PREFACE.

THE main object of this volume is historical. Though I hope that I have not neglected important points of textual and grammatical criticism, my chief desire has been to illustrate the work of Suetonius by putting before the reader, as fully as space would permit, the materials which exist for constructing the history of the life and times of Augustus, and which expand and explain the necessarily brief and summarised statements in the Biography itself. I have therefore quoted freely from Dio and other writers, and have printed in an appendix the entire *Monumentum Ancyranum* (as emended and restored by Mommsen), with dates and slight marginal indications of subject-matter, which I hope may render it more readily available. To this I have subjoined a few other inscriptions illustrating special points in the Emperor's life, in addition to a considerable number transcribed in the notes.

I feel, on looking back on my work, that I may at times have sacrificed to this object of historical illustration some critical discussions on text or language, such as might justly have been expected. For Suetonius, like all good writers, has a strongly marked individuality of style, and his own peculiar method of manipulating word-forms and constructions. It is not safe criticism to class all such as accounted for by the usage of the 'silver age,' that is, after all, a usage other than that of Caesar and Cicero. Suetonius differs as much in style from such writers as Velleius, Florus, Pliny,

as he does from either Caesar or Cicero. Idiosyncrasy has as much to do with it as date. It is easy to exaggerate the difference itself. Caesar's vocabulary, writing as he does on a narrow range of subject, is a singularly limited one. Cicero, except in his more private letters, aimed at a literary purism which must have been remote from the common practice of the day either in colloquial or written language. The admission into literature of words in common use constitutes a large part of the difference, such, for instance, as the fondness for the frequentative forms like *pensare* (c. 25), *pensitare* (c. 66), *grassare* (c. 67), *taxare* (cc. 4, 41), and of such irregularly formed compounds as *inobservantia* (c. 76) and *praecipitium* (c. 79). Again, of the long list drawn out by P. Bagge of words used by Suetonius which are not used by Cicero and Caesar, or only in a slightly different sense, a considerable number can be shewn by the practice of Vergil, Horace, Nepos and Livy to have been current at and soon after the end of the Republic. Such are *appellatio* c. 100, *austrinus* c. 81, *avius* c. 96, *cerritus* c. 87, *cessare* c. 42, *conflare* c. 52, *sedile* c. 43, *subtexere* c. 68, *titulus* c. 31, and others. In another class of words Suetonius has gone back to the colloquialisms of an earlier age, as is shewn by the usage of Plautus and Terence. Such are *adapertus* c. 53, *condormire* c. 98, *aquilus* c. 79, *invitare se* c. 77. Some new words or usages are naturally the result of new things, or a new view of things. Such are *actus* c. 78, *contubernium* c. 89, *exauctorare* c. 24, *extemporalis* c. 84, *ieiunum servare* c. 76, *missilia* c. 98, *notare* c. 64, *praecognoscere* c. 97, *publicare* cc. 29, 100, *missio* cc. 17, 45, *recensus* c. 49, *breviarium* cc. 28, 101, *prosa* (*prorsa oratio*) c. 85.

In constructions he is fond of using the present and perfect subjunctive (for vividness) instead of the imperfect or pluperfect, as in *edant* c. 55, *exigant* c. 49, *observata sit* c. 94, *fugatae sint* c. 16; and after verbs of exhorting or commanding he prefers the construction without *ut*, as *monet imitetur* c. 3; and usually puts a subjunctive after *ante*...

quam, prius...quam, though the clause is not in any way oblique, see cc. 4, 101; so *pridie quam...committeret* c. 96. He omits the preposition *in* with words conveying a well-understood locative sense, such as *continenti* c. 16, *regione* (followed by genitive) cc. 7, 41, *municipalibus agris* c. 13. For *quippe qui* he often uses *ut qui* cc. 30, 66, 72; for *an non* he has *an* c. 94; for *an* sometimes *anne* c. 69; for *illico* he uses *coram* c. 27; for *ex adverso* he uses *contra* cc. 44, 94; *citra* has the sense of *ante* or *sine* cc. 24, 43, 66. He is fond of the conjunctions *sed et* cc. 38, 45, 57, 70, 89, 93; and of *sed* or *sed quidem* for *καὶ ταῦτα,* cc. 16, 29, 68, 92, 98; *tanquam* and *quasi* with subjunctive express the ground of an action without necessarily any suggestion of unreality, cc. 6, 7, 10, 14.

Speaking more generally the points to be observed in his style are (1) its brevity. This is not the epigrammatic brevity of Tacitus, that master of the unexpected, who seeks to impress his reader by surprising him. Suetonius is not thinking of startling his readers: his brevity comes from a wish to express much with the least possible expenditure of words. It is business-like statement that he is seeking, not ornament or brilliancy. (2) Allied to this is his *inconcinnitas,* his rejection of the 'periodic' style. His sentences are not elaborated or arranged with a careful eye to the balance of clauses, order of words, or intricate combination. To express clearly what he has to say is the limit of his ambition. For rhythmical prose he has either no ear or no patience. (3) Thirdly, he is *participiorum amantissimus.* This too is a peculiarity which arises partly from the desire of brevity, but partly also from a perhaps conscious imitation of Greek models.

These hints may serve as indications as to what to observe in reading Suetonius. He is not a great artist in language; but he is a considerable grammarian, and his peculiarities are not the result of carelessness, but rather of scholastic precision.

The earliest Editions of Suetonius appeared in Rome (1470) and Venice (1471). The principal Editions since are those of Erasmus (1518), I. Casaubon (Geneva 1595, Paris 1610), J. G. Graevius (Utrecht 1672, 1691, 1703), S. Pitiscus (Utrecht 1690, Louvain 1714), P. Burman (Amsterdam 1730), J. H. Bremi (Zurich 1820), C. G. Baumgarten-Crusius (Leipzig 1816), C. H. Hase (Paris 1828). The text in this volume is mainly that of C. L. Roth (Leipzig 1890). I have found the edition of Pitiscus, which contains the notes of the older editions, very useful, especially in regard to the legal writers. The standard edition is still that of Baumgarten-Crusius; and nothing, as far as I am aware, has been done for Suetonius in England.

For discussions of the style and diction of Suetonius the following will be found useful:

H. R. Thimm *de usu atque elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli*, Königsberg 1867.

P. Bagge *de elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli*, Upsala 1875.

Aem. Trachmann *de conjunctionum causalium apud Gaium Suetonium Tranquillum usu*, Halle 1886.

R. Düpow *de C. Suetonii Tranquilli consuetudine sermonis quaestiones*, Iena 1895.

For the life of Augustus:

J. C. Dietrich *Historia Augusti*, Greisen 1666.

L. de Tillemont *Histoire des Empereurs*, Venice 1732.

W. Drumann *Geschichte Roms*, Vol. 4, pp. 245—302.

Egger *Examen critique des historiens anciens de la vie et du règne d'Auguste*, Paris 1844.

G. C. Hieronymi *de Octavii Imperatoris moribus*, Hamburg 1820.

M. A. Weichert *Imperatoris Augusti Scriptorum reliquiae*, Grima 1841.

M. Beulé *Auguste et sa famille et ses amis*, Paris 1868.

Merivale *History of the Romans under the Empire*, London, 1865.

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DIVUS AUGUSTUS

EDITED

WITH HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY,
APPENDICES AND INDICES

BY

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T. Mommsen *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, Berlin 1883.

G. Wilmanns *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1873.

G. M. Rushforth *Latin Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1893.

References to Mommsen's *R.-Staatsrecht* and Marquardt's *R.-Staatsverwaltung* are made by the volumes and pages of the French Translation.

I have to thank Mr P. Giles, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, for reading almost all my notes in proof and giving me many valuable suggestions. Also Mr W. Chawner, Master of Emmanuel, for doing me the same service in regard to some of the notes. Mr W. W. Wroth of the British Museum for aiding me to select some coins. Also Mr J. G. Frazer, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Mr P. E. Matheson, Fellow of New College, Oxford, for kind aid when appealed to for it. Lastly I owe more than I can say to the care and kindness of the officials of the Press.

CAMBRIDGE,
April, 1896.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

p. 12, first column, note on *Caepias*, add: It has been suggested by Ihne to read Κωπιὰς in Dio 45, 1, from **Copia**, the name given to Thurii on becoming a colony in B.C. 193.

p. 7, left-hand column, 3 l. from bottom, for *halting* read *halting-place.*

p. 8, ,, ,, 12 l. ,, ,, *Gnomatici* read *Gromatici.*

p. 16, ,, ,, 13 l. ,, ,, ἐπιφοίτων read ἐπεφοίτων.

p. 60, ,, ,, 4 l. ,, ,, *Rushworth* read *Rushforth.*

,, right-hand ,, 6 l. ,, ,, B.C. 29 read 28.

p. 61, left-hand ,, 2 l. from top, for 29 read 28.

p. 51, margin, for *Lollias* read *Lollius.*

p. 96, note on **tigrim**, add reference Dio 54, 9.

p. 108, left-hand column, first note, add reference, Cohen *Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, vol. I. p. 67.

p. 132, l. 10 of text, add no. of chapter, 70.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. AUGUSTUS.

Merits and defects of Suetonius' biography.

THOUGH containing valuable material for biography and history the work of Suetonius is neither history nor biography. By rejecting chronological arrangement he puts it out of his power to trace the connexion of events, or the effect of circumstances in developing character. A number of detached facts are told us of the conduct and policy of Augustus in various departments of government or personal habit, and we are left to sort and fit them into their proper place by the help of others. Even if something is gained by this method, in giving a view of his policy on each particular department *en bloc*, more still is lost by putting out of view all that explains motives, and justifies or condemns action. Suetonius seldom passes a moral judgment. He tells us facts or rumours and leaves us to form our own. He in no way emphasizes what has struck so many modern critics of Augustus,—the surprising change from the cold cruelty of the triumvir to the wise lenity of the Emperor. And though I think too much has been made of this contrast by such writers as M. Beulé[1], a little more clearness in distinguishing the policy of the two periods would have been useful in helping us to understand the nature of the times as well as the character of Augustus.

[1] *Auguste, sa famille et ses amis*, Paris, 1867–8. The evident reference to the régime in France at the time perhaps gave a peculiar zest to the denunciation of Augustus and his crimes in M. Beulé's very brilliant and interesting, but scarcely trustworthy, essay.

Merits of Augustus.

In a sense indeed there was a singular unity in his character and career. Without his great-uncle's brilliant qualities (especially as a general) he avoided many of his mistakes. He was able to retain the services and fidelity of men best suited to carry out the measures demanded by the time; and he had learnt the statesman's secret of effecting his objects without fatally embittering opponents or alienating friends. These qualities had shown themselves in the young man: they accompanied him and secured his success through nearly half a century of a vast and difficult government. When we consider the distracted state of Rome during the last thirty years of the Republic and the scandalous abuses in the provinces; and when we farther consider the frightful misuse of the autocracy by many of his successors: it is difficult to withhold admiration from the man who remedied the evils at home by a carefully veiled monarchy, grafted with consummate skill upon the institutions of the republic; who removed the worst evils in the provinces by strenuous and honest administration; who gained the respect of neighbouring rulers; who organised and kept in check the army; placed the finances on a sound footing; adorned and beautified the city; and left the vast Empire, not indeed entirely free from danger, but on the whole peaceful, prosperous and strong.

Our authorities for the life and reign of Augustus.

On all these points Suetonius gives us information, but never a connected story. For that we must go elsewhere, and for the most part unfortunately to writers considerably posterior in time. Among them the first place must be given to Dio Cassius, a writer of the 2nd and 3rd centuries[2], who with many foibles tells a straightforward story with (I think) an evident intention of neither withholding nor misrepresenting facts. Here and there doubtless, as in most writers, inaccuracies whether from mistake or prejudice may be detected in him; but on the whole his statements are generally supported, when the test is possible, by coins and inscriptions. Considering the length and import-

Dio Cassius.

[2] Dion Cassius Cocceianus, b. about A.D. 155, d. after A.D. 230.

ance of the public life of Augustus, and the literary activity of the period, there seem to have been remarkably few connected accounts of it either contemporary or immediately subsequent. Such as there were have for the most part perished. His youth indeed is described with some charm in a fragment of Nicolas of Damascus, which ends however with the death of Iulius, and is perhaps too declamatory and eulogistic to be accepted without considerable caution[3]. Appian[4] has much to tell us of his civil wars, but ends with the death of Sextus Pompeius (B.C. 35). This may be in part supplemented by Plutarch's lives of Antony and Brutus[5]; and the Epitomes of Livy's later books, ending with the death of Drusus (B.C. 9), remain to show us how great our misfortune is in having lost them. Velleius Paterculus is rhetorical and partial, though he occasionally tells us something of value; and the *Annals* of Tacitus only begin with the death of Augustus. Of later writers Eutropius and Aurelius Victor (4th cent.) are mere epitomists; Zonaras (12th cent.) a rechauffé of Dio; and Orosius (4th and 5th cent.), though now and then producing something of interest, is confused in chronology, and labours under the disadvantage of writing with a special thesis, to be proved at all hazards. The panegyrics of courtly poets seldom add much that is substantial to our knowledge; yet, apart from Vergil, Propertius, and above all Horace, the Augustan period itself would have added little to our acquaintance with Augustus, had it not been for the preservation of that remarkable document on the wall of an Asiatic temple, known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the most authentic piece of autobiography that has survived from antiquity[6].

Nicolas of Damascus.

Appian.

Plutarch.

Livy.

Paterculus.

Tacitus, Aurelius Victor, Zonaras, Orosius.

Horace, Vergil, Propertius.

The Monumentum Ancyranum.

[3] Nicolas was secretary to Herod the Great. Iosephus attacks his accuracy and accuses him of suppressing and misrepresenting facts in order to please Herod [*Ant.* 16, 7, 1]. He visited Rome, and his favour with Augustus is mentioned by Athenaeus 14, 652 a, and Plutarch *Symp.* 8, 4.

[4] Appian of Alexandria, temp. Trajan to Antoninus Pius.

[5] Plutarch (b. about A.D. 45) wrote a life of Augustus, but it is lost.

[6] The writers of the period whom Suetonius might have used are discussed in

In no part of the story of Augustus are the disadvantages of Suetonius' method more striking than in the chapters dealing with those constitutional changes by which the new autocracy was gradually evolved. Yet in no department is it more necessary to observe dates, the order of events, and the circumstances of the day, if we are to understand in the faintest way how this immense and far-reaching change was accomplished. For such help we must go to Dio Cassius.

The Situation as Augustus found it.

The situation may be stated somewhat thus. Two evils were afflicting the Empire, disorder at Rome and maladministration in the provinces. For the former the remedy in Cicero's eyes had been the supremacy of a man at once powerful and loyal to the constitution; for the latter sharper legislation and the purification of the law courts. Both had proved illusory. Pompey had failed as a guardian of order, and a succession of scandals had discredited the courts. Iulius had succeeded for a while in keeping order at Rome. He would perhaps have succeeded in reforming the administration of the provinces, for which his legislation had inaugurated a new and valuable principle. But he had some special disadvantages. He had been in arms against his country; he had been long a leader of a party, and of a party to which (though doubtless counting many good men) the spendthrift and the reckless naturally drifted. Consequently he was surrounded by men of bad character, to whom he was obliged to commit affairs of importance[7]. Again, in the course of party conflict he had roused many implacable enmities and lost many friends. With all his brilliance and clemency there was something in him that provoked hatred and alienated loyalty. Nor was it of slight import that he had nearly all the learned and literary class at Rome against him. In spite therefore of the destruction

Difficulties of Iulius Caesar.

the next section. Of course the labours of scholars (and above all of Mommsen) on this monument, and in the whole field of epigraphy, in reconstructing our knowledge of the early Empire, must hold the first place in our recollection and gratitude.

[7] *Bellorum enim civilium hi semper exitus sunt, ut non ea solum fiant quae velit victor, sed etiam ut iis mos gerendus sit, quibus adiutoribus sit parta victoria.* Cicero *fam.* 12, 18.

which had befallen the opposition at Pharsalus, Thapsus, and Munda, there were still enough nobles left with the will and the power to thwart and murder him. But Octavian belonged to a new generation. A mere boy when he first engaged in politics, he had no party ties to shackle him, or long-standing enmities to embarrass him. Such friends as he had were personally attached. They did not, like confederates in a conspiracy, demand a share of the spoils; and, with rare exceptions, proved effective and remained loyal. Nor did the events of the civil war ruin his credit with the citizens. The cruelties of the proscription were by many attributed more to his colleagues than to himself[8]. And if his severities at Philippi and Perusia have left a stain on his memory, they did not seem so horrible to contemporaries accustomed to a stern code of military law, and rendered callous by twenty years of bloody party strife and civil war.

Superior advantages of Octavian.

They were also the last. From the time of the fall of Perusia in the spring of B.C. 40 he figured more and more clearly before the eyes of the citizens as their best security for peace and prosperity. The times were troublous. The ships of Sextus Pompeius scoured the seas, cutting off merchant vessels and stopping the supplies of corn. From Gaul came news that the Germans were crossing the Rhine, or that certain tribes were interrupting the passage of the Alps. In the East the Parthians were threatening the frontier of Syria:

Augustus becomes more important than Antony in the eyes of the citizens between B.C. 40 *and* B.C. 31.

hinc movet Euphrates, movet hinc Germania bellum[9].

Antony was in the East indeed with a great army to keep back the barbarians. But not only was the East less interesting to the Romans than the West; but, while scandalous stories were reaching Rome as to Antony's revels in Egypt, his infatuation with Cleopatra, and his disasters in the field, the young Caesar was by his own exertions, or those of his friends, gradually relieving the city of the terrors nearer home.

[8] Dio 47, 7; Vell. 2, 66; Plut. *Ant.* 21.

[9] Vergil *Georg.* I. 509, evidently written before Actium.

Sextus Pompeius was crushed in B.C. 36; the movements in Northern and Southern Gaul were checked by Agrippa in B.C. 38–7[10]; the Illyrians, Dalmatians, Iapydes and Pannonians were subdued by successive expeditions under Pollio in B.C. 39, under Augustus himself in B.C. 35–6, under Agrippa and himself in B.C. 34[11]; the Salassi who blocked the Val d' Aosta were crushed in B.C. 34 by Valerius Messala[12]; and Statilius Taurus had in B.C. 36–5, after the degradation of Lepidus, secured the loyalty of Africa and Sicily without striking a blow[13]. These achievements gave safety and peace to Italy, and the poet only expressed the aspiration of the citizens generally in his prayer to the gods,

> *hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo*
> *ne prohibete!*[14]

Augustus secures his position and forces the hand of Antonius B.C. 40–32.

The contrast with Antony, carving out kingdoms for his own and Cleopatra's children, and credited with the design of transferring the seat of Empire to Alexandria, was easily drawn, and Augustus took care that it should be made very plain to the eyes of the Romans. The two men had never been cordial friends since the young Octavius first landed in Italy in B.C. 44 to claim his inheritance. Party needs had brought them together; jealousy and mistrust were always thrusting them apart. Reconciliations had again and again been effected, now by the intervention of friends and ministers, now by that of Octavia: but they were diametrically opposed in disposition, purpose, and policy; and finally Octavian deliberately brought on the conflict which ended at Actium, when he thought himself strongest, and the case against Antony most capable of being represented in an odious light to the citizens.

After Actium B.C. 31 *all long for peace.*

Actium and the suicide of Antony and Cleopatra gave him all that he hoped. He was now left alone; the old oligarchical party was destroyed; the legions, weary of civil war, were ready to be disbanded if only the veterans could obtain bounties and land;

[10] Dio 47, 49. [11] Dio 47, 42; 49, 35—38.
[12] Dio 49, 34, 38; Appian *Illyr.* 17. [13] Dio 49, 44. [14] Vergil *G.* 1, 500.

the survivors of the previous generation were tired of war[15]; the new generation were used to a directing hand. The problem was how to secure his power without offending the prejudices of the elder men too bitterly, or fatally obscuring the hopes of promotion and activity on the part of the younger. Hence was gradually evolved, with extraordinary skill and sagacity, the theory of the Principate.

The double development of the primacy.

The term *principatus* rightly represents the fact; it was to be a primacy among other powers, as well as a primacy of rank among the citizens. But this primacy was developed in two ways; and eventually the *principatus* was attached both in men's minds and in practical fact to the second of the two. On one side Caesar was to become supreme by combining the powers of the republican magistrates, with or without the offices themselves. He was to be consul or to have consular power. Though not proconsul, he was to have proconsular power. Above all, though not tribune (which as a patrician he could not be), he was to have the *tribunicia potestas*. This was not all conceived at once. At first he was always consul, and therefore the question of the consular power did not arise, and the *proconsulare imperium* was thought of afterwards. But on the other hand he was to be invested with what was practically a new office, though under a name which might admit of being regarded as only an honorary distinction, freely attributed to him by universal consent, and in virtue of which he should appear to the whole world to represent in his single person the majesty of the Empire: this was the *principatus*.

Augustus absorbs the powers of the republican magistrates. (1) *The Tribuneship.*

(1) And first the absorption of the republican powers. The *tribunicia potestas* was the most important of these; and his attempt to obtain the Tribuneship in B.C. 44 seems to show that he had early seen that this office, with its power of initiation, obstruction, and control, would give him what he wanted[16]. The first step was taken in B.C. 36–3, immediately after

[15] ὁ μὲν Δομίτιος οὐδὲν φανερῶς, ὥς γε καὶ συμφορῶν πολλῶν πεπειραμένος, ἐνεδχμωσεν, Dio 50, 3.

[16] Dio 45, 5; Plut. *Ant.* 16; Suet. c. 10.

the final defeat of Sextus Pompeius. Besides the ovation and other honours decreed to Octavian on that occasion, a residence on the Palatine was assigned to him, and his person was declared to be under the protection of the same *leges sacratae* as those of the Tribunes, with whom he was to share the official bench in the Senate[17]. Whether this was a spontaneous idea of the Senate, or came from a suggestion of his own, it is at any rate the first use of the Tribunate as a means of giving him a special position, and the first indication of the principle that the difficulty of his being ineligible to the Tribunate might be got over by the possession of the power without the office.

B.C. 36–5. *The person of Augustus declared to be protected by the* **leges sacratae.**

Still it was the privileges rather than the power that were given by this vote. The next step was the power. It was taken in B.C. 30. Antony was dead: all opposition was at an end. Death in battle, suicide, or submission had put the world at Caesar's feet. When the news was brought home by Cicero, the great orator's son, the Senate hastened to lavish their now familiar honours. Among others more or less extravagant, Caesar was to have the *tribunicia potestas* for life, with a right of auxilium within the city and half a mile beyond the pomoerium (which was not in the competence of the tribunes) and the right of giving a casting vote in all *iudicia*[18].

B.C. 30. *The* **Tribunicia potestas.**

Still, important as the *tribunicia potestas* was to him, it was in point of dignity inferior to the consulate, which at any rate in theory made him head of the State. But there were certain inconveniences about the consulship, which he held in successive years from B.C. 31 to B.C. 23. At home it involved (at any rate in form) a division of functions and powers with a colleague.

B.C. 23. *The tribunicia potestas and the new constitution.*

[17] *τήν τε οἰκίαν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τὸ μήτε λόγῳ τι ὑβρίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν τοιοῦτό τι δράσαντα ἐνέχεσθαι οἷσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ ἐτέτακτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων συγκαθέζεσθαι σφισιν ἔλαβεν.* Dio 49, 15.

[18] Dio 51, 19. *τήν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβούμενους αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ ἔξω μέχρις ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν δημαρχούντων ἐξῆν, ἔκκλητόν τε δικάζειν καὶ ψῆφόν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὥσπερ Ἀθηνᾶς φέρεσθαι.* This last rather dubious expression seems to imply some sort of appellate jurisdiction, at any rate in cases of doubt.

In the provinces it might place him in an equivocal position in regard to the proconsul. In B.C. 23 therefore a great change was made, which in fact recognised the new constitution that had come into existence. Augustus resigned the consulship, which he did not hold again till B.C. 5, and in exchange received the *proconsulare imperium*, which was not to be laid down upon his entering the pomoerium, and was to be superior (*maius*) to the *imperium* of the proconsul or propraetor in every province. He was also to have perpetually the consular privilege of bringing any business before the Senate which he chose. He had already in B.C. 27 received special powers in those provinces in which there were legions, but this new *proconsulare imperium* made him in theory as well as in fact supreme in all alike. Still in this new constitution he clung to the shadow of popular choice and republican position, and the *tribunicia potestas*, now confirmed again to him for life, was openly treated as his most important function: the years of his tenure of it starting from B.C. 23 are used as the ordinary mode of dating events on coins and inscriptions[19].

The new Principate not a development of princeps senatus.

(2) The consuls however were still nominally head of the State. It was necessary that some means should be found to give Augustus (as he was called since B.C. 27) in form that first place which he already had in reality. It was thus, as I conceive, that the theory of the principate took a new development. It was not a development of his position as *princeps senatus*, which he had been since B.C. 28. That only gave senatorial rank, bringing no privileges beyond the right of being asked first for his sententia, which as consul (who introduced business but did not vote) would be of no value to him. The name may have suggested the new title; but it was used in an essentially different sense. Its novelty and indefiniteness were its chief advantages. His consular, proconsular, and tribunician powers were very great, but after all had certain traditional limits. As *princeps* of the whole State, on the other hand, he would exercise whatever magisterial powers

[19] Dio 53, 42.

he possessed without question as to precedence or rights of colleagues, and in all parts of the Empire alike. It was not, as were his other powers, founded on any shadow of republican magistracy, and was perhaps never exactly defined; but as it placed Augustus in rank and dignity before all other magistrates, so it gave him the right not only of exercising those powers, uncontrolled by colleagues, but also of doing everything else not included under them. Eventually it came to be treated as the reality which it was, and Augustus could speak of events *me principe*, or *ante me principem*, just as he might have said *me consule* or *ante me consulem*[20].

1st principate for 10 years B.C. 27.

Like other powers of the new régime, however, it was arrived at gradually. At first it seems to have been conferred (without the name perhaps) in connexion with the imperial provinces at the division of B.C. 27. In them Augustus was to exercise for 10 years a power unlike any that had been recognised before. When this ἀρχή is renewed in B.C. 19–18 the rule in the provinces had been secured by the perpetual *proconsulare imperium*, and this novel power was not needed. From henceforth at each renewal this ἡγεμονία or προστασία has ceased to have any special connexion with the provinces, and applies equally to the whole Empire, and is, as Dio [53, 16] says, a real 'monarchy'[21]. It was this title and office which expressed

[20] *M. A.* cc. 30 and 32. I accept Prof. Pelham's proof that *princeps* was not a development of *princeps senatus* [*Journal of Phil.* VIII. 16, p. 322], though I think that the title of *princeps iuventutis* (i.e. *equitum*, or all below the Senate) given afterwards to Gaius and Lucius shows that in one aspect of it there was a feeling in men's minds that the two were in some senses connected; and I also venture to think that 'leader of the Roman Nobility' and 'elect of the Roman people' do not adequately express the ideas ever attaching to the Princeps.

[21] This account of the origin of the *principatus*, in some degree (I think) new, requires to be supported. It seems to follow from Dio. In 53, 13, when describing the division of the provinces, he says that Caesar wishing to avoid the imputation of 'monarchy' accepted the government (ἀρχή) of them for 10 years only. In summing up the results of his administration of the provinces, however, he declares it to have been a real monarchy, which the periodical renewal [ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, εἶτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἕτερα αὖθις δέκα πεντάκις αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη] made practically life-long. But when he tells of the various renewals, he has a new name for the office (which yet can only be the renewal of the first); in B.C. 19 he calls it προστασία [44, 12], in B.C. 8 ἡγεμονία [55, 5], in A.D. 3 ἡγεμονία [55, 12]; in A.D. 13 προστασία [56, 28]. These are his words for the Latin *principatus*,

the unity of the Empire in the face of the world of foreign nations, and the coordination of all powers and offices under the supreme control of one, who yet had adopted a title so little arrogant that it might be interpreted as merely giving a first place in dignity, and a right to take the lead on all occasions of ceremony. Other titles suggested departmental functions, this an imperial and universal supremacy. Other titles might be and were (at any rate in name) shared with others, this could be applied to one alone.

But though this title in a sense included all others, yet he also bore others indicating the particular spheres in which his powers were to be exercised; often in conjunction with colleagues. Thus the title *Imperator* had two meanings. (1) It belonged to a magistrate with imperium. (2) It was bestowed by acclamation on a victorious general by his soldiers[22]. If this were confirmed by the Senate, it could, it seems, be assumed as a perpetual title. Augustus at any rate so assumes it. Thus, in an inscription recording the formation of the Triumvirate, Caesar alone has the title, given him by his soldiers after the battles at Mutina[23] and confirmed by the Senate,...EMILIVS M. ANTONIVS. IMP. CAESAR IIIVIR R. P. C. A.D. IV KAL. DEC. AD. PRID. CAL. IAN. SEXT. [Orell. 594]. Thus again in the Consular Fasti for B.C. 33 he is entered as IMP. CAESAR, and so henceforth. But he was also *imperator* because another formal vote of the

Imperator.

which therefore he considers (so far as it was a definite office) to have grown out of the original ἀρχή of the Imperial provinces. It may be worth while to observe that of the two passages in which Augustus speaks of himself as *princeps* in the *Mon. An.* [cc. 30 and 32], in the former he is referring to an extension of the frontier, in the latter to his relations with foreign powers. He was indeed *princeps civitatis* to the citizens, but above all he was *princeps* as representing the Empire to the outside world.

[22] Dio 43, 44. The vote in the Senate in B.C. 44 confirmed by the Senate on the 16th of April [Ov. *F.* 4, 673]. An inscription of B.C. 29 [Wilm. 879] gives us the title in both senses: SENATVS • POPULVS • QUE • ROMANVS • IMP • CAESARI • D • IVLI • F • COS • QVINT • COS • DESIGN • SEXT • IMP • SEPT • REPVBLICA • CONSERVATA. Cp. also Pliny *N. H.* 3 § 136 (the inscription at Turbia) IMPERATORI • CAESARI • DIVI • F • AVG • PONTIFICI • MAXVMO • IMP • XIIII • TRIBVNICIAE • POTESTATIS • XVII. The title by acclamation could only be given once in the same war, Dio 70, 21.

[23] Dio 46, 38. Cp. Cicero x. *Phil.* § 28.

Senate in B.C. 29 gave the title to him and his descendants[24], and he therefore could and did use it as a regular title; but, as he always had *imperium* in other ways, it rather expressed a fact than conferred any fresh powers.

Censorial powers.

There were certain other functions, originally inherent in the consulship, but which since B.C. 443 had devolved upon the periodically appointed Censors. The chief of these were the making up of the list of the Senate (*lectio Senatus*), and of the Equites, and taking the census. The Censorship, much reduced in its powers by Clodius in B.C. 58, had fallen into desuetude during the civil wars. Two Censors had been appointed in B.C. 42, but had refused to act; and, though the experiment of allowing the appointment of two in B.C. 22 was tried, it was not successful. Augustus performed the functions of the Censors partly by falling back upon the old consular powers[25], partly in virtue of special powers as *praefectus moribus*[26], a contrivance for exercising censorial powers without the office or name, as in the case of his other powers. Thus in B.C. 29, though Consul, he seems to have thought it necessary in holding the census to rest upon his *tribunicia potestas*; but in B.C. 8 and A.D. 14 he acts simply in virtue of his *potestas consularis*[27], which had been given him for life in B.C. 19.

Dio's view of the autocracy (53, 17–18).

The general result of the concentration of all these powers in the person of one *princeps* is thus expressed by Dio, who speaks of course from a point of view of a later date, when the development of the autocracy had become more complete.

[24] Dio 52, 41. Perhaps Augustus may have claimed the title as early as B.C. 43 in consequence of the vote bestowing it on Iulius and his children: *τοὺς παῖδας τούς τε ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ οὕτω καλεῖσθαι ψηφίσασθαι* Dio 43, 44.

[25] Dio indeed speaks of him as *τιμητεύσας σὺν Ἀγρίππᾳ* in B.C. 29. But Augustus himself enumerates this census among his consular acts with his colleague Agrippa [*M. A.* 8].

[26] Iulius had held the same office [Dio 43, 14; 44, 5]. What Augustus asserts that he refused [*M. A.* 6 *ἵνα ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐξουσίᾳ χειροτονηθῶ*] seems to have been a life-censorship. Dio [54, 10, 30] asserts that he was twice elected *ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τρόπων* for five years each time, i.e. B.C. 19 and 12, see c. 27.

[27] See p. 60, *M. A.* 8.

'The word 'monarchy' was so odious to the Romans that they 'never called their Emperors dictators or kings or anything of that 'sort. Yet, as the ultimate power in the State lies with them, they do 'in effect reign. The various constitutional offices (except the cen-'sorship) do indeed subsist to this day: but the Emperor for the time 'being manages and directs everything exactly as he chooses. That 'they may seem, however, to possess these powers in accordance with 'law and not by force, the Emperors assume the several offices, 'which, when there was a free democracy, carried with them the 'highest powers, with the one exception of the dictatorship. Thus 'for instance they frequently take the consulship; on quitting the 'pomoerium they are always styled proconsuls; instead of king or 'dictator they take the name of Imperator, and not merely those 'who have won victories, but all alike, as a symbol of irresponsible 'power. Dictators or kings indeed they do not style themselves, since 'those offices have been once for all abolished, but all their actual 'powers they have secured by this appellation of Imperator.

'The powers bestowed by these various offices are these. As 'Imperatores they can levy troops, collect money, declare war, make 'peace, exercise at all times and in all places alike such complete 'authority over the army, whether of citizens or auxiliaries, that even 'within the pomoerium they can put to death both equites and 'senators; and, in short, can do all that the consuls and other magis-'trates possessed of full imperium would be able to do.

'Again, as censors they examine into our lives and morals, hold 'the census, and enter or strike off names from the rolls of the 'Equites and Senate, entirely at their own pleasure.

'Once more, being invested with all priesthoods, especially that 'of the Pontifex Maximus, and in the majority of cases being able to 'confer them on others, they have complete control over everything 'connected with religion.

'Lastly the tribunician power, exercised in old times by the men 'of the greatest influence, gives them the means of absolutely 'putting a stop to any proceedings of which they do not approve, 'and renders their persons inviolable, so that the least violence 'offered to them however trivial, whether by word or deed, makes 'the guilty party liable to death without trial, as being under a curse. 'The actual office of Tribune they consider themselves debarred by 'the sacred laws from taking, because they are always patricians, but 'its powers they assume to the highest degree to which they ever 'extended. And accordingly it is by it that they reckon the years of

'their reign as though they were colleagues of the annually elected 'tribunes.

'These titles they have taken from the usages of the democracy 'in order that they may pose as having assumed nothing 'that was not bestowed by the people. Yet they had 'been already rendered unnecessary by one sweeping 'concession putting them above the laws (*legibus solvi*). In virtue of 'this, which was never given outright to any Roman in old times, 'they might have done all they have ever done, or anything else. 'The result is that they have invested themselves with the com- 'plete powers of the State, with everything in short that 'kings ever had except the offensive name.

Legibus solvi.

The general result.

'Their appellations of Caesar and Augustus add nothing to their 'powers. The former is merely a symbol of a pretended descent, 'the latter of an exalted position. The title *pater patriae*, however, 'does perhaps give them a certain authority over us all, such as formerly 'fathers had over their children. Not that this was the original idea 'of it. It was at first a mere title of honour, which yet conveyed the 'suggestion that, while they loved their subjects, their subjects were 'bound to reverence them.'

This view of what the new principate came to in the not remote future dissipates any colourable pretext of constitutional conservatism, with which Augustus may have flattered his contemporaries or deluded his own mind. He dwells indeed on this point more than once in the *Monumentum*; and takes credit for refusing unconstitutional offices, and for not exercising powers superior to those of his colleagues. But facts are too strong for him. He had in effect established an autocracy, which his successor (with some show of reluctance) promptly acknowledged and carried to its logical conclusion.

It was a real monarchy.

In no department of government was the unlimited primacy of the Princeps more efficacious or more salutary than in the provinces. The life-long *imperium proconsulare*, bestowed on him B.C. 23, gave a definite expression to its exercise. From that time appeals were naturally addressed to him, and new regulations issued by him[28]. But four years before, on the division of the pro-

Reforms in the Provinces.

[28] Dio 53, 32; Suet. *Aug.* 33; *Dig.* 1, 49, 4; 27, 42, 1; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 6.

vinces in B.C. 27, the theory of the Principate enabled Augustus to initiate, if he did not carry out immediately, a series of reforms. In the Imperial provinces this was comparatively easy. It followed from the fact that the *legati Augusti pro praetore* were appointed immediately by him, held their office during pleasure, and were answerable to him; while the finances of the province were under the care of a *procurator*, who was as dependent on his orders, and as responsible to him, as the steward of a private individual. But in the Senatorial provinces also his power could and did intervene with almost equal decisiveness. The beneficial changes introduced were mainly these:

(1) Though in the Senatorial provinces the praetorian or consular governors were still selected by lot from ex-praetors and ex-consuls of five years standing (according to the *lex Pompeia*), and though over that allotment the Senate presided and kept some control, yet Augustus retained the privilege of approving the list and, if he chose, of fixing the number of candidates; whereby if necessary he could practically name the governors[29].

(2) If there were serious complaints of maladministration he could take over a province temporarily, without changing its permanent status[30].

(3) The *proconsuls* (in Senatorial provinces) had but insignificant forces, only such as were necessary for a guard and police duty[31]. Their power of compulsion therefore rested on the support and prestige of the government at home.

(4) There was in a Senatorial, as in an Imperial province, a *procurator* to manage the tribute, who was equally in both answerable to the Emperor[32].

(5) The proconsul or propraetor had a fixed salary, and no longer exacted his expenses from the provincials[33].

(6) Cases of malversation and oppression were referred to the Senate by the Emperor; and the Senate named one of

[29] Dio 53, 44; Tac. *Ann.* 6, 27, 40.
[30] Dio 53, 14; 54, 30; 55, 28. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 76.
[31] Except in the case of Africa Tac. *H.* 4, 17; Dio 53, 13.
[32] Dio 53, 15, Marquardt 9, p. 582.
[33] Dio 52, 23; 53, 15; Tac. *Agric.* 42.

its own number as advocate for the complaining province. The injured provincials no longer depended on the services of a *patronus* or on the verdict of a jury[34].

(7) The postal service (in connexion with which must be considered the improved roads) greatly facilitated rapid and frequent references to the Emperor himself on details of administration[35].

(8) The old abuse of the *libera legatio*, if not wholly removed[36], was rendered difficult and almost ceased to exist.

At the same time such laws as had been previously passed with a view to purify provincial administration—the lex Calpurnia B.C. 149, the lex Acilia [Cic. 2 *Verr.* 1, 9], the lex Servilia Glauciae B.C. 122, the lex Cornelia B.C. 80, the lex Iulia B.C. 59,—remained in force so far as they were not superseded by the new regulations[37]. The beneficent effect of the change was promptly felt in many parts of the Empire, not least in Asia, where there set in about this time a period of great material prosperity.

§ 2. SUETONIUS, HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

Like other writers of biography in ancient times, Suetonius has found no biographer himself. Even the dates of his birth and death are uncertain[38], and scarcely any facts of his life are known. He mentions himself seven times, but only briefly to refer to what he had seen or heard as a boy or young man, or to tell us his father's name and rank[39]. Pliny the younger

[34] Tac. *Ann.* 3, 68; Suet. *Dom.* 8; Pliny *Ep.* 3, 9.

[35] Suet. *Aug.* c. 49, p. 107 note. *C. I. L.* 14, p. 1 at Ostia there is a *procurator pugillationis et ad naves vagas*, Marq. 9, pp. 587—592. [36] Suet. *Tib.* 31.

[37] As for instance the regulations of the *lex Iulia*, which rendered all the staff (*cohors*) of a governor liable to prosecution, without being able to plead his authority for illegal acts. See Pliny *Ep.* 3, 9.

[38] He was an *adulescens* 20 years after Nero's death, i.e. in A.D. 88 [*Ner.* c. 57] and still calls himself so towards the end of the reign of Domitian [ob. A.D. 96, *Dom.* 12]. The period usually marked as *adulescentia* is from about 17 to 31. Therefore he was roughly speaking not more than 31 in A.D. 96, or less than 17 in A.D. 88, i.e. he was born not earlier than A.D. 71. The year A.D. 75 seems the most probable, as we find that he had been promised a military tribuneship in A.D. 100 [Plin. *Ep.* 3, 8]. His death occurred at some time previous to A.D. 160.

[39] *Aug.* c. 7; *Cal.* 19; *Oth.* 10; *Ner.* 57; *Domit.* 12; *de Gramm.* 4; *vita Lucani.*

is the only contemporary who throws any light upon his life. From him we learn that he practised in the law courts; that he taught rhetoric; that in A.D. 100 he was to have a military tribuneship (probably to qualify for office), but begged Pliny to use his influence to have it transferred to another; that his works were much liked and expected with some eagerness; that he resided for a time at least in Pliny's house, who declares that the closer his view of him the greater his affection for him became[40]; that though he was married he had no children or had lost them; and that Trajan accordingly granted him the *ius trium liberorum.* The biographer Vopiscus testifies to his honesty[41]; and Aelius Spartianus, in his life of Hadrian[42], tells us that he was secretary (*epistularum magister*) to that Emperor, but was with others displaced about A.D. 121 for paying too much court to the Empress Sabina. That is really all that we know of him. The fact seems to be that he avoided public life. He was a *grammaticus*, a teacher and scholar, half philologist, half antiquarian; and the kind of literature to which he devoted himself was not that which made a man conspicuous or generally popular. He wrote no epigrams or panegyrics, no declamations or plays. Nor was his birth high enough to make him a personage in society. His father was a *tribunus legionis angusticlavius* [*Oth.* 10]; and his connexion with Pliny was after all that of an inferior to a patron, in whose letters there is always, in spite of their warmth, a certain tone of superiority. Of his works (besides the treatise *de Rhetoribus* and the fragment *de grammaticis* which we possess) Suidas gives us the following list:

(1) On Greek Games, one book[43].

(2) On Spectacles and Games at Rome, two books[44].

[40] Pliny *Epist.* 1, 18, 24; 3, 8; 5, 10; 9, 34; *ad Traj.* 94, 95 *Suetonium Tranquillum, probissimum honestissimum eruditissimum virum, et mores eius secutus et studia iam pridem, domine, in contubernium adsumpsi tantoque magis diligere coepi quanto hunc proprius inspexi.*

[41] Vopisc. *vit. Firmi* 1 § 1 *emendatissimus et candidissimus scriptor.*

[42] Ael. Spart. *vit. Hadr.* 11 § 3.

[43] Eustathius ad Hom. *Odyss.* 1, 107: Ioh. Tzetzes *Chil.* 6, 874.

[44] *Liber ludicrae Historiae*, Tertull. *de spect.* 6, Aul. Gell. 9, 7, 3.

(3) On the Roman year, one book[45].

(4) *de notis* (περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων), one book[46].

(5) On the *Republic* of Cicero, against Didumus, one book.

(6) On proper names, dress, and shoes[47].

(7) On words of ill-omen and their origin[48].

(8) *de institutis et moribus Romae*, two books[49].

(9) *Stemma Caesarum; et vitae eorum a Iulio ad Domitianum*, eight books.

(10) *Stemma virorum illustrium Romanorum*[50].

A. Reifferscheid (*Suetonii Tranquilli reliquiae* and *Quaestiones Suetonianae*) tries to show that some of these are the titles not of separate books, but of different parts of the same book. He appears also to have written an account of the Gallic wars of Iulius Caesar[51]; a book *de vitiis corporalibus*[52]; another *de illustribus scortis*[53]; another *de institutione officiorum*[54]; a miscellany called *Pratum* or *de rebus variis*[55]; a treatise *de Regibus* in three books[56]. This represents the fruits of a great and varied industry, which, if not as vast as that of Varro, is yet sufficient to explain his abstention from more active employment.

[45] Censorinus 20, 2. [46] Amm. Marcell. 22, 16, 16.

[47] Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* 2, 683; 7, 612. [48] Eustathius ad Hom. *Il.* 8, 488.

[49] Aul. Gell. 15, 4, 4. [50] Hieronymus *ad Dextrum* 2. 821.

[51] Oros. *Hist. adv. Paganos* 6, 7, 2 *hanc historiam Suetonius Tranquillus plenissime explicuit*, which could by no possibility refer to the single chapter in the life of Iulius.

[52] Servius ad Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 8; *Aen.* 7, 627.

[53] Ioh. Lydus *de Magistratibus* 3, 64 Τράκυλλος...ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπισήμων πορνῶν.

[54] Priscian 6, 8, 41.

[55] Priscian 8, 4, 21; 18, 19, 4; Isidorus *de Natura rerum* 38, 1.

[56] That is, apparently, foreign kings, Ausonius *Epist.* 19.

§ 3. The Authorities of Suetonius for the Life of Augustus.

The paucity of the contemporary accounts of Augustus which have reached us has been already noticed. Suetonius must have had a considerable mass of authorities at his disposal, the greater part of which has perished.

Writings of Augustus.

First among them must be placed the Emperor's own memoirs extending to B.C. 24, which were published in his lifetime or soon after his death[57]; more than one collection of his letters[58]; his speeches[59]; State papers or discourses delivered orally from a written copy[60]; his laws[61]; *diplomata*[62]; *rationaria* of the Empire drawn up periodically[63]; edicts, some of which were on matters personal to himself[64]; *laudationes* over members of his family or friends, his grandmother, sister, Agrippa and Drusus[65]. Of the last-named he also wrote a life[66], besides other compositions on more general topics, enumerated in the eighty-fifth chapter. Lastly, there were the three volumes left at his death, containing directions for his funeral, a breviarium of the Empire,

[57] He quotes them in cc. 2, 7, 27, 28, 42, 62, 74, 85, 86; *de Grammat.* c. 16. They are also quoted by Appian *B. civ.* 4, 110; 5, 47; *Illyr.* 14; Dio 48, 44; Isidorus *de natura Rerum* 44; Plutarch *Comp. Cic. et Dem.* 3; Pliny *N. H.* 2 §§ 24, 94.

[58] Quoted in cc. 40, 50, 51, 64, 71, 76, 86, 87, 93; also in *Tib.* 21, 51; *Claud.* 4; *Calig.* 8; *vita Hor.*; Seneca *de brev. vit.* 5 § 1; *dialog.* 10, 4 § 3; Macrob. *Sat.* 2, 4, 12; Pliny *N. H.* 18 §§ 94, 189; 21 § 9; Priscian 10, 9: Aul. Gell. 10, 11, 5; 10, 24, 2; 15, 7, 3; Isidor. Hispal. 1, 24 § 2. There was also a collection of correspondence between him and Cicero in three books, frequently quoted by Nonius. That these books contained some of his letters is evident from one of these fragments *cum iter facerem ad Hirtium Claternam spurcissima tempestate*, cp. Cic. *ad Att.* 16, 9; 16, 11.

[59] He quotes the exact words cc. 58, 84. Dio probably had published copies of them, see 53, 3—10; 54, 25; 56, 2—9; 60, 10; Cic. *ad Att.* 15, 2 § 3; 14, 21 § 4; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 10; Iul. Front. *de limit. agr.*; Liv. *Ep.* 59, App. *B. civ.* 3, 96.

[60] c. 84 note. See Dio 55, 14—22; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 39; Sen. *de Clem.* 1, 9.

[61] c. 34, 36. [62] *Cal.* 33. [63] c. 28, cp. *Cal.* 16; *Nero* 10.

[64] cc. 28, 31, 42, 44, 53, cp. *Ner.* 4.

[65] His grandmother Iulia [c. 8]; Octavia [Dio 54, 35], Agrippa [Dio 59, 28], Drusus [Suet. *Claud.* 1; Dio 55, 2].

[66] Suet. *Claud.* 1.

and finally the *index rerum gestarum*, which constituted a kind of 'apologia pro vita sua'[67].

Public documents.

Next among Suetonius' sources we must reckon numerous public documents, the *acta diurna* which were preserved[68], *senatus consulta et acta*[69], the *plebiscita* which bestowed honours on Augustus[70], as well as local records, as at Velitrae[71].

Writings of friends and foes.

Thirdly, there were writings of various sorts by friends and foes. Among the former it seems we must reckon Maecenas and Agrippa, though it is uncertain whether the writings referred to were formal compositions or mere letters[72]. Of his enemies there were speeches of M. Brutus[73]; letters of Sext. Pompeius[74], Marcus and Lucius Antonius[75], Cassius of Parma[76], Iunius Novatus[77], besides popular pasquinades and epigrams[78].

Histories.

Lastly there were some books giving a more or less consecutive account of the life and times of Augustus[79]. Suetonius does not frequently refer to them by name. He more often uses some vague phrase which might cover both written and oral testimony, such as *alii* (cc. 2 and 16), *scribunt quidam...extiterunt qui traderent* (c. 15), *quidam ferunt...quidam exponunt...existunt qui ferant* (c. 94), *ferunt* (cc. 23, 71), *fertur* (c. 33). A certain number however he does

[67] c. 101: Tac. *Ann.* 1, 8; Dio 56, 33.

[68] Plin. *N. H.* 7, 60 *in actis temporum divi Augusti invenio* &c.

[69] cc. 5, 58, 65. [70] cc. 57—8. [71] c. 1.

[72] Plin. *N. H.* 7, 148 *Philippensi praelio morbidi fuga et triduo in palude aegroti et (ut fatentur Agrippa et Maecenas) aqua subter cutem fusa turgidi latebra...* Horace *Odes* 2, 12, 8 *tuque pedestribus dices historiis proelia Caesaris, Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias regum colla minacium.* Servius ad Verg. *G.* 2, 42 *constat Maecenatem fuisse literarum peritum, et plura composuisse carmina; nam etiam Augusti Caesaris gesta descripsit, quod testatur Horatius.* Philargyrius ad Verg. *Georg.* 2, 162 *Agrippa in secundo vitae suae dicit*, etc. See also Pliny *N. H.* 9 § 24 *pigeret referre ni res Maecenatis et Fabiani et Flavii Alfii multorumque esset literis mandata.* None of these passages really prove that Maecenas, and much less that Agrippa, wrote *on* Augustus; but Agrippa could hardly write his own life without giving many particulars of that of Augustus. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 3 § 86.

[73] Tac. *Ann.* 4, 34. [74] c. 68. [75] cc. 2, 4, 7, 16, 63, 68, 69.

[76] c. 4. His letters are referred to by Pliny *N. H.* 31 § 11.

[77] c. 51. [78] c. 70.

[79] Augustus disliked inferior writers undertaking to write of him, see c. 89, cp. Hor. *Od.* 1, 6, 10.

name. Among them perhaps the most important was Cremutius Cordus[80], who wrote a history of Augustus (*περὶ τῶν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πραχθέντων*), and appears to have taken so unfavourable a view at any rate of the earlier part of his career, that his books were burnt or excluded from Rome during the reign of Tiberius. Aquilius Niger[81], of whom nothing else is known, also attacked him, accusing him of causing the death of Hirtius. In like manner Iunius Saturninus (equally unknown) assailed his conduct in the proscription[82]. Among other writings M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (b. B.C. 64) composed a work on the civil wars after the death of Iulius. He died about 9 years before Augustus, and as he deserted Antony for Augustus soon after Philippi, and was the mouthpiece of the Senate when offering the title of *pater patriae*, his account may be presumed to have been more favourable to Augustus[83]. Cornelius Nepos, one of the older generation like Messala, does not appear to have written a formal history of the time, but in his *Chronica* or *de viris illustribus* may have retailed some anecdotes of Augustus[84]. Iulius Marathus, who was his freedman and secretary, seems to have written some account of his personal appearance as well as of the prodigies that accompanied his birth[85]. On this last subject anecdotes were also preserved by Asclepiades of Egypt and P. Nigidius Figulus[86], Pythagorean philosopher and mystic. This class of writer no doubt helped Suetonius in the composition of his 94th chapter, but could not add materially to the chief parts of the work. That there was plentiful material, however, either in literature or tradition, is also shown by the number of anecdotes (about 80) recorded of Augustus in Pliny's *Natural History*[87].

[80] c. 35 p. 80 note. [81] c. 11. [82] c. 27.

[83] cc. 54, 58, 74. He had been devoted to Cassius Tac. *Ann.* 4, 34; when put on the proscription list he had fled to Brutus [App. *B. civ.* 4, 38], and after Philippi made terms with Antony [ib. c. 136; 5, 112—3]. See also Dio 49, 16, 38; 50, 10. His history is quoted by Plutarch *Brut.* cc. 40, 41, 43, 45.

[84] c. 77 p. 143 note. [85] cc. 79, 94. [86] p. 162 notes.

[87] It may be observed that Pliny is the only writer who records one important work of Augustus, the division for administrative purposes of Italy into eleven *regiones* [3 §§ 46—128]. They were I. Campania (including Latium south of the Anio). II. Apulia and Calabria including the Hirpini. III. Lucania and Bruttium.

§ 4. THE TEXT.

The text of Suetonius, though not perfect, may be regarded as fairly satisfactory, and few great problems seem to arise, at any rate in the Augustus. The number of MSS. of the *vitae Caesarum* is very great, the best of all being the *Codex Memmianus* (9th cent.) in the National Library at Paris, and the next the Florence *Codex Mediceus* (11th century). Roth holds it not proven that, as has been maintained, all later MSS. were derived from the *Memmianus* or from any one source; though all MSS. have the same *lacuna* at the beginning of the Iulius, and certainly the variations between such MSS. as have been collated are not large or important. I have collated the two in the Cambridge University Library of the 12th and 15th centuries respectively, and the general result of the inspection seems to be that the text had been thoroughly settled before the earlier date. The two texts (setting aside common blunders) are substantially the same, and offer little assistance in such difficulties as exist. I have noticed most variations of importance in the course of the notes. I append a few observations on special points.

c. 7, p. 12, l. 6. **cubiculi Lares**. The MSS. have *cubiculares* (so both Camb. MSS.). The correction is by Lipsius.

c. 17, p. 38, l. 1. **Cn. Domitium**. I have admitted *Cn.* into the text in spite of all MSS., which have **T**, as there seems no doubt whatever that the praenomen of Domitius was *Gnaeus*.

c. 21, p. 48, l. 2. **Suebos** [some MSS. **Suevos**]. I feel that Suetonius ought to have written **Ubios**, but it is possible that he used *Suebi* in a loose and wide sense.

IV. Samnium (embracing the Frentani, Marrucini, Marsi, Peligni, Aequiculi, Vestini, Sabini). V. Picenum. VI. Umbria (including the territory of the Senones). VII. Etruria. VIII. Gallia Cispadana. IX. Liguria to the Var. X. Venetia (including Carni, Istri, Cenomani). XI. Gallia Transpadana. The division seems to have taken into account both the natural features of the country and the distribution of races: but though Suetonius is careful to note his divisions of the city and his police arrangements for the protection of the country (cc. 31, 32), it is only in a passing allusion to his visitation of them that he mentions the *regiones* of Italy (c. 46).

c. 25, p. 55, l. 5. **Sicilia** is evidently right for the *Cilicia* of most MSS. The same error occurs in Livy *Ep.* 58.

c. 30, p. 68, l. 5. **sestertii.** The later Camb. MS. has **sestertium**; and it seems to me now more probable that in this and similar places the numeral sign ℍS has been wrongly transcribed with the singular case terminations of *sestertium.* See also c. 41, p. 91, l. 7.

c. 32, p. 75, l. 7. **vicensimo [quinto]**. The MSS. have *tricensimo* or *tricessimo.* See fragm. of the *Lex Acilia* (formerly called *Lex Servilia*) § 17, Bruns *Fontes* p. 59, *C. I. L.* 1, 49—54. It may be observed that 25 was also the minimum age for the lowest senatorial magistracies under Augustus, Dio 52, 20, Momms. *Staatsr.* p. 235.

c. 40, p. 90, l. 9. **circove.** This reading for *circave*, adopted by Roth from a Paris MS. and several others, is also in the older Cambridge MS.

c. 42, p. 93, l. 12. **post se.** Both Cambridge MSS. have *posse.*

" " l. 13. **posthac.** Camb.[1], Camb.[2] *posthanc.*

c. 51, p. 109, l. 6. **sed violentius**, an emendation of Pithoeus for *sedulo lentius.* Camb.[2] *sedulo violentius.*

c. 53, p. 111, l. 10. **adoperta** is the reading of the MSS. but I have on the whole preferred Roth's **adaperta.** The point of the former would be that Augustus closed the curtains of his sedan to avoid giving or receiving trouble.

c. 56, p. 114, l. 3. **in tribu.** Erasmus for the MSS. *tribubus.* The latter might be defended by translating 'among the tribes,' i.e. in his tribe when the tribes were voting. Camb.[1] has *trib.*

c. 64, p. 124, l. 7. **notare.** I have accepted this emendation of Lipsius with some doubt. For though writing in shorthand was taught boys in schools, swimming was also a conspicuous feature in early training, which Cato taught his son himself (Plut. *Cat.* 20); yet perhaps it would be too much for a valetudinarian, like Augustus, to do.

c. 70, p. 133, l. 3. **istorum.** Camb.[1] *iustum.*

c. 79, p. 147, l. 3. **et a memoria eius.** This phrase does not seem to occur elsewhere. The MSS. have *etiam memoriam*, Camb.[1] *etiam in memoriam.*

c. 94, p. 164, l. 13. **in eius sinum signum rei publicae.** Roth reads *in eius sinum rempublicam.* But Dio, who is translating from Suetonius, has εἰκόνα τινα τῆς Ῥώμης [45, 2], and it seems somewhat forced to use *respublica* as = signum reipublicae. The Codex Memm. has *in eius signum reipublicae*, but *sinum* would be likely to drop out before a word so similar as *signum.* The two Camb. MSS.

have *in eius sinum reipublicae*, thus by a parallel mistake dropping the other of the two similar words. The true reading is found in several MSS.

c. 98, p. 169, l. 11. **missilia.** Roth marks a lacuna before this word. We might read *rerumque omnium* as in *Ner.* 11. But *rerum* may be defended perhaps as referring to the ornaments or furniture, as opposed to the eatables lying on the table. For **diripiendique** Camb.[1] has *diripiendi.*

[Madvig *Advers. Crit.* (1872) pp. 374 sq. proposes the following emendations: c. 27, p. 58, l. 4 *persona.* c. 32, p. 73, l. 10 *grassaturam.* c. 35, p. 79, l. 4 *a deformi*; l. 6 *pretium* for *praemium.* c. 42, p. 93, l. 12 *restitutum iri.* c. 43, p. 95, l. 7 om. *et* before *nonnunquam.* c. 65, p. 126, l. 11 *quoquam* for *quopiam.* c. 86, p. 153, l. 17 *Annius* **ac** *Veranius.* c. 89, p. 157, l. 2 *alii dabat, sed plane. Poematum* etc. c. 91, p. 159, ll. 5—6 *dedicata...aedes...frequentaretur.* Cp. Dio 54, 4.]

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS DURING THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS.

