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A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome

Entries for the Buildings and Monuments of Cn. Pompeius Magnus

For many years A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (henceforth TDAR) was the standard English reference work on the ancient Roman cityscape. It has been superseded by L. Richardson's A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (1992: John Hopkins U P). There is still much to commend in TDAR, especially in those areas where there has been little or no archaeological developments: such is the situation with the monuments of Pompeius in Rome, where TDAR is still a perfectly valid resource.

In this place I have gathered all the entries of TDAR that pertain to the buildings and monuments of Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

For the most part I have not altered the text of TDAR. I have removed Platner's and Ashby's abbreviated references to "modern" works, most of which are only to be found nowadays in some venerable university library.

On the positive side I have provided local links to translations of all ancient citations. (Latin sources include the original text as well.) These links provide entries which are much fuller and more comprehensive than the ones originally given in TDAR. Most authors' names and works in Platner-Ashby's entries were abbreviated, following standardized forms. Within the linked texts I have expanded their abbreviations into the full forms for the benefit of the non-specialist.

[Aedes Herculis Pompeiani \[Pompey's Temple of Hercules\]](#)

[Aedes Veneris Victricis \[Temple of Venus Victrix\]](#)

[Arcus Pompei \[Arch of Pompey\]](#)

[Curia Pompei \[Senate House of Pompey\]](#)

[Delubrum Minervae \[Temple of Minerva\]](#)

[Domus Pompei \[House of Pompey\]](#)

Horti Pompeiani [Gardens of Pompey]

Porticus Pompei [Colonnades of Pompey]

Theatrum Pompei [Theater of Pompey]

Aedes Herculis Pompeiani

A temple of Hercules near the circus Maximus, described as araeostyle and decorated in the Tuscan manner ([Vitruv. 3.3.5](#)). It contained a statue of Hercules by Myron ([Plin. HN 34.57](#)). The epithet would indicate either an original building or a restoration by Pompeius, but in any case this temple could not be identified with the round temple of Hercules in the forum Boarium ([Liv. 10.23.3](#)). The notice in the calendar ([Fast. Amit.](#) and probably [Fast. Allif.](#)) probably refers to this temple, as it alone has the designation ad circum maximum ["at" or "near the circus Maximus"] in literature. If so, it was dedicated on 12th August to Hercules Invictus.

Under the eastern part of S. Maria in Cosmedin are remains of the tufa foundation and walls of a temple of the republican period, which appears to have existed, although in a ruined state, until the time of Hadrian I, when it was entirely destroyed. The position of this temple could properly be described as ad circum maximum, and its identification with the aedes Herculis Pompeiani is reasonable, but by no means certain. It is possible that some of the references to a temple of Hercules in foro Boario ["in the cattle-market"] may belong to this temple, but it seems certain that it cannot be identified with the round temple in the forum Boarium ["in the cattle-market"], or with the temple ad portam Trigeminam ["at the Gate of Trigemina"]. This distinction, however, involves a contradiction of Macrobius' [statement](#) and no satisfactory reconciliation has yet been suggested.

[Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929 (rev. ed.). "Hercules Pompeianus, Aedes." *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*: 255-256. London: Oxford University Press.]

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Vitruvius, De arch. 3.3.5 (ca. 30 B.C.):

In araeostylis autem nec lapideis nec marmoreis epistyliis uti datur, sed inponendae se materia trabes perpetuae. Et ipsarum aedium species sunt varicae, barycephalae, humiles, latae, ornanturque signis fictilibus aut aereis inauratis earum fastigia tuscanico more, uti est ad Circum Maximum Cereris et Herculis Pompeiani, item Capitoli.

In araeostyles we cannot employ stone or marble for the architraves, but must have a series of wooden beams laid upon the columns. And, moreover, in appearance these temples are clumsy-roofed, low, broad, and their pediments are adorned in the Tuscan fashion with statues of terra-cotta or gilt bronze: for one example, near the Circus Maximus, the temple of Ceres, and Pompeius' temple of Hercules; also the temple on the Capitol. (F. Granger, trans.)

Pliny the Elder, HN 34.57 (ca. A.D. 65):

Myronem Eleutheris natum, Hageladae et ipsum discipulum, bucula maxime nobilitavit celebratis versibus laudata, quando alieno plerique ingenio magis quam suo commendantur. Fecit et Ladam et discobolon et Peseum et pristam et Satyrum admirantem tibias et Minervam, Delphicos pentathlos, pancratiastas, Herculem, qui est apud circum maximum in aede Pompei Magni.

Myron who was born at Eleutherae, was himself also a pupil of Hagelades; he was specially famous for his statue of a heifer, celebrated in some well-known sets of verses—inasmuch as most men owe their reputation more to someone else's talent than to their own. His other works include Ladas and a "Discobolos" or Man Throwing a Discus, and Perseus, and The Sawyers, and the Satyr Marvelling at the Flute and Athene, Competitors in the Five Bouts at Delphi, the All-Round Fighters, and the Hercules now in the temple of Pompeius Magnus at the Circus Maximus. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Livy 10.23 (ca. late first century A.D.):

Publice uinum ac tus praebitum; supplicatum iere frequentes uiri feminaeque. Insignem supplicationem fecit certamen in sacello Pudicitiae Patriciae, quae in foro bouario est ad aedem rotundam Herculis, inter matronas ortum.

Wine and incense were provided at public expense, and crowds of men and women went to offer prayers. The occasion was remarkable because of a quarrel which broke out amongst the married women at the shrine of Patrician Chastity, which stands in the Cattle Market by the round temple of Hercules. (B. Radice, trans.)

Fasti Amiternini, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum i.244 = Inscriptiones Italiae 13.2.191(early first century A.D.):

HERCVLI INVICTO AD CIRCUM MAXIM VENERI VICTRICI HON(ORI) VIRT(UTI)
FELICITATI IN THEATRO MARMOREO.

[For] Hercules Invictus near the Circus Maximus/ [For] Venus Victrix, Honos,
Virtus, Felicitas in the marble theater. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Fasti Allifani, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum i.277 = Inscriptiones Italiae
13.2.181 (early first century A.D.):

HERCULI INVI[CTO AD CIRC(UM) MAX(IMUM] V(ENERI) V(ICTRICI), H(ONORI), V
(IRTUTI), V(.....), felict[ati in theatro marm(oreo)]

[For] Hercules Invictus near the Circus Maximus / [For] Venus Victrix, Honos,
Virtus, V....., Felicitas in the marble theater. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Macrobius 3.6.10 (ca. mid-fifth century A.D.):

Romae autem Victoris Herculis aedes duae sunt, una ad portam Trigeminam altera in foro Boario.

At Rome, moreover, there are two temples of the Hercules of Victory, one at the Gate of Trigemina, the other at the cattle-market. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Aedes Veneris Victricis

The temple which, in order to escape censure for having erected a permanent theatre (see [THEATRUM POMPEI](#)), Pompeius built at the top of the central part of the cavea, so that the rows of seats might appear to be the steps leading up to it, and the whole structure be dedicated as a temple and not as a theatre ([Tert. de spect. 10](#); [Tiro ap. Gell. 10.1.7](#), where the temple is called aedes Victoriae for Veneris Victricis). The dedication took place in Pompeius' second consulship in 55 B. C. ([Plin. NH 8.20](#)), but the inscription was not put in place until 52 ([Gell. loc. cit.](#)). The day of dedication was 12th August ([Fast. Allif. Amit. ad prid. Id. Aug.](#)), when Honos et Virtus and Felicitas were joined with Venus, indicating that shrines of these deities stood near that of Venus (cf. [Suet. Claud. 21](#)). The temple is mentioned on an inscription ([CIL 6.785](#)), and in the third century ([Porphy. ad Hor. Sat. i.2.94](#)).

[Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929 (rev. ed.). "Venus Victrix, Aedes." A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: 555. London: Oxford University Press.]

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Theatrum Pompei

The first permanent theatre in Rome, built of stone by Pompeius in his second consulship in 55 B.C., and dedicated in that year according to the common version ([Asc. in Pis. 1](#); [Vell. 2.48](#); [Chron. Pasch. a.u.c. 697](#) (foundations laid); [Tac. Ann. 14.20](#); [Cass. Dio 39.38](#), whose story that a freedman of Pompeius furnished the money is to be rejected), when most elaborate games, contests of wild animals, and exhibitions of marvels, were provided ([Cic. in Pis. 65](#); [Plin. NH 7.158](#); [8.20](#); [Plut. Pomp. 52](#)). Besides the usual name, theatrum Pompei, it was called theatrum Pompeianum ([Plin. cit. 34.39](#); [36.114](#); [Mon. Anc. 4.9](#); [Suet. Tib. 47](#); [Claud. 21](#); [Tac. Ann. 6.45](#); [Mart. 6.9](#); [10.51.11](#); [14.29.1](#), [166.1](#); in plural, [Flor. 2.13.8](#)); theatrum marmoreum ([Fast. Amit. ad pr. Id. Aug.](#)); theatrum magnum ([Plin. cit. 7.158](#)); and sometimes simply theatrum ([Hor. Carm. 1.20.3](#); [Suet. Nero 13](#); [Flor. 2.13.8](#); [Cass. Dio 50.8.3](#)), as it was the only stone theatre in Rome until that of Marcellus was built and always the most important (cf. [Tac. Ann. 13.54](#); [Plin. cit. 33.54](#); [Cass. Dio 62.8](#)).

The plan of this building Pompeius took from that of Mitylene ([Plut. Pomp. 42](#)), and within it he set up many wonderful statues ([Plin. cit. 7.34](#); for the statues of the fourteen nations subdued by Pompeius, see [Plin. cit. 36.41](#); [Suet. Nero 46](#); [Serv. Aen. 8.721](#)). To avoid censure for building a permanent theatre, he constructed a temple of **VENUS VICTRIX** at the top of the central part of the cavea, so that the rows of seats might appear to be the steps leading up to the temple, and dedicated the whole as a temple and not as a theatre ([Tert. de spect. 10](#); [Gell. 10.1.7](#); [Plin. cit. 8.20](#)). Tertullian speaks of the dedication of theatre and temple as taking place at the same time, but Gellius ([loc. cit.](#)) states that Pompeius, when about to dedicate the temple, was uncertain whether to put consul tertium or tertio in the inscription, and on the advice of Cicero (quoted from a letter of Tiro) compromised on consul tert. This would seem to indicate that the temple was dedicated in 52, not 53 (which is also the statement of [Chron. Pasch. a.u.c. 702](#)). Gellius, however, goes on to say ([loc. cit.](#)) that the inscription in teatro did not read so in his day. Whatever may have been true of the dedication, the inscription on the temple, or on the temple and scaena both, was evidently put in place in 52 B.C. From the notice in two calendars ([Fast. Allif. Amit. ad pr. Id. Aug.](#); cf. [Suet. Claud. 21](#)) it appears that there were shrines or altars to three other deities, Honor Virtus and Felicitas, similarly placed in the theatre, and perhaps a fourth ([Fas. Allif.:](#) V ?).

Augustus restored the theatre at great expense in 32 B.C. ([Mon. Anc. iv.9](#); cf., however, [CIL 6.9404](#), and removed the statue of Pompeius, before which Caesar had been murdered, from the [CURIA POMPEI](#) to the theatre itself ([Suet. Aug. 31](#)). It was burned in 21 A.D. ([Hier. a. Abr. 2038](#)) and since there was no surviving member of the family able to restore it, this was undertaken by Tiberius ([Tac. Ann. 3.72](#); [Vell. 2.130](#); [Sen. de cons. ad Marc. 22.4](#)), who set up a bronze statue of Sejanus within the building ([Cass. Dio 57.21.3](#)). Tiberius did not complete the work of restoration ([Suet. Tib. 47](#); [Cal. 21](#)), or, according to another statement, did not dedicate it ([Tac. Ann. 6.45](#)). The completion of the work is ascribed to Caligula ([Suet. Cal. 21](#)) or Claudius ([Suet. Claud. 21](#)), and the dedication to the latter ([Suet. Claud. 21](#); [Cass. Dio 60.6.8](#)), who inscribed the name of Tiberius on the scaena and built a marble arch in his honour near the theatre ([Suet. Claud. 11](#)).

In 66 A.D. when Tiridates, king of Armenia, visited Rome, Nero is said to have gilded the scaena and the exterior of the theatre for that one occasion, and to have stretched purple awnings over the cavea ([Plin. cit. 33.54](#); [Cass. Dio 62.6.1-2](#)). In 80 the scaena was burned ([Cass. Dio 66.24.2](#)), but must have been repaired very soon. Under Severus some restoration must have been carried out, for there are two inscriptions of Q. Acilius Fuscus, who was procurator operis theatri Pompeiani in 209-211 A.D. ([CIL 8.1439](#); [14.154](#)). In 247 the theatre was burned again ([Hier. a. Abr. 2263](#)), and probably under Carinus ([Hist. Aug. Car. 19](#)), for it was restored by Diocletian and Maximian ([Chron. 148](#)). Other restorations are recorded, by Arcadius and Honorius ([CIL 6.1191](#), cf. [1193](#)), and finally by Symmachus at the command of Theodoric between 507 and 511 ([Cassiod. Var. 4.51](#); cf. [Sym. Rel. 9.3](#)). Successive restorations probably increased its magnificence, and it is mentioned among the notable monuments of the city by Cassius Dio ([39.38](#)) and Ammianus Marcellinus ([16.10.14](#)). Immediately outside the south-east side of the scaena was the [PORTICUS POMPEI](#) for the use of the spectators in case of rain. Other references to the theatre in ancient literature convey no additional information ([Tac. Ann. 13.54](#); [Mart. 6.9](#); [10.51.11](#); [14.29.1](#), [166.1](#); [App. BC 2.115](#); [5.15](#); [Fest. 188](#); [Plin. cit. 37.19](#)).

The theatre was in the campus Martius ([Not. Reg. IX](#)), a little north-east of the circus Flaminius, and is represented on the Marble Plan (frg. 30). Its exact site is determined by the remains in opus reticulatum of the foundations of the cavea (the church of S. Maria de Crypta pincta takes its name from one of the vaults), of the temple of Venus Victrix, discovered under the Palazzo Pio, and of the scaena in the Piazza dei Satiri (which takes its name, not from the two satyrs now in the Capitol, but from a local name Satro). The Piazza di Grottapinta still preserves the name and the form of part of the theatre. The façade of the semicircular cavea consisted

of three series of arcades, adorned with columns, the lowest arcade being of the Doric order, the second Ionic, and the third Corinthian. Of the lower arcade traces of twenty-four arches of peperino have been found, in front of which were columns of red granite. The diameter of the theatre was 150-160 metres, and the length of the scaena about 95 metres. According to Pliny ([NH 36.115](#)) the cavea seated 40,000 persons, but this, like other statements of seating capacity in ancient literature, is open to question, and the most careful estimate reduces this number to 10,000.

[Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929 (rev. ed.). "Theatrum Pompei." A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: 515-517. London: Oxford University Press.]

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Quintus Asconius Pedianus, Commentarii [In Pisonem] 1C (ca. A.D. 40):

Haec oratio dicta est Cn. Pompeio Magno II M. Crasso II coss. ante paucos dies quam Cn. Pompeius ludos faceret quibus theatrum a se factum dedicavit. Hoc intellegi ex ipsius Ciceronis verbis potest quae in hac oratione posuit. Dixit enim sic: Instant post hominum memoriam apparatissimi magnificentissimique ludi. * * * quidem posuit hanc inter eas orationes quas dixit Cicero L. Domitio Appio Claudio coss. ultimam. Sed ut ego ab eo dissentiam facit primum quod Piso reversus est ex provincia Pompeio et Crasso consulibus, Gabinius Domitio et Appio: hanc autem orationem dictam ante Gabini reditum ex ipsa manifestum est. Deinde magis quidem naturale est ut Piso recenti reditu invectus sit in Ciceronem responderitque insectationi eius qua revocatus erat ex provincia quam post anni intervallum. Apparet autem Ciceronem respondisse Pisoni. In summa, cum dicat in ipsa oratione Cicero instare magnificentissimos apparatissimosque ludos, non video quo modo hoc magis Domitio et Appio coss. dictum sit, quibus consulibus nulli notabiliores ludi fuerunt, quam Pompeio et Crasso, quo anno Pompeius exquisitissimis magnificentissimisque omnis generis ludis theatrum dedicavit.

This speech [In Pisonem] was delivered in the year when Pompeius and Marcus Crassus were consuls for the second time, a few days before Pompeius was to hold the games with which he inaugurated the theater that he had built. This can be discovered from the words that Cicero himself put into his speech, namely: "The most lavish and splendid games are about to take begin..." Now admittedly * * * places the speech last of those that Cicero delivered in the consulship of Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius. What forces me to disagree with him is first the fact that Piso returned from his province when Pompeius and Crassus were consuls, while Gabinius did so in the consulship of Domitius Appius; and clearly this speech was delivered before Gabinius came home. Secondly, Piso would more naturally have attacked Cicero soon after his return (and replied to the harassment which had led to his recall) rather than after a year had passed. And it seems that Cicero did respond to Piso's rhetoric. In brief, when Cicero says in this speech that the "most lavish and splendid games are about to begin," it is much more likely that they took place in Pompeius' and Crassus' consulship, when Pompeius dedicated his theater, with the most lavish and exquisite games possible, than during the year of Domitius and Appius, when there were no particularly noteworthy games. (S. Squires, trans.)

Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 2.48.2 (ca. A.D. 30):

Qui si ante biennium, quam ad arma itum est, perfectis muneribus theatri et aliorum operum, quae ei circumdedit, gravissima temptatus valetudine decessisset in Campania (quo quidem tempore universa Italia vota pro salute eius primi endi eius locus, et quam apud superos habuerat magnitudinem, inlibatum detulisset ad inferos.

Had he [Pompeius] only died two years before the outbreak of hostilities, after the completion of his theater and other buildings with which he had surrounded it, at the time when he was attacked by a serious illness in Campania and all Italy prayed for his safety as her foremost citizen, fortune would have lost the opportunity of overthrowing him and he would have borne to the grave unimpaired all the qualities of greatness that had been his in his life. (F. W. Shipley, trans.)

Chronicon Paschale = Chronica Minora i.215 ed. Mommsen (early seventh century A.D.):

ka/ up. Letoul ou kai\Marke l ou.

Pomphioj o(megaj Rwmaw strathgoj autokratwr proshgoreuqh, kai qemel ioi qeatrou up)autou ebl hqhsan en Rwm\$. kb / up. Marke l ou to\B kai Fil ippou.

Enteugen Gazaioi touj efantwn xrouj ariqmousin.

rp/Dl unpiaj.

kg. up. Pomphiou kai Kraßsou.

kd. up. Aenobarbou kai Poul xrou.

Kike rwn o(rhtwr apo\ecoriaj metekl hqh dia\nhwn ij.

Ptolemaioj o(neoj Dionusoj o(kai Au l hthj eij Rwnhn efugen.

ke. up. Bal binou kai Messal a.

Gaioj Ioul ioj Kaisar proj El l hnaj epol emei.

kj/ up. Pomphiou to\B kai Metel l ou.

Pomphioj o(megaj to\ktisqen up)autou qeatron afierwsen, kai qewriaj epetel esen en aut% di)efantwn sarakonta kai\ippewn t/kai pezwn w/kai\monomaxwn x) e l efantomaxian poihsaj.

[351- C.18-20] 21. Lentulus and Metellus were consuls. Pompeius Magnus was named the supreme leader of the Romans: the foundations of the theater at Rome were displayed by this man. 22. Marcellus for the second time and Philippus were consuls. [352-C.1-14] From this point the Gazenses reckon their own years. The Period of the 180th Olympiad. 23. Pompeius and Crassus were consuls. 24. Ahenobarbus and Pulcher were consuls. The Orator Cicero was recalled from exile after the sixteenth month. Ptolemy the New Dionysius, who was also called Auletes, fled to Rome. 25. Balbinus and Messala were consuls. Gaius Julius Caesar made war on the Greeks. 26. Pompeius for the second time and Metellus were consuls. Pompeius Magnus dedicated by his own hands his finished theater, and exhibited 40 elephants, 300 horsemen, 800 footmen, 1000 gladiators; additionally, a struggle of elephants was shown. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Ann. 14.20 (ca. A.D. 105):

Nerone quartum Cornelio Cosso consulibus quinquennale ludicrum Romae institum est ad morem Graeci certaminis, varia fama, ut cuncta ferme nova. Quippe erant qui Gnaeum quoque Pompeium incusatum a senioribus ferrent, quod mansuram theatri sedem posuisset. Nam antea subitariis gradibus et scaena in tempus structa ludos edi solitos, vel si vetustiora repetas, stantem populum spectavisse, ne, si consideret theatro dies totos ignavia continuaret. Spectaculorum quidem antiquitas servaretur, quotiens praetor sederet, nulla cuiquam civium necessitate certandi. Ceterum abolitos paulatim patrios more funditus everti per accitam lasciviam, ut quod usquam corrumpi et corrumpere queat, in urbe visatur, degeneretque studiis externis iuventus, gymnasia et otia et turpis amores exercendo, principe et senatu auctoribus, qui non modo licentiam vitiis permiserint, sed vim adhibeant, ut proceres Romani specie orationum et carminum scaena polluantur. Quid superesse, nisi ut corpora quoque nudent et caestus adsumant easque pugnas pro militia et armis meditentur? An iustitiam auctum iri et decurias equitum egregious iudicandi munus expleturos, si fractos sonos et dulcedinem vocum perite audissent? Noctis quoque dedecori adiectas, ne quod tempus pudori relinquatur, sed coetu promisco, quod perditissimus quisque per diem concupiverit, per tenebras audeat.

