The addition of a fourth (no. 3) and the group of Niobids (No. 2), which after all were germane to the cult of Apollo, is not surprising. The temple must have been a veritable museum, but as it was used for meetings of the Senate, it must have been large enough to house such a collection.¹

LANCIANI, HULSEN, and after them FRANK and DELBRÜCK² place the temple of Apollo in the angle between the Portico of Octavia and the Theatre of Marcellus, where the old temple has been identified with some existing tufa walls partly imbedded in a mass of concrete with reticulate facing, under the cloister of S.ta Maria in Campitelli. FRANK³ thinks that the *cappellaccio* core may belong to the fifth century B. C., and assigns the Monte Verde blocks of the podium to the reconstruction of 179, and the mass of concrete with the reticulate facing to the temple of Sosius.⁴

We have thus far no record of a commemorative building in connection with the next triumph:

B. C. 34, October 12. Triumph of C. Norbanus Flaccus, ex Hispania.

A lacuna in the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini* leaves us in uncertainty with regard to the exact years of the next three triumphs, namely, those of L. Marcius Philippus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, and L. Cornificius. In the *Tab. Triumph. Barberiniana* they come between the triumph of C. Norbanus Flaccus, which occurred on Oct. 12, B. C. 34, and the triple triumph of Octavianus on August 13, 14, and 15, 29 B. C. It is not likely that any of them were celebrated during the civil war, between its outbreak in January, 32 B. C., and the battle of Actium, Sept. 2, 31 B. C. We may safely place the triumph of Philippus in 33 B. C.⁵ It is possible that all three fell in that year. Cornificius, the third on the

¹ DELBRÜCK, *op. cit.*, would segregate no. 3 from nos. 1 and 2, and make the temple of Apollo Sosianus a different edifice from that *ad porticum Octaviae*. But he has to explain away the very express statement of Asconius that before the building of the temple on the Palatine, there was but one temple of Apollo.

² See p. 27, note 4.

³ *Rom. Buildings of the Rep.*, 133-134.

⁴ For the modern literature on the subject see PLATNER-ASHBY, 15 f.

⁵ GARDTHAUSEN, *Augustus*, i, 983, places it in 32 B. C., but gives no reason; *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.*, ii, p. 338, n. 173, has "a. ut videtur 721."

list, after his consulship in 35 B. C., was the successor of Statilius Taurus as governor of Africa. The triumph of Statilius was celebrated on Sept. 3, 34 B. C. The triumph of Cornificius *ex Africa* was celebrated on Dec. 3, as we know from the *Tab. Triumph. Barberiniana*. By Dec. 3, 33 B. C., he had already been governor of Africa for a longer period than his predecessor, with time to earn a triumph. If we should place his triumph in the next year,¹ it would fall in the midst of the civil war, when men's minds were preoccupied by the final struggle between Antony and Octavian.

B. C. 33,² APRIL 26.

Triumph of L. Marcius Philippus, ex Hispania.

He restores the Temple of Hercules Musarum and surrounds it with the Porticus Philippi.

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

L·MARCIVS·PHILIPVS·EX·HISPANIA·V·K
MAI·TRIVMPHAVIT·PALMAM·DEDIT

This L. Marcius Philippus was apparently not the stepfather of Octavianus as HÜLSEN³ thought, but a son of this stepfather by a marriage previous to that with Atia, the mother of Octavian. The younger Philippus apparently married a younger sister of the same Atia, and so became by marriage the uncle of Octavian as well as his step-brother.⁴ He was *tribunus plebis* in 49 B. C.,⁵ *praetor* in 44,⁶ *consul suffectus* in 38 with P. Cornelius Scipio.⁷

History has left no record of his campaigns in Spain for which his triumph was celebrated. The attention of historians was concentrated, for this period, upon the acts of the two protagonists, Octavian and Antony. But his commemorative building occurs in the lists of both SÜETONIUS, *Aug.*, 29, 5, and TACITUS, *Ann.*, iii, 72, already cited.⁸ *De manubiis* he rebuilt the temple of Hercules Musarum, originally constructed by M. Fulvius Nobilior after his triumph over the Aetolians in 187 B. C.⁹ Besides restoring the temple, Philippus seems to have surrounded it with an extensive portico which in Ovid's day

¹ *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.*, i, p. 472, no. 1229, is non-committal, and gives the date as "a. 721 vel 722-33/32 ut videtur."

² See the remarks on chronology in the previous paragraph.

³ *Top.*, i, part 3, p. 545.

⁴ L. BIONDI, in *Dissert. della Pontif. Accad. Rom. di Archeologia*, vi, 1835, 325-343, who treats of the careers of the two men in great detail. Cf. OVID, *Fast.*, vi, 801-812.

⁵ CAESAR, *B. C.*, i, 6, 4.

⁶ CIC., *Phil.*, iii, 25.

⁷ *Fasti Biond.*, in *C. I. L.*, i², p. 65.

⁸ pp. 10 f.

⁹ For data in regard to this earlier temple see PLATNER-ASHBY, 255, also MACROB., *Sat.*, i, 12, 16; PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxv, 66; SERV., *Aen.*, i, 8; *B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Rep.*, i, pp. 441-446, nos. 3602-3632.

served as a bazaar¹ where false hair was sold — *Herculis ante oculos virgineumque chorum*. Fragment 33 of the marble plan, inscribed with the words [porti]CVS OCTAVIAE ET FIL[ippi....] AEDIS HERCVLI[s *Musarum*], shows that the portico lay immediately to the north west of the *porticus Octaviae*, and had the same orientation.²

Among the works of art which adorned the portico were a picture of Helen by Zeuxis,³ paintings of Liber Pater, the young Alexander, and Hippolytus by Antiphilus,⁴ and a series of scenes from the Trojan war by Theorus.⁵ This latter series may have served to inspire the scenes which VIRGIL represents Aeneas as seeing in the temple at Carthage, *Aen.*, i, 453-495. The portico must have been approaching completion when VIRGIL was beginning the *Aeneid*.

We have no information as to the time of the completion, or the dedication,⁶ but from the known data in regard to other monuments of the *triumphales* we may assume that the work consumed at least four or five years.

For the next triumph we have no record of a commemorative building :

B. C. 33 (?),⁷ June 1. *Triumph of Ap. Claudius Pulcher, ex Hispania.*

B. C. 33 (?),⁷ DECEMBER 3.

Triumph of L. Cornificius, ex Africa.

He restores the Temple of Diana on the Aventine.

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

L·CORNIFICIVS·EX·AFRICA·III·NON·DEC
TRIUMPHAVT·PALMAM·DEDIT

Like Agrippa, Cornificius was a *novus homo*, who played an important role as a coadjutor of Octavian. His recorded career begins with his prosecution of M. Brutus in 43 B. C., under the *Lex Pedia*, for the murder of Caesar.⁸ In the war with Sex. Pompey, B. C. 38-36, he was one of Octavian's generals, and in the campaign of 36 he distinguished himself

¹ OVID, *Ars Am.*, iii, 167 f. It is also mentioned in *Fast.*, vi, 799-812, and by MARTIAL, v, 49, 12 f.

² Cf. VILH. LUNDSTRÖM, *Undersökningar Roms Topografi*, Goteburg, 1929, 95 ff.

³ PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxv, 66.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, xxxv, 114.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, xxxv, 144.

⁶ PLATNER, *Top. and Mon.*, 348, dates the buildings

of Philippus in 29 B. C. But this is obviously a slip, as he states on p. 376 that the date is not known. The occasion for the slip was apparently « Aug. 29, » the number of the reference in Suetonius. In PLATNER-ASHBY, 255, cf. 428, the date is still given as 29 B. C.

⁷ For the year, see p. 28.

⁸ PLUTARCH, *Brut.*, 27.

especially by extricating his army from the difficult position in which it was left through the defeat of Octavian's fleet by Pompey.¹

He was consul in 35 B. C. with one Sex. Pompeius for colleague.² He must have succeeded Statilius Taurus as governor of Africa in 34 B. C., as it was *ex Africa* that he celebrated his triumph. We do not know the nature of the campaign for which the triumph was granted. The story told by DIO about his riding out to dinner on the back of an elephant is more probably to be connected with his African triumph than with the extricating of his troops from their desperate plight in the last campaign with Sex. Pompey, as DIO says.³

We have information in regard to the building erected by Cornificius to commemorate his triumph, although we do not know the date of completion or dedication. SUETONIUS, in the list which he gives at the end of chapter 29 of his *Augustus* — a list which consists entirely of *triumphales*, except for Agrippa, who consistently refused a triumph, — states that Cornificius rebuilt the temple of Diana.⁴ This statement is corroborated by an inscription which records that a certain freedman of Claudius was *aedituus Dianae Cornificianae*.⁵

The temple of Diana which he chose to rebuild and embellish was the historic temple on the Aventine,⁶ ascribed to Servius Tullius, who, according to LIVY,⁷ induced the Latin peoples to build a shrine to Diana in common with the Roman people, thereby causing them to confess the hegemony of Rome. It had within its precincts several ancient documents, including the *Foedus Latinum* and the *Lex Icilia*, which still existed in the time of DIONYSIUS;⁸ the *Lex Arae Dianae* became the prototype for other *leges sacrae*, such as those of the altars at Salonae⁹ and at Narbo.¹⁰

The temple as restored by Cornificius is represented on fragment No. 2 of the marble plan (inscribed with the word *Cornificia*) which shows it as octostyle and dipteral with a front of about 27 metres, surrounded by a double colonnade.¹¹ It lay to the west of Sta. Prisca on the *Clivus Aventinus*,¹² but, while it was standing in the fourth century,¹³ no trace of it has been found.

¹ VELL., ii, 79, 4; APP., *Bell. Civ.*, v, 80, 86, 111, 113; DIO, xlix, 6 f.

² DIO, xlix, 18, 6; 33, 1.

³ DIO, xlix, 7, 6.

⁴ SUET., *Aug.*, 29, 5: *Multaque a multis tunc extracta sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis Musarum, a L. Cornificio aedes Dianae...*

⁵ C. I. L., vi, 4305.

⁶ C. I. L., vi, 32323, 10, 32; PROP., iv, 8, 29; FESTUS, 164 L.; MART., vi, 64, 13; VAL. MAX., vii, 3, 1. From this temple the Aventine was itself called *Collis Dianae* (MART., vii, 73, 1; xii, 18, 3).

⁷ LIVY, i, 45; see also DIONYS., iv, 26; VARRO, *L. L.*,

v, 43.

⁸ DIONYS., iv, 26, 5; x, 32, 4. See JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, part 3, 158.

⁹ C. I. L., iii, 1933.

¹⁰ C. I. L., xii, 4333. Cfr. also C. I. L., xi, 361.

¹¹ PLATNER-ASHBY, 149 f.; *Bull. Com.*, 1891, 210-216; C. I. L., vi, 4305. It has been thought that this temple is shown on a coin of Augustus (*B. M. Coins Rom. Emp.*, i, p. 104, no. 643) because of a head of Diana on the obverse. This seems to me to be exceedingly doubtful.

¹² *Bull. Com.*, xlii, 1914, 346. See also MARTIAL, vi, 64, 12 f.

¹³ *Not.*, Reg. ix.

PAIS¹ has an ingenious suggestion as to why Cornificius selected this particular temple. He points out that Cornificius was, like so many of the generals of Augustus, a *novus homo* of humble origin, and that the slaves who sought the protection of Diana were called *cervi*, that is to say « stags. »²

29 B. C., AUGUST 13, 14, 15.

*Triple Triumph of Caesar Octavianus
de Dalmatis, ex Actio, ex Aegypto.*

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

IMP·CAESAR·DE·DALMATIS·EID·SEX
TRIVMPH·PALMAM DEDIT
IMP·CAESAR·ex aigyPTO·XIIIX·K·SEPT
TRIVMPHAVIT³

Inasmuch as this three-day celebration, the most magnificent of Roman triumphs, has been described in great detail by all the historians and biographers, ancient and modern, who have treated of the Augustan Age, celebrated by the Augustan poets, and represented on contemporary coins, it is too well known to require a lengthy description here. And as the buildings of Augustus will be discussed together in a separate chapter, those associated with the triumph will be treated with greater brevity than was observed in the case of the less important *triumphales*.

If we were acquainted with all the details of the building operations of Augustus we should probably find that most of the buildings constructed about this time were financed from the *manubiae* connected with these triumphs. We should probably not be far wrong, for instance, in guessing that the restoration of the eighty-two temples in his sixth consulship, which he records in the *Res Gestae* (c. 20), was paid for *ex manubiali pecunia*. But we possess specific references to only two building operations connected with the victories celebrated in his triple triumph.

The first of these was the rebuilding of the Porticus Octavia,⁴ in the region of the Circus Flaminius, built originally by Cn. Octavius shortly after 168 B. C. to commemorate his naval triumph over King Perses. It had been burned,⁵ and Octavianus now restored it *de manubiis*⁶ without making any change in its name, as he himself states in the *Res*

¹ *Fast. Triumph. Cap.*, 305; *Fasti Consolari*, 184.

² *FESTUS*, 460 L.

³ The Actian triumph is not mentioned.

⁴ *VELL.*, ii, 1, 2; *PLINY, N. H.*, xxxiv, 13; *FESTUS*,

178 M., 188 L.

⁵ *FESTUS, loc. cit.*

⁶ *DIO*, xlix, 43, 8 (who, however, confuses it with the *Porticus Octaviae*; the confusion is explained in *FESTUS*).

Gestae.¹ In it he placed the standards recovered in the Dalmatian war.² DIO³ mentions the rebuilding of the portico in connection with the conclusion of the Dalmatian War in 33 B. C., and states that it was so rebuilt ἀπὸ τῶν λαφόρων αὐτῶν (= *de manubiis* of the Dalmatae). The reconstruction may well have been begun before the triumph, which was deferred by the war against Antony, and possibly as early as 33 B. C. But there is also a possibility that the fire which destroyed the old portico was the fire of 31 B. C., which damaged a number of buildings in this vicinity. The exact location of the portico is unknown, and it seems to have disappeared in the early empire to make way for other structures.