B.C.	CONSULS	PRINCIPAL EVENTS
63	M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius.	Birth of Augustus at Rome IX. *Kal. Oct.* (23 Sept.) c. 5. Execution of the Catilinarian conspirators *Non. Dec.* (13 Dec.). Capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in December. Birth of M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
62	D. Iunius Silanus, L. Licinius Murena.	C. Iulius Caesar praetor. Fall of Catiline in the winter. Return of Pompey to Italy from the East.
61	M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus, M. Messala Niger.	Triumph of Pompey. Iulius goes to Spain as pro-praetor.
60	L. Afranius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer.	After victories in Spain Iulius returns to Rome to stand for the Consulship. Formation of the so-called triumvirate—Pompey, Caesar and Crassus.
59	C. Iulius Caesar, M. Calpurnius Bibulus	Contests between Caesar and the Optimates headed by Bibulus. Caesar carries his agrarian laws and the *lex de repetundis*. Death of C. Octavius, father of Augustus, c. 8. Clodius becomes Tribune on 10 December. Birth of Livy.
58	L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, A. Gabinius.	Clodius carries a law punishing those who had put citizens to death without trial. Cicero goes into exile (April). Iulius Caesar in Gaul conquers the Helvetii and the German Ariovistus. Clodius quarrels with Pompey. Birth of Propertius.
57	P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos.	Iulius conquers the Belgae. Cicero returns from exile (September). Pompey *praefectus annonae* for five years. Birth of Livia (27 September).
56	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius Philippus.	Campaign of Iulius in Armorica. Clodius, aedile, still attacks Pompey. Conference at Lucca and renewal of the agreement between Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus.
55	Cn. Pompeius Magnus II., M. Licinius Crassus II.	Iulius defeats the Germans on the Meuse and crosses the Rhine, and first goes to Britain. Pompey marries Iulia, daughter of Iulius Caesar. Death of the poet Lucretius.

B.C.	CONSULS	PRINCIPAL EVENTS
54	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher.	Iulius Caesar goes to Britain a second time. Rebellion of Ambiorix in Gaul. Crassus marches against the Parthians. Death of Iulia in childbirth. Pompey pro-consul of Spain, which he governs by three legates, staying at home himself.
53	Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messala.	Iulius Caesar subdues the Nervii. At Rome frequent riots between the followers of Clodius and Milo prevent the Consular elections. Crassus defeated and killed at Carrhae by the Parthians.
52	Cn. Pompeius Magnus III., solus: *ex Kal. Sextil.*, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio.	Murder of Clodius by Milo (20 Jan.). More riots preventing election of consul till 25 February. Pompey carries a law preventing consuls taking a province till 5 years after consulship, and renewing the rule that a candidate for consulship must come personally to Rome. Milo condemned *de vi*. Campaign of Iulius against Vercingetorix.
51	Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, M. Claudius Marcellus.	Final reduction of Gaul by Iulius Caesar. He is deprived of two legions for the Parthian war under Bibulus. Parthians defeated by C. Cassius. Proposals to give Caesar a successor in Gaul. Death of Iulia, grandmother of Augustus, who speaks her funeral oration in his 12th year, c. 8. Pompey's command in Spain extended to a second period of 5 years. Cicero governor of Cilicia.
50	L. Aemilius Paulus, C. Claudius Marcellus.	Illness of Pompey. Farther attempts to recall Iulius Caesar. Curio (tribune) vetoes the proposal to name a day for Iulius to give up his province, and on the 10th Dec. joins Caesar at Ravenna.
49	C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus. *Dict. s. eq. m. comit. hab. et fer. Lat. c.*, C. Iulius Caesar.	Caesar sends an ultimatum to the Senate,—he will surrender his province and army if Pompey will do the same. Expulsion of the tribunes Antony and Cassius from the Senate. Caesar crosses the Rubicon (Jan.) and advances towards Brundisium. Pompey collects his forces at Brundisium and thence crosses to Greece (March). Siege of Marseilles. Defeat of the Pompeian legates at Ilerda in Spain (August).
48	C. Iulius Caesar II., P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.	Defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus (9 August = 29 June). Pompey murdered in Egypt. Octavius (Augustus) assumes the *toga virilis* (18 Oct.), and is elected into the college of pontifices in the room of Domitius Ahenobarbus. He acts as *praefectus urbi* during the *feriae Latinae* [Nic. Dam. 7]. Caesar engaged in the Alexandrine war.
47	Dictator *r. p. c. c.*, C. Iulius Caesar. *Mag. eq.*, M. Antonius. Q. Fufius Calenus, *cos.*, P. Vatinius, *cos.*	Conclusion of the Alexandrine war (28 March = January). Defeat of Pharnaces of Pontus and return of Caesar (as Dictator) to Rome (Septem. = July). Thence goes to Africa to attack Cato and the remains of the Pompeians. Octavius (Augustus) prevented by his mother owing to weak health from accompanying him [Nic. Dam. 6].

B.C.	CONSULS	PRINCIPAL EVENTS
46	C. Iulius Caesar III., M. Aemilius Lepidus.	Battle of Thapsus (7 April), and suicide of Cato at Utica. Reformation of the Calendar by insertion of 90 days. The young Octavius in high favour with Iulius, which he uses to obtain pardon for the brother of his friend Agrippa [Nic. Dam. 7]. Caesar's triple triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus. Octavius takes part in it. Caesar (Dictator for 10 years) goes to Spain in December.
45	Dictator *r. p. c. c.*, C. Iulius Caesar III. *Mag. eq.*, M. Aemilius Lepidus. C. Iulius Caesar IV. *cos. sine collega.* Q. Fabius Maximus *mort.*, C. Caninius Rebilus, C. Trebonius.	War with Gnaeus and Sextus Pompeius in Spain. Battle of Munda (17 March). Octavius, left behind from sickness, joins Caesar soon after the battle of Munda, with him visits Carthage [Nic. Dam. 11], and returns to Rome in September. Iulius appointed perpetual Dictator with right of being consul for 10 years. Octavius treated as his uncle's heir.
44	Dictator *r. p. ger. c.*, C. Iulius Caesar IV. *Mag. eq.*, M. Aemilius Lepidus II. *Mag. eq.*, C. Octavius. *Mag. eq.*, Cn. Domitius Calvinus *non iniit.* C. Iulius Caesar V. *cos. occ. est*, M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.	Murder of Iulius (14 March). Octavius, who was at Apollonia in Epirus, returned at once to Italy (April). By will of Iulius he is adopted as his son and made heir to three-fourths of his estate. He accepts the inheritance and is henceforth known as **C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus**. When his relations with Antony became strained he enrolled a legion of veterans, and was joined by two other legions which Antony had brought over from Macedonia. With these he marches to Mutina where Antony was besieging Dec. Brutus (December). The Senate votes him authority (1) as *pro praetore*, and (2) as *pro consule*.
43	C. Vibius Pansa *mort. est*, A. Hirtius *occis. est.* C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus *abd.*, C. Carrinas, Q. Pedius *mort. est*, P. Ventidius. *III.viri reip. constituendae*, M. Aemilius Lepidus, M. Antonius, C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus.	Battle at Forum Gallorum near Mutina (15 April). The consul Pansa is mortally wounded, Hirtius being killed next day in assaulting Antony's camp. Antony retreats to Gaul, followed by Dec. Brutus. Octavian comes to Rome and is elected consul (August). The *lex Pedia* for trial of assassins of Iulius. Octavian makes terms with Antony and Lepidus, and the Triumvirate is arranged. This followed by the proscriptions. Birth of Ovid (20 March).
42	L. Munatius Plancus, M. Aemilius Lepidus II.	War with Sext. Pompeius, and with Brutus and Cassius. Battles at Philippi (Oct.—Nov.). Death of Brutus and Cassius. Fresh arrangement for dividing the care of the Empire between the triumvirs. Antony goes to Asia, and thence to Egypt with Cleopatra. Birth of Tiberius (16 November).
41	L. Antonius Pietas, P. Sulpicius.	Quarrel between Caesar and L. Antonius and Fulvia. Siege of Perusia.
40	Cn. Domitius Calvinus II. *abd.*, C. Asinius Pollio. L. Cornelius Balbus. P. Canidius Crassus.	Fall of Perusia. M. Antonius and Ahenobarbus harass the coasts of S. Italy. Caesar marries Scribonia. Peace of Brundusium between Caesar and Antony. Marriage of Antony and Octavia. Ovation.
39	L. Marcius Censorinus, C. Calvisius Sabinus.	Peace of Misenum with Sext. Pompeius. Antony goes to the East against the Parthians. Birth of Iulia and divorce of Scribonia.

B.C.	CONSULS	PRINCIPAL EVENTS
38	Ap. Claudius Pulcher, C. Norbanus Flaccus.	Caesar marries Livia. Birth of Drusus. Sext. Pompeius renews his depredations on Italy. Two indecisive sea-battles off (1) Cumae, (2) Rhegium. Disasters to Caesar's fleet off the Scyllaean promontory [Dio 48, 46—8]. Victory of Ventidius over the Parthians [Dio 49, 19—26]. Sosius conquers the Jews and takes Jerusalem. First period of the Triumvirate expires (31 December).
37	*III.viri reip. constituendae*, M. Aemilius Lepidus II., M. Antonius II., C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus II. M. Agrippa *cos.*, L. Caninius Gallus *cos. abd.* T. Statilius Taurus.	Caesar causes a new fleet to be built under the direction of Agrippa (recalled from Gaul), who also constructs the *portus Iulius* between Misenum and Puteoli. Antony comes to Tarentum and agrees with Caesar for a 5 years' renewal of the Triumvirate.
36	L. Gellius Poplicola *abd.*, M. Cocceius Nerva *abd.* L. Munatius Plancus II., P. Sulpicius Quirinus.	Renewed war with Sextus Pompeius, battles off Mylae. Caesar's expedition to Tauromenium: his danger: final defeat of Pompeius at Mylae and flight to Asia. Treason of Lepidus and his deposition from the Triumvirate. An *ovatio* voted to Caesar and Tribunician privileges [Dio 49, 15]. Disasters of Antony in the Parthian war. Statilius Taurus secures Africa for Caesar, and Norbanus Flaccus Spain. A residence assigned to Caesar on the Palatine. Ovation.
35	L. Cornificius, Sex. Pompeius.	Murder of Sext. Pompeius in Phrygia. Caesar goes on an expedition against the Illyrians and Pannonians, c. 20.
34	L. Scribonius Libo, M. Antonius, *abd.* L. Sempronius Atratinus. *Ex Kal. Iul.* Paul. Aemilius Lepidus, C. Memmius. *Ex Kal. Nov.* M. Herennius Picens.	Caesar conquers the Dalmatians. Messala subdues the Salassi (*Val d' Aosta*). Antony invades Armenia and captures king Artavasdes treacherously. Caesar receives a wound in the course of the Illyrian expedition, c. 20. Special honours voted to Octavia and Livia. Triumphs of T. Statilius Taurus *ex Africa*; of C. Sosius *ex Iudaea*; of C. Norbanus Flaccus *ex Hispania*. Death of Sallust.
33	Imp. Caesar Augustus II. *abd.*, L. Volcatius Tullus. P. Autronius Paetus. *Ex Kal. Mai* C. Flavius. *Ex Kal. Iul.* C. Fonteius Capito, M'. Acilius Aviola. *Ex Kal. Sept.* L. Vinucius. *Ex Kal. Oct.* L. Laronius.	Agrippa as aedile reforms the water supply in Rome and restores the aqueducts. Fruitless expedition of Antony up to the Araxos. The Parthians conquer Media and Armenia. Antony returns to Greece ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολέμῳ [Dio 49, 44]. Caesar and the Senate create new patricians. Mauretania made a province on death of k. Bocchus.
32	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Sosius. *Ex Kal. Iul.* L. Cornelius. *Ex Kal. Nov.* N. Valerius.	Breach between Caesar and Antony becomes complete, c. 17. Antony divorces Octavia. Caesar makes known the contents of Antony's will. War proclaimed nominally against Cleopatra. Dio [50, 6] gives the two sides. For Caesar were Italy, Gaul, Spain, Roman Africa, Sardinia, Sicily and other islands on the coasts of these: for Antony the provinces and client states of Asia and Thrace, Greece, Macedonia, Egypt, Cyrene and islands adjoining, and nearly all kings and dynasts in the vicinity of these places.

B.C.	CONSULS	PRINCIPAL EVENTS
31	Imp. Caesar Augustus III., M. Valerius Messala Corvinus. *Ex Kal. Mai.* M. Titius. *Ex Kal. Oct.* Cn. Pompeius.	Defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, 2nd September. Caesar becomes supreme in the State [Dio 51, 1 *τότε πρῶτον ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ κράτος πᾶν μόνος ἔσχεν*].
30	Imp. Caesar Augustus IV., M. Licinius Crassus. *Ex Kal. Iul.* C. Antistius Vetus. *Ex Id. Sept.* M. Tullius Cicero. *Ex Kal. Nov.* L. Saenius.	Defeat of Antony in Egypt. He and Cleopatra commit suicide (August). Egypt becomes a province with special conditions. Cornelius Gallus appointed first praefect. The Senate vote to Caesar (1) *Tribunicia potestas* for life, outside as well as inside the pomoerium, (2) a casting vote in all *iudicia*, (3) special mention in all public prayers, and private libations. The *Georgics* of Vergil.
29	Imp. Caesar Augustus V., Sex. Appuleius. *Ex Kal Iul.* Potitus Valerius Messala. *Ex Kal. Nov.* C. Furnius, C. Cluvius.	Caesar's three triumphs, *ex Illyrico*, *ex Actiaca victoria*, *de Cleopatra*. The temple of Ianus closed. First reform of the Senate.
28	Imp. Caesar Augustus VI., M. Agrippa II.	Marriage of Agrippa with Marcella, the niece of Caesar. The consuls hold a census and Caesar is entered as *princeps Senatus*. Temple of Apollo on the Palatine consecrated. Two *praetorii* put at the head of the treasury. Restoration of temples is begun.
27	Imp. Caesar Augustus VII., M. Agrippa III.	The proposal of Caesar to restore the Republic rejected by the Senate, c. 28. Division of the provinces into Senatorial and Imperial for 10 years [Dio 53, 11—13]. Caesar receives the title of AUGUSTUS, 13 Jan. [Ov. *F.* 1, 587]—*παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου* [Dio 53, 16]. *The Principatus.* *οὕτω τό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ γερουσίας κράτος πᾶν ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστον μετέστη καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβὴς μοναρχία κατέστη* [Dio 53, 17]. Tiberius assumes the *toga virilis*. Augustus goes to Gaul and Spain.
26	Imp. Caesar Augustus VIII., T. Statilius Taurus II.	Death of Cornelius Gallus. Augustus engaged in the Cantabrian war. Sext. Appuleius' triumphs *ex Hisp.*
25	Imp. Caesar Augustus IX., M. Iunius Silanus.	Expedition of Terentius Varro against the Salassi. Foundation of Augusta Emerita in Spain. Galatia made a Roman province, but Mauritania restored to Iuba. Construction of the Triumphal Arch at *Turbia* voted [Dio 53, 25; Pliny, *N. H.* 3, § 136]. See under year B.C. 6. Second closing of the temple of Ianus.
24	Imp. Caesar Augustus X., C. Norbanus Flaccus.	Augustus returns from Spain. Honours voted to the young Marcellus. Renewed rebellion of the Cantabri. Expedition of Aelius Gallus into Arabia.
23	Imp. Caesar Augustus XI. *abd.*, A. Terentius Varro Murena *mort. est.* L. Sestius, Cn. Calpurnius Piso.	Dangerous illness of Augustus, c. 28. Agrippa (made governor of Syria) retires to Lesbos. Important constitutional changes. Augustus abdicates the consulship and receives *tribunicia potestas* for life, see under *anno* 27;

B.C.	CONSULS	PRINCIPAL EVENTS
23		and *proconsulare imperium*, both inside and outside the pomoerium, superior (*maius*) to that of any governor in any province. From this year the years of his *tribunicia potestas* are henceforth reckoned, beginning v. *Kal. Iul.* (27 June), Dio 53, 32. Death of the young Marcellus. Return of the standards from Parthia agreed upon.
22	M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, L. Arruntius. *Censores.* L. Munatius Plancus. Paul. Aemilius Lepidus.	Conspiracy and death of Murena, c. 19. Some changes in the arrangement of the Imperial and Senatorial provinces, Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis become Senatorial. Outbreak among the Cantabri. Gaius Petronius repulses the Aethiopian invaders of Egypt. Augustus goes to Sicily on his way to the East. Disturbances at the consular *comitia.*
21	M. Lollius, Q. Aemilius Lepidus.	Agrippa, recalled to Rome, marries Iulia, daughter of Augustus. Augustus returns to Sicily and thence goes to Greece, and winters at Samos.
20	M. Appuleius, P. Silius Nerva.	The standards and prisoners are returned from Parthia. Birth of Gaius Caesar, son of Iulia and Agrippa. Augustus regulates the affairs of the East [Dio 54, 9]. He again winters at Samos. Mission of Tiberius to Armenia.
19	C. Sentius Saturninus, Q. Lucretius Vespillo. *Ex Kal. Iul.* M. Vinucius.	Agrippa finally subdues the Cantabri. Augustus returns to Rome (12 Oct.). Tiberius granted praetorian rank. Augustus appointed *praefectus moribus* with censorial powers for 5 years [Dio 54, 10]. Consular rank for life and the perpetual power of proposing laws also voted to him. Death of Vergil.
18	P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	Second reform of the Senate. The *lex de maritandis ordinibus.* First renewal of the *Principatus* [two periods of five years, Dio 53, 16; 54, 12].
17	C. Furnius, C. Iunius Silanus.	The *ludi saeculares* held. Birth of Lucius Caesar, son of Agrippa and Iulia. Augustus adopts him and his elder brother Gaius.
16	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, P. Cornelius Scipio. *Ex Kal. Iul.* L. Tarius Rufus.	Agrippa again sent to Syria. Statilius Taurus made *praefectus urbi.* Disturbances in the Alpine regions, in Pannonia, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Thrace. Augustus spent this and the next year in or near Gaul. M. Lollius defeated by the Sigambri and Usipetes, c. 23.
15	M. Livius Drusus Libo, L. Calpurnius Piso.	Augustus still in Gaul. Tiberius and Drusus subdue the Rhaeti.
14	M. Licinius Crassus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur.	The temple of Ianus again closed.
13	Tib. Claudius Nero, P. Quinctilius Varus.	Augustus returns to Rome from Gaul and Agrippa from Asia. Drusus in Germany. Opening of the *theatrum Marcelli.* Third reform of the Senate. Agrippa sent in the winter against the Pannonians. Death of Lepidus.

B.C.	CONSULS	PRINCIPAL EVENTS
12	M. Valerius Messala Barbatus *mort. est*, P. Sulpicius Quirinus *abd.* C. Valgius Rufus *abd.*, C. Caninius Rebilus *mort. est*, L. Volusius Saturninus.	Agrippa dies in March. Augustus becomes *Pontifex Maximus* (6 March); and is appointed *praefectus moribus* for another 5 years.
11	Q. Aelius Tubero, Paul. Fabius Maximus.	Campaign of Drusus in Germany and of Tiberius in Dalmatia. Death of Octavia, c. 61. Fourth reform of the Senate. Closing of the temple of Ianus prevented by the Daci crossing the Danube. They are defeated by Tiberius in this and the next year.
10	Iulus Antoninus, Q. Fabius Maximus Africanus.	Augustus resides most of this year at Lugdunum. Birth of Claudius (afterwards Emperor) at Lugdunum, son of Drusus and Antonia, niece of Augustus.
9	Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus *mort. est*, T. Quinctius Crispinus.	Drusus attacks the Chatti and Suevi. He dies from an accident. Farther reforms in the Senate [Dio 55, 3].
8	C. Marcius Censorinus, C. Asinius Gallus.	Augustus returns to Rome and again takes the government of the provinces for 10 years [Dio 55, 5]. Tiberius crosses the Rhine to attack the rebellious Sigambri. The various tribes submit. Death of Horace and Maecenas. The name of the month Sextilis changed to August. Augustus holds a census. Third period of the *Principatus*.
7	Ti. Claudius Nero II., Cn. Calpurnius Piso.	Triumph of Tiberius (1 Jan.). Renewed disturbances in Germany recall him thither. Rome divided into 14 *regiones*. Tiberius receives the Tribunician power for 5 years.
6	D. Laelius Balbus, C. Antistius Vetus.	Gaius Caesar consul designate for the sixth year after this (i.e. a whole quinquennium is to intervene). Tiberius retires to Rhodes for 7 years.
5	Imp. Caesar Augustus XII., L. Cornelius Sulla.	Gaius Caesar takes the *toga virilis*, c. 26. Death of Tiro, the freedman of Cicero and editor of his letters. (? The Nativity of Christ.)
4	C. Calvisius Sabinus, L. Passienus Rufus.	Death of Herod.
3	L. Cornelius Lentulus, M. Valerius Messalinus.	Birth of Galba (afterwards Emperor). Alarms in Parthia and Germany.
2	Imp. Caesar Augustus XIII. *abd.*, M. Plancius Silvanus *abd.* Q. Fabricius, L. Caninius Gallus.	L. Caesar takes the *toga virilis*. Augustus receives the title of *pater patriae*, c. 58. Iulia divorced by Tiberius (in B.C. 11) and banished by her father, c. 65.
1	Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Piso.	C. Caesar sent to the East to prevent the Parthian invasion of Armenia.
A.D.		
1	C. Caesar, L. Aemilius Paullus.	A dangerous rising in Germany against M. Vinicius.
2	P. Vincius, P. Alfenius Varus. *Ex Kal. Iul.* P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio, T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus.	Tiberius returns to Rome from Rhodes. Death of Lucius Caesar at Massilia (August). C. Caesar meets Phraates on the Euphrates, at which meeting Velleius Paterculus was present [2, 101]. The house of Augustus on the Palatine burnt.

A.D.	CONSULS	PRINCIPAL EVENTS
3	L. Aelius Lamia, M. Servilius. *Ex Kal. Iul.* P. Silius, L. Volusius Saturninus.	Fourth period of *principatus* [Dio 55, 12].
4	Sext. Aelius Catus, C. Sentius Saturninus. *Ex Kal. Iul.* C. Clodius Licinus, Cn. Sentius Saturninus.	Death of Gaius Caesar at Zimyra in Lycia (23 Feb.). Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus adopted by Augustus (27 June). Tiberius receives *trib. pot.* for 10 years and goes to Germany, the campaign lasting till December. Treason of Gnaeus Cornelius.
5	L. Valerius Messala Volesus, Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus. *Ex Kal. Iul.* C. Ateius Capito, C. Vibius Postumus.	Second campaign of Tiberius in Germany. A severe famine in Rome.
6	M. Aemilius Lepidus, L. Aruntius *abd.* L. Nonius Asprenas.	Third campaign of Tiberius in Germany. Revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia. The *aerarium militare* established. Dedication of the arch at *Turbia*, commemorating the pacification of the Alpine tribes.
7	A. Licinius Nerva Silianus, Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus.	Germanicus (son of Drusus) sent to Pannonia. Tiberius undertakes the Illyrian war (A.D. 7—9).
8	M. Furius Camillus, Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus. *Ex Kal. Iul.* L. Apronius, A. Vibius Habitus.	The Pannonians submit, but there is still fighting in Dalmatia.
9	C. Poppaeus Sabinus, Q. Sulpicius Camerinus. *Ex Kal. Iul* M. Papius Mutilus, Q. Poppaeus Secundus.	Tiberius visits Rome, but has to return to Dalmatia, and the whole of Illyricum is subdued. Defeat and death of Varus, c. 23 [Dio 56, 18—24; Vell. 2, 117—120]. Birth of Vespasian (afterwards Emperor). Exile of Ovid and of the younger Iulia.
10	P. Cornelius Dolabella, C. Iunius Silanus. *Ex Kal. Iul.* Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.	Tiberius goes to Germany to restore discipline and to make preparations for crossing the Rhine. Augustus makes great exertions to enrol fresh legions [Suet. *Tib.* 18; Dio 56, 23].
11	M. Aemilius Lepidus, T. Statilius Taurus. *Ex Kal. Iul.* L. Cassius Longinus.	Tiberius and Germanicus cross the Rhine, but advance a very short distance and fight no battle. The Rhine remains the limit of the Roman empire.
12	Germanicus Caesar, C. Fonteius Capito. *Ex Kal. Iul.* C. Visellius Varro.	Tiberius celebrates a triumph *ex Pannoniis Dalmatisque.* Birth of Caligula at Trèves (?) (31 Aug.), Suet. *Cal.* 8.
13	C. Silius, L. Munatius Plancus.	The *principatus* renewed a fifth time for 10 years.
14	Sex. Pompeius, Sex. Appuleius.	Augustus with Tiberius as colleague holds a census, cc. 27, 97, *Tib.* 21. Death of Augustus (19 August).

C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBER II.

DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

GENTEM Octaviam Velitris praecipuam olim fuisse, multa 1
declarant. Nam et vicus celeberrima parte oppidi
iam pridem Octavius vocabatur et ostendebatur ara The *Gens Octavia.*
Octavio consecrata, qui bello dux finitimo, cum
forte Marti rem divinam faceret, nuntiata repente hostis

1. **Velitris.** It seems doubtful whether Velitrae was originally a Latin or Volscian town. It long maintained independence of Rome. Twice at least (B.C. 492 and 404) it was occupied by Roman *coloni.* Yet the original inhabitants absorbed or overcame these *coloni* and maintained the traditional hostility to Rome. At the end of the Latin War (B.C. 340—338) its senators were removed beyond the Tiber, its walls dismantled, and new settlers were sent to occupy the lands of the banished senators. Still it retained a form of municipal government [Livy 8, 14] and shared in the Roman *civitas* under the Lex Iulia of B.C. 90. The members of the *gens Octavia* however who were settled there were already Roman citizens.

praecipuam, 'distinguished.' Tac. *A.* 12, 40 *praecipuus scientia rei militaris.* As applied to living persons in this sense it seems chiefly prae-classical and of the silver age.

celeberrima, 'most frequented.' Cato *R. R.* 1 § 3 recommends that there should be near the farm a *via bona celebrisque;* cp. infr. c. 44 *ludi celeberrimi.* **oppidi** as opposed to *urbs* (Rome), cp. *Tib.* 11; *Otho* 1, though the two words are often interchanged.

ara Octavio consecrata, 'an altar consecrated by an Octavius'; cf. *Iul.* 20 *campum Stellatem maioribus consecratum...divisit.* Some however explain it as dative 'dedicated to,' i.e. for the use of Octavius and his family. The builder of such an altar consecrated it to the use of himself and his family, see for instance Willmanns' *Exempl. Inscr.* 2514 C • CLODIVS • C • L • EVPHEMVS • NEGOCIATOR • PENORIS • ET • VINORVM • DE • VELABRO • A • IIII •

incursione, semicruda exta rapta foco prosecuit, atque ita proelium ingressus victor redit. Decretum etiam publicum exstabat, quo cavebatur ut in posterum quoque simili modo exta Marti redderentur, reliquiaeque ad Octavios referrentur.
2 Ea gens a Tarquinio Prisco rege inter minores gentis adlecta 5 in senatum, mox a Servio Tullio in patricias traducta, procedente tempore ad plebem se contulit, ac rursus magno

SCARIS • ARAM • POSVIT • SIBI • CONSECRAVIT • DEDICAVITQVE • LIBERTISQVE • SVIS • POSTERISQVE • EORVM. Such an altar served at once as a rendezvous of the family and a memorial of some great event. Thus the *exsecrata columna* [Cic. 1 *Phil.* § 5] set up by the pseudo-Marius where Caesar's body was burnt is called by Dio Cassius a βωμός [44, 51] and an *ara* by Brutus [*ad fam.* 12, 2]. Even when such memorials in the streets took the form of statues, incense was offered on them as altars. Cicero *de Off.* 3, § 80 (of Marius Gratidianus) *et ea res, si quaeris, ei magno honori fuit. Omnibus vicis statuae, ad eas tus, cerei.*

prosecuit is a ritual word, and was applied to formal cutting or slicing of the entrails, as *inseco* to the flesh, in preparation for the altar. Cato *R. R.* 134 *ubi exta prosecta erunt, Iano struem ommoveto mactatoque item uti prius obmoveris.* Varro *L. L.* 110 *insicia ab eo quod insecta caro, ut in carmine Saliorum est, quod in extis dicitur nunc prosectum.* Livy 5, 21 *vocem haruspicis dicentis 'qui eius hostiae exta prosecuisset ei victoriam dari' exauditam.* See also Lucan 6, 709; Ovid *F.* 6, 163.

redderentur is also a ritual word applied to the action of placing the *exta* on the altar. Carmen Arv. *C. I. L.* 28 *deinde reversus ad aram extas reddidit.* Vergil *G.* 2, 194 *lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta.* Stat. *Theb.* 4, 466 *semineces fibras et adhuc spirantia reddit viscera.* This was also expressed by *exta porricere.*

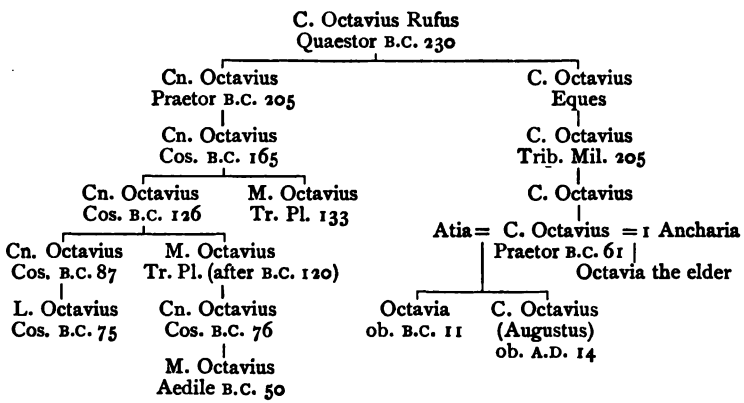
reliquiae...referrentur, that is, the parts not burnt were to be taken to the house of the Octavii. Cp. Plaut. *Poen.* 2, 43 *age eamus intro, dum exta referuntur.* Ovid *Met.* 12, 153 *cuius ut imposuit prosecta calentibus aris...sacra tulere suam, pars est data cetera mensis.*

2. ea gens...senatum. The addition of 100 to the Senate by Tarquinius Priscus is recorded by Livy 1, 35; Dionysius 3, 67. Cicero [*de Re P.* 2, 20] says that he doubled the number. The gentes from whom they were taken were called *gentes minores.* The process was called *adlectio* [Suet. *Iul.* 80, προσκαταλέγειν Plut. *Rom.* 20], or *sublectio* [Livy ep. 70; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 25]. But neither of this nor of the subsequent *traductio* by Servius Tullius have we any knowledge. It seems to have been a later invention. The Octavii known to us in Livy [28, 36; 29, 13, 36; 30, 2, 24, 36; 31, 3, 11; 34, 45; 35, 25; 36, 16] are a Plebeian gens, of which the first to hold curule office was Cn. Octavius, praetor in 205. For the term *traductio* see Cicero *pro Sest.* § 15 *traductio ad plebem furibundi hominis; ad Att.* 2, 9 *hic Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem.*

per Divum Iulium...redit. The elevation of Octavius to the patriciate seems to have taken place soon after the battle of Pharsalus (August B.C. 48). On the 18th of October following [*C. I. L.* 10, 8375] Octavius took the *toga virilis*, and in describing the ceremony Dio [45, 2] says ἐξ οὖν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ μέγαλα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπελπίσας ἔς τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤσκει. At the same time he was elected into the college of Pontifices in the place of Ahenobarbus, who had fallen in the battle [Nicolas Dam. 4]. But as Caesar did not return to Rome till the autumn of 47, the actual *traductio* may not have taken place till later; perhaps in 46 or 45, when in virtue of a *lex Cassia* [Tac. *Ann.* 11, 25] Caesar endeavoured to recruit the diminishing patrician gentes, which had sunk to fourteen or fifteen, by new creations, Dio 43, 47 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τούς τε ὑπατευκότας ἢ καὶ ἀρχήν τινα ἄρξαντας ἐγκατέλεξεν. For this new class of nobility see Mommsen *R. H.* 4 p. 475. Augustus continued the practice,—*patriciorum numerum auxi consul quintum* (B.C. 29) *iussu populi et senatus*, M. A. 1, 8, cp. Dio 52, 42; Tacitus *l.c.* Subsequent emperors did it on their own authority.

intervallo per Divum Iulium in patriciatum redit. Primus ex hac magistratum populi suffragio cepit C. Rufus. Is quaestorius CN. et C. procreavit, a quibus duplex Octaviorum familia defluxit conditione diversa. Siquidem Gnaeus et
5 deinceps ab eo reliqui omnes functi sunt honoribus summis. At Gaius eiusque posteri, seu fortuna seu voluntate, in equestri ordine constiterunt usque ad Augusti patrem. Proavus Augusti secundo Punico bello stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit Aemilio Papo imperatore. Avus municipalibus

primus ex hac. The stemma referred to is as follows:



stipendia in Sicilia. L. Aemilius Papus was Praetor in 205, and had Sicily allotted to him [Liv. 28, 38], where there were at the time two legions made up of the soldiers disgraced at Cannae and Herdonia. But it is not true, as the writer in Smith's *Biographical Dictionary* states, that C. Octavius was at Cannae. He quotes Frontinus *Strateg.* 4, 5, 7, where however it is Cn. Octavius who is mentioned.

avus municipalibus magisteriis, 'municipal offices.' *Magisterium* properly the office of a *magister*, as Cicero *prov. cons.* § 46 describes the office of censor as *magisterium morum*. Cp. *magisterium equitum Tib.* 3; *magisteria sacerdotii Cal.* 22; *magisterium collegii* [Minervae] *Dom.* 4; and the later office of *pedestre magisterium*, Aurel. Vict. *Caesares* 42. It is not classical as a technical word for the office of a *magistratus*, and Suetonius here uses it as opposed to the imperial *magistratus*. The offices in a municipium varied in different towns. The prevailing ones were those of Senate or Council (*decuriones*, *centumviri*, *curiales* or *curia*); officers yearly elected, —and popular election went on in these towns more than 100 years after it ceased in Rome,—as two *duumviri iuri dicundo*, *consules*, two *quaestores*, two *aediles*. In some—called *praefecturae*—a *praefectus iuri dicundo* was yearly appointed by the Praetor at Rome. In others—*coloniae*—there were *quattuorviri*, *censores*, and *curatores*. Though after the Social War and the lex Iulia (B.C. 90) the civil status of these towns was assimilated, the interior constitution varied as before. As regarded Rome they were all *municipia* and possessed the franchise, but with respect to their internal administration they were still to be classed as *municipia*, *coloniae*, *praefecturae*, *conciliabula*. See W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 225.

magisteriis contentus abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit.

Sed haec alii; ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familiā ortum se scribit vetere ac locuplete, et in quā primus senator pater suus fuerit. M. Antonius libertinum ei proavum exprobrat, restionem e pago Thurino, avum argentarium. Nec quicquam ultra de paternis Augusti maioribus repperi.

Augustus only claimed equestrian rank.

3 C. Octavius pater a principio aetatis et re et existimatione magna fuit, ut equidem mirer hunc quoque a nonnullis argentarium atque etiam inter divisores operasque campestris proditum; amplis enim innutritus

The father of Augustus,

sed haec alii. No doubt many flatterers or enemies were found to search the annals of the Octavii. Suetonius quotes as writers on the life of Augustus, Iulius Marathus (cc. 79, 94); C. Drusus (c. 94); Iulius Saturninus (c. 27); Aquilius Niger (c. 11); M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (c. 74). C. Asinius Pollio, who wrote on the Civil War [*Iul.* c. 55—6], does not seem to have brought his history down to the reign of Augustus. The only considerable fragment of such a work which we possess is that of Nicolas of Damascus, friend and secretary of Herod, and in high favour with Augustus himself. On this point however he merely says that his father was a Senator (*τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου*), and his ancestors *κατά τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἐπιεικείαν ὀνοματώτατοι.*

ipse Augustus. Besides the *Res gestae* left by Augustus to be inscribed in various parts of the empire and preserved for us in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, he wrote a history of his own life and times. See cc. 25, 27, 42, 74, 85—6, *Claud.* 1; *de Gramm.* 16. This work was used by Plutarch in the lives of Cicero (45), Brutus (27), Antony (22, 68); and by Appian [*B. civ.* 42], Dio Cassius [48, 44], and by other later writers. Augustus also caused the honours of his grandfather and father to be inscribed on marble slabs adorning some chapel in his palace. That of his grandfather (if it is his) is too much broken to be of use. That of his father is entire. [*C. I. L.* Vol. 1, p. 278.]

C • OCTAVIUS • C • F • C • N • C • PRON • PATER • AUGUSTI • TR • MIL • BIS • Q • AED • PL • CUM • C • TORANIO • IVDEX • QUAESTIONUM • PR • PRO • COS • IMPERATOR • APELLATUS • EX • PROVINCIA • MACEDONIA.

M. Antonius. The slanders of Antony were apparently conveyed in letters principally written in the two or three years previous to the battle of Actium, which his friends or his enemies published.

e pago Thurino. The term *pagus* as applied to the *municipia* properly indicates a village or other unit of inhabitants in the country as opposed to the *vicus* in the town; but Suetonius seems to be using it loosely for *ager Thurinus* (c. 3) or *regio Thurina* (c. 7). In B.C. 193 a 'Latin' colony was settled at Thurii—consisting of 3000 veterans of the infantry and 300 from the cavalry; but its territory was so large that these were not considered sufficient, and a third of the land was retained for future allotments [Livy 35, 9 *numerus exiguus pro copia agri*]. The name was changed to Copia, but this seems not to have lasted, and the old appellation prevailed.

argentarius, 'money-changer' or 'banker,' *Nero* 5. Cicero *Caecin.* § 16. Whether the Octavii did possess a ropewalk at Thurii and a bank at Thurii or Velitrae is quite unknown. They were certainly wealthy.

3. divisores operasque campestris. Cicero [*Harus. resp.* § 42] speaks of the *quaestus campestris* as being of the most profitable kind (*maxime fecundus*). It was of various sorts. Friendly supporters (*suffragatores*) distributed passes for theatres and festivals [Cic. *Mur.* § 72]; election agents (*sequestres*) held sums of money which the *divisores* distributed; and the heads of political clubs or *sodalitates* brought

opibus, honores et adeptus est facile et egregie administravit. Ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus, fugitivos, residuam Spartaci et Catilinae manum, Thurinum agrum tenentis, in itinere delevit, negotio sibi in senatu extra ordinem dato. Provinciae
5 praefuit non minore iustitia quam fortitudine; namque Bessis ac Thracibus magno proelio fusis, ita socios tractavit, ut

bands of artizans (*operae*) to encourage or overawe the voters (see on c. 32). But though such things were forbidden by many laws, it seems that a certain amount of money distributed at least among a man's own tribe was looked upon as almost a matter of course. See inf. c. 40 and *Iul.* 19. Cic. *ad Att.* 1, 18 *est autem C. Herennius quidam Tr. Pl., quem fortasse ne nosti quidem,—tametsi potes nosse: tribulis enim tuus est, et Sextus pater eius numos vobis dividere solebat.* For the discreditable nature of the employment see Cicero *Verres* 3, § 161 *non in hominis luxuriosi sed tantum in furis atque divisoris disciplina educatus.*

ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus, 'after his praetorship the chance of the lot gave him Macedonia.' His praetorship was in 61. In 60 (March) he went as propraetor to Macedonia, succeeding the extortionate and unsuccessful Gaius Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in his consulship (63). He distinguished himself in his province not only in war against encroaching barbarians, in the course of which he was acclaimed by his soldiers 'imperator' [Vell. 2, 69], but also by his conciliatory manners, strict integrity, and justice [Cic. *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 1 § 21]. Macedonia was looked upon as a profitable province and had suffered much at the hands of various governors. It was generally governed by a *praetorius*, not a *consularis*, but the practice varied according to the military necessities. The Senate decided from year to year which provinces were to be praetorian which consular; but some, as Sicily and Sardinia, seem always to have been praetorian. See Arnold, p. 44.

residuam Spartaci. In B.C. 72 Spartacus, the leader of the revolted gladiators, seized Thurii and held it as base of operations for plundering expeditions. It shows how difficult an effective police in S. Italy was to maintain, that twelve years after this there should still be remains of his followers who held out in the mountains near Thurii. For the war of Spartacus B.C. 73—71 see Livy ep. 95—7; Appian *B. civ.* 1, 116—120; Plutarch *Crass.* 8—11. Catiline was conquered in Etruria near Pistoria (*Pistoia*), but some of his men doubtless escaped and made their way south. Or they may be some of the slaves dismissed from the camp at Faesulae, who had taken refuge, as a last resource, with the surviving gladiators at Thurii.

tenentis in app. to **manum**, cp. Liv. 26, 35 *ingens turba circumfusi fremebant.*

extra ordinem, 'beyond his regular sphere of duty,' which was in Macedonia.

Bessis ac Thracibus, 'with the Bessi and other Thracians.' The Bessi were a large mountain tribe extending at various periods from the R. Nestus and the Rhodope Mt. (*Despoti Dagh*) to the Strymon or at times to the Axius. They were the most constant source of trouble to a governor of Macedonia, whose object was to keep them on the other side of Rhodope and make his N.W. frontier secure. Even before the Roman occupation the Macedonian kings had had to fight them [Polyb. 23, 8; Livy 39, 53]. The victory of Octavius seems to have dismayed them for a time, for we find them offering Piso, proconsul in Maced. B.C. 57—56, reinforcements [Cic. *in Pis.* § 84]. But Piso alienated them again by his treatment of their agent; and in 43 Brutus had to go on an expedition against them [Dio 47, 25]. They are mentioned by Herodotus [7, 111] as a branch of the Satrae, the one Thracian tribe that had never been conquered, and as having charge of an oracle of Dionysus, whence probably the term *Bassareus* used by Horace [*Od.* 1, 18, 11] for the Thracian Bacchus, though this is derived by others from βασσάρα, 'a fox skin,' Her. 4, 192. They were infamous even among other predatory tribes for their robberies. Strabo 7, 5, 12 Βέσσοι δὲ οἵπερ τὸ πλέον τοῦ ὄρους νέμονται τοῦ Αἵμου, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν λῃσταὶ προσαγορεύονται, cp. *id.* 7, fr. 47.

epistolae M. Ciceronis exstent quibus Quintum fratrem, eodem tempore parum secundā famā proconsulatum Asiae administrantem, hortatur et monet, imitetur in promerendis sociis
4 vicinum suum Octavium.) Decedens Macedonia, prius quam profiteri se candidatum consulatus posset, mortem 5
his mother and sisters. obiit repentinam, superstitibus liberis Octavia maiore, quam ex Ancharīā, et Octaviā minore item

proconsulatum Asiae. Quintus Tullius Cicero was Praetor in B.C. 62 and governor of Asia from 61 to 58. That Suetonius should indicate the government of a *praetorius* by the term *proconsulatus* may be the result of the later division of the provinces into Imperial and Senatorial, the former being governed by a *legatus*, the latter by a *proconsul*, titles which the governors held without regard to the magistracies they had previously administered. Asia had always since its establishment (B.C. 129) been governed by a *praetorius*, who however even in republican times was sometimes called *pro-consul*. The province started with the dominions of Attalus of Pergamus bequeathed to Rome in B.C. 133; and in Cicero's time included Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia [*pro Flacc.* c. 27]. The administration of Quintus seems to have been marred by ill temper (*ad Q. Fr.* 1, 1 *adiungenda enim facilitas est in audiendo, in satisfaciendo ac disputando diligentia. His rebus nuper C. Octavius iucundissimus fuit*) and a too credulous confidence in his freedman Statius [*ib.* 1, 2]. Asia was a province however in which an honest governor was pretty sure to give offence; for it was the chosen hunting ground of the publicani, until Caesar abolished the system in 48 [App. *B. civ.* 5, 4; Dio Cass. 42, 6].

4. decedens Macedonia, 'on quitting his province of Macedonia.' The technical word for a governor giving up his province: *Iul.* 18 *ad triumphum simul consulatumque decessit*: generally however with *ex* [more rarely with *a*]; but in Cic. *pr. Lig.* 1, 2 *decedens provincia*; and absolutely in Cic. *fam.* 3, 6 *te ante quam tibi successum esset decessurum esse.* Sall. *J.* 36 *Albinus Romam decessit.*

profiteri se candidatum. The *professio* would have to be made at Rome at least 17 days [*trinum nundinum*, Cicero *ad fam.* 16, 12] before the date of election. When the regulation requiring a personal *professio* was made is not known. Cicero, speaking in 63, says that it was not required by any *lex* [*contr. Rull.* 2 § 24]. It may nevertheless have been a custom which could not be neglected. In B.C. 66 Catiline was prevented by an accusation of *repetundae* from standing for the consulship,—*quod intra legitimas dies profiteri nequivit* [Sall. *Cat.* 18]. In B.C. 60 Caesar had to choose between giving up his triumph and entering Rome to make his *professio*, Κάτωνος δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τελευταίαν οὖσαν τῶν παραγγελιῶν ἀναλοῦντος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐσέδραμεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπεριδὼν τοῦ θριάμβου καὶ παραγγείλας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέμενε τὴν χειροτονίαν, Appian *B. civ.* 2, 8. Instances of election without such personal *professio* are not uncommon earlier, Marius for instance having been more than once elected in his absence; and in B.C. 160 Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in circumstances very like Caesar's, for he was waiting outside the walls for a triumph from Spain, was elected consul [Livy 40, 43]. Still the law of Pompey in 55 or 52, which is the first we know of as actually legalising the regulation, must have been only an enforcement of a custom generally observed, though perhaps liable to evasion [*Iul.* 28].

Octavia maiore, quam ex Ancharia. According to Plutarch [*Anton.* 31] there was only one Octavia, daughter of Ancharia and half sister to Augustus; and we certainly hear nowhere else of an elder Octavia. But that Octavia was connected with the Julian *gens* is shown by her body being laid out in the Heroum Iulium [Dio 54, 35]. Her character is conspicuous for magnanimity and purity, in spite of the way in which both her uncle and brother (who was devotedly attached to her) used her hand to secure political objects. She was married to C. Claudius Marcellus (consul in B.C. 50), yet Iulius offered to transfer her to Pompey in 53, on the death of Iulia [Suet.

Augusto, quos ex Atiā tulerat. Atia M. Atio Balbo et Iulia, sorore C. Caesaris, genita est. Balbus, paterna stirpe Aricinus, multis in familia senatoriis imaginibus, a matre Magnum Pompeium artissimo contingebat gradu functusque honore
5 praeturae inter vigintiviros agrum Campanum plebi Iulia lege

Caes. 27]; and when she was left a widow at the end of 41, though pregnant by her former husband, she consented to be married to Antony in order to cement a reconciliation between him and her brother, the Senate suspending the law which required a ten months' widowhood [App. *B. civ.* 5, 64; Plut. *Ant.* 31; Dio 48, 31]. For two or three years she resided with Antony at Athens, where she was much beloved, and succeeded in retaining his affection and intervening more than once to prevent a quarrel between her husband and brother [App. *B. civ.* 5, 93; Plut. *Ant.* 33, 35; Dio 48, 54]. But in B.C. 37—when the last reconciliation took place—she was left behind at Rome and Antony again fell under the influence of Cleopatra. When she went in B.C. 35 to Greece to take troops and money to Antony in Egypt, he forbade her to come nearer to him than Athens, though he accepted the presents [App. 5, 138; Dio 49, 33]. But though she returned to Rome in B.C. 34 she refused to obey her brother when he ordered her to quit Antony's house. She lived there as his wife, carefully bringing up both the three children which she had borne him and his own children by Fulvia [Plut. 54; Dio 51, 15]; and though Antony divorced her in B.C. 32 [Dio 50, 3; Plut. 57] she adopted and brought up his children by Cleopatra [Plut. 87]. The death of her son Marcellus in B.C. 23 was a severe blow to her, and she seems to have lived in retirement after that till her death in B.C. 11, when her *laudatio* was delivered by Augustus and her son-in-law Drusus [Dio 5, 35]. Augustus was glad to accept honours voted to her by the Senate in B.C. 35, and dedicated many of his public buildings to her. The *opera Octaviae* included a *porticus* (with a school), a *curia*, and a library [Pliny *N. H.* 34, 31; 35, 114; 36, 22, 24, 34—5, 43—2].

Iulia, see infr. c. 9.

Aricinus. Aricia [*la Riccia*] was the first halting on the *via Appia* [Horace *Sat.* 1, 5, 1], 16 miles from Rome. It obtained the most favourable terms at the end of the Great Latin War (B.C. 338) and practically enjoyed the rights of citizenship ever since [Livy 8, 14]. Cicero [3 *Phil.* § 15] speaks of it as a *municipium...vetustate antiquissimum, iure foederatum, propinquitate paene finitimum, splendore municipum honestissimum.*

senatoriis imaginibus. The *jus imaginum* belonged not to Senators, as such, but to Curule Magistrates. See Cicero 2 *Verres* 5 § 36 *nunc sum designatus aedilis...ob earum rerum laborem et sollicitudinem fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum, togam praetextam, sellam curulem, ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam.* But as the curule magistracies gave a seat in the Senate, they are loosely spoken of as *senatoriae:* though since the time of Sulla the Quaestorship gave the entrée to the Senate, and therefore there would be Senators who had not the *ius imaginum*, as in fact had always been the case with those Senators who had been from time to time put on the roll by the Censors without having held curule offices. Pliny [*N. H.* 35, §§ 4—8] complains that the old waxen portraits had in his time been superseded by bronze shields with conventional figures, or statues on which often different heads were substituted. The old fashion was to keep *expressi cera vultus* (real portraits) in their several shelves or niches, so that likenesses of all the known members of a family were sometimes carried at a man's funeral. They were joined by long scrolls (*stemmata*); and near them were cases of family records (*tabulina*) relating the events in the years of office held by them. The earliest mention of these *imagines* at funerals is in Polybius [6, 51] who thought it a custom admirably calculated to inspire emulation in virtue.

a matre, 'on his mother's side. Cp. *Iul.* 65 *militem neque a moribus neque a forma probabat, sed tantum a viribus.* So *ab omni parte* [Hor. *Od.* 2, 16, 27], *insignis ab arte* [Ov. *Tr.* 4, 10, 16].

praeturae. M. Atius Balbus was

divisit. Verum idem Antonius, despiciens etiam maternam Augusti originem, proavum eius Afri generis fuisse et modo unguentariam tabernam modo pistrinum Ariciae exercuisse obicit. Cassius quidem Parmensis quadam epistola non

praetor in B.C. 62 and served in Sardinia. He was one of the *xxviri* for dividing the Campanian land, as was Pompey, whom Cicero therefore calls *Attii collegam* [*ad Att.* 2, 10].

Iulia lege. The law passed in his first consulship (B.C. 59) for the division of the Campanian lands and the Stellatian plain among 20,000 citizens. The lands immediately round Capua were reserved, as the best, for the fathers of three children, and dispossessed owners were compensated by means of the funds brought by Pompey from the East. It was vehemently resisted by the Optimates headed by Bibulus, and was only carried by the forcible expulsion of Bibulus from the Forum. *Iul.* 20 *lege autem agraria promulgata obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit.* The opposition to it in the Senate caused Caesar to neglect that body and hardly ever summon it during the rest of his year [Appian *B. civ.* 2, 10; Dio 38, 1—3]. Cicero seems to have hesitated as to what position to take up, *ad Att.* 2, 3 *est res sane magni consilii. Nam fortasse resistendum legi agrariae; in quo est quaedam dimicatio, sed plena laudis: aut quiescendum.* He afterwards speaks with disapproval of it as depriving the state of a large revenue [2 *Phil.* § 101, cp. *ad Att.* 2, 16], and refused to serve on the commission [*ad Att.* 2, 19, 3]. Candidates for office for the next year had to take an oath not to disturb arrangements made under it, *ad Att.* 2, 18 *habet etiam Campana lex exsecrationem candidatorum, in contione si mentionem fecerint quo aliter ager possideatur atque ut ex Iuliis legibus.* For three chapters of the law preserved in *Scriptores Gnomatici*, see Bruns *Fontes Iuris R.* p. 94.

despiciens, 'by way of lowering,' the feeling of contempt is put for the expression of it. Cicero [3 *Phil.* § 15] answering an edict of Antony's in which these attacks on the birth of Augustus were continued, says, *videto quam despiciamur omnes qui sumus e municipiis, id est, omnes plane.*

exercuisse, 'carried on,' so *Vitell.* 2 *Antiochi cuiusdam furnariam exercentis. de Gramm.* 23 *cum et officinas promercalium vestium exerceret. Vesp.* 16 *negotiationes quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit.*

Cassius Parmensis. The identity of this Cassius of Parma has been a subject of much dispute. The earliest trace of him is a letter to Cicero [*ad fam.* 12, 13] in the year 43, dated from Cyprus on the 13th of June. If this is really the man, it appears that he was in command of a fleet on the coast of Asia, and, in conjunction with his namesake C. Cassius Longinus, was attacking Dolabella when endeavouring to take possession of the province of Syria. He probably was then Quaestor or pro-quaestor. But Porphyrio on Horace [*Ep.* 1, 4, 3] says that he was *tribunus militum* with Horace. He had been one of the assassins of Caesar, and after the failure and death of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi (Nov. B.C. 42) he made his way from Asia, where they had left him, to the Ionian Sea with more than 30 ships and joined first Domitius Ahenobarbus and then Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. After the death of the latter he attached himself to Antony. And it was while with him at Alexandria (B.C. 35—31), between the death of Sextus and the battle of Actium, that this letter would be written. After Actium Cassius fled to Athens, and was executed by order of Octavian, the last of the assassins to perish [App. *B. civ.* 5, 2: Vell. Pat. 2, 87: Valer. Max. 1, 7, 7]. Porphyrio on the passage of Horace already cited says that he wrote *multas tragoedias.* And another grammarian Acro says: *Epicureus fuit poeta, ...satiras scripsit...aliquot generibus stilum exercuit: inter quae opera elegia et epigrammata ejus laudantur.* Another Cassius, an inferior poet called Cassius Etruscus, is mentioned by Horace [*Sat.* 1, 10, 59 sq.] and has been by some confounded with Cassius of Parma. Two lines of Cassius are quoted by Quint. 5, 11, 24; and Varro *L. L.* 6, 7; 7, 72. A poem on Orpheus was attributed to him, which however has been shown to have been composed in the 16th century A.D.

tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut nummulari nepotem sic taxat Augustum: *Materna tibi farinast ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino: hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius.*

5 Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio conss. 5 VIIII. Kal. Octob., paulo ante solis exortum, regione Palati, ad Capita bubula, ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam excessit constitutum. Nam ut senatus actis continetur, cum C. Laetorius, adulescens

Birth of Augustus 23 September B.C. 63.

nummulari. The *nummularius* was a 'money changer,' his office or counter was a *mensa* (hence *mensarius*). Mart. 12, 57, 8
Hinc otiosus sordidam quatit mensam Neroniana nummularius massa.
Galb. 9 *nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias manus amputavit mensaeque eius adfixit.*

taxat [a frequentative form of *tango*], 'attacks,' 'inveighs against.' It means (1) 'to take cognisance of,' 'to estimate,' (2) in a bad sense, as here, 'to stigmatize.' Cp. *Domit.* 10 *Occidit et Helvidium filium, quasi scaenico exordio sub persona Paridis et Oenones divortium suum cum uxore taxasset.* So *retaxare*, cf. *Vesp.* 13 *Licinium Mucianum...nunquam nisi clam et hactenus retaxare sustinuit, ut apud communem aliquem amicum querens adderet clausulam: 'Ego tamen vir sum.'*

finxit, 'kneaded into various shapes.' Varro *L. L.* 6, 3 *fictores dicti a fingendis libris.*

Nerulonensis, 'of Nerulum,' a town of Lucania [Livy 9, 20] on the road from Capua to Rhegium.

collybo, 'exchange,' 'agio.' Cic. *ad Att.* 12, 6 *sed certe in collubo est detrimenti satis*, cp. 2 *Verr.* 3, § 181. Hence the word familiar to us in the N. T. [Matt. xii. 21 etc.] κολλυβιστής, cp. Arist. *Pax* 1196 οὐδὲ κολλύβου 'a small coin' [Pollux 9, 72 εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ κόλλυβον λεπτόν τι νομισμάτιον]. But κόλλυβος=ἀλλαγή [Pollux 7, 170]. The word is not Latin or Greek, but of Semitic or Phœnician origin. Hebrew חָלַף and Rabbinic קוֹלְבוֹן.

5. **VIIII. Kal. Oct.**, i.e. 23 September [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 326]. A birthday was reckoned from midnight to midnight [Varro ap. Macrob. *Sat.* 3, 2]. It is a question whether the date is by the reformed Julian calendar, which came into operation on 1 January 45, or by the old calendar which would make the date 31 August. But even if we admit that the old calendar is that referred to, it is still extremely doubtful how far any one particular year was wrong. It was the custom about this time to intercalate 27 days at the end of February every other year in order to bring the civil year into harmony with the solar year. But this was wholly in the hands of the Pontiffs, and they seem to have been often influenced by political motives (such as wishing to prolong or curtail a tenure of some magistrate's office) and therefore it is not certain in any particular year what the true state of things was. In the year 63 however, Cicero speaking on the *VI Id. Novembres* [2 *Cat.* 23] says—*Quem ad modum illis (mulierculis) carere poterunt, his præsertim iam noctibus? quo autem pacto illi Apenninum atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent?* This suits the time of year, and looks as if the civil calendar was not far wrong in 63. In c. 94 the father of Augustus is said to have come late to a meeting of the Senate when *a discussion on Catiline was to take place*, owing to the birth of his son. And though we do not know elsewhere of such a debate as early as 23 September: yet Catiline's proceedings had been causing much trouble for some months. The *Comitia* had been twice postponed; and it is not surprising that he should have formed a subject of debate on that day. Dio [48, 1] relates the lateness of Octavius at the Senate, but does not mention the subject of debate. Augustus himself in B.C. 8 selected Sextilis as the month to be called by his name, as that in which he had first been consul and had won certain victories, though many friends suggested *September as his birth month*, Dio 55, 6. The large error in 46 is

patricii generis, in deprecanda graviore adulterii poena praeter aetatem atque natales hoc quoque patribus conscriptis allegaret, esse possessorem ac velut aedituum soli, quod primum

partly accounted for by the suspension of the usual biennial intercalation owing to the absence of Caesar (Pont. Max.) and many of the pontiffs from the beginning of 49.

regione Palati. Of the original four 'regions' of Rome (the Suburan, the Esquiline, the Viminal or Colline, and the Palatine) the *regio Palatina* included the Palatine hill, the Germalus and the Velia. Varro *L. L.* 5, §§ 41—54. There a lane leading from the valley in which the Colosseum now stands up the slope of the Palatine was called **ad capita bubula**; it led to the spot now occupied by the Church and Convent of *S. Bonaventura*, Lanciani's *Rome* p. 106. In the late division of Augustus it would fall into the 10th region. Others explain it as the name of the house, comparing *Dom.* 1 *natus est ad Malum Punicum*. But the expression is more usually descriptive of a district or street: so a spot in the Tyrol was called *ad Pirum*, Mart. 1, 117, 6.

sacrarium. A chapel or shrine, which in the larger houses of Rome not only included the *Lararium*, but served also as the repository of objects of reverence or heirlooms of the family, and works of art. From Cicero [*ad fam.* 13, 2] it would sometimes seem to have been used as a studio for sculptor or artist,—*Aviano Evandro, qui habitat in tuo sacrario, multum utor.* The obligation to maintain such a shrine would pass in many cases with the ownership of the house, like the trophies and triumphal ornaments [Pliny *N. H.* 35 § 6]. For its place in the house, see Becker's *Gallus*, p. 262. Ulpian *dig.* 1, 8, 9 § 2 *sacer locus est locus consecratus: sacrarium est locus in quo sacra reponuntur: quod etiam in privato aedificio esse potest.*

senatus actis. Iulius Caesar in his first consulship, B.C. 59, caused these *acta* to be kept and published as well as the *acta diurna* [see Suet. *Iul.* 20 *inito honore primus omnium instituit ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta confierent et publicarentur*]; and they were included in a *commentarium rerum urbanarum* sent to the provinces. Thus Caelius says to Cicero then in Cilicia [*ad fam.* 8, 11] in B.C. 51,—*quam quisque sententiam dixerit in commentariis est rerum urbanarum, ex quo tu quae digna sunt selige; multa transi;* cp. *ib.* 12, 23. Augustus stopped the publication of the *acta senatus* (c. 73). But Tiberius seems to have allowed them to be published, *Tib.* 73. Dio 57, 23 says that in causing the condemnation of his libellers in the Senate he really published them...*ἐδημοσίευεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγράφεσθαι.* He complains that the suppression of the *acta* not only made the writing of history difficult, but caused endless false and groundless rumours [53, 19].

