

**Fires in Rome: the ancient city as a fire régime**

by

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**VOLUME 2**

**Appendices 1 & 2**

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**Volume 2**  
**Table of Contents**

<b>Appendix 1</b> Translations of Sources	2
<b>Appendix 2</b> List of Figures	45
Figures 1 – 48.	48

## **Translation of Sources**

All translations from Latin are the work of the author. Loeb Latin editions have been used for the Latin text. Both translations and text are from Loeb Greek editions.

More than one source is translated for some fires where additional information is helpful. All three main sources (Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio) are translated for the fire of AD 64.

**1. Date: 460 BC?**

Proximo dehinc anno cives exules servique fugitivi duce Herdonio, viro Sabino, invaserunt incenderuntque Capitolium. (Oros. 2. 12.5)

In the following year exiled citizens and runaway slaves under the leadership of Herdonius, a Sabine, invaded and burned the Capitol.

**2. Date: 414 or 415 BC?**

... annus felicitate populi Romani periculo potius ingenti quam clade insignis. servitia urbem ut incenderent distantibus locis coniurarunt, populoque ad opem passim ferendam tectis intento ut arcem Capitoliumque armati occuparent. avertit nefanda consilia Iuppiter, indicioque duorum comprehensi sontes poenas dederunt. (Liv. 4. 45)

It was a year notable for a lucky escape of the Roman people from a great danger but not a disaster. Slaves had plotted to set fire to the city in different places at a distance from each other and while the people would be distracted trying to save their houses, the slaves would occupy the Citadel and the Capitolium by armed force. Jupiter averted the heinous plot and on the evidence of two of their numbers the culprits were arrested and punished.

**3. Date: 390 BC.**

Ceterum, seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum et ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si compelli ad deditionem caritate sedum suarum obsessi possent, et non omnia concremari tecta ut quodcumque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent, nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe primo die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. (Liv. 5.42. 2)

But whether it was that not all the Gauls wished to destroy the city or whether the Gallic leaders wanted to pretend that they would set fires in order to spread terror, or if they hoped that the besieged Romans could be compelled to surrender in order to save their houses, or not intending that all the houses would be burned to the ground so that something of the city would be left whereby they could influence the attitude of the Roman enemy – whatever the

reason, the fire did not spread so widely and randomly on the first day as one would expect in a captured city.

... Gallos pestilentia etiam, cum loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes, tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque non pulverem modo ferente cum quid venti motum esset. (Liv. 5. 48. 2)

Added to that, a disease assailed the Gauls who had pitched camp in lowland between hills, due to the heat of the fires and the air full of ash and dust which arose with every movement of the wind.

#### 4. **Date:** 389 BC?

Qui quidem Romuli lituus, id est incurvum et leviter a summo inflexu bacillum, quod ab eius litui, quo canitur, similitudine nomen invenit, cum situs esset in curia Saliorum, quae est in Palatio eaque deflagravisset, inventus est integer. (Cic. *Div.* 1. 17)

Indeed, this staff of Romulus is curved and lightly bent at the top and it gets its name from the trumpet which is blown [in battle]. It was placed in the temple of the Salii on the Palatine and when that temple was burned completely it remained unharmed.

... quod deusto sacrario Saliorum nihil in eo praeter lituum Romuli integrum repertum est. (Val. Max. 1.8.11)

When the shrine of the Salii was burned down nothing was left intact except the staff of Romulus.

#### 5. **Date:** 275 BC.

Anno ab urbe condita CCCCLXXVIII obscena et dira prodigia uel visa Romae uel nuntiata sunt. aedes Salutis ictu fulminis dissoluta, pars muri sub eodem loco de caelo, ut dicunt, tacta est. lupi tres ante lucem ingressi urbem, semesum cadaver intulerunt sparsumque membratim in foro ipsi strepitu hominum exterriti reliquerunt. apud Formias multis ictibus fulminum moenia undique ambusta et dissoluta sunt. apud agrum Calenum repente flamma scisso hiatu

terrae eructata tribus diebus tribusque noctibus terribiliter exaestuans, quinque agri iugera exhausto penitus suco ubertatis in cinerem exterruit, ita ut non fruges solum sed et arbores cum imis stirpibus absumpsisse referatur. (Oros. 4.4.1)

In the 478<sup>th</sup> year since the foundation of the city terrible and awful prodigies were either seen or reported in Rome. The temple of Salus was destroyed by lightning and it is said that part of the wall in the same locality was also struck. Three wolves entered the city before dawn; they carried a half-eaten human body and they left bits of the body strewn around the forum when they were frightened off by the shouts of people. At Formiae walls were struck by many bolts of lightning and everywhere completely destroyed. The ground opened in the Calenian Field and a sudden flame burst forth which burned ferociously for three days and nights. Almost five *iugera* of land were completely robbed of any moisture and burned to ash, so that not only the fruit of the trees but the actual trees were said to be completely destroyed to their very roots.

**6. Date: 241 BC.**

... is Metellus orbam luminibus exegit senectam, amissis incendio, cum Palladium raperet ex aede Vestae (Plin. *HN* 7. 141)

Metellus lived his old age in blindness having lost his sight in a fire when he saved the statue of Pallas from the temple of Vesta.

Romae templum Vestae incensum (Hieron. *ab Abr.* 1775)

In Rome the Temple of Vesta was burned.

**7. Date: 213 BC.**

Romae foedum incendium per duas noctes ac diem unum tenuit. solo aequata omnia inter Salinas ac portam Carmentalem cum Aequimaelio Iugarioque vico et templis Fortunae ac matris Matutae; et extra portam late vagatus ignis sacra profanaque multa absumpsit. (Liv. 24. 47.15)

A terrible fire took hold of Rome for two nights and one day. Everything between the Salinae and the Porta Carmentalis was razed to the ground – including the Aequimaelium, the Vicus Iugarius and the Temples of Fortune and the Mater Matuta. Outside the gate the widespread fire destroyed many sacred and secular buildings.

**8. Date: 211 BC.**

Eodem anno prodigia aliquot visa nuntiataque sunt. in aede Concordiae Victoria quae in culmine erat fulmine icta decussaque ad Victorias quae in antefixis erant haesit neque inde procidit. (Liv. 26. 23.4).

In the same year a number of prodigies were observed and recorded. In the temple of Concord a statue of Victory which was on the pediment was struck by lightning and knocked; it became lodged in the Victorias which were among the antefixes and fell no further.

**9. Date: 210 BC.**

Interruptit hos sermones nocte quae pridie fuit pluribus simul locis circa forum incendium ortum. eodem tempore septem tabernae quae postea quinque, et argentariae quae nunc novae appellantur, arsere; comprehensa postea privata aedificia - neque enim tum basilicae erant - comprehensae lautumiae forumque piscatorium et atrium regium; ... nocte ac die continuatum incendium fuit, nec ulli dubium erat humana id fraude factum esse quod pluribus simul locis et iis diversis ignes coorti essent... (Liv. 26. 27. 1-8)

The debate was interrupted by a fire which broke out at the same time in several places around the Forum on the night before the festival of Minerva. At the same time seven shops (which later became five) and the bankers' offices, now called the Novae, burned.

Subsequently private buildings, for they were not then Basilicae, caught fire; the quarries, the fish market, and the house of the Vestals also caught fire.... Night and day the fire continued and there was no doubt but it was caused by arson as the fires broke out in different places ...



**10. Date: 206 BC.**

aedes Cereris, Salutis, Quirini de caelo tactae (Liv. 28.11.4)

The temples of Ceres, Salus and Quirinus were struck by lightning.

**11. Date: 203 BC.**

Annus insignis incendio ingenti, quo clivus Publicius ad solum exustus est. (Liv. 30.26.5)

This year was significant for a huge fire which razed the Clivus Publicus to the ground.

**12. Date: 194 BC.**

Hunc Pleminium Clodius Licinus in libro tertio rerum Romanarum refert ludis votivis quos Romae Africanus iterum consul faciebat conatum per quosdam, quos pretio corruperat, aliquot locis urbem incendere, ut effringendi carceris fugiendique. (Liv. 29. 22.10).

In his third book of Roman History, Clodius Licinus records that during the votive games which Africanus, consul for a second time, was holding, a certain Pleminius attempted to set fire to the city in several locations using men whom he had bribed as his agents so that he could break out of prison and escape.

**13. Date: 192 BC.**

per totidem dies feriae in sollicitudine ac metu fuere; [in] triduum eius rei causa supplicatio habita est. ille non pavor vanus sed vera multorum clades fuit: incendio a foro Bovario orto diem noctemque aedificia in Tiberim versa arsere tabernaeque omnes cum magni pretii mercibus conflagraverunt. (Liv. 35. 40. 8)

Because of this event for three days a period of prayer was held. This was not due to imagined panic but a real disaster had affected many: a fire which had broken out in the Forum Boarium night and day burned buildings facing the Tiber and consumed all the shops with their valuable merchandise.

**14. Date: 178 BC.**

M. Iunio A. Manlio coss. [A.U.C. 576 / 178 B.C.]. Incendio circa forum cum plurima essent deusta, aedes Veneris sine ullo vestigio cremata. Vestae penetralis ignis extinctus.

(Jul. Obs. 8.62)

During the consulship of M. Junius and A. Manlius when very many buildings around the forum had been destroyed by fire the temple of Venus was burned without trace. The sacred fire of Vesta went out.

**15. Date: 169 BC.**

Possumus et ad illos brevi deverticulo transgredi quos leves ob causas damnationis incursus abripuit. M. Mulvius Cn. Lollius L. Sextilius triumviri, quod ad incendium in Sacra Via ortum exstinguendum tardius venerant, a tribunis plebis die dicta apud populum damnati sunt.

(Val. Max. 8.1.6).

We can digress briefly to those who were done away with by conviction for trivial reasons. M. Mulvius, Cn. Lollius and L. Sextilis the *triumviri* were brought to trial before the people by the tribunes of the plebs and were convicted for arriving too late to put out a fire that had broken out on the Sacred Way.

**16. Date: 156 BC.**

L. Lentulo C. Marcio coss. [A.U.C. 598 / 156 B.C.] Procellosa tempestate in Capitolio aedes Iovis et circa omnia quassata. Pontificis maximi tectum cum columnis in Tiberim deiectum. In circo Flaminio porticus inter aedem Iunonis Reginae et Fortunae tacta, et circa aedificia pleraque dissipata. (Jul. Obs.16).

The temple of Jupiter and all buildings around it on the Capitol were shaken in a terrible storm. The roof of the Pontifex Maximus with its columns were flung into the Tiber. In the Circus Flaminius the portico between the temple of Juno Regina and temple of Fortuna were struck by lightning and several buildings nearby were destroyed.

**17. Date: 148 BC.**

Julius Obsequens (19).

Sacrarium [Opis et laur]us foci maximo incendio [inviolata.] (Liv. *Oxyrh.* 50)

The shrine of Ops and the laurel of the hearth were untouched by a huge fire.

Spurio Postumio L. Pisone coss. [A.U.C. 606 / 148 B.C.] Vasto incendio Romae cum regia quoque ureretur, sacrarium et ex duabus altera laurus ex mediis ignibus inviolatae steterunt. (Jul. Obs. 19)

In a huge fire in Rome the Regia also burned but the shrine and one of two laurel trees emerged unscathed from the midst of the fire.

**18. Date: 126 BC.**

M. Aemilio L. Aurelio coss. [A.U.C. 628 / 126 B.C.] Nocturna tempestate in Capitolio aliquot templa concussa sunt. Romae et circa fulmine pleraque deiecta sunt. (Jul. Obs. 29)

Some temples on the Capitol were shaken by a storm during the night. In Rome and its environs several temples were knocked down by lightning.

**19. Date: 111 BC.**

... Quintae Claudiae statua> in uestibulo templi Matris deum posita bis ea aede incendio consumpta, ... in sua basi flammis intacta stetit. (Val. Max. 1.8.11)

The statue of Quinta Claudia located in the vestibule of the temple of Magna Mater remained untouched by flames when that temple was twice burned down.

Maxima pars urbis exusta cum aede Matris Magnae. Lacte per triduum pluit, hostiisque expiatum maioribus. Iugurthinum bellum exortum. (Jul. Obs.39)

A very large part of the city was burned down together with the temple of Magna Mater. It rained milk for three days, and expiation was made with full grown sacrificial victims. The war with Jugurtha began.

**20. Date:** 88 BC.

[Sulla] ipse quoque iaculatus incendia viam fecit arcemque Capitolii ... (Flor. 2. 9.7).

Sulla himself forced his way to the citadel of the Capitol by hurling firebrands.

**21. Date:** 6 July 83 BC.

Eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc annum esse ad interitum huius urbis atque imperii, qui esset annus decimus post virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. (Cic. *Cat.* 3.4.9)

[The Sibylline books] said that this was the same fateful year which signalled the end of this city and power, the tenth year after the absolution of the virgins and the twentieth after the burning of the Capitol

Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque rei publicae populi Romani accidit, nullo externo hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis, sedem Iovis Optimi Maximi auspicato a maioribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita urbe neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum excindi. Arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello, sed fraude privata: nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum, quibus armorum causis? (Tac. *Hist.* 3.72)

This was the most tragic and shameful crime which befell the Roman state since the foundation of the city; there was no external enemy [at that time] and with the blessing of the Gods – if our way of life permitted it – the seat of Jupiter Optimus Maximus which had been founded by our ancestors after due protocol as a pledge of empire, a temple which neither Porsenna when the city surrendered to him nor the Gauls once they had captured it could defile – this seat was destroyed by the frenzy of our leaders. The Capitol had burned previously in the civil war but that was the work of private individuals; but now it was openly attacked, openly set on fire ...

**22. Date:** Unknown date between 85 and 80 BC.

Quid ut iudicetur? Qui tabularium incenderit. Quod facinus occultius? at se Q. Sossius splendidus eques Romanus ex agro Piceno fecisse confessus est. (Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.74)

What is to be judged here? To find out who set fire to the record office. What crime could be more insidious? And yet Quintus Sossius, a distinguished Roman knight from the Picena countryside, confessed he had done it.

**23. Date:** 58 or 57BC.

... idemque earum templum inflammavit dearum, quarum ope etiam aliis incendiis subvenitur. Cicero (*Har. resp.* 57)

... and he [Clodius] has burned the temple of the very goddesses whose attributes are used to extinguish other types of fires.

.. eum, qui aedem Nympharum incendit, ut memoriam publicam recensiois tabulis publicis impressam exstingeret ... (Cic. *Mil.* 73)

.. he, a man who set fire to the temple of the Nymphs, so that he might obliterate the public record of the censor's registration that were printed in the national archives ...

**24. Date:** 58 BC.

Κικέρωνα κατέπρησε μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, κατέπρησε δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ναὸν Ἐλευθερίας. (Plut. *Cic.* 33.1)

As for Clodius, after driving Cicero away he burned down his villas, and burned down his house, and built a temple to Liberty on its site.

**25. Date:** 57 BC.

Armatis hominibus a. d. III Non. Nov. expulsi sunt fabri de area nostra, disturbata porticus Catuli, quae ex senatus consulto consulum locatione reficiebatur et ad tectum paene pervenerat, Quinti fratris domus primo fracta coniectu lapidum ex area nostra, deinde inflammata iussu Clodi inspectante urbe coniectis ignibus, magna querela et gemitu. (Cic. *Att.* 4.3.2)

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November the workmen were driven from my site by armed men; the Portico of Catulus which was being restored by order of the senate under consular contract and had almost reached the roof, was damaged; my brother's house was first damaged by rocks which were thrown at it from my site and then it was set on fire. This was done on the order of Clodius while the whole of Rome looked on as the torches were hurled in the midst of much protest and remonstrance.

**26. Date: 57 BC.**

prid. Id. Nov. expugnare et incendere ita conatus est ut palam hora quinta cum scutis homines et eductis gladiis, alios cum accensis facibus adduxerit. (Cic. Att. 4.3.3).

At the fifth hour on the 12<sup>th</sup> November [Clodius] openly tried to attack and set fire to [Milo's house] enlisting men with drawn swords and shields and others with blazing firebrands.

**27. Date: 52 BC.**

ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμιμα συγγέαι, πᾶσαν δὲ ὀλίγου τὴν πόλιν καταπρήσαι. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ Κλωδίου ἀράμενοι ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήνεγκαν, καὶ εὐθέτησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πυρὰν ἐκ τῶν βάθρων συνήσαντες ἔκαυσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ συνέδριον. (Dio 40.49.2)

[The populace] overthrew all the customs of burial and burned down nearly the whole city. They took up the body of Clodius and carried it into the senate-house, laid it out properly, and then after heaping up a pyre out of the benches burned both the corpse and the building.

**28. Date: 53 or 50 BC.**

nam septingentesimo conditionis suae anno quattuordecim vicis eius incertum unde consurgens flamma consumpsit, nec umquam, ut ait Livius, maiore incendio vastata est; adeo, ut post aliquot annos Caesar Augustus ad reparationem eorum, quae tunc exusta erant, magnam vim pecuniae ex aerario publico largitus sit. (Oros.7.2.11)

In the 700<sup>th</sup> year since the foundation of the state a raging fire of unknown origin consumed fourteen districts. According to Livy, the city was never devastated by a bigger fire. It was so

bad that some years later Caesar Augustus donated a large sum of money from the public treasury to restore those areas which had been destroyed at that time.

atrocissimum illud Pompei atque Caesaris bellum civile conseritur et inter haec Roma ipsa repentino correpta incendio concrematur... anno siquidem ab urbe condita DCC incertum unde concretus plurimam urbis partem ignis invasit, neque umquam antea tanto incendio correptam ac vastatam civitatem ferunt. nam quattuordecim vicos cum vico Iugario consumptos fuisse memoriae proditum est. (Oros. 6.14.4-5)

That terrible civil war between Pompey and Caesar was sown and in the midst of this Rome was in the grip of a sudden fire and was burned to the ground ... In the 700<sup>th</sup> year since the foundation of the state a great fire of unknown origin gripped most of the city. It is said that never before was the city assailed and devastated by such a great fire. For tradition has it that fourteen districts together with the Vicus Jugarius were completely destroyed.

**29. Date: 49 BC.**

πῦρ τε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς διῆξε, καὶ ἕτερον ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν κατέφλεξε. (Dio 41.14.3)

Fire darted across from the west to the east, and another fire consumed the temple of Quirinus as well as other buildings.

**30. Date: 44 BC.**

Plebs statim a funere ad domum Bruti et Cassi cum facibus tetendit ... (Suet. *Iul.* 85. 1)

The people ran from the funeral to the houses of Brutus and Cassius with firebrands ...

**31. Date: 41 BC.**

ὥστε καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τοῦτο συχνὰς καταπρησθῆναι, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει μέχρι πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν οἰκοῦσι πᾶν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς

ἀνεθῆναι. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ δὴ ταῖς πόλεσιν ὁμοίως, ὅπῃ ποτὲ συντύχοιεν ἀλλήλοις, ἐμάχοντο.  
(Dio 48.9.5.)

