Damnatio Memoriae and Exemplarity in Imperial Rome: From the Julio-Claudians to the Severans

Volume 2 of 2.

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>Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extingvantur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebris lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione te potius et immortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine colamus: is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi ciusque pieta. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur, non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, formam mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possessis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum in aeternitae temporum, fama rerum; nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

‘If there is a place for the spirits of the just, if, as philosophers believe, great souls do not perish with the body, may you rest in peace. May you call us, your family, from feeble regrets and the weeping that belongs to women to contemplate your noble character, for which it is a sin either to mourn or to shed tears. May we rather honour you by our admiration and our undying praise and, if our powers permit, by following your example. That is the true respect, the true duty, of each of us closest to you. That is what I would enjoin on his daughter and his wife, that they revere the memory of a father and a husband by continually pondering his deeds and his words in their hearts, and by embracing the form and features of his soul rather than of his body.

Not that I would think of banning any statues in marble or bronze. But images of the human face, like that face itself, are weak and perishable. The beauty of the soul lives for ever, and you can preserve and express that beauty, not by the material and artistry of another, but only in your own character. All that we have loved in Agricola, all that we have admired in him, abides and is destined to abide in human hearts through the endless procession of the ages, by the fame of his deeds. Many of the men of old will be buried in oblivion, inglorious and unknown. Agricola’s story has been told and passed down to posterity, and he will survive.’

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2.) St. Jerome, *In Habakukk* 2.3.14-16.²

.... *si quando tyrannus obtruncatur, imagines quoque eius deponuntur, et statuae, et vultu tantummodo commutato, ablato que capite, eius qui vicerit, facies superponitur, ut manente corpore, capitibus qua praecisis, caput aliud commutetur.

....When a tyrant is destroyed, his portraits and statues are also deposed. The face is exchanged or the head removed, and the likeness of he who has conquered is superimposed. Only the body remains and another head is exchanged for those that have been severed.

3.) Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* praef.10.³

_Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu foedum exitu quod vites._

For in the study of history it is especially improving and beneficial to contemplate examples of every kind of behaviour, which are set out on a clear monument. From it you can extract for yourself and your state both what is worthy of imitation, and what you should avoid, because it is rotten at its inception and rotten at its end.

4.) Suetonius *Vita Domitiani* 23.1.⁴

_Occisum eum populus indifferenter, miles gravissime tuit statimque Divum appellare conatus est, paratus et ulcisci, nisi duces defuissent; quod quidem paulo post fecit expostulatis ad poenam pertinacissime caedis auctoribus. Contra senatus adeo laetatus est, ut repleta certatim curia non temperaret, quin mortuum contumeliosissimo atque acerbissimo adclamationum genere laceraret, scalas etiam inferri clipeosque et imagines eius coram detrahi et ibidem solo affligi iuberet, novissime eradendos ubique titulos abolendamque omnem memoriam decerneret._

The people received the news of his death with indifference, but the soldiers were greatly grieved and at once attempted to call him the Deified Domitian, while they were prepared also to avenge him, had they not lacked leaders. This, however, they did accomplish a little later by most insistently demanding the execution of his murderers. The senators, on the other hand, were so

delighted that they eagerly thronged to the curia, and thence did not refrain to denounce the
dead Domitian with the bitterest and most abusive declamations, they even ordered ladders to be
brought in, and had his votive shields and statues hurled down before their eyes and dashed to
the ground. Lastly, they decreed that all inscriptions referring to him must be effaced, and all
memory of him be destroyed.

5.) Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus* 52.3-7.

Itaque tuam statuam in vestibulo lovis Optimi Maximi unam alteramve, et hanc aereum, cernimus.
At paullo ante aditus omnes, omnes gradus, totaque area hinc auro, hinc argento relucebat, seu
potius polluebatur: quam incesti principis status permixta deorum simulacra sorderent. Ergo istae
quidem aereae et paucae manent, manebuntque, quam diu templum ipsum: illae autem aureae et
innumerabiles strage et ruina publico gaudio litarvunt. Iuvabat illidere solo superbissimos vultus,
instare ferro, saevire securibus, ut si singulos ictus sanguis dolorque sequeretur. Nemo tam
temperans gaudii saeraeae laetitiae, quin instar ultionis videretur, cernere laceros artus, truncata
membra, postremo truces horrendasque imagines abietas, excoctasque flammis; ut ex illo terrore
et minis in usum hominum ac voluptates ignibus mutarentur.

