

IMPERIAL BUILDING IN SUETONIUS' CAESARES:
FUNCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE

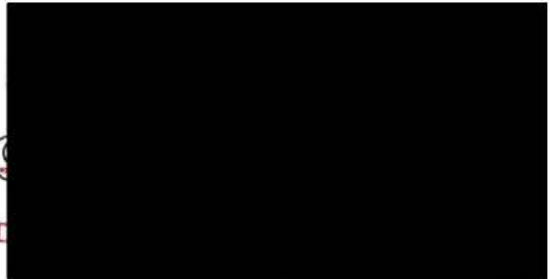
by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the information on imperial building activity contained in Suetonius' Caesares, and to ascertain the reasons for his inclusion of this material. The issue of accuracy has often been raised in Suetonian scholarship, usually to the biographer's discredit, but in this instance Suetonius can be shown to have reported his information faithfully.

After a brief introduction dealing mainly with the history of Suetonian scholarship, Chapter I examines Suetonius' biographical technique and connects his approach to Roman and Greek strains of biography. Suetonius can be shown to organize the information on his subjects, the first twelve Roman emperors, into chronological and non-chronological portions, the latter into set categories under separate headings. The type of information he includes reflects contemporary views on how the public activities of the emperor were perceived. Many of these views are inferable from coin issues of the early second century A.D., the period when Suetonius was composing.

Chapter II analyzes the information on public building in the Caesares. It is determined that Suetonius includes only certain types of buildings within the separate units on opera publica, omitting projects that lack a religious or utilitarian significance. Chapter III assembles a wide variety of purely non-Suetonian evidence, including coins and inscriptions, which shows that the emperor wished certain public works to be associated with his name permanently. The effect of imperial building was thus to perpetuate the emperor's public reputation, and to benefit the

populace by providing both the services of buildings themselves and a source of employment for the urban poor. Building programmes created a means by which an emperor's initiative and motivation might be judged by his subjects. In the first century A.D., every emperor built, and his reputation among the populace was in part governed by the type and scale of public works executed.

In Chapter IV the roots of this tradition are traced to the monumental building of Hellenistic kings and to the projects of elected officials at Rome during the Republic. In the first century B.C. these discrete elements coalesced in the building projects of Sulla, Pompey, and Julius Caesar, all of whom had special advantages over their predecessors in this sphere. What became a tradition of building on the part of a powerful individual, able to meet the needs of the urban populace at Rome, was inherited by Augustus and his successors.

A brief conclusion summarizes the main findings of the thesis. The development of public works as a criterion for assessing an emperor's performance is recognizable in the early second century A.D. Suetonius' use of this convention, therefore, as revealed in his inclusion of the information on imperial building, makes him fully representative of his age as far as the assumptions underlying his portrayal of the emperors are concerned.

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Colin B. Havers
March 1982.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations follow those listed in the following works:

- i) Latin authors: Oxford Latin Dictionary. Fascicle I (Oxford, 1968), lx-xx.
- ii) Greek authors: Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon. 9th ed. rev. H.S. Jones (1940; rpr. Oxford, 1968), xvi-xxxviii.
- iii) Periodical titles: L'Année Philologique (1924-). Vol. 50, 1979 (Paris, 1981), xli-lxii.

The following reference works have also been used extensively:

- AE L'Année Épigraphique (1888-).
- BMCRE I (II, III, IV) Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, vol. I (vols. II, III, IV), ed. H. Mattingly (1965-).
- BMCRR I Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum, vol. I, ed. H.A. Grueber (1970).
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (1863-).
- DS C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines (1877-1919).
- Ehrenberg and Jones, Documents V. Ehrenberg and A.H.M. Jones edd., Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, 2nd ed. (1976).
- IG Inscriptiones Graecae (1873-).
- Inscr. It. Inscriptiones Italiae
- ILS H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (1892-1916).
- McCrum and Woodhead, Documents M. McCrum and A.G. Woodhead, Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors, A.D. 68-96 (1966).
- Nash, I, II E. Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome (1981). 2 vols.
- Smallwood, Documents (1966) E.M. Smallwood, Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian (1966).

Smallwood, Documents (1967) E.M. Smallwood, Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero (1967).

All references to 'Steidle' are to the following:

W. Steidle, Sueton und die antike Biographie (1951).

PARENTIBVS MEIS
NECNON MAGISTRIS
QVI CALGARIAE VICTORIAEQVE
LITTERIS HVMANIORIBVS
ME INSTRVXERVNT

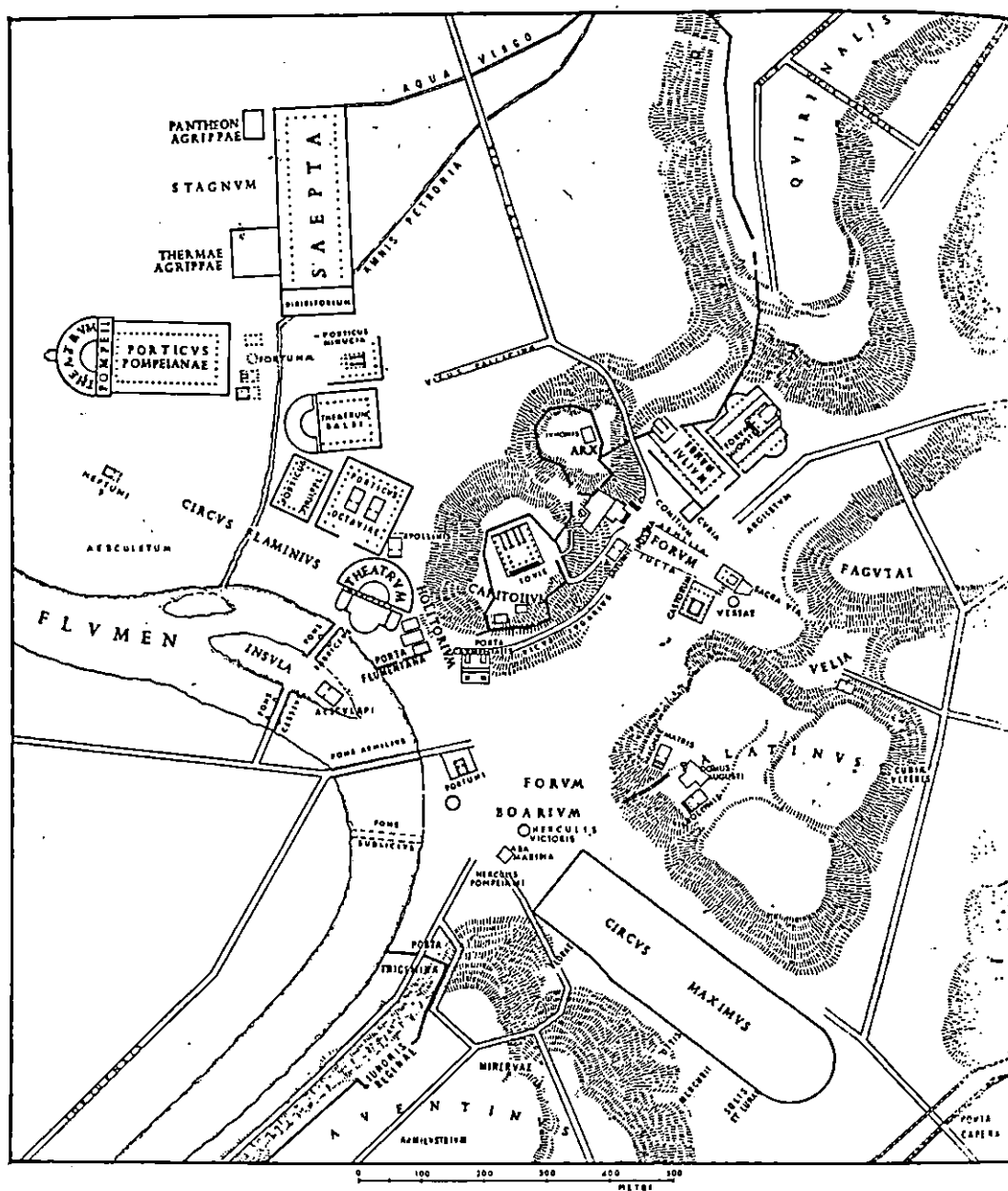


Fig 1: The monumental centre of Rome in the age of Augustus

INTRODUCTION

The object of this study is to determine the value and significance of information contained in Suetonius' imperial biographies on the building activities of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors. The accuracy and typology of the building information will be investigated, together with its manner of presentation in the Caesares, to show that the category of imperial building was one of several means by which Suetonius evaluated the public performance of any Roman emperor. It will be maintained that Suetonius deliberately selected this aspect of each emperor's actions as part of a wider technique of objective, historical evaluation, the nature of which has only recently begun to be understood. Then, in order to demonstrate the reality of imperial building as an evaluative criterion in the Caesares, the importance of imperial building activities, particularly at the time Suetonius wrote his biographies, will be established from evidence independent of Suetonius' work. The antecedents of what will be seen to be a fixed obligation on the emperor's part to build will then be sought in Hellenistic and Roman Republican models. The results will contribute to a fuller appreciation of both Suetonius' aims in writing the Caesares and the manner in which the Roman emperor had come to be perceived by his subjects in the early second century A.D.

Chapter I examines Suetonius' own biographical techniques, the traditions of biography that he inherited, and their relation to slogans on coins of the early second century describing imperial virtues. In the second chapter, the focus of interest narrows to the specific building

projects mentioned in Suetonius' biographies. As a separate, self-contained unit in each biography, the information on public works, can be shown to be both accurate and selective in nature: that is, Suetonius does not cite every building an emperor built in his lifetime, but is concerned only with religious buildings and certain projects of public and social utility. The reasons for such selectivity are discussed in Chapter III, where the evidence of non-Suetonian sources is used to demonstrate the emperor's concern to erect buildings of religious significance and public benefit, and at the same time ensuring commemoration of himself for posterity. Evidence is assembled in Chapter IV to show that this concept of building is not a strictly Roman imperial phenomenon, but can be seen to have derived from examples of prestige building in the Greek East. It can also be shown that foreign and Roman elements merged in public works built by the dynasts of the first century B.C.

Suetonius has often been charged with haphazardly compiling trivial and gossipy information, derived from various sources, in his biographies, and of moulding this material uncritically into a non-chronological far-
rago. The final product has frequently been dismissed on the grounds that it contains nothing of value that Tacitus and Cassius Dio, or other sources, do not supply in more substantial form. Clearly this is an extreme viewpoint. But while it is true that Suetonius cannot be completely exonerated from the criticism of including apparently superfluous or diverting detail in his work, it is a distortion of the evidence to maintain that the biographer organized his material without care, or that he was wholly uncritical towards it (see Ch. I, pp.13-14). Suetonius can be shown, not least through his interest in public works (which demonstrates an aspect of the emperor's personal liberalitas), to reflect a view of government which emperors themselves thought necessary to convey to the

population of the Empire. Moreover, the types of building projects that he cites in each biography have an apparently dual function: in addition to benefitting the populace as a whole and allowing it to judge the ruler by his building, public works also furnished the emperor with an opportunity to commemorate himself for posterity. Such a situation was important in a society which celebrated past achievements in high degree. As F. Millar has noted, "the emperor was what the emperor did."¹

Suetonius, therefore, deserves a fair assessment on his own account. The history of Suetonian scholarship itself shows a tendency for treatments of "aspects" of the biographies rather than the whole. No twentieth-century scholar has dwelt on the function and significance of the organization of material in the Caesares, in relation to public perceptions of the emperor's role. In 1900 the first large-scale treatment of Suetonius and his biographical works was published, A. Macé's Essai sur Suétone. Although it provided a synthetic and highly speculative survey of Suetonius' life, literary works, and social ambience, it was overshadowed by the publication in the next year of F. Leo's Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form. Leo argued that Suetonius' Caesares and Plutarch's Parallel Lives represented two different types of biography: the Suetonian type was a combination of a chronological narrative with a systematic characterization of an individual and of his achievements, in contrast to the straightforward chronological account of Plutarch. It was Leo's opinion that Plutarch's biographical technique was invented by early Peripatetics to tell the story of statesmen, whereas the Suetonian type was introduced by Alexandrian grammarians, themselves under the influence of Aristotelian teaching: It was first used to write the lives of artists and writers, but Suetonius, whom Leo saw as primarily a grammarian (for which there is no conclusive evidence), used this type to

write lives not only of literary men but also of Roman emperors.²

Criticism gradually mounted against Leo's reconstruction of the history of biography. In 1951 W. Steidle attacked Leo's analysis of the two putative biographical forms.³ In a complex study of certain features of Suetonius' biographies, Steidle indicated what is peculiarly Roman in them ("das Römische") and he dismissed as of secondary importance or irrelevant the formal features which Leo had considered significant. Steidle correctly pointed out that Suetonius judges Roman emperors according to Roman values. But what remains true in Leo's analysis is the demonstration that Suetonius was under the influence of an essentially Roman tradition of biographical commemoration.

Since the publication of Steidle's work, the direction of Suetonian studies has tended towards analysis of the biographer's literary style, an aspect which has been dominated by European scholars.⁴ An evaluation of his literary output has yet to proceed beyond concerns of "Quellenforschung" and the subsidiary treatment accorded it through study of Tacitus. Since the publication in 1952 of an African cursus inscription honouring C. Suetonius Tranquillus as the holder of various administrative posts under Trajan and Hadrian (see Ch. I, pp.8-9), discussions of Suetonius' career have appeared more frequently, though without conclusive results. Studies such as F. della Corte's Suetonio eques Romanus, which maintains that Suetonius as a member of the equestrian order wrote for a primarily equestrian audience, are restricted in approach. This study, therefore, starts from Steidle's concept of "das Römische" and Millar's views of "expected" imperial activity. But it is entirely innovative in its examination of the historical function of the Caesares' contents,⁵ particularly since Suetonius has not been thought previously to represent or reflect contemporary perceptions of the Roman emperor in

his work.

INTRODUCTION: NOTES

1. F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C.-A.D. 337) (London, 1977), 6.
2. A. Momigliano, The Development of Greek Biography (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 19, 20-21.
3. Steidle, 127-177.
4. Recent literary studies include the following: G. D'Anna, L'idee letterarie di Suetonio (Florence, 1968); B. Mouchová, Studien zur Kaiserbiographien Sueton, Acta Univ. Carolinae Philos. et Hist., No. 22 (Prague, 1969); C. Brutscher, Analysen zu Suetons Divus Iulius und die Parallelüberlieferung (Bern, 1958); cf. E. Paratore, "Claude et Néron chez Suétone," RCCM 1 (1959), 326-41. On "Quellenforschung", see G.B. Townend, "The sources of the Greek in Suetonius," Hermes 88 (1960), 98-120. For discussions of Suetonius' career, see Ch. I, n.6. See also Ch. I, n.1.
5. Cf., however, K.R. Bradley, "The Significance of the Spectacula in Suetonius' Caesares, RSA (forthcoming).

CHAPTER I. Suetonius' CAESARES:THE IMAGE OF A PRINCEPS

Few modern studies of Suetonius' Caesares have examined systematically either the internal composition of the imperial biographies or, in particular, the accuracy of such events and details as are crucial to an understanding of the emperor's historical role and his relationship to his subjects.¹ The tendency of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century literary criticism has been to compare the ostensibly more reliable historical accounts of Tacitus and the moralizing bioi of Plutarch with Suetonius' distinctive methods and approach, with results unfavourable to the latter.² Upon consideration of certain features of the Caesares, however, it can be shown that Suetonius dealt with his available material with a comparable regard for accuracy. Moreover, it can be shown further that the traditional standpoint reflected in the biographies influenced the selection of items for inclusion and the use to which Suetonius put them. The purpose of this chapter is to review the circumstances of composition of the Caesares, the topical arrangement of the biographies themselves and the significance of these topics in providing a means of evaluating a given emperor's performance.

Suetonius' Caesares: some general comments.

Suetonius' biographies were not originally organized as twelve Lives from Julius Caesar to Domitian, but in eight books.³ Each ruler from Caesar to Nero was allotted one book, making six; a seventh dealt with

the short-lived rulers of 68 to 69, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, while the eighth covered the Flavian emperors. As is the case with Suetonius' other works,⁴ the date at which the Caesares was produced is unknown. Modern attempts to show the chronology of composition largely depend upon the premise that the books were not all published together and that the earlier lives were written, or at any rate had preliminary work done on them, while Suetonius held the imperial "secretaryship" 'ab epistulis' in the early years of Hadrian's reign.⁵ According to a fragmentary cursus inscription from Hippo Regius which records some of the official posts held by Suetonius, he probably obtained the appointments 'a studiis' and 'a bybliothecis' late in Trajan's reign, before becoming 'ab epistulis'.⁶ Access to and mining of documents and other sources for relevant material probably continued for a number of years before 121/22, the most commonly accepted date for Suetonius' dismissal, 'quod apud Sabinam uxorem iniussu eius familiaris se tunc egerant [Suetonius and Septicius Clarus] quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat'.⁷

The order in which the biographies were composed is also a disputed matter, since there is no incontrovertible proof for either of the two major arguments, namely that the Caesares were written in chronological order or that the last six lives were written before the first six.⁸ Variation in style and in general layout must have depended largely on the nature and amount of source material available to the biographer. One additional factor that is germane to the issue of date of composition is Suetonius' use of excerpts from letters of Augustus for the purpose of illustrating family idiosyncracies,⁹ one that was at variance with the almost universal practice of writers up to his time. There seems to be no reason to doubt Suetonius' own assertion that he studied the autographa version of the majority of these letters, certainly while

holding one of the administrative posts in the palace.¹⁰ That the selection in the Caesares and in the De Poetis is restricted to epistulae Augusti, quoted extensively in the Augustus and sporadically thereafter in the Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius, is difficult to explain. It is likely that the almost total lack of documentary evidence in the lives from Tiberius on,¹¹ notably of imperial letters, indicates that Suetonius was no longer in a position to exploit the material, because he no longer held the post 'ab epistulis' under Hadrian.¹² This conjecture seems to be more admissible than simply assuming that no epistulae at all from later emperors were available, especially items which might have provided a supplement to the somewhat scanty material dealing with the last six principes.¹³

A statement by the Byzantine writer Johannes Lydus implies that the Caesares were published and dedicated to C. Septicius Clarus while he was praefectus praetorio under Hadrian, before his dismissal in company with Suetonius;¹⁴ yet the Iulius and Augustus together comprise a sizeable book (or books) as the first instalment of a longer series of biographies. Perhaps the dedication was attached to them alone. If this argument can be accepted, dedication of at least the Iulius to Septicius Clarus was probably followed by an interval of some years, after which Suetonius composed and published part or all of the remaining lives, though the latter is impossible to ascertain from purely internal evidence in the Caesares.¹⁵ Argumentation from broad structural discrepancies between individual lives is not conclusive: the absence of firm divisiones between categories in the later biographies (cf. p.19), often linked with a tendency to generalization and vagueness after the Iulius and Augustus,¹⁶ might simply be attributed to a sense that clear verbal indications of forthcoming topics (see below) were no longer necessary. A passage in

the Titus provides circumstantial evidence for the assumption that Suetonius was composing this life in the late 120's,¹⁷ when in retirement and possibly not in Rome. Therefore one may propose a very approximate terminus non post of 130 for the completion of the Caesares.

What prompted Suetonius to write biography is uncertain. Several well-established historiographical genē, both Greek and Latin, were suitable for depicting the lives of statesmen and emperors, once they were adapted to fit Suetonius' own specifications. The annalistic form, which had been fixed as a literary type by the time of Sulla and used as a basic framework by both Livy and Tacitus,¹⁸ afforded an obvious approach to the history of the early principate. Some definition of this firmly traditional type is required to clarify the way in which Tacitus, a contemporary of Suetonius and also an associate of Pliny the Younger,¹⁹ adapted it to suit his own literary conceptions. History-writing in Latin owed much to official and religious records such as the *Annales Maximi*, a bare (and at least partially specious) outline of early Roman history, and senatorial documents, which imparted to the much-embellished accounts of late Republican annalists a chronological arrangement of events.²⁰ This character, combined with a veneration for early chronicles that was essentially foreign to the Greek mentality, seems to have influenced traditional annalistic writing even in its maturity. Livy's narrative, for example, incorporates items copied almost verbatim from second- and first-century annalists, the original form of which can be discerned in many passages.²¹

Tacitus also places his material within a chronological framework, dating events by consular years and adapting the annalistic format to the narration of more recent history. By choosing to write annalistic history Tacitus accepted an obligation to record what happened each year

within the spheres of political, military, and constitutional history. He does indeed follow tradition in recording such events as the deaths of leading men, prodigies, and notable disasters, though somewhat selectively and for his own purposes.²² Two principal motives which appear to govern Tacitus' historical outlook are also relevant to Suetonius' approach, as will become apparent: first, the selection for elaboration of such material as is most susceptible to dramatic treatment, and second, the conviction that history has a moral and exemplary function.²³ Both motives worked well within the traditional framework, once it was adapted to a different historical situation and the necessity for adhering to an inflexible chronological sequence had been dispensed with.

Associated with these historiographical premises is the fact, important for an understanding of events and their reporting, that by the nature of the principate a very small number of individuals were of dominant influence on events for long periods. Consequently not only their actions, but also their personalities, demanded the fullest attention of historians. Thus characterization becomes much more important for Tacitus than it had ever been for Republican historians.²⁴ Tacitus does not, however, concentrate on any individual, even Tiberius, to such an extent as to change his account from history into biography. The annalistic framework, along with his skill in varying his material, helps Tacitus to avoid this; there is little sign in his major writings of a specifically biographical technique. For instance, rather than presenting minor details of appearance and behaviour or the sort of characterizing anecdotes of which Suetonius is full, Tacitus is given to remarking upon the wider significance or interest of the behaviour he describes.²⁵ In so doing he follows the historical tradition.

By way of contrast, Suetonius' approach to events concentrates prin-

cipally on the actions and reactions of individuals. The apparent lack of chronological detail for which Suetonius has often been criticized is in fact common to all known ancient biographers, and even though the annalistic model naturally furnished a fixed chronology for writers of traditional history, the latter worried only occasionally over chronological difficulties.²⁶ In the case of biography, the brevity which was customary made it impossible to keep referring to consular dates, or to give more than an occasional reference to the subject's age. In Suetonius' biographies it can be shown that within the general arrangement by topically distinct categories, the details are not uncommonly arranged in chronological order, though not with unwavering consistency.²⁷ Suetonius' conception of character, like that of most ancient writers, including Tacitus, was that it was essentially static: a man was born with a certain disposition which manifested itself at an early age and then subsequently in actions as and when age, opportunity, and the lack of external restraint allowed. Thus "character development" as a feature of ancient historiography played only an occasional part in the portrayal of major figures, as in Tacitus' sketch of Tiberius (Ann. 4.57).

Since variation in style and arrangement of material was a desirable element in historical composition, Tacitus does not always feel himself constrained by the annalistic framework where a change would give a suitable dramatic effect to an episode. This is the case at the start of Ann. III, where a formal statement citing the new consuls who had taken office at the beginning of the year should have come; Tacitus instead gives prominence to the pathetic scene of Agrippina's return with the ashes of Germanicus and delays mention of the new consuls.²⁸ More generally, and by comparison with Suetonius' approach, Tacitus' treatment and arrangement of his material change with the nature of the material

itself. For instance, the principate of Tiberius is well adapted to an-
 alystic treatment, but neither Claudius nor Nero dominates and ipso
facto coordinates the narrative, as does Tiberius; in the later books
 several characters are prominent at different points in the narrative,
 and the reigns of the last two Julio-Claudians tend to break up into
 episodes in which characters such as Messalina, Agrippina, and Tigel-
 linus are dominant.²⁹ Such a deviation from the traditional format may
 be explained by a conscious desire on Tacitus' part to reflect changed
 historical circumstances and to instill a particular interpretation of
 events.³⁰

Suetonius does not reiterate Tacitus' complaint on the overly
 favourable or unfavourable character of the evidence available to con-
 temporary historians (Tac. Ann. 1.1), and makes obvious use of both types
 of evidence.³¹ The consideration of Suetonius' accuracy often ignores
 his preeminent concern with the recording of only those events in which
 the emperor is personally involved. Comparison with Suetonius and Dio
 shows that Tacitus, in transmitting identical information from his
 sources, relates not only items of major importance but also rumour and
 anecdote. He is possibly more cautious than Suetonius, who is more
 likely to accept as truth what Tacitus has doubts about; an obvious case
 of this is the story that Nero set fire to Rome.³² Yet it is surprising
 how frequently Suetonius "hedges" by attributing some anecdote to rumour
 or general report.³³ Perhaps the fact that the phenomenon is not fre-
 quently remarked upon, except to condemn Suetonius for evasion or unwill-
 ingness to make up his mind, is significant. Similar caution also oc-
 curs in Tacitus, whose narrative almost always emphasizes the discredi-
 table allegations, whatever the saving clause.³⁴ Since there is no ex-
 ternal control for judging the veracity of the stories, though some are

so outrageous that Suetonius' inclusion of them can hardly be condoned,³⁵ it might be said that, if Suetonius is condemned for his uncritical, even enthusiastic, transmission of them, similar condemnation must fall on Tacitus, who is only superficially more fastidious. Perhaps Suetonius' worst defect from the standpoint of historical accuracy is his habit of generalizing from a particular instance, details of which were undoubtedly available to him, as they were to Tacitus.³⁶

Suetonius' relation to Tacitus as a contemporary historian is more difficult to assess. As long as Tacitus' own historical sources were still readily available, it seems unlikely that Suetonius depended on his finished work as a potential mine of information, for which purpose it was not really suitable. Suetonius probably had read the Historiae, published ca. 109,³⁷ yet indications of his use of or disagreement with historical details in the surviving portions of Tacitus' work are not to be found in the biographies. The Annales in its entirety almost certainly was not available for Suetonius to use; similarities or apparent echoes in the Caesares may well indicate a common source.³⁸ A reference to Nero's poems may be an implied correction of Tacitus' version, and there seem to be certain other implicit criticisms, though it is unprovable that Suetonius had noted the Tacitean errors and purposely searched for evidence to refute them.³⁹ The original mistakes may have originated in common sources, or in popular, unsubstantiated opinion.

Tacitus' concern for stylistic artistry may provide at least a partial explanation for Suetonius' choice of biography as the most effective medium by which his conception of imperial achievements might be communicated. It may be that he felt that Tacitus' historical work could not be emulated, at least from the stylistic point of view. Perhaps, however, Suetonius believed that biography was more appropriate than the

traditional annalistic form because it was more in line with political reality: the arrangement of material according to consular years had become obsolete once ruling power had devolved on one individual who was not an annually-elected official. There is another possibility. Tacitus and Suetonius may not have been writing for identical audiences, though it is difficult to conceive of the latter as composing for an exclusively equestrian audience, purely on the basis of his origins as an eques and frequent references to the status of the ordo equester under different emperors in the Caesares.⁴⁰ As a senator and former consul, Tacitus probably wrote for an audience with broadly upper-class backgrounds who could comprehend, in some cases with first-hand experience,⁴¹ the replacement of libertas by what amounted in his view to military despotism. Suetonius may have aimed at a less politically reactionary readership, which could have been less interested in the consequences of rule by an individual than in his achievements and personal predilections. The lack of direct evidence relevant to the interests and composition of the audience to which Suetonius directed his work precludes certainty in this matter.

Although relatively little has survived of ancient biography, the genre seems to have always had a pronounced ethical concern and tended to serve didactic purposes, not least by the careful illustration of exemplary deeds performed by individuals and of their associated aretai and kakiai.⁴² Exhortation of his audience to imitate a particular statesman's or general's moral conduct and excellence was part of the biographers' task and had been a major element in the fourth-century eulogistic genre represented by, for example, Isocrates' Evagoras and Xenophon's Agesilaus.⁴³ This tendency was still evident in the work of Suetonius' contemporary Plutarch, who "was a convinced adherent of the vene-

able tradition that the past must be studied so that we may derive some moral uplift in contemplating it."⁴⁴ Plutarch's interpretation of this moral imperative in his biographies enabled him to present exempla for emulation as well as useful deterrents.⁴⁵ Rejecting the method of classifying his subject's features theme by theme, Plutarch mostly preferred to follow the basically chronological arrangement which Alexandrian biographers had tended to adopt, and had transmitted to their Roman imitator Cornelius Nepos. Concentration, however, on the behaviour of individuals and on their attendant virtues and vices meant that material was selected to illustrate moral character, while there was a consequent diminution of emphasis on the actual facts of a man's career. Yet the chronological narrative is suspended on occasion in order to permit the illustration of character by a variety of means.⁴⁶

Suetonius' work is unique in the negligible amount of moralizing, though this is not to imply that he lacked a firm moral standpoint, nor is there any evidence of a didactic concern, though conventional commonplaces about the purposes of history may well have been expressed in his lost preface. Suetonius, however, just like biographers with a more definite moral purpose, concentrated exclusively on the character and actions of his subjects. He may well have adhered more strictly to what has been called the "Law of Biographical Relevance" than most; that is, historical events, details, or personages that appear in other sources need not have been mentioned by Suetonius unless the emperor himself was directly involved or affected by them.⁴⁷ But Suetonius did not differ in principle in this respect from his predecessors, who simply included far less detail.

Although the loss of Latin biographers before Suetonius (with the exception of Nepos) precludes definite attribution of the Caesares to any

one clear-cut literary tradition, Suetonius' biographies clearly represent a divergence from the basically chronological approach followed by Plutarch. Indeed, it is difficult to determine the extent to which Suetonius was influenced by the two strains of Greek biography. Both the rhetorical genre of encomium, which was designed to commemorate favourably the careers of individual statesmen, and the approach developed by the Peripatetic school, which focussed on common characteristics of artists and men of letters, may have influenced the format of the Caesares to an indeterminate extent.⁴⁸ While one of the most obvious features of the Caesares, the arrangement of details not chronologically throughout but under separate headings ('per species', Aug. 9) is found in Greek biography, Suetonius' choice of topics and general approach were thoroughly Roman (see below). This systematic approach to biography has been termed "Eidologie" by German scholars to show the contrast with the opposite motive, apparent in Plutarch's biographies and in Tacitus' Agricola, termed "Chronologie".⁴⁹ "Eidologie", as the classified account of deeds, incidents, habits and sayings illustrative of a man's character may incorporate chronological narration and may occur, according to the author's judgement or inclination, at any point in a subject's career, describing him as he was at that particular point or without any particular chronological significance.

The same method had already been followed to a limited extent by early exponents of epideictic literature such as Xenophon and Isocrates; occasionally too, it had been attempted by Nepos, for example in his Epaminondas. Inscriptional epitaphs, which played a part in the development of Latin biography, suggested the same sort of subdivision.⁵⁰ The type of writing represented by Gaius Gracchus' propagandist biography of his brother Tiberius, composed on the lines of Polybius' essay on Philo-

poemen, had been stimulated by the partisan atmosphere of the late second century B.C.⁵¹ This formative stage also must have been influenced by eulogies of deceased personages which it was customary to deliver at funerals, write down, and preserve in the family atrium.⁵² This form of panegyric, demonstrating a strong native commemorative instinct, had been influenced to at least some extent by the Greek enkomion, which had since the third century been adapted to their own uses by Roman orators (Cic. Brut. 302). The enkomion dealt with a hero's virtues or vices in succession, each with one or more anecdotes to illustrate them;⁵³ therefore narrative biography of the sort represented by Plutarch and Tacitus is distinguished from the encomiastic form by greater characterization (whether "negative" or "positive")⁵⁴ of the subject. The question of Suetonius' antecedents, however, turns on his conception of what it was necessary to include in biographies of Roman emperors. As will be shown later, Suetonius' format probably owed much to traditionally Roman literary and sub-literary genres.

Suetonius occasionally indicates the way in which he is proposing to operate this arrangement. After writing, for example, of Julius Caesar's family and birth (in sections now lost), Suetonius deals with his career and accession to supreme power in a section that is naturally more protracted than in the following Caesares, for whom accession comes fairly soon and early life is generally less eventful. Next come Caesar's activities as dictator, including celebrations of his victory, reforms, and plans for further projects, at which point Suetonius breaks off to note (Iul. 44.4):

Talia agentem atque meditantem mors praeyenit. de qua prius quam dicam, ea quae ad formam et habitum et cultum et mores, nec minus quae ad civilia et bellica eius studia pertineant, non alienum erit summatim exponere.

Then after these topics have been handled in a non-chronological fashion, Suetonius proceeds to a discussion of Caesar's dictatorial ways, and carries out his announced intention of describing the circumstances surrounding his death. In this life, the topical sections occupy a relatively small position, but the principle remains the same. The Augustus, too, is punctuated by a similar programmatic statement:

Quoniam qualis in imperis ac magistratibus regendaque per terrarum orbem pace belloque re p. fuerit, exposui, referam nunc interiorem ac familiarem eius vitam quibusque moribus atque fortuna domi et inter suos egerit a iuventa usque ad supremum vitae diem.⁵⁵

The general procedure, therefore, is to divide the narrative into two parts separated by an extensive parenthesis, amounting sometimes to the main section of the biography, in which the subject's characteristics are analyzed one after another. Such an approach is analogous to that devised by Alexandrian grammarians and applied to lives of literary men, from which, according to F. Leo, Suetonius derived his format:⁵⁶ a chronological narrative leads to a climactic akmē, which in turn furnishes a starting point for the main part of the biography, describing personality and achievements. This method, however, was by no means exclusive to Hellenistic "Grammatikerbiographie". In effect it represents rhetorical divisio, employed notably by Roman orators including Cicero,⁵⁷ and occurring in the earliest extant Greek examples of biography.⁵⁸ This sort of categorization and separation of topics, as used by Suetonius, is largely successful in placing emphasis on individual achievements and on the contrast between commendable and non-commendable qualities, as will be seen.

Imperial topics in the Caesares.

The relationship between chronologically- and topically-arranged

portions in the biographies can be explained by pointing out the essential differences in an emperor's life before and after his accession to the throne. Topical arrangement conveys a proper impression of imperial achievement, whereas a chronological disposition is more suitable for the first part of a given life. Each of the Caesares contains all or most of the following topics: the family origin, remote ancestors and parents of the subject, the circumstances of his birth (with appropriate omens of future character), childhood, entry into public life, circumstances of accession to the principate, aspects of government including legislation, behaviour as a magistrate, public works undertaken and games provided, wars conducted, and various aspects of private and public behaviour. This scheme varies for each biography, but the pattern remains approximately the same. Even the sequence Family, Parentage, Birth, Early Life till Accession is varied in different ways. In the Augustus the fourth of these units incorporates a long section on the civil wars in basically chronological order; in the Tiberius there is a lengthy account of the emperor's exile in Rhodes.⁵⁹ In the Gaius little can be said of Caligula's family, the gens Claudia, already dealt with at the beginning of the Tiberius.⁶⁰ Caligula's father Germanicus, however, receives a short biography that is constructed on approximately the standard pattern.

Characteristics discussed vary according to the individual: the so-called "bad" emperors rate little in the way of virtues, though each has a section on praiseworthy acta in his biography.⁶¹ Sections on personal appearance and habits come in different places, sometimes at the beginning of the character as a whole, sometimes at the end, after the death in others, and in the single case of the Titus early on in boyhood.⁶² Although it is difficult to assert that the variations are really the result of careful calculation, this flexibility conveys the impression that

there is little building-up of a coherent character. By the same token, the systematic approach as a whole becomes more tolerable in not allowing a given character to remain completely static.

↓ This system of categorization is perhaps most effectively seen in an extended form in the Augustus, the longest of the biographies. The first four sections are devoted to the emperor's maiores, with particular emphasis on the auspicious origins of his parents. Up to Aug. 9 Octavian's boyhood, including his increasing contact with Julius Caesar, is dealt with. The next section serves as the point of departure for the discussion of various details, classified 'per species' for the sake of clarity, to be concluded in Aug. 61. First Suetonius enumerates the wars which Octavian fought, in which the motive of revenge for the death of his adoptive father Caesar and his gradual assumption of power provide a unifying theme. This section, 'in imperis', forming a subdivision within the section concerning Augustus' "public life" (Aug. 9/10-56) and divided internally into civil wars (10-19), external wars (20-23) and military reforms (24-25), is not given in chronological sequence. Then follow his various undertakings and measures, including consulships held and his receipt of 'tribunicia potestas' ('in magistratibus', 26-28.4). The third section, 'in regenda per terrarum orbem pace belloque re p.' (28.5-56) contains a variety of reforms and "die Ausserungen der Munifizenz",⁶³ again classified according to their several spheres, but allowing an occasional glimpse of Augustus' character.

At the beginning of a transitional passage (Aug. 57-60) dealing with Augustus' popularity and forming the conclusion to this part of the life, Suetonius remarks, 'pro quibus meritis quanto opere dilectus sit, facile est aestimare'. These merita seem to pertain to virtues mentioned in the foregoing account of Augustus' public life and mitigate negative features

of his career, namely the largest part of the civil wars and his actions as triumvir.⁶⁴ Suetonius' main concern in detailing the public lives of emperors is with the traditional occupations of the upper class, war and politics: hence he is primarily concerned with Augustus' relations with the Senate and equestrian order, while the emperor's religious revival and preoccupation with mos maiorum serve as a unifying theme throughout much of this section.⁶⁵ Thus public affairs are of interest only insofar as they reflect the emperor's position. The transition from discussion of virtues such as clémentia and civilitas to Augustus' popularity shows another feature of Suetonius' method: that is, the linking of topic to topic by means of associated ideas or events, which also emphasizes the classification of subject matter in larger sections throughout a given biography.⁶⁶

At Aug. 61, Suetonius turns from the public aspect of Augustus' life, civil and military, to describe his private and domestic affairs from his early youth to his death. These details follow a general pattern of classification; sometimes they are related to a particular point in the emperor's career, but as often as not there is no chronological indication.⁶⁷ After an account of his immediate family (Aug. 62-64), Suetonius deals with Augustus' banishing of the Julias by means of a series of anecdotes detailing the emperor's own reactions to the scandal (65). The sections that follow, dealing with Augustus' relations with his contemporaries and alleged improprieties (66-71), leads into a description of the emperor's personal habits, physiognomy, and literary pretensions (72-83; 84-89). The predominantly Roman concern for the interpretation of dreams, omina, and personal superstitions is reflected in the lengthy account of Augustus' predilections and of portents of his

birth and future greatness (90-96). Omens of his death (97) lead into the actual narration of circumstances surrounding Augustus' death, with the resumption of chronological sequence. The emperor's last journey is dealt with in considerable detail (98-99) and perhaps owes its tone to the early imperial tradition of exitus literature.⁶⁸ The account of his death (100) is followed by a section on the contents of Augustus' will (101), including further evidence of his public generosity.