Consequently many houses were burned down, and the rent of those who dwelt in the city was entirely remitted up to a maximum of 2000 sesterces, while for those who lived in the rest of Italy it was reduced to a fourth for one year. For the fighting went on in all the cities alike, wherever the two parties fell in with each other.

**32. Date: 39 BC?**

... τό τε χρυσίον τὸ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτὰ εἰθὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ μόνων τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τι ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀνάλωσε, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐς τὸ βασίλειον. κατακαυθὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀνωκοδόμησε καὶ καθιέρωσεν ... (Dio 48.42.5)

The gold customarily given by the cities for the triumph Calvinus took from the Spanish towns alone, and of it he spent only a part on the festival, but the greater portion on the Regia. This had been burned down, and he now rebuilt and dedicated it, adorning it splendidly ...

**33. Date: 38 BC.**

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τότε. ἦ τε γὰρ σκινηὴ ἢ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐξ ἱερουργίας τινός, ἣν οἱ ποντίφικες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκεσαν ... (Dio 48.43.4)

Thus the hut of Romulus was burned as a result of some ritual which the pontifices were performing in it ...

**34. Date: 31 BC.**

καὶ πῦρ ἄλλα τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου πολὺ τό τε Δημήτριον καὶ ἕτερον ναὸν Ἐλπίδος ἔφθειρεν. ἔδοξαν μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι (Dio 50.10.3)

Fire also consumed a considerable portion of the Circus itself, along with the temple of Ceres, another shrine dedicated to Spes, and a large number of other structures.



**35. Date: 25 BC?**

καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ οἰκία ἢ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὄρει, ἢ πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γενομένη ὕστερον δὲ τῷ τε Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ τῷ Μεσσάλα δοθεῖσα, κατεφλέχθη, τῷ μὲν Μεσσάλα ἀργύριον ...  
(Dio 53.27. 5)

... and when the house on the Palatine Mount which had formerly belonged to Antony but had later been given to Agrippa and Messalla was burned down ...

**36. Date: 23 BC.**

καὶ φιλεῖ γὰρ πῶς αἰεὶ τι πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων προσημαίνεσθαι, τότε μὲν λύκος τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει συνελήφθη, καὶ πῦρ χειμῶν τε πολλοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐλυμήνατο, ὃ τε Τίβερης αὐξηθεὶς τήν τε γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην κατέσυρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν πλωτὴν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε (Dio 53. 33.5).

And, just as it usually happens that some sign occurs before such events, so on this occasion a wolf was caught in the city, fire and storm damaged many buildings, and the Tiber, rising, carried away the wooden bridge and made the city navigable for boats during three days.

**37. Date: 16 BC.**

ἐξεληθόντων δ' οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς Νεότητος μέγαρον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα κατεκαύθη, καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα τὰ προγενόμενα (λύκος τε γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσπεσὼν ἀνθρώπους ἔφθειρε, καὶ μύρμηκες οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκφανέστατα συνεστράφησαν, λαμπὰς τέ τις ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ...  
(Dio 54.19.7)

The night following their (i.e. Augustus and Tiberius) departure the temple of Iuventus was burned to the ground. Other portents also had occurred: a wolf had rushed into the Forum by the Sacred Way and had killed people, and not far from the Forum ants were conspicuously swarming together; moreover, a flame like a torch had shot from the south towards the north all night long.

**38. Date: 14 BC.**

ἢ τε στοὰ ἡ Παύλειος ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἑστιαῖον ἀφίκετο, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἕξ τε τὸ Παλάτιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀειπαρθένων (ἡ γὰρ πρεσβεύουσα αὐτῶν ἐτετύφλωτο) ἀνακομισθῆναι καὶ ἕξ τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς οἰκίαν τεθῆναι. (Dio 54.24.2)

The Basilica of Paulus was burned and the flames spread from it to the temple of Vesta, so that the sacred objects there were carried up to the Palatine by the Vestal Virgins, except the eldest, who had become blind, and were placed in the house of the priest of Jupiter.

**39. Date: 12 BC.**

βῦαι τε γὰρ τῇ πόλει διεφοίτησαν, καὶ κεραυνὸς ἕξ τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οἰκίαν, ἕξ ἣν οἱ ὕπατοι ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καταλύουσιν, ἐνέσκηψε. τό τε ἄστρον ὃ κομήτης ὠνομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεως αἰωρηθεὶς ἕξ λαμπάδας διελύθη. καὶ πυρὶ ἄλλα τε τῆς πόλεως συχνὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σκηνὴ ἐκαύθη, κοράκων κρέα ἕξ αὐτὴν ἐκ βωμοῦ τινοῦ ἔμπτυρα ἐμβαλόντων. (Dio 54.29.7-8)

Owls kept flitting about the city, and thunderbolts struck the house on the Alban Mount where the consuls lodge during the sacred rites. The star called the comet hung for several days over the city and was finally dissolved into flashes resembling torches. Many buildings in the city were destroyed by fire, among them the hut of Romulus, which was set ablaze by crows which dropped upon it burning meat from some altar.

**40. Date: 9 BC.**

καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖα οὐκ ἀγαθὰ συνηνέχθη· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ κεραυνοῖς, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ναοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τῶν τε συννάων αὐτοῦ κακωθῆναι. καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖα οὐκ ἀγαθὰ συνηνέχθη· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ κεραυνοῖς, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ναοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τῶν τε συννάων αὐτοῦ κακωθῆναι. (Dio 55.1.1)

The events related happened in the consulship of Iullus Antonius and Fabius Maximus. In the following year Drusus became consul with Titus Crispinus, and omens occurred that were anything but favourable to him. Many buildings were destroyed by storm and by

thunderbolts, among them many temples; even that of Jupiter Capitolinus and the gods worshipped with him was injured.

**41. Date:** 7 BC.

κάν τούτω καὶ αἱ ἐπιτάφιοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππα ὀπλομαχίαι, φαιὰν ἐσθῆτα τῶν τε ἄλλων πλὴν τοῦ Ἀυγούστου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ λαβόντων, αἱ ἐνὸς πρὸς ἓνα καὶ πλειόνων πρὸς ἴσους, ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις διὰ τε τὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκοδομημάτων κεκαῦσθαι, ἐγένοντο. (Dio 55.8. 5)

Meanwhile the funeral combats in honour of Agrippa were given, all except Augustus putting on black clothing and even Agrippa's sons doing the same. There were not only combats between single champions but also between groups of equal numbers on either side; and they were held in the Saepta both as an honour to Agrippa and because many of the structures around the Forum had been burned.

**42. Date:** Between 3 BC and AD 3.

In restitutionem Palatinae domus incendio absumptae veterani, decuriae, tribus atque etiam singillatim e cetero genere hominum libentes ac pro facultate quisque pecunias contulerunt. (Suet. *Aug.* 57)

To rebuild his house on the Palatine which had been destroyed by fire, the veterans, the guilds, the tribes and even individuals from different groups of people willingly contributed funds each according to their means.

Quintae Claudiae statua in vestibulo templi Matris deum posita bis ea aede incendio consumpta ... iterum M. Seruilio L. Lamia consulibus, in sua basi flammis intacta stetit. (Val. Max. 1.8.11)

The statue of Quinta Claudia located in the vestibule of the temple of Magna Mater remained untouched by flames when that temple was twice burned down ... on the second occasion during the consulship of M. Servilius and L. Lamia.

**43. Date:** AD 6.

Ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη, ἄνδρας τε ἐξελευθέρους ἑπταχῆ πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἰππέα αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν ...  
(Dio 55.26.4)

When many parts of the city were at this time destroyed by fire, he organized a company of freedmen, in seven divisions, to render assistance on such occasions, and appointed a knight in command over them, expecting to disband them in a short time...

**44. Date:** AD 15.

.... praecipue ut animadvertit incendio iuxta aedem Vestae et ipsam intervenisse populumque et milites, quo enixius opem ferrent, adhortatam, sicut sub marito solita esset.  
(Suet. *Tib.* 50. 3)

... especially when he found out that his mother had personally got involved in urging the people and the soldiers to strive harder at the scene of a fire near the temple of Vesta, he warned her not to interfere in important matters.

**45. Date:** AD 21.

... at Pompei theatrum igne fortuito haustum Caesar exstructurum pollicitus est eo quod nemo e familia restaurando sufficeret, manente tamen nomine Pompei. (Tac. *Ann.* 3.72)

When the theatre of Pompey had been accidentally burned by fire Caesar promised that he would rebuild it; he maintained that no other member of the family was up to the job of restoration. He declared that the name of Pompey would remain.

τὸν νεῶν τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου μνήμην· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ προσθεὶς ἔγραψεν, ἐπειδὴ καυθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀνωκοδομήκει. (Dio 60.6.8)

[Tiberius] ... placed Pompey's name once more upon his theatre. On the stage of the latter he inscribed also the name of Tiberius, because that emperor had rebuilt the structure after it had been burned.

**46. Date:** AD 27.

Nondum ea clades exoleverat cum ignis violentia urbem ultra solitum adfecit, deusto monte Caelio ... (Tac. *Ann.* 4.64)

That disaster had not yet been banished from memory when a fire of unprecedented violence assailed the city; the Caelian hill was burned down ...

**47. Date:** AD 31.

Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ θόρυβος πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει συνηέχθη. ὃ τε γὰρ δῆμος εἶ πού τινα τῶν μέγα παρὰ τῷ Σεϊανῷ δυνηθέντων καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ὑβρισάντων τι εἶδεν, ἐφόνευε· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀγανακτοῦντες ὅτι αὐτοὶ τε ἐς τὴν τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ εὐνοίαν ὑποπτεύθησαν καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακές σφωὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πίστιν προετιμήθησαν, ἐμπρήσεις τε καὶ ἀρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, καίτοι πάντων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων τὸ ἄστυ πᾶν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐντολῆς φυλαττόντων. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ ἠσύχαζεν ... (Dio 58.12.1-2)

At the time of our narrative a great uproar took place in the city; for the populace slew anyone it saw of those who had possessed great influence with Sejanus and had committed acts of insolence to please him. The soldiers, too, angered because they had been suspected of friendliness for Sejanus and because the night-watch had been preferred to them for loyalty to the emperor, proceeded to burn and plunder, despite the fact that all the officials were guarding the whole city in accordance with Tiberius' command.

**48. Date:** Undated fire between AD 31 and 36.

... et mox ut domus ei, quam incendio amiserat, publica impensa restitueretur ... (Suet. *Claud.* 6)

... and soon he decreed that the house which he lost in a fire should be restored at public expense. ...

**49. Date:** Second undated fire between AD 31 and 36.

...sic certe Tiberius Caesar concremato ponte naumachiaro larices ad restituendum caedi in Raetia praefinivit. (Plin. *HN* 16.190).

...those were the conditions Tiberius set in advance for larches to be felled in Raetia for the reconstruction of the Pons Naumachiarius when it had been burned down.

**50. Date:** AD 36.

Idem annus gravi igne urbem adfcit, deusta parte circi quae Aventino contigua, ipsoque Aventino ... (Tac. *Ann.* 6.45.1)

In that same year a serious fire afflicted the city: the section of the Circus which adjoins the Aventine, and the Aventine itself, were burned down ...

**51. Date:** AD 38?

καὶ ἔμπρησὶν τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατασβέσας ἐπήρκεσε τοῖς ζημιωθεῖσι. τοῦ τε τέλους τοῦ τῶν ἱππέων ὀλιγανδροῦντος ... (Dio 59.9.4)

He helped the soldiers to extinguish a conflagration and rendered assistance to those who suffered loss by it ...

**52. Date:** AD 41.

Vixit annis viginti novem, imperavit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo. cadaver eius clam in hortos Lamianos asportatum et tumultuario rogo semiambustum levi caespite obrutum est, postea per sorores ab exilio reversas erutum et crematum sepultumque. satis constat, prius quam id fieret, hortorum custodes umbris inquietatos; in ea quoque domo, in qua occubuerit, nullam noctem sine aliquo terrore transactam, donec ipsa domus incendio consumpta sit. (Suet. *Calig.* 59).

He lived for twenty nine years, ruled for three years, ten months and eight days. His body was secretly conveyed to the Lamian gardens and there was half burned on a pyre and then

buried in a shallow grave. Later his sisters returned from exile and they had his body dug up, cremated and buried. It is generally agreed that before that could be done the guards of the gardens were troubled by his shade/ghost. Also in the house in which he died no night passed without some kind of terror until such time as the house itself was destroyed by fire.

**53. Date:** Unknown.

Nero princeps iusserat colosseum se pingi CXX pedum linteo, incognitum ad hoc tempus. ea pictura, cum peracta esset in Maianis hortis, accensa fulmine cum optima hortorum parte conflagravit. (Plin. *HN* 35.51).

The Emperor Nero had ordered his portrait to be painted on a colossal scale, on linen 120 ft. high, a thing unknown hitherto; this picture when finished, in the Gardens of Maius, was struck by lightning and destroyed by fire, together with the best part of the Gardens.

**54. Date:** AD 53 or 54.

Cum Aemiliana pertinacius arderent, in diribitorio duabus noctibus mansit ac deficiente militum ac familiarum turba auxilio plebem per magistratus ex omnibus vicis convocavit ac positus ante se cum pecunia fiscis ad subveniendum hortatus est ... (Suet. *Div. Claud.* 18).

When the Aemiliana burned in a stubborn fire [Claudius] remained in the Diribitorium for two nights and because there were not enough soldiers and his own slaves he requisitioned help from the ordinary people from all neighbourhoods of the city ...

**55. Date:** AD 49? Reign of Claudius.

... quae pictura duravit ad nostram memoriam aede ea Claudii principatu exusta.  
(Plin. *HN* 35.19)

... this painting lasted until our times when it was destroyed when the temple [of Salus] was gutted by fire in the reign of Claudius.

**56. Date:** AD 50? Reign of Claudius.

... et signa, quae ante Felicitatis aedem fuere ... quae ipsa aedis incendio cremata est Claudii principatu ... (Plin. *HN* 34. 69)

[Praxitiles created]... statues that stood in front of the temple of Felicitas which was destroyed by fire when that temple was burned down in the reign of Claudius.

**57. Date:** AD 62.

Isdem consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminibus conflagravit, effigies in eo Neronis ad informe aes liquefacta. (Tac. *Ann.* 15.22.2)

During the same consulship the gymnasium was struck by lightning and was burned; a statue of Nero which it held was reduced to a shapeless lump of bronze.

**58. Date:** AD 62.

Cuius pretio nihil additum est, quamvis ducentas ferme naves portu in ipso violentia tempestatis et centum alias Tiberi subvectas fortuitus ignis absumpsisset. (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 18. 8).

The price was not raised, though around 200 vessels actually in the harbour had been destroyed by a violent storm and an additional 100 ships which had been transported up the Tiber were destroyed by an accidental fire.

**59. Date:** AD 64

Given the length and importance of the record of this fire, all three main sources (Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio) are presented here:

Sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum (nam utrumque auctores prodidere), sed omnibus, quae huic urbi per violentiam ignium acciderunt, gravior atque atrocior. initium in ea parte circi ortum, quae Palatino Caelioque montibus contigua est, ubi per tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat, quo flamma alitur, simul coeptus ignis et statim validus ac vento citus longitudinem circi corripuit. neque enim domus munimentis saeptae vel templa muris cincta



aut quid aliud morae interiacebat. Impetu pervagatum incendium plana primum, deinde in edita adsurgens et rursus inferiora populando, anteiit remedia velocitate mali et obnoxia urbe artis itineribus hucque et illuc flexis atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit.

Ad hoc lamenta paventium feminarum, fessa aut rudis pueritiae aetas, quique sibi quique aliis consulebant, dum trahunt invalidos aut opperiuntur, pars mora, pars festinans, cuncta impediabant. et saepe, dum in tergum respectant, lateribus aut fronte circumveniebantur, vel si in proxima evaserant, illis quoque igni correptis, etiam quae longinqua crediderant in eodem casu reperiabant. postremo, quid vitarent quid peterent ambigui, complere vias, sterni per agros; quidam amissis omnibus fortunis, diurni quoque victus, alii caritate suorum, quos eripere nequiverant, quamvis patente effugio interiere. nec quisquam defendere audebat, crebris multorum minis restinguere prohibentium, et quia alii palam faces iaciebant atque esse sibi auctorem vociferabantur, sive ut raptus licentius exercerent seu iussu.

Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens non ante in urbem regressus est, quam domui eius, qua Palatium et Maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. sed solacium populo exturbato ac profugo campum Martis ac monumenta Agrippae, hortos quin etiam suos patefecit et subitaria aedificia exstruxit, quae multitudinem inopem acciperent; subvectaque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis, pretiumque frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos. quae quamquam popularia in inritum cadebant, quia pervaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Troianum excidium, praesentia mala vetustis cladibus adsimulantem.

Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus, prorutis per inmensum aedificiis, ut continuae violentiae campus et velut vacuum caelum occurreret. necdum positus metus aut redierat plebi spes: rursus grassatus ignis patulis magis urbis locis, eoque strages hominum minor: delubra deum et porticus amoenitati dicatae latius procidere. plusque infamiae id incendium habuit, quia praediis Tigellini Aemilianis proruperat; videbaturque Nero condendae urbis novae et cognomento suo appellandae gloriam quaerere. quippe in regiones quattuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quattuor integrae manebant, tres solo tenus deiectae: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semusta.

Domuum et insularum et templorum, quae amissa sunt, numerum inire haud promptum fuerit: sed vetustissima religione, quod Servius Tullius Lunae, et magna ara fanumque, quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat, aedesque Statoris Iovis vota Romulo Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae cum Penatibus populi Romani exusta; iam opes tot victoriis quaesitae et

Graecarum artium decora, exim monumenta ingeniorum antiqua et incorrupta, ut quamvis in tanta resurgentis Urbis pulchritudine multa seniores meminerint, quae reparari nequibant. fuere qui adnotarent XIII Kal. Sextiles principium incendii huius ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverint. alii eo usque cura progressi sunt, ut totidem annos mensisque et dies inter utraque incendia numerent.

Ceterum Nero usus est patriae ruinis exstruxitque domum, in qua haud perinde gemmae et aurum miraculo essent, solita pridem et luxu vulgata, quam arva et stagna et in modum solitudinum hinc silvae, inde aperta spatia et prospectus, magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia erat etiam, quae natura denegavisset, per artem temptare et viribus principis inludere. namque ab lacu Averno navigabilem fossam usque ad ostia Tiberina depressuros promiserant, squalenti litore aut per montis adversos. neque enim aliud umidum gignendis aquis occurrit quam Pomptinae paludes: cetera abrupta aut arenia, ac si perumpi possent, intolerandus labor nec satis causae. Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor, effodere proxima Averno iuga conisus est, manentque vestigia inritae spei.

