ROMAN NEWS BULLETINS

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CONTENTS

Bibliography

I. Introduction.

II. Body of thesis.
    a. Definition and names, e.g. diurna acta, acta populi.
    b. Origin and duration.
    c. Character of news.
       1. Politics: decrees, decisions and other acts of the senate.
       2. Court records: divorces, marriages, births, deaths.
       3. Miscellaneous.
    d. Style: Petronius's imitation.
    e. Editorship.
    f. Form.
    g. Publication.

III. Historical value of the acta.

IV. Conclusion.
    Parallels and differences between Roman news bulletins and
    the modern newspaper.

V/ Appendix.
    The spurious fragments of Pighius and Dodwell.
    Arguments against them.


* J. Beckmann: Geschichte der Erfindungen. Vol. II, p. 239. This reference is given by Lieberkühn. I have been unable to verify it.


C. G. Heyne: Censura sex scirptorum historiae Augustae. Göttingae, 1801. vol. VI, p. 64. of his Opuscula Academica.


*W. H. Kolster... in ephemeride antiquitatis studiorum. l. s. s. p. 409-438."

[This reference is given by Hübner, De senatus, etc. p. 559. I have been unable to verify it.]


J/ Lipsius: Excursus A ad quintum Taciti annalem. Reedited by J. F. Gronovius, Amsterdam, 1685.


*K. Mayhoff: Das Zeitungswesen im alten Rom, Nord und Süd, 73, 1895, pp. 341-359.


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*F. C. Schlosser: Ueber die Quellen der späteren latein. Geschichtsschreiber, bes-
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A. Schmidt: Das Staatszeitungswesen der Römer. 1844. In his Abhandlungen zur al-

*C. G. Schwarz: Plin. Panegyr. 1746, c. 75.


*A. Vannucci: Studii storici e morali sulla litteratura. Edit. 3. XV. I giornali presso gli antichi romani, 1859, appendice.
*G. L. Walch: Taciti Agricola, 1827, pp. 113-114.


The titles starred have not been available in the preparation of this thesis.
Roman News Bulletins.

The most complicated expression of literary activity, is that which takes the form of the daily newspaper, and it is only among the most highly civilized peoples that we find this form of contemporaneous record. This is natural for one of the first evidences of civilization is a widening of interest, on the part of the individual, so that he is no longer concerned merely with what affects himself alone, nor satisfied with the information he can obtain through conversation only. His interest passes beyond the individual and family, embracing the state as well, and concerns itself with all the political, economic and social life of the nation. When conditions are primitive and interests few, and simple, Virgil's "Fama", is all the newsmonger necessary.

What is true in this respect of small and undeveloped nations, we see illustrated in the little towns and villages of our own country, where a daily newspaper would be a superfluity. But in the busy and complex life of a big city and state, such a means of public information is the inevitable outgrowth of the conditions. Communication by word of mouth or private correspondence becomes inadequate to meet the growing demand of enterprising and public-spirited citizens, to be informed with regard to the happenings in the world around them, and the daily newspaper springs into being to meet this need.

Rome was no exception to this rule, though some might be surprised to learn that there existed in the Roman state a form of journalism which lasted for over three hundred years.

Perhaps some explanation is due here as to why I have called my subject, "Roman News Bulletins", and not "Roman Newspapers". The Roman organ for the publication of news differed in many respects from the modern newspaper, as I shall show later, and in nothing more than in the lack of anything like private subscription and distribution, the characteristic features of our news system, which is wholly a commercial enterprise. The news being posted in one place for all to see and
copy, the term bulletin has seemed to me more appropriate in this connection. I am aware that German scholars use the word "Zeitung", and the French "Journal" in writing of the Roman equivalent, but because of the essential differences I have mentioned, it has seemed to me more exact to use the word "bulletins", for Roman published Acta were very like the bulletins of news we often see posted outside the office of a large daily paper.

Roman journalism may be considered as an outgrowth of two things, the "Annales Maximi", a chronological record of events of the year, kept by the Pontifex Maximus (Schmidt p. 396), and of the correspondence of private individuals, which became so voluminous and full of matters of state and public interest as to give us real news journals (Riepl p. 380).

The names under which we find these Roman gazettes mentioned are various; populi diurna acta (Suetonius, Jul. Cae. 20), acta populi Romani (Plin. Mai. N. H. VIII, 40, 145), acta populi (Vopiscus, Probus, 2) acta publica (Suetonius, Tib. 5) publica acta (Plin. sec. Paneg. 75, Tacitus, Annal. XII, 23-24, Capitolinus, Gord. tres. 4), diurna actorum scriptura (Tacitus, Annal./III, 3), diurna populi Romani (Tacitus, Annal., XVI, 22) diurna urbis acta (Tacitus, Annal., XIII, 31), diurna (Suetonius, Claud., 41) acta urbana (Cicero, Epist. ad Att., VI, 2.6), rerum urbanae acta (Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 23.2) urbana acta (Plin. Sec. Epist., IX, 15.3), acta urbis (Lampridius, Commod., c. 11 and 15), acta (Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 25.4, Plin. Mai., N. H. X, 2.5, Suetonius, Calig., 8.36, Asconius ad Cic. pro Milo, vol. V.2 (Or.) p.49,9, Seneca, de benef., II, 10, 4, Quintil., IX, 3, 17), libri actorum (Juvenal, IX, 80-85), acta eius anni (Plin. Mai., N. H. II, 56, 147, Asconius ad Cic. pro Mil., vol. V.2 (Or.) p.44) and acta temporum divi Augusti (Plin. Mai., N. H. VII, 13, 60). Hübner says (p.618) that when the acta diurna were to be distinguished from the records of the senate, populi or populi Romani was added, and that one writing outside of Rome said acta urbana, or acta urbis. Riepl on the other hand (p. 399) suggests that originally the words diurna, publica, urbana etc. referred to different kinds of acta, but that the dis-
tinction was lost and the news of various kinds was combined into one bulletin. This seems to me the natural conclusion, for I find nothing to indicate a discrimination in the use of the terms, in the many fragments of the acta which I have read. When Pliny, N. H. X, 29, and Solinus, XXXIII, 14, are speaking of the same circumstance, the alleged appearance of the phoenix, Solinus says the fact was mentioned in the "actis urbis", while Pliny had said simply "actis", which shows that Solinus at least used these names in the same sense.

The origin of the acta is somewhat obscure. Suetonius (Jul. Cae. 20) says

1) Initio honore primus (Caesar) omnium instituit, ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conficerent et publicarentur and this would lead us to infer that the acta were first officially published in the first consulship of Julius Caesar, that is in 59 B.C. But the question is open to controversy. Lieberkühn in his program, "De diurnis Romanorum actis", (p. 15) and Le Clerc in his book "Des Journeaux chez les Romains", (p. 183), take the ground that Caesar was the first to have the acta senatus, that is the decrees, decisions and other proceedings of the senate, published in the diurna acta, or urbis acta, which had existed before this time. They quote in support of their theory several passages, notably Plin. Mai. N. H. II, 56, Relatum in monumentа est, lacte et sanguine pluisset M' Acilio, C. Porcio coss. et saepe alias. 2) The consulship of M' Acilius and C. Porcius was in the year 114 B.C., more than fifty years before Caesar's first consulship. So the testimony of this passage would have considerable weight, were it not for the fact that the word "monumenta" which is here used to denote the

1) In the beginning of his consulship Caesar was the first to establish the custom that the acta of the senate, as those of the people should be collected and published.

2) It was entered in the records that it had rained milk and blood in the consulship of Manius Acilius and C. Porcius and frequently at other times.
records, is nowhere as far as our evidence goes, used for the diurna acta. It seems more natural to infer that the records or register of the proceedings of the senate are here meant. The same criticism may be made of the passage given by Zell (p.4), Gellius N. A. V., 18, as proof on this point.

Hübner (p. 598) in answer to Schmidt's argument (p.399), that the incident given in Plin. Mai. N. H. VII. 53, Invenitur in actis, Felice russei auriga elato in rogum eius unum e favontibus iecisse sese ... cum ante non multo M. Lepidus ... crematus est, proves the existence of the acta prior to 59 B. C., says, that the date of the event is uncertain; we know it happened after 77 B. C., the year of the death of M. Lepidus, but the "ante non multo" of the text gives us no clue as to the number of years, for the Romans used the expressions "non multo" and "mox" very loosely. For example, Suetonius (Nero, 4) uses "mox" referring to an event which occurred forty-four years after the battle of Actium.

On the other side we find such scholars as Hübner, Ernesti, Riepl, Hullemann and Renssen. The works of the last two authors have not been available, but I agree with the others that the arguments in favor of the date B. C. 59 as the beginning of the acta, are the stronger. Hübner in chap. VII of his article in the Neue Jahrbücher, says (p. 594) that the words of Suetonius do not permit us to doubt that Caesar not only first published but also first collected the acta senatus, and also the acta diurna; and that it is not necessary to conclude from "tam-quam", that the acta populi had already existed a long time, but merely that the acta senatus were added in likeness to them, a matter of natural surprise on account of the usual secrecy attaching to the deliberations of the Roman Senate. Ernesti thinks that the statement of Suetonius should have much weight because of his characteristic carefulness and conscientiousness with regard to traditions, and because being the magister epistularum of Hadrian he had the greater facility for inspecting state documents. Ernesti also claims (Excursus I to his edition of Suetonius) that the fact that no mention of the acta diurna is made by Polybius

1) The statement is made in the acta that when Felix, a charioteer of the red faction, was carried out for burial that one of his party threw himself on the funeral pile ... not long after M. Lepidus was cremated.
Livy, Dionysius and Plutarch, argues their non-existence at an earlier date. I must take exception to this last point, for while it might apply to Plutarch, it could not apply to Polybius, Livy and Dionysius, all of whom wrote of much earlier times, the period of the Punic wars and before; Livy's later books being entirely lost; and in any case these writers were not in the habit of quoting frequently the sources they used.

It is possible that the news bulletins were discontinued during the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, for no fragments have come down to us from the years 49 B.C. to 46 B.C. inclusive. The last reference before the civil war is in B.C. 50, and the next in B.C. 45, so the natural inference is that they were not published during that period of disturbance, although the very small number of our fragments makes such an argument ex silentio very uncertain.

We see from Suetonius Aug. c. 36, Augustus auctor et aliarum rerum fuit in quis ne acta senatus publicarentur⁴ that Augustus abolished the custom of publishing the acta of the senate, but it was revived by the succeeding emperors, as we know by the frequent reference to them on the part of the writers of the Empire.

The passage from the life of Probus by Vopiscus written about 276 A.D., where he speaks of the acta as one of the sources of his history, Ueus (sum) etiam regestis scribarum porticus Porphyreticae actis etiam senatus ac populi, has long been taken as the latest reference to the acta. But a quotation from Ammianus Marcellinus XXII, 3.4, Dein Taurum ex praefecto in exsilium egere Vercellum, cuivis factum apud indices iustorum inustorumque distinctores, videri potiut venia dignum ... et acta super eo gesta non sine magno legebantur horrore② is taken by Zell (p. 5) to refer to the acta publica, and if so would bring them down to the reign of the Emperor Julian A. D. 360. However I agree with Hübner (p. 617) in thinking that the acta here referred to are the acta iudicil. It seems to me that this is indicated in the words "super eo gesta", which imply action of a penal nature

1) Augustus instituted also other measures, among which was this, that the acta of the senate should not be published.

2) Then they drove Taurus from the praetorian prefectship into exile to Vercellum, whose deed might seem worthy of pardon, with judges who discriminate carefully between what is just and unjust... and the acta concerning him were read with great horror.
directed toward an individual, and not merely the public statement of events. Riepl (p. 408) says that the last trace of the acta is found in Symmachus, in the fifth century, but as he does not give the reference on which he bases his statement I have been unable to verify it.

After the transfer of the capital from Rome to Constantinople we hear nothing of the acta, and it is natural to infer that with the changed conditions of court and political life they were discontinued. The absence of any reference to them after this time by Roman and Byzantine writers argues their discontinuance at Rome, and we have no evidence of the existence at any time of news bulletins outside of Rome even in Constantinople, or in the other great centers of civilization of the empire, Antioch and Alexandria.

The character of the news given the public by the Roman bulletins was quite as varied as in the newspapers of our own day, and in many respects would remind us of them. Society was much the same in the days of the Roman empire as today, and the same things interested the contemporaries of Tacitus and Pliny as interest us. We may classify the news from the fragments we have preserved under four heads, political, imperial, social and miscellaneous, the latter including many curious facts, stories and phenomena.