Suetonius' approach, as well as his selection of subject matter, shows a preeminent concern to represent "das Römische".⁶⁹ As mentioned before, Suetonius' biographical technique may have had Greek antecedents;⁷⁰ the extension of Greek biographical literature to philosophers, poets, and artists had encouraged a measure of detachment or even objective criticism. These studies were concerned with the evolution of a particular art at least as much as with personal eulogies of the practitioners themselves, which emphasized the revelation of a man's character through his actions and not as part of a wider, more complex historical framework. This quasi-critical approach had soon been applied to public figures as well, first perhaps by Greek biographers and then by Romans. Indeed, Suetonius' objectivity has been attributed to Hellenistic influence on the strong Roman eulogistic tradition.⁷¹ Nevertheless, concern with the type of subject matter represented by the topics in the biographies had long been the basis of the traditional form of laudationes -- not necessarily funeral orations -- on great men.⁷² Many of the same features can be observed in a work very different from a Suetonian biography, namely Pliny the Younger's Panegyricus of Trajan, and in another different form in the semi-autobiographical Res Gestae of Augustus himself, which placed the emperor's achievements into firmly separate categories.⁷³

In the imperial period the laudatio retained its original character,

linking praise of an individual with glorification of his ancestors, covering public and (probably) private life, and describing outstanding events. The influence such a literary form may have had on early imperial accounts of the deaths of great men who had perished as victims of Tiberius and Nero is a matter for speculation.⁷⁴ What is clear is that the subject matter and essential structuring of the more extensive laudationes and epitaphs recalls that of the Caesares. Both media are concerned not with the listing of aretai possessed by a man but with political and military aspects of his career, in the former category particularly with his progress in the cursus honorum and his public munificence.⁷⁵ Suetonius also had a traditionally Roman view of what "virtues" and "vices" were, as can be seen by his arrangement of these qualities through the biographies according to praiseworthy or unpraiseworthy acta. They may be simplistic compared with Greek moral philosophy, but they are firmly rooted in the Roman outlook and in most cases are concerned with the subject's public situation.

Moreover, although the great majority of Suetonius' possible models, whether biographies or laudationes, were of "good" characters, he appears to have had no difficulty in writing four major lives (Tiberius, Gaius Caligula, Nero and Domitian) which were not just critical of the subject but predominantly hostile. To some extent this was because these emperors had all been condemned outright in the historical sources available to Suetonius, and indeed by the social class to which he belonged;⁷⁶ but here too there was a Roman tradition. The treatment of Catiline by Sallust in the Bellum Catilinae showed how it could be done, and Cicero's Verrines, Philippics, and Pro Caelio, the latter with its exoneration of M. Caelius' public life at the expense of Clodia Metella's private life, are also relevant.⁷⁷ The indiscriminate allegations of all sorts of de-

pravity, with details, traditional in the political struggles of the Republic, had their counterparts in the methods used under the Empire to discredit unpopular emperors after their death.

Suetonius, therefore, places emphasis throughout the Caesares on traditionally Roman achievements and the display of virtus represented by them. In this context, the role of the emperor and Suetonius' view of what the "good" emperor should accomplish become critical to an analysis of these traditions. A notable feature of each biography is an extensive segment devoted exclusively to aspects of public munificence on the part of a given emperor. Together with other topics common to the lives such as warfare, diplomacy, honores and liberales artes, these segments comprise the most clearly defined topical units in the Caesares, though they do not occur consistently in the same place in every biography.

Unlike these other topics, however, they are relevant to the emperor's public situation rather than to his private life or official career. The most important of these topics, where examples are drawn together and presented as a single unit, are spectacula, congiaria, ius, and opera publica, the cataloguing of which may overlap with that of other subjects and all of which represent proof of imperial liberalitas, a quality with which they are almost all linked.⁷⁸ The way in which Suetonius deals with these topics in the Caesares is crucial to his view of the principate as an institution and of the emperor's role as public benefactor.

The topic of spectacula occurs as a separate unit in seven of the twelve Lives, and is one of the most obvious recurrent elements in a Suetonian biography.⁷⁹ Although the author seems to have been specially interested in games, the subject having been dealt with in one of his lost works, the extent to which this is really so is difficult to assess.⁸⁰

In general, spectacula appear as an expected component of an emperor's career from his youth, and incidents from them can be used to illustrate his character. But by far the most numerous and important references are to the public shows as events of political significance, and it is in this light that Suetonius gathers examples of spectacula and presents them in separate units.

In several of the Lives the topic of spectacula is announced with a general introductory statement and the subject matter is further subdivided into categories of entertainments:⁸¹ in the Iulius, for example, where a section on public banquets stressing Caesar's liberalitas (38.2) precedes that on spectacula, munus gladiatorium, ludi, circenses, athletae and naumachia are all discussed separately. In the Augustus, details concerning the games themselves may possibly have been taken directly from the Res Gestae of Augustus.⁸² The announcement of the topic by Suetonius, 'spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia omnes antecessit' provides an indication that Augustus' expression of these qualities will subsequently be discussed. Evidence of the first two qualities is provided by the building of an artificial lake, marked by a phrase apparently taken from the Res Gestae (RG 23). Here Suetonius' method of choosing examples to fit his categories, rather than attempting to give all details or even all unusual aspects of a topic, is clearly demonstrated. The fact that different incidents and more detail on Augustus' games can be found in other sources suggests that all his examples were probably well known.⁸³ In addition to discussion of the games themselves, Suetonius also deals with incidents involving the emperor at spectacula, including both viewing habits of the people and of Augustus.⁸⁴ Suetonius is able to close the section, which was preceded by sections stressing imperial liberalitas (41-42), with a listing of

what Augustus liked at spectacles and how he regulated them. Thus, although the topics in this species are far-ranging, the unit as a whole is self-consistent.

Several of the spectacula units show considerable variation in content and in presentation. Although Suetonius explains the lack of a separate unit on games in the Tiberius by noting that the emperor 'neque spectacula omnino edidit', even in not having such a unit he is consistent in the placement of this statement, as it comes in a section of the life on finances, with this particular chapter pointing to the emperor's lack of liberalitas (Tib. 46-49). This is made clearest by the emperor's failure to complete major public works and his failure to put on shows. Although Suetonius and other sources do mention some spectacula occurring during Tiberius' reign, they all leave the impression that they were fewer and that the emperor was less involved.⁸⁵ Where such references occur in Suetonius, they still point to the political importance of games (see below). Thus, even in not having a number of imperial spectacula to present in a separate unit, Suetonius cannot avoid mention of their political role in the life, just as Tiberius himself could not completely ignore them.

The placement of the unit on spectacula in the Gaius is in the part of the biography recording Caligula's laudable acta, before the major divisio of Cal. 22. Suetonius is, therefore, not critical in presenting these public shows, and he follows the precedent set in previous lives by associating the topic with the generosity of the emperor.⁸⁶ In the Nero, the opening section on usual spectacula is followed by one on the newly-established Neronia, in addition to the description as a spectaculum of the entrance into Rome of the Armenian king Tiridates, all collected in non-chronological order.⁸⁷ By comparison with the other literary

sources on spectacula under Nero, a difference in purpose can be discerned. While Tacitus and Dio use the spectacula to condemn Nero's extravagant character, and thus mention them as often as possible, Suetonius uses the games as examples of the emperor's liberalitas and precedes their listing with a section devoted to generosity. The Nero, like the Gaius, is a divided life, and the unit on spectacula is placed among the emperor's commendable acta. This does not imply that Suetonius did not use spectacula as Tacitus did, for elucidating Nero's moral character; but he places this criticism in other parts of the biography (Nero 20-25). Yet even then it is not the spectacula themselves which are criticized, but rather the excessive number of appearances of the emperor in them. This excess is shown to strain the expected relationship between emperor and people.⁸⁸

Although the lives of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius present the expected involvement of the young politicians in games, there are no separate units on spectacula.⁸⁹ Given the short period of time each was in power, one might not expect that they had much chance for public shows. The fact that there is no separate unit on liberalitas in any of these lives provides a partial reason for omission of units on spectacula. Similarly, in the Titus, where the normal use of species is curbed because of the biography's brevity, spectacula are simply mentioned in passing as representative of the emperor's liberalitas (Tit. 7.3). An analogous situation obtains in the Vespasian, where Suetonius mentions only ludi and banquets without circenses and munera gladiatoria (19). The fact that such games do not appear in the rest of this life, or in other extant sources, may suggest that Vespasian did not sponsor many such events.⁹⁰ Suetonius, however, had addressed himself to Vespasian's 'pecuniae cupiditas' previously (Ves. 16), attributing this parsimony to 'summa aerarii

fiscique inopia' rather than to his character. In Ves. 17 Vespasian's motives are vindicated and the picture of the emperor as 'in omne hominum genus liberalissimus' is completed by the mention of ludi. This "assoziativer Gedankengang" as effectively represented by the connection between spectacula and liberalitas can be understood as part of Suetonius' literary method, and it appears that he was not fixed in set patterns of writing to such an extent that he could not change, when necessary, for literary reasons.

Closely related to spectacula in purpose and placement in the Caesares and as a separate aspect of imperial generosity are congiaria. Originally consisting of gifts of oil or wine to the plebs frumentaria by magistrates, candidates seeking election to office, and generals, under the Empire congiaria were distributed solely by the emperor and came to consist of largesse in the form of cash, handed out on the accession of new emperors, victories, and the erection of public buildings. As a separate species in the Caesares, congiaria are represented in three of the biographies and as a subsection of the unit on liberalitas in five other lives.⁹¹ Their omission in the lives of the emperors of 68/69 and as a separate unit in the Titus can be explained, as above, by the relative brevity of these reigns.

Concern for the distribution of money to the populace as a whole as well as to the soldiery was first shown by Julius Caesar,⁹² and Suetonius in a separate unit in the Iulius relates the subject matter of congiaria to previous sections by mentioning donatives of cash and land to his soldiers immediately after narrating the celebration of Caesar's triumphs (Iul. 37). In this context, public banquets are often mentioned as part of congiaria and therefore are a conscious demonstration of imperial liberalitas.⁹³ A more expansive segment on congiaria in the Augustus has

as an introductory statement the claim that Augustus 'liberalitatem omnibus ordinibus per occasiones frequenter exhibuit.'⁹⁴ Here a number of incidents in which indirect contact with the people is shown demonstrates the political importance of congiaria, in particular concern for the annona, as a means of communication between the emperor and his subjects. In Suetonius' view, Augustus' liberalitas is tempered by gravitas and constantia (Aug. 42.2) in contrast to the extravagance shown in distributions to the people by Caligula and Nero.⁹⁵ By way of contrast, Tiberius is shown as demonstrating his munificence 'bis omnino' in a section which recalls his previously-mentioned frugality, though Suetonius admits that the circumstances were of great financial stress.⁹⁶ As with spectacula, Tiberius' disregard for this aspect of public behaviour is shown by his failure to give a cash donative to his soldiers (except for the praetorians). Since the following section deals with rapinae, a strong contrast may have been intended to show the effect of Tiberius' failure to meet his obligation.

Each of these units on congiaria is closely connected with opera publica and spectacula as a necessary concomitant of an emperor's relations with the public. In the Claudius a statement that 'congiaria populo saepius distribuit' is followed by description of spectacula; the statement recalls Claudius' regard for the annona (Cl. 18) and is placed here as a statement of fact in association with the games.⁹⁷ In effect, such spectacula are placed with congiaria as a closely-associated proof of Claudius' liberalitas. An analogous combination of other broadly related imperial benefits is represented in the Nero, where a unit mentioning congiaria is introduced by a statement noting Nero's intention to rule 'ex Augusti praescripto' (10.1) and to dispense with or modify oppressive sources of revenue. This species, however, also includes sepa-

rate proofs of Nero's comitas as well as liberalitas,⁹⁸ in accord with its placement before the unit on spectacula and in the part of the life detailing Nero's commendable acta. Similarly, the section on spectacula in the Domitian includes comments on congiaria at its close, including mention of a banquet and gifts of money and food distributed during games.⁹⁹ Yet neither spectacula nor congiaria are associated in this life with the unit on proofs of Domitian's liberalitas (Dom. 9), which comes later in the biography. This deviation from the normal scheme, together with the strong division between commendable and non-commendable acta in the Domitian, may be explained by Suetonius' strengthening of the contrast between virtues and vices by connecting the last section of proofs of his "good" nature (Dom. 9) more closely with the first section of proofs of his "bad" nature (Dom. 10).¹⁰⁰ Thus, in following the statements in section 9 on Domitian's lack of avarice with the saevitia and cupiditas of section 10, a strong contrast is made.

The expectation of the populace for gifts of cash and foodstuffs and the presentation of sponsored banquets leaves little doubt of the importance of congiaria as contributing to public perceptions of an emperor's performance. Similarly, separate categories on judicial administration and reforms (ius), while not found normally under the rubric of liberalitas, are relevant in providing a view of the relationship between the people and the authority behind the law-making process. An emperor had to deal personally, and normally in public, with much legal business, not all of it important and much of it time-consuming, and the way in which he handled it was important to his reputation.¹⁰¹ The category of ius was crucial to an assessment of the emperor's behaviour, and therefore is as important to an understanding of the "ideology of emperorship"¹⁰² as are proofs of imperial liberalitas.

A separate unit on ius occurs in six of the biographies, and dispensation of justice on a non-imperial level is also mentioned in the Galba.¹⁰³ As in the Iulius, Suetonius generally remarks on the comportment of the emperor while holding court and gives several examples of cases that demonstrate the operation of the law, after an introductory statement on the subject of the unit.¹⁰⁴ In the Augustus Suetonius includes circumstantial details on the time of day when the emperor 'ius dixit' and includes two examples of serious cases which demonstrate his quality of lenitas. A second section in this life, placed before one on Augustus' relations with the Senate, notes his revision and enactment of laws (Aug. 34). Similarly, the topic of ius in the Claudius concentrates more on the actions and reactions of the emperor to cases and litigants than on actual legislation; the reverse phenomenon is also shown, as it is apparent that Claudius did not behave with the restraint expected by those presenting cases before him. Thus the personal response of the emperor became vital in the administration of ius, and a certain type of behaviour was a firm expectation on the part of his subjects.

As in the Claudius, a unit on ius in the Nero follows one on the emperor's consulships and is thus placed in the broad context of civil administration and among commendable acta. Here Nero's apparently unusual procedure in dispensing law is noted without examples of laws passed and without record of his personal reactions. Yet Nero's methods as described here are really unexceptionable; to postpone written judgement for a day, for example, was approved practice,¹⁰⁵ and both Augustus and Claudius had occasionally taken written opinions from their amici, though the emperor, like any magistrate, had sole responsibility whatever their opinions.¹⁰⁶ In the Domitian, where the unit is also placed among the emperor's commendable acta, a general statement on the manner in which

the emperor held court is followed by an extensive section on laws passed and reforms carried out. This section is unusual when compared with species on ius in other lives, for it becomes apparent that few illustrative examples of Domitian's measures are given; instead, the emperor's restraint and severity in dispensing justice is a keynote, and particular emphasis is put on Domitian's measures against 'incesta Vestalium virginum'. This chapter is less a discussion of the emperor's responses to litigants and cases presented than an attempt to prove (and approve) Domitian's strictness in the lawcourt. Suetonius' concentration on personal involvement and communication between the emperor and his subjects is thus shown to be flexible when the subject matter demands it.

Finally, the topic of opera publica, representing in effect those major public buildings or structures which an emperor built and/or dedicated in the course of his reign, including (frequently) structures proposed but never carried out or brought to completion, occurs in seven of the twelve Lives.¹⁰⁷ This category is as much representative of the emperor's liberalitas as spectacula and congiaria, and is closely linked to them in two disparate ways. First, public buildings erected by a given emperor and mentioned by Suetonius were often intended to accommodate public shows, and second, gifts of cash and food were often distributed in the event of a building's dedication. Thus the development of any criteria by which an emperor's public performance might be assessed was at least partially governed by the type and practicality of the public works he sponsored.

In many instances the provision of opera publica served a double purpose: it provided a tangible beneficium for the populace as a whole, but for their sponsor the erection of public works involved a conscious desire to be commemorated by posterity for the show of wealth and concern

for urban amelioration represented by the buildings themselves. In the Iulius, the purpose of Caesar in 'ornanda instruendaque urbe' is also 'de tuendo ampliandoque imperio' (44.1). His grandiose public projects represented a potential outlay of wealth and, in the case of the temple of Mars, a degree of religious piety that was expected from an individual of Caesar's standing. Similarly in the Augustus, where the species on opera publica is preceded by a short preliminary passage on the city's lack of adornment 'pro maiestate imperii', a number of temples and the Forum of Augustus and the Theatre of Marcellus are selected from a much greater possible number of religious and secular buildings erected by Augustus and listed in more detail in the Res Gestae.¹⁰⁸ The temple of Mars Ultor, for instance, is mentioned as having been built in fulfillment of a vow made in the course of the war against Brutus and Cassius, and therefore represents an example of the emperor's pietas. This section, the contents of which are not arranged in strict chronological order, includes details of buildings erected in the name of various relatives as well as by other 'principes viri' encouraged by Augustus (Aug. 29.4-5), and is placed in the part of the life dealing with his official public acts, though not strictly connected with the species on the emperor's liberalitates.

buildings
as
part of
other
virtues

In accord with Tiberius' neglect of spectacula and large-scale congiaria, Suetonius notes that he did not complete any opera publica, though two projects were left unfinished and dedicated by Caligula. Here again the emperor is shown to be seriously derelict in his duty towards his subjects, and as Suetonius demonstrates, his posthumous reputation suffered as a consequence.¹⁰⁹ Caligula, on the other hand, though categorized as a "bad" emperor by posterity, is shown in a section on opera publica as demonstrating filial pietas, by implication, in completing and

dedicating projects which Tiberius left unfinished, as well as undertaking his own projects both in Rome and abroad; and as in the case of Caesar, a number of spectacular works proposed by him were never carried through to completion.¹¹⁰ An extensive section on opera publica in the Claudius is introduced by a comment on the practicality of projects undertaken by the emperor, and the following section deals notably with large-scale utilitarian works. Indeed, it is worth noting that Claudius is mentioned as inheriting Caesar's project of building a harbour at Ostia (Cl. 20.1). The frequent mention of projects proposed or initiated by one emperor and completed by another is indicative of the continuity of effort involved in providing the people with practical and religious buildings. In the case of emperors whose posthumous reputation was respected, a conscious connection with that emperor might be attempted by a successor in completing worthwhile projects conceived by him.

A somewhat anomalous case is presented by the Nero: here a brief segment of a unit, following species on ius and spectacula, mentions no specific opera publica, but simply the devising of a new form for the city's insulae after the fire of 64, and a proposed extension of the city walls to Ostia together with the excavation of a canal from Ostia to Rome. It may be noted that Suetonius discusses the measures taken for the rebuilding of Rome before he deals with the fire itself, an account of which appears later in the biography (Nero 38). Suetonius tends to regard Nero's opera publica as extravagance or, as in the case of his amphitheatre and baths, worthy of mention only in passing.¹¹¹ Thus the prospective canal from Lake Avernus to Ostia is placed together with a description of Nero's Domus Aurea in the section of the biography on uncommendable acta, under the broad rubric of luxuria, and shows Suetonius' disapproval of the project as serving no practical purpose in his view.

In the Vespasian, by comparison, since building projects are placed immediately before units on the reformation of the orders and on ius, it is clear that a basically traditional religious or practical purpose is being served. The Domitian also contains a section on opera publica among the emperor's praiseworthy acta, describing not only projects begun by him but also the restoration of the Capitolium, traditionally the most venerated cult building in Rome. Although an emperor's posthumous reputation might have suffered in the sources, Suetonius sees no difficulty in ascribing useful and improving public works to him, since these works seem to have constituted a criterion by which an emperor's actions were measured. The relation of this criterion to the tradition of public building will be examined in a subsequent chapter.

'Liberalitas Principis': the significance of the imperial topics.

Die Freigebigkeit des Kaisers ist eine Eigenschaft, die sich vor allen Dingen in Verhalten gegen die Untertanen zeigt; hier gehört es nun zu den Forderungen, die man an den guten Herrscher stellt, dass er keine Gruppe bevorzugt, sondern alle römischen Bürger in gleicher Weise bedenkt.¹¹²

So writes H. Kloft on liberalitas as a "kingly" quality, and it becomes apparent that this virtue played a vital part in the conception of what a monarch was and what form his conduct and achievements should take.¹¹³

The gifts which rulers were expected to distribute were not of course confined to money or property, but extended to a whole range of benefits and privileges. One of the principal advantages of conferring such benefits on the populace was the opportunity it afforded the latter for communicating their wants to an emperor in various ways. The emperor in turn could be expected to make an effort to commemorate his munificentia and liberalitas, and by extension his general popularity, in ways that would be obvious to all of his subjects. Hence, the significance of

spectacula, congiaria, ius, and opera publica in this broad context lies in the reciprocal benefit that accrued to both ruler and subject.

Among the three types of occasion listed by Cicero on which the judgement and wishes of the Roman people could best be evaluated, their gathering to see games is certainly the most important for the imperial period.¹¹⁴ Here both emperor and populus were present to view the same events, which were emphatically official occasions possessing their own set of rituals and associations. Moreover, as F. Millar notes, some of the most prominent evidences of imperial liberalitas are represented by the construction of large buildings to accommodate these public shows.¹¹⁵ The games were important as opportunities for communication between emperor and people; here public opinion could be expressed and popular demands voiced, at times by mass demonstration.¹¹⁶ This political aspect of games, however, was by no means a new development: besides Cicero's mention of their role in allowing people to voice a collective opinion, Caesar had ensured that magistrates in his coloniae put on spectacula.¹¹⁷

Furthermore, it is commonly believed that the emperor could hope to maintain popular favour only if the giving of spectacula and of food was satisfactorily carried out. Predictably, therefore, the number of presentations is shown to increase steadily throughout the first century.¹¹⁸ It is also noteworthy that in some respects the assembly of people in circus and theatre provided a substitute for the Republican electoral assemblies and thus furnished a real opportunity for popular sentiments to reach the emperor directly.¹¹⁹ The need to promote general urban calm for the sake of individual popularity had to be, and indeed was, realized by the emperors. Thus Tiberius, whose personal involvement in the few games he presented was less marked, is shown, like Caesar, attending games to prevent suspicion of anything being wrong.¹²⁰ In showing Tiberius' efforts to

prevent and punish populares tumultus, Suetonius gives incidents which occurred at spectacula (Tib. 37.2-3). Clearly the political power of crowds at games is indicated here, as also when Suetonius gives the reason for Tiberius not attending shows put on by others as due to a wish to avoid having to concede to public demands.¹²¹

If an emperor wished to curry favour with the people, not merely his presence was required at public shows, but a certain comportment was also expected from him:¹²² he was to be seen paying attention and enjoying events, and not to be distracted by other matters. Caesar incurred popular resentment by being observed to busy himself with libelli and epistulae while attending shows.¹²³ Caligula's political abuse and misunderstanding of the games is stressed by several examples in Suetonius,¹²⁴ and he is shown as paying either no attention to the sort of communication between emperor and people that had come to be expected (hence, abuse of the audience) or too much attention (hence, abuse of others who gain notice of the audience). By way of contrast, Titus is shown as giving spectators what they ask for, though he does argue with them for his own preference.¹²⁵ This incident is presented in such a way by Suetonius as to suggest that this was the kind of rapport which had to exist between emperor and people.

Many of the most specific exchanges between people and emperor concerned the shows themselves, namely their requests for items to be added, for the execution of individuals,¹²⁶ or the granting of freedom to successful performers,¹²⁷ and it is likely that the most popular form of response was that the emperor should speak himself. Thus an emperor's concessions to the assembled people were an established part of his role; his responses could also serve to indicate his own view of his position.¹²⁸

Therefore, the conception of the emperor as represented by what he did for the populace was heavily influenced (at least for the first century) by

the presentation of spectacula and his own responses to demands made by the people.¹²⁹ This idea is reflected in the recurring topics in Suetonius, demonstrating the importance in the early second century of providing the people with a means of evaluating imperial attitudes and performance.

The effective maintenance of the emperor's role thus demanded a constant outflow of liberalitates, including distributions of cash and food to the urban plebs.¹³⁰ The sums of money involved in congiaria were increased by Trajan, and Hadrian and his successors made the distribution a prominent feature of their policy.¹³¹ Not only the gifts themselves were expected, but also the giving of them in a magnanimous and dignified manner, which also commended the donor's generosity to the public by a display of the wealth at his disposal.¹³² Moreover, besides expressing the deeply-ingrained notion of the liberality of the monarch, the action of gift-giving in any fashion offers a hint of the immense range of possessions at the disposal of the emperors even in the first century. In the case of gifts of free grain, concern for adequate supply is reflected by imperial management of the cura annonae and the establishment of a special department under a praefectus to ensure that supply met demand.¹³³ The notion that the receipt of gifts was something which resulted especially, but not exclusively, from personal contact with the emperor remained essential to his subjects' perception of his public role.

The function of an emperor in the giving of congiaria reflects the growth of an immense personal fortune derived partially from the profits of conquest at the end of the first century B.C.¹³⁴ The imbalance between imperial and public wealth and the framework within which the emperor's distribution of cash was seen is expressed most clearly in the Res Gestae. Here, references to finance are not to the regular income and impensae of

the state, but entirely to voluntary and non-routine payments by Augustus himself out of funds which were in some sense his own.¹³⁵ Congiaria fit under this general rubric of voluntary payments, which were nevertheless expected in accord with the prevailing social code, prescribing handouts from those who could afford them to needy recipients.¹³⁶ Individual expenses listed in the Res Gestae, including distributions of money to the people, total well over one billion sesterces; from Augustus' time on liberalitates became a heavy item in the debit account of the imperial budget. Their overriding importance is reflected in the numismatic evidence: corn-doles of the Republic were constantly referred to under the symbolism of Ceres, Annona, and Abundantia, the tutelary numina of the grain-supply.¹³⁷ The most direct form of commemoration of congiaria on imperial issues is a distribution scene in which the emperor, seated on a public tribunal, presides over the distribution to citizens, the mechanics of which are handled by a dispensator.¹³⁸ Liberalitas, a normal subsidiary personification in these scenes, is often used as an independent type and to the attached legend 'LIBERALITAS AUG(USTI)', which first appears under Hadrian (see below), a number denoting the amount given is often added.¹³⁹ Hence, the personal contact of the emperor with his subjects can again be shown to be vital to the collective idea of his proper function. The attention of emperors to the grain-supply is reflected by the appearance of annona as a coin-slogan first under Nero and continuing into the Flavian period,¹⁴⁰ while an alternative form of the same concept, 'CERES AUG(USTA)', is found under Claudius and the emperors of 68/69.¹⁴¹ It is clear that in categorizing congiaria as a proof of liberalitas, Suetonius approved any emperor's provision of gifts as a means of maintaining popular support, a responsibility which may reflect on such imperial measures in his own time.

bias
 Sed
 Z. Yavetz has also drawn attention to an apparently necessary combination of liberalitas with what he terms 'levitas popularis', a political catchphrase attached to potential demagogues, notably to Caesar when accused of attempting to bribe the urban plebs with largitiones and spectacula.¹⁴² To some extent this quality, which involves a politician's ability to be comparatively resilient in maintaining his personal gravitas, is intended to explain the behaviour of the plebs towards the substantial beneficia of, for example, Pompey or Tiberius. The assumption that anyone who gave more generously automatically attained greater popularity can hereby be shown to be fallacious.¹⁴³ Besides fulfilling some of the plebs' demands in the sphere of economic life, such as concern about the frequent distribution of grain, meat, and money, a popular statesman had also publicly to prove that he was well-disposed towards the people.¹⁴⁴ A political leader who was able to convince the populace that his motives were sincere and who avoided alienating the larger segment of the population had a better chance to win 'favor plebis'.¹⁴⁵ According to Yavetz, this element in the 'popularis ratio', represented in part by the emperor's acquisition of 'tribunicia potestas', has considerable implications for the early principate:¹⁴⁶ for the aim of the emperor can be seen as freeing the people from the clientela of the aristocratic families and binding them to himself to the greatest possible extent by appealing to their common wants. This explains the relief granted to those who had suffered from, for example, natural disasters (Tib. 48.2), in addition to the provision of frumentationes and congiaria.

In this view 'levitas popularis' was a corollary of liberalitas, and while the content of gifts was important, the form in which they were made could be as of much significance. Tiberius is attested in the sources as making serious efforts to ensure a regular supply of food, to relieve the

burden of debts, and to provide congiaria.¹⁴⁷ Yet these were clearly regarded as 'beneficia necessaria et utilia',¹⁴⁸ and the efforts of the emperor to fit himself into the mould of a popular politician must have been offset by his attitude towards entertainments popular among the people and by their preference for Germanicus, who seems to have made an effort to behave as a popularis.¹⁴⁹ Hence, the outer form which liberalitas took became a vital factor in the assessment of an emperor's performance.

Similarly, the provisions made for the administration of justice by an emperor depended as much on expectations of behaviour visible by Suetonius' time as on the content of the dispensation itself. It was, as mentioned above, a recognized obligation of the emperor to be accessible as a recipient of cases addressed before him personally or by written petition.¹⁵⁰ This accessibility in many respects harks back to the practice of Republican magistrates, and therefore had a patently traditional force.¹⁵¹ Given the primary importance of oratory and eloquentia as a personal activity before an assembly, by which his abilities to communicate creditably were assessed, it is not surprising that jurisdiction by the emperor in person influenced his standing and subsequent reputation.¹⁵² Although there is little evidence for the role either of the emperor himself or of advisers in court procedure, the imperial cognitio theoretically was not closed to men of little status. Considerations of wealth, social class, and prestige, however, fundamentally affected the issues both of who presented cases and of what verdict they received.¹⁵³ Moreover, as P. Garnsey argues, it seems that the emperor's subjects looked to him to rectify the situation at the beginning of the principate, when the 'ius ordinarium' was generally felt to be excessively inflexible and the criminal quaestiones slow-moving and corrupt, by bringing equity into the legal system and in general to provide a higher

authority for law.¹⁵⁴ Imperial jurisdiction appears then as less a conscious creation of emperors than a response to popular needs.

One consequence of this was that the emperor's field of interest in law was broad: of necessity it took into account a massive range of legal problems which were brought to him by large numbers of would-be litigants, all of whom in theory had some chance of gaining his attention. In its routine nature and often insignificant subject-matter, the imperial jurisdiction and the verdicts pronounced represented the emperor's role as a source of law, particularly as an object of appeal.¹⁵⁵ Speeches made by litigants at an imperial cognitio were always directed to the emperor himself, and if there were any additional verbal exchanges they were always between him and the parties concerned.¹⁵⁶ In Rome many of the emperors until the reign of Hadrian gave judgement in public from a tribunal, probably a deliberate procedure to evoke popular favour and avert rumour.¹⁵⁷

The tendency for the emperor's jurisdiction to be withdrawn into the palace aroused both suspicion and resentment in the first century, though hearings within an imperial residence could be formal sessions of a semi-public nature.¹⁵⁸ Certainly the existence of other courts, combined with the effects of distance and the necessity of employing advocates and bringing witnesses to the imperial court, must in practice have greatly limited the availability to his subjects of formal legal hearings before the emperor. Not all of these limitations, however, applied to the presentation of petitions as the most distinctive of the emperor's functions as "judge", and the giving of justice through the written replies which he made.

The emperor was expected to receive embassies, hear cases, and pronounce verdicts in person, and he was responsible for written responses issued in his own name. His function in this regard continued when he

travelled abroad, when provincials had the rare opportunity of presenting their petitions to the emperor in person.¹⁵⁹ In affording a means or at least the opportunity for essentially personal communication between the emperor and his subjects, imperial jurisdiction can be linked with spec-tacula and congiaria as performing basically similar functions and as representing the fulfillment of an emperor's obligation to carry them out. Thus the concept of a "good king" as a gracious dispenser of justice, most frequently associated with the Greek East, was adapted to the role of the emperor.¹⁶⁰ Although the category of ius is not as closely linked in Suetonius with liberalitas as are the previously mentioned topics, it nevertheless contributed to the formation of the princeps' image in a similar way.

The principal and constant concern of the emperors was to foster a certain image of themselves within the population at large; hence their reluctance to give congiaria to the plebs secretly,¹⁶¹ and their concern, by means of inscriptions and coin issues, that their liberalitas should be publicly known.¹⁶² In the early Republic coin issues reflect little of the concerns of the plebs, but in the late first century a different attitude became prevalent among the monetales, though it is difficult to determine at which social strata coin propaganda was directed. There can be little doubt, however, that issues with legends like annona or congiarium were mainly intended to win the goodwill of the plebs. This form of communication thus becomes important in understanding the emperor's own view of his role; for though he worked through a variety of agencies, the emperor came to exert an open personal control over the coinage. In a highly selective manner, imperial coinage presents the positive official record of an emperor's achievements or his aspirations.

The significance of coin-legends as a means of popularizing what an

emperor wanted his régime to mean has some bearing on the possibility that Suetonius had Hadrianic slogans in mind when composing the Caesares. Certainly other writers were influenced by contemporary slogans.¹⁶³ Moreover, a number of virtue-terms in the Caesares are used to define the character of an emperor or the quality of his reign.¹⁶⁴ The existence of a ready vocabulary of political virtues and attributes in the first century, partially represented by coin-legends with which the public became familiar, may well have furnished Suetonius a means for evaluating emperors and their reigns.¹⁶⁵ As R. Syme has noted, the development of or emphasis placed on certain slogans or virtue-terms can be closely associated with individual emperors, including Hadrian.¹⁶⁶ Thus, commemorative issues with politically emotive slogans provided an additional criterion for evaluating an emperor's performance, one that is represented in the Caesares in some degree.

As was mentioned before, liberalitas as a coin-slogan makes its first appearance on both aes and gold issues under Hadrian,¹⁶⁷ and it seems reasonable to connect its commemoration with the increase in the amount given to individual citizens.¹⁶⁸ The appearance of such a slogan, together with other legends that emphasize abstract qualities rather than specific events to be commemorated, confirms the contention that permanently suitable generalities become dominant on issues after the reign of Nero.¹⁶⁹ Abstract virtues, therefore, come to outweigh purely topical types (with some exceptions) on late first- and second-century issues.¹⁷⁰ Hadrian, moreover, while not averse to topical types by any means, seems to have preferred to clothe them in references to his own active part in government: thus the emperor is identified with empire in, for instance, leading and honouring armies, speaking to assembled citizens, and guiding the Empire by his disciplina.¹⁷¹ Predominantly Hadrianic coin-legends, in-

cluding annona, felicitas, liberalitas, providentia, clementia, concordia, iustitia, pietas, salus Augusti, and securitas represent generalities which commended Hadrian's public demonstration of them to his subjects.¹⁷²

These terms became part of a stock of basically traditional and familiar imperial virtues which must have been commonly accepted and recognized by Suetonius' contemporaries when the Caesares were published.¹⁷³

The importance of coin commemorations in contributing to the collective view of an emperor's obligations and achievements can be demonstrated by some examples. 'ANNONA AUG(USTI)', a Neronian and predominantly Flavian legend, is associated with a type depicting a personified Annona with subsidiary attributes,¹⁷⁴ by comparison with the (approximately) contemporary legend 'CONG(IARIUM) DAT(UM) POP(ULO) SC', which depicts a distribution scene with the emperor presiding.¹⁷⁵ These various aes issues are separate forms of basically the same idea. Similarly, a politically suggestive slogan such as clementia, which is also represented on Hadrianic issues as a personified numen and which "signifies an enlightened leniency in the treatment of political offenders by the princeps,"¹⁷⁶ appears on issues of Tiberius and Vitellius and is mentioned in the Res Gestae in association with iustitia and pietas.¹⁷⁷ Securitas and felicitas both appear as primarily Flavian generalities: the former appeared generally as a personification of the public and political security which was owed to the imperial government, while the latter as 'FEL(ICITAS) PUBLICA' represented the emperor as the author and guarantor of state prosperity.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, a stock repertory of traditional virtues and attributes which appear on coin issues in direct association with an emperor's achievements can be connected with Suetonius' use of the same virtues when dealing with the quality of a régime, though not all virtue-terms in Suetonius have this general application. That Hadrian first introduced liberalitas as a

legend is significant, insofar as the emperor's personal generosity was thought to be worth formally commemorating to the public.

The relevance of the topic of opera publica to spectacula, congiaria, and ius lies in their contribution to the formation of an emperor's public image. Indeed, all represent benefits conferred on the populace as a whole and operate for the mutual advantage of both emperor and subject. Yet whereas these topics involve to various extents the personal communication of the emperor with his subjects, opera publica were clearly important as well for lasting commemoration and for civic embellishment. The significance of opera publica as a topic in Suetonius will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. In general, many of the fundamental expectations connected with these proofs of liberalitas originate in a common conception of the emperor as a basileus, who could communicate on a personal or at least a semi-personal level with his subjects.¹⁷⁹ Such values, imported from the Hellenistic East, must have influenced both the emperor's perception of his own role as well as that of his subjects. With the extension of Roman rule through the East, office-holders had assumed some of the functions and forms of contact or exchange with cities and individuals that characterized the kings. Thus, pressure to respond to initiatives from below shaped the form and content of gifts given to the emperor's subjects. H. Kloft represents the emperor's personal extension of liberalitas as "der Ersatz für eine staatliche Sozialpolitik".¹⁸⁰ Such an idea, coupled with the notion that the emperor himself benefitted from his concern for public well-being, is crucial to a consideration of opera publica in Suetonius' Caesares.