Ceterum urbis quae domui supererant non, ut post Gallica incendia, nulla distinctione nec passim erecta, sed dimensis vicorum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis cohibitaque aedificiorum altitudine ac patefactis areis additisque porticibus, quae frontem insularum protegerent. eas porticus Nero sua pecunia exstructurum purgatasque areas dominis traditurum pollicitus est. Addidit praemia pro cuiusque ordine et rei familiaris copiis, finivitque tempus, intra quod effectis domibus aut insulis apiscerentur. ruderi accipiendo Ostiensis paludes destinabat, utique naves, quae frumentum Tiberi subvectassent, onustae rudere decurrerent, aedificiaque ipsa certa sui parte sine trabibus saxo Gabino Albanove solidarentur, quod is lapis ignibus impervius est; iam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta quo largior et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes adessent; et subsidia reprimendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet; nec communione parietum, sed propriis quaeque muris ambirentur. ea ex utilitate accepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere. erant tamen qui crederent, veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxisse, quoniam angustiae itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis vapore perumperentur: at nunc patulam latitudinem et nulla umbra defensam graviore aestu ardescere. (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 38 – 43)

There followed a disaster, whether due to the nefarious activity of the emperor or by accident is uncertain (both sides have their champions), but it was more serious and more destructive than

all disasters which befell the city by means of the ravages of fire. Its origin was in that part of the Circus Maximus which borders on the Palatine and Caelian hills, in an area where the flames were fanned by the shops which held merchandise while at the same time once the fire had caught it grew stonger and faster due to the wind and it gripped the whole length of the Circus. Homes were not guarded by fortifications nor temples by surrounding walls nor did any other fire break exist to delay its progress. The fire with increasing force moved first along the low land it then moved uphill, only to descend again and destroy the low areas. Any attempt to stop the fire was overwhelmed by the speed of the conflagration, and by the vulnerability of the city due to its narrow winding streets; it moved hither and thither in the huddled labyrinthine districts of which old Rome comprised.

To this was added the wailing of terrified women and those who were young and old, those who were concerned for their own safety or the safety of others as they dragged or awaited those who were incapable, some by delaying and others by running; everything impeded escape. Often as they looked back they found they were hemmed in [by fire] either in front or beside them; even if they managed to escape to nearby areas, they soon found those also in the grip of the flames and even those who thought they had left the fire far behind, found those locations in the same state. Finally, not knowing where to go or where to avoid, they thronged the streets and were strewn on the fields. Some who had lost everything, even food for the day, and those who abandoned desire to escape through their concern for loved ones, perished although a means of escape was open to them. Nobody dared to fight the fire, due to the frequent threats from the many who were preventing them from doing so while they were openly throwing firebrands and shouting that they had the authority to do so; it is impossible to know whether they were acting on orders or were availing of the opportunity to loot unhampered.

At that time Nero was in Antium and he did not return to the city until the fire approached his own house which included the Palatium and the Gardens of Maecenas. But the fire could not be stopped before it swallowed up the Palace, the house and every building around them. However, Nero opened up the Campus Martius, the monument of Agrippa and even his own gardens as a refuge for the afflicted and fleeing populace and he also constructed shelters which might house the needy throngs; he also had provisions brought up by boat from Ostia and the neighbouring towns; he lowered the price of corn to one third. In spite of all of this his popularity fell because a rumour spread that at the actual time of the fire he had gone to his own

stage and had sung of the fall of Troy comparing the current disaster with the ancient catastrophe.

Finally on the sixth day an end to the fire occurred at the foot of the Esquiline hill. Huge buildings had been razed to the ground so that the the derelict ground already open to the sky faced the continuing violence of the fire. Before the terror of the people could be allayed or hope return the fire once more broke out in the more open places in the city but the human losses were fewer; the shrines of the gods and the pleasure porticoes had collapsed more widely. That fire caused even more resentment because it had broken out in the estates on Tigellinus in the Aemilian district. Also it was thought that Nero was anxious to build a new city and to gain glory by calling it after himself. Of Rome's fourteen districts only four remained intact. Three were levelled to the ground. The other seven were reduced to a few scorched and mangled ruins.

The number of private houses, blocks of flats and temples that were lost could not be easily counted. Totally destroyed were temples of the oldest worship such as that which Servius Tullius had dedicated to the Moon; the great altar and the shrine which Evander had vowed to Hercules, the temple of Jupiter Stator vowed by Romulus, the palace of Numa and the shrine of Vesta with the Penates of the Roman people. Added to that the spoils gained in many victories, valuable pieces of Greek art, the ancient and previously unharmed examples of genius such that in spite of the fact that the elders remembered their beauty when the city was being rebuilt, they could not be restored. They were those who noted that the the origin of this fire had happened on the 13<sup>th</sup> day before the Kalends of August which was the same date on which the Senones had captured and set fire to the city. Others went so far in their calculations that they noted the same number of years, months and days between the twofires.

But Nero used the ruin of his country and he built a house in which gems and gold – usual and vulgar signs of luxury - were not the extraordinary feature but the lawns and lakes and woods as if it were the countryside with open spaces and vistas created by the mastery and engineering of Severus and Celer; by their genius and daring where nature would not allow it they were able to to tempt and fool the resources of the emperor. For they had promised that they would dig out a navigable waterway from Lake Avernus as far as the mouth of the Tiber along the inhospitable shore and the challenging mountains. There was no source for such water except the Pontine Marsh; everywhere else was either too steep or dry. And even if it could be built the labour would have been unacceptable and unjustifiable. But Nero wanted to effect the

incredible so he tried to excavate the hills near Lake Avernus and the traces of this fruitless exercise can be seen today.

But in the parts of the City that were not taken over by Nero's house, unlike in the aftermath of the Gallic fire when buildings were erected without plan or regulation, at this time the street fronts were rebuilt with regular alignment, the streets were broad and the height of residential buildings restricted; while courtyards were integrated and colonades were added to protect the frontages of the flat complexes. Nero pledged to build these at his own expense and to clear the débris from ruins and then restore them to their owners. He rewarded individuals, each according to rank and resources, if they finished the restoration of the houses and blocks of flats in a short time; he designated the Ostian marshes as the dumping area for débris by corn ships as they returned down the Tiber. A certain proportion of buildings were to be built of Sabine or Alban stone without wooden beams because these stones were fire-proof; guards were to be present to ensure a more copious supply of water at more locations as it had been lessened previously by the actions of private individuals diverting it [for their own use].

Each householder was to have fire-fighting equipment in his dwelling; there were to be no more party walls but each adjoining building was to have its own walls. All of these regulations were accepted as practical and as bringing beauty to the new city. However, there were those who believed that the previous shape of the city was more conducive to healthy living as the narrowness of the streets and the height of the buildings had given protection from the sun and the elements. Now, given the wide open spaces, there was no shade against the blazing sun.

*Nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum aedificiorum et angustiis flexurisque vicorum, incendit urbem tam palam, ut plerique consulares cubicularios eius cum stuppa taedaque in praediis suis deprehensos non attigerint, et quaedam horrea circa domum Auream, quorum spatium maxime desiderabat, ut bellicis machinis labefacta atque inflammata sint, quod saxeo muro constructa erant. per sex dies septemque noctes ea clade saevitum est ad monumentorum bustorumque deversoria plebe compulsa. tunc praeter immensum numerum insularum domus priscorum ducum arserunt hostilibus adhuc spoliis adornatae deorumque aedes ab regibus ac deinde Punicis et Gallicis bellis votae dedicataeque, et quidquid visendum atque memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat. Hoc incendium e turre Maecenatiana prospectans laetusque “flammae,”*

ut aiebat, “pulchritudine” Halosin Ilii in illo suo scaenico habitu decantavit. ac ne non hinc quoque quantum posset praedae et manubiarum invaderet, pollicitus cadaverum et rudrum gratuitam egestionem nemini ad reliquias rerum suarum adire permisit; conlationibusque non receptis modo verum et efflagitatis provincias privatorumque census prope exhaustit.

(Suet. *Nero*, 38)

As if offended by the shabbiness of the old buildings and the narrow winding streets, Nero set fire to the city so openly that although several of consular rank caught his henchmen armed with tow and torches they did not stop them from setting fire to their property. Certain grain stores around the Golden House, the site of which he coveted, were felled by artillery because they were built by blocks of stone and then set alight. The fire raged for six days and seven nights and the people were forced to take refuge in monuments and tombs. Then apart from the immense number of flats and homes of famous leaders of old which were still decorated with the spoils of war, they burned temples of the gods dedicated by kings as well as those vowed and dedicated during the Punic and Gallic wars, indeed anything which had lasted from antiquity as a glorious sight. Nero watched this fire from the tower of Maecenas and gazing upon it he was taken by what he called ‘the beauty of the flames’; he sang the whole of the Sack of Ilium while dressed in theatrical costume. He pledged to remove the corpses and rubble free of charge but he did not allow anyone to approach the ruins of their own property so that he himself could gain possession of as much loot and spoils as possible. He almost beggared the provinces and the resources of private individuals as he collected and demanded contributions for fire relief.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεθύμησεν ὅπερ που αἰεὶ ἠύχετο, τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ζῶν ἀναλῶσαι· τὸν γοῦν Πρίαμον καὶ αὐτὸς θαυμαστῶς ἐμακάριζεν ὅτι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολομένας εἶδεν. λάθρα γάρ τινας ὡς καὶ μεθύοντας ἢ καὶ κακουργοῦντάς τι ἄλλως διαπέμπων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἓν που καὶ δύο καὶ πλείονα ἄλλα ἄλλοθι ὑπεπίμπρα ὥστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν παντὶ ἀπορίας γενέσθαι, μήτ’ ἀρχὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ἐξευρεῖν μήτε τέλος ἐπαγαγεῖν δυναμένους ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὀρῶντας πολλὰ δὲ ἀκούοντας ἄτοπα. οὔτε γὰρ θεάσασθαι ἄλλο τι ἦν ἢ πυρὰ πολλὰ ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, οὔτε ἀκοῦσαι λεγόντων τινῶν ἢ ὅτι “τὸ καὶ τὸ καίεται.” “ποῦ;” “πῶς;” “ὑπὸ τίνος;” “βοηθεῖτε.”

θόρυβός τε οὖν ἐξαισίος πανταχοῦ πάντας κατελάμβανε, καὶ διέτρεχον οἱ μὲν τῇ οἱ δὲ τῇ ὥσπερ ἔμπληκτοι. καὶ ἄλλοις τινὲς ἐπαμύνοντες ἐπυνθάνοντο τὰ οἴκοι καιόμενα· καὶ ἕτεροι

πρὶν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ὅτι τῶν σφετέρων τι ἐμπέπηρσται, ἐμάνθανον ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν. οἳ τε ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐξέτρεχον ὡς καὶ ἐξωθεν αὐταῖς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν εἴσω ἐσέθειον ὡς καὶ ἔνδον τι ἀνύσοντες. καὶ ἦν ἢ τε κραυγὴ καὶ ὀλολυγὴ παίδων ὁμοῦ γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν γερόντων ἄπλετος, ὥστε μήτε συνιδεῖν μήτε συνεῖναί τι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς δύνασθαι· καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὄρᾶν ἦν τινὰς ἀφώνους ἐστῶτας ὥσπερ ἐνεοὺς ὄντας. κἂν τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐκκομιζόμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζοντες ἀλλήλοις τε ἐνεπλάζοντο καὶ περὶ τοῖς σκεύεσιν ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ οὔτε προΐεναί ποι οὔθ' ἐστάναι εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὥθουν ὠθοῦντο, ἀνέτρεπον ἀνετρέποντο. καὶ συχνοὶ μὲν ἀπεπνίγοντο συχνοὶ δὲ συνετρίβοντο, ὥστε σφίσι μηδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δυναμένων ἀνθρώποις ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πάθει κακῶν συμβῆναι μὴ συνενεχθῆναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀποφυγεῖν που ῥαδίως ἐδύναντο· κἂν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος τις περιεσώθη, ἐς ἕτερον ἐμπεσὼν ἐφθείρετο.

Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ μόνον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλείους καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ὁμοίως ἐγίνετο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν οἴκοι ἔρημοι τοῦ βοηθήσοντός σφισιν ἀπόλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπικουρούντων προσκατεπρήσθησαν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακες, πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἀφορῶντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατεσβέννυσάν τινα ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξέκαιον. τοιοῦτων δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ἄλλοθι συμβαινόντων, ὑπέλαβέ ποτε τὸ πῦρ ἄνεμος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁμοῦ πάντα ἦγαγεν, ὥστε σκευῶν μὲν περὶ ἢ οἰκιῶν μηδένα μηδὲν ἔτι φροντίσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐστῶτάς που ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τινι ὄρᾶν ὥσπερ νήσους τινὰς καὶ πόλεις ἅμα πολλὰς φλεγόμενας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις μηδὲν ἔτι λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ δημόσιον ὀδυρομένους ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτε οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὸ πλεῖον τῆς πόλεως διεφθάρη. πάντων δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω διακειμένων, καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐμπηδόντων, ὁ Νέρων ἕς τε τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ παλατίου, ὅθεν μάλιστα σύνοπτα τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καιομένων ἦν, ἀνῆλθε, καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τὴν κιθαρωδικὴν λαβὼν ἤσεν ἄλωσιν, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, Ἰλίου, ὡς δὲ ἑωρᾶτο, Ῥώμης.

Τοιοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ πάθει τότε ἡ πόλις ἐχρήσατο οἷῳ οὔτε πρότερόν ποτε οὔθ' ὕστερον, πλην τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ. τό τε γὰρ Παλάτιον τὸ ὄρος σύμπαν καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Ταύρου τῆς τε λοιπῆς πόλεως τὰ δύο που μέρη ἐκαύθη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀναρίθμητοι 3 διεφθάρησαν. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἠρᾶτο, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπολέγων, ἄλλως δὲ δὴ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσασι καταρώμενοι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἡ μνήμη τοῦ λογίου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Τιβέριόν ποτε ἀσθέντος ἐθορύβει. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο “τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν Ῥωμαίους ἔμφυλος ὀλεῖ στάσις.” ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Νέρων παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη εὐρέσθαι ἔλεγε, μεταβαλόντες ἕτερον λόγιον ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον ὄντως ὄν ἦδον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο “ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει.”

... χρήματα δὲ ὁ Νέρων παμπληθῆ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ιδιωτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων, τὰ μὲν βία ἐπὶ τῆ προφάσει τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων δῆθεν ἠργυρολόγησεν, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν τὸ σιτηρέσιον παρεσπάσατο. (Dio *Epit.* 62. 16 - 17)

After this Nero set his heart on accomplishing what had doubtless always been his desire, namely to make an end of the whole city and realm during his lifetime. At all events, he, like others before him, used to call Priam wonderfully fortunate in that he had seen his country and his throne destroyed together. Accordingly, he secretly sent out men who pretended to be drunk or engaged in other kinds of mischief, and caused them at first to set fire to one or two or even several buildings in different parts of the city, so that people were at their wits' end, not being able to find any beginning of the trouble nor to put an end to it, though they constantly were aware of many strange sights and sounds. For there was naught to be seen but many fires, as in a camp, and naught to be heard from the talk of the people except such exclamations as "This or that is afire," "Where?" "How did it happen?" "Who kindled it?" "Help!"

Extraordinary excitement laid hold on all the citizens in all parts of the city, and they ran about, some in one direction and some in another, as if distracted. Here men while assisting their neighbours would learn that their own premises were afire; there others, before word reached them that their own houses had caught fire, would be told that they were destroyed. Those who were inside their houses would run out into the narrow streets thinking that they could save them from the outside, while people in the streets would rush into the dwellings in the hope of accomplishing something inside. There was shouting and wailing without end, of children, women, men, and the aged all together, so that no one could see thing or understand what was said by reason of the smoke and the shouting; and for this reason some might be seen standing speechless, as if they were dumb. Meanwhile many who were carrying out their goods and many, too, who were stealing the property of others, kept running into one another and falling over their burdens. It was not possible to go forward nor yet to stand still, but people pushed and were pushed in turn, upset others and were themselves upset. Many were suffocated, many were trampled underfoot; in a word, no evil that can possibly happen to people in such a crisis failed to befall to them. They could not even escape anywhere easily; and if anybody did save himself from the immediate danger, he would fall into another and perish.



Now this did not all take place on a single day, but it lasted for several days and nights alike. Many houses were destroyed for want of anyone to help save them, and many others were set on fire by the same men who came to lend assistance; for the soldiers, including the night watch, having an eye to plunder, instead of putting out fires, kindled new ones. While such scenes were occurring at various points, a wind caught up the flames and carried them indiscriminately against all the buildings that were left. Consequently no one concerned himself any longer about goods or houses, but all the survivors, standing where they thought they were safe, gazed upon what appeared to be a number of scattered islands on fire or many cities all burning at the same time. There was no longer any grieving over personal losses, but they lamented the public calamity, recalling how once before most of the city had been thus laid waste by the Gauls. While the whole population was in this state of mind and many, crazed by the disaster, were leaping into the very flames, Nero ascended to the roof of the palace, from which there was the best general view of the greater part of the conflagration, and assuming the lyre-player's garb, he sang the "Capture of Troy," as he styled the song himself, though to the enemies of the spectators it was the Capture of Rome.

The calamity which the city then experienced has no parallel before or since, except in the Gallic invasion. The whole Palatine hill, the theatre of Taurus, and nearly two-thirds of the remainder of the city were burned, and countless persons perished. There was no curse that the populace did not invoke upon Nero, though they did not mention his name, but simply cursed in general terms those who had set the city on fire. And they were disturbed above all by recalling the oracle which once in the time of Tiberius had been on everybody's lips. It ran thus:

"Thrice three hundred years having run their course of fulfilment,

Rome by the strife of her people shall perish."

... Nero now began to collect vast sums both from individuals and nations, sometimes using downright compulsion, with the conflagration as his excuse, and sometimes obtaining funds by "voluntary" offers. As for the mass of the Romans they had the fund for their food supply withdrawn.

**60. Date: AD 68?**

... ac subinde tacta de caelo Caesarum aede, capita omnibus simul statuis deciderunt, Augusti etiam sceptrum e manibus excussum est. (Suet. *Galb.* 1)

Following that the temple of the Caesars was struck by lightning; the heads of all the statues fell at once and even the sceptre was shaken from the hands of Augustus.

**61. Date: AD 69.**

... et urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso. (Tac. *Hist* 1.2)

The city was devastated by fires and ancient shrines completely destroyed; the Capitol itself was set on fire by the hands of citizens.

... succensoque templo Iovis Optimi Maximi oppressit, cum et proelium et incendium e Tiberiana prospiceret domo inter epulas. (Suet. *Vit.*15)

Then he (Vitellius) set fire to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and destroyed it, viewing the battle and the fire from the house of Tiberius, where he was feasting.

Capitolium Romae incensum. (Hieron. *ab Abr.* 2285)

The temple of Jupiter at Rome burned down.

Vitellius ... Sabinum ... cum ceteris Flavianis in Capitolium compulit succensoque templo et mixta simul flamma ruinaque omnes in unum pariter interitum ac tumulum dedit. (Oros. 7.8.7)

Vitellius had driven Sabinus and the rest of the Flavians into the Capitol, set fire to the temple and at the same time flames mingled with falling masonry brought death and burial to all at the same time.