C. Laetorius. The Laetorii known to us are plebeians. This man's family must have been one of those raised by Augustus.

graviore poena. The punishment of adultery by the *lex Iulia* (B.C. 17) was for the man a fine of half his goods and *relegatio*, for the woman the loss of half of her *dos* and a third of her whole estate and *relegatio*. The law did not inflict death, though it allowed the father or the injured husband to inflict it in certain cases and with certain restrictions. Tacitus [*Ann.* 3, 24] remarks that in punishing the paramours of his daughter and granddaughter with death Augustus *clementiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur.* His action in this case was grounded on the principle that these men were guilty of *maiestas* also: cp. the case of Appuleia Varilla [Tac. *Ann.* 2, 50] where Tiberius, when she had been acquitted of *maiestas,...adulterii graviorem poenam deprecatus, ut exemplo maiorum propinquis suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur suasit.* In B.C. 25 however Tiberius inflicted *exilium* on Aquilia and her paramour, instead of the *relegatio* of the *lex Iulia* [Tac. *Ann.* 4, 42].

natales, 'noble birth,'—only in Silver Latin. Cp. Pliny *Ep.* 3, 20, 6, *non nunquam candidatus aut natales competitoris aut annos, aut etiam mores arguebat. id.* 8, 18, 8 *mulier natalibus clara.* Tacitus *Agr.* 6; *Hist.* 4, 19; *Ann.* 11, 21.

aedituum, 'temple-guardian.' There were two classes of *aeditui*: the *aedituus magister* had the general superintendence of a temple, though he did not live in it. Thus Domitian, when the

Divus Augustus nascens attigisset, peteretque donari quasi proprio suo ac peculiari deo, decretum est ut ea pars domus consecraretur. Nutrimentorum eius ostenditur adhuc locus in 6
avito suburbano iuxta Velitras permodicus et cellae
5 penuariae instar, tenetque vicinitatem opinio tam- His babyhood.
quam et natus ibi sit. Huc introire nisi necessario
et caste religio est, concepta opinione veteri, quasi temere adeuntibus horror quidam et metus obiciatur, sed et mox confirmata. Nam cum possessor villae novus seu forte seu
10 temptandi causa cubitum se eo contulisset, evenit ut post paucissimas noctis horas exturbatus inde subita vi et incerta paene semianimis cum strato simul ante fores inveniretur.

Infanti cognomen Thurino inditum est, in memoriam 7

temple on the Capitol was set on fire, *apud aedituum clam pernoctavit* [*Dom.* 1]: the actual care of the temple was in the hands of an *aedituus minister*, or *aedituus a sacrario* [Marquardt 12, p. 259].

attigisset. For a new born child was placed on the ground—partly that the auspices might be taken, partly that the father might decide whether he would rear it. Ov. *Ib.* 2, 221 *Qui simul impurae matris prolapsus ab alvo | Cinyphiam foedo corpore pressit humum.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1, 12 *quod infantes partu editi non prius vocem edant quam attigerint humum.*

donari, 'to be pardoned as a concession to.' So Sulla according to Florus [3, 5, 10] spared the Athenians *...in honorem mortuorum sacris suis famaeque donavit.* Seneca *de ira* 2, 21 *causae suae et prioribus factis et bonis in futurum promissis donetur.* Cicero uses *condonare* in this sense [*ad fam.* 13, 73] *peto ut eius filios qui in tua potestate sunt, mihi potissimum condones.* Livy also *dare*, 7, 20 *Caere... hospitio vestalium cultisque diis darent.*

6. avito suburbano: cp. c. 94.

cellae penuariae, a later form of *penariae.* The *cella penaria* is the 'store-room' for provisions of all kinds, *penus multiplex* [*Nero*, c. 11]. Cp. Varro *L. L.* 5 § 162 *a celando cellam appellarunt: penariam ubi penus.* Cicero *de Sen.* § 56 *semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est.*

tamquam et natus ibi sit, 'that he was born as well as nursed there.' The use of *tamquam* with *opinio tenet* is like that after words of accusing and suspecting: Juv. 3, 22 *et merito iam suspectus tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.* Tac. *A.* 11, 4 *species alteri obiecta tamquam vidisset Claudium spicea corona evinctum.* Plin. *Ep.* 3, 9, 29 *reum postulavit tamquam in causa Castae praevaricaretur*, where Mayor says that in Silver Latin *tamquam* is used like ὡς without expressing any doubt. See *infra* c. 94 *prohibitum monitu dei tamquam is ad tutelam rei publicae educaretur.*

caste, after ceremonial purification. Cic. *de legg.* 2, 8 *ad deos adeunto caste.* Gell. 4, 9 *templa...religiosa sunt quae non vulgo et temere, sed cum castitate ceremoniaque adeunda.*

religio est = *non audent*, Liv. 2, 62.

sed et, 'and what is more,' 'and that too,' καὶ ταῦτα. In Silver Latin *sed* is often not disjunctive but cumulative, *Iul.* c. 9 *idem Curio sed et M. Actorius auctores sunt.* Mart. 1, 117, 7 *et scalis habito tribus sed altis. id.* 2, 6, 5 *haec sunt quae relegente me solebas | rapta exscribere sed Vitellianis. id.* 7, 71, 4 *ulcere turpi...nec rigidus fossor sed nec arator eget.*

incerta, 'mysterious,' of which no account could be given.

strato, 'bedding.' *Cal.* 51 *proripere se e strato sub lectumque condere solebat.* Lucret. 4, 849 *mollia strata lecti.*

7. Thurino. Suetonius apparently means that this name was given to the boy by his parents in commemoration of the affair at Thurii, see c. 3. It took place in B.C. 60 when he was two

maiorum originis, vel quod regione Thurinā recens eo nato pater Octavius adversus fugitivos rem prospere gesserat. Thurinum cognominatum satis certa probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam eius aeream veterem, ferreis et paene iam exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine inscriptam, quae dono a me principi data inter cubiculi Lares colitur. Sed et a M. Antonio in epistolis per contumeliam saepe Thurinus appellatur, et ipse nihil amplius quam mirari se rescribit, pro obprobrio sibi prius nomen obici. Postea

Why called Thurinus.

and a half years old, and his father may have thought the achievement sufficiently important to commemorate in this way, as Drusus afterwards called his son Germanicus. Another name given him by Dio [45, 1],—*Caepias*, is less explicable, and has been thought to be a corruption of *Caesar*. It is not mentioned by anyone else except Zonaras [10, 13] who copies Dio.

ferreis litteris. Iron letters let into bronze by a process called 'empaestic' (ἐμπαιστικὴ τέχνη). Dio 44, 7 τὰ δόγματα τὰ περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἐς μὲν στήλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσέοις γράμμασιν ἐνέγραψαν. Seneca *Ep.* 1, 5, 3 *non habeamus argentum in quod solidi auri caelatura descenderit.* Petron. *Sat.* 32 *habebat etiam in minimo digito sinistrae manus anulum grandem subauratum, extremo vero articulo sequentis minorem, ut mihi videbatur, totum aureum sed plane ferreis veluti stellis ferruminatum.* These letters or ornaments of a different metal seem to have been let in, not fastened on. So that even if some of the iron letters had come out, Suetonius would be able to make out the inscription by the matrices of the original letters. For similar combinations of two metals Casaubon quotes Athenaeus 11, 488 B ἔξωθεν δεῖν ἐμπείρεσθαι τοὺς χρυσοῦς ἥλους τῷ ἀργυρῷ ἐκπώματι κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐμπαιστικῆς τέχνης τρόπον. See Eustath. on Hom. *Il.* 11, 633 δέπας...χρυσείοις ἥλοισι πεπαρμένον.

principi, 'to the Emperor Hadrian.' Suetonius was one of his secretaries.

inter cubiculi Lares. The 'Lares of the bed-chamber' were a marked feature of the Palace, cp. *Dom.* 17 *puer qui arae Larum cubiculi ex consuetudine assistens interfuit caedi.* Family busts particularly valued were frequently placed among the images. In *Cal.* 7 we hear of an infant of Germanicus *cuius effigiem...in cubiculo suo positam* [*dedicavit*] *quotiensque introiret exosculabatur.* Nero (c. 25) also seems to have put there his artistic crowns,—*sacras coronas in cubiculis circum lectos posuit.* Antiques were placed there, Mart. 9, 44, 11 of a statue of Hercules *offensus variae tumidis terroribus aulae, Privatos gaudet nunc habitare Lares.* Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 29 *matutinis horis in larario suo, in quo et divos principes sed optimos electos et animas sanctiores, in quis Apollonium dicit, Christum Abraham et Orfeum et huiuscemodi ceteros habebat ac maiorum effigies, rem divinam faciebat.* It was therefore a chapel attached to the *cubiculum.* Marcus Antoninus placed there the statues of his teachers, Iul. Capit. 3 *tantum autem honoris magistris suis detulit ut imagines eorum aureas in larario haberet.*

postea Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti. The name Gaius Caesar was taken in consequence of his great-uncle's will. Immediately on his return to Italy after the assassination of Iulius he took the name of Caesar, but at first his mother and stepfather were strongly opposed to his accepting the dangerous inheritance. On the 20th of April B.C. 44 Cicero entertained him at dinner in his villa at Puteoli (before he had gone to Rome) and noticing that his stepfather Philippus avoided calling him Caesar, though his other friends did so, Cicero himself did not address him by that name [*ad Att.* 14, 12]. He acted however immediately as his uncle's heir,—he was *ex dodrante* (¾ths) and *in ima cera Gaium Octavium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit, Iul.* 83.—But though a will could give a man a right to bear the testator's name, it was necessary for a legal transfer to the *gens* and *familia* of one who was *suo iure* to have a *lex curiata* passed. This was not done until after the victory of Mutina and his

Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento maioris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum, quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisset, ut Augustus potius vocaretur,

Names of adoption and honour.

election to the Consulship in August, B.C. 43. See Dio 46, 47 καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος γένος κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐσεποιήθη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μετέθετο· ὠνόμαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, Καίσαρα ἐξ οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ τοῦτο μετὰ κλήρου κατελείφθη· οὐ μέντοι οὔτ' ἀκριβῆ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὔτ' ἐπὶ πάντας εἶχε, πρὶν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων αὐτήν τοτε ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ἐκείνου Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ Ὀκταουιανὸς ἐπεκλήθη. This had been postponed in the previous year by the intrigues of Antony τὸν νόμον τὸν φρατριακὸν ἐσφερόμενον καθ' ὃν τὴν ἐποίησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος γενέσθαι ἔδει, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπούδαζε δῆθεν ἐσενέγκειν, διὰ δὲ δημάρχων τινῶν ἀνεβάλλετο ὅπως, ὡς μηδέπω παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὤν, μήτε τι τῆς οὐσίας πολυπραγμονοίη καὶ πρὸς τἆλλα ἀσθενέστερος εἴη [Dio 45, 5]. Augustus submitted for the time; but the assumption of the name is always admitted by Cicero in his public and formal utterances. Thus in the Philippics he speaks of him as 'Gaius Caesar' or 'Caesar' [4 *Phil.* § 4; 5 § 42, 80—3; 10 § 15, 21; 13 § 19; 14 § 37]. And in his letters between June and November B.C. 44 he calls him Octavianus or Caesar Octavianus,—thus acknowledging his adoption from the Octavii [*ad Att.* 15, 12; 16, 8, 11; *ad fam.* 12, 23], though he once also calls him Octavius [*ad Att.* 16, 9]. Matius, his friend and the procurator of his games, at the end of May B.C. 44 speaks of him as 'Caesar' and 'Caesar adolescens' [*ad fam.* 11, 28]. Pollio writing in May B.C. 43 calls him Octavianus [*ad fam.* 10, 33]. Decimus Brutus, writing in May and Plancus in June B.C. 43 speak of him as Caesar [*ad fam.* 11, 10, 14; 10, 23]. The change of name was therefore generally recognised before the formal adoption by the *lex curiata*.

Augusti. The day on which this title was formally given was the 16 January B.C. 27 [XVIII. Kal. Feb.]. See *C. I. L.* 1, p. 384 where Mommsen quotes Censorinus 21, 8, *a. d. xvi.* [? *xviii.*] *K. Febr. imp. Caesar divi f. sententia L. Munati Planci, a senatu caeterisque civibus Augustus appellatus est, se vii. et M. Agrippa cos.* It was immediately after the reconstitution of the state, the restitution of standards by the Bastarnae and Dalmatians, and the division of the provinces between himself and the Senate [Liv. *ep.* 134]. Hence Ovid (who however dates it on the Ides) says [*F.* 1, 589]

Redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro,
et tuus Augusto nomine dictus avus.

See Mon. Anc. c. 34 *In consulatu sexto et septimo* (B.C. 28 and 27) *bella ubi civilia exstinxeram per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. Quo pro merito meo Senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum.* Dio 53, 16 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπετέλεσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ Αὐγούστου ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἐπέθετο. Orosius [6, 20] puts it in B.C. 29.

maioris avunculi for *magni a.* 'a grandmother's brother,' cp. *Claud.* 3.

Romulum. The reason which Dio (*l. c.*) gives for his abandonment of his strong desire for the title of Romulus is that it was regarded as implying too pronounced a claim to kingly powers, not as being inferior to that of Augustus. Florus [4, 12, 66] on the other hand says *Tractatum etiam in Senatu, an, quia condidisset imperium, Romulus vocaretur; sed sanctius et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti, ut scilicet iam tum, dum colit terras, ipso nomine et titulo consecraretur.* The derivation of the word is not certain. The general opinion now seems in favour of connecting it with *augeo* rather than with *avis*. It is, in any case, a ritual word and suggested to the Romans both ideas,—that of augury, and that of divine blessing and increase; Ovid *F.* 1, 609

Sancta vocant augusta patres: augusta vocantur
templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.
huius et AVGVRIVM *dependet origine verbi,*
et quodcumque sua Iupiter AVGET *ope.*

non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel ab avium gestu gustuve, sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens:

Augusto augurio postquam inclita condita Roma est. 5

8 Quadrimus patrem amisit. Duodecimum annum agens aviam Iuliam defunctam pro contione laudavit. Quadriennio post virili toga sumpta, militaribus donis triumpho Caesaris Africano donatus est, quanquam expers belli propter aetatem. Profectum mox avunculum in Hispanias adversus CN. Pompei liberos, 10

B.C. 58.
B.C. 51.
B.C. 49—46.
B.C. 45 in Spain.

gestu gustuve referring to the motions and feeding of the sacred chickens. But the last part of the word, whatever be the first syllable, is doubtless an adjectival termination, cp. *ang-ustus*. Festus, *augustus locus sanctus, ab avium gestu, id est, quia ab avibus significatus est, sic dictus: sive ab avium gustatu, quia aves pastae id ratum fecere.* The passage of Ennius is quoted by Varro *R. R.* 3, 1, 1

Septingenti sunt paulo plus aut minus anni,
Augusto augurio postquam inclita condita Roma est.

8. **quadrimus.** The father of Augustus died on his way home from Macedonia in B.C. 59 to make his *professio* for the consulship. In ordinary years the *comitia* were in July, in which case he must have died before his son's fourth birthday. But in B.C. 59 the *comitia* were put off by Bibulus till the middle of October [Cicero *ad Att.* 2, 20 and 21] and therefore Octavius may have died after September 23.

duodecimum...agens, 'in his twelfth year,' i.e. before 23 September B.C. 51. Quintilian however [12, 6, 1] makes him twelve;—*Caesar Augustus duodecim natus annos aviam pro rostris laudavit.* Nicolas (c. 3) seems to put it still earlier, if he is referring to this, —ὅτι Καῖσαρ περὶ ἐννέα ἔτη μάλιστα γεγονὼς θαῦμά τε οὐ μικρὸν παρέσχε Ῥωμαίοις φύσεως ἀκρότητα δηλώσας ἐν τοιᾷδε ἡλικίᾳ. The custom of funeral *laudationes* was of great antiquity, [Polyb. 6, 53], and as they dealt with the achievements of the whole family they not only gave rise to imaginary pedigrees (see *Iul.* 6, where Caesar in a *laudatio* of his aunt traces his family up to Ancus Marcius and Venus), but to serious falsifications of history: see Cicero *Brut.* 16 *his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior.* Originally the honour was confined to men. Cicero [*de orat.* 2 § 44] says that the first woman so honoured was Popillia the mother of Catulus (about B.C. 120); yet Livy [5, 50] asserts that the privilege was granted Roman women owing to their liberality in contributing to ransom paid to the Gauls in B.C. 389,—*Matronis gratiae actae honosque additus ut earum sicut virorum post mortem solennis laudatio esset.* For instances of these *laudationes* in Suetonius, see *Iul.* 7, 84; *Tib.* 6; *Calig.* 10, 15; *Claud.* 1; *Ner.* 9.

pro contione, 'in public meeting,' equivalent to the *pro rostris* of *Iul.* 7.

quadriennio post. It was in the fourth year after this: since, as we have seen (p. 2), he took the *toga virilis* in October B.C. 48, and was at the same time elected into the college of Pontifices in the place of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus killed at Pharsalus in August, Nicolas § 4 καὶ ἐνεγράφη εἰς τὴν ἱεροσύνην εἰς τὸν Λευκίου Δομιτίου τόπον τετελευτηκότος... καὶ ὁ μὲν ἅμα τῇ μεταλλαγῇ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῇ καλλίστῃ τιμῇ κοσμηθεὶς ἔθυε. Velleius Pat. 2, 59 *pontificatus sacerdotio puerum honoravit.* Accordingly Cicero in 43 speaks of him as *pontifex*, 5 *Phil.* § 47. The African triumph was in September B.C. 46, the battle of Thapsus having been fought in the previous April. Suetonius therefore cannot mean to place the assumption of the *toga virilis* and the triumph together; we must take the clause **quadriennio...**

vixdum firmus a graví valitudine, per infestas hostibus vias paucissimis comitibus naufragio etiam facto subsecutus, magnopere demeruit, approbata cito etiam morum indole super itineris industriam.

5 Caesare post receptas Hispanias expeditionem in Dacos et inde in Parthos destinante, praemissus Apolloniam studiis vacavit. Utque primum occisum eum heredemque se comperit, diu cunctatus an proximas

B.C. 45—44 at Apollonia.

sumpta, 'having taken the *toga virilis* four years after (the *laudatio* of his grandmother).'

militaribus donis. See c. 25; *Tib.* 32. The young Octavius was allowed to join his uncle's triumphal procession as though he had been on the campaign, though, owing to his weak health, and his mother's anxiety, he had given up his ardent wish to do so [Nicolas 6]. The *militaria dona* seem to have been the dress and ornaments of a commander [Nic. 8]...*καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα, υἱὸν ἤδη πεποιημένος, ὄντα δὲ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ φύσει διὰ τὸ ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ γένους εἶναι, ἐκέλευσε τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἅρματι ἕπεσθαι, κόσμοις αὐτὸν στρατηγικοῖς ἀσκήσας, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῦ σύσκηνον ἐν πολέμῳ γεγονότα.*

profectum mox. Iulius started for Spain in December B.C. 46 and returned in the following September. The battle of Munda was fought on the Liberalia (17 March), Gnaeus Pompeius was killed on the 11th of April [Caesar *B. Hisp.* 38], and about the same time Octavius seems to have joined his uncle at Carteia [*B. Hisp.* 37].

vixdum firmus a gravi valitudine. This was the first of the many serious illnesses of Augustus, in consequence of which his life was more than once despaired of. They seem to have arisen from a feeble liver and a tendency to high fever. The present attack had been brought on by assiduous attention during the summer heats to the administration of the 'Greek' theatre, which his uncle had put under his charge. The anxiety of Julius for his restoration is graphically related by Nicolas c. 9: *καί ποτε δειπνοῦντι ἤγγειλέ τις ὡς ἔκλυτος εἴη καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχοι· ὁ δ' ἐκπηδήσας ἀνυπόδητος ἧκεν ἔνθα ἐνοσηλεύετο, καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐδεῖτο ἐμπαθέστατα μεστὸς ὢν ἀγωνίας καὶ αὐτὸς παρεκάθητο· ἀνακτησάμενος δ' αὐτὸν εὔθυμος ἐγένετο.*

paucissimis comitibus. Nicolas (10) represents him as rejecting the request of a large number of young men who were anxious to accompany him, owing to his splendid future prospects. Even his mother wished to go with him. But he refused all company except that of some of his swiftest and most active slaves (*τοὺς ὠκυτάτους τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ ἐρρωμενεστάτους ἐκλεξάμενος*).

approbata indole. Cp. Nicolas 11 *ἐπιμελὲς δ' ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλεγόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἀνακρίνειν ἀποπειρώμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς διανοίας· ὁρῶν δὲ εὔστοχον καὶ εὐσύνετον καὶ βραχύλογον αὐτά τε ἀποκρινόμενον τὰ καιριώτατα ἔστεργε καὶ ὑπερησπάζετο.*

super itineris industriam, 'over and above the energy displayed in his journey'; cf. *Nero* 31 *super fiduciam imperii etiam spe quadam repentina immensarum et reconditarum opum impulsus est. Otho* 5 *instigante super animi dolorem etiam magnitudine aeris alieni.*

Caesare...destinante. Before Caesar returned from Spain (B.C. 45) it was known that he meditated crowning his work by one more great military expedition. It was to secure peace at almost the only point of the empire at which there was serious trouble, the Eastern frontier, which was subject to constant alarms and attacks from the Parthians. The loss of the army and its standards under Crassus in 53, though partially avenged by the victory of C Cassius in 51, had long been a terror to the popular imagination. Rumours now were afloat that the Sibylline verses declared that the Parthians could only be subdued by a king, and one of the *Quindecemviri*, L. Aurelius Cotta, proposed (or declared that he would propose) that Caesar should have the title of Dictator at Rome, but of king in the provinces (cp. Empress of India). See Plut. *Caes.* 60 *ὡς ἐκ γραμμάτων Σιβυλλείων ἀλώσιμα τὰ Πάρθων φαίνοιτο Ῥωμαίοις σὺν βα-*

legiones imploraret, id quidem consilium ut praeceps inmaturumque omisit, ceterum urbe repetita hereditatem adiit,

σιλεῖ στρατευομένοις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλως ἀνέφικτα ὄντα. Cic. *de div.* 2, 110 *Sibyllae versus, quorum interpres nuper falsa quadam hominum fama dicturus in senatu putabatur; eum quem re vera regem habebamus, appellandum quoque esse regem, si salvi esse vellemus.* Cp. *Iul.* 79; Appian *B. civ.* 2, 110. Cicero did not hear the speech but asks to have it sent him [*ad Att.* 13, 44]; he had however felt obliged to join in the general adulation and had written to Caesar in the sense which he knew would be agreeable, i.e. urging him to undertake the Parthian war [*ad Att.* 13, 27]. But Caesar did not mean to go straight to Parthia. The whole expedition was calculated to be likely to last 3 years, in the first of which he was to subdue the Dacians or Getae as they were sometimes called [Appian *B. civ.* 2, 110]. These tribes being conquered he would cross to Asia Minor, or sail down the Aegean. Hence troops were sent towards the end of 45 across to Apollonia to encamp on the *via Egnatia*, along which they would march either on their Dacian expedition or to take ship at Thessalonica for the East. Octavius was to be one of the Dictator's two *Magistri Equitum* [Dio 43, 51]. He was accompanied by a suite of young men, among whom were his future ministers and friends M. Vipsanius Agrippa and L. Cilnius Maecenas [Nicolas 31].

praemissus...vacavit, 'being sent in advance to Apollonia he devoted himself to study.' Appian *B. civ.* 3, 9 παιδεύεσθαί τε καὶ ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ πολέμια ἐπέμπετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐψόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἱππέων ἴλαι παραλλὰξ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιοῦσαι συνεγύμναζον. καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ τινὲς ὡς συγγενεῖ Καίσαρος θαμινὰ ἐπιφοίτων. Vell. Paterc. 2, 59 *ad erudiendum liberalibus disciplinis singularis indolem iuvenis Apolloniam eum in studia miserat, mox belli Getici ac deinde Parthici habiturus commilitonem.* Thus it was quite as much for training in military matters as in general culture that Octavius was sent to Apollonia; nor is there any other evidence that Apollonia was specially a place of education; though it might doubtless be selected as the nearest place to Italy where Greek professors could conveniently come. Octavius seems to have brought his teachers with him, see c. 89 and notes. Apollonia was a joint colony of Corinth and Corcyra founded during the tyranny of Periander (B.C. 665—585), and does not seem to have been important till the Roman occupation, when it became the starting point of the *via Egnatia* [Herod. 9, 92—4; Thucyd. 1, 26; Strabo 7, 5, 8; Plutarch *Ser. Num. Vin.* c. 7]. According to Nicolas (16) at Apollonia Octavius was ζηλούμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ φίλων, θαυμαζόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων, ἐπαινούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν παιδευτῶν.

studiis vacavit. Cp. c. 45 *quod inter spectandum libellis legendis rescribendisque vacaret. Vesp.* c. 21 *gestationi et inde quieti vacabat.* The phrase does not exactly occur in Cicero, but a usage very near it is in *de div.* 1, 11 *ego vero inquam philosophiae, Quinte, semper vaco.*

utque primum...comperit. Octavius learnt the murder of Iulius by a letter from his mother. But the bearer could tell him nothing more, as he had been despatched in haste immediately afterwards. After a long deliberation he decided not to appeal for the present to the legions in Macedonia, though several of the officers proffered their assistance, but to go at once to Italy. It was not till he landed in Calabria that he heard of Caesar's will and his adoption [Nicolas 16, 17].

ceterum ... dissuadente. Octavius landed considerably south of Brundisium, near Lupiae (*Lecce*), where he met with some who had been at Caesar's funeral and had heard the will and could tell him that he was heir to three-fourths of his uncle's property—*ex dodrante* [see *Iulius* c. 83; though Livy *ep.* 116, says to one-half *ex dimidia parte*]. He then went to Brundisium where he found letters from his mother and stepfather. Atia begged him to come at once to her protection, Philippus urged him to renounce the inheritance,—ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἥδει μὲν ὑπ' εὐνοίας ταῦτα παραινοῦντα ἐγίγνωσκε δὲ τἀναντία, Nicolas c. 18. Philippus had taken neither side in the civil war, and wished his stepson to abstain from the party struggles.

dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente. Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis primum cum M. Antonio M. que Lepido deinde tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quattuor et quadraginta solus rem publicam tenuit.

The periods of his power B.C. 44—A.D. 14.

proximas legiones. Those encamped in Macedonia ready for the Parthian expedition.

vitrico. There seems no reason to doubt that L. Marcius Philippus was stepfather to Augustus. Yet Dio [45, 1] calls him his mother's brother, *ἐτράφη μὲν παρά τε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτῆς Λουκίῳ Φιλίππῳ.* And Ovid *F.* 6, 809 says that he married Octavian's aunt, ...*nupta fuit quondam matertera Caesaris illi.* It seems impossible that the courtier Ovid should have made a mistake on such a subject; and the only explanation possible seems to be that he married the two sisters in succession. Velleius [2, 59 and 60] calls him *vitricus*; Appian *B. civ.* 3, 10 *ἡ δὲ μήτηρ καὶ Φίλιππος ὃς εἶχεν αὐτήν.* Plutarch *Cicero* 45 *Φίλιππος ὁ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νεοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχων.* Cicero 3 *Phil.* § 17 *L. Philippus qui habet Aricinam uxorem, C. Marcellus, qui Aricinae filiam.* Cp. *ad Att.* XIV. 12. See *infr.* c. 29. He was consul in B.C. 56.

atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis...tenuit. This exceedingly brief summary of Augustus' career includes I. the levying of an army against Antony at Mutina in the autumn of 44. M. A. 1 *annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi.* Cic. *ad Att.* 16, 8 (Nov. 44) *Kal. vesperi literae mihi ab Octaviano. Magna molitur. Veteranos qui sunt Casilini et Calatiae perduxit ad suam sententiam. Nec mirum: quingenos denarios dat: cogitat reliquas colonias obire. Plane hoc spectat ut se duce bellum cum Antonio geratur.* Cicero hesitated to trust him, *ego quidem σκήπτομαι. non confido aetati. Ignoro quo animo, ib.* 9. He however is soon convinced that Octavius is important, *is tamen egit sane strenue et agit. Romam veniet cum manu magna, sed est plane puer. Putat senatum statim. Quis veniet? si venerit, quis incertis rebus offendet Antonium? Kal. Ian. erit fortasse praesidio, aut quidem ante depugnabitur. Puero municipia mire favent....* *ad Att.* 16, 11. To the troops thus raised from the veterans were added the *legio Martia* and *quarta*, which broke off on the march from Brundisium and came to Alba Fucentia, and put themselves at the disposal of Octavius (November), Cicero 3 *Phil.* § 39; 13 § 19. II. the first tenure of the Triumvirate. It was established by a *lex* passed on 27 of November 43 in consequence of an agreement come to between Antony, Lepidus and Augustus at their meeting earlier in the month. They were to form a board to settle the constitution *rei publicae constituendae*, with full powers as to the 'designating' magistrates and carrying on government for 5 years, from the following 1st January to 31 December 38. It was also arranged that there should be three great provinces, Caesar was to take both the Africas, Sicily and Sardinia; Lepidus the Spains and Gallia Narbonensis; Antony the rest of Gaul, with legions and legates. Lepidus was to be consul for 42 and take charge of Italy while Caesar and Antony went to attack Brutus and Cassius [Dio 46, 54]. After the battle of Philippi these arrangements were modified. The triumviral imperium remained unchanged: but Antony was to take general charge of all east of the Adriatic, Caesar of all west of it; and Lepidus was to be allowed to hold Africa as his province,—Italy was to be common to all [Dio 48, 1]. The triumvirate was renewed for another 5 years from 1 January 37 to 31 Dec. 33; but in B.C. 36 Lepidus was deprived of his share of the provinces and forced to abdicate his imperium as triumvir. III. Neither Caesar nor Antony resigned his imperium at the end of 33; but the battle of Actium (31) followed by the death of Antony (30) left Caesar with the sole imperium. This completes the twelve years of Suetonius' three first periods. IV. The 4th period of 44 years is that which may be properly called Caesar's reign from B.C. 30 to A.D. 14, —from the death of Antony to his own.

9 Proposita vitae eius velut summa, partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar, quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint.

His five civil wars B.C. 44—31.

Bella civilia quinque gessit: Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum; e quibus primum ac novissimum adversus M. Antonium, secundum adversus Brutum et Cassium, tertium adversus L. Antonium triumviri fratrem, quartum adversus Sex- 5

9. neque per tempora sed per species, 'not however following the chronological order, but taking each subject by itself.' Suetonius generally follows this plan more or less, giving separate accounts of an Emperor's wars, legislation, friendships, methods of government, honours enjoyed, pleasures and the like. But in most of the lives the chronological sketch is more prominent than in that of Augustus. He divides his subject in the present instance thus: (I) Civil wars, 9—19. (II) Foreign wars, 20—21. (III) Triumphs celebrated, 22—24. (IV) Military discipline, 24—25. (V) Offices, 26—27. (VI) General policy and administration, public buildings, etc., social reforms, administration of justice, legislation, 28—34. His dealing with the Senate, the magistrates, the Equites, and the citizenship, 34—40. His financial measures, 41—42. His arrangement of the games and theatres, 43—46. (VII) His administration of the provinces and foreign affairs, 48—50. (VIII) Miscellaneous characteristics and anecdotes, 51—60. (IX) His family life, wives, children and adopted sons, friendships, servants, personal morality and amusements, appearance and health, 61—82. (X) His literary accomplishments, 84—86. His peculiar expressions and tricks of writing, his instructors, and Greek studies, and patronage of learning, 87—89. (XI) His views and practices as to religion, 90—93. (XII) The various omens and other divine indications accompanying his birth, and the great crises of his life, 94—6. (XIII) His last days, his death, and will, 97—101.

bella civilia. I. **Mutinense**: Octavius started for Mutina before 1 January 43. The decisive engagements which compelled Antony to withdraw from Mutina took place on the 15th of April [Cic. *ad fam.* 10, 30—33; 14 *Phil.*; Dio 46, 37] on the via Aemilia, and the next day or next day but one close to Antony's camp at Mutina [App. *B. C.* 3, 71—2]. II. **Philippense**: Brutus and Cassius on their march through N. Macedonia (42) found the road near Philippi blocked by 8 legions sent by Antony under Caius Norbanus and Decidius Saxas. The two armies fronted each other for some weeks until towards the end of September Antony arrived with reinforcements followed a little later by Octavian (who had been detained by sickness). There were two battles with a fortnight's interval towards the end of October and the beginning of November. In the first Brutus stormed Octavian's camp, and all but captured him, but Cassius was defeated and committed suicide under the false impression that Brutus had failed. In the second Brutus was defeated and killed himself [Plutarch, lives of *Antony* and *Brutus*, Dio 47, 32—49; App. *B. Civ.* 4, 105—138; Vell. Pat. 2, 70—71]. III. **Perusinum**: On the 1 January 41 Lucius Antonius (brother of Marcus) became Consul. Marcus Antonius in accordance with the agreement made after Philippi was in the East: but his wife Fulvia was in Rome and she combined with Lucius (who as symbol of his devotion to his brother's interest had taken the cognomen of Pietas) to support the interests of Marcus and his veterans against those of Caesar. It was Fulvia who was the ruling spirit of the two, and she used the circumstances of the time, especially the task Caesar had to perform of distributing lands to the veterans, for stirring up quarrels. Caesar showed his sense of the situation by divorcing Fulvia's daughter Clodia, to whom he had been contracted though he had not as yet cohabited with her. These disagreements led to a real civil war which centred itself at Perusia where Caesar besieged

tum Pompeium CN. F. Omnium bellorum initium et causam 10
hinc sumpsit: nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta, confestim ut Apollonia rediit, Brutum Cassiumque et vi necopinantis et (quia provisum
5 periculum subterfugerant) legibus adgredi reosque caedis

Lucius Antonius from the autumn of 41 to March 40 [Dio 48, 5—16; Vell. Paterc. 2, 74—76; App. *B. Civ.* 5, 19—49]. IV. **Siculum**: The Sicilian war spread over several years. Caesar was engaged in Sicily early in 42 just before starting for Macedonia. During the two years which followed Sextus Pompeius had held Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia and other islands, had harassed the coasts of Italy almost at his will, and the triumvirs were execrated by the people for the sufferings thus entailed on them. They were obliged therefore to do something. First of all Antony and Caesar in common negotiated the treaty of Misenum with Pompey [39] which secured to Sextus his rule in the islands (with the addition of the Peloponnese) and his *restitutio in integrum* at Rome, as well as other great concessions, while it provided for the free supply of corn from those parts to Rome and the cessation of Pompey's raids. Antony then went off to the East for his Parthian expeditions, and Caesar was left in charge at Rome. But the peace was maintained for a very short time. Sextus conceived himself not to be treated fairly in accordance with its terms, and began his encroachments again (B.C. 38—7), and Caesar was obliged to undertake the war. In 38—7 it went against Caesar, who lost a considerable fleet and was in great personal danger. It was not until Agrippa took command (B.C. 36) that things began to look brighter, and finally after much desultory fighting both by sea and land Sextus fled to Asia where he was put to death (B.C. 35) [Vell. Pat. 2, 73, 79—81; Dio 48, 17—32; 36; 49, 1—18; App. *B. Civ.* 5, 77—92; 98—145]. V. **Actiacum**: The war which was settled by the battle of Actium (September B.C. 31) was not professedly a civil war. Caesar had indeed industriously put before the people all the civil crimes of Antony, and the very boys in the streets it is said formed themselves into rival parties of Caesarians and Antonians, nevertheless the proclamation of war was against Cleopatra [*τῇ μὲν οὖν Κλεοπάτρᾳ διὰ ταῦτα τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδὲν δῆθεν τοιοῦτον ἐπήγγειλαν*...Dio 50, 6]. It was quite enough for Antony's enemies that he should appear before the people as fighting on the side of a *hostis*. The war may be counted as lasting from the autumn of 32 (some desultory movements occurring in the winter) to the death of Antony in the first half of B.C. 30 [Dio 50, 10—51, 10: Velleius Paterc. 2, 83, 8; Plutarch *Antony*, c. 57 sq.].

10. necem ... vindicare. Augustus himself puts the vengeance for the assassination of Iulius as his first public achievement after his successful campaign at Mutina. See M. A. 2 *qui parentem meum interfecerunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.* But though the legal condemnation of the assassins here spoken of seems formally to have been confined to a sentence of *interdictio aquae et ignis*, it is observed by Suetonius [*Iul.* 89] that within three years nearly all had perished by various forms of violent death. For exceptions see Appendix B.

confestim ut Apollonia rediit. It does not appear that Octavian took any steps against the assassins immediately after his return from Apollonia. He was very reserved, and Cicero, though with some doubt, declared that he was well disposed to his party: *ad Att.* 15, 12 (written early in June B.C. 44). It was not till he came to Rome with an army in August 43 B.C. to claim the consulship that he began the vengeance. The *acta* of Caesar had been confirmed by a decree of the Senate in March, but Antony is accused by Cicero of playing fast and loose with them [2 *Phil.* § 100].

subterfugerant. Brutus and Cassius, though Praetors, had to leave Rome immediately after Caesar's funeral, owing to the popular feeling against them, and never ventured to return to

absentis deferre statuit. Ludos autem victoriae Caesaris, non audentibus facere quibus optigerat id munus, ipse edidit. Et quo constantius cetera quoque exequeretur, in locum TR. PL. forte demortui candidatum se ostendit, quanquam patricius necdum senator. Sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio 5

the city again. They stayed in Italy till towards the end of August, at first at Lanuvium [Cic. *ad fam.* 11, 2], then at Antium [*ad Att.* 15, 11, 12], and finally, after collecting ships and men, at Velia and at Naples [*ad Att.* 16, 7]. The scene at the theatre in which C. Antonius presided in the place of Brutus at the games of Apollo in July, though Cicero afterwards declared it to be extraordinarily favourable to Brutus [2 *Phil.* § 31 *incredibili honore*], was really far from encouraging [*ad Att.* 16, 5; cp. App. *B. civ.* 3, 24 *ἐμμίσθων γάρ τινων ἀνακραγόντων κατακαλεῖν Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάσσιον ἐπεὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς θέατρον συνεδημαγωγεῖτο ἐς τὸν ἔλεον, ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι* (Octavian's partisans) *καὶ τὰς θέας ἐπέσχον μέχρι τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν σβέσαι*].

legibus. See passage of the Monumentum quoted above. The law for the trial of the conspirators was brought in by Octavian's cousin and colleague in the consulship, Q. Pedius [c. 83], who had served with his uncle in Gaul, and was a joint heir by his will. Vell. Paterc. 2, 69 *et lege Pedia, quam Cos. Pedius collega Caesaris tulerat, omnibus qui Caesarem patrem interfecerant aqua ignique damnatis interdictum erat.* Cp. Appian *B. civ.* 3, 95; Dio 46, 48. This took place in August B.C. 43; but the subsequent proscriptions of the triumvirs in November caused Pedius so much distress and excitement that he died [App. *B. civ.* 4, 6].

ludos...victoriae Caesaris. These games had been intended to be exhibited on the Palilia (21 April) in celebration of Caesar's Spanish victory, and were to accompany the dedication of the completed temple of Venus Victrix vowed at Pharsalus in B.C. 49 [App. 2, 102; Dio 43, 2; 45, 6]. After his death they were not proceeded with; but Octavian on coming to Rome at once took measures for their celebration in May, securing the services of Matius Calvinus [*ad Att.* 15, 2; *ad Fam.* 11, 27—28] and Postumius, two warm friends of the Dictator [*ad fam.* 6, 12] as *procuratores*. For the comet mentioned by Suetonius [*Iul.* 88] as having appeared during these games, which the people believed to be the soul of Caesar being received among the gods, see Pliny *N. H.* 2 § 93—94 *Cometes in uno totius orbis loco colitur in templo Romae, admodum faustus divo Augusto iudicatus ab ipso, qui incipiente eo adparuit ludis quos faciebat Veneri Genetrici non multo post obitum patris Caesaris in collegio ab eo instituto.* Dio 45, 7.

in locum Tribuni Plebeii. The vacancy seems to have been caused by the death of Helvius Cinna, who was killed by the mob in mistake for L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the assassins [Plut. *Caes.* 68; *Brutus* 20; Dio 45, 5]. Antony prevented Octavian's candidature by an edict, in virtue of his consular power of *coercitio*, App. *B. civ.* 3, 31 *προὔγραφεν ὡς ὕπατος μηδενὶ Καίσαρα ἐγχειρεῖν παρανόμως, ἢ χρήσεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ παντὶ μέτρῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας.* Plut. *Ant.* 16 *δημαρχίαν τε γὰρ ἐνέστη μετιόντι καὶ δίφρον χρυσοῦν τοῦ πατρός, ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο, τιθέντος ἠπείλησεν εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπάξειν.* The constitutional grounds on which the opposition rested seem to have been I. the patriciate conferred on Octavius by Iulius; II. his age; III. his not having been quaestor and so a senator (*necdum senator*). This last involved a breach of custom though not of law [Willans *le Sénat* 1, p. 212], and Antony found that he would be elected, and consequently stopped the *comitia* [*ὥστε...ἀνελεῖν τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῖς ὑπολοίποις τῶν δημάρχων ἀρκούμενον*, App. *l. c.*].

adversante...Antonio. The first point in which Antony opposed Octavian was in regard to a large sum of money (about £5000000) left by Caesar in the temple of Ops. Of this as Caesar's heir Octavian demanded an account, which Antony refused on the grounds that it was public money, and did not come to Caesar's heir, who had no public position in virtue of the will, for Caesar had of course no power to leave

consule, quem vel praecipuum adiutorem speraverat, ac ne publicum quidem et tralāticium ius ulla in re sibi sine pactione gravissimae mercedis impertiente, ad optimates se contulit, quibus eum invisum sentiebat,

Breach with M. Antonius.

a successor in his public offices. However the second heirs Pinarius and Pedius were paid, and they seem to have handed over their shares to Octavian [App. *B. civ.* 3, 15—22; cp. Cicero 2 *Phil.* § 93].

publicum...et tralaticium ius 'a right open to every one,' 'of an ordinary description.' Cp. *Nero* 7 *tralaticiae postulationes*, 'formal motions in a court,' *ib.* 33 *tralaticio funere*, 'common,' 'ordinary funeral.' On his arrival in Rome early in May 44, Octavius at once gave notice before the praetor C. Antonius, that he accepted the inheritance of Caesar, and found himself immediately not only involved in a money controversy with M. Antonius, as were his co-heirs Pedius and Pinarius, but had also to defend himself in many actions brought by those who professed to have been wrongfully dispossessed by Caesar; and in these actions he was frequently worsted by Antony's influence [App. *Bell. civ.* 3, 22 παντάχοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοίως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου ἡττᾶτο]. Antony's secret influence was exercised also in the other points,—the tribuneship, the celebration of the games, and the formal *lex curiata* for his adoption [αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπούδαζεν δῆθεν εἰσενεγκεῖν, διὰ δὲ δημάρχων τινῶν ἀνεβάλλετο, Dio 45, 5].

ad optimates se contulit. Cicero had from the first hoped to get Octavius on his side as against Antony. He anticipated with pleasure the quarrel that would arise between them,—*sed, ut scribis, ῥοιζόθεμιν magnam cum Antonio, ad Att.* 14, 10 (19 Apr. B.C. 43), —and believed that he had secured him on his arrival,...*modo venit Octavius, et quidem in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus, ib.* 11 (18 April)... *nobiscum hic perhonorifice et amice Octavius, ib.* 12 (22 April). These confident expectations were damped by the speech delivered by him in May, when introduced on the Rostra by L. Antonius, and by his celebration of the games in the Dictator's honour, *de Octavii contione idem sentio quod tu; ludorumque eius apparatus et Matius ac Postumius mihi procuratores non placent,* ...*ib.* 15, 2 (18 May). Still his resentment against the murderers of his uncle was for the present carefully concealed, and this gave Cicero hopes of retaining him, though his doubts were not set at rest,...*Octaviano, ut perspexi, satis ingenii, satis animi: videbaturque erga nostros heroas ita fore ut nos vellemus animatus. Sed quid aetati credendum sit, quid nomini, quid hereditati, quid κατηχήσει, magni consilii est: vitricus quidem nihil censebat, quem Asturae vidimus. Sed tamen alendus est; et, ut nihil aliud, ab Antonio seiungendus, ib.* 12 (10 June). It was not however till the latter part of October that the alienation from Antony was complete; when, on the latter leaving Rome to meet the legions at Brundisium from Epirus, Octavian enrolled soldiers from the veterans at Casilinum and Calatia on the plea that Antony was about to march upon Rome. Though he had no authority for doing this, the Optimate party hastened to recognise him, in their hatred of Antony, though Cicero doubted as to giving him direct countenance [*ego autem σκήπτομαι, ad Att.* 16, 9], and Varro and some others disapproved. It was not until the 19th of December that thanks were voted in the Senate to Octavian, thus implicitly recognising him [3 *Phil.* § 39]; and it was only on the 1st Jan. B.C. 43 that *imperium* was accorded to him, with the rank of pro-praetor and a seat in the Senate [5 *Phil.* § 46]. It is certain, however, that he was playing a part, and meant only to use the Optimates to give him the power of making terms with Antony on a footing of equality. He himself asserts that he used the troops to destroy the narrow clique then enslaving the country, by which he means the party of Optimates [*per quem rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi* M. A. 1 § 1, words apparently founded on those of Iulius himself, see *B. civ.* 1, 22 *ut se et Populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum in libertatem vindicaret*].

maxime quod D. Brutum obsessum Mutinae provincia a Caesare data et per senatum confirmata | expellere armis niteretur. Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percussores ei subornavit, ac fraude deprehensā periculum in vicem metuens veteranos simul in suum ac rei publicae auxilium quanta potuit largitione contraxit; iussusque comparato exercitui pro praetore praeesse et cum Hirtio ac Pansa, qui consulatum susceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre, demandatum bellum tertio

quod D. Brutum...niteretur. The assignation of Gallia Cis-Alpina to Decimus Brutus was among the arrangements made by Iulius preliminary to his starting on the Parthian expedition [App. *B. civ.* 3, 2]; Antony had carried a *lex* transferring it to himself in June, B.C. 44 (*cum legem de provinciarum permutatione per vim tulisset* Liv. *ep.* 107),—though he appears to have obtained a vote of the Senate on the 1st of that month in his favour [Cic. *ad Att.* 14, 14; 15, 4; 1 *Phil.* § 6; Dio 45, 9]. Decimus Brutus after some hesitation resolved to resist; threw himself into Mutina with his troops, and sent an edict, published in Rome on the 19th of December, declaring that he was in lawful possession of his province, and forbidding any one with *imperium* to enter it [Cic. *ad fam.* 11, 6—7]. Antony was by that time on his way to besiege him; and Octavian with his newly levied legion, and with the Martia and 4th legion, which had left Antony and joined him at Alba Fucentia, had also started to the seat of war.

percussores ei subornavit. Whether this attempt to assassinate Antony was really countenanced by Caesar was a matter of dispute at the time. Appian [*B. civ.* 3, 39] says that most people believed that it was so, but that the few clearer-sighted ones perceived that it was not to his interest to get rid of Antony, as he would immediately find himself confronted by the enmity of the Optimates, who only supported him from fear of Antony. On the other hand, Cicero says that though the common people believed it to be a report got up by Antony himself to discredit Caesar, the Optimates both believed and approved of it...*Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certo scio. Quodni ita putarem ipse perscriberem. In primisque Caesaris Octaviani conatum; de quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et probant. ad fam.* 12, 23 (written to Cornificius about the 5th October), cp. Seneca *de Clem.* 1, 9, 1. Plutarch [*Ant.* 16] seems to disbelieve it; and Caesar's own version of the affair is probably that given by Nicolas [c. 30], who asserts that Antony deliberately invented both the plot and the report inculpating Caesar, who, as soon as the story reached him, at once visited the consul's house and offered to act as one of his body guard.

veteranos...quanta potuit largitione contraxit. The enrolment began immediately after Antony's departure for Brundisium (9 October). He offered a bounty of 500 denarii (about £20), and soon got men to enlist.... *Veteranos qui Casilini et Calatiae sunt perduxit ad suam sententiam. Nec mirum: quingenos denarios dat. ad Att.* 16, 8. For this enrolment of soldiers at his own expense, see M.A. 1; 3 *Phil.* § 3; Vell. 2, 61.

iussus...susceperant. The decree, of which notice had been given on the 19 December, 44, was passed at the meeting of the Senate on the 1 January 43, when Hirtius and Pansa came into office. It is given in Cicero 5 *Phil.* § 46 *quod C. Caesar, C. f., pontifex, pro praetore summo rei publicae tempore milites veteranos ad libertatem P. R. cohortatus sit eosque conscripserit...senatui placere C. Caesarem C. f. pontificem pro praetore senatorem esse sententiamque loco praetorio dicere.* He was at the same time invested with *imperium* (*ib.* 45 *demus igitur imperium Caesari*, cp. 11 *Phil.* § 20 *imperium C. Caesari belli necessitas, fasces senatus dedit*). Dio (46, 29) says that he was first *inter quaestorios* (ἐν τοῖς τεταμιευκόσι), but this seems a mistake. There was, however, a second decree giving him an honorary consulship (*ornamenta con-*

mense confecit duobus proeliis. Priore Antonius fugisse eum scribit ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse, sequenti satis constat non modo ducis, sed etiam militis functum munere atque in media dimicatione, aquilifero legionis suae graviter saucio, aquilam umeris subisse diuque portasse. Hoc bello cum Hirtius in acie, Pansa paulo post ex vulnere perissent, rumor increbruit ambos operā eius occisos, ut Antonio fugato, re publica consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansae

His conduct at Mutina.

11

sularia), and therefore in the M. A. 1 § 3 he says *ob quae senatus decretis honorificis in ordinem suum me adlegit C. Pansa A. Hirtio Coss., consularem locum simul dans sententiae ferendae et imperium mihi dedit.* Cp. Livy *ep.* 118 *propraetoris imperium a senatu datum est cum consularibus ornamentis.* This 2nd decree Dio [46, 41] places after the battles at Mutina, but wrongly as it appears, for Pansa and Hirtius were then dead. Cp. App. 3, 51...*τοῖς* Ἱρτίῳ *καὶ* Πάνσᾳ Καίσαρα *συστρατηγεῖν*...*καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸν εἰσφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς ἤδη*. Speaking, indeed, on 20 March, 43, Cicero [13 *Phil.* 39] still calls him *pro praetore* in the army, but that would not prevent his having consular rank in the Senate.

tertio mense...duobus proeliis. See note on c. 8. The battles near Mutina took place on the 15th of April, and the next day but one. In the first, at *Forum Gallorum*, it does not appear that Octavian was himself personally engaged [*καίτοι μηδὲ μαχεσάμενος* Dio 46, 38], though his *cohors praetoria* was stationed on the *via Aemilia* and suffered severely, losing its commander, D. Carfulenus. Octavian seems to have remained to guard his camp, and though in the despatch which Hirtius sent off immediately after the engagement he commends him for holding it and fighting a *secundum proelium* [14 *Phil.* 28], nothing is said of it in the letter of Ser. Servilius Galba (great-grandfather of the emperor) who was himself engaged, see Cic. *ad fam.* 10, 30. Appian *B. civ.* 3, 66—70. In the fighting on the next day or next day but one, however, Caesar was actively employed. Antony had retreated to his camp near Mutina, and Hirtius and Caesar, after defeating his troops outside the camp, forced their way in. Hirtius fell in the camp, but Caesar managed to bring off his body [Appian *B. civ.* 3, 71].

paludamento, his military dress as imperator. Thus Pompey fled from the camp at Pharsalus, *detractis insignibus imperatoriis*, Caes. *B. civ.* 3, 96. When Iulius had to escape by swimming at Alexandria he is said to have done so *paludamentum mordicus trahens ne spolio poteretur hostis, Iul.* c. 64.

11. Hirtius... Pansa. Hirtius had been at the seat of war since the beginning of the year. Pansa arrived with a reinforcement on the 14th of April. In the engagement of the 15th Pansa received two severe wounds, *duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis*, Cic. 14 *Phil.* 26; and was carried off the field to the camp of Hirtius at Bononia. Hirtius fell in the attempt to storm Antony's camp on the 17th; but Pansa lingered for some days. The rumour which ascribed his death to the intrigue of Augustus with his physician Glycon was persistent. See Tac. *Ann.* 1, 10. Glycon was arrested by Pansa's quaestor, L. Manlius Torquatus. M. Brutus (writing on the 16th of May) begs Cicero to secure his release, and declares his belief in his innocence,...*nil minus credendum est: quis enim maiorem calamitatem morte Pansae accepit?* [*Ep. ad Br.* 1, 6]. According to Appian [*B. civ.* 3, 75—76] Pansa on his deathbed was particularly friendly to Octavian, and warned him of the designs of the Optimates. Octavian performed the last rites over both, and sent their ashes to Rome with all honour.

victores exercitus. Cp. *victor currus* Ov. *Tr.* 4, 2, 47, *victores legiones* Plaut. *Amph.* 1, 1, 33. On the death of the consuls, the Senate ordered the *Martia* and *Quarta legio* to join Dec. Brutus in pursuit of Antony; but both refused to quit Octavian [Cic. *ad fam.* 11, 14, 19, 20; *ad Brut.* 1, 2, 14].

quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset. Adicit his Aquilius Niger, alterum e consulibus Hirtium in pugnae tumultu ab
12 ipso interemptum. Sed ut cognovit Antonium post fugam a M. Lepido receptum ceterosque duces et exercitus consentire pro partibus, causam optimatium sine cunctatione deseruit, ad praetextum mutatae voluntatis dicta factaque quorundam calumniatus, quasi

He deserts the cause of the Optimates B.C. 43.

quasi...indidisset, 'on the charge of having introduced poison into his wound.' For *quasi* cp. cc. 6, 14. Its use cannot be rigidly separated from that of *tamquam*; but it seems generally to indicate something more of doubt.

Aquilius Niger. Nothing seems to be known of this writer, and his statement is hardly worth considering. It seems founded on the fact that Octavian was near Hirtius when he fell: see Appian *B. civ.* 3, 71 Ἵρτιος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήλατο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα μαχόμενος ἔπεσε· καὶ αὐτοῦ τό τε σῶμα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσδραμὼν ἀνείλετο καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέσχεν.

12. ut...receptum. M. Aemilius Lepidus was Magister Equitum at the time of Caesar's assassination, and soon afterwards (having meanwhile been elected Pontifex Maximus) went to his province of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior, which had been assigned to him by Caesar. He was at first acting with Antony, and secured the temporary adhesion of Sextus Pompeius. Upon Antony's breach with the Senate he seems to have played a double part. He kept up a correspondence with Cicero, full of professions of loyalty, and asserting his intention of opposing Antony's retreat into his province of Narbonensis. He advanced to the River Argenteus (*Argens*) about the 20th of May, Antony being in the neighbourhood of Forum Iulii (*Fréjus*) at its mouth, and from it reported that Antony's men were deserting him and promised to oppose him in the interests of the state [*ad fam.* 10, 34]. But he was *ventosissimus* [*ib.* 11, 9], and had already alarmed the Optimates by proposing earlier in the year that terms should be made with Antony [*ib.* 10, 6; 10, 27]; and even after Antony's retreat from Mutina had written despatches which Cicero regarded as 'cold and shuffling' [*frigidae et inconstantes, ib.* 10, 16], while Plancus privately informed Cicero that he could not induce him to act with any energy against Antony [*ib.* 10, 34]. He had in fact resolved to join Antony. On the 22nd of May he wrote to Cicero [*ad fam.* 10, 34] still professing loyalty, and asserting that he had superseded his two legati, Silanus and Culleo, who, being sent forward to guard the pass into Narbonensis, had joined Antony [see App. *B. civ.* 3, 83], but on the 29th of May he had himself joined forces with him, and addressed a despatch to the Senate declaring that his soldiers refused to fight against their countrymen, and ending with a veiled menace or warning as to the need of their making terms with Antony [*ad fam.* 10, 35]. The Senate answered by declaring Lepidus and all his followers *hostes* (31 June), allowing, however, his followers the opportunity of returning to their allegiance before the 1st of September [*ad fam.* 12, 10].

ceterosque duces et exercitus. Antony had been joined by Ventidius Bassus towards the end of May [Cic. *ad fam.* 11, 29]; before the end of August he was also joined by L. Munatius Plancus, governor of farther Gaul. About the middle of July, Dec. Brutus had formed a junction with Plancus near Grenoble [*ad fam.* 10, 24]; but a third army was on its way under C. Asinius Pollio from Baetica [*ad fam.* 10, 30], and before the end of August Pollio had persuaded Plancus to abandon Dec. Brutus and to join him in giving in their adhesion to Antony [Appian *B. civ.* 3, 97]. Livy *ep.* 120 *Cum M. Antonio vires Asinius quoque Pollio et M. Munatius Plancus cum exercitibus suis adiuncti ampliassent.* The Senate, which had voted the command against Antony to Dec. Brutus, had no force to look to except two legions sent from Africa by Q. Cornificius, which arrived the day before Octavian entered Rome [*ad fam.* 11, 14; Appian *B. civ.* 3, 91].

alii se puerum, alii ornandum tollendumque iactassent, ne aut sibi aut veteranis par gratia referretur. Et quo magis paenitentiam prioris sectae approbaret, Nursinos grandi pecunia et quam pendere nequirent multatos extorres oppido egit, quod Mutinensi acie interemptorum civium tumulo publice extructo ascripserant, pro libertate eos occubuisse.