In the consulate of Nero—his fourth term—and of Cornelius Cossus, a quinquennial competition on the stage, in the style of a Greek contest, was introduced at Rome. Like almost all innovations it was variously canvassed. Some insisted that even Pompeius had been censured by his elders for establishing the theater in a permanent home. Before, the games had usually been exhibited with the help of improvised tiers of benches and a stage thrown up for the occasion; or, to go further into the past, the people stood to watch: seats in the theater, it was feared, might tempt them to pass whole days in indolence. By all means let the spectacles be retained in their old form, whenever the praetor presided, and so long as no citizen lay under any obligation to compete. But the national morality, which had gradually fallen into oblivion, was being overthrown from the foundations by this imported licentiousness; the aim of which was that every production of every land, capable of either undergoing or engendering corruption, should be on view in the capital, and that our youth, under the influence of foreign tastes, should degenerate into votaries of gymnasia, of indolence, and of dishonorable amours,—and this at the instigation of the emperor and senate, who, not content with conferring immunity upon vice, were applying compulsion, in order that Roman nobles should pollute themselves on the stage under pretext of delivering an oration or a poem. What remained but to strip to the skin as well, put on the gloves, and practice that mode of conflict instead of the profession of arms? What justice could be promoted, would the equestrian decuries better fulfill their great judicial functions, if they had lent an expert ear to emasculated music and dulcet voices? Even night had been requisitioned for scandal, so that virtue should not be left with a breathing-space, but that amid a promiscuous crowd every vilest

profligate might venture in the dark the act for which he had lusted in the light. (J. Jackson, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 39.37.1-38.6 (ca. A.D. 220):

37.1: The consuls, accordingly had these measures passed, and next they laid heavier penalties upon those offering bribes, as if their own offense were any less because they had secured their office by force instead of by money. 2. They even undertook to curtail personal expenditures, which had increased to an enormous extent, although they themselves went to every length of luxury and indulgence; but they were prevented by this very circumstance from enacting the law. 3. For Hortensius, one of the men fondest of expensive living, by reviewing the great size of the city and praising the costliness of their homes as well as their generosity toward others, thus making use of their own mode of life to support his arguments, persuaded them to give up their intention. 4. They were brought to shame by his opposition and also shrank from appearing to debar others through jealousy from privileges that they themselves enjoyed; and so they voluntarily withdrew their motion.

38.1 During those same days, Pompeius dedicated the theater in which we take pride even at the present time. In it he provided an entertainment consisting of music and gymnastic contests, and in the Circus a horse-race and the slaughter of many wild beasts of all kinds. 2. Indeed, five hundred lions were used up in five days, and eighteen elephants fought against men in heavy armour. Some of these beasts were killed at the same time and others a little latter. 3. For some of them, contrary to Pompeius' wish, were pitied by the people, when, after being wounded, and ceasing to fight, they walked about with their trunks raised toward heaven, lamenting so bitterly as to give rise to the report that they did so not by mere chance, but were crying out against the oaths in which they had trusted when they crossed over from Africa, and were calling upon Heaven to avenge them. 4. For it is said that they would not set foot upon ships before they received a pledge under oath from their drivers that they should suffer no harm. Whether this is really so or not I do not know; 5. for some in time past have further declared that in addition to understanding the language of their native country, they also comprehend what is going on in the sky, so that at the time of the new moon, before that luminary comes within the gaze of men, they reach running water and there perform a kind of purification of themselves. 6. These things I have heard; I have heard also that this theater was not erected by Pompeius, but by one Demetrius, a freedman of his, with the money he had gained while making campaigns with the general. Most justly, therefore, did he give his master's name to the structure, so that Pompeius might not incur needless reproach because of the fact that his freedman had collected money enough to suffice for so huge an expenditure. (E. Cary, trans.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In Pisonem* 27.65-66 (ca. 55 B.C.):

Italia cuncta exsecratur, cuius idem tu superbissime decreta et preces repudiasti. Fac huius odii tanti ac tam universi periculum, si audes: instant post hominum memoriam apparatusissimi magnificentissimique ludi, quales non modo numquam fuerunt, sed ne quo modo fieri quidem posthac possint possum ullo pacto suspicari: da te populo, committe ludis. Sibilum metuis? Ubi sunt vesetrae scholae? Ne acclametur times? Ne id quidem est curare philosophi. Manus tibi ne adferantur? Dolor enim est malum, ut tu disputas; existimatio, dedecus, infamia, turpitudine verba atque ineptiae. Sed de hoc non dubito: non audebit accedere ad ludos. Convivium publicum non dignitatis causa inibit—suis, cenet—sed plane animi sui causa: ludos nobis idiotis relinquet; solet enim in disputationibus suis oculorum et aurium delectationi abdominis voluptates anteferre.

All Italy execrates you, for it was you again who arrogantly disregarded their resolutions and their prayers. Test by experience this bitter and widespread hatred, if you dare. We are close upon the celebration of the most elaborate and gorgeous games in the memory of man—games which are not only without parallel in the past, but of which it is difficult to conceive that future ages will ever show their like. Trust yourself to the people; make your venture at these games. Are you afraid of hisses? Where are your disquisitions? Do you fear to be hooted? That again is no matter to worry a philosopher. Do you fear physical violence? Aye, there's the rub; pain is an evil, according to your view. Reputation, infamy, disgrace, degradation—these are merely phrases, mere bagatelles. But no, I have no misgivings; he will venture to come to the games. He will attend the public banquet, not as a mark of respect—unless indeed he desires to dine with Publius Clodius or, in other words, with his minion—but, obviously, as his feelings demand; the games he will leave to "ignoramus" like us. For it is his habit in all discussions to attach higher value to the pleasures of the belly than to the delights of the eye and ear. (N. H. Watts, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 7.48.158 (ca. A.D. 65):

Galeria Copiola emboliaria reducta est in scaenam C. Poppaeo Q. Sulpicio coss. ludis pro salute div. Augusti votivis annum CIV agens; producta fuerat tirocinio a M. Pomponio aedile plebis C. Mario Cn. Corbone coss. ante annos XCI, a magno Pompeio magni theatri dedicatione annus pro miraculo reducta. Sammulam quoque CX annis vixisse auctor est Pedianus Asconius.

Galeria Copiola the actress of interludes was brought back to the stage in the consulship of Gaius Poppaeus and Quintus Sulpicius at the votive games celebrated for the recovery of his late Majesty Augustus, when in her 104th year; she had been brought out at her first appearance by Marcus Pomponius, aedile of the plebs, in the consulship of Gaius Marius and Gnaeus Carbo 91 years before, and she was brought back to the stage when an old woman by Pompeius Magnus as a marvel at the dedication of the big theater. Also Pedianus Asconius states that Sammula lived 110 years. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 8.7.19-21 (ca. A.D. 65):

Romae pugnasse Fenestella tradit primum omnium in circo Claudi Pulchri aedilitate curuli M. Antonio A. Postumio coss. anno urbis DCLV, item post annos viginti Lucullorum aedilitate curuli adversus tauros. Pompei quoque altero consulatu, dedicatione templi Veneris Victricis, viginti pugnare in circo, aut, ut quidam tradunt, XVII, Gaetulis ex adverso iaculantibus, mirabili unius dimicatione, qui pedibus confossis repsit genibus in catervas, abrepta scuta iaciens in sublime, quae decidentia voluptati spectantibus erant in orbem circumacta, velut arte non furore beluae iacerentur. Magnum et in altero miraculum fuit uno ictu occiso; pilum etenim sub oculo adactum in vitalia capitis venerat. Universi eruptionem temptavere, non sine vexatione populi, circumdatis claustris ferreis. Qua de causa Caesar dictator postea simile spectaculum editurus euripis harenam circumdedit, quos Nero princeps sustulit equiti loca addens. Sed Pompeiani missa fugae spe misericordiam vulgi inenarrabili habitu quaerentes supplicavere quadam sese lamentatione conplorantes, tanto populi dolore ut oblitus imperatoris ac munificentiae honori suo exquisitae flens universus consurgeret dirasque Pompeio quas ille mox luit inprecaretur.

Fenestella states that the first elephant fought in the circus at Rome in the curle aedileship of Claudius Pulcher and the consulship of Marcus Antonius and Aulus Postumius, and also that the first fight of an elephant against bulls was twenty years later in the curule aedileship of the Luculli. Also in Pompeius' second consulship, at the dedication of the Temple of Venus Victrix, twenty, or as some record, seventeen, fought in the Circus, their opponents being Gaetulians armed with javelins, one of the animals putting up a marvellous fights—its feet being disabled by wounds it crawled against the hordes of the enemy on its knees, snatching their shields from them and throwing them into the air, and these as they fell delighted the spectators by the curves they described, as if they were being thrown by a skilled juggler and not by an infuriated wild animal. There was also a marvellous occurence in the case of another, which was killed by a single blow, as the javelin striking it under the eye had reached the vital part of the head. The whole band attempted to burst through the iron palisading by which they were enclosed and caused considerable trouble among the public. Owing to this, when subsequently Caesar in his dictatorship was going to exhibit a similar show he surrounded the arena with channels of water; these the emperor Nero removed when adding special places for the Knighthood. But Pompeius' elephants when they had lost all hope of escape tried to gain the compassion of the crowd by indescribable gestures of entreaty, deploring their fate with a sort of wailing, so much to the distress of the public that they forgot the general and his munificence carefully devised for their honor, and bursting into tears rose in a body and invoked curses on the head of Pompeius for which he soon afterwards paid the

penalty. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Plutarch, Pomp. 52 (ca. A.D. 100):

Crassus went out to his province at the end of his year of office as consul. Pompeius, however, stayed behind to open his theater, at the dedication of which he held athletic sports and musical contests and provided wild animals in which 500 lions were killed. The most remarkable show of all—indeed a most horrifying spectacle—was an elephant fight.

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 34.18.40 (ca. A.D. 65):

Audaciae innumera sunt exempla. Moles quippe excogitatas videmus statuarum, quas colossaeas vocant, turribus pares. Talis est in Capitolio Apollo, tralatus a M. Lucullo ex Apollonia Ponti urbe, xxx cubitorum, D talentis factus; talis in campo Martio Iuppiter, a Claudio Caesare dicatus, qui devoratur Pompeiani theatri vicinitate; talis et Tarenti factus a Lysippo, XL cubitorum.

Of boldness of design the examples are innumerable. We see enormously huge statues devised, what are called Colossi, as large as towers. Such is the Apollo on the Capitol, brought over by Marcus Lucullus from Apollonia, a city of Pontus, 45 ft. high, which cost 500 talents to make; or the Jupiter which Emperor Claudius dedicated in the Campus Martius, which is dwarfed by the proximity of the theater of Pompeius; or the 60 ft. high statue at Taranto made by Lysippus. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 36.24.114 (ca. A.D. 65):

Signa aerea inter columnas, ut indicavimus, fuerunt iii numero; cavea ipsa cepit hominum LXXX, cum Pompeiani theatri totiens multiplicata urbe tantoque maiore populo sufficiat large XXXX sedere.

The bronze statues in the spaces between the columns [in the "temporary" theater of Scaurus] numbered 3,000 as I mentioned earlier. As for the auditorium, it accomodated 80,000; and yet that of Pompeius' theater amply meets all requirements with seats for 40,000 even though the city is so many times larger and the population so much more numerous than it was at that time. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Augustus, Res Gestae Divi Augusti 20 (ca. A.D. 14):

Capitolium et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensa grandi refeci sini ulla inscriptione nominis mei. Rivos aquarum compluribus locis vetustate labentes refeci, et aquam quae Marcia appellatur duplicavi fonte novo in rivum eius inmisso.

I repaired the Capitolium and the theater of Pompeius, both at great expense, without any inscription of my name. I rebuilt the channels of aqueducts, which in several places were collapsing through their old age, and I doubled the aqueduct called the Marcia with a new spring having been sent into its channel. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Tib. 47.1 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Princeps neque opera ulla magna fecit—nam et quae sola suscepit, Augusti templum restitutionemque Pompeiani theatri, imperfecta post tot annos reliquit—neque spectacula omnino edidit.

While emperor he [Tiberius] constructed no magnificent public works, for the only ones which he undertook, the temple of Augustus and the restoration of Pompeius' theater, he left unfinished after so many years. He gave no public shows at all. (J. C. Rolfe, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Claudius 21.1 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Spectacula quoque complura et magnifica edidit, non usitata modo ac solitis locis, sed et commenticia et ex antiquitate repetita, et ubi praetera nemo ante cum. Ludos dedicationis Pompeiani theatri, quod ambustum restituerat, e tribunali posito in orchestra commisit, cum prius apud superiores aedes supplicasset perque mediam caveam sedentibus ac silentibus cunctis descendisset.

He [Claudius] also produced several magnificent shows, not only the customary ones and in the usual places, but also newly inaugurated shows and shows recalled from antiquity, and further where places no one before him had ever given them before. He set on foot from a raised platform in the orchestra, after first he had dedicated at the shrines above and descended through the middle of the cavea with all sitting and being silence. (J. C. Rolfe, trans.)

Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Ann. 6.45 (ca. A.D. 105):

Idem annus gravi igne urbem adfecit, deusta parte circi, quae Aventino contigua, ipsoque Aventino; quod damnum Caesar ad gloriam vertit exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis. Mileis sestertium in munificentia ea conlocatum, tanto acceptius in vulgum, quanto modicus privatis aedificationibus ne publice quidem nisi duo opera struxit, templum Augusto et scaenam Pompeiani theatri; eaque perfecta, contemptu ambitionis an per senectutem, haud dedicavit.

The same year saw the capital visited by a serious fire, the part of the Circus adjoining the Aventine being burnt down along with the Aventine itself: a disaster which the Caesar converted to his own glory by paying the full value of the mansions and tenement-blocks destroyed. One hundred million sesterces were invested in this act of munificence, which came the more acceptably to the multitude that he was far from extravagant in building on his own behalf; whilst, even on the public account, the only two works he erected were the Temple of Augustus and a new stage for the Pompeius' theater, and in each case he was either too scornful of popularity or too old to dedicate them after completion. (J. Jackson, trans.)

Marcus Valerius Martialis, Epig. 6.9 (ca. A.D. 85):

In Pompeiano dormis, Laevine, teatro:
et quereris si te suscitatur Oceanus?

Laevinus, you sleep in Pompeius' theater; and do you
complain if Oceanus rouses you? (D. R. Shackleton Bailey, trans.)

Marcus Valerius Martialis, Epig. 10.51 (ca. A.D. 85):

Sidera iam Tyrius Phrixei respicit agni
taurus et alternum Castora fugit hiems;
ridet ager, vestitur humus, vestitur et arbor,
Ismarium paelex Attica plorat Ityn.
quos, Faustine, dies, quales tibi Roma Ravennam
abstulit! o soles, o tunicata quies!
o nemus, o fontes solidumque madentis harenae
litus et aequoreis splendidus Anxur aquis,
et non unius spectator lectulus undae,
qui videt hinc puppes fluminis, inde maris!
sed nec Marcelli Pompeianumque nec illic
sunt triplices thermae nec fora iuncta quater
nec Capitolini summum pentrale Tonantis
quaeque nitent caelo proxima templa suo.
dicere te lassum quotiens ego credo Quirino:
'quae tua sunt, tibi habe: quae mea, redde mihi.'

Now the Tyrian bull looks back at the stars of Phrixus'
lamb and winter has fled alternate Castor
The land is smiling, the soil is clothed and clothed
the tree, the Attic adulteress mourns Ismarian
Itys. Faustinus, what days, what *** has Rome
taken from you! Ah suns, ah tunic-clad repose! Ah
wood and fountains and the firm shore of moist sand
and Anxur gleaming in her sea waters and the
couch that gazes on double wave, seeing on one side
river craft, on the other marine! But no theater of
Marcellus or Pompeius is there, nor the triple baths,
nor the four connecting forums, nor the topmost
sanctuary of the Capitoline Thunderer and the shining temple close to its own sky.
How often I believe
you say in your weariness to Quirinus: "Keep what
is yours; give me back what is mine." (D. R. Shackleton Bailey, trans.)

Marcus Valerius Martialis, Epig. 14.29 (ca. 85 A.D.):

In Pompeiano tecum spectabo theatro.
nam flatus populo vela negare solet.

I shall be a spectator with you in Pompeius' theater
For the wind is liable to deny the people an awning. (D. R. Shackleton Bailey,
trans.)

Marcus Valerius Martialis, Epig. 14.166 (ca. A.D. 85):

De Pompeiano saepe est eiecta theatro
que duxit silvas detinuitque feras.

It has often been thrown out of Pompeius' theater;
the instrument that drew forests and held wild beasts. (D. R. Shackleton Bailey,
trans.)

Florus, Epitome bellorum omnium annorum DCC 2.13.8 (ca. A.D. 117-138):

Causa tantae calamitatis eadem quae omnium, nimia felicitas. Si quidem Quinto Metello Lucio Afranio consulibus cum Romana maiestas toto orbe polleret recentesque victorias, Ponticos et Armenios triumphos, in Pompeianis theatris Roma cantaret, nimia Pompei potentia apud ostiosos, ut, solet, cives movit invidiam.

The cause of this great calamity was the same which caused all our calamities, namely, excessive good fortune. In the consulship of Q. Metellus and L. Afranius, when the majesty of Rome held sway throughout the world and Rome was celebrating in the theaters of Pompeius her recent victories and her triumphs over the peoples of Pontus and Armenia, the excessive power enjoyed by Pompeius excited, as often happens, a feeling of envy among the ease-loving citizens. (E. S. Foster, trans.)

Quintus Horatius Flaccus, Carminum 1.20 (23 B.C.):

Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa
conditum levi, datus in theatro
cum tibi plausus,
care Maecenas eques, ut paterni
fluminis ripae simul et iocosa
redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
montis imago.

Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno
tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernae
temperant vites neque Formiani
pocula colles.

You will drink from ordinary cups an inexpensive Sabine wine, which, having been stored in a Graecian vessel I myself have sealed when applause was given to you in the theater, our dearly sweet eques Maecenas, so that the banks of your native river and the joyful echo of the Vatican hill might return the praise to you.

You may drink the grapes—the Caecubum and those having been crushed by a Calenian winepress: neither the Falernian vines nor the Formian hills mix my goblets. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Nero 13.2 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Perductum inde in theatrum ac rursus supplicantem iuxta se latere dextro conlocavit.

From there the king [Tiridates of Armenia] was taken to the theater, and when he had again done obeisance, Nero gave him a seat at his right hand. (J. C. Rolfe, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 50.8.1-3 (ca. A.D. 220):

Such was the enthusiasm of the two sides [of Antonius and Caesar Octavianus] and such were their preparations; meanwhile many and divers rumours were noised abroad by men, and many clear portents were shown by the gods. For example, an ape entered the temple of Ceres during a service and upset everything in it; an owl flew first into the temple of Concord and then to practically all the other most holy temples, and finally, when it had been driven away from every other place, it settled upon the temple of the Genius Populi, and it was not only not caught, but did not depart until late in the day. The chariot of Jupiter was demolished in the Circus at Rome, and for many days a torch would rise over the sea toward Greece and dart up into the sky. Much damage was also caused by storm; thus, a trophy which stood upon the Aventine fell, a statue of Victory fell from the back wall of the theater, and the wooden bridge was utterly destroyed. And many objects were destroyed by fire also, and moreover there was a huge flow of lava from Aetna which damaged cities and fields. (E. Cary, trans.)

Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Ann. 13.54 (ca. A.D. 105):

Profectique Romam dum aliis curis intentum Neronem opperiuntur, inter ea, quae barbaris ostentantur, intravere Pompei theatrum, quo magnitudinem populi viserent. Illic per otium (neque enim ludicris ignari oblectabantur) dum consessum cavae, discrimina ordinum, quis eques, ubi senatus percontantur, advertere quosdam cultu externo in sedibus senatorum; et quinam forent rogitantes, postquam audiverant earum gentium legatis id honoris datum, quae virtute et amicitia aut fide ante Germanos esse exclamant degrediunturque et inter patres considunt. Quod comiter a visentibus exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui et bona aemulatio. Nero civitate Romana ambos donavit, Frisios decedere agris iussit. Atque illis necessitatem attulit, captis caesisve qui pervicacius restiterant.

They [a pair of Frisian Ambassadors] left for Rome, where in the interval of waiting for Nero, who had other cares to occupy him, they visited the usual places shown to barbarians, and among them the theater of Pompeius, where they were to contemplate the size of the population. There, to kill time (they had insufficient knowledge to be amused by the play), they were putting questions as to the crowd seated in the auditorium—the distinctions between the orders—which were the knights?—where was the senate?—when they noticed a few men in foreign dress on the senatorial seats. They inquired who they were, and, on hearing that this was a compliment paid to the envoys of nations distinguished for their courage and for friendship to Rome, exclaimed that no people in the world ranked before the Germans in arms or loyalty, went down, and took their seats among the Fathers. The action was taken in good part by the onlookers, as a trait of primitive impetuosity and generous rivalry. Nero presented them both with Roman citizenship, and instructed the Frisians to leave the district. As they ignored the order, compulsion was applied by the unexpected despatch of a body of auxiliary horse, which captured or killed the more obstinate of those who resisted. (J. Jackson, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 33.16.54 (ca. A.D. 65):

Huius deinde successor Nero Pompei theatrum operuit auro in unum diem, quo Tiridati Armeniae regi ostenderet. Et quota pars ea fuit aureae domus ambientis urbem!

His immediate successor Nero covered the theater of Pompeius with gold for one day's purpose, when he was to display it to Tiridates King of Armenia. Yet how small was the theater in comparison with Nero's Golden Palace which goes all round the city! (H. Rackham, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 62.8.3 (ca. A.D. 220):

Rome, it seems, was not enough for him, nor Pompeius' theater, nor the great Circus, but he [Nero] desired also a foreign campaign, in order to become, as he said, victor in the Grand Tour. (E. Cary, trans.)

Plutarch, Pomp. 42.3-4 (ca. A.D. 100):

Having settled the affairs of the east and made what arrangements seemed good to him, Pompeius started on his journey home. He now traveled with much more pomp and ceremony than before. For example, when he came to Mitylene, he gave the city its freedom for the sake of Theophanes, and he was a spectator of the traditional competition held there for the poets who, this time, had only one theme, which was the exploits of Pompeius. He was very pleased with the theater itself and had sketches and plans of it made for him, with the intention of building one like it in Rome, only larger and more magnificent. (I. Scott-Kilvert, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 7.3.34-35 (ca. A.D. 65):

Pompeius Magnus in ornamentis theatri mirabiles fama posuit effigies ob id diligentius magnorum artificum ingeniis elaborates, inter quas legitur Eutythis a viginti liberis rogo inlata Tralibus enixa XXX partus, Alcippe elephantum, quamquam id inter ostenta est, namque et serpentem peperit inter initia Marsici belli ancilla et multiformes pluribus modis inter monstra partus eduntur.