The political news would embrace extracts from the acta senatus, or minutes of the senate, such as decrees, decisions, proscriptions, names of those banished or exiled, the magistrates elected, the acclamations of the senate and the speeches of the emperors. Such references as we find in Plin. Sec., Epist., V, 14, 8, Recitatit (Nigrinus) capita legum, admonuit senatus consultorum; in fine dixit petendum ab optimo principe ut quia leges, quia senatus consulta contemnerentur, ipsit tantis vitis moderatur, pauci dies, et liber principis severus et tamen moderatus; leges ipsum, est in publicis actis. Here the treatise of the emperor on legal
matters is mentioned as being published in the acta. 1)

Another passage referring to the acts of the senate is found in Plin. Sec., Paneg., 74, 75. O te felicem! Crede nobis, crede tibi! ... Sic te ament dìi, quem-admodum tu nos! ... Nos sic ament dìi quomodo tu! ... O nos felices! ... sed quid singula consector et colligo? ... quae vos, patres conscripti, ne qua interciperet oblivio, et in publica acta mittenda, et incidendae in aere censuisit." 2) The shouts of approbation of the senate in favor of Trajan are mentioned in this passage as being recorded in the acta, and this is the first instance we have of that being done.

Of the same character is the extract from Lampridius, Alex. Sev., 6. Ex actis urbis, "A. d. pridie nonas Martias ... deinde postea venisset (Severus) adclamatum 'Auguste innocens di te servent, Alexander imperator, di te servent. ... Aureli Alexander Augustus di te servent'." 3) In Lampridius Commodus, 18, 19, we have a long passage of imprecations uttered by the senate, which Le Clerc by analogy with the passages just quoted believes was inserted in the acta, but as there is no direct mention of the acta in the passage there is no proof for this assumption.

As an illustration of the decrees of the senate, we have Asconius ad Cic. pro Mil. vol. V2 (Or.) p.44. Ego ut curiosius estati vestrae satis faciam acta etiam totius illius temporis secutus sum: in quibus congovi, pridie Kal. Mart. S. c. esse factum, P. Clodii caedem, et incendium curiae, et oppugnationem aedum M. Le-

1) Nigrinus the tribune recited the heads of the laws, he reminded the senate of their decrees; at the end he said he must ask his excellency the prince, that since the laws, since the decisions of the senate were despised, that he himself should correct such great evils. A few days passed, and there came a document from the prince strict yet moderate: you shall read it itself for it is in the public acta.

2) Oh fortunate Trajan! Believe us! Believe your own heart! So may the gods love you as you love us! ... So may the gods love us, as you love us! Oh fortunate senate ... But why do I select and mention particular instances? ... facts which you have decreed should be placed in the public acta and engraved on bronze, in order that they should not be forgotten.

3) From the acts of the city, March 6th ... afterward when he did come the acclamations began. "Oh irreprouachable Augustus, may the gods preserve you! Alexander emperor, may the gods keep you safe! ... Aurelius Alexander Severus, may the gods preserve you!"
pudi contra rempublicam factam, ultra relatum in acta illo die nihil. 1) Of a political nature also is the following extract from Tacitus Annales XVI, 22. Diurna populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit. 2) The acts of Thrasea referred to were those by which he showed his disapproval of the imperial policy, leaving the senate when a ruction was made with regard to conferring honors on Agrippina, intentionally being absent when divine honors were accorded to Poppaea, also absenting himself from the ceremony of renewing the oath and making vows for the preservation of the emperor. So many of these crimes were those of a mission the Tacitus says the bulletins were watched to see what new thing Thrasea had not done.

Solinus I, 29, says, Cum C. Pompeius Gallus et Q. Veranius urbis conditae anno octingentesimo primo fuerint consules, consulatu eorum olympias septima et ducentesima actis publicis adnotata est, 3) showing that such events as the Olympic games were noted in the public acta. Hübner (p. 616) doubts this statement because he finds nothing about it in Pliny, from whom Solinus got most of his "memorabilia:" but as Solinus also obtained material from other sources I see no reason for differing with Lieberkühn and Le Clerc, who place this among the acta diurna.

As evidence that proscriptions were usually published in the acta, we have

Dio Cassius, XLVII, 6. Ὄπως γὰρ μυρίς στερήθητεν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οἰκογενεῖς ἐτὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σέλλου φονεύσαντας τινὰς ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος ταμιεύς ἀπῆτυρε πάνθεν ἐντοῖς εἰλήφθωσιν, ὑπὲρ τινὰ ἀποκτείνη προηγώρευσιν (i.e. the triumvirs) ὕπτι εὐσέβως μοῦ ἔτους ἐπὶ της οἰκεῖας ἱερὰς ἱεράς ὑπέφειεν. 1)

1) To satisfy better the demands of your age, I have read from beginning to end the acta of that time. In these I noticed that on the 28th of February, a decree of the senate was passed, that the murder of P. Clodius, the burning of the senate-house, the attack on the house of M. Lepidus, were all attempts against the republic. The acta of this day contain nothing further.

2) The daily bulletins of the Roman people are eagerly read in the provinces and army, to see what Thrasea has not done.

3) When C. Pompeius Gallus and Q. Veranius were consuls in the year of Rome 801, the two hundred and seventh olympiad was noted down in the acta publica in their consulship.
And we are told also by Dio Cassius, XLIV, 11, (see p. XI in appendix) that at the Lupercal festival, Caesar had it inscribed in the records that he had refused the crown presented to him by the people. There is some doubt as to whether the records referred to here were the acta diurna or merely the minutes of the senate, but most scholars place this among the fragments of the acta, and it seems to me that it was probably an extract from the acta senatus, published in the diurna acta.

Cicero in his epistles refers to many political events which must first have been recorded in the acta senatus and then copied into the acta diurna. For example Epist. ad Att., V. 2, Habebam acta urbana usque ad nonas Martias, e quibus intelligebam Curionis nostri constantiam omnia potius actum iri quam de provincis, Epist. ad fam., XII, 23. Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certo scio. Quod ni ita putarem, ipse perscriberem, in primis Caesaris Octaviani conatum; 3) Epist. ad fam. XII, 8. Scelus ad finis tui Lepidi summanque levitatem et inconstantiam ex actis quae ad te mitti certo scio cognosce te arbitror. 4) Epist. ad fam., XII, 28. Tu republica quid agatur te ex eorum litteris cognoscere, qui ad te acta debent praescribere. 5) In the political news we also find extracts from the acta forensis, the proceedings of the courts, such matters as the edicts of magistrates, wills of distinguished men, and reports of trials with the names of those convicted or acquitted. We find such in Accentius ad Cic. pro Mil. vol., V 2 (Or.) p. 49. 9.

1)"As one recalls that Cato during his quaestorship had forced the assassins employed by Sylla to restore what they had received for these murders, the triumvirs Octavius, Antony and Lepidus wishing that the murderers should not be discouraged by any such fear, announced that the name of no prescribed person should be registered in the public records." Trans. by H. E. Foster.

2) I had the acta of the city up to March 7th from which I found out, that through the firmness of our friend Curio, all matters will be acted upon rather than those referring to the provinces.

3) I know certainly that the acta of the city are being sent to you. Did I not think so, I would myself write and especially about the enterprise of Octavius Caesar.

4) I think that you have learned of the crime of your relative Lepidus, and his great fickleness and disloyalty, from the acta which I know surely are being sent to you.

5) You know what is happening in the state from the letters of those whose duty it is to copy the acta for you.
Sunt autem contionati eo die (XIII Kal. Febr. quo die Clodius occisisus est), ut ex actis apparat, C. Sallustius et Q. Pompeius, utrique et inimici Milonis et satis inquieti.


2) A similar illustration is Plin. Epist. ad fam., VII, 23. Demonstris ergo quamquam diligentiam tuam fugere non possit, cum sit in publicis actis, demonstra tamen, quo magis credas iucundum mihi futurum, ei factum meum, cuius gratis periculo crevit, tuo ingenio, tuo testamento ornaveris, dederat mi se senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciae Baeticae contra Baebium Massam.  3) This quotation is from one of Pliny's most famous letters to Tacitus, in which he begs Tacitus to win for him the immortality of history by recording in his writings his brave stand for the right.

Under court news we would place audiences, decrees and other acts of the emperor, also various happenings in the royal family which were considered of interest to all the people. Suetonius gives us several such passages, Claud., 41. Novas etiam commentus est (Claudius) litteras tres, ac numero veterum quasi maxime

1) There was an assembly of the people on that day (the 20th of January, the day on which Clodius was killed), as is seen from the acta and Caius Sallustius and Quintus Pompeius spoke, both enemies of Milo and of restless nature.

2) He himself (M. Scaurus) when he had returned to Rome to make an application for the consulship, when the people of Sardis were making complaints about him, was accused of extortion before the praetor M. Cato as it is attested in the acta, the 8th of July, three days after the acquittal of Cato, by P. Valerius Triarius, a young man of well-known industry and skilled in oratory.

3) I am telling you therefore, although it cannot escape your carefulness, since it is in the public acta, in order that you may believe all the more that it will be pleasant to me, if may act, whose graciousness has increased from the danger incurred, you should elaborate with the testimony of your genius. The senate had appointed Herennius Senecio and myself attorneys for the province of Baetica against Baebius Massa.
necessariae addidit; de quarum ratione cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset, mox printepse non difficulter optinuit ut in usu quoque promiscuo essent. Extat talis scriptura in plerisque libris ac diurnis titulisque operum. 1) I have quote from the edition by Ihm, who has "ac diurnis" instead of "actis diurnis" found in Burmann and Crusius, or "actorum" given by Muretus, and "actorum diurnorum" the reading preferred by Torrentius. But I find that Forcellini, and Georges (edit. 7) quote under the word diurna used as a substantive, Tacit. Annal., XVI, 22. Diurna populi Romani per provincias curatius leguntur, 2) which it is perfectly evident refers to the diurna acta. These authorities with the various readings given above make it clear to my mind that "diurnis" as here used has reference to the daily bulletins.

Suetonius also gives us important evidence that the date and registration of the births of the emperors were recorded in the acta, as Caligula, 6., C. Caesar natus est pridie Kal. Sept. patre suo et C. Fonteiio Capitone Cos. ... Ubi natus sit incertum diversitas tradentium facit ... ego in actis Antii editum invenio, ... sequenda est igitur quae sola restat publici instrumenti auctoritas, 3) and Tiberius, 5, Natus est (Tiberius) Romae in palatio XVI Kal. Dec. W. Aemilio Lepido iterum L. Munatio Plancio Cos. per bellum Philippense, sic enim in fastos actaque in publica relatum est. 4) This last reference of course refers to a registration

1) Claudius even invented three new letters of the alphabet and added them to the number of the old ones as if they were very important; when a man in private position had published a book about the use of them, as prince he easily brought it about that they should be adopted generally. Those three letters are still to be found in many books, dailies, and inscriptions of his time.
2) The daily bulletins of the Roman people are read carefully throughout the provinces.
3) C. Caesar was born the 31st of August, when his father and C. Fonteiio Capitone were consule. The diversity of traditions makes it uncertain where he was born... I find in the acta that his birth was registered at Antium... therefore the authority of the public document, which is the only one remaining, must be followed.
4) Tiberius was born at Rome on the Palatine the 16th of November, when N. Aemilius and L. Munatio Plancio were consule, the former for a second time during the war which ended with the battle of Philippi, for thus it was recorded in the fasti and the public acta.
some time after the birth of Tiberius, and his adoption by the emperor Augustus. Le Clerc is inclined to think that the registration of births was confined to the public registry, but I side with Hübner, Riepl and the others who think they also had a place in the acta diurna, for there is nothing in either of these passages to indicate that the term "actis" is used in any special or restricted sense and commentarii was the technical word for the public registry.

It was recorded in the acta that Claudius had enlarged the pomerium of the city. Tacitus, Annal., XII, 23-24, Et pomerium urbis auxit Caesar, more prisco quo iis qui protulere imperium etiam terminos urbis propagare datur: nec tamen duces Romani quamquam magnis nationibus subactis, usurpaverant nisi L. Sulla et divus Augustus, ... et quos tum Claudius terminos posuerit, facile cognitum et publicis actis perscriptum. 1) Another interesting reference to life at the court tells us that the mother of Germanicus had no part in his funeral ceremonies. Tacitus, Annal., III, 3. Matrem (Germanici Caesaris) Antoniam non apud auctores rerum non diurna acta, acta, scriptura reperio ullo insigni officio functam, cum super Agrippinam et Drusum et Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti sint; seu valetudine praepediebatur seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleravit. 2

Dio Cassius, LVII, 23, says of Tiberius,

καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀποφήγμα τις καὶ πρὸς ἐνα διελέκη τι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐδημοσίως (ο Τιβέριος), ἄλλοτε καὶ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ὑπομενομένα ἐκφράζεται. 2)

1) Claudius also enlarged the boundaries of the city, in accordance with an ancient custom that those who extended the limits of the empire had also the right to enlarge the pomerium of the city. Yet Roman generals had not used this privilege, with the exception of L. Sulla and the divine Augustus, although they had made great additions to the state...and the boundaries which Claudius then made are easily recognized and have been described in the public acta.