After his triumphs of 29 Augustus set the example to other *triumphales* for a new type of public work, the repaving of the great highways, as we learn from Suetonius, *Aug.*, 30: *quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia Via Arimino tenus munienda reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit*. The words *ex manubiali pecunia* suggest that his own share of the work is to be connected with his triumph. We learn from his own statement in the *Res Gestae*, chapter 20, that when consul for the seventh time (= 27 B. C.) he constructed the Via Flaminia from the City to Ariminum, and all the bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian. We also learn from DIO⁴ that statues of Augustus were erected on arches on the bridge over the Tiber (the Mulvian Bridge) and at Ariminum to commemorate the completion of the work.

We know of at least two other *triumphales* who followed his example — there may have been more, but we have no record —: C. Calvisius Sabinus, who triumphed in 28, and M. Valerius Messalla, who triumphed in 27 B. C. DIO⁵ intimates that this form of public benefaction was not popular with the senators, and that later the roads were built at public expense or that of Augustus.

On the occasion of the triumphs Caesar dedicated the Curia Julia with the connecting building called Chalcidicum, and also the Temple of Julius.⁶ But these were structures begun long before, and in no way connected with the triumph except through the circumstance of the dedication.

¹ Chapter 19.

² Appian, *Illyr.*, 28.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ liii, 22, 2.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ DIO, li, 22, 1 f.; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, chapter 19.

28 B. C., MAY 26.¹

*Triumph of C. Calvisius Sabinus, ex Hispania.
He builds part of the Latin Way de manubiis.*

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

C·CALVISIVS·SABINVS·EX·HISPANIA·VII·K·IVN
TRIVMPHAVIT·PALMAM·DEDIT

C. Calvisius was already a seasoned general in Julius Caesar's campaign against Pompey in B. C. 48,² and was therefore older than most of the generals who served under Octavian. The elder Caesar, before his death, had intended to give him Africa as his province.³ He was consul in 39 B. C. with L. Marcius Censorinus. In 38 and 37 B. C. he served under Octavian in the campaign against Sex. Pompey,⁴ and later, in 32, he attacked Antony in the Senate.⁵ We have no information as to his governorship in Spain, or the campaign for which he celebrated his triumph.

Calvisius, instead of building a monument in Rome, rebuilt a portion of the Latin Way. Milestones 78, 80, 85, and 96⁶ were inscribed with his name :

C·CALVISIVS·C·F
SABINVS·COS
IMP

This new departure, for which Octavian himself set the example, is mentioned in SUET., *Aug.*, 30 (quoted above, p. 33).

Augustus, according to the *Res Gestae*⁷ and DIO,⁸ finished the Flaminian Way in the year 27, two years after his own triumph. We have no record of when Calvisius completed his portion of the Latin Way. The portion of this road nearest to Rome seems to have been rebuilt by M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, who celebrated his triumph in the next year.

For the next three triumphs no records have thus far come to light of any commemorative building :⁹

28 B. C., July 14. *Triumph of C. Carrinas, ex Gallia.*

28 B. C., Aug. 15. *Triumph of L. Autronius Paetus, ex Africa.*

27 B. C., July 4. *Triumph of M. Licinius Crassus, ex Thraecia.*

¹ The year is determined by the order of the triumphs in the *Tab. Triumph. Barb.* The date May 26 throws it at least into the year after the triumphs of Caesar (Aug. 13-15, 29 B. C.). The date of the triumph of M. Licinius Crassus, given in the *Fast. Triumph. Cap.* as July 4, 27, throws the triumphs of Carrinas (July 14) and Autronius Paetus (Sept. 15) which precede it in the *Tab. Triumph. Barb.* into the year 28. They follow the triumph of Calvisius.

² CAESAR, *B. C.*, iii, 34, 35, 56 (55).

³ CIC., *Phil.*, iii, 26.

⁴ APP., *B. C.*, v, 80-102; DIO, *xlvi*, 46-48, 54.

⁵ PLUT., *Ant.*, 58 f.

⁶ *C. I. L.*, x, 6895, 6897, 6899, 6901. No. 6900 has the name, but the number of miles cannot be read.

⁷ Chapter 20.

⁸ *liii*, 22, 1 f.

⁹ But see p. 33. Like Messalla, Calvisius and Augustus himself at this period, these three *triumphales* may have turned the proceeds of the *manubiae* to road building.

27 B. C., SEPTEMBER 25.

Triumph of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, ex Gallia.

He rebuilds a portion of the Latin Way.

Fasti Triumph. Cap., an. 726 = Varr. 727 = 27 B. C. :

M·VALERIVS·M·F·M·N·MESSALLA·A·DCCCXXVI

CORVINVS·PRO·COS·EX·GALLIA·VII·K·OCT

Tab. Triumph. Barb. :

M·VAL·MESSALLA·EX·GALLIA·vii·k·oct·triumphavit

PALMAM·DEDIT

This is Messalla Corvinus, the famous orator and literary patron, and one of the most prominent figures of the period. The documentation in regard to him occupies over five pages in the *Prosopographia Imp. Romani*, iii, 363-368, *q. v.* Messalla had been on the proscription list of 43 B. C., was commander under Brutus and Cassius, then a follower of Antony until he became dissatisfied with his conduct in regard to Cleopatra, was one of Octavian's generals in 36 B. C. in the war against Sextus Pompey, and later in the Illyrian War. In 31 B. C. he was consul with Octavian (in place of Antony) and commanded part of Octavian's fleet at Actium.

Our information as to the campaign against the Aquitanians, for which he received his triumph, we owe to the *Elegies* of TIBULLUS,¹ and a brief incidental passage in APPIAN,² who states that, after Actium, Octavian despatched him as general against the revolted Gauls, and awarded him a triumph over them.

From TIBULLUS³ we also gather that Messalla repaved at least the portion of the Latin Way which passed through the Alban Hills :

Nec taceat monumenta viae, quem Tuscula tellus

Candidaque antiquo detinet Alba lare.

Namque opibus congesta tuis hic glarea dura

Sternitur, hic apta iungitur arte silex.

Te canit agricola, e magna cum venerit urbe

Serus, inoffensum rettuleritque pedem.

We have already⁴ noted the passage of Suetonius, *Aug.*, 30, relating to the great highways. Augustus's own paving of the Flaminian Way was according to DIO⁵ completed in 27 B. C., this very year. We have also seen⁶ that Calvisius, who triumphed the year before

¹ TIBULL., i, 7, 3-12; ii, 1, 33.

² B. C., iv, 38.

³ i, 7, 57-62.

⁴ p. 33.

⁵ liii, 22, 1 f.

⁶ p. 34.

Messalla, paved a part of the Latin Way, and at least the portions between milestones 78 and 96. Messalla, perhaps as a special favor, seems to have been assigned the portion of the road nearest the city. The use by TIBULLUS of the word *monumenta*, in a context dealing with the triumph, indicates the commemorative nature of the work. The road was probably spanned, as in the case of the Flaminian Way,¹ by one or more commemorative arches, but, by an accident of fortune, not even a single milestone has been found — we have five from the section built by Calvisius —, and Messalla's expenditures would have been money thrown away, so far as perpetuating his name was concerned, had it not been for the commemorative elegy of his *protégé* TIBULLUS. Small wonder, as we learn from DIO, that this idea of Augustus was not popular among the senators, and that Augustus was forced to advance the money himself for the completion of the road-building programme.² The fact that our knowledge of the building operations of Messalla, one of the outstanding figures of the Augustan Age, hangs upon so slender a thread suggests the probability that C. Carrinas, L. Autronius Paetus, and M. Licinius Crassus, whose triumphs fall in 28 and 27 B. C. and for whom we have no record of commemorative buildings, may have been engaged in these road-building operations. The same remark may also apply to Sex. Appuleius, whose triumph fell in 26 B. C.³

It has been generally supposed that the first book of TIBULLUS was published not long after the triumph of Messalla. If so, the road must have been completed promptly, as was the case with the Flaminian Way,⁴ unless indeed the lines referring to the Latin Way were a later addition.

We have no record of commemorative buildings in connection with the next two triumphs:

26 B. C., Jan. 26. *Triumph of Sex. Appuleius*,⁵ ex Hispania.

21 B. C., Oct. 12. *Triumph of L. Sempronius Atratinus*,⁵ ex Africa.

¹ DIO, *loc. cit.*

² See coins of the year 17-16 B. C. (*B. M. Coins Rom. Emp.*, i, p. 75), with triumphal arch or two arches on viaduct, and the inscription: *Quod viae mun(itae) sunt*. Cf. *Res Gestae*, chapter 17.

³ DIO, liii, 23, 2, speaking of the dedication of the *Saepta* by Agrippa in 26 B. C., adds that Agrippa « instead of undertaking to repair a road » had adorned with incrus-

tations and paintings this building which had been constructed by Lepidus. The mention of the exception serves to prove that road-building was the accepted rule for the *imperatores* in the years immediately following Actium.

⁴ DIO, liii, 22, 1 f.

⁵ Like Augustus, Calvisius, and Messalla, he may have undertaken to repave a road. See p. 33.

19 B. C., MARCH 27.

Triumph of L. Cornelius Balbus, ex Africa.

He builds the Theatrum Balbi, dedicated in 13 B. C.

Fasti Triumph. Cap., ann. 734 = Varr. 735 = 19 B. C. :

L·CORNELIVS·P·F·BALBVS·PRO·COS·A·DCCCXXXIV
EX·AFRICA VI·K·APRIL

This triumph of L. Cornelius Balbus is the last entry made on the pilasters of the Regia. Later in the reign of Augustus the Senate voted a triumph to Agrippa, who, as usual, declined it, and two triumphs to Tiberius. But Balbus was the last person outside the imperial family, as he was the first person of foreign birth, to receive the honor.¹

He was the nephew of Julius Caesar's famous agent, the Spaniard L. Cornelius Balbus, and had received the citizenship with his uncle.² He was perhaps *consul suffectus* in 32 B. C.,³ and had been *quaestor* in Spain in 44.⁴ As proconsul in Africa he conquered the Garamantes, for which victory he celebrated the triumph here recorded. In the lack of any detailed historical account of the campaign, we have preserved in PLINY⁵ a long list of the towns, races, and places which he captured, whose names, accompanied by *simulacra*, were carried in the triumphal procession. The triumph was celebrated in the absence of Augustus, who did not return to Rome from the East until October 12 of this year.

His commemorative building was a theatre of stone on the Campus Martius opposite the upper end of the island in the Tiber, if the topographers are right, as they seem to be, in identifying it with the ruins under the *Monte dei Cenci*.⁶ Its connection with the *manubiae* is implied in SUET., *Aug.*, 29, 5, and specifically mentioned in TACITUS, *Ann.*, iii, 72. It is interesting to note not only that it lay in close proximity to the Theatre of Marcellus, but that its construction was contemporaneous with the building of that theatre by Augustus himself as a memorial to his nephew, who died in 23 B. C. The diameter of the *cavea* was about 70 metres. The *Curiosum* and *Notitia* give it a capacity of 11,510 *loca* = six to seven thousand spectators. PLINY⁷ mentions the four modest columns of onyx with which it was decorated, which were a marvel for that day, but which were far surpassed in number and grandeur in the private constructions of Callistus, freedman of Claudius.

¹ PLINY, *N. H.*, v, 36 f.; VELLEIUS, ii, 51, 3; SOLINUS, xxix, 7.

² PLINY, *loc. cit.*

³ One L. Cornelius, *consul suffectus*, *Kal. Jul. ann. 722* (=32 B. C.), is recorded in *Fasti Ven.*, in *C. I. L.*, 1², p. 66, and *Fasti Coll. Inc. Urb.*, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁴ CIC., *Fam.*, x, 32, 1-3.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ *Forma Urbis*, fragm. 29; LANCIANI, in *Bull. Com.*, xxvii, 1899, 21, and pl. 1; HÜLSEN, *Top.*, i, part 3, 519-521; LANCIANI, *F. U. R.*, sheet 21; *Atti del Congresso Storico*, i, 117.

⁷ *N. H.*, xxxvi, 60.

It is thought that a number of works of art found in the neighborhood, such as the Dioscuri on the Capitol, and the bronze Bacchus in the Terme Museum, may have belonged to this theatre.¹ The *Curiosum* and *Notitia* mention, also in the IX. Region, a *crypta Balbi*: but whether this was a separate building or something in the nature of a *foyer* to the theatre cannot be determined.

The construction of the building consumed about six years. It was dedicated in 13 B. C. DIO² gives an interesting account of the airs which Balbus assumed in connection with the dedication ceremonies, followed by the anti-climax that, owing to a Tiber flood, he was not even able to enter the theatre except by boat.

It was injured in the fire of Titus³ and presumably restored, as it was still in use in the time of Ausonius,⁴ who refers to it, and is mentioned in the *Notitia*, Reg. ix.

After 19 B. C. the only triumphs recorded during the reign of Augustus are limited to members of the imperial family as follows:

A triumph was voted to Agrippa⁵ in 14 B. C., which, in pursuance of a fixed policy, he declined; an ovation was celebrated by Nero Claudius Drusus in 11 B. C. for victories in Germany;⁶ Tiberius celebrated a similar ovation over the Pannonians and Dalmatians either in the same year or at any rate before the death of Drusus in 9 B. C.⁷ These were followed by the two triumphs of Tiberius in 7 B. C. and 12 or 13 A. D. described below.

7 B. C., JANUARY 1.

Triumph of Tiberius, de Germanis.

He undertakes to rebuild the Temple of Concord.

Possibly also the Restoration of the Temple of Castor is to be connected with this Triumph.

After the death of Drusus, Augustus entrusted the campaign against the Germans to Tiberius. VELLEIUS,⁸ perhaps with some exaggeration, states that after traversing every part of Germany in a glorious campaign Tiberius so subdued the country as to reduce it

¹ HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*

² liv, 25, 2.

³ DIO, lxvi, 24.

⁴ *Lud. Septem Sap.*, 40.

⁵ DIO, liv, 24, 7.

⁶ ID., liv, 33, 5; GARDTHAUSEN, *Augustus*, i, 1084 f.; PAIS, *Fasti Triumph.*, 321. HÜLSEN, in *C. I. L.*, 1², p. 181, puts the date in 10 B. C.