**62. Date: AD 80.**

Πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐπίγειον τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει πολλὰ πάνυ τῆς Ῥώμης, τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς τὸ πάθημα τὸ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ γενόμενον ἐκδημήσαντος, ἐπενείματο· καὶ γὰρ τὸ Σεραπεῖον καὶ τὸ Ἰσεῖον τὰ τε σέπτα καὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον τό τε βαλανεῖον τὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ τὸ πάνθειον τό τε διριβιτώριον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου σκηνήν, καὶ τὰ Ὀκταουεία οἰκήματα μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τόν τε νεὼν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τῶν συννάων αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν. οὕτω τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον ἐγένετο· πάρεστι γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ὧν κατέλεξα παντὶ τῷ τεκμήρασθαι καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἀπολλύμενα.  
(Dio *Epit.* 66. 24)

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

Quaedam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt, ut conflagratio Vesevi montis in Campania, et incendium Romae per triduum totidemque noctes, item pestilentia quanta non temere alias.  
(Suet. *Tit.* 8.3)

During the reign of Titus certain unfortunate accidents occurred, such as the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in Campania and a fire in Rome which lasted three days and nights as well as a plague almost greater than any other.

**63. Date: Reign of Domitian (81 - 96).**

Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit, in quis et Capitolium, quod rursus arserat ... (Suet. *Dom.* 5.1).

Domitian restored many fine buildings which had been destroyed by fire, among which was the Capitol which had again burned ...

**64. Date:** AD 96.

Continuis octo mensibus tot fulgura facta nuntiataque sunt, ut exclamaverit: “Feriat iam, quem volet.” tactum de caelo Capitolium templumque Flaviae gentis, item domus Palatina et cubiculum ipsius, atque etiam e basi statuae triumphalis titulus excussus vi procellae in monumentum proximum decidit. arbor, quae privato adhuc Vespasiano eversa surrexerat, tunc rursus repente corruit. (Suet. *Dom.* 15.2)

For eight successive months so many lightning strikes occurred and were reported that he cried: “Well, let him now strike whom he will.” The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol was struck and that of the Gens Flavia as well as the Palace and the emperor’s own bedroom. Even the inscription on the base of a triumphal statue of his was shaken off in a violent storm and fell upon an adjacent tomb. The tree which had been overthrown when Vespasian was still a private citizen but had sprung up again suddenly fell again at this time.

**65. Date:** Reign of Nerva (AD 96 - 98).

Eo tempore multo perniciosius quam sub Nerva Tiberis inundavit magna clade aedium proximarum; et terrae motus gravis per provincias multas atroxque pestilentia famaeque et incendia facta sunt. (Aur. Vict. *Caes.*13.12)

At that time a much worse flood of the Tiber occurred which caused great destruction to the nearby buildings; a serious earthquake happened in many provinces while plague and hunger and fires also struck.

**66. Date:** AD 104.

Romae aurea domus incendio conflagravit. (Hieron. *ab Abr.* 2120)

At Rome, the Domus Aurea burned down in a fire.

... verum tamen continuo Romae aurea domus, a Nerone totis priuatis publicisque rebus inpensis condita, repentino conflagrauit incendio. (Oros.7.12. 4)

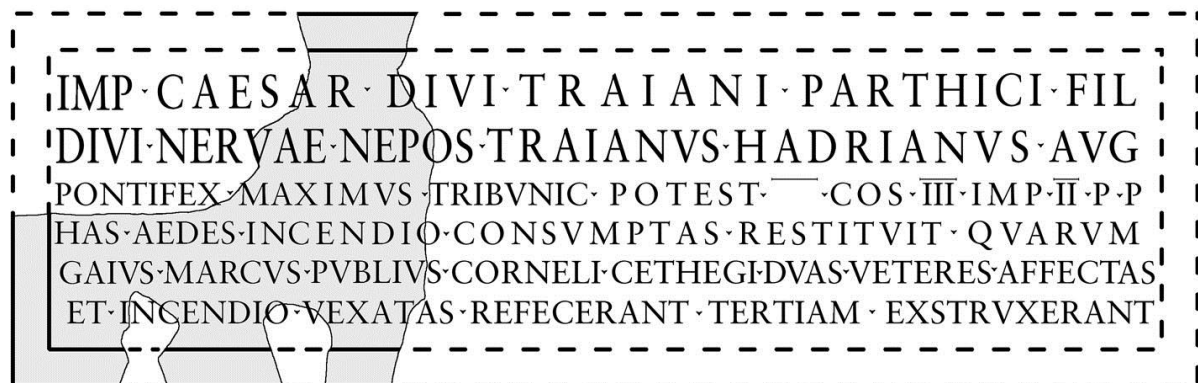
... the Golden House in Rome which had been built by Nero with public and private funds, was destroyed in a sudden fire.

**67. Date:** AD 110.

Pantheon Romae fulmine concrematum. (Hieron. *ab Abr.* 2126)

The Pantheon in Rome was burned down by a lightning strike.

**68. Date:** Reign of Hadrian (117 - 138).



Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Trajan, conqueror of Parthia, grandson othe the divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus Pontifex Maximus, holder of tribunician power, consul three times, Imperator twice, Pater Patriae, restored [restituit] these temples (has aedes) which had been destroyed [consumptas] by fire (incendio), the oldest two of which, affected and damaged by fire, Gaius Marcus Publius, the Corneli and Cethegi, had restored and had constructed a third. (*CIL VI 979*)

**69. Date:** Reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138 - 161).

Adversa eius temporibus haec provenerunt: fames, de qua diximus, Circi ruina, terrae motus, quo Rhodiorum et Asiae oppida conciderunt, quae omnia mirifice instauravit, et Romae incendium, quod trecentas quadraginta insulas vel domos absumpsit. (*SHA Ant.* 9).

During his reign, calamities occurred: famine, which I have already mentioned, the collapse of the Circus, an earthquake which levelled the towns of Rhodes and Asia – all of which [Antoninus Pius] restored in a wondrous way – and a fire at Rome which destroyed 340 blocks or houses.

Nos ergo familiares eius circumfusi undique eum prosequeremur domum, cum deinde subeuntes montem Cispium conspicimus insulam quandam occupatam igni multis arduisque

tabulatis editam et propinqua iam omnia flagrare vasto incendio. tum quispiam ibi ex comitibus Iuliani: “Magni,” inquit, “reditus urbanorum praediorum, sed pericula sunt longe maxima. si quid autem posset remedii fore, ut ne tam adsidue domus Romae arderent, venum hercle dedissem res rusticas et urbicas emissem.” atque illi Iulianus laeta, ut mos eius fuit, inter fabulandum venustate: “Si Annalem,” inquit, “undevicensimum Q. Claudii legisses, optimi et sincerissimi scriptoris, docuisset te profecto Archelaus, regis Mitridati praefectus, qua medella quaque sollertia ignem defenderes, ut ne ulla tua aedificatio e ligno correpta atque insinuata flammis arderet.” (Gell. *NA* 15.1.2)

We, a group of friends of [Antonius Julianus] were accompanying him home when, as we were ascending Mount Cispius, we saw a particular block of flats which was built up with many storeys in the grip of fire and soon all the adjacent buildings were blazing with a vast fire. Then some one of Julianus’ companions said: “The income from city property is great, but the dangers are far greater. But if some remedy could be devised to prevent houses in Rome from constantly catching fire, I would certainly sell my country property and buy in the city.” And Julianus answered in his usual convivial way: “If you had read the 19<sup>th</sup> book of the Annals of Quintus Claudius, that excellent and accurate writer, you would surely have learned from Archelaus, a praefect of king Mithridates, by what method and by what skill you might prevent fires, so that no wooden building of yours would burn, even though caught and penetrated by the flames.”

**70. Date:** Reign of Marcus Aurelius? AD 161 - 180.

Romae ... Graecostadium post incendium restitutum. (*SHA Ant.* 8.2).

In Rome ... the Graecostadium was restored by Antoninus Pius after a fire.

**71. Date:** AD 188 or 189.

In Capitolium fulmen ruit, et magna inflammatione facta, bibliotheca, et vicinae quoque aedes concrematae. (Hieron. *ab Abr.* 2205)

A lightning strike hit the Capitol and a great fire ensued; the library and nearby temples were burned down.

Flagitia regis poena urbis insequitur. nam fulmine Capitolium ictum, ex quo facta inflammatio bibliothecam illam, maiorum cura studioque compositam, aedesque alias iuxta sitas rapaci turbine concremavit. deinde aliud incendium postea Romae exortum aedem Vestae et Palatium plurimamque urbis partem solo coaequavit. (Oros.7.16.3)

Punishment for the bad deeds of the emperor [Commodus] was meted out to the city: the Capitol was struck by lightning and from this with ferocious violence the blaze destroyed the library which had been compiled with the greatest care and erudition as well as other temples situated nearby. Then another fire broke out later in Rome and that razed the temple of Vesta, the Palace and the most part of the city to the ground. (See **No. 72** below).

**72. Date:** AD 191.

Incendio Romae facto palatium et aedes Vestae, plurimaque urbis pars solo coaequatur. (Hieron. *ab Abr.* 2208)

A fire occurred in Rome and it razed to the ground the temple and palace of Vesta and the most part of the city.

Flagitia regis poena urbis insequitur. nam fulmine Capitolium ictum, ex quo facta inflammatio bibliothecam illam, maiorum cura studioque compositam, aedesque alias iuxta sitas rapaci turbine concremavit. deinde aliud incendium postea Romae exortum aedem Vestae et Palatium plurimamque urbis partem solo coaequavit. (Oros.7.16.3)

Punishment for the bad deeds of the emperor [Commodus] was meted out to the city: The Capitol was struck by lightning and from this with ferocious violence the blaze destroyed the library which had been compiled with the greatest care and erudition as well as other temples situated nearby. Then another fire broke out later in Rome and that razed the Temple of Vesta, the Palace and the most part of the city to the ground. (See **No. 71** above).

... είτε σκηπτῶν νύκτωρ κατενεχθέντος, είτε καὶ πυρός ποθεν ἐκ τοῦ σεισμοῦ διαρρύντος, πᾶν τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος κατεφλέχθη, μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον γινόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔργων. πλουσιώτατον δὲ ἦν πάντων ἱερῶν, δι' ἀσφάλειαν ἀναθήμασι κεκοσμημένον χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου· ἕκαστος δέ, ἃ εἶχεν, ἐκεῖσε ἐθησαυρίζετο. ἀλλὰ τὸ πῦρ ἐκείνης νυκτὸς πολλοὺς ἐκ πλουσίων πένητας ἐποίησεν· ὅθεν ὠλοφύροντο κοινῇ μὲν πάντες τὰ δημόσια, ἕκαστος δὲ ἴδια τὰ αὐτοῦ.

καταφλέξαν δὲ τὸ πῦρ τὸν τε νεῶν καὶ πάντα τὸν περίβολον, ἐπενεμήθη καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως καὶ κάλλιστα ἔργα· ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἑστίας τοῦ νεῶ καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς γυμνωθὲν ὤφθη τὸ τῆς Παλλάδος ἄγαλμα, ὃ σέβουσί τε καὶ κρύπτουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κομισθὲν ἀπὸ Τροίας, ὡς λόγος· ὃ τε καὶ πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξιν εἶδον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωποι. ἀρπάσασαι γὰρ τὸ ἄγαλμα αἱ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱέρειαι παρθένοι διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλὴν μετεκόμισαν. καταφλέχθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καὶ κάλλιστα, ἱκανῶν τε ἡμερῶν πάντα ἐπιὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐπεβόσκετο, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν ἢ κατενεχθέντες ὄμβροι ἐπέσχον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀρμὴν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ἐξεθειάσθη πιστευόντων κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅτι γνώμη θεῶν καὶ δυνάμει ἤρξατό τε τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐπαύσατο. (Herod. 1. 14. 2 - 6)

... then either a flash of lightning occurred in the night, or a fire broke out somewhere as a result of the earthquake. Whatever the cause, the entire temple of Peace, the largest and most beautiful of all the buildings in the city, was burned to the ground. The temple was also the richest in Rome, since it was adorned with offerings of gold and silver that had been placed there because they were safe. Everyone used it as a deposit for his possessions. That night many rich were reduced to penury by the fire. Though everyone joined in deploring the destruction of public property, each person was thinking of his own private loss.

After gutting the temple and its entire precincts, the fire spread to a major portion of the city, burning down some magnificent buildings. The temple of Vesta, too, went up in flames on this occasion, exposing the statue of Pallas to view. The image, reputedly brought from Troy by the Romans, is venerated and kept concealed. Our generation were the first ones to see it since it had been brought to Italy from Troy. For the Vestal Virgins snatched up the image and carried it along the Sacred Way from the temple to the palace of the emperor. Very many other fine parts of the city were destroyed as the fire raged for several days, consuming everything in its way, and was only finally stopped when the rain began to fall and checked the blaze.

**73. Date: AD 203**

... incendio corruptam rest[ituuerunt] *CIL* VI 1034

They restored [the Porticus Octaviae] which had been burned in a fire.



**74. Date: AD 217.**

Circensibus Vulcanaliorum Romae amphitheatrum incensum. (Hieron. *ab Abr.* 2234).

The amphitheatre in Rome burned during the Vulcanalian Games.

τό τε θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν κεραυνοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν Ἡφαιστίων ἡμέρα βληθὲν οὕτω κατεφλέχθη ὥστε τὴν τε ἄνω περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κύκλου ἐδάφει πάντα κατακαυθῆναι, καὶ τούτου τὰ λοιπὰ πυρωθέντα θραυσθῆναι. οὐδὲ ἐπαρκέσαι αὐτῷ οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐπικουρίᾳ, καίπερ παντὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν ὕδατος ῥέοντος, οὔθ' ἢ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπίρροια πλείστη τε καὶ σφοδροτάτη γενομένη ἠδυνήθη· οὕτω που καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκάτερον ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν σκηπτῶν δυνάμεως ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσεσίνετο, ὅθεν ἢ θεὰ τῶν μονομαχιῶν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐτελέσθη. (Dio *Epit.* 79. 25. 2-3)

The hunting theatre was struck by thunderbolts on the very day of the Vulcanalia, and such a blaze followed that its entire upper circuit and everything in the arena was consumed, and thereupon the rest of the structure was ravaged by the flames and reduced to ruins. Neither human aid could avail against the conflagration, though practically every aqueduct was emptied, nor could the downpour from the sky, which was most heavy and violent, accomplish anything - to such an extent was the water from both sources consumed by the power of the thunderbolts and, in fact, actually contributed in a measure to the damage done.

**75. Date: The reign of Macrinus (217 – 218).**

τοῦτό τε οὖν τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προεσήμαιεν,—ἐνεπρήσθη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα τινά, καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν κτημάτων μάλιστα, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις, ὅπερ που καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξαισίον ἀεὶ ποτε νενόμισται· ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ ἀντικρυς ἐς αὐτὸν φέρειν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου κατελεύκει, ἔδοξεν. (Dio *Epit.* 79. 25. 4).

There were numerous other fires, it is true, during Macrinus' reign, and in particular property belonging to the emperor was burned, a thing which in itself has always been regarded as of ill omen; but the conflagration described seemed to have a direct bearing upon the emperor, since it had also put an end to the horse-race in honour of Vulcan.

**76. Date:** Between 222 and 229 during the reign of Severus Alexander.

ζῶντος δ' οὖν ἔτι αὐτοῦ στάσις μεγάλη τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκ βραχείας τινὸς αἰτίας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας μάχεσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολέσθαι. ἠττώμενοι δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς ἔμπρησιν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐτράποντο· καὶ τούτου δεύσας ὁ δῆμος μὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις φθαρῆ, καὶ ἄκων σφίσι συνηλλάγη. (Dio 80. 21.4)

Even during his lifetime a great quarrel had arisen between the populace and the Pretorians, from some small cause, with the result that they fought together for three days and many lost their lives on both sides. The soldiers, on getting the worst of it, directed their efforts to setting fire to buildings; and so the populace, fearing the whole city would be destroyed, reluctantly came to terms with them.

**77. Date:** AD 238.

ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ταῖς συσταδὸν μάχαις ἠττώμενοι, ἀναπηδῶντες ἐς τὰ δωμάτια τῶν τε κεράμω βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ λίθων βολαῖς τῶν τε ἄλλων ὀστράκων ἐλυμαίνοντο, ἐπαναβῆναι μὲν αὐτοῖς δι' ἄγνοιαν τῶν οἰκήσεων οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν οἱ στρατιῶται, κεκλεισμένων δὲ τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ταῖς θύραις, καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν ξύλων ἐξοχαί (πολλαὶ δὲ αὗται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν), πῦρ ἔπροσετίθεσαν. ῥᾶστα δὲ διὰ πυκνότητα τῶν συνοικιῶν ξυλείας τε πλήθος ἐπάλληλον μέγιστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως τὸ πῦρ ἐνεμήθη, ὡς πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ πλουσίων ποιῆσαι ἐνήτας, ἀποβαλόντας θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖ κτήματα, ἔν τε προσόδοις πλουσίων καὶ ἐν ποικίλῃ πολυτελείᾳ τίμια. πληθὸς τε ἀνθρώπων συγκατεφλέχθη, φυγεῖν μὴ δυναθέντων διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐξόδους ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς προκατελιῆφθαι. οὐσίαι τε ὄλαι πλουσίων ἀνδρῶν διηρπάγησαν, ἐγκαταμιζάντων ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς τὸ ἀρπάζειν κακούργων καὶ εὐτελῶν δημοτῶν. τοσοῦτον δὲ μέρος τῆς πόλεως τὸ πῦρ ἐλυμήνατο ὡς μηδεμίαν τῶν μεγίστων πόλεων ὀλόκληρον δύνασθαι τῶν μέρει ἐξισωθῆναι.

Herodian (7.12.5-7)

Although the mob was no match for the soldiers in hand-to-hand fighting, they swarmed up into the upper rooms of houses and caused casualties among the soldiers by showering them with tiles and a hail of stones and broken pots. The soldiers did not dare climb up after the people because of their unfamiliarity with the houses, and the doors of the houses and shops were closed. So they set fire to the wooden balconies of such houses that possessed them (of which there were a lot in the city). Because the buildings adjoined each other very closely, and

a great number of them in a row were made of wood, the fire very easily burned down most of the city. Many people who were rich were turned into paupers by losing their magnificent accumulation of property, some of it valuable for the rich income it brought in, and some of it for its lavish workmanship. A great many people were unable to run away because their escape route was cut off by the flames, and they were burned to death. The entire possessions of some rich men were looted by criminals and the lower class, who mixed with the soldiers in order to do just this. The section of Rome that burned down was wider in extent than the entire size of any of the largest cities elsewhere.

**78. Date:** AD 247.

Theatrum Pompeii incensum, et Hecatonstylon. (Hieron. *ab Abr.* 2263e).