CHAPTER I: NOTES

1. Large-scale works published since 1950 which attempt at least a partial analysis of the content of the Caesares include: Wolf Steidle, Sueton und die Antike Biographie, 2nd ed., Zetemata, No. 1 (Munich, 1963); Francesco della Corte, Suetonio: eques Romanus, 2nd ed. (Florence, 1967); Eugen Cizek, Structures et Ideologie dans "Les Vies des Douze Césars" de Suétone (Paris, 1977).
2. See Introduction, p.4.
3. C. Suetoni Tranquilli, Opera, Vol. I: De Vita Caesarum Libri VIII, ed. M. Ihm (Stuttgart, 1958), p.viii (praefatio); first pub. 1908.
4. A. Reifferschied, ed., Suetoni praeter Caesarum libros Reliquiae (Leipzig, 1860) pp.3-104 (a full list of titles and fragments). Cf. A. Macé, Essai sur Suétone (Paris, 1900), 242-354.
5. G. Townend, "The Date of Composition of Suetonius' Caesares," CQ 9 (1959), 288.
6. E. Marec and H.G. Pflaum, "Nouvelle inscription sur la carrière de Suétone, l'historien," CRAI (1952), 76-85; AE 1953, no. 73. The secondary literature on this titulus includes (most importantly), C. Baurain, "Suétone et l'inscription d'Hippone," LEC 44 (1976), 124-144 (following F. Grosso in RIL 14 (1959), 263ff.); R. Meiggs, Ostia, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1973), 515-517; R. Syme, Tacitus, (Oxford, 1958), Vol. II, 778-780; G. Townend, "The Hippo Inscription and the Career of Suetonius," Historia 10 (1961), 99-109. The duties of an 'a studiis' are not exactly known, but they probably involved work on the drafting of imperial pronouncements and advising the emperor about his contacts with the literary world, which were becoming increasingly important, as Suetonius' own career shows; 'a bybliothecis' involved the supervision of the public libraries. Cf. Millar, 90-91.
7. HA. Hadr. 11.3. It may be noted that there are textual difficulties in this passage: 'in iussu eius' is most frequently read in place of 'iniussu eius'. Cf. Townend, (1961), 108-109. *
8. K.R. Bradley, "The Composition of Suetonius' Caesares Again," JIES 1 (1973), 262. Cf. G.W. Bowersock, "Suetonius and Trajan," in Hommages Rénard 1, Collection Latomus 101 (Brussels, 1969), I, 121. The latter argues that Suetonius' biographies of Galba to Domitian were written under Trajan before those of Caesar to Nero, adducing the use of abstract nouns (pudicitia, abstinentia) which appear in one sextet and not in the other. It is more likely, however, that variation in vocabulary used and at least some flexibility in the internal arrangement of the biographies depended on S.'s own literary predilections and on the nature of the sources available to him.
9. Suet. Aug. 71.2-4; 76.2; Tib. 21.4; Cal. 8.4; Cl. 4. Cf. G. Townend, "The Sources of the Greek in Suetonius," Hermes 87 (1960), 98-99.
* The text also refers to the dismissal of 'multisque aliis'.

10. G. Townend, "Suetonius and His Influence," in Latin Biography, ed. T.A. Dorey, (London, 1967), 109, n.20.
11. Townend, (1967), 90. With one exception, Suetonius does not make use of any letter from any emperor after A.D. 14: the written response ('rescripsit') of Nero to Helius' warning à propos of the urgency of 'urbicas res' (Nero 23.1) when the emperor was in Greece may well have been quoted verbatim or at least derived from the original reply. See K.R. Bradley, Suetonius' Life of Nero: An Historical Commentary, Collection Latomus (Brussels, 1978), 142. Cf. Nero 52, a reference to an autograph copy of some of Nero's best-known poems. This is the last mention of purely documentary evidence in the biographies.
12. Townend, (1967), 87. An alternate explanation has recently been proposed by R. Syme in Mus. Helv. 37 (1980), 104ff., who suggests that since part of an emperor's staff usually accompanied him on tours abroad (see Millar, 91, 127), Suetonius may have been absent from Rome in 121/22 and consequently unable to use the archives. Yet it is not clear how this suggestion is to be correlated to the statement in the HA Hadr. (11.3) on Suetonius' dismissal.
13. Townend, (1967), 87.
14. Johannes Lydus, De Mag. II.6. See A.N. Sherwin-White, The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary (Oxford, 1966), 85 (Ep. I.1), on Septicius Clarus, also the dedicatee of at least the first book of Pliny's Letters.
15. Bradley, (1973), 262-263.
16. Suet. Tib. 61.5; Nero 11.1; Otho 7.1. Cf. Townend, (1967), 87; Bradley, loc.cit.
17. Tit. 10.2. This reference to Domitia Longina is cited within the context of the one mysterious deed which Titus regretted. The tone of the allusion and use of the imperfect 'iurabat' implies that Domitia was dead by the time that this was written, that is about 126 on the basis of other evidence (cited by Syme (1958), 780). The interpretation is, however, open to dispute: see B. Baldwin, "Suetonius, Birth, Disgrace, and Death," AClas 17 (1975), 69-70.
18. Michael Grant, The Ancient Historians (London, 1970), 176.
19. Sherwin-White, 745.
20. P.G. Walsh, Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods (Cambridge, 1976), 110-112. See also E. Badian, "The Early Historians," in Latin Historians, ed. T.A. Dorey (New York, 1966), 1-2.
21. Liv. 2.16.1; 19.1; 40.14; 3.31.1; 4.30.4; 7.15.9. See R.M. Ogilvie, A Commentary on Livy: Books I-V (London, 1965), 8-14.
22. Cf. Tac. Ann. 14.12.2; Tac. Hist. 1.3.2.

23. F.R.D. Goodyear, Tacitus, Greece and Rome: New Surveys in the Classics No. 4 (Oxford, 1970), 22-23, 24. Cf. Tac. Ann. 3.65.1; 14.64.3; Hist. 1.3.1.
24. Goodyear, 32-33.
25. Grant, 282; cf. Tac. Ann. 4.57.2 (a special exception).
26. F.R.D. Goodyear, ed., The Annals of Tacitus: Books 1-6 (Cambridge, 1972), Volume 1: Annals 1.1-54, 43.
27. e.g. Suet. Tib. 42.1 (some chronological confusions); Nero 21.1; 11-13 (the order of presentation of games within the unit seems to be random). Cf. Bradley, 82-91.
28. Tac. Ann. 3.1; 2.3. Another example is found at Ann. 12.31-40, where Tacitus himself notes (40.5) that he has brought together what occurred in Britain over several years so that these events will be more intelligible. Cf. W. Kroll, Studien zum Verständnis der römische Literatur (Stuttgart, 1924), 371ff.
29. Goodyear (1970), 26-27.
30. Syme (1958), 269. Cf. Goodyear (1970), 18-19.
31. Townend (1967), 91-92, 109, n.27, 28. Cf. Townend (1960), 109ff.
32. Suet. Nero 38.1. Yet even here Suetonius shows his knowledge of an alternative report, of an accidental outbreak (acknowledged in Tac. Ann. 15.38.1), by a reference (43.1) to the account in which the worst charge that could be made against Nero was that four years later he planned to set fire to the city. Cf. Townend (1960), 111-112. Cf. Cal. 8; Cl. 44.2; Nero 33.1, 39.2 (examples of caution taken with conflicting statements and two contradictory versions of the same events).
33. e.g. in Nero alone, 7.1; 23.2; 28.2; 29; 30.3; 32.3; 34.2; 36.2 etc.
34. Tac. Ann. 1.1.5; Hist. 1.1.1-2; (examples) Ann. 4.8.2; 11.3 (on the death of Drusus).
35. e.g. Nero 37.2, not mentioned by other sources. Cf. Dom. 1; 3; 22.
36. e.g. Nero 19.2; 35.5.
37. Syme (1958), 118-119, 781-782.
38. Syme (1958), 781. The possibility exists that Suetonius read Books I-III or I-VI, if research for or composition of the Tiberius were still in progress as late as 119/20. On Syme's testimony, the last "hexad" of the Annales, whether as it survives or following the scheme which finished Nero's reign with Book XVIII, was completed

- in 120 at the earliest (473). Cf. Suet. Vit. 16ff. and Tac. Hist. 3.84 for indications of use of a common source, though there are discrepancies.
39. Suet. Nero 52; Tac. Ann. 14.16.1; Suet. Tib. 21.2; Cal. 8 (possible corrections or criticisms).
 40. Cf. della Corte, 171-175 (attitudes of the first four emperors towards the ordo equester).
 41. Cf. Tac. Agr. 45.1: 'mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique visus (adflixit,) nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit.'
 42. Steidle, 11-12, 130-132.
 43. Steidle, 132 (Evagoras), 117, 130-133 (Agesilaus). Cf. Grant, 133-135.
 44. Grant, 314. Cf. Plu. Per. 1ff.; Aem. 1; Arat. 1.
 45. Plu. Dem. 1; Cim. 2. Plutarch did not, as he makes clear, mean to imply that by reading about Pericles people should be inspired to become Periclean types; the idea was that they should be inspired to apply his moral example to their own walk of life. Cf. Plu. Praecepta Reipublicae Gerendae, 813 D-E, 824 C.
 46. e.g. Plu. Sull. 19; Alc. 2.2ff., 15; Fab. 16; Age. 25.5.
 47. Townend, (1967) 84. Cf. D.R. Stuart, Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography (Berkeley, 1928), 78 (on the same principle in Greek biography). For instance, the death of Nero is narrated without mention of either Nymphidius Sabinus or Verginius Rufus (Nero 47ff.); Tacitean paragons of military virtue, Domitius Corbulo (cf. Nero 39.1) and Suetonius Paullinus, are conspicuous by their absence. Claudius' invasion of Britain is dealt with peremptorily and not as a military campaign because of his mostly passive role in the expedition; Aulus Plautius, first governor of Britain, is not mentioned at all (Cl. 17).
 48. A.J. Gossage, "Plutarch," in Latin Biography, ed. T.A. Dorey (London, 1967), 47. Cf. Grant, 931, n.45; Steidle, 130, 140-141 (esp. on Satyrus of Callatis).
 49. F. Leo, Die griechische-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form (Leipzig, 1901), 178-92. Cf. A. Weiszäcker, Untersuchungen über Plutarchs biographisch Technik (Berlin, 1931), 3ff., 57ff.
 50. Steidle, 114, 120. Cf. Cic. Tusc. 4.3; Cato 12; CIL VI.2 (10230).
 51. Steidle, 130-131, 134 (on Nicolaus of Damascus). Cf. Plb. 8.8.5-9; 10.21. When speaking of the Achaean leader Philopoemen, Polybius makes a conscious and explicit attempt to be impartial, pointing out that history is not the same thing as panegyric.

52. e.g. D.H. 5.17 (on Brutus by Valerius Publicola); Cic. Sen. 12; cf. Steidle, 120.
53. Momigliano, 50-51.
54. Steidle, 130 ("negatives Enkomion").
55. Suet. Aug. 61.1; cf. 9.1. Cf. Cal. 22.1: 'hactenus quasi de principe, reliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt'; Nero 19.3: 'haec partim nulla reprehensione, partim etiam non mediocri laude digna in unum contuli, ut secernerem a probris ac sceleribus eius, de quibus dehinc dicam'. These two passages do not indicate subsequent topics in the same way as the divisiones in the Iulius and the Augustus. The simple divisio between probra and scelera in the latter passage, followed out in 20-25 and 26-37/38, is quite unobtrusive. Suetonius may have assumed that the reader will not need constant reminding of the regular pattern.
56. Steidle, 3, 5-7. Leo also denied that native Italian encomia had had any influence on biographical technique; cf. Steidle, 106 (on the putative influence of encomium/panegyric on the Titus), 146-50 (the sequence Early Life, Akmē, Character, and Death in Nepos 'Vita Attici'); Momigliano, 18-19.
57. Cic. Brut. 302; Caec. 45; Inv. 1.31.
58. Xen. Cyr. 1.1.6; Isoc. Evag. 22. Cf. Nep. Ep. 1.4.
59. Suet. Aug. 10-19; Tib. 10-14.
60. Suet. Tib. 1-3; Cal. 1-3 (biography of Germanicus). Cf. Steidle, 107.
61. Tib. 26, 28-32, 37; Cal. 15-16, 18-21; Nero 9-19.2; Dom. 4-9.
62. Iul. 45-53; Aug. 72-83; Tib. 68-69 (before the account of his death); Cal. 50-55; Cl. 30-40; Nero 51-55 (after the account of his death); Gal. 21-22 (end of life); Otho 12.1-2; Vit. 17.3 (without personal habits); Ves. 20-23; Tit. 3; Dom. 18-21 (after account of his death).
63. Steidle, 112. Topics dealt with in this section include: opera publica and various aspects of Augustus' administration of Rome (24-30); revival of religious rites fallen into disuse (31), measures taken to ensure salus publica and individual rights in litigation (32); ius and legislation (33-4); relations with the Senate, equestrian order and populus; liberalitas (esp. provisions for annona) with some emphasis on public games (35-45); relations with Italy, the provinces, foreign kingdoms, administration of the army, organization of the imperial post, virtues shown by Augustus in public life (45-56).
64. e.g. Aug. 11; 13.1-2; 15; 16.2; 17.5; 27.3-5 (opprobrium earned by Augustus when a triumvir). Cf. Aug. 51-52 (examples of Augustus' clementia and civilitas).

65. e.g. Aug. 29, 31, 43.2 ('lusus Troiae'). Cf. Steidle, 36, 37. Similarly, as Steidle points out, the first twenty chapters of the Iulius show how the feature of unifying theme operates ("ein Leitmotif"), in emphasizing Caesar's conflict with the Optimates and rise to power.
66. Steidle, 54, 80, 88, 146 ("assoziativer Gedankengang"). Compare (and see below) the connection between liberalitas and its manifestations in spectacula, congiaria, and opera publica in their separate rubrics.
67. e.g. Aug. 57.1. Cf. Weiszäcker, 71-72 (a comparison of the Lives of Caesar by Plutarch and Suetonius).
68. Cf. Cornelii Taciti, De Vita Agricolae, ed. R.M. Ogilvie and I. Richmond (Oxford, 1967), 13-14 (introduction).
69. Steidle, 108-109, 126. See introduction, p.4.
70. e.g. Phaenias of Eresus, who wrote about Sicilian tyrants as well as men of letters, not limiting himself to panegyric. Cf. Stuart, 132-4; Momigliano, 77-78.
71. Grant, 332, 335.
72. Cic. de Orat. 2.341; Lael. 3.71; Brut. 62; Plin. Nat. 2.1.6. Cf. Plin. Nat. 7.139; Suet. Aug. 8.
73. Steidle, 133 (Panegyricus), 114-115 (Res Gestae). Cf. Stuart, 225-228.
74. Plin. Ep. 8.12.5: 'funebribus laudationibus seris quidem sed veris' (on the 'exitus illustrium virorum', composed by Titinius Capito). Suet. Nero 47ff. may be based on such a work. Cf. Syme, 19ff.
75. e.g. Inscr. It. XIII.3. no. 79 (epitaph of Ap. Claudius Caecus); cf. Momigliano, 92-93.
76. D.C. Earl, The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome (London, 1967), 89-90.
77. e.g. Sall. Cat. 9, 14-16; Cic. Ver. 2.1.34, 37; 2.2.44; Phil. 2.25.63; 41; Cael. 4.10; 8.18; 15.35.
78. Suet. Cl. 21.1 (announcement of congiaria, then spectacula); Dom. 4 (discussion of spectacula and congiaria in same unit). These examples are discussed below.
79. Iul. 39; Aug. 43-45; Cal. 18-20; Cl. 21; Nero 11.1-13.2; Ves. 19.1; Dom. 4; cf. Tit. 7.3; Tib. 47.
80. Townend, 82: "...a subject which always interested Suetonius deeply, being dealt with in one of his lost works." Any special interest, however, cannot be detected from the Caesares alone; Varro (R. 9-10), Martial (de Spect.) and Tertullian

also wrote separate books on spectacula and have avoided a charge of any special interest in the subject. Cf. Gell. IX.7. See esp. Bradley (RSA forthcoming).

81. Iul. 39.1; Aug. 43.1; Cl. 21.1 (after mentioning congiaria); Nero 11.1; Dom. 4.1 (examples of introductory statements). The Vespasian and the Domitian lack any orderly subdivision of entertainments into categories, and the former life omits circenses and munera gladiatoria (see below).
82. RG 22, 23. Munera (gladiatoria) seems best to fill the lacuna in Aug. 43.1, both by the locations mentioned for the events and as paralleling the contents of the Res Gestae; Suetonius adds only that the munera were held in the Saepta, and that wooden seats were constructed in the Campus Martius for the athletae.
83. Plin. Nat. 8.64; App. BC. 8.28; Dio 45.6; 54.2; 54.26; 55.10; etc. Even the Res Gestae gives more details in some individual instances of games.
84. Aug. 44.1; 43.5; 45. Cf. Dom. 4.1-2; 7.1; 8.3; 10.1; 13.1; Plin. Pan. 33.4.
85. Tib. 34; Sen. de Prov. 4.4. Cf. Tib. 6.4-7 (though Suetonius points out that the costs here were borne by his mother and stepfather); 26; 37.2-3; 47; 72.2.
86. Cal. 19; 17.2 (gifts to the people); 21 (opera publica). Cf. Cal. 27; 55 (excessive public display of studium artium and passions).
87. Cf. Tac. Ann. 14.20-21; 16.4; Dio 61.21 (Neronia); Ann. 16.23-24; Plin. Nat. 33.54; Dio 63.1 (Tiridates). As in the Claudius (21; the Ludi Saeculares were held in 47, after the first munera gladiatoria were held in the Castra Praetoria in 43; cf. Tac. Ann. 11.11; Dio 60.17), the order of presentation of the entertainments within the unit is random: the Iuvenales took place in 59, the ludi Maximi in 59, munus gladiatorium in 57, Neronia in 60, and Tiridates arrived in 66. Cf. Bradley, (1978), 82-91 for a discussion of the dates. One can only notice that the "normal" types of games are discussed first, while the extraordinary Neronia and the entrance of Tiridates are left till the end.
88. Nero 23.2; 32.3.
89. Gal. 6; Vit. 2; 4; Otho avoids them completely. Cf. Gal. 13 (a 'proximo spectaculo' on Galba's arrival in Rome); Vit. 12; Tac. Hist. 2.32; 67; 70; 91; 94; 95; (games under Vitellius).
90. Cf. Dio 66.15.
91. Iul. 38; Tib. 48; Cal. 17.2. As subsections: Aug. 41-42; Cl. 21.1; Nero 10.1; Ves. 18-19.1; Dom. 4.5.
92. Dio 43.21.3; 44.35.3; Suet. Iul. 83.2.

93. Iul. 38.2; Cal. 17.2; 18.2; Ves. 19.1; Dom. 4.5.
94. Aug. 41.1. Cf. RG 15-18 (*impensae*); P.A. Brunt and J.M. Moore, ed., Res Gestae Divi Augusti. The Achievements of the Divine Augustus (Oxford, 1967), 57-59. For similar uses of the virtue-slogan liberalitas, see Tib. 46; 48.2; Nero 10.1; Dom. 9.1. Cf. H. Kloft, Liberalitas Principis: Herkunft und Bedeutung. Studien zur Prinzipatsideologie (Cologne, 1970), 77-78.
95. Cal. 37.1; Nero 23.2; 32.3.
96. Tib. 48.1; cf. Tac. Ann. 6.12.
97. Cf. Cal. 17.2: Dom. 4.5, where similar statements head short units; also Aug. 41.2 where a similar statement heads a subsection of the unit on liberalitas. The statement on congiaria looks like the heading for another unit: perhaps S. had originally planned to add examples of various forms of generosity. This may suggest that part of Suetonius' compositional method involved starting with the headings of the species and filling in the examples afterwards.
98. Nero 10.1. Cf. Aug. 53.2; Tit. 8.2 (other examples of imperial comitas).
99. Dom. 4.5; cf. Dio. 67.4; Suet. Tit. 7.3: 'et tamen nemine ante se munificentia minor'.
100. Dom. 3.2: 'circa administrationem autem imperii aliquamdiu se varium praestitit. mixtura quoque aequabili vitiorum atque virtutum, donec virtutes quoque in vitia deflexit; quantum coniectare licet, super ingenii naturam inopia rapax, metu saevus.' Cf. 10.1: 'sed neque in clementiae neque in abstinentiae tenore permansit, et tamen aliquanto celerius ad saevitiam descivit quam ad cupiditatem.'
101. Millar, 228ff. Cf. P. Garnsey, Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire (Oxford, 1970), 65ff.
102. K.R. Bradley, "Suetonius and the Judgement of Roman Emperors," ANRW (vol.) II.34 (forthcoming), "section 5".
103. Iul. 43; Aug. 33-34; Cl. 18; Nero 15; Ves. 10; Dom. 8.1. Cf. Gal. 7.2.
104. e.g. Iul. 43.1: 'ius laboriosissime ac severissime dixit'; Aug. 33.1 'ipse ius dixit assidue...dixit autem ius non diligentia modo summa sed et lenitate'; Dom. 8.1: 'ius diligenter et industrie dixit....'
105. Cf. Plin. Ep. 6.22.2; see also Sherwin-White, 382.
106. Millar, 237.
107. Iul. 44; Aug. 29, 30; (Tib. 47); Cal. 21; Cl. 20; Nero 16.1; Ves. 9; Dom. 5.

108. RG 19-21; cf. Brunt and Moore, 61-63. See below, Ch. III., pp.110-118.
109. Tib. 47.1. Cf. Kloft, 115, 118: "Wenn der princeps es an der rechten Bautätigkeit hat fehlen lassen, so gilt dies als Einwand gegen seine Herrscherqualität."
110. Cal. 21. Cf. C. Maurer, A Commentary on C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita C. Caligulae Caesaris, I-XXI (Philadelphia, 1949), 102ff.
111. Nero 31.3; cf. 12.1, 3.
112. Kloft, 86-87.
113. Kloft, 57.
114. Cic. Sest. 50/106, cf. 58/124.
115. Millar, 369; cf. RG 22-23; Brunt and Moore, 64-65.
116. Cf. Tac. Ann. 4.14; 6.13.1; Dio 62.13 (295), (examples of demonstrations at shows when the emperor was absent). See Z. Yavetz, Plebs and Princes (Oxford, 1969), 19-20; R. McMullen, Enemies of the Roman Order (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 334-340 (on the "police problem at spectacles").
117. "Charter of Urso", chs. 70-71, Ancient Roman Statutes, ed. A.D. Johnson, P.R. Coleman-Norton, and F.C. Bourne (Texas, 1961), no. 114 (ILS 6087, 504-505). Cf. Plin. Ep. 9.6; Pan. 33 (the imperial point of view); Juv. 10.81.
118. Bradley (1978), 81; Bradley, RSA (forthcoming).
119. Cf. Tac. Hist. 1.72.
120. Tib. 72.2; Iul. 31.1; cf. Tib. 26; Iul. 26.2-3; Plu. Caes. 32.4.
121. Tib. 47; 45; cf. Tac. Ann. 4.14. Actors and pantomimi were sometimes the cause of riotous partisanship: see Tib. 37; Nero 16.2; Tac. Ann. 13.25, 28; 14.21.
122. Tac. Ann. 1.54.2; Hist. 2.91.2: Vitellius 'omnem infimae plebis rumorem in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fautor adfectarit.' Cf. Suet. Aug. 52, 53.
123. Suet. Aug. 45.1. See also Millar, 370.
124. Cal. 26.4; 26.5; 35.1; 35.2, 3; 38.4. Cf. Dio. 59.14.
125. Tit. 8.2; cf. Dom. 7.1; 8.3; 10.1; 13.1; Plin. Pan. 33.4.
126. Cal. 30.2; Gal. 19.2; cf. Tac. Hist. 1.72-3; Plu. Gal. 17.5; also Fro. Aur. 1.8.2 (Loeb trans.), on the necessity of using oratory to gain public favour.
127. Tib. 47.1; Cal. 30.2; Dio 59.13.6; 30.16. See also Millar, 371.

128. Aug. 42.1-2; 53.1; Dom. 4.1; Plu. Otho 3.1.
129. Millar, 373.
130. Kloft, 88-89. Cf. Yavetz, 145.
131. Kloft, 94-95. Trajan distributed amounts of 650 denarii per head, Hadrian 1,000, Antoninus Pius 800; cf. Kloft, 94, n.46.
132. Suet. Gal. 12.3; Plu. Gal. 15.2; Cal. 37.1; Jos. Ant. 19.1.11 (71); Dio 59.25.5; Dom. 4.5; Dio 67.4.4; 69.8.2.
133. R. Meiggs, Roman Ostia, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1973), 46-47. Cf. Cl. 20.
134. Millar, 191-192.
135. Kloft, 74-76; RG 15-18.
136. Yavetz, 43, 143. Cf. Suet. Aug. 37 ('cura frumenti populo divi-
dundi'); Cic. Off. 2.54: 'multi enim patrimonia effuderunt incon-
sulte largiendo'.
137. C.H.V. Sutherland, Roman Coins (London, 1974), 80, 85, pls. 116,
117, 127 (= BMCR Rome 2463; 3544).
138. Millar, 136, esp. n.17.
139. Bradley, (1978), 72-73; BMCRE III clxi; cxlv; cf. HA. Hadr. 7.3;
Kloft, 94.
140. BMCRE I ccxx, ccxiv, ccxxvi, 220-223; II 51-55, 172, 176 (Vespa-
sian); 254, 293, etc. (Titus); 382, 360, 83, 89, 91, etc.
(Domitian).
141. BMCRE I 183-184, 191 (Claudius); 332, 360 (Galba); 381 (Vitellius).
142. Yavetz, 43, 51. Cf. Cic. Off. 2.54-55; Sest. 96; Brut. 103;
Phil. 5.44.
143. Vell. 2.41.13; Cic. Off. 2.21. Cf. Yavetz, 49-50 (on reasons for
the eventual unpopularity of Pompey).
144. Cf. Suet. Aug. 39; 42.3; 48.9; Tac. Ann. 1.2; Dio 49.43.1-4.
145. Cic. Sest. 140; cf. Suet. Cal. 26; Nero 11-12; Yavetz, 114-115,
129. Both Caligula and Nero seem to have won popular goodwill by
periodic humiliation of the upper classes.
146. Yavetz, 52, 55. Cf. Cic. Leg. 8.24, 25.
147. Tac. Ann. 4.6: 'sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe'; 2.87; - 6.73;
Vell. 2.94. congiaria under Tiberius: Tac. Ann. 2.42 (in 17);
3.24, cf. Suet. Tib. 54 (in 20); Dio 58.2.2 (in 37). Cf. Dio
57.10.4; Vell. 2.124.3 (exaggerated): 'quotiens populum congiariis
honoravit'.

148. Sen. Ben. 1.11.1.
149. Suet. Tib. 72; Dio 58.11.5-6. On Germanicus: see Yavetz, 110-112, esp. 110, n.6; Tac. Ann. 2.58; 3.3. Cf. Tac. Ann. 4.62-63.
150. Millar, 228ff.
151. Millar, 16-18, 21.
152. Fro., Aur. 3.1 (Loeb trans.); Tac. Ann. 13.3.2; Suet. Aug. 84, 89.1.
153. Garnsey, 94-100.
154. Garnsey, 4-5, 14, 20-21.
155. Millar, 322, 418, 507-516.
156. Suet. Aug. 33.1; Cl. 15; Plu. Mor. 207F.; Dio 74.9 (333-4).
157. Suet. Aug. 93; Dio 57.7.2-5 (Tiberius in the Forum); 60.4.3; (Claudius); 66.10.5 (Vespasian); Dom. 8.1; Dio 68.10.2 (Trajan); 69.7.1 (Hadrian): 'ὥστε δημοσιεύεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα.'
158. Tac. Ann. 11.2-3; Dio 60.29.4-6 (Claudius' trial of Valerius Asiaticus in 47 'intra cubiculum'); Ann. 13.4.
159. Millar, 537, 618.
160. Millar, 3-4; Dio 68.11.3 (Trajan). Cf. Cic. Rep. 5.2/3; Suet. Tit. 8.1.
161. Sen. Ben. 2.11.3.
162. H. Mattingly, Roman Coins, 2nd ed., (London, 1960), 183-185.
163. e.g. Tac. Agr. 3.1; Hist. 1.1 (Nerva and Trajan); Plin. Ep. 9.13.4; Pan. 58.3; 67.3 (Trajan).
164. K.R. Bradley, "Imperial Virtues in Suetonius' Caesares", JIES 4, No. 3 (1976), 245, 253.
165. Bradley, (1976), 245-246. It has been argued, however, that not all virtue-terms in Suetonius automatically have any relevance to coin-slogans or the general perception of an emperor's reign; many occurrences of these terms apply to specific historical events and not to the "quality of the reign". See Bradley, passim.
166. Syme (1958), 754-756.
167. See above, p.40, n.139; Smallwood, Documents (1966), nos. 63, 120.
168. Kloft, 94.
169. Sutherland, 180.

170. Sutherland, loc.cit. For example, in 100 Trajan's gold and silver coinage, with rev. legend P M TR P COS III PP, showed unlabelled figure types of Abundantia, Concordia, Fortuna, Germania, Hercules, Pax, Rome, Vesta, and Victory; the nearly parallel aes, mostly with rev. legend TR POT COS III PPSC, showed Mars, Abundantia, Concordia, Pax, Securitas, Victory, triumphal arch, and emperor on horseback. Antonine coinage emphasizes abstractions even more; see Sutherland, 181, also for noteworthy exceptions to these general virtues and personifications.
171. BMCRE III 1680; (rev.) Sutherland, 197, pl. 362; BMCRE III 1484 (rev.).
172. Bradley (1976), 245.
173. Syme, 756; cf. Sutherland, 208, n.232: "...the programme of restoration [Trajan's currency reform in 107; see Dio 68.15] suggests that the more learned and antiquarian heads in the imperial civil service kept a keen eye upon the repertoire of coin-designs, past as well as present."
174. BMCRE I 129 (rev.) (220ff., 260); cf. 375, 383 (Vitellius).
175. BMCRE I 224ff., 261; Bradley, (1978), 75-76. Nero's congiarium of HS 400 per citizen was distributed in 57 (Tac. Ann. 13.31.2), the largest such distribution since the early years of Augustus; it was celebrated on the coinage of 64 or later and a second congiarium of unknown date is also recorded; see Bradley, 203ff.
176. Bradley (1978), 73; cf. Ch. Wirszubski, Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate (Cambridge, 1950), 150-153.
177. BMCRE I 132, 384; BMCRE III 271; RG 3.1-2, 34.1-2; Brunt and Moore, 40-41, 78. Pietas became a very frequent expression of familial or filial loyalty; see BMCRE I, II index s.v. 'pietas'.
178. BMCRE II 169; cf. BMCRE I 241, 267-8 (Nero); 384, 383, 337 (Vitellius); BMCRE II 130, 141, 150, 162-6, 168, 170, 192, 212 etc. ('felicitas publica' for Vespasian alone). Cf. Suet. Aug. 58.
179. Millar, 617-618.
180. Kloft, 179.

CHAPTER II. OPERA PUBLICA IN SUETONIUS' CAESARES:

ACCURACY, OMISSIONS, AND TYPOLOGY

The recurrence of a unit on public works in seven of the twelve Caesares shows that purposeful selection of subject matter was in this, as in other cases, a principal factor in Suetonius' biographical technique. Indeed, it is probable that there is some significance in Suetonius' choice of subject-matter: that is, that there is a basic reason underlying the choice of particular buildings, especially when other monuments erected in the course of a given reign are not mentioned within the species itself. It has already been shown that the placement of this unit is important insofar as it is a well-defined proof of imperial liberalitas. In this chapter the buildings listed in each species will be discussed as well as extraneous building projects mentioned elsewhere in the lives. The basic accuracy of Suetonius' information, the reasons for any conspicuous omissions from the lists, and general typology of these building-lists will also be examined. In this way some general conclusions may be drawn regarding the content and function of the units on opera publica.

Building projects in the Caesares.

The buildings and building projects listed by Suetonius in each of the units on opera publica have been listed in tabular form (Tables 1 and 2) and categorized into "religious" and "public utility" works. All building projects mentioned elsewhere in the Caesares have been separately

tabulated (Tables 3, 4 and 5) with their appropriate references in order to show clearly what buildings Suetonius thought inappropriate to include under the broad rubric of liberalitas.

OPERA PUBLICA IN SÜETONIUS' CAESARES

TABLE 1: Religious Buildings

<u>Building</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. temple of Mars built on site of lake for <u>naumachiae</u>	<u>Iul.</u> 44.1
2. temple of Mars Ultor	<u>Aug.</u> 29.1
3. temple of Apollo Palatinus	<u>Aug.</u> 29.1
4. temple of Jupiter Tonans on Capitoline	<u>Aug.</u> 29.1
5. temple of Hercules Musarum (by Marcius Philippus)	<u>Aug.</u> 29.5
6. temple of Diana (by L. Cornificius)	<u>Aug.</u> 29.5
7. temple of Saturn (by Munatius Plancus)	<u>Aug.</u> 29.5
8. commencement of temple of Deified Augustus	<u>Tib.</u> 47
9. completion of temple of Deified Augustus	<u>Cal.</u> 21
10. temples at Syracuse	<u>Cal.</u> 21
11. completion of Didymeion at Miletus	<u>Cal.</u> 21
12. temple of Peace near Forum Romanum	<u>Ves.</u> 9.1
13. temple of Deified Claudius on Caelian	<u>Ves.</u> 9.1
14. restoration of Capitolium	<u>Dom.</u> 5
15. temple of Jupiter Custos on Capitoline	<u>Dom.</u> 5
16. temple of Flavian Family	<u>Dom.</u> 5

TABLE 2: "Public Utility" Buildings

<u>Building</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. theatre adjacent to Tarpeian Rock	<u>Iul.</u> 44.1
2. draining of Pomptine Marshes	<u>Iul.</u> 44.3
3. draining of Fucine Lake	<u>Iul.</u> 44.3
4. road across Apennines to Tiber	<u>Iul.</u> 44.3
5. canal across Isthmus of Corinth	<u>Iul.</u> 44.3
6. Forum of Augustus	<u>Aug.</u> 29.1
7. portico and Greek and Latin library	<u>Aug.</u> 29.3
8. Portico and Basilica of Gaius and Lucius ¹	<u>Aug.</u> 29.4
9. Porticoes of Livia and Octavia	<u>Aug.</u> 29.4
10. Theatre of Marcellus	<u>Aug.</u> 29.4
11. Atrium Libertatis (by Asinius Pollio)	<u>Aug.</u> 29.5
12. Theatre of Balbus (by Cornelius Balbus)	<u>Aug.</u> 29.5
13. Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus (by Statilius Taurus)	<u>Aug.</u> 29.5
14. "many magnificent buildings" by M. Agrippa	<u>Aug.</u> 29.5
15. commencement of restoration of Theatre of Pompey	<u>Tib.</u> 47
16. completion of Theatre of Pompey	<u>Cal.</u> 21
17. commencement of aqueduct in Tibur district	<u>Cal.</u> 21
18. amphitheatre near Saepta	<u>Cal.</u> 21
19. walls of Syracuse	<u>Cal.</u> 21
20. [restoration of palace of Polycrates of Samos ²]	<u>Cal.</u> 21
21. building of Alpine city	<u>Cal.</u> 21
22. canal across Isthmus of Corinth	<u>Cal.</u> 21
23. completion of Aqua Claudia	<u>Cl.</u> 20.1
24. draining of Fucine Lake	<u>Cl.</u> 20.1
25. harbour at Ostia	<u>Cl.</u> 20.1
26. completion of Aqua Anio Novus	<u>Cl.</u> 20.1

<u>Building</u>	<u>Source</u>
27. new architecture: construction of platforms for <u>insulae</u> and <u>domus</u>	<u>Nero</u> 16.1
28. extension of city walls to Ostia	<u>Nero</u> 16.1
29. canal from Ostia to Rome	<u>Nero</u> 16.1
30. Amphitheatrum Flavium	<u>Ves.</u> 9.1
31. Forum Transitorium/Nerva	<u>Dom.</u> 5
32. Stadium	<u>Dom.</u> 5
33. Odeion	<u>Dom.</u> 5
34. <u>naumachia</u> (connected with later restoration of Circus Maximus)	<u>Dom.</u> 5

EXTRANEOUS BUILDING PROJECTS

(i.e. not cited under opera publica)

TABLE 3: Religious Buildings

<u>Building</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. decoration of Capitolium	<u>Iul.</u> 10.1
2. Caesar honoured by temples and altars	<u>Iul.</u> 76.1
3. extension of temple of Apollo at Actium	<u>Aug.</u> 18.2
4. restoration of temples	<u>Aug.</u> 30.2
5. refusal of temples in Augustus' own name	<u>Aug.</u> 52
6. proposal for completion of Olympieion in Athens	<u>Aug.</u> 60
7. dedication of temples of Concord and Castor (after restoration)	<u>Tib.</u> 20
8. dedication of Capitolium at Capua, temple of Augustus at Nola	<u>Tib.</u> 40
9. temple of Venus at Eryx in Sicily rebuilt	<u>Cl.</u> 25.5
10. restoration of Capitolium inaugurated	<u>Ves.</u> 8.5
11. distribution of decorations to temples in Campania (and to public buildings)	<u>Tit.</u> 8.4
12. conversion of birthplace into temple of Flavian Family	<u>Dom.</u> 1.1

TABLE 4: "Public Utility" Buildings

<u>Building</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. decoration of Forum, Comitium and basilicas	<u>Iul.</u> 10.1
2. Forum Iulium commenced 'ex manubiis'	<u>Iul.</u> 26.2
3. embellishment of cities with public works	<u>Iul.</u> 28.1
4. gladiatorial school proposed	<u>Iul.</u> 31.1
5. extension of Circus, canal around it	<u>Iul.</u> 39.2
6. lake excavated in Codeta Minor	<u>Iul.</u> 39.4
7. construction of <u>portus Iulius</u> at Baiae	<u>Aug.</u> 16.1
8. widening and clearing of Tiber channel	<u>Aug.</u> 30.1
9. rebuilding of Via Flaminia to Ariminum	<u>Aug.</u> 30.1
10. comment on Agrippa's provision for water supply	<u>Aug.</u> 42.1
11. wooden seating in Campus Martius; artificial lake	<u>Aug.</u> 43.1
12. dedication of Theatre of Marcellus	<u>Aug.</u> 43.5
13. public works in Italian colonies	<u>Aug.</u> 46.1
14. narrowness of Forum Augustum (reason)	<u>Aug.</u> 56
15. bridge between Baiae and Puteoli	<u>Cal.</u> 19.1
16. games in Vatican circus built by Caligula	<u>Cl.</u> 21.2
17. reconstruction of parts of Circus Maximus	<u>Cl.</u> 21.3
18. games in wooden amphitheatre near Campus Martius	<u>Nero</u> 12.1
19. baths and gymnasium dedicated	<u>Nero</u> 12.3
20. cutting of canal across Isthmus of Corinth	<u>Nero</u> 19.2
21. rebuilding of <u>scaena</u> of Theatre of Marcellus	<u>Ves.</u> 19
22. excavation of lake for <u>naumachiae</u> near Tiber	<u>Dom.</u> 4.4

TABLE 5: Other Buildings/Monuments

<u>Building</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. statue of horse in front of temple of Venus Genetrix	<u>Iul.</u> 61
2. restoration of public works of <u>duces</u> , dedication of statues in Forum Augustum	<u>Aug.</u> 31.5
3. Mausoleum of Augustus	<u>Aug.</u> 100.4
4. Castra Praetoria established	<u>Tib.</u> 37.1
5. extension of palace to Forum with temple of Castor as vestibule	<u>Cal.</u> 22.2
6. bridge over temple of Deified Augustus	<u>Cal.</u> 22.4
7. villas and country-houses built	<u>Cal.</u> 37.2
8. building of sea-moles	<u>Cal.</u> 37.3
9. marble arch to Drusus on Via Appia	<u>Cl.</u> 1.3
10. marble arch near Theatre of Pompey	<u>Cl.</u> 11.3
11. building of Domus Transitoria from Palatine to Esquiline; building of Domus Aurea (description)	<u>Nero</u> 31.1
12. building of <u>piscina</u> from Misenum to Lake Avernus; canal from Lake Avernus to Ostia proposed	<u>Nero</u> 31.3
13. great fire: destruction of <u>domus</u> , temples, etc.	<u>Nero</u> 38.1
14. completion of Domus Aurea proposed	<u>Otho</u> 7.1
15. rebuilding of destroyed houses authorized	<u>Ves.</u> 8.5
16. building of arches and arcades	<u>Dom.</u> 13.2

'Opera publica' in the Caesares: how accurate?

