Augustus Caesar and the city Plebs: How the Commoners of Rome Found Prosperity under Augustus

By
Mat Leslie

Senior Seminar: History 499
Professor Lowe
Western Oregon University
June 16, 2006

Readers
Professor Lowe
Professor Doellinger

This paper will explore the ways in which the reign of Augustus Caesar (r. 31B.C.-A.D.14) provided a shift in view toward the general populace of Rome. Before him, the Senate was primarily concerned with perpetuating its own existence and the general public, aside from their limited voting power, never seemed to be a major focus of the members of the Senatorial elite. Instead, they focused on their own affairs and the Senate ruled Rome without question or any real checks and balances.[1] Augustus, however, made life for the commoners, or plebs, of Rome much more productive than it had been under the Senate before him. He gave them peace after the long period of civil war and stimulated the economy with the extensive building projects that he commissioned to establish a solid infrastructure in the city of Rome. He also gave them allotments of money and distributions of grain.

His actions during his era as the central figure of Rome also indicate that he appealed directly to the plebs and that he was aware of the need to satisfy this majority of the Roman population. Augustus has been both criticized and adored by historians for these efforts in Rome, and both with some validity, but the criticism over his autocratic intentions in Rome is irrelevant to the economic prosperity he brought to the city's plebian population. The plebs, who were illiterate and poorer than the Senatorial elite, had much more basic needs, such as food, entertainment, and employment. The fact that he was able to provide for them these needs and the fact that the Roman Republic was not particularly a representative government as a republic of today is expected to be fall into agreement with the argument that Augustus's political aspirations are less important with respect to his relationship with the plebs than what he was able to accomplish.

This paper is designed to explain exactly how Augustus was able to bring this prosperity to the commoners by examining the projects and accomplishments itemized in his own *Res*

[1] David Shotter, *The Fall of the Roman Republic* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 5-6.

Gestae divi Augusti, which is an autobiographical account of his activities written toward the end of his life. For the purpose of providing a holistic and unbiased explanation of what he did for Rome, I will also comparatively use the writings of ancient historians on Augustus and the archaeological studies of building projects in Rome to adequately grasp the scale of his accomplishments. By studying these sources in tandem, historians can assess the impact he had on commoners' lives and the part he played in making the city of Rome a thriving metropolis.

The first detail indicated by the *Res Gestae* is that Augustus did bring an era of peace and political stability to the Roman world. According to the Roman historian and palace official, Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Augustus faced a total of five civil wars before ascending to power in 31B.C.[2] According to the Greek-turned-Roman historian, Cassius Dio, the Roman population divided itself during the struggles, which only heightened the degree of chaos and general disorder.[3] In paragraph three of the *Res Gestae*, Augustus alludes to the policy of clemency that he enacted at the end of the civil wars and the settling of affairs to appease the soldiers under his command.[4] This clemency helped reunite the Roman population, thereby alleviating the split that occurred because of the civil wars.

The Greek historian Cassius Dio's study of Augustus also supports the fact that he appealed to the desires of the Roman plebs. Immediately after the settling of affairs with his veterans upon the end of the civil wars, Augustus granted monetary payments of four hundred sesterces to each adult male of Rome.[5] This granting of funds is indicative of his awareness that the mob needed to be appeased.

---

[2] Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Twelve Caesars*, ed. Michael Grant, trans. Robert Graves (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 58.

[3] Cassius Dio, *The Roman History: The Reign of Augustus*, ed. Betty Radice, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 41.

[4] Augustus Caesar, *Res Gestae divi Augustus*, ed. E.H. Warmington, trans. Frederick W. Shipley (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 349.

[5] Dio, *The Roman History: The Reign of Augustus*, 81.