2) Neither the historians nor the daily acta, I find, say anything about Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, in the account of the funeral ceremonies in honor of her son, although besides Agrippina, Drusus and Claudius other relatives are mentioned by name. Either she was prevented by ill-health, or her spirit overcome by grief could not bear to expose to public gaze the magnitude of her misfortune.

3) "Even if a person made some statement secretly and to a single companion, he would publish his too, and actually had it entered on the official records." Trans. by Foster.
The registering of births is also mentioned by Dio Cassius, XLVIII, 44;

Καὶ ἐν τῷ Λιαυίῳ ἄρωσιν Νέρωνι) ἢ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἀνείλοικο καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐπεμψεν, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐς τῇ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγράψας. ἢ ἦν Καῖσαρ τὸ γεννηθὲν Λιοῦν τῇ ἐκείτω μνημεία παιδίου Νέρωνι τῷ πατρὶ ἄπέσωκεν.

Another instance of the recording of the name of a son in the public acts we find in Capitolinus Gordiani tree, 4, Iam illud satis constat, quod filium, Gordianum nomine, Antonini signo inlustaverit, cum apud praefectum aerarii more Romano professus filium publicis actis eius nomen insereret. 2)

Lampridius after recounting the disgraceful amusements of Commodus says,
(Commod., c.11-15) Gladiatorium etiam certamen subiit et nomina gladiatorum recepto eo gaudio, quasi acciperet triumphalia, ludum saepe ingressus est et quotiens ingredietur publicis monumentis indiussit, pugnasse autem dicitur septingentes... habuit praeterea morem, ut omnia quae turpiter, quae inpure, quae crudeliter, quae gladiatorie, quae leonie faceret, actis urbis indi iuberet. 3)

Under social news we have audiences given by the empress and other women of high social position. Dio Cassius, LVII, 12.2, Πένα γὰρ μέγα καὶ ύπερ πάσας τὰς προβαθεὶς μνημείας έμπνευσεν (η Λιούια) ἢ ἦν γεβηλὴ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοις ἐθέλονται οἶκας ἀπασχόλησεν ἢ τοις ἀκτείβας καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἢ γε βηλοντω ὑπομνήματα ὑπερήφανος.

1) "Caesar took him (Claudius Drusus Nero) and sent him to his father, making this entry in the records, that Caesar returned to its father Nero the child borne by Livia, his own wife." Trans. by Foster.

2) Now it is well known that he honored his son Gordianus by name, with the title of Antoninus, when in accordance with the Roman custom on presenting his son before the prefect of the treasury, he inserted his name in the public acts.

3) He also entered the gladiatorial contests and received the names of the gladiators with as much pleasure as he would a triumph. Often he entered the public games himself and as often as he did this he ordered it to be entered in the public records. He is said to have fought seven hundred and five times.... He had the custom besides of publishing in the acta of the city all the shameful things he had done, all his debaucheries, his cruelties, all his exploits as a gladiator and a libertine.

4) "Livia, mother of Tiberius occupied a position of great prominence far above all women of former times, and was so vain that when the senators or even any of the people wished to greet her she received them at her house and took care that their names were given in the daily acta." Trans. by Foster.
A shorter passage illustrating the same thing comes also from Dio Cassius, LX, 33, 1, "Εν κοινῷ τούς βουλομένους ἐπάγετο (ἡ Αὐγιπίνη) καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ ὑπομνήματα ἐσφράλετο."

The registration of divorces formed an important item under social news, and we have several references to this custom, as Suetonius Calig., 36, Quibusdam (matronis) absentium matitorum nomine repudium ipse (Caligula) misit, iussitque in acta ita referri and Seneca de benef., III, 16, Numquid iam ulla repudio erubescit, postquam inlustres quaedam ac nobiles feminae non consulum numero sed maritorum annos suos computant, et exeunt matrimonii causa, nubunt repudii? Tam diu istuc timebantur, quam diu rarum erat: quia nulla sine divortio acta sunt, quod saepe audiebant, facere didicerunt.

That births and deaths were also recorded in the acta we find from Suetonius Caligula 8, 36, Tiberius, 5, and Tacitus, Annal., III, 3, passages which I have already quoted in the preceding paragraphs, and in Juvenal IX, 80-85,

Coniugium in multis domibus servavit adulter.
quo te circumagas? quae prima aut ultima pons?
nullum ergo meritum est, ingrate ac perfide, nullum
quod tibi filiolus vel filia nascitur ex me?
tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes
argumenta viri.

1) Agrippina received publicly all those who presented themselves to her, and had their names inserted in the acta. Trans. by Foster.
2) Caligula granted divorces to certain women in the name of their absent husbands, and had the fact recorded in the acta.
3) Does any woman blush any more at any severing of the marriage tie, since noble and aristocratic women count their years not by the number of consules but by the number of their husbands, and get a separation, in order to marry again, marry for the sake of a divorce? That thing was feared so long as it was unusual, because now there are no daily bulletins without some record of divorce; they have learned to do what they have heard of often.
4) "In many a house, when the marriage-bonds were growing feeble, and beginning to give way, and were almost severed, an adulterer has set all matters right. However, you may shift your ground, whatever services you may reckon first or last, is it indeed no obligation, ingrateful and perfidious man! Is it none, that you have an infant son or daughter born to you through me? For you bring them up as yours, and plume yourself on inserting at intervals in the public registers these evidences of your virility." (From translation by Lewis Evans.)
As evidence that marriages were reported, we have Juvenal, Satires, II, 134 ff.,

Mubit amicus

nec multis adhibet. liceat modo Vere. fient, 1)
fient ita palam, cupient et in acta referri.

From Seneca de benef., II, 10, Beneficium in acta non mitto. Quidnisi? ego illi non sum indicaturus me dedisse, 2) we learn that it was customary to publish in the acta gifts and benevolences which were made, a custom which Seneca says he does not approve of nor follow.

Cicero complains because he does not find in the acta a full account of the scandal about Ocella, and begs his friend to write him further details, Cicero, Epist. ad fam., II, 15, De Ocella parum ad me plane scripseras et in actis non erat. 3) Asconius in his commentary on Cicero's pro Milone, gives an account of a threat of violence against Pompey which he had found in the acta. Obsessus est (Cn. Pompeius) etiam a liberto Clodii Damione, ut ex actis eius anni cognovi, in quibus XV. Kal. Septembris L. Novius tribunus plebis collega Clodii, cum Damio adversus Flavium praetorem appeallaret tribunos et tribuni dd appellacione cognoscerent, ita sententiam dixit: "et hoc apparitore P. Clodii vulneratus sum et hominibus armatis praesidiis dispostis a re publica remotus sum: Cn. Pompeius obsessus est, cum appeller, non utar eius exemplo quem vitupero, et iudicium tollam." 4)

Cicero in letters to Cornificius, Trebonius and Cassius in distant provinces,

1) "My friend is going to be married: only a few are invited! If we only live to see it, these things will be done in the broad light of day and claim to be registered in the acta." (trans. by Evans.)

2) I do not make mention of my benevolence in the acta. Why not? I will never cast it up in his face that I have given him something.

3) With regard to Ocella you had written me but little, and there was nothing in the acta about him.

4) Pompey was besieged in his house by a freedman of Clodius, as I learn from the acta of this year, where I see that the 18th of August, Lucius Novius tribune of the people, colleague of Clodius, consulting with the tribunes with regard to the appeal brought before them against the praetor Flavius, by Damion, expressed himself thus: "I have been wounded by this satellite of P. Clodius, by armed men, and posted forces. I have been kept from my public duties; Cn. Pompeius has been attacked in his own house. Since I am appealed to, I will not imitate the one I blame, I will not stop the course of justice."
makes sure that they are informed of the daily happenings in the city through those scribes who made a business of copying the acta for hire, he himself will write what they would not be apt to mention: ad fam., XII, 28, In re publica quid agatur credo tu te ex eorum litteris cognoscere, qui ad te acta debent perscribere, and, ad fam., X, 28, Quodnisi res urbanas actaque omnia ad te perferri arbitrarer, ipse perscriberem, quamquam eram maximis occupationibus impeditus, sed illa cognosces ex allis; a me pausa et ea summatim, and ad fam., XII, 9, Brevitas tuarum litterarum me quaque breviorem scribendo facit, et vero ut dicam, non satis occurrit, quid scribam. Nostras enim res in actis perferri ad te certo scio: tuas autem ignorantias. Tamquam enim clausa sit Asia, sic nihil perfertur ad nos praeter rumores. Very little information was coming in from Asia, but the news from Rome, even the defection of Lepidus to Antonius, was announced in the East through the acta. These last two passages I find quoted by Riepl only, but they seem to me to refer distinctly to the acta, so I mention them here.

Through Pliny we learn of the rivalry existing between the various factions of the charioteers, and the report of this in the acta. Plin. Nat., N. H., VII, 53, 186, Invenitur in actis Felice russei auriga elato in rogum eius unum e fuentibus iecisse sese, frivolum dictu, ne hoc gloriae artificialis daretur, adversis studiis copia odorum corruptum criminantibus. After the senate lost its power, these was less interest on the part of the people in political affairs, and more effort on the part of the emperors to keep

1) I suppose you know what is happening in the state from the letters of those whose duty it is to copy the acta for you.
2) But if I did not think the news of the city were being forwarded to you, I would write myself although I am exceedingly busy with many affairs. But you will learn these things from others, a few from me and these briefly summed up.
3) The shortness of your letters makes me also brief in writing, and really nothing has happened sufficiently important for me to write about. For I know that the news about myself is being reported to you regularly in the acta, but I do not know the news about you. For Asia is as if shut up, so that nothing is brought to us but rumors.
4) I find in the acta that when Felix a charioteer of the red party, was placed on his funeral pile, one of his partisans threw himself into the flames, and that the opposing faction, in the foolish fear that this devotion should turn to the glory of the charioteer, pretended that he had been overcome by the perfumes from the funeral pile.
them secret, so we find the later acta filled with all sorts of stories, trivial events and rumors. Tacitus says that in the reign of Nero there was little of importance to record in a history, unless one praised the foundations and beams of the theater that Nero had just built, things that it was the custom to put in the diurna acta. Tacitus Annal., XIII. 31, Neroce iterum L. Piscii consulibus paucamemoria digna evenere, nisi cui ibeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus quis molestam amphitheatrum apud Campus Martis Caesar exerxerat, volumina implere, cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbic actis mandare 1).

Pliny tells a story which he has read in the acta about a faithful dog. Plin. Mai., N. H., VIII, 40, Sed super omnia in nostro aev o actis p. R. testatum Appio Junio et P. Silio cos. cum animadvertentur ex causa Neronis Germanici filii in Titium Sabinum et servitiae eius unius ex his canem nec in carcere abigi potuisse nec a corpore recessisse abiecti in gradibus gemitoriis maestos edentem ululatus magna p. R. corona, ex qua cum quidam ei cibum obiecisset, ad os defuncti tulisse, innatatit idem cadavere in Tiberim abieceto sustentare conatus, effusa multitudine ad spectandum animalis fident. 2)

Both Pliny and Suetonius state that in the year A. D. 47 it was reported in the acta that the fabled phoenix had been seen in Rome. Plin. Mai., N. H. X, 2, (Phoenix) allatus est in urbem Claudii principis censura, anno urbis ECCC, et in comitio

1) The second consulship of Nero and his colleague L. Piso offers little matter for history unless it seems fitting to describe and praise the foundations and framework of the great amphitheater erected by the emperor in the Campus Martius; details which it did not seem in accordance with the dignity of the Roman people to place among the important facts of their annals, and which the diurna acta should reserve for itself.

2) The best example of the devotion of dogs to their masters is that which the acta of the Roman people of our time report, in the consulship of Appius Junius and P. Siliius, when Titius Sabinus, because he had been a friend of Germanicus, was condemned to death with his slaves, the dog of one of these could not be removed from the prison; and he accompanied the body to the Gemonian stairs, uttering mournful howling in the presence of a large crowd of people. When some one threw him a piece of bread, he carried it to the mouth of his dead master, and when the body was thrown into the Tiber, he jumped in after it, and placed himself under it trying to raise it out of the water, while the people gathered from all sides to see the faithfulness of an animal.
propositus, quod actis testatum est, sed quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret. 1) Soli-
nus XXXIII, 14, 2, Plautio itaque et Sex. Papinio cos. Aegyptum phoenix involavit,  
captusque anno octingentesimo urbis condiate iussu Claudii principis in comicio  
publicatus est, quod gestum, praeter censuram quae manet, actis etiam urbis contin-
etur. 2) Similar records are preserved in Pliny Mai., N. H. II, 56, 147, eodem  
(T. Annio Milone) causam dicente lateribus coctis pluvisse in acta eius anni re-
latum est,3) and N. H., VII, 13, 60, In actis temporum divi Augusti inventur du-
decimo consulatu eius Lucioque Sulla collega a. d. III, idus Aprilis, C. Crispin-
ium Hilarum ex ingenua plebe Faesulano cum liberis VIII, in quo numero filiae duas  
fuere, nepotibus XXII, pronepotibus XXIX, nepotibus VIII, praelata pompa cum omni-
bus his in Capitolio inmolasse. 4) It is evident from these quotations that the  
function of the diurna acta has become much changed, instead of being occupied with  
the transactions of the people and the senate, they are filled with trivial and  
inconsequential facts and stories. This was due to two things, the diminution of  
the power of the senate and comitium, and the censorship of the emperors, who sup-
pressed or published what they wished.