The theatre of Pompey and the Hecatostylon burned.

**79. Date:** AD 252?

Romae amphitheatrum incensum. (Hieron. *ab Abr.* 2268 )

In Rome the amphitheatre burned.

**80. Date:** The reign of Aurelian (270 - 275).

porticus thermarum Antoniniarum arserunt et fabricatum est. (Chronographer of 354 p. 148)

The portico of the Baths of Caracalla burned and was restored.<sup>1</sup>

**81. Date:** AD 283.

... pegma praeterea, cuius flammis scaena conflagravit. (*SHA Carin.* 19)

A wooden lifting structure burst into flames and burned up the stage.

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<sup>1</sup> The puzzling syntax (the lack of agreement of porticus (*f. pl*) and fabricatum est) of the Chronographer cannot be explained satisfactorily but there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the sentence.

**82. Date:** AD 283.

His imper[atoribus] fames magna fuit et operae publice arserunt senatum, forum Caesaris, basilicam Iuliam, et Graecostadium. (Chronographer of 354 (p.121)).

During their reign (Carinus and Numerianus) a great famine occurred and public buildings burned, including the Senate House, the forum of Caesar, the Basilica Julia and the Graecostadium.

**83. Date:** AD 307.

Aurelius Victor (*Caes.*) 40.26.

Hoc imp. templum Romae arsit et fabricatum est. (Chronographer of 354 (p. 122))

During [Maxentius'] reign the temple of Venus and Rome burned down and was rebuilt.

**84. Date:** 308 – 309.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐμπεσόντος πυρὸς εἴτε ἐξ ἀέρος εἴτε ἐκ γῆς (τοῦτο γὰρ ἄδηλον) ὁ τῆς Τύχης ἐφλέχθη ναὸς· πάντων δὲ σβέσαι τὴν πυρὰν συνδραμόντων, βλάσφημα ῥήματα κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν στρατιωτῶν, τις ἀφείξ, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν ἐπελθόντος ἀναιρεθεὶς, ἐκίνσε τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς στάσιν· καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπώλειαν ἦλθον, εἰ μὴ ταχέως τὴν τούτων ὁ Μαξέντιος μανίαν ἐπράυνεν.

Zosimus (2. 13)

At that time a fire happened at Rome; whether it came out of the air or earth is uncertain. It broke out in the temple of Fortune; and while the people ran to extinguish it, a soldier, speaking blasphemy against the goddess, was killed by the mob out of zeal, by which a mutiny was occasioned among the soldiers. They would have destroyed the whole city, had not Maxentius soon appeased their rage.

**85. Date:** Reign of Constantine (AD 306 – 337).

... He[lena venerabilis do]mini [n. Constantini A]ug. Mater e[t] avia ... therm[as incendio d]estru[ctas restituit]. (*CIL VI 1136*)

... the venerable Helena, mother of Constantinus Augustus ... restored [her] Baths which had been destroyed by fire.

**86. Date:** AD 363.

Hic Iuliani quiescentis animus agitatus insomniis, eventurum triste aliquid raesagibat. quocirca et ipse et visorum interpretes, praesentia contemplantes, diem secutum, qui erat quartum decimum kalendas Aprilis, observari debere pronuntiabant. verum ut compertum est postea, hac eadem nocte Palatini Apollinis templum, praefecturam regente Aproniano, in urbe conflagravit aeterna, ubi ni multiplex iuvisset auxilium, etiam Cumana carmina consumpserat magnitudo flammaram. (*Amm. Marc. 23.3.3*)

As he slept the mind of Julian was perturbed by dreams presaging a future sorrow. Therefore both he and interpreters of dreams, contemplating what had occurred, declared that the following day which was the 14<sup>th</sup> day before the Kalends of April, ought to be carefully watched. Indeed as was later discovered, on that same night the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, when the prefect Apronianus was in charge, blazed in the eternal city and had not help from many quarters been enlisted, even the Cumaean prophecies would have been destroyed by the magnitude of the flames.

**87. Date:** AD 375.

Qui consumptis aliquot annis, domum eius in Transtiberino tractu pulcherrimam incenderunt, ea re perciti, quod vilis quidam plebeius finxerat, illum dixisse sine indice ullo vel teste, libenter se vino proprio calcarias exstincturum, quam id venditurum pretiis quibus sperabant. (*Amm. Marc. 27. 3. 3*)

When some years had passed, they set fire to his most beautiful house on its Transtiberine site. They were motivated by the fact that some feckless pleb had made up without any evidence or corroborating persons, that Symmachus had said that he would willingly extinguish lime-kilns with his own wine rather than sell it at the price which the people hoped.

**88. Date:** AD 410.

Tertia die barbari quam ingressi urbem fuerant sponte discedunt, facto quidem aliquantarum aedium incendio sed ne tanto quidem quantum septingentesimo conditionis eius anno casus effecerat. nam si exhibitam Neronis imperatoris sui spectaculis inflammationem recenseam, procul dubio nulla comparatione aequiperabitur secundum id, quod excitaverat lascivia principis, hoc, quod nunc intulit ira victoris. neque vero Gallorum meminisse in huiusmodi conlatione debeo, qui continuo paene anni spatio incensae eversaeque urbis adtritros cineres possederunt. (Oros. 7.39)

On the third day after the barbarians had entered the city, they left of their own accord having set fire to several buildings, but even this fire was not as that which had occurred by accident in the 700<sup>th</sup> year of the city. And if I recall the fire produced for show by Nero, this fire set by the rage of a conqueror bore no comparison with that which was started by the wickedness of Rome's own emperor. Likewise, I do not compare the Gauls who burned and sacked the city and then camped for a year on her ashes.

οἱ δὲ τὰς τε οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν αἱ τῆς πύλης ἄγχιστα ἦσαν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ Σαλουστίου, τοῦ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν γράψαντος, ἧς δὴ τὰ πλεῖστα ἡμίκαντα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔστηκε· τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην ληισάμενοι καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλείστους διαφθείραντες πρόσω ἐχώρουν. (Procop. *Vand.* 1.2.24)

And they set fire to the houses which were next to the [Salarian] gate, among which was also the house of Sallust, who in ancient times wrote the history of the Romans, and the greater part of this house has stood half-burned up to my time; and after plundering the whole city and destroying the most of the Romans, they moved on.

## Appendix 2

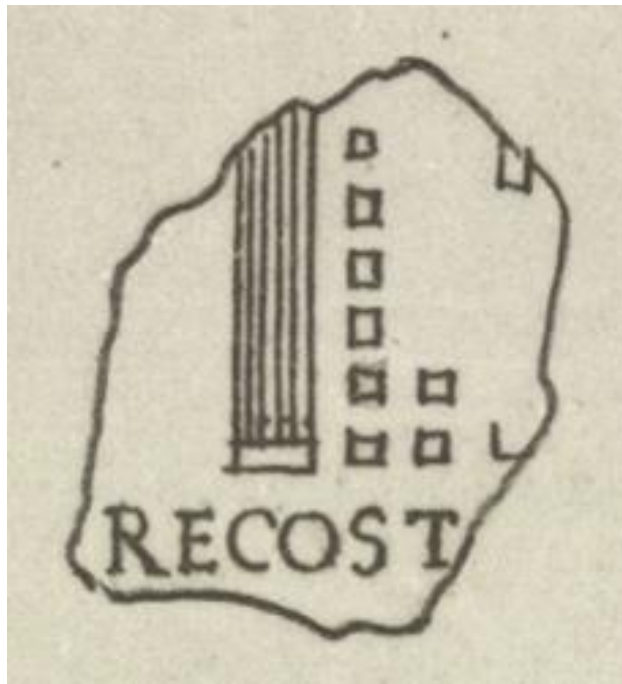
### List of Figures

- Figure 1:** *FUR* fr.18e showing the Graecostadium. *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3439.  
<http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/>; [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat).  
(Accessed 28/08/18)
- Figure 2:** *FUR* fr.39ac showing the Hecatostylon.  
<http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?slab=110&record=1>  
(Accessed 28/08/18)
- Figure 3:** Frequency of Latin nouns for ‘fire’ in the primary sources.
- Figure 4:** Frequency of Latin verbs for ‘burning’ used in the primary sources.
- Figure 5:** Frequency of Greek nouns for ‘fire’ in the sources.
- Figure 6:** Frequency of Greek verbs for ‘burning’ in the sources.
- Figure 7:** Chronological chart of authors who report five or more fires.
- Figure 8:** Temporal distribution of recorded fires.
- Figure 9:** Percentage estimate of the focus of records of fires in the primary sources.
- Figure 10:** Areas most prone to fire and the number of fires recorded in each area.
- Figure 11:** Temples and Shrines impacted by fires as recorded in the primary sources.
- Figure 12:** Fire of 213 BC
- Figure 13:** Fire of 31 BC.
- Figure 14:** The regions affected in the fire of AD 64.
- Figure 15:** Early site of Rome showing topographical constraints. (Claridge 2010, Fig. A)
- Figure 16:** *FUR* fr.10g showing part of the *subura*. <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/>  
(Accessed 3/4/18)
- Figure 17:** The remains of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century *Insula Ara Coeli*. (Connolly and Dodge 1998, 143)
- Figure 18:** Gismondi’s model of the *Insula Ara Coeli*.  
[http://www.museociviltaromana.it/it/collezioni/percorsi\\_per\\_sale/plastico\\_di\\_roma\\_imperiale](http://www.museociviltaromana.it/it/collezioni/percorsi_per_sale/plastico_di_roma_imperiale) (Accessed 18/08/18)

- Figure 19:** Jettying on Casa di Nettuno ed Anfitrite in Herculaneum. (Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 112)
- Figure 20:** Jettying and *opus craticium* in the house of the Wooden Partition in Herculaneum. (Connolly and Dodge 1998, 138)
- Figure 21:** Brick work of apartments on third floor of *Insula Ara Coeli*. (Photo by author)
- Figure 22:** The House of Diana in Ostia. (Connolly and Dodge 1998, 140)
- Figure 23:** The process of entrainment. (DeHaan and Icove, Fig. 3-19)
- Figure 24:** *FUR* fr.165abc showing mixed housing. <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/> (Accessed 3/3/18)
- Figure 25:** The First National Bank of Chicago. (Lowe 1979, 46)
- Figure 26:** The burning of Douglas pine. (DeHaan and Icove 2012, 129 from USDA Forest Service)
- Figure 27:** The manner in which wood burns and the protection of charring. (DeHaan and Icove 2012, 136)
- Figure 28:** Reconstruction of Nero's porticoes. (Connolly and Dodge 1998, 143)
- Figure 29:** (a) Suetonius' concept of Nero's porticoes.  
(b) The most common design of porticoes in Ostia and Rome. (Hermansen 1982, 219)
- Figure 30:** View of ground floor of *insula Ara Coeli*. (Photo by author)
- Figure 31:** The enclosure fire-wall in the Forum of Augustus. (Platner and Ashby 1926, Fig. 25)
- Figure 32:** Plaque from a compital dedication to Volcanus and Stata Mater. *CIL* VI 802. (Lott 2004, Fig.19).
- Figure 33:** Regions of responsibility of each of the seven *Cohortes Vigilum*.
- Figure 34:** Plan of the *excubitorium* of the 7<sup>th</sup> Cohort of the *Vigiles*. (Nash 1968)
- Figure 35:** Graffito from the *excubitorium* of the 7th Cohort of the *Vigiles*. *CIL* VI 3020. [http://cil.bbaw.de/cil\\_en/dateien/cil\\_](http://cil.bbaw.de/cil_en/dateien/cil_) (Accessed 04/09/18)
- Figure 36:** *Excubitorium* of Region XIV. (Photo by author)



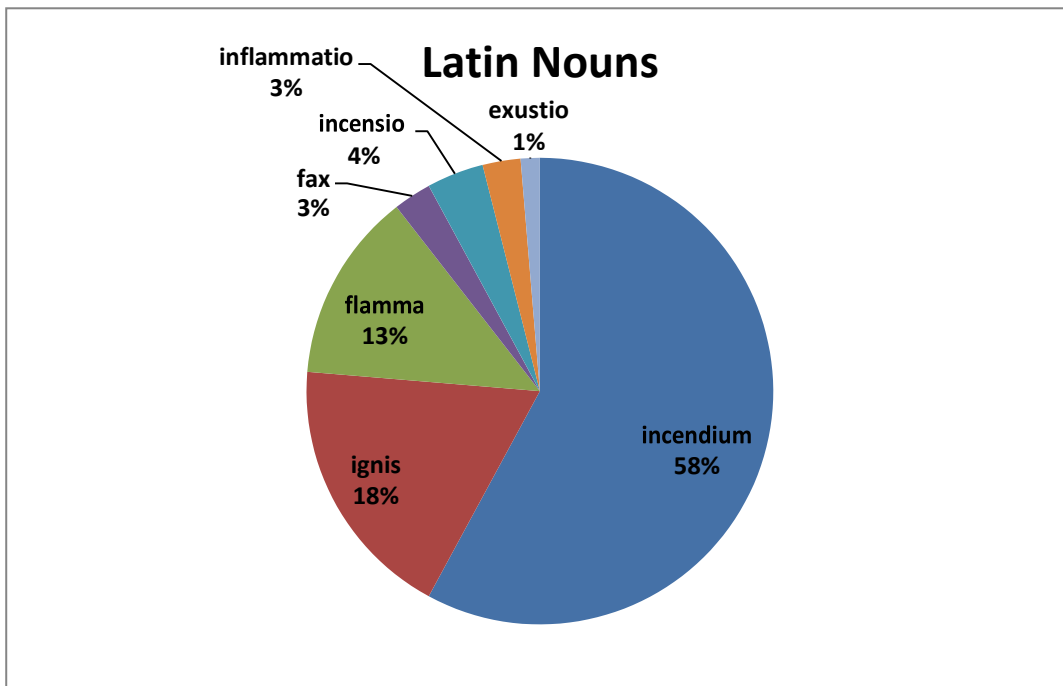
- Figure 37:** The fire engine and hose invented by van der Hayden. (Sutton 2006, 59)
- Figure 38:** *FUR* fr.11c showing circles of the *lacus Orfei* near the Subura.  
<https://formaurbis.stanford.edu/> (Accessed 03/02/18)
- Figure 39:** Photograph of crowds praying in San Francisco in 1906. (Cosmopolitan 41, 1906)  
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015004285402;view=1up;seq=249> (Accessed 04/09/18)
- Figure 40:** Drawing of a looter and soldier after the San Francisco Fire in 1906. (Cosmopolitan 41, 1906)  
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015004285402;view=1up;seq=249> (Accessed 04/09/18)
- Figure 41:** Proclamation from the Mayor after the San Francisco Fire in 1906. (Cosmopolitan 41, 1906).  
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015004285402;view=1up;seq=249>. (Accessed 04/09/18)
- Figure 42:** Two coins from AD 64. The temple of Vesta (RIC I (second edition) Nero 61) and the Macellum Magnum (RIC I (second edition) Nero 184)
- Figure 43:** (a) dupondius of AD 22 (RIC 1, 99 N.74) (b) aureus of AD 73 (RIC II, 34 N.162) (c) denarius of AD 98 - AD 117 (RIC II Trajan 796)
- Figure 44:** Coin of AD 72 showing the restored temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. (RIC II, Part 1 (second edition) Vespasian 491)
- Figure 45:** Aureus of AD 117 - AD 118 showing head of Trajan and phoenix. (RIC II, 343 No. 27)
- Figure 46:** Aureus showing Trajan's restored Circus Maximus. (RIC II, Trajan 571)
- Figure 47:** Aureus of AD 200 - AD 201 showing Severus as *restitor Urbis*. (RIC IV, Septimius Severus 167A)
- Figure 48:** Reconstructed Forum Romanum by Diocletian. (Richardson 1992, 174)



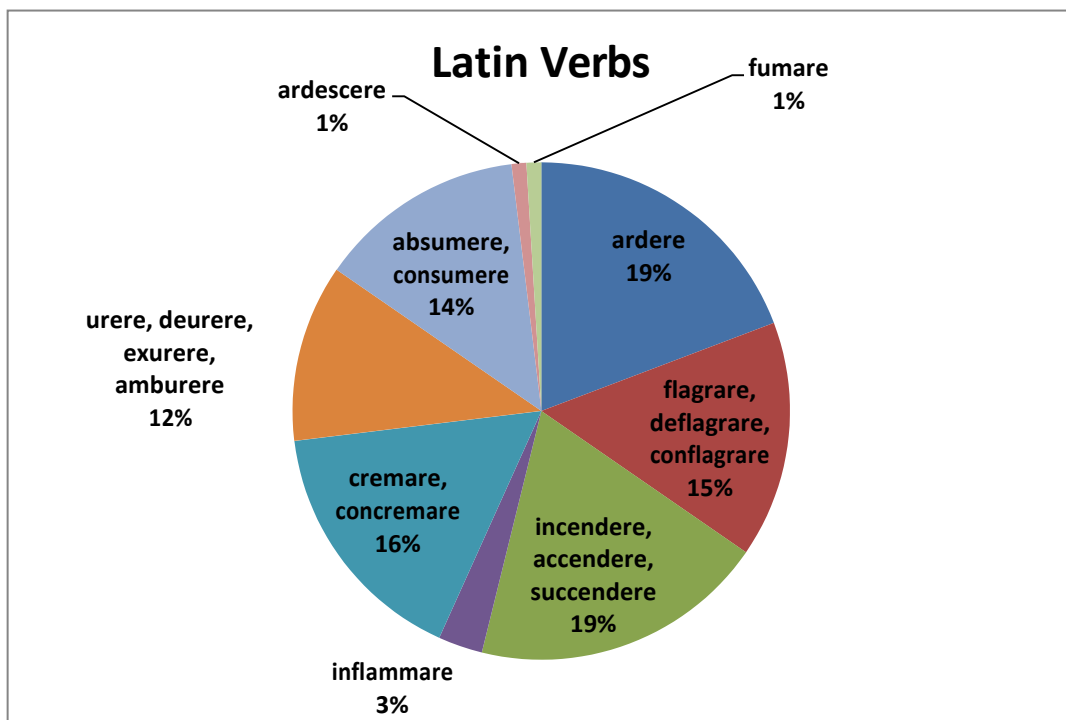
**Figure 1:** *FUR* fr. 18e showing the Graecostadium reproduced in a Renaissance drawing.