'Simili reverentia, Caesar, non apud Genium tuum bonitati tuae gratias agi, sed apud numen lovis
Optimi Maximi pateris: illi debere nos, quidquid debeamus, illius, quod bene facias, muneris esse,
qui te dedit. Ante quidem ingentes hostiarum greges per Capitolinum iter, magna sui parte velut
intercepti, devertere via cogebantur: quum saevissimi domini atrocissima effigies tanto
victimarum cruore coleretur, quantum ipse humani sanguinis profundebat

And so, of your statues, we can see only one or two in the vestibule of Jupiter Best and Greatest,
and these are of bronze. Yet, only a short time ago, every approach, every step, the entire surface
of the precinct, here with gold, there with silver, was shining out, or rather, was being polluted,
since the effigies of the gods were defiled by the statues of an incestuous emperor in their midst.
And so your few statues of bronze remain, and will remain, as long as the temple itself, whereas
those that were uncountable and gold were sacrificed to public revelry through their
overthrowing and destruction. It was a delight to dash those arrogant faces to the ground, to
smite them with the sword and savage them with the axe, as if blood and agony could follow from
every blow. No-one could restrain their joy, and their long-deferred happiness; in fact it was like a
form of vengeance, to witness the bodies being torn apart, the limbs mutilated, and finally those
barbaric, dreadful images cast into fire and melted down, so that from such terror, something for
man’s use and enjoyment should rise out of the flames.

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‘With the same reverence for the gods, Caesar, you do not allow thanks for your benevolence to be given to your genius, but to the Godhead of Jupiter best and greatest; whatever we owe, we owe to him, and your benefactions are his gifts who gave you to us. Yet only recently, vast herds of victims were often stopped on the Capitoline Way, and large numbers forced to turn aside, for the grim statue of that brutal tyrant was maintained by the blood of victims, which poured as freely as the human blood he shed by his own hand.

6.) Juvenal Saturae X.65-74. ⁶

quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae

invidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum

pagina. descendunt statuae restemque secuntur,

ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis

caedet et inmeritis franguntur crura caballis.

iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis

ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens

Seianus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda

fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, matellae.

pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum

cretatumque bovem: Seianus ducitur unco

spectandus, gaudent omnes. ‘quae labra, quis illi

vultus erat! numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi

hunc hominem. sed quo cecidit sub crimen? quisnam

delator quibus indicibus, quo teste probavit?’

‘nil horum; verbosa et grandis epistula uenit

a Capreis.’ ‘bene habet, nil plus interrogo.’ sed quid

turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit

---

damnatos. idem populus, si Nortia Tusco.

fauisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora

Augustum. iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
uendimus, effudit curas; nam qui dabat olim
imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,

panem et circenses. 'perituros audio multos.'

'nil dubium, magna est fornacula.' 'pallidulus mi
Bruttidius meus ad Martis fuit obuius aram;
quam timeo, uictus ne poenas exigat Aiax
ut male defensus. curramus praeclipes et,
dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.

sed uideant serui, ne quis neget et pauidum in ius
ceruice obstricta dominum trahat.' hi sermones
tunc de Seiano, secreta haec murmura volgi.

Some are destroyed by their power, thrown down by mighty envy,

their long and illustrious list of honours overwhelms them.

Their statues are dragged down and follow the rope to the ground,

then even the wheels of their chariots are struck, sundered

With axes, and the legs of their innocent horses are shattered.

Now the flames roar, and that head idolised

By the people glows by the furnace and the bellows, flames crackle around huge

Sejanus; the face of a man who was number two in the world

Is converted to jugs and basins, turned to chamber-pots and frying pans.