The style in which the acta were compiled was ordinarily plain and simple with  
o no attempt at oratorical display, although Quintilium complains that certain Greek  
constructions and expressions were becoming so prevalent that there were frequently  
found in the acta. Quintil. IX, 3, 17, ex Graeco vero translata ... plurima ... et iam

1) The phoenix was brought to Rome in the consulship of the emperor Claudius, in  
the year 800, and was on view in the comitium, as the acta state. But no one doubts  
that it was a false phoenix.  
2) In the consulship of Q. Plautius and Sex. Papinius, the phoenix flew into Egypt  
It was captured in the eight-hundredth year of Rome, and was exposed in the comitium  
by order of the emperor Claudius. This fact in addition to the censorship which yet  
remains is recorded in the acta of the city.  
3) During the trial of Milo, there was a rain of bricks, of which mention was made  
in the acta of that year.  
4) We find in the acta of the time of Augustus in his twelfth consulship, when L.  
Sulla was his colleague, that on the eleventh of April, C. Crispinius Hilarus from an  
honorable plebeian family of Fiesole, accompanied by nine children, among whom there  
were two daughters, with twenty-seven grandsons, twenty-nine great-grandsons, eight  
granddaughters, in a long procession sacrificed with all theme in the temple of  
Jupiter Capitolinus.
vulgatum actis quoque: "saucius pectus."\(^1\) Our best intimation of the style and arrangement of the news in the acta is from a clever parody by Petronius. Satiricii. c. 53, Actarius ... tanquam urbis acta recitavit: "VII. Kalendas Sextiles; in praedio Cumano, quod est Trimalchionis, nati sunt pueri XXV, puellae XL; sublata in horreum ex area tricitri millia medicum quingenta: boves domiti quingenti, eodem die: Mithridates servus in crucem actus est quia Gai nostri genio male dixerat. eodem die: in arcam relatum est, quod collocari non putuit, aestertium centies. eodem die: incendium factum est in hortis Pompeiani, ortum ex aedibus Nastae villici." "quid?" inquit Trimalchio, "quando mihi Pompeiani horti empti sunt?" "anno priore", inquit actuarius, "et ideo in rationem nondum venerunt." excanduit Trimalchio, et "quicunque" inquit, "mihi fundi empti fuerint, nisi intra sextum mensem scierno, in rationes meas inferri vetuo." iam stiam edicta sedilium recitabatur et saltuariorum testamenta, quibus Trimalchio cum elogio exheredabatur: iam nomina vilicorum et repudiata a circitore liberta in balneatoris contubernio deprehensa et atriensis Baias relegatus: iam reus factus dispensator et iudicium inter cubicularios actum.\(^2\)

We have no accurate information as to the editorship of the acta; there have been various theories advanced, but our knowledge on this point is too slight to warrant us in drawing any definite conclusions; we can only reason from analogy.

1) Many expressions have been taken over from the Greek ... and one, "saucius pectus" (wounded in the breast) is now very common in the acta.

2) A clerk read as if he were reading the gazette of the city: "The twenty-eighth of July, in an estate of Cumae, the property of Trimalchio, there were born thirty boys and forty girls. There were carried to the granary from the threshing-floor five hundred thousand bushels of grain, five hundred oxen had been broken. The same day, the slave Mithridates was crucified for having spoken ill of the Genius of our Gaius. The same day, there was brought to the money chest, what could not be invested, ten million sestertes. The same day, there was a fire in our gardens at Pompeii, which began in the house of the bailiff Nasta. "How is that?" said Trimalchio, 'when were the gardens at Pompeii bought for me?' "Last year," replied the clerk, and that is the reason the account has not yet been given in." Trimalchio cried out angrily, "If I do not know within six months about the land I have bought, I forbid that it be put to my account." Then were read the decrees of the aediles, wills of the foresters by whom Trimalchio had been disinherited, the names of the stewards, the adventure of a freed-woman surprised at the house of the keeper of the bath and divorced by her husband a night watchman, and the banishment of a valet to Baiae, then the accusation and conviction of a steward and the settlement of a dispute between his valets.
with what we know about the compiling of the acta senatus. Lipsius tells us that
the duty of collecting the acta senatus was given to a senator called the actua-
rarius. Th. Mommsen, in the Ephemeris Epigraphica, vol. 5, 1884, p. 522, thinks that
the inscription 1175, C. Sextio C. f. Papir(io) Martiali trib(uno) mil(itum) legio-
nic I(III) Scythicae proc(uratori) Aug(usti) ab actis urbis proc(uratori) Aug(usti)
inter mancip(es) ... ab quam libera(i)itate(m) eius statuam universae curiae
\( \text{d(ece} \text{reto) d(ecurionum) pec(unia) sua posuer(unt)}, \) that it is indicated that the
duty of publishing the acta devolved upon a procurator of Augustus of the equestri-
an order, called the procurator ab actis. This seems to me quite plausible since
the acta diurna were often called the acta urbis, as in Lampridius Commod., c. 15,
\( \text{ut omnia quae turpiter, quae impure, quae crudeliter, quae gladiatore, quae leno-} \)
\( \text{nia faceret, actis urbis indi iuberet.} \) Mommsen adds, that freedmen of Augustus,
i. e. the ab actis and the adiutor ab actis, seem to have had care of the same mat-
ter, and that the curator actorum senatus or ab actis senatus was always a man in
the confidence of the emperor so that the latter could control the publication.
Compare Lampridius, Alex. Sev., 33, Fecit Romae curatores urbis quattuordecim sed
ex consulibus viros, quos audire negotia urbana cum praefecto urbis iussit, ita ut
omnes aut magna pars adessent, cum acta fierent.\(^1\) This is sometimes taken as re-
ferring to the acta populi, but Hübner (l. c., p.617) thinks they were the acta fo-
rensica, and says that while the acta may have been compiled by one of the magis-
trates of the city there is no real proof of this. We know that the diurna acta
contained much from the acta senatus, and so we may infer that they were compiled
in the same way, but we can make no definite statement on the subject. We do know

\(^1\) He appointed from the men of consular rank fourteen custodians of the city,
whom he ordered to listen to the municipal business together with the city prefect,
so that all, or a great part of them, should be present when the acta were being
made.
however from the correspondence of Cicero that scribes, short-hand writers and slaves were employed to take down and copy for public or private use, the doings of the senate and that individuals would engage to have similar copies of the acta diurna made and sent to absent friends. Cicero Epist. ad fam., XII, 23. Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certo scio. Quod ni ita putarem ipse perscribere. Epist. ad fam., XII, 22. Ego acta ad te omnia arbitror perscribi ab aliis, and Epist. ad fam., X, 1, 2, sed quoniam acta omnia mitti ad te arbitrabar nihil erat, quod singulis de rebus scribere.

This brings us to the question of the publication of the acta. We know that the public documents and laws of the Romans were engraved on bronze or stone tablets which were kept in the archives of the state, but only a small part of them could be preserved in this way, and it is not at all likely that the acta diurna were written in any such laborious manner. The old "annales maximii," were written by the Pontifex Maximus, with charcoal or red chalk, on a table that had been painted white. (Zoll p. 12). From the walls of Pompeii we learn that other things which were to be communicated to the people were written on whitewashed walls with black ink, and this method of publishing news "in albo" was probably that used for the acta diurna. The notices were thus inscribed on a white surface with black ink or pigment and put in a public place where all could read or copy them. They were collected at the end of the year and kept in the archives for reference. Riepl (p. 400) advances two other suggestions, that they were kept at some office accessible to those interested, where they could be found for examination, or that subscriptions were taken for direct delivery, but all the evidence seems to be in favor of the theory that they were published "in albo."

From the frequent reference to the dates of the acta, see Cic. Epis. ad Att., VI, 2, Habebam acta urbana usque ad Nonas Martias; ad Att., 15, 6, Itaque exspecto Thessalonicae acta Kal. Sext; Asconius ad Cic. pro Mil., p. 32, A. d. XIII. Kal. Febr. (acta etenim magis sequenda); Petronius's imitation, and other passages already quoted, and from the fact that they are spoken of as acta diurna, we conclude
that they were a daily publication either official or semi-official. On this last point too there is some doubt, but Suetonius in his life of Jul. Caesar, c. 20, in ipso honore primus omnium instituit, ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conficerent et publicarentur; and Suet. Augus., c. 36, Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit in quos ne acta senatus publicarentur, seems to indicate clearly their official character. That they were certainly under the control of the emperors is shown by many passages already given, especially Dio Cassius, XLIV, ii, see Appendix p. IX; with reference to Caesar's order that his refusal of the crown should be recorded; LXVII, 11, 3, see Appendix p. XVIII, where Domitian is said to have prohibited the inscribing of the names of those he murdered in the records; LVII, 21, see Appendix p. XIX, Tiberius's jealous suppression of the name of the architect who performed the great achievement of straightening one of the largest porticos in Rome, which had begun to lean to one side; and LVII, 23, see Appendix p. XVI, the mad determination of the same emperor to publish everything bad said about himself.

We should say however, that there is another possible interpretation of diurna in this connection. It may be taken in the sense of day by day, instead of daily, or every day. Riepl (p. 401) referring to Suet. Jul. Cae. c. 20, suggests that diurna may be taken to modify the verb, or with the word acta, and hence might mean that the acta senatus were published on days when the senate sat, and the acta populi on the days of the meetings of the comitium. This is open to controversy, but I incline to the opinion that they were a daily official gazette published under the supervision and control of the emperor.

There was nothing in the Roman news system corresponding to our daily or periodical distribution and circulation under the responsibility of an editing bureau. But from Cicero's letters to Cornificius in Africa, Epist. ad fam., XII, 22 and 28, to Plancus in Gaul, Epist. ad fam., X, 1, to Cassius in Syria, Epist. ad fam., XII, 8 and 9, and others, we see that there was a regular transmission of the daily news to the farthest limits of the empire. Cicero himself as proconsul in Cilicia in the year 50 B.C., regularly received the acta. This however was the result of
private enterprise; in the middle of the first century B.C., there were many scribes and short-hand writers, operarii and actuarii, who made a business of copying the acta, at so much a line, and they were engaged by individuals to make such copies to be sent to absent friends. Such a compilation of the news is referred to by Cicero, Epist. ad fam., II, 8, Quid? tu me hoc tibi mandasse existimas, ut mihi gladiatorum compositiones, ut vadimonia dilata et Chresti compilationem mitteres? 1) and Caelius, Epist. ad fam., VIII, 1, Tamen in hoc te deprecor ne meum hoc officium arrogantiae condemnes quod hunc laborum alteri delegavi. ... si quid in republica maius actum erit, quod isti operarii minus commodum persequiri possint ... diligenter tibi perscribemus. 2) Chrestus was probably the operarius whom Caelius employed, and the word perscribere was the technical term used for making such copies. That the custom was nothing unusual is shown by Cicero's not infrequent reference to the words "certo scio," Epist. ad fam., XII, 23, Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certo scio, also XII, 8, and XII, 9. (Hübner, l. c., p. 601)

Such a summary of the news seems to have been called (A. Schmidt p. 414) rerum urbanarum commentarius, and everything was included, the doings of the senate, the programs of gladiatorial games, stories, rumors, gossip, without distinction.

Humbert cites Cicero Epist. ad fam., VIII. 1, just quote above, and XII, 22, as evidence of the existence of a publication of news earlier than the establishment of the acta, but I find no warrant in either passage for arriving at such a conclusion, since one of these letters was written B. C. 51, and the other B. C. 44, both several years after Caesar's first consulship.

1) What? do you think I instructed you to send me the programs of the gladiators the adjournings of the court, and a compilation of Chrestus?

2) Nevertheless I beg you, that you should not accuse me of haughtiness, because I have delegated this task to another. ... If anything should happen in the state of more than usual importance, which the scribes cannot easily ascertain, I will myself write it to you carefully.
That private couriers were employed in the transmission of news we know from Cicero Epist. ad fam., II, 7, 3, Scribam ad te plura alias: paucis enim diebus eram missurus domesticos tabellarios. But news was obtained in many other ways it was brought by men who made a regular business of it, going first to the consul who was asked what should be suppressed or changed. (Riepl p. 433-435) Later the news was under the control of the senate, but in the empire as the power of the senate diminished all messages and writings were addressed to the emperor alone and went through him to the senate, Merchants, foreign ambassadors, slaves and freedmen, even women, were employed to bring news and information of various kinds to the emperor. But we have no evidence of any daily bulletins existing outside of Rome, not even in Constantinople, Alexandria, or Antioch.