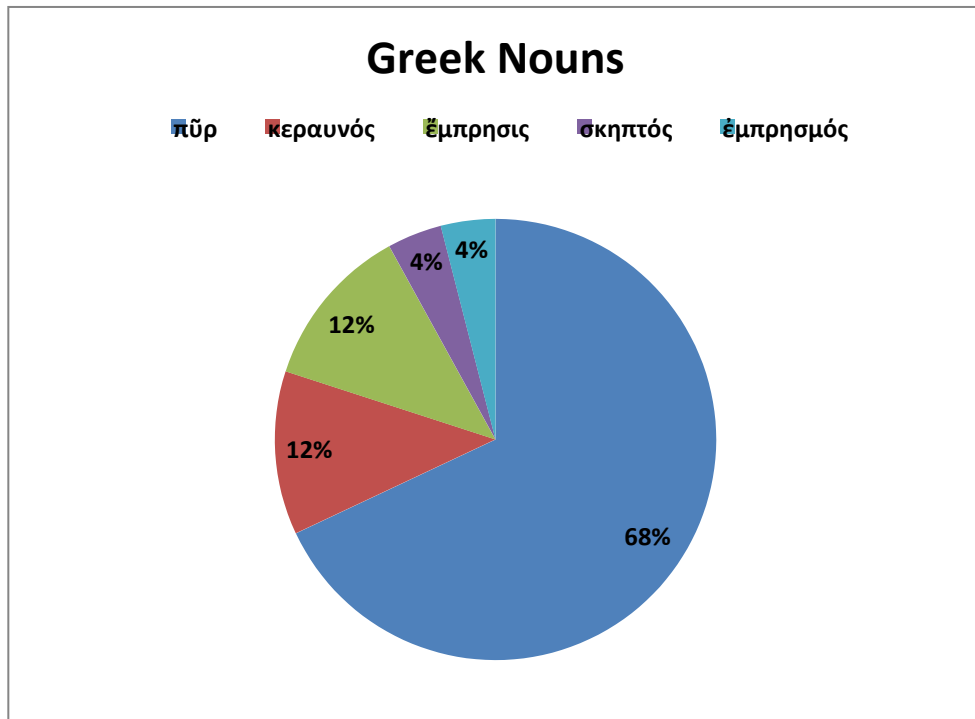
**Figure 2:** *FUR* fr. 39ac showing the Hecatostylon.



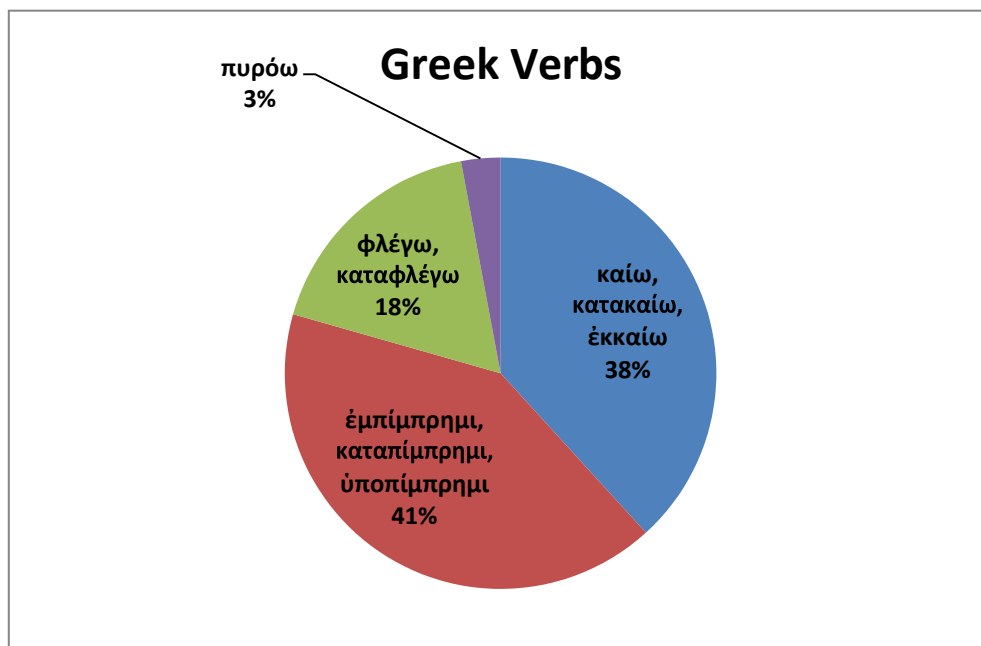
**Figure 3:** Frequency of Latin nouns for ‘fire’ in the primary sources.



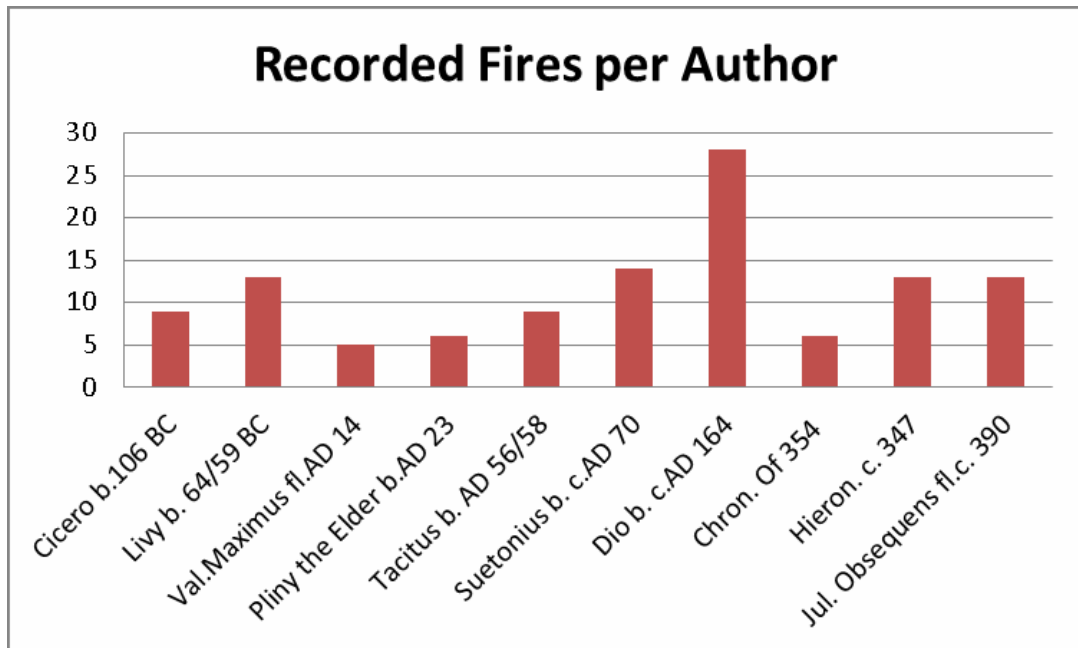
**Figure 4:** Frequency of Latin verbs for ‘burning’ used in the primary sources.



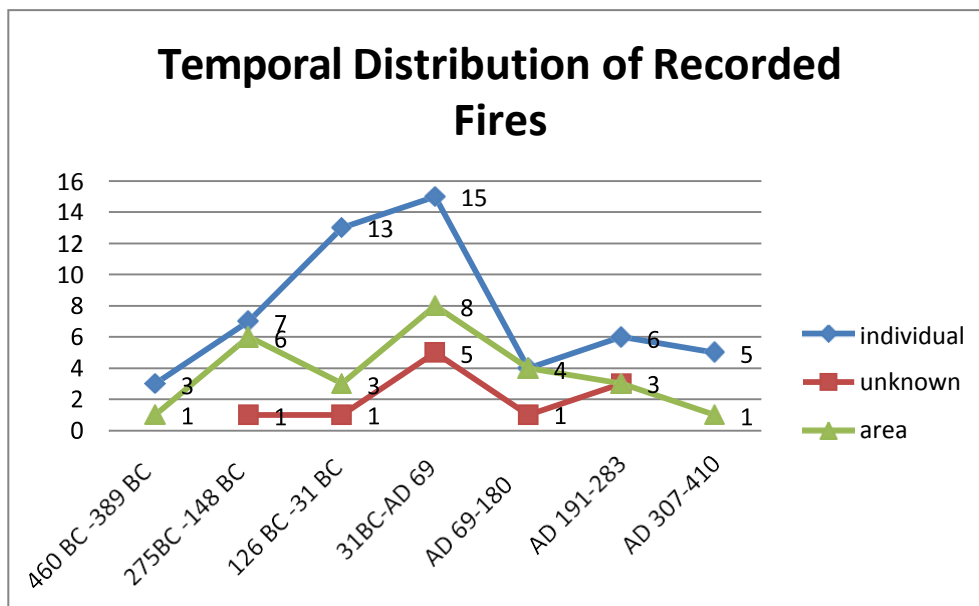
**Figure 5:** Frequency of Greek nouns for ‘fire’ in the sources.



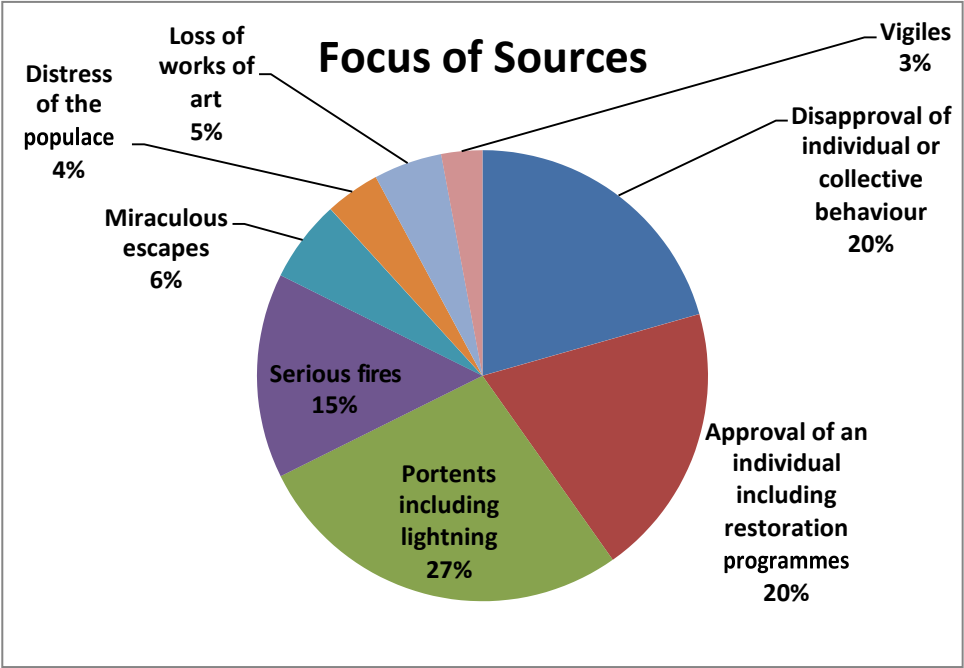
**Figure 6:** Frequency of Greek verbs for ‘burning’ in the sources.



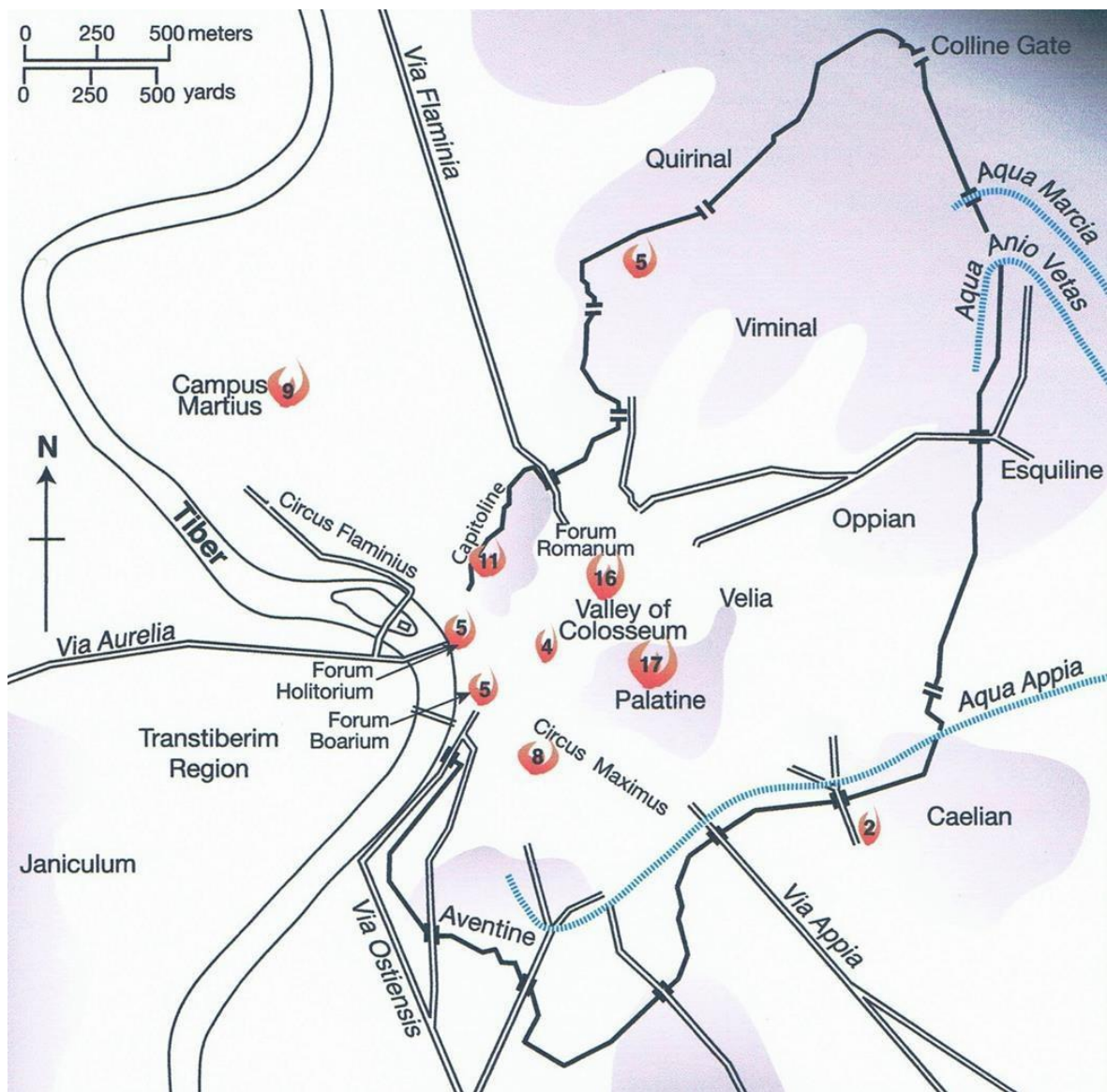
**Figure 7:** Chronological chart of authors who report five or more fires.



**Figure 8:** Temporal distribution of recorded fires which affected individual structures, unknown areas/ structures, and whole areas.

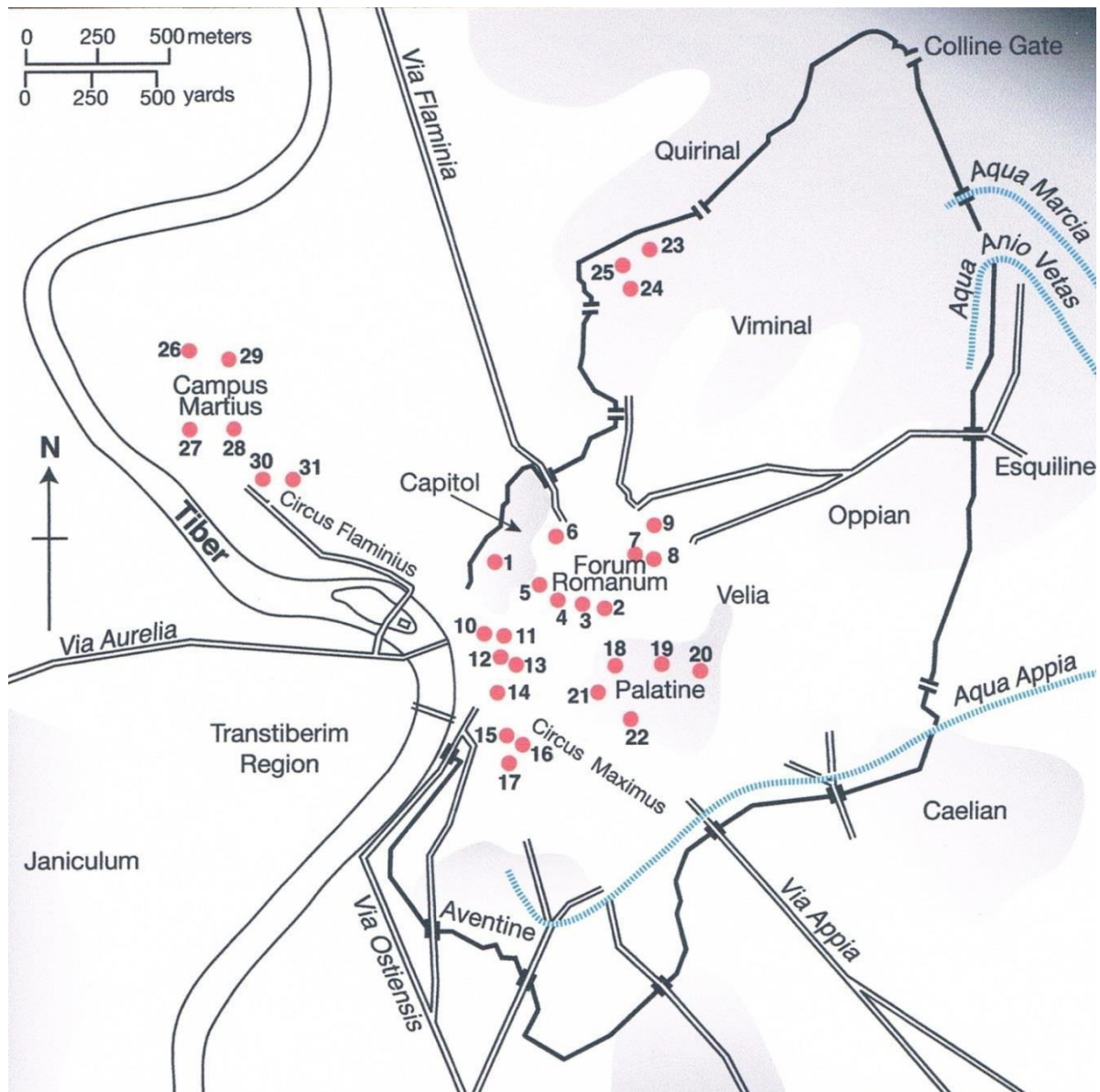


**Figure 9:** Percentage estimate of the focus of records of fires in the primary sources.



**Figure 10:** The areas most prone to fire and the number of fires recorded in each area:

Quirinal	5 fires
Campus Martius	9 fires
Capitoline	11 fires
Forum Romanum	17 fires
Valley of the Colosseum	4 fires
Palatine	19 fires
Forum Holitorium	5 fires
Forum Boarium	5 fires
Circus Maximus	8 fires
Caelian	2 fires



**Figure 11:** Temples and Shrines impacted by fires as recorded in the primary sources.

**Capitol:** Jupiter Capitolinus (1) (6 probable impacts). **Forum Romanum:** Vesta (2) (4 probable impacts). Castor and Pollux (3) Shrine of Ops (4) Concord (5) (2 probable impacts). Saturn (6) Venus? (7) Venus and Rome (8) Peace (9).