Deck your houses with laurel, lead a great bull whitened with
Chalk up to the Capitol: you have to see Sejanus dragged along by
the hook, they’re all celebrating! ‘Look at the lips, look at the
Face on that! Believe me, I never liked that
Man’ ‘But what accusation did he fall under?
Which informer gave him away, with what proof, with what witnesses?’
‘There was none of that; a lengthy and wordy letter arrived from
Capri.’ ‘That’s fine, I’ll not question it any further.’ But what of the Roman
Mob? They follow Fortune, as always, and hate whoever she
Condemns. If Nortia, as the Etruscans called her, had favoured
Etruscan Sejanus; if the old Emperor had been surreptitiously
Smothered; that same crowd in a moment would have hailed
Their new Augustus. They shed their sense of responsibility
Long ago, when they lost their votes, and the bribes; the mob
That used to grant power, high office, the legions, everything,
Curtails its desires, and reveals its anxiety for two things only,
Bread and circuses. ‘I hear that many will perish.’ ‘No doubt,
The furnace is huge.’ ‘My friend Bruttidius Niger looked
Rather pale, when I met him in front of the altar of Mars;
I’m scared that Tiberius, like a defeated Ajax, will exact
Punishment for being so poorly protected. Let’s run swiftly
And trample on Caesar’s foe, where he lies on the riverbank,
Making sure our slaves see us, so they can’t deny it and drag
Their terrified masters to justice, with nooses round our necks.’
Those were the crowd’s secret murmurings regarding Sejanus.

7 It is ambiguous whether this line is acting as a summary of the previous lines of dialogue, or introducing a
point of contrast – implying that the Roman mob ‘follows fortune’ without even thinking to ask questions.
In this way was Pertinax declared emperor and Commodus a public enemy, after both the senate and the populace had joined in shouting many bitter words against the latter. They wanted to drag off his body and tear it limb from limb, as they did do, in fact, with his statues; but when Pertinax informed them that the corpse had already been interred, they spared his remains, but glutted their rage against him in other ways, calling him all sorts of names. For no one called him Commodus or emperor; instead they referred to him as an accursed wretch and a tyrant, adding in jest such terms as “the gladiator,” “the charioteer,” “the left-handed,” “the ruptured.” To those senators on whom the fear of Commodus had rested most heavily, the crowd called out: “Huzza! Huzza! You are saved; you have won.” Indeed, all the shouts that they had been accustomed to utter with a kind of rhythmic swing in the amphitheatres, by way of paying court to Commodus, they now chanted with certain changes that made them utterly ridiculous. For now that they had got rid of one ruler and as yet had nothing to fear from his successor, they were making the most of their freedom in the interval, and were gaining a reputation for boldness of speech in the security of the moment. For they were not satisfied merely to be relieved of further terror, but in their confidence they also wished to indulge in wanton insolence.

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8.) Statius *Silvae* 1.1.⁹

Quae superinposito moles geminata colosso
stat Latium complexa forum? caelone peractum
fluxit opus? Sicus an conformata caminis
effigies lassum Steropem Brontemque reliquit?
an te Palladiae talem, Germanice, nobis
effecere manus, qualem modo frena tenentem
Rhenus et attoniti vidit domus ardua Daci?
nunc age Fama prior notum per saecula nomen
Dardanii miretur equi cui vertice sacro
Dindymon et caesis decrevit frondibus Ide:
hunc neque discissum cepissent Pergama muris,
nec grege permixto pueri innuptaeque puellae
ipse nec Aeneas nec magnus duceret Hector.
adde quod ille nocens saevosque amplexus Achivos,
hunc mitis commendat eques: iuvat ora tueri
mixta notis belli placidamque gerentia pacem.