⁷ The references to this ovation of Tiberius over the Dalmatians and Pannonians (VELL., ii, 96, 3; DIO,

lv, 2, 4; SUET., *Tib.*, 9, 1,) are rather vague as regards time. The only concrete reference is that in DIO, who says that, while Drusus was still alive, Tiberius had overcome the Dalmatians and Pannonians, who had once more begun a rebellion, and had celebrated an equestrian triumph. In *C. I. L.*, i², p. 181, Hülsen places the ovation in 9 B. C., the year of the death of Drusus. PAIS, *loc. cit.*, perhaps rightly, places it in the same year as the ovation of Drusus, 11 B. C.

⁸ ii, 97, 4.

almost to the status of a tributary province. For this he was awarded a triumph by Augustus, who did not choose to celebrate another triumph himself.¹ The triumph was held, according to DIO,² the first day of the year in which he was consul with Cn. Piso, = 7 B. C.³ On that day he convened the Senate in the Curia Octaviae because it was outside the pomerium. After assigning to himself the duty of repairing the Temple of Concord, in order that he might inscribe upon it his own name and that of his brother Drusus, who had died in 9 B. C., he celebrated his triumph, and in company with his mother dedicated the precinct called the precinct of Livia.⁴ Dio goes on to say that he gave a banquet to the Senate on the Capitol, and his mother a banquet to the women somewhere else.

We thus learn from the passage in DIO that Tiberius undertook the restoration of the Temple of Concord as a building to commemorate his triumph and also perpetuate the memory of his brother Drusus, whose unfinished campaigns in Germany Tiberius had brought to an end. This temple, at the west end of the Forum and at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, was dedicated, according to DIO,⁵ in 10 A. D.⁶ The consulship, P. Dolabella and C. Silanus, and the day of the month, January 16, are given in the *Fasti Praenestini*.⁷ DIO states that the name of Drusus was inscribed upon it, as well as that of Tiberius himself. The period which elapsed between the triumph and the dedication is seventeen years, which seems an excessively long time. The building plans of Tiberius may have been interrupted by his voluntary exile in Rhodes from 6 B. C. to 2 A. D. We know, however, that even on his way to Rhodes he still had the Temple of Concord in mind, since he compelled the Parians to sell him their statue of Hestia in order that he might place it in the temple.⁸

¹ DIO, lv, 6, 5 f.

² lv, 8, 1 f.

³ PAIS, *Fasti Triumph.*, 321, places the triumph in 8 B. C., possibly misled by the fact that DIO, lv, 6, 5 f., refers to the *awarding* of the triumph in 8 B. C. But in lv, 8, 1 f. DIO is specific about the date of the celebration, giving the consuls. VELLEIUS, *loc. cit.*, also connects the triumph with the second consulship of Tiberius = 7 B. C.

⁴ Probably the *Porticus Liviae* on the *Clivus Suburanus*, built on the site of the former house of Vedius Pollio.

⁵ lvi, 25, 1.

⁶ Suetonius, *Tib.*, 20, erroneously, as it seems, connects the dedication with the later triumph of Tiberius in 12 or 13 A. D. In view of the fact that Suetonius wrote the Life of Tiberius, this statement must be reckoned with or his error explained. Living in Rome he must have frequently seen the inscriptions, if they had not been removed in later restorations. The passage in *Tib.* 20 reads as follows: *A Germania in urbem regressus triumphum quem distulerat, egit, prosequentibus etiam legatis, quibus triumphalia ornamenta impetrarat.... Dedicavit et Concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris suo fratrisque nomine, de manubiis.* *De manubiis* definitely connects it with a

triumph, and was probably part of the inscriptions on both temples. We know from Dio that the name of Drusus was placed on the inscriptions of both temples together with that of Tiberius. Unless the inscriptions had the number of the Tribunicia Potestas, there would be no exact record of date. They probably had a record of the consulship, but as Tiberius was COS. II from Jan. 1, 7 B. C., to Jan. 1, 18 A. D., both triumphs fell within these dates, and the consulship therefore would not help in determining the year. Consequently, Suetonius, finding on the inscriptions the words *de manubiis*, with no other precise indication of date, apparently assumed that the dedication was to be connected with the later triumph over the Pannonians. He may have been helped to this erroneous conclusion by some Hemerologium like that of the *Fasti Praenestini* (*C. I. L.*, 1², p. 231), which has under Jan. 16 two separate entries: (1) the dedication of the Temple of Concord and (2) the triumph of Tiberius over the Pannonians; and may have thought that the two entries belonged to the same year.

⁷ *C. I. L.*, 1², pp. 231, 308, a. d. xvii. Kal. Feb.-Jan. 16: *Concordiae Au[gustae aedis dedicat]a est P. Dolabella C. Silano co[s.] (=10 A. D.).*

⁸ DIO, lv, 9, 6.

The original temple of Concord was erected in 367 B. C. by M. Furius Camillus to commemorate the passage of the Licinian laws and the restoration of harmony between the patricians and plebeians. It was rebuilt in 121 B. C. by L. Opimius, by order of the Senate, after the crushing by the Optimates of the Gracchan revolution, so that a monument originally built to commemorate the triumph of popular rights was now rebuilt to celebrate the triumph of the aristocracy. In consequence, the outraged sympathisers with the popular cause, under the cover of darkness, changed the inscription to read: «Discord raises this temple to Concord.» It was in this temple that Cicero delivered his fourth oration against Catiline, and it was frequently used for Senate meetings on other extraordinary occasions. This temple was now entirely reconstructed by Tiberius under the name *Concordia Augusta*, after the party struggles had ended in the Pax Romana of the principate. The building of the Tabularium in 78 B. C. immediately behind the temple of Opimius made it necessary for the architects of Tiberius in enlarging the temple to resort to an unusual plan, with a width of 45 metres and a depth of only 24, with a *pronaos* 24 metres wide and 14 deep, as can be gathered from the existing podium excavated in 1817. The two long slabs of Porta Santa marble which formed the threshold of the *pronaos* were found *in situ*, also a considerable portion of the colored marble pavement, much of which has since disappeared. The beauty of this building of Tiberius is attested by part of the magnificent cornice and other minor details, now in the Tabularium.¹ Like so many of the Augustan buildings, the temple was a veritable museum of works of art, which are mentioned in several passages in PLINY.²

It is probable that the rebuilding of the Temple of Castor in the Forum is also to be connected with this triumph of 7 B. C. Suetonius, *Tib.*, 20³ (who here erroneously connects both temples with the second triumph of Tiberius⁴) states that Tiberius dedicated the Temple of Concord and also the Temple of Castor in his own name and that of his brother Drusus, *de manubiis*. We know from DIO, iv, 27, 1, where the names of the consuls are given,⁵ that the rebuilt temple of Castor was dedicated by Tiberius in 6 A. D. in the name of both Tiberius and Drusus.⁶ If the *de manubiis* of Suetonius connects its rebuilding with a triumph, it must be the triumph of 7 B. C.⁷ DIO⁸ mentions, in connection with the year 7 B. C., that many of the structures about the Forum had been burned as one of the

¹ For recent studies of the temple see F. TÖBELMANN, *Röm. Gebälke*, 42-51, Abb. 46, pls. 6 f., and H. F. REBERT and H. MARCEAU, in *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, v, 1925, 53-75, pls. 44-51. For general description see PLATNER-ASHBY, 138-140.

² *N. H.*, xxxiv, 73, 80, 89; xxxvii, 4.

³ Quoted above, p. 39, note 6.

⁴ See page 39, note 6.

⁵ iv, 25, 1: Aemilius Lepidus and L. Arruntius -

A. D. 6.

⁶ DIO, iv, 27, 4: τοῦτό τε γὰρ (the gladiatorial games given in honor of Drusus by his sons Germanicus Caesar and Ti. Claudius Drusus) αὐτοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου μνήμῃ παρεμνήσατο, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Διοσκόρειον ὁ Τιβερίος καθιερώσας οὐ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ὄνομα αὐτῶν..... ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνον ἐπέγραψε.

⁷ See page 39, note 6.

⁸ iv, 8, 5.

reasons why the games in honor of Agrippa were held in the Saepta. It may well be that this fire occurred after Jan. 1 of 7 B. C., the date of the first triumph of Tiberius, that the Temple of Castor was damaged, and that Tiberius included it with the Temple of Concord, (the rebuilding of which he had already announced on Jan. 1) to be rebuilt *de manubiis*.¹ The Temple of Castor was at any rate finished first, in 6 A. D., and the Temple of Concord not until 4 years later, the delay being partly explained in both cases by his voluntary exile in Rhodes.

The original temple was dedicated in 484 B. C., near the Fountain of Juturna, at which the Dioscuri, according to tradition, had watered their horses after the battle of Lake Regillus.² It underwent several restorations, notably that of L. Caecilius Metellus in 117³ B. C. We learn from CICERO⁴ that Verres from motives of personal gain ordered unnecessary repairs. These repairs included the re-stuccoing of the tufa columns, showing that at the end of the Republic the temple was probably still in the Etruscan style. The restoration of Tiberius was a complete rebuilding with marble columns of the Corinthian order, octostyle and peripteral, with eleven columns on a side, and a double row on each side of the *pronaos*.⁵ The existing remains belong almost entirely to the epoch of Augustus.⁶ With this reconstruction by Tiberius should probably also be associated the restoration of the neighboring Fountain of Juturna, in Augustan masonry, in view of the traditional relation between the temple and the spring.

12 OR 13 A. D., JANUARY 16.

Triumph of Tiberius ex Pannonia et Dalmatia.

Fasti Praenestini a. d. xvii. Kal. Feb. :⁷

TI CAESAR EX PANNonia et delmatia triumphAVIT.

This triumph of Tiberius is uncertain in date, being variously placed in 11, 12 and 13 A. D. The first of these dates is an obvious error in *C. I. L.*, i², p. 181, since on p. 308 of the same volume it is given as 12 A. D., though the year *A. U. C.* is the same in both places, namely 765. The year 12 A. D. is the date usually accepted; MATTINGLY⁸ places it in 13 A. D.

¹ It is of course possible that DIO in iv, 8, 5, was referring to the fire of 14 B. C. which had burned the Basilica Aemilia, the flames spreading to the shrine of Vesta, and that the reconstruction of the basilica and the other burned buildings was the reason for the transfer of the games to the Saepta. But in view of the fact that in iv, 8, 7, (year 7 B. C.), he goes on to mention the organization by Augustus of a fire department, he seems to be referring to a fire in the year 7.

² LIVY, ii, 42, 5.

³ ASC., *pro Scaur.*, 46; CIC., *in Verr.*, Act. Sec., i, 154; PLUT., *Pomp.*, 2.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 129, 154.

⁵ PLATNER-ASHBY, 102-105.

⁶ VAN DEMAN, in *A. J. A.*, xvi, 1912, 393; also VAN BUREN, in *Class. Rev.*, xx, 1906, 77-82, 184.

⁷ *C. I. L.*, i², p. 231.

⁸ *B. M. Coins of the Roman Empire*, i, p. cxvii; MATTINGLY and SYDENHAM, *Rom. Imp. Coinage*, i, p. 48.

The year 12 A. D. best fits the references in Suetonius. From *Tib.*, 18,¹ we learn that Tiberius went to Germany the year after the defeat of Varus, which occurred in 9 A. D.; from *Tib.*, 20,² we learn that after spending two years there — which would therefore be 10 and 11 A. D. — he returned to Rome and celebrated his deferred triumph. But inasmuch as Suetonius is obviously wrong in connecting the dedication of the temples of Castor and Concord with this triumph,³ we are obliged to lend greater weight to two pieces of evidence which are contemporary: (1) Velleius, ii, 104, states that immediately after the adoption of Tiberius — 4 A. D. — he (Velleius) was sent with him as prefect of cavalry, and that for nine consecutive years he served him as *praefectus* or *legatus*,⁴ that is to say from 4 A. D. to 12 A. D. He further states that he was himself present at this deferred triumph over the Pannonians and Dalmatians *inter praecipuos praecipuisque donis adornatos viros* (ii, 121, 3). These two passages led Fynes Clinton⁵ to place the date in 12 A. D. But he failed to note that the *Fasti Praenestini* record the triumph as occurring on Jan. 16, which would give Velleius not nine years of service with Tiberius, but only eight. (2) The other piece of contemporary evidence is to be found in coins⁶ struck in the latter half of 13 A. D. (representing Tiberius *in quadriga* holding branch and sceptre) with the legend TI CAESAR (in exergue) AVG F TR POT XV.

The combined evidence of the coins, of the statement of Velleius in regard to his nine years' service with Tiberius, and of the date Jan. 16 furnished by the *Fasti Praenestini*, seems to establish Jan. 16, 13 B. C., as the most probable date.

We have no definite record of any buildings specially connected with this triumph except the erroneous statement of Suetonius already referred to in regard to the temples of Concord and of Castor, the first of which is surely to be associated with the triumph of 7 B. C., and the second probably so.

It should be noted, however, that in 17 A. D. Tiberius dedicated three temples:⁷ the temple of *Ceres Liber Liberaque* near the Circus Maximus, the temple of Flora, also near the Circus, and the temple of Janus at the Forum Holitorium. Tacitus says that all three restorations were begun by Augustus. It is possible that the completion of these three works is to be connected with the *manubiae* of the triumph.⁸

¹ *Proximo anno repetita Germania.*

² *A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus triumphum, quem distulerat, egit.*

³ See p. 39, note 6.

⁴ *Quippe protinus ab adoptione missus cum eo praefectus equitum in Germaniam.... eius operum per annos continuos*

novem praefectus aut legatus spectator et pro captu mediocritatis meae adiutor fui.

⁵ *Fasti Hellenici*, 2d. ed., iii, p. 278.

⁶ *B. M. Coins of Rom. Emp.*, i, pp. 87 f.

⁷ *Tac.*, *Ann.*, ii, 49.

⁸ But see *Suet.*, *Tib.*, 47.

EXCURSUS.

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and the Temple of Neptune.