Inita cum Antonio et Lepido societate, Philippense quoque bellum, quamquam invalidus atque aeger, duplici proelio transegit, quorum priore castris exutus vix ad Antoni cornu fuga evaserat. Nec successum victoriae moderatus est, sed capite Bruti Romam

13

The Triumvirate and battles of Philippi B.C. 43—2.

pro partibus, 'were coming to terms in the interests of the party,' i.e. the opposite party, cp. *coniurandi pro partibus suis*, c. 17.

dicta factaque...calumniatus 'having alleged as a pretext.' *Calumniari* (1) absol. of bringing vexatious actions c. 23, and alleging pretended reasons, *Tib.* 53; (2) followed by cognate accusative or accusative of the person, or both, see Cic. *ad fam.* 9, 7 *nam, quod antea te calumniatus sum, indicabo malitiam meam;* (3) 'to suggest objections,' Cic. *ad fam.* 9, 2 *sed calumniabar ipse: putabam qui obviam mihi venisset...suspicaturum aut dicturum etc.* **praetextum** n. is not classical.

quasi...iactassent. For *quasi* see note on c. 10. For the epigram see the letter of Dec. Brutus to Cicero [*ad fam.* 11, 20] *novissime Labeo Segulius homo sui simillimus narrat mihi apud Caesarem se fuisse multumque sermonem de te habitum esse. Ipsum Caesarem nihil sane de te questum nisi quod diceret te dixisse, laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum; se non esse commissurum ut tolli possit.* On which Cicero comments [*ad fam.* 11, 21] *Di isti Segulio male faciant, homini nequissimo omnium, qui sunt, qui fuerunt, qui futuri sunt! Quid? illum tecum solum aut cum Caesare? qui neminem praetermiserit quicum loqui potuerit, cui non eadem ista dixerit!* Paterculus, 2, 62, explains that Cicero intended *tollendum* to convey a double meaning. He had been proud of the witticism before it got him into trouble with Octavian,—*Mirabiliter, mi Brute, laetor mea consilia measque sententias a te probari de xviris, de ornando adolescente* [*ad fam.* 11, 14]. He had spoken of him often as a *puer*, but generally with complimentary meaning. See *ad fam.* 10, 28 *puer egregius.*

sectae. Used of political as well as philosophical principles and party; cp. *Rhet.* § 4 *obiicientibus sibi quod in republica administranda potissimum Isaurici consularis sectam sequeretur, "malle" respondit "Isaurici esse discipulum quam Epidi calumniatoris."* Pliny *Panegyr.* 45 § 4 *quae tibi secta vitae, quod hominum genus placeat.* Iuv. 14, 122 *eidem incumbere sectae.*

Nursinos...egit. According to Dio this took place during the war with L. Antonius in B.C. 41. The people of Nursia repulsed Octavian from their walls, but made terms when Salvidienus Rufus had taken Sentinum. They were punished,—*ἐπεὶ μέντοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Καίσαρά σφισι γενομένῃ πεσόντας θάψαντες ἐπέγραψαν τοῖς μνημείοις αὐτῶν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, παμπόλλοις χρήμασιν ἐζημιώθησαν ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅμα πᾶσαν ἐκλιπεῖν* [48, 13]. Nursia, a Sabine town on the Nar, was a *municipium.* It was at the foot of the Apennines, strongly fortified, and celebrated for its coolness, *frigida Nursia* [Verg. *Aen.* 7, 716], *nec non habitata pruinis Nursia* [Sil. It. 8, 419].

13. inita...societate. The agreement to form the triumvirate (*tres viri rei publicae constituendae*) was made by Octavian, Antony and Lepidus on a small island in the R. Lavinius (a tributary of the Po) near Bononia,—*ἐν νησιδίῳ τινι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν Βονωνίαν παραρρέοντος* [Dio 46, 54]. *συνήεσαν ἀμφὶ Μουτίνην πόλιν ἐς νησίδα τοῦ Λαβινίου ποταμοῦ βραχεῖάν τε καὶ ὑπτίαν.*

misso, ut statuae Caesaris subiceretur, in splendidissimum quemque captivum non sine verborum contumelia saeviit; ut quidem uni suppliciter sepulturam precanti respondisse dicatur, *iam istam volucrum fore potestatem;* alios, patrem et filium, pro vita rogantis sortiri vel micare iussisse, ut alterutri 5

The conference lasted three days, *συνελθόντες οἱ τρεῖς εἰς νησίδα ποταμῷ περιρρεομένην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συνήδρευσαν* Plut. *Anton.* 19. November B.C. 43.

quamquam invalidus atque aeger. Octavian had been attacked by illness as soon as the troops crossed to Epirus on the way to Philippi [Dio 47, 37]; and he does not seem to have recovered when the fighting began near Philippi, for his physician had the night before the first battle caused him to be removed from the camp. This in fact saved his life; for Brutus stormed and plundered the camp. Augustus himself said that he had been warned by a dream to leave the camp, *Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένου τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν,* Appian *B. civ.* 4, 110; cp. Dio 47, 41—46. Plutarch *Anton.* 22 *ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γέγραφε, τῶν φίλων τινος ὄναρ ἰδόντος ἀνεχώρησε πρὸ τῆς μάχης. id. Brut.* 41.

ad Antoni cornu, that is, to the right wing, nearest the sea. Cp. Livy *ep.* 124 *vario eventu...pugnaverunt; ita ut utriusque dextra cornua vincerent, et castra quoque utrinque ab iis qui vicerant expugnarentur.*

nec...moderatus est. The bulk of the armies of Brutus and Cassius after the battle made terms with the conquerors and obtained an amnesty. Dio 47, 49 *τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα ἀδείας σφίσι κηρυχθείσης μετέστη· τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων τῶν ἀρχάς τινας σχόντων ἢ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγέων τῶν τε ἐπικεκηρυγμένων ἔτι ὄντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἑαυτοὺς παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτειναν ἢ ἁλόντες, ὥσπερ ὁ Φαουώνιος, ἐφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν διέφυγον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ Σέξτῳ προσέθεντο.* Dio therefore seems to reduce the number of executions to small proportions, cp. Appian *B. civ.* 4, 135. Thus we know of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus and L. Bibulus with a large following, who escaped to Thasos and made honourable terms with Antony [App. 4, 136]. There were however some executions, and the foundation of Suetonius' story of the insulting words to Augustus seems to be the case of Favonius. Another execution was that of Q. Hortensius (son of the orator) who was put to death on the tomb of C. Antonius by order of M. Antonius, as being principally guilty of the former's death [Plut. *Ant.* 22]. Augustus himself asserts that he spared all citizens, see M. A. 3 *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum suscepi victorque omnibus superstitibus civibus peperci.* But as the assassins had been condemned under the *lex Pedia,* they, in common with others in the Proscription lists, were no longer *cives.*

successum...moderatus est, 'used with moderation,' cp. *Claud.* 14 *duritiam levitatemque multorum ex bono et aequo ...moderatus est. Dom.* 7 *pretia moderatus est.* But the nearest parallel to the meaning of *moderor* is in Livy 37, 35, where it takes the dative, ...*ut memores rerum humanarum, et suae fortunae moderarentur, et alienam ne urgerent.*

capite...Romam misso. According to Dio [47, 49] the body was burnt with honour by Antony, and the head sent to Rome, but lost at sea. Plut. *Ant.* 22 *Βρούτῳ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φοινικίδα πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀξίαν οὖσαν ἐπέρριψε καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξε τῆς ταφῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι. τοῦτον ὕστερον γνοὺς οὐ συγκατακαύσαντα τὴν φοινικίδα τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ πολλὰ τῆς εἰς τὴν ταφὴν δαπάνης ὑφῃρημένον ἀπέκτεινεν.* Cp. id. *Brut.* 53; App. *B. civ.* 4, 135.

sepulturam. Augustus in his memoirs asserted that he had always observed the rule of giving the bodies of those executed to their relations for burial, Ulpian *Dig.* 48, 24, 1 *Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt. Et id se observasse etiam divus Augustus libro decimo vitae suae scribit.* Vespasian [*Vesp.* 2] *poenae coniuratorum addendum censuit ut insepulti proicerentur.*

alios, patrem et filium...micare. This seems to refer to the two Aquilii Flori; but the affair is placed by Dio after Actium, 51, 2 *τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων*

concederetur, ac spectasse utrumque morientem, cum patre, quia se optulerat, occiso filius quoque voluntariam occubuisset necem. Quare ceteri, in his M. Favonius ille Catonis aemulus, cum catenati producerentur, imperatore Antonio honorifice salutato, hunc foedissimo convitio coram prosciderunt.

Ἀκύλιοί τε Φλῶροι...ὄνομα μάλιστα ἔσχον ...ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τὸν λαχόντα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφαγῆναι ἀμφότεροι διεφθάρησαν· ἦσαν μὲν πατήρ τε καὶ παῖς, ὡς δὲ οὗτος πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ σφαγεῖ ἑκὼν παρέδωκε, περιήλγησέ τε ἐκεῖνος καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ αὐτῷ ἐπαπέθανεν. Nothing more seems known of these Flori, but other members of the family appear from coins to have held office under Augustus, as triumvirs of the mint, and in the East to have been employed in connexion with the return of the standards by the Parthians, in B.C. 20. See *C. I. L.* 2, p. 551, Wilmanns, 1122. **micare**, sc. *digitis*, is to shoot out the fingers, Verg. *Aen.* 10, 396 *semianimesque micant digiti ferrumque retractant.* It then indicated a game of chance played by two persons throwing up their hands and shooting out their fingers, guessing correctly the number shot out deciding the winner, as in the modern *Mora.* Cic. *de Div.* 2 § 85 *quid enim sors est? idem propemodum quod micare, quod talos iacere, quod tesseras.* Calpurn. *Ecl.* 3, 25 *et nunc alternos magis ut distinguere cantus Possitis, ter quisque manus iactate micantes.* As the number of fingers shot out might be declared falsely, it became a proverb for an honest man that 'you might play the finger game with him in the dark.' Cic. *de off.* 2 § 78 *contritum est vetustate proverbium: cum enim fidem alicuius bonitatemque laudant, 'dignum esse' dicunt 'quicum in tenebris mices.'* Petron. *Sat.* § 44 *cum quo audacter posses in tenebris micare.* August. *de Trin.* 8, 5.

M. Favonius ille Catonis aemulus, 'the well-known imitator of Cato,' *i.e.* Cato Uticensis. ζηλωτὴς Κάτωνος Plut. *Caes.* 21; ἐραστὴς Κάτωνος id. *Brut.* 12. M. Favonius was an irreconcilable Optimate, opposed, like Cato, to Pompey and Caesar alike. He first appears as denouncing Clodius in B.C. 61 [Cic. *ad Att.* 1, 45; *pro Mil.* §§ 26 and 44]. In 60 he prosecuted Pompey's future father-in-law, P. Scipio Nasica (Metellus Pius), on a charge of *ambitus* [*ad Att.* 2, 1 § 7]. In B.C. 59 he alone of the Senators declined to swear to observe Caesar's agrarian law [Plut. *Cato* 32; Dio 38, 7]. In 57 he led the opposition to Pompey's extraordinary powers as *praefectus annonae* [*ad Att.* 4, 1], and denounced Ptolemy Auletes for the murder of the ambassadors [Dio 39, 14]; in B.C. 56 opposed the motion for sending Pompey to Egypt [Cic. *ad Q. F.* 2, 3 § 3], and his election to the consulship of 55 with Crassus, with the reversion of Spain and Syria [Dio 39, 34—5]. When, however, the civil war was begun by Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, he, like his model Cato, took the side of Pompey, though even then he did not refrain from bitter sarcasm on the latter. Φαώνιός τις, ἀνὴρ τἆλλα μὲν οὐ πονηρός, αὐθαδείᾳ δὲ καὶ ὕβρει πολλάκις τὴν Κάτωνος οἰόμενος ἀπομιμεῖσθαι παρρησίαν, ἐκέλευε τὸν Πομπήϊον τῷ ποδὶ τύπτειν τὴν γῆν ἃς ὑπισχνεῖτο δυνάμεις ἀνακαλούμενον Plut. *Pomp.* 60; cp. id. *Caes.* 33. Still he followed Pompey in his flight from Pharsalus, and waited on him with great devotion [*ib.* 73; Vell. 2, 53]. For his execution after Philippi see Dio 47, 49. Like Cato he failed to gain the highest office. He was rejected for the Aedileship for B.C. 59 [*ad Att. P.*, 1 § 7], but was elected for B.C. 52 [Plut. *Cato* 46]. He failed for the Praetorship of B.C. 50 [*ad fam.* 8, 9], but apparently was elected next year, for Velleius [2, 53] calls him *praetorius* in B.C. 48.

imperatore...prosciderunt, 'though they saluted Antony respectfully by the title of Imperator, they addressed Caesar to his face in terms of the utmost contumely.' That is, they refused to give him any official title, and inveighed against him besides. To address an *imperator* by his name and without his title was disrespectful. See Seneca *de Const.* 18 *Gaius Caligula iratus fuit Herennio Macro, quod illum Gaium salutaverat: nec impune cessit primipilario quod Caligulam dixerat.* Cp. Vell. Pat. 2, 84 *vir clarissimus Cn. Domitius, qui solus Antonianarum partium numquam reginam nisi nomine salutavit.* Cp. *Vesp.* 15 *Helvidio Prisco, qui et reversum se ex Syria solus privato nomine Vespasianum salutaverat*

Partitis post victoriam officiis, cum Antonius Orientem ordinandum, ipse veteranos in Italiam reducendos et municipalibus agris conlocandos recepisset, neque veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit, alteris pelli se, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari querentibus. Quo tempore L. Antonium fiducia consulatus, quem gerebat, ac fraternae potentiae res novas molientem confugere Perusiam coegit et ad deditionem fame compulit,

B.C. 41, war with L. Antonius at Perusia.

et in praetura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione ulla transmiserat, non ante succensuit quam altercationibus insolentissimis paene in ordinem redactus. So Tigranes, Λουκύλλῳ ὀργιζόμενος ὅτι βασιλέα μόνον αὐτόν, οὐ βασιλέων ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ προσηγόρευσεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀντιγράφων αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπεν Plut. *Lucull.* 21.

prosciderunt. Cp. *Cal.* 30 *equestrem ordinem ut scaenae harenaeque devotum assidue proscidit.* Ovid *Pont.* 4, 16, 47 *Ergo summotum patria proscindere, livor, Desine.* Pliny *N. H.* 33, § 6 *proscissus conviciis.*

partitis...officiis. This is the 2nd division of the Empire, after Philippi. Caesar was to take Spain and Numidia (new Africa), Antony, Gaul and Africa. Italy—with which was to be incorporated Cisalpine Gaul—was to be regarded as the seat of empire and a common recruiting ground. If Lepidus (who had been left in charge of Rome and was accused of intriguing with Sextus) made objections, Antony undertook to let him have Africa. Sardinia and Sicily, being practically in possession of Sextus Pompeius, were to be objects of their common care. Caesar was to go to Italy with half the army to prevent any movement on the part of Lepidus, to prepare for the war against Sextus, and to arrange for the division of lands among the veterans: Antony to the east, to put down the remains of the opposition (such as that of the younger Labienus), and collect money. This agreement was reduced to writing, and it practically put the empire in the hands of two instead of three, Lepidus being ignored [Dio 48, 1; App. *B. civ.* 4, 3; Livy *ep.* 125; Plut. *Ant.* 23].

veteranorum...tenuit. Livy *ep.* 125 *reversus in Italiam veteranis agros divisit.* Caesar's arrival in Italy was again delayed by illness [Dio 48, 2], and he found an opposition prepared for him by L. Antonius (Cos. B.C. 41) and Fulvia, wife of M. Antonius, who made use of the discontent caused by the confiscations and assignation of lands,...*receptis in partes suas populis quorum agri veteranis assignati erant.* It was in these confiscations that the poet Vergil suffered...*Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit?* [*Ecl.* 1, 71]. The difficulties which Caesar had to encounter are described by Appian *B. civ.* 5, 12—16. The soldiers were dissatisfied as to the locality of their farms, or seized more than was allotted to them, selecting the best pieces of land; the dispossessed owners could not get compensation, and caused commotion in the city by appearing with their wives and children to complain of their hard case, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι λέγοντες, Ἰταλιῶται γὰρ ὄντες ἀνίστασθαι γῆς τε καὶ ἑστίας οἷα δορύληπτοι [*ib.*]. Caesar was therefore καταβοώμενος ἐπιφθόνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων [*ib.* 13], and presently, by the intrigues of L. Antonius and Fulvia, was rendered unpopular with those of the veterans who had been in Antony's army [*ib.* 14], *seditiones exercitus sui, quas corrupti a Fulvia M. Antonii uxore milites contra imperatorem suum concitaverant, cum gravi periculo inhibuit* [Liv. *ep.* 125]; cp. Dio 48, 9.

14. potentiae, 'illegal power.' Cic. *pro Mil.* § 12; 2 *Phil.* § 26.

confugere Perusiam ... fame compulit. L. Antonius retired to Perusia on being stopped in his march along the *via Flaminia* by the occupation of Sentinum and Nursia, towards the end of B.C. 41. He was reduced to surrender in March B.C. 40. Livy *ep.* 126 *C. Caesar, cum esset annorum viginti trium, obsessum in oppido Perusiae L. Antonium conatumque aliquotiens erumpere et repulsum fame coegit in deditionem venire.* The besieged were reduced to feed on grass and leaves, and the *Perusina fames* [Luc. 1, 41] was long remembered. The town had not been properly provisioned for a siege, λιμὸς

non tamen sine magnis suis et ante bellum et in bello discriminibus. Nam cum spectaculo ludorum gregarium militem in quattuordecim ordinibus sedentem excitari per apparitorem iussisset, rumore ab obtrectatoribus dilato quasi eundem mox
5 et discruciatum necasset, minimum afuit, quin periret concursu et indignatione turbae militaris. Saluti fuit, quod (qui desiderabatur) repente comparuit incolumis ac sine iniuria. Circa Perusinum autem murum sacrificans paene interceptus est a manu gladiatorum, quae oppido eruperat. Perusia capta in 15
10 plurimos animadvertit, orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens, *moriendum esse.* Scribunt quidam,

ἤττετο τοῦ Λευκίου καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἤκμαζεν ἀγρίως, ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τῆς πόλεως προπαρεσκευασμένης, Appian 5, 34; though Dio [48, 14] contradicts this, τὸ γὰρ χωρίον τῇ τε φύσει κάρτερόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἱκανῶς παρεσκεύαστο.

in quattuordecim ordinibus, in the fourteen rows of seats reserved by the *lex Roscia Othonis* (B.C. 67) for the equites, infr. c. 40; *Caes.* 39 *L. Decimus Labienus eques... sessum in quattuordecim e scaena per orchestram transiit.*

excitari, 'forced to leave his seat.' Mart. 5. 14 *Sedere primo solitus in gradu semper | Tunc, cum liceret occupare, Nanneius | Bis excitatus terque transtulit castra.* Quint. 3, 6, 19 *si excitatus fuerit de spectaculis et aget iniuriarum.* The incident is narrated by Appian [*B. civ.* 5, 15] as happening in the course of B.C. 41 στρατιώτης ἀπορῶν οἰκείας ἕδρας παρῆλθεν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας· καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐπεσημήνατο· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατιώτην ἀνέστησεν.

quasi, see c. 10. **discruciatum necasset.** Cp. Cic. 13 *Phil.* 37 *ita sibi convenisse cum Dolabella ut ille Trebonium et, si posset, Brutum Cassium discruciatos necaret.* Elsewhere it is generally used of mental agony. *ad Att.* 14, 6; Plaut. *Aul.* 1, 3, 27; Ter. *Adelph.* 4, 4, 1 *discrucior animi*; *Casin.* 2, 3, 60 *discrucior amore.*

qui desiderabatur, 'the missing man.' When the soldier denied having received any severity and explained the incident, the other soldiers turned on him as having betrayed his order (Appian).

15. in plurimos animadvertit. Livy *ep.* 126 *ipsi* (L. Antonio) *et omnibus militibus eius ignovit: Perusiam diruit.* The severities, however, were directed against those Perusians who were members of the Senate, the only one spared being a certain Aemilius, who had served in the court which condemned the assassins of Caesar [App. *B. civ.* 5, 48]. Appian also tells us that the town was given up to plunder, though Velleius Paterculus [2, 74] attributes such massacre as there was to the anger of the soldiers, who could not be restrained, *in Perusinos magis ira militum quam voluntate saevitum ducis.* The burning of the town began with the action of one Cestius Macedonicus, who set fire to his house and threw himself into the flames. The destruction was apparently pretty complete,—τῶν δὲ Περουσίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀλόντων οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτὴ πλὴν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου τοῦ τε τῆς Ἥρας ἕδους πᾶσα κατεκαύθη [Dio 48, 14]. It was afterwards restored by Augustus under the title of Perusia Augusta. The motive of the severity seems to have been the wish to put a final end to the old Optimate party; thus Tib. Canutius and Clodius Bithynicus are mentioned among those executed; the former of whom had favoured Octavian as long as he was opposed to M. Antonius; but had declared against the triumvirate, and had been in the lists of the proscribed [App.; Dio *l.c.*].

moriendum esse. Marius answered those who pleaded for Lutatius Catulus, ἀποθανεῖν δεῖ, Plut. *Mar.* 44; for **occurrens**, 'answering,' cf. Valer. Fl. 7, 223.

scribunt quidam...mactatos. The statement is repeated by Dio (48, 14) with the same qualification λόγος γε ἔχει ὅτι...ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ ὡσιωμένον ἀχθέντες ἱππεῖς τε τριακόσιοι καὶ βουλευταὶ...ἐτύθησαν. And that the report had some vogue is shown by Seneca *de Clem.* 1, 1 § 3 *fuerit moderatus et clemens Augustus,*

trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulio extructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos. Extiterunt qui traderent, conpecto eum ad arma isse, ut occulti adversarii et quos metus magis quam voluntas contineret, facultate L. Antoni ducis 5

Severities after the fall of Perusia.

nempe post Perusianas aras. Nevertheless, as both Suetonius and Dio make the statement with reserve, and as there is no further confirmation, we may be allowed to doubt the story. See Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, vol. 3, p. 244.

hostiarum more, i.e. with an axe (*securis*). Cp. Flor. 2, 5, 3 *legatos nostros nec gladio quidem, sed ut victimas securi percutiunt.* Verg. *Aen.* 2, 224 *fugit cum saucius aram | taurus et incertam excussit cervice securim.*

Divo Iulio. The deification of Iulius was partly completed during his lifetime. The several steps according to Dio were (I) After Thapsus in B.C. 46 the senate voted among other honours ἅρμα τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Διὶ ἱδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπ' εἰκόνα αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης χαλκοῦν ἐπιβιβασθῆναι γραφὴν ἔχοντα ὅτι ἡμίθεός ἐστι [43, 14]. This title however he himself afterwards caused to be erased, *id.* 21. (II) When the news of Munda (B.C. 45) reached Rome farther honours were voted to him before his return: his statue was placed in the temple of Quirinus, on the Quirinal, with the inscription **Deo Invicto**: ἄλλην τε τινα εἰκόνα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν Θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ ἐπιγράψαντες καὶ ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρὰ τοὺς βασιλεύσαντάς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνέθεσαν [Dio 43, 45], cp. Cic. *ad Att.* 12, 45 (written June 45) *De Caesare vicino scripseram ad te quia cognoram ex tuis litteris. Eum σύνναον Quirino malo quam Saluti. ib.* 47 *domum tuam pluris video futuram vicino Caesare* (Atticus lived on the Quirinal). (III) Later on additional votes were passed,—a gilded chair was to be carried in the procession of the gods at the Circensian games, which was actually done in August B.C. 45,—cp. Dio 44, 6 οὕτω δὴ ἔς τε τὰ θέατρα τόν τε δίφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπίχρυσον καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι, with Cic. *ad Att.* 13, 44 *Suaves tuas litteras! etsi acerba pompa. Verumtamen scire omnia non acerbum est, vel de Cotta. Populum vero praeclarum, quod propter malum vicinum ne Victoriae quidem ploditur.* From which it appears that the figure of Caesar came next to that of Victory in the procession. Suet. *Iul.* 76 *ampliora humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est, sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum circensi pompa.* At last, continues Dio, Δία αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥσπερ τινὰ διάλιον προχειρισάμενον. Antony however seems not to have been formally initiated in this priesthood [Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 110 *quid igitur cessas? cur non inauguraris?*]; and when Octavian essayed to have the gilded chair carried with the other gods into the theatre in May B.C. 44, he was prevented by the tribunes [Cic. *ad Att.* 15, 3 *de sella Caesaris bene tribuni*], who were probably acting at the instigation of M. Antonius [App. *B. civ.* 3, 28; Plut. *Ant.* 16], for his brother Lucius was tribune at the time. At any rate Antony seems to have opposed at first the full apotheosis. (IV) It was not till the 1st of September B.C. 44 that he proposed in the Senate that, whenever a *supplicatio* was voted for a victory, there should be an additional day in Caesar's honour [Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 110 *an supplicationes addendo diem contaminari passus es?* though Dio, 43, 44, seems to put this immediately after Munda], while he appears to have neglected a *lex* brought in by himself adding a day to the *Ludi Romani* to be specially devoted to Caesar's worship [Cic. *ib. quaeso deinceps num hodiernus dies qui sit ignores? nescis heri quartum in circo ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse ut quintus praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur? cur non sumus praetextati? cur honorem Caesaris tua lege datum deseri patimur?*]. (V) It was Octavian's policy however to have the deification fully acknowledged; a *glans* picked up at Perugia has the words **Divom Iulium** (*C. I. R.* 1, 697); and it was one of the concessions made by Antony at the reconciliation at Brundisium [B.C. 39] that he should be in-

praebita, detegerentur devictisque is et confiscatis, promissa veteranis praemia persolverentur.

Siculum bellum incohavit in primis, sed diu traxit inter- 16
missum saepius, modo reparandarum classium causa, Wars with Sextus Pompeius B.C. 42—36.
5 quas tempestatibus duplici naufragio et quidem per aestatem amiserat, modo pace facta, flagitante populo ob interclusos commeatus famemque ingravescentem;

augurated as a *flamen Iulii* [Plut. *Ant.* 33 αὐτὸς δὲ Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἱερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος]; and under the influence of Augustus altars, statues and temples to the 'divine Iulius' sprang up in various places. The basis of one of the earliest of such statues in Rome is preserved, *C. I. L.* 1, 626 DIVO • IULIO • IUSSU • POPULI • ROMANI • STATUTUM • EST • LEGE • RUFRENA. Rufrenus was in the army of Lepidus [Cic. *ad fam.* 10, 21] and probably brought in his *lex* shortly after the formation of the triumvirate. See Servius ad Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 47.

mactatos. Whatever its derivation (whether connected with *mactus*, or no), *mactare* is a ritual word: Verg. *Aen.* 2, 202 *sollemnes taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.* Liv. 10, 28 *hostium legiones Telluri ac dis Manibus mactandas dabo.* Horace, *Odes* 1, 19, 16 *mactata veniet lenior hostia.* Yet the poets sometimes use the word simply of murder. See Ovid *Her.* 10, 77 and 101.

conpecto...isse. Probably an afterthought founded on the belief in the profound policy of Augustus.

facultate...praebita, 'when the chance of having L. Antonius as a leader was afforded them.' The construction of *facultas* with a personal word is rare, cf. Plancus ap. Cic. *fam.* 10, 4 *si facultas tui praesentis esset.*

confiscatis. Used of persons in *Tib.* 49 *principes confiscatos. Cal.* 41 *duos equites Romanos...confiscari iussit.* Of money contained in the Emperor's *fiscus* as opposed to the *aerarium publicum*, see *infr.* 101. At the date here alluded to no such distinction existed. *Fiscus* was properly a 'basket' used in Sicily for holding money. Cicero, *Verres Act.* 1 § 22 *fiscos complures cum pecunia Siciliensi a quodam senatore ad equitem Romanum esse translatos.* 2 *Verr.* § 197 *sestertios...in cistam transferam de fisco. ib.* 183 *viator aut Venerius qui fiscum sustulit.* Like *numus* therefore *fiscus* found its way from Sicily into the nomenclature of Roman finance. Asconius *in Cicero*, 1 *Verr.* 22 *Fisci, fiscinae, fiscellae spartea sunt utensilia ad maioris summae pecunias capiendas: unde quia maior summa est pecuniae publicae quam privatae, ut pro censu privato loculos et arcam et sacellos dicimus, sic pro publico thesauro dicitur* **fiscus.**

veteranis praemia. On Octavian's difficulties in the matter of satisfying the veterans, see note to c. 13.

16. Siculum bellum...intermissum saepius. The war against Sextus Pompeius was all along assigned to Octavian, and lasted with intervals from B.C. 43 to 35. I. Immediately after the formation of the triumvirate in the winter of 43—42. Sextus Pompeius had successfully held his own in Spain against C. Cassius and Asinius Pollio. After Caesar's death Lepidus had been commissioned to make terms with him, and he had agreed to submit to the government in return for a *restitutio in integrum* and a restoration of his father's wealth. On their breach with Antony, the Senate had endeavoured to secure his loyalty; passed a vote of thanks to him for his answer to their commissioners at Marseilles; and finally nominated him commander of the fleet [Cic. 13 *Phil.* §§ 13 and 50; App. *B. civ.* 4, 83—4; Dio 48, 17]. Being condemned under the *lex Pedia*, and placed in the proscription lists by the Triumvirs, he sailed to Sicily and was there joined by many fugitive Optimatists. He besieged the praetor of Sicily, Aul. Pompeius Bithynicus, in Messene, whom he put to death after persuading him to admit him into the town [Dio *l.c.*; App. 4, 85]. Accordingly Octavian sent Q. Salvidienus with a large fleet to attack Pompeius, proceeding himself to Rhegium by land. Salvidienus was defeated, and Octavian was shortly afterwards obliged to sail to Brundisium to help Antony [Livy *ep.* 123; Appian 4, 85; Dio 48, 19]. II. From B.C. 42 to B.C. 39. After the ruin of the Pompeians

donec navibus ex integro fabricatis ac viginti servorum milibus manumissis et ad remum datis, portum Iulium apud Baias,

at Philippi, Sextus was joined by L. Statius Murcus with a fleet and many more fugitives. He infested the Italian shores, stopping the supplies of corn, while Octavian was in Gaul; and while Vipsanius Agrippa, to whom Octavian had entrusted the war, was in Rome, celebrating the games of Apollo in July B.C. 40, Sextus was joined for a time by Antony, instigated by Fulvia and his mother Iulia to make war on Caesar. On the death of Fulvia, however, a peace was negotiated between the triumvirs at Brundisium. Antony married Octavia, and Sext. Pompeius was compelled to retire to Sicily. But as he held that island with Corsica and Sardinia, he was still able to intercept the corn supplies...'Ρωμαίους δ' ὁ λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῶν ἐώων ἐμπόρων ἐπιπλέοντων δέει Πομπηΐου καὶ Σικελίας, οὔτε τῶν ἐκ δύσεως διὰ Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνον ἐχομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Πομπηΐου οὔτε ἐκ τῆς περαίας Λιβύης διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν ναυκρατοῦντας [App. *B. civ.* 5, 67]. The triumvirs were compelled to make terms with him, and by the peace of Misenum, B.C. 39, he undertook to cease harassing Italy and stopping the corn, on condition of full restitution and having the government of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Achaia [App. *l.c.*; Dio 48, 27, 28, 36, 37, 38; Livy *ep.* 127; Plut. *Ant.* 32]. **III.** B.C. 38—B.C. 35. The peace did not last long. Sextus complained that Antony had cheated him in regard to Achaia, and began his piracies again. Caesar was obliged to recommence the war. In B.C. 38 he lost half his fleet in the straits of Messene [App. *B. civ.* 5, 83]. B.C. 37 was spent in the preparation of a new fleet, which was put under the command of Agrippa; and in B.C. 36 Sextus was finally conquered and fled to Asia, where in 35 he was put to death [App. *B. civ.* 5, 97—127; Liv. *ep.* 129 *adversus Sex. Pompeium vario eventu navalibus certaminibus pugnatum est: ita ut ex duabus Caesaris classibus altera cui Agrippa praeerat vinceret, altera quam Caesar duxerat deleta, expositi in terram milites in magno periculo essent. Victus deinde Pompeius in Siciliam profugit...ep.* 131 *Sex. Pompeius cum in fidem M. Antonii veniret, bellum in Asia adversus eum moliens oppressus a legatis eius occisus est*].

duplici naufragio. The first shipwreck followed the defeat of Calvisius and Menodorus as well as of the squadron which Caesar brought to their relief at the northern entrance of the strait of Messene, in the early part of B.C. 38 [App. *B. civ.* 5, 88; Dio 48, 47]. The second occurred on the following day, in which the fleet of Augustus and Sabinus suffered still more severely [App. 5, 89—92], Καίσαρι δὲ οὐδ' ἐς ἥμισυ τῶν νεῶν περιεσώθη καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. Cp. Dio 48, 48.

et quidem per aestatem, 'and that too though it was summer.' Appian [5, 89] attributes the disaster partly to the mistake of the sailors, who thought the storm would not last at that time of the year...οἰόμενοι ταχέως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνδώσειν ὡς ἐν ἔαρι τὰς ναῦς ἑκατέρωθεν ἀγκύραις ἔκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διεκράτουν καὶ κόντοις ἐξεώθουν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. **per aestatem,** 'in the summer time,' as *per noctem*, 'by night,' 'in the night time,' Pliny *N. H.* 2 § 48. *Aestas* is represented by Appian's ἔαρ, indicating in military or naval language the two-fold division of the year into sailing and non-sailing seasons, —as Thucydides divides the year. **et quidem,** καὶ ταῦτα.

modo pace facta, 'when peace had but recently been made,' that is, the peace of Misenum in the previous autumn [39].

flagitante populo. The people had been eager that the triumvirs should make peace with Sext. Pompeius, because of the suffering and commercial disaster caused by his stoppage of commerce. App. *B. civ.* 5, 69 καὶ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος αὖθις ἠθροίζετο καὶ παρεκάλει σὺν ὀλοφύρσει τὸν Καίσαρα πέμψαι Λίβωνι πίστιν πρεσβεύειν ἐθέλοντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης.

navibus ex integro fabricatis. The construction of the new fleet was put under the superintendence of Agrippa during B.C. 37, who was summoned from Gaul for the purpose [Dio 48, 49], and was eventually placed in command of it in room of Calvisius [App. 5, 96].

portum Iulium...effecit. Dio 48, 50 ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ τῇ Καμπανίδι χωρίον τι μεταξὺ Μισηνοῦ καὶ Πουτεόλων μηνοειδὲς ἔστιν· δρεσί τε γὰρ σμικροῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς πλὴν βραχέων περιείληπται, καὶ θάλασ-

inmisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari, effecit. In quo cum hieme tota copias exercuisset, Pompeium inter Mylas et Naulochum superavit, sub horam pugnae tam arto repente somno devinctus, ut ad dandum signum ab amicis excitaretur. Unde praebitam Antonio materiam putem exprobrandi, *ne rectis quidem oculis eum aspicere potuisse instructam aciem, verum supinum, caelum intuentem, stupidum cubuisse, nec prius*

σαν τριπλῆν κολπώδη ἔχει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσίν ἐστιν, ἡ δ' ὀλίγῃ διαφυῇ ἀπ' αὐτῆς διείργεται, ἄλλη ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μυχῷ λιμνώδης ὁρᾶται. καὶ καλεῖται αὕτη μὲν Ἄουερνίς ἡ δὲ μέση Λουκρηνίς· ἡ γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Τυρσηνικοῦ οὖσα ἐς ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τελεῖ. ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῇ ἐντὸς ἑκατέρας, στενοῖς τότε ἔσπλοις τὸ διεῖργον τὴν Λουκρηνίδα ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπ' ἀμφότερα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἤπειρον ὁ Ἀγρίππας συντρήσας λιμένας ναυλοχωτάτους ἀπέδειξεν. The difficulty of this piece of engineering lay in the fact that the Lucrine lake, which was separated by a narrow causeway from the Tuscan sea on the one hand, and by a narrow strip of land also from the Lacus Avernus on the other, was too shallow for large ships to cross into the Avernus, while the causeway between it and the *mare Tuscum* was not sufficiently lofty or strong to resist storms and secure its calm. Agrippa strengthened the causeway, and must have also dredged the Lucrine lake to increase its depth; but his work did not last, and the artificial harbour described by Vergil [*G.* 2, 161

An memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra,
atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,
Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso
Tyrrenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis? cp. Hor. *A. P.* 63]

speedily became useless for large vessels. Strabo 5, 4, 6 εἴσπλουν δ' ἔχει πλοίοις ἐλαφροῖς, ἐνορμίσασθαι δ' ἄχρηστος. The Lucrine lake has now become part of the sea (*Gulf of Pozzuoli*), and the lake Avernus, almost filled up by a volcanic eruption, is now represented only by a reedy swamp.

inter Mylas et Naulochum. The exact situation of Naulochus is not known beyond the fact that it was a roadstead between Mylae and Pelorus [App. 5, 116]. There were two battles between Agrippa and the fleet of Pompeius fought in the autumn of B.C. 36. The first was to the west of Mylae (*G. of Patti*), where Agrippa sailing from the island Hiera attacked Pompey's fleet while Augustus was still in Italy [App. 5, 105—9; Dio 49, 2—4]. The second was some weeks later to the east of Mylae (*Bay of Milazzo*) in which Pompey was finally defeated, losing all but 17 of his ships [App. 5, 116—122; Dio 49, 8—11]. Augustus had in the interval suffered a considerable reverse in a descent upon Tauromenium [App. 5, 110—112; Dio 49, 5; Paterc. 2, 79], and does not appear to have been on board ship during either of the battles at Mylae. During the second he was with the land force, which he had brought from Italy, now increased by the junction with Lepidus. But the engagement was in full sight of land where his men were stationed, and it is possible that he may have had to give the order for blowing the signal-trumpet. However, such grounds as Antony had for his malicious remark were more likely to have been given in the disaster at Tauromenium, where he was in great danger, ἐπὶ δὲ παρακλήσει τὰ στρατηγικὰ σημεῖα ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μάλιστα ὧν ἀπέθετο [App. 5, 111].

rectis oculis, 'boldly,' looking without fear or shame. Cp. Cic. *pro Rab. Post.* § 48 *hic vos aliud nihil orat nisi ut rectis oculis hanc urbem intueri... liceat.* So Iuvenal 10, 187 *recto vultu*; 6, 401 *recta facie.* Horace's *siccis oculis* [*Od.* 1, 3, 18] is a farther variety in the phrase.

supinus, 'on his back,' 'lolling idly.' Cp. Luc. 9, 589 *nulla vehitur cervice supinus.* See Mayor on Iuv. 1, 66. Iahn on Pers. 1, 129. The notion of Casaubon that it indicates an attitude of *superstitious* terror (quoting Horace's *manibus supinis*) is far-fetched. Antony pictures Caesar as lying on his back staring up into the sky because he shrank from looking out to sea and seeing the battle which was in full

surrexisse ac militibus in conspectum venisse quam a M. Agrippa fugatae sint hostium naves. ¶ Alii dictum factumque eius criminantur, quasi classibus tempestate perditis exclamaverit, *etiam invito Neptuno victoriam se adepturum,* ac die circensium proximo sollemni pompae simulacrum dei detraxerit. Nec temere plura ac maiora pericula ullo alio bello adiit. Traiecto

view. Dio 49, 9 ἥ τε γὰρ θάλασσα ἡ ἐκεῖ πᾶσα τῶν νεῶν ἐπεπλήρωτο...καὶ ἡ χώρα ἡ μὲν ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὡπλισμένων...ὅθεν περ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἔδοξε μὲν τῶν ναυμαχούντων μόνων εἶναι, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγένετο...ἐκεῖνοι ...πρός γε τὴν τῶν δρωμένων ὄψιν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἠγωνίζοντο.

a M. Agrippa. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, born in the same year as Augustus, had been closely associated with him from the first (ἐν ταὐτῷ τε παιδευθεὶς καί τινα ἔχων ὑπερβολὴν ἑταιρείας, Nic. 7). He had been with him at Apollonia in B.C. 44 [Vell. 2, 59]; had served with him in the war of Perusia [Dio 48, 20] in B.C. 41, in which year he was Praetor, and in the following year occupied Sipontum, which had been taken by M. Antonius [*ib.* 28]. In B.C. 38 he carried on a successful campaign in Gaul, crossing the Rhine into Germany, and subsequently suppressing a revolt of the Aquitani, for which he was offered but refused a triumph [*ib.* 49]. After the disaster to the fleet in B.C. 38 and the desertion of Menodorus in the early part of B.C. 37, Octavian became dissatisfied with the management of Calvisius Sabinus, and entrusted the task of constructing and commanding a new fleet to Agrippa, causing him also to be elected consul for the latter half of B.C. 37 [App. *B. civ.* 5, 96]. It was then that he formed the docks in the lake Avernus. The chief credit of the final defeat of Sext. Pompeius in B.C. 36 was his,—Livy *Ep.* 129 *M. Agrippa navali corona a Caesare donatus est; qui honos nemini ante eum habitus est.*

classibus tempestate perditis. For the double shipwreck see above (*duplici naufragio*). Dio mentions a third disaster from bad weather in the early part of B.C. 36 [49, 1]; but seems to be confusing the two years.

invito Neptuno. If Augustus did say this, he was, it seems, referring to the fact that Sext. Pompeius had shown his exultation at the disasters which befell the fleets of his enemy in B.C. 38—7 by adopting the title of 'Son of Neptune,' and wearing sea-green robes. Dio 48, 48 [cp. c. 19] καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἤρθη καὶ τοῦ τε Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς ὄντως ἐπίστευεν εἶναι καὶ στολὴν κυανοειδῆ ἐνεδύσατο, ἵππους τε καί, ὥς γέ τινές φασι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐς τὸν πόρθμον ζῶντας ἐνέβαλεν. App. *B. civ.* 5, 100 ὁ δὲ Πομπήϊος...ἔθνε μόνον θαλάσσῃ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δὶς οὕτω θέρους πταῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν...τὴν συνήθη τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι χλαμύδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανῆν μεταλλάξαι. Cp. *Neptunius dux* of Horace, *Epode* 9, 7.

quasi. See on c. 11.

die...pompae, The *ludi circenses,* whether the *ludi Romani in circo* or others, were opened by a solemn procession starting from the Capitol through the forum, the rear of which was brought up by the figures of the gods, the lighter ones carried on the shoulders of men, the heavier on *tensae.* Among other quasi-divine honours Iulius had *tensam et ferculum circensi pompa* [*Iul.* c. 76; Cic. *ad Att.* 13, 44; Dionys. Hal. 7, 72, 1—13].

nec temere, 'and scarcely.' Cp. cc. 53, 66, 73, 77, *Tit.* 6 *ita ad praesens plurimum contraxit invidiae ut non temere quis tam adverso rumore...transierit ad principatum. de Rhet.* 1 *illustres rhetores...non temere reperientur quam de quibus tradam. Tib.* 73 *non temere quicquam nisi ex tuto ausurus. Cal.* 30 *non temere in quemquam nisi crebris et minutis ictibus animadverti passus est. Vesp.* 15 *non temere quis punitus insons reperietur.* With this meaning *temere* (=*facile*) is always with negative.

traiecto...effugit. This refers to the expedition between the two battles at Mylae in the autumn of B.C. 36. Thinking that Sextus would be wholly occupied with defending himself against Agrippa, Caesar transported his troops from Leucopetra and landed near Tauro-

in Siciliam exercitu, cum partem reliquam copiarum continenti repeteret, oppressus ex improviso a Demochare et Apollophane praefectis Pompei, uno demum navigio aegerrime effugit. Iterum cum praeter Locros Regium pedibus iret et prospectis biremibus Pompeianis terram legentibus, suas ratus, descendisset ad litus, paene exceptus est. Tunc etiam per devios tramites refugientem servus Aemili Pauli comitis eius, dolens proscriptum olim ab eo patrem Paulum et quasi occasione ultionis oblata, interficere conatus est.

Post Pompei fugam collegarum alterum M. Lepidum, quem ex Africa in auxilium evocarat, superbientem viginti legionum fiducia summasque sibi partes terrore et minis vindicantem spoliavit exercitu supplicemque concessa vita Circeios in perpetuum relegavit.

Deposition of Lepidus B.C. 36.

menium (being refused admission into the town). Here he was attacked both by land and sea. Leaving his camp in charge of Cornificius he embarked on board his ship and got his fleet afloat. After some severe fighting with the ships of Sextus, Caesar found at nightfall that the majority of his vessels were captured or destroyed, while the remainder were on their way back to Italy. He spent the night at sea doubting whether to make his way back to the camp of Cornificius (beset by cavalry under Demochares and Apollophanes) or to make for Italy. Finally his ship came to land at a spot in S. Italy near Stylis or Columna (called by Appian *Abala*, an unknown name), and after considerable hardships he reached the troops which under the command of Gaius Carrinas were waiting to cross to Sicily. [App. 5, 109—112; Dio 49, 5 ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπεσώθη.]

a Demochare et Apollophane. These men were freedmen of Sext. Pompeius who occupied the chief command under him after the treason of Menas (Menodorus) and the death of Menecrates. App. 5, 84 ὁ Πομπήϊος αὐτόν τε Δημοχάρην καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην, καὶ τόνδε ἀπελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ, ναυάρχους ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μενεκράτους. They are not mentioned in the other accounts of this defeat of Augustus, but as Menochares was in command at Mylae at the time [Dio 49, 2] he was doubtless engaged in it.

iterum...exceptus. This incident is not noticed by either Appian or Dio.

Aemili Pauli. This was a son of L. Aemilius Paulus, the elder brother of the triumvir M. Aemilius Lepidus. L. Aemilius had always been a partisan of the senatorial party, and though in his consulship of B.C. 50 he had accepted a bribe from Caesar to remain neutral, he had in B.C. 43 joined in the vote of the Senate declaring his brother Lepidus a public enemy for joining Antony; and accordingly had been put in the list of the proscribed by his brother later in that year on the formation of the triumvirate. All authorities agree in assigning this act to M. Lepidus [App. *B. civ.* 4, 12; Dio 47, 6; Plut. *Ant.* 19; Paterc. 2, 67; Oros. 6, 18], but as the proscription lists were in the names of the triumvirs collectively, Octavian was jointly responsible. Though proscribed, Paulus had been allowed to escape, had fought at Philippi, and had since died in Asia Minor [App. *B. civ.* 4, 37].

M. Lepidum...relegavit. In virtue of the rearrangement of the provinces after Philippi (42) M. Lepidus was to have Africa, if it turned out that he had not been guilty of treasonable negotiations with Sex. Pompeius. He had not been allowed to go there till after the taking of Perusia (40). The province had been secured to him again at the renewal of the triumvirate in 37 at Tarentum [App. *B. civ.* 5, 94—97]; but he was restless under the subordinate position which he in fact occupied,

17 M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam et incertam reconciliationibusque variis male focilatam abrupit tandem, et quo magis degenerasse eum a civili more approbaret, testamentum, quod is Romae, etiam de Cleopatra liberis inter heredes nuncupatis, reliquerat,

The final rupture with M. Antonius.

while nominally on a par with his colleagues; and though he obeyed the summons to start for Sicily with twelve legions on the 1st of July B.C. 36 [App. 5, 97], he acted there independently; took Lilybaeum [App. 5, 48]; and then went across the island to besiege the Pompeians in Messene. After the victory of Agrippa between Mylae and Naulochus, the Pompeian Plennius occupied Messene and opened negociations with Lepidus, who made terms with him and took over his eight legions. Having thus a force of about 20 legions, he sacked Messene, and resolved to claim the whole of Sicily as his province. But when Caesar appeared the army of Lepidus declined to engage in another civil war, and went over to his colleague. Lepidus was constrained to fall at Caesar's feet and sue for pardon. His life was spared, but he was deprived of imperium and of all office except that of Pontifex Maximus, as to which there were religious difficulties in a deposition, which Augustus declined to break through [see c. 31; Appian *B. civ.* 5, 122—126; Dio 49, 11].

The victory of Augustus was celebrated as on the 3rd of September, see the *Fasti Amiternini* [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 398] *Feriae et supplicationes aput omnia pulvinaria quod eo die Caesar divi f. vicit in Sicilia.* But whether this was the day of the naval victory, or of the surrender of the army of Lepidus, is left uncertain by the inscription of Cumae [*C. I. L.* 10, 873; Rushforth, p. 51], the date in the entry being unfortunately lost [III *non* • *Septembr. eo die exer*]CITUS LEPIDI TRADIDIT SE CAESARI • SUPPLI[*C*]A*TIO*...

viginti legionum. That is, the twelve from Africa and the eight of Plennius from Messene. Appian [*B. civ.* 5, 123] reckons his force at 22 legions,—*σὺν τούτοις* (i.e. the legions of Plennius which joined him) *ἔχων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἐπῆρτο.* The two additional legions according to him [c. 104] were the survivors of four fresh legions from Africa that were shipwrecked off Lilybaeum.

Circeios in perpetuum relegavit. Lepidus however was not allowed to remain unmolested at Circeii. In B.C. 18, after the plot of the younger Lepidus, he was compelled to come to Rome, and treated by Augustus with marked indignity,...*καὶ οὔτε ἐς ἄλλο τι ὡς καὶ ἀξίῳ οἱ λόγου ἐχρῆτο, τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὑστάτῳ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπῆγεν.* Dio 54, 15; cp. infr. c. 54.

17. **reconciliationibus ... focilatam.** The occasions on which reconciliations between Augustus and Antony had taken place were (1) in 43, in November following the battle near Mutina [App. *B. civ.* 4, 2; Dio 46, 54]. (2) in B.C. 40 after Perusia, at Brundisium [Dio 47, 29—30; App. *B. civ.* 5, 56—65]. (3) in B.C. 37 at Tarentum, on the intervention of Octavia, when the revival of the triumvirate was settled [App. *B. civ.* 5, 93; Dio 48, 54].

focilatam, 'kept alive,' 'kept flickering.' It is a word of the silver age, and is used by Pliny of persons, *ipse paucis diebus aegre focillatus...decessit, Ep.* 3, 14, 4; cp. *ib.* 16, 12. Metaphorically by Seneca *Ep.* 13 § 14 *pudet me ibi sic tecum loqui et tam lenibus te remediis focillare.* A deponent *focillari* 'to cherish' is quoted from Varro by Nonius [cp. *fo-veo, fo-cus*].

male, 'with difficulty,' 'imperfectly.' Cp. *Tib.* 42 *vitia male diu dissimulata tandem profudit.*

abrupit tandem. The breach between Antonius and Caesar was rendered inevitable by the events of 33—32 B.C. The death of Sextus Pompeius (35), the successful expeditions against the Illyrian Iapydes, the Pannonians, the Dalmatians, and the Salassi [Dio 49, 36—38] had assured and established Caesar's position in the eyes of the people of Rome as their best security for peace and plenty. Meanwhile the conquest of Armenia (B.C. 34), and the temporary check

aperiundum recitandumque pro contione curavit. Remisit tamen hosti iudicato necessitudines amicosque omnes, atque

given to the Parthians by his subordinates, left Antony free to enter upon his scheme of an Eastern Empire, in which kingdoms were to be carved out for his children by Cleopatra. But the gravest offence to Augustus was the recognition of Caesarion as a legitimate son of Caesar and Cleopatra, as though the offspring of a real marriage,...*τοῦ δὲ προτέρου Καίσαρος τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ὄντως γεγονέναι ἔλεγεν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου δὴ χάριν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐσκήπτετο, ὅπως τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ὀκταουιανὸν ἐκ τούτου, ὅτι ποιητὸς ἀλλ' οὐ γνήσιος αὐτοῦ παῖς ἦν, διαβάλλῃ* [Dio 49, 41]. The final breach came in B.C. 32, when one of the consuls C. Sosius ventured to propose the confirmation of Antony's *acta* in the Senate, and Caesar next day made such a reply that both consuls left Italy for Alexandria, and Antony retaliated by openly divorcing Octavia [Dio 50, 1—2].

degenerasse eum a civili more. *οὕτω γάρ που αὐτὸν ἐδεδούλωτο ὥστε καὶ γυμνασιαρχῆσαι τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πεῖσαι, βασιλίς τε αὐτὴ καὶ δέσποινα ὑπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι, στρατιώτας τε Ῥωμαίους ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ ἔχειν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς πάντας σφᾶς ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐπιγράφειν. ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐσεφοίτα, καὶ τὰς παν̓ηγύρεις οἱ συνδιετίθει, τὰς δὲ δίκας συνεξήταζε, καὶ συνιππεύς καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἡ καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν ἐν δίφρῳ τινὶ ἐφέρετο, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοποδὶ αὐτῇ μετὰ τῶν εὐνούχων ἠκολούθει. καὶ τό τε στρατήγιον βασίλειον ὠνόμαζε, καὶ ἀκινάκην ἔστιν ὅτε παρεζώννυτο, ἐσθῆτί τε ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐπιχρύσου δίφρου τε ὁμοίου καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἐωρᾶτο.* Dio 50, 5; Horace, *Epode* 9, 11—16

Romanus, eheu,—posteri negabitis—
emancipatus feminae,
fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
servire rugosis potest,
interque signa turpe militaria
sol adspicit conopium.

So Plutarch [*Ant.* 36] *τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἦν τῶν Κλεοπάτρας τιμῶν ἀνιαρότατον.* It was also believed that Cleopatra aimed at transferring the Empire to Alexandria. *τήν τε βασιλείαν τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐκτήσατο καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λήψεσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσασα* [Dio 51, 15]. Cp. Hor. *Od.* 1, 37, 5 *dum Capitolio | regina dementes ruinas | funus et imperio parabat.* Livy *Ep.* 132.

testamentum. Caesar got his information as to Antony's will from M. Titius (the murderer of Sext. Pompeius) and L. Munatius Plancus, who in B.C. 32 deserted Antony and came to Rome. They had witnessed it and told Caesar of its contents and where it was to be found. He did not hesitate to possess himself of it and make its contents known: *τοιαῦτα γάρ που ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνεγέγραπτο ὥστε μηδ' αἰτίαν τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν καίπερ παρανομώτατον πρᾶγμα ποιήσας σχεῖν* [Dio 50, 3].

de Cleopatra liberis. The children of Antony by Cleopatra were Cleopatra, Alexander and Ptolemaeus. The daughter was married to Iuba II. king of Numidia, and afterwards of Mauretania. They were all three brought up by the magnanimous Octavia, but of the subsequent fate of the two sons nothing seems to be known [Plut. *Ant.* 87; Dio 51, 15]. In the lifetime of Antonius Ptolemy had been invested with the kingdom of Syria, Cleopatra with that of Cyrene, and Alexander with that of Armenia [Dio 49, 41]. But these arrangements of course fell to the ground with his defeat and death. In his will he had (1) declared Caesarion to be a real son of Iulius, (2) had left enormous legacies to his own children by Cleopatra, (3) ordered his own body to be buried with that of Cleopatra in Alexandria. The effect of the publication of the will is described by Dio [50, 3] thus: *δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι καὶ τἄλλα τὰ θρυλούμενα ἀληθῆ εἴη, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὅτι, ἂν κρατήσῃ, τήν τε πόλιν σφῶν τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ χαριεῖται καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον μεταθήσει.*

remisit...hosti iudicato. According to Dio [50, 3], Antony was not declared a hostis in B.C. 32. War was declared against Cleopatra, but though it was well understood to be against him, Antony's name was not mentioned. App. *B. civ.* 4, 39 however says that Messala was elected consul in his place for B.C. 31 *ὅτε αὖθις ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιος.*

C. Sosius et Cn. Domitius (Ahenobarbus) were the consuls for B.C. 32. They left Rome after the debates in the Senate at the beginning of January, and

inter alios C. Sosium et Cn. Domitium tunc adhuc consules. Bononiensibus quoque publice, quod in Antoniorum clientela antiquitus erant, gratiam fecit coniurandi cum tota Italia pro partibus suis. Nec multo post navali proelio apud Actium vicit, in serum dimicatione protracta, ut in nave victor pernoctaverit. Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntiis de seditione praemia et

Actium, 2 September B.C. 31.

Caesar gave out that they had gone with his free consent, and that others might go if they pleased, Dio 50, 2 *μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκών τε αὐτοὺς ἐκπεπομφέναι ἔφασκεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὡς ἀδικῶν τι ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν δοκῇ, καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον μετ' ἀδείας ἀπᾶραι.*

C. Sosius was praetor in B.C. 49 [Cic. *ad Att.* 8, 6], and had been legatus to Antony and governor of Cilicia and Syria, where he had done good service, having taken Jerusalem and restored Herod B.C. 37 [Plut. *Ant.* 34; Ioseph. *Ant.* 14, 16; *B. Iud.* 1, 18]. For this he celebrated a triumph in B.C. 34 and is called proconsul in the *Fasti*, ...*C. Sosius pro cos. ex Iudaea an.* DCCXIX. III. *Nonas Septembr.;* and is hence termed *triumphalis* in the epitaph of a great-grandson [see Wilmanns 1134], L • NONIUS • QUINTILIANUS • L • F • SEX • N • C • SOSI • COS • TRIUMPHAL • PRO • NEP • AUGUR • SALIUS • PALAT • VIX • ANN • XXIII. After Actium he was left unmolested by Caesar [Dio 51, 2].