Nec veris maiora putes: par forma decorque,
par honor. exhaustis Martem non altius armis
Bistonius portat sonipes magnoque superbit
pondere, nec tardo raptus prope flumina
cursu
fumat et ingenti propellit Strymona flatu.
par operi sedes. hinc obvia limina pandit
qui fessus bellis adsertae munere prolis
primus iter nostris ostendit in aethera divis;
discit et e vultu quantum tu mitior armis,
qui nec in externos facilis saevire furores
das Cattis Dacisque fidem: te signa ferente
et minor in leges iret gener et Cato castris.
at laterum passus hinc Iulia tecta tuentur,

What is this mass that stands embracing
the Latian Forum, doubled by the colossus
on its back? Did it glide from the sky, a
finished work? Or did the effigy, molded in
Sicilian furnaces, leave Steropes and
Brontes weary? Or did Pallas’ hands
fashion you for us, Germanicus, in such
guise as the Rhine of late and the lofty
home of the astounded Dacian saw you
holding your reins?

Come now, let an earlier fame wonder at
the renown of the Dardanian horse, known
through the ages, for whom Dindymon’s
sacred peak and Ida were diminished, their
leafage felled. This horse Pergamus would
not have contained, though her walls were
riven asunder, nor would the mingled
throng of boys and unwed girls have drawn
him, nor yet Aeneas himself nor great
Hector. Besides, that horse was baneful,
enfolding cruel Achaeans; this one his
gentle rider commends, on whose face it is
pleasant to gaze, where marks are mingled;
war it bears and gentle peace. Nor think
the work exaggerates: equal is his beauty
and grace, equal his dignity. No more loftily
does his Bistonian steed bear Mars, battles
spent, and glories in the mighty weight; nor
so great his speed as he pelts steaming
along the river, urging Strymon forward
with his prodigious blast.

The setting matches the work. Here opens
wide his facing threshold he that weary of
wars first showed our divinities the way to
heaven by the gift of his adopted son. From
your countenance he learns how much
gentler in arms are you, that find it hard to
rage even against foreign fury, giving
quarter to Cattians and Dacians. Had you
borne the standard, his lesser son-in-law

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illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli,  
		erga pater blandoque videt Concordia vultu.  
ipse autem puro celsum caput aere saeptus  
templa superfulges et prospectare videris,  
an nova contemptis surgant Palatia flammis  
pulchrius, an tacita vigilet face Troicus ignis  
atque exploratas iam laudet Vesta ministras.  

Dextra vetat pugnas, laevam Tritonia virgo  
non gravat et sectae praetendit colla Medusae.  
ceu deae sedes, nec si, Pater, ipse teneres.  
pectora, quae mundi valeant evolvere curas  
et quis se totis Temese dedit hausta metallis.  
it tergo demissa chlamys, latus ense quieto  
securum, magnus quanto mucrone minatur  
noctibus hibernis et sidera terret Orion.  

At sonipes habitus animosque imitatus equestris  
acrius attollit vultus cursumque minatur;  
cui rigidis stant colla iubis vivusque per armos  
impetus, et tantis calcaribus ilia late  
suffectura patent. vacuae pro cespite terrae  
aerea captivi crinem tegit ungula Rheni.  
hunc et Adrasteus visum extimuisset Arion,  
et pavet aspiciens Ledaeus ab aede propinqua  
Cyllarus: hic domini numquam mutabit habenas  
perpetuus frenis atque uni serviet astro.  

Vix sola suffieiunt insessaque pondere toto  
subter anhelat humus, nec ferro aut aere: laborant  
sub genio, teneat quamvis aeterna crepido,  
quae superingesti portaret culmina montis  
caeliferique attrita genu durasset Atlantis.  