The building activities of Agrippa and Augustus will be treated in later chapters, to appear, it is hoped, on another occasion.¹ We should, however, include here among the building activities of victorious generals the Temple of Neptune in the Campus Martius, generally supposed to have been built by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was consul with C. Sosius in 32 B. C.

In 43 B. C. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was condemned by the *Lex Pedia* as one of the sympathisers in the conspiracy against Caesar. He joined Brutus and in 42 B. C. was placed in command of a fleet operating in the Ionian Sea. About the time of the battle of Philippi he defeated Cn. Domitius Calvinus as he sailed out of the port of Brundisium with a detachment of troops for the triumvirs. For this victory he was saluted as *imperator* by his men. After Philippi he continued to harass the east coasts of Italy until B. C. 40, when, after the close of the Perusine War, he was persuaded by Pollio to join Antony.²

Inasmuch as Domitius won his victory over Calvinus in a civil war he was not entitled to a triumph, aside from the fact that in the years 42-41 he was an outlaw. But he celebrated his victory on coins which he struck in the East within those two years. The denarius (*B. M. Coins, Rom. Rep.*, ii, p. 488) shows on the reverse³ a trophy set upon the prow of a ship. The aureus (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 487) has on the obverse a portrait head with the legend AHENOBAR, and on the reverse, a tetrastyle temple with the legend NEPT (= *Neptuno*) above, and below and around the edge CN·DOMITIVS·L·F·IMP. The temple obviously represents either a temple vowed by Domitius himself or one which had been built by a member of his family. PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 26,⁴ speaks of a group of statues by Scopas in a temple of a Cn. Domitius, *in Circo Flaminio*, representing Neptune, Thetis, Achilles and Nereids riding on the backs of dolphins, whales, and hippocampi, as well as other marine figures. The same temple *in Circo Flaminio* is also mentioned in a tomb inscription⁵ and in the *Hemerolog. Amitern. ad Kal. Dec.*⁶

¹ See above, p. 8.

² For these events see SUET., *Nero*, 3; APP., *B. C.*, iv, 86, 100, 108, 115 f.; v, 26, 55, 61; VELL., ii, 72, 76; DIO, xlvi, 7, 4.

³ The obverse shows a head of elongated type of a bearded man, with the legend AHENOBAR; rev. legend CN·DOMITIVS·IMP. GRUEBER, *loc. cit.*, thinks, and I believe rightly, that this head represents the original Ahenobarbus (SUET., *Nero*, 1). He also thinks that the portrait on the aureus is that of an ancestor, but it may

be that of the moneyer himself.

⁴ *Sed in maxima dignatione delubro Cn. Domitii in Circo Flaminio Neptunus ipse et Thetis atque Achilles, Nereides supra delphinos et cete aut hippocampis sedentes, item Tritones chorusque Phorci et pistrices ac multa alia marina, omnia eiusdem manu, praeclarum opus, etiamsi totius vitae fuisset.*

⁵ *C. I. L.*, vi, 8423: *D. M. | Abascanto Aug. Lib. | aedituo aedis Neptuni | quae est in Circo Flamin(io)...*

⁶ *C. I. L.*, I², i, p. 245: *Neptuno Pietati ad | Circ. Flami...*

A series of frieze-like reliefs, formerly built into the wall of the Palazzo di Santa Croce, and now divided between Munich and the Louvre, have been identified by FURTWÄNGLER¹ as belonging together and to this temple of Neptune. The three in Munich represent the marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite, and the fourth, in the Louvre, a scene of sacrifice with a representation of the *suovetaurilia*. With the aid of casts of the reliefs in Munich there has been reconstructed in the Louvre the so-called altar; but the reliefs may really have decorated the base for the group by Scopas described by Pliny. These reliefs belong in style to the period of the end of the Republic.²

In the angle formed by the Via dei Specchi and the Via di S. Salvatore in Campo lie the ruins of a temple with six columns of tufa upon a substructure of travertine which has been identified as the Temple of Neptune, and belonging to the end of the Republic.³

The temple represented on the aureus, the reference in PLINY, the subject matter and date of the reliefs, and the probable date of the temple, seem to indicate that Domitius not only vowed but built a temple to Neptune to celebrate his naval victory.

The aureus of 42-41 B. C., with the temple on the reverse, can have indicated only a vow, or the intention to celebrate his victory by building a temple. Domitius was then an outlaw. When was the temple built? Immediately after joining Antony in 40 B. C. he became governor of Bithynia. He took part in Antony's Parthian campaign in 36. In 35 he was still in the East. We have no further record of him until 32 B. C., when he entered upon the consulship to which he and C. Sosius, another of Antony's agents, had been designated at the peace of Misenum in 39 B. C. In January of 32 he fled with his colleague Sosius to Antony at Ephesus. In 31 he became disgusted with the conduct of Antony and Cleopatra and went over to Octavian, but died before the battle of Actium.⁴

The temple may have been begun when he was governor of Bithynia. If it was he who set up the Scopas group described by PLINY, he may have acquired it during his sojourn in the East. We have no record of him between the years 35 and 32. His colleague Sosius was in Rome from 34 to 32, engaged in building operations to celebrate his triumph over Jerusalem, as well as acting as Antony's agent. It is not unlikely that Domitius was also in Rome during the same period, looking after Antony's interests and incidentally supervising the erection of the temple.

¹ *Intermezzi*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1896, 35-48.

² For a description of them see E. STRONG, *La Scultura Romana*, i, Florence, 1923, 10-14.

³ See HÜLSEN, *Top.*, i, part 3, 523 f.

⁴ For the events in his life between 40 and 31 B. C.

see: APP., *B. C.*, v, 73, 137; DIO, *xlvi*, 29, 2; PLUT., *Ant.*, 49, 5; *Fast. Venus.*, a. u. c. 722, in *C. I. L.*, i², p. 66; NEPOS, *Att.*, 22, 3; SUET., *Aug.*, 17, 2; *Nero*, 3; DIO, *xlix*, 41, 4; VELL., ii, 84, 2; TAC., *Ann.*, iv, 44; PLUT., *Ant.*, 63; DIO, i, 13, 6.

TABLE I
 CHRONOLOGY OF THE DATABLE BUILDING OPERATIONS IN ROME
 FROM THE
 DEATH OF JULIUS CAESAR TO THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS
 44 B. C. - 14 A. D.
 (INCLUDING MINOR DATABLE MONUMENTS).