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was the son of L. Domitius, killed at Pharsalus, by Porcia, sister of Cato Uticensis. He had been in the proscription list of 43—2, but held out against the triumvirs till B.C. 40, having the command of 50 ships in the Ionian sea, with which he molested Antony when crossing to Greece in B.C. 42, and won a victory over his lieutenant Domitius Calvinus about the same time as the first battle at Philippi [App. *B. civ.* 4, 115]. In B.C. 40, however, he was reconciled to Antony by the influence of Asinius Pollio [Vell. Pat. 2, 76], and was accordingly included in the pacification with Caesar at Brundisium in B.C. 37 [App. 5, 65], and served under Antony against the Parthians [Plut. *Ant.* 40]. As to his having been one of the assassins of Iulius, see Append. B. The MSS. have T. Domitium; but the praenomen Gnaeus is attested by the *Fasti* and by Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 27 and all other writers.

publice, 'as a community,' as opposed to individuals, cp. *Tib.* 6.

in Antoniorum clientela. So in *Tib.* 6 we hear of the Lacedaemonians being *in tutela Claudiorum.* In Cic. 2 *Phil.* 107 the people of Puteoli are said to have selected Cassius and the two Bruti as their patrons. The Patronus represented the interests of the *municipium* or provincial town at Rome, and often was a material benefactor besides, see the case of Labienus at Cingulum, *quod oppidum constituerat suaque pecunia exaedificaverat* [Caes. *B. civ.* 1, 15].

gratiam...suis, 'excused them from joining in the general agreement of all Italy on his side.' **pro partibus**, cp. c. 12. For the (unusual) sense of *gratia* with gen. 'dispensation from,' cp. *Tib.* 35. *eq. Romano iuris iurandi gratiam fecit.*

in serum...pernoctaverit. The resistance of the Antonian fleet did not cease with the flight of Cleopatra or Antony at Actium (2 September, B.C. 31). Many of the captains would not or could not follow their leaders, and the struggle continued till late in the afternoon [*ὁ στόλος...μόλις ὥρας δεκάτης ἀπείπε*, Plut. *Ant.* 68. *illius etiam detracto capite in longum fortissime pugnandi duravit constantia*, Vel. 2, 85. *ab hora quinta usque in horam septimam incerta vincendi spe gravissimae utrimque caedes actae; reliquum diei cum subsequente nocte in victoriam Caesaris declinavit*, Oros. 6, 19]. Augustus is said finally to have conquered by using fire to burn the hostile vessels, which he avoided as long as possible, because he wished to secure them [Dio 50, 34]. He asserted in his memoirs that 300 ships fell into his hands [Plut. *l. c.*]. For *serum* by itself for a 'late hour of the day,' cp. *Nero* 22 *spectaculum...in serum protrahebatur. Otho* 11 *in serum usque patente cubiculo.* In Livy [7, 8; 33, 48] it generally has a defining genitive, such as *diei* or *noctis.*

missionem poscentium, quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium praemiserat, repetita Italia, tempestate in traiectu bis conflictatus (primo inter promuntoria Peloponnesi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrubique parte liburnicarum demersa, simul eius, in qua vehebatur, fusis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto) nec amplius quam septem et viginti dies, donec desideria militum ordinarentur, Brundisii commoratus, Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit obsessaque Alexandrea, quo Antonius cum Cleopatra confugerat, brevi potitus est. Et Antonium quidem, seras conditiones pacis temptantem, ad mortem adegit viditque mortuum. Cleopatrae, quam ser-

Taking of Alexandria, September B.C. 30.

cum Samum...poscentium. Augustus spent the winter of B.C. 31—30 in Greece and Asia. When recalled to Italy by the disturbances here mentioned, he went no farther than Brundisium, where he remained 30 days, being visited by nearly all the magistrates, Senators, and chief equites. Dio 51, 4. The visit was after the 1st of January B.C. 30, for it was in his 4th consulship with M. Crassus. Dio 51, 4; Oros. 6, 19, 14. The effect of his presence on the insubordinate soldiers is referred to by Germanicus [Tac. *Ann.* 1, 42] *divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit.*

Ceraunios. The dangerous nature of the headland was well known,—*infamis scopulos, Acroceraunia* [Hor. *Od.* 1, 3, 19].

liburnicarum. The name *liburnica* was applied to a vessel of less draught than the great warships of the Romans, and it was apparently of such ships that the fleet of Caesar at Actium had chiefly consisted. The name of course came from the pirate vessels of the Illyrian Liburni, which were constructed for the shallow waters of the Illyrian coast, and is applied to vessels of various sizes, from a ship of war to a yacht. See *Calig.* 37 *fabricavit et deceris Liburnicas gemmatis puppibus. Nero* 34; and in the fr. about Pliny's death, he is said to have perished *cum...flagrante Vesubio ad explorandas propius causas liburnica prætendisset.* Cp. Hor. *Epode* 1, 1 *ibis Liburnis inter alta navium...propugnacula.* Λιβυρνοὶ γένος Ἰλλυριῶν, οἱ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐλῃστευον ναυσὶν ὠκείαις τε καὶ κούφαις, ὅθεν ἔτι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα δίκροτα Λιβυρνίδας προσαγορεύουσιν, Veget. 4, 33.

desideria militum. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 19 *non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda.*

Asiae Syriaeque circuitu, 'by a circuitous route through Asia and Syria,' like the *orbis iter* of Ovid. Cp. Seneca *Ep.* 79, 1 *circumitus Siciliae totius.*

brevi potitus est. Suetonius has given a very compressed account. Caesar did not enter Alexandria till the first of August, B.C. 30 [*C. I. L.* 1, pp. 324, 328]. Antony had in the previous autumn made a vain attempt to gain over the troops in Africa, and on his return to Alexandria had opened negociations with Augustus, offering to live as a *privatus* at Athens [Dio 51, 5—7; Plut. *Ant.* 73]. In the spring of B.C. 30 Cornelius Gallus, taking over the command of the troops in Africa, advanced to Paraetonium, where he secured the remainder of Antony's fleet. Meanwhile Caesar, with the secret connivance of Cleopatra, landed at Pelusium and advanced towards Alexandria, decisively defeating Antony, who had hurriedly returned from Paraetonium. The Egyptian fleet, again it is said on the secret order of Cleopatra, deserted, thus preventing Antony's scheme of escape to Asia; and thereupon—being told also that Cleopatra had shut herself up in the μνημεῖον and was dead—he stabbed himself and ordered his attendants to carry him to the μνημεῖον, where he died in the queen's arms [Dio 51, 10; Plut. *Ant.* 77—8]. The **ad mortem adegit** is only therefore indirectly true.

viditque mortuum. According to Dio [51, 11] the body of Antony was embalmed under the direction of Cleopatra. Cp. Plutarch *Ant.* 83 ἐθάπτετο

vatam triumpho magnopere cupiebat, etiam psyllos admovit, qui venenum ac virus exugerent, quod perisse morsu aspidis putabatur. Ambobus communem sepulturae honorem tribuit ac tumulum ab ipsis incohatum perfici iussit. Antonium iuvenem, maiorem de duobus Fulviā genitis, simulacro Divi 5

ταῖς ἐκείνης χερσὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς πᾶσιν ὡς ἐβούλετο χρῆσθαι λαβούσης. The looking on the dead body of any enemy, though it might be necessary in order to be satisfied of his death, was regarded as an aggravation of cruelty. So Pompey would not look at the dead body of Mithridates [Plut. *Pomp.* 42]; nor Caesar at the head of Pompey [App. *B. civ.* 2, 90].

servatam triumpho. Dio 51, 11 Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπεθύμει μὲν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκείνην ζῶσάν τε συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ νικητήρια ἀπαγαγεῖν. Plut. *Ant.* 87 καὶ γὰρ ἐφοβεῖτο περὶ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ μέγα πρὸς δόξαν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ θριάμβου καταγαγεῖν ἐκείνην. Horace [*Od.* 1, 37, 31] no doubt is expressing this disappointment as to the *privata deduci superbo | non humilis mulier triumpho.* Yet Caesar's motive perhaps was not the desire of merely gracing his triumph. It was important for him to give a striking proof that he had been fighting against an Egyptian queen, rather than a Roman imperator.

psyllos admovit. [Cp. Dio, 51, 14 who regards it as the name of a craft not a people γυνὴ γὰρ οὐ γίγνεται ψύλλα.] The mysterious Psylli were said by Herodotus to have perished by a sandstorm in their contest with the South Wind, and to have been succeeded by the Nasamonians [Her. 4, 173]. Some remnants of them however were believed to remain in the district between the two Syrtes [Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 27], who were said to possess the art of curing the bites of snakes [*id.* 7, 13—14], and to be themselves impervious to the poison [*id.* 21, 78; Strabo, 17, 1, 44]. The smell of their bodies was even said to scare snakes away [Pliny 8, 93; 25, 123]. The snake-charmers of Barbary still profess the same powers; and the Psylli, or men calling themselves by that name, were known in Italy (though believed to lose their power there), and were to be met with in Egypt [*id.* 11, 89]. For the sucking out of the poison see Plutarch, *Cato min.* 57 Ψύλλους...οἱ τά τε δήγματα τῶν θηρίων ἰῶνται τοῖς στόμασι ἕλκοντες τὸν ἰόν, αὐτά τε τὰ θηρία κατεπᾴδοντες ἀμβλύνουσι καὶ κηλοῦσι. Pausan. 9, 28, 1, of the people near M. Helicon, where the snakes are comparatively innocuous, ὥστε διαφεύγουσι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ δηχθέντες ἢν ἀνδρὶ Λίβυϊ γένους τῶν Ψύλλων καὶ ἄλλως προσφόροις ἐπιτύχωσι τοῖς φαρμάκοις.

quod perisse morsu aspidis putabatur. Suetonius puts this doubtfully, as do most other authorities. τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν Plut. *Ant.* 86. τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ᾧ τρόπῳ διεφθάρη Dio 51, 14. Livy *Ep.* 133 only says *voluntaria morte defuncta.* Velleius (2, 87) expresses no doubt, *Cleopatra frustratis custodibus inlata aspide morsu sane eius expers muliebris metus spiritum reddidit.* Horace (*Od.* 1, 37, 27) seems to have accepted the same story, *fortis et asperas | tractare serpentes, ut atrum | corpore combiberet venenum.*

communem sepulturae honorem. Plut. *Ant.* 86 Καῖσαρ...ταφῆναι τὸ σῶμα σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ λαμπρῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς ἐκέλευσε. But the burial of Antony had apparently been the work of Cleopatra herself. Dio 51, 11; Zonar. 10, 3; Plut. *Ant.* 82.

Antonium iuvenem...Caesarionem. The fate of Caesarion was no doubt due to the claim openly made for him by Antony that he was the offspring of a lawful union between Iulius and Cleopatra. Such an assertion was of course offensive to Augustus, and might have been used by his enemies to weaken his position as his uncle's heir. It appears that the paternity of Caesarion had been denied by Iulius himself, and that one of his friends, Gaius Oppius, published a pamphlet to disprove it. Antony asserted in the Senate, however, that Caesar had acknowledged the boy; and Cicero [*ad Att.* 14, 20] speaks of him as *ille Caesar.* Plutarch [*Caes.* 49] says that the name arose from the common talk of the Alexandrians, and Suet. [*Iul.* 52] says that Caesar allowed Cleopatra to call the boy by the name as a favour. As Cleopatra had only a nominal husband in a child-brother, the suspicion was natural,

Iuli, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Item Caesarionem, quem ex Caesare Cleopatra concepisse praedicabat, retractum e fuga supplicio adfecit. Reliquos Antonii reginaeque communes liberos non secus ac necessitudine iunctos sibi et conservavit et mox pro conditione cuiusque sustinuit ac fovit. Per idem tempus conditorium et 18
corpus Magni Alexandri, cum prolatum e penetrali subiecisset

and the fact may be considered as fairly established. At any rate Antony's will, read in Rome in 32, contained the assertion [Dio 50, 3]; and as he had been already declared 'king of kings' and heir of Egypt and Cyprus [Dio 49, 4] there could have been little doubt that he was to be got rid of. He attempted to fly to Aethiopia, but was betrayed by his paedagogue [Dio 49, 5; Plut. *Ant.* 81]. He was about 17 years old.

The young Antony, whom Dio and Plutarch call *Ἀντύλλος* [Dio 49, 5; Plut. *Ant.* 81], must have been much younger, for Antony was not married to Fulvia till B.C. 45 or 44, see Cic. 2 *Phil.* §§ 77, 99 [from which the divorce of Antonia would seem to have been B.C. 45]; but after Actium Antony had given him the *toga virilis*, in order that he might have authority to represent him at Alexandria, and had sent him with offers of submission to Augustus [Dio 51, 5 and 8]. He was therefore in a somewhat different position to that of the other children, and like Caesarion was betrayed by his paedagogue Theodorus [Plut. *l. c.*].

simulacro Divi Iulii. The worship of the 'Divine Iulius' had apparently been early introduced in Alexandria, where it was only a natural sequence to the deification of the Ptolemies. There were various busts and statues of Iulius in the Palace, and no doubt in other places. See Dio 51, 12,—Cleopatra receives Augustus *πολλὰς εἰκόνας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπὰς παραθεμένη.* How this deification was continued in Egypt, see *C. I. G.* 4923. In the great temple at Philae was discovered an epigram in praise of Augustus (of about B.C. 12) beginning

Καίσαρι παντομέδοντι καὶ ἀπείρων κρατέοντι
Ζανὶ, τῷ ἐκ Ζανὸς πατρὸς, Ἐλευθερίῳ.

For the use of the statues of kings and emperors as an asylum for fugitives, see *Tib.* 53 *novissime calumniatus modo ad statuam Augusti modo ad exercitus confugere velle, Pandatariam relegavit.* Ulpian, *Dig.* 21, 1, 17 § 12 *Ego puto non esse eum fugitivum, qui id facit, quod publice facere licere arbitratur, ne eum quidem qui ad statuam Caesaris fugitivum arbitror.* This too seems to have come from Egypt, see Livy 23, 10, where the Campanian Magius escaping from Hannibal's ship, which had been blown ashore at Cyrene, *ibi cum ad statuam Ptolemaei regis confugisset deportatus a custodibus Alexandriam... vinculis liberatur.*

18. conditorium et corpus Magni Alexandri, 'the coffin and body of Alexander the Great.' On his death-bed Alexander desired that his body should be taken to the temple of Ammon [Iustin. 12, 15, 7]. How this command was carried out is told by Diodorus [18, 26—28]. A splendid funeral car was constructed by Arridaeus [or *Arribaeus*, see Hicks *G. I.* p. 235] and in Syria was met by Ptolemy son of Lagus, who instead of taking it to the temple of Ammon conducted it to Alexandria, where *κατεσκεύασε τέμενος κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἄξιον, ἐν ᾧ κηδεύσας αὐτὸν καὶ θυσίαις ἡρωικαῖς καὶ ἀγῶσι μεγαλοπρέπεσι τιμήσας οὐ παρ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἔλαβεν.* Pausanias however says [1, 6, 3; 1, 7, 1] that Ptolemy I. buried Alexander at Memphis, and that Ptolemy II. transferred the body to Alexandria. Strabo [17, 1, 7] gives a somewhat different account. According to him the body was brought by Perdiccas from Babylon on his Egyptian expedition in 321, and taken from him by Ptolemy,—*τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κομίσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐκήδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ὅπου νῦν ἔτι κεῖται.* At any rate the worship of Alexander was joined with that of the Ptolemies, as is shown in the priestly decrees, *C. I. G.* 4697 (Rosetta stone), 4876: and his body was preserved in the tomb of the Ptolemies,...*μέρος δὲ*

oculis, corona aurea imposita ac floribus aspersis veneratus est, consultusque, num et Ptolemaeum inspicere vellet, *regem se voluisse* ait *videre, non mortuos.* Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam ut feraciorem habilioremque annonae urbicae

τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σῆμα [al. *Σῶμα*], *ὃ περίβολος ἦν, ἐν ᾧ αἱ τῶν βασιλέων ταφαὶ καὶ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου* [Strabo *l.c.*]. Augustus was able to see it because the gold coffin made by Arrhibaeus had been removed by Ptolemy Nothus (about B.C. 118) and a glass one substituted [Strabo *l.c.*]. The arms laid upon the coffin were also now or afterwards taken away, for Caligula possessed his *thorax* [Suet. *Cal.* 53]. The *Ptolemaeum* with the coffin of Alexander has long disappeared, though in the 5th century Achilles Tatius in the romance of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* [5 § 3] in describing Alexandria mentions coming *εἰς τὸν ἐπώνυμον Ἀλεξάνδρου τόπον*. According to Dio [51, 16] Augustus not only saw the body but touched it and broke off a piece of the nose.

Ptolemaeum, sc. 'tomb of the Ptolemies.' The form of the word is supported by Diodor. 20, 100, who calls the Stoa at Rhodes a *Πτολεμαῖον*; and Cicero *de Fin.* 5, 1, 1 *in gymnasio quod Ptolemaeum vocatur.* But Stephanos Byz. *s.v.* *Καπιτώλιον* has *Πτολεμαεῖον*, and Propert. 2, 1, 30 has the adjective *Ptolemaeeus.*

Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam. Egypt was made a province, but with several remarkable peculiarities as to its administration. It was from the first wholly in the hands of the emperor, who received both the revenues from the royal domains of the Ptolemies and the taxes from the country as his private property. Though the distinction between Senatorial and Imperial provinces was not yet made, Caesar boldly initiated a new departure. It was governed not by a *pro-consul* or *legatus*, but by a *praefectus*, nominated by the emperor and subject to recall at pleasure [infr. c. 66; *Ner.* 47; *Domit.* 4; Tac. *Hist.* 2, 74; *C. I. G.* 4923; Plin. *N. H.* 6, 181; 19, 3 and 11; 36, 69]. The emperor had besides a *procurator*, generally one of his freedmen [*Ner.* 35], and now or later another officer, also nominated by the emperor, *iuridicus Aegypti* [*C. I. L.* 10, 2, 1250; Wilmanns, 1250], to preside over the courts at Alexandria.

The province differed from others also in not consisting of a number of states existing side by side with local autonomy. It was divided into three great districts or *ἐπιστρατηγίαι*, each district into nomes (*νομοί*), each nome into a certain number of hamlets (*κῶμαι*) which were presided over by a regular gradation of officials, who administered their separate offices, but were all answerable to the Praefectus at Alexandria. This organization had existed under the Ptolemies, but at any rate under the later kings had become corrupt and inefficient. Caesar therefore followed the lines of the old constitution, only infusing reality and efficiency into it. The Praefectus performed the ceremonial functions of the kings [Plin. *N. H.* 5, 57; Sen. *N. Q.* 4, 2, 8], and during the reign of Augustus had three legions, afterwards reduced to two. But the population of Alexandria was so seditious [*τοσαύτην που νεωτεροποιΐαν αὐτῶν κατέγνω*, Dio] that they were not permitted to have an elected Senate, or to share in the advantages of the *lex Saenia* (B.C. 30) which allowed provincials under certain circumstances to obtain the *civitas* and serve offices admitting to the Roman Senate. But perhaps the regulation which confined the *praefectura* to *equites* (forbidding Senators and even *illustres equites* entering Egypt,—see Tac. *Ann.* 2, 59; *H.* 1, 11; 3, 8, 11; Suet. *Tib.* 52; Arrian 3, 5, 10; Dio 51, 17 *οὐδενὶ βουλευτῇ οὐχ ὅπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐνεπιδημεῖν αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν*—was in part a concession to the feelings of the Alexandrians; for though Roman soldiers had been there since the time of Gabinius (B.C. 55), the mob were easily enraged at the sight of the fasces, which seemed an open declaration of their slavery [Caesar *B. civ.* 3, 106]. Though thus made a kind of appanage of the emperor, Augustus always affected to regard Egypt as subject like the other provinces to the Roman people. M. A. 27 *Aegyptum imperio Populi Romani adieci.* And on the obelisks placed in B.C. 10 in the Campus and Circus was engraved [*C. I. L.* 6, 701]: IMP • CAESAR • DIVI • F • AUGUSTUS • PON-

redderet, fossas omnis, in quas Nilus exaestuat, oblimatas longa vetustate militari opere detersit. Quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.

Nicopolis.

TIFEX • MAXIMUS • IMP • XII • COS • XI • TRIB • POT • XIV • AEGYPTO • IN • POTESTATEM • POPULI • ROMANI • RED• ACTA • SOLI • DONUM • DEDIT. The principal passages on this subject are Strabo 17; Dio 51, 16—17. See the authorities quoted by Marquardt vol. 9 [with the additional authorities given by the French translators, *Organisation de l'Empire* 2, *Aegyptus*].

feraciorem habilioremque annonae. Tac. *H.* 1, 11 speaks of Egypt as a *provinciam aditu difficilem annonae fecundam.* Pliny, *Panegyr.* 31, 2 *percrebuerat antiquitus urbem nostram nisi opibus Aegypti ali sustentarique non posse.* Aurel. Vict. 1, 6 *huius Augusti tempore ex Aegypto annua ducentiens centena millia frumenti inferebantur.* Strabo [17, 1, 13] tells us of the enormous increase in the commerce and importance of Alexandria under the sway of Augustus, though the corn trade of Egypt had long been familiar to the Greeks in the 5th century; see Bacchylides apud Athen. 2, 39 f. πυροφόροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλήεντα νῆες ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον πλοῦτον.

exaestuat, rare and post-classical in this sense: Iust. 1, 2, 7 *quae materia (bitumen) e terra exaestuat.*

fossas oblimatas, 'choked with mud.' Cp. Cic. *N. D.* 2 § 130 *Aegyptum Nilus irrigat et cum tota aestate obrutam opletamque tenuit, tum recedit mollitosque et oblimatos ad serendum agros relinquit.* By the **fossae,** Suetonius does not seem to mean the great canals, such as that to the Red Sea mentioned by Herodotus [2, 158; 4, 39]; but the smaller ditches made to carry off the flood waters, which Strabo [17, 1, 10] says it was the special duty of good princes of Egypt to see were kept clear,—ἡ δὲ βοήθεια αὕτη· τὴν μὲν πολλὴν παρέκχυσιν ἐμφράξει κωλύειν, τὴν δὲ πλήρωσιν ἣν ἡ χοῦς ἐργάζεται τοὐναντίον ἀνακαθάρσει τῶν διωρύγων καὶ ἐξανοίξει τῶν στομάτων.

militari opere, 'by employing soldiers in the work.' For soldiers employed in such fatigue duty see Suet. *Claud.* 1; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 21.

Nicopolim apud Actium. Nicopolis on the promontory at the entrance of the Ambracian gulf, opposite to that of Actium, was built on the site of Caesar's camp, 3 miles N. of the modern *Prévesa.* Dio 50, 12 κατέλαβε τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἡ Νικόπολις ἐστι. *id.* 51, 1 πόλιν τινὰ ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ ...συνῴκισε, Νικόπολιν αὐτῇ ὄνομα δούς. Inhabitants were found for it by removing the people from Aetolia [Paus. 7, 18, 8; 10, 38, 4], Ambracia and Anactorium [*id.* 5, 23, 3], and Cassopeia [Strabo 7, 7, 6], and the remaining townships of Acarnania were made hamlets of it [Strab. 10, 2, 2].

apud Actium, 'in the neighbourhood of Actium.'

ludos quinquennales. Dio 51, 1 ἀγῶνά τέ τινα καὶ μουσικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν ἱπποδρομίας τε πεντετηρικὸν ἱερὸν...κατέδειξεν. Similar quinquennial games were also established near Alexandria at a place also called Nicopolis, where he conquered Antony [Strabo 17, 1, 10; *C. I. G.* 5804].

ampliato...consecravit. According to Strabo [7, 7, 6] the naval trophy was near the temple of Actian Apollo, on the promontory of Actium (mod. *la Punta*), opposite to Nicopolis, οἰκοῦσι τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀκτίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐνταῦθά ἐστι πλησίον τοῦ στόματος, λόφος τις, ἐν ᾧ ὁ νεώς, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ πεδίον ἕλσος ἔχον καὶ νεώρια, ἐν οἷς ἀνέθηκε Καῖσαρ τὴν δεκαναῦαν ἀκροθίνιον, ἀπὸ μονοκρότου μέχρι δεκήρους. But Dio mentions a temple of Apollo open to the sky in Nicopolis itself, or rather on the hill above it, on the spot on which Caesar's tent had stood, also adorned with beaks of ships, [51, 1] τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνωσε, λίθοις τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἕδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἱδρυσάμενος. No

19 Tumultus posthac et rerum novarum initia coniurationesque complures, prius quam invalescerent indicio detectas, compressit alias alio tempore: Lepidi iuvenis, deinde Varronis Murenae et Fanni Caepionis, mox M.

Conspiracies during the reign.

other authority mentions the dedication to Neptune and Mars. The dedication to Neptune was perhaps an *amende honorable* for the defiance mentioned in c. 16. An epigram of Philip of Thessalonika [*Anthol.* 6, 236], who lived in the 1st century A.D., mentions the naval trophy

Ἔμβολα χαλκογένεια, φιλόπλοα τεύχεα νηῶν,
Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου κείμεθα μαρτύρια.

19. **tumultus ... coniurationesque.** Cicero in the *Eighth Philippic* discusses the difference between a *tumultus* and a *bellum* [§§ 2—4], and concludes that a *tumultus* cannot exist without a *bellum*, though the converse may. *Itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant.* However, the generally accepted distinction was that a *tumultus* existed when men were in arms in Italy, though there was no *hostis* or foreign enemy, and the citizens causing it had not been declared *hostes*. See Livy 2, 26 of a movement of the Sabines, *tumultus fuit verius quam bellum. id.* 7, 9 *tumultus Gallicus. id.* 32, 26 *servilis tumultus.*

The conspiracies and other disturbances alluded to are

(1) **Lepidi iuvenis.** M. Aemilius Lepidus, son of the triumvir, had sufficient motives for conspiracy against Augustus. His father's disgrace and enforced retirement since B.C. 36 may well have rankled in his mind, and his mother *Iunia*, sister of M. Brutus, could have no love for Caesar. But of the particulars of the plot we have no information. According to Appian [*B. civ.* 4, 50] he was prosecuted by Maecenas and sent by the consul Balbinus to Augustus at Actium, and there executed by his order. But no consul of that name is recorded in the Fasti, and if he is identified, as has been done by some, with L. Saenius, consul from Nov. 1, B.C. 30, then the despatch of the prisoner to Augustus at *Actium* cannot be true. Livy [*ep.* 133] seems to put it after the triumph of B.C. 29. Velleius [2, 88] says it took place *dum ultimam bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Caesar imponit manum*, and describes Lepidus as *iuvenis forma quam mente melior.* The plot was said to be to assassinate Augustus on his return from Egypt. See also Dio 54, 15; Seneca *de Clem.* 1, 9, 6; *Dialog.* 10, 4, 5.

(2) **Varronis Murenae et Fanni Caepionis.** Of this conspiracy again we hardly know anything. A. Licinius Murena, called, after his adoption by Terentius Varro, A. Terentius Varro Murena [Wilmanns 1712], was the brother of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, and of the Proculeius celebrated by Horace [*Od.* 2, 2, 6], who had shared his property with him when reduced to poverty by some means during the civil war. In B.C. 25 he had led a successful expedition against the Salassi and founded the town Augusta, mod. *Aosta* [Dio 53, 25; Strabo 4, 6, 7]. He was also a member of the College of Augurs [Hor. *Od.* 3, 19, 11], perhaps as a reward. His conspiracy with Caepio, for which he was executed in B.C. 22, seems probably connected with the more autocratic form of the Empire established in B.C. 23, in which he was Consul. Velleius Paterc. 2, 91 *erant tamen qui hunc felicissimum statum odissent; quippe L. Murena et Fannius Caepio diversis moribus* (*nam Murena sine hoc facinore potuit videri bonus, Caepio et ante hoc erat pessimus*) *cum inissent occidendi Caesaris consilia, oppressi auctoritate publica, quod vi facere voluerunt iure passi sunt.* Perhaps Murena's complicity was much in the way of rash talk, for he καὶ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἔχρητο, as to which Horace is supposed to be giving him a gentle hint in the Ode addressed to him [2, 10]. It was also perhaps accentuated by physical causes, for he was *gibberosus*, Suet. *de Gramm.* 9. One consequence of the affair was a coolness between Augustus and Maecenas, the latter being believed to have communicated some secrets to his wife Terentia in the matter of her brother. See infr. c. 66; cp. Dio 54, 19. Of Caepio we know nothing more than what Velleius tells us. He was accused by Tiberius, see Suet. *Tib.* 8 *Fannium Caepionem qui cum Varrone Muraena*

Egnati, exin Plauti Rufi Lucique Pauli progeneri sui, ac praeter has L. Audasi, falsarum tabularum rei ac neque aetate neque corpore integri, item Asini Epicadi ex gente Parthina ibridae, ad extremum Telephi, mulieris servi nomen-
5 culatoris. Nam ne ultimae quidem sortis hominum con-

in Augustum conspiraverat reum maiestatis apud iudices fecit et condemnavit.

(3) **M. Egnati.** M. Egnatius Rufus was Aedile in B.C. 20, and distinguished his year of office by liberality to the citizens who had suffered from the fires so frequent in Rome, *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τά τε ἀναλώματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ προσήκοντα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν καὶ στρατηγὸς παρανόμως ἀποδειχθείς, ἐπήρθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ὑπερεφρόνησεν ὥστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἄθραυστον καὶ ὁλόκληρον τῷ διαδόχῳ τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκεν* [Dio 53, 24]. Augustus snubbed this boastful edict by remarking that it was the duty of the Aedile rather to *prevent* fires; and Velleius [2, 91—2] says that he soon after the fall of Murena, having had the praetorship in the year following his aedileship, and being a candidate for the consulship in the next year, with equal illegality, *adgregatis simillimis sibi interimere Caesarem statuit, ut quo salvo salvus esse non poterat, eo sublato moreretur.* The consul for B.C. 19, C. Sentius Saturninus, refused to receive his name as a candidate, and it was then that he entered into the plot. Velleius [2, 93] says that the crime of Egnatius was three years after that of Murena, and that is the order of events in Seneca *de Clem.* 9, 6. But Dio seems to place it in B.C. 26.

(4) **Plauti Rufi.** This seems to be the same person as the Publius Rufus whom Dio [55, 27] mentions as being accused of abetting disturbances and seditious libels in A.D. 6. There had been great distress in Rome from a failure in the corn supply, intensified by several disastrous fires, and the popular discontent showed itself in many ways...*καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ φανερῶς νεωτεροποιᾷ διελάλουν, πλείω δὲ δὴ βιβλία νύκτωρ ἐξετίθεσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγετο μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς Πουπλίου τινὸς Ῥούφου γίγνεσθαι, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ἐς ἄλλους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ῥοῦφος οὔτ' ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι αὐτῶν οὔτε πρᾶξαι ἐδύνατο, ἕτεροι δὲ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι καταχρώμενοι καινοτομεῖν ἐπιστεύοντο.* He is not known elsewhere, but some coins bear the name of **Plotius Rufus** as a triumvir of the mint.

(5) **Luci Pauli progeneri sui,** 'Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the husband of his granddaughter'; see c. 16. The husband of the younger Iulia, daughter of Agrippa and Caesar's daughter Iulia. He was the son of the Paulus Aemilius Lepidus, censor in B.C. 22, and by his wife Iulia had two children, M. Aemilius Lepidus [Suet. *Cal.* 24; Dio 59, 11], and Aemilia, wife of the emperor Claudius [Suet. *Claud.* 26]. He was consul in A.D. 1. What was the nature of his treason and when it took place we do not know. It may have been connected with his wife's banishment for adultery in A.D. 9.

(6) **L. Audasi...Asini Epicadi...Telephi.** Nothing is known of these persons. Iulia was in the island of Pandateria off the coast of Campania from B.C. 2 to A.D. 3 [Tac. *An.* 1, 53], Agrippa Postumus (son of Agrippa and the elder Iulia) in the island of Planasia, mod. *Pianosa*, near Elba from A.D. 7 [Tac. *An.* 1, 3; Dio 55, 32]. A similar attempt to carry off Agrippa Postumus to the legions in Germany took place immediately after Augustus' death, but he had been already put to death by order probably of Livia [Tac. *An.* 2, 39—40].

falsarum tabularum, 'of forgery,' coming under the *lex Cornelia de falsis.*

gente Parthina, of the Illyrian Parthini, conquered by C. Asinius Pollio in B.C. 39, of whom this man therefore was evidently a freedman.

nomenculatoris. The functions of the nomenclator in Republican times had been generally connected with the candidates for office, see Cic. *de petit.* 25, 32; *pro Muren.* 77; *ad Att.* 4, 1; *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 2. In later times his office was chiefly social, to prevent the great from giving offence,—Iuv. 1. 98; Sen. *Ep.* 19 and 27; *Benef.* 6, 33 § 4; Pliny *N. H.* 29 § 19. For the form of the word cp. Mart. 10, 30, 23 *nomenculator mugilem citat notum.* Suet. *Cal.* 41; *Claud.* 34.

ultimae sortis. Cp. *Cal.* 35 *nullus denique tam abiectae condicionis tam extremae sortis fuit, cuius etc.* Suetonius has omitted among the conspirators Cn.

spiratione et periculo caruit. Audasius atque Epicadus Iuliam filiam et Agrippam nepotem ex insulis, quibus continebantur, rapere ad exercitus, Telephus quasi debitā sibi fato dominatione et ipsum et senatum adgredi destinarant. Quin etiam quondam iuxta cubiculum eius lixa quidam ex Illyrico exercitu, ianitoribus deceptis, noctu deprehensus est cultro venatorio cinctus, imposne mentis an simulatā dementia, incertum; nihil enim exprimi quaestione potuit.

His foreign campaigns (1) Dalmatian

20 Externa bella duo omnino per se gessit, Delmaticum adulescens adhuc, et Antonio devicto Cantabricum. Delmatico etiam vulnera excepit, una acie dextrum genu lapide ictus, altera et crus et utrumque brachium ruina pontis consauciatus. Reliqua per legatos ad-

Cornelius Cinna, the consul of A.D. 4, in regard to whom Dio and Seneca [55, 14—15; *de Ben.* 9] have reported a curious conversation between Augustus and Livia. Seneca asserts that having pardoned Cinna and even given him the consulship, Augustus' life was never attempted again.

quasi, 'who pretended that'; see on c. 6.

ex Illyrico exercitu, the army employed in Illyricum in B.C. 35—34; see next chapter.

20. Delmaticum. The Dalmatian campaigns extended over parts of two years, B.C. 35 and 34. But Augustus was only personally engaged in the former year. The expedition began with an attack upon the Iapodes (Iapudes) who were *foederati*, apparently on the pretext of piracy and the non-payment of tribute. Their capital Metulum (mod. *Möttling*) offered a stout resistance, but other tribes seem to have been more easily subdued. Augustus then extended his campaign by an attack upon the Pannonians, who had given no provocation, in order to exercise his troops and accustom them to live on plunder. Their capital Siscia was taken and Augustus returned victorious to Rome, having accomplished his purpose of drawing a contrast between his own activity in extending and defending the Empire and the inactivity or failure of Antony in the East. The Pannonians revolted next year but were again subdued by the troops left behind under Fufius Geminus [or Vibius, according to Florus 4, 12, 8]. See Dio 49, 35—36; Appian *Illyr.* 16 and 22; Strabo 4, 6, 10; 7, 5, 2. The Dalmatians had as a rule sided with Brutus and Cassius and had before this been subdued by Asinius Pollio in B.C. 39.

Antonio devicto Cantabricum, 'the Cantabrian war which took place after the final defeat of Antony.' The *Cantabri* and *Astures* in Northern Spain were nominally in the Roman province of *Hispania Tarraconensis;* but they were wild and savage highlanders and their submission was merely nominal,—*Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra*, Hor. *Od.* 2, 6, 2. Their offence was as usual the making raids on tribes allied with Rome, and Augustus went in person against them in B.C. 25; but after some time had to retire to Tarraco from ill-health, brought on by anxiety and fatigue. The campaign was continued with somewhat greater success by his legates Gaius Antistius and Titus Carisius, so that at the end of the year there was apparent peace and the temple of Ianus was closed; but the Cantabri soon broke out again and were not subdued by Agrippa till B.C. 19 [Dio 53, 25—6; Strabo 3, 4, 3].

consauciatus, 'badly wounded.'

per legatos. These were (1) in the war against the Dacae and Bastarnae (B.C. 30), **Marcus Crassus**; (2) against the Salassi (B.C. 25), **Terentius Varro Murena**; (3) against transalpine Gauls in B.C. 25, **M. Vicinius**; (4) against the Cantabri in B.C. 22, **Gaius Fannius**, and in B.C. 20—19, **M. Vipsanius Agrippa**; (5) the invasion of Arabia (B.C. 24), **Aelius Gallus**; (6) against Queen Can-

ministravit, ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis atque Germanicis aut interveniret aut non longe abesset, Ravennam vel Mediolanium vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progrediens. Domuit autem partim ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Delmatiam cum Illyrico omni, item Raetiam et Vindelicos ac Salassos, gentes Inalpinas. Coercuit et Dacorum incursiones, tribus eorum ducibus cum

B.C. 35, (2) Cantabrian B.C. 25. 21 (3) Aquitani, (4) Pannoni, (5) Dal-

dace of Aethiopia in B.C. 22, **Gaius Petronius**; (7) against Alpine tribes and Pannonians in B.C. 17—15, **P. Silius**; against the Bessi, **Marcellus Lollius**; against the Sarmatians, **L. Gaius**; against the German tribes on the Rhine, **M. Lollius**; (8) in B.C. 15—13 Augustus' stepsons **Tiberius** and **Drusus** against the Rhaeti; in B.C. 12 Tiberius subdued the Pannonians, Drusus the Sicambri, Frisii and Chauci; and in B.C. 11—10 Drusus continued his invasion of Germany, Tiberius his campaign in Dalmatia and Pannonia (B.C. 11); and **Lucius Piso** chastised the Bessi. In B.C. 8 Tiberius was again engaged in Germany. (9) A.D. 2—3, **Caius Caesar** was engaged in the East as legatus of Syria. (10) **P. Quintilius Varus** was defeated at the Saltus Teutoburgiensis A.D. 10.

non longe abesset. In B.C. 20 the news of the inroads of the German Usipetes and Teucteri (on the Rhine about Bonn) and the defeat of Lollius so alarmed Augustus that he set out for Gaul. He did not however actually take part in the campaign, but he remained absent from Rome nearly three years, staying either in Gaul or at some place easily accessible from it [Dio 54, 20]. It is this absence which is referred to by Horace *Odes* 4, 5 *abes iam nimium diu.*

21. partim ductu partim auspiciis suis. The distinction is between those expeditions which Augustus commanded in person and those which, though commanded by others, were under his *auspicia* as head of the army, to whom it pertains to take the auspices before it started. Thus in the M. A. c. 26 of the armies sent to Aethiopia and Arabia he says *meo iussu et* **auspicio** *ducti sunt duo exercitus;* and in c. 30 of the army of the Daci,—*meis* **auspiciis** *profligatus est.* And in c. 4 he draws the same distinction *ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis terra marique prospere gestis etc.*

Cantabriam ... Inalpinas. See note to previous chapter for the dates of these wars.

Aquitania. The Aquitani (the people in the valley of the Garonne and the Landes,—including roughly the departments of the Hautes and Basses Pyrénées) had been it appears defeated by Agrippa in B.C. 38 [App. *B. civ.* 5, 92; Dio 48, 49], before he was recalled to assist his master against Sext. Pompeius, but were not finally subdued until B.C. 28 when M. Valerius Messala Corvinus was granted a triumph for his victory over them when governor of Aquitania. *Fast. Capit.* VII K. Oct. Tibull. 1, 7, 3 *hunc fore Aquitanas posset qui fundere gentes, quem tremeret forti milite victus Atur.* Cp. *id.* 2, 5, 115 sq.

Salassos. The Salassi inhabiting the Val d'Aosta had been first defeated in B.C. 143 by Appius Claudius, but they had continued to harass Roman armies and convoys, though in B.C. 100 Eporedia was established to keep them in check. In the time of Augustus there were three struggles with them: (1) in B.C. 35 when Antistius Vetus failed to subdue them; (2) in B.C. 34 when Messala reduced them to temporary submission; (3) in B.C. 25 when Terentius Varro Murena conquered them and sold 30,000 into slavery [Dio 49, 34, 38; 53, 25; Livy *Ep.* 135]. A Roman colony was then settled called Praetoria Augusta (*Aosta*).

Dacorum incursiones. The Daci or Getae lived on both sides of the Danube, but it seems that the incursions complained of were of the tribes on the left bank who harried Pannonia. The movement among these barbarians had attracted attention at Rome for some time. Iulius Caesar had meant to attack them before going against the Parthians [see c. 8; *Iul.* 44; Appian *B. civ.* 2,

matians, (6) Alpine tribes.

magna copia caesis, Germanosque ultra Albim fluvium summovit, ex quibus Suebos et Sigambros dedentis se traduxit in Galliam atque in proximis Rheno agris conlocavit. Alias item nationes male quietas ad obsequium redegit. Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis 5

110; 3, 25, 37; Liv. *Ep.* 117]. The rumours of their incursions continued to alarm the Romans [Verg. *G.* 2, 497; Horace *Odes* 1, 35, 9; 3, 16, 4; *Sat.* 2, 6, 53]. While in Pannonia (B.C. 35) Augustus attempted to conciliate one of their kings named Cotiso, offering to marry his daughter and promise him the infant Iulia in marriage. Cotiso refused and threw in his lot with Antony [see infr. c. 63; Appian *Illyr.* 22—3; Front. *Strat.* 1, 10, 4; Dio 51, 22; Plut. *Anton.* 63]. After Actium two expeditions at least were carried out with some success against them [M.A. c. 30 *protuli fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvi citra quod Dacorum transgressus exercitus meis auspiciis victus profligatus est, et postea trans Danuvium ductus exercitus meus Dacorum gentes imperia populi Romani perferre coegit*]. The first was in B.C. 29—28, under Marcus Crassus, for which in B.C. 27 he was allowed a triumph *ex Thraecia et Getis* [*C. I. R.* 1,461, Dio 51, 23—27; Hor. *Od.* 3, 8, 18 *occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen;* cp. 2, 9, 23; 2, 20, 19]. The second in B.C. 10, which seems to be the first referred to in the Monumentum, when the Daci crossed to the right bank of the Danube, Dio 54, 36 *οἵ τε καὶ Δακοὶ τὸν Ἴστρον πεπηγότα διαβάντες λείαν ἐκ τῆς Παννονίας ἀπετέμοντο.* Mommsen [*Res g.* p. 130—132] identifies a third with the second mentioned in the Monumentum, in which the Roman army crossed the Danube under Cn. Lentulus; but the date is not ascertainable, though he suggests A.D. 6; see Tac. *Ann.* 4, 44; Dio 55, 30; Strabo 7, 3, 12—13; Florus 4, 12, 18—20. The raids of the northern barbarians were not however wholly stopped; see Ovid *Tr.* 3, 10, 34—65; Suet. *Tib.* 41.

tribus...caesis: that is, three out of four of the chiefs. Strabo 7, 3, 13 *εἰς τέτταρας μυριάδας τυγχάνουσι συνεσταλμένοι.*

Germanos...summovit, 'he thrust the Germans beyond the Elbe,' i.e. the free Germans; that is to say, he made Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe part of a Roman province. M. A. 26 *Gallias et Hispanias et Germaniam qua includit oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fluminis pacavi.* The campaigns in which this was effected were (1) those of Drusus in B.C. 13—9 [Dio 54, 32—6; Livy *Ep.* 139—142], (2) that of Tiberius B.C. 8 [Dio 55, 5; Vell. 2, 97], (3) those of Domitius Ahenobarbus between B.C. 6—A.D. 2 [Dio 55; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 44]. The provinces of Germania Superior and Inferior, however, were on the left bank of the Rhine with fortresses on the right bank, and were at first merely extensions of Gallia Belgica; the territory between the Rhine and the Elbe, though occupied by Roman troops and for a short time regarded as a province, was lost again by the disaster of Varus in A.D. 9 [Flor. 4, 12, 21 *Germaniam quoque utinam tanti non putasset! magis turpiter amissa est quam gloriose acquisita*], and never really recovered. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 59; *Agr.* 15.

Suebos et Sigambros. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* 2, 26 *sic Sugambros in deditionem acceptos, sic Suebos regemque Marobodunum pace obstrictum. Id.* 12, 39 *ut quondam Sugambri excisi aut in Gallias traiecti forent.* The Sigambri in B.C. 8, when Tiberius crossed the Rhine, refused till too late to join other German tribes in making terms, and were transferred to cities on the S. of the Rhine, much against their will, Dio 55, 6 *ὅ τε γὰρ Αὔγουστος συλλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς πόλεις τινὰς κατέθετο καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δυσανασχετήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς κατεχρήσαντο.* Suet. *Tib.* 9 *Germanico* (*bello*) *quadraginta millia dediciorum traiecit in Galliam iuxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus adsignatis collocavit.* Cp. Victor *ep.* 2; Oros. 6, 21, 24; Hor. *Od.* 4, 2, 36; 14, 51.

Suebi was a general name for several warlike tribes in Central Germany and it cannot mean that they were all transferred. The statement must refer to some one tribe of Suebi. An ancient emendation was **Ubios**, but the migration of the *Ubii* was voluntary, though made under the protection of Agrippa. Strabo 4, 3, 4.

sine iustis causis. Yet Dio [49, 36]

bellum intulit, tantumque afuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in aede Martis Ultoris iurare coegerit mansuros se in fide ac pace quam peterent, a quibusdam vero novum genus obsidum, feminas, exigere temptaverit, quod neglegere marum pignora sentiebat; et tamen potestatem semper omnibus fecit, quotiens vellent, obsides recipiendi. Neque aut crebrius aut perfidiosius rebellantis graviore umquam ultus est poena, quam ut captivos sub lege venundaret, ne in vicina regione servirent neve intra tricensimum annum liberarentur. Qua virtutis moderationisque famâ Indos etiam ac Scythas, auditu modo cognitos, pellexit ad amicitiam suam populique Romani ultro per legatos petendam. Parthi quoque et Armeniam vindicanti facile cesserunt et signa militaria, quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio ademerant, reposcenti reddiderunt ob-

He avoids extending the Empire.

Return of the standards by Parthians B.C. 22.

declares the expedition of 35 B.C. against Pannonia to have been unprovoked, *ἔγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἠδίκητο ὑπ' αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.*

quoquo modo, 'in any and every way,' i.e. without distinction. See Roby *L. G.* 2289; Livy 41, 8.

imperium...augendi. In his posthumous memoir Augustus advised his successors not to extend the Empire,—*τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐθελῆσαι· δυσφύλακτόν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι*, Dio 56, 33, who adds *τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄντως ἀεὶ ποτὲ οὐ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησεν· παρὸν γὰρ γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ προσκτήσασθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν.* Tac. *Ann.* 1, 11 *addiderat consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii.*

barbarorum principes. The various chieftains who came to Augustus for aid or protection are enumerated in the Monumentum, c. 32—33.

Martis Ultoris: see c. 29.

feminas. This refers to the Germans, of whom Tacitus [*Germ.* 8] says *quam (captivitatem) longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur.*

sub lege...liberarentur. A condition of this sort was imposed by Terentius Varro on the captive Salassi sold in B.C. 25 *συνέλαβέ τε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀπέδοτο ἐφ' ᾧ μηδεὶς σφῶν ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐλευθερωθείη*, Dio 53, 25. A clause in the contract for the sale of slaves prohibiting their manumission was known to Roman law: Paul. *Dig.* 11, 1, 9—12.

Indos...petendam. M. A. 31 *Ad me ex India regum legationes saepe missae sunt, nunquam antea visae apud quemquam Romanorum ducem. Nostram amicitiam petierunt per legatos Bastarnae Scythaeque et Sarmatarum qui sunt citra flumen Tanaim et ultra reges, Albanorumquè rex et Hiberorum et Medorum.* Horace makes much of this in the *Carmen Saeculare*, 55 [B.C. 17], *iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi nuper et Indi.* Cp. *Od.* 1, 12, 56; Verg. *Georg.* 2, 170. Dio [54, 9] says that these Indians brought tigers for the first time to Rome: Florus [4, 12, 62], that they brought elephants, pearls, and other jewels. Cp. Strabo 15, 1, 4; and other authorities in Mommsen, *Res g.* p. 133. For the **Scythae**, the barbarians between the Danube and the Borysthenes (*Dnieper*), see Victor *Ep.* 2 *ad hunc Indi, Scythae, Garamantes, Aethiopes legatos miserunt;* Flor. 4, 12, 62 *et Scythae misere legatos et Sarmatae amicitiam petentes.*

Armeniam...cesserunt. Armenia, the district of the upper Euphrates to the Caspian, was reduced to the state of a

sidesque insuper optulerunt, denique, pluribus quondam de regno concertantibus, nonnisi ab ipso electum probaverunt.

22 Ianum Quirinum, semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum, in multo breviore temporis spatio terra marique pace partā ter clusit. Bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philippense et rursus post Siculum bellum. Curulis triumphos tris egit, Del-

Closing of Janus B.C. 29 and B.C. 25.

client kingdom by Antony's victory over Artabazes in B.C. 34. Ioseph. 15, 4, 3. About B.C. 20 its king Artaxes was murdered, and Augustus says that he might then have made it a province, but preferred to follow precedent by establishing Tigranes, another son of Artabazes, on the throne. M. A. c. 27; Dio 54, 9; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 3; Vell. Pat. 2, 94, 122. Tiberius was sent to effect this, see Sueton. *Tib.* 9 *regnum Armeniae Tigrani restituit ac pro tribunali diadema imposuit.*

signa...optulerunt. The standards were those lost at Carrhae by Crassus (52): and on two occasions during Antony's operations in the East, (1) when Decidius Saxa, Antony's legatus in Syria, was defeated in B.C. 40 by Pacorus, son of Orodes [Dio 48, 25]; (2) in B.C. 36, when the Medes and Parthians cut to pieces two legions under Oppius Statianus who were in charge of Antony's baggage [Dio 49, 25; Plut. *Ant.* 38]. The standards taken by the Medes were afterwards returned to Antony (B.C. 33), but not those taken by the Parthians [Dio 49, 44]. It is to this double disaster that Horace refers in *Od.* 3, 6, 10 *iam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus non auspicatos contudit impetus nostros et adiecisse praedam torquibus exiguis renidet.* And it is thus that Augustus in the M. A. c. 29 speaks of them as **trium** *exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa.* Their recovery by Augustus was a triumph of diplomacy rather than of arms. The kingdom of Parthia came into the hands of Phraates (s. of Orodes) in B.C. 37: his cruelties raised up a pretender against him in Tiridates, who appears to have been successful for a time. After Actium Phraates was driven to take refuge in Syria, and was so much afraid that Augustus (who granted Tiridates safe harbourage in Syria) should take advantage of this disorder to attack him, that he sent legates to him in B.C. 30 (while he was in Asia) and gave him a son as hostage [Dio 49, 23; 51, 18]. In B.C. 23 however, Tiridates (after apparently farther attempts in Parthia) fled to Rome carrying with him a son of Phraates. Augustus allowed Tiridates to remain in safety; but opened negotiations again with Phraates, sending him back the son who had been living as a hostage at Rome, but on condition of receiving back captives and standards [Dio 53, 33]. Still Phraates did not fulfil the bargain until Augustus came again personally to the East, spending the winter of B.C. 21—20 in Samos, *κἂν τούτῳ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ, ὅτι μηδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τά τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους...ἀπέπεμψεν* [Dio 54, 7—8]. The Roman poets constantly refer to the restitution as part of the warlike triumphs of Augustus: Verg. *Aen.* 7, 605; Hor. *Od.* 4, 5, 16; 4, 15, 4—9; *Ep.* 1, 18, 56; Propert. 3, 10, 13; 4, 4, 16; 4, 5, 48; 4, 12, 3; 5, 6, 79: Liv. *Ep.* 141 *pax cum Parthis facta est, signis a rege eorum, quae sub Crasso et postea sub Antonio capta erant, redditis.* Cp. Iustin. 42, 5, 11.

obsides: besides the one given in B.C. 30 [Dio 51, 18], Strabo tells us that Phraates at the time of the restitution of the standards put into the hands of the legate of Syria four sons, two of them with wives and children; they do not seem however to have been taken to Rome [Strab. 16, 1, 28].

22. Ianum Quirinum...ter clusit. The form *clūdo, clusi*, is late, and is not always used by Suetonius; cp. *Ner.* 47. The two previous occasions of closing Ianus were in the reign of Numa and in B.C. 235 after the 1st Punic War [Liv. 1, 19]. Of the three occasions of its closing under Augustus, two are recorded by Dio: (1) in B.C. 29, among the honours voted to him by the Senate after the fall of Antony [Dio 51, 29; cp. Vell. 2, 38; Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 9; Oros. 6, 20, 8]; (2) in B.C. 25, after the campaign against the Astures and

maticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes. Graves ignominias cladesque duas omnino nec alibi quam in Germania accepit, Lollianam et Varianam, sed Lollianam maioris infamiae quam detrimenti, Varianam paene exitiabilem, tribus legionibus cum duce legatisque et auxiliis omnibus caesis. Hac nuntiata

23

Defeat of Lollius B.C. 17 and *Varus* A.D. 10.

Cantabri [Dio 53, 27; Oros. 6, 21, 1]. The third time is not recorded except by Orosius who puts it in B.C. 2 [6, 22, 1]. The Senate voted for its closure in B.C. 10, but the closing was prevented by the Dacian rebellion [Dio 54, 36]. Mommsen (*Res g.* p. 50) is inclined to put it between the end of the German wars of Drusus and Tiberius, B.C. 8, and the outbreak in Armenia in B.C. 1. The term *Ianus Quirinus* is used also in the Monum. c. 13, and represented in the Greek by Πύλην Ἐνυάλιον, 'gate of Enyo' or 'Bellona.' It was otherwise called *Ianus Geminus* and *Ianus bifrons*. See Hor. *Od.* 4, 15, 9 *Ianum Quirini;* Verg. *Aen.* 7, 607 *geminae belli portae.* The condition of its closure is *cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra mari esset parta victoriis pax* (M. A. *l. c.*).

bis...omnes. M. A. 4 *bis ovans triumphavi, tris egi curules triumphos* Δὶς ἐ[πὶ κέλητος ἐθριάμβευσα], τρὶς ἐφ' ἁρματος. The two ovations were in B.C. 40, after a reconciliation with Antony [Dio 48, 31], and in B.C. 36, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius [Dio 49, 15]. See *C. I. L.* 1, p. 461, Acta Triumph.:

714 IMP • CAESAR • DIVI • F • C • F • III • VIR • R • P • C • OV*ans* • *an* • *dccxiii* • QVOD • PACEM • CVM • M • ANTONIO • FECIT.

718 IMP • CAESAR • DIVI • F • C • F • II • III • VIR • R • P • C • II • A • DCCXVII • OVANS • EX • SICILIA • IDIBVS • NOVEMBR.

An ovation was voted in the Senate to Octavian after the battles near Mutina in B.C. 43 [Cic. *ad Brut.*], but was never celebrated.

Of the three triumphs two were celebrated on the 13th and 15th of August, B.C. 29 DE • DALMATIS • EID • SEX • ... AIGVPTO • XIIX • K • SEPT. [*C. I. L.* vol. 1, p. 478]. The third, on account of the victory of Actium, was probably on the 12th or the intervening 14th. All authorities agree in the number three. Liv. *Ep.* 133; Macrob. *Sat.* 1, 12, 35; Verg. *Aen.* 8, 714, where Servius says *primo die triumphavit exercitus qui Antonium vicerat navali bello. Secundo qui Delmatas vicerat. Tertio ipse cum Alexandrino est ingressus triumpho.* Dio [51, 22] however puts the order (1) Dalmatian, (2) Actian, (3) Egyptian, as Suetonius does. For the distinction between the *ovatio* and *triumphus* see Gellius, 5, 6.

23. Lollianam... Varianam. The first disaster was in B.C. 16, when the Sigambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri crossed the Rhine into Roman Germany and Gaul and inflicted a defeat on the Roman cavalry under M. Lollius, the legatus in Gaul, in which affair the Eagle of the 5th legion was lost, Dio 54, 20; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 10. Of Lollius, see Vellei. 2, 97 *homine in omnia pecuniae quam recte faciendi cupidiore*, though Horace (*Od.* 4, 9, 32—40) says the reverse. It was this disaster that led to Augustus spending nearly three years in or near Gaul [Hor. *Od.* 4, 5].

The **clades Variana** was much more serious. P. Quintilius Varus was appointed legatus of the army in Germany in A.D. 7, and seems to have regarded the district between the Rhine and the Elbe as completely reduced to form a part of the Roman province. He was *ingenio mitis moribus quietus* and more fitted for the Court than the camp. His character in regard to money was bad; he had been governor of Syria,—*quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem reliquit;* and it seems to have been his severe measures in levying taxes that raised up the national movement under Arminius. In the Saltus Teutoburgiensis (*Lippischer Wald*) he was caught, and he and three legions were cut to pieces, A.D. 9 [Dio 56, 18—22; Vell. 2, 117—120; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 60, 61, 71; Flor. 4, 12, 26—39]. The victories of Tiberius in Pannonia prevented for the present serious consequences to the Empire beyond the loss of Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe, see Suet. *Tib.* 16—17.

excubias per urbem indixit, ne quis tumultus existeret, et praesidibus provinciarum propagavit imperium, ut a peritis et assuetis socii continerentur. Vovit et magnos ludos Iovi Optimo Maximo, si res p. in meliorem statum vertisset: quod factum Cimbrico Marsicoque bello erat. Adeo denique consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses barbā capilloque summisso caput interdum foribus illideret, vociferans: *Quintili Vare, legiones redde!* diemque cladis[1] quot annis
24 maestum habuerit ac lugubrem. In re militari et commutavit multa et instituit, atque etiam ad antiquum morem nonnulla revocavit.

Military discipline.

Disciplinam severissime rexit: ne legatorum quidem cuiquam, nisi gravate hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxorem intervisere. Equitem Romanum,

excubias. Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 9, 159 *excubiae diurnae sunt, vigiliae nocturnae.*

propagavit imperium, 'prolonged their command,' that there might be no change in the legati of the provinces while there was danger of a panic. *propagare* is used for the more common *prorogare* in Livy [23, 25 *C. Terentio consuli propagari in annum imperium*] in very similar circumstances.

a peritis et assuetis. Men who had had experience of their subjects, and to whom their subjects had grown accustomed. Tiberius made this a regular part of his policy: see Suet. *Tib.* 41; and Augustus from the first limited the holding a province not by time, but according to his pleasure, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἑαυτῷ δόξοι, Dio 53, 13.

magnos ludos, 'Great Games,' such as the *Ludi Magni* or *Romani*, celebrated on the 4th of September in the Circus Maximus.