Nec longae traxere morae. iuvat ipsa labores  
forma dei praesens, operique intenta iuventus  
and Cato would have submitted to Caesar's  
ordinances. But the spread of the flanks is  
surveyed from one side by the Julian  
structure and from the other by the  
exalted palace of martial Paullus. The back  
your father beholds, and Concord with her  
smiling face. You yourself shine above the temples, your  
lofty head surrounded by the pure air. You  
seem to gaze before you—does the new  
palace rise more beautiful than ever,  
despising the flames, does the secret brand  
of the Trojan fire keep vigil, does Vesta  
now praise her servants well approved?  
Your right hand bans battles; the Tritonian  
maiden is no burden to your left as she  
holds out severed Medusa's neck as  
though to spur the horse forward;  
nowhere did the goddess choose a sweeter  
resting place, not even, Father, if yourself  
held her. Your breast is such as may suffice  
to unwind the cares of the universe; to  
make it, Temese has given her all,  
exhausting her mines. A cloak hangs down  
your back. A quiet sword protects your  
side, large as Orion's threatening blade on  
winter nights, affrighting the stars.  
But the charger in counterfeit of his  
master's mien and spirit sharply lifts his  
head and threatens gallop. His mane lies  
stiff on his neck, life thrills through his  
shoulders, his widely spreading flanks will  
suffice for the great Spurs. Instead of a clod  
of empty earth, his brazen hoof chafes the  
hair of captive Rhine. Adrastus' Arion  
would have dreaded the sight of him, and  
Leda's Cyllarus trembles as he looks from  
his neighboring shrine. This horse shall  
ever change his master's reins, constant  
to his bit; he shall serve one star only.  
Scarce can the soil hold out, the ground  
pants beneath the pressure of such a  
weight. 'Tis not steel or bronze, 'tis your  
guardian spirit that overloads it, even
miratur plus posse manus. strepit ardua pulsu machina; continuus septicum per culmina ventis it fragor et magnae figit vaga murmura Romae. 65

Ipse loci custos, cuius sacrata vorago famosique lacus nomen memorabile servant, innumerous aeris sonitus et verbere crudo ut sensit mugire forum, movet horrida sancto ora situ meritaque caput venerabile queruc. 70

ac primum ingentes habitus lucemque coruscam expavit maioris equi terque ardua mersit colla lacu trepidans, laetus mox praeside viso: 'salve, magnorum proles genitorque deorum, audittum longe numen mihi! nunc mea felix, 75 nunc veneranda palus, cum te prope nosse tuumque immortale iubar vicina sede tueri concessum. semel auctor ego inventoreque salutis Romuleae: tu bella Iovis, tu proelia Rheni, tu civile nefas, tu tardum in foedera montem longo Marte domas. quod si te nostra tulissent saecula, temptasses me non audente profundo ire lacu, set Roma tuas tenuisset habenas.1

Cedat equus Latiae qui contra templap Diones Caesarei stat sede fori quem traderis ausus Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci; mox Caesaris ora mirata cervice tuit: vix lumine fesso explores quam longus in hunc despectus ab illo. quis rudis usque adeo qui non, ut viderit ambos, tantum dicat equos quantum distare regentes? 85

Non hoc imbriferas hiemes opus aut lovis ignem tergemun, Aeolii non agmina carceris horret annorumve moras: stabit, dum terra polusque, though an everlasting base support, one that might have carried a mountain peak piled on top, and held firm though rubbed by heaven-bearing Atlas’ knee.

No long delays drew out the time. The god’s present likeness itself makes labor sweet and the men intent upon their task are surprised to find their hands more powerful. The lofty scaffolding is loud with hammer strokes and an incessant din runs through Mars’ seven hills, drowning the vagrant noises of great Rome.

The guardian of the place in person, whose name the sacred chasm and the famous pool preserve in memory, hears the countless clashes of bronze and the Forum resounding with harsh blows. He raises a visage stark in holy squalor and a head sanctified by well-earned wreath of oak. At first he took alarm at the huge accoutrements and flashing light of a mightier horse as thrice his lofty neck sank affrighted in the pool. Then, happy at sight of the ruler: “Hail, offspring and begetter of great gods, deity known to me by distant report. Blessed is now my swamp, venerable now that it is vouchsafed me to know you close at hand and behold your immortal radiance from my neighboring seat. Once only did I make and find salvation for the people of Romulus; whereas you in length of fighting quell the wars of Jove, the battles of the Rhine, the civil outrage, the mountain slow to treat. But if our times had given you birth, you would have made to plunge into the deep pool, when I dared not venture, but Rome would have held your reins.”