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
44	<p>1. Building plans of Julius Caesar, in progress, but still unfinished, on the Ides of March: —</p> <p>Saepta, at least planned by 54 B.C.; continued by Lepidus after the death of Caesar; finished by Agrippa and dedicated in 26 B.C.</p> <p><i>Cic., ad Att., iv, 16, 14; Dio, liii, 23, 1 f.</i></p> <p>Basilica Julia, begun by Caesar about 54 B.C.; dedicated by him on Sept. 26, 46 B.C., still unfinished; completed by Octavianus.</p> <p><i>Cic., ad Att., iv, 16, 14; Hieron., ad a. Abr. 1971 = 46 B.C.; Res Gestae Divi Aug., c. 20.</i></p> <p>Forum Julium, begun by Caesar between 54 and 46 B.C.; dedicated before completion Sept. 26, B.C. 46; still unfinished between Feb. 15 and March 15 of 44 B.C.; completed by Octavianus.</p> <p><i>Pliny, N. H., xxxvi, 103; App., B. C., ii, 102; Nic. Damasc., Vita Caes., 22; Dio, xliii, 22, 1 f.; Res Gestae Divi Aug., c. 20; Hemerolog. Pinc. a. d. vi. Kal. Oct.</i></p> <p>Curia Julia. Caesar was commissioned by the Senate in 44 B.C. to build a new Senate house; operations renewed by the triumvirs in 42 B.C.; completed by Octavianus and dedicated in 29 B.C.</p> <p><i>Dio, xlv, 5; xlv, 17, 8 xlvii, 19, 1; li, 22, 1; Res Gestae Divi Aug., c. 19.</i></p>	44	<p>Rostra Caesaris. Caesar moved the Rostra in 44 B.C., conceding to his colleague Antony the honor of the inscription, and restored to it the statues of Sulla and Pompey. We have no record as to whether it was finished before or after the Ides of March.</p> <p><i>Dio, xliii, 49, 1; Vell., ii, 61, 3; Suet., Caesar, 75, 4</i></p> <p>Statue of Caesar set upon the Rostra by Antony, apparently before Feb. 15th and certainly before Oct. 6th.</p> <p><i>Cic., ad Fam., xii, 3, 1; Nic. Damasc., Vit. Caes., 20; Dio, xlv, 4, 5; 9, 2 f.</i></p> <p>Theatre in Campus Martius. Caesar in 44 B.C. had cleared the site and razed a temple of Pietas; completed by Augustus in 11 B.C. as the theatre of Marcellus.</p> <p><i>Dio, xliii, 49, 2; liii, 30, 5; Res Gest. Divi Aug., c. 21; Suet., Aug., 29, 4; Act. Lud. Saec., ap. C. I. L., vi, 32323, 156 f.; Pliny, N. H., vii, 121 (cf. Dio, liv, 26, 1); Livy, Per., 140</i></p> <p>2. After the Ides of March: —</p> <p>Gardens of Caesar across the Tiber become public property in accordance with his will.</p> <p><i>Suet., Caes., 83, 2; Dio, xlv, 35, 3; Tac., Ann., ii, 41; App., B. C., ii, 143; Plut., Brut., 20, 2; Cic., ad Att., xv, 15, 2; Phil., ii, 109.</i></p> <p>Altar and column of Numidian marble erected in the Forum by the mob on the</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
44	<p>spot where Caesar's body was burned; later removed by order of the consuls.</p> <p>APP., <i>B. C.</i>, ii, 148; iii, 2 and 3; DIO, xlv, 51, 1; Suet., <i>Caes.</i>, 85; Cic., <i>ad Fam.</i>, xii, 1, 1; <i>ad Att.</i>, xiv, 15, 1; 16, 2; <i>Phil.</i>, i, 30.</p> <p>Equestrian statue erected in the Forum by the 35 tribes to L. Antonius, brother of Mark Antony.</p> <p>Cic., <i>Phil.</i>, vi, 12-13.</p> <p>Between Dec. 20 of this year and Jan 4, of 43, the Senate decreed a gilded equestrian statue to Octavianus to be placed upon the Rostra.</p> <p>VELL., ii, 61, 2 f.; Cic., <i>ad Brut.</i>, i, 15, 7; APP., <i>B. C.</i>, iii, 51; <i>B. M. Cat. Coins Rom. Rep.</i>, ii, p. 409, no. 95.</p>	43	<p>Dec. 31. Triumph of M. Aemilius Lepidus, the triumvir. As commemorative monument he continues the construction of the <i>Saepta</i>, begun by Julius Caesar. (Completed and dedicated by Agrippa in 26 B.C.).</p> <p>VELLEIUS, ii, 67, 4; <i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; Cic., <i>ad Att.</i>, iv, 16, 14; DIO, liii, 23. See discussion on pp. 17 f.</p>
43	<p>Two other statues decreed by the Senate in first four weeks of this year, to be erected on the Rostra: —</p> <p>1. Gilded equestrian statue to M. Aemilius Lepidus.</p> <p>Cic., <i>ad Brut.</i>, i, 15, 9; <i>Phil.</i>, xiii, 9; DIO, xlvi, 51</p> <p>2. Bronze statue, standing, to Servius Sulpicius Rufus.</p> <p>Cic., <i>Phil.</i>, ix, 16; POMP., in <i>Dig.</i>, i, 2, 2, 43.</p> <p>The Naumachia Caesaris in the Campus Martius, constructed in 46 B.C., now filled up because of a pestilence.</p> <p>DIO, xlv, 17; Suet., <i>Caes.</i>, 44.</p> <p>Tombs of Hirtius and Pansa in Campus Martius.</p> <p>LIV., <i>Epit.</i>, 119; VELL., ii, 62.</p> <p>Dec. 29. Triumph of L. Munatius Plancus. Commemorative building, reconstruction of Temple of Saturn in Forum. No record of time of dedication.</p> <p>VELLEIUS, ii, 67, 4; <i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; <i>C. I. L.</i>, x, 6087; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 5; <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 1316. See discussion on p. 15.</p>	42	<p>The triumvirs begin, or plan, the building of a temple in the Forum to the deified Julius. Completed and dedicated by Octavianus Aug. 18, 29 B.C.</p> <p>DIO, xlvii, 18, 3; APP., <i>B. C.</i>, ii, 148; <i>B. M. Cat. Coins Rom. Rep.</i>, ii, pp. 580 f.; <i>Res Gestae Div. Aug.</i>, c. 19; DIO, li, 22, 2 f.; <i>Hemerolog. Amit. Antiat.</i> a. d. xv. Kal. Sept.</p> <p>The triumvirs proceed with the building of the Curia Julia which Julius Caesar had planned and perhaps begun. Completed and dedicated by Octavianus Aug. 18, 29 B.C.</p> <p>DIO, xlv, 5, 1 f.; xlv, 17, 8; xlvii, 19, 1; li, 22, 1 f.; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19.</p>
40	<p>The Naumachia Caesaris in the Campus Martius, constructed in 46 B.C., now filled up because of a pestilence.</p> <p>DIO, xlv, 17; Suet., <i>Caes.</i>, 44.</p>	40	<p>Agrippa (praetor in this year) brings the Aqua Julia to Rome (?). (This is Dio's date. Frontinus places it in Agrippa's aedileship, 33 B.C.).</p> <p>DIO, xlviii, 32, 3; FRONTINUS, <i>de Aquis</i>, i, 9.</p>
39	<p>Dec. 29. Triumph of L. Munatius Plancus. Commemorative building, reconstruction of Temple of Saturn in Forum. No record of time of dedication.</p> <p>VELLEIUS, ii, 67, 4; <i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; <i>C. I. L.</i>, x, 6087; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 5; <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 1316. See discussion on p. 15.</p>	39	<p>Oct. 25. Triumph of C. Asinius Pollio. As a commemorative monument he rebuilds the Atrium Libertatis, and establishes in it the first public library. Completed some time before 28 B.C.</p> <p><i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; DIO, xlviii, 41, 7; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 5; ISIDORE, <i>Orig.</i>, vi, 5; PLIN., <i>N. H.</i>, vii, 115; xxxv, 10; OVID, <i>Trist.</i>, iii, 1, 70-80. See pp. 19-21.</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
38	<p>Hut of Romulus on the Palatine burned, and presumably rebuilt.</p> <p>Dio, <i>xlvi</i>, 43, 4.</p>	34	<p>June 30. Triumph of T. Statilius Taurus. As commemorative monument he builds stone amphitheatre in the Campus Martius, which he completed and dedicated in 30 B.C.</p>
36	<p>July 17. Triumph of Cn. Domitius Calvinus. As commemorative monument he rebuilds in marble the Regia, which had been destroyed by fire. (Schola Kalatorum Pontificum probably included in this rebuilding.)</p> <p><i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; Dio, <i>xlvi</i>, 42, 4-6. See pp. 21-23.</p>		<p><i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 5; Tac., <i>Ann.</i>, iii, 72; Dio, li, 23, 1. See pp. 24 f.</p>
	<p>Nov. 13. Ovation of Octavianus after defeat of Sex. Pompey. (No special building, of the many which Octavianus now began, can be singled out as a commemorative monument.)</p>		<p>Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, consul suffectus after July 1, dedicated during his consulship the Basilica Aemilia, completing a reconstruction begun by his father in 55 B.C.</p> <p>Dio, <i>xlix</i>, 42, 2; Cic., <i>ad Att.</i>, iv, 16, 14; App., <i>B. C.</i>, ii, 26.</p>
	<p>After the defeat of Sextus Pompey a columna rostrata, surmounted by a gilded statue of Octavianus in the dress of an imperator, is set up in the Forum. Dio also mentions the decreeing of a triumphal arch (location unknown).</p> <p>App., <i>B. C.</i>, v, 130; Dio, <i>xlix</i>, 15, 1; Tac., <i>Ann.</i>, iv, 67.</p>		<p>Sept 3. Triumph of C. Sosius, lieutenant and agent of Antony. As a commemorative monument he seems to have built a temple or shrine to Apollo, or to have rebuilt an existing one — possibly the old temple near the theatre of Marcellus — and placed in it a cedar-wood statue of Apollo brought from Seleucia. There is no record of the date of completion or dedication.</p> <p><i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; <i>C. I. L.</i>, ix, 4855; BABELON, <i>Monn.</i>, ii, pp. 463-465; JOSEPHUS, <i>Ant.</i>, xiv, 15 f.; <i>Bell. Jud.</i>, i, 17, 2-18, 3; Dio, <i>xlix</i>, 22, 3; PLUT., <i>Ant.</i>, 34, 6; SENECA, <i>Suas.</i>, ii, 21; Tac., <i>Hist.</i>, v, 9; PLIN., <i>N. H.</i>, xiii, 53; xxxvi, 28, 34. See pp. 25-28.</p>
	<p>Octavianus consecrates to Apollo, after a bolt of lightning had struck it, a site on the Palatine which he had purchased with the purpose of erecting a house upon it. He begins building the temple of Apollo, which he dedicated on Oct. 9, 28 B.C.</p> <p>VELL., ii, 81; Dio, <i>xlix</i>, 15, 5; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 1; Dio, liii, 1, 3; ASCON., <i>in toga candida</i>, 80 f.; <i>Hemerol. Arval. Amitern. Antiat.</i>, a. d. vii. Id. Oct.</p>	33	<p>Horti Sallustiani must have been laid out before this year, the date of Sallust's death.</p>
	<p>The people resolve that a house should be erected for Octavianus at public expense.</p> <p>Dio, <i>xlix</i>, 15, 5.</p>		<p>Agrippa accepts the aedileship, four years after his consulship, and is credited with the following public works: —</p>
35	<p>The Campus Esquilinus seems to have been reclaimed and the house and gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline to have been laid out before this date.</p>		<p>1. without charge to the public treasury he repairs all public buildings, all the streets, and cleans out the sewers.</p> <p>Dio, <i>xlix</i>, 43, 1.</p>
			<p>2. builds the Aqua Julia and adds to the Tepula. (Dio dates the Julia in 40 B.C., the year of Agrippa's praetorship.)</p> <p>FRONTINUS, <i>de Aquis</i>, i, 9; Dio, <i>xlvi</i>, 32, 3.</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
33	<p>3. repairs the following aqueducts: Appia, Anio Vetus, and Marcia. (Dio puts the repair of the Marcia in 34 B.C. The date given here is that of Frontinus.)</p> <p>FRONTINUS, <i>de Aquis</i>, 9; DIO, xlix, 42, 2.</p> <p>4. adorns the city with ornamental fountains. The hydra with which Festus (290) says Agrippa adorned the Lacus Servilius was probably one of these.</p> <p>5. places on spina of Circus Maximus seven dolphins to mark the laps in the races.</p> <p>DIO, xlix, 43, 2.</p> <p>Octavianus rebuilds the Porticus Octavia in the Campus Martius, from the spoils of the Dalmatian war.</p> <p><i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19; FESTUS, 188 L.; DIO, xlix, 43, 8; APP., <i>Illyr.</i>, 28; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, xxxiv, 13. See pp. 32 f.</p> <p>Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, friend and agent of Antony, builds temple of Neptune in the Campus Martius. (Year approximate, but the period 34-33 best fits the historical data.)</p> <p><i>B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Rep.</i>, ii, p. 487; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, xxxvi, 26; <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 8423; <i>Hemerolog. Amit.</i> ad Kal. Dec. See pp. 43 f.</p> <p>April 26 (year uncertain, but probably 33 B.C.). Triumph of L. Marcius Philippus. As commemorative monument he rebuilds the temple of Hercules Musarum in the Campus Martius, and surrounds it with a portico.</p> <p><i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 5; Tac., <i>Ann.</i>, iii, 72; <i>F. U. R.</i>, fragm. 33; OVID, <i>Ars Amand.</i>, iii, 167 f.; <i>Fasti</i>, vi, 801-812. See pp. 29 f.</p> <p>Dec. 3 (year uncertain, but probably 33 or 32 B.C.). Triumph of L. Cornificius. Commemorative monument, rebuilding of the temple of Diana on the Aventine.</p> <p><i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 5; <i>C. I. L.</i>, xi, 4305; <i>F. U. R.</i>, fragm. 2. See pp. 30-32.</p>	32	<p>Sublician Bridge carried away.</p> <p>DIO, I, 8, 3.</p> <p>Octavianus rebuilds temple of Jupiter Feretrius on Capitol. (Date uncertain, but apparently before the death of Atticus, which occurred in this year.)</p> <p>NEPOS, <i>Att.</i>, 20, 3; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19.</p>
		31	<p>A fire consumed a considerable portion of the Circus, the temple of Ceres Liber and Libera, the temple of Spes, and a large number of other structures.</p> <p>DIO, I, 10, 3.</p>
		30	<p>Among honors decreed to Octavianus after Actium: —</p> <p>1. that a triumphal arch be erected in the Forum.</p> <p>DIO, li, 19, 1.</p> <p>2. that the podium of the temple of Julius, then under construction, should be adorned with the beaks of ships captured at Actium.</p> <p>DIO, li, 19, 2.</p> <p>Statilius Taurus dedicated his amphitheatre, erected in the Campus Martius, in commemoration of his triumph celebrated in 34 B.C.</p> <p>DIO, li, 23, 1; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 5; Tac., <i>Ann.</i>, iii, 72; STRABO, v, 3, 8; <i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i> See pp. 24 f.</p>
		29	<p>Honorary inscription, found near the temple of Castor, <i>C. I. L.</i>, VI, 873, erected to Caesar, <i>Republica Conservata</i>. (It is uncertain whether this belongs to the arch whose foundations lie just south of the temple of Julius, which has been thought to be the arch voted in the previous year.)</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
29	<p>August 13-15. Triple triumph of Caesar: Dalmatian, Actian, and Egyptian. From the <i>manubiae</i> he must have financed many of his building operations and restorations, but only two works have been specifically mentioned as having been so financed, the Porticus Octavia (see under 33 B.C.) from the spoils of the Dalmatian war, and the Flaminian Way completed in 27 B.C.</p> <p>For notes on Porticus Octavia see under year 33 B.C. Via Flaminia: <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 20; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 30, 1; Dio, liii, 22, 1 f. See also pp. 32 f.</p> <p>Octavianus dedicated the Curia Julia, planned and perhaps begun by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. (work was re-commenced by the triumvirs in 42 B.C.) and the temple of Minerva called the Chalcidicum. In the Curia he set up a statue and altar of Victory.</p> <p><i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19; Dio, xlv, 5, 1 f.; xlv, 17, 8; xlvii, 19, 1; li, 22, 1 f.; <i>Fast. Maff. Vat.</i> a. d. v. Kal. Sept., in <i>C. I. L.</i>, 1^a, pp. 225, 242, 327; Herodian, vii, 11, 13.</p> <p>Aug. 18. He dedicated the temple of Divus Julius (begun by the triumvirs in 42 B.C.), to the front of whose podium, by decree of the senate, were attached the <i>rostra</i> of the ships captured at Actium.</p> <p>Dio, li, 22, 2; li, 19, 2; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, 19; <i>Hemerolog. Amit. Antiat.</i>, a. d. xv. Kal. Sept.; App., <i>B. C.</i>, ii, 148; Dio, xlvii, 18, 4; <i>B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Rep.</i>, ii, pp. 580 f.</p>	28	<p>He erects a temporary stadium of wood in the Campus Martius, in which he celebrates the victory at Actium with athletic contests.</p> <p>Dio, liii, 1, 4.</p> <p>May 26. Triumph of C. Calvisius Sabinus. As commemorative monument he rebuilds a portion of the Via Latina.</p> <p><i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; <i>C. I. L.</i>, x, 6895; 6897; 6899; 6900; 6901. See p. 34.</p>
28	<p>Octavianus restores 82 temples in the city.</p> <p><i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 20; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 30, 2.</p> <p>He begins building his mausoleum (still unfinished in 23 B.C.).</p> <p>Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 100, 4; Dio, liii, 30, 5; Strabo, v, 3, 8; Verg., <i>Aen.</i>, vi, 873 f.</p> <p>He dedicates on Oct. 9 the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with its precinct and libraries. (The temple had been vowed in 36 B.C.)</p> <p>Vell., ii, 81; Dio, xlix, 15, 5; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 1; Dio, liii, 1, 3; Ascon., in <i>toga candida</i>, 80; <i>Hemerolog. Arval. Amitern. Antiat.</i>, a. d. vii. Id. Oct.</p>	27	<p>The laurels placed on either side, and the <i>Corona civica</i> above the door of his residence on the Palatine (begun in 36, and now presumably completed), and the <i>Clupeus virtutis</i> placed in the Curia Julia, are among the honors voted to Octavianus at the beginning of this year.</p> <p><i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 34; Dio, liii, 16, 4; coins, see <i>B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Emp.</i>, i, indices under <i>Corona Civica</i>.</p> <p>On Jan. 16 Octavianus receives the title of Augustus.</p> <p>Augustus repairs the Flaminian Way. Commemorative arch erected on the Milvian Bridge.</p> <p>See under Triumph of Augustus B. C. 29; also pp. 32 f.</p> <p>Sept. 25. Triumph of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. Commemorative monument, the rebuilding of part of Latin Way.</p> <p><i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>Tab. Triumph. Barb.</i>; App., <i>B. C.</i>, iv, 38; Tibull., i, 7, 3-12, 57-62; ii, 1, 33. See also pp. 35 f.</p>
		26	<p>Agrippa dedicates the Saepta Julia in the Campus Martius which had been begun by Julius Caesar, and the work continued by Lepidus.</p> <p>Cic., <i>Att.</i>, iv, 16, 14; Dio, liii, 23, 1 f.</p> <p>Augustus, during Cantabrian Expedition, vows temple on the Capitol to Jupiter Tonans, which was later dedicated in 22 B.C.</p> <p>Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 1; 91; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, 19; Dio, liv, 4; Ovid, <i>Fast.</i>, ii, 69; Pliny, <i>N. H.</i>, xxxiv, 78 f.; xxxvi, 50; <i>Hemerolog. Arv. Amit. Antiat.</i> ad Kal. Sept.; <i>B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Emp.</i>, i, pp. 57, 64 f.</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
25	<p>Agrippa in this year completes the following units of his extensive building programme in the Campus Martius: —</p> <p>1. The Porticus Argonautarum (ἡ στοὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος) in commemoration of his naval victories. DIO, liii, 27, 1; SCHOL. IUVEN., vi, 154; MART., ii, 14, 6.</p> <p>2. The Laconicum Sudatorium. DIO, liii, 27, 1; liv, 29, 4; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, xxxiv, 62; xxxv, 26; xxxvi, 189.</p> <p>3. The Pantheon (this date is Dio's). DIO, liii, 27, 2 f.; liv, 1, 1; <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 896.</p> <p>4. Possibly the temple of Bonus Eventus in the Campus Martius. AMM. MARCELL., xxix, 6, 19. See PLATNER-ASHBY, 86.</p>	22	<p>Augustus dedicates the temple of Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol, vowed in 26 B.C. during his Cantabrian expedition. Dedication date, Sept. 1. DIO, liv, 4; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19; <i>Hemerolog. Arval. Amit. Antiat.</i> ad Kal. Sept. See under 26 B. C.</p> <p>21 Fabrician Bridge (built in 62 B.C.) restored (after the floods of 23 B.C.) under the direction of Lepidus and Lollius, the consuls for the year. <i>C. I. L.</i>, i, ed. 1, 600 = ed. 2, 751 = vi, 1305, cf. add. 31594.</p> <p>Horrea Lolliana possibly to be connected with M. Lollius, one of the consuls for the year; also the Horti Lolliani on the Esquiline.</p>
23	<p>Sublician Bridge carried away. DIO, liii, 33, 5.</p> <p>Marcellus, aedile for this year, shades the Forum with awnings. PLIN., <i>N. H.</i>, xix, 24; DIO, liii, 31, 2 f.; VELL., ii, 93, 1; SERV., <i>Aen.</i>, vi, 861.</p> <p>Marcellus dies, and his ashes are deposited in the still unfinished mausoleum, which Augustus had begun in 28 B.C. DIO, liii, 30; VERG., <i>Aen.</i>, vi, 873 f.</p> <p>Octavia begins the erection of a library in memory of her son in the Porticus Octaviae, which had apparently been begun some time before. PLUT., <i>Marc.</i>, 30.</p> <p>Augustus honors his memory by beginning the construction of the Theatre of Marcellus (Caesar had already cleared the site) which was later dedicated in 11 B.C. DIO, xliii, 49, 2 f.; liii, 30, 5 f.; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 21; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 4; <i>Act. Lud. Saec.</i>, ap. <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 32323, 157, 161; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, vii, 121 (cf. DIO, liv, 26, 1); LIVY, <i>Per.</i>, 140; PLUT., <i>Marc.</i>, 30.</p>	20	<p>Augustus has a temple decreed to Mars Ultor on the Capitol to receive the standards surrendered by the Parthians. DIO, liv, 8, 3; <i>B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Emp.</i>, i, pp. 58, 65 f., 114.</p> <p>Augustus, as commissioner of roads, sets up the Golden Milestone at the west end of the Forum. DIO, liv, 8, 4; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, iii, 66. (See also TAC., <i>Hist.</i>, i, 27; Suet., <i>Otho</i>, 6, 2; PLUT., <i>Galba</i>, 24).</p> <p>19 March 27. Triumph of L. Cornelius Balbus. As commemorative monument he builds his theatre (and presumably the Crypta) in the Campus Martius, which he dedicates in 13 B.C. <i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, v, 36 f.; xxxvi, 60; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 5; TAC., <i>Ann.</i>, iii, 72; DIO, liv, 25, 2; <i>F. U. R.</i>, fragm. 29. See also pp. 37 f.</p> <p>On October 12, Augustus returns from the east with the standards surrendered by the Parthians and is honored by the following monuments: —</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
19	<p>1. A triumphal arch (possibly the one south of the temple of Divus Julius). <i>Dio</i>, liv, 8, 3; <i>Schol. Veron. in Verg., Aen.</i>, vii, 605; <i>B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Emp.</i>, i, pp. 73 f.; <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 873 = 31188a.</p> <p>2. An altar to Fortuna Redux, near the Porta Capena. <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 11; <i>Dio</i>, liv, 10, 3; <i>PROP.</i>, iv, 3, 71; <i>Hemerolog. Amit.</i>, a. d. iv. Id. Oct., a. d. xvii. Kal. Ian.; <i>Fer. Cum.</i>, a. d. xviii. Kal. Ian.; <i>B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Emp.</i>, i, pp. 1 f., 63 f.</p> <p>Agrippa brings the Aqua Virgo into the city at his own expense, and dedicates it June 9. (With the construction of the Aqua Virgo we should probably associate the construction of the Thermae Agrippae and the Stagnum.) <i>FRONTINUS, de Aquis</i>, i, 10; <i>Dio</i>, liv, 11, 7.</p>	16	<p>Temple of Iuventas burned in this year. Rebuilt by Augustus. Exact date of rebuilding unknown. <i>Dio</i>, liv, 19, 7; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19.</p>
17	<p>Pillar erected near altar of Dis and Proserpina in the Campus Martius to commemorate the Ludi Saeculares held in this year. (Probably a reconstruction of the Ara itself was made in connection with these games.) <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 32323.</p> <p>Construction of Theatre of Marcellus sufficiently advanced for part of building to be in use. <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 32323, 1, 157.</p>	15	<p>Death of Vedius Pollio, who bequeathed to Augustus the greater part of his estate, with instructions that some public work should be erected on it. It became the site of the later Porticus Liviae, dedicated in 7 B.C. <i>Dio</i>, liv, 23, 1-6.</p>
16	<p>Augustus pays money into the treasury for rebuilding the roads. He rebuilds the Appia (Trib. Pot. VII = 17-16 B.C.) and the Salaria (Trib. Pot. VIII = 16-15 B.C.) <i>ex Senatus Consulto</i>. <i>B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Emp.</i>, i, p. 15; cf. <i>C. I. L.</i>, x, 6917; ix, 5986, 5989, 5943, 5950, 5954; <i>Not. Scav.</i>, 1891, 41; <i>Bull. d. Inst.</i>, 1831, 139.</p> <p>Augustus dedicated the temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal which he had rebuilt. <i>Dio</i>, liv, 19, 4; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19; <i>OVID, Fast.</i>, ii, 511.</p>	14	<p>Basilica Aemilia burned; subsequently rebuilt, nominally by Aemilius Paullus, but really by Augustus and the friends of Paullus. <i>Dio</i>, liv, 24, 2 f. (See also under year 34 B. C.).</p> <p>The flames also reach the temple of Vesta, which was restored in Augustan masonry, but we have no record of the restorer. <i>Dio</i>, liv, 24, 2.</p>
16	<p>16</p>		
		13	<p>July 4. Ara Pacis voted. Not dedicated until Jan. 30, 9 B.C. <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 12; <i>Hemerolog. Amitern.</i>, a. d. iv. Non. Iul. (cf. <i>Dio</i>, liv, 25).</p> <p>Balbus dedicates his theatre in the Campus Martius, built in commemoration of his triumph celebrated in 19 B.C. <i>Dio</i>, liv, 25, 2; <i>Fasti Triumph. Cap.</i>; <i>PLIN., N. H.</i>, v, 36; xxxvi, 60; <i>SUET., Aug.</i>, 29, 5; <i>TAC., Ann.</i>, iii, 72; <i>F. U. R.</i>, fragm. 29. See also pp. 37 f.</p>
		12	<p>Augustus becomes Pontifex Maximus on March 6. (Lepidus had died in the previous year.) On assuming the office he makes part of his own palace public property, gives the old Domus Publica to the Vestals, and establishes on the Palatine near the palace a shrine of Vesta which was dedicated Apr. 28. <i>C. I. L.</i>, i², p. 317 (iv. Kal. Mai.); <i>Dio</i>, liv, 27, 2 f.; <i>OVID, Fast.</i>, iv, 949-954.</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
12	<p>Agrippa dies, late in March, leaving to the Roman people his Gardens and Baths, with provision for maintenance. Though buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus, he had already built a tomb for himself on the Campus Martius. Before his death the Pons Agrippae and the Horrea Agrippiana had presumably been completed, but the Diribitorium was not finished till 7 B.C., and the Porticus Vipsania was still unfinished in that year.</p> <p>DIO, liv, 28; 29; lv, 8, 3-5; <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 31545; xiv, 3958.</p> <p>The hut of Romulus burned again.</p> <p>DIO, liv, 29, 8.</p> <p>Pyramid of Cestius completed (perhaps by some years) before the death of Agrippa.</p> <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 1374, 1375.</p> <p>Pons Aemilius rebuilt by Augustus between 12 and 2 B.C. At the end next the city was erected an arch to Augustus.</p> <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 878.</p>	10	<p>scriptions was the moneyer of 23 B.C. Perhaps the Augustan pavement of the Forum belongs to the same time.</p> <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 1468; inscription of Surdinus in pavement of forum: PLATNER-ASHBY, <i>Top. Dict.</i>, 540; <i>B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Emp.</i>, i, p. 30, cf. Introduction, p. xciv.</p> <p>Augustus erects an altar and shrine to Mercury on the Esquiline from new year's gifts received from the Roman people.</p> <p><i>Bull. Comm.</i>, 1888, 228.</p> <p>Augustus (Trib. Pot. XIII = 10-9 B.C.) erects two obelisks brought from Egypt: —</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. one in the spina of the Circus Maximus (now in the Piazza del Popolo). <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 701; STRABO, xvii, 1, 27; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, xxxvi, 71.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. the other as the pointer of a huge Horologium, or sun-dial, which he laid out in the Campus Martius south of his Mausoleum. (The obelisk now stands in the Piazza Montecitorio.) <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 702; STRABO, xvii, 1, 27; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, xxxvi, 72.</p>
11	<p>Augustus dedicates the theatre of Marcellus. (This is Pliny's date. Dio places it in 13 B.C.)</p> <p>DIO, xliii, 49, 2; liii, 30, 5 f.; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 21; SUET., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 4; <i>Act. Lud. Saec.</i>, ap. <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 32323, 157, 161; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, vii, 121 (cf. DIO, liv, 26, 1); LIVY, <i>Per.</i>, 140.</p> <p>Augustus, after the death of Agrippa, promises to repair the aqueducts.</p> <p>FRONTINUS, <i>de Aquis</i>, ii, 125.</p> <p>Augustus sets up statues of Salus Publica, Concordia and Pax.</p> <p>DIO, liv, 35, 2.</p>	9	<p>Jan. 30. Dedication of the Ara Pacis, decreed in 13 B.C.</p> <p><i>Hemerolog. Praen. Cuman. Caeretan.</i> a. d. iii, Kal. Febr., cf. <i>C. I. L.</i> 1^a, p. 320 (see also under 13 B. C.)</p> <p>Augustus erects altar to Vulcan, on the Vulcanal, from new year's gifts from the Roman people.</p> <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 457.</p> <p>Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus injured by lightning (for restoration, see p. 57).</p> <p>DIO, lv, 1, 1; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 20.</p> <p>Law of T. Quinctius Crispinus <i>de Aqueductibus</i>, May 31.</p> <p>FRONTINUS, <i>de Aquis</i>, ii, 129.</p>
10	<p>To about this date should be assigned the reconstruction of the Tribunal Praetoris, the Lacus Curtius and the Marsyas area in the Forum, if the praetor L. Naevius Surdinus whose name appears on the in-</p>		<p>The Senate decrees marble arch over Via Appia, with trophies, in memory of Drusus who died in this year.</p> <p>SUET., <i>Claud.</i>, 1, 3.</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
9	<p>Before this year should perhaps be placed the Columbarium of the freedmen of Drusus. <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 4327-4413, cf. p. 899.</p>	8	<p>altar to Lares Augusti, in Vatican, Sala delle Muse (<i>C. I. L.</i> vi, 445).</p>
8	<p>Augustus takes the census, <i>consulari cum imperio</i>. With this census are to be connected numerous changes and reforms in the organization of the city which were carried into effect in this year and the next.</p> <p>Augustus extends the pomoerium? (Sole authority Dio.) Dio, lv, 6, 6.</p> <p>Division of the city into XIV regions probably belongs to this year, though Dio mentions it for the first time in 7 B.C. Dio, lv, 8, 7; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 30.</p> <p>Delimitation of the banks of the Tiber with boundary stones bearing the names of C. Asinius Gallus and C. Marcius Censorinus, consuls for this year. (This work was continued in 7 B.C. by Augustus.) Inscriptions of B. C. 8 of type <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 1235 and 31541, and of B. C. 7 of type <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 1236 and 31542.</p> <p>This is the date ordinarily given for the organization of the <i>vici</i>. Dio's reference is for 7 B.C., but the epigraphical evidence shows that the organization of the various <i>vici</i> covered a period ranging from 12 B.C. to 6 B.C. Dio, lv, 8, 6 f.; Suet., <i>Aug.</i>, 30, 1.</p> <p>To about this year belong the following altars or bases erected by <i>vicomagistri</i> (or <i>ministri</i>) <i>qui Kal. Augustis primi inierunt</i> (See A. VON PREMERSTEIN, in <i>Arch.-Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich - ungarn</i>, xv, 1892, pp. 77-85):</p> <p>inscribed base to Diana Augusta, now in Verona (<i>C. I. L.</i> vi, 128).</p> <p>cippus to Mercurius Augustus, found at foot of Aventine (<i>C. I. L.</i> vi, 283).</p>	8	<p>two altars to Lares Augusti, found on Tiber island, now in Museo delle Terme (<i>C. I. L.</i> vi, 446, 447).</p> <p>Altar (found in 1554 by the arch of Septimius Severus) dedicated by Augustus in this year (consuls given) from the new year's contributions of the Roman people. <i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 458.</p> <p>Horace and Maecenas buried in adjacent tombs <i>extremis Esquilis</i>. Suet., <i>Vit. Horat.</i>, 20.</p>
		7	<p>Jan. 1. Triumph of Tiberius, who also enters on his second consulship. As a commemorative monument he undertakes to rebuild the temple of Concord, which he later dedicated in 10 A.D. He also seems to have undertaken as an additional monument the rebuilding of the temple of Castor (probably injured by fire in this year), which he dedicated in 6 A.D. VELL., ii, 97; Dio, lv, 6, 5; 8, 1 f.; lvi, 25, 1; Suet., <i>Tib.</i>, 20 (erroneous date); <i>Fasti Praen.</i>, a. d. xvii. Kal. Febr. See pp. 38-41.</p> <p>On the occasion of his triumph, Tiberius, in company with his mother Livia, dedicated the Porticus Liviae (with a shrine of Concord) built on the former estate of Vedius Pollio. Possibly the Macellum Liviae near the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele also belongs to about this time. Dio, lv, 8, 1 f.</p> <p>Augustus holds games in honor of the memory of Agrippa (who had died in 12 B.C.) in the Saepta, which Agrippa himself had completed. On this occasion he makes public property the Campus Agrippae, and the Diribitorium, begun by Agrippa and completed at this time. Dio</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	B.C.	MONUMENTS
7	<p>states that the Porticus Vipsania (which contained Agrippa's map of the Empire) was still unfinished.</p> <p>Dio, lv, 8, 3-5.</p> <p>Dio states that one reason for holding the games in Agrippa's honor in the Saeptra was the fact that many buildings about the Forum had been burned.</p> <p>Dio, lv, 8, 5 f.</p> <p>Augustus reorganizes the fire department because of this fire.</p> <p>Dio, lv, 8, 6 f.; SUET., <i>Aug.</i>, 30.</p> <p>Dio places in this year the division of the city into XIV regions, and the organization of the <i>vici</i>.</p> <p>Dio, lv, 8, 6 f.</p> <p>Augustus continues the delimitation of the banks of the Tiber with <i>cippi</i> bearing the date TR. POT. XVII.</p> <p>Inscriptions of type C. I. L., vi, 1236 and 31542.</p>	4	<p>To about this year (see under B.C. 8 above) belongs a base dedicated to Mercurius Augustus, erected by the <i>magistri anni V</i> of an unknown <i>vicus</i>, found between the Aventine and Monte Testaccio.</p> <p>C. I. L., vi, 34.</p>
4	<p>Augustus, who, after the death of Agrippa, had promised, in 11 B.C., to repair the aqueducts, completes repairs on the channels of all the aqueducts, and in commemoration builds the arch later incorporated in the Porta Tiburtina of Aurelian. (Trib. Pot. XIX = 5-4 B.C.)</p> <p>C. I. L., vi, 1244.</p> <p>The addition to the Aqua Marcia, mentioned by Frontinus (i, 12) and known as the Augusta, probably falls in this period.</p> <p>Augustus dedicates to the Lares Publici a pedestal, presumably with statues, from the new year's gifts to him from the Roman people. Found on the Palatine. Inscription now in Naples. Consuls and TRIB. POT. XVIII given.</p> <p>C. I. L., vi, 456.</p>	3	<p>Altar, now in the Cortile of the Vatican Museum, erected in honor of Augustus by the S.P.Q.R. (After 12 B.C., and not later than 3 B.C.)</p> <p>C. I. L., vi, 876.</p> <p>To about this year (see under B.C. 8 above) belongs a base dedicated to Apollo, erected by the <i>magistri anni VI</i> of an unknown <i>vicus</i>, found between the Aventine and Monte Testaccio.</p> <p>C. I. L., vi, 33.</p>
		2	<p>Feb. 5. Augustus is given the title of <i>Pater Patriae</i>. By order of the senate, this title is inscribed upon the entrance to his house, and beneath the quadriga erected in his honor in the Forum Augusti.</p> <p><i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 35; Dio, lv, 10, 10; OVID, <i>Fast.</i>, ii, 127-132; SUET., <i>Aug.</i>, 58; <i>Hemerolog. Praen.</i>, ad Non. Febr.</p> <p>Aug. 1. Augustus dedicates the temple of Mars Ultor, vowed in 42 B.C., and presumably at the same time the Forum of Augustus.</p> <p>SUET., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 1; <i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 21; c. 29; MACROB., <i>Sat.</i>, ii, 4, 9; VELL., ii, 100, 2; Dio, lv, 10, 1-9; 60, 5, 3; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, xvi, 191.</p> <p>In connection with the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor, Augustus gives a naval spectacle in the Naumachia specially constructed for the occasion across the Tiber.</p> <p><i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 23; VELL., ii, 100, 2; Dio, lv, 10, 7; SUET., <i>Aug.</i>, 43; FRONTINUS, <i>de Aquis</i>, i, 11; 22.</p> <p>Frontinus suggests that the Aqua Alsietina may have been built at this time to supply the Naumachia.</p> <p>FRONTINUS, <i>de Aquis</i>, i, 11; 22; C. I. L., vi, 31566.</p>