The historical value of the acta is great, even for us who have but the few fragments of them remaining. Like inscriptions they were records of contemporaneous history, and for the Roman historians who had access to the original documents they must have been of inestimable value. Vopiscus in his history of the emperor Probus distinctly says he used the acta among his sources of information. Utus sum ... actis etiam senatus ac populi. Tacitus shows us that he went to the acta to get the authority for his statements, in Annal., III, 2, Matrem (Germanici Caesaris) Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna actorum scriptura reperio, ullo insigne officio functam. and in Annal., XII, 23, Et pomerium urbis auxit Caesar ... facile cognitu et publicis actis perscriptum. It is suggested by Hübner (p. 620) that one reason why we have so few remains of the acta is because many men like Tacitus considered them of slight importance as intended mainly for the common people, and beneath the dignity of the annals of the

1) I will write you more another time, for in a few days I was going to send out couriers from my own household.
2) Neither the historians nor the daily acta, I find, say anything about Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, in the account of the funeral ceremonies in honor of her son.
3) Claudius also enlarged the boundaries of the city ... this is easily known and is recorded in the public acta.
Roman people.

Suetonius writing of Caligula gives the day of his birth according to the record in the acta, Calig., 8. 36, C. Caesar natus pridie Kal. Sept. ... ego in actis Antii editum invenio; the same for Tiberius (5) Natus est (Tiberius) Romae in palatio XVI. Kal. Dec. ... sic enim in fastos actaque in publica relatum est. Lampridius in the life of Alex. Sev., 6, quotes from the acta the acclamations given to this emperor by the senate, "Ex actis urbis; A. d. pridie nonas Martias cum senatus frequens in curiam ... convenisset ... adclamatum; 'Auguste innocens, di te servent." And Dio Cassius no less than ten times, in the passages which I have previously quoted, refers to historical facts mentioned in the acta.

Of course the acta from their nature would furnish material only with regard to matters of the city and the emperor; we find in them no references to foreign affairs or relations.

Their value would have been much greater if the material on which they had been written were such as to permit of better preservation, but this was so perishable that none of the original records have come down to us, and we have nothing but literary references to show us what they were in the days of the empire. Could we have access to the archives of the Roman state what treasures in philology and history we might find!

It was doubtless the realization of what such a discovery would mean which led to the composition of the eleven fragments of acta known commonly as the fragmenta Dodwelliana from their principal defender Dodwell (praesect. acad. Oxon. 1692, p. 665) but published first by Pighius ('615) in his Annales, II, p. 378ff. These have been proved to be a forgery of the fifteenth century, by the arguments of

1) Extract from the acta of the city, March 6th; the senate in full numbers had assembled in the temple of Concord. ... the acclamations began ... "Oh irreproachable Augustus, may the gods preserve you."
Ernesti, Drumann, Hoffmann, Wesseling, Heinze, and Le Clerc, but Lieberkühn strangely still defended them. I have seen these fragments as printed by Le Clerc in an appendix to the work cited above, and I feel convinced that the following arguments against them by Wesseling (see Schmidt p. 402) and Le Clerc pp. 278-292, are sufficient evidence of their falsity.

These fragments were engraved on marble, whereas the acta populi were written on white wooden tablets with ink or pigment. In the first set of the fragments, dating from the time of Cato, the style is very much like Livy; the word "amplius" is found only in Livy XLIII. 2, and the name of the praetor is taken from Livy, (Le Clerc and Ernesti).

The Cimbrian shield mentioned is of later source. Cic. de Or., II, 66, and Quint., VI. 3. The "vexillum rubeum in arce positum" has reference only to the comitium and not to the enrollment of the soldiers. There are several mistakes as to dates and places. The "curia Pompeia" referred to was not built at that time, and the enmity between Milo and Clodius began later. Mention is made of the tombstone of Metella Pia as being on the Aurelian Way, but we know that the tomb of Caeccilia Metella is on the Appian Way, and this makes it seem likely that all the tombs of so powerful a family were here and not on the right bank of the Tiber.

The second set of fragments purports to come from a later date and in the opinion of Le Clerc the statements in them have been taken more from Cicero and Asconius. Hübner points out that the orthography of these fragments is too modern for the dates assigned them, and that fact, together with the many errors and imitations, leads us to the conclusion that they are the work of some scholar of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

It seems fitting at the end of this thesis to draw some parallels and distinctions between the Roman news bulletins and the modern newspapers. Karl Bücher in his article "Das Zeitungswesen," in Die Allgemeinen Grundlagen der Kultur der Gegenwart, vol. I, pp. 482-484, compares the Roman acta diurna with the Chinese gazette King-pao as being the earliest attempts at anything which could claim
the name of newspaper. Both were state bulletins under control of the government, and only published what the ruler allowed; they were in no sense the dispensers of independent public opinion. And in spite of their long duration, the acta, from at least as early as 59 B.C., until the transfer of the capital to Constantinople, and the Pekin gazette from the eighth century until the present time, they showed very little development or growth, one of the most prominent features of modern journalism. They always remained mere chronicles of events pertaining to the court or social life of the city, never extending their field to other cities and nations. In striking contrast to this is the wide scope of the modern newspaper, with its connection by telegraph and cable with news bureaus from all over the world.

This difference may be accounted for partly by the fact, that journalism of the present day is essentially a money-making enterprise, and as such has many features which would find no place in the Roman official gazette. The advertising element which plays such a large part in papers of today, and which practically pays for the publication, was entirely unnecessary, and we find nothing whatever to correspond to it. The sensational arrangement of news with flaring headlines and conspicuous type, was also unknown to the Romans, as far as we can tell from the fragments left to us. If it had been customary to use any such means for attracting the public attention, surely Petronius with his skilful irony would not have failed to make the most of it in the imitation he gives us in the records of the estate of Trimalchio. We find instead a sober literal statement of facts, arranged without any oratorical flourishes. The imperial censorship may have had something to do with this since the emperors with the exception of Commodus, were very careful upholders of propriety and dignity, the "gravitas" which was so characteristic of the Romans as a people.

We have seen that there was no daily or personal subscription and distribution of the acta, but all copies were made from the official publication by scribes as a private enterprise and business.

The lack of paper in those days, and the expensiveness of parchment would be
sufficient reason to account for this: other available materials, papyrus, or wooden tablets, being either too frail or too clumsy for distribution, and likewise too expensive for large editions. Since too the acta were published officially or at least semiofficially, there would not be the same interest on the part of the government to see that a separate copy was in the hands of every individual.

The up-to-date newspaper of our large cities also makes some claim to literary standing, and beside the daily news, we find many articles of purely literary interest, reviews of books and plays, short stories or even a whole novel running chapter by chapter in the different issues. There was nothing of this character in the Roman acta, which were, as the name indicates, simply a chronicle of things that had taken place.

Then too it seems probable that the Roman acta confined themselves pretty much to news of the city of Rome, or its vicinity. There can hardly have been numerous references to relations with foreign countries or events in distant lands, since no fragment refers to anything of the sort.

On the other hand we find many resemblances to the newspapers of our own day, in the dating, which to the Romans was even more important than to us from the difficulties of communication between different parts of the country, and in the character of the news, which we find covered a very large range, political, social, and miscellaneous. There seems even to have been a fair amount of athletic and sporting news (especially in the days of Commodus!) for we know that the games and races did have a place in the Roman acta, from Pliny's story about the charioteer of the red faction, (N. H., VII, 53) and from Cicero's reference to the gladiatorial notices (Epist. ad fam., II, 8). Before the senate lost its power completely, the transactions of the political bodies occupied, as with us, a large portion of the news, and in this way citizens were kept in touch with the legislation of the day. And in the reporting of scandals, divorces and gossip of various kinds, there is not much choice between twentieth century yellow journalism and that of the early Empire.
It is perhaps too much to say that the modern newspaper is an outgrowth of the Roman news bulletin, for we have no evidence that the compilers of the Frankfurter Journal (1615), the first modern periodical collection of news, and the Diario di Roma (1716), the first Italian newspaper, consulted at all the old Roman models. It seems more likely that like conditions in state and society produced similar results, for as Bücher (p. 481) says, the newspaper sprang from a need of state organization, of social and political intercourse, and a striving on the part of the individual for a widening of his horizon, and these motives actuated the Romans as well as ourselves.
APPENDIX

The Existing Fragments of the Acta.

Taken from the original sources, translated into English, and arranged chronologically.

I have collected these from Hübner, Le Clerc, Riepl, Lieberkühn, and the other authors I have read, and verified them in the original. The Greek translations are by H. B. Foster; the Latin translations are my own, compared in some cases with those by Le Clerc.

As I wished to make this collection as complete as possible, I have included all passages which any of the authorities quoted has considered as belonging to the acta, but have bracketed those which in my opinion are improperly so listed.
Consular Government.

E. C. 114.

[Plin. Mai., N. H. II. 56.]

Relatum in monumenta est, lacte et sanguine pluisse M' Acilio, C. Porcio coss. et saepe alias

(Le Clerc, wrongly as I think, considers that the acta are referred to here under the name "monumenta."

B. C. 59.


Inito honore primus omnium instituit, ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conferrent et publicarentur.

(This quotation is proof that the acta diurna were first established by Caesar in his first consulship.)

Date uncertain.


Invenitur in actis Felice russei auriga elato in rogum eius unum e faventibus iecisse sese; frivolum dictu: ne hoc gloriae artificis daretur adversis studiis copia odorum corruptum criminantibus, cum ante non multo M. Lepidus ... crematus est.

(Schmidt quotes this as proof that the acta were established before 59 B. C.,

B. C. 114.

[Plin. Mai., N. H. II. 56.]

Mention was made in the documents of a rain of milk and blood, in the consulship of Manius Acilius and Caius Porcius, and also on many other occasions.

B. C. 59.


In the beginning of his consulship, Caesar was the first to establish the custom that the acta of the senate as well as those of the people should be collected and published.

Date uncertain.


It is told in the acta, that when Felix a charioteer of the red party had been placed on his funeral pile, one of his partisans threw himself into the flames and that the opposing faction—a foolish tale—in the fear that this devotion should turn to the glory of the charioteer pretended that the man had been overcome by the perfumes from the funeral pile.
but I have shown in the first part of my thesis that he is incorrect in his assumption.

B. C. 59.

Asconius ad Cic., orat. pro Milo. vol. V, 2 (Or.) p. 47.

Obsessus est (Cn. Pompeius) etiam a liberto Clodii Damione, ut ex actis eius anni cognovi, in quibus XV. Kal. Septembris L. Novius Tribunus plebis collega Clodii cum Damio adversus Flavium praetorem appellaret tribunos et tribuni de appellatione cognoscerent, ita sententiam dixit: "et hoc apparitore P. Clodii vulneratus sum et hominibus armatis praeidiiis dispostis a re publica remotus sum: Cn. Pompeius obsessus est, cum appeller, non utar eius exemplo quem vitupero, et iudicium tollam."

B. C. 58.

Cicero, Epist. ad Att., III, 15, 6.

Itaque exspecto Thessalonicae acta Kal. Sext., ex quibus statuam in tuos ne agros confugiam, et neque videam homines, quos nolim, et te, ut scribis, videam et pro-
pius sim, si quid agatur ... an abeam Cyzicum.

During the lifetime of Jul. Caesar.
Orationes aliquas reliquit, inter quas temere quaedam feruntur. Pro Quinto Metello non immerito Augustus existimat magis ab actuaris exceptam male subsequentibus verba dicentis, quam ab ipso editam: nam in quibusdam exemplaribus invenio ne inscriptam quidem "pro Metello", sed, quam scripsit, "Metello." [Furneaux, l. c., p. 19, quotes this as evidence that the proceedings of the court were taken down by scribes and appeared in the acta. I find no mention of the acta here nor even any suggestion of them.]

B. C. 55.
Ipse (M. Scaurus) cum ad consulatus petitionem a. d. III. Kalend. Quint. Roman redisset, querentibus de eo Sardis a P. Valerio Triario adulescente parato ad dicendum et notae industriae—postulatus persons that I do not care to see, but may see and be nearer you, as you say, if anything should come up ... or whether I should go to Cyzicus.

During the lifetime of Jul. Caesar.
He left some orations, among which there are some that are improperly so listed. The one with the title "On behalf of Quintus Metellus" Augustus thinks, not without reason, was taken down by scribes who did not catch exactly what he said; for in certain copies I find the title given not as "On behalf of Metellus," but as "The oration which he wrote for Metellus."

B. C. 55.
He himself (M. Scaurus) when he had returned to Rome to make an application for the consulship, at the time the people of Sardis were making complaints about him, was accused of extortion be-
IV.

est apud M. Catonem praetorem repunctuationem, ut in actis scriptum est, pridie nonos Quintil. post diem tertium quam C. Cato erat absolutus.

B. C. 53.

Asconzius ad Cic. orat. pro Milo., vol. V 2, (Or.) p. 32.