In paragraph fifteen of the *Res Gestae*, several accounts are listed of both monetary distribution and grain distribution. The monetary distributions came both before and after the civil wars, and in the year 23B.C. Augustus distributed grain to the plebian population of Rome a total of twelve times. The *Res Gestae* lists at least five incidences in which Augustus donated money to the plebs of Rome and the end of paragraph fifteen alludes to plebs who were already receiving free grain, suggesting that distribution was a common occurrence.[6] The total amount of funds donated to the plebian population, according to editor E.H. Warmington, would have amounted to the 1920's equivalent of twenty-seven million dollars.[7]

Even the ancient historian Cornelius Tacitus, who clearly disliked Augustus's intentions in Rome, alludes in his writings to Augustus's concern with the public. According to Tacitus, Augustus won over the favor of the plebs by offering them inexpensive food.[8] The significance of this account is that it even Tacitus, a die-hard Republican and opponent of imperial rule, discusses Augustus's food distribution efforts and it supports the fact that Augustus placed great emphasis on appeasing the city plebs.[9]

Another important point with regard to the grain distribution and the relationship between Augustus and the city plebs is the fact that they trusted him. In 22B.C., which was an economically disastrous year for Rome because of environmental reasons, the plebs rioted and stormed the Senate, demanding that Augustus be declared dictator of Rome and that he be put directly in charge of the grain supply.[10] This shows that they truly were emotionally connected to him and that they knew that he was able to take care of their needs.

---

[6] Caesar, *Res Gestae*, 367-371.
[7] Ibid., 371.
[8] Cornelius Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, trans. Michael Grant (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 32.
[9] Ibid., 33.
[10] Zvi Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 26.

Aside from allotting money directly to the populace of Rome, he also transferred portions of his private funds to the public treasury of Rome to keep it stimulated. He did that a total of four times with the amount totaling at approximately one hundred fifty million sesterces. In paragraphs seventeen and eighteen, the *Res Gestae* lists these expenditures and Augustus claims to have paid from his own funds money to keep the economy healthy when tax revenues were low. Beginning in 18B.C., he kept up this habit of adding funds to the tax revenue in order to make sure there was a healthy supply of money in the public treasury.[11] This perpetual concern with the treasury indicates that he generally wanted to keep the economy from stagnation.

By the time of his death in 14A.D., he had secured for Rome a forty-five year period of internal peace and political stability.[12] One strong indication of that peace noted in the *Res Gestae* in paragraph twelve was the altar built on the Flaminian Way that was dedicated to Augustus in 9B.C.[13] The reason this is so important is because it reveals that not only was Augustus commissioning the building of art and infrastructure projects, but also other members of the Senate, which again supports his claim that he had provided for Rome a sustained era of peace and stability. Senators dedicating buildings to Augustus rather than themselves reveals a lack of political squabbling within the Senate.

Another example in support of that peace and stability is Augustus's pronouncement in paragraph thirteen of the *Res Gestae* that he closed the doors of the temple of Janus Quirinus a total of three times. According to Augustus in the same passage, Roman ancestors had ordered the doors to be closed in times of peace and it had only been closed twice before his reign in the

---

[11] Ibid., 373-374.
[12] Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, 110.
[13] Caesar, *Res Gestae*, 365.

entire history of Rome.[14] This claim that it had only been closed on two other occasions is supported by Dio's history as well.[15]

Peace and stability in Rome is also apparent from studies of the vast amount of construction projects that Augustus commissioned. Paragraph nineteen of the *Res Gestae* begins an enormous list of buildings that he ordered to be erected. Among those are the Curia Julia, dedicated in the name of Julius Caesar in 29B.C., the Temple of Apollo, which was dedicated in 28B.C., the Temple of Julius Caesar, dedicated in 29B.C., and the Lupercal, which was supposed to be the site at which the Capitoline Wolf of Rome fed Romulus and Remus.[16] In all, he lists seventeen projects that he commissioned just in paragraph nineteen.

To understand the economic impact of these construction projects, it is important to take all of his projects into account and the put them into the proper context. This paper exclusively concerns the projects within the city of Rome and he commissioned these projects in tandem with his monetary and grain distributions as well as his public entertainment contributions. Though not specifically discussed here, this also occurred concurrently with his pursuits outside of the city throughout the rest of the Empire.

A difficult concept the grasp is measuring exactly how much it would have cost, considering labor costs, material costs, and the feeding and housing of the laborers and engineers, to successfully complete those projects and exactly how much that would have affected the public. Some archaeologists, such as M.K. and R.L. Thornton, have attempted to place values on these projects. The problem is putting into perspective the tools available at the time of construction and the coordination of manpower in order to grasp a realistic estimate of total cost. Feeding and housing the labor force should also be taken into consideration.