Some observations may now be made regarding the general accuracy of the units on opera publica. It can be shown that Suetonius' information is, in most of the cases noted, substantially corroborated by the literary, documentary and archaeological evidence.

Iulius. It has been noted that the public works listed in this life were never completed by Caesar. Hence, their placement immediately before the

major divisio of the Iulius (44.4), and the announcement that these projects were cut short by the dictator's assassination indicates that they were prospective undertakings, just like the campaign planned against Parthia (Iul. 44.3). A temple of Mars was proposed, the construction of which involved the filling and levelling of the lake where the naumachia had been staged in 46.³ According to Dio, the site had not yet been filled in in 43, and the temple was never built;⁴ the temples of Mars erected by Augustus were quite distinct, one being on the Capitoline, the other in the Forum Augustum dedicated to Mars Ultor. The theatre mentioned next as situated near the Tarpeian rock was begun in 44 and completed by Augustus in 13 or 11 B.C., and it was then named after his adopted son Marcellus, who died in 23 B.C.⁵ 'Tarpeio monti accubans', however, suggests that Caesar intended that it should be built actually against the Capitoline, whereas there is a considerable distance between the Theatre of Marcellus and the hill. Moreover, Suetonius suggests that the theatre was not actually built ('destinabat'): thus the alleged identity of the theatres was probably nominal rather than real. It may be noted also that it was smaller than the Theatre of Pompey, which is inconsistent with 'summae magnitudinis'. Augustus probably used only a portion of the site.

Caesar's projects of draining the Pomptine Marshes and the Fucine Lake, of building a road to the Adriatic across the Apennines, and of cutting a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth are all attested in other sources.⁶ Other engineering works, including the diversion of the Tiber to enter the sea at Circeii, a new port at Ostia, and a plan to divert the Tiber to run close under the Mons Vaticanus are not mentioned by Suetonius.⁷ This does not affect the accuracy of Suetonius' statements. Indeed, it is possible that the projects cited in the Iulius were chosen because they had been carried out or attempted by subsequent emperors, since, for example, the

drainage schemes and the building of a portus at Ostia were eventually accomplished by Claudius. Moreover, Suetonius' selectivity in this regard may also have been partly determined by the nature of the source material available to him.

Augustus. The record of building activity in Rome between the death of Caesar and that of Augustus (A.D. 14) is full by comparison with the number of surviving monuments. The extent and character of the building programme as a whole, in some degree reflected by Suetonius, are partly explicable as products of an age of rapid transition. But these factors are also accentuated by a tendency towards the monumentalization of the Republican civic centre, by the diversity of patronage in its formative stages, and by the size of a programme that could be carried out only by pressing into service all the varied resources available. Augustus combined a basically traditional approach and a strong regard for religious revival with the Greek classicizing treatment in architecture and building materials (cf. Aug. 28.3) to bring his massive programme into effect. In the Res Gestae, Augustus claims to have restored eighty-two temples in the city (RG 20.4). Important buildings erected in Rome on the initiative of other magistrates or wealthy private individuals must have added to the list considerably.

In contrast to the Res Gestae, which cites the Curia and Chalcidicum first among buildings erected by Augustus, Suetonius first mentions the Forum Augustum with the temple of Mars Ultor, dedicated in 2 B.C.⁸ It may be noted that the purpose of the Forum, like that of the Forum Iulium before it, was to provide additional space for the public needs of the growing urban population, and it followed essentially the plan established by its predecessor, though in a considerably developed form. Both the temple

of Apollo Palatinus and the temple of Jupiter Tonans are discussed by Suetonius in greater detail.⁹ The circumstances in which they were vowed and, in the case of the temple of Apollo with its adjoining libraries, their function in the time of Augustus and later is noted. Augustus seems to have bought up a number of houses on the Palatine near his own to enlarge it, and then decided to devote a part of it to the temple with its colonnades and libraries. In confining mention of buildings erected by Augustus in his own name to these three projects, all of which are mentioned in the Res Gestae, Suetonius is again shown to be selective in his choice of material for inclusion.

Suetonius is similarly restrictive in citing building projects completed in the name of Augustus' relatives, mentioning only the Portico and Basilica of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the Portico of Livia and of Octavia, and the Theatre of Marcellus. The 'porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci' (Aug. 29.4) is probably to be identified with the Basilica Iulia, built to house the centumviral law courts and dedicated by Julius Caesar in 46. Augustus seems to have completed it at a later date, and when it was destroyed by fire and restored between 12 B.C. and A.D. 12, the building was intended to be rededicated to his grandsons.¹⁰ The identification is, however, disputed. This building is referred to in the Res Gestae as 'basilica quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni,' and although the Portico of Gaius and Lucius has been identified with an arcade fronting the older Basilica Aemilia on the north side of the Forum Romanum, the literary evidence seems to be incontrovertible.¹¹ Suetonius' reference to a portico and basilica seems to apply to two separate buildings: whatever the portico refers to, the basilica is likely to be the Iulia, especially as the Res Gestae also notes that the same building (unnamed) was destroyed by fire and was to be dedicated in the name of Augustus'.

sons (i.e. grandsons).¹² The Porticoes of Livia and of Octavia are also separately attested in the sources.¹³ The latter, paid for by Augustus 'ex manubiis' ("from the spoils of war"), represents one of the more elaborate projects of the Augustan building programme;¹⁴ together with the Forum Augustum and the temple of Mars Ultor, the portico combined the function of accommodating a public need with that of a major commemorative monument.

An important component in the building of public works was the tradition of building 'ex manubiis', whereby triumphant generals were expected to contribute to the public welfare by devoting a part of the booty from their campaigns to constructing or restoring religious and secular buildings. Hence, Suetonius notes that Augustus encouraged a number of eminent men to build and restore: the first four buildings cited, including three temples, were substantially works of restoration.¹⁵ F. Shipley has pointed out that these 'principes viri' are all 'viri triumphales' with the exception of Agrippa, and that their building projects are to be connected with the celebration of their triumphs rather than with their consulships.¹⁶ Moreover, both L. Munatius Plancus and C. Asinius Pollio were originally partisans of Antony, and therefore competed with the followers of Octavian, L. Marcius Philippus, L. Cornificius, and T. Statilius Taurus for prestige with new public works. Both the Theatre of Balbus and the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus in the Campus Martius represent buildings erected for the accommodation of public shows and therefore are prominent demonstrations of liberalitas on the part of private individuals.¹⁷

Suetonius does not cite any of the 'complura et egregia' projects built by M. Vipsanius Agrippa in the first part of Augustus' reign. A great deal of his work was of a strictly practical, utilitarian character: under Agrippa's direction the whole drainage system of the city was over-

hauled and renovated, the Horrea Agrippiana were built adjacent to the Forum Romanum, and the city's water supply was doubled by the radical restoration and enlargement of the four existing aqueducts and by the addition of three new ones.¹⁸ This material would have been suitable for inclusion in whole or in part by Suetonius. Agrippa's public works, moreover, were by no means limited to this severely practical programme. On the level ground of the Campus Martius he built a whole new monumental quarter, which included the Saepta, the Pantheon, the Basilica Neptuni, and the Thermae Agrippae, laid out in a spacious setting that included gardens, porticoes, a canal, and an artificial lake.¹⁹ Suetonius' omission of these buildings may be partly explained by his concern to emphasize those works for which Augustus was personally responsible and which had some relation to his own concerns with reviving state cults and providing services for the public welfare.

The following chapter in the Augustus deals more marginally with public works, mentioning the division of the city 'in regiones vicosque',²⁰ the widening and clearing of the Tiber channel,²¹ the rebuilding of the Via Flaminia (and the encouragement of 'viri triumphales' to do likewise),²² and the restoration of temples. The last two projects represent large-scale undertakings that were financed by Augustus himself.²³ It may be noted that when, after 19 B.C. there were no more senatorial triumphs, Augustus and members of his family undertook almost all the large projects 'ex manubiis'.²⁴ As is the case with Agrippa's building projects, Suetonius does not mention roads built by public-spirited individuals outside of the imperial family. Although Augustus encouraged wealthy senators and triumphant generals to contribute to the public welfare in this way, their projects are not pertinent to the emperor's own res gestae.

Tiberius, Gaius. Suetonius mentions the temple of Deified Augustus and the Theatre of Pompey as public works commenced but never completed by Tiberius. It seems that the failure to complete and dedicate these projects amounted to a serious neglect of the periodic, obligatory contribution that opera publica represented. More important, these projects were initiated after Tiberius' accession to the throne, but while Augustus was still alive, he had contributed much to the official programme, being directly responsible for the restoration of the temple of Castor and Pollux between 7 B.C. and A.D. 6 and that of the temple of Concord, dedicated in A.D. 10.²⁵ After Augustus' death Tiberius is recorded as completing a number of works that had been left unfinished (see below) in the early part of his reign.²⁶ The restoration of the stage-building alone of the Theatre of Pompey after a fire in A.D. 21 and the building of the temple of Deified Augustus are also the only two Tiberian public buildings in Rome thought worthy of mention by Tacitus.²⁷ The latter building, no remains of which have been recorded, represented a substantial dynastic commitment and was brought to virtual completion before Tiberius' death in A.D. 37, though it was left to Caligula to dedicate it.²⁸ Suetonius' selectivity in citing only those public works built after an emperor's accession reinforces the contention that the biographer concentrates primarily on what was accomplished after he came to power.

In addition to completing and, in the case of the 'templum Augusti', dedicating those projects left incomplete by Tiberius, Caligula is recorded as beginning the construction of an aqueduct in the Tibur district that was finished by Claudius, as well as an abortive amphitheatre near the Saepta in the Campus Martius. The Theatre of Pompey had been restored at great expense in 32 B.C. by Augustus,²⁹ and the restoration by Tiberius after A.D. 21 may have been completed before his death. Suetonius credits

Caligula and Claudius with completing the restoration, while the latter dedicated it.³⁰ The Aqua Claudia, begun in 38 at the same time as the Aqua Anio Novus, was also dedicated by Claudius, and represented the highest development in Roman hydraulic engineering as well as a massive expenditure over a long period of time.³¹ Because Caligula disliked the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus -- although he used it as well as the Saepta for his munera gladiatoria -- he began construction at an unknown date on a new amphitheatre. Dio may be referring to this amphitheatre when he states that Caligula demolished buildings and erected wooden stands for his contests after transferring them from the Saepta.³² The public works undertaken by Caligula in Rome represent projects primarily of social utility and reflect the importance of providing suitable accommodation for spectacula as well as an adequate water supply.

The unit on opera publica in the Gaius is significant insofar as it records a number of projects initiated or proposed outside of Italy, including the restoration of the walls and temples of Syracuse, the rebuilding of Polycrates' palace at Samos, the completion of the Didymeion near Miletus, the building of an Alpine city, and the cutting of a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. The only projects which seem definitely to have been completed were the restorations at Syracuse. The canal had been planned originally by Julius Caesar and here, as in the Iulius, this species precedes the major divisio of the life, completing the emperor's commendable acta.³³ The temple of Apollo at Didyma in Asia Minor had been completed in its rough outlines by about 280 B.C.; yet it is more than likely that the temple precinct required other construction before it would be finished, and this is what Caligula proposed to do.³⁴ Although it has been suggested that Caligula's Alpine city would have served as a real protection for the roads which had been built through the Alps for

his expedition into Germany,³⁵ Suetonius is too obscure in this and in the next remark on the prospective Corinthian canal to allow for such specific conclusions. As in the Iulius, these projects serve the purpose of illustrating what the emperor might have accomplished, and they are categorized among Caligula's praiseworthy acta.

Claudius. As well as noting the completion of the Aqua Claudia and the Aqua Anio Novus, Suetonius records Claudius as undertaking two projects that had originally been proposed by Julius Caesar, the Fucine drainage scheme and the harbour at Ostia. It is worth noting that Suetonius here includes a greater amount of descriptive detail than is apparent in the units on opera publica in most other biographies. Suetonius also remarks that in the case of the draining of the Fucine Lake, Claudius undertook the project 'non minus compendii spe quam gloriae' (Cl. 20.2). All of these projects are notable for their utilitarian character. Yet even Claudius' religious dedications, none of which are mentioned by Suetonius, appear to have been limited to the addition of altars or statues to existing buildings and the construction of an altar modelled on the Ara Pacis Augustae, the Ara Pietatis Augustae, in honour of Livia.³⁶ The drainage of the Fucinus into the river Liris was an enormous undertaking: although the sources understandably make much of the several humiliating setbacks which the project underwent as a result of the venality and incompetence of the contractors, the planning and organization of the work was of a high order.³⁷ The new harbour at Ostia was on a similar scale: as it was built to ensure the regularity of the grain supply, it is not surprising that Claudius should have concerned himself also with improving the arrangements for its storage and distribution both in Rome and in Ostia.³⁸

Suetonius accurately notes the important distinction between the two

source springs of the Aqua Claudia, the Caeruleus and the Curtius, and mentions the Albudignus as synonymous with the latter. In fact, the fons Albudignus was tapped after Claudius' reign as an additional source of supply for the aqueduct.³⁹ The remaining piers and arches of the Aqua Claudia as well as the surviving monumental double arch of the Porta Maggiore, built in cut-stone masonry, show that Suetonius' description of the aqueduct as 'lapideo opere' is accurate.⁴⁰ This is a significant detail since building in "rusticated" masonry is known as a characteristic archaizing feature of Claudian architecture. Similarly, the description of the harbour at Ostia as consisting of two curved breakwaters ('circumducto ... brachio') on either side of the basin and a deep-water mole and lighthouse extending from one of the breakwaters ('ad introitum profundo iam solo mole obiecta') is substantially accurate.⁴¹ Suetonius' concentration on utilitarian buildings in this life is therefore primarily due to the nature of the Claudian building programme rather than to any selectivity on his part as to which buildings might be included. Insofar as these projects served a practical purpose, they were thought appropriate for inclusion.

Nero. By way of contrast with the Claudius, Suetonius confines his remarks on Nero's opera publica to mention of an architectural modification for insulae and domus for aid in fighting fires, and to two proposed projects, neither of which was ever carried out. The first statement on the new form of building refers to measures adopted by Nero's government after the great fire of 64.⁴² M. Blake has concluded that at this time insulae began to be built with fire-resistant materials (brick-faced concrete), replacing the more flammable timber superstructures.⁴³ Streetside porticoes now came into vogue, from the flat roofs of which fires could be

fought. The effectiveness of the Neronian regulations is largely reflected in the planned streets and insulae of second-century Ostia.⁴⁴ If the Forma Urbis Romae is any indication, this planned town-architecture was never really characteristic of Rome.

No other source refers to Nero's plan to extend the city walls to Ostia and to cut an inland canal from the sea. The tense of 'destinarat', as well as the ambiguous 'veteri urbi' probably indicate that both the canal and the Ostian project were conceived before the fire of 64.⁴⁵ It is presumably associated with the plan to build a canal from Lake Avernus to Ostia, which Suetonius regarded as symptomatic of Nero's luxuria. A canal from Ostia to the city would have cut out the major difficulties of shipping on the Tiber,⁴⁶ and can be viewed as a continuation of Claudius' harbour development at Ostia; the idea of extending the walls of Rome to include Ostia was no doubt based on the Long Walls of Athens.⁴⁷ The public works recorded in this unit are Neronian projects of which Suetonius specifically approved, in contrast to those listed later in the life, including the Domus Aurea and a piscina stretching from Misenum to Lake Avernus. In restricting his remarks on Nero's public projects to these three types of building, Suetonius' tendency to regard works mentioned later in the biography as scelera becomes apparent (see below).

Vespasian. In this life Suetonius notes the inception of three important projects by Vespasian, including the Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), allegedly proposed earlier by Augustus. Vespasian had inherited a bankrupt treasury, which he successfully replenished by a policy of rigid economy and sound finance. Hence, definite purposes characterize all his architectural enterprises. The temple of Peace, begun by Vespasian immediately after his triumph in 71, was built to celebrate the return of

peace to the Empire.⁴⁸ Dedicated at the beginning of 75, it occupied an enclosed space southeast of the Forum Augustum which had been left vacant by the fire of 64. The decision to complete the Claudianum, the temple of Deified Claudius on the Caelian, left incomplete and partially dismantled by Nero, was an astute political move, designed to lend respectability to the new dynasty's claim to succeed the Julio-Claudians, and yet at the same time to dissociate itself from the policies of its last representative.⁴⁹ The planned layout of both these temple precincts shares an emphasis on the shorter axis and on the use of a formal garden to accentuate the architectural design. Indeed, J.B. Ward-Perkins has noted that the temple of Peace is "one of the last great buildings in the conservative Roman tradition,"⁵⁰ and it stands in contrast with later Hellenized buildings which rejected emphasis on simple lines.

The Amphitheatrum Flavium supplemented those buildings which were either temporary structures, such as the amphitheatres of Caligula and Nero, or had been recently damaged by fire, such as that of Statilius Taurus.⁵¹ It represented a popular gesture by the new dynasty, occupying the valley bottom that had housed the stagnum of Nero's Domus Aurea (see below) and therefore restoring to public use land that had been expropriated for a private venture. The amphitheatre was probably begun early in Vespasian's reign and was left unfinished at his death. Work on the building was continued by Titus and it underwent modifications and was completed by Domitian.⁵² Yet no other source mentions a plan of Augustus to build an amphitheatre between the Esquiline and Caelian hills. Such a scheme, whether a permanent or temporary structure was envisaged, could have been entertained by Augustus if the site were at that time imperial or public property, on the analogy of the several schemes proposed by Caesar and eventually carried out. Vespasian's building programme signi-

fies a conscious effort to popularize a new dynasty by means of public works that catered to traditionalism and to popular needs:

Domitian. The listing of building projects in this species is the most extensive in the Caesares after the Augustus, and the large number of public works undertaken by Domitian was noted by other writers.⁵³ Yet little of Domitian's work in this sphere survives. His progressive building programme included, as Suetonius notes, buildings that had been gutted by the fire of 80. The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline was restored and dedicated in 82 along traditional lines, in accord with its preeminence as one of the most ancient cult centres in Rome, but with lavish interior ornamentation.⁵⁴ After a remark on Domitian's restriction on names inscribed on buildings to his own, Suetonius deals with buildings initiated 'ex novo', though Domitian did not in all cases live to complete them. This restriction stands in marked contrast to the practice of Domitian's predecessors, especially Vespasian, who inscribed on the buildings which he restored only the names of the original builders and not his own.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, family loyalty appears as a keynote in Domitian's restoration or completion of buildings left unfinished.

As a thank-offering for his escape from the Capitoline when it was stormed by the Vitellians in 69, Domitian had built in Vespasian's reign a sacellum to Jupiter Conservator. A different form of the same idea is represented by his building of the large temple of Jupiter Custos, dedicated after 86 and possibly built to replace the other shrine, which had been damaged by fire.⁵⁶ The Forum Transitorium or Forum Nervae, dedicated in 98 by Nerva along with a temple of Minerva, occupied a long narrow space between the Fora of Caesar and Augustus on the one hand, and the temple of Peace on the other. The entire area was intended to provide a

monumental entry from the crowded urban quarters to the north and east into the Forum Romanum and imperial fora.⁵⁷ The 'Flaviae templum gentis', mentioned elsewhere by Suetonius as being built on the site of the family house of the Flavii where Domitian had been born (Dom. 1.1) is usually identified with the circular family mausoleum which the emperor built on the Esquiline.⁵⁸

The Stadium in the Campus Martius was a "thoroughly conservative building",⁵⁹ a two-storey version of the Colosseum adapted to the elongated shape of a racetrack. It was a component of the building complex undertaken by Domitian expressly for social utility and largely destroyed by later fires and a reorganization under Hadrian.⁶⁰ If the stadium is that mentioned previously in this life (Dom. 4.4) in connection with a footrace for girls, it must have been finished before 86, when Domitian founded his Capitoline games to celebrate his restoration of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The stadium connected with the gymnasium of Nero, which was destroyed by lightning in 62, was probably on the same site as Domitian's and near the later Odeum, a roofed theatre for musical performances.⁶¹ The new naumachia for the staging of naval battles, distinguished from Augustus' 'vetus naumachia' used by Titus, was probably in the Vatican valley.⁶² The basin was demolished probably by Trajan ('postea') when he used the stone to restore the Circus Maximus,⁶³ which was prone to fires owing to the wooden construction of the upper tiers of seats and the galleries. The rebuilding, however, was possibly begun by Domitian, who was in a position to combine such a reconstruction with the building projects on the west slope of the Palatine; but the date of the Domitianic fire is unknown and is not mentioned by any other author. As a whole, Domitian's building programme represents a combination of obligations to erect monuments that would demonstrate family loyalty and to satisfy reli-

gious and social needs. In this way essentially traditional forms of showing the extent of imperial liberalitas could be given a certain degree of continuity.

Suetonius' accuracy in the citation of opera publica is, therefore, by no means restricted to the mention of the most obvious or familiar projects constructed by a given emperor. His inclusion of less significant monuments, such as the temples of Jupiter Tonans and of the gens Flavia may well indicate that he was concerned less with the comprehensive listing of buildings than with mentioning examples that were somewhat more representative of an emperor's reign. Hence, he restricts his listing of Claudius' building projects to utilitarian constructions, not so much because his religious buildings were less important than because purely practical structures represented the type of building that characterized his reign. Suetonius' accuracy in description is also noteworthy, and probably entailed personal observation of the monuments as well as examination of documentary evidence, including the Res Gestae.⁶⁴

'Opera publica' in the Caesares: omissions and typology.

It is clear from even a cursory examination of the building-lists in Suetonius' biographies that some of the most important imperial building projects of the first century have been omitted, and that those buildings which are mentioned represent typical religious and utilitarian structures alone. Suetonius' purpose in restricting his citation of buildings to certain types can perhaps be viewed as an extension of his biographical technique: to mention monuments that did not represent an emperor's attitude towards the populace would be contrary to his purpose in concentrating on his subjects' actions and reactions. There are, however, ramifications to this factor which further explain the reasons for Suetonius'

inclusion of one building erected by an emperor and not another, as well as omissions both of individual monuments and of building types. Some valid conclusions can be drawn as regards his conception of imperial obligations and their fulfillment.

Perhaps the most obvious omission from the unit on opera publica in the Iulius is the Forum Iulium with the temple of Venus Genetrix, both monuments which coupled personal commemoration with religious and public utility. It is clear from the species in other lives that only those buildings erected or proposed after an emperor came to power are cited. Yet Julius Caesar never wielded the type of constitutional authority that Augustus and his successors held. In fact, not all of the projects cited in the unit were carried out, and in some degree they represent future plans made by Caesar when he was voted 'dictator perpetuus' by the senate in February 44 B.C. Hence, to Suetonius, those projects proposed by Caesar represented future public works that would have been carried out by the dictator as a quasi-imperial authority. By the same token, monuments like the Forum Iulium, dedicated in 46 before Caesar's Spanish campaigns and while he was publicly consolidating his authority in Rome as dictator, were not particularly applicable in spite of the public benefit they represented.⁶⁵ Moreover, Augustus inherited both ideas and uncompleted buildings from Caesar: the latter had originally conceived of revising the city plan, on the basis of which Augustus, through Agrippa, laid out large parts of the Campus Martius and himself remodelled the Forum Romanum.⁶⁶ Caesar had first planned the Saepta and the Theatre of Marcellus, the new Curia, the two forensic basilicas, and the Rostra, any of which Suetonius might have mentioned in this species.⁶⁷ The fact that he mentions three of these items as works completed by Augustus (or in the case of the Saepta, by Agrippa) in the species in the Augustus indicates that

the completion, and not the planning or commencement of public works, was significant for the way in which Suetonius regarded imperial achievements. A different aspect of this idea has already been noted as regards the species in the Tiberius.⁶⁸

It has been mentioned that all the buildings cited by Suetonius in the Augustus are recorded in the Res Gestae. Although it might be thought that Suetonius could have cited more given the evidence available, he specifically remarks at the beginning of the unit that he is recording the 'praecipua (opera)', and the four projects then dealt with also lend themselves to a short description or comment on the circumstances of their building and, more importantly, on Augustus' direct involvement in the projects themselves. Moreover, with the exception of the temple of Apollo Palatinus, built between 36 and 28 B.C., all of these buildings were dedicated after 23 B.C.,⁶⁹ when Augustus was voted full tribunician power, the importance of which à propos of relations with the plebs is demonstrated by Augustus' dating of the years of his reign by his tenure of this power.⁷⁰ The acquisition of 'tribunicia potestas' in 23 and Suetonius' citation of buildings erected after that date may provide a partial explanation for the conspicuous omission of the temple of Deified Julius, dedicated in 24 but possibly complete some years earlier and cited in the Res Gestae.⁷¹ Suetonius' failure to cite such a propagandistic monument is striking, though it is conceivable that the biographer wished to emphasize buildings dedicated after 23, when Augustus' authority had been firmly established. In some degree, the blanket statement at the close of Aug. 30, 'aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit' compensates for other notable omissions of cult buildings and is reminiscent of Augustus' own statement on his restoration of eighty-two temples in 28 B.C. (RG 20.4). The list of buildings erected by wealthy private

citizens is similarly selective, neglecting to mention (most importantly) the temple of Neptune in the Circus Flaminius built by L. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 33 and the temple of Apollo Sosianus, dedicated in the same year.⁷² These buildings were, however, of secondary importance in the evaluation of Augustus' building programme, representing the result of the emperor's encouragement of others to build rather than his own efforts.

The laconic statement on the large-scale building programme of Agrippa is also noteworthy in corroborating the idea that the relevance of a subject to an emperor's own actions was Suetonius' principal concern. In this instance, however, and perhaps regarding some individual temples cited in the Res Gestae but not in Suetonius, another factor may have contributed to the lack of expansion: the great fire of 80 left a large number of buildings damaged or destroyed which extended all the way from the Capitoline to the Pantheon and which included the complex of monuments built by Agrippa in the Campus Martius.⁷³ Almost without exception the buildings destroyed are known to have been restored by Domitian.⁷⁴ Since they no longer represented the original Agrippan buildings but restorations dedicated in the name of Domitian alone, Suetonius may have decided to omit those buildings which no longer existed in their original form. It is indeed possible that the biographer did not wish to mention buildings proposed by Julius Caesar in the Iulius itself, but dealt with them in the Augustus when they were actually erected for substantially the same reasons, as suggested before. Yet it is difficult to see why Suetonius left out the measures taken by Agrippa for flood-control and civic water-supply. In this instance the limited relevance of Agrippa's highly individual programmes to Augustus' own building projects in the unit on opera publica is the essential reason for the summary treatment Suetonius gives them.

The brevity of the information supplied on Tiberius' building projects, by comparison with the large number of buildings that Tiberius actually erected in the course of his reign, may be understood as part of Suetonius' intention to blacken the emperor's character further by showing his disregard for religious and public obligations. It is clear, however, that this does not constitute a complete explanation for omissions in this biography. The reasons for Suetonius' placement of the temples of Concord and of Castor in a previous section have already been discussed (see above, p.71). Tiberius is recorded, aside from having completed the restoration of several small temples in A.D. 17, as erecting an arch in the Forum Romanum in A.D. 16 to commemorate the German victories of Germanicus and two more in the Forum Augustum in A.D. 19 in honour of Germanicus and the younger Drusus, in addition to the politically significant Castra Praetoria.⁷⁵ Moreover, Tacitus notes that the custom of allowing private individuals to share in public munificence did not end with Augustus, and cites a request of M. Aemilius Lepidus in A.D. 22 for permission to restore the Basilica Aemilia at his own expense.⁷⁶ Thus, there would have been ample material for Suetonius to have included in the species in the Tiberius.

It may be noted from Table 5 that triumphal and honorific arches as a group are a conspicuous omission from all units on opera publica, in spite of their essentially traditional importance as monuments celebrating the victories of generals in the field. A number of notable triumphal arches are also mentioned in the Claudius. Perhaps the most obvious omission in this category of monuments is the triple Arch of Augustus erected in the Forum Romanum in 19 B.C. in honour of Augustus' diplomatic victory over the Parthians, and there is also no mention of the Arch of Titus at the head of the Sacra Via, completed by Domitian as a commemora-

tive monument. Although honorific arches as such are of unknown origins, they had been a component of Hellenized Roman architecture since the early second century B.C.⁷⁷ Arches were, it might be argued, traditional monuments which could have been included by Suetonius. They do not, however, represent a building of religious or of public utility, and it is perhaps significant that quite late in the first century Pliny the Elder could still describe the arcus as a modern invention.⁷⁸ Arches did not represent the obligation for a public figure to demonstrate his generosity by a show of wealth and by erecting buildings of social utility. Since Suetonius appears to have confined his listing of opera publica to religious buildings and structures that implied a recognizable benefit for the urban populace, it may be safely assumed that arches, as military, honorific monuments incorporating equestrian statue-groups and trophies, commemorated the achievements of an individual, and therefore fell outside this category.

An analogous case is presented by the Castra Praetoria, built in A.D. 21-23 at the instigation of Tiberius' praefectus praetorio, Sejanus.⁷⁹ In it were concentrated the troops that had previously been scattered throughout the city and its environs. Although its location just outside the city limits respected the letter if not the spirit of the convention that no troops might be stationed in Rome, its establishment was significant as regards the personal welfare of the emperor. The Castra does not, however, represent a public work built by Tiberius out of his own munificentia, with the idea of public benefit that attached to it. Mention of the Castra is relegated to another part of the biography which contains Tiberius' commendable acta and deals specifically with his concern for urban tranquillity. While the building of the praetorian camp may appear to be indirect evidence for Tiberius' regard for salus publica, and there-

fore might be thought suitable for inclusion, it is clear that it is not "practical" or essential for personal popularity as were, for example, aqueducts or buildings to accommodate public shows. Insofar as the building of the Castra represented concern for the protection of citizens and not a public facility, it was not likely to be included in the species.

Suetonius' failure to mention monuments restored or built by private individuals in the biographies after the Augustus may be explained by the scale of Augustus' personal encouragement of wealthy senators, in comparison with the motivation of later emperors to do likewise. Augustus' building programme was massive enough to accommodate large numbers of private builders, and only Domitian's programme (of the emperors in the Caesares) was on a comparable scale. Thus, mention of other individuals, whose schemes would have been of limited relevance for reasons outlined above, would not have been appropriate. Although at least three private individuals apart from Seianus are known to have undertaken building projects in Rome under Tiberius, they are not recorded at any point in the Tiberius as doing so.⁸⁰

The omission from the species in the Gaius of the Circus of Gaius in the Vatican area, which was to achieve notoriety under Nero in the aftermath of the fire of 64, and its near neighbour, the Gaianum, an open space for chariot-driving, can perhaps be explained by the fact that neither of them seem to have involved any substantial construction.⁸¹ Moreover, the circus itself seems to have been first employed for public races under Claudius, and there is no indication in the sources that it was anything more than an open area for games, delimited by the Horti Agrippinae on the right bank of the Tiber.⁸² Hence, it can safely be assumed that under Caligula the area was used for private purposes and could not be reckoned among his opera publica, in spite of

its purpose in accommodating public shows at a later date. More significant is the total omission from the building-lists of non-traditional cult buildings, a field in which Caligula's religious predilections appear to have found ample scope for personal expression. Although the Augustan building programme must have left the buildings of the traditional state cults in better condition than they had ever been before, the currents of contemporary religious belief were increasingly turning towards the (so-called) mystery religions of the East. The architectural impact of these religions seems to have been as varied as their message; those that were politically acceptable were free to develop a monumental architecture of their own, though not all of them in fact did so. Prominent among those cults which were prepared to conform to the requirements of the state while still able to retain much of their outward individuality were the cults of the Hellenized Egyptian divinities, Isis and Serapis. The chance that Caligula was personally attracted by the former gave its devotees an opportunity that they were quick to seize. There is a strong presumption that he was responsible for building the sanctuary of Isis and Serapis in the Campus Martius, damaged in the fire of 80 and restored by Domitian.⁸³

The establishment of these foreign cults in Rome is a significant landmark in the process of the orientalization of Roman beliefs and taste. Since, however, they did not represent the traditional cults of the Roman state, Suetonius did not include them among the religious buildings in the species on opera publica. The omission of this material is interesting, given the apparently enthusiastic endorsement of foreign cults by both Nero and the Flavians.⁸⁴ It is clear that religio in its traditional form was emphasized by both Augustus in the Res Gestae and by Suetonius in the species on praiseworthy acta in the Caesares.⁸⁵ Hence, mention of foreign cults such as those of Isis and Serapis in the Caesares is con-

fined to the chronologically-arranged parts of the biographies. In the majority of the lives, these cults do not figure at all.⁸⁶

A notable exception to the general observation that Suetonius restricts his choice of buildings to those with either a definite religious or public purpose is offered by the projected rebuilding of the palace of Polycrates of Samos. Caligula seems to have planned to use the palace as a residence during his trip to the East in 41. To some extent Suetonius' inclusion of this building under the rubric of opera publica can be explained by its character as a proposed work that was never carried out, and perhaps also as a project that was non-Italian. Nevertheless, it seems best to interpret the inclusion of Polycrates' palace as the sole exception to the rest of the items in the building-lists.

In many respects the reign of Nero represents a revolution in architectural taste and expression, several elements of which found an outlet in public building and later in the imperial residences, upon which he lavished so much money and attention. It is therefore surprising to note the total omission in the unit on opera publica in this biography of many Neronian buildings that embraced an obvious social utility. In the Vatican area Nero completed the unfinished Circus of Gaius, which may not have involved much actual building, but simply the defining of an open space surrounded by formal gardens.⁸⁷ He laid out a temporary stadium in the Campus Martius and in 57 a lavish temporary amphitheatre; the latter is cited by Suetonius under the general rubric of spectacula.⁸⁸ In more serious vein Nero was responsible for a market-building on the Caelian, the Macellum Magnum, dedicated in 59.⁸⁹ Any or all of these buildings could have been mentioned in the unit on opera publica, and the basic categorization of projects into religious and utilitarian types could still have been maintained. Instead, Suetonius concentrated on the Nero-

nian 'nova urbs' and projected works that were never begun. Although the reasoning behind these omissions is not clear, it is possible that he wished in this life to deal with outstanding modifications in city building rather than particular monuments, some of which are at least mentioned in other parts of the biography. The latter point may account for Suetonius' failure to cite, for example, Nero's amphitheatre, which may have been thought more applicable to the unit on spectacula.

More puzzling is the total omission of bath-buildings. Suetonius does in fact mention in the unit on spectacula in the Nero the popular Thermae Neronianae with the adjoining gymnasium, completed in 62 or 64 in the Campus Martius near the inadequate Baths of Agrippa.⁹⁰ Such a building could have been placed in the unit on opera publica as a project of obvious social utility. Yet it may be noted that at least until the construction of the Baths of Titus (80) and the Baths of Trajan (109), public thermae do not seem to have been common and may not have been regarded as typically "traditional" buildings, at least in the sense that temples and aqueducts were more representative of "das Römische."⁹¹ Although public baths were built before the reign of Augustus, there seem to have been none in Rome on a large scale before the Thermae Agrippae.⁹² Hence, their omission as a group may be partly explicable by their sporadic, non-traditional character in the first century A.D.