Let that horse yield who stands in Caesar’s Forum opposite Latian Dione’s temple, whom you, Lysippus (so ‘tis said), dared make for Pella’s captain (soon it was amazed to bear Caesar’s likeness on its neck); with your tired eyes you would
dum Romana dies. hoc et sub nocte silenti,
cum superis terrena placent, tua turba
relictur 95
labetur caelo miscebitque oscula iuxta.
ibit in amplexus natus fraterque paterque
et soror: una locum cervix dabit omnibus astris.

Utere perpetuum populi magnique senatus
munere. Apelleae cuperent te scribere
cerae, 100
optassetque novo similem te ponere templo
Atticus Elei senior Iovis, et tua mitis
ora Tarans, tua sidereas imitantia flammans
lumina contempto mallet Rhodos aspera Phoebos.
certus ames terras et quae tibi templam
dicamus. 105
ipse colas; nec te caeli iuvet aula, tuosque
laetus huic dono videas dare tura nepotes.

scarcely discern how far down the view is
from this horse to that. Who so unschooled
as, seeing both, not to declare the horses
as far apart as their riders?
This work fears not rainy winters nor Jove’s
triple-forked fire nor the troops of Aeolus’
dungeon nor the long-drawn years; it shall
stand as long as earth and heaven and
Roman day. In the dead of night, when
earthly things please heavenly, your folk
will glide here from the abandoned sky and
mingle kisses close. Son and brother and
father and sister will come to your arms.
One neck shall make room for every star.
Enjoy for all time the gift of the people and
the great Senate. Apelles’ wax would fain
have inscribed you, the old Athenian would
have longed to set your likeness in a new
temple of Elean Jove, gentle Tarentum
would have preferred your countenance,
fierce Rhodes your eyes like starry flames,
contemning Phoebus. Steadfast may you
love earth and yourself frequent the
temples we dedicate to you. Let not
heaven’s palace delight you, and happily
may you see your grandsons give incense
to this gift.

Lydia tam laxa est equitis quam culus aeni,
quam celer arguto qui sonat aere trochus,
quam rota transmisso totiens impacta petauro,
quam vetus a crassa calceus udus aqua,
quam quae rara vagos expectant retia turdos, 5
quam Pompeiano vela negata Nota,
quam quae de phthisico lapsa est armilla cinaedo,
culcita Leuconico quam viduata suo,
quam veteres bracae Brittonis pauperis, et quam
urpe Ravennatis guttur onocrotali. 10

Hanc in piscina dicor futuisse marina.
Nescio; piscinam me futuisse puto.

Lydia is as loose as the arse of a bronze horseman,
as a swift hoop, noisy with its clattering bronze,
as the wheel through which the acrobat often leaps without touching it,
as an old shoe soaked in muddy water,
as the wide-meshed nets that wait for stray thrushes, 5
as the awnings denied by the South Wind in Pompey’s theater,
as an armlet that slipped from a consumptive catamite,
as a mattress divorced from its Leuconian stuffing,
as the old breeches of a pauper Briton,
and as the ugly throat of a pelican of Ravenna. 10

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I am said to have fucked her in a marine fishpond.

I don’t know; I think I fucked the fishpond.

10.) Martial Liber De Spectaculis 2.1-12. \[11\]

*Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus*

*et crescent media pegmata celsa via,*

*invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis*

*unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus.*

*hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatrum*

*erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.*

*hic ubi miramur velacia munera thermas,*

*abstulerat miseri tecta superbus ager.*

*Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,*

*ultima pars aulae deficiens erat.*

*reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,*

*deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.*

Here, where the starry colossus sees the constellations close at hand

And a lofty framework rises in the middle of the road,

the hated halls of a cruel king used to gleam,

and in the whole city there was only one house standing.

Here, where the awesome bulk of the amphitheatre

Soars before our eyes, once lay Nero’s pools.

Here, where we marvel at the swift blessing of the baths,

An arrogant estate had robbed the poor of their dwellings.

Where the Claudian portico weaves its spreading shade,

marks the point at which the palace finally stopped.