B.C.	MONUMENTS	A.D.	MONUMENTS
2	<p>To this year belong the honorary inscriptions to Gaius, Lucius, and Augustus, which lie at the S. E. corner of the Basilica Aemilia, and which may be connected with the Porticus Gai et Luci.</p> <p>SUET., <i>Aug.</i>, 29, 4; <i>Not. Scav.</i>, 1899, 130; <i>Bull. Com.</i>, 1899, 57 f.; 189-194; 1903, 86-88; HÜLSEN, in <i>Klio</i>, ii, 1902, 238 f.; PLATNER-ASHBY, p. 73.</p> <p>Altar to Lares Augusti of the Vicus Statae Matris, found on the Caelian.</p> <p><i>Not. Scav.</i>, 1906, 179; <i>Bull. Comm.</i>, 1906, 186-197.</p> <p>Altar (now in Florence) erected to Lares Augusti by the vicomagistri of the Vicus Sandaliarius. Consuls given.</p> <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 448.</p>	3	<p>Temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine destroyed by fire. Rebuilt by Augustus. (Date of completion and dedication unknown.)</p> <p><i>Res Gestae Divi Aug.</i>, c. 19; VAL. MAX., i, 8, 11; OVID, <i>Fast.</i>, iv, 347 f.</p> <p>House of Augustus destroyed by fire (possibly the same as that which destroyed the temple of Magna Mater), and rebuilt by voluntary contributions from the people. For this reason, or because he was Pontifex Maximus, Augustus makes it all state property.</p> <p>DIO, iv, 12, 4 f.; SUET., <i>Aug.</i>, 57.</p> <p>Horti Lamiani near the Horti Maecenatis probably laid out by L. Aelius Lamia, consul for this year.</p>
A.D. 1	<p>Ara Augusta, dedicated by L. Lucretius Zethus to various divinities on behalf of Augustus and his imperium and that of the Roman people. Found on bank of Tiber. Consuls given.</p> <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 30975.</p> <p>To about this year (see under B.C. 8 above) belongs a travertine altar to the Lares Augusti dedicated by the <i>magistri vici Aesclati anni VIII</i> found at the corner of the Via Arenula and Via S. Bartolomeo de' Vaccinari.</p> <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 30957.</p>		<p>To about this year (see under B.C. 8 above) belongs a marble cippus dedicated to Hercules by the <i>magistri anni XI</i> of an unknown <i>vicus</i>, found at foot of Aventine.</p> <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 282.</p>
2	<p>Arch erected between S. Maria in Cosmedin and the Aventine by P. Lentulus Scipio and T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus, consules suffecti after July of this year. Flavio Biondo states that he saw it burned into lime.</p> <p><i>C. I. L.</i>, vi, 1385.</p> <p>Tiberius after his return from Rhodes takes up residence in the gardens of Maecenas.</p> <p>SUET., <i>Tib.</i>, 15.</p>	5 6	<p>The Sublician Bridge swept away by floods, and presumably restored.</p> <p>DIO, iv, 22, 3.</p> <p>Tiberius dedicates the temple of Castor (restoration begun about 7 B.C.), inscribing on it the name of his dead brother Drusus as well as his own.</p> <p>DIO, iv, 27, 4; SUET., <i>Tib.</i>, 20 (date wrong). See under B. C. 7.</p> <p>With the rebuilding of the temple of Castor is probably to be connected the rebuilding of the neighboring fountain and aedicula of Juturna. The puteal of M. Barbatius Pollio, though inscribed in Augustan lettering, is probably older.</p> <p><i>Not. Scav.</i>, 1901, 72 f., 76 f.; <i>Bull. Comm.</i>, 1903, 179 f.</p>