Cimbrico Marsicoque. The Cimbric war, B.C. 105—101. The Marsic or Social war, B.C. 90—88. This is, I believe, the only extant authority for the vowing of Games in these wars.

barba capilloque summisso. Cp. *Iul.* 67 *milites...diligebat quoque usque adeo ut, audita clade Tituriana, barbam capillumque summiserit nec ante dempserit quam vindicasset.*

24. et commutavit multa et instituit. For the changes in the army initiated by Augustus see Mommsen, *Res g.* p. 68 sq., Marquardt, XI. 159, and the authorities quoted by him. The chief changes were (1) as to the number of legions. It is calculated that after Actium and the fall of Antony he had fifty at his disposal. To diminish the vast armaments maintained during the civil war was his first care. The number was reduced to eighteen, according to Mommsen, according to others twenty-three [see E. G. Hardy in *Journal of Philology*, vol. 22, no. 45, and Dio 55, 23], until it was raised again to twenty-six on the Pannonian rising in B.C. 6. (2) The most important change perhaps was that each legion was put under the command of a *legatus*, as a deputy of the Emperor, distinct from the legatus of a province. There was no imperator of a whole army in any district to whom the *sacramentum* was taken; that would now be taken only to the Emperor. (3) Certain changes in the officering of the legions followed from the fact that they were generally stationed permanently in some province [Tac. *Ann.* 4, 5] with a permanent *castra*. The *praefectus castrorum* therefore became an important officer. (4) The *praetoria cohors*, always existing in the army, was now organised as a bodyguard of the Emperor and was stationed in and near Rome. (5) The *cohortes urbanae* under the orders of the *praefectus urbi*, and the *cohortes vigilum*, performed various police duties in the city [Tac. *H.* 3, 64; Dio 55, 26]. For further changes as to service and pensions see c. 49.

quod duobus filiis adulescentibus causa detrectandi sacramenti pollices amputasset, ipsum bonaque subiecit hastae; quem tamen, quod inminere emptioni publicanos videbat, liberto suo addixit, ut relegatum in agros pro libero esse sineret. Decimam legionem contumacius parentem cum ignominia totam dimisit, item alias immodeste missionem postulantes citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum exauctoravit. Cohortes, si quae cessissent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit. Centuriones statione deserta, itidem ut manipulares, capitali animadversione puniit, pro cetero delictorum genere variis ignominis adfecit, ut stare per totum diem iuberet ante praetorium, interdum tunicatos discinctosque, nonnumquam

detrectandi sacramenti. Since B.C. 80, a term of military service had ceased to be a condition for obtaining office. But the old obligation of service when an *imperator* held a levy remained [Dio 56, 23]. But as the legions came to be more and more recruited in the provinces a levy in Italy became rare. Moreover, as a rule, enough men were found willing to volunteer.

hastae: the full phrase *auctio hastae* in *Iul.* 50.

in agros: the mildest form of *relegatio*, whereby a man was not bound to leave Italy. Livia in her speech to Augustus indicates the various degrees of *relegatio*, τί γὰρ ἂν ἀδικήσειέ τις ἐς νῆσον κατακλεισθεὶς ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ πόλει τέ τινι; Dio 55, 20.

decimam legionem. The tenth legion formed part of the army in the province of Syria in A.D. 18 [Tac. *A.* 2, 57]. It was therefore either forgiven, or a fresh legion enrolled with the same number. It is called *Decima Fretensis*, which Mommsen (*Res g.* p. 69, note 5) supposes to have arisen from its once serving under Sextus Pompeius in the Straits.

cum ignominia opp. to *honesta missio*. **citra...exauctoravit**, 'discharged from full service without the good-service money due to men who had served their full time.' The *exauctoratio* might be honourable or the reverse; in either case it was not a full *missio* [Tac. *An.* 1, 17 *apud vexillum tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre*], and the *exauctorati* were not necessarily entitled to the *praemia militiae* accruing after *vicena stipendia:* Marq. XI. p. 184. See Tac. *A.* 1, 36 *igitur volutatis inter se rationibus placitum ut epistolae nomine principis scriberentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis, exauctorari qui sena dena fecissent.* Cp. *Tib.* 30; *Nero* 32; *Vitell.* 10; *Vesp.* 8; Tac. *H.* 1, 20. For **commoda praemiorum**, 'the bounty,' at the *missio*, see c. 49. *Cal.* 44 *commoda emeritae militiae ad DC milium summam recidit.* Brutus et Cassius ad Cic. *fam.* 11, 2 § 3 *quod de commodis veteranorum laturus esses.* Augustus fixed it at 5000 denarii at the end of 16 years' service for the Praetorians; and 3000 denarii at the end of 20 years' service in the legions, Dio 55, 23. **citra** in silver Latin = 'without.' See *Iul.* 28; infr. c. 43; Roby *L. Gr.* 1876.

decimatas hordeo pavit, 'He had every tenth man executed and served out rations of barley (instead of wheat) to the rest.' A very ancient military punishment; Livy 27, 13 *Marcellus... cohortibus quae signa amiserant hordeum dari iussit.* For the *decimatio* see Polyb. 6, 38; Suet. *Galb.* 12; and its rarity Tac. *An.* 3, 21; it was specially inflicted for loss of a standard, Livy 2, 59.

statione deserta. Any dereliction in the matter of keeping guard was punished by the *fustuarium*. A Tribunus touched the offender with a rod and then he had to run the gauntlet of the whole army, Polyb. 6, 37. Livy 5, 6 *fustuarium meretur qui signa reliquit aut praesidio decedit.*

tunicatos discinctosque, 'without the sagum or the sword belt.' Livy 27, 13 *centuriones manipulorum, quorum signa amissa fuerant, destrictis gladiis discinctos destituit.* As a sign of mourning see infr. c. 100. See the opposite, *Vitell.* 11 *urbem...introiit paludatus ferroque succinctus,...sagulatis*

25 cum decempedis, vel etiam cespitem portantes. Neque post bella civilia aut in contione aut per edictum ullos militum commilitones appellabat, sed milites, ac ne a filiis quidem aut privignis suis imperio praeditis aliter appellari passus est, ambitiosius id existimans, quam aut ratio militaris aut tem- 5 porum quies aut sua domūsque suae maiestas postularet. Libertino milite, praeterquam Romae incendiorum causa et si tumultus in graviore annonā metueretur, bis usus est: semel ad praesidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium, iterum ad tutelam ripae Rheni fluminis; eosque, servos adhuc viris 10 feminisque pecuniosioribus indictos ac sine morā manumissos, sub priore vexillo habuit, neque aut commixtos cum ingenuis aut eodem modo armatos.

comitibus ac detectis commilitonum gladiis.

25. neque...commilitones appellabat. Contrary to the habit of Iulius; see *Iul.* 67 *nec milites eos pro contione sed blandiore nomine commilitones appellabat.* So Galba to the soldiers attacking him, *Quid agitis, commilitones? Galb.* 20. And Pompey while being rowed on shore in Egypt attempted to conciliate Septimius by saying *οὐ δὴ πού σε ἐγὼ γεγονότα συστρατιώτην ἐμὸν ἀμφιγνοῶ*; Plut. *Pomp.* 79.

libertino...bis usus est, 'he employed freedmen in the army (other than the *urbanae cohortes* on special occasions) only twice.' The old rule of course confined service in the army to citizens. Yet in times of stress freedmen or slaves manumitted for the occasion had been several times enrolled. See for examples Livy 22, 57; 23, 32, 35; 24, 14; 25, 20; 27, 38. During the civil wars both sides had availed themselves of the practice. Thus Marius formed a corps from slaves to whom he gave liberty [Plut. *Sull.* 9; *Mar.* 41]; Pompey [Caes. *B. civ.* 1, 24], Labienus [*B. Afr.* 19], Cn. Pompeius [App. *B. civ.* 2, 103], Brutus [Plut. *Brut.* 45], Sext. Pompeius [App. *B. civ.* 5, 131], all did the like. Augustus had shown his sentiments on the subject by returning some of the slaves in the army of Sext. Pompeius to their masters. The two occasions of his employing libertini here mentioned are:

(1) At the Pannonian rising, A.D. 6, see Dio 55, 31 *πέμπει τὸν Γερμανικὸν καίτοι ταμιεύοντα στρατιώτας οἱ οὐκ εὐγενεῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξελευθέρους δούς.*

(2) After the fall of Varus, A.D. 9, see Dio 55, 23 *ἀποκληρώσας δὲ ἔκ τε τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ὅσους ἠδυνήθη κατέλεξε.* Cp. Tac. *A.* 1, 31.

incendiorum causa. See c. 30. Dio 55, 26 *ἐπειδή τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη ἄνδρας τε ἐξελευθέρους ἐπταχῇ πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο.*

indictos. He levied [cp. *indicere multam*] a certain number of slaves from the richer families. That is, these persons had to supply a certain number of slaves for the army, who were at once manumitted. Cp. *Ner.* 44 *mox tribus urbanas ad sacramentum citavit, ac nullo idoneo respondente certum dominis servorum numerum indixit.* The immense number of slaves kept by rich Romans at this time offered a ready recruiting ground in an emergency, especially when *familiae* of gladiators were trained. As to the number of slaves kept see Plin. *N. H.* 33, 1 *mancipiorum legiones et in domo turba externa ac servorum quoque causa nomenclator adhibendus.* Senec. *de Tranq.* 8. In 49 B.C. Domitius Ahenobarbus was able to man seven *naves actuarias colonis suis* [Caes. *B. civ.* 1, 34].

servos adhuc, 'before manumission.'

sub priore vexillo, 'he kept them in separate cohorts, in which they had been originally enrolled.' Such cohorts were called *voluntariae.* Cp. Macrob. *Sat.* 1, 11, 33 *Caesar Augustus in Germania et Illyrico cohortes libertinorum complures legit, quas voluntarias appellavit.* Cp. Liv. 22, 57 *prius sciscitantes vellentne militare* (whereas citizens had

Dona militaria, aliquanto facilius phaleras et torques, quicquid auro argentoque constaret, quam vallares ac murales coronas, quae honore praecellerent, dabat; has quam parcissime et sine ambitione ac saepe etiam caligatis tribuit. M. Agrippam in Sicilia post navalem victoriam caeruleo vexillo donavit. Solos triumphales, quamquam et socios expeditionum et participes victoriarum suarum, numquam donis impertiendos putavit, quod ipsi quoque ius habuissent tribuendi ea quibus vellent. Nihil autem minus perfecto duci quam festinationem temeritatemque convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaque illa iactabat: Σπεῦδε βραδέως. Ἀσφαλὴς γάρ ἐστ' ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης. Et, *Sat celeriter fieri quidquid fiat satis bene.* Proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam damni metus ostenderetur. Nam minima commoda non minimo sectantis discrimine similes aiebat esse aureo hamo piscantibus, cuius abrupti damnum nullā capturā pensari posset.

Military rewards.

His caution.

then no choice). **vexillum** = *cohors.* Cp. Tac. *A.* 3, 21 *vexillum veteranorum non amplius quingenti numero.*

eodem modo armatos, like other '*auxilia*' such *cohortes* would be *leves* [Tac. *Ann.* 1, 51]. They were armed with the *spatha* (long sword) and the *hasta* instead of the *gladius* and *pilum.* Marq. XI. p. 192.

phaleras et torques. For these military rewards see Polyb. 6, 39, who however says that *phalerae* were given to a man in the cavalry, a *cup* to one in the infantry. The condition was the having slain and stripped an enemy in the field. Cp. *Bell. Hisp.* 26 *Caesar ob virtutem turmae Cassianae donavit millia xiii et praefecto torques aureos.* Cp. Tac. *Ann.* 2, 9. From c. 43 Augustus seems rather to have undervalued such rewards.

vallares ac murales. The former to the man who first mounted the vallum of a camp, the latter to him who first mounted a city wall. [Polyb. *l. c.*; Gellius 5, 6; Valer. Max. 1, 8, 6; Livy 26, 48.] These rewards are all mentioned in an inscription in honour of a soldier of the 11th legion, L. ACONIO... AB • IMP • TRAIANO • AUG • GERM • OB • BELLUM • DACIC • TORQIB • ARMILL • PHALERIS • CORONA • VALLAR...DONATO. Wilmanns 1589. Cp. *ib.* 1598, 1607. In *id.* 1615 a certain M. Vergilius Lasius is said to have been DONATUS • HASTIS • PURIS • DUABUS • ET • CORONIS • AUREIS • AB • DIVO • AUGUSTO • ET • TIB • CAESARE. Cp. *id.* 1616.

sine ambitione, 'without respect of persons,' 'without any design of winning favour.' **caligatis** 'common soldiers.' *Vit.* 7; Iuv. 3, 322; 16, 24.

M. Agrippam in Sicilia. See on c. 16. **caeruleo vexillo,** 'sea blue' as a sign of a naval victory. Velleius [2, 81] says that he gave him a *corona classica insigne quo nemo unquam Romanorum donatus est.* And Dio [49, 14] describes it as a στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐμβόλοις ἠσκημένον, and a special decree was passed authorising him to wear it whenever triumphal ornaments were worn. The blue flag according to Dio was given after Actium [51, 21 σημείῳ κυανοειδεῖ ναυκρατητικῷ προσεπεσέμνυνε]. For the presentation of a vexillum, see Wilmanns 1620, T • PONTIUS...DONATUS... A • DIVO • TRAIANO • HASTA • PURA • VEXILLO • CORONA • MURALI. Cp. 1625.

σπεῦδε βραδέως, *festina lente,* 'more haste less speed.' Aul. Gell. 10, 11.

ἀσφαλὴς.....στρατηλάτης, Eurip. *Phoeniss.* 602.

aureo hamo piscantes. The Em-

26 Magistratus atque honores et ante tempus et quosdam novi generis perpetuosque cepit. Consulatum vicesimo aetatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missisque qui sibi nomine exercitus deposcerent; cum quidem cunctante senatu Cornelius centurio, princeps legationis, reiecto sagulo ostendens gladii capulum, non dubitasset in curiā dicere: *Hic faciet, si vos non feceritis.* Secundum consulatum post novem annos,

1st Consulship, August B.C. 43.

peror Mauricius in his *στρατηγικὰ* 8, 1 *οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν χρυσῷ δελεαζομένων*. A corresponding proverb is in Thucyd. 5, 16, 3 *ἀργυρέᾳ εὐλάκᾳ εὐλάξειν* foretelling a dearth.

pensari, used in the silver age for *compensari*.

26. magistratus...cepit. The consulship in August B.C. 43 when he was in his 20th year, having already by two Senatus Consulta been invested first with pro-praetorial rank and then the *consularia ornamenta* and *imperium* [*C. I. L.* 10, 8375, *VII Idus Ian.* 20 *die Caesar primum fasces sumpsit*]. In December of the same year he became *triumvir r. p. c.* It is however doubtful whether the law as regards the age for holding magistracies applied to extraordinary commissions of this sort. His election into the College of Pontifices soon after the battle of Pharsalus, when he was perhaps still *praetextatus*, or immediately after taking the *toga virilis*, was not against precedent. See Livy 40, 42; 42, 28. Mommsen [*Staatsr.* vol. II.] has shown that the condition as to age for the magistracies depended on and was consequential to the age at which the Quaestorship could be held. A power of suspending the rules had always been held to belong to the Senate, and had been exercised in several cases as in that of Scipio [Polyb. 10, 4] and Pompey in B.C. 70 [Cic. *de imp. Pomp.* § 62]; and therefore Augustus may have justified on constitutional grounds his eleven consulships between 43—23 B.C., all of which were while he was under the consular age, by the *S'tum* proposed by Cicero on the 1st of January 43, *eius rationem, quemcunque magistratum petet, ita haberi, ut haberi liceret, si anno superiore quaestor fuisset.* Cic. 5 *Phil.* § 47. After B.C. 30 the rules seem to have been altered, and the ages for office to have been settled as, for the Quaestorship 25th year, Aedileship or Tribunate 27th year, Praetorship 30th year, Consulship 33rd year. But dispensations were frequent.

novi...generis...perpetuosque. Augustus in the M. A. 5 says that the consulship *annuus et perpetuus* was offered him [apparently in B.C. 22] but that he refused it. The offices of a 'new kind' may refer to the *proconsulare imperium*, the *potestas tribunicia, morum praefectura*, and the *principatus*. These may perhaps come under *honores;* but Augustus always held that he was only first in *rank*, in *power* was on a par with his colleagues, M. A. c. 34 *ἀξιώματι πάντων διήνεγκα ἐξουσίας δὲ οὐδέν τι πλεῖον ἔσχον τῶν συναρξάντων μοι.*

admotis hostiliter, i.e. after the battle of Mutina and the refusal of the consulship by the influence of the party of assassins. App. *B. civ.* 3, 82, 86.

hic faciet...feceritis. The same story is told of the emissaries of Iulius in B.C. 50 by Plutarch [*Pomp.* 58]. Dio [46, 43] gives it rather differently ...*εἷς τις αὐτῶν ἐξῆλθέ τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τὸ ξίφος λαβὼν (ἄοπλοι γὰρ ἐσεληλύθησαν) ἤψατό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἂν ὑμεῖς τὴν ὑπατείαν μὴ δῶτε τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦτο δώσει.* 'If that's your method of persuasion,' said Cicero, 'he will get it.' Appian [*B. civ.* 3, 82] says nothing of the threat but represents the application as part of an intrigue with Cicero, who supported it with the idea of being the young man's colleague himself.

secundum...tertium. Augustus was Consul for the second time in B.C. 33, for the third time B.C. 31. As the triumvirate legally terminated Dec. 31 B.C. 33 there was an interval of a year in which he would naturally not have had *imperium*. But this he never laid down, and still kept up the right of seating himself between the two consuls as though sharing with them the supreme

tertium anno interiecto gessit, sequentis usque ad undecimum continuavit, multisque mox, cum deferrentur, recusatis duodecim magno, id est septemdecim annorum, intervallo et rursus tertium decimum biennio post ultro petiit, ut C. et Lucium filios amplissimo praeditus magistratu suo quemque tīrōcinio deduceret in forum. Quinque medios consulatus a sexto ad decimum annuos gessit, ceteros aut novem aut sex aut quattuor aut tribus mensibus, secundum vero paucissimis horis. Nam die Kal. Ian. cum mane pro aede Capitolini Iovis paululum curuli sellā praesedisset, honore abiit suffecto alio in locum suum. Nec omnes Romae, sed quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone iniit.

Subsequent Consulships.

Sometimes taken up abroad.

Triumviratum rei p. constituendae per decem annos 27

power [Dio 50, 2 ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἰζήσας. Cp. 54, 10].

sequentis...continuavit. He was consul every year from B.C. 29 to B.C. 23; but in the first and last of these only for the first four or six months of the year.

C. et L. filios. Gaius and Lucius were the sons of Agrippa by Iulia d. of Augustus, see on c. 64.

tirocinio...forum. For the importance attached to the *deductio in forum* or *tirocinium fori* of the youths about to assume the *toga virilis* in the imperial families, see *Tib.* 15 and 54; *Calig.* 10; *Nero* 7; *Claud.* 2; M. A. 14 *ex eo die quo deducti sunt in forum ut interessent publicis consiliis decrevit senatus*... For the sacrifice on the Capitol, Valer. Max. 5, 4, 4.

annuos, 'throughout the year,' *annuum mihi tempus des*, Nep. *Them.* 9. From B.C. 28—24 he was consul all through the year.

secundum...paucissimis horis, Dio 49, 43 ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν ὑπατείαν (ἦρξε γὰρ μετὰ Λουκίου τοῦ Τούλλου δεύτερον) τῇ πρώτῃ εὐθὺς ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τρόπον ἀπείπε. Antony had done the same in the previous year [*id.* 49, 39]. The reason seems to have been that their common position as triumvirs made the holding of the consulship by one or the other a source of difficulty, and neither was as yet prepared for an open breach.

alio, P. Autronius Paetus, B.C. 33.

quartum in Asia, B.C. 30. Augustus spent the Winter of B.C. 31—30 in Asia preparing for his attack on Antony and Cleopatra. Dio 51, 5.

quintum in...Samo, B.C. 29. After the fall of Antony (30) Augustus did not return to Italy till the Summer of B.C. 29, his triumphs taking place in September of that year. He wintered at Samos, τοῦ δὲ δὴ θέρους ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεραιώθη, Dio 51, 21.

octavum et nonum Tarracone, B.C. 26 and 25. Augustus was engaged in these years in the Cantabrian war, see c. 20. In B.C. 27 he was in Gaul intending to cross to Britain, but was detained by disturbances among the Gauls...κἀντεῦθεν ἔς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκείνην [Dio 53, 22]. He must therefore have arrived at Tarraco before 1 January B.C. 26. Suetonius remarks on his entering upon his consulship away from Rome, as it was unusual; yet there had been several precedents, as Flaminius in B.C. 217 (Liv. 21, 63) and Marius on more than one occasion.

27. triumviratum...administravit. The triumvirate upon which Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus entered 27 November B.C. 43 by the *lex Titia* expired on 31 December B.C. 38 [see Fasti Colotani *C. I. L.* 1, p. 466 M. Aemilius M. Antonius Imp. Caesar III VIR·R·P·C·EX·A·D·V·KAL·DEC·AD·PR·K·IAN·SEXT·]. But when that term

administravit; in quo restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit. Namque illis in multorum saepe personam per gratiam et preces exorabilibus, solus magnopere contendit ne cui parceretur, proscripsitque etiam C. Toranium tutorem suum, eundem collegam patris sui Octavi in aedilitate. Iunius Saturninus hoc amplius tradit, cum peracta proscriptione M. Lepidus in senatu excu-

Triumvirs 1 Jan. 42—31 Dec. 38 B.C. 1 Jan. 37—31 December B.C. 33.

arrived they did not lay down their office and in the Spring of B.C. 37 agreed to keep it for five years more, apparently without a *lex*. See App. *B. civ.* 5, 95 [of the negociations at Tarentum] *ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἔληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς ᾗ τοῖς τρισὶν ἐψήφιστο ἀνδράσιν, ἑτέραν ἑαυτοῖς ὥριζον πενταετίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντες.* Dio 48, 54 *ἑαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἐπέτρεψαν.* It will be observed that when this arrangement was made, whether in the Winter according to Dio or the Spring according to Appian, the triumvirate had already expired. The triumvirs simply did not lay down their *imperium*, and agreed entirely between themselves upon a further term of holding it. It is an illustration of the Roman constitutional practice that for an office to become vacant the actual holder must formally lay it down. It is true that in the ordinary annual magistracies the term was so strictly fixed that no one could venture to refuse to perform the act of abdication, but in extraordinary offices, such as the decemvirate, or this triumvirate, the case was less clear; and at any rate the triumvirs availed themselves of the doubt, and even when the second term arrived [31 Dec. B.C. 33] appear not to have abdicated. Augustus, however, does not own to this second extension. M. A. c. 7 *τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγενόμην δημοσίων πραγμάτων κατορθωτὴς συνεχέσιν ἔτεσιν δέκα.* See Mommsen *Staatsr.* vol. IV. p. 431.

in quo...exercuit. The first list contained only seventeen names [App. *B. civ.* 4, 6] and the consul Pedius assured the terrified nobles that the list was definitive. But when the triumvirs arrived and the law was passed for their legal establishment [Nov. 27], on the next morning a fresh edict was fixed up in the Forum announcing the resolution of the triumvirs of putting to death those who had joined in the murder of Iulius or approved it or continued their opposition to themselves [App. *l. c.* 4, 8—11]. The number of the names proscribed is spoken of by Livy *Ep.* 120 as *cxxx senatores et plurimi equites.* Appian says about 300 senators and 2000 equites. Livy may be referring to the number that actually perished, for many escaped to Brutus and Cassius or Sext. Pompeius. See Appendix D. As to the part taken by Augustus it was inevitable that a writer like Velleius [2, 66] should minimise it and lay the blame on Antony...*repugnante Caesare sed frustra adversus duos.* But Plutarch [*Ant.* 21] also says that most blame was thought to attach to Antony...*πρεσβύτερος ὢν Καίσαρος Λεπίδου δὲ δυνατώτερος*: while Dio [47, 7] declares that the chief fault lay with Antony or Lepidus, and makes the weighty remark that Augustus was too young to have incurred or conceived numerous enmities; and he goes on to relate instances in which he preserved certain of the proscribed. Appian, however, makes no distinction in the guilt of the three.

C. Toranium tutorem suum. The action of Augustus in regard to this man may perhaps be explained by the assertion of Nicolaus Dam. c. 2 that his guardians had plundered his property, to which he submitted at the time without taking legal action...*οἱ αὐτοῦ πρόγονοι...ὀρφανῷ ὄντι ἐκείνῳ τὰ χρήματα ἐλίποντο· καταστάντες δ' ἐπίτροποι ταῦτα διεφόρησαν· ὁ δὲ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δικαίων ἀποστὰς τοῖς περιλειφθεῖσιν ἠρκεῖτο.* C. Thoranius or Toranius [*λεγόμενος ὑπό τινων ἐπιτροπεῦσαι Καίσαρος* App. 4, 12] was a praetorius and was betrayed by his son, who got him put on the list by Antony [*ib.* c. 18; Valer. Max. 9, 11, 5]. It may be therefore that Augustus only acquiesced. C. Toranius was in exile in Corcyra in B.C. 45. See Cic. *fam.* 6, 20, 21.

in senatu, probably in the usual address on the 1st of January B.C. 42 when

sasset praeterita et spem clementiae in posterum fecisset, quoniam satis poenarum exactum esset, hunc e diverso professum, *ita modum se proscribendi statuisse, ut omnia sibi reliquerit libera.* In cuius tamen pertinaciae paenitentiam postea T. Vinium Philopoemenem, quod patronum suum proscriptum celasse olim diceretur, equestri dignitate honoravit. In eadem hac potestate multiplici flagravit invidia. Nam et Pinarium equitem R. cum, contionante se admissa turba paganorum, apud milites subscribere quaedam animadvertisset, curiosum ac speculatorem ratus, coram confodi imperavit; et Tedium Afrum consulem designatum, quia factum quoddam suum maligno sermone carpsisset, tantis conterruit minis, ut is se praecipitaverit; et Quintum Gallium praetorem, in officio salutationis tabellas duplices veste tectas tenentem, suspicatus gladium occulere, nec quidquam statim, ne aliud inveniretur, ausus inquirere,

Conduct in the proscriptions.

Lepidus entered on his 2nd Consulship. Another proscription list was afterwards published, but it was in the nature of an extra tax on the property of the opposition party. Dio 47, 16. Nothing is known of Iunius Saturninus or his history.

ita...libera, 'though he assented to put a stop to the proscription he reserved complete freedom to himself for the future.' Octavian had no intention of sparing the assassins of Iulius, and as many of them were still at large, he would not bind himself not to exercise his powers upon them.

T. Vinium. The story is told by Dio [47, 7]. He was concealed by his wife in a chest at the house of a freedman, and afterwards produced under the protection of Octavia when Caesar was apart from his colleagues. Wife and freedman had incurred death by the concealment according to the edict [App. *B. civ.* 4, 11 *ὃς ἂν ἢ σώσας ἢ ἐπικουρήσας ἢ συνειδὼς φανῇ*]. Dio asserts that Augustus saved many in a similar way, but gives no other instances. Perhaps Ovid refers to some stories of the sort when he says of Augustus... *saepe fidem adversis etiam laudavit in armis, Tr.* 1, 5, 39.

Pinarium...Tedium...Q. Gallium. Of the two former we have no certain information. Pinarius may be T. Pinarius or his brother, both of whom were intimate with Cicero [Cic. *ad Q. Fr.* 3, 1, 22]. Some of the Pinarii were connected with the Caesars [Suet. *Iul.* 83]. Tedius Afer may be connected with a friend of Augustus mentioned by Tacitus [*An.* 1, 10]. Q. Gallius was a son of a Q. Gallius once defended by Cicero on a charge of *ambitus* [Cic. *Brut.* 277; *de pet. cons.* § 19], and a brother of the M. Gallius who adopted Tiberius [Suet. *Tib.* 6]. Appian's account of the affair of Gallius agrees substantially with that of Augustus in his memoir, *B. civ.* 3, 95. The *oculis eius sua manu effossis* seems incredible. A similar story was told of Sulla [Val. Max. 3, 3, 5].

paganorum, 'civilians' opposed to *milites*, Iuv. 16, 33; Plin. *Ep.* 10, 86 b; 7, 25 b; *Digest* 29, 1, 9 § 2.

curiosum et speculatorem, 'eavesdropper and spy.' In later times *curiosi* became a regular name for informers; Iustin. *Cod.* 12, 33, 1. **speculator**, one of the 'scouts' attached to a legion, came to indicate an aide-de-camp of the commander, and later one of the Emperor's body-guard. See c. 74. I do not find any parallel use of it as a 'spy.'

in officio salutationis, 'when waiting on him in the morning.' The morning *salutatio* is sufficiently known from Martial and Iuvenal. For **officium** in this connexion see Iuv. 3, 125.

tabellas duplices, 'folded tablets,' either a letter or petition. See Ovid

paulo post per centuriones et milites raptum e tribunali, servilem in modum torsit ac fatentem nihil iussit occidi, prius oculis eius suā manu effossis; quem tamen scribit conloquio petito insidiatum sibi coniectumque a se in custodiam, deinde urbe interdicta dimissum, naufragio vel latronum insidiis 5 perisse. Tribuniciam potestatem perpetuam recepit, in quā semel atque iterum per singula lustra collegam sibi cooptavit. Recepit et morum legumque regimen aeque perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censurae honore, censum tamen populi ter egit: 10 primum ac tertium cum collegā, medium solus.

The Tribunician and Censorial powers.

Rem. 667; *Am.* 1, 12, 27. They were of waxed wood, and are called *duplices*, *triplices* etc., according to the number of tablets. Mart. 7, 53, 3; 72, 2; 10, 87, 6.

servilem in modum. Free citizens were exempt from examination by torture, *Dig.* 48, 8, 5; except (in later times) on charges of *maiestas; ib.* 48, 18, 10.

tribuniciam ... recepit. (1) Tribunicial privileges were first conferred on Augustus in B.C. 36, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius [Dio 49, 15 *μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ ὑβρίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν τοιοῦτο δράσαντα ἐνεχέσθαι οἷσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ ἐτέτακτο*]. Appian [*B. civ.* 5, 132] and Orosius [6, 18, 34] say that he now accepted the *tribunicia potestas* for life,—wrongly, as it seems; and Mommsen holds that its extension recorded by Dio in B.C. 30 [51, 18] only applied to its extension outside the pomoerium [*Res g.* p. 44]. (2) The final step in making the *tribunicia potestas* the chief feature in the prerogative of the Princeps was taken in B.C. 23 when Augustus laid down his 11th Consulship on the 1st July [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 472]. The Senate then voted [Dio 53, 32] *δημαρχόν τε αὐτὸν διὰ βίου εἶναι, καὶ χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ περὶ ἑνὸς τινος ὅτου ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καθ' ἑκάστην βουλήν, κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ.* Thus Augustus himself calculates the years of his *tribunicia potestas* from this. M. A. c. 4, cp. 10. Mommsen's *Staatsr.* II.², p. 836. These privileges were embodied in the laws conferring their powers on subsequent emperors. See *C. I. L.* 6, 930, Rushworth, p. 82.

semel atque iterum...collega. (1) Augustus took Agrippa as his colleague for five years in B.C. 18; Dio 54, 12. (2) In B.C. 6 Tiberius was admitted for a term of five years also; Dio 55, 9; Suet. *Tib.* 9, 11; and again in A.D. 4 for ten years, after the death of Gaius and Lucius; Suet. *Tib.* 16; Dio 55, 13.

recepit et morum legumque regimen. From the testimony of the Monumentum [in this passage supplied by the copy at Apollonia] it appears that Augustus was offered a perpetual *potestas censoria*, but declined it. The actual work however he undertook in right of his *potestas tribunicia.* M. c. 6 *Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογούντων ἵνα ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐξουσίᾳ μόνος χειροτονηθῷ, ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη διδομένην ἀνεδεξάμην. ἃ δὲ τότε δι' ἐμοῦ ἡ σύγκλητος οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο τῆς δημαρχίκης ἐξουσίας ὧν ἐτέλεσα.* The two occasions of his undertaking this were in B.C. 19 [Dio 54, 10] and B.C. 12 [Dio 54, 30]. But Suetonius says that this office was *perpetuum*, Dio, that in both cases it was for five years; Augustus in the Mon. says that it was offered him three times in B.C. 20—19 [M. Vinucius, who is named in the latter of these years, began office on 1 July], and again B.C. 11. The allusions to this function of Augustus in the poets are numerous; see Hor. *Od.* 4, 5, 22; 15, 9; *Epist.* 2, 1, 1; Ovid *Met.* 15, 833; *Tr.* 2, 233; Momms. *Staatsr.* II.², p. 686.

quo iure...solus. Suetonius agrees with the Monumentum c. 8 *In consulatu sexto* [B.C. 29] *censum populi collega M. Agrippa egi...iterum consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci C. Censorino et C. Asinio cos.* [B.C. 8]...*tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci Sex. Pompeio et Sex.*

De reddenda re publica bis cogitavit: primum post oppressum statim Antonium, memor obiectum sibi ab eo saepius, quasi per ipsum staret ne redderetur; ac rursus taedio diuturnae valitudinis, cum etiam magistratibus ac senatu domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit. Sed reputans, et se privatum non 28

Two meditated resignations (1) B.C. 27, (2) B.C. 23.

Appuleio cos. [A.D. 14]. Dio however gives a different account: (1) B.C. 29 [52, 42], (2) B.C. 19 [54, 10], (3) B.C. 12 [54, 35], (4) A.D. 3 [55, 13]. But the second and third of these seem to be confused with the *regimen morum* ascribed to him by Dio. The first census was held by Augustus and Agrippa in virtue of a *censoria potestas* [*C. I. L.* 9, 422 *imp. Caesare* VI. *M. Agrippa* II. *cos.; idem censoria potest. lustrum fecerunt*], the other two in virtue of his *consularis potestas;* and it must be remembered that this was strictly constitutional. The *census* had always been in the hands of the consul. The *censors* were appointed to take this burden off them, but there being no censor the consular prerogative revived. Therefore Suetonius is wrong in describing the *census* as held by a *ius* derived from a perpetual *censoria potestas*.

28. de reddenda...bis. I. In B.C. 28—27 *In consulatu sexto et septimo... rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli.* M. A. c. 34. This is the first great constitutional experiment of Augustus, and is mentioned by such writers as Ovid [*F.* 1, 589] and Velleius [2, 89] in the sense in which Augustus desired it to be regarded. It was also commemorated on coins (e.g. Eckhel 6, 83 *imp. Caesar divi f. cos.* VI. *libertatis p. R. vindex*); and in the *Fasti* (e.g. *Fasti Praem.* ad Ian. 13. *C. I. L.* 1, p. 384 *corona querna uti super postes imp. Caesaris Augusti poneretur senatus decrevit quod rem publicam p. R. restituit*). And yet both Strabo [17, 3, 25] and Dio [52, 1; 53, 12] saw and expressed the truth that from that time Augustus was practically supreme. The real fact seems to be that in the course of 28—27 Augustus (1) laid down the extraordinary powers which he had exercised as triumvir; (2) abolished in an edict the *acta* of the triumvirate [Tac. *An.* 3, 28; Dio 53, 2]; (3) while holding the consulship each year kept up the custom of handing over the *fasces* in alternate months to his colleague [Dio 53, 1]; (4) restored to the Senate the control of some of the provinces and its right of allotting provincial governors; (5) allowed censors to be elected in the ordinary way in B.C. 22. What in spite of these things maintained the autocracy of Augustus was (1) that he retained the *potestas tribunicia* with its *ius relationis* and other powers defensive and obstructive; (2) that he retained or accepted a perpetual *imperium proconsulare* by reserving to himself the command of certain of the provinces in which the presence of a considerable armed force was necessary [Dio 53, 12]. This led, among other things, to the separation of the public treasury (*aerarium*), on which fell almost exclusively the local expenses in Italy, from the *fiscus* or imperial treasury, out of which the expenses of the provinces and army were defrayed and which was wholly under the control of the Emperor. (3) Though the titles of Augustus and Princeps gave him no definite constitutional powers, they gave him precedence everywhere and a certain sanctity which disarmed opposition. These powers Augustus did not think of laying down, as Suetonius says; what he did elaborate was the restitution of the forms of the republic so far as was consistent with his own supremacy.

II. The second occasion referred to was in B.C. 23 when he was attacked by what seemed a fatal illness, from which he was recovered by the skill of Antonius Musa, *τάς τε ἀρχὰς τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἀθροίσας διάδοχον οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε ...διαλεχθεὶς δέ τινα αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τῷ μὲν Πίσωνι τάς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίον ἐγγράψας ἔδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ τὸν δακτύλιον ἐνεχείρισεν* [Dio 53, 30]. By thus refraining from appointing a successor Augustus acknowledged that the ultimate authority lay with Senate and people. But after his recovery, by resigning the consulship and resting on his *tribunicia potestas* and *proconsulare imperium* he made a still more dis-

sine periculo fore et illam plurium arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit, dubium, eventu meliore an voluntate. Quam voluntatem, cum prae se identidem ferret, quodam etiam edicto his verbis testatus est: *Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem rem publicam sistere in sua sede liceat, atque eius rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar, et moriens ut feram mecum spem, mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta rei publicae quae iecero.* Fecitque ipse se compotem voti, nisus omni modo, ne quem novi status paeniteret.

Buildings and other adornments of the city.

Urbem, neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus, *marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset.* Tutam vero, quantum provideri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum praestitit.

29 Publica opera plurima extruxit, e quibus vel praecipua: Forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis

tinct departure from old constitutional theories.

rationarium. Cp. *breviarium imperii*, c. 101. The word itself (='financial statement') does not seem to occur elsewhere, though *rationarii* is used in the *Digest* for 'accountants.'

inundationibus incendiisque. The frequent floods in Rome are familiar to readers of Livy [1, 4; 24, 9; 25, 21; 30, 38; 38, 28; cp. Hor. *Od.* 1, 2]. Pliny *N. H.* 3, 5, 55 remarks on the liability of the Tiber to sudden rises. Fires were scarcely less frequent, see the passages quoted by Mr Mayor, Iuv. 3, 6. The crime of arson was included under several laws [see Ramsay *R. Ant.* p. 348] and was, it is supposed from *Dig.* 42, 9, 9, punishable by burning alive.

marmoream...relinquere. Dio 56, 30 *τὴν Ῥώμην γηΐνην παραλαβὼν λιθίνην ὑμῖν καταλείπω.* The extent to which Augustus by his own liberality and that of his friends beautified Rome is best understood by studying the list of buildings given in the M. A. cc. 19—21. In his sixth Consulship [B.C. 28] for instance he says that he restored 82 temples in Rome. Cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 6, 1—4, and Middleton's *Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. 1, p. 387, 'the whole city burst out, as it were, into a sudden blaze of splendour, glowing with the brilliance of richly veined marbles, poured into Rome from countless quarries in Africa, Greece, and Asia Minor.'

29. forum cum aede Martis Ultoris. The *Forum Augusti* was on the S.E. of the *Forum Iulii*, and was a rectangular space surrounded by a wall nearly 100 feet high (with the temple in the centre), lined on the inside with polished marble. Augustus bought the land necessary for the building, M. A. 21 *in privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manubiis feci.* See Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. II. p. 6 sqq. There was in it also a *quadrigae* dedicated by Augustus, M. A. c. 35. The temple of *Mars Ultor* was vowed by Augustus at Philippi [c. 29, cp. Ov. *F.* 5, 569] and dedicated in B.C. 2, see Vell. 2, 100 *se et Gallo Caninio consulibus.* But as early as B.C. 20 it seems to have been sufficiently advanced to receive the standards recovered from the Parthians [Dio 54, 8]. Three Corinthian columns of it are still standing. Its treasury is alluded to in Iuvenal 14, 261. See also *Calig.* 24.

templum Apollinis in Palatio. M. A. 19 *templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus.* It was approached by lofty steps, and two libraries of Greek and Latin books were attached to it. See Ov. *Tr.* 3, 1, 59

inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis
ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei.

in Palatio, aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio. Fori extruendi causa fuit hominum et iudiciorum multitudo, quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere; itaque festinatius necdum perfectā Martis aede publicatum est, cautumque ut separatim in eo publica iudicia et sortitiones iudicum fierent. Aedem Martis bello Philippensi, pro ultione paterna suscepto, voverat; sanxit ergo, ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petituri hinc deducerentur, quique victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferrent. Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices

Mars Ultor.

Apollo Palatinus.

signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis
Belides et stricto barbarus ense pater.
quaeque viri docto veteres coepere novique
pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.

According to the *commentarii divini* [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 403] it was dedicated October 9, in B.C. 28 [Dio 53, 1 *τό τε ἀπωλλώνιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ τάς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσεν*]. It was vowed or promised in B.C. 36 after the victory over Sextus Pompeius [Vell. 2, 81]. Cp. Hor. *Od.* 1, 31.

aedem Tonantis, a small temple near the great temple of Iupiter Capitolinus, see c. 91. It was of solid blocks of marble [Plin. *N. H.* 36, 50]. It was dedicated in B.C. 22 [Dio 54, 4] on the 1 September [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 400].

publicatum, 'opened for public use.' Cp. *Iul.* 44 *bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque...publicare.* It is not used in this sense by Cicero.

separatim, i.e. separately from the *iudicia privata*, which were still to be held in the old forum or basilicae. For **sortitiones iudicum** Ascon. on Cic. *Verres* Act. 1, 6; Cic. *pro Cluent.* 27; *pro Flacc.* 2; *ad Q. Fr.* 3, 4; *in Pis.* 40.

publica iudicia are trials for crimes under laws establishing *quaestiones perpetuae*, such as *lex Iulia maiestatis*, *de sicariis* etc. *Dig.* 47, 1, 1.

pro ultione paterna, see on c. 10.

hic, instead of in the Campus, as before [Liv. 3, 63] or later in the temple of Bellona outside the pomoerium, because the claimant could not come inside without forfeiting his imperium. See the case of Africanus, Livy 28, 38; cp. 26, 21; 28, 9; 31, 47; 41, 6.

deducerentur, cp. Caesar starting for Spain in a lectica *inter officia prosequentium fascesque lictorum*, *Iul.* 71. According to the arrangements of Augustus the proconsuls of Senatorial provinces did not wear the sagum and sword, the legati or propraetors of Imperial provinces did. Both had six lictors, but neither were allowed to assume the insignia of their office till they reached their province [Dio 53, 13]. It was therefore probably only the latter class of provincial governors who started from the temple, for they alone had *imperium*.

fulmine ictam. The consecration of a place struck by lightning was general. It was part of the Etruscan discipline, and therefore was referred to the Etruscan haruspices. See Festus s.v. *oscum;* Pliny *N. H.* 2, 145; Pers. *Sat.* 2, 27. Augustus seems to have bought up a number of houses on the Palatine near his own with the view of enlargement, and then to have determined on devoting a part of it to the temple of Apollo and its adjoining colonnades and libraries. Dio 49, 15 *τὸν τόπον, ὃν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὥστ' οἰκοδομῆσαί τινα ἐώνητο, ἐδημοσίωσε καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἱέρωσεν, ἐπειδὴ κεραυνὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκατέσκηψεν.* Vell. 2, 81 *contractas emptionibus complures domos per procuratores, quo laxior fieret ipsius, publicis se usibus destinare professus est, templum Apollinis et circa porticus facturum promisit, quod ab eo singulari extructum munificentia est.* For the splendours of the temple, see Propert. 5, 6. Middleton's *Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. I. p. 185.

pronuntiarant; addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit. Tonanti Iovi aedem consecravit liberatus periculo, cum expeditione Cantabrica per nocturnum iter lecticam eius fulgur praestrinxisset servumque praelucentem exanimasset. Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque, fecit, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, item porticus Liviae et Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli. Sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monimentis vel novis vel refectis et excultis urbem adornarent. Multaque a multis tunc extructa sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis Musarum,

Bibliotheca.

Iuppiter Tonans.

Porticus.

Theatrum.

Buildings by his courtiers.

decurias...recognovit. For the *decuriae iudicum* see on c. 32. As they were nominated for life by the Emperor periodical *recognitiones* would be necessary for filling up vacancies. For **recognoscere** see cc. 32 and 38; *Cal.* 16 *equites recognovit.*

expeditione Cantabrica, see c. 20.

praelucentem, 'carrying a torch before him.' Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 89 *natanti praeluxi.* Iuv. 3, 283—4, where Mayor quotes the name of the slave thus carrying it (*lampadarius*) from inscriptions. See Orelli 2845, 2930. *C. I. L.* 6, 8867—69; *lanternarius*, Cic. *in Pis.* 9, 20; *C. I. L.* 10, 3970; Val. Max. 6, 8, 1 *lanternam praelatam.*

quaedam etiam...Marcelli. M. A. c. 21 *Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a privatis empto feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcelli generi mei esset.* The *theatrum Marcelli* had been projected by Iulius, see *Iul.* 44 *theatrum summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans.* Dio 43, 49 *θέατρον τι κατὰ τὸν Πομπήιον οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐθελήσας προκατεβάλετο μὲν οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ.* Augustus completed it and dedicated it either in B.C. 11 [Plin. *H. N.* 8, 65] or in B.C. 13 [Dio 54, 36] in honour of the young Marcellus, son of Octavia and adopted by himself, who died in B.C. 23.

basilica. The Basilica Iulia was dedicated by Iulius in B.C. 46, having been begun in B.C. 54, if Cicero [*ad Att.* 4, 16, 14] is referring to it. It seems, though dedicated, not to have been entirely finished off till Augustus put the finishing touches to it. It was then destroyed by fire, and restored by Augustus A.D. 12 and dedicated to the memory of Gaius and Lucius [Dio 56, 27], M. A. 20 *Forum Iulium et basilicam, quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coepta profligataque opera a patre meo, perfeci: et eandem basilicam consumptam incendio, ampliato eius solo, sub titulo nominis filiorum meorum incohavi, et, si vivus non perfecissem, perfici heredibus iussi.*

porticus Liviae et Octaviae. The *porticus Liviae* was on the Esquiline on the site of a large building said by tradition to have been the palace of Servius Tullius; near it was a temple of Concord also built by Livia, see Ovid *Fast.* 637—640 *disce tamen, veniens aetas, ubi Livia nunc est | porticus, immensae tecta fuisse domus.* The *porticus Octaviae* [to be distinguished from the Porticus Octavia, Livy 45, 6 and 42], built on the site of an older *porticus Metelli*, was a quadrangular cloister enclosing the temples of Iupiter Stator and Iuno regina. It was built after the Dalmatian war [B.C. 33] and dedicated in the name of his sister with the other *opera Octaviae.* Mommsen, *R. g.* p. 80; Middleton, *Remains*, vol. II. p. 200. See fragments of the Capitoline Plan in Burn's *Rome*, p. 300.

ceteros...hortatus est. See Dio 54, 18 *τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμπουσιν ἔργον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐς τὴν τῶν πράξεων μνήμην ποιεῖν προσέταξεν.*

Marcio...Musarum. This temple was originally built by M. Fulvius Nobilior

a L. Cornificio aedes Dianae, ab Asinio Pollione atrium Libertatis, a Munatio Planco aedes Saturni, a Cornelio Balbo theatrum, a Statilio Tauro amphitheatrum, a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia.

in B.C. 186, and filled with the spoils of Ambracia, especially terra-cotta statues of the Muses by Zeuxis [Plin. *N. H.* 35, 66]. Ovid [*F.* 6, 799 sq.] seems to say that Marcius Philippus at his restoration of the temple joined the worship of Hercules to it,—*dicite, Pierides, qui vos adiunxerit isti, cui dedit invitas victa noverca manus.* As to L. Marcius Philippus and his relationship to Augustus see note on p. 17. He appears not only to have rebuilt the temple but to have surrounded it with a porticus, see Burn's *Rome*, p. 312; Mart. 5, 49, 12. It appears in the Capitoline plan opposite one side of the *Porticus Octaviae.*

The **aedes Dianae** was that said to have been built on the Aventine by Servius Tullius as a common temple for the Latin League [Liv. 1, 45; Dionys. 4, 26; Strabo 4, 1, 4]. L. Cornificius was consul B.C. 35 after doing Augustus good service in the war against Sext. Pompeius.

The **atrium Libertatis** was probably not identical with the temple of Liberty founded by Tiberius Gracchus on the Aventine [Burn's *Rome*, p. 206]. It appears to have been used as a place for the examination of slaves by torture [Cic. *pro Mil.* § 59]; and it had a library attached to it [Ov. *Trist.* 3, 1, 71] which Pollio founded from his Illyrian spoils [Plin. *N. H.* 7, 115; 35, 10].

aedes Saturni. The very ancient temple of Saturn was said to have been dedicated in B.C. 497 [Livy 2, 2; Dionys. 6, 1], and stood at the foot of the *Clivus Capitolinus.* For its restoration by Munatius Plancus see Wilmanns, 1112

L • MVNATIVS • L • F • L • N • L • PRON • PLANCVS • COS • CENS • IMP • TERT • VII • VIR • EPVLON • TRIVMPH • EX • RAETIS • AEDEM • SATVRNI • FECIT • DE • MANIBIS.

This attributes the restoration of the *aedes Saturni* to the proceeds of his spoils in the war with the Raeti. His triumph is given in the *Fast. Cap.* under 29 Dec. 711/23, as *ex Gallia*, for he was governor of Gaul.

The **theatrum** of Cornelius Balbus was dedicated in B.C. 13 [Dio 54, 25]. L. Cornelius Balbus, like his uncle, the friend and agent of Iulius Caesar, was a native of Gades, and had obtained the Roman citizenship about B.C. 72 with his relations. He was with Pollio in Spain B.C. 44—3, and was proconsul in Africa in B.C. 20, being allowed a triumph over the Garamantes in B.C. 19, —*ex Africa* VI *Kal. Apr.* [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 461]. The splendour of his theatre, which was not far from the *theatrum Marcelli*, is mentioned by Pliny *N. H.* 36, 60. It was however so near the Tiber that when the river was flooded it was inaccessible [Dio *l. c.*].

amphitheatrum...Tauri. The amphitheatres at Rome, which were an adaptation of the Greek theatres for the purposes of the arena, had always been temporary wooden structures in the forum and elsewhere. T. Statilius Taurus was another *triumphalis* [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 461] *ex Africa*, which he had secured for Octavian after serving against Sext. Pompeius (B.C. 34). He was consul in B.C. 37 and again in B.C. 26 [Wilmanns 1111 T • STATILIO • TAVRO • IMP • III • COS • II • PATRONO], after a successful campaign in Spain, and again in B.C. 16. Dio [51, 23] assigns the erection of the amphitheatre to B.C. 29. It was on the Campus Martius, and is said to have been destroyed in A.D. 64 in the great fire [Dio 62, 18]. It did not at once supersede wooden structures, either temporary or permanent, like that of Curio [Plin. *N. H.* 36, 116], for Augustus speaks of exhibitions *in amphitheatris* [M. A. c. 22].

a M. Agrippa...egregia. Besides great works in Italy such as the *portus Iulius* at Baiae [see pp. 32—3], Agrippa's contributions to the splendours and conveniences of Rome were very numerous, either at his own cost or as administering public funds. Besides the Pantheon which, dedicated in B.C. 27, still stands as a monument of the greatness of his ideas [Dio 53, 27; 63, 27; 66, 24], we hear of Thermae opened in B.C. 21 [Dio 54, 29]; numerous other smaller baths [Dio 54, 11]; a bridge over the Tiber [Middleton's *Rome*, 2, p. 368]; the completion of the *Septa* in the Campus [Dio 53, 23]; a *porticus Neptuni* [Dio

30 Spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit instituitque, ut illas annui magistratus sortito tuerentur, hos magistri e plebe cuiusque viciniae lecti. Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est; ad

City districts: precautions against

53, 27; 66, 24; Mart. 66, 24]; gardens with a *stagnum*, and *euripus* [Dio 54, 29; Ovid *Pont.* 1, 8, 38]; two *Aquaeductus,—Aqua Iulia* and *Aqua Virgo*, begun in B.C. 33 [Frontin. *de aquaed.* 83; Dio 54, 11; Plin. *N. H.* 31, 42]; and when *curator aquarum* in B.C. 33, he is also said to have caused to be constructed 700 basins or pools and 500 fountains [Plin. *N. H.* 36, 121].

[Lanciani, in Ramsay's *Antiquities*, p. 62, maintains that the present Pantheon is not that of Agrippa, but a reconstruction of Hadrian. See however Middleton's *Rome*, 2, p. 137.]

30. spatium...divisit. The date of this measure (B.C. 7) is proved by an entry in the *Fasti* [Henzen, 6545] recording the completion of a list of 107 *vici-magistri Imp. Caes. Nerv. Trai. August.* III *Sex. Iul. Frontin.* III *Coss.*, i.e. A.D. 100. The list of fourteen *regiones* into which Rome, both within and without the Servian walls, was divided is given by Preller, *Regionen der Stadt Rom*, by Nardini, *Roma Antica*, by Prof. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. 1, pp. 380—4, by Ramsay, *Ant.* p. 13, ed. 1894. The *regiones* contained a varying number of smaller divisions or parishes (*vici*) amounting in all to 265, each of which had its *aedicula Larium* or *compitalis*, chapel of the Lares worshipped at the central *compitum*, see Plin. *N. H.* 3, 66 *regiones xiv, compita Larium cclxv.* The worship of the *genius Augusti* seems afterwards to have been united with that of the Lares, see *C. I. L.* 6, 454 LARIBVS • AVG • VICI • MAG • F • Q • MVNATIVS • SELNP • M • MVNATIVS • IRENAEus • M • VLPIVS • AGATHONICVS • T • VIBIVS • HERMES. Cp. Ov. *Fast.* 5, 145 *mille Lares Geniumque ducis, qui tradidit illos, urbs habet: et vici numina trina colunt.* See Mommsen *res g.* p. 82. For the employment of the *vicus* as an administrative unit, see cc. 40, 43; *Tiber.* 76; *Claud.* 18. The division into *regiones* was of course ancient [Dionys. Hal. 4, 14], but the number (14 instead of 4) and the space included were new, the latter extending perhaps to about the line of the subsequent Aurelian walls.

ut illas...lecti. The management of the *regiones* was assigned by lot to the praetors, aediles, and tribunes [tribunes in *C. I. L.* 6, 449, 450, 452; praetors *ib.* 451, 453], see Dio 55, 8 *τῶν ἀγορανόμων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τῶν τε στρατηγῶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, δεκατέσσαρα μέρη νεμηθεῖσαν, κλήρῳ προσταχθέντων.* Under them were curatores and denuntiatores. See Wilmanns 1715 REG • I • CVR • CVRTIVS • D • L • IVCVNDVS • P • HELVIDIVS • P • L • HERMES. These were generally freedmen, as in this case. Cp. Rushforth 45.

magistri. Four *vicorum magistri* were elected annually by the inhabitants of the *vicus*, and at the celebration of the religious rites on the 1st of May [Ov. *F.* 5, 129], and the 1st of August, when they entered upon their office [*C. I. L.* 6, 446; Wilmanns 1716 DIANAE • AVGVST • SACRVM • Q • AVILIVS • ADAEVS • MAGISTER • VICI • QVI • K • AVGVSTIS • PRIMVS • MINISTERIVM • INIT. Cp. *ib.* 1717], wore the *toga praetexta*, and were escorted by Lictors. Dio 55, 8 *οἱ δὲ δὴ στενωποὶ ἐπιμελητῶν τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, οὓς καὶ στενωπάρχους καλοῦμεν· καὶ σφισι καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ ῥαβδούχους δύο ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χωρίοις ὧν ἂν ἄρχωσι, ἡμέραις τισι χρῆσθαι ἐδόθη.* They too were generally freedmen, see *C. I. L.* 6, 448, 975, Rushf. 45.

adversus incendia...commentus, see on c. 28. The aediles were specially charged with this duty, see Dio 54, 3. But as they proved inadequate, seven corps of *nocturni vigiles* were organised in A.D. 6 under a *praefectus* to manage the business. Dio 55, 26 *ἐπειδὴ...πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη ἄνδρας τε ἐξελευθέρους ἐπταχῇ πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱππέα αὐτοῖς προσέταξε.* See also supr. c. 25; *Dig.* 1, 15, 3, § 4; Mayor on *Iuv.* 3, 199. These *vigiles* were distinct from the *cohortes urbanae* which were in the city to the number of 6000 men [Dio 55, 24 *οἱ τῆς πόλεως φρουροὶ ἑξακισχίλιοί τε ὄντες καὶ τετραχῇ νενεμημένοι.* Cp. Tac. *Ann.* 4, 5].

coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus et aedificiorum prolationibus coartatum. Quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda, reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit.

fire and flood.

The *Viae.*

alveum Tiberis laxavit. For *laxare* 'to enlarge' see Cic. *Att.* 4, 15 *ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus.* This was apparently the *terminatio* of the Tiber bank made in B.C. 8, see *C. I. L.* 1235 f. Rushf. pp. 26—29, Wilmanns 846 C • MARCIVS L • F • L • N • CENSORINVS • C • ASINIVS • C • F • GALLVS • COS • EX • S • C • TERMIN • R • R • (*recto rigore*) PROXIM • CIPPVS • PED • XLII • CVRATORES • RIPARVM • QVI • FVERVNT • EX • S • C • RESTITVERVNT. That is, the first board of *curatores* [A.D. 15, see on c. 37] restored the work of the consuls Censorinus and Asinius (B.C. 8). This had been the duty of the Censors, see *C. I. L.* 1, 609 P • SERVILIVS • C • F • ISAVRICVS • M . VALERIVS • M • F • NV • N • MESSAL • CENS • EX • S • C • TERMIN. (B.C. 55—54). For the frequency of inundations see on c. 28. The *terminatio* alluded to in the last inscription was in consequence of one, see Dio 39, 61. Two specially severe floods are recorded in B.C. 27 [Dio 53, 20] and B.C. 23 [*id.* 33].

ruderibus, 'rubbish' from building operations or ruins caused by fire, as in that of Nero's time, see *Nero* 38. The Emperor promised a gratuitous *ruderum egestio,* which were to be used for filling up marshes, Tac. *Ann.* 15, 43. See *Dig.* 39, 2. For the damage to buildings caused by the inundations, see *Otho* 1.

prolationibus, 'extensions,' cp. Livy 31, 5 *finium prolatio.* Such encroachments on the river may be among those referred to by Horace, *Odes* 3, 1, 33.

desumpta sibi Flaminia. This arrangement was made in B.C. 27; M. A. c. 20 *Consul septimum viam Flaminiam (ab urbe) Ariminum feci et pontes omnes praeter Mulvium et Minucium:* Dio 53, 22 ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ ἔτει τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους δυσπορεύτους ὑπ' ἀμελείας ὁρῶν οὔσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπισκευάσαι τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι προσέταξε, τῆς δὲ Φλαμινίας αὐτὸς ἐπειδήπερ ἐκστρατεύσειν δι' αὐτῆς ἔμελλεν, ἐπεμελήθη. The *via Flaminia,* the most important of the three great roads to the North [*tres ergo viae: a supero mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia,* Cic. 12 *Phil.* § 22], ended at Ariminum where it was joined by the *via Aemilia* leading westward through the valley of the Po. The inscription on the triumphal marble arch still standing at Ariminum confirms the fact and the date, *C. I. L.* 11, 365. The *via Flaminia* was first made fit for military use by Gaius Flaminius, in his censorship B.C. 222 [Livy *Ep.* 20]. Augustus, though taking the *via Flaminia* under his special care, repaired or supplied money for repairing other roads also, Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome,* 2, p. 357.

reliquas...distribuit. Of these *viri triumphales* we know from inscriptions of C. Calvisius Sabinus who triumphed from Spain in B.C. 28 and repaired the *via Latina* [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 478; 6895; Mommsen *res g.* p. 87]. The importance of the *curatio viarum extra urbem* is shown by the rank of the men appointed *curatores,* who were almost always of the *ordo senatorius* [Wilmanns 2, p. 79]. Iulius Caesar made almost his first bid for popularity as *curator viae Appiae* [Plut. *Caes.* 5], and Cicero in 65 regards the repair of the *via Flaminia* as rendering a man a formidable rival for the consulship [*Att.* 1, 1, 2].

ex manubiali pecunia. This does not seem to occur elsewhere. The usual expression is *ex manubiis,* for *manubiae* are not spoils, but money obtained from sale of spoils. Aul. Gell. 13, 25, 26 *nam praeda dicitur corpora ipsa rerum quae capta sunt, manubiae vero appellatae sunt pecunia a quaestore ex venditione praedae redacta.* Of the three parts into which this money was divided one went to the treasury, one to the soldiers, one to the general. This last was frequently spent wholly or in part upon public works. See Livy 10, 46; Cicero *in Verr.* 2, 3 § 186;

Aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit easque et ceteras opulentissimis donis adornavit, ut qui in cellam Capitolini Iovis sedecim milia pondo auri gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties
31 sestertii una donatione contulerit. Postquam vero pontifica- 5

Restorations.