Same year and day.

Asconzius ad Cic. orat. pro Milo., vol. V 2 (Or.) p. 49.

Sunt autem contionati eo die (XIII. Kal. Febr. quo die Clodius occisus est), ut ex actis apparat, C. Sallustius et Q. Pompeius utrique et inimici Milonis et satis inquieti.

...or the praetor M. Cato, by P. Valerius Triarius, a young man of well-known industry, and skilled in oratory, as is attested in the acta, the 8th of July, two days after the acquittal of C. Cato.

B. C. 53.

Asconzius ad Cic. orat. pro Milo., vol. V 2, (Or.) p. 32.

The 20th of January, (for I think it is better to follow the acta, and the very speech which agrees with the acta, than Fenestella, who places the event on the 19th) Milo departed for Lanuvium, from which city he had come, and where he was dictator, in order to appoint the flamen the next day.

Same year and day.

Asconzius ad Cic. orat. pro Milo., vol. V 2 (Or.) p. 49.

There was an assembly of the people on that day (the 20th of January, the day on which Clodius was killed), as is seen from the acta, and Caius Sallustius and Quintus Pompey spoke, both enemies of Milo, and of a restless nature.
Same year, 28th of Feb. and 1st of Mar.

Asconius ad Cic. pro Mil., p. 44.

Ego ut curiosius actati vestrae satis faciam acta etiam totius illius temporis persecutus sum: in quibus cognovi pridie Kal. Mart. s. c. esse factum, P. Clodii caedem, et incendium curiae, et oppugnationem aedium M. Lepidi contra rempublicam factam; ultra relatum in acta illo die nihil; postero die, id est, Kal. Mart., Munatium in concione exposuisse populo, quae pridie acta erant in senatu, in qua concione haec dixit ad verbum: "Quo Q. Hortensius dixisset, ut extra ordinem quaereretur apud quaeestorem, aestimare futurum ut quem pusillum edisset dulcisdivis, largiter acerbitatis devoraret. Adversus hominem ingensum non ingenio usi sumus; invenimus Fufium, qui diceret, Divide; reliquae parti sententias ego et Sallustius intercessimus."

B. C. 53.


Eodem (T. Annio Milone) causam dicente lateribus coctis pluvisse in acta eius anni relatum est.

Same year, 28th of Feb. and 1st of Mar.

Asconius ad Cic. pro Mil., p. 44.

To satisfy better the demands of your age, I have read from beginning to end the acta of that time: in these I noticed that on the 28th of February, a decree of the senate was declared, that the murder of P. Clodius, the burning of the senate-house, the attack on the house of M. Lepidus, were all attempts against the republic; the acta of this day contain nothing further; the next day, the first of March, Munatius rendered an account to the people of what the senate had decreed the day before; in this speech he said, "Q. Hortensius in proposing an unusual inquiry before the quaesitor, is ready after tasting the sweetness of revenge, to eat abundantly of bitterness. Against a man of ability we found Fufius saying: "I demand a division." and Sallustius and I opposed the second article."

B. C. 53.

Pliny Maj., N. h. II, 56, 147.

During the trial of Milo, there was a rain of bricks, of which mention was made in the acta of that year.
B. C. 52.

Coelius, apud Cic. Epist. ad fam., VIII, 2.
Commentarium rerum urbanarum primum dedi L. Castrinio Paeto, secundum ei, qui has litteras tibi dedit.

Same year.

Cicero, Epist. ad fam. II, 8.
Quid? tu me hoc tibi mandasse existimas, ut mihi gladiatorum compositiones, ut vadam monia dilata et Christi compilationemmitteres, et ea quae nobis cum Romae sumus, narrare audeat? ... ne illa quidem cur mihi scribas, quae maximis in rebus rei publicae geruntur cotidie, nisi quid ad me ipsum pertinebit.

B. C. 51.

Cicero, Epist. ad Attic., VI, 2.
Habebam acta urbana usque ad Nonas Martias e quibus intelligebam Curionis nostri constantia omnia potius actum iri quam de provinciis.

B. C. 52.

Coelius, apud Cic. Epist. ad fam., VIII, 2.
I have given the first extract of the news of the city to L. Castrinius Paetus, the second to the one who will bring you this letter.

Same year.

Cicero, Epist. ad fam. II, 8.
What do you think I instructed you to send me news of the histories of the gladiators, of the adjourning of the court (and that you should send me) the compilations of Christus, and those things which no one would dare to tell me, when I am in Rome? ... I do not even care that you should write me the political news, except what concerns myself.

B. C. 51.

Cicero, Epist. ad Attic., VI, 2.
I had the acta of the city up to March 7th, from which I found out, that by the firmness of our friend Curio, that all matters will be acted upon rather than those having reference to the provinces.
B. C. 51 or 50.

*Cicero, Epist. ad fam., VIII, 7.*

Paulla Valeria, soror Triarii, divorium sine causa, quo die vir e provincia ven-
turus erat, fecit. Nuptura est D. Brut-
io; nondum rettuleras? Multa in hoc gene-
re incredibilia te absente acciderunt [Lieberkühn mentions this as evidence that
it was customary among the Romans to de-
clare the names in divorce cases before
the magistrates and have them published
in the acta. Le Clerc thinks it is the
public registry that is meant. The acta
are not mentioned and I see no reason for
considering this as a fragment from them
I have bracketed it.]

B. C. 51.

*Cicero, Epist. ad fam., VIII, 1.*

Quod tibi decedens pollicitus sum me om-
nes res urbanas diligentissime tibi per-
scripturum, data opera paravi, qui sic or-
nia persequeretur, ut verear, ne tibi ni-
mium arguta haec sedulitas videatur ...
tamen in hoc deprecor ne meum hoc offici-
cium arrogantiae condemnnes, quod hunc la-
borem alteri delegavi. ... sed ipsum vo-
lumen, quod tibi misi ... me excusat. ...
Si quid in republica maius actum erit,
quod isti operarili minus comode persequi possint ... diligenter tibi perscribemus.

(This seems to refer not to the acta, but to the custom of having paid scribes write out the news, in order that private individuals might have copies to send to their friends. Hübner does not include this as a fragment of the acta, and of course it is not, yet as the scribes undoubtedly got much of the news from the acta, it seems worth quoting as evidence for the wider transmission of it.)

B. C. 51.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., II, 15.
De Ocella parum ad me plane scripseras; et in actis non erat. Tuae res gestae notae sunt, ut trans montem Taurum etiam de Matrinio sit auditum.

B. C. 50.
Quam quisque sententiam dixerit in commentario est rerum urbanarum; ex quo quae digna sunt, selige; multa transi, imprimit ludorum explosiones et funerum et ineptiarum ceterarum; plura habet uti-

B. C. 51.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., II, 15.
With regard to Ocella you had written me not very clearly; and there was nothing in the acta. But your doings are so well known, that the affair of Matrinius has been heard even across Mt. Taurus.

B. C. 50.
You will find the opinion of each speaker in the records of the city. Select what you consider important; omit many things, especially the hissing of the actors, the funeral obsequies and other trivial mat-
Le Clerc and Zell incorrectly think this extract points to the existence of the *diurna acta* before Caesar's first consulship. Humbert, Hübner, Ernesti, Smith, (Dic. Rom. Ant.) think it is not the *acta* diurna only which are meant here but compilations containing news of various kinds made by scribes for private persons. Compare the term *commentarium rerum urbana-rum* of such a compilation above, (pp. 21 and 40). I have therefore bracketed this passage.

B. C. 45.

Dio Cassius, XLIV, 11.

Ἐσ τῇ ὑπομνήματι ἔγγραφην ἐποίησεν (οὗ Καῖσαρ) ὑπ' θυμοσιλίαν παρὰ τὸν σύμμου δι' τοῦ ὑπάτου διομένην οὗ ἐδέχατο.

(This is not always taken as referring to the *acta*, but I agree with those scholars who think it does.)

B. C. 45.

Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 23.

Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certò scio.

Quod ni ita putarem, ipsa perscriberem, in primis Caesaris Octaviāni conatum.

At the Lupercal festival, Caesar had it inscribed in the records, that he had refused the royalty presented to him by the people. Trans. by H. B. Foster.

Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 23.

I know certainly that the *acta* of the city are being sent to you. Did I not think so, I should myself write, and especially about the enterprise of Octavius Caesar.
B. C. 44.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., X, 1.
Sed quoniam acta omnia mitti ad te arbitram nihil erat, quod singulis de rebus scriberem.

B. C. 44.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 22, 1.
Ego ... acta ad te omnia arbitror perscribi ab aliis, a me futura debeas cognoscere quorum quidem non est difficilis conjectura.

B. C. 44.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 8.
Scelus definis tui Lepidi summamque levitatem et inconstantiam ex actis quae ad te mitti certo scio cognosse te arbitror.
(The "scelus" was the defection of Lepidus from the party of the optimates to that of Mark Antony.)

B. C. 44.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 25.
Quae deinceps acta sint, scire te arbitror.
(Evidently it is taken for granted by Cicero that his friend has heard of the plot of Antony, probably from the acta. The
news bulletins seem to have reached the height of their completeness in the time of the Second Triumvirate, when they were so full that private correspondents found little for them to write. Riepl, p. 417.)

B. C. 43.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XI, 25.
Ego autem, etsi, quid scriberem non habe-bam ... acta enim ad te mitti sciebam--inanem autem sermonem litterarum tibi in-lucundum esse audiebam--brevitatem secu-tus sum te magistro.

B. C. 43.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 28.
In re publica quid agatur te ex eorum litteris cognoscere, qui ad te acta debent perscribere.
(Perscribere seems from this and other passages to have been the regular word used for making copies of the acta; so Hübner.)

B. C. 43.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XI, 25.
But, although I have nothing to write, for I know the acta are being sent to you, but have heard that the mere conversation of letters is agreeable to you--I have been brief, profiting by your ex-ample.

B. C. 43.
Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 28.
You know what is happening in the state from the letters of those whose duty it is to copy the acta for you.
B. C. 43.

Dio Cassius, XLVII, 6.

"As one recalls that Cato during his quaestorship had forced the assassins employed by Sylla to restore what they had received for these murders, the triumvirs (Octavius, Antony and Lepidus) wishing that the murderers should not be discouraged by any such fear, announced that the name of no proscribed person should be registered in the public records."

Trans. by H. B. Foster.

B. C. 43.

Cicero, Epist. ad fam., X, 28.

But if I did not think the news of the city and the acta were being forwarded to you, I would write myself, although I am exceedingly busy with very many affairs. But you will learn those things from others, a few from me, which are as follows.

B. C. 43.

Cicero, Epist. ad fam., XII, 9.

The shortness of your letters makes me also brief in writing, and really nothing
dicam, non satis occurrit, quid scribam. Nostras enim res in actis perfert ad te certo scio: ... tuas autem ignoramus. Tamquam enim clausa sit Asia, sic nihil perfertur ad nos praeter rumores.

Augustus.

Suetonius, Augustus, 64.
Filiam (Juliam) et neptes (Juliam et Agrippinam) ita instituit (Augustus) ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret, vetaretque loqui aut agere quicumque nisi propalam et quod in diurnos commentarios referretur.
(The words "diurnos commentarios" are not ordinarily applied to the acta diurna, so Hübner, Zell, Riepl, Libberkühn think they refer here to the private journals of the house of Augustus. Schmidt and Peussen with greater plausibility, think they were the acta diurna.)

B. C. 38.

Dio Cassius, XLVIII, 44, 4.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράξατο. Συνοικοῦσα δὲ ῥῆμα καὶ μονὴ τῷ Καῖσαρι τίτημεν Κλαύδιον Δροῦσον Νέρωνα. Καὶ αὐτῶν οὖσαν Καῖσαρ καὶ Λυνέλος,

has happened sufficiently important for me to write about. For I know that the news about myself is being reported to you regularly in the acta: ... but I do not know the news about you. For Asia is as if shut up, so that nothing is brought to us but rumors.

Augustus.

Suetonius, Augustus, 64.

Augustus arranged that his daughter Julia and his granddaughters Julia and Agrippina should become accustomed to spinning, and he forbade them to say or do anything except what could be openly reported in the daily bulletins.

B. C. 38.

Dio Cassius, XLVIII, 44, 4.

"After these events, when Livia went to live with Caesar, she gave birth to Claudius Drusus Nero. Caesar took him and sent him to his father, making this entry
Suetonius, Augustus, 36.

(Augustus) auctor et aliarum rerum fuit in quis ne acta senatorum publicarentur.

Augustus.
A. D. 6.


In actis temporum divi Augusti inventur duodecimo consulatu eius Lucioque Sulla collega a. d. III. idus Aprilis. C. Crispinius Hilarum ex ingenua plebe Fassulana cum libris VIII, in quo numero filiae duae suae, nepotibus XXVII, pronepotibus XXIX, nepitibus VIII, praelata pompa cum omnibus suis in Capitolio inmolasse.

Tiberius.
A. D. 14.