---

[14] Ibid.
[15] Dio, *The Roman History: The Reign of Augustus*, 149.
[16] Caesar, *Res Gestae*, 375-377.

However, the Thorntons have come up with a solution to the issue in the form of comparative quantitative study, meaning that they have studied buildings in relation to each other to draw conclusions as to the material and work costs of the buildings.[17] Though they do not provide a realistic assessment of what monetary costs Augustus actually may have incurred in commissioning the buildings, they do provide several practical and conclusive analyses.

One of these analyses is that the aqueducts, which primarily consisted of restorations, placed much more of a financial burden on the government than any other projects, including new projects. Most of that work occurred between the years 11B.C. and 4B.C., and within those years, aqueduct restoration consumed more than twice as much effort and money than the next largest campaign, which was the construction of a new aqueduct, the Aqua Alsietina, completed in the same period as the restorations.[18] Even the third largest building project was yet another aqueduct, the Aqua Virgo, which was built between 24B.C. and 19B.C.[19]

These aqueducts served two major functions. The first was that their construction, though no conclusive or specific monetary number is found, must have been very expensive compared to other building projects in Rome. The task of restoring old aqueducts and creating new ones dwarfed any other project built in Augustus's era that archaeologists have studied thus far. Just the restoration of preexisting aqueducts took more than four times as much work as the construction of the new building, the Theatre of Marcellus, which itself took a span of five years to complete from 17B.C. to 13B.C.[20]

This means that not only did these aqueduct construction campaigns create work for the city plebs, but also that it brought much larger supplies of water to the city. The Aqua Alsietina

---

[17] M.K. and R.L. Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs: A Quantitative Study in Political Management* (Wauconda: Boldchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1989), 19-21.

[18] Ibid., 24-26.

[19] Ibid., 25.

[20] Ibid.

brought to Rome approximately sixteen thousand cubic meters of water each day. A majority of that was for the emperor, but not for drinking. Instead he used it as a supply route for mock sea battles for plebian entertainment. The Aqua Virgo, which was an underground aqueduct, brought approximately one hundred thousand cubic meters of water to Rome every day.[21] From Augustus's trend of giving the plebs money and food, one can realistically deduce that much of the water brought to Rome via the new and refurbished aqueducts did go to public use. The facilitation of heavy water supplies to Rome was an absolute must as the city had grown to a population of approximately one million around the turn of the century in Augustus's reign.[22] This meant that, to avoid famine and disaster, this perpetually increasing population had to be well supplied with food and water. Augustus accomplished that feat with the aqueduct projects.

Another analysis of the Thorntons is that archaeological study of the remaining buildings taken into account with documented accounts of the buildings can give a much more conclusive speculation as to the enormity of the task of public construction. According to the Thorntons, the two main reason Augustus was able to perform the construction building tasks that he accomplished were because he had reduced the Senatorial commissioner of construction to the office of aedile and because the construction was driven by his factotum, Marcus Agrippa.[23] By reducing the construction commissioner to aedile, Augustus was able to take command of what was being built in the city and he facilitated that through the very effective leader, Marcus Agrippa.[24] This streamlining of the process left no room for bureaucratic stalling, and the

---

[21] Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 58.
[22] Ibid., 12-13.
[23] Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs*, 109-111.
[24] Ibid.

Thorntons have noted in their assessment that a major spur in construction occurred between 11B.C. and 4B.C., which seemed to follow Agrippa's plan for the city.[25]

Other projects mentioned in the *Res Gestae* that he commissioned included temples, specifically but not exclusively the Temples of Apollo and Mars, theatres, like the Theatre of Marcellus, and road construction projects, like the Flaminian Way.[26] These projects individually did not cost nearly as much in manpower as the aqueducts.[27] However, there we so many of them that they undoubtedly did make an impact on Rome's economy, thereby stimulating it for the city plebs. Augustus commissioned the erection of twenty new buildings within the city of Rome and he restored eighty-two temples and several other public buildings.