Pompeius Magnus among the decorations of his theater placed images of celebrated marvels, made with special elaboration for the purpose by the talent of eminent artists; among them we read of Eutythis who at Tralles was carried to her funeral pyre by 20 children and who had given birth more than 30 times, and Alcippe who gave birth to an elephant, although it is true that the latter case ranks among the portents, for one of the first occurrences of the Marsian War was that a maidservant gave birth to a snake, and also monstrous births of various kinds are recorded among the ominous things that happened. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Pliny the Elder, HN 36.41 (ca. A.D. 65):

Inhonorus est nec in templo ullo Hercules, ad quem Poeni omnibus annis humana sacrificaverant victima, humi stans ante aditum porticus ad nationes. Sitae fuere et Thespiades ad aedem Felicitatis, quarum unam amavit eques Romanus Iunius Pisciculus, ut tradit Varro, admirator et Pasitelis, qui et quinque volumina scripsit nobilium operum in toto orbe. Natus hic in Graeca Italiae ora et civitate Romana donatus cum iis oppidis, Iovem fecit eboreum in Metelli aede, qua campus petitur. Accidit ei, cum in navalibus, ubi ferae Africanae erant, per caveam intuens leonem caelaret, ut ex alia cavea panthera erumperet, non levi periculo diligentissimi artificis. Fecisse opera complura dicitur; quae fecerit, nominatim non refertur. Arcesilaum quoque magnificat Varro, cuius se marmoream habuisse leaenam aligerosque ludentes cum ea Cupidines, quorum alii religatam tenerent, alii cornu cogere bibere, alii calciarent soccis, omnes ex uno lapide. Idem a Coponio quattuordecim nationes, quae sunt circa Pompeium, factas auctor est.

A work that is without honor and stands in no temple is the Hercules before which the Carthaginians were wont to perform human sacrifices every year. This stands at ground-level in front of the entrance to the Portico of the Nations. Formerly too there were statues of the Muses of Helicon by the temple of Prosperity, and a Roman knight, Junius Pisciculus, fell in love with one of them, according to Varro, who incidentally was an admirer of Pasiteles, a sculptor who was also the author of a treatise in five volumes on the World's Famous Masterpieces. He was a native of Magna Graecia and received Roman citizenship along with the communities of that region. The ivory Jupiter in the temple of Metellus at the approaches to the Campus Martius is his work. Once, he was at the docks, where there wild beasts from Africa, and was making a relief of a lion, peering as he did so into the cage of his model, when it so happened that a leopard broke out of another cage and caused serious danger to this most conscientious of artists. He is said to have executed a number of works, but their titles are not recorded. Arcesilaus too is highly praised by Varro, who states that he once possessed a work of his, namely Winged Cupids Playing with a Lioness, of whom some were holding it with cords, some were making it drink from a horn, and some were putting slippers on its feet, all the figures having been carved from one block. Varro also relates that it was Coponius who was responsible for the fourteen figures of the Nations which stand around Pompeius' theater. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Nero 46.1 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Numquam antea somniare solitus occisa demum matre vidit per quietem navem sibi regenti exortum gubernaculum trahique se ab Octavia uxore in artissimas tenebras et modo pinnatarum fomicarum multitudine oppleri, modo a simularcis gentium ad Pompei theatrum dedicatarum circumiri arcerique progressu.

Although he [Nero] had never before been in the habit of dreaming, after he had killed his mother it seemed to him that he was steering a ship in his sleep and that the helm was wrenched from his hands; that he was dragged, and that he was now covered with a swarm of thick wings, and now surrounded by the statues of the nations which had been dedicated in Pompeius' theater and stopped in his tracks.

(J. C. Rolfe, trans.)

Servius, In Vergilii carmina commentarii - Aen. 8.721 (late fourth century A.D.):

DONA RECOGNOSCIT POPVLORVM aurum coronarium dicit, quod 'triumphantibus' hodieque a victis gentibus datur. inponebant autem hoc imperatores propter concessam immunitatem. ideo ergo dixit 'dona:' nam si hoc non esset, spolia diceret. APTATQVE SVPERBIS POSTIBVS porticum enim Augustus fecerat in qua simulacra omnium gentium conlocaverat: qua porticus appellabatur 'ad nationes.'

HE REVIEWS THE GIFTS OF THE PEOPLES Virgil speaks about the golden wreath, because 'for those triumphing' even now it is given from defeated peoples. However imperatores imposed this because of the lawful immunity. Therefore on that account he said, "gifts:" for if this were not [so], he might have said the spoils of war. AND HE HANGS [THE GIFTS] UPON THE UPPER PART OF THE DOOR-POSTS for Augustus had made a porticus in which he assembled statues of all the nations, from which this porticus was named 'for the nations.' (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, De Spectaculis 10.1-9 (ca. A.D. 200):

1. Transeamus ad scaenicas res, quarum et originem communem et titulos pares secundum ipsam ab initio ludorum appellationem et administrationem coniunctam cum re equestri iam ostendimus. 2. Apparatus etiam ex ea parte consortes, qua ad scaenam a templis et aris et illa infelicitate turis et sanguinis inter tibias et tubas itur duobus inquinatissimis arbitris funerum et sacrorum, dissignatore et haruspice. 3. Itam cum de originibus ludorum ad circenses trasiimus, inde nunc ad scaenicos ludos dirigemus a loci vitio. Theatrum proprie sacrarium Veneris est. Hoc denique modo id genus operis in saeculo evasit. 4. Nam saepe censores nascentia cum maxime theatra destruebant moribus consulentes, quorum scilicet periculum ingens de lascivia providebant, ut iam hic ethnicis in testimonium cedat sententia ipsorum nobiscum faciens et nobis in exaggerationem disciplinae etiam humana praerogativa. 5. Itaque Pompeius Magnus solo theatro suo minor cum illam arcem omnium turpitudinum extruxisset, veritus quandoque memoriae suae censoriam animadversionem Veneris aedem superposuit et ad dedicationem edicto populum convocans, non theatrum sed Veneris templum nuncupavit, cui subiecit, inquit, gradus spectuculorum. 6. Ita damnatum et damnandum opus templi titulo praetexit et disciplinam superstitione delusit. Sed Veneri et Libero convenit. Duo ista daemonia conspirata et coniurata inter se sunt ebrietatis et libidinis. 7. Itaque theatrum Veneris Liberi quoque domus est. Nam et alios ludos scaenicom Liberalia proprie vocabant, praeterquam Libero devotos, quae sunt Dionysia penes Graecos, etiam a Libero institutos. 8. Et est plane in artibus quoque scaenicis Liberi et Veneris patrocinium. Quae privata et properia sunt scaenae, de gestu et corporis flexu mollitiae Veneris et Liberi immolant, illi per sexum, ille per luxum dissolutis. 9. Quae vero voce et modis et organis et litteris transiguntur, Apollines et Musas et Minervas et Mercurios mancipis habent.

1. Let us pass on to the stage plays. Their origin we have shown to be the same, the divine titles they bear identical, since they were called "games" from the very beginning, and were exhibited in conjunction with equestrian displays. 2. Their equipment on that side is parallel. The path to the theater is from the temples and the altars, from that miserable mess of incense and blood, to the tune of flutes and trumpets; and the masters of the ceremonies are those two all-polluted adjuncts of funeral and sacrifice, the undertaker and the soothsayer. 3. So, as we turned from the origins of the games to the shows of the circus, now we will turn to the plays of the stage, beginning with the evil character of the place. The theater is properly speaking, the shrine of Venus; and that was how this kind of structure came to exist in the world. 4. For often the censors would destroy the theaters at their very birth; they did it in the interest of morals, for they foresaw that great danger to morals must arise from the theater's licentiousness. So here the Gentiles have their own opinion coinciding with ours as evidence, and we have the preliminary

judgement of human morality to reinforce Christian law. 5. So when Pompey the Great, a man who was surpassed only by his theater in greatness, had erected that citadel of all vile practices, he was afraid that some day the censors would condemn his memory. He therefore built on top of it a shrine of Venus, and when he summoned the people by edict to its dedication, he termed it not a theater but a temple of Venus, 'under which,' he said, 'we have put tiers of seats for viewing the shows.' 6. In this way he misrepresented the character of a building, condemned and worthy of condemnation, with a temple's name, and employed superstition to make sport of morality. Venus and Liber (Bacchus), however, are close companions. The two demons of lust and drunkenness have banded together in a sworn confederacy. 7. Therefore the temple of Venus is also the House of Liber. For there were other stage plays to which they suitably gave the name Liberalia (Dionysia among the Greeks), not only dedicated to Liber, but instituted by Liber. 8. And quite obviously Liber and Venus are the patrons of the arts and of the stage. Those features of the stage peculiarly and especially its own, that effeminacy of gesture and posture, they dedicate to Venus and Liber, wanton gods, the one in her sex, the other in his dress; 9. while all that is done with voice and song, instrument and book, is the affair of the Apollos and the Muses, the Minervas and Mercuries. (G. H. Rendall, trans.)

Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticarum 10.1.1-9 (ca. A.D. 180):

'Tertiam'ne consul an 'tertio' dici oporteat; et quonam modo Cn. Pompeius, cum in theatro, quod erat dedicaturus, honores suos inscriberet, quaestionem ancipitem istius verbi de consilio Ciceronis vitaverit.

1. Familiari meo cuiquam litteras Athenis Romam misi. 2. In his scriptum fuit me illi tam 'tertium' scripsisse. 3. Is ad me rescripsit petiuitque, ut rationem dicerem, cur 'tertiam' ac non 'tertio' scripsissem. Id etiam adscripsit, ut eadem, quid super illo quoque mihi videtur, facerem se certiolem, 'tertium' ne 'consul' et 'quartum' an 'tertio' et 'quarto' dicendum esset, quoniam Romae doctum virum dicere audisset 'tertio' et 'quarto' consul, non 'tertium' que; idque in principio libri * * * Coelium scripsisse et Quintum Claudium in libro undevicesimo C. Marium creatum 'septimo' consulem dixisse.

4. Ad haec ego rescripsi nihil amplius quam verba M. Varronis, hominis, opinor, quam fuit Claudius cum Coelio doctioris, quibus verbis utrumque, de quo ad me scripserat, decideretur; 5. nam et Varro satis aperte, quid dici oporteret, edocuit, et ego adversus eum, qui doctus esse dicebatur, litem meam facere absens nolui.

6. Verba M. Varronis ex libro Disciplinarum quinto haec sunt: "Aliquid est 'quarto' praetorem fieri et 'quartum;' quod 'quarto' locum adsignificat ac tres ante factos, 'quartum' tempus adsignificat et ter ante factum. Igitur Ennius recte, quod scripsit:

Quintus pater quartum fit consul, et Pompeius timide, quod in theatro, ne adscriberet 'consul tertium' aut 'tertio,' extremas litteras non scripsit."

7. Quod de Pompeio Varro breviter et subobscurè dixit, Tiro Tullius, Ciceronis libertus, in epistula quadam enarratius scripsit ad hunc ferme modum: "Cum Pompeius," inquit, "aedem Victoriae dedicaturus foret, cuius gradus vicem theatri essent, nomenque eius et honores inscriberentur, quaeri coeptum est utrum 'consul tertio' inscribendum esset an 'tertium.' Eam rem Pompeius exquisitissime rettulit ad doctissimos civitatis, cumque dissentiretur et pars 'tertio,' alii 'tertium' scribendum contenderent, rogavit," inquit, "Ciceronem Pompeius, ut quod ei rectius videretur scribi iuberet," Tum Ciceronem iudicare de viris doctis veritum esse, ne, quorum opinionem improbasset, ipsos videretur improbasse. "Persausit igitur Pompeio, ut neque 'tertium' neque 'tertio' scriberetur, sed ad secundam usque "t" fierent litterae, ut verbo perscripto res quidem demonstraretur, sed dictio tamen ambigua verbi lateret.

8. Id autem, quod et Varro et Tiro dixerunt, in eodem nunc theatro non est ita scriptum. 9. Nam cum multis annis postea scaena, quae prociderat, refecta esset, numerus tertii consulatus non uti initio primoribus litteris, sed tribus tantum liniolis incisus significatus est.

Whether one ought to say *tertium consul* or *tertio*; and how Gnaeus Pompeius, when he would inscribe his honors on the theater which he was about to dedicate, by Cicero's advice evaded the difficulty as to the form of that word.

1. I sent a letter from Athens to a friend of mine in Rome. 2. In it I said that I had now written him for the third time (*tertium*). 3. In his reply he asked me to give my reason for having written *tertium* and not *tertio*. He added that he hoped I would at the same time inform him what I thought about the question whether one should say *tertium consul*, meaning "consul for the third time" and *quartum* or *tertio* and *quarto*; since he had heard a learned man at Rome say *tertio* and *quarto consul*, not *tertium* and *quartum*; also, that Coelius had so written at the beginning of his third book and that Quintus Claudius in his eleventh book said that Marius was chosen consul for the seventh time, using *septimo*.

4. In reply to these questions, to decide both matters about which he had written to me, I contented myself with quoting Marcus Varro, a more learned man in my opinion than Coelius and Claudius together. 5. For Varro has made it quite plain what ought to be said, and I did not wish, when at a distance, to enter into a dispute with a man who had the name of being learned.

6. Marcus Varro's words, in the fifth book of his *Disciplinae*, are as follows: "It is one thing to be made praetor *quarto* and another *quartum*; for *quarto* refers to order and indicates that three were elected before him; *quartum* refers to time and indicates that he had been made praetor three times before. Accordingly Ennius was right when he wrote:

'Quintus, his sire, a fourth time (*quartum*) consul is,'

and Pompeius was timid when, in order to avoid writing *consul tertiam* or *tertio* on his theater, he did not write the final letters."

7. What Varro briefly and somewhat obscurely hinted at concerning Pompeius, Tullius Tiro, Cicero's freedman, wrote at greater length in one of his letters, substantially as follows: "When Pompeius was preparing to consecrate the temple of Victory, the steps of which formed his theater, and to inscribe upon it his name and honors, the question arose whether *consul tertium* should be written, or *tertio*. Pompeius took great pains to refer the question to the most learned men of Rome, and when there was a difference of opinion, some maintaining that *tertio* ought to be written, others *tertium*, Pompeius asked Cicero," says Tiro, "to decide upon what seemed to him the most correct form." Then Cicero was reluctant to pass judgment upon learned men, lest he might seem to have censured the men themselves in criticizing their opinion. "He accordingly advised Pompeius to write neither *tertium* or *tertio*, but to inscribe the first four letters only, so that the meaning was shown without writing the whole word, but yet the doubt as to the form of the word was concealed."

8. But that of which Varro and Tiro spoke is not now written in that way on this same theater. 9. For when many years later, the back wall of the stage had fallen and was restored, the number of the third consulship was indicated, not as before, by the first four letters, but merely by three incised lines. (J. C. Rolfe, trans.)

**Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.9404 = Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
7249 (early first century A.D.):**

dis manibus
L. Trebio Fido quinquennali
collegi
perpetuo fabrum soliarium
baxiarium (centuriarum trium) qui consistunt
in scola sub theatro Aug. Pompein.
et immuni Romae regionibus XIII,
sibi et
Trebiae Ammiae uxori et libertis libertabus
posterisque eorum omnibus.
Taberna cum aedificio et cisterna
monimento custodia cedit
lege publica, uti liceat itum aditum ambit.
hastum aquae ligna sumere.

To the departed spirits. [This monument is] For Lucius Trebius Fidus, [magister] quinquennalis for life of the guild of sandal-making artisans [who gives] for the sandal-makers the three centuriae [of real-estate], which have been established in their meeting area near the theater of Augustus-Pompeius and for them in the 14 regions at Rome free of obligation, and for Trebia Ammia, his wife, and his freedmen and freedwomen and all the descendants of them. His shop with the building and the cistern falls to the lot of the custodian for this monument by public law: that man will petition for access so that he may be permitted the right of passage. Firewood procures the right to draw water. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Curia Pompei

A hall in the [Porticus Pompei](#) (q.v.), probably one of its exedrae ([Plut. Brut. 14](#); [Plin. NH 35.59](#)), where the senate sometimes met ([Gell. 14.7.7.](#); [Asc. in Mil. 67](#); [Cass. Dio 44.16](#)), and where Caesar was murdered ([Cic. de div. 2.23](#); [Nic. Damasc. Caes. 23](#); [Liv. Per. 116](#); [Suet. Iul. 80, 81](#) (c. Pompeiana); [Plut. Caes. 66-67](#); [App. BC 2.111](#), [App. BC 114-118](#); [Eutrop. 6.25](#)). The statue of Pompeius that stood in the exedra was removed by Augustus, who walled up the curia as a locus sceleratus ([Suet. Div. Iul. 88](#); [Aug. 31](#); [Cass. Dio 47.19](#)).

[Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929 (rev. ed.). "Curia Pompei." A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: 146. London: Oxford University Press.]

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Porticus Pompei

Built in 55 B.C. by Pompeius at the same time as his [THEATRE](#), and adjoining its scaena. The purpose of the porticus was to afford shelter for the spectators in case of rain ([Vitr. 5.9.1](#)). It is represented on the Marble Plan, and was a rectangular court, about 180 metres long and 135 wide, in which were four parallel rows of columns. The central area was laid out as a garden with shady walks ([Prop. 2.32.11-12](#)) and contained various works of art ([Plin. NH 35. 59, 114, 126, 132](#)). Among these was a painting of Cadmus and Europa by Antiphilus, which is not to be identified with the representation of Europa which gave its name to the Porticus Europae, described by Martial, which, A. Reinach maintains, was a bronze group made by Pythagoras of Rhegium for Tarentum. The [CURIA POMPEI](#) in which Caesar was murdered was probably an exedra in this porticus ([Asc. in Mil. 67](#); cf. [Gell. 14.7.7](#)). That the porticus was one of the most popular in the city is clear from the numerous incidental references ([Cic. de fato 8; de off. 2.60; Cat. 55.6; Ov. AA 1.67; 3.387; Prop. 4.8.75; Mart. 2.14.10; 11.1; 11.47.3; Cass. Dio 44.16](#)).

The porticus was burned in the reign of Carinus ([Hist. Aug. Car. 19](#)), and restored by Diocletian ([Chron. 148: porticos ii](#)), under the direction of Aelius Helvius Dionysius, the prefect of the city ([CIL 6.255, 256](#)), who called one side of the restored structure porticus Iovia, and the other porticus Herculea, in honour of the two emperors Diocletian and Maximian. It may be referred to as the portica Nova, which was ruined by the earthquake of 442. No remains of this building are visible, and the discoveries on its site have been unimportant.

[Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929 (rev. ed.). "Porticus Pompei." A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: 428-429. London: Oxford University Press.]

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Vitruvius, De arch. 5.9.1-2 (ca. 30 B.C.):

1. Post scaenam porticus sunt constituendae, uti, cum imbres repentini ludos interpellaverint, habeat populus, quo se recipiat ex theatro, choragiaeque laxamentum habeant ad comparandum. Uti sunt porticus Pompeiana, itemque Athenis porticus Eumeniae Patrisque Liberi fanum et exeuntibus e theatro sinistra parte odeum, quod Themistocles columnis lapideis dispositis navium malis et antemnis e spoliis Persicis pertexit (idem autem etiam incensum Mithridatico bello rex Ariobarzanes restituit); Smyrnae Stratoniceum; Tralibus porticus ex utraque parte, ut scaenae, supra stadium; ceterisque civitatibus, quae diligentiores habuerunt architectos, circa theatra sunt porticus et ambulationes. 2. Quae videntur ita oportere conlocari, uti duplices sint habeantque exteriores columnas doricas cum epistyllis et ornamentis ex ratione modulationis perfectas.

1. Behind the stage, colonnades are to be planned so that when the play is interrupted by sudden showers, the audience may have a place of refuge; the colonnades may also furnish room to set up the stage machinery. At Rome there are the Colonnades of Pompey; at Athens there are the Colonnades of Eumenes, the Temple of Bacchus, and as you leave the theater, on the left-hand side there is the Odeum. This Themistocles planned with stone columns and completed with masts and yards from the Persian spoils. It was burnt in the Mithridatic War and King Ariobarzanes restored it. At Smyrna is the Colonnade of Stratonice. At Tralles there are colonnades above the stadium on either side, like those of a theater. In other cities also which have had skillful architects there are colonnades and walks adjoining the theaters. 2. These, it appears, should be so planned that they are double, having Doric columns on the outside finished with architraves and ornaments in due proportion. (F. Granger, trans.)

Sextus Propertius, Elegies 2.32.1-18 (ca. 20 B.C.):

Qui videt, is peccat; qui te non viderit ergo,
non cupiet: facti lumina crimen habent.
nam quid Praenesti dubias, o Cynthia, sortes,
quid petis Aeaei moenia Telegoni?
cur tua te Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur?
Appia cur totiens te via Lanuvium?
hoc utinam spatiere loco, quodcumque vacabis,
Cynthia! sed tibi me credere turba vetat,
cum videt accensis devotam currere taedis
in nemus et Triviae lumina ferre deae.
scilicet umbrosia sordet Pompeia columnis
porticus, aulaeis nobilis Attalicis,
et platanis creber pariter surgentibus ordo,
flumina sopito quaeque Marone cadunt,
et sonitus lymphis toto crepitantibus orbe,
cum subito Triton ore refundit aquam.
falleris, ista tui furtum via monstrat amoris:
non urbem, demens, lumina nostra fugis!

Who sees you, sins: he who does not see you,
Won't desire: the eyes must bear the blame.
Why do you seek at Praeneste dubious oracles,
Cynthia, why the walls of Aeaeian Telegonus?
Why do chariots carry you thus to Hercules' Tiber?
Why so often the Appian Way to Lanuvium?
Here I'd have you amble, whenever you've leisure,
Cynthia! But the world forbids me trust you,
When it sees you hurry, bewitched, with kindled pine
To the grove, bearing lights for the goddess Trivia.
No doubt Pompeius' shady colonnade,
Famed for Attalian cloth of gold, seems drab,
And the avenue lush with evenly springing planes,
The jets that pour from Maro lulled to sleep
As waters chatter lightly through all the city
Till the Tritons suddenly stores the streams in his mouth.
You delude yourself, your route reveals love's tricks:
It's not the city but my eyes you madly flee! (G. P. Goold, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 35.59 (ca. A.D. 65):

Huius est tabula in porticu Pompei quae ante curiam eius fuerat, in qua dubitatur an ascendentem cum clupea pinxerit an descendentem.