Dio Cassius, LVII, 12.

"Livia mother of Tiberius occupied a position of great prominence far above all
women of former times, so that she could at any time receive the senators or even any of the people who wished to greet her at her own house. This was also inscribed in the public records." Trans. by H. B. Foster.

A. D. 16.

Dio Cassius, LVII, 16.

"Many of the public documents had either perished utterly or had faded during the lapse of time. Three senators, were therefore elected to copy off what was extant and to look up the rest." Trans. by H. B. Foster.

A. D. 20.

(Hübner says, on what authority I cannot learn, unless it be Tac. Annal., V, 4, quoted below, which is certainly not conclusive, that Tiberius did not order the acta populi to be collected, but only the records and decrees of the senate, but

Le Clerc and Zell include this as a reference to the acta populi, and I see no reason to think that they should have been excluded from the work of such a general commission.)
A. D. 20.
Tacitus, Annal., III, 3.
Matrem (Germanici Caesaris) Antoniam non apud auctores rerum non diurna actrorum scriptura reperioullo insigni officio functam, cum super Agrippam et Drusum et Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti sint, seu valetudine praepediabatur seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre, viso non toleravit.

About A. D. 23.
Dio Cassius, LVII, 21.

"One of the largest porticoes at Rome began to lean to one side, and was set upright in a most remarkable manner by an architect whose name no one knows, because Tiberius, jealous of his wonderful achievement, would not permit it to be entered in the records." Trans. by H. E. Foster.

Same time.
Dio Cassius, LVII, 23.

"Even if a person made an evil statement about him in secret, Tiberius found it out and had it published in the public records."
He even published in this way, things which had not been said, but of which he knew he might be accused; in order that he might seem to have juster cause for his vengeance... This is an argument used to prove his insanity." Trans. by H. B. Foster.

The best example of the devotion of dogs for their masters is that which the acta of the Roman people of our time report, in the consulship of Appius Junius and P. Silius, When Titius Sabinus, as a result of the trial of Hero the son of Germanicus was condemned to death with his slaves the dog of one of these could not be driven away from the prison; and he accompanied the body to the Gemonian stairs, uttering mourn'ul howlings in the presence of a vast crowd of people. When someone threw him a piece of bread he carried it to the mouth of his dead master, and when the body was thrown into the Tiber, he jumped in after it, and placed himself under it trying to raise it out of the water while the people gathered from all sides.

Tiberius.
A. D. 28.


Sed super omnia in nostro aevo actis p. R. testatum Appio Junio et P. Silio cos. cum animadverteretur ex causa Heronis Germanici fili in Titium Sabinum et servitias eius, ubiis ex his canem nec in carcere abigi potuisse nec a corpore recessisse abieci in gradibus gemoriis maestos edentem ululatus magna p. F. corona, ex qua cum quidam ei cibum obiecisset, adœ defuncti tulisse, innatavit idem cadavere in Tiberim abiecto sustentare conatus, effusa multitutine ad spectandum animalis fidem.

Tiberius.
A. D. 28.

The same incident is found in Dio Cassius, LVIII, 1.

"The affair was made more tragic by the behavior of a dog of Sabinus that went with him to his cell, was by him at his death, and at the end was thrown into the river with him." Trans. by H. B. Foster.

(There is no reference to the acta here, but Pliny’s account shows that they were the ultimate source.)

Tacitus, Annal., V 4.

Fuit in senatu Junius Rusticus, componendis patrum actis selectus a Caesare (Tiberius) coque meditationes eius instruere credidit]

(This seems to refer to acta senatus, not diurna.)

Tiberius.

Suetonius, Tiberius, 73.

Interim cum in actis senatus legisset, dissimilis ac ne auditos quidem quosdam reos de quibus strictim et nihil aliud quam nominatos ab indice scripserat, pro contempto se habitum fremens repetere Capreas briefly and nothing else than that they
had been named by an informer, feeling in his wrath that he himself had been held in contempt, he determined to go back to Capri whatever might happen.

(Hubner and Le Clerc are probably right in thinking that this refers only to the proceedings of the senate, and as there is no good reason for thinking that an entry of such nature was made in the acta diurna, I have bracketed the passage.)

Suetonius, Tiberius, 5.


(It is uncertain whether the acta mentioned here are the diurna acta or just public records of births.)

Caligula.

A. D. 37-41.

Suetonius, Caligula, 36.

Quibusdam (matronis) absentium maritorum nomine repudium ipse (Caligula) misit, iussitque in acta ita referri.

Suetonius, Tiberius, 5.

Tiberius was born at Rome, on the Palatine hill, the sixteenth of November, when M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus were consuls, the former for a second time, during the war which ended at Philippi, for thus it was entered in the fasti and the public acta.

Caligula.

A. D. 37-41.

Suetonius, Caligula, 36.

Caligula granted divorces to certain women in the name of their absent husbands, and had the fact recorded in the acta.
Suetonius, Caligula, 8.

C. Caesar natus est pridie Kal. Sept. patre suo et C. Fonteio Capitone cos. ubi natus sit incertum diversitas tradentium facit ... ego in actis Antii editum invenio ... sequenda est igitur quae sola restat publici instrumenti auctoritas.

Claudius.
A. D. 47.

(Phoenix) allatus est in urbe Claudii principis censura, anno urbis DCCC, et in comitio propositus, quod actis testatum est, sed quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret.

Solinus, XXXIII, 14.

Q. Plautio itaque et Sex. Papinio cos. Aegyptum phoenix involavit, captusque anno octingentesimo urbis conditae iussu Claudi principis in comitio publicatus est, quod gestum, praeter censuram quae manet, actis etiam urbis continentur.

Suetonius, Caligula, 8.

C. Caesar was born the thirty-first of August when his father and C. Fonteius Capito were consuls. The diversity of traditions makes it uncertain where he was born. ... I find in the acta that his birth was registered at Antium. ... therefore the authority of the public document, which is the only authority that remains, must be followed.

Claudius.
A. D. 47.

The phoenix was brought to Rome in the censorship of the emperor Claudius in the eight hundredth year of the city, and was on view in the comitium, as the acta state, but no one doubts that it was an invented phoenix.

Solinus, XXXIII, 14.

In the consulship of Q. Plautius and Sex. Papinius, the phoenix flew into Egypt. It was captured in the eight hundredth year of Rome, and was exposed in the comitium by order of the emperor Claudius. This fact, in addition to the censorship which remains, is recorded in the acta of the city.
A. D. 49.
Dio Cassius, LX, 33.
καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς βουλομένους ἑοπίστευ· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐστὶν 
ὑπομνηματι ἑγερέτο.

Same year.
Solinus I, 29.
Cum C. Pompeius Gallus et Q. Veranius urbis conditae anno octingentesimo primo fuerint consules, consulatu eorum olympias septima et ducentesima actis publicis adnotata est.

Claudius.
Same year.
Tacitus, Annal., XII, 23 and 24.
Et pomerium urbis auxit Caesar, (Claudius) more prisco, quo iis qui protulere imperium etiam terminos urbis propagare datur, nec tamen duces Romani, quamquam magnis nationibus subactis, usurpaverant, nisi L. Sulla et divus Augustus ... et quos tum Claudius terminos posuerit, facile cogniti et publicis actis perscriptum.

XXI.
A. D. 49.
Dio Cassius, LX, 33.
"Agrippina gave greetings in public to those who desired it. This fact was entered on the records." Trans. by H. B. Foster.

Same year.
Solinus I, 29.
When C. Pompeius Gallus and Q. Veranius were consuls in the eight hundred and first year of the city, the two hundred and seventh olympiad was noted down in the acta publica.

Claudius.
Same year.
Tacitus, Annal., XII, 23 and 24.
Claudius also enlarged the boundaries of the city, in accordance with an ancient custom, that those who had extended the imperial power also had the right to enlarge the boundaries of the city, and yet Roman rulers had not used this privilege with the exception of L. Sulla and the divine Augustus, although great nations had been subdued ... and the boundaries which Claudius then established are easily recognized, and record has been made of them in the public acta.
Nero.
A. D. 57.


Nerone iterum L. Pisone consulibus paucu
memoria digna evenere, nisi cui libeat
laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, quis
solem amphitheatri apud Campus Martius
Caesar extruxerat, volumina implere, cum
ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit

Same year.

Suetonius, Claud., 41.

Novas etiam commentus est (Claudius) lit-
teras tres, ac numero veterum quasi maxi-
me necessarias addidit; de quarum ratio-
ne cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset,
mox princeps non difficulter optinuit ut
in usu quoque promiscuo essent. Extat
talis scriptura in plerisque libris ac
diurnis titulisque operum. (Ihm edition)
(The editions by Burmann and Crusius have
"in plerisque libris, acta diurna, titu-
lisque operum." Muretus conjectured "ac-
torum" and Torrentius "actorum diurnorum".
Hübner does not place this among the frag-
ments of acta, but I find in Tacitus, An-
nal., XVI, 22, diurna used as a substan-
tive for diurna acta, and I think it is
used in that way here.)

Nero.
A. D. 57.


The second consulship of Nero and his col-
league L. Piso offers little material for
history, unless it seems fitting to de-
scribe the foundations and the frame-work
of the great amphitheatre which the empe-
ror had erected in the Campus Martius;
inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare.

A. D. 66.
Tacitus, Annal., XVI, 22.
Diurna populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit.

Nero.
Juvenal, Satires, VI, 481-485.
verberat (tortor) atque obiter faciem linit, audit amicas
aut latum pictas vestis considerat aurum et caedit, longi relegit transversa diurni
et caedit, donec lassus caedentibus "exi" intonet horrendum iam cognitione peracta
("Longi transversa diurni" is variously interpreted, Hübner, Le Clerc and Friedländer think it refers to the book of household accounts, or diary. Schmidt and Weidner claim that it refers to the diurna acta. As we have no other instance of the news bulletins being referred to in this way, I agree with the former.

since it has been found to comport with the grandeur of the Roman people to insert in their annals events of celebrity only, and to consign such details as these to the city journals.

A. D. 66.
Tacitus, Annal., XVI, 22.
The daily acta of the Roman people are eagerly read throughout the provinces and armies, in order to see what Thrasea had not done.

Nero.
Juvenal, Satires, VI, 481-485.
"Some women pay a regular salary to their torturers. While he lashes she is employed in enamelling her face. She listens to her friend's chat, or examines the broad gold of an embroidered robe. Still he lashes. She pores over the items in her long diary. Still he lashes. Until at length, when the tortures are exhausted, "Begone!" she thunders out in awful voice, the inquisition being now complete."

Trans. by Lewis Evans
scholars and therefore bracket this.)

Juvenal, Satires, IX, 80-85.

Coniugium in multis domibus servavit adulter.
quo te circumagas? quae prima aut ultimae ponas?
nullum ergo meritum est, ingrate ac perfide, nullum
quod tibi filiolus vel filia nascitur ex me?
tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes
argumenta viri.


"officium cras primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini."
quae causa officii? "quid quaeris? nubit amicus
nec multis adhibet." liceat modo vivere:
fient, fient ista palam, cupient et in acta referri.
(Le Clerc thinks this refers to the public

Juvenal, Satires, IX, 80-85.

"In many a house, where the marriage bonds were growing feeble and beginning to give way, and were almost severed, an adulterer has set all matters right. However you may shift your ground, whatever services you may reckon first or last, is it indeed no obligation, ungrateful and perfidious man? is it none, that you have an infant son or daughter born to you through me? For you bring them up as yours and plume yourself on inserting at intervals in the public registers these evidences of your virility." Trans. by Lewis Evans.


"I have some duty-work to perform to-morrow at break of day in the Quirinal valley." "What is the occasion?" "Why ask? my friend is going to be married; only a few are invited!" If we only live to see it, these things will be done in the broad light of day, and claim to be registered in the public acta." Trans. by Lewis Evans.
registry, but, together with Hübner, Riepl and others I take it as referring to the acta diurna.)

Nero.

Seneca, de benef., III, 16.

Nunc quidam ulla repudio erubescit, postquam inlustres quaedam ac nobiles feminae non consulum numero sed maritorum annos suos computant et exsunt matrimonii causa nubunt repudii? Tamdiu istuc timebatur, quamdiu rarum erat; quia nulla sine divorcio acta sunt, quod saepe audiebant, facere didicerunt.

Seneca, de benef., II, 10.

Non nego, quotiens patitur res, respiciendum gaudium ex accipientis voluntate; sin adiuvati illum et oportet et pudet, si, quod praestamus, offendit, nisi abseondatur, beneficium in acta non mitto. Quidui? ego illi non sum indicaturus me dedisse, cum inter prima praepetita ac maxime necessaria sit, ne umquam exproberem, immo ne admoneam quidem. Haec enim beneficii inter duos lex est: alter statim oblivisci

Nero.

Seneca, de benef., III, 16.