The Temple of Apollo is significant because it represents the beginning of his streamlining process. It was the last building that he commissioned in a competitive manner.[28] From that point on he was able to order better quality projects that would take longer to construct. With respect to the city plebs, this was a good thing because quality buildings and larger construction campaigns led to stabilization and economic prosperity.

His construction of the Temple of Mars is significant because it reveals his dedication to the religious aspirations of the plebs. He also built the temples of Jupiter Tonans, Feretrius, the Deified Julius Caesar, Quirinus, Minerva, Juno the queen, and many other new temples.[29] It shows that he was trying to appease their religious appetites, but the larger implication is that he was communicating with them directly, from emperor to his subjects, because he knew that they needed to be kept happy.

---

[25] Ibid.
[26] Caesar, *Res Gestae*, 375-379.
[27] Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs*, 24-25.
[28] Jon Coulston and Hazel Dodge, ed. *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City* (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000), 62-63.
[29] Caesar, *Res Gestae*, 379, 403.

Public spectacle was also a necessity for Augustus to facilitate. He built the Theatre of Marcellus and he restored the Theatre of Pompey, which according to him, was very costly.[30] From paragraphs twenty-two and twenty-three of the *Res Gestae*, it is revealed that Augustus financed many public circuses during his forty-five year period as the head of Rome. Those ranged from gladiator shows to exhibitions of wild African hunts and recreations of naval battles. Determining exactly how many of these shows he provided is difficult at best, but in forty-five years he financed no less than fifty-six major spectacles in the city of Rome.[31] The number is probably quite a bit larger, but that is speculation based on his references to other spectacle events that he and his colleagues financed in Rome.[32]

The magnitude of these games was fairly enormous as well. Approximately ten thousand men fought in eight shows. In other shows, Augustus brought in exhibitions of foreign peoples and the wild game hunts included exotic beasts foreign to Rome.[33] In paragraph twenty-three, he discusses naval battles reenacted for the plebs which were very large scale events that cost quite a bit of money.[34] These amusements kept the plebs entertained and content. Augustus was excellent at making sure that the games, shows, and exhibits continued throughout his reign because he was well aware that the plebs felt it was their custom as Romans to be provided with such entertainment.[35]

These games, the food and money distributions, and the building projects should all be take into account as a holistic interpretation of the events of Augustus's reign. When examined concurrently, they reveal many things about the relationship between Augustus Caesar and the

---

[30] Ibid., 377-379.
[31] Ibid., 381-385.
[32] Ibid., 383.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 383-384.
[35] Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, 89.

city plebs of Rome. The most important revelation is that he directly attempted to engage the plebs, which is something they wanted. They identified themselves with tribunes, which is an office in Roman politics meant to be representative of the general populace, because tribunes looked after the needs of the plebs. Augustus identified himself as a Tribune because he knew how important it was to keep them happy.[36]

The second revelation of these events is the fact that he delivered them peace, stability, economic prosperity, and life enjoyment as Roman citizens. The peace and stability is evident simply from the fact that he was able to accomplish so much in his forty-five years. When viewing his accomplishments individually, they do not seem terribly impressive. However, when viewing them as a coordinated effort, the vastness of his efforts to keep the economy stimulated and the city plebs happy took an incredible effort on his part. In all, he kept the city fed and watered, he donated to the plebs and to the public treasury a total of approximately two billion, four hundred million sesterces in cash, he constructed approximately twenty brand new buildings, he commissioned the restoration of eighty-two temples and several other buildings, he ordered the restoration of preexisting aqueducts and the building of new ones, which was an extremely expensive task, he rebuilt roads, particularly the Flaminian Way, and he financed games and circuses in the city that took place at the bare minimum of once per year.

Some historians have criticized Augustus's work as nothing more than a large-scale propaganda effort to justify his autocracy, and even Tacitus's depiction of Augustus is not favorable, but the way in which Augustus would have been depicted by the Senatorial elite would naturally be much different than the way he would be depicted by the commoners. He was viewed as their protector and as their tribune.[37] The commoners of Rome, however, never

---

[36] Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, 88.
[37] Ibid.

experienced any serious degree of participation in government and probably did not even notice the difference between an oligarchy and a monarchy because the tribune was their only real representative in the Senate.[38] But now Augustus was their tribune, which is evident from the riots of 22B.C.[39]

Augustus is often criticized by modern historians, like Matthew B. Roller, as an autocrat, and certainly he was, but the nature of the Roman Republic was far different than what a republic of today is. The Republic before Augustus was a more corporate style of government in which the wealthy elites ruled in favor of their own class, and it was by no means a representative government.[40] Commoners had virtually no voice in government affairs and the Senatorial class typically looked after its own interest, which did not necessarily coincide with the interests of the plebs.