There is a picture by this artist [Polygnotos of Thasos] in the portico of Pompeius, which before had been in the Curia of Pompeius, with reference to which, there is some doubt whether the man represented with the shield is in the act of ascending or descending. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 35.114 (ca. A.D. 65):

Parva et Callicles fecit, item Calates comicis tabellis, utraque Antiphilus. Namque et Hesionam nobilem pinxit et Alexandrum ac Philippum cum Minerva, qui sunt in schola in Octaviae porticibus, et in Philippi Libertum patrem, Alexandrum puerum, Hippolytum tauro emisso expavescentem, in Pompeia vero Cadmum et Europen.

Calicles also made small pictures, and so did Calates of subjects taken from comedy; both classes were painted by Antiphilus, who executed the famous picture of Hesione, and an Alexander and a Phillip with Athene which are now in the school in Octavia's Porticoes, and in Philippus' Portico a Father Liber or Dionysus, a Young Alexander, a Hippolytus alarmed by the Bull rushing upon him, and in Pompeius' Portico a Cadmus and Europa. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 35.126 (ca. A.D. 65):

Pausias autem fecit et grandes tabulas, sicut spectatam in Pompei porticu bovum immolationem.

However, Pausias also made large pictures, for example the Sacrifice of the Oxen which has been seen in the porticus of Pompeius. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, HN 35.132 (ca. A.D. 65):

Fecit et grandes picturas, in quibus sunt Calypso et Io et Andromeda; Alexander quoque in Pompei porticibus praecellens et Calypso sedens huic eidem adscribuntur.

He [Nicias the Athenian] also executed some large pictures, among them a Calypso, an Io, and an Andromeda; and also the very fine Alexander in the Porticoes of Pompeius and a seated Calypso are assigned to him. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Quintus Asconius Pedianus, Commentarii [Pro Milone] 51-52C (ca. A.D. 40):

In eadem contione idem dixerat - habuit enim eam a.d. VIII Kal. Febr. - cum Milo pridie, id est VIII Kal. Febr., venire ad Pompeium in hortos eius voluisset, Pompeium ei per hominem propinquum misisse nuntium ne ad se veniret. Prius etiam quam Pompeius ter consul crearetur, tres tribuni, Q. Pompeius Rufus, C. Sallustius Crispus, T. Munatius Plancus, cum cotidianis contionibus suis magnam invidiam Miloni propter occisum Clodium excitarent, produxerant ad populum Cn. Pompeium et ab eo quaesierant num ad eum delatum esset illius quoque rei indicium, suae vitae insidiari Milonem. Responderat Pompeius: Licinium quendam de plebe sacrificulum qui solitus esset familias purgare ad se detulisse servos quosdam Milonis itemque libertos comparatos esse ad caedem suam, nomina quoque servorum eidisse; se ad Milonem misisse utrum in potestate sua haberet; a Milone responsum esse, ex iis servis quos nominasset partim neminem se umquam habuisse, partim manumississe; dein, cum Licinium apud se haberet, . . . Lucium quendam de plebe ad corrumpendum indicem venisse; qua re cognita in vincla eum publica esse coniectum. Decreverat enim senatus ut cum interrege et tribunis plebis Pompeius daret operam ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. [52C] Ob has suspiciones Pompeius in superioribus hortis se continuerat; deinde ex S.C. dilectu per Italiam habito cum redisset, venientem ad se Milonem unum omnium non admiserat. Item cum senatus in porticu Pompei haberetur ut Pompeius posset interesse, unum eum excuti prius quam in senatum intraret iusserat.

At this same contio on 25 January he [Q. Pompeius Rufus, tr. pl.] had also said that Milo had intended visiting Pompeius in his garden villa on the 24th, but Pompeius had sent a message by an intimate telling him not to come. Even before Pompeius' appointment as consul for the third time, three tribuni plebis - Q. Pompeius Rufus, C. Sallustius Crispus, T. Munatius Plancus - had at daily contiones been inflaming feeling against Milo because of Clodius' murder, and had brought Pompeius before the populus, asking him whether he had acquired evidence that Milo was plotting against his life. Pompeius' reply was that a man called Licinius, a plebeius priest who carried out purifications, had given him some information, namely that some slaves and freedman of Milo's had been instructed to murder him; freedman of Milo's had been instructed to murder him; Licinius also named the slaves. He Pompeius had inquired whether Milo had them in his jurisdiction. Milo's reply had been that of the slaves identified some had never been his property, some he had emancipated. Then, while Licinius was still with him, Pompeius had had a visit from Lucius, a plebeius, who had come to bribe the informer. This fact came out, and the man was then imprisoned, since the senate had passed a decree that Pompeius, together with the interrex and the tribuni plebis, should ensure that the state suffered no harm. Pompeius had by now

become suspicious, and remained in the upper part of his garden villa. After this, troops were raised in Italy by senatorial decree; and he reappeared; of those that called him Milo was the only not admitted. Furthermore, a meeting of the senate was held in Pompeius' portico so that Pompeius could attend, and he insisted on Milo being removed before he would enter. (S. Squires, trans.)

Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticarum* 14.7.7 (ca. A.D. 180):

Tum adscripsit de locis in quibus senatusconsultum fieri iure posset, docuitque confirmavitque, nisi in loco per augurem constituto, quod "templum" appellaretur, senatusconsultum factum esset, iustum id non fuisse. Propterea et in curia Hostilia et in Pompeia et post in Iulia, cum profana ea loca fuissent, templa esse per augures constituta ut in iis senatusconsulta more maiorum iusta fieri possent. Inter quae id quoque scriptum reliquit, non omnes aedes sacras templa esse ac ne aedem quidem Vestae templum esse.

Varro then added a list of the places in which a decree of the senate might lawfully be made, and he showed and maintained that this was regular only in a place which had been appointed by an augur, and called a "temple." Therefore in the Hostilian curia and in the Pompeian curia and later in the Julian curia, since those were unconsecrated places, temples were established by the augurs, in order that in those places lawful decrees of the senate might be made according to ancestral customs. In connection with which he also wrote this, that not all sacred places are temples, and that not even the aedes of Vestae was a temple. (J. Rolfe, trans.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero, De fato 4.8 (44 B.C.):

Diiunge longius: quid enim loci natura afferre potest ut in Porticu Pompeii potius quam in campo ambulemus? Tecum quam cum alio? Idibus potius quam Kalendis?

Carry the distinction further: tell me, can the nature of the locality cause us to take our walk in Pompeius' Porch rather than in the Campus? in your company rather than someone else's? on the fifteenth of the month rather than on the first? (H. Rackham, trans.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero, De officiis 2.17.60 (44 B.C.):

Theatra, porticus, nova templa verecundis reprehendo propter Pompeium, sed doctissimi non probant, ut et hic ipse Panaetius, quem multum in his libris secutus sum, non interpretatus, et Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Graeciae, vituperat, quod tantam pecuniam in praeclara illa propylaea coniecerit. Sed de hoc genere toto in iis libris, quos de re publica scripsi, diligenter est disputatam.

Out of respect for Pompey's memory I am rather diffident about expressing any criticism of theatres, colonnades, and new temples and yet the greatest philosophers do not approve of them—our Panaetius himself, for example, whom I am following, not slavishly translating in these books; so, too, Demetrius of Phalerum, who denounces Pericles, the foremost man of Greece, for throwing away so much money on the magnificent, far-famed Propylaea. But this whole them is discussed at length in my books on "The Republic." (W. Miller, trans.)

Catullus, 55 (ca. 55 B.C.):

Oramus, si forte non molestum est,
demonstres ubi sint tuae tenebrae.
te Campo quaesiuimus minore,
te in Circo, te in omnibus libellis,
te in templo summi Iouis sacrato.
in Magni simul ambulatione
femellas omnes, amice, prendi,
quas uultu uidi tamen sereno.
auelte, sic ipse flagitabam,
Camerium mihi pessimae puellae.
quaedam inquit, nudum reduc...
'en hic in roseis latet papillis.'
sed te iam ferre Herculi labos est;
tanto te in fastu negas, amice.
dic nobis ubi sis futurus, ede
audacter, committe, crede luci.
nunc te lacteolae tenent puellae?
si linguam clauso tenes in ore,
fructus proicies amoris omnes.
uerbosa gaudet Venus loquella.
uel, si uis, licet obseres palatum,
dum uestri sim particeps amoris.

We ask you, if perchance it isn't troublesome,
to show (us) where your haunts are.

I sought you in the Campus Minor,
in the Circus, in all the bookshops,
in the Temple of Jupiter on High,
likewise in the Portico of Magnus

I took hold of all the girlies, my friend,
whom I saw, however, with unclouded faces.

* * *, so I demanded

my Camerius, you very naughty girls.

A certain girl said, undressed with respect to her bare chest,
"Look here! He hides here in my rosy breasts."

But to endure you is now a labor of Hercules.

You deny yourself in such arrogance, my friend.

Tell us where you will be found, publish it
clearly, entrust it to us, expose it to the daylight.

Now are you holding those milky-white girls?

If you hold a tongue in closed mouth,
you renounce all the satisfaction of love.
Venus rejoices in long-winded speech.
Or, if you prefer, it is permitted that you shut your mouth,
as long as I am a partner in your love.
(U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Publius Ovidius Naso [Ovid], *Artis Amatoriae* 1.67-114 (ca. 1 BC):

Tu modo Pompeia lentus spatiare sub umbra,
Cum sol Herculei terga leonis adit:
Aut ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater
Addidit, externo marmore dives opus.
Nec tibi vitetur quae, priscis sparsa tabellis,
Porticus auctoris Livia nomen habet:
Quaque parare necem miseris patrubelibus ausae
Belides et stricto stat ferus ense pater.
Nec te praetereat Veneri ploratus Adonis,
Cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro.
Nec fuge linigeræ Memphisitica templa iuvencae:
Multas illa facit, quod fuit ipsa Iovi.
Et fora conveniunt (quis credere possit?) amori:
Flammaque in arguto saepe reperta foro:
Subdita qua Veneris facto de marmore templo
Appias expressis aera pulsat aquis,
Illo saepe loco capitur consultus Amori,
Quique aliis cavit, non cavet ipse sibi:
Illo saepe loco desunt sua verba deserto,
Resque novae veniunt, causaque agenda sua est.
Hunc Venus e templis, quae sunt confinia, ridet:
Qui modo patronus, nunc cupit esse cliens.
Sed tu praecipue curvis venare theatris:
Haec loca sunt voto fertiliora tuo.
Illic invenies quod ames, quod ludere possis,
Quodque semel tangas, quodque tenere velis.
Ut redit itque frequens longum formica per agmen,
Granifero solitum cum vehit ore cibum,
Aut ut apes saltusque suos et olentia nactae
Pascua per flores et thyma summa volant,
Sic ruit ad celebres cultissima femina ludos:
Copia iudicium saepe morata meum est.
Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae:
Ille locus casti damna pudoris habet.
Primus sollicitos fecisti, Romule, ludos,
Cum iuvis viduos rapta Sabina viros.
Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro,
Nec fuerant liquido pulpita rubra croco;
Illic quas tulerant nemorosa Palatia, frondes
Simpliciter positae, scena sine arte fuit;

In gradibus sedit populus de caespite factis,
Qualibet hirsutas fronde tegente comas.
Respiciunt, oculisque notant sibi quisque puellam
Quam velit, et tacito pectore multa movent.
Dumque, rudem praebente modum tibicine Tusco,
Ludius aequatam ter pede pulsat humum,
In medio plausu (plausus tunc arte carebant)
Rex populo praedae signa petita dedit.

Only walk leisurely beneath the Pompeian shade,
when the sun draws nigh to Hercules' shaggy lion,
or where the mother has added her own gifts to her
son's, a work rich with marble coating. Nor should
you avoid the Livian colonnade which, scattered o'er
with ancient paintings keeps its founder's name, or
where the daughters of Belus dare to plot death for
their wretched cousins and their fierce sire stands
with drawn sword. Nor let Adonis bewailed of
Venus escape you, nor the seventh day that the
Syrian Jews holds sacred. Avoid not the Memphian
shrine of the linen-clothed heifer: many a maid does
she make what she was herself to Jove. Even the
law-courts (who could believe it?) are suitable to
love, often has its flame been found in the shrill-
tongued court: where set beneath the marble shrine
of Venus, the Appian nymph strikes the air with her
upspringing waters, there often is the lawyer cheated
by Love, and he who was careful for others is not
careful for himself: often there does the glib speaker
fail for words: a new case comes on and his own
cause must be pleaded. Venus laughs at him from
her neighboring shrine: he who was of late an
advocate would fain be client now.
But specially do your hunting in the round theaters:
more bountifully do these repay your vows. There
will you find an object for passion or for dalliance,
something to taste but once, or to keep, if so you
wish. As crowded ants pass and repass in a long
train, bearing in grain-burdened mouths their wonted
food, or as bees, having gained their dells and fragrant
pastures, flit o'er the blossoms and hover o'er
the thyme: so hasten the smartest women to the crowded
games; many a time have their numbers made my

judgment falter. They come to see, they come that
they may be seen: to chastity that place is fatal.
Thou first, Romulus, didst disturb the games, when
the rape of Sabine women consoled the widowed men.
No more awnings then hung o'er a marble theater, nor was
the platform ruddy with crocus-spray; there, artlessly
arranged, were garlands which the leafy Palatine had
borne; the stage was unadorned; the people sat on
steps of turf, any chance leaves covering their un-
kempt hair. They look about them, and each notes
with his glance the woman he desires, and they brood
much in their secret hearts. And while to the Tuscan
flute-player's rude strains the dancer struck thrice
with his foot the levelled floor, in the midst of the
applause (the applause then was rough and rude) the
king gave to the people the expected sign of rape.
(J. Mozley, trans.)

Publius Ovidius Naso [Ovid], *Artis Amatoriae* 3.381-396 (ca. 1 BC):

Hos ignava iocos tribuit natura puellis;
Materia ludunt uberiore viri.
Sunt illis celersque pilae iaculumque trochique
Armaque et in gyros ire coactus equus.
Nec vos Campus habet, nec vos gelidissima Virgo,
Nec Tuscus placida devehit amnis aqua.
At licet et prodest Pompeias ire per umbras,
Virginis aetheriis cum caput ardet equis;
Visite laurigero sacrata Palatia Phoebos:
Ille Paraetonicas mersit in alta rates;
Quaeque soror coniunxque ducis monimenta pararunt,
Navalique gener cinctus honore caput;
Visite turicremas vaccae Memphitidos aras,
visite conspicuis terna theatra locis;
Spectentur tepido maculosae sanguine harenae,
Metaque ferventi circueunda rota.

These are the games that indolent nature has give to women; men have richer material for their sport. Swift balls have they, and javelins and hoops and armour, and the horse that is trained to go in circles. You the Campus know not, nor the cool water of the Maiden, nor does the Tuscan river bear you down on its placid stream. But you may, and with profit, walk through the Pompeian shade, when the head is scorched with the Maiden's celestial steeds. Visit the Palace sacred to laurelled Phoebus: it was he that sank in the deep the Paraetonian barks; and the monuments that the sister and consort of our Chief have won, and his son-in-law whose head is wreathed with naval glory. Visit the incense-burning altars of the Memphian heifer; visit the three theaters in conspicuous seats. See the arena stained with warm blood, and the goal that the glowing wheels must round. (J. Mozeley, trans.)

Sextus Propertius, Elegies 4.8.71-78 (ca. 20 B.C.):

supplicibus palmis tum demum ad foedera veni,
cum vix tangendos praebuit illa pedes,
atque ait 'admissae si vis me ignoscere culpae,
accipe, quae nostrae formula legis erit.
tu neque Pompei spatibere cultus in umbra,
nec cum lascivum sternet harena Forum.
colla cave inflectas ad summum obliqua theatrum,
aut lectica tuae se det aperta morae.

With suppliant palms I begged for a truce,
Although she'd scarcely proffer her feet to my touching,
And said, "If you'd have me overlook admitted sins,
Accept the precondition of my rule.
Sharply dressed you shall not stroll in the shade of Pompey,
Nor when sand strews the licentious Forum.
Take care you do not dip your neck and bob
To the theatre's upper-circle, nor dawdle
Because some litter shows itself undraped. (G. P. Goold, trans.)

Marcus Valerius Martialis, Epig. 2.14 (ca. A.D. 85):

Nil intemptatum Selius, nil linquit inausum,
cenandum quotiens iam videt esse domi.
currit ad Europen et te, Pauline, tuosque
laudat Achilleos, sed sine fine, pedes.
si nihil Europe fecit, tunc Saepta petuntur,
si quid Phillyrides praestet et Aesonides.
hic quoque deceptus Memphitica templa frequentat,
assidet et cathedris, maesta iuvenca, tuis.
inde petit centum pendentia tecta columnis,
illinc Pompei dona nemusque duplex.
nec Fortunati spernit nec balnea Fausti.
nec Grylli tenebras Aeoliamque Lupi:
nam thermis iterum ternis iterumque lauatur.
omnia cum fecit, sed renuente deo,
lotus ad Europes tepidae buxeta recurrit,
si quis ibi serum carpat amicus inter.
per te perque tuam, vector lascive, puellam,
ad cenam Silium, tu, rogo, taure, voca.

Selius leaves nothing untried, nothing unventured, whenever he sees that he has to dine at home. He runs to Europa and praises you, Paulinus, and your feet fast as Achilles'—interminably. If Europa does nothing, he heads for the Enclosure to see whether the sons of Phillyra and the son of Aeson will furnish anything. Disappointed here too, he goes and hangs around the goddess of Memphis's temple and seats himself beside your chairs, sorrowful heifer. Thence he seeks the roof supported by a hundred columns, and from there the gift of Pompeius and the double wood. Nor does he scorn the baths of Fortunatus nor those of Faustus nor yet the gloom of Gryllus and Lupus' Aeolian cavern. As for the three hot baths, he uses them again and again. When he has tried everything but the god refuses, he runs after his ablutions back to the box shubbery of sun-warmed Europa, in a case a friend may be making his way there late. Wanton, mount, I beg you in your own name and your girl's, o bull, you invite Selius to dinner. (D. Shackleton Bailey, trans.)

Marcus Valerius Martialis, Epig. 11.1 (ca. A.D. 85):

Quo tu, quo, libeer otiose, tendis
cultus Sidone non cotidiana?
numquid Parthenium videre? certe:
vadas et redeas inevolutus.
libros non legit ille sed libellos;
nec Musis vacat, aut suis vacaret.
ecquid te satis aestimas beatum,
contingunt tibi si manus minores?
vicini pete porticum Quirini:
turbam non habet otiosiore
Pompeius vel Agenoris puella,
vel primae dominus levis carinae.
sunt illic duo tresve qui revolvant
nostrarum tineas ineptiarum,
sed cum sponsio fabulaeque lassae
de Scorpo fuerint et Incitato.

Where, where are you going, holiday book, dressed
in purple not of every day? Is it to see Parthenius?
To be sure. You would go and return unrolled. He
does not read books but petitions, and has no time
for the Muses, else he would have time for his own.
Do you think yourself sufficiently happy if you fall
into lesser hands? Then make for the colonnade of
our neighbor Quirinus. Not Pompeius, nor Agenor's
girl, nor the fickle captain of the first ship has an
idler crowd. There are two or three there to unroll
the bookworms breeding in my trifles, but only
when the betting and gossiping about Scorpis and
Incitatus is played out. (D. Shackleton Bailey, trans.)

Marcus Valerius Martialis, Epig. 11.47 (ca. A.D. 85):

Omnia femineis quare dilecta catervis
balnea devitat Lattara? ne futuat.
cur nec Pompeia lentus spatatur in umbra
nec petit Inachidos limina? ne futuat.
cur Lacedaemonio luteum ceromate corpus
perfundit gelida Virgine? ne futuat.
cum sic feminei generis contagia vitet,
cur lingit cunnum Lattara? ne futuat.

Why does Lattara avoid all baths patronized by the
feminine cohorts? He doesn't want to fornicate.
Why doesn't he take a leisurely stroll in Pompeius'
shade or repair to the threshold of Inachus'
daughter? Doesn't want to fornicate. Why does he
sluice his body, all plastered with Lacedaemonian
mud, with cold Virgin water? Doesn't want to fornicate.
Since he is at such pains to avoid contact with
the female sex, why does Lattara lick a cunt?
Doesn't want to fornicate. (D. Shackleton Bailey, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 44.16 (ca. A.D. 220):

16. It had been decided by them to make the attempt in the senate, for they thought that there Caesar would least expect to be harmed in any way and would thus fall an easier victim, while they would find a safe opportunity by having swords instead of documents brought into the chamber in boxes, and the rest, being unarmed, would not be able to offer any resistance. But in case any one should be so rash, they hoped at least that the gladiators, many of whom they had previously stationed in Pompeius' Theater under the pretext that they were to contend there, would come to their aid; for these were to lie in wait somewhere there in a certain room of the peristyle. So the conspirators, when the appointed day was come, gathered in the senate-house at dawn and called for Caesar. (E. Cary, trans.)

Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Carus, Carinus, Numerian 19.1-3 (ca. 360 A.D.):

Memorable maxime Cari et Carini et Numeriani hoc habuit imperium, quod ludos populo Romano novis ornatus spectaculis dederunt, quos in Palatio circa porticum stabuli pictos vidimus. 2. Nam et neurobaten, qui velut in ventis cothurnatus ferretur, exhibuit, et toichobaten, qui per parietem urso eluso cucurrit, et ursos mimum agentes et item centum salpistas uno crepitu concinentes et centum ceratulas, choraulas centum, etiam pythaulas centum, pantomimos et gymnicos mille, pegma praeterea, cuius flammis scaena conflagravit, quam Diocletianus postea magnificentiorem reddidit. Mimos praeterea undique advocavit. 3. Exhibuit et ludum Saramaticum, quo dulcius nihil est. Exhibuit Cyclopea. Donatum est Graecis artificibus et gymnics et histrionibus et musicis aurum et argentum, donata et vestis serica.

The most noteworthy event of the rule of Carus, Carinus, and Numerian was the series of games that they gave the Roman people, distinguished by some novel spectacles, a painting of which we have seen in the Palace near the portico of the stables. 2. For there was exhibited a rope-walker, who in his buskins seemed to be walking on the winds, also a wall-climber, who, eluding a bear, ran up a wall, also some bears which acted a farce, and, besides, one hundred trumpeters who blew one single blast together, one hundred horn-blowers, one hundred flute-players, also one hundred flute-players who accompanied songs, one thousand pantomimists and gymnasts, moreover, a mechanical scaffold, which, however burst into flames and burned up the stage—though this Diocletian later restored on a more magnificent scale. Furthermore the actors were gathered together from every side. 3. They were given also Sarmatian games, than which nothing affords greater pleasure, and, besides, a Cyclops performance. And they bestowed on the Greek artists and gymnasts and actors and musicians both gold and silver and they bestowed on them also garments of silk. (D. Magie, trans.)