A.D.	MONUMENTS	A.D.	MONUMENTS
6	<p>L. Arruntius was one of the consuls for this year. The Columbarium of his freedmen may be dated about this time.</p> <p>Augustus again re-organizes the fire department in consequence of an extensive fire.</p> <p>Dio, lv, 26, 4 f.</p>	12	<p>Dedication of the Basilica (or Porticus?) Julia (Dio's readings faulty) in honor of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.</p> <p>DIO, lvi, 27, 5; SUET., Aug., 29, 4; Res Gestae Divi Aug., c. 20.</p> <p>Ara Statae Fortunae Augustae erected by vicomagistri of the Vicus Sandaliarius.</p> <p>C. I. L., vi, 761.</p>
7	<p>Aug. 10. Altars consecrated to Ceres Mater and Ops Augusta in the Vicus Jugarius, possibly in consequence of a dearth of grain which Dio records for this year.</p> <p>Hemerol. Amit. Vall. Ant., a. d. iv. Id. Aug.; cf. C. I. L., 1^a, p. 324; Dio, lv, 31, 3 f.</p>	13	<p>(or possibly 12).</p> <p>Jan. 16. Triumph of Tiberius over the Pannonians and Dalmatians. Monumental buildings not recorded, but may have been the three temples referred to below as dedicated by Tiberius in 17 A.D.</p> <p>VELL., ii, 104, 121; B. M. Cat. Coins of Rom. Emp., i, pp. 87 f.; cf. MATTINGLY AND SYDENHAM, Roman Imperial Coinage, i, p. 48; SUET., Tib., 18-20; TAC., Ann., ii, 49. See pp. 41 f.</p>
9	<p>Some time before this date Livia restores temple of Bona Dea Subsaxana on the Aventine.</p> <p>Ov., Fast., v, 157 f.</p>		
10	<p>Jan. 16. Tiberius dedicates the temple of Concord (whose rebuilding he began in commemoration of his triumph of 7 B.C.), and inscribes upon it the name of his brother Drusus, who had died in 9 B.C., as well as his own.</p> <p>DIO, lvi, 25, 1; Hemerolog. Praen., a. d. xvii. Kal. Feb.; cf. C. I. L., 1^a, p. 308; SUET., Tib., 20 (wrong date).</p> <p>Arch on Caelian hill erected by Dolabella and Silanus, consuls for this year.</p> <p>C. I. L., vi, 1384.</p> <p>Columbarium of the freedmen of Marcella (found in the Vigna Codini in 1847) built before this date.</p> <p>C. I. L., vi, 4418.</p>	14	<p>Aug. 19. Death of Augustus.</p> <p>The Res Gestae were set up in accordance with his instructions on two bronze pillars in front of his mausoleum.</p> <p>Res Gestae Divi Aug., Superscription; SUET., Aug., 101, 4; DIO, lvi, 33, 1.</p> <p>The following restorations, in progress at the death of Augustus, were completed in 17 A.D., the first three being dedicated by Tiberius, and the fourth by Germanicus:</p> <p>TAC., Ann., ii, 49. See p. 42.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The temple of Liber, Libera and Ceres near the Circus Maximus. 2. The temple of Flora near the Circus Maximus. 3. The temple of Janus in the Forum Holitorium. 4. The temple of Spes in the Forum Holitorium.
11	<p>Columbarium of the freedmen of T. Stautilius Taurus, consul for this year, may belong to about this time.</p>		

TABLE II
LIST OF AUGUSTAN MONUMENTS
WHICH CANNOT BE DEFINITELY DATED.

<p>I. Mentioned by Augustus in <i>Res Gestae</i> as having been built or restored by him.</p> <p>Chap. 19.</p> <p>The datable buildings in this chapter are roughly in chronological order. This serves as a general guide for dating the following building operations in regard to which we have no other specific information.</p> <p>The Lupercal (mentioned after the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, dedicated in 28 B.C., and the temple of Divus Julius, dedicated in 29).</p> <p>The Pulvinar ad Circum Maximum (presumably not before 27 B.C.; mentioned here before the temple of Jupiter Tonans, vowed in 26 B.C. and dedicated in 22).</p> <p>The following five temples, mentioned after the temple of Quirinus, which was dedicated in 16 B.C., and before the temple of Juventas, which was burned in 16 B.C. and restored by Augustus presumably within a few years:</p> <p>The temples of Minerva, of Juno Regina, and of Jupiter Libertas, all on the Aventine.</p> <p>The temple of the Lares in Summa Sacra Via.</p> <p>The temple of the Di Penates on the Velia.</p>	<p>Chap. 20.</p> <p>The Capitolium restored. It was struck by lightning some time before 27 B.C. (HOR., <i>Odes</i>, i, 2, 2-4) and again in 9 B.C. (DIO, iv, 1).</p> <p>The Theatre of Pompey restored.</p> <p>2. Mentioned in other Classical Authors or Inscriptions.</p> <p>Augustus erects arch to his father Octavius on Palatine (PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, xxxvi, 36).</p> <p>He builds Porticus ad Nationes (SERV., <i>Aen.</i>, viii, 721; PLINY, <i>N. H.</i>, xxxvi, 39).</p> <p>He removes statues from the Capitoline area to Campus Martius (SUET., <i>Cal.</i>, 34).</p> <p>He erects statue of Apollo in Vicus Sandaliarius (SUET., <i>Aug.</i>, 57).</p> <p>He erects a statue of the original M. Valerius Corvinus, with a crow on his head, in the Augustan Forum (GELL., ix, 11, 10).</p> <p>Ara Augusti, dedicated by Tiberius possibly in the lifetime of Augustus (<i>Fasti Praenest.</i>, a. d. xvi. Kal. Febr., in <i>C. I. L.</i> 1², pp. 231 and 308).</p> <p>House of Cn. Domitius Calvinus on the Velia built upon the site of the shrine of Mutunus Tutunus (FEST., 146 L.).</p>
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<p>House of Roius Hilario between Circus and Palatine (<i>C. I. L.</i>, xv, 7522).</p> <p>3. Buildings identified as of the Augustan period by the evidence of materials only.</p> <p>(See VAN DEMAN, in <i>A. J. A.</i>, xvi, 1912, 387-396).</p> <p>The Rostra as enlarged by Augustus.</p> <p>The large cloaca under the Basilica Aemilia.</p> <p>The Sacellum Cloacinae (upper part).</p> <p>The Cuniculi in the forum (completed or restored by Augustus).</p> <p>The 'Auditorium of Maecenas.'</p>	<p>The House of Livia on the Palatine.</p> <p>The Villa of Livia at Prima Porta.</p> <p>The Columbarium of the freedmen of Livia.</p> <p>The tomb of Eurysaces.</p> <p>The tomb of Lucilius Paetus.</p> <p>The tomb of Caecilia Metella.</p> <p>(For the following, see PLATNER-ASHBY, s. v.).</p> <p>The tomb of Sulpicius Platorinus.</p> <p>Paving of the Clivus Capitolinus.</p> <p>Paving of the Clivus Palatinus.</p>
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INDEX.

Buildings, Public Works, Monuments (including altars, statues and other works of art), and Topographical Data.