Matthew Roller, author of the book, *Constructing Autocracy: Autocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudian Rome*. In it, he discusses the patron-client relationship that was so popular in ancient Rome, and he suggests that Augustus acted as patron solely for the purpose of justifying the fact that he had assumed almost complete control of government. By making the existing members of the Senate his clients, meaning they owed allegiance to him for his patronage, he safeguarded his position of authority.[41] However, the fact remains that Augustus's actions during his reign, whether designed to justify his authority or not, did bring economic prosperity to the populace of Rome.

The reason Augustus's role as an autocrat is not important in this study is simply because the majority of the Roman commoners had much more basic needs that required attention. The

---

[38] Shotter, *The Fall of the Roman Republic*, 6-7.
[39] Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, 88.
[40] Shotter, *The Fall of the Roman Republic*, 4-5.
[41] Matthew B. Roller, *Constructing Autocracy: Aristocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudian Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 130-132.

most significant of these needs that immediately demanded Augustus's attention was the food shortage in Rome during the civil wars. The grain supply had been regulated for the purpose of funding the civil wars, which caused a shortage in Rome. Before Augustus assumed central control of the city, the citizens of Rome became hostile and angry with him as they grew weary of the war and the food shortage.[42] In reaction to this hostility, he immediately embarked on a campaign to win the popularity in Rome that Julius Caesar had before him. As tribune in 36B.C., he began enacting measures directly for the public, such as allowing general entry into the bathhouses and the distribution of oil, olives, and salt, which were luxury goods, to everyone in Rome.[43] This is extremely important because it illustrates the fact that Augustus identified the problem and provided a solution for it.

Other historians, like author Suna Guven, though not particularly approving or disapproving of Augustus, suggest that the literature that survived from ancient Rome is inadequate for drawing complete conclusions about the complex Roman history. It is true that the plebian, or common, populace of Rome was an illiterate population and that we only have writings such as the autobiographic *Res Gestae divi Augusti* or the accounts of ancient historians such as Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio Cassius from which to draw conclusions on Rome, but these few writings that survive can be studied collaboratively to draw general conclusions on the state of Rome.

Suna Guven illustrates the conclusions historians can draw with her article entitled, "Displaying the *Res Gestae* of Augustus: a Monument of Imperial Image for All." In it, she discusses the serious shortcomings and potential omissions inherent in autobiographical accounts of rulers, but she indicates larger implications of the *Res Gestae* in her suggestion that the

---

[42] Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, 85-86.
[43] Ibid., 88-91.

document was the attempt of Augustus to speak directly to the population of Rome.[44] This indicates that satisfying the public clearly was an important goal to Augustus, regardless of the reason. Historian Zvi Yavetz supports this theory with the proposal that Augustus was well aware that he would need the support of the public rather than the military to maintain his position for an extended period of time. He took on the office of Tribune, which directly linked him to the common citizens of Rome, and he used that office to connect with the plebs.[45]

Guven also suggests that Augustus may have intentionally omitted certain aspects of his reign in the *Res Gestae* in order to make his rule more appealing to the public. She says that it was designed to create a fantasized ideal of the Augustan era for future readers as well and that it left out important, but less favorable, aspects of Augustus's reign. However, the value of the *Res Gestae* lies not in what it omits, but rather in the fact that it itemizes many of the building projects commissioned by Augustus. Whether it is or is not a complete encapsulation of Augustus's reign is irrelevant to the matter at hand.

These events and building projects alluded to by the author of the *Res Gestae* can be studied in conjunction with other resources to draw a conclusion as to how much of an effort Augustus made to appease the Roman populace. For example, the building projects noted in the *Res Gestae* include a vast array of public buildings, serving as meeting places (the Senate house), entertainment facilities (the Theater of Pompey), and public worship houses dedicated to a variety of Roman gods[46].