Chronographus Anni CCCLIII, [Item Imperia Caesarum], 148.21-24 (ca. late fifth century A.D.):

Diocletianus et Maximianus imper. ann. XXI m. XI dies XII. cong. dederunt [M] DL. His imper. multae operae publicae fabricatae sunt: senatum, forum Caesaris, basilica Iulia, scaena Pompei, porticos II, nympha III, templa II Iseum and Serapeum, arcum novum, thermas Diocletianas.

Diocletian and Maximian ruled for 21 years 11 months and 12 days. They gave a donation of 1550 denarii. With these men ruling, many public buildings were constructed: the senate, the forum of Caesar, the Iulian basilica, the scaena of Pompeius, [the] two porticos, three nymphaei, two temples, Isis and Serapis, a new arch, and the baths of Diocletian. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.255-256 (ca. A.D. 285):

CIL 6.255

GENIO · IOVII · AVG
IOVIA · PORTICV · EIVS · A · FVNDAMENTIS
ABSOLVTA · EXCVLTAQUE
AELIVS · DIONYSIVS · V · C · OPERI · FACIVNDO

Aelius Dionysius, the Very Distinguished Gentleman,
for dedicating this building [sets it up]
to the Genius of Iovius Augustus,
with the Iovian porticus of this man
from the foundation having been completed and polished. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

CIL 6.255

GENIO · HERCVLEI · AVG
HERCVLEA · PORTICV · EIVS
A · FVNDAMENTIS · ABSOLVTA
EXCVLTAQUE
AELIVS · DIONYSIVS · V · C · OPERI · FACIVNDO

Aelius Dionysius, the Very Distinguished Gentleman,
for dedicating this building [sets it up]
to the Genius of Hercules Augustus,
with the Herculean porticus of this man
from the foundation having been completed and polished. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Plutarch, Brutus 14(ca. A.D. 100):

A meeting of the Senate was now announced in which it was expected Caesar would attend, and the conspirators agreed to seize this opportunity for their attempt. The occasion would enable them to muster their full strength without attracting suspicion; what was more, they would have all the men of the highest rank and character in the republic assembled in one place, and these, they hoped, once the great deed was accomplished, would immediately embrace the cause of liberty. Besides, the very place of the meeting seemed to have been chosen by providence so as to favor their purpose, for the session was to be held in one of the porticoes adjoining the theater and containing a hall furnished with a number of benches in which stood a statue of Pompeius. This had been erected at the public expense in Pompeius' honor, when he had adorned that quarter of the city with the porticoes and the theater. Here the Senate was summoned for its meeting in the middle of March—the Romans call the day the Ides of March—and it seemed that some divine power was drawing Caesar to the place to meet his punishment for the death of Pompeius.

When the day arrived, Brutus put on a dagger, unknown to anybody except his wife, and went out. The rest of the conspirators met at Cassius's house and accompanied his son to the Forum, for the boy was due on that day to put on his manly gown or toga virilis, as the Romans call it. From there they all hurried to Pompeius's portico, where they waited, expecting that Caesar would arrive immediately for the meeting of the Senate. It was at this moment, above all, that anybody who knew what was about to happen would have been amazed at the unshakeable calm and presence of mind which these men displayed as the moment of crisis drew near. Many of them were praetors who were obliged by virtue of their office to transact business, and they not only listened impassively to every application or dispute which was laid before them, as if they had no other preoccupation in the world, but they took infinite pains to pronounce an exact and considered judgment upon every case. And when one of the litigants refused to accept Brutus's verdict, and began to protest loudly and to appeal to Caesar, Brutus looked round calmly at the bystanders and declared, "Caesar does not prevent me from acting in accordance with the laws, nor will he do so at any future time." (I. Scott-Kilvert, trans.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.23 (44-43 B.C.):

Quid vero Caesarem putamus, si divinasset fore ut in eo senatu, quem maiore ex parte ipse cooptasset, in curia Pompeia, ante ipsius Pompei simulacrum, tot centurionibus suis inspectantibus, a nobilissimis civibus, partim etiam a se omnibus rebus ornatis, trucidatus ita iaceret ut ad eius corpus non modo amicorum, sed ne servorum quidem quisquam accederet, quo cruciatu animi vitam acturum fuisse?

What do we truly think of Caesar, if he had divined that in this senate, which from the greater part he himself had elected, in the curia of Pompeius, before the statue of Pompeius himself, with so many of his own centurions watching, after having been slaughtered by the most noble citizens, even those who had been furnished everything by himself, that he would lie such that to his body not even anyone, not only of his friends but also of his slaves would come near, by what torture of the soul would he have spent his life? (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Titus Livius, Periochae 116 (ca. A.D. 9):

Ex his causis conpiratione in eum facta, cuius capita fuerant M. Brutus et C. Cassius et ex Caesaris partibus Dec. Brutus et C. Trebonius, in Pompeii curia occisus est viginti tribus vulneribus, occupatumque ab interfectoribus eius Capitolium.

For these reasons, with a conspiracy having been made against him, of whom the leaders were Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius and from the partisans of Caesar Decimus Brutus and Gaius Trebonius, he [Caesar] was killed in the curia of Pompeius by twenty-three wounds, and the Capitol was seized by his killers. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Divus Iulius 80.3-4 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

3. Quinto Maximo suffecto trimenstrique consule theatrum introeunte, cum lictor animadverti ex more iussisset, ab universis conclamatum est non esse eum consulem. Post remotos Caesetium et Marullum tribunos reperta sunt proximis comitiis complura suffragia consules eos declarantium. Subscripsere quidam Luci Bruti statuae: "Utinam viveres!" item ipsius Caesaris:

"Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est;

quia consules eiecit, rex postremo factus est."

4. Conspiratum est in eum a sexaginta amplius, Gaio Cassi Marcoqu et Decimo Bruto principibus conspiracy. Qui primum cunctati utrumne in Campo per comitia tribus ad suffragia vocantem partibus divisis e ponte deicerent atque exceptum trucidarent, an in Sacra Via vel in aditu theatri adorirentur, postquam senatus Idibus Martiis in Pompei curiam edictus est, facile tempus et locum praetulerunt.

3. When Quintus Maximus, whom he [Caesar] had appointed consul in his place for three months, was entering the theater, and his lictor called attention to his arrival in the usual manner, a general shout was raised: "He's no consul!" At the first election after the deposing of Caesetius and Marullus, the tribunes, several votes were found for their appointment, as consuls. Some wrote on the base of Lucius Brutus' statue, "Oh, that you were still alive;" and on that of Caesar himself:

"First of all was Brutus consul, since he drove the kings from Rome;

Since this man drove out the consuls, he at last is made our king."

4. More than sixty joined the conspiracy against him, led by Gaius Cassius and Marcus and Decimus Brutus. At first they hesitated whether to form two divisions at the elections in the Campus Martius, so that while some hurled him from the bridge as he summoned the tribes to vote, the rest might wait below and slay him; or to set upon him in the Sacred Way or at the entrance to the theater. When, however, a meeting of the Senate was called for the Ides of March in the Hall of Pompeius, they readily gave that time place and preference. (J. Rolfe, trans.)

Divus Iulius 81.3:

Pridie autem easdem Idus avem regaliolum cum laureo ramulo Pompeianae curiae se inferentem volucres varii generis ex proximo nemore persecutae ibidem discerpserunt.

And on the day before the Ides of March a little bird called the king-bird, flew into the hall of Pompeius with a sprig of laurel, pursued by others of various kinds from the grove hard by, which tore it to pieces in the hall. (J. Rolfe, trans.)

Plutarch, Caesar 66-67 (A.D. 100):

66. It may be said that all these things could have happened as it were by chance. But the place where the senate was meeting that day and which was to be the scene of the final struggle and of the assassination made it perfectly clear that some heavenly power was at work, guiding the action and directing that it should take place just here. For here stood a statue of Pompeius, and the building had been erected and dedicated by Pompeius as one of the extra amenities attached to his theater. Indeed it is said that, just before the attack was made on him, Cassius turned his eyes toward the statue of Pompeius and silently prayed for its goodwill. This was in spite of the fact that Cassius was a follower of the doctrines of Epicurus; yet the moment of crisis, so it would seem, and the very imminence of the dreadful deed made him forget his former rationalistic views and filled him with an emotion that was intuitive or divinely inspired.

Now Antonius, who was a true friend of Caesar's and also a strong man physically, was detained outside the senate-house by Brutus Albinus, who deliberately engaged him in a long conversation. Caesar himself went in and the senate rose in his honour. Some of Brutus's party took their places behind his chair and others went to meet him as though they wished to support the petition being made by Tillius Cimber on behalf of his brother who was in exile. So, all joining in with him in his entreaties, they accompanied Caesar to his chair. Caesar took his seat and continued to reject their request; as they pressed him more and more urgently, he began to grow angry with them. Tillius then took hold of his toga with both hands and pulled it down from his neck. This was the final signal for the attack. The first blow was struck by Casca, who wounded Caesar in the neck with his dagger. The wound was not mortal and not even a deep one, coming as it did from a man who was no doubt much disturbed in mind at the beginning of such a daring venture. Caesar, therefore, was able to turn round and grasp the knife and hold on to it. At almost the same moment the striker of the blow and he who was struck cried out together—Caesar, in Latin, "Casca, you villain, what are you doing?" while Casca called to his brother in Greek: "Help, brother."

So it began, and those who were not in the conspiracy were so horror-struck and amazed at what was being done that they were afraid to run away and afraid to come to Caesar's help; they were too afraid even to utter a word. But those who had come prepared for the murder all bared their daggers and hemmed Caesar in on every side. Whichever way he turned he met the blows of daggers and saw the cold steel aimed at his face and at his eyes. So he was driven this way and that, and like a wild beast in the toils, had to suffer from the hands of each one of them; for it had been agreed that they must all take part in the sacrifice and all flesh themselves with his blood. Because of this compact Brutus also gave him one wound in the groin. Some say that Caesar fought back against all the rest, darting

this way and that to avoid the blows and crying out for help, but when he saw Brutus had drawn his dagger, he covered his head with his toga and sank down to the ground. Either by chance or because he pushed there by his murderers, against the pedestal on which the statue of Pompeius stood. And the pedestal was drenched with his blood, so that one might have thought that Pompeius himself was presiding over this vengeance upon his enemy, who now lay prostrate at his feet, quivering from a multitude of wounds. He is said to have received twenty-three wounds. And many of his assailants were wounded by each other, as they tried to plant all those blows in one body.

67. So Caesar was done to death, and, when it was over, Brutus stepped forward with the intention of making a speech to explain what had been done. The senators, however, would not wait to hear him. They rushed out through the doors of the building and fled to their homes, thus producing a state of confusion, terror, and bewilderment, amongst the people. Some bolted their doors; others left their counters and shops and could be observed either running to see the place where Caesar had been killed or, once they had seen it, running back again. Antonius and Lepidus, who were Caesar's chief friends, stole away and hid in houses belonging to other people. Brutus and his party, on the other hand, just as they were, still hot and eager from the murder, marched all together in one body from the senate-house to the Capitol, holding their naked daggers in front of them and, far from giving the impression that they wanted to escape, looking glad and confident. (R. Warner, trans.)

Appian, Civil Wars 2.111 (ca. A.D. 145-165):

Four days before Caesar intended to depart, his enemies cut him down in the senate-house.

Appian, Civil Wars 2.114-118 (ca. A.D. 145-165):

114. When the conspirators thought there were enough of them, and judged it unnecessary to share their project further, they made a compact with each other, without taking oaths or making sacrifices. None of them backed out or betrayed the plot, and they looked for an occasion and a place to carry it out. Time was pressing, because Caesar was within four days of departing for his campaigns and immediately acquiring a military guard. They had the senate-house in mind as a suitable spot, because they believed that the senators, even if they had not been forewarned, would eagerly associate themselves with the deed, as is said to have happened in the case of Romulus when he began to behave more like a despot than a king. They also thought that the deed, done like that earlier one in the senate-house, would appear to have been carried out, not as a piece of treachery, but on behalf of the community, and since it was an act performed in the common interest there would be no danger from Caesar's soldiers. Also the credit would remain with them, for it would be well known that they had initiated it. These were the considerations which made them fix unanimously on the senate-house, but they were divided over how to proceed. Some thought they should also make away with Antonius, Caesar's fellow-consul, who was the most powerful of his associates and enjoyed the highest esteem among the soldiers, but Brutus said that if they killed only Caesar they would win glory as tyrannicides for removing a king, but if they killed his associates they would be thought to have acted out of personal enmity as partisans of Pompeius. The conspirators found this point particularly persuasive, and waited for the impending meeting of the senate.

115. The day before the meeting, Caesar went to dinner with Lepidus, his Master of Horse. He brought Decimus Brutus Albinus to join in the drinking, and as they passed the cup round he put the question, "What is the best sort of death for a human being?" Various views were expressed, but he himself thought a sudden death best of all. In this way he forecast his own fate and the subject of his conversation was what was to happen the next day. In the night, he lay in a heavy sleep as a result of the drink, and his wife Calpurnia, who had a dream in which she saw his body streaming with blood, tried to stop him leaving the house. When he offered sacrifice, the signs repeatedly proved ominous. He was actually on the point of sending Antonius to dismiss the senate, but Decimus, who was there, persuaded him to lay himself open to the charge of disrespect but to go himself and dismiss it, and he was carried in a litter to do so. There was a performance taking place in Pompeius' theater, and the senate was to meet in one of the rooms beside the theater, as was the usual custom when the shows were on. From early in the morning Brutus and his associates had been in the colonnades in front of the theater transacting business with any who needed them in their capacity as praetors, but when they heard about the results of Caesar's sacrifices and the

postponement of the meeting of the senate they were completely at a loss. At this point, someone grasped Casca by the hand and said, "You kept it from me, although I am your friend, but Brutus has told me." Casca was conscience-stricken and thrown into sudden confusion, but the man smiled at him and said, "Wherever will you get the money to stand for the aedileship?" whereupon Casca recovered. Brutus himself and Cassius were deep in thought talking to each other when a senator, Popillius Laenas, drew them towards him and said that he joined with them in praying for success for what they had in mind and encouraged them to make haste. They were disconcerted, but in their panic said nothing.

116. When Caesar was already being carried on his way, a member of his household who had learnt about the plot came running to reveal such information as he had acquired. He went to Calpurnia, and saying only that he needed Caesar on urgent business, waited for him to return from the senate, because he did not possess full information about the affair. Artemidorus, who had been Caesar's host on Cnidus, ran into the senate, but found him killed moments before. Someone else give him a note about the conspiracy as he was sacrificing outside immediately before entering the hall where the senate was meeting, and this was found in his hand after his death. After he stepped out of the litter Laenas, the man who had shortly before prayed for success with Cassius and his companions, went up to him and talked privately with him in an animated fashion. At once some of the conspirators were perturbed by the sight and duration of the exchange, and they made signs to each other to commit suicide before being arrested; but as the conversation continued and they saw that Laenas was behaving like someone who was not revealing information so much as insistently requesting a favour, they breathed again, and when in addition they saw him embrace Caesar at the end, they recovered their courage. It is the custom for the magistrates to take the omens before entering the senate, and again Caesar's first sacrificial victim was without a heart, or according to others, without a head to the intestines. When the soothsayer said that this was a portent of death, Caesar laughed and said that much the same had happened to him in Spain when he was fighting Pompeius. The soothsayer replied that on that occasion also he had been in extreme danger, but now the portent was even more deadly. Caesar then told him to repeat the sacrifice, but even so none of the victims yielded good omens. Ashamed about wasting the time of the senate, and pressed by his enemies in their guise of friends, he spurned the sacred ritual and made his entrance: for Caesar had to suffer Caesar's fate.

117. The conspirators left Trebonius behind to detain Antonius in conversation outside the doors, and when Caesar had taken his ceremonial seat they crowded round him like friends, their daggers hidden. One of them, Tillius Cimber, approached him from the front and begged for his exiled brother's return. Caesar would not agree at all and wished to defer a decision. Cimber then took hold of Caesar's purple toga as though he was still pleading with him, and ripping the

garment away pulled it from his neck, shouting, "What are you waiting for, friends?" Casca, who was standing behind Caesar's head, aimed the first blow at his throat, but missed and wounded him in the chest. Caesar wrenched the toga out of Cimber's grasp, gripped Casca's hand, and as he sprang off his seat whirled round and pulled Casca after him with enormous force. While he was in this position, one of the others drove a dagger into his side, stretched as it was in the action of twisting. Cassius also struck him in the face, Brutus in the thigh, and Bucilianus in the back, so that for a few moments Caesar kept turning from one to another of them with furious cries like a wild beast; but after Brutus's blow, [whether . . .] or giving up hope now, he wound himself in his toga and fell neatly at the foot of Pompeius' statue. Even then, after he had fallen, they went on savaging him until he had twenty-three wounds, and in the scuffle many of them struck each other with their daggers.

118. When the murderers had completed their foul deed, perpetrated in a sacred place against a man who was sacred and inviolate, people not only in the senate but all across Rome made an immediate rush to escape. Some senators were wounded and others lost their lives in the pandemonium. Many foreigners and ordinary inhabitants of Rome were also killed, the slaughter being unpremeditated and arising naturally from the breakdown of public order and from the ignorance of their attackers. The reason was that the gladiators, who had been armed from early in the morning in expectation of putting on a show, ran out of the theater towards the screens of the senate-chamber, and out of terror the theater emptied in a panic-stricken surge, and the goods displayed for sale were looted. Everybody barred their doors and prepared to defend themselves from their roofs. Antonius concluded that the plot was against himself as well as Caesar, and prepared his house for a siege. Lepidus, the Master of the Horse, who was in the forum when he heard what had happened, dashed across to the island in the Tiber where he had a legion and took them over to the Campus Martius to hold them in greater readiness for Antonius' orders, deferring to Antonius because the latter was closer to Caesar and also consul. When they considered what to do, their impulse was to take revenge for what Caesar had suffered, but they feared that the senate would be on the side of the assassins and decided to await further developments. Caesar himself had no soldiers with him, because he did not keep bodyguards, and his escort from his house to the senate had consisted simply of his lictors, most of the magistrates, and a further large throng made of inhabitants of the capital, foreigners, and numerous slaves and ex-slaves. They had all fled at once, except for three slaves who stayed beside him and put his body into the litter, to carry home awkwardly (as three men would) the man who not long before had ruled both land and sea. (H. White, trans.)

Eutropius, Breviarium ab urbe condita 6.25 (A.D. 369):

Inde Caesar, bellis civilibus toto orbe conpositis, Romam rediit. Agere insolentius coepit et contra consuetudinem Romanae libertatis. Cum ergo et honores ex sua voluntate praestaret, qui a populo antea deferebantur, nec senatui ad se venienti adsurgeret aliaque regia et paene tyrannica faceret, coniuratum est in eum a sexaginta vel amplius senatoribus equitibusque Romanis. Praecipui fuerunt inter coniuratos duo Bruti, ex eo genere Bruti, qui primus Romae consul fuerat et reges expulerat, et C. Cassius et Servilius Casca. Ergo Caesar, cum senatus die inter ceteros venisset ad curiam, tribus et viginti vulneribus confossus est.

Then Caesar, after the civil wars had been settled throughout the whole world, returned to Rome. He began to act more insolently against the custom of Roman liberty. Therefore, since he also became responsible from his own inclination for the honours, which were formerly recommended from the people, since he did not rise up for the senate coming to himself, and since he was doing other things like a king and almost like a tyrant, a plot hatched against him by 60 or more senators and Roman equites. The most pre-eminent men among the conspirators were the two Bruti, from that family of the Brutus, who had been first consul of Rome and who had expelled the kings, and both Gaius Cassius and Servilius Casca. Therefore Caesar, when he had come on the day of the senate among the rest to the curia, was stabbed with 23 wounds. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Divus Iulius 88 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Curiam, in qua occisus est, obstrui placuit Idusque Martias Parricidium nominari, ac ne umquam eo die senatus ageretur.

It was voted that hall in which he was slain be walled up, that the Ides of March be called the Day of Parricide, and that a meeting of the Senate should never be called on that day. (J. Rolfe, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Divus Augustus 31 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit, professus et edicto: commentum id se, ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus. Pompei quoque statuam contra theatri eius regiam marmoreo Iano superpossuit translatum e curia, in qua C. Caesar fuerat occisus.

Next from the immortal Gods he exhibited honos for the sake of the memory of the leaders who had rendered the power of the Roman people from least to greatest. Therefore he both restored the works of these leaders with their original inscriptions, and in each of the two porticos of his forum dedicated statues of all these men in triumphal garb, even declaring by edict: I have contrived this to lead the citizens to require me, while I live, and the rulers of later times as well, to attain the standard set by those worthies of old. He also put the statue of Pompeius over the marble arch opposite the regia of his theater, having transferred it from the curia, in which Gaius Caesar had been killed. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 47.19 (ca. A.D. 220):

The room in which he (Caesar) had been murdered they (the Senate) closed for the time being and later transformed in a privy. (E. Cary, trans.)

Eusebius Hieronymus, Ab Abraham 2038c-f (late fourth - early fifth century A. D.):

- c. Tiberius multos reges ad se per blanditias evocatos numquam remisit, in quibus et Archelaum Cappodocem, cuius regno in provinciam verso Mazacam nobilissimam civitatem Caesariam appellari iussit.
- d. Pompei theatrum incensum.
- e. Tiberius Drusum consortem regni facit.
- f. Drusus Caesar veneno perit.

- c. Tiberius never sent back the many kings summoned to himself through threats, and among whom was Archelaus of Cappodocia, whose very celebrated city of Mazaca Tiberius ordered to be called Caesarea after the kingdom had been turned into a province.
- d. The theater of Pompeius caught on fire.
- e. Tiberius made Drusus a partner of his rule.
- f. Drusus Caesar perished by poison. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Ann. 3.72 (ca. A.D. 105):

Erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia; nec Augustus arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbum hostilis exuvias aut exundantis opes ornatum ad urbis et posterum gloriam conferre. Quo tum exemplo Lepidus, quamquam pecuniae modicus, avitum decus recoluit. At Pompei theatrum igne fortuito naustum Caesar exstructurum pollicitus est, eo quod nemo e familia restaurando sufficeret, manente tamen nomine Pompei. Simul laudibus Seianum extulit tamquam labore vigilantiaque eius tanta vis unum intra damnum stetisset; et censurere patres effigiem Seiano quae apud theatrum Pompei.