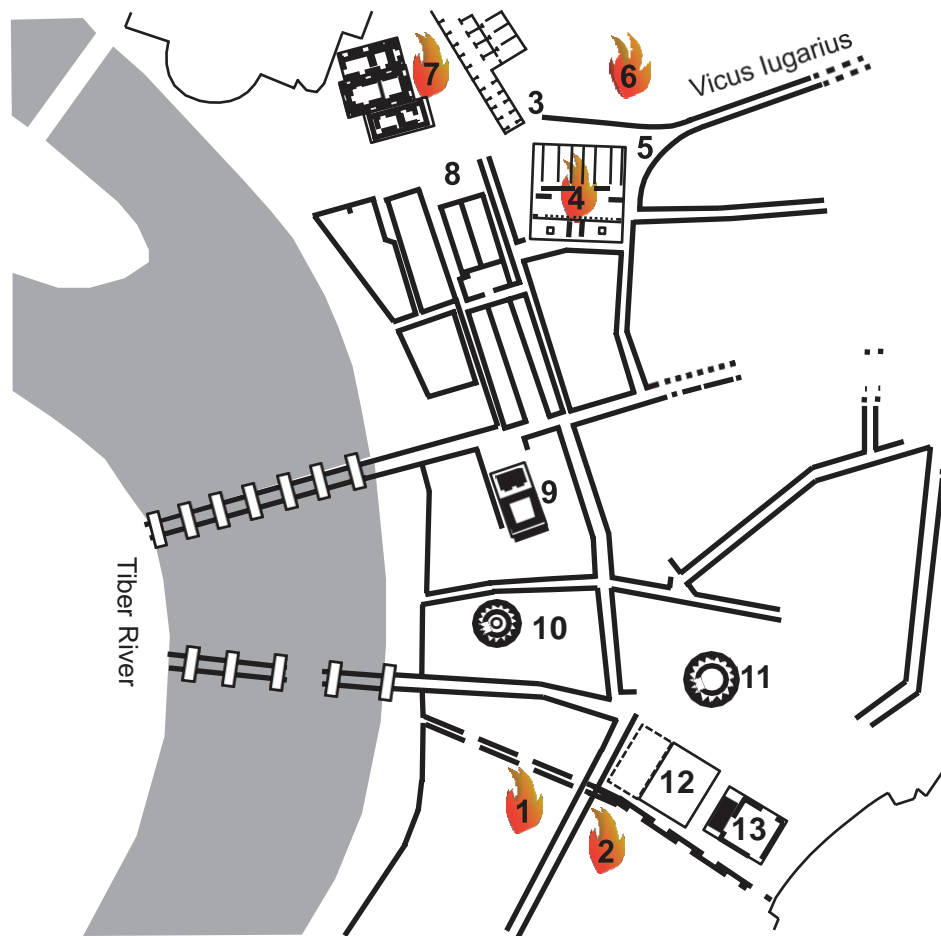
**Forum Holitorium/Forum Boarium:** Spes (10) (3 probable impacts) Fortuna (11) (2 probable impacts) Mater Matuta (12) (2 probable impacts) Felicitas (13) (2 probable impacts) Juno Sospita (14) Flora (15) Iuventas (16) Ceres (17) (2 probable impacts).

**Palatine:** Apollo (18) Augustus (19) Salii (20) Magna Mater (21) (2 probable impacts). Hut of Romulus (22) (2 probable impacts). Salus (23) (3 probable impacts).

**Quirinal:** Quirinus (24) (2 probable impacts) Gens Flavia (25) **Campus Martius:** Nymphs (26) Serapis (27) Isis (28) Neptune (29) Juno Regina (30) Fortuna? (31).



## Fire of 213 BC

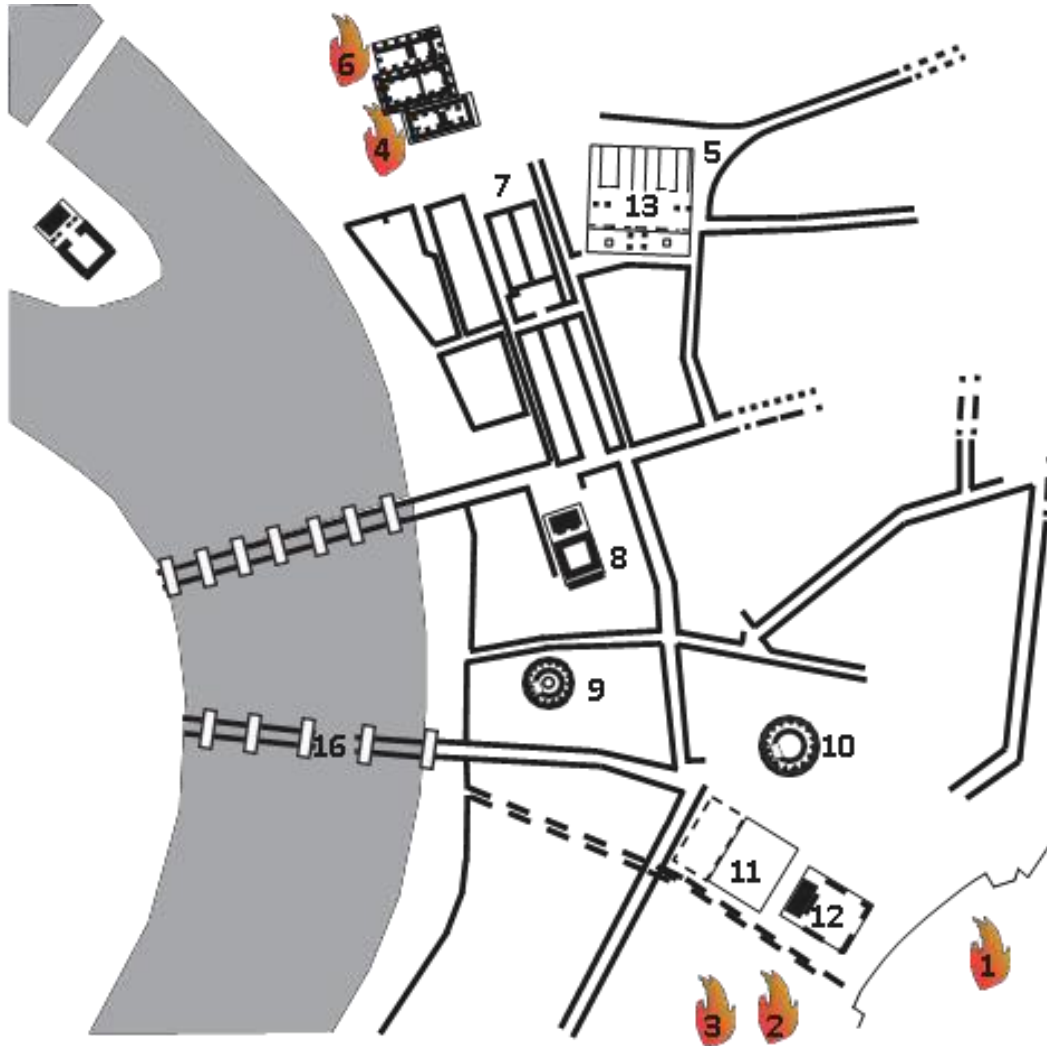


**Figure 12:** Fire of 213 BC

Salinae (1) Porta Trigemina (2) Porta Carmentalis (3) Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta (4) Vicus Iugarius (5) Aequimaelium (6) Temple of Spes (7)

**Not Mentioned:** Horrea (8) Temple of Portunus (9) Temples of Hercules Victor (10) Temple of Hercules Pompeianus (11) Ara Maxima Herculis (12) Aedes Herculis Invicti (13).

## Fire of 13 BC

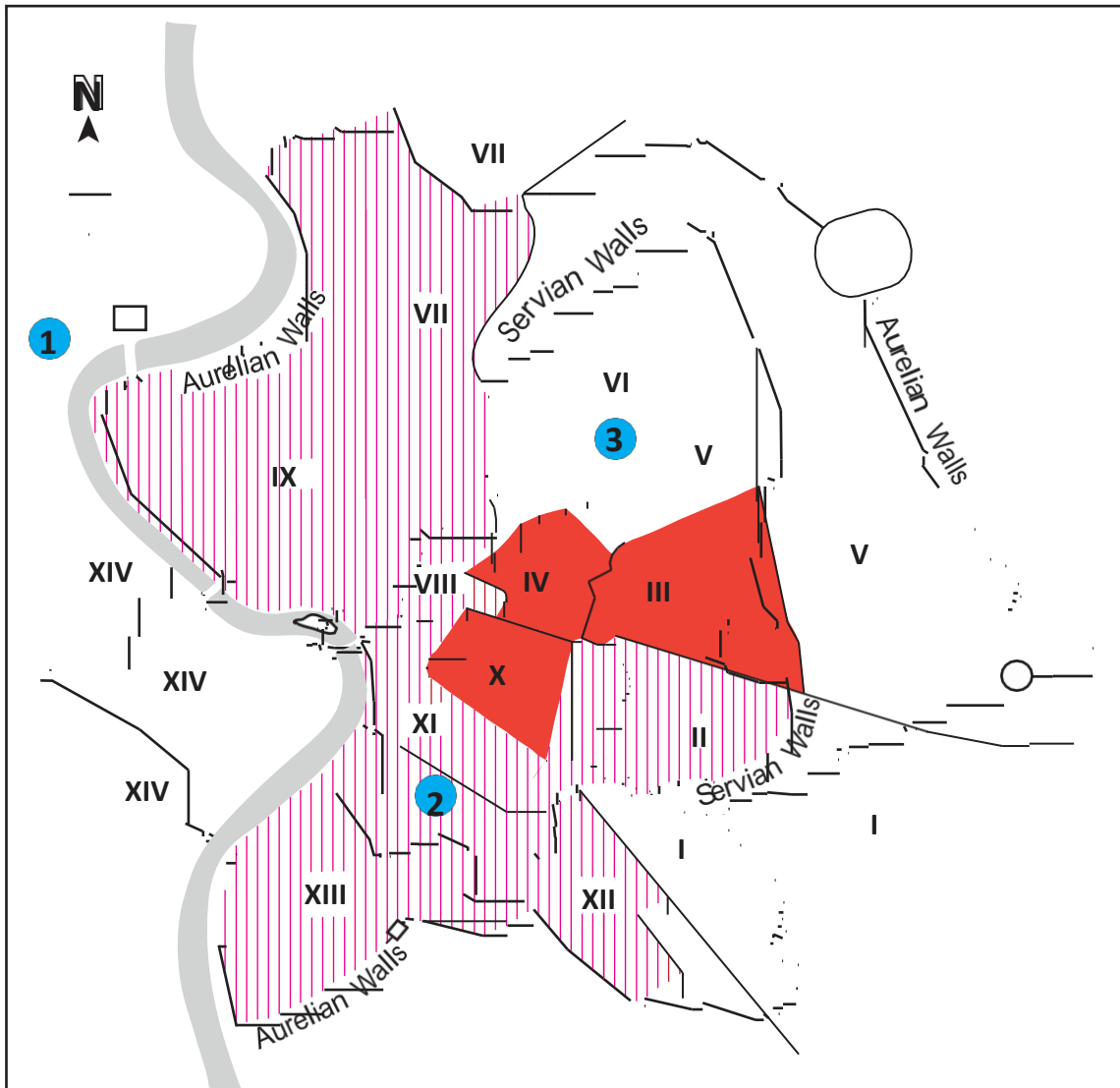


**Figure 13:** Fire of 31 BC.

Circus Maximus (1) Temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera (2) Temple of Flora  
(3) Temple of Spes (4) Temple of Janus (6).

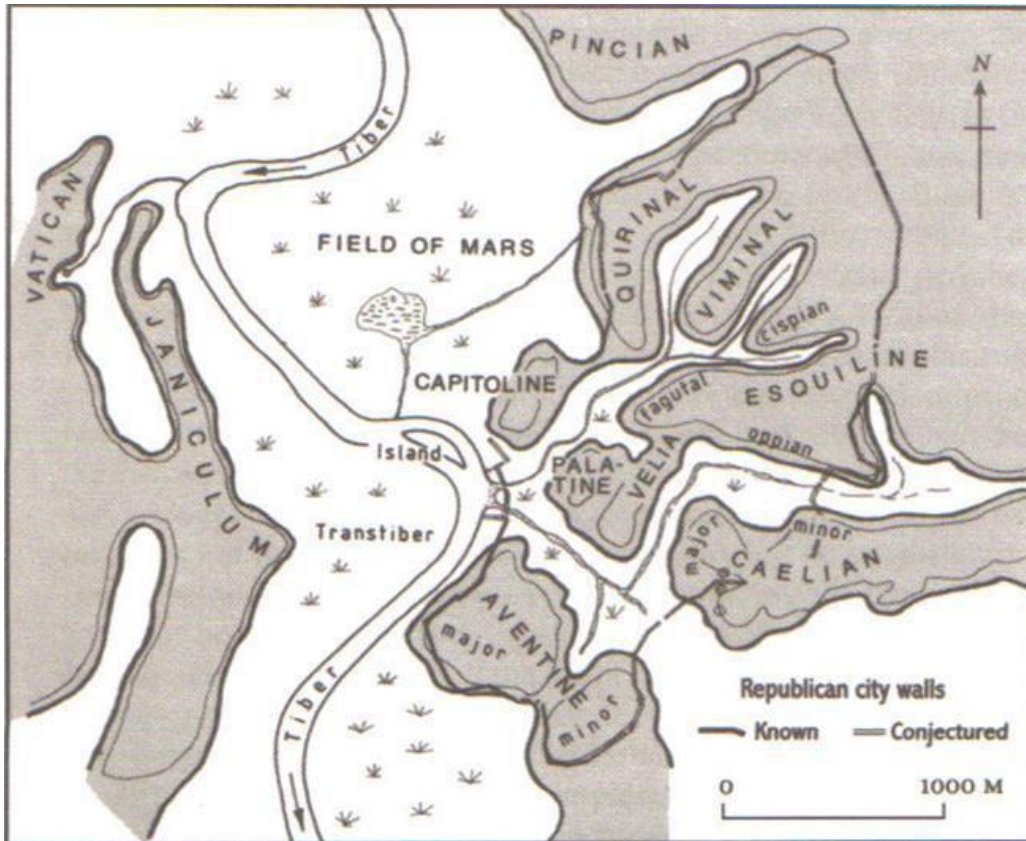
**Not mentioned:** Temple of Juno Sospita (5) Horrea (7) temple of Portunus (8)  
Temple of Hercules Victor (9) Temple of Hercules Pompeianus (10)  
Ara Maxima Herculis (11) Aedes Herculis Invicti (12) Mater Matuta (13).

## Fire of AD 64



**Figure 14:** The regions affected in the fire of AD 64.

Central regions III, IV and X destroyed. Regions II, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII and XIII damaged. Regions I, V, VI, XIV unscathed. *Arae incendii*: 1, 2, 3.



**Figure 15:** Early site of Rome showing constraints: hills and marshes.



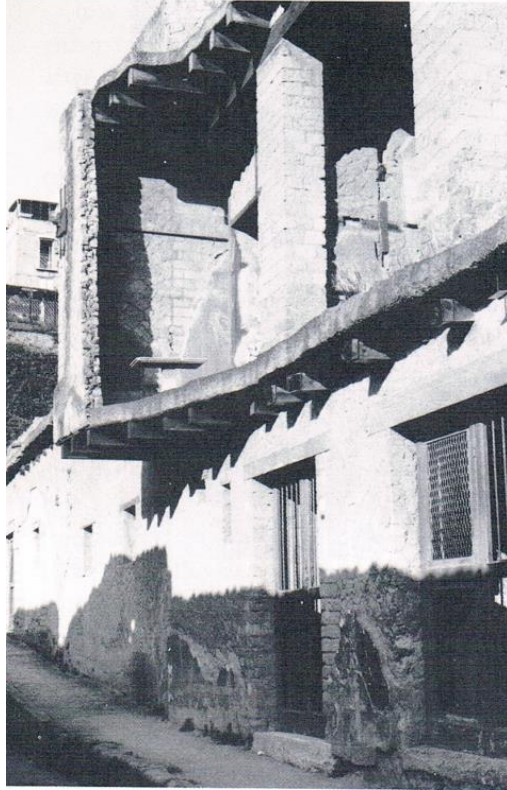
**Figure 16:** FUR fr.10g showing part of the *subura*.



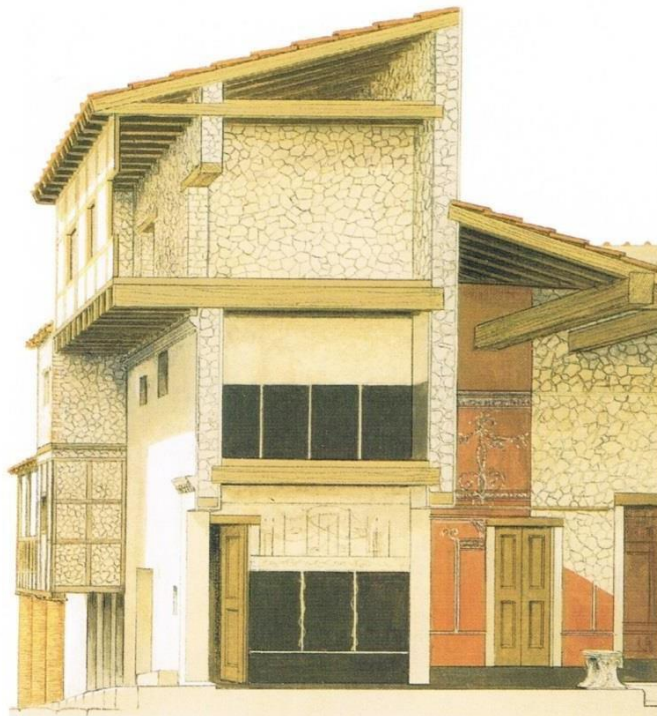
**Figure 17:** *Insula* at base of Capitoline near Santa Maria in Aracoeli



**Figure 18:** Gismondi's model of the *Insula Ara Coeli*.



**Figure 19:** Jettying in Casa di Nettuno ed Anfifrite Herculaneum.



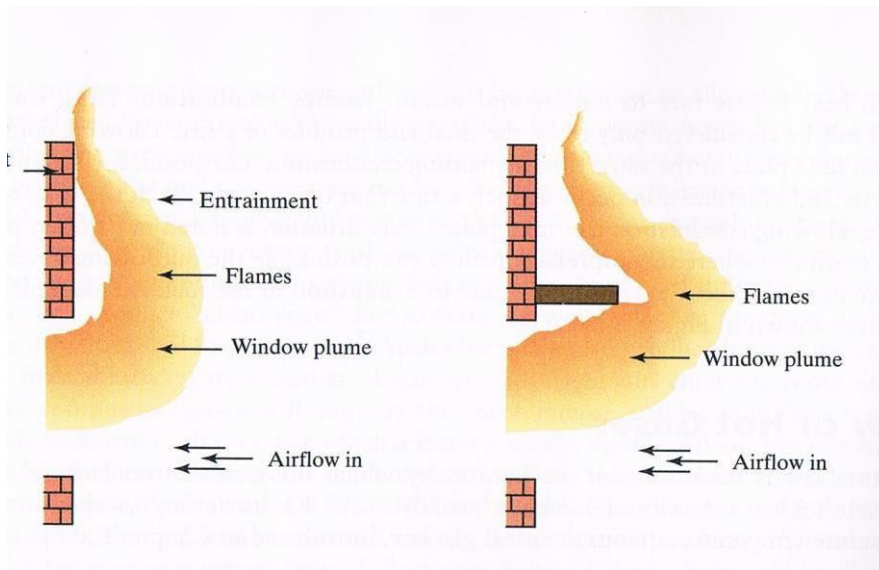
**Figure 20:** The so-called house of the Wooden Partition in Herculaneum. Both jettying and *opus craticium* can be seen in this reconstruction.