The fire of 64, which started in the Circus Maximus and spread eastwards and southwards across the Palatine and Caelian towards the Esquiline, swept away Nero's Domus Transitoria, originally built to link the imperial properties on the Esquiline and Palatine, and with it many of the oldest and most populous quarters of Rome. Of the fourteen administrative regions into which the city was divided, three were totally destroyed and only four were untouched.⁹³ To provide for his new and yet more ambitious

residence, the Domus Aurea, Nero annexed the properties adjoining his own estates throughout an immense area, including the whole basin of which the depression occupied by the Colosseum is the natural centre. In essence the Domus Aurea was a wealthy country residence established in the urban centre, and it was strictly this fact, not its opulence, that was offensive to Nero's contemporaries and also determined its whole layout.⁹⁴ It comprised an artificial stagnum in the valley bottom, on which a main domestic wing faced, and an artificially-introduced stretch of parkland that affirmed the Domus Aurea's reputation as 'rus in urbe.'⁹⁵

For obvious reasons this highly individual residence could not be included under the category of opera publica in the Nero. By the same token, his building schemes do not seem to have undermined his position with the common people.⁹⁶ Suetonius both ignores Nero's projects of a traditional kind, and in the unit on luxuria his main concern is with the Domus Aurea and grandiose but unfinished projects. As a private residence which encountered objections because of its situation, the Domus Aurea neither represented the traditional country villa nor the "normal" imperial dwelling of Nero's predecessors, but a clear proof of unwarranted extravagance. These criticisms were based more on moral and political than social or aesthetic considerations. It may be noted that Suetonius' main concern in discussing the Domus Aurea is not to give a comprehensive description of the palace and grounds, but to emphasize details such as the colossus, rotunda, and other decorations purely to illustrate Nero's luxuria and to connect the emperor's personality with his acta. Mention of the Domus Aurea occurs in the part of the biography detailing Nero's uncommendable acta, not because it represented a private residence in the heart of Rome but rather because of the luxuria of its appointments, which ran counter to the way of life adopted by, for instance,

Augustus, whose own residence was unremarkable.⁹⁷ This is not to argue, (with M.P.O. Morford,⁹⁸ that Suetonius himself was an opponent of luxury building. His stress on the unusual features of the palace and the inclusion of a final anecdote ('eius modi ... coepisse') consistent with that theme is a result of choice in accord with the format of the biography. For similar reasons Suetonius does not cite under the rubric of opera publica other imperial residences, such as the Domus Flavia/Augustana, which receives no mention at all in the Domitian. These buildings were clearly extraneous to this category, though they are mentioned frequently among both commendable and uncommendable acta. With one minor exception, the imperial residences are also never depicted on first-century coin issues.⁹⁹ Their exclusion from the repertory of architectural types is indicative of the extent to which it was felt necessary to depict more traditional buildings with a popular benefit implied.¹⁰⁰

Despite the charge that the Domus Aurea had deprived the people of residential space, Vespasian and his successors put up public buildings where the estate had been, including two thermae, the Amphitheatrum Flavium, the Claudianum, and the Ludus Magnus. The policy of Vespasian and Titus, in contrast to that of Nero, was to use the imperial property for purposes more immediately beneficial to the people (hence the baths and Colosseum), or to glorify the state and its gods by their buildings (hence the Claudianum and the Arch of Titus). Nero's absolutism had been visibly symbolized by the modified, redirected Sacra Via and the "atrium" of the Domus Aurea with the Colossus representing himself. Vespasian, while continuing to rebuild Rome, and incidentally leaving much to private enterprise (Ves. 8.1), conspicuously devoted his most public efforts to buildings which commemorated his dynasty -- the temple of Peace and the rebuilding of the Capitolium, in which he symbolically took the lead in

clearing the debris of the fire of 69. Thus Suetonius cites three projects of Vespasian connected with the area formerly occupied by the Domus Aurea as religious and public contributions. These buildings also provide evidence for the emperor's personal restoration of expropriated land to the people.

The notable omission of honorific arches as a group, including the Arch of Titus, has already been discussed. Perhaps the only other noteworthy Flavian monument that is not mentioned at all is the temple of Deified Vespasian, begun at the foot of the Capitoline by Titus and completed by Domitian.¹⁰¹ The temple would have been suitable for inclusion in the species on opera publica in the Domitian and could even have been mentioned in the Titus separately. Suetonius does not do so because of the brevity of Titus' life and possibly the poverty of his source material. Both factors may be responsible for the relatively loose, basically chronological format of this biography.¹⁰² During Domitian's reign it is evident that private initiative was relied upon heavily for the rebuilding of areas that had been destroyed in the great fires of 64 and 80.¹⁰³ For reasons of relevance, Suetonius concentrates on public works of Domitian, and the impression is conveyed that he alone undertook building projects at the time.

It has already been noted that the buildings which Suetonius cites in these species can, almost without exception, be categorized into monuments of religious and public/social utility. Suetonius' reasons for such a classification appear to be based on his preoccupation with "das Römische", and in this context the idea implies that it was thought necessary to cite only those buildings that had a basically "traditional" connotation. Yet certain buildings which had become a recognized part of everyday life in Suetonius' time may not have been as common in the first century. Thus,

arches and bath-buildings are omitted altogether as non-traditional buildings and, in the case of arches, as connoting a more personal idea of commemoration than would have been suitable for their inclusion in a unit on public works. The idea of beautification and embellishment of civic buildings or areas also played a large part in determining the type and layout of building projects. The temple of Peace and the Claudianum, for example, with their formal gardens, represent this notion in its fully-developed form as self-contained monuments incorporating natural ornamentation. Indeed, the opening statement of Iul. 10, 'aedilis praeter comitium ac forum basilicasque etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus extructis', and in particular the use of the phrase 'forum ornare' stresses the idea of embellishment. In its commemorative function, urban beautification was as important for how the emperor wished himself to be viewed by posterity as for its essential religious and popular connotations.¹⁰⁴

More important is the basis for Suetonius' inclusion and omission of particular buildings. In a general sense, most of the buildings represented on first-century coinage are of a kind with those Suetonius cites. Among architectural types, those depicting temples dedicated or rededicated, as well as other religious structures such as monumental altars are largely predominant, and while monuments such as triumphal/honorific arches are also in evidence, in the first quarter of the second century they are infrequently represented.¹⁰⁵ Certainly issues such as those depicting the Castra Praetoria, which appear under Claudius, and the Neronian Macellum Magnum are anomalous;¹⁰⁶ types representing the temples of Isis and of Serapis also appear under the Flavians.¹⁰⁷ It can be assumed that coin-types in general depicted buildings which were both essentially traditional and recognized as such, as well as embracing some implicit benefit that accrued to the state and people. Suetonius, therefore, in

citing the same types of monuments has recognized their function as commemorative propaganda. Finally, it may also be noted that the Res Gestae cites exactly the same types of buildings as Suetonius, both religious and utilitarian, in accord with the tendency not only to illustrate Augustus' personal liberalitas, but also to commemorate his own role as builder, and to affirm his claim to pietas (RG 34.2). In this way, it can be shown that Suetonius concentrates on traditional buildings of religious or utilitarian character, and that this emphasis is in some degree reflected in the Res Gestae and on first-century coin types.

This chapter has been devoted to an examination of the building-lists in Suetonius, in particular of their basic credibility, the many obvious omissions and the reasoning behind Suetonius' choice of material, and a typology of the buildings included. It is clear that Suetonius could not hope to be comprehensive, and indeed his purpose in citing particular buildings is to establish a connection between the emperor and an aspect of his public acta. The meaning behind the traditional building-types which Suetonius includes in the species is essential to a consideration of a given emperor's "Baupolitik". The obligation to erect buildings of certain types, in addition to the way in which an emperor fulfilled this duty, was shaped by traditional views on what it was "proper" to build. More often than not, these buildings embraced a primarily religious function or one that catered to established social needs. The origins of this obligation are more difficult to trace. Nevertheless, there are indications (see Ch. IV) that it was viewed as a necessary concomitant of emperorship by the early second century A.D. Such a traditional idea, while largely responsible for the form and type of structure envisaged by prospective builders, was crucial to public perceptions of imperial building projects.

CHAPTER II: NOTES

1. See below, p.68, n.11.
2. See below, p.87.
3. Iul. 39.4; cf. Vell. 2.56.1; Plu. Caes. 55.4; Dio 43.22-24. A fairly exact date can be ascertained for the spectacula in which the naumachia was included. In Iul. 26 Suetonius mentions the beginning of Caesar's forum and the announcement of a 'munus populo epulumque' (54 B.C.) in memory of his daughter. Plutarch (55.4), Appian (BC. 3.28), and Dio (43.22) all connect the games at his triumph with the memory of his daughter and the completion of the forum. Inscriptions show the forum dedicated 25/26 September 46 B.C. (CIL I.219, 240).
4. Dio 45.17.8; 54.8.3. There were already two temples of Mars in Rome: see S.B. Platner, The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome (Boston, 1911), 349, 432. The site selected by Caesar was the Codeta Minor (cf. Iul. 39.4). It is conceivable that Cicero (Att. 13.42.1) refers to the dedication of the site as a templum.
5. Dio 43.49.2 (foundations only); Dio 53.30.5-6; Suet. Aug. 29.4; RG 21. See Nash, II, 418-422 (s.v. 'Theatrum Marcelli').
6. Pomptine Marshes: Dio 44.5.1 (44 B.C.); Plu. Caes. 58.3; Cic. Phil. 5.7. Fucine Lake: Tac. Ann. 12.56 (on Claudius' temporary drainage into the Liris; see below, p.73). CIL VI.31603 mentions the prolongation of the Via Salaria from Reate, probably by Augustus in 17/16 B.C.: this probably represents Caesar's plan. See M. Besnier in DS, Via, pp.794-796. Isthmus canal: Plu. Caes. 58.4; Dio 44.5.1 (44 B.C.); Plin. Nat. 4.10; Suet. Cal. 21; Nero 19.2. This design was probably conceived in connection with Caesar's foundation of a colony at Corinth (Plu. Caes. 57.3; Strab. 8.6.23).
7. Plu. Caes. 58.3; Cic. Att. 13.33a.1.
8. RG 19.1. The citation of the two senatorial buildings first perhaps reflects Augustus' concern to retain a traditional emphasis on the institutions of Republican government. On the Forum Augustum, see RG 21, 35; also Nash, I.401-410 (s.v. 'Forum Augustum'); on the temple of Mars Ultor, vowed by Augustus at Philippi, see RG 29, Vell. 2.100 ('se et Gallo Caninio consulibus'); cf. Ov. Fas. 5.569. As early as 20 B.C. the temple seems to have been sufficiently advanced to receive the standards recovered from the Parthians (Dio 54.8). Cf. also Suet. Cal. 24; Plin. Nat. 34.18.48.
9. Temple of Apollo Palatinus: RG 19.1 (note the identical phrasing); cf. Ov. Tr. 3.154. According to the Commentarii Divini (CIL I.403), it was dedicated 9 October, 28 B.C. (cf. Dio 53.1), having been vowed in 36 after the victory over Sextus Pompeius (Vell. 2.81). Cf. also Brunt and Moore, 61; Dio 54.4.2-4; also 49.15; Vell. 2.81. Temple of Jupiter Tonans: the building was located near the

- temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, built entirely in marble. See Suet. Aug. 91; Plin. Nat. 36.50; it was dedicated in 22 B.C. (Dio 54.4; CIL I.400). See also Nash I, 30-32 (s.v. 'Apollo Palatinus, Templum'), 535 (s.v. 'Juppiter Tonans').
10. RG 20; Brunt and Moore, 62. If Cicero (Att. 4.16.14) is referring to it, the basilica was begun in 54 B.C.; cf. Dio 56.27. See Nash, I, 186-189 (s.v. 'Basilica Iulia').
 11. S.B. Platner and T. Ashby, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (London, 1929), 73-74. The problem of identification has not yet been resolved: the passage in Dio (56.27.9) refers to a dedication in A.D. 12, which does not fit the date of an honorary inscription of Lucius Caesar (2 B.C., CIL VI.3747) usually connected with the building, and used as the basis for the identification of the front arcades of the Basilica Aemilia with the Portico of Gaius and Lucius.
 12. RG 20.3. Cf. A. Boëthius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, Etruscan and Roman Architecture (Harmondsworth, 1970), 193, where the identification cited in n.24 is applied.
 13. Dio 55.8.1-2; 49.43.8; Plu. Mar. 30; cf. RG 19.1. The Porticus Octavia mentioned in the Res Gestae, which should be distinguished from the Porticus Octaviae, the complex on the site of the Porticus Metelli named after Augustus' sister, was first built by Cn. Octavius in 168 B.C. and dedicated after its restoration in 33 B.C. The Porticus Liviae was on the Esquiline on the site of a large building, traditionally the residence of Servius Tullius. See Nash, II, 254-257 (s.v. 'Porticus Octaviae').
 14. RG 21; Dio 43.49.2; 54.36; Plin. Nat. 8.65. See above, n.16; also Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 186-189.
 15. Cf. Dio 54.18. Temple of Hercules Musarum: originally built by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 186 B.C, this temple was decorated with art treasures from Ambracia (Plin. Nat. 34.66; cf. Ov. Fas. 6.799ff.); L. Marcius Philippus (Dio 45.1) appears also to have surrounded the temple with the Porticus Philippus. Temple of Diana: originally built on the Aventine by Servius Tullius as a common temple for the Latin League (Liv. 1.45; D.H. 4.26; Str. 4.1.4). L. Cornificius was consul in 35 B.C., having fought in the war against Sextus Pompeius. Atrium Libertatis: appears to have been used as a place for the examination of slaves by torture (Cic. Mil. 49); it had a library attached to it (Ov. Tris. 3.1.71) which Asinius Pollio established from the spoils of the Illyrian campaign (Plin. Nat. 7.115; 25.16). Temple of Saturn: traditionally dedicated in 497 B.C. (Liv. 2.2; D.H. 6.1), situated at the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus. The restoration of the temple is attributed to the proceeds from the spoils of Plancus' campaigns against the Raeti. See Nash, I, 471 (s.v. 'Hercules Musarum'), II, 294-298 ('Saturni, Aedes Templum').
 16. F.W. Shipley, "The building activities of the 'viri triumphales' from 44 B.C. to A.D. 14," MAAR 4 (1931), 7ff. L. Munatius Plancus

- celebrated his triumph in 43; C. Asinius Pollio in 39; T. Statilius Taurus in 34; L. Marcius Philippus in 33; L. Cornificius in 33 (?); L. Cornelius Balbus in 19. Cf. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 184; all buildings restored by these *viri triumphales* were dedicated soon after the celebration of their triumphs.
17. Theatre of Balbus: dedicated in 13 B.C. (Dio 54.25). This theatre was near the *Theatrum Marcelli* (Plin. *Nat.* 36.60). Amphitheatre of Taurus: built in 29 B.C. (Dio 51.23) and destroyed in A.D. 64 in the great fire (Dio 62.18). T. Statilius Taurus, like Balbus, was *'triumphalis ex Africa'* (CIL I.461), which he had secured for Octavian after serving against Sextus Pompeius. See Nash, II, 414-417 (s.v. *'Theatrum Balbi'*).
 18. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 185; M. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus* (Washington, 1947), pp.159-63; F.W. Shipley, *Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome* (St. Louis, 1933), *passim*. G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge, 1971), 89-97. Cf. Cic. *Att.* 13.33a.3. Caesar's original plans for tackling the same problems were more grandiose in conception. The Aqua Iulia was built in 33, the Aqua Virgo in 19, and the Aqua Alsietina in 2 B.C. (Fron. *Aq.* I.9-10; Dio 54.11; Plin. *Nat.* 21.42). See Nash, I, 35 (s.v. *'Aqua Alsietina'*), 47 (s.v. *'Aqua Iulia'*), 55-56 (s.v. *'Aqua Virgo'*).
 19. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 186. See also, on the Saepta, Dio 53.23; the Pantheon, Dio 53.27; 63.27; 66.24; the Basilica Neptuni, Dio 53.27; 63.24; the *Thermae Agrippae* (opened in 21 B.C.), Dio 54.9. See Nash, II, 291-293 (s.v. *'Saepta Iulia et Diribitorium'*), 170-175 (s.v. *'Pantheon'*), 424-433 (s.v. *'Thermae Agrippae'*).
 20. See, e.g. F. Coarelli, *Guida Archeologica di Roma*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1975), 13-14. For the employment of the *vicus* as an administrative unit, see Suet. *Aug.* 40, 43; *Tib.* 76; *Cl.* 18. The division into *regiones* was ancient (D.H. 4.14), but the number and the space included were new, the latter extending perhaps to about the line of the subsequent Aurelian walls.
 21. This was apparently the *terminatio* of the Tiber bank made in 8 B.C. (ILS 5923d), which notes that the first board of *curatores riparum* (A.D. 15) restored the work of the consuls for 8 B.C., L. Marcius Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus. Two especially severe floods are recorded in 27 B.C. (Dio 53.20) and 23 (Dio 53.33).
 22. RG 20.5. This arrangement was made in 27 B.C.; see also Dio 53.22; Cic. *Phil.* 12.22. The Via Flaminia, the most important of the northern roads from Rome, ended at Ariminum where it was joined by the Via Aemilia leading westward through the Po valley. The fact and the date are confirmed by the inscription on the triumphal arch at Ariminum (ILS 84). Other roads built by *'viri triumphales'*: C. Calvisius Sabinus, who triumphed from Spain in 28, repaired the Via Latina (CIL I.478; 6895). The importance of the *'curatio viarum extra urbem'* is shown by the rank of the men appointed *curatores*, who were almost always of senatorial rank: Julius Caesar made an early bid for popular recognition as *'curator viae Appiae'* (Plu.

- Caes. 5) and Cicero in 65 regarded the repair of the Via Flaminia as rendering a man a formidable contender for the consulship (Att. 1.1.2). See also, on money spent 'ex manubiis', Liv. 10.46; Cic. Ver. 2.3.186; 2.1.54; Plin. Nat. 7.47.
23. Tac. Ann. 3.72; Dio 53.22.
 24. Strong, 104. See I. Shatzman, "The Roman General's Authority Over Booty," Historia 21 (1972), 36, 203-204; Shipley, (1931) 7ff.
 25. Dio 55.27.4; 8.1; 56.25.1. See D.E. Strong and J.B. Ward-Perkins, "The Temple of Castor in the Forum Romanum," PBSR 30 (1962), 1-30 (a reaffirmation of the Augustan date for the reconstruction); Nash, I, 210-213 (s.v. 'Castor, Templum'), 292-293 (s.v. 'Concordia, Templum').
 26. M. Blake, Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius Through the Flavians (Washington, 1959), 12-13; Boethius and Ward-Perkins, 202.
 27. Tac. Ann. 6.45; cf. 3.72. The remains of the upper order of the Basilica Aemilia accord well with the date of the Tiberian restoration recorded by Tacitus. Cf. Dio 56.46.3-4; Blake (1959), 11. See also A.J. Woodman, ed., Velleius Paterculus: The Tiberian Narrative (2.94-131) (Cambridge, 1977), 270-271.
 28. Dio 57.10.2; 56.46.3. Pliny (Nat. 12.94) credits Livia alone with the construction of the temple; cf. Dio 59.7.1. The building must have been near completion, since Caligula was able to dedicate it on 31 August, 37, less than six months after he came to the throne. Cf. Nash, I, 164 (s.v. 'Augustus, Templum').
 29. RG 20.1; Suet. Aug. 31.9. The first permanent stone theatre built in Rome, it was located in the Campus Martius; on its reputation as the most important theatre in Rome, cf. Plu. Pom. 52.4; Dio 39.38; Tac. Ann. 14.20.2; Vell. 2.48.2; Cic. Pis. 26/65. See Nash, II, 423-428 (s.v. 'Pompeii, Theatrum').
 30. Tac. Ann. 3.72.4; Vell. 2.130.1; Sen. Cons. Marc. 22.4. The task was entrusted to Tiberius, as there were no survivors of Pompey's family; Tacitus (Ann. 6.45.2) says that the restoration was completed but never dedicated by Tiberius. See Cl. 21.1; Dio 60.6.8; Claudius had the name of Tiberius inscribed on the scaena and an arch built in his honour near the theatre (Cl. 11.3).
 31. Plin. Nat. 36.122; Fron. Aq. I.13. Both writers state that the Anio Novus was begun at the same time. By 52 the Claudia had been completed and dedicated (ILS 218). According to Tacitus (Ann. 11.3.2), it was completed in 47: this date probably indicates the completion of the Claudia, whereas the Anio Novus was not completed until five years later, and the inscription cited above would corroborate this view, since both aqueducts are mentioned as being dedicated at that time. Pliny (Nat. 36.123) states that it and the Anio Novus cost HS 350 million or, according to another reading in the MSS, HS 55 million 500 thousand; T. Ashby (The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome, London, 1935, 190) accepts the latter figure as the

- more likely cost. See Nash, I, 37-46 (s.v. 'Aqua Claudia').
32. Dio 59.10.5; Suet. Cal. 18.1. That this amphitheatre was located near the Saepta is also known from an inscription (ILS 205), which records on an arch the restoration made by Claudius in 45/46 to the Aqua Virgo, which terminated in the Campus Martius behind the Saepta and the course of which had been interfered with by these building operations. The removal of buildings had thus already taken place, presumably to clear ground for the amphitheatre; the wooden stands were probably only a temporary arrangement; and the fact that the course of an aqueduct was changed suggests that Caligula had ambitious plans for this building.
 33. Cf. Cal. 20.1. In the summer of 38, after the death of Drusilla, Caligula visited Syracuse (Cal. 24.2), and it may have been on this occasion that the restorations were ordered.
 34. Vitruvius 7, praef. 16; Pausanias 7.5.4; cf. Strabo 14.1.5. Dio (59.28.1) states that the temple was to be completed in order to serve as a shrine to Caligula's divinity: coins and inscriptions, however, have shown that it was not this Didymaion that was appropriated by Caligula for his own worship. His temple was probably located in Miletus itself: cf. AE, 1912, 134; see also K. Tuchelt, art. "Didyma or Branchidai", in The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites, ed. R. Stillwell et al., (Princeton, 1976), 272-273.
 35. Cf. Cal. 37.3: 'complanata fossuris montium iuga'; 43: 'a propinquarum urbium plebe verri sibi viae et conspergi propter pulverem exigeret'. It is not known on which Alpine pass Caligula had hoped to build this city. Cf. R. Willrich, Klio 3 (1903), 306-307.
 36. Blake (1959), 26. See Nash, I, 174-179 (s.v. 'Ara Pietatis Augustae').
 37. Blake (1959), 84-85. Cf. Tac. Ann. 12.56, 57; Dio 60.11.5; 61.33.5; Suet. Nero 20.2; Plin. Nat. 36.124.
 38. Meiggs, 54-56; cf. Dio 60.11.3-5; CIL XIV.85; BMCRE I, 221-223; 269; Smallwood, Documents (1967), nos. 312, 313.
 39. Fron. Aq. I.14. The Claudia reached Rome in a channel some 46,406 paces long; the inscription on the Porta Praenestina (Maior) gives the length as 45,000 paces (CIL VI.1296 = ILS 218), but this discrepancy can be explained by Frontinus' measuring of the additional distance to the fons Albudinus. Cf. Fron. Aq. I.22; Ashby, 28-30. Because of its height at its source, it was able to supply the higher parts of the city (Plin. Nat. 36.122) and a branch also supplied the Palatine, Aventine, and Transtiberine regions (Fron. Aq. 20). Cf. Tac. Ann. 11.13; Smallwood, Documents (1967), no. 309.
 40. Blake (1959), 26-27; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 209; Smallwood, Documents (1967), no. 308.
 41. Meiggs, 54-56.

42. Blake (1959), 42; Tac. Ann. 15.43.1; Bradley (1978), 226-228.
43. Blake (1959), 42; A.G. McKay, Houses, Villas, and Palaces in the Roman World, (London, 1975), 89. Cf. Vitruv. 2.8.17; Tac. Ann. 15.43; Str. 5.3.7 (235).
44. Cf. J.E. Packer, The Insulae of Imperial Ostia, MAAR 31 (1971), 73.
45. Bradley (1978), 101.
46. Meiggs, 54; Bradley (1978), 181ff. Dangerous overcrowding in the river harbour, coupled with an increase in the size of grain transports, which had to face a narrow approach and sand bars at the river mouth, made improvement advisable; a canal would also have partially solved the problem created by the absence of return cargoes, one that was never solved satisfactorily.
47. Cf. Bradley (1978) 100-101. It is curious that Tacitus (Ann. 15.43.4), following the passage which has such verbal similarity with the preceding sentence in Suetonius, also mentions Ostia; he says that the marshes there were to be the dumping ground for rubble from the city, to be carried downstream by the corn ships on their return journeys. Perhaps both items were in their common source.
48. Jos. BJ. 7.5.7; Dio 66.18; cf. Oros. 7.9, quoting however (7.3, 7.19) a lost book of the Historiae; Plin. Nat. 36.102; CIL VI.200. Note also the frequent occurrence of Pax as divine personification and coin legend under Vespasian (BMCRE II s.v. index, 'Pax'); Blake (1959), 89-90; Nash, I, 439-445 (s.v. 'Forum Pacis').
49. Cf. Suet. Cl. 45; Fron. Aq. I.20, 76, in connection with the Aqua Claudia; CIL VI.10251a. There are still remains of the massive substructures: see Blake (1959), 90-91; Nash, I, 243-248 (s.v. 'Divus Claudius, Templum').
50. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 220.
51. Blake (1959), 91-96 (n.47 contains a partial bibliography); Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 221-224; Nash, I, 17-25 (s.v. 'Amphitheatrum Flavium').
52. McCrum and Woodhead (1959), no. 427; Blake (1959), 91.
53. Eutr. 7.23; Aur. Vic. Caes. 11.4; Oros. 7.10.2; Mart. 9.3; Plu. Pub. 15. See also Blake (1959), 99 (list of the Chronographer of A.D. 354).
54. See e.g. Plu. Pub. 15; Suet. Tit. 8.3; CIL VI.2059 (Acta Arvalia): on 7 Dec. 80 the Fratres Arvales offered their vows for the restoration and dedication of the temple by Titus. See also Blake (1959), 101.
55. Dio 66.10; cf. HA. Hadr. 6.3; RG 20; Steidle, 96.
56. McCrum and Woodhead (1959), no. 59. See Nash, I, 518-519 (s.v. 'Iuppiter Custos').

57. Blake (1959), 105-106; Nash, I, 433-438 (s.v. 'Forum Nervae'); cf. Mart. 1.2.8.
58. Blake (1959), 114.
59. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 227.
60. Cf. Dio 78.25; Blake (1959), 107-108.
61. Suet. Nero 12.3; Tac. Ann. 15.22; Dio 69.4: this odeion seems to have been a restoration of Domitian's hall by Trajan. See Blake (1959), 108-109.
62. Suet. Dom. 4.2; Dio 67.8; cf. Tit. 7.3. See Blake (1959), 109.
63. Cf. Suet. Dom. 4.1; Plin. Pan. 51; Dio 68.7. See Blake (1959), 104.
64. Cf. Stuart, 226-227: "certain data found in the Life of the Deified Augustus parallel so closely in content and phraseology contexts of the inscription that the view is generally held that Suetonius drew upon the record, not in its monumental form, but from the documentary version preserved in the imperial archives."
65. Suet. Iul. 21-2. On the Forum Iulium, see RG 20.3, Nash, I, 424-432.
66. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 184.
67. Blake (1947), 151-156.
68. See above, p.71.
69. Nash, I, 31-32 (s.v. 'Apollo Palatinus, Templum'); see also Brunt and Moore, 61.
70. RG 6.2 (Brunt and Moore, 10-12, 46-48); Yavetz, 56, esp. n.2, 91ff.: "When and how did Octavian succeed in winning the confidence of the common people and in becoming their accepted leader? It is difficult to point to any precise date but it can be asserted that it was not before 23 B.C., the year in which he obtained the 'tribunicia potestas'."
71. RG 19.1. See Nash, I, 512-514 (s.v. 'Divus Iulius, Templum').
72. Nash, II, 120-122 (s.v. 'Neptunus, Templum'); Blake (1947), 158, 165.
73. Blake (1959), 100, 104; cf. Dio 66.24.1-3.
74. Blake (1959), loc.cit. See also Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 227.
75. Blake (1959), 14-15; Nash, I, 221-224 (s.v. 'Castra Praetoria'); cf. Dio 57.19.6; Tac. Ann. 4.2.

76. Tac. Ann. 3.72. Cf. Blake, (1959), 11.
77. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 126. The first recorded examples of freestanding triumphal arches were erected in 196 in the Circus Maximus and the Forum Boarium; this architectural device may have essentially native origins, and may have been connected with the sacred power associated with gates, as was the temple of Janus Geminus.
78. Plin. Nat. 34.27.
79. Suet. Tib. 37.1. See above, n.75.
80. Blake (1959), 11. See Tac. Ann. 3.72; CIL VI.(4.2) 30692. This inscription records the rebuilding in the southwest part of the Forum of the Schola Xanthi by A. Fabius Xanthus and Bibryx Drusianus, two freedmen: the building was to serve as headquarters for the scribes, heralds, and other officers of the curule aediles.
81. Cf. G. Townend, "The Circus of Nero and the Vatican Excavations," AJA 62 (1958), 216-218.
82. Townend (1958), loc.cit. See Jos. Ant. 19.1.13; Tac. Ann. 14.13; Dio 59.10.9; Plin. Nat. 5.16.14; 36.74.
83. Blake (1959), 19, 106-107; Dio 66.24.2. The conversion of the hall under the basilica of the Domus Flavia into an 'Aula Isiaca' was probably undertaken by Caligula.
84. Blake (1959), 62, 106-107. Cf. Suet. Nero 56; cf. below, n.107.
85. RG 7.3; 20.4; 24:1 (cf. Brunt and Moore, 66). Cf. Steidle, 62-63, 66-67. See also A.A. Howard and C.N. Jackson, Index Verborum C. Suetoni Tranquilli Stilique Eius Proprietatum Nonnullarum (Hildesheim, 1963), s.v. 'religio', 213.
86. Cf. Suet. Otho 12.1; Dom. 1.2 (Isis); Ves. 7.1, 2 (Serapis).
87. Townend (1958), loc.cit.; Blake (1959), 36.
88. Suet. Nero 12.1; Tac. Ann. 13.31. See Blake (1959), 34-36; cf. Plin. Nat. 19.24.
89. Blake (1959), 34; Dio 62.8.
90. Suet. Nero 12.3; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 211-212; Blake (1959), 34-35. Cf. Mart. 7.34.
91. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 225-226, 236; Blake (1959), 98.
92. Blake (1959), 76.
93. Tac. Ann. 15.38-43; cf. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 214.
94. Tac. Ann. 15.29.1, 43; 52. Cf. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Nero's Golden

House," Antiquity 30 (1956), 212. The bibliography to the Domus Aurea is large and takes into account many aspects of the literary and archaeological evidence: see Bradley (1978), 170, to which add Coarelli (1975), 198-203. See also Nash, I, 339-348 (s.v. 'Domus Aurea').

95. Cf. Hor. Carm. 3.1.33ff. The poet's objection is to luxurious villas which displaced poor peasants. The creation of an artificial landscape with a lake, pavilions, cultivated land, and a wild park is the realization of the fantasy landscapes known from Pompeian wall paintings.
96. Cf. Tac. Ann. 15.36, 37; 14.14, 44.
97. Bradley (1978), 169-170. Cf. Suet. Aug. 72-73.
98. M.P.O. Morford, "The Distortion of the Domus Aurea Tradition," Eranos 66 (1968), 159, 174.
99. Cf. W.L. MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire, I (New Haven, 1965), 51, 55-56.
100. Cf. Cic. Off. 1.39 (138-139); Vit. 6.5.2.
101. Blake (1959), 97-98, 100.
102. Steidle, 106-107.
103. Blake (1959), 124-131 (list).
104. Cf. Steidle, 156 (on the Periclean building programme, which had similar intentions).
105. BMCRE I, Index IV, types, 410, 420-421; II, Index III, types, 442, 449-50. See also McCrum and Woodhead (1959), nos. 99 (Domitian: sestertius, temple of Jupiter Custos); 424 (Vespasian: as, restoration of Capitolium) 426 (Nero: aureus, temple of Vesta); 427 (Titus: sestertius, Colosseum); 428 (Domitian: tetradrachm, rebuilding of Capitolium).
106. BMCRE I lxii, clii, 165, 167; 236, 226 (= Smallwood (1967), no. 314).
107. e.g. BMCRE II (Isis) 123, 149, 189, 203 (Vespasian); (Serapis) 345 (Domitian).

CHAPTER III. THE EMPEROR AS BUILDER:

AUGUSTUS TO HADRIAN

In this chapter the general context of imperial building activities, against which the evidence of Suetonius and his listing of opera publica in the Caesares can be evaluated, will be studied. The tradition of the emperor as builder is reflected also in non-Suetonian sources, notably in other literary accounts and documentary evidence. The object of this discussion is to show the continuity of the tradition from Augustus to Hadrian, in order to support the contention that in organizing his biographies of emperors, Suetonius was reflecting popular conceptions of imperial behaviour. Another aim is to demonstrate the importance that emperors themselves attached to the numismatic evidence, certain elements of which referred to building and derived from imperial authority. It can be shown that the continuity of the tradition was not interrupted by the replacement of one dynasty by another, and that its persistence originated in the variety of source material used to reinforce the idea of imperial building among the emperor's subjects. It can also be demonstrated that economic factors explain why the emperor was interested in the provision of public works, aside from concerns of political reputation, therapeutic benefit, and urban beautification.

Trajan and Hadrian: building projects and policy

By the second century A.D., the execution of large-scale building programmes by the imperial government, both in Rome and intermittently

elsewhere, appears to have become both an established obligation and a proof of the emperor's liberalitas. This obligation can be shown to be continuous from reign to reign, regardless of changes in ruling dynasties. In order to present a coherent picture of the development of this concept, public works approximately contemporary with Suetonius' career will be dealt with first. The public works undertaken by Trajan and Hadrian may be regarded as marking the completion of the building programme in Rome initiated by Augustus. The literary record of Trajan's building activity, which appears to have derived much from work begun or planned by Domitian, is curiously defective. There is no mention, for example, of the major rebuilding of the Forum of Caesar and the temple of Venus Genetrix.¹ Allowing for such gaps in the record, however, it is evident that his work in and near Rome falls under three main headings: the building of the great baths on the Esquiline; the undertaking of a series of major engineering works to improve the port and wharf facilities of Ostia and Rome;² and the completion of the imperial fora to the north of the Forum Romanum by his construction of the forum, basilica, libraries, and market that occupy the southern slopes of the Quirinal.³ With the exception of the *Thermae Traiani*, these building projects are all commemorated on Trajanic coin issues,⁴ as well as, for example, the reconstruction of the Circus Maximus, Trajan's Column, the *Aqua Traiana*, and two triumphal arches of which little more is known.⁵

A sampling of Trajan's public works may provide a partial indication of the scale of building in Rome alone. Apart from the Forum Traianum, the Baths of Trajan were the most important work from both a utilitarian and a monumental point of view. Originally these baths may have been planned by Domitian and were under construction from 104 onwards, completing the recovery for public use of the huge area formerly occupied by the

Domus Aurea. Meanwhile, work was going forward to increase the area devoted to fora and to connect the civic centre with the Campus Martius; in accordance with Julius Caesar's plan, which Domitian had just started to put into effect. The plan was carried out, according to one interpretation of the cryptic inscription on the base of Trajan's Column,⁶ by excavating the slope of the Quirinal to a depth equal to the height of the column, at the spot where subsequently the so-called "Trajan's Market" was sited.⁷ The level space thus obtained was laid out as a huge square, flanked with colonnades and bordered at the northeast angle by the Basilica Ulpia, Greek and Latin libraries, and the column itself, probably erected to honour Trajan for providing the new civic centre. The column offered a surface for recording the Dacian campaigns, from the spoils of which the cost of building the entire forum was defrayed.⁸ There is no suggestion in the inscription of any intention to use the base as a depository for the ashes of Trajan and Plotina; this use of the column, and not the column itself, was an afterthought.

In order to correct the lack of a cult building in this forum, possibly because of the practical, utilitarian concept on which it was based, Hadrian subsequently erected, beyond the libraries and on the axis of the complex of buildings, the temple of Deified Trajan and Plotina.⁹ Coin issues with the legend 'FORUM TRAIAN(I)' commemorated the entire project as a building type, portraying the monumental gate and the Basilica Ulpia beyond, and indicating that this complex was thought worth publicizing.¹⁰ Such a building programme reflects careful consideration of what was necessary to ameliorate public services, combined with a realistic assessment of resources available to the imperial administration.

The period in which the last traces of the Neronian fire and those of 69 and 80 were erased witnessed innumerable public works by both Trajan

and Hadrian, though to some extent on obligatory lines. A temple of Divus Nerva, which seems to have been built between 100 and 104 and commemorated on later coinage,¹¹ fulfilled an obligation to commemorate Trajan's adoptive father and his own pietas. A partial restoration of Agrippa's Pantheon fulfilled a similar purpose as a conscious attempt to associate Trajan and his pietas with Augustus' public works.¹² The epigraphical evidence is notably full for Trajan's reign, recording, for example, the enlargement of the Circus Maximus in 103 'liberalitate optimi principis',¹³ the reinforcement of the Tiber bank, and the excavation of a fossa near Ostia to control periodic flooding of the Tiber.¹⁴ It may be noted that this form of commemoration, always placed where it would be most obvious to the viewer, was applied to public works to emphasize their sponsor's personal role in contributing to public and, in two of the Trajanic cases cited, commercial welfare.

Trajan's work in road-building also continued a firm tradition and was almost all connected, through Nerva's activity (see below), with projects begun by the Flavians, including the Via Traiana, a continuation of the Via Appia from Beneventum to Brundisium. This road was finished in 109 and regarded, to judge by references on coins, inscriptions, and monuments and from the fact that it had its own curator, among Trajan's most important works.¹⁵ All such public works undertaken with imperial sponsorship in Italy had their counterparts in municipal building and road construction in the provinces, particularly in the Greek East.¹⁶

Building activity under Hadrian was affected by a combination of tradition and change in the character of architecture, but also by the personal influence exerted by the emperor himself, who carried out all the projects inspired by his Roman technical experience and by his revival of Greek art forms. Hadrian's enthusiasm for restoration and renewal seems

to have dictated his habit of putting on buildings he restored the names of the original builders rather than his own. Under such circumstances the Pantheon and much of the Agrippan building complex in the Campus Martius were rebuilt (cf. p.70).¹⁷ Naturally Hadrian dedicated in his own name the temples of Deified Trajan and Plotina and of Matidia in the Campus Martius, which was flanked by twin basilicas, and in addition the mausoleum and bridge which gave access to it.¹⁸ Almost all our information concerning the temple of Matidia and the two basilicas comes from a coin of 120 with the legend 'DIVAE MATIDIAE SOCRVI'. The temple of Venus and Rome, as the first cult building in Rome that incorporated the idea of personified Roma as well as the dynastically important Venus, was most crucial to the concept of Roman universality adopted and propagated by the emperor.¹⁹ The temple was built on Hellenistic lines to Hadrian's own designs with great care between 121 and 135, occupying the site of the vestibule of Nero's Domus Aurea.²⁰ Its construction completed a continuous pattern of building from Vespasian onwards on the site of Nero's palace, in effect reclaiming the land for the people.