Public munificence was a custom still; nor had Augustus debarred a Taurus, a Philippus, or a Balbus from devoting the trophies of his arms or the overflow of his wealth to the greater splendor of the capital and the glory of posterity: and now Lepidus, a man of but moderate fortune, followed in their steps by renovating the famous edifice of his fathers. On the other hand, the rebuilding of the Theater of Pompeius, destroyed by a casual fire, was undertaken by the Caesar, on the ground that no member of the family was equal to the task of restoration: the name of Pompeius was, however, to remain. At the same time, he gave high praise to Sejanus, "through whose energy and watchfulness so grave an outbreak had stopped at once a catastrophe." The Fathers voted a statue to Sejanus, to be placed in the Theater of Pompeius. (J. Jackson, trans.)

Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 2.130.1-2 (ca. A.D. 30):

Quam magnifico animi temperamento Cn. quoque Pompei munera absumpta igni restituit. Quam pia munificentia superque humanam evecta fidem templum patri molitur! Quam manifico animi temperamento Cn. quoque Pompei munera absumpta igni restituit! Quidquid enim umquam claritudine eminuit, id veluti cognatum censet tuendum. Qua liberalitate cum alias, tum proxime incenso monte Caelio omnis ordinis hominum iacturae patrimonio succurrit suo!

What public buildings did he [Tiberius] construct in his own name or that of his family! With what pious munificence, exceeding human belief, does he now rear the temple to his father! With what magnificent control of his feelings did he restore the works of Cn. Pompeius when destroyed by fire. For a feeling of kinship leads him to protect every famous monument. With what generosity at the time of the recent fire on the Caelian Hill, as well as on other occasions, did he use his private fortune to make good the losses of people of all ranks in life! (F. W. Shipley, trans.)

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *De consolatione ad Marciam* 6.22.4-5 (A.D. 33-41):

Propone illud acerbissimum tibi tempus, quo Seianus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit. Irascebatur illi ob unum aut alterum liberius dictum, quod tacitus ferre non potuerat Seianum in cervices nostras ne imponi quidem, sed escendere. Decernebatur illi statua in Pompei theatro ponenda, quod exustum Caesar reficiebat; exclamavit Cordus tunc vere theatrum perire. Quid ergo? 5. Non rumperetur supra cineres Cn. Pompei constitui Seianum et in monumentis maximi imperatoris consecrari perfidum militem?

Recall that time, so bitter for you, when Sejanus handed over your father to his client, Satrius Secundus, as a largess. He was angry because your father, not being able to endure in silence that a Sejanus should be set upon our necks, much less climb there, had spoken out once or twice rather boldly. Sejanus was being voted the honor of a statue, which was to be set up in the theater of Pompeius, just then being restored by Tiberius after a fire. Whereupon Cordus exclaimed: "Now the theater is ruined indeed!" What! Was it not to burst with rage—to think of a Sejanus planted upon the ashes of Gnaeus Pompeius, a disloyal soldier hallowed by a statue in the monuments of the greatest general? (J. Basore, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 57.21.3 (ca. A.D. 220):

He [Tiberius] honored many men after their death with statues and public funerals, but for Sejanus he erected a bronze statue in the theater during his lifetime. As a result, numerous images of Sejanus were made by many different persons, and many eulogies were delivered in his honor, both before the people and before the senate. (E. Cary, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Caligula 21 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Opera sub Tiberio semiperfecta, templum Augusti theatrumque Pompei, absolvit.

He [Caligula] completed the public works which had been half finished under Tiberius, namely the temple of Augustus and the theater of Pompeius. (J. C. Rolfe, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 60.6.8 (ca. A.D. 220):

He [Claudius] restored to the various cities the statues which Gaius had ordered them to send to Rome, and he also restored to Castor and Pollux their temple, and placed Pompeius' name once more upon his theater. On the stage of the latter he inscribed also the name of Tiberius, because that emperor had rebuilt the structures after it had been burned. His own name he also carved on the stage (not because he had built it, but because he dedicated it), but on no other building. (E. Cary, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Claudius 11 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Tiberio marmoreum arcum iuxta Pompei theatrum, decretum quidem olim a senatu verum omissum, peregit.

He completed the marble arch to Tiberius near Pompeius' theater, which had been voted some time before by the senate, but left unfinished. (J. C. Rolfe, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 62.6.1-2 (ca. A.D. 220):

At the close of these words he [Nero] bade him [Tiridates] ascend by the approach which had been built in front of the rostra expressly for this occasion, and when Tiridates had been made to sit beneath his feet, he placed the diadem upon his head. At this, too, there were many shouts of all sorts. By special decree there was also a celebration in the theater. Not merely the stage but the whole interior of the theater round about had been gilded, and all the properties that were brought in it had been adorned with gold, so that people gave to the day itself the epithet "golden." The curtains stretched overhead to keep off the sun were of purple and in the center of them was an embroidered figure of Nero driving a chariot, with golden stars gleaming about him. (E. Cary, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 66.24.2-3 (ca. A.D. 220):

2. However, a second conflagration, above ground, in the following year [A.D. 80] spread over very large sections of Rome while Titus was absent in Campania attending to the catastrophe that had befallen that region. It consumed the temple of Serapis, the temple of Isis, the Saepta, the Temple of Neptune, the Baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the theater of Balbus, the stage building of Pompeius' theater, the Octavian buildings together with their books, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with its surrounding temples. 3. Hence the disaster seemed to be not of human, but of divine origin; for anyone can estimate, from the list of buildings that I have given, how many others must have been destroyed. (E. Cary, trans.)

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 8.1439 (A.D. 209-211):

Q. ACILIO C. FILIO PAPIRIO
FVSCO V.E. PROC. ANNONAE AUGG. NN.
OSTIENSIVM PROC. OPERIS THEATRI POMPEIANI,
FISCI ADVOCATO CODICIL
LARI STATIONIS HEREDITA
TIUM ET COHAERENTIUM, CUR
AURENTIUM VICO AUGUSTANORUM,
SACERDOTI LAURENTIUM LAVINATIUM, RESP.
MUNICIPI SEVERIANI
ANTONINIANI, LIB.
THIB. BVRE,
CIVI ET PATRONO.

This is set up by the Government of the free Severian-Antoninian municipal, Thibursicum Bure, to their patron and citizen Quintus Acilius, son of Gaius, Papirius Fuscus, the Admirable Gentleman, Imperial Procurator of the corn-supply at Ostia, Procurator of the Buildings of the Theater Pompeiana, appointed by the emperor's written order as Representative of the Imperial Treasury of the Office of Inheritances and Related Matters, Curator to the District of Laurens Augustanus, and Priest of the Laurens Lavinias. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 14.154 (A.D. 209-211):

Q. ACILIO C. FILIO PAPIRIO
FVSCO V.E.
PROCURAT.
ANNON.
AUGG. NN.
OST., PROCUR.
OPERIS THEATR. POMPEIAN., FISCI ADVOCAT. CODICILL.
STATIONIS HEREDIT.
ET COHAERENT.,
SACERD.
LAURENT. LAVINAT.,
CORPUS MESORUM
FRUMENT. ADIUTORUM
ET ACCEPTORUM OST.
ERGA SE BENIGNISSIMO.

The Guild of Harvesters, of the Granary Deputies and Receivers at Ostia [set this up] to Quintus Acilius, son of Gaius, Papirius Fuscus, the Admirable Gentleman, Imperial Procurator of the Corn Supply at Ostia, Procurator of the Buildings of the Theater Pompeiana, Appointed by Order of the Emperor as Representative of the Imperial Treasury of the Office of Inheritances and Related Matters, and Priest of Laurens Lavinias, who was most generous with respect to themselves. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Eusebius Hieronymus, *Ab Abraham* 2263 (late fourth - early fifth century A.D.):

d. Regnantibus Phillippis millesimus annus Romanae urbis expletus est. Ob quam sollemnitatem innumerae bestiae in circo magno interfectae ludique in camp Martio theatrales tribus diebus ac noctibus populo pervigilante celebrati.

e. Theatrum Pompei incensum et Hecatonstylon.

f. Athlamus natali Romanae urbis cucurrit et agon mille annorum actus.

g. Filippus urbem nominis sui in Thracia construxit.

d. With the Phillippi ruling the 1000th year of Rome was completed. On account of which observance innumerable beasts in the great circus were killed and theatrical performances in the Campus Martius for three days and nights were celebrated for the people observing the festivities.

e. The theater of Pompeius and the Hecatonstylon caught on fire.

f. Athlamus ran in a race for the birthday of Rome and this contest had been performed for a thousand years.

g. Filippus constructed a city of his own name in Thracia. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

**Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.1191 = Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
793 (A.D. 393-402):**

DD NN ARCADIVS ET HONORIVS invicti et
PERPETVI AVGG THEATRVM POMPEIVM collapsio
EXTERIORE AMBITV MAGNA ETIAM ex parte
INTERIORE RENTE CONVVLVSVM ruderibus
SVBDVCTIS ET EXCITATIS INVICEM fabricis
novis restitverunt

Our Lords, the Invincible and Perpetual Augusti Arcadius and Honorius, restored—
with the broken construction having been alternatively removed and restored with
new construction— the Theater of Pompeius, [which had been] battered from a
large interior section that had fallen down [and] by the collapse of its exterior
periphery. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum , 6.1193 (ca. A.D. 418 - 420):

ROMANI ORBIS LIBERATISQVE
CVSTODI D N HONORI PIO AVG
ATQVE INVICTO PRINCIPI
AuR ANICIUS SYMMACHVS v c
PRAEF VRB INTERVM VICE
SACRA IVDICANS DEVOTus
NVMINI MAIESTATIO EIVS
DICAUIT

To Our Lord Honorius Pius Augustus,
the Unconquerable Prince,
the Custodian of the Roman world and liberty
Aurelius Anicius Symmachus,
the Very Distinguished Gentleman,
Praefectus Urbis for a second time,
declaring the Festivals in place of you,
[and] who is devoted to the divine nature and majesty of this man
Has dedicated [this]. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Variae* 4.51 - King Theoderic to the Patrician Symmachus (A.D. 507-12):

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1. Cum privatis fabricis ita studueris, ut in laribus propriis quaedam moenia fecisse videaris, dignum est, ut Romam, quam domuum pulchritudine decorasti, in suis miraculis continere noscaris, fundator egregius fabricarum earumque comptor eximius, quia utrumque de prudentia venit, et apte disponere et extantia competenter ornare. 2. Notum est enim, quanta laude in suburbanis suis Romam traxeris, ut, quem illas fabricas intrare contigerit, aspectum suum extra urbem esse non sentiat, nisi cum se et agrorum amoenitatibus interesse cognoscat: antiquorum diligentissimus imitator, modernorum nobilissimus institutor. Mores tuos fabricae loquuntur, qui nemo in illis diligens agnoscitur, nisi qui in susi sensibus ornatissimus invenitur. 3. Et ideo theatri fabricam magna se mole solventem consilio vestro credimus esse roborandam, ut quod ab auctoribus vestris in ornatum patriae constat esse concessum, non videatur sub melioribus posteris imminutum. Quid non solvas, senectus, quae tam robusta quassasti? Montes facilius credere putarentur, quam soliditas illa quateretur: quando et moles ipsa sic tota de cautibus fuit, ut praeter artem additam et ipsa quoque naturalis esse crederetur. 4. Haec potuissemus forte neglegere, si nos contigisset talia non videre: caveas illas saxis pendentibus absconditis ita iuncturis absconditis in formas pucherrimas convenisse, ut cryptas magis excelsi montis crederes quam aliquid fabricatum esse iudicares. Fecerunt antiqui locum tantis populis parem, ut haberent singulare spectaculum, qui mundi videbantur obtinere dominatum. 5. Sed quia nobis sermo probatur esse cum docto, libet repetere, cur antiquitas rudis legatur haec moenia condidisse. Cum agri cultores feriatis diebus sacra diveris numinibus per lucos vicosque celebrarent, Athenienses primum agreste principium in urbanum spectaculum collegerunt, theatrum Graeco vocabulo visorium nominantes, quod eminus astantibus turba conveniens sine aliquo impedimento videatur. 6. Frons autem theatri scaena dicitur ab umbra luci densissimae disciplinae improborum consortia fugientes verecunda se exinde consideratione subtraherent.

7. Tragoedia ex vocis vastitate nominatur, quae concavis repercussionibus roborata talem sonum videtur efficere, ut paene ab homine non credatur exire. Erigitur autem in hircinos pedes, quia si quis inter pastores tali voce pacuisset, capri munere donabatur. Comoedia a pagis dicta est: comus enim pagus vocatur, ubi rustici gestientes humanos actus laetissimis carminibus iridebant. 8. His sunt additae orchestarum loquacissimae manus, linguosi digiti, silentium clamosum, exposito tactia, quam musa Polymnia repperisse narratur, ostendens homines posse et sine oris affatu suum velle declarare. Musae vero Eoa lingua quasi homousae dicuntur, quod invicem sicut, virtutes necessariae sibi esse videantur. His levium pinnarum

acumina ideo in fronte pinguntur, quoniam earum sensus celeri cogitatione subvectus res altissimas intuetur. 9. Pantomimo igitur, cui a multifaria imitatione nomen est, cum primum in scaenam plausibus invitatus advenerit, assistunt consoni chori diveris organis eruditi. Tunc illa sensuum manus oculis canorum carmen exponit et per signa composita quasi quibusdam litteris edocet intuentis aspectum, in illaque leguntur apices rerum et non scribendo facit quod scriptura, declaravit. Idem corpus Herculem designat et Venerem, feminam praesentat in mare, regem facit et militem, senem reditt et iuvenem, ut in uno credas esse multos tam varia imitatione discretos. 10. Mimus etiam, qui nunc tantummodo derisui habetur, tanta Philistionis cautela repertus est, ut eius actus poneretur in litteris, quatenus mundum curis edacibus aestuantem laetissimis sententiis temperaret. 11. Quid acetabulorum tinnitus? Quid dulcissimi soni referam varia percussione modulamen? Quod tanta gratia iucunditatis accipitur, ut inter reliquos sensus auditum sibi ad munus summum tunc homines aestiment fuisse collatum. Ubi aetas subsequens miscens lubirca pirsorum inventa traxit ad vitia et quod honestae cuasa delectationis repertum est, ad voluptates corporeas praecipitatis mentibus impulerunt. 12. Hos ritus Romani sicut ceteras culturas ad suam rem publicam inutiliter trahentes aedificium alta cogitatione conceptum magnanimitate mirabili condiderunt. Unde non inmerito creditur Pompeius hinc potius Magnus fuisse vocitatus. Et ideo sive masculis pilis contineri sive talis fabrica refectionis studio potuerit innovari, expensas vobis de nostro cubiculo curavimus destinare, ut et vobis adquiratur tam boni operis fama et nostris tempribus videatur antiquitas decentius innovata.

1. Since you have taken such care for private buildings as to create public works of a sort in your own dwelling, it is right that you should be known as he who maintains in its wonders Rome, which you have embellished by the beauty of your houses. You are an outstanding founder, and a great adorer of buildings, since each springs from wisdom, good design, and the tasteful decoration of existing works. 2. For the praise you won by extending Rome into its suburbs is well known: should a man enter those buildings, he does not feel that he looks on them outside the city, save when he notices that he stands among the pleasures of the countryside as well. Of antiquity, you are the most careful imitator; of modern works, the noblest founder. Your buildings proclaim your character, for the devotee of such work must be rich in sensibility.

3. And therefore, I have decided that the fabric of the Theater [of Pompeius], yielding to the pressure of its vast weight, should be strengthened by your counsel. Thus, what your ancestors evidently bestowed for the glory of their country will not seem to decay under their nobler descendants. What can old age not disintegrate, when it has shaken so strong a work? You might think it would be easier for the mountains to fall than to shake that solidity. For that very mass is so entirely formed from vast blocks that, but for the added craftsmanship, it too might be

thought the work of nature. 4. I might perhaps have neglected the building, if I had not happened to see it: those arched vaults, with their overhanging stonework and invisible jointing, are so beautifully shaped that you would suppose them the caverns of a lofty mountain, rather than anything made by hands. the ancients made the site equal to so great a population, intending those who held the lordship of the world to enjoy a unique building of entertainment.

5. But because my discourse is clearly with a man of learning, it will be a pleasure to recount why, as we read, uncultivated antiquity originated these monuments. When farmers, on the holidays, celebrated the rites of various deities in groves and villages, the Athenians were the first to raise this rustic beginning into an urban spectacle. To the place where they looked on, they gave the Greek name of theater, since the gathered throng, separated from the bystanders, could look on with no hindrance. 6. But the back-drop of the theater was called the scaena from the deep shade of the grove where, at the start of spring, the shepherds sang various songs. Musical performances flourished there, and the precepts of a wise age. But it gradually came about that the respectable arts, shunning the company of depraved men, withdrew from that venue out of modesty.

7. Tragedy owes its name to the impressive voice of the actor: fortified by echo-chambers, it produces such a sound that you would hardly think it issued from a human being. Tragedy in fact stands on goats' feet, for any shepherd winning favour by such a voice was rewarded with the gift of a goat. Comedy is named from villages; for a village is called a comus, and is where the rustic actors made fun of human doings in merry songs. To these were added the speaking hands of dancers, their fingers that are tongues, their clamorous silence, their silent exposition. The Muse Polymnia is said to have discovered this, showing that humans could declare their meaning even without speech. Now the Muses, in the eastern tongue, are so called as if Homousae [beings of the same essence] because, like the virtues, they depend on one another. They are depicted with light and pointed feathers on their foreheads since their perceptions are borne up on swift thought, and contemplate the loftiest matters.

9. Again, there is the pantomime actor, who derives his name from manifold imitations. When first he comes on stage, lured by applause, bands of musicians, skilled in various instruments, support him. Then the hand of meaning expounds the song to the eyes of melody, and, by a code of gestures, as if by letters, it instructs the spectator's sight; summaries are read in it, and without writing, it performs what writing has set forth. The same body portrays Hercules and Venus; it displays a woman in a man; it creates a king and a soldier; it renders an old man and a young: you would thus imagine that in one man there were many, differentiated by such a variety of impersonation. 10. The mime, too, which is now merely an object of scorn, was devised with so much care by Philistio, that its performances were set down in writing: a world boiling with consuming cares might

thus be cooled by its humour. 11. And what of the ringing of the acetabula? Why mention that sweet sound modulated by a range of strokes? It yields such pleasure that, of all the senses, men think their hearing is the highest gift conferred on them.

The succeeding age corrupted the inventions of the ancients by mingling obscenities; their headlong minds drove towards bodily lusts an art devised to give decent pleasure. 12. As with other observances, the Romans uselessly imported these practices to their state, and founded that building— the fruit of lofty thought, and a marvelous greatness of soul. From it, we suppose, Pompeius was really called the Great, and not undeservedly.

And therefore, whether such a fabric should be held together by socketed rods, or whether it should be renewed and reconstructed, I have taken care to assign you expenses from my treasury. Thus, you may gain reputation from so excellent a work, while, in my reign, antiquity is fittingly renewed. (S. Barnish, trans.)

Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, *Relationes* 9.3 (late fourth century A.D.):

Alii triumphis suis haec dona servuassent, ut posita lauru novic actoribus personarent Pompeiana proscaenium.

Others would keep these gifts for their triumph so that, abandoning the laurel wreath of the victor, they might make the theater of Pompeius ring with the voices of the latest actors. (R.H. Barrow, trans.)

Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gestarum Libri 16.10.13-14 (ca. A.D. 380):

13. Proinde Romam ingressus imperii virtutumque omnium larem, cum venisset ad rostra, perspectissimum priscae potentiae forum, obstupuit perque omne latus quo se oculi contulissent miraculorum densitate praestricus, adlocutus nobilitatem in curia populumque e tribunali, in palatium receptus favore multiplici, laetitia fruebatur optata, et saepe, cum equestres ederet ludos, dicacitate plebis oblectabatur nec superbae nec a libertate coalita desciscentis, reverenter modum ipse quoque debitum servans.

14. Non enim, ut per civitates alias, ad arbitrium suum certamina finiri patiebatur, sed ut mos est variis casibus permittebat. Deinde intra septem montium culmina per adclivitates planitiemque posita urbis membra conlustrans et suburbana, quicquid viderat primum, id eminere inter alia cuncta sperabat: Iovis Tarpei delubra, quantum terrenis divina praecellunt: lauacra in modum provinciarum exstructa: amphitheatri molem solidatam lapidis Tiburtini compage, ad cuius summitatem aegre visio humana conscendit: Pantheon velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam: elatosque vertices scansili suggestu consulum et priorum principum imitamenta portantes, et Urbis templum forumque Pacis et Pompei theatrum et Odeum et Stadium aliaque inter haec decora urbis aeternae.

13. As soon as he [Constantius II] entered Rome, the home of the empire and of all perfection, he went to the Rostra and looked with amazement at the Forum, that sublime monument of pristine power; wherever he turned he was dazzled by the concentration of wonderful sights. After addressing the nobility in the senate-house and the people from the tribune he entered the palace amid many demonstrations of good will, and tasted the happiness which he had promised himself. On several occasions, when he held races in the Circus, he was amused by the witty sallies of the people, who kept their traditional freedom of speech without any loss of respect, and he himself took care to observe the proper forms.

14. He did not, for example, as he did in other cities, allow the length of the combats to depend on his own will, but followed the local custom and left them to finish in their various ways as events dictated. When he surveyed the different regions of the city and its environs, lying along the slopes and on level ground within the circle of the seven hills, it seemed to him that whatever his eye first lit on took the palm. It might be the shrine of Tarpeian Jupiter, beside which all else is like earth compared to heaven, or the buildings of the baths as big as provinces, or the solid mass of stone from Tibur that forms the amphitheater, with its top almost beyond the reach of human sight, or the Pantheon spread like a self-contained district under its high and lovely dome, or the lofty columns with spiral stairs to platforms which support the statues of former emperors, or the temple of Rome, or the Forum of Peace, the theater of Pompeius or the Odeum of the Stadium, or any

one of the other sights of the Eternal City. (W. Hamilton, trans.)