2, 1, § 54; Plin. *N. H.* 7 § 97; Suet. *Iul.* 26 *forum de manubiis inchoavit*, *Tib.* 20 *dedicavit et Concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris...de manubiis;* M. A. 21 *In privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manibiis feci.*

Aedes sacras. This general restoration took place for the most part in B.C. 28. See M. A. 20 *duo et octoginta templa deorum in urbe consul sext. ex decreto senatus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat.* Descendants of the original founders were charged with the restoration of others, Dio 53, 3 *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν τινῶν γεγενημένους τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις εἴ γε τινες περιῆσαν ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνεκτήσατο.* To this Horace, *Odes* 3, 6 (written about B.C. 27), specially refers *Delicta maiorum immeritus lues,* | *Romane, donec templa refeceris* | *aedesque labentes deorum, et* | *foeda nigro simulacra fumo.* Livy (4, 20) tells us of the examination of the *spolia opima* in the temple of Iupiter Feretrius by the Emperor, *templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem.* See also Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 59—66.

For the distinction between *aedes* and *templum* cf. Gell. 14, 7. *Aedes* is the building or *cella*, while *templum* is the sacred enclosure round it, though loosely used sometimes for the building, and must have been consecrated by an augur. See Mommsen, *res g.* p. 78; and Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2, p. 248, who quotes an inscription from *Bull. Com. Arch.* 1887 p. 223 AEDEM • IPSIVS • MARMORATAM • A • SOLO • SVA • PECVNIA • FECIT • ET • TEMPLVM • MARMORIS • STRAVIT • IDEMQ • DEDICAVIT. Also *C. I. L.* 6, 10234 AEDES • DIVI • TITI • IN • TEMPLO • DEORVM.

ceteras...contulerit. This gift of jewels to Iupiter Capitolinus (valued at 50,000,000 sesterces) was half the entire amount of such gifts made by Augustus. See M. A. 21 *dona ex manibiis in Capitolio et in aede divi Iuli et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis consecravi, quae mihi constiterunt HS circiter milliens;* and therefore the statement of the amount of gold given (64,000,000 sesterces) is shown by Mommsen to be exaggerated. The jewels apparently came from the spoils of Cleopatra [cf. c. 41, Dio 51, 22]. For various other objects dedicated by Augustus, see Pliny *N. H.* 35, 27—8, 93—4 (pictures); 2, 94; 7, 183; 36, 28 (statues); 36, 196 (*elephanti obsiani*).

31. pontificatum...sustinuerat. Lepidus [who had obtained the office in the confusion following Caesar's assassination, Livy *Ep.* 117; Vell. 2, 63] died in B.C. 13; but Augustus was not elected till 6 March B.C. 12 [M.A. 10 *P. Sulpicio C. Valgio consulibus. C. I. L.* 1, p. 387; cp. *Tabula Maffeiana*, and Ov. *F.* 3, 415]. It seems to have been usual for some such interval to elapse before a new election: thus Iulius was not elected till the beginning of B.C. 62 [Plut. *Caes.* 7; Dio 37, 37], and Tiberius' election was also in the March following the death of Augustus in the preceding August [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 388]. The pontiffs were appointed for life, and the Pont. Max., as exercising some of the kingly functions, was irremovable. App. *B. civ.* 5, 131 *τοῦ δήμου τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου μεταφέροντος, ἣν ἕνα ἔχειν νενόμισται μέχρι θανάτου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο.* The pretext for the breach of the rule involved in the offer to Augustus was the irregularity in Lepidus' accession to the office. Livy l. c. says *in confusione rerum ac tumultu...intercipit.* Vell. l. c. *in locum Caesaris furto creatus.* Dio [44, 53] says that Antony in fear of Lepidus...*ἀρχιερέα αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν...ὅπως γὰρ δὴ ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ ἔς τε τοὺς ἱερέας αὖθις ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπανήγαγε...* Augustus however was anxious to break no constitutional rule that he could safely keep, and no doubt he was able in Lepidus' state of powerlessness to exercise the functions without the name. He takes credit however for his abstention [see M. A. 10...*in vivi conlegae locum populo id sacerdotium deferente mihi...recusavi*]. The office gave *im-*

tum maximum, quem numquam vivo Lepido auferre sustinuerat, mortuo demum suscepit, quidquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo milia contracta undique cremavit ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos, hos quoque dilectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Annum a Divo Iulio ordinatum, sed postea neglegentia conturbatum atque confusum, rursus ad pristinam rationem redegit; in cuius ordinatione Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nuncupavit, magis quam Septembrem quo erat natus, quod hoc sibi et primus consulatus et insignes victoriae

Pontifex Maximus B.C. 12.

Sibylline Verses.

Calendar.

perium et auspicium, and, though Augustus had these from other sources, it also gave him control on the appointment of vestals and the flamen dialis, disciplinary powers over the priests, the power of fixing *ludi conceptivi* and the calendar generally. All subsequent Emperors took the office up to Gratian (A.D. 382).

quidquid fatidicorum ... ferebatur. 'whatever prophetic writings were current,' cp. *Iul.* 20 *ut vulgo mox ferrentur hi versus.* Cicero *Brut.* § 27 *Periclem cuius scripta quaedam feruntur.* The burning of the *libri Sibyllini* on the 6th July B.C. 83 [Appian *B. civ.* 1, 86; Tac. *H.* 3, 72; Pliny *N. H.* 13, 88; Plutarch *Sull.* 27; Dio fr. 106] had been followed by a commission to collect others from various towns in Italy and Greece [Dionys. H. 4, 62; Tac. *Ann.* 6, 18]. Some of them were getting illegible from age, and Augustus ordered them to be recopied [Dio 54, 17]. The circulation of unauthentic verses however does not seem to have been wholly suspended by this revision, for in A.D. 32 we hear of another book being known at Rome [Tac. *Ann.* l. c.]. The official copy continued to be consulted till late in the 3rd century, see Vopisc. *Aurel.* 18; and, after attempts to revive its authority by Iulian, was finally burnt by Stilicho about A.D. 400. They were under the charge of the XV viri, who consulted them by order of the Senate, and were bound to keep their contents otherwise secret [Val. Max. 1, 1; Zonaras 7, 11; Lactant. *Inst.* 1, 6, 13].

For **forulos** see Iuv. 3, 219 *hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam.*

annum...redegit. According to Dio [55, 6] the change of Sextilis to Augustus was made in B.C. 8. The error in the calculation of the Julian calendar, according to Macrobius [*Sat.* 1, 14], arose from the Sacerdotes having added the intercalary day one year in advance of the true leap-year, i.e. when three years instead of four had passed; the Julian calculation being that the Solar year was 365 d. 6 h. As this came in the year B.C. 45 the error by B.C. 8 would amount to three days, i.e. there would have been twelve years with the extra day instead of 9. Augustus therefore ordained that there should be no additional day for the next 12 years. Accordingly a SCtum was passed to this effect [Censor. *de d. nat.* 22] as well as a plebiscitum on the motion of the tribune Sex. Pacuvius [Macr. l.c., Bruns, *Fontes*, p. 175].

Sextilem...optigissent. Dio 55, 6 *ὅτι καὶ ὕπατος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπεδέδεκτο καὶ μάχας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐνενικήκει.* The victories alluded to cannot include those in the civil war, either at Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, or Actium, for they were all in other months [see notes pp. 9, 36]. But Augustus entered Alexandria in August [p. 39], and Drusus conquered the Breuni about the same time in the year [Hor. *Od.* 4, 14, 34 *quo die Portus Alexandrea supplex Et vacuam patefecit aulam, Fortuna lustro prospera tertio Belli secundos reddidit exitus* ...]. The victory over Sextus Pompeius may also have been at the end of August, see note p. 36. It is noteworthy that though the name of July, in spite of the protests of the Optimate party [see Cic.

optigissent. Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit, praecipue Vestalium virginum. Cumque in demortuae locum aliam capi oporteret, ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent, adiuravit, si cuiusquam neptium suarum competeret aetas, oblaturum se fuisse eam. Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimonis paulatim

The Vestals.

Att. 16, 1 and 4], and the name of August, without any protest at all, prevailed, similar attempts by other Emperors to name months in their own honour failed [Suet. *Nero* 55; *Dom.* 13; Dio 57, 4; Ael. *Commod.* 8, 8].

sacerdotum...auxit. It was part of Augustus' plan of political reconstruction to revive and give importance to the various sacred colleges. One method of doing this was by becoming a member of them himself. Accordingly we learn from the M. A. 7, that he was *pontifex, augur, quindecimvir s.f., septemvir epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetialis.* And he was not only an honorary member, he attempted to keep alive their ancient ceremonies. His voting among the Arval brethren is recorded in the Acta [Henzen pp. xxix, xxx], and as a fetial he proclaimed war against Cleopatra [Dio 50, 4]. It was these colleges too, with that of the *Titii sodales*, which Augustus seems to have specially revived both by entering them himself and causing members of his family to do so: hence we find Nero Caesar, son of Germanicus, called *flamen Augustalis, sodalis Augustalis, sodalis Titius, frater arvalis, fetialis, quaestor* [Mommsen *res g.* p. 34; *C. I. L.* 6, 913].

commoda, 'allowances.' This must be held to include both 'endowments' and special exemptions. The priests were exempt from military service, imposts, and public services (*munera*). Dionys. 4, 62, 71; 5, 1; Livy 4, 54; Gell. 10, 15; Plut. *Num.* 14; Cic. *Acad. pr.* 2, 38; *Brut.* § 117. But the claim of the *augures* and *sacerdotes* to such exemption was once at least disputed [Livy 33, 42]. The cost of sacrifices, banquets etc., was provided for by certain charges on some of the *ager publicus* [Cic. *Phil.* 13, 15; Oros. 5, 18; Festus 245], and the *collegia* had probably other landed estates. Fresh grants were made from time to time. Thus Aurelian *decrevit etiam emolumenta sartis tectis et ministris* (Vopisc. 35). Augustus is said to have given lands at Lanuvium to the Vestals [Frontin. *de coloniis* 106], and his special favour to them is alluded to by Ovid *F.* 6, 455 *nunc bene lucetis sacrae sub Caesare flammae.* Besides such grants to the College, individual Vestals were richly dowered [Tac. *Ann.* 4, 16].

cumque...fuisse eam. The number of the Vestals was always six, though at some period before the final closing of the College by Gratian it had been raised to seven [Symmachus *Ep.* 10, 61; Ambros. *Ep.* 17]. The conditions were that the girl should be between six and ten, the daughter of parents living (*patrima et matrima*), who were not freedmen nor engaged in any mechanical trade, and that she should be bound to chastity and the service of the goddess for thirty years, after which she might retire and marry. In case of a vacancy the Pontifex Maximus named twenty girls one of whom was chosen by lot, though as a rule this was rendered unnecessary by the voluntary offer of some parent [Gell. 1, 12, 10]. But about this time there seems to have been a falling off of such volunteers, so that Augustus relaxed the rule as to the daughters of freedmen, Dio 55, 22 ἐπειδή τε οὐ ῥᾳδίως οἱ πάνυ εὐγενεῖς τὰς θυγατέρας εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερατείαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, ἐνομοθετήθη καὶ ἐξ ἀπελευθέρων γεγεννημένας ἱερᾶσθαι,—and, as we have seen, a large dowry from the treasury was offered to induce parents to present their girls [Tac. *Ann.* 4, 16; 11, 86].

competeret, 'were eligible,' 'were within the legal limit,' generally followed by the abl. of the thing constituting the competence [Tac. *H.* 3, 40] or *ad* with the accus. of that for which one is competent [Livy 22, 5]. This absolute use is late. Of Augustus' grand-daughters at the time of the measure mentioned by Dio (A.D. 4) there were only Iulia and Agrippina, both of whom were born before B.C. 15 and so would be too old. His great-grand-daughter by Agrippina was not yet born.

abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium, Diale flaminium, sacrum Lupercale, ludos saeculares et compitalicios. Lupercalibus

Salutis augurium. The new consuls on coming into office offered a prayer to Salus for the health and prosperity of the people, but before doing so the auspices had to be taken to ascertain whether such a prayer might be offered; and the whole ceremony was called *Augurium Salutis*, Dio 37, 24 *ὥστε τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς ὑγιείας διὰ πάνυ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαι* (in B.C. 63 after Pompey's victories). *τοῦτο δὲ μαντείας τις τρόπος ἐστί, πύστιν τινὰ ἔχων εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφισιν ὁ θεὸς ὑγιείαν αἰτῆσαι, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν οὐδὲ αἴτησιν αὐτῆς πρὶν συγχωρηθῆναι γενέσθαι.* One condition was that there should be peace; and Augustus took great pleasure in renewing the ceremony in B.C. 29 in connexion with the closing of the temple of Ianus, Dio 51, 20 *τάς τε πύλας τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων πεπαυμένων ἔκλεισαν καὶ τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς ὑγιείας ἐποίησαν.* See Marquardt 13, p. 77, note (7). The name of the Emperor was joined in the solemn *votorum nuncupatio* along with that of the *Salus Publica*, which took place usually on 3 January, see Wilmanns 2876. For the worship of *Salus*, begun in B.C. 180, see Livy 40, 37; Wilmanns 13, 64 a, 102.

Diale flaminium. According to Festus (s.v. maximae *dignationis*) there were thirteen flamens attached to the worship of different gods; but there were *flamines maiores* (Dialis, Martis, Quirini). The *flamen dialis* occupied a position of great dignity, had a seat in the Senate, the *sella curulis*, and was preceded by a lictor, but he was subject to the most minute and tiresome rules as to duties and residence. Every day was *festus* to him, he might not sleep a night out of Rome, or mount a horse, or take an oath. The last was held to exclude him also from all magistracies, though this was at times got over by his colleague taking it for him [Livy 31, 50; 39, 39, 45]. It was no wonder therefore that it was found difficult to get men of high rank to serve [Livy 27, 8], and when L. Cornelius Merula died in B.C. 87 the office remained vacant for 75 years, till Augustus secured an appointment in B.C. 11 [Tac. *Ann.* 3, 58; Dio Cass. 54, 36].

For the position of the *flamen dialis* and rules affecting him and his wife (*flaminica*), see generally Aul. Gell. 10, 15; Plut. *Q. R.* 14, 50; *Romulus* 47; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 16; Festus s. vv. *Flaminica* and *equo*; Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* 4, 262; Wilmanns 539.

sacrum Lupercale. The restoration of the Lupercal is mentioned among the works of Augustus in the M. A. c. 4. The site of the sacred cave is uncertain. The festival celebrated on the 15 February was probably connected with beating the bounds of the ancient Palatine city. The circumstance of its celebration in B.C. 44, when Antony offered Iulius a crown [Cic. 2 *Phil.* §§ 86—7], seems to have led the Senate to withdraw from the college of Luperci an endowment granted them by Caesar [Cic. 13 *Phil.* § 31 *vectigalia Iuliana Lupercis ademistis*], and apparently to put a stop to the festival. It continued to be celebrated thenceforth till A.D. 494, when Pope Gelasius substituted for it the feast of the Purification of the Virgin.

ludos saeculares, M. A. c. 22 *Pro conlegio xv virorum magister conlegii collega M. Agrippa ludos Saeculares C. Furnio C. Silano Cos. feci*, i.e. B.C. 17, A. U. C. 737. These games were the special function of the XV viri (who had also charge of the Sibylline books), see Tac. *Ann.* 11, 11. On what calculation Augustus selected the year for them is uncertain, though it appears to have rested on some passage of the Sibylline books [Hor. *C. S.* 5]. Dio 54, 18 says they were the 5th held since the foundation of the city. The preceding celebrations are said [Censorinus 17, 8] to have been in 449, 348, 249, 149 [though Livy *Ep.* 49 only notices the two last]. The fifth should therefore have been in B.C. 49 or 48. The Civil War prevented that, and Augustus and his colleagues may have arrived at the year 17, by deducting 33 years as the number accumulated in advance by the last three *saecula* being reckoned as 100 years, whereas the right length of the *saeculum* was said to be 110 years [Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 21 *certus undenos deciens per annos orbis ut cantus referatque ludos*...] as being the maximum length of a man's life. The Emperor Claudius in A.D. 47 however neglected this calculation, taking the 800th year of the city according to the Varronian epoch. But Domitian

vetuit currere inberbes, item saecularibus ludis iuvenes utriusque sexus prohibuit ullum nocturnum spectaculum frequentare nisi cum aliquo maiore natu propinquorum. Compitales Lares ornari bis anno instituit, vernis floribus et aestivis.

Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium Populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit, professus edicto *commentum id se, ut ad illorum velut exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus.* Pompei quoque statuam contra theatri eius regiam

Inscriptions.

in A.D. 88 seems to have gone back to it [Suet. *Dom.* 4]. See also *C. I. L.* 1, p. 442, Marquardt 12, p. 89 sqq.

compitalicios. The *Compitalia*, which dated from the regal period, were properly *ludi conceptivi*, but were so generally fixed on or about the 3rd and 4th of January, soon after the Saturnalia, that they became equivalent to *ludi stati* [Mommsen, *C. I. L.* 1, p. 382]. They were under the charge of the officers of the vici as *magistri collegiorum compitaliciorum* [Livy 34, 7; *C. I. L.* 6, 1234]. But these colleges having been abolished by a Senatus Consultum in B.C. 64 as dangerous, restored by Clodius in B.C. 58, and again abolished by Caesar [Ascon. *in Pis.* p. 6; Suet. *Iul.* 42], the celebrations seem to have fallen into desuetude. The restoration of Augustus was connected with the reorganization of the vici mentioned in c. 31. It is alluded to by Vergil *Aen.* 8, 717 *ludisque viae plausuque fremebant.* The celebrations of the Compitalia in the country [Cato *R. R.* 5 and 57] were perhaps not interrupted, see Cic. *ad Att.* 7, 7, § 3.

compitales...aestivis, that is, probably on the 1st May and 1st of August, —the latter being the day on which the new *vicorum magistri* entered on their office. Ovid *F.* 5, 129 *praestitibus Maiae Laribus videre Kalendae aram constitui* ...147 *Quo feror? Augustus mensis mihi carminis huius ius habet.* But it is nowhere precisely stated that these were the two days, see Marquardt 12, p. 248; Mommsen in *C. I. L.* 1, p. 393.

statuas...triumphali effigie, 'statues with triumphal ornaments.' The series of statues in niches in the colonnades round the *forum Augusti* began with Aeneas and came down to the time of Augustus. Ovid *F.* 5, 563 *hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro Et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos.* See also the list in Vergil *Aen.* VI. Gellius 9, 11 mentions Valerius Corvinus among them. See Iuv. 1, 129 *deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo atque triumphales.* Dio says they were of bronze (χαλκοῦς), 55, 107, but Lampridius of marble [*Alex. Sev.* 28, 6 *exemplo Augusti qui summorum virorum statuas in foro suo e marmore collocavit additis gestis*]. There were not it seems equestrian statues, i.e. in chariots, as was the fashion in other places [Iuv. 8, 3; 7, 125; Plin. *N. H.* *unde et nostri currus nati in iis qui triumphavissent. Serum hoc, et in his non nisi a divo Augusto seiuges*]. The car set up in the middle of the forum seems to have been meant as a triumphal emblem for all alike. M. A. c. 35. For the inscriptions see Vell. Pat. 2, 39 *Divus Augustus praeter Hispanias aliasque gentes, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet* etc. For extant specimens see *C. I. L.* 1, pp. 281—292.

Pompei... statuam. This was the statue in the *Curia Pompei*, at the foot of which Iulius Caesar fell. It was saved from the fire by which the Curia was destroyed after the murder. Suet. *Caes.* 88; App. *B. civ.* 2, 147. It has been supposed to be the same marble statue which was found in 1553, and is now in the *Palazzo Spada.* But this is not proved, and the more general opinion is that the statue in the Curia was of bronze.

regiam sc. *porticum*, cp. c. 76. The *porticus Pompeiana* was outside the

marmoreo Iano superposuit, translatam e curia, in quā C. Caesar fuerat occisus.

Pleraque pessimi exempli in perniciem publicam aut ex consuetudine licentiaque bellorum civilium durave- 32
5 rant aut per pacem etiam extiterant; nam et grassatorum plurimi palam se ferebant succincti ferro, quasi tuendi sui causa, et rapti per agros viatores sine discrimine liberi servique ergastulis possessorum supprimebantur, et plurimae factiones titulo collegi novi ad nullius
10 non facinoris societatem coibant. Igitur grassaturas dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus inhibuit, ergastula recognovit, collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit. Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum,

Suppression of brigandage

and illegal associations.

theatre. It was a large court, surrounded by a cloister supported by rows of columns. It was also called the *Hecatostylon*, and is so named on the marble Plan. The court was adorned with rows of sycamore trees, fountains, and statues...*Pompei dona nemusque duplex*, Mart. 2, 14, 10. *tu modo Pompeia lentus spatiare sub umbra*, Ov. *A. A.* 1, 67; cp. Cic. *de Fat.* c. 4.

marmoreo Iano, 'a marble arch' or rather double arch with four ways... *Ianus quadrifrons.*

32. grassatorum, 'foot-pads,' are thus defined in the *Dig.* 48, 19, 28, § 15 *grassatores qui praedae causa id faciunt proximi latronibus habentur.* Cp. c. 43.

succincti ferro. This was additional aggravation, *Dig.* l. c. *et si cum ferro aggredi instituerunt, capite puniuntur.*

ergastulis...supprimebantur, 'were kept shut up in the slave prisons.' The *ergastula* were primarily prisons for refractory slaves, who worked in the fields in chains and were shut up during the night in separate cells, often underground, Livy 2, 23; 7, 4; Columella 1, 6 § 3. The abuse here mentioned, of confining free men in these places, caused Tiberius later on to hold a visitation of *ergastula* throughout Italy, *Tib.* 8 *quorum domini in invidiam venerant quasi exceptos supprimerent non solum viatores sed et quos sacramenti metus ad eius modi latebras compulisset.* Cp. Colum. 1, 8 and 16 *ut ergastuli mancipia recognoscant, ut explorent...num villicus aut alligaverit quemquam domino nesciente aut revinxerit.* But the scandal went on till Hadrian abolished them altogether, Spartian. *Hadr.* 18 *ergastula servorum et liberorum tulit.* For the enormous number of these plantations of slaves (often criminal or treated as criminal) throughout Italy, see Lucan 7, 402; Tacit. *Ann.* 4, 27; Iuv. 8, 180; 14, 24; Seneca *de Tr.* 3, 32; Pliny *H. N.* 18, §§ 21 and 36; Plutarch *Tib. Gr.* 8; Appian *B. civ.* 1, 7; Florus 2, 7, 3. Mommsen [*R. H.* 3, p. 79, E. T. lesser ed.] regards the system of slave plantations as having been brought by the Carthaginians into Sicily; and, connecting the word *ergastulum* with ἐργάζομαι, considers that its mongrel formation shows that it originated somewhere where Greek influence was felt but Greek civilisation was imperfect.

supprimere conveys the notion of 'putting out of the way,' causing to disappear, *Dig.* 48, 8, 3, § 4 *qui naufragum suppresserit.*

per opportuna loca. Cp. *Tib.* 37 *in primis tuendae pacis a grassaturis et latrociniis seditionumque licentia curam habuit. Stationes militum solito frequentiores disposuit.* Thus Iuvenal [3, 307] speaks of the Pomptine marshes and the *Gallinaria pinus* being so guarded. Cp. *id.* 10, 22. Augustus had begun these precautions as early as B.C. 36, see App. *B. civ.* 5, 132.

collegia...dissolvit. Dio 54, 2 τῶν τε συσσιτίων τὰ μὲν παντελῶς κατέλυσε τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον συνέστειλεν (B.C. 22). The law by which this was done (*lex Iulia de collegiis*) was not otherwise mentioned in any extant document until the discovery of an inscrip-

vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam, exussit; loca in urbe publica iuris ambigui possessoribus adiudicavit; diuturnorum reorum et ex quorum sordibus nihil aliud quam voluptas inimicis quaereretur nomina abolevit, condicione proposita, ut si quem quis repetere vellet, 5

The State debtors.

tion by Mommsen in 1847. *C. I. L.* 6, 2193, Wilmanns 1344 DIS • MANIBVS • COLLEGIO • SYMPHONIACORVM • QVI • SACRIS • PVBLICIS • PRAESTV • SVNT • QVIBVS • SENATVS • C • C • C • (coire convocari cogi) PERMISIT • F • LEGE • IVLIA • EX • AVCTORITATE • D • AVG • LVDORVM • CAVSA. The *collegia* were very numerous, embracing almost every branch of industry or art, but those which were considered dangerous were the *collegia opificum* and the *collegia sodalicia*, organised for political purposes at elections. The difficulty no doubt was to distinguish between the innocent and the mischievous. The SCtum of B.C. 64 attempted to distinguish between those that were lawful and those that were not, Ascon. ad Cic. *in Pison.* p. 6 *L. Iulio C. Marcio Coss. SCto collegia sublata sunt quae adversus rem publicam videbantur esse.* But Clodius in B.C. 58 apparently overrode this SCtum by a lex, and new *collegia* immediately came into existence [Cic. *pro Sest.* § 55]. Iulius again attempted the same distinction [*Iul.* 42], *cuncta collegia, praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit:* and the *lex Iulia* of Augustus seems to have effected the object by requiring every *collegium* to have a license from the Senate or the Emperor,—thus the clause often appearing in Roman inscriptions *ex s.c. coire licet* [see e.g. Wilmanns, 1737], but the rule does not seem to have applied to other towns in Italy or the provinces. The 'ancient colleges' may be those mentioned by Plutarch as having been established by Numa [*Num.* 17]. There is a considerable literature on the subject, Mommsen *de Collegiis* (1843), Dr Cohn *zum römischen Vereinsrecht* (1873), Dr H. Mané *der praefectus fabrum* (1887), W. Lieberman *zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens* (1890), with Mr E. G. Hardy's review [*Class. Review*, vol. 5, p. 420]. Marquardt 12, 167; Bruns, *Fontes*, pp. 315—325. **legitima** does not seem to refer to any law naming certain colleges, but to their object, those whose objects were constitutional: this would exclude political clubs, and perhaps associations connected with foreign religions.

tabulas...debitorum. Dio 53, 2 [13, l. 28] *καὶ τὰς ἐγγύας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ μάχης γενομένας, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα ἀπήλλαξεν, τά τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια τῶν τῷ κοινῷ τι ὀφειλόντων ἔκαυσεν.* The debts might be from *multae* or confiscations, or even from state loans [see c. 42].

vel praecipuam...materiam, 'far the most frequent excuse for vexatious actions.' *praecipuam* is qualified by *vel* as though a superlative adjective. Cf. *Iul.* 21 *cuius vel praecipua opera...Bibulum impugnaverat.* For such *calumniae* in favour of the treasury, see *Nero* 32; *Domit.* 9.

iuris ambigui, i.e. when it could not be clearly proved whether they were public or private property, the presumption was allowed to go in favour of the actual holder. There were regular commissioners, holding office for two years, to decide such questions ('escheators'), called *curatores locorum publicorum*, see Wilmanns 854 T • QVINCTIVS • ...C • CALPETANVS • ..... CVRATORES • LOCOR • PVBLICOR • IVDICAND • EX • S • C • CAVSA • COGNITA • EX • PRIVATO • IN • PVBLIC • RESTITVER. Cp. *id.* 1131.

sordibus, 'misery,' with a general reference, however, to the custom of a *reus* being *sordidatus*. Cp. *Vit.* 8 *reis sordes, damnatis supplicia dempsit.* Cic. *ad Att.* 1, 16, 2 *satius esse illum in infamia relinqui ac sordibus quam infirmo iudicio committi.*

nomina abolevit, had their names removed from the public *tabulae* of accused persons. The *tabulae publicae* in such revenue cases hung up in the treasury, *Domit.* 9 *reos, qui ante quinquennium proximum apud aerarium pependissent universos discrimine liberavit, nec repeti nisi intra annum eaque conditione permisit, ut accusatori qui causam non teneret exilium poena esset.*

repetere ... subiret. See passage quoted above. For the technical meaning of *repetere*, of a renewal of a charge, see also *Dom.* 8 *Corneliam...absolutam olim, dein longo intervallo repetitam atque convictam defodi imperavit.* The

par periculum poenae subiret. Ne quod autem maleficium negotiumve inpunitate vel morā elaberetur, triginta amplius dies, qui honoraris ludis occupabantur, actui rerum accommodavit. Ad tris iudicum decurias quartam addidit ex inferiore censu, quae ducenariorum vocaretur iudicaretque de levioribus summis. Iudices a vicensimo [quinto] aetatis anno adlegit, id est quinquennio maturius quam

The *iudicia.*

right however was usually confined to those cases where the accuser had died or for some reason had been prevented from proceeding; and moreover the new accusation must be within 30 days. *Dig.* 48, 2, 3, § 4.

par ... poenae. The *calumniator* risked incurring the same punishment as the accused would incur if cast in his suit. Cod. 9, 46, 10 *quisquis crimen intendit non impunitam fere noverit licentiam mentiendi: cum calumniantis ad vindictam poscat similitudo supplicii;* just as in an action for property the *adsertor* risked a fine of a third of its value if convicted of *calumnia*, Gaius *Instit.* 4, 175.

maleficium negotiumve, 'action for damages or on a disputed claim.' This answers to the two great divisions of *actiones* of Iustinian [*Inst.* 4, 6], those *in personam* and *in rem.* The former would include (among other things) *maleficium*, where some wrong or fraud was alleged and a remedy sought; the latter would coincide with *negotium*, all questions between two or more litigants who were at issue as to some right or liability. For *negotium* in the sense of lawsuit cp. *Cal.* 40 *si quis composuisse vel donasse negotium convinceretur.*

elaberetur, 'should be allowed to fall through,' 'should escape the hands of the law.' Cp. *Tib.* 33 *et si quem reorum elabi gratia rumor esset, subitus aderat.*

triginta...accommodavit, that is he allowed actions to be brought on thirty additional days, which had before been *feriae.* In the *Dig.* 48, 2, 3, § 4 it is laid down *ubique triginta dies utiles observandi sunt.* Now days on which *ludi* were held were not *utiles.* Augustus did not interfere with the regular *feriae*, on which *ludi stati* or *conceptivi* were held: but the days closed to law business had a constant tendency to increase, and he here withdraws from them 30 days taken up by *ludi honorarii*, i.e. games given as an extra indulgence by magistrates to the people, Marquardt 12, p. 349.

actui rerum, 'for the prosecution of legal business,' 'term-time,' Pliny *Ep.* 9, 25, 3 *nunc me rerum actus modice sed tamen distringit. Claud.* 15; *Nero* 17.

ad tris iudicum decurias. The judices up to B.C. 122 had all been Senators, from B.C. 122 to 81 they were *equites.* In that year a law of Sulla reinstated the Senators. It was the reaction after the death of Sulla that introduced the three *decuriae.* By the *lex Aurelia* (B.C. 70) the jury was to be composed of three *decuriae, Senatores, equites* and *tribuni aerarii.* The *lex Iulia* of B.C. 46 did away with the *decuria* of the *tribuni aerarii* [*Iul.* 41; Dio 43, 25]. Antony in B.C. 44 made a third decuria of those who had served as centurions, or in the cavalry or in the *legio Alauda* in any rank [Cic. 1 *Phil.* § 20; 5, § 12; 13, § 3]. The *lex Aurelia* had, it appears, not barred centurions as long as they had a certain *census* (raised perhaps by the *lex Pompeia* in B.C. 55), but Antony's law abolished this qualification. What exactly Augustus did is somewhat obscure. Mommsen [*Staatsr.* 3, p. 335, no. 2] holds that he composed the three *decuriae* of *equites* exclusively, adding a 4th *decuria* of men of a lower *census.* But the point of view as to the *iudicia* was changed. It was no longer an object for one order or the other to serve on them. The measure of Augustus was a relief to the Senators, and his reform seems to have been a levelling up, as by some means the majority of those on the *album iudicum* had come to be of a census lower than the equestrian. Pliny *N. H.* 30, 131, § 30 *divo Augusto ordinante decurias maior pars iudicum in ferreo annulo fuit, iique non equites sed iudices vocabantur.*

ducenariorum, men whose census reached HS 200,000 but was below the equestrian (HS 400,000). See *Claud.* 24 *procuratores ducenarii.*

a vicensimo [quinto]. The MSS. have *tricensimo.* But the *lex Servilia*

solebant. Ac plerisque iudicandi munus detractantibus, vix concessit ut singulis decuriis per vices annua vacatio esset, et ut solitae agi Novembri ac Decembri mense res omitterentur. Ipse ius dixit assidue et in noctem nonnumquam, si parum corpore valeret, lectica pro tribunali collocata vel etiam domi cubans. Dixit autem ius non diligentia modo summa sed et lenitate, siquidem manifesti parricidii reum, ne culleo insueretur, quod nonnisi confessi adficiuntur hac poena, ita fertur interrogasse: *certe patrem tuum non occidisti?* Et cum de falso testamento

Legal vacation.

33

As a judge.

(B.C. 104) fixed the lowest age at thirty, and if Augustus anticipated that by 5 years he must have fixed it at twenty-five (xxx and xxv may easily have been confused).

munus detractantibus. The work was now, as observed above, a burden rather than a privilege. See passages cited by Mayor on *Iuv.* 7, 116. It was to relieve this burden that Caligula added a 5th *decuria* [*ut levior labor iudicantibus foret ad quattuor prioris quintam decuriam addidit, Cal.* 16].

solitae agi...Decembri. The months of November and December were already much occupied with *ludi* and other celebrations, December especially, with the Saturnalia, was a general holiday. [See Iuv. 7, 98; infr. 71.] The total suspension of *iudicia publica* during them therefore was perhaps no great innovation.

33. ipse ius dixit. The criminal jurisdiction of the Emperors was unlimited, though they frequently named a *consilium* of Senators and equites to assist them. [See Tac. *Ann.* 3, 10; 14, 62; Pliny *Ep.* 4, 22; 6, 22.] Some of the early Emperors were remiss in this duty, and accordingly Suetonius generally notices their habit in this respect, see *Claud.* 14 [cp. Dio 60, 4]; *Nero* 14—15; *Dom.* 8. This power (*ius dicendi*) was in strict accordance with precedent in the case of the dictators, triumvirs, and other extraordinary magistrates, see Mommsen *Staatsr.* 4, p. 461. Willems, *Droit publique*, p. 458.

in noctem, 'up to night-fall. The Roman business day ended commonly at noon or an hour later, Mart. 4, 8, 4 *sexta quies lassis septima finis erit*, and law business began from 8 to 9 A.M.... *exercet raucos tertia causidicos*. After dark the business of the courts could not properly be continued [Pliny *Ep.* 4, 9, § 9 *actionem meam, ut proelia solet, nox diremit*], just as a meeting of the Senate by ancient custom was suspended by night-fall, the legality of a decree passed after it being disputed, Gell. 14, 7, § 8 *post haec deinceps dicit* (Varro) *senatus consultum ante exortum aut post occasum solem factum ratum non fuisse.*

domi. Thus Iulius heard the case of Deiotarus at his own house.

lenitate, see infr. c. 51. Dio [55, 7] attributes much in this way to the influence of Maecenas.

parricidii. Whether the word is derived from *pater caedo* or not, two things are plain: (1) that it once applied to any murder, cp. Festus s. v. *parricid.* of a law of Numa, *si qui hominem liberum dolo sciens morti duit paricidas esto*; (2) that in later times it was regarded as so derived and used for 'parricide.'

culleo, the punishment of the parricide. See *Ner.* 45; Dio 61, 16; Iustin. *Inst.* 4, 18 § 6 *poena parricidii punietur...insutus culeo cum cane et gallo gallinaceo et vipera et simia et inter eius ferales angustias comprehensus, secundum quod regionis qualitas tulerit, vel in vicinum mare, vel in amnem proiicietur, ut omni elementorum usu vivus carere incipiat, ut ei caelum superstiti, terra mortuo auferatur.* See also passages collected by Mayor on Iuv. 8, 214. Cic. *pro Ros. Am.* § 70.

nonnisi confessi. This must have been a provision of the *lex Pompeia* (B.C. 55), for the punishment existed before, see Livy *Ep.* 68 (B.C. 102); Val. Max. 1, 1, 13; Oros. 1, 16, 23. The alternative to confession was to stand a trial and receive a perhaps lighter sentence, cp. Capitolin. *Anton. Pius* 8. 10 *usque adeo sub eo nullus percussus est*

ageretur omnesque signatores lege Corneliā tenerentur, non tantum duas tabellas, damnatoriam et absolutoriam, simul cognoscentibus dedit, sed tertiam quoque, qua ignosceretur iis, quos fraude ad signandum vel errore inductos constitisset.
5 Appellationes quot annis urbanorum quidem litigatorum praetori delegabat urbano, ac provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos cuiusque provinciae negotiis praeposuisset.

senator ut etiam parricida confessus in insula deserta poneretur, quia vivere illi naturae legibus non licebat.

signatores...tenerentur. The *Lex Cornelia de falsis* or *testamentaria* of Cornelius Sulla related to all kinds of frauds connected with wills. The witnesses to a forged will (of which seven were required) were liable to the same penalty as the actual forger,—the presumption being that all engaged were acting in concert. Iustin. *Inst.* 4, 18, 7 *item lex Cornelia de falsis, quae etiam testamentaria vocatur, poenam irrogat ei, qui testamentum vel aliud instrumentum scripserit, signaverit, recitaverit, subiecerit, quive signum adulterinum fecerit, sculpserit, expresserit sciens dolo malo. Dig.* 48, 10, 2. What Augustus seems to have done is to give a generous interpretation to the saving clause *sciens dolo malo*, enabling a witness to prove that he had not been aware of the nature of the deed when he signed it. The presumption would still be against him till he had proved this.

cognoscentibus, 'the jury,' but also of magistrates hearing a case, *Iul.* 38; *Claud.* 15 and 33; *Nero* 15.

tertiam quoque. This is not the tablet with N.L. on it, the custom of giving a *non liquet* verdict having fallen into desuetude [see Cicero *pro Cluent.* § 76]; it appears to have been a tablet specially prepared for this occasion, but how marked we do not know.

appellationes. Though the exact juridical foundation of the appellate jurisdiction of Augustus is not clear, it grew naturally from his *tribunicia potestas*, as well as his *proconsulare imperium* in the provinces. Among the powers voted to Augustus in B.C. 30—29 [Dio 51, 19] were that *ἐκκλητόν τε* [sc. *δίκην*, cp. 52, 22] *δικάζειν καὶ ψῆφόν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὥσπερ Ἀθηναῖς φέρεσθαι.* For some time however there seems to have been a variety of practice. Caligula [c. 16] *magistratibus liberam iurisdictionem et sine sui appellatione concessit.* Nero gave an appeal from the iudices to the Senate [*Ner.* 17 *ut omnes appellationes a iudicibus ad senatum fierent*]. But this seems either only to refer to private suits, Tac. *Ann.* 14, 28, or not to exclude the appeal to the Emperor which still existed side by side with it. Again by a constitution of Hadrian there was no appeal from the Senate to the Emperor. But these arrangements appear to have only applied to Rome or Italy, not to the provinces, from which the appeals to the Emperor continued to be made. This *appellatio* was a natural result of the old *provocatio ad populum*, which ceased to be practically used when trials were before *quaestiones* as committees of the populus. The last recorded case was that of Rabirius in B.C. 63,—but the *provocatio* in that case was not against the verdict of *iudices*, but against the sentence of *duoviri capitales* on a charge of *perduellio*, an antiquated procedure which had been practically superseded by a *quaestio de maiestate.* Against an irresponsible sentence of *duoviri* there was of course still a right of *provocatio* [*Iul.* 11]. Now that the comitia had lost all significance, the *appellatio* to the Princeps naturally took the place of the old *provocatio ad populum.*

delegabat. In later times this became a regular system. The Emperor either judged an appeal himself or referred it to a *iudex datus* or *iudex delegatus*, who as representing him gave a decision which, like his own, might be without appeal if so stated in his commission. Cod. Th. 11, 30, 16; Willems, *Droit publique*, pp. 459, 462; *Dig.* 49, 2, 1, § 4.

consularibus viris...praeposuisset. Officials called *legati iuridici*, or simply *iuridici*, are found in the provinces in the next century [Marquardt 9, p. 576; Mommsen *Staats.* 1, p. 262]: whether they are to be connected with this arrangement of Augustus is uncertain.

34 Leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariam et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus. Hanc cum aliquanto severius quam ceteras emendasset, prae tumultu recusantium perferre non potuit, nisi ademptā demum lenitāve parte poenarum et vacatione trienni datā auctisque praemiis. Sic quoque abolitionem eius publico spectaculo pertinaciter postulante equite, accitos Germanici liberos receptosque partim ad se partim in patris gremium ostentavit, manu vultuque significans ne gravarentur imitari iuvenis exemplum. Cumque

Legislation.

Iosephus Quirinus, who was *legatus Augusti* in Syria [Rushforth 23], says that he was ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος, and the same title is given in inscriptions to other men who were *legati* of provinces, and is therefore apparently only a somewhat inaccurate version of the ordinary *legatus* [Wilmanns 1159, cp. *C. I. G.* 4238].

34. leges...sanxit, 'he revised the laws and in some cases enacted new.' Augustus refers in general terms to his legislation and restoration of old customs before mentioned [c. 31] in the M. A. c. 2 *legibus novis latis complura exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro usu reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi.* During his principate the forms of the *comitia* for legislation were generally maintained [Dio 53, 21], though a *SCtum* of B.C. 19 gave him the right of making laws to be called *leges Augustae.* Of those carried by him we hear of *de collegiis* B.C. 22 [Dio 54, 2]; *de equitibus* B.C. 15 [Dio 54, 30]; *de Senatu* B.C. 9 [Dio 53, 3]; *de ambitu* B.C. 8 [Tac. *Ann.* 15, 20]; *de emancipatione* A.D. 3 [Dio 55, 13]; *de Vestalibus* A.D. 5 [Dio 55, 13]; *de vicesima hereditatum* A.D. 6 [Dio 55, 25; 56, 28]. Also some which we cannot date,—*leges sumptuariae* [Gell. 2, 24, 14]; *leges iudiciariae* [Macrob. 1, 10, 4]; *de peculatu* [*Dig.* 48, tit. 13]. The laws on marriage, and the relation of the sexes generally, consisted of a series of enactments to be regarded perhaps as separate chapters of the same law: (1) B.C. 18—17 *de adulteriis coercendis;* (2) *de pudicitia* [*Dig.* 48, tit. 5; Ulp. tit. 13—14; Hor. *Od.* 3, 24]; (3) *de maritandis ordinibus* [Dio 54, 16; 55, 2; Hor. *C. Saec.* 20]; (4) an amplification of the above passed in the consulship of M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppaeus Secundus (A.D. 9) and hence called the *lex Papia Poppaea* [Dio 54, 16; 56, 1; Tac. *Ann.* 3, 25; 15, 19; Ulp. tit. 14].

prae tumultu...potuit. The hardships of the law most felt were (1) the tax on *coelibes* and their inability to inherit by will, (2) the disabilities inflicted on *orbi*, who between certain ages could only take half an *hereditas* or *legatum*, the remainder going to the treasury: it was in fact a 'death duty' of 50 p.c. on childless or unmarried men and women. Attempts were often made to modify it, cp. Tac. *Ann.* 3, 25 *relatum deinde de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam senior Augustus post Iulias rogationes incitandis coelibum poenis et augendo aerario sanxerat.* Dio 56, 6. Plut. *de Am.* prol. 2 Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ γαμοῦσι καὶ γεννῶσιν, οὐχ ἵνα κληρονόμους ἔχωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα κληρονομεῖν δύνωνται.

poena Fest. uxorium *pependisse dicitur qui quod uxorem non habuerit aes populo dedit.* This was a tax of great antiquity, see Val. Max. 2, 9, 1, who says that it was levied by the Censors of B.C. 404. Augustus revived and increased it.

vacatione trienni, 'a three years' freedom from the obligation to marry after the death of a husband or wife.' Ulp. tit. 14 *feminis lex Iulia a morte viri anni tribuit vacationem, a divortio sex mensium: lex autem Papia a morte viri biennii, a repudio anni et sex mensium.*

accitos Germanici...exemplum. As Germanicus was born B.C. 15 he was still *iuvenis* [Gell. 10, 25] at the time of the passing of the law (A.D. 9), but he had already been Quaestor (A.D. 7) and had served in Pannonia under his uncle Tiberius, returning in A.D. 10 to announce the success of the expedition

etiam inmaturitate sponsarum et matrimoniorum crebrā mutatione vim legis eludi sentiret, tempus sponsas habendi coartavit, divortiis modum imposuit.

Senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et inconditā turbā 35
5 (erant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi et post necem Caesaris per gratiam et praemium adlecti, quos orcīnos vulgus vocabat) ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit duabus lectionibus: primā ipsorum

Reforms of the Senate.

[Dio 55, 31]. The date of his marriage with Agrippina (b. B.C. 12), daughter of Agrippa and Iulia, is not known, but she seems already to have had several of the nine children which she eventually bore to her husband [*Cal.* 7].

inmaturitate sponsarum, i.e. by contracting a nominal marriage or betrothal with a child, in order to evade the law. Such betrothals were not otherwise uncommon: Augustus himself was married to a daughter of Fulvia, while she was quite a child, and never lived with her; and he caused Tiberius to betroth himself to Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa, when she was only a year old, Nepos *Att.* 19. But as a mode of evading the law Augustus attempted to suppress it by the regulation that no *sponsalia* were to be taken account of that were not followed by marriage in two years...*τοῦτ' ἔστιν δεκέτιν πάντως ἐγγυᾶσθαι τόν γέ τι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσαντα· δώδεκα γὰρ ταῖς κόραις ἐς τὴν τοῦ γάμου ὥραν ἔτη πλήρη, καθάπερ εἶπον, νομίζεται*, Dio 54, 16. Other ways, however, were found of accomplishing this evasion and obtaining the rights reserved to the parent of three children, so that rewards for information were offered under the *lex Papia Poppaea* [Tac. *Ann.* 3, 28; Suet. *Ner.* 10].

divortiis...imposuit, principally by the regulation that the *dos* was to be forfeited by the party in fault. This was no new principle, see Cic. *Top.* § 19 *si viri culpa factum est divortium etsi mulier nuntium remisit, tamen pro liberis manere nihil oportet.* But Augustus seems to have increased the stringency of the regulation in regard to capricious divorces where no distinct crime was chargeable on either side. Moreover the observance of certain forms of divorce was enforced. *Dig.* 38, 11, 1, § 1 *Lex Iulia de adulteriis, nisi certo modo divortium factum sit, pro infecto sit.* See Marquardt 14, pp. 91—95.

35. Senatorum ... numerum. The normal number of the Senate up to the time of Sulla was 300 [Livy *ep.* 60], though that number was not strictly adhered to, being sometimes in excess [1 Maccabees, 8, 15], and sometimes somewhat short [App. *B. civ.* 1, 35]. Sulla raised it to about 600, though this number does not appear to have been adhered to strictly [Willems *le Sénat* 1, p. 405]; and the actual attendance of 200 members was looked upon as fairly satisfactory in Cicero's time [*ad Q. fr.* 2, 1, 1]. Iulius Caesar largely recruited its ranks, not it would seem from any regard to its dignity, rather the reverse, —putting men of all sorts into it, even *peregrini.* [Suet. *Caes.* 41 *senatum supplevit. id.* 80 *peregrinis in senatum adlectis libellus propositus est: 'bonum factum; ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit.'*] It was done by a *lex Cassia*, Tac. *Ann.* 11, 25. At his death the members seem to have reached 900, Dio 43, 47 *παμπληθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, μηδὲν διακρίνων μήτ' εἴ τις στρατιώτης μήτ' εἴ τις ἀπελευθέρου παῖς ἦν, ἐσέγραψεν, ὥστε ἑνακοσίους τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι.*

orcinos, a name applied to men freed in virtue of a will. Iust. *Inst.* 2, 24, 2 *qui directo testamenti liber esse iubetur, ipsius testatoris fit libertus, qui etiam orcinus appellatur.*

duabus lectionibus. In the *Monumentum*, c. 8, Augustus says *Senatum* TER *legi.* The occasions were (1) In B.C. 29, when, finding the number had risen to 1000, he induced 50 to resign, and expelled 140 others, acting with Agrippa [Dio 52, 42]. (2) In B.C. 18, when he tried an elaborate system of selection by nominating a certain number, who were to name others, who again were to name more, up to about 300; but the system breaking down he made up the list himself to 600 [Dio 54, 13]. Suetonius, however, seems to reverse the order of these *lectiones.* (3) In B.C. 11 [Dio 54,

arbitratu, quo vir virum legit, secundā suo et Agrippae; quo tempore existimatur loricā sub veste munitus ferroque cinctus praesedisse, decem valentissimis senatorii ordinis amicis sellam suam circumstantibus. Cordus Cremutius scribit, ne admissum quidem tunc quemquam senatorum nisi solum et praetemptato sinu. Quosdam ad excusandi se verecundiam compulit servavitque etiam excusatis insignę vestis et spectandi in orchestrā epulandique publice ius. Quo autem lecti probatique et religiosius et minore molestiā senatoria munera fungerentur, sanxit, ut prius quam consideret quisque ture ac mero supplicaret apud aram eius dei, in cuius templo coiretur, et ne plus quam bis in mense legitimus senatus ageretur, Kal. et Idibus, neve Septembri Octobrive mense ullos adesse

35]. Dio also mentions a fourth, in A.D. 3, but that was done through commissioners (*tres viri*), see c. 37 [Dio 55, 13]. Mommsen, *res g.* p. 35, rejects the third of them.

lorica sub veste, 'under his tunic,' as in the case of Cicero, Plut. *Cic.* 14 *τοῦ δὲ θώρακος ἐπίτηδες ὑπέφαινέ τι παραλύσας ἐκ τῶν ὤμων τοῦ χιτῶνος*...Dio [54, 12] refers to the wearing of the lorica by Augustus, as owing to the disturbed state of the times, in B.C. 19—18 *τὸν θώρακα ὃν ὑπὸ τῇ στολῇ πολλάκις καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνέδριον ἐσιὼν εἶχεν.*

Cordus Cremutius [for similar inversion of names see Sall. *Iug.* 27; Tac. *Agric.* 2]. Cremutius Cordus offended Sejanus by saying of the decree for putting up his statue in the restored theatre of Pompey, *tunc vere theatrum perire*, Seneca *ad Marciam* (d. of Cremutius) 22, 4. The pretext for his prosecution was that in his history of the civil war and the life and times of Augustus (*περὶ τῶν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πραχθέντων*) he had praised Brutus and Cassius and spoken of them as 'the last of the Romans.' He ended his life by starvation. Dio 57, 24; Tac. *Ann.* 34—35; Suet. *Tib.* 61. According to Suetonius and Tacitus this compliment referred to Cassius alone, and is attributed by Plutarch to Antony [Plut. *Brut.* 44]. The Senate ordered his works to be destroyed, but they were nevertheless secretly circulated, and were subsequently licensed again by Caligula [Suet. *Cal.* 16].

praetemptato sinu, lest a dagger should be concealed under the folds of the toga. Cp. Seneca *de Clem.* 1, 9, 1 (of Augustus' plot against Antony) *cum hoc aetatis esset quod tu nunc es...iam pugiones in sinum amicorum absconderat.*

ad excusandi se verecundiam i.e. 'to resign.' In the *lectio* of B.C. 29 he induced certain senators to resign, and for those who did so he reserved certain honorary Senatorial distinctions, Dio 52, 42 *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεντήκοντά που ἔπεισεν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου.....καὶ αὐτῶν ἠτίμωσε μὲν οὐδένα.*

senatoria munera fungerentur. Roby § 1223. The later writers imitated the construction of the prae-Ciceronians. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* 3, 2 *magistratus Campani suprema erga memoriam Germanici munera fungebantur.*

in cuius templo, Aul. Gell. 14, 7, 7 (*Varro*) *confirmavit, nisi in loco per augurem constituto, quod templum appellaretur, senatus consultum factum esset, iustum id non fuisse. Propterea et in Curia Hostilia et in Pompeia et post in Iulia, cum profana ea loca fuissent, templa esse per augures constituta, ut in iis senatus consulta more maiorum iusta fieri possent.*

Kal. et Idibus. Suetonius does not mean that a meeting of the Senate could only be held on these days, but that on these days alone were meetings to be positively required by law,—*legitimus senatus* [for this meaning of *legitimus* cp. Cicero *Verr.* 2, 2, 128 *mensis legitimus* (*ad comitia habenda*)]. It was to secure a minimum, not to limit the number of meetings. This had become necessary because the tendency to shirk

alios necesse esset quam sorte ductos, per quorum numerum decreta confici possent; sibique instituit consilia sortiri semenstria, cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem senatum referendis ante tractaret. Sententias de maiore negotio non more atque ordine sed prout libuisset perrogabat, ut perinde

public duties was growing, Dio 55, 3 *τὰς τῆς γερουσίας ἕδρας ἐν ῥηταῖς ἡμέραις γίγνεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν,—ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν πρότερον ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐτέτακτο καί τινες διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὑστέριζον δύο βουλὰς κατὰ μῆνα κυρίας ἀπέδειξεν, ὥστε ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπάναγκες, οὓς γε καὶ ὁ νόμος ἐκάλει, συμφοιτᾶν.* [See also for the slack attendance Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2, 12; 3, 2; *ad Att.* 12, 40.] The regulation was maintained with some slight variation as to the days in some of the months to the 4th century, see Mommsen, *C. I. L.* 1, 371. Originally it seems that the Senate often met daily or on any day on which the chief magistrate desired to consult it, with no regard to the distinction of *dies fasti* and *nefasti*. Gradually, however, certain days became closed to it,—such as days of public mourning or days devoted to comitial business (though all *dies comitiales* were not so excluded),—and these days seem first to have been formally defined by the *lex Papia* (?B.C. 71) and the *lex Gabinia* (B.C. 67). See Caes. *B. civ.* 1, 5; Aul. Gell. 14, 7; Willems, *le Sénat*, 2, pp. 149—151.

Septembri Octobrive. The unwholesome autumn, when the deadly *auster* prevailed, no doubt made it difficult to secure the presence of Senators. Horace, *Epist.* 1, 7, 5; 16, 6; *Sat.* 2, 6, 18; Iuv. 4, 56; 6, 517; 14, 130. October also, as the time of vintage, was inconvenient.

per quorum...possent. The *lex Iulia* (B.C. 9) named the minimum number of Senators necessary for passing *senatus consulta* of various kinds. Dio 55, 3 *τόν τε ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἐς τὴν κύρωσιν τῶν δογμάτων ἀναγκαῖον καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος αὐτῶν...διενομοθέτησε.* The earliest indication of such a minimum which we have is in the *SCtum de Bacchanalibus* (B.C. 186) where 100 members are named as necessary for a decree of dispensation. In B.C. 172 the number required for a *SCtum* on the games vowed to Jupiter is mentioned as 150 [Livy 42, 28]. In B.C. 67 (or 70) a plebiscitum of Cornelius required the presence of 200 senators for a *SCtum* dispensing any one from the laws [Asconius in Cic. *Corn.* p. 58]. These numbers represent roughly a third of the whole. It seems also from many passages in Cicero's letters that a definite number were required for a *SCtum* for the designation of provinces [*Att.* 5, 2; 5, 4; *fam.* 8, 5; 8, 8; 8, 9], and in other matters, though the number required in all cases is not known, a member might at any time demand a count (might say *numera*). See Cic. *fam.* 7, 1; 8, 11; *Att.* 5, 4. Festus,... '*numera senatum*' *ait quivis senator consuli cum impedimento vult esse quominus faciat senatus consultum...Si tot non sint quo numero licet perscribi senatus consultum.* If no such motion were made it seems that the smallness of the number did not hinder the passing of a *SCtum*. [Willems, *le Sénat*, 2, p. 167—9.]

consilia sortiri semenstria. This 'privy council' or 'cabinet' was no part of the constitution, but was a measure of convenience adopted only by Augustus and Tiberius. It was first established B.C. 27, consisting of the two consuls, one praetor, aedile, tribune and quaestor and 15 other senators, Dio 53, 21. In A.D. 13, when the Emperor's age made attendance in the Curia painful, a similar council representing the Senate was empowered to meet at his house, consisting of 20 Senators, with Tiberius, the consuls of the year, the Emperor's sons or grandsons by nature or adoption, and such others as he might himself select. Dio 55, 28.

sententias...perrogabat, 'on business of greater importance he passed the question round, not according to precedent and in order of seniority, but as he pleased.' The old order had been (1) *consulares*, (2) *praetorii*, (3) *aedilicii*, (4) *tribunicii*, (5) *quaestorii*. Of the *consulares* those who had been dictators or censors took precedence of all except the *princeps Senatus*, and the consuls designate (when there) came before all other *consulares* [Cic. 5 *Phil.* § 35]. But in the last century several innovations had crept in. In the first place the precedence of the *censorii* seems

quisque animum intenderet ac si censendum magis quam adsentiendum esset.

36 Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit, in quis: ne acta senatus publicarentur, ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provincias mitterentur, ut proconsulibus ad mulos et tabernacula quae publice locari solebant certa pecunia constitueretur, ut cura aerari a quaestoribus urbanis ad praetorios praetoresve transiret, ut centumviralem hastam quam quaesturam functi consuerant cogere decemviri cogerent.

Administrative reforms.

not to have been preserved, for Cicero is asked for his vote before Catulus [*ad Att.* 1, 13]; and the presiding magistrate shewed his preference or dislike by calling on the *consulares* (provided always that he began with them) in what order he pleased, Gell. 14, 7, 9 *novum morem institutum refert* (*Varro*) *per ambitionem gratiamque ut is primus rogaretur, quem rogare vellet, dum is tamen ex gradu consulari esset.* Thus Augustus in order to put a slight on Lepidus called on him last of the consulars [*ὑστάτῳ τῶν ὑπατευκότων* Dio 54, 15], but not after the other orders. See Willems, *le Sénat*, 2, p. 180 sqq. For **perrogare**, see Pliny *Ep.* 6, 22 *perrogari eo die sententiae non potuere.*

adsentiendum, to assent, that is, to his seniors.