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Rome has been restored to herself, and with you in charge, Caesar,

What used to be the pleasure of a master is now the pleasure of the people
11. Text of the Arae Incendiae Neronis\(^\text{12}\)

*Haec area intra hancce*
*definitionem cipporum*
*clausa veribus et ara quae*
*est inferius dedicata est ab*
*Imp Caesare Domitiano Aug*
*Germanico ex voto susceptor*
*quod diu erat neglectum nec*
*redditum incendiorum*
*arcendorum causa*
*quando urbs per novem dies*
*arsit Neronianis temporibus*
*hac lege dedicata est ne cui*
*liceat intra hos terminus*
*aedifcium exstruere manere*
*negotiari arborem ponere*
*alivdve quid serere*
*et ut praetor cui haec regio*
*sorti obvenerit sacrum faciat*
*aliusve quis magistratus*
*Volcanalibus (ante diem) X K Septembres*
*omnibus annis vitulo robeo*
*et verre r(obeo) fac[tis] prectionibus*
*infra scriptam aedi[---c.3----] K [---c.1---] Sept*
*ianist [---c.12----][---c.5----] dari [---c.6----] quae s*
*quod Imp. Caesar Domitianus*
*Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max.constituit q [---c.9---]*
*[---c.1---] eri[---c.13---]*

This area, within this boundary of cippi enclosed with spikes, and the altar which is below, has been dedicated by the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, from a vow undertaken, which was long neglected and not fulfilled, for the sake of repelling fires, when the city burned for nine days in the time of Nero. By this law it is dedicated, that it is not allowed within these confines for anyone to build a structure, settle, conduct business, place a tree, or plant anything, and that the praetor to whom this region has come by lot, or some other magistrate, shall make a sacrifice on the Volcanalia, the tenth day before the Kalends of September, every year with a red calf and a hog, along with prayers. Written below Kalends of September [...] be given, which chief pontiff Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus has established...(and which he has ordered that?) (there shall be)...

13.) Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae* 34.45-7.13

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verum omnem amplitudinem statuarum eius generis vicit aetate nostra Zenodorus Mercurio facto in civitate Galliae Arvernis per annos decem, hs [cccc] manipretii, postquam satis artem ibi adprobaverat, Romam accitus a Nerone, ubi destinatum illius principis simulacro colossum fecit civis pedum in longitudinem, qui dicatus Soli2 venerationi est damnatis sceleribus illius principis. mirabamur in officina non modo ex argilla similitudinem insignem, verum et de parvis admodum surculis quod primum operis instaurati fuit. ea statua indicavit interisse fundendi aeris scientiam, cum et Nero largiri aurum argentumque paratus esset et Zenodorus scientia fingendi caelandique nulli veterum postponeretur.

But all the gigantic statues of this class have been beaten in our period by Zenodorus with the Hermes or zenodorus. Mercury which he made in the community of the Arverni in Gaul; it took him ten years and the sum paid for its making was 40,000,000 sesterces. Having given sufficient proof of his artistic skill in Gaul he was summoned to Rome by Nero, and there made the colossal statue, 106½ ft. high, intended to represent that emperor but now, dedicated to the sun after the condemnation of that emperor’s crimes, it is an object of awe. In his studio we used not only to admire the remarkable likeness of the clay model but also to marvel at the frame of quite small timbers which constituted the first stage of the work put in hand. This statue has shown that skill in bronze-founding has perished, since Nero was quite ready to provide gold and silver, and also Zenodorus was counted inferior to none of the artists of old in his knowledge of modelling and chasing.

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List of Abbreviations

All abbreviations follow the list of abbreviations from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th edition, 2012), as accessed from: https://oxfordre.com/classics/page/abbreviation-list/, with the addition of the following:

- **Dio** Cassius Dio, *History of Rome*
- **Anth.Graec.** *Anthologia Graeca*
- **BMCRE** *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire* (1923-)
- **Chron.** *Chronographus anni CCLIII* (‘The Chronography of 354’)
- **Not.Reg.** *Notitia Regionum Urbis Romae XIV*
- **Jer.in.Abacuc** St. Jerome, *On Habakkuk*
- **OCRE** Online Coins of the Roman Empire
- **RIC** *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (1923-)

Dates are AD unless otherwise specified.
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