---

[44] Suna Guven, "Displaying the *Res Gestae* of Augustus: a Monument of Imperial Image for All," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. 57:1, 30.

[45] Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, 88-89.

[46] Caesar, *Res Gestae*, 375-379.

Augustus's buildings lasted longer than other buildings and there were so many that he commissioned that the work capacity alone to sufficiently complete the tasks would have been more than enough to sufficiently occupy the urban plebs.

Undoubtedly, Augustus did have specific intentions for these projects. His own house was located adjacently from the Temple of Apollo, which could support the suggestion that he wanted the public to be reminded of him when they worshipped in the Temple of Apollo.[47] However, the plebs had many temples for worship because of Augustus, and though it inexorably helped him maintain his position, they had temples for worship regardless of the ulterior motives that the emperor may have had.

Another thing to remember about the construction projects is the heavy costs involved. To accomplish most of these, he used his own personal funds and had his accomplice, Marcus Agrippa, perform the duties under the name of the emperor.[48] The aqueducts alone represented an tremendous cost that Augustus aggressively pursued, and though they did serve to bring water to the Senate and Augustus's home, the majority of the water must have gone to public sources or to serve public ends, such as the naval battle settings mentioned earlier.

These aqueduct projects, however, do show that Augustus devoted effort to important infrastructure projects and not just the temples and theatres. Water supply is something easily taken for granted and maintaining it is something that is inherently less glorious than commissioning entertainment events, such as the public spectacles. By rebuilding the aqueducts and by building and rebuilding roads, he cleared paths for the import of food, water, and trade supplies to the city of Rome.[49] This served two purposes: the first created a great deal of

---

[47] Coulston and Dodge, *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City*, 63.
[48] Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs*, 32-34.
[49] Caesar, *Res Gestae*, 379.

employment in Rome; the second created a solid infrastructure.[50] The projects turned a city that had been struck by civil strife and ruin into a thriving economic center that could support large numbers of people. The enormity of the tasks suggests that, for completion of the tasks in any decent amount of time, Rome potentially had not only to import laborers but it also had to find a way to feed and house those laborers. For Romans, the employment opportunities were tremendous. Many positions were open to those who were laborers as well as those who were marketers.

Regardless of the reasons Augustus took on the projects that he did, the fact remains that for the general populace of Rome, life shifted heavily in a more pleasant environment. The civil wars were over and the plebs were fed, watered, employed, and entertained. Their needs were basic, but they were urgent, and though it took the streamlining of authority to make it possible, Augustus did. He was able to meet those needs head on with solutions in the form of food and monetary grants as well as construction projects that served to excite economic activity by employing large numbers of people and create a solid infrastructure for the city of Rome.

---

[50] Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs*, 18-19.

Bibliography

Caesar, Augustus. *Res Gestae divi Augustus*. Edited by E.H. Warmington. Translated by Frederick W. Shipley. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924.

Claridge, Amanda. *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Coulston, Jon and Hazel Dodge, editors. *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City*. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000.

Dio, Cassius. *The Roman History: The Reign of Augustus*. Edited by Betty Radice. Translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert. New York: Penguin Books, 1987.

Guven, Suna. "Displaying the *Res Gestae* of Augustus: a Monument of Imperial Image for All." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. 57:1, 30-45.

Jones, A.H.M., editor. *A History of Rome Through the Fifth Century*, vol. 1, *The Republic*. Translator unknown. New York: Walker and Company, 1968.

Roller, Matthew B. *Constructing Autocracy: Aristocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudian Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Shotter, David. *The Fall of the Roman Republic*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Tacitus, Cornelius. *The Annals of Imperial Rome*. Translated by Michael Grant. New York: Penguin Books, 1989.

Thornton, M.K. and R.L. *Julio-Claudian Building Programs: A Quantitative Study in Political Management*. Wauconda: Boldchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1989.

Tranquillus, Gaius Suetonius. *The Twelve Caesars*. Edited by Michael Grant. Translated by Robert Graves. London: Penguin Books, 1979.

Yavetz, Zvi. *Plebs and Princeps*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.