Appian, *Civil Wars* 5.15-16 (ca. A.D. 145-165):

15. Octavian was aware that injustice had been done, but there was no way of solving the problem. There was no money to pay the farmers the value of their land, and it was impossible to put off granting the soldiers their rewards because there were still wars going on: Pompeius was master of the sea and was reducing Rome to famine by blockade, Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collecting an army and more ships, and the soldiers would be less willing to fight in the future unless they received the rewards of their previous victory. Also, an important factor was that the triumvirs' five-year term was already going by and they again needed the goodwill of an army. Octavian was therefore willing at the time to ignore the violence and disrespect shown by the soldiers. Certainly, once when he was present in the theater a soldier who could not find an appropriate seat came and sat in the rows reserved for equestrians; the crowd pointed him out, and when Octavian had him removed the soldiery became angry and surrounded him as he was leaving the theater, asking him to produce the man because he was nowhere to be seen and they thought he had been killed. When the soldier appeared, they thought he had at that moment been brought out of the prison, and although he denied this, and explained what had happened, they accused him of telling lies to order and heaped abuse on him as a traitor to the common cause. Such was the episode in the theater, (16) when they were summoned to the Campus Martius for the current allocations of land, their eagerness made them gather while it was still dark and they were angry with Octavian because he was late in arriving. (H. White, trans.)

Festus, De Verborum Significatu 188L (late second century A.D.):

Octaviae porticus duae appellantur, quarum alteram, theatro Marcelli propriorem, Octavia soror Augusti fecit; alteram theatro Pompei proximam Cn. Octavius, Cn. filius qui fuit aedilis curulis, praetor, consul, decem virum sacris faciendis triumphavitque de rege Perse navali triumpho: quam combustam reficiendam curavit Caesar Augustus.

There are named two Octavian porticoes, of which Octavia, sister of Augustus, built the one nearer the theater of Marcellus, Gnaeus Octavius Cn. f., who had been curule aedile, praetor, consul, decem virum sacris faciendis and triumphed over the king Persius in a naval victory, [built] the one closest to the theater of Pompeius: Caesar Augustus saw that this one having been burnt was to be restored. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Natural Histories* 37.7.19 (ca. A.D. 65):

Idem in reliquis generis eius quantum voraverit, licet aestimare ex multitudine, quae tanta fuit ut auferente liberius eius Nerone exposita occuparent theatrum peculiare trans Tiberium in hortis, quod a populo impleri canente se, dum Pompeiano proludit, etiam Nerone satis erat.

The amount of money squandered by this same man upon other articles of this material in his possession can be gauged from their number, which was so great that, when Nero took them away from the man's children and displayed them, they filled the private theater in his gardens across the Tiber, a theater which was large enough to satisfy even Nero's desire to sing before a full house at the time when he was rehearsing for his appearance in Pompeius' theater. (H. Rackham, trans.)

Not. Reg. IX, (ca. fourth century A.D.):

Regio IX. Circus Flaminius.

Stabula .IIII. factionum .VIII.

Aedis antiqua Apollonis cum lauacro.

[Aedis Herculi magno custodi in circo Flaminio].

[Aedis Vulcani in circo Flaminio].

Porticus Philippi.

Mimitia Vetus [sic].

Mimitia Frumentaria.

Porticus Corinthia Cn. Octavii, quae prima duplex fuit.

Cripta Balbi.

Theatrum Balbi capit loca .XXX.LXXXVIII.

Theatrum Pompei capit loca .XXX.LXXXXV.

Iuppiter Pompeianus. Claudius Caesar dicavit et appellatur a vicinitate.

Theatrum Marcelli capit loca .XXX. [ubi erat aliud templum Iani]. Delebrum Cn.

Domitii.

Carcer Claudii Xviri.

Templum Bruti Calliaici.

Villa publica ubi primum populi census et actus [in campo Martio].

Campus Martius.

Region IX. The Circus Flaminius.

Four Quarters; eight schools.

The Old Temple of Apollo.

The Temple to Hercules the Great Custodian in the circus Flaminius.

The Temple of Vulcan in the circus Flaminius.

The Portico of Philippus.

The Minucius Building.

The Minucius Center for distributing corn.

The Corinthian Porticus of Gnaeus Octavius, which was the first double portico.

The Covered Gallery of Balbus.

The Theater of Balbus holds 30,088 places.

The Theater of Pompeius holds 30,095 places.

The Jupiter of Pompeius. Claudius Caesar dedicated this statue and it is named from its location.

The Temple of Marcellus holds 30,000 places where there was another temple of Ianus.

The Shrine of Gnaeus Domitius.

The Jail-house of the 15 Claudii.

The Temple of Brutus Calliaicus.

The Public Center where the first census of the Roman people was made.

The Field of Mars. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.785 (ca. first century A.D.):

VENERIS VICTRICIS

Of Venus Victrix (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Pomponius Porphyrio, Scholia Horatiana in Sat. 1.2.94 (early third century A. D.):

Matr. p. f. n. c. p. c. n. C. e. d. u. t. Praeter faciem nihil cernere matronae possis; reliquae enim corporis partes ueste celantur nisi forte Catiae similis est quae ob pulchritudinem crurum pudore neglecto elta ueste utebatur. Haec adeo uilis fuit ut in aede Veneris theatri pompeiani adulterium cum Valerio siculo colono ac tribuno plebis obducto uelo admiserit POR.

You are able to discern nothing of the matron except her face, unless she is Catia, the rest of the matron concealing by a long gown. You are able to discern nothing of a matron except her face, for the remaining parts of the body are concealed by the gown unless by chance she is like Catia, who on account of the beauty of her leg, used to wear—with modesty having been neglected—a fancy gown. This woman was contemptible to such an extent that she committed adultery in the temple of Venus of the theater of Pompeius, when the awning had been drawn over, with Valerius, a Sicilian colonist and tribune of the plebs. Porphyrio. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Arcus Pompei

Mentioned by [Magister Gregorius](#) in the twelfth century. Its sculptures represented his triumph with a long train of waggons laden with spoils. Rushforth (*JRS* 1919, 40, 54-55) maintains that this arch had a real existence (cf. [Petrarch, Ep. de reb. famil. 6.2](#), quoted also by Nibby, *Roma Antica*, ii. 616), but his opinion is not shared by Prof. Hulsen, who points out that the triumphal arch is a creation of the Augustan period (*Festschrift fur Hirschfeld*, 428).

[Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929 (rev. ed.). "Arcus Pompei." *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*: 42-43. London: Oxford University Press.]

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Ulysses Notes: P-A were wrong to say that "the triumphal arch is a creation of the Augustan period." See, e.g., F. S. Kleiner (1995), "The Study of Roman Triumphal and Honorary Arches 50 Years After Kabler," *JRA* 2: 196, who notes that complex triumphal arches are documented as early as 150 B.C. In this case pedagogy has not kept afoot with current scholarship, for you will still find authors repeating this fallacy.

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Magister Gregorius, De Mirabilibus 24, VZ 3.161 (ca. mid-twelfth century A.D.):

Est etiam arcus triumphalis Magni Pompeii, ualde mirandus, quem habuit de victoria quam obtinuit uicto Metridate et filio eius Pharoace. Hi Romanis per .xl. annos rebelles fuerunt. Qui ad ultimum pirates eeffecti Sillam contra eos missum superauerunt et in fugam conuerterunt. Ad quos postmodum missus Pompeius ante mensem ultra spem Romanorum felici usus fortuna memoratum Metridatem cum filio suo et copiis omnino deuicit. Postea autem antequam Romam redisset, magnam partem orientis deuicit et Romanis tributarios effecit. Ubi inmensum pondus auri et argenti quesuit: quod longo ordine Pompeiano triumpho prelatum est. Quod sculptura arcus triumphalis eius usque in hodiernum diem representat.

There is also a wonderful triumphal arch of Magnus Pompeius, which he built for the victory celebrated after his defeat of Mithridates and his son Pharnaces. These two had fought against the Romans for 40 years. They were pirates to the end and defeated Sulla, who had been sent out to deal with them, sending him packing. Pompeius was sent shortly thereafter, and beyond expectation of the Romans, aided by good fortune, he completely crushed the famous Mithridates, as well as his son and their army before a month had passed. Before returning to Rome, he subjugated a large part of the East and required it to pay tribute to the Romans. He also acquired an enormous amount of gold and silver, which was displayed in a long procession at his triumph. The reliefs on his triumphal arch depict these events to the present day. (J. Osborne, trans.)

Francesco Petrarca, Epistolae de rebus familiares 6.2, VZ 4.6-10 (mid-fourteenth century A.D.):

Ad Iohannem de Columna ordinis praedicatorum non sectas amandas esse sed verum, et delocis insignibus urbis Romae.

...Vagabamur pariter in illa urbe tam magna, quae cum propter spatium vacua videatur, populum habet immensum; nec in urbe tantum, sed circa urbem vagabamur, aderatque per singulos passus quod linguam atque animum excitaret: hic Evandri regia, hic Carmentis aedis, hic Caci spelunca, hic lupa nutrix et ruminalis ficus, veriori cognomine romularis, hic Remi transitus, hic ludi circenses et Sabinarum raptus, hic Caprae palus et Romulus evanescens, hic Numae cum Egeria colloquim, hic tergeminarum acies. Hic fulmine victus victor hostium artifexque militiae Tullus Hostilius, hic rex architector Ancus Martius, hic discretor ordinum Priscus Tarquinius habitavit; hic Servio caput arsit, hic carpento insidens atrox Tullia transivit et scelere suo vicum fecit infamem. Haec autem Sacra Via est, hae sunt Esquiliae, hic Viminalis, hic Quirinalis collis, hic Caelius, hic Martius Campus et Superbi manibus decussa papavera. Hic miserabilis Lucretia ferro incumbens, et in mortem fugiens adulter, et lesae pudicitiae vindex Brutus. Hic minax Porsenna, et etruscus exercitus,, et infestus erranti dextrae Mutius, et tyranni filius cum libertate concurrens, et hostem urbe depulsum ad inferos sequens consul, et fractus a tergo viri fortis Pons Sublicius, et Horatius natans, et Tyberis revehens Cloeliam. Hic erat Publicolae nequicquam suspecta domus, hic Quintius arabat dum fieri meruit de aratore dictator, hinc abductus Serranus ad consulatum venit. Hoc est Ianiculum, hic Aventinus, ille Sacer Mons, in quos ter irata patribus plebs secessit; hic libidinosum tribunal Appii fuit, et ferro patris iniuriae subducta Virginia, et decemviri luxuriae dignus fuit Hinc Coriolanus, armis forte victurus, suorum pietate victus abscessit: hoc saxum defendit Manlius, hinc excidit; hic Camillus inhiantes auro Gallos subito repulit interventu et desperantes cives amissam patriam ferro docuit recuperare, non auro. Hic descendit Curtius armatus; hic inventum sub terram caput hominis et immotus terminus praesagium summo et stabili imperio fuere. Hic fallax virgo armis obruta et suis circumventa fallaciis; haec Tarpeia arx, et romani populi census toto orbe collectus; hic anser argenteus; hic custos armorum Ianus; hoc Feretrii Iovis templum; haec fuerat cella Iovis, haec domus omnium triumphorum; huc compulsus est Perses, hinc repulsus est Hannibal; hinc impulsus est Iugurtha, ut quidam opinantur, alii vero in carcere illum necant. Hic triumphavit Caesar, hic periit. Hoc Augustus in templo reges affusos et tributarium orbem vidit; **hic Pompeii arcus, haec porticus**, hoc Marii Cimbrum fuit. Haec Traiani columna, ubi ille unus omnium imperatorum, ut ait Eusebius, intra urbem est sepultus; hic eiusdem pons, qui Sancti Petri nomen invenit, et Hadriani moles, cui ipse quoque subiectus est, quod Sancti Angeli Castrum vocant. Hoc est saxum mirae magnitudinis aeneisque leonibus innixum, divis imperatoribus sacrum, cuius in

vertice Iulii Caesaris ossa quiescere fama est. Haec Telluris aedes, haec Fortunae domus, hoc templum Pacis, adventu vere pacifici regis eiusdem; hoc opus Agrippae, quod falsorum deorum matri veri Dei mater eripuit. Hic nixit Nonis Augusti; hinc rivus olei fluxit in Tyberim; hinc, ut fama est, monstrante Sibilla, senex Augustus Cristum vidit infantem. Haec Neronis insolentia et in aedificiis fervens luxus; haec Augusta domus, via Flaminia, ubi sepulcrum ipsius domini quidam tradunt; haec Antonini columna; hoc eiusdem proximum Appiae palatium; hoc Severi Afri Septizonium, quam tu sedem Solis vocas, sed meum nomen in historiis scriptum lego. Hoc Praxitelis Phidiaeque extans in lapide tot iam seculis de ingenio et arte certamen....

To Giovanni Colonna of the Order of Preachers, that one must love not sects but the truth, and concerning the remarkable places in the city of Rome.

...We used to wander together in that great city, which though it appeared empty because of its vast size, had a huge population. And we would wander not only in the city itself but around it, and at each step there was something present which would excite our tongue and mind: here was the palace of Evander, the shrine of Carmentis, here the Cave of Cacus, there the famous she-wolf and fig tree of Rumina with the more apt surname of Romulus, there the overpass of Remus, here the circus games and the rape of the Sabines, there the marsh of Capri and the place where Romulus vanished, here the conversations of Numa and Egeria, there the battle line of the trigemini. Here the conqueror of enemies who was in turn conquered by a thunderbolt, and the builder of the militia; there the architect king Ancus Martius; here the organizer of social classes, Priscus Tarquinius, lived; there the head of Servius glowed; there sitting in her carriage cruel Tullia crossed and made the street infamous because of her crime. Here however is the Sacred Way, while over there are the Esquiline Hill, the Viminal, the Quirinal; here the Campus Celius, there the Campus Martius and the poppies cut down by the hand of the proud one. Here one can still see the wretched Lucretia lying upon her sword and the adulterer fleeing his death, as well as Brutus the defender of violated chastity. There is threatening Porcina and the Etruscan army, and Mutius beset by his erring right hand, and the son of the tyrant competing with liberty, and the Consul pursuing (too hell itself) the enemy expelled from the city; and the Sublician bridge broken behind the brave man, and Horatius swimming, and Cloelia returning to the Tiber. There may be seen the house of Publicola which was fruitlessly suspected; here Quintius used to plow until through his merit the plowman was made dictator; from here Serranus was led away to become Consul. There is the Janiculum, this is the Aventine, that is Monte Sacro, on which the angered plebs withdrew from the rulers; here the lustful tribunal of Appius stood, and Virginia was rescued from violence by the sword of her father, and there occurred a worthy end to the dissipation of the Ten Men. From here Coriolanus, who was perhaps about to triumph with his arms, departed after having been conquered by the devotion of his

supporters. This is the rock that Manlius defended and then fell from; here Camillus repelled the Gauls as they gaped at the unexpected gold and taught the despairing citizens how to recover a lost fatherland with a sword and not with gold. Here armed Curtius descended; there was found underground the head of a man with an immovable face which was viewed as a prediction of the highest and firmest form of empire. There a deceitful Virgin fell under arms after having been deceived by her own deceits; here is the Tarpeian fortress, and the wealth of the Roman people collected throughout the world; here is the silver goose; there is Janus the guardian of arms; here is the temple of Jupiter Feretrius; this was the temple of Jupiter, this was the home of all the triumphs; here Perses was brought, from here Hannibal was driven away, here Jugurtha was destroyed as some believe, others indeed believe that he was slain in prison. Here Caesar triumphed, here he perished. In this temple Augustus viewed the prostrate kings and the whole world at his feet; **here is the arch of Pompeius, here is the portico**, here is the Cimbrian arch of Marius. There is Trajan's Column where he alone of all the emperors, according to Eusebius, is buried inside the city; here is his bridge which eventually assumed the name of St. Peter, and Hadrian's fortress, under which he also lies buried and which they call Castel Sant'Angelo. This is that massive rock surrounded by two bronze lions which was sacred to the deified emperors, and on whose summit, rumor has it, rest the bones of Julius Caesar. This is the shrine to the goddess Tellure, this is the temple of Fortune, this is the temple of Peace, which was rightly destroyed at the arrival of the King of Peace; this is the work of Agrippa taken from the false gods to be dedicated to the mother of the true God. Here is where it snowed on the fifth of August; from here a stream of oil flowed in the Tiber; from here, according to tradition, the old Augustus, following the Sibyl's advice, saw the Christ child. This is the insolence of Nero and his raging extravagance in the buildings he raised; there is the house of Augustus, on Via Flaminia, where some maintain is the tomb of the Emperor himself; this is the Column of Antonius; this the palace of Appius; this is the Septizonium of Severus Afrus which you call the temple of the sun but whose name I find in the form I use written in history. On these stones still survives after so many centuries the great rivalry in talent and skill between Praxiteles and Phidias.... (Aldo S. Bernardo, trans.)

Delubrum Pompei

A shrine dedicated by Pompeius, who built it out of the spoils of his campaign ([Plin. HN 7.97](#)). Nothing is known of the history of this temple.

[Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929 (rev. ed.). "Minerva, Delubrum." *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*: 343. London: Oxford University Press.]

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Gaius Plinius Secundus, Hn 7.26.95-97 (ca. A.D. 65):

Verum ad decus imperii Romani, non solum ad viri unius pertinet, victoriarum Pompei Magni titulos omnes triumphosque hoc in loco noncupari, aequato non modo Alexandri Magni rerum fulgore, sed etiam Herculis prope ac Liberi patris. Igitur Sicilia recuperata, under primum Sullanus in reip. causa exoriens auspicatus est, Africa vero tota subacta et in dicionem redacta, Magnique nomine in spolium inde capto, Eques Romanus, id quod antea nemo, curru triumphali revector et statim ad solis occasum transgressus, excitatis in Pyrenaeo tropaeis, oppida DCCCLXXVI ab Alpibus ad finis Hispaniae ulterioris in dicionem redacta victoriae suae adscripsit et maiore animo Sertorium tacuit, belloque civili quod omnia externa conceibat extincto iterum triumphales currus Eques Romam induxit, totiens imperator ante quam miles. Postea ad tota maria et deinde solis ortus missus infinitos retulit patriae titulos more sacris certaminibus vincentium—neque enim ipsi coronantur, sed patrias suas coronant; hos ergo honores urbi tribuit in delubro Minervae quod ex manubiis dicabat:

Cn. Pompeius Magnus imperator bello XXX annorum confecto fuis fugatis occisis in deditionem acceptis hominum centiens viciens semel LXXXIII depressis aut captis navibus DCCCXLVI oppidis castellis MDXXXVIII in fidem receptis terris a Maeotis ad Rubrum mare subactis votum merito Minervae.

Hos est breviarum eius ab oriente.

But it concerns the glory of the Roman Empire, and not that of one man, to mention in this place all the records of the victories of Pompeius Magnus and his triumphs, which equalled the brilliance of the exploits not only of Alexander the Great but even almost Herakles and Father Liber. Well then, after the recovery of Sicily, which inaugerated his emergence as a champion of the commonwealth in the party of Sulla, and after the conquest of the whole of Africa, and its reduction under our sway, and the acquirement as a trophy therefrom of the title Magnus, he rode back in a triumphal chariot though only of equestrian rank, a thing which had never occurred before; and immediately afterwards he crossed over to the West, and after erecting trophies in the Pyrenees he added to the record of his victorious career the reduction under our sway of 876 towns from the Alps to the frontiers of Further Spain and with greater magnanimity refrained from mentioning Sertorius, and after the crushing the civil war which threatened to stir up all our foreign relations, a second time led into Rome a procession of triumphal chariots as a Knight, having twice been commander-in-chief before having ever served in the ranks. Subsequently he was despatched to the whole of the seas and then to the far east, and he brought back titles without limit for his country, after the manner

of those who conquer in the sacred contests—for these are not crowned with wreaths themselves but crown their native land; consequently he bestowed these honours on the city in the shrine of Minerva that he was dedicating out of the proceeds of the spoils of war:

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, Commander in Chief, having completed a thirty years' war, routed, scattered, slain, or received the surrender of 12,183,000 people, sunk or taken 846 ships, received the capitulation of 1,538 towns and forts, subdued the lands from the Maeotians to the Red Sea, duly dedicates his offering vowed to Minvera.

This is his summary of his exploits in the east. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Domus Cn. Pompei

(a). On the Carinae, near the temple of Tellus ([Suet. de gramm. 15](#); [App. BC 2.126](#); [Vell. 2.77](#); [Cic. de Har. resp. 49](#)). It was ornamented with rostra taken from captured pirate ships ([Cic. Phil. 2.68](#)), and therefore called domus rostrata ([Hist. Aug. Gord. 3](#)). After the death of Pompeius the house became the property of Antonius ([Cass. Dio 48.38](#); [Flor. 2.18.4](#); [de vir. ill. 84](#)), and later of the imperial family. Tiberius lived in it before his accession ([Suet. Tib. 15](#)), and in the third century it is said to have belonged to the Gordiani ([Hist. Aug. Gord. 2, 3, 6, 17](#)).

(b). According to Plutarch ([Pomp. 40](#)) Pompeius built himself a finer house than he previously occupied, after the erection of his theater. This second house was probably near his [HORTI](#) in the campus Martius and on the slope of the Pincian.

[Ulysses Notes: Outside of Rome Pompey maintained other places of residency at Alba, Alsium, Baia, Cumae, Formiae, Picenum, Tusculum, to give only the well-documented estates.]

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Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus. 15.1 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Lenaeus, Magni Pompei libertus et paene omnium expeditionum comes, defuncto eo filiisque eius schola se sustentavit; docuitque in Carinis ad Telluris, in qua regione Pompeiorum domus fuerat, ac tanto amore erga patroni memoriam exstitit, ut Sallustium historicum, quod eum oris probi, animo inverecondo scripsisset, acerbissima satura laceraverit, lastaurum et lurconem et nebulonem popinonemque appellans, et vita scriptisque monstrosum, praeterea priscorum Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem.

Lenaeus, freedman of Pompeius Magnus and his companion in almost all his campaigns, on the death of his patron and his sons supported himself by a school, teaching in the Carinae, near the temple of Tellus, the quarter of the city in which the house of the Pompeius' was formerly situated. He was so devoted to his patron's memory, that because the historian Sallust wrote that Pompeius had "an honest face but a shameless character," he tore Sallust to pieces in a biting satire, calling him a "debauchee, a gourmandizer, a spendthrift, and a tippler, a man whose life and writings were monstrous, and who was besides an ignorant pilferer of the language of the ancients and of Cato in particular." (J. C. Rolfe, trans.)