Does any woman blush any more at any severing of the marriage tie, since noble and aristocratic women count their years not by the number of consuls, but by the number of their divorces; and get a separation in order to marry again, marry for the sake of a divorce? That thing was feared, as long as it was unusual; because now there are no daily bulletins without some divorce suit, they have learned to do what they have heard of often.

I do not deny, that as often as occasion permits, pleasure must be obtained in the good will of the one receiving the favor. But if it is both a case of necessity and shame, to be assisted, if the favor we do not make mention of my benevolence in the acta. Why not? I will never cast it up in his face that I have given him something, since among the first and most im-
debet dati, alter accepti numquam.

A. D. 65.
Tacitus, Annal., XV, 74.
Reperio in commentariis senatus Cerialen Amicii consulem designatum pro sententia dixisse, ut templum divo Neroni quam maturrim publica pecunia paneretur.]
(This seems to refer only to the acta senatus, although both Le Clerc and Riepl take it as meaning the acta diurna. I therefore enclose it in brackets. Of course it is not impossible that such items from the senate's records might have been reported in the acta diurna, but "commentarius" was the technical word for the public registry, as I have mentioned in the body of my thesis, p. 17.)

Nero.
Petronius, Satiric., c. 53.
Actuarius ... tanquam urbis acta recitavit; "VII. Kalendas Sextiles: in praedio

important principles of giving, is this, that I should not upbraid or remind my friend of the favor. For this is the law that should govern a kindness conferred between two: the one should at once forget that it has been bestowed, and the other never forget that it has been received.

A. D. 65.
Tacitus, Annal., XV, 74.
I find in the minutes of the senate that Amicius, the consul-elect, expressed the opinion that a temple should be erected to the divine Nero, as soon as possible, and at the expense of the state.)

Nero.
Petronius, Satiric., c. 53.
The clerk read as if he were reading the gazette of the city; The twenty-sixth of
Cumano, quod est Trimalchionis, nati sunt paeri XXX, puellae XL; sublata in horreum ex arca triciti millia modicum quingenta; boves domiti quingenti. *eodem die:* Mithridates servus in crucem actus est, quia Gai nostri genio male dixerat. *eodem die:* in arcam relatum est, quod collocari non non potuit, sestertium centies. *eodem die:* incendiuin factum est in hortis Pompeianis, ortum ex aedibus Nastae vilici."

"quid?" inquit Trimalchio "quando mihi Pompeiani horti empti sunt?" "anno priore" inquit actuarius "et ideo in rationem nondum venerunt." excanduit Trimalchio, et "quicunque" inquit "mihi fundi empti fuerint, nisi intra mensem sciero, in rationes meas inferri vetuo." iam etiam edicta aedilium recitabantur et saltuari-erum testamenta, quibus Trimalchio cum elogio exheredebatur; iam nomina vilicor-um et repudiata a circitore liberta in balneatoris contubernio reprehensa et striensis Baias relegatus; iam reus factus dispensator et iudicium inter cubicularios actum.

July, on an estate of Cumae, the property of Trimalchio, there were born thirty boys and forty girls. There were carried to the granary from the threshing-floor five hundred thousand bushels of grain; five hundred oxen had been broken. The same day, the slave Mithridates had been crucified for having spoken ill of the Genius of our Gaius. The same day: there was brought to the money chest, what could not be invested, ten million sesterces. The same day, there was a fire in our gardens at Pompeii which began in the house of the bailiff Nasta. "How is that?" said Trimalchio; "when were the gardens at Pompeii bought for me?" "Last year," replied the clerk, "and that is the reason the account has not been given in." Trimachio cried out angrily, "If I do not know within six months about the land I have bought, I forbid that it be put to my account." Then were read the decrees of the aediles, the wills of the foresters by whom Trimalchio had been disinherited, then the names of the stewards, the adventure of a freed-woman surprised at the house of the bath-keeper and divorced from her husband the night watch.
Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime a MucianO contrahuntur, ac iam undecim, ut opinor, actorum libris et tribus epistularum composita et edita sunt.

"Haec vetera" were the speeches of the republican period. From the context "actorum libri" is not to be taken in its technical sense as acta diurna, or acta senatus, but as a general title, "actio-nes," Gudemann notes p. 345 of his edition of Tacitus de Orat. Dialog. Zell and Kubitschek regard them as the acta diurna. I agree with Gudemann and therefore bracket this.

A. D. 74 or 75.
Tacitus de Oratoribus Dialog., chap. 37.

Domitian.
A. D. 88.

Dio Cassius, LXVII, 11, 3.

"Antonius, a certain commander in Germany revolted against Domitian, but was over-
come by Lucius Maximus... who burned all the
documents in the chests of Antonius. ...
But Domitian proceeded to a series of
slaughters even without the documents, and
no one could say how many he killed. He
condemned himself so for this act that, to
prevent any remembrance of the dead sur-
viving, he prohibited the inscribing of
their names in the records." Trans. by
H. B. Foster.

XXIX.

A. D. 88.
Quintil., Institut. orat., IX, 3, 17.
Ex Graeco vero translata ... plurima ...
et iam vulgatum actis quoque: "saucius
pectus."

A. D. 88.
Quintil., Institut. orat., IX, 3, 17.
Many things have been taken over from the
Greek ... and the expression "saucius
pectus" (wounded in the breast) is now
very common in the acta.
Trajan.
A. D. 98.

Plin. sec. Paneg. 74, 75.

"Oh fortunate Trajan! ... Believe us, believe your own heart! ... So may the gods love you as you love us! ... So may the gods love us as you love us! ... Oh fortunate senate! ... But why do I look up and collect particular instances? As if I can encompass them by speech or do justice to them by memory, facts which you have decreed should be placed in the public acta, and engraved upon bronze, in order that they should not be forgotten. Formerly the speeches of our princes only were wont to be immortalized by monuments of this kind; but our acclamations were shut in by the walls of the senate-house.

A. D. 105 (?)

Plin. sec., Epist., V, 14, 8.

Nigrinus the tribune recited the purport of the laws, he called to mind the decrees of the senate; at the end he said he must ask his excellency the prince, that since the laws, since the decrees of the senate were despised, that he himself should correct such great evils. A few

Demonstro ergo, quamquam diligentiam tuam fugere non possit, cum sit in publicis actis, demonstro tamen, quo magis credas iucundum mihi futurum, si factum meum, cuius gratia periculo crevit, tuo ingenio, tuo testimonio ornaveris, dederat me senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciae Baeticae contra Baebium Massam damnatoque Massa consuerat ut bona eius publice custodirentur.

A. D. 100 (?)

Plin. sec., Epist., IX, 15, 3.

Tu consuetudinem serva nobisque sic rusticis urbana acta perscribe.


Solet esse gaudio tibi, siquid actum est in senatu dignum ordine illo. quamvis
enim quistis amore accesseris, insidet tamen animo tuo maestatis publicae cura accipe ergo quod per hos dies actum est. ... habes res urbanas: invicem rusticas scribe]

(I give this passage because it is mentioned by both Riepl and Lieberkühn, but "res urbanas" in this and the following passage evidently means simply the news of the city given in a personal letter which might or might not include the acta. I therefore bracket these.)

[Plin., sec., Epist., IV, 11.

Vides quam obsequenter paream tibi; quin non solum res urbanas verum etiam peregrinos tam sedulo scribo.]

Commodus.
A. D. 183.

Lampridius, Commod., c. 11 and 15.

Gladiatorum etiam certamen subiit et no-mina gladiatorum recipit eo gaudio, quasi triumphalia, ludum saepe ingressus est, et quoties ingredentur, publicis monumentis indi iussit, pugnasse autem dicitur septingentes quinque. ... Spectator gladiatoria sumpsit arma, panno purpureo nudos humeros advelans, habuit praec-

worthy of that body. For although you have left the city because of a desire for quiet and retirement, yet a care for the public welfare is always present in your heart. Hear then what has happened during these days. ... You have now the news of the city, write to me now the news of the country.]


You see how carefully I obey you, since I am writing to you not only the news of the city but also the news of the country.]

Commodus.
A. D. 183.

Lampridius, Commod., c. 11 and 15.

He also entered the gladiatorial contests and received the names of the gladiators with as much pleasure as he would a triumph; often he entered the public games, and as often as he did this he ordered it to be inscribed in the public monuments. He is said to have fought seven hundred and five times. ... When a spectator he
terea morem, ut omnia quae turpiter, quae impure, quae crudeliter, quae gladiatore, quae lenonine faceret, actis urbibus indi iuberet.

A. D. 222.
Alexander Severus.

Interest relegere orationem, qua (Alexander Severus) nomen Antonii et Magni delatum sibi e senatu recusavit, quam priusquam praeseram, inseram etiam acclamationes senatus, quibus id decreturn est. Ex actis urbis: "A. d. pridie nonas Martias, cum senatus frequens in curiam, hoc est in aedem Concordiae templumque inauguratum, convenisset, rogatusque esset Aurélius Alexander Caesar Augustus, ut eo veniret, ac primo recusasset, quod sciret de honoribus suis agendum deinde postea venisset, acclamationum: 'Augustus innocens, di te servent, Alexander imperator, di te servent. ... Aurelius Alexander Augustus, di te servent.'"

would often take up the arms of a gladiator, covering his bare shoulders with a purple robe. He had the custom besides of publishing in the acts of the city, all the shameful things he did, all his debaucheries, his cruelties, all his exploits as a gladiator and a libertine.

A. D. 222.
Alexander Severus.

It is interesting to read over the speech in which Alexander Severus refused the name of Antoninus and Magnus, offered to him by the senate. Before I report this, I shall insert also the acclamations of the senate, with which this was decreed, Extract from the acta of the city, March 6th. "The senate in full number had assembled in the temple of Concord, a sacred spot, and Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus had been requested to attend this meeting: at first he refused, because he knew the business had to do with conferring new honors upon himself. Afterward when he did come the acclamations began: "Oh irreproachable Augustus, may the gods preserve you! Alexander emperor, may the gods keep you safe! ... Aurelius Alexander Severus, may the gods preserve you!"
A. D. 222.

[Laurentius, Alexander Severus, 33.]

Fecit Romae curatores urbis quattuordecim sed ex consulis viris, quos audire negotia urbana cum praefecto urbis iussit, ita ut omnes aut magna pars adessent, cum acta fierent. (Hübner very properly regards the acta here as the acta forensia, not the acta diurna, so I have bracketed this passage.)

A. D. 244.

J. Capitolinus, Gordiani tres, 4.

iam illud satis constat, quod filium, Gordianum nomine, Antonini signo illustraverit, cum apud praefectum aerarii more Romano professus filium publicis actis eius insereret.

(Le Clerc thinks this refers to the public registry, but Hübner, Riepl and others take it as referring to the acta. This latter view is the more probable as it has to do with an important official act.)

A. D. 276-282.

Vopiscus, Probus, 2.

Usus (sum) etiam regestis scribarum por- ticis Porphyreticae, actis etiam senatus ac populi.

A. D. 244.

J. Capitolinus, Gordiani tres, 4.

Now it is well known, that he honored his son, Gordianus by name, with the title of Antoninus, when in accordance with the Roman custom, presenting his son before the prefect of the treasury, he inserted his name in the public acta.

A. D. 276-282.

Vopiscus, Probus, 2.

I have also made use of the register of the scribes of the Porphyretic porch, as well as the acta of the senate and people.
(This is the last authentic reference to the acta which we have, for the following passages can with no certainty be listed among the genuine fragments.)

A. D. 276-282.

Vopiscus, Aurelian, 12.

Et quoniam etiam de adrogatione aliqua me dixeram positurum quae ad tantum principem pertinere, quae ne odiosior verbiosiorve in ea re videar, quam fidei causa inserendam credi ex libris Acholii, qui magister admissiorum Valeriani principis fuit, libro actorum eius nono

(It is uncertain whether the work of Acholius was a collection of the acta or historical memoirs. Teuffel Schwabe, Vol, I (Edit.5) p. 456, says the acta of Acholius were extracts from the originals, but he gives no authority for the statement. We have no other instance where the official acta are spoken of in this personal way, as the acta of one man. I am therefore of the opinion that this was simply the title Acholius chose for his book, with no reference to the acta diurna, and so I bracket this passage.)

A. D. 276-282.

Vopiscus, Aurelian, 12.

And because I had said that, with regard to the adoption I would mention some facts which have to do with so great an emperor, I beg that I may not seem too offensive or officious in this matter, which I thought for the sake of accuracy ought to be inserted in my history from the books of Acholius, the chief marshal of Valerianus, from the ninth book of his acts.)
Julian and Valens, Emp.
A. D. 360

Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 3, 4.

Then they drove Taurus from the prefectship into exile to Vercellum, whose deed might seem pardonable with judges who discriminate carefully between what is just and unjust. For what fault did he commit, if fearing that some disturbance had arisen, he fled to the protection of his prince? And the acta treating of him were read with great horror, since the beginning of the volume began thus:

"in the consulship of Taurus and Florentius, Taurus being led in by the public heralds."