The reign of Hadrian is significant also for the type and quantity of building initiated outside Rome.²¹ In Italy there are records of aqueducts and improvements in water-supply to large urban centres, as well as work on the harbour at Puteoli and repairs to the outlet from the Fucine Lake.²² At the same time, the city-plan of Ostia underwent considerable modification, including the large-scale monumentalization of the civic centre.²³ Hadrian's numismatic titles, 'restitutor' of various provinces, 'restitutor orbis terrarum', and 'locupletator orbis terrarum', are indicative of the role which the emperor played in public works in the provinces. In this way Hadrian sought to maintain the prestige of ancient cities like Cyrene or Antioch. But to a greater extent than any other

emperor he also founded new cities, such as Antinoöpolis on the Middle Nile, with the urban organization of a Greek polis. Hadrian laid out the city on strictly geometrical lines and peopled it only with Greek citizens and veterans. The physical layout of this city is important because it illustrates the growth of imperial paternalism towards local communities. This idea is to some extent reflected by the types of building projects executed as well as by certain coin types, which interpreted events in a "personal" way as connected with the emperor himself.²⁴ Architectural types, therefore, portray buildings as the emperor wished them to be viewed, and most often this portrayal stressed their religious significance or public benefit.

The concern of the imperial government with projecting a certain image of public building is significant for considering Hadrian's programme in Rome as a whole. Early in his reign Hadrian had authorized withdrawal from Mesopotamia, creating a new frontier zone west of the Euphrates; henceforth his primary concerns were to maintain peace and to administer the Empire efficiently. Whether he intended this policy to represent a conscious dissociation from Trajan's reign and to reaffirm Augustus' admonition not to expand the Empire, as D. Kienast has argued,²⁵ is difficult to assert. To some extent, the peregrinatory character of Hadrian's court resulted in increased personal contact with the emperor's subjects, one that was formerly afforded by military campaigning in the provinces. It is clear that the character of Hadrian's building programme in Rome can be viewed against the background of the emperor's foreign tours, particularly in the East.²⁶ Moreover, Hadrian's large-scale restoration of Augustan and Agrippan public works, notably the Pantheon, which embraced the worship of Mars, Venus and the Deified Julius as divine precursors of the first imperial dynasty, may well have been intended to

establish a connection with Augustus' own motives in monumentalizing important areas of the city.²⁷ Indeed, it is likely that the design of the cylindrical Mausoleum Hadriani, which accommodated also the remains of Hadrian's successors, was intentionally reminiscent of the form and purpose of the Mausoleum Augusti, also a monument of dynastic significance.²⁸ In restoring Augustan public works, Hadrian probably wished a favourable comparison to be made in the public view between the benefits conferred by Augustus' building policy and his own efforts.

As a member of Hadrian's government in the first years of his reign, Suetonius must have been fully aware of the planning and conception of several large-scale projects as well as major restorations, even if the date of 121/22 for his dismissal is accepted as fact. Certainly both the temple of Deified Trajan and Plotina, the form of which is known from coins and from a fragment of the Severan marble plan,²⁹ and the Pantheon, rebuilt by Hadrian between 118 and, at latest, 128, belong to the early part of his reign and were probably known to Suetonius both in their planning stages and when building was started. Other religious buildings, as well as the major restoration of the Agrippan projects in the Campus Martius, which appears to have been approximately contemporary with the rebuilding of the Pantheon, were also begun before 122.³⁰ Although it is not definitely known when the temple of Venus and Rome was begun, it is likely that the vestibule of Nero's Domus Aurea was cleared by 121, and brickstamps show that building was in progress by 123.³¹ Suetonius undoubtedly realized the significance of Hadrian's building programme, which involved the systematic restoration of Augustan public works in addition to the construction of religious buildings. Moreover, the types of buildings erected must have invited comparisons with monuments built by previous emperors. This tendency to compare is probably reflected in Sue-

tonius' view of public works undertaken by emperors in the first century, notably by Augustus, whose efforts receive the most attention and detailed treatment in the Caesares.

Thus, the building programmes of Trajan and Hadrian can be regarded as both continuation and culmination of Augustus' public building, an aspect of imperial munificence which is likely to have coloured public perceptions of such activity between the reigns of Tiberius and Domitian. The concept of imperial building is based on a tradition which developed in the course of the first century A.D. Augustus' methods of publicizing his work require some elaboration as the first examples of a directed imperial "policy" in this field.

Augustus' building programme and the Res Gestae

The extent and character of Augustus' building programme has already been outlined.³² Of the buildings erected by Augustus himself and listed in the Res Gestae none survives complete, though what remains serves to convey at least a partial picture of the quality and quantity of public works erected. It is noteworthy that Augustus considered his building programme important enough to include a detailed list of public works built chiefly in Rome in the Res Gestae. As has been mentioned before, the twenty-three public works listed can be divided, almost without exception, into religious and utilitarian buildings. To the eighty-two temples which Augustus restored in 28 B.C., in accord with his policy of religious revival, can be added the monuments erected by members of his immediate family, especially Agrippa, monuments erected at his instigation by non-relatives such as Statilius Taurus and Cornelius Balbus, and buildings erected independently by others to honour themselves or the imperial family.³³ On a rough estimate, 127 buildings of some importance were

newly constructed or restored between the death of Caesar and that of Augustus.

When Augustus assumed responsibility for the restoration and construction of public works, he presented himself as upholder of native religious and public traditions, a role that is to a great extent reflected in the Res Gestae.³⁴ Indeed, Augustus also assumed a large part of the building expenditure himself, paying for it from his own resources.³⁵ Hence, opposition to his schemes on the basis of cost was effectively disposed of, while the buildings erected appeared as proofs of his personal generosity and concern to improve Rome's physical appearance. The aims of Augustus in replanning Rome are clearly brought out by the establishment of a monumental zone in the Campus Martius, probably the only convenient land available at the time for a concentration of new buildings. The direction that his programme would take was indicated by the design of his mausoleum, which in its circular form was reminiscent of Republican family tombs, rather than the mausolea of Hellenistic Greek potentates. Nearby stood the monumental Ara Pacis Augustae, dedicated in 9 B.C. as a symbol of peace brought about by the new order.³⁶ The zone opened up by Agrippa, centered on the Pantheon, balanced the Mausoleum Augusti and its environs. With numerous monuments needing repair or enlargement, the southern part of the Campus continued to accommodate the enterprises of 'viri triumphales', a number of which are mentioned by Suetonius in the Augustus.³⁷

Two other Augustan enterprises in Rome show that the motives of personal commemoration and civic embellishment were crucial in Augustus' execution of public works. Augustus completed and dedicated the Forum Iulium, originally intended to relieve the congestion of the crowded Forum Romanum, which he monumentalized along Hellenistic lines. The Res

Gestae notes that the Curia and Chalcidicum on the north side of the Forum were begun by Caesar but actually completed and dedicated by Augustus in 29 B.C.³⁸ The emperor found the Forum enclosed on three sides by the Basilicas Aemilia and Iulia, which he completed, and by the Tabularium (RG 20.3). After 42, when Caesar had already been deified, the triumvirs undertook to enclose the east side with the temple of Deified Julius where he had been cremated. In the Res Gestae Augustus claims that he alone built it (RG 19.1). The central part of the Forum's east end had been given a monumental facade in this temple. The space between this temple and that of Castor to the south was further embellished in 19 by the triple-bayed Arch of Augustus.³⁹ In turn, this monument was balanced to the north of the temple of Deified Julius after 2 B.C. by a single arch in honour of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.

Thus, the east side of the Forum honoured Caesar, Augustus, and two of his potential heirs. The temple reminded the people that Augustus was 'divi filius',⁴⁰ and that he traced his ancestry back to Aeneas and Venus, while the rostra captured at Actium and displayed on the temple facade testified that he had saved the state in war. The south arch signified that Augustus was capable of diplomacy; and the north arch represented an assurance that there were worthy successors to continue imperial beneficia.

The Augustan building programme combined the necessity of providing public services with personal or family propaganda in other projects. The temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum, which represents the effective culmination of the building programme, associated Mars, Venus and Caesar, statues of whom stood in the rear of the temple cella, with the ancestry of the gens Iulia and the present greatness of the family. The temple also symbolized the filial piety of the emperor in avenging his adoptive father. But as Suetonius notes in the unit on opera publica in the Augus-

tus, the temple was also intended as a centre for military ceremonial, and this aspect of the typically Italic building, together with the display of maiorum imagines and their res gestae in inscriptional form in the forum itself represented Augustus' intention also to show his regard for mos maiorum (Aug. 29.2). The implication of this placing of portraits in a public area seems to have been to represent the forum as the atrium of the state. It is also linked in the Res Gestae with the Theatre of Marcellus as a project built on ground that was originally owned privately (RG 21.1). The regard shown by Augustus for the older institutions of Rome, religious and secular, was continued by his successors and periodically revived by emperors such as Vespasian and Hadrian.

Augustus' large-scale restoration of religious buildings is reflected in the Res Gestae by the number recorded. While reviving traditional values in religious and secular concerns, Augustus also placed himself in a close, personal relation with specific gods, either through events which were connected with the origin of his family in the legendary past or through personal experience. Julius Caesar had used the mythical descent of the gens Iulia as an instrument of propaganda. Augustus continued his work with the modifications and expansions which seemed necessary or appropriate. But in the elevation of the cult of a god who had come to his personal assistance, he became more of an innovator and on occasion broke with tradition. Hence, Augustus' relation to the cult of Apollo, to whom he gave the credit for his victory at Actium, was demonstrated by his building of the temple of Apollo Palatinus (between 36 and 28 B.C.), probably intended also to rival the recent reconstruction of the older temple of Apollo in Circo by the Antonian C. Sosius.⁴¹ This regard is also shown by the site chosen for the Theatre of Marcellus near the temple of Apollo Sosianus, long a centre for liberales artes. In turn, the conservatism

that characterized the Augustan building programme is reflected in the restoration of the ancient temples of Jupiter Feretrius and of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the latter, along with the expensive rebuilding of the Theatre of Pompey, 'sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei'.⁴²

In many respects the numismatic and epigraphical evidence for the Augustan building programme reflects the ideals of religious revival and public service with which both the emperor and Agrippa were primarily concerned. Coin types commemorating the construction, rather than restoration, of religious monuments are prominent, and most of the cults represented can be shown to have had some personal significance for Augustus. The hexastyle temple of Jupiter Tonans appears as a building type, originally vowed as an act of gratitude for Augustus' escape from being struck by lightning while campaigning in Spain in 26 B.C.⁴³ Moreover, in erecting this temple, Augustus was both reviving the oldest aspect of Jupiter Capitolinus as god of the sky and weather, and affirming that he personally stood under his protection. Similarly, coin types depicting the round temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline, erected in 20 B.C., served the dual purpose of commemorating Augustus' sacred obligation to avenge his adoptive father, as well as of providing a cult building dedicated to Mars as father of Romulus.⁴⁴ The temple of Deified Julius in the Forum was honoured on an early coin for essentially the same reasons.⁴⁵ A different idea is represented by non-local types struck to commemorate the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ephesus, attesting the emperor's prohibition of temples dedicated to him unless they were also dedicated to Roma, as well as the traditional predilection in the Greek East for bestowing divine honours on rulers.⁴⁶ Such depictions of religious monuments were supplemented in 16 B.C. by an important series of public monuments and inscriptions in miniature set up in Augustus' honour, including some

commemorating the building or repair of roads, reproduced on a dated coinage.⁴⁷ Increasing imperial control over coin types meant that careful selection was used to determine what monuments would be most advantageous to publicize. Clearly the motive of personal commemoration, combined with a regard for public benefit, was a decisive factor in this regard. This type of evidence is independent of Suetonius' testimony on public building, originating from distinctively "official" sources and representing an intended view of imperial activity.

The advertisement of buildings on coins and the recording of their builders on inscriptions represented a means of achieving popularity during these men's lifetimes, as well as of commemorating their efforts to posterity. Nevertheless, there was always the danger that someone in the future would restore the original building and substitute his own name for that of the founder. Augustus could give no guarantees for the future, but he could and did set a precedent for his successors: in the Res Gestae he mentions specifically that in rebuilding a porticus which had been erected by Cn. Octavius (in 168 B.C.), he allowed the name of the original builder to remain (RG 19.1). Nor was this an isolated instance. In the oration which Tiberius delivered at Augustus' funeral he emphasized as an example of the latter's magnanimity that he restored all buildings which had fallen into disrepair, but never deprived the original builders of their credit.⁴⁸ Thus, the preservation of the original builder's name by a possible rebuilder appeared as a proof of the latter's aequitas. This policy was scrupulously followed by Hadrian, and it is noteworthy that the facade of the rebuilt Pantheon records that 'M. Agrippa L. f. cos. tertium fecit'.⁴⁹

Among inscriptions commemorating projects of public utility, perhaps those most indicative of a real public benefit refer to the building of

aqueducts. This aspect of imperial building also demonstrates how the imperial private wealth supported permanent services within the public system.⁵⁰ In Rome, as part of his vast programme of providing practical and utilitarian services without drawing on public funds, Agrippa built the Aqua Iulia et Tepula as aedile in 33 B.C. and the Aqua Virgo as consul in 27 to supply the Thermae Agrippae, as well as restoring three other aqueducts that had fallen into disrepair.⁵¹ In the Res Gestae Augustus records his restoration of the Aqua Marcia, completed by 5/4 B.C., and he is also recorded as being responsible for the Aqua Alsietina.⁵² Clearly the primary purpose of the water system was to supply the population with a steady flow of water in the public fountains. This was not only a matter of supplying a basic necessity on a large scale; it was also a matter of sanitation and public health, and it is no coincidence that Agrippa also overhauled the sewers in the year in which he built the Aqua Iulia and then sailed down them to the Tiber.⁵³ The importance of aqueducts as traditional public works is shown by their constant construction and rebuilding in the Republic by elected officials, a function assumed and continued by the imperial government (see below).

Public commemoration of this service both in Rome and elsewhere was thus advantageous for the general view of the functioning of imperial government. Hence, regulations restricting the tapping of the water supply and similar injunctions, such as the 'lex Quinctia de aquaeductibus' of 9 B.C. and the edict of Augustus 'de aquaeductu Venafrano' (between 18 and 11 B.C.) are significant as providing evidence for the concern for such vital public services shown by those in authority.⁵⁴ The importance of public works in providing a means of evaluating the emperor's performance is further exemplified by Augustus' establishment of at least three curatorial boards to administer and maintain vital services. In 20 B.C.

the first office was set up to deal with the roads radiating from Rome, followed in 11 by a board to administer water supply, with the nucleus of a permanent staff formed by Agrippa.⁵⁵ Late in Augustus' reign an office was formed to administer public buildings and shrines.⁵⁶ Although there is little inscriptional evidence for the work of this latter cura, it may be assumed that it was responsible for the maintenance of all public buildings and temples, taking over the duties of censors and aediles. It does not seem to have been responsible for new works nor for major restorations, which continued to be placed in the hands of regular magistrates, special curators, or assumed by the emperor himself.

Both Suetonius' listing of opera publica in the Augustus and the similar arrangement of subject matter in the Res Gestae are highly selective in their choice of the religious and utilitarian buildings included. Neither work could hope to be at all comprehensive, and both accounts incorporate blanket statements which to some extent cover those buildings not mentioned by name.⁵⁷ It may safely be assumed that Suetonius had seen the Res Gestae in its official form on bronze pila set up at the entrance to the Mausoleum Augusti, particularly as he mentions the 'index rerum a se gestarum' set up at that location.⁵⁸ Conceivably the types of buildings listed in the relevant sections of the Res Gestae influenced Suetonius' own choice of buildings for the species in the Caesares: both works deal with projects begun as part of the Augustan building programme at Rome, omitting works carried out in the provinces, and emphasizing expenses Augustus undertook in the public interest from his private fortune or 'ex manubiis'. The Res Gestae does not include public expenditure undertaken with Augustus' guidance, as does Suetonius' account, when he refers to the emperor's encouragement of private individuals to build or restore opera publica. Most importantly, both works stress Augustus' per-

sonal actions in providing public services. Therefore, the Res Gestae may well have furnished Suetonius with a model for the type of information on public works included as well as for the basic format of his biographies. The concept of public commemoration, effectively exploited in the Res Gestae, is independently shown on a smaller scale by certain coin types and honorary inscriptions of Augustus' reign.

Public building of the Julio-Claudians

In executing a programme of public works which fulfilled personal, religious, and secular functions, Augustus created a precedent that was followed with varying degrees of success by future emperors. Public building under Tiberius is characterized by a change in the tempo of activity rather than by differences in the type, quality, or character of projects carried out. The few new public buildings Tiberius is known to have constructed, even the purely utilitarian *Castra Praetoria* on the *Viminal* (A.D. 21-23), were started near the beginning of his principate, as those he repaired, except for rebuilding after major fires.⁵⁹ Three of them, mentioned by Tacitus, were calculated to remind the populace of Augustus: an arch honouring the return of the standards captured in Germany, a temple of *Fors Fortuna*, and a temple of the gens Iulia at *Bovillae* were all dedicated in A.D. 16.⁶⁰ The temple of Deified Augustus south of the *Basilica Iulia*, to which Tiberius was committed from the moment of consecration, if not the restored scaena of the Theatre of Pompey, was completed probably by A.D. 34, but both remained undedicated while Tiberius was on *Capreae*.⁶¹ Dio gives an impression of substantial building operations undertaken at the beginning of Tiberius' reign but not exploited to increase his personal prestige; Velleius exploits them to Tiberius' credit, but does not go into detail on his public works.⁶² Clearly the pro-

gramme was relatively modest by comparison with Augustus', and certainly there were cogent reasons -- Augustus' own success, shortage of cash -- for restraint.⁶³ The increasing embitterment of Tiberius' later years, culminating in the retirement to Capreae, removed what little incentive there may have been to continue to embellish Rome. Maintenance of existing works was assured by the aerarium through the curae, which during his reign acted under the authority of the Senate.⁶⁴ But the policy of restraint was also unfortunate from the economic point of view: imperial investment in building would have created employment for artisans and free labour in the city (see below).

The limitations of Tiberius' building activity are reflected by the small number of architectural coin types issued from the Roman mint during his reign. Tiberius had vowed the spoils from his German campaigns to the restoration of the temple of Concord, dedicating it in A.D. 10. The appearance of the temple on coins of 35-37 may celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its dedication, though the identification itself is disputed: it has been argued on the basis of the architectural treatment of the building on the coins that it represents the temple of Deified Augustus.⁶⁵ Caligulan issues bearing the legend 'DIVO AUG(USTO) S C' and the type of an Ionic hexastyle temple represent the latter building.⁶⁶

As a military man, Tiberius' interest in provincial building seems to have been concentrated on the upkeep and construction of roads, particularly in Illyricum and in Africa.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, it is unlikely that all public works attested between 14 and 37, even building that may be regarded as routine, were executed on the sole initiative of provincial governors.⁶⁸ Only rarely does Tiberius' name appear on public works, so that it is difficult to specify his restorations: it is found, however, on milestones in Dalmatia and Africa.⁶⁹ Thus Tiberius continued Augustus'

policy of sponsored road-building, though the practice of encouraging 'viri triumphales' to rebuild and construct roads disappeared with the monopolization of triumphal celebrations by members of the imperial family. Far from being an insuperable burden on the imperial fiscus, large-scale road-building had definite advantages, particularly in aiding commercial traffic over potentially wide areas, as well as in improving military communications and supply lines in regions of strategic importance.

The list of public works begun by Caligula is short, comprising only the construction of two new aqueducts and the demolition of the terminus of the Aqua Virgo to make way for a new amphitheatre, in addition to the laying-out of the Circus of Gaius and the Gaianum in the Vatican area. Even if the buildings begun by Tiberius that Caligula completed and dedicated are added, the achievement is not distinguished by its scope or scale. The foundation of the Isaeum in the Campus Martius represents a relaxation of Tiberius' severity towards Eastern religions. Of Caligula's extension of the Domus Tiberiana to the Forum area and his grandiose plans for the remodelling of the Palatine and bridging the gap to the Capitoline, little has survived.⁷⁰

Perhaps the most noteworthy building inscription of Caligula's reign is the dedication on the obelisk from Heliopolis in Egypt, brought to Rome to embellish the spina of the Circus of Gaius. It reads 'Divo Caesari divi Iulii f. Augusto Ti. Caesari divi Augusti f. Augusto sacrum',⁷¹ and as J.P.V.D. Balsdon has noted, the dedication belongs later than 39, since the language used for Tiberius indicates that Caligula had dispensed with his earlier scorn for the memory of the former emperor.⁷² Both Suetonius and Dio state that Caligula had used up the finances left by Tiberius in less than a year, though it is probable that for his public works the

emperor spent his personal property, particularly as Claudius had considerable resources at his disposal to carry out a major series of public works.⁷³ Caligula's publishing of his public accounts, the 'rationes imperii', as well as the paucity of examples and records of extensive building would corroborate this.⁷⁴ Certainly the building of the bridge at Baiae may have been intended to impress Parthia through grandiose constructions, on the later analogy of Nero's reception of Tiridates of Armenia in 66.⁷⁵ Following Tiberius' example, Caligula also gave aid to victims of fire in Rome and abroad, and certain road-building projects were initiated in western provinces during his reign.⁷⁶ More representative of the building activity of Caligula, however, are the villas and country-houses Suetonius records in the vicinity of Rome.⁷⁷ Clearly, the nature and extent of building projects initiated by Caligula were limited by personal predilection as well as by the amount of money at his disposal.

Besides the gigantic engineering enterprises of constructing an adequate harbour at Ostia and digging a subterranean outlet from the Fucine Lake, Claudius followed Augustan precedent by both building completely new structures and by restoring already existing ones, as well as continuing those begun by Caligula. Good examples are the two aqueducts, the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus, that were brought into use in A.D. 52. Many other aqueducts were substantially improved or almost entirely rebuilt between 45 and 54, especially the Aqua Virgo. A boundary post attests that Claudius was also concerned with the delimitation and completion of the Tiber embankments, as well as with the prevention of flooding by partial canalization of the river mouth ('urbem inundationis periculo liberavit'); horrea, possibly the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria, are also recorded in the Campus Martius.⁷⁸ Claudius' systematic programme for the restoration of traditional religion, again on the Augustan model, is not reflected by

the building or reconstruction of cult buildings in Rome itself. The rebuilding of old sanctuaries such as the temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily and an 'aedes Liberi Patris vetustate et terrae motu [conlapsa]' on Samos is more representative of his antiquarianism.⁷⁹ Two commemorative arches celebrating the victories of Claudius' generals in the field are known from coins of 41-47 depicting the arches with their attics inscribed 'DE GERMANIS' or 'DE BRITANNIS'.⁸⁰ At the same time, it appears that much of the superintendence of public works came more closely into the emperor's sphere of operation. Claudius also encouraged the use of private wealth in public building, thereby relieving some of the burden placed on his own resources, by forbidding anyone to set up a statue of himself unless he had built or repaired some public monument.⁸¹

The intensity of Claudius' building activity in Rome, Italy, and the provinces is fully attested by the large number of inscriptions which reflect his concern for public works and by certain building types on coin issues. The early history of the Caligulan/Claudian aqueducts is detailed in the inscriptions over the monumental Porta Maggiore, which were probably modified by Trajan to give the length of the Aqua Claudia in his time;⁸² the two lower sections record restorations under Vespasian and Titus. It appears, moreover, that Claudius converted the arch which carried the Aqua Virgo over the Via Lata into a triumphal arch in 51/2. An inscription also commemorated the restoration 'a fundamentis' by Claudius in 46 of the part of the Virgo destroyed by Caligula, with rusticated masonry characteristic of contemporary architecture.⁸³ The use of such an archaic architectural medium indicates that traditionalism was a keynote in Claudian projects at Rome. Coins depicting one of the few Claudian religious dedications in Rome, the Ara Pietatis Augustae, show that it resembled the Augustan Ara Pacis.⁸⁴ Claudius was also responsible for

restoring Pompey's name to his refurbished theatre and Tiberius' to the elaborately rebuilt scaena, adding his own name in commemoration of the dedication.⁸⁵

Imperial concern for the urban grain-supply and the threat of famine upon Claudius' accession is attested by coinage with the legend 'CERES AUGUSTA S C' and the goddess depicted.⁸⁶ Neronian issues of 64, by which time the Claudian harbour was in use, show the curving arms of the harbour attested by Suetonius and a small base with a statue projecting from the sea behind the opening between them, probably a stylized version of the pharos erected on one of the breakwaters. The issues combine an aerial and perspective view of the harbour, crowded with seven ships, and the reverse legend 'AUGUSTI S POR(TUS) OST(IENSIS) C'.⁸⁷ Claudius' concern for the roads, which were built for military purposes but turned out to be powerful aids to the economic development and political cohesion of the Empire, is visible everywhere: most important are the Via Claudia Nova (47) and its continuation, the Via Claudia Valeria (49), which improved communications between the Sabine territory and the Adriatic.⁸⁸ Similar new and reorganized road-systems in Spain and Gaul are attested by milestones, and there are inscriptional records of measures taken to improve water-supply in areas of the eastern Empire.⁸⁹ Such interest in utilitarian building and the necessary commemoration of road-building, which can be linked with the similar purpose of coinage in conveying a message to a large segment of the population, demonstrates that public works gradually became recognized as part of the emperor's role. The completion of Caligulan projects by Claudius, in addition to his execution of schemes conceived by Julius Caesar, shows that continuity from reign to reign was significant in establishing an emperor's own claim to liberalitas, in spite of considerable differences in personal political ideologies.

Given the extent of destruction by the great fire of 64, it is surprising to note that the best-documented specific examples of public building under Nero antedate the catastrophe and the construction of the Domus Aurea. Certainly the fire provided Nero with the opportunity for an outburst of original building in which he surpassed his predecessors, though much of this was predictably involved with reconstruction of residential districts and implementation of measures for fire prevention, rather than with monumental building as such. At the very beginning of Nero's reign, the temple of Deified Claudius was started, but was soon suspended when Agrippina's power waned and later partially converted into a monumental approach to Nero's Domus Aurea. The Circus of Gaius was also completed, as well as the Pons Neronianus to give access to it. A triumphal arch, built in 58 on the Capitoline to commemorate the victories of Domitius Corbulo, is mentioned in both the literary sources and on the coinage;⁹⁰ and a temporary amphitheatre and stadium with lavish appointments date from 57.⁹¹ More important was the circular Macellum Magnum on the Caelian, dedicated in 56/7 and depicted on coin issues in the last years of Nero's reign, a fact which indicates its popularity at Rome.⁹² Yet another Neronian building type depicting the temple of Vesta was deliberately intended to recall Augustus' close association with the deity and appears on the half-century of his death.⁹³ But it also commemorated the prompt rebuilding of the temple in 64/5 after it had been destroyed in the great fire. In connection with his enthusiasm for games on the Greek model, Nero built and dedicated in 61/2 a gymnasium, which was damaged by fire in the same year, but apparently was not destroyed. Associated with it were the Thermae Neronianae northwest of the Pantheon, only the second public bathing establishment in Rome, with a symmetrical ground plan of the same type as the Baths of Titus and of Trajan.⁹⁴ The construction and

commemoration of such "popular" buildings demonstrate the advisability of treating these projects as necessary and beneficial expenditures.

The new buildings erected after the devastation of the great fire rose in accordance with regulations which prescribed the amount of material to be employed and limited their height. The rebuilt portion of the city, which encompassed both monumental and residential areas, was to be laid out with regular, broad streets, a good example of which is the re-directed, colonnaded Sacra Via to the east of the Forum, together with extensive commercial rebuilding in the immediate area. One regulation required no building to be more than seventy feet high, repeating an Augustan ordinance which had evidently been allowed to lapse, and every house was to be structurally independent of its neighbours, an idea which had already been put to effective use with granaries at Ostia.⁹⁵ Timber was to be restricted to a minimum and the use of certain fire-resistant stones encouraged.⁹⁶ In his attempt at large-scale urban renewal, Nero was only partly successful. Monumental buildings, however, such as those listed by Tacitus in his account of the fire, were for the most part quickly rebuilt or repaired: of the buildings he mentions, only the temple of Luna on the Aventine seems to have been completely destroyed.⁹⁷ The disinterested criticism of Nero's rebuilding also appears in Tacitus: even granting that the new plan would bring practical and aesthetic advantages, the critics missed the shadowy streets with high buildings, replaced by the exposed brightness of the broad new thoroughfares.⁹⁸ This codification of changes in building procedure is not reflected by the numismatic and epigraphical evidence. Accompanying the general modifications after the fire was the rebuilding of the Circus Maximus and a redistribution of the water supply by extending the Aqua Claudia to the Caelian and the Marcia to the Aventine. Although Nero is recorded to have undertaken much of the expense

of rebuilding 'sumptu suo',⁹⁹ he seems to have collected money from individuals and communities for the project. This assumption is verified by the return of their contribution of four million sesterces to the citizens of Lugdunum in 65 after a serious fire and by Dio's statement that Seneca gave his fortune to the emperor for building operations in the same year.¹⁰⁰

By comparison with the work of his predecessors and judging from the quantity of epigraphical evidence, Neronian building both in Italy and in the provinces was not on a large scale.¹⁰¹ An inscription from Herculaneum dated to 56 reaffirms Claudian strictures on the preservation of public and private buildings.¹⁰² Nero's planned excavation of a canal running from Ostia to Lake Avernus, the inception of which is attested by archaeological evidence, would have involved the rebuilding of the Portus Iulius, constructed by Agrippa in 37 B.C. to provide a navigable exit to the sea.¹⁰³ An incidental benefit would have been the draining of the Pomptine Marshes, and the scheme was to be completed by a canal from Ostia into Rome. As with the projected excavation of an Isthmus canal, however, the work was abandoned after Nero's death, presumably for reasons of cost and for the more personal wish to be dissociated from Neronian enterprises. Continuity in building projects between emperors is characteristic of Julio-Claudian public works. Yet what might have been regarded as grandiose or monumental if undertaken by Julius Caesar or Claudius came to be looked upon as excessive if attempted by Nero. Extensive building depended as much upon the availability of funds as on the personal willingness of the emperor to undertake public works. Such enterprises, therefore, served both in Rome and in the provinces to keep the emperor and his beneficia conspicuous in the public view, as well as commending his own efforts to as many of his subjects as possible.

Public works under the Flavians

The novelty of the new régime in the building of public works was not in the type or scale of construction and rebuilding in Rome that had to be done after the devastations of 64 and 69, but in the fact that they were subject to greater control by the imperial government.¹⁰⁴ State expenditure, including the building of public works and roads, was higher than before in proportion to the increase in economic volume that resulted from expansion, and to the growth of paternalism, in which the government took on expenses previously not considered its concern.¹⁰⁵ Personally, Vespasian was generous, encouraging the arts and giving assistance when disaster struck.¹⁰⁶ The monuments built in his reign, which can be dated with passable accuracy by a large variety of coins and inscriptions, testify not only to the restoration of financial equilibrium but also to the scope of his plans for works of public utility or simple munificence.

While Vespasian encouraged by legislation private operations at Rome, where the damage caused by the fire in Nero's reign had not all been made good, the emperor's own building programme reflects the emphasis placed on reaffirming traditional values and providing services for the urban populace. Soon after his arrival from the East in 70, Vespasian hastened the start of work on the reconstruction of the Capitoline temple, already inaugurated by the praetor C. Helvidius Priscus.¹⁰⁷ By 71 the temple was finished, and it was rededicated in 75, only to be totally destroyed by fire again five years later. From representations on coins we know that, as was appropriate in the case of the official state sanctuary, the design was conservative, following the traditional plan and repeating such ancient features as the quadriga of Jupiter above the apex of the gable.¹⁰⁸ The scaena of the Theatre of Marcellus was also rebuilt quickly, as well as the temple of Vesta, and soon after the temple of Honos et Virtus at

the Porta Capena was restored, as part of the new régime's policy of moral reconstruction. This ideal is reflected by coin issues bearing the legend 'ROMA RESURGENS'.¹⁰⁹

In 71 the motif of peace after the capture of Jerusalem, which also dominates the coinage and is reminiscent of the intention behind Augustus' Ara Pacis,¹¹⁰ was officially blessed by the start of work on the Templum Pacis, dedicated in 75. In 71 too the decision was taken to build the Arch of Titus, originally for a different reason than to honour Titus' deification, with which it later became associated. In the same year work was proceeding rapidly on more prosaic tasks: these included repaving city streets, consolidating the banks of the Tiber, increasing the number of granaries, and carrying out special maintenance on the aqueducts.¹¹¹ At Rome there is inscriptional evidence of a 'collegium subrutorum', apparently charged with the removal of debris from gutted buildings.¹¹² The course of the Aqua Claudia and its sources, the Curtius and the Caeruleus, was regulated, and in the urban distribution network the numerous fistulae aquariae bearing the name or dating from the time of Vespasian indicate a very considerable activity.¹¹³

Rome must have substantially changed in appearance, as during Augustus' reign, so that in 73, when Vespasian and Titus as censors proclaimed the refounding of the city, and later extended the pomoerium, they were affirming their association with solidly traditional values.¹¹⁴ In the last few years of Vespasian's reign, "symbolic" building was prominent. When the temples of Peace and of Deified Claudius had been finished and the Colossus of Nero altered and dedicated to Helios, the grandiose Amphitheatrum Flavium was built on the site of the stagnum of the Domus Aurea. The part of the amphitheatre erected by Vespasian was inaugurated in 79. Titus and Domitian completed it, and it is represented on a coin

issue of the former, dated to 80, showing the inner arrangement of seats which he may have completed, crowded with spectators. It also depicts the Meta Sudans, not finished until after Titus' death, balanced on the other side of the Colosseum by tiers of columns which probably represent the portico of the Baths of Titus, dedicated at the same time as the Colosseum.¹¹⁵

The building activity of Titus in Rome continued Vespasian's policy of fiscal restraint and judicious reparation. Inscriptions record the restoration of the Aqua Marcia in 79 by Titus and that (in 81) of the source conduits of the Aqua Claudia, 'cum a capite aquarum a solo vetustate dilapsae essent', already repaired once.¹¹⁶ Titus is also recorded as the recipient of the honorific triple arch in the Circus Maximus, voted by the Senate and built in 81,¹¹⁷ and he began the major projects of the temple of Deified Vespasian in the Forum and the Baths of Titus. The construction of the latter followed the precedent established by Vespasian in using ground that had belonged to Nero's Domus Aurea. It is worth noting also that Titus' short reign witnessed the "restoration" of a range of coins of those who were clearly and officially regarded as "good" emperors -- Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, and Galba -- and that certain building projects of these emperors, restored by Titus, were so commemorated. A good example is the type of the Ara Providentiae, restored (probably) in 80.¹¹⁸ Thus, an element of continuity from reign to reign existed not only in public works themselves, but also in the means used to commemorate them and their builders.

Documentary evidence of building activity by both emperors in Italy and the provinces is also plentiful. Not only did Vespasian -- who was proclaimed 'conservator caerimonium publicarum et restitutor aedium sacrarum' in 72 by the 'sodales Titii' -- restore the rites and temples of

Rome, but there are also records of interventions at, for example, Herculaneum in 76, in connection with a restoration of the temple of the Mater Deum.¹¹⁹ But it is particularly milestones and inscriptions on bridges that bear witness to Vespasian's concern for radical reorganization of communications throughout the Empire. Such evidence occurs as early as 70 in the West, where several roads of prime military importance were rebuilt, and by 75/6 in Africa and Asia.¹²⁰ Between 76 and 78 there are records of reconstruction of roads on the Adriatic.¹²¹ Vespasian's long military experience in the East led to a similarly extensive road-building in Asia Minor and Syria.¹²²

Records of datable interventions are also available as regards Titus' public works. Although his reign was brief, careful attention was paid to care of the roads in both Italy and the provinces, notably to the roads of Numidia and a large part of Asia, all completely remade in 80, as is recorded by a milestone from the road between Ancyra and Dorylaeum.¹²³ Elsewhere in the provinces, large numbers of dedications to Titus, including an amphitheatre at Laodicea in Phrygia, a temenos consecrated to Aphrodite Cypria and himself as a god in Cyprus, and the restoration of the Augusteum at Ephesus are evidence of measures taken to improve the quality of life in both heavily- and sparsely-populated regions of the Empire, particularly in the East.¹²⁴ Such projects served also to commend the imperial family to a wide segment of the population. Tacitus notes that, in keeping with Titus' policy, Agricola fostered city building in Britain both by personal encouragement and official assistance; Suetonius records that the emperor was generous with his personal fortune in assisting citizens and communities in distress.¹²⁵ After the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 and the city fire of 80, Titus was active with financial and other relief, when he undertook most of the repairs and rebuilding.¹²⁶

He is also recorded to have infringed on senatorial prerogative by appointing his own 'curator operum publicorum' in Rome, but the impression is gained that his financial policy was not as stringent as Vespasian's.¹²⁷ Moreover, the necessity for reconstruction in Italy, particularly in Campania, seems to have been so great that in the last months of his reign Titus undertook no new building at all.¹²⁸

After Vespasian's financial reorganization, imperial revenue, with the growing prosperity of the Empire as a whole, must have been on the increase. The fiscal severity ascribed to Domitian as a defect, and alleged to have taken particularly insidious forms (cf. Suet. Dom. 12.3), may have been no more than administrative meticulousness. This kind of behaviour on the part of the imperial government provides a guarantee that little can have escaped taxation and that the inflow of tribute must have been regular and considerable. Building activity in Rome during Domitian's reign was probably viewed as extraordinary, since expenses of this sort were no longer assisted by large contributions such as the booty from lucrative wars. But even this activity, which consisted mainly of completing his father's and brother's projects, cannot have been an insuperable drain on the emperor's resources. Numerous buildings were indeed involved, not all of them for display and many of them made necessary by the state in which Rome had been left after the recent disasters.¹²⁹ Thus Domitian restored the Capitoline temple in 82, already begun by Titus in 80 and roughly depicted on a coin commemoration,¹³⁰ as well as the temple of Apollo Palatinus with its libraries. The Arch of Titus was also completed, though probably not intended as a funerary monument to the former emperor, since all or most of his honorific titles would have been recorded in the inscription.¹³¹ It is likely that Titus' deification is here commemorated in a monument that was intended to recall family his-

tory. Domitian also rebuilt from the foundations the Isaeum et Serapeum, known from an inscription found in situ and from the Severan marble map, in addition to all buildings affected by the fire of 80, particularly in the Campus Martius.¹³²

Fragmentary inscriptions have also been found belonging to altars voted in commemoration of the fire of 64, one of which, the Ara Incendii Neronis, was consecrated on the Quirinal.¹³³ The opportunity was naturally taken to clean up and embellish adjacent areas, for example by constructing in the Campus Martius, in honour of Vespasian and Titus, the Porticus Divorum, in layout intentionally reminiscent of Vespasian's Templum Pacis, in addition to beginning the Forum Transitorium.¹³⁴ Completion of the Amphitheatrum Flavium, the temple of Deified Vespasian, and the conversion of his birthplace into a temple-cum-mausoleum, like the commemorative arches depicted on coin issues of 83, 89 and 93, and subsequently destroyed in the damnatio memoriae, formed part of the obligation to celebrate the state and the emperor's familial pietas.¹³⁵

Other buildings and monuments were clearly inspired by personal motives, including the Domus Augustana, inaugurated in 92 with its private and public palaces, libraries, and various dependencies, and the temple of Jupiter Custos on the Capitoline (see above, p. 77). In turn, the emperor's Hellenic interests are demonstrated by the building of the Odeum and Stadium for gymnastics in the Campus Martius, and his deference to popular entertainments by the new naumachia on the Tiber's right bank.¹³⁶ But other works, such as the extensive restoration of the temple of Venus Genetrix, known from an inscription to have been rededicated by Trajan in 113, were a matter of ordinary maintenance. Still others were of a utilitarian character, as improvements in the water supply, including probably the extension of the Aqua Claudia to the Palatine, abundantly attested by

fistulae aquariae, which fortunately escaped the effects of the damnatio memoriae.¹³⁷

Certainly this concentrated expenditure, all by its nature drawing on the funds of the emperor, made a considerable impression on popular and later views of Domitian's achievement. It is not surprising that the traditions should make the confiscations and enforced legacies look welcome and sought after, while the delicate balance of the Roman budget gave the credible impression that the government was constantly on the verge of bankruptcy.¹³⁸ Domitian seems to have spent a great deal on building because, with his attention to the collection of taxes, he could afford to do so. Aside from the completion and dedication of the Forum Transitorium in 97/8, some repairs to the Amphitheatrum Flavium, and the building of the Horrea Nervae, Nerva is recorded as devoting some care to the more systematic organization of the aqueducts and as repairing damage resulting from Tiber floods.¹³⁹ This programme is indicative of a more low-key activity than that of Domitian. Yet it is difficult to conclude either that Nerva inherited a seriously depleted fiscus or that he had any intention of effecting restraint, given both the brevity of his reign and the generally laudatory character of the literary sources.