Appian, *Civil Wars* 2.125-1256 (ca. A.D. 145-165):

125. The same night Caesar's money and official papers were brought to Antonius, either because Caesar's wife transferred them in the belief that Antonius' house was a less dangerous place than her own at the moment, or in obedience to his orders.

126. While these things were taking place Antonius by means of a notice sent round by night, called the Senate to meet before daybreak at the temple of Tellus, which was very near his own house, because he did not dare to go to the Senate-house situated just below the Capitol, where the gladiators were aiding the conspirators, nor did he wish to disturb the city by bringing in the army. (H. White, trans.)

Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 2.77 (ca. A.D. 30):

Tum expostulante consensu populi, quem gravis urebat infesto mari annona, cum Pompeio quoque circa Misenum pax inita, qui had absurde, cum in navi Caesaremque Antonium cena exciperet, dixit in carinis suis se cenam dare, referens hoc dictum ad loci nomen, in quo paterna domus ab Antonio possidebatur.

Then in response to a unanimous demand on the part of the people, who were now pinched by the high price of grain because the sea was so infested by pirates, a peace was arranged with [Sextus] Pompeius also, in the neighborhood of Misenum. Pompeius entertained Caesar and Antonius at dinner on board his ship, on which occasion he remarked, not without point, that he was giving the dinner of "his own keels," thereby recalling the name of the quarter in which stood his father's house, now in the possession of Antonius. (F. W. Shipley, trans.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis* 49 (56 B.C.):

Nam si Cn. Pompeio, viro uni omnium fortissimo, quicumque nati sunt, miserum magis fuit quam turpe, quam diu ille tribunus plebis fuit, lucem non aspicere, carere publico, minas eius perferre, cum in contionibus diceret velle se in Carinis aedificare alteram porticum quaeque Palatio responderet, certe mihi exire domo mea ad privatum dolorem fuit luctuosum, ad rationem rei publicae gloriosum.

For if Gnaeus Pompeius, the bravest of all men born, found it not so much ignominious as miserable not to look upon the daylight, while Clodius was tribune of the plebs, to resign his public activities, and to endure Clodius' threats, when he said in mass meetings that he intended to build a second portico in the Carinae to correspond with that on the Palatine, then surely, though it was a grievous personal blow for me to be banished from my house, yet at the same time, inasmuch as it was a course that accorded with the interest of the republic, it was glorious. (N. H. Watts, trans.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero, Phil. 2.64-69 ; (44 B.C.):

64. Caesar Alexandria se recepit felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur; mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit hostis, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro aede Iovis Statoris bona Cn. Pompei (miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus haeret animo dolor), bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei Magni voci acerbissimae subiecta praeconis! Una in illa re servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit, servientibusque animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Expectantibus omnibus, quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam dis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent; unus inventus est, qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. 65. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnis tibi deos, non omnis homines et esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior! In eius igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exultabat gaudio persona de mimo modo egens, repente dives. Sed, ut est apud poetam nescio quem, 'Male parta male dilabuntur.' 66. Incredible ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa quam paucis non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et magnifica multis locis non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis. Horum paucis diebus nihil erat. 67. Quae Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdim dico, quae si fuit, animal unum fuit; Oceanus medius fidius vix videtur tot res tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas tam cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae totae nequissimis hominibus condonabantur; alia mimi rapiebant, alia mimae; domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum; totos dies potabatur, atque id locis pluribus; suggerabantur etiam saepe (non enim semper iste felix) damna aleatoria; conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quam ob rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter esse consumpta. Non modo unius patrimonium quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbis et regna celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset. At idem aedis etiam et hortos. 68. O audaciam immanem! tu etiam ingredi illam domum ausus es, tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare, tu illarum aedium dis penatibus os impurissimum ostendere? Quam domum aliquamdiu nemo adspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis praeterire, hac te in domo tam diu deversari non pudet, in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse iucundum? An tu, illa vestibulo rostra [spolia] cum adspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere. Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, vinulentus et

furens, cum tibi obiecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum te de somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem. 69. Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres conscripti, sicuti scitis, cum foris clarus, tum domi admirandus neque rebus externis magis laudandus quam institutis domesticis. Huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro conclavibus popinae sunt. Etsi iam negat. Nolite quaerere; frugi factus est; mimulam suam suas res sibi habere iussit, ex duodecim tabulis clavis ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus civis, quam probatus! Cuius ex omni vita nihil est honestius, quam quod cum mima fecit divortium.

64. Caesar returned from Alexandria, fortunate, as indeed it seemed to him, however in my opinion no one can be fortunate, who is an enemy of the republic. With the spear having been set up in front of the temple of Jupiter the Stayer the property of Gnaeus Pompeius—wretched me, for thought my tears have been used up a piercing sorrow still clings in my heart—the property, I say, of Gnaeus Pompeius was put under the very harsh voice of a auctioneer! In this one act the community, forgetful of its enslavement, groaned and though minds were enslaved, when everything was maintained by fear, still the groan of the Roman people was free. While the people were waiting—for who was so impious, so demented, such an enemy to the gods and men, who dared to come up to that crime of sale, nobody was found except Antonius, although many were around that spear who dared everything else. one man was found who dared that which the audacity of all had shuddered at and fled. 65. Therefore such a great stupidity has seized you, or as I will say more to the fact, such a great fury so that first, you were a buyer, born in that rank, then a buyer of Pompey's goods, that you do not know that you would be cursed by the Roman people and that all gods and men are and would be your enemies? Yet how insolently immediately that glutton entered the fortune of this man by whose virtue the Roman people was more dreaded by foreign peoples, and by whose justice more dear! Therefore in the riches of this man, when suddenly he immersed himself, he jumped up with joy, as a person from a mime, now needy, [then] suddenly rich. But as in the works of poet—I don't recall whom—"foully gained goods foully goes to pieces." 66. It is incredible and like an omen, how just now so many things which in a few, I do not say months, but days, he squandered. There was the greatest amount of wine, a very large weight of the best silver, valuable clothing, lots of furniture, both elegant and magnificent in many places not—it is true—of a luxurious man, but yet of a man of affluence. In a few days there was nothing of it. 67. What Charybdis was so voracious? I say Charybdis, which if it existed, it was [but] one beast; Oceanus—faithful gods—scarcely seems to have been able to swallow so quickly so many things scattered and set in many distant places. Nothing was shut up, nothing was sealed, nothing was written down. Entire warehouses were given over to the most worthless men. Some things actors stole, others, mimes. The house was stuffed with gamblers, full of drunks; there was drinking for many days and that in many place; gambling losses were even often

heaped up—for that man was not always lucky. You might see in the cells of slaves the beds covered with the purple coverlets of Gnaeus Pompeius. On account of this matter cease to marvel that these things were so quickly consumed. Such extravagance could have quickly devoured not only the patrimony of one man, however full, as it was, but cities and kingdoms. Yet this same man devoured the house and even the gardens. 68. O what monstrous audacity! You even dared to enter that house, you dared to cross that very sacred threshold, you dared to show that most filthy face to the household gods of these homes. This home nobody could look at for a long time, nobody without tears could go past, are you not ashamed to lodge in this home for so long a time. In which house, although you are not bright, nothing can be pleasant to you. Yet when you looked at those beaks in the vestibule, did you think that you enter your home. It cannot be. For although you might be without a mind, without feeling, as you are, still you knew both yourself and your things and your family. In fact I believe that you not could settle [there] ever neither awake nor in sleep with reason. It is necessary, however much you are drunk and mad, as you are, when the sight of that outstanding man was exposed to you, that you be roused terrified from sleep, and also often maddened when awake. 69. Indeed I pity the these very walls and the roofs. For what ever had this home seen except what was chaste, what except from the best manner and most virtuous instruction? For that man was, fellow senators, as you know, both distinguished abroad and admirable at home and not more praised for foreign deeds than for family habits. In his dwellings brothels exist in place of the bedrooms, taverns in place of the rooms. Though now he denies it. Do not inquire. He has been made respectable. He ordered his own girl to take her own things for herself, he took away the keys in accordance with the Twelve Tables, he expelled her. How in turn an esteemed citizen, how acceptable! From his entire life nothing is more honorable than now when he makes a divorce from that mime. (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Gordian 2, 3, 6, 17 (ca. 360 A.D.):

Gordian 2.3

Ipse consul ditissimus ac potentissimus, Romae Pompeianam domum possidens, in provinciis tantam terrarum habens quantum nemo privatus.

He himself [Gordian I] as consul was most rich and powerful; at Rome he owned the house of Pompeius, and in the provinces more land than any other subject. (D. Magie, trans.)

Gordian 3.7

Exstat silva eius memorabilis, quae picta est in domo rostrata Cn. Pompei, quae ipsius et patris eius et proavi fuit, quam Philippi temporibus vester fiscus invasit.

There also exists today a remarkable wild beast hunt of his pictured in Gnaeus Pompeius' "House of the Breaks;" this palace belonged to him [Gordian I], and to his father and his grandfather before him until your privy-purse took it over in the time of Philip. (D. Magie, trans.)

Gordian 6

Consul cum esset, aut in domo eius semper mansit aut, si in Pompeiana domo, ad illum vel mane vel sero processit.

When he [Gordian I] was consul, either he always remained at the old man's house, or, if he stayed at the House of Pompeius, he went either in the morning or evening to see him. (D. Magie, trans.)

Gordian 17

Si quidem argumento ad probandam generis qualitatem alii hoc esse desiderant, quod Africanus Gordianus senior appellatus est cognomine Scipionum, quod domum Pompeianam in urbe habuit, quod Antoninorum cognomine semper est nuncupatus, quod Antonium filium suum ipse significari voluit in senatu; quae singula videntur familias designare.

Others adduce the following facts as evidence to show the high quality of his family—that the elder Gordian was called Africanus, the honorary surname of the Scipios; that he possessed the House of Pompeius in the city; that he [Gordian II] was always given the surname of the Antonines; and that he himself expressed a desire in the senate that his son should be known as Antonius. Each of these, they believe, represents a family connection. (D. Magie, trans.)

Cassius Dio, Roman Histories 48.38.3 (ca. A.D. 220):

After this the leaders as well as the rest received and entertained one another, first Sextus on his ship and then Caesar and Antonius on the shore; for Sextus so far surpassed them in military strength that he would not disembark to meet them on the mainland until they had gone aboard his ship. And although, by this arrangement, he might have murdered them both while they were in the small boat with only a few followers, as Menas, in fact, advised, he was unwilling to do so. Indeed to Antonius, who had possession of his father's house in the Carinae (the name of a region in the city of Rome), he uttered a jest in the happiest manner, saying that he was entertaining them in the Carinae; for this is also the name for the keels of ships. Nevertheless, he did not act toward them in any way as if he recalled the past with bitterness, and on the following day he was not only feasted in turn but also betrothed his daughter to Marcus Marcellus, Caesar's nephew. (E. Cary, trans.)

Florus, Epitome bellorum omnium annorum DCC 2.18.4 (ca. A.D. 117-138):

Eo denique discriminum ventum est, ut foedus et pax cum hoste—si modo hostis Pompei filius—tamen feriretur. Quantum id, sed breve gaudium fuit, cum in Baiani litoris mole de reditu eius et bonorum restitutione convenit, cumque invitante ipso in navem discubitus est, et ille sortem suam increpitans "haec sunt" inquit "carinae mea"; haud incomiter, quod, cum in celeberrima parte urbis Carinis pater eius habitasset, ipsius domus et penates in navi penderent. Sed inopportunitate Antonii, et Pompeianorum bonorum, quorum sector ille fuerat, praeda devorata, possessio manere non poterat; detrectare coepit foederis pactum.

At last the danger became so great that a treaty of peace was concluded with the enemy—if a son of Pompeius can be called an enemy. How great was the joy (though it was short-lived), when an agreement was made on the embankment on the shores of Baiae permitting his return and the restitution of his property, and when, at his invitation, they dined on board his ship, and railing against his fate, he said, "These are my keels" —a witty remark, seeing that his father had lived in Carinae, the most fashionable quarter of the Capital, while his own home and his household gods tossed in a ship. But owing to the incivility of Antonius and because the spoil from Pompeius' property had been squandered, the entry of Sextus into possession of his estates could not be sustained; thus Pompeius began to back out of the pact of agreement. (E. S. Foster, trans.)

[Sextus Aurelius Victor], Liber de Viris Illustribus Urbis Romae 84.3 (ca. A.D. 360):

Pace facta epulatus in navi cum Antonio et Caesare non invenuste ait: Hae sunt meae carinae; quia Romae in Carinis domum eius Antonius tenebat.

With peace having been made and having feasted on his ship with Antonius and Caesar he [Sextus Pompeius] not without charm said: "These are my keels." Because in Rome Antonius held his home in the district "Keels." (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Tib. 15.1 (ca. A.D. 98-117):

Romam reversus deducto in Forum filio Druso statim e Carinis ac Pompeiana domo Esquilias in hortos Maecenatianos transmigravit totumque se ad quietem contulit, privata modo officia obiens ac publicorum munerum expers.

On his return to Rome, after introducing his son Drusus to public life, he [Tiberius] at once moved from the Carinae and the house of the Pompeius' to the gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline, where he led a very retired life, merely attending to his personal affairs and exercising no public functions. (J. C. Rolfe, trans.)

Plutarch, Pomp. 40 (ca. A.D. 100):

Nevertheless, Pompeius succeeded in making Demetrius rather less obnoxious to other people by the way in which he calmly put up with his impertinence. It is said, for instance, that at entertainments, while Pompeius was waiting to receive his other guests, Demetrius was often to be seen already reclining at the table, perfectly at his ease and with the hood of his toga pulled down over his ears. Even before he [Demetrius] had returned to Italy he had bought up one of the most pleasant pieces of property in the suburbs of Rome with most delightful walks and facilities for entertainment, and there were gardens, purchased for a great sum of money, called "the Demetrian gardens;" whereas Pompeius himself lived in a simple, inexpensive house until the time of third triumph. Afterwards, certainly, when he was building the beautiful and famous theater which is called after him, he constructed close by it, like a small boat attached to a big ship, a house for himself which was grander than the one he had before; but even this one was not grand enough to excite envy. In fact, so the story goes, when the person who came into the possession of the house after Pompeius first entered he was quite surprised and asked, "Where did Pompeius Magnus hold his dinner parties?" (I. Scott-Kilvert, trans.)

Horti Pompei

Gardens of Pompeius Magnus in the campus Martius ([Plut. Pomp. 44](#); [Vell. 2.60.3](#); [Asc. in Mil. arg. 34](#)). They were given to Antonius by Caesar after Pompeius' death ([App. BC 3.14](#); [Cic. Phil. 2.109](#)), and were still called Pompeiani in the early empire ([CIL 6.6299](#)). Twice ([Asc. in Mil. 50C, 52C](#)) in connection with these gardens, horti superiores are spoken of in a way to imply that there were upper and lower parts, and the inference has been drawn that these parts lay at the foot and on the slope of the Pincian respectively. In this case, they must have been entirely on the east side of the via Lata.

[Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929 (rev. ed.). "Horti Pompeiani." A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: 270. London: Oxford University Press.]

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Plutarch, Pomp. 44.3 (ca. A.D. 100):

In the meantime, however, Pompeius, in his desire to have Afranius elected consul, was spending large sums on his behalf among the voters in the tribes. They used to actually go down to Pompeius' gardens to collect their money and the thing became much talked about. (I. Scott-Kilvert, trans.)

Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 2.60.3 (ca. A.D. 30):

Hunc protinus Antonius consul superbe excepit (neque is erat contemptus, sed metus) vixque admissio in Pompeianos hortos loquendi secum tempus dedit, mox etiam velut insidiis eius petitus sceleste insimulare coepit, in quo turpiter deprehensa eius vanitas est.

On his arrival, Antonius, the consul, received him haughtily—out of fear, however, rather than contempt—and grudgingly gave him, after he had secured admission to Pompeius' gardens, a few moments conversations with himself; and it was not long before Antonius began wickedly to insinuate that an attempt had been made upon his life through plots fostered by Octavius. (F. W. Shipley, trans.)

Quintus Asconius Pedianus, *Commentarii [Pro Milone]* 33C (ca. A.D. 40):

Domus quoque M. Lepidi interregis—is enim magistratus curulis erat creatus—et absentis Milonis eadem illa Clodiana multitudo oppugnavit, sed inde sagittis repulsa est. Tum fasces ex luco Libitinae raptos attulit ad domum Scipionis et Hypsaei, deinde ad hortos Cn. Pompeii, clamitans eum modo consulem, modo dictatorem.

Furthermore the crowd attacked the homes of Milo (who was away) and of the interrex Marcus Lepidus (who had eventually been appointed to this office), but they were driven back with arrows. Then they grabbed the axes from the grove of Libitina and brought them to Scipio's house and to Hypsaeus', and then to Pompeius' garden villa, calling upon him variously as consul and as dictator. (S. Squires, trans.)

Appian, *Civil Wars* 3.14 (ca. A.D. 145-165):

When the public scribes had taken down his declaration [of his adoption by Caesar in his will], Octavian went from the forum straightway to Antonius. The latter was in the gardens that Caesar had given to him, which had formerly been Pompeius'. As Octavian was kept waiting in the vestibule for some time, he interpreted the fact as a sign of Antonius' displeasure, but when he was admitted there were greetings and mutual inquiries proper to the occasion. (H. White, trans.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero, Phil. 2.109 ; (44 B.C.):

At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam et potius discessu nostro laetatus est statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucri sui causa, is leges Caesaris, easque praeclaras, ut rem publicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit, idemque, cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius, in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus semper optentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

Yet that man, who does not need the senate, did not miss anyone and rather rejoiced at our departure and immediately produced those marvelous deeds. Though he had defended the memoranda of Caesar for the sake of profit, he overturned these laws of Caesar, and such distinguished ones, so that he could agitate the commonwealth. He proroged the number of years in provinces, and this same, when he ought to be the defender of the acts of Caesar, both in public and private matters he rescinded the acts of Caesar. In public transactions nothing is more serious than the law, in private matters the will is the hardest to break. Without any promulgation he abolished other laws, he gave notice of others, so that he could annul them. He made the will invalid, which even always was preserved for the humblest citizens. The statues and paintings, which Caesar bequeathed to the people together with his villa, he carried away some to the gardens of Pompeius, some to the villa of Scipio.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.6299 = Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae 7442c
(ca. early first century A.D.):

EROS ISVLARIVS sic
EX HORTEIS POMPEIA

Eros, Keeper of the Insula
Out of the Pompeian Gardens (U. K. Vestal, trans.)

Quintus Asconius Pedianus, Commentarii [Pro Milone] 50C (ca. A.D. 40):

Diximus in argumento orationis huius Cn. Pompeium simulasse timorem, seu plane timuisse Milonem, et ideo ne domi quidem suae sed in hortis superioribus ante iudicium mansisse, ita ut villam quoque praesidio militum circumdaret.

In the exposition of this speech I said that Pompeius pretended to be afraid of Milo, or perhaps he genuinely was. So until the verdict was given he stayed not at his house but in the upper part of his garden villa, with his residence defended by a garrison. (S. Squires, trans.)

Commentarii [Pro Milone] 51C-52C:

In eadem contione idem dixerat - habuit enim eam a.d. VIII Kal. Febr. - cum Milo pridie, id est VIII Kal. Febr., venire ad Pompeium in hortos eius voluisset, Pompeium ei per hominem propinquum misisse nuntium ne ad se veniret. Prius etiam quam Pompeius ter consul crearetur, tres tribuni, Q. Pompeius Rufus, C. Sallustius Crispus, T. Munatius Plancus, cum cotidianis contionibus suis magnam invidiam Miloni propter occisum Clodium excitarent, produxerant ad populum Cn. Pompeium et ab eo quaesierant num ad eum delatum esset illius quoque rei indicium, suae vitae insidiari Milonem. Responderat Pompeius: Licinium quendam de plebe sacrificulum qui solitus esset familias purgare ad se detulisse servos quosdam Milonis itemque libertos comparatos esse ad caedem suam, nomina quoque servorum eidisse; se ad Milonem misisse utrum in potestate sua haberet; a Milone responsum esse, ex iis servis quos nominasset partim neminem se umquam habuisse, partim manumississe; dein, cum Licinium apud se haberet, . . . Lucium quendam de plebe ad corrumpendum indicem venisse; qua re cognita in vincla eum publica esse coniectum. Decreverat enim senatus ut cum interrege et tribunis plebis Pompeius daret operam ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. [52C] Ob has suspiciones Pompeius in superioribus hortis se continuerat; deinde ex S.C. dilectu per Italiam habito cum redisset, venientem ad se Milonem unum omnium non admiserat. Item cum senatus in porticu Pompei haberetur ut Pompeius posset interesse, unum eum excuti prius quam in senatum intraret iusserat.

At this same contio on 25 January he [Q. Pompeius Rufus, tr. pl.] had also said that Milo had intended visiting Pompeius in his garden villa on the 24th, but Pompeius had sent a message by an intimate telling him not to come. Even before Pompeius' appointment as consul for the third time, three tribuni plebis - Q. Pompeius Rufus, C. Sallustius Crispus, T. Munatius Plancus - had at daily contiones been inflaming feeling against Milo because of Clodius' murder, and had brought Pompeius before the populus, asking him whether he had acquired evidence that Milo was plotting against his life. Pompeius' reply was that a man called Licinius, a plebeian priest who carried out purifications, had given him some information, namely that some slaves and freedman of Milo's had been instructed to murder

him; freedman of Milo's had been instructed to murder him; Licinius also named the slaves. He Pompeius had inquired whether Milo had them in his jurisdiction. Milo's reply had been that of the slaves identified some had never been his property, some he had emancipated. Then, while Licinius was still with him, Pompeius had had a visit from Lucius, a plebeius, who had come to bribe the informer. This fact came out, and the man was then imprisoned, since the senate had passed a decree that Pompeius, together with the interrex and the tribuni plebis, should ensure that the state suffered no harm. Pompeius had by now become suspicious, and remained in the upper part of his garden villa. After this, troops were raised in Italy by senatorial decree; and he reappeared; of those that called him Milo was the only not admitted. Furthermore, a meeting of the senate was held in Pompeius' portico so that Pompeius could attend, and he insisted on Milo being removed before he would enter. (S. Squires, trans.)