**Figure 21:** Brick work of apartments on the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor of *Insula Ara Coeli* on the Capitoline.



**Figure 22:** The House of Diana in Ostia.



**Figure 23:** The process of entrainment and the how it can be reduced by an 'eyebrow' or balcony above an opening such as a window or door.

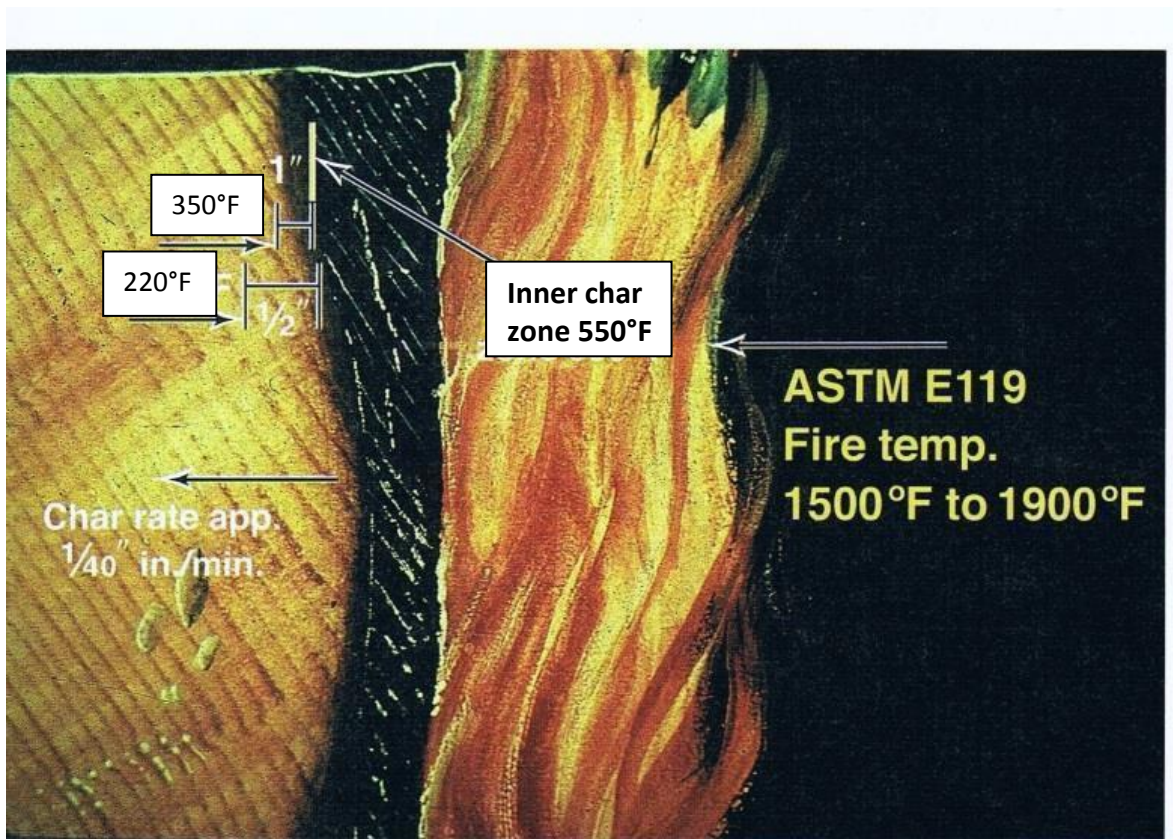


**Figure 24:** Fragments 165abd of the *FUR*.

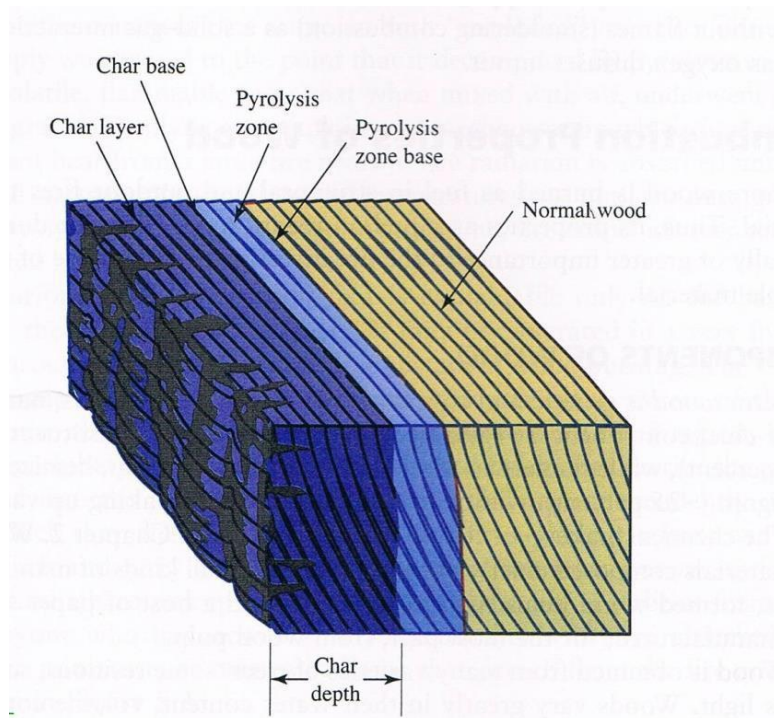




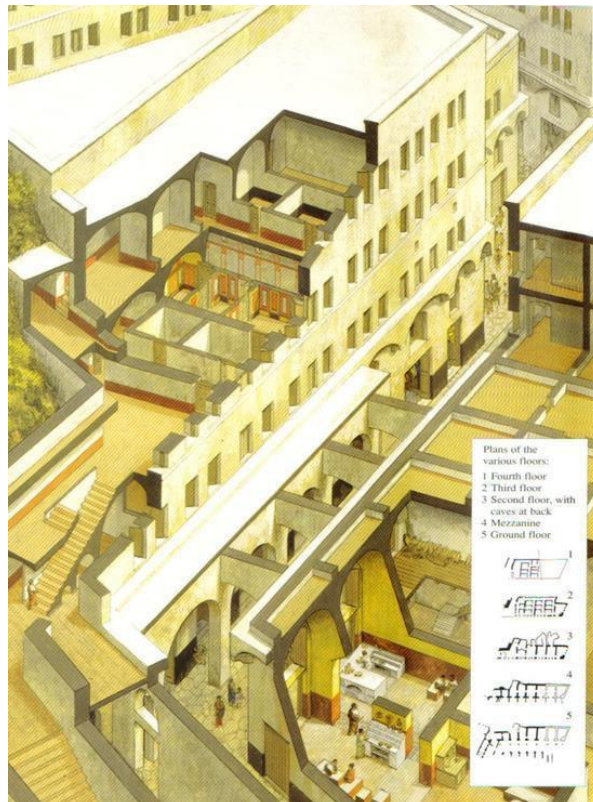
**Figure 25:** The First National Bank of Chicago: before and after the fire.



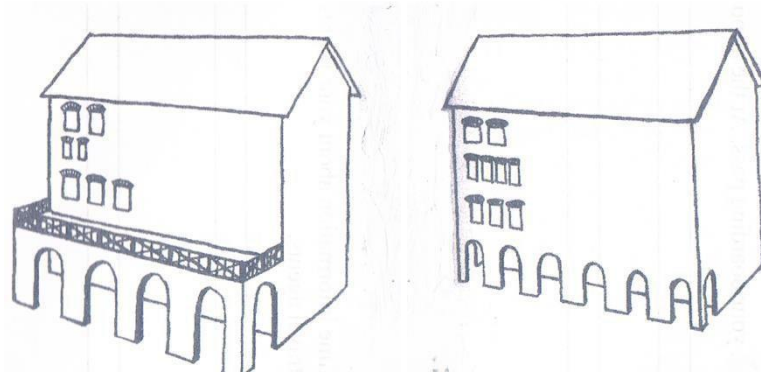
**Figure 26:** The burning of Douglas pine showing the differences in temperature between flame temperature, char zones and the core of the beam.



**Figure 27:** The predictable manner in which wood burns and the protection provided by charring.



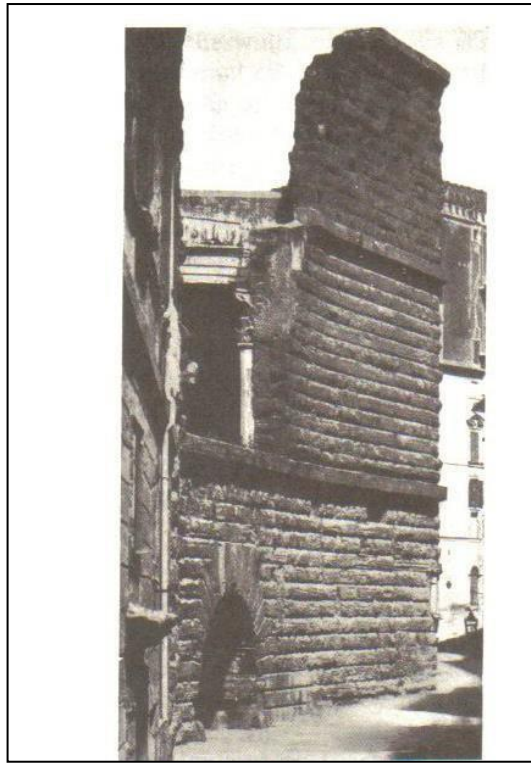
**Figure 28:** Reconstruction of Nero's porticoes.



**Figure 29:** (a) Suetonius' concept. (b) Most common design in Ostia and Rome.



**Figure 30:** View of ground floor of *insula Ara Coeli* on slopes of Capitoline from the modern street.



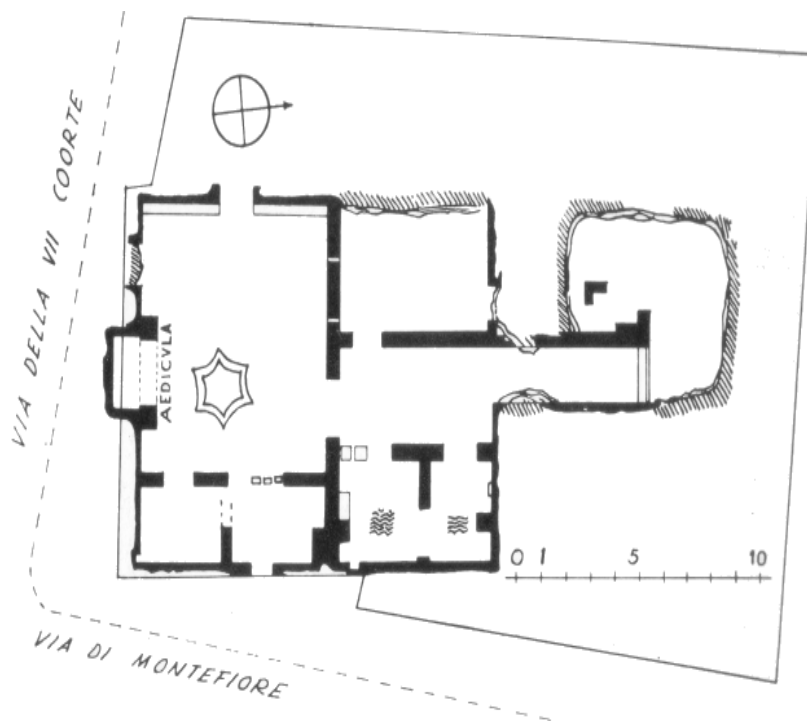
**Figure 31:** The enclosure fire-wall in the Forum of Augustus.



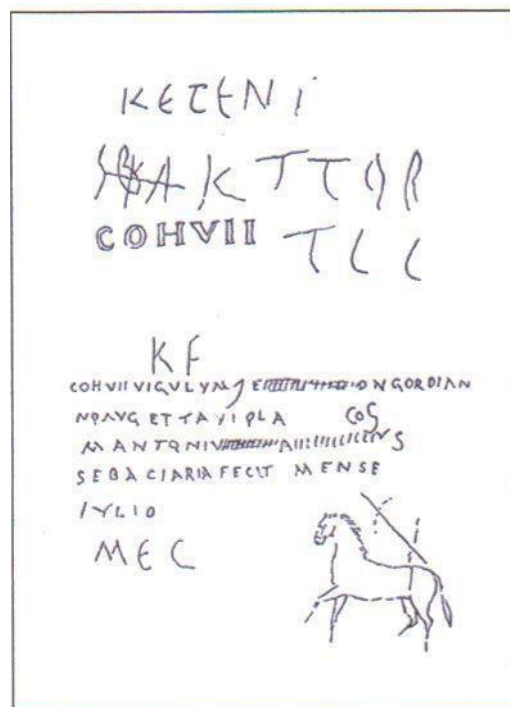
**Figure 32:** Plaque from a compital dedication to Volcanus Quietus Augustus and Stata Mater Augusta. *'Dedicated to Volcanus Quietus Augustus and Stata Mater Augusta. P. Pinarius Thiasus and M. Rabirius Berullus Magistri Vici from the neighbourhood of Armilustrum dedicated this in the fifth year' (i.e. 2 BC).*

<i>Cohors Vigilum</i>	Regions
1	VII <i>castra</i> and <i>excubitorium</i> IX <i>excubitorium</i> Adjacent
2	V <i>castra</i> and <i>excubitorium</i> III <i>excubitorium</i> Adjacent
3	VI <i>castra</i> and <i>excubitorium</i> IV <i>excubitorium</i> Adjacent
4	XII <i>castra</i> and <i>excubitorium</i> XIII <i>excubitorium</i> Adjacent
5	II <i>castra</i> and <i>excubitorium</i> I <i>excubitorium</i> Adjacent
6	VIII <i>castra</i> and <i>excubitorium</i> X <i>excubitorium</i> Adjacent
7	XIV <i>castra</i> and <i>excubitorium</i> XI <i>excubitorium</i> Directly across the Tiber

**Figure 33:** Probable regions of responsibility of each of the seven *Cohortes Vigilum* noting the proximity of the two regions of responsibility.



**Figure 34:** Plan of the *excubitorium* of the 7<sup>th</sup> Cohort of the *Vigiles* in Trastevere.



**Figure 35:** Graffito from the guard-room of the 7th cohort of the *Vigiles* in Trastevere.



**Figure 36:** *Excubitorium* of the 7<sup>th</sup> Cohort in Region XIV.



**Figure 37:** The fire engine and hose (*slang*) invented by van der Hayden.



**Figure 38:** *FUR* fr. 11c showing circles of the *lacus Orfei* near the Subura.



CROWD PRAYING BEFORE ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, APRIL 18TH, WHILE THE CITY WAS BURNING IN  
A SCORE OF PLACES

**Figure 39:** Photograph of crowds praying in San Francisco (1906) on the day the fire started.

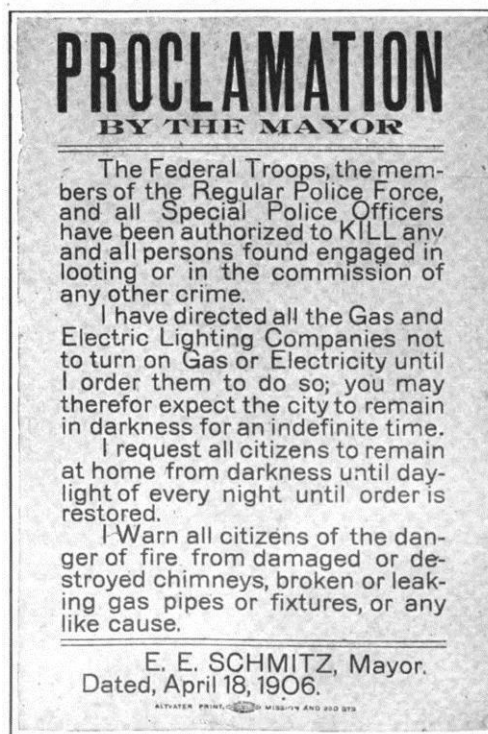




*From a sketch made on the spot by J. A. Cahill*

SOLDIER AND LOOTER

**Figure 40:** Drawing of a looter confronted by a soldier after the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire in 1906.



THE MAYOR'S FIRST PROCLAMATION AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

**Figure 41:** Proclamation from the Mayor after the earthquake and fire in San Francisco 1906.



**Figure 42:** Two coins from AD 64. The Temple of Vesta (left) and the Macellum Magnum Augusti, both restored in the immediate aftermath of the fire.



**Figure 43:** (a) dupondius of AD 22 (b) aureus of AD 73 (c) denarius of AD 98 - AD 117



**Figure 44:** AD 72 Domitian and the restored temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.



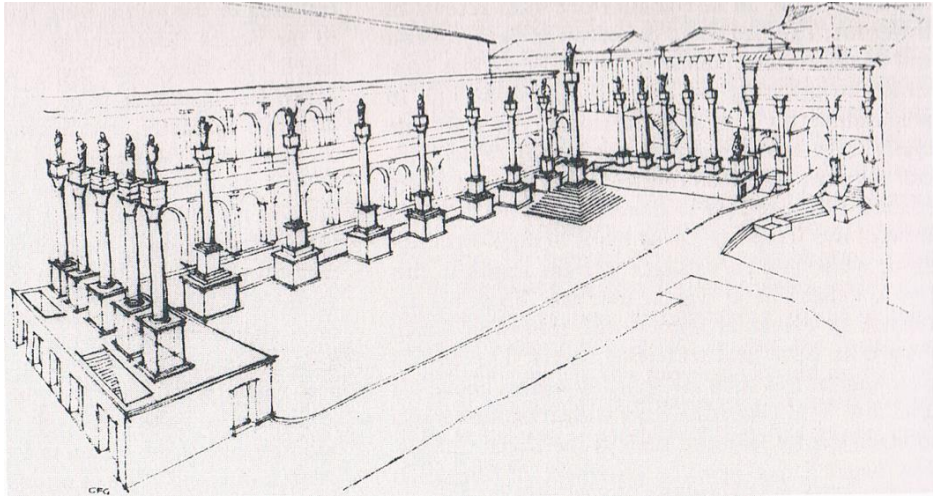
**Figure 45:** aureus of AD 117 - AD 118. Head of Trajan with phoenix on obverse.



**Figure 46:** aureus showing Trajan's restored Circus Maximus.



**Figure 47:** aureus dated to AD 200 - 201 showing Severus as *restitor urbis*



**Figure 48:** Reconstructed Forum Romanum by Diocletian