In Italy and the provinces, where it might be assumed that the effects of the damnatio memoriae on the available evidence were less acute, the only records speak of work on an aqueduct at Tibur (88) and on those at Ariminum and Ostia, where the ground level was also raised in preparation for major building.¹⁴⁰ The city charters of Malaca and Salpensa in Spain, granted during Domitian's reign, contained the stipulation that every building burned must be replaced, preserving a feature of the Republican 'lex Ursonensis'.¹⁴¹ Inscriptions attest the construction of the Via Domitiana in Italy (95) and repairs to the roads of Asia (82), Africa, and

the military trunk road on the Danube (92).¹⁴² Epigraphical evidence has also revealed that T. Pomponius Bassus, the governor of Cappadocia and Galatia whose name figures prominently on a large number of mile-stones from the eastern parts of Asia Minor, was appointed by Domitian and may already have begun by 95/6 the large-scale reorganization of roads which continued under Nerva and Trajan up to 100.¹⁴³ Clear traces of monumental buildings constructed in Domitian's honour have been found, for example, in excavations in the cities of Tripolitania. Yet there is often the real difficulty, particularly where architectural remains are concerned, of distinguishing work of Domitian's reign from that of his immediate successors.

While not as conscious a display of imperial generosity as that shown by Augustus, Domitian's work in building shows recognition of the necessity for careful disbursement of funds for construction. The emperor appears also to have acted in many of his enterprises, both in Italy and abroad, with equal feeling for specific, current needs and with respect for traditional, conservative interests. It is clear that the character of much Flavian building is marked by a regard for basic traditions and the desire for dynastic recognition. These two ideas, both of which are reflected on non-literary media, do not seem to have met with a comparable emphasis in the building activities of Domitian's immediate successors, and were revived only to a certain degree in the smaller building programmes of the Antonine emperors.¹⁴⁴

Public building and unemployment: a short-term effect

By way of conclusion, some remarks may be made on one of the reasons behind what came to be the emperor's recognized obligation to undertake public works on any scale: that is, as a means of partly solving prob-

lems of unemployment among the free urban poor. The inception of building projects, it might be argued, resulted in beneficial economic side-effects in the short term by providing work not only for a select number of skilled artisans, but also for relatively large numbers of unskilled labourers. Yet to what extent the alleviation of such unemployment in this way was real is difficult to establish. At the outset, it is apparent that ancient writers supply no general explanation for a policy of public works. In this context, a passage in the Vespasian, which has evoked recent comment on the Roman labour force, is worth quoting in full (Ves. 18):

mechanico quoque grandis columnas exigua impensa per-
ducturum in Capitolium pollicenti praemium pro commento
non mediocre optulit, operam remisit praefatus sineret
se plebiculam pascere.

As P.A. Brunt has pointed out, Vespasian's concern for the plebs demonstrated by this anecdote implies that free labour was both available and cheaper to employ than slave labour, which was assumed to be principally responsible for both skilled and unskilled work done on public works at Rome.¹⁴⁵ Clearly this is not to suggest that building was not undertaken with the use of slave labour and even *corvées*, the use of which is attested outside Rome in the imperial period.¹⁴⁶ In turn, the literary sources imply that where other justifications, such as the desire for personal commemoration, beautification of the urban environment, or the creation of public services were present, the motive of solving the unemployment problem was never referred to or even approved of. This type of "value judgement" imposed by writers from the upper stratum of society did not, it is argued, imply that private liberalitas to the needy was opposed. The comments of Cicero on personal liberality in the De Officiis indicate that the factor of employment was only an unspoken consideration by wealthy

individuals in providing for public works.¹⁴⁷ Such objections would have lost any point if all building were done by slaves of the imperial familia or privately contracted, even if most skilled craftsmen were slaves or freedmen trained at their masters' expense.

In spite of the limited quantity of evidence available, it cannot be doubted that large numbers of unskilled labourers, contracted out on a daily basis or for longer periods, as well as slaves, were required for building operations in the first century. Claudius' building of the harbour at Ostia, the laying-out of Nero's Domus Aurea, and the rebuilding of much of Rome after the great fire probably provided an economic stimulus by virtue of the numbers of workers required.¹⁴⁸ Agrippa on his death in 12 B.C. left to Augustus a personal familia of slaves, about 240 strong, for work and maintenance on the aqueducts, subsequently made the property of the res publica, and Claudius established a second familia of 460 when he built the Aqua Claudia.¹⁴⁹ That all major repairs were beyond the capacity of this combined force gives some indication of the manpower which may have been required for large-scale public building. Since fires were frequent and insulae poorly built, labourers employed on private account must have been available for continuous renewal and repair, particularly after the great fire of 64, in spite of Nero's stringent building regulations.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the seasonal and spasmodic nature of public building itself had certain consequences for employment of the free urban poor: for instance, the steady employment of 30,000 men for eleven years in the excavation of the Fucine Lake under Claudius is just as anomalous as the low-key programme of public building under Tiberius.¹⁵¹

Such conditions also argue for the assumption made by Brunt that casual labour from the plebs frumentaria was heavily drawn upon for various reasons: "the Roman poor had to earn part of their living, and some

had to earn the whole of it."¹⁵² Certainly the distribution of congiaria in the first century was periodic and the amounts given often not large enough to pay for all the basic necessities, with the exception of grain, and employment must have been sought after to supplement subsistence from the state.¹⁵³ From the employer's point of view, whereas he had to provide full maintenance for slaves, whether owned or hired, the wages of workers from the plebs frumentaria could have been kept down to the level that would supplement the grain doles and congiaria supplied from imperial and/or public finances. Therefore, it can be argued that the desire to provide employment, casual or long-term, for a large portion of the urban population, was a motive for initiating public works. This motive was anticipated by certain "popular" politicians in the late Republic in connection with other measures designed to improve, however marginally, the quality of life for the urban plebs. Such an argument may provide a partial explanation for the regret felt among the common people at Nero's death, since he had spent greatly on the Domus Aurea and subsidized Rome's rebuilding after the great fire.¹⁵⁴

The historical basis for what had become by the second century a recognized, periodic obligation of the imperial government towards the populace, represented by the public building of Republican politicians and, in particular, by the schemes of the dynasts of the first century B.C., is the subject of the next chapter. It is clear that public works were undertaken continuously for a variety of motives and never with a single objective in mind. Cult-buildings glorified the gods and deified emperors and attested the piety of their founders, roads improved communications and answered military needs, and secular buildings and aqueducts provided for the needs and amenities of the urban population. In Rome,

from the time of the Aqua Appia the builder's name might be attached to the building. Inscriptions, reliefs, and coins might record who had constructed or repaired it, representing a commemorative tradition that remained independent of the literary sources. Triumphal arches of emperors, or the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, are only the most ostentatious examples of the desire for personal commemoration. The anecdote from Suetonius' Vespasian provides some testimony as to the economic significance of building programmes, none of which could be accomplished without the stimulus of the imperial government or the availability of considerable funds. In sum, the non-Suetonian evidence, both literary and documentary, provides corroboration for the view of imperial building activity reflected by Suetonius in the Caesares.

CHAPTER III: NOTES

1. M. Blake and D.T. Bishop, Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines (Philadelphia, 1973), 12.
2. Smallwood, Documents (1966), nos. 384, 385.
3. Blake and Bishop (1973), 12-18, 19-29.
4. BMCRE III 102, no. 509; 92, no. 492; 205; cf. 162, no. 770A.
5. ILS 286; BMCRE III 180, no. 893; cf. Plin. Pan. 51; Dio 68.7.2; 16.3; BMCRE III 94, no. 454; 184, no. 873; 178, no. 846. See also A. Garzetti, From Tiberius to the Antonines: A History of the Roman Empire A.D. 14-192, trans. J.R. Foster (London, 1974), 331; Blake and Bishop (1973), 10. On the Aqua Traiana, see ILS 290.
6. ILS 294: 'Senatus populusque Romanus imp. Caesaris divi Nervae f. Nervae Traiano Aug. Germ. Dacico pontif. Maximo trib. pot. XVII imp. VI cos. VI p.p. ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus tant[is oper]ibus sit egestus.'
7. Blake and Bishop (1973), 19; Nash, II, 49-58. Cf. Inscr. It. I. 203, 201, 230ff.
8. See Ch. II, n. 9. Cf. L. Rossi, Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars (London, 1971), 13-14.
9. Blake and Bishop (1973), 41.
10. BMCRE III 102, no. 509. See also Sutherland (1974), 190, 193, 207.
11. Blake and Bishop (1973), 11; BMCRE III 354, 857-862, 915-916, 955. This is one of only two coin types struck to commemorate temples built by Trajan in Rome.
12. Blake and Bishop (1973), 42.
13. Smallwood (1966), no. 374(a).
14. ILS 5930; ILS 5931; ILS 5797a. Cf. Meiggs, 488-489; Plin. Ep. 8.17.
15. ILS 5866; ILS 296; BMCRE III 98, no. 484. The great arch at Beneventum at the start of the Via Traiana dates from A.D. 113-114.
16. Garzetti, 336.
17. Blake and Bishop (1973), 41-42, 50, 59-61. Cf. HA Hadr. 19.9; CIL VI (1) 896. The Agrippan buildings rebuilt by Hadrian include the Thermae Agrippae, the Saepta, Basilica Neptuni, and the Porticus Argonautorum; it may also be noted that there is no evidence for the erection of any commemorative arch in Rome during Hadrian's reign.

18. CIL VI (1) 966; XV (2) 7248; IV (2) 31215; HA Hadr. 19.9-11; Dio 59.23.1; CIL VI.973.
19. D. Kienast, "Zur Baupolitik Hadrians in Rom," Chiron 10 (1980), 400-402, 403-404, 407.
20. Blake and Bishop (1973), 40-41; HA Hadr. 19.12; Dio 69.4.3-4; BMCRE III 1490, 1554; IV 1279-1285. See also Nash, II, 496-499.
21. HA Hadr. 19, 20.4.5; Dio 69.5.2, 3.
22. CIL III 1446; ILS 5754.
23. Meiggs, pp.67, 74-75. Cf. CIL XIV.95; VI.972: '... colonia Ostia conservata et aucta omni indulgentia et liberalitate eius.' (133).
24. Sutherland (1974), 211. See, e.g. BMCRE III cxxxi, n.3; 329, no. 707; 1770; Garzetti, 415.
25. Kienast, 396-397; "von dieser Berufung auf Augustus zeugt aber auch die Bautätigkeit Hadrians in Rom, die zugleich eine sehr überlegte Baupolitik war." Cf. HA Hadr. 6.4; 10.3; 12.3.
26. Garzetti, 391-393, 396-397, 412, 432. In many ways, these influences are best discerned in the form and conception of Hadrian's Villa at Tibur, which incorporated a number of buildings reproduced along the lines of structures famous in Greece and Egypt, including among others the Lyceum, Academy, and the Stoa Poikilē of Athens, and the Serapeum in Egypt.
27. Kienast, 399.
28. Kienast, 407. Cf. 408-409.
29. Blake and Bishop (1973), 41.
30. Blake and Bishop (1973), 50-51.
31. Blake and Bishop (1973), 40.
32. See Ch. II, p.67.
33. Shipley (1931), 7-10. The initiative was allowed to remain in theory with the Senate, so that when Augustus undertook the general repair of shrines, he acted 'ex auctoritate senatus' (RG 20.4). Cf. Hor. Carm. 3.6; Liv. 4.20.
34. Brunt and Moore, 54, 77-78.
35. Millar, 191. Cf. Dio 54.24.
36. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 189, 197. See also Suet. Aug. 100; Str. 5.3.4; CIL I.1320; Nash, II, 38-44 (s.v. 'Ara Pacis Augustae').

37. See Ch. II, p.69.
38. RG 19.1; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, pl. 107(A).
39. Cf. Nash, I, 92-101 (s.v. 'Arcus Augusti').
40. BMCRE I, Index VI, s.v. 'Caesar Divi F.'; 'Divi F.'.
41. Nash, I, 28-30 (s.v. 'Apollo, Templum'); Blake (1947), 158, 165.
42. RG 19.2; 20.1 (cf. Brunt and Moore, 61); Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 92, 195; Blake (1947), 164, 172.
43. BMCRE I 64-65; Suet. Aug. 29.3; Blake (1947), 53, 172.
44. BMCRE I cxi, 58, 65, 114. Cf. Suet. Aug. 7.2; Blake (1947), loc. cit.
45. BMCRE I cxxiii, 103.
46. BMCRE I 114; cf. Suet. Aug. 52; R. Mellor, ©EA P&MH. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World, Hypomnemata, H.42 (Göttingen, 1975), 138.
47. BMCRE I 17-18; Ehrenberg and Jones, Documents, no. 287. Cf. F.C. Bourne, The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians (Princeton, 1946), 5-6.
48. Dio 66.40.5.
49. CIL VI(1) 896.
50. Cf. Millar, 193.
51. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 185. See Ehrenberg and Jones, Documents, nos. 280, 281 (= ILS 5746, 98); Fron. Aq. 1.4.11.
52. RG 20.2 (cf. Brunt and Moore, 61-62); Ehrenberg and Jones, Documents, loc.cit; Blake (1947), 266; Fron. Aq. 1.11.
53. Dio 49.43.1; Blake (1947), 265-267.
54. Fron. Aq. 2.129; ILS 5743; ILS 9370.
55. Strong, 104; Dio 54.8.
56. Millar, 193; Strong, loc.cit. Compare the assumption of the cura annonae by Augustus in 23/2, to administer the corn-supply: see G. Rickman, The Corn-Supply of Ancient Rome (Oxford, 1980), 62-66.
57. RG 20.4; Suet. Aug. 30.2.
58. Suet. Aug. 101.4. Cf. Stuart, 226-229; J. Gagé, ed., Res Gestae Divi Augusti, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1977), 39-42, esp. 40.

59. Dio 57.16; Tac. Ann. 4.62.4; Suet. Tib. 48. See also CIL XIV. 4935; Ch. II, n.75.
60. Tac. Ann. 2.41; CIL VI (1) 906; (4) 31422, 31575. See also Bourne, 32.
61. Tac. Ann. 6.45; Dio 57.26.5.
62. Dio 57.10.1; Vell. 2.130.1. Cf. Dio 56.46.3.
63. Dio 58.16. Cf. B. Levick, Tiberius the Politician (London, 1976), 121-122.
64. CIL VI.1237; 1266; ILS 5925; 5939; Tac. Ann. 1.76; 79; Dio 57.14.
65. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 203; BMCRE I cxxxviii; cxlvi 137, 139. Cf. the Senate's dedication of an Ara Clementiae in A.D. 28, also represented on coins (BMCRE I 132, 85); Tac. Ann. 4.74.3.
66. Blake (1959), 13, esp. n.42; BMCRE I 153ff.
67. Bourne, 35-36. Cf. CIL X 1624; VII (1) 9 (Sardis); ILS 156.
68. Cf. ILS 5829, 5829a.
69. Ehrenberg and Jones, Documents, nos. 292-293; 291; 284 (= CIL III 6703).
70. Suet. Cal. 22.2; Dio 59.28.5. See also Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 205.
71. CIL VI.882. Cf. Plin. Nat. 16.76, 201; 36.15; 74.
72. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, The Emperor Gaius (Caligula) (Oxford, 1934), 177.
73. Suet. Cal. 37; Dio 59.2.6; cf. Suet. Cl. 10.4. See also Balsdon, 187-188.
74. Suet. Cal. 19; Dio 59.17.
75. Bourne, 38. Cf. Bradley (1978), 172-173.
76. Suet. Cal. 16; Dio 59.9; CIL XIV.4535. See also Bourne, 40.
77. Suet. Cal. 39.2; Plin. N.H. 36.111. See Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 205.
78. ILS 5745; ILS 211; ILS 207. See also CIL VI.31545; 31772; (2) 10223-9; XIV.85; Fron. Aq. 2.102. Cf. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 210; Rickman (1980), 250-252.
79. Suet. Cl. 25.5; Smallwood (1967), no. 316.
80. BMCRE I clv, 178-179, 181; cf. 168.

81. CIL VI.31545; X.797; Fron. Aq. 2.105; Dio 60.28.
82. ILS 218.
83. ILS 5747b; ILS 205. Cf. CIL VI (1) 920-923; 1252.
84. BMCRE III 363 (Hadrian).
85. Dio 60.6.8; Blake (1959), 30.
86. BMCRE I 183. Cf. Rickman (1980), 260.
87. BMCRE I 222. Cf. Suet. Cl. 20.3.
88. ILS 209; CIL IX.8973.
89. CIL V.8003; 336-337; CIL XII.5542; XIII.9055; CIL XIII.9145; II.6324; II.4644.
90. Tac. Ann. 13.41; 15.18; BMCRE I 234ff.
91. Tac. Ann. 13.31; Suet. Nero 12.
92. Dio 62.8; BMCRE I.193, 266.
93. Tac. Ann. 15.36; 44; BMCRE I clxxx, 271.
94. Dio 61.21.1; Tac. Ann. 14.47; 15.22. See Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 212.
95. Str. 5.3.7 (235); Aur. Vict. Caes. 13.17. The height of insulae was subsequently reduced by Trajan to 60 feet. Cf. Rickman (1971), 78-79.
96. Cf. CIL XV.(1) 659 (c) (brickstamp); Bradley (1978), 100.
97. Tac. Ann. 15.41.2. See Bradley (1978), 233; Blake (1959), 42-43.
98. Tac. Ann. 15.43; Suet. Nero 38.1.
99. Suet. Nero 16.1; Tac. Ann. 15.43.
100. Dio 62.18; 25; Tac. Ann. 16.13; cf. Oros. 7.7.8.
101. Bourne, 49-53; Blake (1959), 83-84.
102. CIL X.1401b; Bourne, loc.cit.
103. Blake (1959), 83-84. Tac. Ann. 15.42; Suet. Aug. 16.1.
104. Garzetti, 241. Of the three emperors of 68/9, Galba's name is linked to the Horrea Galbiana, which he probably restored (ILS 239); cf. Rickman (1971), 97-104.
105. Cf. Dio 66.10; Suet. Ves. 18; see also Bourne, 54-55.

106. Tac. Hist. 3.34; Suet. Ves. 17; Aur. Vict. Caes. 9.8.
107. Tac. Hist. 4.4.2; 9.2; 53.1.
108. BMCRE II 168, nos. 721-722. See also M.J. Price and B.L. Trell, Coins and their Cities (London, 1977), 65-70.
109. BMCRE II 17; Suet. Ves. 19.1. BMCRE II lxiif, 87.
110. See Ch. II, n.48.
111. ILS 245; 8927; CIL VI.(4.2) 931; 1238; 31546-31548. See also Bourne, 57; Blake (1959), 96 (Horrea Vespasiani).
112. CIL VI.940; cf. Dio 66.10.
113. Cf. ILS 218.
114. CIL VI.(1) 930; ILS 248; 31538.
115. Suet. Tit. 7.3; Dio 66.25.1-2; BMCRE II 262.
116. CIL VI.1246; ILS 218.
117. CIL VI.(1) 944.
118. BMCRE II 103ff.
119. ILS 250; 252.
120. CIL VIII.10119; 439; 416; ILS 3832.
121. ILS 5819; 5831.
122. ILS 253; CIL III.7191; McCrum and Woodhead (1961), no. 424; cf. 437-438.
123. Bourne, 63.
124. Bourne, loc.cit.; CIL III.7391.
125. Tac. Ag. 21.1; cf. Ogilvie and Richmond, ed., 220-222; Suet. Tit. 8. See also McCrum and Woodhead (1961), no. 434.
126. CIL X.1481; IG XIX.729; Dio 66.24-25.
127. Bourne, 61; Dio 66.19; Suet. Tit. 7.
128. Dio 66.26.
129. Cf. Mart. 7.61: Domitian took measures to remove fire hazards.
130. Blake (1959), 101; BMCRE II 351.
131. Blake (1959), 112; CIL VI.(1) 945; cf. Suet. Dom. 2.3.

132. Blake (1959), 103, 106-107; Dio 66.24.1-3.
133. Blake (1959), 101; ILS 4914; cf. CIL VI.(4.2) 30837.
134. Blake (1959), 102, 105-106, 113.
135. Blake (1959), 112, 114; BMCRE II 364, 399, 407; cf. Suet. Dom. 13.2.
136. Blake (1959), 107-109.
137. Blake (1959), 102, 114.
138. Dio 67.4; cf. Fron. Aq. 2.118.
139. CIL VI.(4,2) 31213; 37137; cf. ILS 5819.
140. Meiggs, 64-66.
141. McCrum and Woodhead (1961), no. 454, p.130, LXII; cf. "Charter of Urso," in Johnson, Coleman-Norton, Bourne, ed. (1961), ch. 75, no. 114.
142. ILS 5753; CIL III.7191; ILS 268; McCrum and Woodhead (1961), no. 420.
143. CIL III.6899; 14184.
144. Blake (1973), 65, 71, 72.
145. P.A. Brunt, "Free Labour and Public Works at Rome," JRS 70 (1980), 81-100; cf. L. Casson, "Unemployment, the building trade, and Suetonius, Ves. 18," BASP 15 (1978), 43-51.
146. Brunt (1980), 82.
147. Cic. Off. 2.52-60, esp. 60; cf. Plu. Per. 12.5.
148. Brunt (1980), 84.
149. Fron. Aq. 2.98, 116 (96-124 passim).
150. Brunt (1980), 92-93: "And Roman methods of construction, it is held, minimized the degree of skill required." Cf. Bradley (1978), 100.
151. Suet. Cl. 20.2. See also above, p.73.
152. Brunt (1980), 95; cf. Suet. Aug. 40.2.
153. Brunt (1980), 94, 96.
154. Tac. Hist. 1.4.3; 78.2; 2.95.1. Cf. Suet. Otho 7: Otho proposed to spend HS 50 million on the completion of the Domus Aurea.

CHAPTER IV. PUBLIC BUILDING AT ROME:

ORIGINS AND TRADITION

The types and scale of public building produced by imperial initiative in the first century of Empire at Rome were anticipated by other imperial, quasi-imperial, and even democratic governments of antiquity. Monumental architecture, largely private or religious in character, is an obvious feature of the Mesopotamian civilizations, including that of the Persian Empire, and of Pharaonic Egypt. More relevant are the building projects of the tyrant Pisistratus and later of the general Cimon at Athens in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The motive of personal commemoration through religious and secular building, as well as civic embellishment, is clearly in evidence here.¹ Similarly, the large-scale programme on the Acropolis, which began in the 440's and lasted well into the Peloponnesian War, included the rebuilding of the Parthenon and the construction of the Erechtheion, Propylaia, and temple of Athene Nike. This programme owed both its inception and continuation largely to the guidance of Pericles and his commissioning of talented architects and artisans for the work.² It is clear from these examples that public building programmes often originated from a single authority, who was able to control both adequate funds and manpower over a relatively long period of time.³ In this respect the building programmes of individuals such as Pericles resemble those of first-century Roman emperors.

Yet it is also likely that the tradition behind the imperial obligation to build had its basis in mos maiorum, as well as in the first

substantial contacts with Hellenistic civilization during and after the Second Punic War. The purpose of this chapter accordingly is to examine the evidence for public works undertaken by the Diadochi and subsequent Hellenistic monarchs, for public building in the Republic, and finally for the merging of the two traditions in the first century B.C. through the building projects of the Roman Republican dynasts. The effect of Alexander's character and achievements in this sphere will also be discussed, and their relevance explained.

The Hellenistic background

The type of "Nachleben" represented by the romanticizing tradition which befell the achievements of Alexander the Great seems to have derived largely from the unusual circumstances of his accession, meteoric career, and early death. The appeal which Alexander held for subsequent ambitious generals and statesmen, one they consciously emulated and exploited, stemmed first from his conquest of Persia and territories beyond, which no later military expedition was able to penetrate; and secondly from his attempted assimilation of Greco-Macedonian and much older Eastern cultures. To posterity, Alexander's achievements hinted at divine origins. Their practical aspect, by which some measure of Hellenization was promoted, was partially represented by the founding of cities, the cultural model for which was the Greek polis. The ruling element of such foundations from the outset was formed by Macedonian and Greek veterans, while the native populations, though free to practise their own religion and traditions, were encouraged to adopt some forms of Hellenic life.

According to Plutarch, Alexander established seventy new cities, which began with 10,000 adult male citizens as the norm, and he must have envisaged an eventual fusion of European and Asian cultures.⁴ The founda-

tions included twenty-three Alexandrias, the most substantial of which, Alexandria in Egypt (see below), laid out on the principles formulated by Hippodamus of Miletus with wide, straight streets on a grid-plan, was ideally suited for maritime commerce, having two sheltered harbours and being connected by canal with the Nile.⁵ No place was better able to attract traders and settlers from the Greek world and to create international exchange, and it provides evidence of non-military planning undertaken with the intention that it be permanent.⁶ Yet Alexandria was the only city Alexander certainly founded in the western portion of the conquered area; Arrian records no other civic foundation until Alexandria of the Caucasus in 329.⁷ Most of the other Alexandrias were clearly established as garrisoned outposts to protect regions of strategic importance and to safeguard communications. Hence, four such cities were founded in the northeast frontier zones: excavation in many of these Alexandrias has not so far revealed the existence of such fundamentals as theatres, gymnasias, and agoras.⁸ This large-scale urbanization marked the continuation of Philip II's policy of establishing administrative centres such as Philippopolis in Upper Macedonia and Thrace,⁹ rather than a continuation of the kind of colonizing ventures characteristic of previous centuries.

The Diadochi inherited a vast and disparate geographical area, much of which continued to be governed in satrapies and most of which was not Hellenized. Yet the extension of Greek civilization into Asia by means of Alexander's piecemeal urbanization involved the political and cultural development of the new Hellenistic capitals of Pergamum, Antioch, and Alexandria, where the Diadochi, as absolute rulers of wide kingdoms, deployed resources greater than most Greek poleis had had at their command. Hence, both the public works which they undertook and their foundation of

cities are evidence for a conscious harking back to Alexander's methods of self-perpetuation as well as a demonstration of their own wealth and power. In this respect the immediate prototype of the Roman emperor can be seen to be the Hellenistic megas basileus: both were hereditary monarchs and the objects of state cult. Already in the civil wars following the assassination of Julius Caesar the triumvirs are identified with deities, Octavian with Apollo, Antony on cistophori struck in Asia with Dionysus, whose ivy wreath he wears in the manner of a Hellenistic king.¹⁰ Then first the Deified Augustus, but from Nero onwards the living emperor as well, is frequently portrayed on his coinage wearing the rays of the sun-god, as did Antiochus VI of Syria.¹¹ But these are only selected outward signs of the fact that the emperor, as Antiochus IV and other Hellenistic rulers, was a theos epiphanes whose powers and resources enabled him to be the saviour and benefactor of his subjects as well as the victor over their enemies.

Hellenistic kings clearly found it to their advantage to display their personal munificence by building public works not only in the newly-developed cities on the coast of Asia Minor, such as Priene and Pergamum, but also in cities of some antiquity. Hence, Athens was endowed with a new library and gymnasium by Ptolemy III and with two stoas by Eumenes II and Attalus II of Pergamum.¹² Construction of the temple of Zeus Olympios in Athens, started by Pisistratus, was resumed by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 174, who also established programmes of rebuilding and a cult of himself in Syria; the Olympieion itself was eventually completed by Hadrian.¹³ At the cult centres of Olympia, Delphi, and Delos political competition between the dynasties was expressed in rival dedications of commemorative statues; at Delos the Antigonids marked their successive periods of ascendancy in the third century by the building of stoas.¹⁴

The share of the older Greek cities in the wealth of the Hellenistic states was relatively small, and most of them lapsed into provincialism. By way of contrast, while the Ptolemies in Egypt discontinued Alexander's practice of founding cities, concentrating instead on the embellishment of Alexandria, the Seleucids took up and carried on the tradition with definite intentions.¹⁵ In 300 B.C. Seleucus I Nicator founded Antioch on the Orontes, which together with the neighbouring foundations of Apamea, Laodicea, and the seaport of Seleucia-on-the Tigris constituted the focal points of Hellenization in Syria. Dura-Europus was also founded on the eastern fringe of the Seleucid territories, combining the functions of a fortress with those of a regularly planned city of Greco-Macedonian type, with a large agora and temples to syncretic deities.¹⁶

In the new portions of the Greek world such as Syria and Asia Minor, several of the old towns were rebuilt for greater security or commercial convenience on adjacent sites and according to a preconceived plan, embellished at times with elaborate civic buildings such as the Bouleuterion at Miletus (175-163 B.C.), built at the expense of Antiochus IV.¹⁷ The choice of Pergamum as a capital enabled its kings to group a series of large buildings upon the summit and sides of its acropolis, most of which are roughly contemporary with Antiochus' Bouleuterion, including a series of stoas, a temple of Athene, and the Great Altar of Zeus on an arrangement of carefully built terraces. It may be noted also that Hellenistic town-planners were clearly concerned with the provision of an adequate water supply: Alexandria was fed by underground conduits from a Nile tributary, while Pergamum was supplied by a pressure aqueduct.¹⁸ Such amenities, as well as the grandiose temple and theatre architecture of Pergamum, Priene, and Didyma, coupled with the tradition of personal expenditure for public building, by their physical example heavily influen-

ced the type and scale of public works at Rome in the period of eastern expansion and thereafter.

Probably the best example of public prestige building in the Hellenistic world, one which provided an archetype for "autocratic" building in the late Republic and early Empire, is Ptolemaic Alexandria. Strabo tells us that about one-third of the city's area was given over to the royal quarter, with its vast palaces where each king in succession had added something, the Museum and library established by Ptolemy I Soter, and the Sema, a kind of heroön for the dynasty.¹⁹ Other evidence shows that the great Serapeum, headquarters of the state cult, was only the foremost of sanctuaries in the elaborately Hellenized city, which also included an agora, a theatre, and civic buildings fronted by colonnaded streets. Public architecture was emphatically Hellenic, and made characteristic use of imported luxurious materials, since Callixenus reported as unusual the use by Ptolemy IV Philopator of Egyptian columns in part of his great river barge.²⁰ The progressive monumentalization of Alexandria was primarily due to the personal generosity of the Ptolemies, who had themselves inherited the obligation of dynastic building from the Pharaohs. To a great extent observation of this tradition determined the type and scope of building programmes at Rome, once the imperial government had realized its potential for personal or dynastic publicity, in addition to urban embellishment.

The Hellenistic influence at Rome was manifested in architecture that was intended to recall prestige building of Eastern kings, and thereby to perpetuate the concept of the emperor as a "good" basileus. F. Millar notes that "the recognition of the supremacy of Greek culture was of course perfectly conscious, and embodied in deliberate public acts."²¹ Moreover, the Romans remained very conscious that in their Empire they had

recreated something which Alexander had already created before them, and the example of Alexander himself, particularly his military achievements, was consistently imitated or emulated. Until the western provinces of the Empire had been fully integrated, the Greek East appeared to some to be its natural centre, and both Julius Caesar and Caligula are said to have contemplated transferring its capital to Alexandria.²² Augustus used a portrait of Alexander as his personal seal, which suggests that he saw some parallel between Alexander's youthful rise to power and his own (Suet. Aug. 50). Pompey in particular received the traditional, honorific appellations of Hellenistic kings and was both addressed and accorded honours in a manner suitable to Eastern monarchs.²³ When he founded cities called 'Pompeiopolis', or others like Magnopolis or Megalopolis, whose names reflected his designation 'Magnus' -- a conscious echo of Alexander, whom he was also reputed to resemble in physical appearance -- he was anticipating what was to become an established imperial function.²⁴ Pompey's Eastern campaigns, particularly those against Mithridates VI of Pontus, and his subsequent dealings with long-established governments in the kingdoms and cities of Asia Minor recalled, probably intentionally, both the authority of Hellenistic kings and the achievement of Alexander. Pompey's adoption of the idealized Alexander as his model was reflected by his maintenance of Theophanes of Mytilene as the historian of his campaigns as well as by dedications to him as soter and ktistes from Eastern cities.²⁵ Hence, it could be expected that, in spite of a certain disapproval of the "ideology of Alexander" by the Roman populace as alien and representative of autocracy,²⁶ Pompey's sedulous exploitation of Alexander's military legend in the East was accompanied by a representation of himself as the functional heir of Hellenistic monarchs.

Therefore, grandiose building projects undertaken by Pompey at Rome

or abroad reflected his desire to display personal munificence in the best tradition of the Seleucids and Attalids (see below). Yet the concept of commemorative building, which had an obvious effect on public works undertaken with imperial sponsorship, had to be linked with traditional ideas on what it was "proper" to build. In this regard Pompey's efforts at Rome were not entirely successful. Julius Caesar, who seems to have rejected the ambivalent notion of comparatio with Alexander the Great,²⁷ saw the need more clearly for the type of public works that would engender popular support, and it is suggestive that almost all of his schemes were carried out by Augustus and his successors.

Public building in the Republic

Direct precedents for the type of public building undertaken by emperors in the first century A.D. are to be found in the activities of elected officials and, later on, of wealthy private citizens during the Republic. Such precedents for other of the emperor's duties have been attested, so that the full role combined the personal authority of Hellenistic kingship with the performance of many functions from Republican institutions.²⁸ Hence, for example, the form of the emperor's public appearances and the style in which he presented himself in public owed much to those of Republican consuls and proconsuls.²⁹ The emperor also assumed from the beginning a direct relationship with cities, institutions, and individuals in which his pronouncements and decisions were treated as legally valid. In the sphere of public building, therefore, the emperor served both popular interests and mos maiorum, while accumulating personal prestige. It is clear that the emergence of such a role could only have been of limited significance if it had not answered to a conception of a ruler's function that was both widely held and widely acted upon by his

subjects.

According to Polybius, public building, including new works and the maintenance of old buildings, was the chief expense of the aerarium in the second century B.C.³⁰ Since the early fourth century the censors had been primarily responsible for opera publica: their first recorded locatio was the building of Rome's walls after 386 B.C.³¹ No consistent record of their subsequent activities survives. In 312 Appius Claudius Caecus forced through a large-scale programme, including approval of the Via Appia and the Aqua Appia, in the face of strong senatorial opposition.³² In 272 censors were elected after a briefer interval than usual, perhaps to undertake urgent public works, the Senate allocating the manubiae of the Pyrrhic War to Manius Curius for building the Anio Vetus and draining the Veline Lake, while the plebeian censor of 221, C. Flaminius Nepos, earned great popularity by building the Via Flaminia and the Circus Flaminius, the model for which was probably provided by Greek hippodromes.³³ The wooden prototypes of late Republican and early imperial theatres and circuses certainly left architectural traditions of importance. Yet it is typical that still in 155 B.C. a permanent theatre under construction on the Palatine was torn down by order of the Senate, on the grounds that it was inexpedient and would damage the public character of the city.³⁴ The Second Punic War put a brake on the censors' activities and officials elected immediately after the war let few contracts. The temple of the Magna Mater, for example, was vowed in 204 and not dedicated because of financial difficulties until 191.