AEDES, TEMPLUM, (Aedicula, Sacellum): Apollinis in Campo Martio 10, 47; Apollinis in Palatio 13, 20, 26, 47, 49, 57; Apollinis Sosiani 25-28; Bonae Deae Subsaxanae 56; Boni Eventus 50; Castoris 25, 38, 40-41, 42, 53, 55; Cereris Liberi Liberaeque 42, 48, 56; Cloacinae (sacellum) 58; Concordiae 13, 25, 38-40, 41, 42, 53, 56; Concordiae Sacellum in the Porticus Liviae 53; Dianae in Aventino 10, 13, 30-31, 48; Deorum Penatium 57; Divi Iuli 33, 46, 48, 49, 50, 57; Felicitatis 17; Florae 42, 56; Herculis Musarum 7, 10, 29-30, 48; Iani 42, 56; Iovis Capitolini 52, 57; Iovis Feretrii 48; Iovis Libertatis 57; Iovis Tonantis 49, 50, 57; Iovis Victoris 23; Iunonis Lucinae 46, 57; Iuturnae (aedicula) 55; Iuventatis 51, 57; Larum 57; Libertatis (sacellum) 20; Magnae Matris 55; Martis Ultoris in Capitolio 22, 46; Martis Ultoris in Foro Augusti 50, 54; Minervae 49, 57; Neptuni 43-44, 48; Nympharum 20;

Pantheon 50; Pietatis 45; Quirini 51, 57; Saturn 10, 13, 15, 46; Spei 48, 56; Vestae 41, 51; Vestae (aedicula) 51; eighty-two temples restored by Augustus in his sixth consulship 32, 49.

AERARIUM SATURNI 16.

AMPHITHEATRUM T. STATILII TAURI 10, 13, 24-25, 47, 48.

AQUAE: general 33, 52, 54; Alsietina 54; Anio Vetus 48; Appia 48; Augusta 54; Iulia 46, 47; Marcia 48, 54; Tepula 47; Virgo 51.

ARA: Augusti 55, 57; Ditis et Proserpinae 51; Fortunae Reducis 51; Pacis Augustae 51, 52; Statae Fortunae Augustae 56; Victoriae 49; to Ceres Mater 56; to Lares Augusti 53, 55; to Mercury 52; to Ops Augusta 56; to Vulcan 52; in honor of Augustus 54; in Forum, on site of Caesar's cremation 45.

ARCH: erected in honor of Augustus in Forum 47, 48, 51; by Augustus on Milvian and Aemilian Bridges 33, 49, 52; to commemorate completion of repairs to aqueducts 54; in honor of his father Octavius on the Palatine 57; arch of Dolabella and Silanus 56; of Drusus 52; of Lentulus and Crispinus 55.

- ART (works of): Paintings - Alexander 30; Helen 30; Hippolytus 30; Liber Pater 30; scenes from Trojan War 30. Sculptures (imported from Greece) - Apollo 27, 28; Bacchus 38; Caryatids 22; Diana 27, 28; Dioscuri on Capitol 38; Dirce and Bull 20; Hestia secured from Parians 39; Latona 27, 28; Muses 27, 28; Neptune group 43; Niobids 27; Sileni 20; statues borrowed by Calvinus from Augustus 22. (For other statues see under Statues).
- ATRIUM LIBERTATIS: 10, 13, 19-21, 46.
- AUDITORIUM OF MAECENAS 58.
- BASES (dedicatory): to Apollo 54; to Diana Augusta 53; to Lares Publici 54; to Mercury 54.
- BASILICA: Aemilia 11, 41, n. 1, 47, 51, 58; Iulia 18, 45, 56.
- BIBLIOTHECA: in the Atrium Libertatis 19-21; in Forum of Trajan 51; in Porticus of Octavia 50; in temple of Apollo on Palatine 20, 49.
- CAMPUS: Agrippae 53; Esquilinus 47; Martius 18, 20, 25, 26, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57.
- CASA ROMULI 47, 52.
- CAPITOLIUM 48, 49, 50, 57.
- CHALCIDICUM 33, 49.
- CIPPUS: to Hercules 53; to Mercurius Augustus 55.
- CIRCUS: Flaminius 26, 32, 43; Maximus 23, 42, 48, 56, 57; dolphins on spina of, 48.
- CLIVUS: Aventinus 31; Capitolinus 58; Palatinus 58; Suburanus 39 n. 4.
- CLOACAE 47, 48.
- CLUPEUS VIRTUTIS PLACED IN CURIA JULIA 49.
- COLUMBARIUM of Freedmen of: L. Arruntius 56; Drusus 53; Livia 58; Marcella 56; T. Statilius Taurus 56.
- COLUMNNA ROSTRATA ERECTED IN HONOR OF OCTAVIAN 47.
- CRYPTA BALBI 38, 50.
- CUNICULI IN THE FORUM 58.
- CURIA: Iulia 18, 21, 33, 45, 46, 49; Octaviae 39.
- DIRIBITORIUM AGRIPPAE 52, 53.
- DOMUS: Augusti 47, 49, 54, 55; Domitii Calvini 58; Liviae 58; Maecenatis 55; Roii Hilarionis 58; Tiberii 55.
- DOMUS PUBLICA 51.
- FIRES AND FIRE PROTECTION 48, 54, 56.
- FONS IUTURNAE 41, 55.
- FORUM: Augusti 54, 57; Holitorium 26, 42, 56; Iulium 18, 45; Romanum 16, 20, 39, 40, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 54, 58, shaded with awnings 50, paved 58; Traiani 20.
- FOUNTAINS 48, 55.
- HILLS OF ROME: Aventine 48, 54, 56, 57; Caelian 56; Capitoline 48, 49, 50, 57; Esquiline 47, 50, 52; Palatine 23, 47; Velia 57.
- HOROLOGIUM 52.
- HORREA: Agrippiana 52; Lolliana 50.
- HORTI: Agrippae 52; Caesaris 45; Lamiani 55; Lolliani 50; Maecenatiani 47, 55; Sallustiani 47.
- HYDRA 48.
- INSULA TIBERINA 37, 53.
- LACONICUM SUDATORIUM 50.
- LACUS: Curtius 52; Servilius 48.
- LUPERCAL 57.
- MACELLUM LIVIAE 53.
- MAP OF AGRIPPA IN THE PORTICUS VIPSANIA 54.
- MARSYAS IN THE FORUM 52.
- MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI 13, 49, 50, 52.
- MILLIARIUM AUREUM 50.
- NAUMACHIA: Augusti 54; Caesaris 46.
- OBELISCI 52.
- ODEUM 25.
- PAVING: see under Forum Romanum, Via, Clivus.
- POMOERIUM 53.
- PONS: Aemilius 52; Agrippae 52; Fabricius 50; Minucius 33; Mulvius 33, 49; Sublicius 48, 50, 55.
- PORTA: Capena 51; Carmentalis 26; Tiburtina 54.
- PORTICUS: Argonautarum 50; Gai et Luci 55, 56; Iulia (?) 56; Liviae 39, 51, 53; ad Nationes 57; Octavia 32, 48, 49; Octaviae 27, 28, 30, 50; Philippi 29-30, 48; Vipsania 51, 54.
- PULVINAR AD CIRCUM MAXIMUM 57.
- PUTEAL BARBATI POLLIONIS 55.
- QUADRIGA IN FORUM OF AUGUSTUS 54.
- REGIA 12, 21-23, 47.
- REGIONES XIV 53, 54.
- ROSTRA: Augusti 58; in front of temple of Divus Julius 48, 49; Caesaris 45.
- SACRARIUM: Martis 22; Opis Consiviae 22.
- SAEPTA 17, 18, 25, 36 n. 3, 41, 45, 49, 53, 54.
- SCHOLA KALATORUM 47.
- SECRETARIUM SENATUS 21.
- SEPULCHRA: Agrippae 52; Caeciliae Metellae 58; Eurysacis 58; Hirtii 46; Horatii 53; Lucilii Paeti 58; Maecenatis 53; Pansae 46; Sulpicii Platorini 58. See also under Mausoleum and Columbarium.
- STADIUM OF WOOD ERECTED BY AUGUSTUS 49.
- STAGNUM AGRIPPAE 51.
- STATUES (for Greek importations see under ART): honorary statues on Rostra: of Julius Caesar 45, Lepidus 46, Octavian 46, Pompey 45, Sulla 45, Serv. Sulpicius 46; of L. Antonius in the Forum 46; of Octavian on Columna Rostrata in the Forum 47; Augustus sets up in Curia a statue of Victory 49, a statue of Apollo in the Vicus Sandaliarius 57; statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, Pax erected by Augustus 52; statue of the original Corvinus in Augustan Forum 57; statues removed from Area Capitolina to Campus Martius 57.
- SUOVETAURILIA 44.
- TABULARIUM 40.
- TERMINAL STONES ON TIBER BANKS 53, 55.
- THEATRUM: Balbi 10, 13, 25, 37-38, 50, 51; Marcelli 13, 25, 26, 28, 37, 45, 47, 50, 51, 52; Pompei 51.
- THERMAE AGRIPPAE 50, 51, 52.
- TRIBUNAL PRAETORIS 52.
- VIA: Appia 51; Flaminia 10, 33, 34, 35, 36, 49; Latina 13, 34, 35-36, 49; Salaria 51; Sacra 57.
- VICI 53, 54.
- VICUS: Aescletus 55; Iugarius 56; Sandaliarius 55, 56; Statae Matris 55.
- VICOMAGISTRI 53, 54, 55, 56.
- VIGILES 54, 56.
- VILLA OF LIVIA 58.
- VULCANAL 52.

Historical References, Institutions.

ACTIUM 28, 44.
 ANNALES MAXIMI 22.
 ARADII CONQUERED BY SOSIUS 26.

CENSUS 53.
 COMITIA TRIBUTA 18.
 CORONA CIVICA 49.
 CORONA TRIUMPHALIS 12.
 CORONARY GOLD 11, 12, 22.
 COINS: of Augustus 31 n. 11, 36 n. 2, 41, 42; of Domitius Ahenobarbus 43-44; of C. Sossius 26-28; of Zacynthus 26-28.

DALMATIAN WAR 32, 48, 49.

FASTI: Consulares 23; Triumphales 23.
 FOEDUS LATINUM 31.

GARAMANTES 37.

JERUSALEM CAPTURED BY SOSIUS 26.

LARES PUBLICI 54.
 LEX: Arae Dianae 31; Icilia 31; Pedia 30; Leges Licinia 40.
 LUDI SAECULARES 51.

MANUBIAE, MANUBIALIS PECUNIA 10, 11, 12, 16, 19, 23, 32, 33, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 49.

OVATION: of Antony 14; of Nero Claudius Drusus 14, 38; of Octavian 14, 47; of Tiberius 14, 38.

PARTHINI, defeated by C. Asinius Pollio 19.
 PHILIPPI 46.
 PONTIFEX MAXIMUS 22.

RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI 56.
 REX SACRIFICULUS 22.

SALONAE TAKEN BY C. ASINIUS POLLIO 19.
 SELEUCIA 27 f.
 STANDARDS: recovered from Dalmatians 33; from Parthians 50.
 SUETONIUS, error in, 39 n. 6, 42.

TRIUMPHS, see under Triumphales below. Page numbers connected by hyphens (thus, 17-18) deal with their triumphs.
 TRIUMVIRS 45, 46.

Proper Names.

PAULLUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS 47, 51.
 AGRIPPA 8, 9, 10, 18, 22, 24, 26, 37, 38, 41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.
 M. ANTONIUS 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 25, 26, 27, 28, 35, 43, 44, 45, 48.

ARTISTS: Antiphilus 30; Apollonius 20; Arcesilas 20; Cephisodotus 20; Cleomenes 20; Heniochus (?) 20; Papyrus 20; Philiscus 27; Praxiteles 20, 27; Stephanus 20; Tauriscus 20; Theorus 30; Timarchides 27; Zeuxis 30.

C. ASINIUS GALLUS 53.
 ATIA 29.
 ATTICUS 48.
 AUGUSTUS (OCTAVIAN) *passim*.

M. BARBATIUS POLLIO 55.

L. CAECILIUS METELLUS 41.
 CALIGULA 25.
 C. CASSIUS 35.
 CICERO 15, 17, 20.
 NERO CLAUDIUS DRUSUS 14, 38, 39, 40, 55, 56.
 CN. CORNELIUS PISO 39.
 P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO 29.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS 9, 25, 43-44, 48.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS 40.

GERMANICUS 56.

C. IULIUS CAESAR 17, 18, 20, 37, 45, 46, 49, 50.
 M. IUNIUS BRUTUS 35.

LIVIA 56.
 L. LUCRETIUS ZETHUS 55.

MAECENAS 47, 58.
 MARCELLUS 50.
 L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS 53.

L. NAEVIUS SURDINUS 52.

OCTAVIA 50.
 CN. OCTAVIUS 32.
 L. OPIMIUS 40.

SEX. POMPEIUS 47.

SALLUST 47.
 SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS 46.

TRIUMPHALES: M. Aemilius Lepidus 9, 13, 15, 17-18, 24, 45, 46, 49, 51; L. Antonius 13, 19; Sex. Appuleius 13, 36; C. Asinius Pollio 9, 10, 11, 13, 19-21, 43, 46; L. Autronius Paetus 13, 34, 36; Caesar Octavianus 32-33 and *passim*; C. Calvisius Sabinus 10, 13, 33, 34, 35, 36, 48; C. Carrinas 13, 34, 36; Ap. Claudius Pulcher 28, 30; C. Cornelius Balbus 10, 11, 13, 23, 37-38, 50; L. Cornificius 10, 13, 28, 29, 30-32, 48; Cn. Domitius Calvinus 9, 13, 21-23, 43, 47, 58; M. Licinius Crassus 13, 34, 36; L. Marcius Censorinus 13, 19, 34; L. Marcius Philippus 9, 10, 11, 13, 28, 29-30, 48; L. Munatius Plancus 9, 10, 11, 13, 15-16, 46; C. Norbanus Flaccus 28; L. Sempronius Atratinus 36; C. Sossius 9, 10, 11, 13, 25-28, 43, 44, 47; T. Statilius Taurus 9, 10, 11, 24-25, 29, 31, 47, 48; Tiberius 13, 14, 37, 38-42, 53, 55, 56, 57; M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus 10, 13, 33, 34, 35-36, 49; P. Vatinius 13, 19; P. Ventidius 13, 21.

VARRO 20.
 VEDIUS POLLIO 51, 53.
 C. VERRES 41.
 VIRGIL (*Aen.* i, 453-495) possibly inspired by painting of Theorus 30.