After 187, however, when the aerarium was showing a surplus in coinage that could meet big public contracts, censorial building was revived. In 184 the censorship of M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus saw considerable sums spent on drainage works, water supply, roads, and

on the first basilica in Rome, the Porcia.³⁵ This strictly utilitarian programme seems to have responded to the real need to augment the quality and quantity of public services in Rome, and it initiated a gradual systematization of public building. Some of the schemes were opposed on various grounds, mostly financial, but the effect seems to have been a much more generally liberal attitude to problems of urbanization and increasing population in subsequent years. This change in outlook occurred in spite of the obvious disadvantages of the administrative system, which allowed the censor to hold office for only eighteen months, a period not long enough for planning on a large scale and for seeing the work through.³⁶ Even the completion of their maintenance duties became more difficult for the censors in the late Republic, when the number of public buildings had increased enormously. These difficulties were compounded by the fact that the censors were amateurs without a professional staff of advisers and often at the mercy of unreliable contractors.³⁷ Nevertheless, Cato's censorship had inaugurated a burst of building activity in which, probably for the first time, the needs of the city were carefully studied and, so far as possible, funds were made available to meet them.³⁸ The buildings put up in this period, particularly the basilicas, designed to extend the area intended for public functions and to improve 'forensis dignitas', clearly imply a recognition of the need to develop the Forum Romanum as the civic centre. The Basilica Aemilia of 179 B.C., followed ten years later by the Sempronia, established the basic shape of the main public area.³⁹

Apart from the censors, the only magistrates officially concerned with public works were the aediles, whose main function was maintenance, though they also let contracts for new buildings, especially commercial structures.⁴⁰ In 193 the aediles, in a period of some financial strin-

gency after the Second Punic War, initiated a large building programme from collected fines, which included the emporium on the Tiber, a special concern as part of the cura annonae.⁴¹ The aediles often spent lavishly on buildings connected with public entertainment, especially towards the end of the Republic, as a show of generosity at this stage of one's career was a valuable political weapon. In exceptional circumstances other annual magistrates assumed responsibility for general public works, both maintenance and new civic building. In the absence of censors, the duties devolved upon the consuls and praetors. Sulla and Metellus Pius as consuls in 80 let the maintenance contracts, and the quinquennial system continued to operate for the next decade with the consuls in the role of censors. The consuls of 75 were unable to approve all the contracts of the previous quinquennium and the duty was, therefore, assigned to the praetors of 74 by senatus consultum.⁴² In the field of new works, responsibility for the construction of particular buildings might be assigned to a magistrate in office, as when the Senate in 144 nominated the praetor urbanus, Q. Marcius Rex, to supervise the construction of the Aqua Marcia, the most expensive building project erected in the Republic, built to serve the needs of the increasing population of Rome.⁴³

The construction of cult buildings did not come within the scope of the normal administration of public works. New temples were generally vowed in times of stress, especially in wartime and often 'in medio discrimine pugnae', built either by law or plebiscite according to very precise rules.⁴⁴ Only a magistrate with imperium could vow a temple which would be considered a state building, and originally only a senior magistrate in office could let the contract and dedicate the building.⁴⁵ The increasing use during the Republic of 'duumviri aedi locandae' and 'duumviri aedi dedicandae' changed the character of the strongly traditional

practice.⁴⁶ In 344 the former office was created when it was realized that special appointments were needed for the building of the temple of Juno Moneta 'pro amplitudine populi Romani' and that the officials should be able to give their full attention to it. The general restoration of temples was given to duumvirs in 217 and in the second century they were regularly appointed for individual projects.⁴⁷ It is clear that most of these functions, distributed among various public officials for relatively short terms, became concentrated in the emperor's eventual obligation to build and to restore. The evaluation of his performance in this area at least partially relied on the character and type of structures erected by him, which were inevitably compared with public and religious works of his predecessors, both in the Empire and the Republic.

In the last two centuries of the Republic the motive of personal ambition became the driving force in public building at Rome. In adorning the city or glorifying a divinity, distinguished citizens built 'ad urbis et posterum gloriam'.⁴⁸ To build a great monument became a tangible symbol of power and fame, and the res publica recognized the men's desire to be commemorated for posterity. A general who had vowed a building in war was given the opportunity to commission and dedicate it. Thus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who had vowed a temple as propraetor with proconsular imperium in 181, arranged the appointment of 'duumviri aedi locandae' when he was consul and was able to dedicate the temple as censor in 173.⁴⁹ Sons were allowed to dedicate the buildings begun by their fathers; temples and other buildings came to be thought of as memorials to distinguished men and the responsibility of their families to maintain and restore.⁵⁰ Hence, the Claudii maintained the temple of Bellona, while M. Aemilius Lepidus, who built the Basilica Aemilia as censor in 179, erected from public funds the temple of the Lares Permarini, with inscriptions extolling his own and his

kinsmen's deeds. The basilica itself had bronze shields decorated with portraits of the Aemilii set up in 78, by which time any restoration was treated as the hereditary responsibility of the family.⁵¹

The class of buildings especially associated with the names of their founders was that paid for 'ex manubiis'. The temple of Honos et Virtus built by C. Marius was commonly referred to as the "Monument of Marius", while 'aedes Iovis Metellina' and 'aedes Herculis Pompeiani' were almost official titles.⁵² There are early references to the use of manubiae for building projects: the spoils of Pometia, for example, had traditionally built the Capitolium.⁵³ But it was not until the second century that the disposal of praeda was regularized, perhaps through the efforts of Cato, to whom a speech 'uti praeda in publicum referatur' is attributed.⁵⁴ Soon it became established custom for a vir triumphalis to use part of the booty to erect a commemorative building -- a 'monumentum deorum immortalium' or an 'ornamentum urbis' -- though it is not known whether he was obliged to do this or acted voluntarily.⁵⁵ The type and scale of the building would certainly depend on the amount available, the manubiae being the money obtained by the quaestor for the sale of certain parts of the total booty after the payment of largitio to a general's troops, and probably considered part of his private property. If, as seems likely, the disposal of the manubiae remained the responsibility of the Senate, it is reasonable to suppose that some proportion was allocated to the general for his chosen purposes.⁵⁶ The use of manubiae for public purposes provided an opportunity for personal commemoration not afforded by private consumption. In the last two centuries of the Republic the allocated portion was often a considerable figure, so that some of the most ambitious and influential buildings of the period were paid for this way.

The history of the porticus at Rome illustrates the role of the 'viri

triumphales' in the architectural development of the city. The porticus made its appearance in 193 with the Porticus Aemilia on the Tiber, a commercial building, severely practical in use and design, which made one of the first extensive uses of concrete as a building material.⁵⁷ The 'viri triumphales' of 174 transformed the porticus into a victory monument in the tradition of Greek stoas, such as those at Delos built by the Antigonids. Cn. Octavius built the first porticus of this Hellenized type in 168, and later buildings became more luxurious in character as looted statuary and paintings from Eastern triumphs were placed in them as dedicatory offerings.⁵⁸ There were as many as twelve such buildings in Regio IX alone in the first century A.D.⁵⁹ The building of porticus had a very wide appeal as an addition to civic amenities; such activity also gave less opportunity for one's political enemies to raise genuine or contrived religious scruples, as often happened in temple building.

The association of many so-called "popular" politicians at Rome with great public works may indicate the social stratum at which many major projects were directed. Eminent populares of the late Republic do not seem to have aimed at the censorship as a means of implementing building programmes. Even as tribune, however, Gaius Gracchus is reported to have secured the enactment of laws for building or restoring roads and granaries, probably to limit expenditure in years of scarcity: he himself was charged with the administration. According to Plutarch, he was surrounded by contractors and craftsmen, and Appian says that he laid both classes under an obligation to him.⁶⁰ Like his 'lex frumentaria', these operations may suggest Gracchus realized that the settlement of poor citizens on the land was not an adequate solution of the unemployment problem, or perhaps that it would not by itself provide sufficient political backing. Yet because there were other reasons for the construction of

public works, large-scale building is not exclusively associated with populares. Certainly the critics of "popular" politicians do not censure them for projects which could easily be justified by their public utility, when they could be more effective in condemning more obvious largitiones. The case that populares made for their projects is lost.

The combination of wealth and refinements that came into Roman hands from Eastern conquests and into the grasp of the ruling class had a profound effect on the social and economic life of Italy. Among other things, it provoked the growth of great fortunes, a condition which could not be reconciled with the simpler code of behaviour believed to have been representative of earlier centuries.⁶¹ The impact of foreign elements upon Roman traditions and the amalgamation of Roman architectural taste with Hellenistic models created something new, Vitruvius' 'consuetudo Italica', which Italic builders could not resist.⁶² In the course of the second century, under the censorial system of public works administration and with the assistance of 'viri triumphales' and other ambitious men, the haphazard city plan which, according to the progressive planners, had lost its opportunity for revision after the Gallic sack, was being transformed.⁶³ But although the use of building as an instrument of politics and propaganda was well established, nothing had yet been achieved to rival the monumentality of Hellenistic royal capitals and the cities of mainland Greece. Although the achievement of the Republican system was substantial, there was clearly a need for replacing the short-term censorial and aedilician administration of public works, as well as for men with the personal resources and opportunity to plan and carry out major building schemes. The Gracchi left little permanent mark on civic architecture, but they drove home the lesson that utilitarian building projects are best carried out by personal motivation, backed by large resources;

the beauty of Gaius Gracchus' roads and the speed of their construction was a revelation.⁶⁴ They underscored the weakness of the system, which remained the same after Gracchus' death.

The decades immediately preceding the dictatorship of Sulla saw an "extraordinary activity" in public building which can be linked with changes in building techniques as well as with social and economic phenomena in the Gracchan period.⁶⁵ Moreover, if it can be assumed that new issues of coinage were directly related to public expenditure in the years of issue, the cost of public buildings, notably the Aqua Marcia, as well as their number after ca. 167, probably explains the size of issues between 146 and 136.⁶⁶ In 146 the first marble temple in Rome, the temple of Jupiter Stator in the Porticus Metelli, was built by Q. Caecilius Metellus. The extensive reconstruction on Hellenized lines of the temples of Castor in 117 by Metellus Dalmaticus and of Concord in 121 by L. Opimius to urge harmony after the murder of Gaius Gracchus, the former incorporating a peristyle, effectively began the monumental systematization of the Forum eventually completed by Augustus. This rebuilding also continued the sponsorship of cult buildings by individuals not officially connected with public works. The steady increase in city population and area in the mid- to late-second century is reflected in measures taken to provide amenities. That the Aqua Marcia, in addition to other restored aqueducts, was not thought sufficient is indicated by the construction of the Aqua Tepula in 125. Several horrea were built between 123 and 100, probably on Hellenistic models, and roads within the city were paved in 94/3.⁶⁷ Such an intensive building activity points to a conscious desire on the part of wealthy individuals to embellish the city on the model of eastern Greek poleis. While conservative attitudes towards Hellenized architecture eventually moderated as widely differing

architectural forms became commonplace, in spite of a certain resistance to change reflected in the literary sources,⁶⁸ until the first century the types of permanent buildings erected remained essentially static. Cult buildings and utilitarian structures dominate the archaeological record as traditional public works at Rome, the construction of which by wealthy individuals could be expected to reflect favourably on their personal generosity.

Dynasts as builders: Sulla, Pompey, Caesar

The aftermath of Sulla's second march on Rome in 83 B.C. brought a spate of political murders and confiscations, the considerable profits from which were used partly for an ambitious building programme directed chiefly at the amelioration of areas intensely used by the public and of significant cult buildings. By the end of the second century B.C. the mass of the Roman people had contributed immensely to long periods of warfare. Their consciousness of a debt to be repaid in the form of wider political rights and better conditions of life was sharpened by such champions as the Gracchi and Saturninus. Constitutional balance, however, was heavily loaded against the populares, and from the traditional constitution the populace might expect only a little by way of reward. From membership of a victorious army or support of a war-lord such as Sulla or Marius, a good deal more could be looked for in the shape of spoil, gratuities, land distribution, and public benefits such as opera publica, which would also redound to the general's credit. It is worth noting that the first true forerunners of the imperial coinage were struck in the name of Sulla as supreme commander, and with types personal to him.⁶⁹ Earlier coinage had thus given way to issues produced by a military commander who claimed to embody the state in his own person. The rise of the politi-

cally motivated imperator in the first century B.C., who needed to conciliate and maintain his professional and almost personal standing army, is thus marked also by an intention to popularize himself with the common people by means of personal propaganda on coins, as well as in building projects.

Sulla's dictatorship showed a predilection for efficient, if ruthless, organization and calculated changes of emphasis with respect to senatorial control over government. He appears to have been the first public figure with the ambition, resources, and the opportunity to contemplate rebuilding the city 'pro maiestate imperii' (Suet. Aug. 28.3), and the idea of regularizing Rome as a whole seems to have originated in personal contact with Hellenistic cities in his Eastern campaigns. Although the funds on which he drew were obtained from the spoils of his campaigns as well as from the property of those proscribed, Sulla was acting as a magistrate in office with special authority from the Senate to undertake certain major public works. Moreover, though Sulla's tenure of office did not produce a consistent programme of prestige building, it paved the way for a new conception of public building as an instrument of power in the struggle for supremacy among the dynasts at the end of the Republic. Yet Sulla made no attempt to overhaul the machinery of public works in general. In fact, one indirect result of his reforms was to decrease the efficiency of the old system, since no censors were appointed for ten years after the Dictator's death, and in their absence the administration of public buildings became almost unworkable. The decline of the censorship in building meant that the volume of maintenance contracts alone was often too large for the regular magistrates to handle. In 74 C. Verres as praetor was responsible for approving the repair and maintenance contracts on the temple of Castor, and able to work an injustice

on the heir of the deceased contractor.⁷⁰ Only the extension of the practice of appointing long-term curatores of public works enabled the old system to continue.⁷¹

In 83 Sulla took over the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, intending both to associate his own name with the state cult and to make it a symbol of Roman supremacy.⁷² He planned to use the massive Corinthian columns from the still incomplete Olympieion at Athens for the temple facade, though the building itself retained its archaic plan.⁷³ When Sulla died he was succeeded as 'curator restituendi Capitolii' by Q. Lutatius Catulus and the work dragged on for many years; as late as 62 Caesar was calling Catulus to account, and with some justification, no matter what political motives he may have had.⁷⁴

Another Sullan scheme was to unite the summits of Arx and Capitolium by means of a new record office, the Tabularium, which also brought the Capitolium into architectural harmony with the Forum. He also carried out extensive improvements in the Forum, including a new Curia in 80 and Rostra, as well as paving the surrounding streets and central area.⁷⁵ The Tabularium was completed by Catulus, and the Basilica Aemilia entirely rebuilt at a new level in 78.

Outside Rome Sulla is recorded to have built or reinforced walls at Ostia and Alba Fucens, theatres at Pompeii and Faesulae; and temples at Tibur, Cori, Tarracina, Pompeii, and Paestum, many of which show the axuality and monumental character of Hellenistic sanctuaries such as those at Cos and Lindos on Rhodes, as well as architectural features that did not appear at Rome for thirty years.⁷⁶ The same distinctively Greek influences are discernible in the grandiose sanctuary of Fortuna-Primigenia at Praeneste, with its sequence of articulated ramps, terraces, and monumental stairways on a central axis. Sulla founded the colony and restored

the sanctuary after its destruction in 82 in connection with the re-establishment of the old cults of towns he defeated and his intense building activity à propos of the colonies of veterans.⁷⁷ The type of public building undertaken by Sulla illustrates his inheritance of the traditional obligation of 'viri triumphales' to build structures of religious or social utility, in combination with the conscious desire to imitate or emulate Hellenistic monarchs in monumentalizing important public areas or sanctuaries.

The building history of the period between 60 and 50 B.C. is dominated by Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar. Pompey, with unparalleled prestige and limitless resources, built the first stone theatre in Rome with a porticus adjoining and a meeting-place for the Senate, clearly outdoing the buildings of all his triumphal predecessors.⁷⁸ The theatre itself was built between 55 and 52 and is known from the Forma Urbis; there was also a temple of Venus Victrix at the summit of the cavea, and there is a tradition that Pompey dedicated the temple as a religious excuse to put across his programme of prestige building.⁷⁹ This explanation is, however, unnecessary and improbable: the temple was not apparently dedicated until 52, and Sulla's building programme and the activities of the 'viri triumphales' had firmly established the concept of public works as a means of personal glorification as well as a public service for those with the resources to perform it. Nor could the theatre have been destroyed on the pretext of moral rectitude, as had occurred before (see n.34), if a temple were associated with it. The theatre itself established the design to be followed throughout the Empire, containing numerous art treasures, and although it is said to have been built on the model of the theatre at Mytilene, it incorporates features which the Romans had already taken over from other Greek theatres.⁸⁰ The 'Magni

ambulatio', incorporating the Porticus and Curia Pompei, was the immediate predecessor of the gardens and monuments of Agrippa which eventually transformed the area of the Campus Martius.

Pompey, like Sulla, had come under the influence of Hellenistic Syria, where he is credited with building the Decapolis in 65-63.⁸¹ His theatre and the adjacent leisure-complex, together with the temples of Hercules Invictus, Victoria, and Felicitas comprise Pompey's contribution to public building in Rome. The fact that Pompey dedicated or restored the temple of Hercules Invictus/Pompeianus with a wooden architrave and terracotta architectural ornament indicates that he was conservative in his ideas of temple building.⁸² While the Theatre of Pompey represents the culmination of Hellenistic influence in public art and architecture, his building projects do not seem to have had the "popular" impact that Caesar's proposed monuments did, or at least did not secure his popularity with the common people in the same way.⁸³ Rather than attributing this to the unprecedented extravagance of the Theatre of Pompey itself, we should suppose that Pompey's political affiliations did his reputation as public benefactor some damage, particularly by comparison with Julius Caesar, who projected a 'popularis' image. Nevertheless, Pompey's public works provide another example of the merging of two traditions in the role of a public figure as builder.

The influence of Hellenistic civilization on the military dynasts of the first century B.C. was not limited to personal contact with the outward manifestations of Greek culture, but extended also to their relationship with the Roman populace and the creation of a different public image from that maintained previously. Pompey stood well along a line of leaders who claimed a personal link with a protecting deity or dabbled in relationships with various Eastern religions. The favour of Venus, for

example, was claimed by a number of the contenders in the political struggle of the late Republic, including Pompey. The literary sources make much of the contest between Pompey and Caesar for divine favour, clear evidence of the importance attached to this concept.⁸⁴ Indeed, the common people were as ready to attribute divine characteristics to a victorious general as to a popular leader, and clearly regarded evidence of divine favour as an important validation of a claim to power. Connected with this idea is the granting by Eastern cities to Pompey of the symbolic rights of kingship as well as its verbal attributes.⁸⁵ Most important, in the East Pompey as imperator was also the recipient of a proto-imperial cult. Although from the 80's onwards cult of a living Roman magistrate was apparently offered as a matter of course, the extravagance of the honours conferred on Pompey, which had been associated with Hellenistic dynasts, had a considerable effect on public perceptions of 'principes viri' at Rome. The rise of Julius Caesar, who had studied in Rhodes and served on the staffs of Marcus Thermus and Servilius Isauricus in Asia Minor between 81 and 78 (Suet. Iul. 2-3), can also be viewed against this background.

The general success of Pompey's scheme would almost certainly have forced Caesar to build lavishly on his own account. In fact, his plans were far more ambitious and far more clearly directed. Caesar saw the needs of the city and there can be little doubt that a concept of 'nova urbs' was an integral part of his plans for "reconstituting the Republic".⁸⁶ Unlike Pompey, Caesar had a genuine interest in planning to back up his activities. During the years of his campaigns in Gaul he was already planning and erecting buildings which had nothing to do with the traditional activities of 'viri triumphales'. Caesar chose to confine himself to projects of basic public utility which would normally fall

under censorial jurisdiction, a policy by which he might hope to disarm criticism and win popular acclaim. But Caesar's schemes were much more costly and ambitious than any censor had ever contemplated.

The Forum was his first concern. In contrast to the old disorder of the V-shaped area, outlined by tabernae, stood the models of Hellenistic agoras and such accomplished Italic fora as that of Pompeii. It must have seemed quite natural that Caesar should try to make an axial piazza of the Forum by radical measures, abolishing the Comitium, transferring the Curia in 44 to its present place on the Forum, and building new Rostra in the centre of the western short side.⁸⁷ In 55 L. Aemilius Paullus, with funds provided by Caesar, began to restore the Basilica Aemilia, while Caesar himself began the construction of the Basilica Iulia.⁸⁸ Ultimately, the Forum, which a fire in 50 may have partially destroyed, was to be given its final orientation by Caesar's re-siting of the Rostra on the axis of the Capitoline, making a unity with the facades of the two basilicas.⁸⁹ In 54 Caesar authorized Cicero and C. Oppius to buy up land at considerable expense near the Forum for the projected Forum Iulium.⁹⁰ It is not clear, however, what Caesar's original intentions were, except to extend the area available for public business, and the Forum Iulium did not assume its final form until much later. The temple of Venus Genetrix, which became its dominating feature, was not vowed until 48 at Pharsalus.⁹¹ Quite early Caesar must have seen the possibilities of developing the Campus Martius as a new monumental zone: his own first step, taken as early as 54, was the new Saepta for the comitia tributa, built of marble and designed to answer architecturally the Theatre of Pompey nearby.

Caesar's building programme demonstrates a concern for amenities and public services that would benefit the populace as a whole rather than any one social class. His temporary measures for providing a stadium and nau-

machia, as well as a large permanent theatre probably intended to outdo the Theatre of Pompey,⁹² stand in marked contrast to the paucity of his religious building, the most notable component of which was the rebuilding of the temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal by 45 B.C.⁹³ The novelty of many of these proposed schemes is reinforced by the first large-scale use in Caesar's time of marble from the quarries of Carrara. This innovation meant, most importantly, that monumental buildings in Rome could be favourably compared on an aesthetic level with those of Hellenistic cities once marble was exploited extensively as a building material.⁹⁴ Thus the role of the dynast as sponsor of building projects became comparable to that of Hellenistic monarchs, while he retained the traditional image of public benefactor associated with 'viri triumphales' and other public figures.

Until the outbreak of civil war, Caesar's schemes were aimed chiefly at personal propaganda. They were to be paid for by Caesar, and it was one of Pompey's contentions that Caesar did not have the means to complete what he was planning (Suet. Iul. 30.2). Caesar, however, had not only realized the propaganda value of building operations, but had recognized civic needs clearly, and with the absolute authority of the dictatorship behind him he quickly evolved even more impressive and far-reaching schemes. In 45 a comprehensive city plan was being drawn up with the aid of a Greek planner, and a bill for the enlargement of the city became law.⁹⁵ This included a scheme to develop a planned monumental area in the Campus Martius involving a canalization of the Tiber on a new course.⁹⁶ It is likely that Caesar was taking over the control of building policy, perhaps setting up his own staff of architects and advisers and aiming at the complete transformation of the city.⁹⁷

The type of "autocratic" building undertaken by Caesar, represented

chiefly by the temple of Venus Genetrix and the Forum Iulium, does not seem to have had a precedent in the building programmes of Sulla and Pompey. To some extent, the development of public building as a means of combining motives of public benefit and personal commemoration culminates in Caesar's public works, since most of his projects were eventually carried out in some form in the first century A.D. It was generally recognized that this part of his activities was a valuable public service that must have good economic and political effects, in spite of two difficulties. The first was the problem of giving the programme an appearance of constitutionality and of appointing administrators to see it through. The second, more acute, was financial, since much of the work was to be paid for by Caesar personally. If the legislative initiative lay with Antony, however, Octavian had the overwhelming advantage of being heir to Caesar's personal fortune. With Antony only half-hearted and apparently failing to see the role that public building could play in personal propaganda, Octavian took the initiative and handled most aspects of his building programme with subtlety.

Yet it is suggestive that the most ambitious and expensive of Caesar's plans, the new city layout, was not revived until Nero's partial rebuilding of Rome after 64. Perhaps it was thought impractical unless a central authority were to assume responsibility for the project in toto. Most of the buildings, however, presented no problem. The Curia Iulia, begun by senatorial order, was carried on by the triumvirs as responsible magistrates, while the completion of the Saepta was apparently entrusted to Lepidus, again it seems by virtue of triumviral authority.⁹⁸ The most obviously "autocratic" project, and therefore the most potentially offensive to conservative opinion, was the Forum Iulium with the temple of Venus Genetrix. Octavian completed this and the Basilica Iulia

as an hereditary responsibility in the tradition of Republican families.⁹⁹

The merging of this tradition with the concept of dynastic building by Hellenistic kings appears as a first-century phenomenon which depended largely on adequate resources and on political motivation to become successful. The system of public works administration, which relied on censors and aediles to carry out virtually all major projects until the early first century B.C., was restricted by dependence on short-term offices and limited funds and staffs. Forward planning could not be set up, though sometimes able or ambitious men could carry through a considerable programme. Personal observation of the monuments of Hellenistic capitals, combined with the notion that Rome, as an expanding power, merited civic embellishment, governed the direction in which building in Rome progressed after ca. 150 B.C. Nevertheless, the desire for personal prestige and popularity, combined with limitless resources and traditional views as to the practicality of monuments, seems to have been the principal factor in late Republican building by Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar. This factor may be regarded as a combination of Hellenistic royal and "upper-class" Roman traditions.

When Augustus' power was rationalized in 23 B.C. with the Senate's grant of 'tribunicia potestas', he had not only inherited Caesar's plans for the rebuilding of Rome and his unfinished projects, but also the tradition of great Republican families to construct monuments of religious or public utility. The concept was linked also with that of gradually monumentalizing the city along classical lines, though conservatism in architectural form persisted well into the first century A.D. It is clear that, as in other spheres of public activity, traditionalism in Roman building activity merged with the appeal of Hellenistic monumental building to public figures. In this context the statement of Augustus on

the character of his plans for civic beautification quoted by Suetonius gains an amplified meaning (Suet. Aug. 28.3): '(urbem) marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset.'

CHAPTER IV: NOTES

1. J.B. Bury and R. Meiggs, A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great, 4th ed. (London, 1975), 131; Plu. Cim. 13.7-8.
2. See, e.g. Plu. Per. 13.1-8.
3. Cf. R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford, 1969), nos. 59, 60, pp.162-166; IG 372 (Erechtheion construction records).
4. Plu. Mor. 328a.
5. P.M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria (London, 1972), I, 13-14. Alexandria was intended also to replace Tyre, destroyed during Alexander's drive into Egypt.
6. C. Bradford Welles, Alexander and the Hellenistic World (Toronto, 1970), 30-31; Arr. An. 3.1.5.
7. Arr. An. 5.1.5.
8. J.R. Hamilton, Alexander the Great (London, 1973), 160.
9. G. Cawkwell, Philip of Macedon (London, 1978), 40; cf. Arr. An. 7.9.2. It may also be noted that Philip was responsible for continuing road-building that had been started by his predecessors, particularly in territory that had been recently acquired. See Cawkwell, 45, 46.
10. See Ch. III, p.113.
11. BMCRE I e.g. cxliv, 145ff., 160ff. (Augustus); 230ff. (Nero).
12. J. Travlos, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens (London, 1971), 523-520 (Stoa of Eumenes), 505-519 (Stoa of Attalus).
13. Travlos, 402-411 (Olympieion); Vit. 7.15.17; IG II² 4099: the temple was built from plans drawn up by the Roman architect Cossutius.
14. A.W. Lawrence, Greek Architecture (Harmondsworth, 1973), 266-267.
15. M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World (Oxford, 1941), I, 475-476.
16. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 447.
17. Lawrence, 276-277.
18. Welles, 223.
19. Str. 8.23ff.; cf. Fraser, I, 7ff.
20. Ath. Deip. 5.205; Fraser, II, 861 n.419.

21. Millar, 611; cf. 613-614. Cf. the term basilica, from στοὰ βασιλική, "the king's portico".
22. Suet. Iul. 76.3; Cal. 49.2.
23. Millar, 611. See below, n.25.
24. Ap. Mith. 117/577; cf. S. Weinstock, Divus Julius (Oxford, 1971), 37.
25. Millar, loc.cit; Cf. M.H. Crawford, "Hamlet Without the Prince", rev. of The Last Generation of the Roman Republic, by E.S. Gruen, JRS 66 (1976), 216.
26. P. Green, "Caesar and Alexander: Aemulatio, Imitatio, Comparatio," AJAH 3 (1978), 10.
27. Green, 16-17.
28. Millar, 616.
29. Millar, 16-18, 28-29, cf. 11. Similarly, the peripatetic nature of the imperial court from the second century on can be related to tours of Republican provincial governors, and the presentation of petitions to the courting of powerful men in the late first century B.C.
30. Plb. 6.13.3.
31. Cf. Nash, II, 104-116.
32. D.S. 20.36.4; Fron. Aq. 1.5.
33. T.R.S. Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, APA Monographs No. 15 (Cleveland, 1951), I, 198, 235-236. Fron. Aq. 1.6; Liv. Ep. 20.
34. App. BC 1.28.125; Vell. 1.15.3.
35. Cf. D.H. 3.67; Liv. 40.46.16; 44.16.9; Vell. 1.15.3. See A.E. Astlin, Cato the Censor (Oxford, 1978), 83-85.
36. Liv. 45.15; Fron. Aq. 1.6. Cf. Plu. Cat. Mai. 19; Liv. 39.44.8; 43.14.1-15.
37. Plu. Cat. Mai. 19; Liv. 43.16.2-16; cf. E. Badian, Publicans and Sinners (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972), 37-38.
38. F. Coarelli, "Public Building in Rome Between the Second Punic War and Sulla," PBSR 45 (1977), 4-6, 9.
39. Grant (1970), 138.
40. Cic. Ver. 2.5.14; Var. L. 5.81.
41. Liv. 35.10.12; 41.10. Cf. Rickman (1980), 34-35.

42. Cic. Ver. 1.50.130.
43. Fron. Aq. 1.7; Liv. 45.15. See also Brunt (1980), 98, n.91. Public building was not part of the magistrates' regular duties: the appointments were made by the Senate and the duties might continue as a special curatorship when the term of office expired. Q. Marcius was given the opportunity to complete his contract in an unprecedented renewal of imperium for one year.
44. Strong, 99.
45. Cf. Liv. 2.8; 4.25.
46. Liv. 23.30.13; cf. Strong, 99.
47. Liv. 22.33.7; Strong, loc.cit.
48. Tac. Ann. 3.72.
49. Coarelli (1977), 4-5; Liv. 40.44.8-10; 42.8.5.
50. Cf. Liv. 27.25.7; 29.11.13.
51. Liv. 40.52.1-7.
52. Cic. Ses. 116; Plan. 78; Vittr. 3.3.5; Plin. Nat. 7.47; Suet. Iul. 26.2.
53. Liv. 1.55.7; 10.46.14-15; 53.27.3.
54. Astin, 86.
55. Cic. Agr. 2.61; CIL I(2) 635; VI.1031 (Marius). See also I. Shatzman, "The Roman General's Authority over Booty," Historia 21 (1972), 198.
56. Cic. Ver. 2.1.184; Dom. 102; 114. Cf. Shatzman, 182-83; W.V. Harris, War and Imperialism in Republican Rome. 327-70 B.C. (Oxford, 1979), 75, 76.
57. Liv. 35.10.12; 41.27.8. Cf. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 107-108.
58. Brunt and Moore, ed., 61; Strong, 100.
59. Strong, 100.
60. Plu. C. Gr. 6.3-4; App. BC 1.23. See also P.A. Brunt, Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic (London, 1971), 86; D. Stockton, The Gracchi (Oxford, 1979), 136-137.
61. Cf. Tac. Ann. 3.65; Sall. Cat. 10.17.
62. Vittr. 5.11.
63. Liv. 5.55; Tac. Ann. 15.43.

64. Plu. C. Gr. 6.3; App. BC 1.23; Stockton, loc.cit.
65. Coarelli (1977), 18, 20-23.
66. Blake (1947), 51-52; M.H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage (Cambridge, 1974), II, 636, 699.
67. Coarelli (1977), 22. Cf. Str. 14.2.5.
68. Plin. Nat. 35.158; Cic. Fin. 5.2; Liv. 25.40.2.
69. Sutherland, 57-58.
70. Cic. Ver. 2.1.3.
71. Strong, 101.
72. V. Max. 9.3.8; Tac. Hist. 3.72; Plu. C. Gr. 17; Var. L. 5.156; Plin. Nat. 7.138.
73. Plin. Nat. 36.45.
74. Suet. Iul. 15; Cf. BMCRR I 571.
75. E.B. Van Deman, "The Sullan Forum," JRS 12 (1922), 29. See also CIL VI.1313-1314; VI (4.3) 37043; Blake (1947), 141-142.
76. P. MacKendrick, "Nabobs as builders: Sulla, Pompey, Caesar," CJ 55 (1960), 241. See also Coarelli (1977), 19.
77. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 143.
78. Plu. Pom. 42, 52; Plin. Nat. 7.34.
79. J.A. Hanson, Roman Theatre-Temples (Princeton, 1959), 43-59; Gell. 10.1.7.
80. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 172-173.
81. Blake (1947), 149.
82. Plin. Nat. 35.57; cf. Weinstock, 39.
83. Cf. Plin. Nat. 8.20-21; Hanson, loc.cit.
84. Weinstock, 17, 84, 114, 183.
85. Crawford (1976), 216. Cf. above, p.152.
86. Strong, 101.
87. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 116. See also Dio 43.49.1-2.
88. Cic. Att. 4.16.8; Strong, loc.cit.

89. Blake (1947), 154.
90. Cic. Att. op.cit.
91. App. BC 2.69, 102; Dio 43.22.2.
92. Suet. Iul. 39.1-4; 44.1; Dio 43.23; 49.2.
93. Dio 41.14.3; 43.45.3.
94. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 184; Blake (1947), 8, 53.
95. Cic. Att. 13.20.1; 35.1.
96. Cic. Att. 13.33a1; Strong, 102.
97. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, 184.
98. Dio 64.2; 53.23 (not financed 'ex manubiis', as Shipley (1931), 17-18).
99. RG 20.3.

CONCLUSION

By the early second century A.D., the concept of emperorship -- its form, functions, and obligations -- had been articulated on the most widely disseminated media available: coins and inscriptions. Much of this concept, including the obligation of the emperor to build public works, was recognized and placed into categories by Suetonius, who had the rare opportunity to observe personally two emperors earning their claims to liberalitas. The development of criteria for evaluating individual emperors' performances is thus reflected in Suetonius' biographical approach. Some concluding remarks may be made to review the reasons and motivation behind imperial building and to clarify Suetonius' biographical technique.

In Chapter I (pp.7-59) the organization of certain topics in the Caesares concerning matters of interest to both emperor and subject was shown to be crucial to Suetonius' method of composition. While several of these topics under the general rubric of imperial liberalitas involve personal communication between the emperor and his subjects, that of opera publica has several ramifications regarding the emperor's own view of his work. Both personal commemoration for posterity and the idea of civic beautification ensured the continuation of the emperor's family name through his achievements (res gestae). The concept of liberalitas, which first appears as a coin-slogan in Hadrian's time (Ch. I, p.40), represents the desire of the emperor to be viewed as public benefactor on a medium that could carry its message to a large portion of the Empire's

population, though a relatively small number would be the actual beneficiaries of imperially-sponsored spectacula and congiaria.

The basis for Suetonius' biographical technique lies not in a moralizing strain of Greek biography, but probably in a combination of Hellenistic encomia and a distinctively native tradition of laudatory panegyric and triumphal inscriptions listing the achievements of maiores. The substantial loss of Hellenistic biography and the absence of any great uniformity in surviving works preclude firm judgement on the matter. Nevertheless, the native tradition, which Suetonius in some respects inherited and modified, represented in a fully-developed form in the Res Gestae of Augustus, tended to separate the mass of chronological detail from an individual's notable achievements and even personal characteristics. This concept, coupled with Suetonius' emphasis on topics that can be viewed as of distinctively "Roman" interest, produced the biographical format which he follows in a flexible manner.

Chapter II (pp.60-102) analyzed closely the contents of the seven substantial sections on public works in the Caesares, and several conclusions followed. Most important was the fact that the buildings cited by Suetonius in these species can be categorized into monuments of either religious or public and social utility. Suetonius' reasons for such selectivity appear to have been based on his concern to emphasize "das Römische" (cf. p.4): he thought it necessary to include only those buildings that had a basically "traditional" connotation. Corroborative evidence was provided by the wide variety of architectural types on coin issues of the first century A.D., which generally, though not universally, depicted those buildings which were essentially traditional and recognized as such. It was seen also that the Res Gestae cites exactly the same types of buildings as Suetonius, utilitarian and religious. The bio-

grapher's information on the public works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians, it can be said, is both accurate and highly selective, and often includes the most significant monuments of any individual reign. Moreover, buildings erected by an emperor before his accession are not cited under the rubric of opera publica, though they may appear elsewhere in the life, as in the case of Tiberius. Public works planned but never executed are frequently cited; and Suetonius may choose to concentrate on projects that appear significant to him, relegating other information to different parts of the biography, as in the Nero. It is incontrovertible that Suetonius' purpose in mentioning particular buildings is to establish a link between the emperor and an aspect of his public acta.

In Chapter III (pp.103-145) the connection between Suetonius, information on public building and evidence from non-Suetonian sources was examined. Suetonius can be seen to reflect established ideas on emperorship current in the early second century A.D., because these ideas were also expressed in media entirely independent of the literary tradition followed by Suetonius, namely coins and inscriptions. Such documentary media carried a variety of propaganda, including architectural depictions of buildings at Rome, to a large portion of the Empire's population, and in so doing gave a certain focus to the emperor's concern for public works. The motive of personal glorification was supplemented by other objectives in building, such as piety towards the gods and deified emperors, the improvement of communications, civic embellishment, and a genuine concern for the needs of the urban population. The factor of providing employment opportunities for unskilled free labour in Rome can also be considered crucial in influencing the direction of imperial planning, as well as the attitude of the plebs towards its government. In this context it may be stressed that every emperor in the first and early second

centuries, the three ephemeral emperors of 68/69 apart, built public works, including roads, in Italy and the provinces as well as in Rome.

The historical roots of this obligation, and in particular the dissimilar traditions upon which the concept of building public works drew, is the subject of Chapter IV (pp.146-177). Alexander and his successors provided a stimulus for the kings of newly-founded or newly-developed cities in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Syria to initiate building programmes of considerable magnitude, drawing on ample resources and maintaining an exalted personal image to provide semi-divine authority for grandiose projects. Expansion in Magna Graecia, mainland Greece, and the Hellenistic cities of the East brought the Roman aristocracy into direct contact with Greek amenities and a tradition of monumental building which gradually changed the relatively modest range of public building undertaken by censors and aediles. The rise of powerful militarists in the first century B.C., who had adequate resources at their disposal, the capacity for political manipulation, and sufficient time in which to carry out major projects led to a redirection of monumental building in the period from Sulla to Augustus. Public works changed in scale and in the number of projects that were initiated, but the type of buildings erected remained essentially traditional, directed as they were towards ameliorating the urban environment and appealing to religious sentiment. The Theatre of Pompey, as the first permanent theatre in Rome, set a precedent for building structures to accommodate public shows.

Unlike Tacitus and Dio, who wrote with different purposes in mind, Suetonius reflects the "ideology of emperorship" (cf. p.31) as a concept fully-developed by the early second century. A variety of media existed independently of Suetonius to demonstrate that an emperor could expect his professional performance to be judged by his subjects. Therefore,

imperial building activity was a partial response to initiatives from the urban populace. The sections on opera publica in the Caesares reveal that this obligation was recognized by every emperor in the first century A.D. This factor also proves conclusively that accurate selection and organization of information were essential ingredients of Suetonius' biographical technique.

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Function and Significance

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