36. ne acta...publicarentur, reversing the measure of Iulius, see on c. 6, p. 10.

ne magistratus...mitterentur. This was part of the arrangements made for the provinces in B.C. 27, Dio 53, 14 *κοινῇ δὲ δὴ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄρξαι κληροῦσθαι.* It was a restoration of the rule laid down in Pompey's *lex de iure magistratuum* [B.C. 52, Dio 40, 56], which had been either repealed or ignored by Iulius.

ad mulos...constitueretur. Dio 53, 15 *τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἐργολαβοῦντές τινες παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα παρεῖχον· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτον αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τακτόν τι λαμβάνειν ἤρξαντο.* Thus we hear of Ventidius Bassus (afterwards consul suffectus for B.C. 43) *victum sese aegre quaesisse eumque sordide invenisse comparandis mulis ab vehiculis quae magistratibus, qui sortiti provincias forent, praebenda publice conduxisset*, Aul. Gell. 15, 4. This business however brought Bassus into the notice of Caesar, and must have been lucrative. The mules and vehicles formed part of the proconsul's *vasarium* in the *ornatio provinciae*, see Suet. *Caes.* 18; Cic. *de leg. agr.* 2, § 32; *in Pis.* § 86.

ad praetorios praetoresve. The management of the *aerarium Saturni* was first transferred by Augustus to praetorians with the title of *praefecti* in B.C. 28 [Dio 53, 2 *δύο κατ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων αἱρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσεν*, Tac. *Ann.* 13, 29 *Augustus senatui permisit deligere praefectos*]. In B.C. 23 two of the praetors of the year were assigned by lot to this office [Dio 53, 29; Tac. *l. c.*]. Claudius gave it back to the quaestors [Suet. *Claud.* 24; Tac. *Ann.* 13, 28]; but Nero once more appointed praetorian *praefecti* [Tac. *l.c.*]. Hence in an inscription of about B.C. 15 we hear of *praetor aerarii* [Wilmanns 1124], but in the reign of Domitian and onwards, of *praefectus aerarii Saturni* [Wilmanns 1150, 1152—3, 1162 etc.].

quaestores urbani. The two quaestors who remained in Rome. As managers of the aerarium they would give out contracts for buildings in Rome, Wilmanns 60 P • SERVILIO • L • ANTONIO • COS • (B.C. 41) A • D • III K • SEXT • LOCAVIT • Q • PEDIVS • Q • VRB • MVRVM • IVNONI • LVCINAE.

centumviralem hastam, 'the centumviral court,' Mart. 7, 63, 7 *hunc miratur adhuc centum gravis hasta virorum.* Gaius, *Instit.* 4, 16 *festuca autem utebatur quasi hastae loco, signo quodam iusti domini, quod maxime sua esse credebant, quae ex hostibus cepissent; unde in centumviralibus iudiciis hasta praeponitur.*

quaesturam functi, for this construction see on c. 35, p. 80.

decemviri, sc. *stlitibus iudicandis*, Dio 54, 26 *οἱ δέκα οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας κληρουμένων ἀποδεικνύμενοι.* This arrangement was

Quoque plures partem administrandae rei publicae caperent, 37
nova officia excogitavit: curam operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, frumenti populo dividundi, praefecturam urbis, triumviratum legendi senatus, et alterum recog-

made in B.C. 13. Later on the Praetor summoned and presided over the court [Pliny *Ep.* 5, 9], and their numbers were increased to 180, who sat in three or four divisions [*ib.* 6, 33]. A list of the chief cases coming before the centumviri is given by Cicero *de Or.* 1, § 173.

37. **curam...alvei Tiberis.** These things had been formerly the business of the Censors, Cic. *de Leg.* 3, § 7 *censores urbis templa vias aquas aerarium vectigalia tuento.* The roads were first restored by rich Senators, Augustus himself undertaking the *Flaminia* [Dio 53, 22]. Regular *curatores* however were afterwards appointed. The *cura* is a *res ab imperatore delegata* [Frontin. *de aquis* init.]. The new *curae* here mentioned, established in virtue of Augustus' censorial powers, were:

(1) The *curator* **operum publicorum.** He first appears in existing inscriptions as CVRATOR • AEDIVM • SACRARVM • MONVMENTORVM • QVE • PVBLICORVM • TVENDORVM [*C. I. L.* 9, 3306], and afterwards under various modifications *curator aedium sacrarum et operum publicorum* [Wilm. 1219a], *operum locorumque publicorum* [*id.* 636], *operum publicorum* [*id.* 1163, 1186].

(2) **viarum** [*id.* 1124 VIAR • CVR • EXTRA • V • R • (about B.C. 11): *id.* 1137 CVRATOR • VIAR • STERNENDAR • (about A.D. 31)], see Dio 54, 8, 26.

(3) **aquarum.** The first measures of restoration or extension of the water supply of Rome were those of Agrippa, who erected the Aqua Iulia in B.C. 33 and the Virgo in B.C. 19. But in B.C. 11 a Senatus Consultum was passed for further restoration of *rivi, specus, fornices...quos Augustus Caesar se refecturum impensa sua senatui pollicitus est*, Front. *de aq.* 125. Cp. M. A. c. 4 *rivos aquarum compluribus locis vetustate labentes refeci.* In this year the permanent *cura aquarum* was established, which often occurs in later inscriptions [see Wilm. 1218, 1220, 1230 c].

(4) **alvei Tiberis,** see on c. 30. Augustus carried out the *terminatio* of B.C. 8 himself, which had been begun by the consuls of that year [*C. I. L.* 6, 1235 f.; Rushf. pp. 26—29]. The regular appointment of *curatores* seems however to date from A.D. 15 after a great flood. Dio 57, 14 πέντε ἀεὶ βουλευτὰς κληρωτούς, cp. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 76. The office of *curator alvei et riparum Tiberis* continued to be of great importance and is frequently found among the honours of consulars in inscriptions [Wilm. 848, 1147], and mostly with the addition of *cloacarum urbis*, as in the inscription in honour of the younger Pliny [Wilm. 1162, see also *id.* 850, 1165, 1172].

(5) **frumenti dividundi.** The office of *curator frumenti* is found in an inscription in honour of C. Memmius, son of the consul for B.C. 34 [Wilm. 1113]. The usual title in the succeeding period is *praefectus frumenti dandi ex s. c.* [Wilm. 1123, 1132, 1139 etc.]. Dio 54, 1 (B.C. 22) ἐκέλευσε δύο ἄνδρας τῶν πρὸ πέντε που ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σίτου διανομὴν κατ' ἔτος αἱρεῖσθαι. Augustus at a season of dearth himself undertook the *curatio annonae*, M. A. 5 (B.C. 22), which was a wider office than that of merely distributing corn (*frumentatio*), which he also did in B.C. 23. M. A. c. 15.

praefecturam urbis. Another instance of the use of old names in the new scheme of government. We hear of a *praefectus urbis* from regal times and in the early republic, appointed to perform the urban duties of king or consul in his absence,—holding elections [Livy 1, 60; but vid. Dionys. 4, 84], summoning the Senate [Livy 3, 29; cp. Gell. 14, 7, 4], administering justice [Livy 3, 24]. With the appointment of a praetor, who stayed at Rome (B.C. 367) this became unnecessary, yet it was still kept up in the almost honorary appointment of some pontifex or young noble while the consuls were holding the *Feriae Latinae* [see Nicol. Dam. *vit. Aug.* 5; Suet. *Ner.* 7; Dio 41, 14; 49, 42]. The essential feature was that the *imperium* of the *praefectus* was equal to that of the magistrate of whom he was a deputy. Iulius appointed several [Suet. *Caes.* 76 *praefecti pro praetoribus*, Momms. *Staatsr.* 2, p. 351 sq.]. Augustus, in virtue of his consular

noscendi turmas equitum, quotiensque opus esset. Censores creari desitos longo intervallo creavit. Numerum praetorum auxit. Exegit etiam, ut quotiens consulatus sibi daretur, binos pro singulis collegas haberet, nec optinuit, reclamantibus cunctis satis maiestatem eius imminui, quod honorem eum non solus sed cum altero gereret.

Censors appointed B.C. 22.

or other imperium availed himself of the now antiquated custom at irregular intervals: (1) Maecenas, whether formally holding the title or no, performed the duties in B.C. 36—35 [Dio 51, 16; cp. 52, 21]. (2) M. Valerius Messala Corvinus was appointed (in B.C. 25 according to Eusebius *Chron.*), but only held it for 6 days [cp. Tac. *Ann.* 6, 11]. (3) in B.C. 21 Agrippa for a time performed the duties of the office if he did not take the title [Dio 54, 6, 11]. (4) in B.C. 16 Statilius Taurus was appointed (Maecenas being out of favour, and Agrippa in Syria, Dio 54, 19). But it was not apparently till the reign of Tiberius that a permanent arrangement was made,—L. Calpurnius Piso holding the office from A.D. 17 to A.D. 32 [Suet. *Tib.* 42; Tac. *Ann.* 6, 10—11]. The office thus established remained at any rate till the 4th century [Wilm. 641; 1223].

triumviratum...equitum. (1) For the special revisions of the Senate, see c. 35. From B.C. 9 it seems that the list was annually revised and put up on an *album* [Dio 55, 3], but in A.D. 4 at a *lectio extraordinaria* Augustus was assisted by a board of three Senators selected by lot from 10 whom he named. Dio 55, 13 *δέκα βουλευτὰς οὓς μάλιστα ἐτίμα προβαλόμενος τρεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξεταστὰς ἀπέδειξεν οὓς ὁ κλῆρος εἵλετο*, cp. *id.* 52, 7. See Mommsen, *res g.* p. 35.

(2) The *equites*, divided for political purposes into 18 centuries, were for ceremonial occasions organised in six squadrons or *turmae*, Tac. *Ann.* 2, 83; Pliny, *N. H.* 15, § 19. The *triumviri* employed by Augustus in the *recognitio equitum* [see below, c. 38, p. 86] are not mentioned elsewhere, and Suetonius seems to mean that they were not employed except on special occasions (*quotiensque opus esset*).

censores...creavit. From the dictatorship of Iulius there had been only one appointment of Censors (B.C. 42) and they had not acted [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 466]. Under Augustus the various censorial functions, the *lectio senatus*, the *recognitio equitum*, *iudicatio et terminatio locorum publicorum*, were exercised either by himself, now as consul, now as having *consulare imperium*, or by the consuls. This might be defended on constitutional grounds by the fact that the censorial powers had originally belonged to the consulship; if no Censors were appointed the old powers of the consuls revived. Augustus refused to accept a life-censorship, and even allowed two Censors to be elected in B.C. 22, who however did not exercise their functions [Dio 53, 1 *καὶ τότε δὴ ὁ Αὔγουστος, καίπερ ἐκείνων αἱρεθέντων, πολλὰ τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνηκόντων ἔπραξε*]. These were the last private citizens to hold even nominally the office; Claudius and Vitellius both took the title and exercised the office [Suet. *Claud.* 16; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 48; 12, 4] as also did Vespasian and Titus [Suet. *Vesp.* 8; *Tit.* 6]; but Domitian adopted the title of *censor perpetuus*, and from that time the office, with its complete control over the Senate, became part of the imperial power [Dio 67, 4].

numerum praetorum. The regular number of praetors up to the time of Iulius had been eight; he raised them to ten, fourteen, and sixteen [Dio 42, 51; 43, 47; 49, 51]. Augustus apparently, finding the normal number eight, raised it to ten, but would not go beyond that. Dio 53, 32 *στρατηγοὺς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι πλειόνων δεόμενος*, cp. Vell. 2, 89. As the *legati* of the provinces were *pro praetore* by virtue of their appointment a large number of *praetorii* were no longer needed. The two additional praetors were appointed to preside over the treasury. See on c. 36. He however afterwards raised the number, or allowed it to be raised for once, to sixteen [Dio 56, 25; *dig.* 1, 2 § 32].

binos. This would in fact have been to lower the consulship; for he would have wielded the real power, his colleagues would have been ornamental.

Nec parcior in bellicā virtute honorandā, super triginta ducibus iustos triumphos et aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit. 38

Honorary triumphs.

Liberis senatorum, quo celerius rei publicae assuescerent, protinus a virili toga latum clavum induere et curiae interesse permisit, militiamque auspicantibus non tribunatum modo legionum, sed et praefecturas alarum dedit; ac ne qui expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlavios praeposuit singulis alis.

Sons of Senators.

38. iustos triumphos ... curavit. This account is not consistent with what Suetonius himself says of the habits of Augustus as to military rewards [c. 25], nor with his statement that the *ornamenta triumphalia* were first granted to Tiberius for his German victories B.C. 15—9 [Suet. *Tib.* 9]. Nor again are anything like thirty triumphs recorded in the Fasti, even if all are counted after the death of Iulius. After B.C. 30 in fact only seven triumphs are there recorded: M. Licinius Crassus *ex Thraecis et Getis* (B.C. 28); M. Valerius Messala Corvinus *ex Gallia* (B.C. 27); Sex. Appuleius *ex Hispania* (B.C. 26); L. Sempronius Atratinus *ex Afris* (B.C. 21); L. Cornelius Balbus *ex Afris* (B.C. 19); and two of Tiberius *ex Germanis* (B.C. 7; A.D. 12). To these may be added the triumph of C. Cassius *de Morinis* [Dio 51, 21]. In fact Augustus seems to have been very chary of this honour, and interfered with triumphs voted to Tiberius in B.C. 12 [Dio 54, 31] and Drusus in B.C. 11 [Dio 54, 35]; and Agrippa, who knew his master's sentiments, persistently declined to accept a triumph or even the *ornamenta triumphalia* [Dio 54, 11, 24]. But others were less scrupulous, and this last honour was somewhat easily bestowed ...*τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τινὲς οὐχ ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ πράσσοντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν λῃστὰς συλλαμβάνοντες οἱ δὲ πόλεις στασιαζούσας καταλλάσσοντες, καὶ ἐπωρέγοντο τῶν νικητηρίων καὶ ἔπεμπον αὐτά. ὁ γὰρ Αὔγουστος καὶ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως τισὶ τήν γε πρώτην ἐχαρίζετο καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς πλείστους ὅσους ἐτίμα.* The *ornamenta* are enumerated in Livy 30, 15.

liberis senatorum. The tradition that Senators brought their sons with them into the curia is ridiculed by Polybius 3, 20; referring it seems to the story of Papirius Praetextatus, said to have been narrated by the elder Cato [Gell. 1, 23; Macrob. 1, 6, 18]. It appears, however, that they accompanied their parents, but remained at the open doors as the plebeian tribunes had originally done [Valer. Max. 2, 1, 9; Willems, *le Sénat*, 2, p. 163].

It is to be observed in regard to this privilege granted by Augustus to the sons of Senators that, though they were not senators, they now belonged (as far as the 3rd degree) to the *ordo senatorius: dig.* 1, 9, 10 *liberos senatorum accipere debemus non tantum senatorum filios, verum omnes qui geniti ex ipsis exve liberis eorum dicantur.* Thus we hear henceforth of *iuventus utriusque ordinis* [Suet. *Tib.* 35], of a man *senatorii ordinis qui nondum honorem capessisset* [Tac. *Ann.* 13, 25], whereas in the mouth of Cicero *hic ordo* [2 *Phil.* § 2] is only another expression for the Senate, and *ordo senatorius* [*pro Flacc.* § 43] is the 'rank of Senator.'

a virili toga, see on c. 8.

latum clavum...alis. According to this arrangement of Augustus there were two courses open to a man wishing to arrive at the Quaestorship and so to Senatorial rank. (1) Civil,—by serving one of the offices included in the vigintivirate, i.e. *iiiviri capitales, xviri stlitibus iudicandis, iiiviri monetales, ivviri viis in urbe purgandis* [Dio 54, 26; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 29; Ovid, *Tr.* 4, 10, 29—36]. (2) Military,—in which the steps were (1) *praefectus* or *tribunus cohortis*, (2) *praefectus alae* or *tribunus legionis* [Suet. *Claud.* 25]. But a member of the *senatorius ordo* began where the *eques* left off, i.e. as *tribunus legionis laticlavius*. This was what Suetonius means by **militiam auspicantibus**, 'serving in the army for the first time,' with a view to obtaining office and admission to the Senate: cp. Seneca *Ep.* 47 § 10 *Variana clade multos splendidissime natos, senatorium per militiam*

Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more travectionis. Sed neque detrahi quemquam in travehendo ab accusatore passus est, quod fieri solebat, et senio vel aliquā corporis labe insignibus permisit, praemisso in ordine equo, ad respondendum quotiens citarentur pedibus venire; mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis, qui maiores annorum quinque et triginta retinere eum nollent; impetratisque a senatu decem adiu-

The *Equites.*

auspicantes gradum, fortuna depressit; Dio 67, 11 νεανίσκος Ἰούλιος Καλούαστρος κεχιλιαρχηκὼς ἐς βουλείας ἐλπίδα. Some confusion however is caused by these *laticlavii* being spoken of loosely as equites until they had attained the Senate, which was not their official designation, see Dio 55, 2 ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα ἀκριβῶς τελούντων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους ὄντων. [For the *laticlavii tribuni*, see Suet. *Dom.* 10; Wilmanns 1176, 1181, 1186 etc.,—from which it appears that the *laticlavii* usually served the civil as well as the military office before attaining the Quaestorship, as according to Dio [54, 26] was obligatory on equites from B.C. 13. The opposite of *laticlavius* was *angusticlavius*, Suet. *Oth.* 10.]

equitum...travectionis. There were two ceremonies connected with the equites in ancient times: (1) the *travectio*, held annually on the Ides of July [Livy 9, 46; Valer. Max. 2, 2, 9; Dionys. 6, 13]; (2) The *recognitio equitum*, held periodically by the Censors [Livy 38, 28; 39, 44]. The latter had fallen into neglect with the decay of the Censorship, and Augustus in reviving it combined it with the *travectio*, establishing an annual *probatio equitum* [ἐξέτασις Dio 55, 31]. This applied, not to all who possessed the *census equester*, but to those of that order who had the *equus publicus*,—granted now and henceforth by the Emperor in virtue of his censorial powers. See Ovid, *Tr.* 2, 89 (cp. 241)

At memini vitamque meam moresque probabas
illo, quem dederas, praetereuntis equo.

But though the Emperors retained this right [Dio 53, 17], their exercise of it was fitful and intermittent, see Suet. *Tib.* 41; *Claud.* 16; *Calig.* 16; Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 15. These *equites equo publico*, still divided into 18 *centuriae* for political duties, were for ceremonial purposes organised in six *turmae*, commanded by *seviri* [Tac. *Ann.* 2, 83; Wilmanns 1220, 1619 etc.].

ab accusatore, as in the old censorial reviews.

et senio...permisit. In the republican reviews each knight passed the censor leading his horse by the bridle [Plut. *Pomp.* 22; Valer. Max. 4, 1, 10]; but in these imperial reviews the knights apparently rode past, and it was therefore a special act of grace to allow one incapable of riding from age or corpulence to approach on foot, whilst sending his horse on by some attendant. Such a man had formerly been allowed to give up his horse, which, though properly a relief and not an *ignominia* [Aul. Gell. 6, 22], was yet at times treated as such, as for example by Cato [Festus s.v. *stata*].

mox reddendi...nollent 'later on to those who, being over 35 years of age, did not wish to retain their horse, he granted a dispensation from formally surrendering it,' i.e. he allowed them to remain *equites*, without appearing at the ceremonial procession, and without apparently being liable to be elected into the Senate if they had the requisite senatorial census. The measure seems to be that referred to by Dio 54, 26 τῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐντός τε τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης ὄντας καὶ τὸ τίμημα ἔχοντας βουλεῦσαι κατηνάγκασε, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις ἀνάπηρος ἦν (in the year B.C. 13), cp. *id.* c. 30. It was difficult to get enough men willing to serve in the Senate, and *equites* rather than do so would abjure their equestrian rank (*equum reddere*). Accordingly Augustus granted an exemption after 35, but compelled those under that age to be ready to serve as senators (if properly qualified), and, as it seems, to appear in the yearly procession as a sign of their eligibility. It is apparently this dispensation of which Ovid availed himself

toribus, unum quemque equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit 39
atque ex inprobatis alios poenā, alios ignominiā notavit, plures
admonitione, sed varia. Lenissimum genus admonitionis fuit
traditio coram pugillarium, quos taciti et ibidem statim lege-
5 rent; notavitque aliquos, quod pecunias levioribus usuris
mutuati graviore foenore collocassent. Ac comitiis 40
tribuniciis si deessent candidati senatores, ex equitibus *Tribuni.*
R. creavit, ita ut potestate transactā, in utro vellent ordine
manerent. Cum autem plerique equitum attrito bellis civilibus
10 patrimonio spectare ludos e quattuordecim non auderent metu
poenae theatralis, pronuntiavit non teneri eā, quibus ipsis
parentibusve equester census umquam fuisset.

to avoid the Senate [*Tr.* 4, 10, 35 *curia restabat; clavi mensura coacta est; maius erat nostris viribus illud onus*]. But Claudius [c. 24] *senatoriam dignitatem recusantibus equestrem quoque ademit.* For **facere gratiam** see on ch. 17. Mommsen [*Staatsr.* vi² p. 88 note (1)] points out that it must mean 'exempt' and not 'permit,' and that therefore *nollent* must be changed to *mallent*, or *retinere* be taken to refer only to the retaining of the horse in the procession, not to the equestrian rank.

39. rationem vitae reddere. The investigation by these senatorial *xviri* preceded the procession. The public stigma of rejection at the review was thus avoided except in special cases. See *Cal.* 16 *palam adempto equo quibus aut probri aliquid aut ignominiae inesset, eorum qui minore culpa tenerentur nominibus modo in recitatione praeteritis.* For such an enquiry see Macr. *Sat.* 3, 4, 25.

sed varia, 'and that too of different degrees of severity.' For **sed** = *καὶ ταῦτα* (nearly) see c. 74.

pugillares (or adj. *pugillares cerae*), small waxed tablets or memorandum books, used especially for noting down first thoughts or ideas. Suet. *Ner.* 52; Plin. *Ep.* 1, 6, 1. Made of wood [Mart. 10, 4, 3], of ivory [*id.* 5], of parchment [*id.* 7]. They might perhaps be given without exciting particular remark.

quod pecunias...collocassent. This mode of making profit (though at the root of the modern system of banking) seems to have been regarded as specially discreditable. Cf. *Vesp.* 16 *negotiationes quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit, coemendo quaedam, tantum ut pluris postea distraheret.* For **collocare** of investing money cp. *Tib.* 48 *cum sanxisset ut foeneratores duas partes patrimonii in solo collocarent.* Tac. *Ann.* 6, 23.

40. si deessent...senatores. See on ch. 10, p. 20. **ita ut...manerent,** 'with the privilege of remaining either senator or eques at the expiration of their office.' If a man was not already a Senator, the Tribuneship made him a life-member. But for various reasons men avoided such membership. Dio 54, 26 *οὐχ ὅσον οὐχ ἀντεποιοῦντο τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκατειλεγμένοι ἤδη ἐξώμνυντο.* The perpetual *tribunicia potestas* of the Emperor rendered the tribunate no longer an object of desire, and it was necessary to force the ex-quaestors to draw lots as to who should undertake the duty, Dio *l.c.* *ἐψηφίσθη ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἔτι ῥᾳδίως τὴν δημαρχίαν ᾔτει, κλήρῳ τινὲς ἐκ τῶν τεταμευκότων...καθίστωνται*; then to allow those of senatorial fortune who took it not to remain in the Senate [*id.* 54, 30], and finally to allow all *equites* to hold it without previous office [*id.* 56, 27].

e quattuordecim. The *lex Roscia theatralis* [B.C. 68, Livy *ep.* 99; Hor. *Ep.* 1, 1, 62; Iuv. 3, 155] had a special clause referring to those *equites* who had become bankrupt [Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 44]. The *lex Iulia theatralis* [Plin. *N.H.* 33, § 32], while defining apparently more strictly the qualification admitting to the seats, abolished the clause as to bankrupts. Domitian, finding the law evaded, made still more stringent regulations on the subject. See Suet. *Dom.* 8; Martial 5, 8, 14, 24; 8, 5.

ipsis parentibusve. Under Tiberius

Populi recensum vicatim egit, ac ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum quaternum mensum tesseras dare destinavit; sed desideranti consuetudinem veterem concessit rursus, ut sui cuiusque mensis acciperet. Comitiorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit ac multiplici poenā coercito ambitu, Fabianis et Scaptiensibus tribulibus suis die

Census, frumentatio,

ambitus.

in A.D. 21 the *ius anuli* (the distinctive mark of the *ordo equester*) was confined to one *qui ingenuus ipse, patre, avo paterno HSccccc census fuisset et lege Iulia theatrali in* XIV *ordinibus sedisset*, Pliny *l. c.*, a tightening up of the regulation in the opposite direction to the measure of Augustus.

teneri ea, sc. *poena*, cp. Cic. *Q. F.* 2, 3, 5 *ut ea poena quae est de vi tenerentur.*

populi recensum...egit, 'he drew up a revised list of the people by vici,' or perhaps 'street by street.' This was for the purpose of making out a list of the citizens actually residing in Rome entitled to share in the *frumentatio*, and must not be confounded with the census of all citizens (see c. 27). Cp. Suet. *Iul.* 41 *recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit atque ex viginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit.* Yet, if we may trust his *epitomator*, Livy seems to have confused this review of Iulius with a regular census [*ep.* 115], though the number given (150,000) is manifestly absurd as referring to all *cives* at that time. The word *populus* in this connexion has its old meaning of the 'people of Rome' strictly speaking, cp. p. 94. The *lex Iulia municipalis* imposed a penalty on the giving of corn to any whose names were on the property-returns lists. See Bruns, *fontes*, p. 102.

tesseras. The tickets or tallies entitling the holders to their portion of the corn. Pers. 5. 73 *libertate opus est non hac qua, ut quisque Velina Publicis emeruit, scabiosum tesserula far possidet.* The tally was apparently sometimes transferred to another for a price [Iuv. 7, 174], which was possible because the tessera bore no name of recipient, but only a number, see specimen in Orelli 3360 *Ant. Aug. Lib.* II (on one side), *Fru. N.* LXI (on the other), *i.e. Antonini Aug. liberalitas* II, *Frumentum numero* LXI.

comitiorum...pristinum ius. The restoration of the regular forms of the *comitia* refers to innovations introduced by Iulius, who nominated the consuls and half the other magistrates himself, *Iul.* 41, though the form of election seems to have been gone through, the dictator issuing recommendatory notices ...*Caesar dictator illi tribui. Commendo vobis illum et illum, ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneant.* But though Augustus professed to leave the *comitia* free, and really did so in some cases, his nominations were still all-powerful. Dio 53, 21 *ὁ τε δῆμος ἐς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὖ συνελέγετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράττετό τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἤρεσκεν. τοὺς γοῦν ἄρξοντας τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ τε ὁμίλῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιούμενος ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως μήτ' ἀνεπιτήδειοι μήτ' ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἢ καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀποδεικνύωνται.* One of the first acts of Tiberius was to put an end to the farce and transfer the elections to the Senate. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 15 *tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt; nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant.* Caligula made a vain attempt to restore them [*Cal.* 16].

coercito ambitu. Penalties for bribery were already enforced by numerous laws. The *lex Iulia* (B.C. 18) seems to have really been less severe, for it only excluded the guilty party from office for five years. Dio 54, 16 *ὁ δ' Αὔγουστος ἄλλα τε ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντάς τινας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐς πέντε ἔτη αὐτῶν εἶρξεν.* Augustus avoided prosecutions for bribery, but in B.C. 8 made a regulation whereby candidates for office deposited a sum of money, to be forfeited in case they were found guilty of *ambitus.* Dio 55, 5.

tribulibus. In spite of all laws a certain payment to the members of a man's own tribe seems to have been a matter of course. See *Iul.* 19. For other favours to tribesmen more or less

comitiorum, ne quid a quoquam candidato desiderarent, singula milia nummum a se dividebat.

Magni praeterea existimans sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum, et civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit. Tiberio pro cliente Graeco petenti rescripsit, non aliter se daturum, quam si praesens sibi persuasisset, quam iustas petendi causas haberet; et Liviae pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem optulit affirmans, facilius se passurum fisco detrahi aliquid, quam civitatis Romanae vulgari honorem. Servos non contentus multis difficultatibus a libertate et multo pluribus a libertate iustā

Restrictions on manumission.

within the law, see Horace *Ep.* 1, 13, 15; Cicero *pro Planc.* § 47; *pro Mur.* § 73.

Fabianis et Scaptiensibus. Augustus belonged to the Fabian tribe as an adopted member of the *gens Iulia*. The *tribus Fabia* was one of the 17 most ancient rural tribes, and named, as all the earliest were, from some man or hero, not from a locality [Hor. *Ep.* 1, 6, 52; *C. I. L.* 3, 4029, 4511]. The *tribus Scaptia* (to which Augustus had apparently belonged as an Octavius) was added in B.C. 332, and named from a Latin town of uncertain site [Livy 8, 17; Pliny *N. H.* 3 § 68; Dionys. Hal. 5, 4].

nummum, c. 46 fin. **a se**=*de suo*, *Iul.* c. 19; Cic. *Att.* 5, 21, 11 *homines non modo non recusare sed etiam hoc dicere, se a me solvere; quod enim praetori dare consuessent, quoniam ego non acceperam, se a me quodam modo dare.* So *a me dedi* Plaut. *Tr.* 1, 2, 145; but *de suo offerebat* c. 45; *de vostro vivite* Plaut. *Truc.* 5, 61; *de mea pecunia id. Men.* 2, 2, 17; *de suo datur* Sen. *Ben.* 7, 4, 1.

ab...incorruptum. For *ab*, indicating that from which a thing is preserved or protected, cp. Cic. *fam.* 13, 50 *Curium ab omni incommodo detrimento molestia sincerum integrumque conservare.* The foreign elements in Rome are frequently commented on; cp. Luc. 7, 404 *nulloque frequentem | cive suo Romam, sed mundi faece repletam.* Iuv. 3, 61—3. Augustus in restricting the extension of the *civitas* was reversing the policy of his uncle, who granted it to the whole legion Alauda [Suet. *Iul.* 24], to all medical men and professors of fine arts [*ib.* 42], as well as to many individual Gauls [*ib.* 76]. Antony appears to have carried on the policy still more liberally [Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 92], nor did Augustus himself refuse the extension of the *civitas* in certain cases [ch. 47]. He however became alarmed at the mixed state of the population, and left it among the posthumous charges to his successor to be sparing in such grants, Dio 56, 33, *μήτ' αὖ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν συχνοὺς ἐσγράφωσι, ἵνα πολὺ τὸ διάφορον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ᾖ.*

fisco. Suetonius here uses the word to mean the Emperor's treasury as opposed to the *aerarium*, though it seems probable that the word was not used in that sense as early as the time of Augustus. The distinction however was begun in practice, and into the *fiscus* went the *tributum* from imperial provinces, and it accordingly suffered by a provincial becoming a *civis*, and thereby escaping the *tributum*. The two treasuries were both practically under the control of the Emperor (though the *aerarium* was nominally under the Senate), and Dio professes that he is unable to distinguish clearly between them, see 55, 16 *λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο*, cp. *ib.* 22. See p. 31.

servos...adipisceretur. The regulations of Augustus as to manumission were contained in the *lex Aelia Sentia*, A.D. 4; and the *lex Furia Caninia* ~~A.D. 8.~~ By the first, among other things, if the manumittor was under 20 or the

f 28.c

removisse, cum et de numero et de conditione ac differentia eorum qui manumitterentur curiose cavisset, hoc quoque adiecit, ne vinctus umquam tortusve quis ullo libertatis genere civitatem adipisceretur.

Roman dress.

Etiam habitum vestitumque pristinum reducere studuit, ac visā quondam pro contione pullatorum turbā, indignabundus et clamitans: *En Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam!* negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circove nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere.

41 Liberalitatem omnibus ordinibus per occasiones frequenter

manumitted under 30, or if the slave had been punished for a crime, full rights (*libertas iusta*) could not be obtained. By the second a testator was prevented from manumitting by will more than a fixed proportion of his slaves. See Dio 55, 13; Gaius *Inst.* 1; 6, 18; 7, 27. **vinctus tortusve.** Such men occupied the position of the *peregrini dediticii*,—'*pessima libertas eorum...nec ulla lege aut senatus consulto illis ad Romanam civitatem datur*' Iust. *Inst.* 1, 5, 3. The difference between any **libertas** and a **iusta libertas** generally arose from the mode of manumission. The regular method was that *per vindictam* before the praetor; less formal were *inter amicos, per mensam, per epistolam*, and in these cases the position of the emancipated was dubious, and his *patronus* had at least a lien on his earnings.

pullatorum, i.e. wearing the *lacerna* (or *pallium*) which was dark, infr. c. 44; cp. Mart. 4, 2, 1:

spectabat modo solus inter omnes
nigris munus Horatius lacernis,
cum plebs et minor ordo maximusque
sancto cum duce candidus sederet:
toto nix cecidit repente coelo,
albis spectat Horatius lacernis.

The knights, as a mark of respect to Claudius in the theatre, *lacernas deponunt*, Suet. *Claud.* 6. To wear the *toga* in a law court marked the *civis* from the *peregrinus*, *id. Claud.* 15; Pliny *Ep.* 4, 11. And to appear in public places without the *toga* had long been thought indecorous for a man of rank. Thus it was objected to Africanus in Sicily, *cum pallio crepidisque in gymnasio inambulare* [Livy 29, 19]; and to Antony by Cicero that he went through the *coloniae* of Gallia Cisalpina *cum Gallicis et lacernis* [2 *Phil.* § 76]. Augustus looked on the habit of shirking the toga as a sign of the decadence of Roman feeling and dignity. But the tendency was too strong for him. We constantly hear of its disuse,—Iuv. 1, 119; 3, 172; 11, 204; Martial 1, 49, 31; 12, 18, 17; and Hadrian had to renew the same order, Spart. *Hadr.* 22 *senatores et equites semper in publico togatos esse iussit, nisi si cena reverterentur.*

Romanos...togatam. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 286.

in foro circove...consistere, 'to stand about in forum or circus.' The prohibition apparently did not apply to those who passed through either one or the other elsewhere. But they were not to appear there for business or to lounge about with the *lacerna*. Cp. Hor. *S.* 1, 6, 113 *fallacem circum vespertinumque pererro Saepe forum.* For **consistere** cp. Sen. *de vit. beat.* 214 *ista quae spectantur, ad quae consistitur.* Roth formerly read *circave*, but restored *circove* (which has good MS. authority) from Lydus *de mag. R.* 1, 12 ἰδόντα γάρ φησι τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐν ἱπποδρομίῳ τινας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἑσταλμένους ἀγανακτῆσαι, κ.τ.λ.

41. liberalitatem...exhibuit. The author of the appendix to the *Monumentum* reckons the benefactions of Augustus as in round numbers HS 2,400,000,000, about equivalent to twenty millions sterling. In cc. 15—17 of the *Monumentum* Augustus gives the details, but as he also states only the minimum number of recipients in some cases, we only get a rough total after all. They were:

exhibuit. Nam et invecta urbi Alexandrino triumpho regia gaza tantam copiam nummariae rei effecit, ut foenore deminuto plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit, et postea quotiens ex damnatorum bonis pecunia super- flueret, usum eius gratuitum iis qui cavere in duplum possent ad certum tempus indulsit. Senatorum censum ampliavit ac pro octingentorum milium summa duodecies HS taxavit,

His benefactions.

(1) Distributed to *at least* 250,000 citizens:
- (*a*) B.C. 43, *ex testamento patris*, 300 HS apiece ... 75,000,000
- (*b*) B.C. 29, *ex manibiis*, 400 HS apiece 100,000,000
- (*c*) B.C. 24, *congiarium*, 400 HS apiece 100,000,000
- (*d*) B.C. 12, *congiarium*, 400 HS apiece 100,000,000

(2) B.C. 5 to 320,000 citizens, 240 HS apiece ... 76,000,000
(3) B.C. 2 to 200,000 citizens, 240 HS apiece ... 48,000,000
(4) B.C. 29 to military colonies, *ex manibiis* 120,000,000
(5) B.C. 30 and 15 to Italians for lands for soldiers 600,000,000
(6) B.C. 30 and 15 to Provincials for lands for soldiers 260,000,000
(7) allowances to disbanded soldiers, B.C. 7—2 400,000,000
(8) four subventions to the *aerarium publicum* 150,000,000
(9) to the *aerarium militare* 170,000,000

2,199,000,000

The first four items give a *minimum*. Besides this he provided in B.C. 23 for the 12 monthly distributions of corn (*frumentationes*); and after B.C. 18 he at different times gave relief to numbers of provincials (sometimes 100,000, sometimes more), by distributing *tesserae*, entitling them to corn or exemption from tribute in times of distress, the value of which *tesserae* he made good to the treasury: M.A. 17 (this passage of the *Monumentum* is defective, especially in the Latin). For instance in B.C. 12 the province of Asia was visited by serious earthquakes, and Dio [54, 30] says that he paid the whole year's tribute into the treasury, which is reckoned at 96,000,000 HS (4000 talents).

gaza, the royal treasure of the Ptolemies in gold, silver and jewels. The immediate effect of this enormous influx of gold is described by Dio [51, 21]... *πάντα ἅ τε αὐτὸς ὤφειλέ τισιν ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἃ ἄλλοι ἐπώφειλον οὐκ ἐσέπραξεν... τοσοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων διὰ πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως ἐχώρησεν ὥστε τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἐπιτιμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ δανείσματα ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ δραχμῇ πρότερον ὄντα τότε ἐπὶ τῷ τριτομορίῳ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι.* Money was so plentiful that prices went up and interest sank from 12 to 4 p.c.

in duplum. The usual terms on which a gratuitous State loan was made, see Tac. *Ann.* 6, 23 *donec tulit opem Caesar...facta mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitis populo in duplum praediis cavisset.* The *usus* or *usufructus* of money, like that of property, is opposed to ownership.

senatorum censum...taxavit. Willems [*le Sénat* 1, 189—192] has satisfactorily shown that there was hitherto no *legal* Senatorial census, although in the later period of the Republic, a certain amount of property was looked upon as necessary for a Senator [Cic. *ad fam.* 13, 5 § 2]. Augustus first made a certain *census* legally necessary for eligibility to office, and therefore to the Senate. Suetonius here puts the minimum at 800,000 sesterces, i.e. double the ordinary equestrian census, and says that he afterwards raised it to 1,200,000, or the census of three knights. This is perhaps partly confirmed by Iuv. 14, 326 *sume duos equites, fac tertia quadringenta.* But Dio says that the first arrangement was an equestrian census, 400,000, afterwards raised to 1,000,000. See 54, 17 *τάς τε ἀρχὰς ἅπασι τοῖς δέκα μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δυναμένοις ἐπαγγέλλειν ἐπέτρεψεν. τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ βουλευτικὸν τίμημα τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἔταξεν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας προήγαγε*, cp. *id.* 26. (The money in Dio is reckoned in *denarii*, and must be multiplied by 4 to state it in *sestertii*.) Mommsen [*Staatsr.*

supplevitque non habentibus. Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, sed diversae fere summae: modo quadringenos, modo trecenos, nonnumquam ducenos quinquagenosque nummos; ac ne minores quidem pueros praeteriit, quamvis nonnisi ab undecimo aetatis anno accipere consuessent. Frumentum quoque in annonae difficultatibus saepe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio viritim admensus est tesserasque nummarias
42 duplicavit. Sed ut salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem scires, querentem de inopia et caritate vini populum severissima coercuit voce, *satis provisum a genero suo Agrippa perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines sitirent.* Eidem populo promissum quidem congiarium reposcenti, *bonae se fidei esse* respondit; non promissum autem flagitanti turpitudinem et impudentiam edicto exprobravit affirmavitque, *non daturum*

2, p. 148] prefers the statement of Dio, (1) because of another passage [54, 30] in which he says that tribunes were elected from equites with senatorial census [*ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν μὴ ἔλαττον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας κεκτημένων*], (2) because of the frequent instances of imperial donations of 1,000,000 HS to enable a man to be a Senator, see Tac. *Ann.* 1, 75; Mart. 1, 103; (3) because of the custom of fixing the dowers of ladies of high rank at the same sum, with a view of securing the husband the Senatorial census, Tac. *Ann.* 2, 37; Iuv. 6, 137; 10, 335; Mart. 2, 65; Seneca *Consol.* 12, 6. Still we must note that as a *minimum* only had to be made up, and as these persons were not likely to have *nothing* of their own, this last argument is not decisive.

duodecies HS. The reading *sestertio* is probably a wrong representation of the symbol HS. It often occurs in classical texts to suit the construction, as Nep. *Att.* 14 *in centies sestertio.* It is more probable that we ought to write *sestertiûm* in all cases, the whole expression standing as an indeclinable substantive. See Ramsay *R.A.* p. 472.

supplevit. See Suet. *Nero* 10; *Vesp.* 17; Spart. *Hadr.* 7 *Senatoribus qui non vitio suo decoxerant, patrimonium pro liberorum modo Senatoriae possessionis explevit.*

congiaria...nummos. See note above on *liberalitatem.*

nummos, sc. *sestertios:* when *nummus* stands for any other coin it has some qualifying adjective, Ramsay *R.A.* p. 468.

minores pueros. This was meant as a means of providing for and encouraging large families, but was not a special provision for boys and girls like the benefactions of Trajan and Hadrian [Plin. *paneg.* 26; Spart. *Hadr.* 7].

frumentum. See note above. Besides his benefaction of corn in B.C. 23 there mentioned, we have other indications of the care bestowed on this matter. See Dio 53, 2 (B.C. 28) *τῷ πλήθει τετραπλάσιον τὸν σῖτον ἔνειμε.* Vell. Pat. 2, 94 (B.C. 23) *Ti. Claudius Nero quaestor maximam difficultatem annonae ac rei frumentariae inopiam Ostiae atque in urbe mandatis vitrici moderatus est.* In B.C. 22 the people begged him to undertake the *curatio annonae* on the same terms as Pompey, *καὶ ὁ τοῦτο μὲν ἀναγκαίως ἐδέξατο καὶ ἐκέλευσε δύο ἄνδρας τῶν πρὸ πέντε που ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σίτου διανομὴν κατ' ἔτος αἱρεῖσθαι,* Dio 54, 1.

tesseras...duplicavit. Dio 55, 26 (A.D. 6) *ἐπέδωκε γὰρ καὶ προῖκα ὁ Αὔγουστος τοῖς σιτοδοτουμένοις τοσοῦτον ἕτερον ὅσον ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανον.* The *tesserae nummariae* appear to have been given when corn was sold cheap, when it was distributed gratis *tesserae frumentariae* were given.

42. Agrippa...aquis. See c. 29, fin. pp. 65—6.

congiarium (*congius,* the 8th of an *amphora*) was properly applied to donations of wine or oil, but came to mean

se quamvis dare destinaret. Nec minore gravitate atque constantia, cum proposito congiario multos manumissos insertosque civium numero comperisset, negavit accepturos quibus promissum non esset, ceterisque minus quam promiserat dedit, ut destinata summa sufficeret. Magna vero quondam sterilitate ac difficili remedio, cum venalicias et lanistarum familias peregrinosque omnes, exceptis medicis et praeceptoribus, partimque servitiorum urbe expulisset; ut tandem annona convaluit, *impetum se cepisse* scribit *frumentationes publicas in perpetuum abolendi, quod earum fiducia cultura agrorum cessaret: neque tamen perseverasse, quia certum haberet post se per ambitionem quandoque restitui.* Atque ita posthac rem temperavit, ut non minorem aratorum ac negotiantium quam populi rationem deduceret.

Colourable manumissions.

any public donative whether in kind or money.

multos manumissos. This transaction, fraudulent because the recipients bargained to carry the presents to their emancipators, is enumerated among the abuses of emancipation by Dionys. H. 41, 24 *οἱ δ' (τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φέρονται) ἵνα τὸν δημοσίᾳ διδόμενον σῖτον λαμβάνοντες κατὰ μῆνα καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη παρὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων γίγνοιτο τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν φιλανθρωπία φέρωσι τοῖς δεδωκόσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.* Cp. Pers. 5, 73.

quibus promissum non esset, because when the promise was made they were not citizens and therefore had no claim. Cp. Plin. *paneg.* 25 *datum est his qui post edictum tamen in locum erasorum subditi fuerant; aequatique sunt ceteris illi etiam quibus non erat promissum.*

magna...expulisset, in A.D. 6 *λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς (ἦν), ὥσθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τούς τε μονομαχοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ὤνια ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους ἐξωσθῆναι ἔκ τε τῆς θεραπείας καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ πλεῖον ἀποπέμψασθαι*...Dio 55, 26.

lanistarum familias. Cic. *pro Sulla* § 54; Suet. *Iulius* 26 *Tirones neque in ludo neque per lanistas sed in domibus per equites Romanos...erudiebat.* For *familias* see *C. I. L.* 4, 1189 A • SVETTI • CERTI • AEDILIS • FAMILIA • GLADIATORIA • PVGNAB • POMPEIS • PR • K • IVNIAS • VENATIO • ET • VELA • ERVNT.

medicis et praeceptoribus. These were generally Greeks, but were naturally regarded as occupying a special position, and Iulius indeed had given them the *civitas;* Suet. *Iul.* 42. But that measure must have only applied to the existing professors, as they are now reckoned among *peregrini*, whom it was always possible to expel from Rome though they were generally excepted, Plin. *N. H.* 29, § 16; App. *B. civ.* 1, 23; Cic. *de off.* 3, § 47; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 12.

servitiorum = *servorum, Iul.* 47.

quod earum fiducia...cessaret. The mischief of these interferences in the corn market had been long understood, see Cic. *pro Sest.* § 103 *frumentariam legem C. Gracchus ferebat. Iucunda res plebi Romanae: victus enim suppeditabatur sine labore. Repugnabant boni, quod et ab industria plebem ad desidiam avocari putabant et aerarium exhauriri videbatur.* App. *B. civ.* 2, 120 *τό τε σιτηρέσιον, τοῖς πένησι χορηγούμενον ἐν μόνῃ Ῥώμῃ, τὸν ἀργὸν καὶ πτωχεύοντα καὶ ταχυεργὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας λεὼν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπάγεται.* Livy [6, 12] alludes to the desertion of districts in Italy in his day, *loca quae nunc, vix seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant.*

certum haberet...restitui, 'because he felt certain about its being restored,' or 'he held its restoration certain.' For the present infinitive used as the object of a verb of saying or thinking, even when the action is in the future, cp. Plautus *Aul.* 108 *dividere argenti nummos dixit in viros,* 'he spoke about dividing,' 'he said he was going to divide.' Roby *L. G.* 1346.

atque ita...deduceret, 'and accordingly he thenceforth so arranged the

43 Spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia omnes antecessit. *Fecisse se ludos* ait *suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent, ter et vicies.* Fecitque nonnumquam vicatim ac pluribus scaenis per omnium linguarum histriones

Spectacles and games.

business as to take account of the interests of farmers and merchants no less than those of the city populace. *rationem ducere alicuius* is fairly common in Cicero, see *pro Rosc. Am.* 128; *pro Sest.* 23; *Verr.* 1, 126 etc. It probably in the first instance belongs to calculation or accounts, *Verr.* 1, 129 *qui non tam caeli quam caelati argenti rationem duceret.* But *deducere* seems to mean (1) 'to sum up,' 'to arrive at a total,' Manil. 3, 354 *sic erit ad summam ratio deducta priorem;* (2) 'to bring into the account,' Iustin. *instit.* 4, 6, § 23 *in qua actione earum etiam rerum, quae fugiendo servus abstulit, aestimatio deducetur.*

aratorum, 'farmers,' or, in a more restricted sense, the cultivators of public lands for a 10th of the produce [*decuma*]. There were none such in Italy now, and *aratores* in its technical sense seems to have been confined to the holders of public lands in Sicily, or those who farmed the tithes from it. [Marquardt, 10, p. 238. Cic. *Verr.* 2, §§ 32, 63, 147 etc.]

populi, of the urban populace, cp. c. 40, p. 88.

43. fecisse...ait, in the M. A. c. 22 from which these words are quoted. The first games were in B.C. 44 (Sept. 24) in celebration of the victories of Iulius, which the Dictator had intended to celebrate himself on the completion of the temple of *Venus Genetrix.* Appian *B. civ.* 3, 28; Dio 45, 6; Cic. *fam.* 11, 27, 28; *C. I. L.* 1, p. 397. Another occasion was that of the *ludi martiales* in B.C. 2, see M. A. l. c. The other two are not recorded. Ovid alludes to his exhibitions as splendid, *Tr.* 2, 509 *inspice ludorum sumptus, Auguste, tuorum.* The exhibiting magistrate is said **ludos facere**, see Cic. *Brut.* § 78 *hoc praetore ludos Apollini faciente.*

qui abessent. If the praetor, or other magistrate to whom it fell to exhibit the games, was for any reason away from Rome, they were still held in his name: see the case of M. Brutus, Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 31.

fecitque...histriones, cp. *Iul.* 39 *ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota et quidem per omnium linguarum histriones.* The substitution of **vicatim** for *regionatim* follows the new arrangement of *vici* mentioned in c. 30, cp. c. 40. For **histrio** see Livy 7, 2 *Vernaculis artificibus, quia hister Tusco verbo ludio vocatur, nomen histrionibus inditum.* **pluribus scaenis**, 'in several theatres,' that is, in which tragedies, comedies or satiric dramas were exhibited. Vitruv. 5, 8. The question of the meaning of **omnium linguarum** is difficult. If we are to believe Strabo [5, 3, 6] τῶν Ὀσκῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἡ διάλεκτος μένει παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὥστε καὶ ποιήματα σκηνοβατεῖσθαι κατά τινα ἀγῶνα πάτριον καὶ μιμολογεῖσθαι, we might interpret it to mean Greek, Latin and Oscan, comparing Cicero [*fam.* 7, 1] who, congratulating a friend on his absence from Rome during the games, says—*non enim te puto Graecos aut Oscos ludos desiderasse, praesertim cum Oscos vel in Senatu vestro spectare possis.* And though it is generally held to be untrue that *Atellanae* or *Mimi* were produced in Rome in Oscan [Tac. *Ann.* 4, 14], still these passages make it probable that either Oscan or rustic Latin *Cantica* may have occasionally been introduced as well as Greek [*Nero* 39]. The *graffiti* at Pompei show that the dialect survived in central Italy. See however Mommsen *R. H.* 3, p. 455 note.

After *histriones* something is lost, referring to gladiatorial exhibitions. M. A. c. 22 *ter gladiatorium dedi meo nomine et quinquiens filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine; quibus muneribus depugnaverunt circiter decem millia.* And later on in recording his *venationes* he says that they were *in circo aut in foro aut in amphitheatris,* omitting the *Septa,* in which they at this time took place. Dio 55, 10 λέοντες ἑξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐσφάγησαν, ὁπλομαχία τε ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις, cp. Suet. *Claud.* 21. Accordingly Perizonius proposed to read [*munera*] *non in foro etc.* Roth would insert *circensibus gladiatoribusque muneribus frequentis-*

* * * non in foro modo, nec in amphitheatro, sed et in circo et in Septis, et aliquando nihil praeter venationem edidit; athletas quoque, extructis in campo Martio sedilibus ligneis; item navale proelium, circa Tiberim cavato solo, in quo nunc
5 Caesarum nemus est. Quibus diebus custodes in urbe disposuit, ne raritate remanentium grassatoribus obnoxia esset. In circo aurigas cursoresque et confectores ferarum, et nonnumquam ex nobilissima iuventute, produxit. Sed et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque *Troia.*
10 puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans, clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere. In hoc ludicro Nonium Aspre-

sime editis interiecit plerumque bestiarum Africanarum venationes, and this is approved by Mommsen, *res g.* p. 94.

amphitheatro, of Statilius Taurus, see c. 29. Dio 51, 23 *θέατρόν τι κυνηγετικόν.*

venationem. We have the records of several of these wild-beast slaughters. (1) In B.C. 12, at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus, 600 African beasts were killed, and a tiger for the first time exhibited [Dio 54, 26; Plin. *N. H.* 17, 65]. (2) In B.C. 2 there were killed 260 lions and 36 crocodiles [Dio 55, 10]. (3) In A.D. 11, in games presided over by Germanicus, 200 lions perished [Dio 56, 27]. (4) Pliny [*N. H.* 8, 64] says that on one occasion Augustus exhibited 420 wild animals from Africa, but does not mention the year. For what Cicero thought of such butcheries, see *ad fam.* 7, 1.

athletas. For the athletic contests in the *ludi Circenses*, see Festus s. v. *Quinquertium.* But though such exercises were constantly practised on the *Campus Martius* [Hor. *Od.* 1, 8; Ovid *Tr.* 3, 12, 19—24] the shows of *athletes* in the Campus, with specially erected wooden seats, were probably rarer, and as the name indicates, were Greek rather than Roman, *Iul.* 39. In B.C. 188 M. Fulvius gave games to celebrate his Ætolian victory: *multi artifices ex Graecia venerant honoris eius causa. Athletarum quoque certamen tum primo Romanis spectaculo fuit, et venatio data leonum et pantherarum*, Livy 39, 22.

navale proelium. M. A. 23 *navalis proeli spectaculum populo dedi trans Tiberim, in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato in longitudinem mille et octingentos pedes; in latitudinem mille et ducentos.* Iulius [c. 39] had a naval battle with Tyrian and Ægyptian ships. In the spectacle of Augustus (B.C. 2) the combat of the Athenians and Persians was represented. Dio 55, 10 *καὶ ναυμαχία ἐν τῷ χώρῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι σημεῖά τινα δείκνυται Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποιήθη.* Cp. *Claud.* 21; *Ner.* 12, 27; *Tit.* 7; *Domit.* 5; Mart. *de Spect.* 38. The pond was called *naumachia* as well as the show. Some traces of it have been recently discovered.

The **nemus Caesarum** was in the transtiberine region, Tac. *Ann.* 12, 56 *ut quondam Augustus structo trans Tiberim stagno.* It is called by Dio [66, 25] *τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Γαΐου τοῦ τε Λουκίου.* The place seems before to have been called *Caudeta* (caudex). The term *nemus Caesarum* was subsequent to the death of Lucius (A.D. 2) and Gaius (A.D. 4), therefore in the *Monumentum* he says *in quo loco* **nunc** *nemus est Caesarum*, words which Suetonius has copied.

raritate remanentium. On the vast numbers attending the games, see Mayor on Iuv. 11, 197; Suet. *Iul.* 39 fin.

ex nobilissima iuventute. Dio 48, 33 *ἐν τε τῷ πρὸ τούτου ἔτει* (B.C. 41) *θηρία τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπολλωνείων ἱπποδρομίᾳ ἄνδρες ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα τελοῦντες κατέβαλον.* For similar conduct on the part of Iulius and Caligula, see Suet. *Iul.* 39; *Cal.* 27.

Troiae lusum. The game of *Troja* has been described by Vergil [*Aen.* 5, 574 sq.]. One occasion on which it was held was at the dedication of the *theatrum Marcelli* (B.C. 13), Dio 54, 26. See also *Claud.* 21. Of the two divisions of *minor* and *maiores*, see *Iul.* 39; *Tib.* 6.

Nonium Asprenatem. c. 56. The *Nonii Asprenates* are often mentioned as a

natem lapsu debilitatum aureo torque donavit passusque est ipsum posterosque Torquati ferre cognomen. Mox finem fecit talia edendi, Asinio Pollione oratore graviter invidioseque in curia questo Aesernini nepotis sui casum, qui et ipse crus fregerat. 5

Other exhibitions.

Ad scenicas quoque et gladiatorias operas et equitibus Romanis aliquando usus est, verum prius quam senatus consulto interdiceretur. Postea nihil sane praeterquam adulescentulum L. Icium honeste natum exhibuit, tantum ut ostenderet; quod erat bipedali minor, 10 librarum septemdecim ac vocis immensae. Quodam autem muneris die Parthorum obsides, tunc primum missos, per mediam arenam ad spectaculum induxit superque se subsellio secundo collocavit. Solebat etiam citra spectaculorum dies, si quando quid invisitatum dignumque cognitu ad- 15 vectum esset, id extra ordinem quolibet loco publicare: ut rhinocerotem apud Septa, tigrim in scaena, anguem quinquaginta cubitorum pro comitio.

consular family under the early empire. See Dio 56, 22; Velleius Pat. 2, 120; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 53.

torque, generally a military reward, see c. 25. But it was also given in games. See Capitolin. *Maximin.* 2 and 3.

Asinio Pollione. See c. 29.

ad scenicas...interdiceretur. (1) at the games celebrated by Marcellus as aedile, B.C. 23 *ὀρχηστήν τινα ἱππέα γυναῖκά τε ἐπιφανῆ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν εἰσαγαγεῖν.* Dio 53, 31. (2) A.D. 11, *τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ὃ καὶ θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, μονομαχεῖν ἐπετράπη. Id.* 56, 25. He goes on to explain that these *equites* preferred the risk of the arena to the certainty of a punishment which they had incurred. (3) The SCtum seems to have been made at his own suggestion in B.C. 22, Dio 54, 2 *ἐπειδή τε καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπιφανεῖς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ καὶ τότε γε ἀπεδείξαντο, ἀπηγόρευσεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὅπερ ποῦ καὶ πρὶν ἐκεκώλυτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱππάδι δῆλον ὅτι ἐξεταζομένοις, μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτο δρᾶν.* Vitellius repeated the prohibition, Tac. *H.* 2, 62.

librarum septemdecim. For instances of such marvels, see Athenae. 12, 552 b. For the fashion of keeping dwarfs and other monstrosities, c. 81; *Tib.* 61; *Domit.* 4; Mart. 14, 212; and Mayor on Iuv. 8, 32; Marq. 14, p. 177.

Parthorum obsides. In B.C. 30 Phraates sent his son as a hostage to Rome, *υἱόν τέ τινα τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὁμηρείᾳ ἐποιήσατο,* Dio 51, 18. Strabo 16, 1, 28 says that there were four sons so sent.

ad spectaculum (=*ut spectarentur*), 'for a show,' 'by way of affording a show.' Cp. *ad ludibrium regem eum consalutari iussit*, Livy 36, 14. Roby *L. G.* § 1828.

citra...dies, 'though not during the days fixed for a spectacle.' For *citra* see c. 24. Roby § 1875.

publicare, 'to throw open to the public,' c. 29, p. 63.

tigrim. In B.C. 20 *καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ προκηρυκευσάμενοι πρότερον φιλίαν τότε ἐσπείσαντο, δῶρα πέμψαντες ἄλλα τε καὶ τίγρεις, πρῶτον τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὀφθείσας.* That the tiger was first seen there by Romans or Greeks is probably true of the Indian tiger. The tiger so often mentioned in the poets [e.g. Vergil *Ecl.* 5, 29; *G.* 2, 151 etc.] was some variety of panther, which had before been brought to Rome for *venationes*, see Livy 39, 22; Cic. *fam.* 8, 3; 8, 4. This

Accidit votivis Circensibus, ut correptus valitudine lectica cubans tensas deduceret; rursus commissione ludorum, quibus theatrum Marcelli dedicabat, evenit ut laxatis sellae curulis compagibus caderet supinus. Nepotum quoque suorum munere cum consternatum ruinae metu populum retinere et confirmare nullo modo posset, transiit e loco suo atque in ea parte consedit, quae suspecta maxime erat.

Regulations as to the Theatres.

Spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit **44** ordinavitque, motus iniuria senatoris, quem Puteolis per celeberrimos ludos consessu frequenti nemo receperat. Facto igitur decreto patrum ut, quotiens quid spectaculi usquam publice ederetur, primus subselliorum ordo vacaret senatoribus, Romae legatos liberarum sociarumque gentium vetuit in orchestra sedere, cum quosdam etiam libertini generis mitti deprendisset.

is perhaps true also of the 'tiger' said to have been sent to Athens by Seleucus [Athenae. 13, 590 a.], though his envoy, the historian Megasthenes, had seen a head of the Bengal tiger, Strabo 15, 1, 37 (circa B.C. 288) *καὶ τίγρεις δ' ἐν τοῖς Πρασίοις φησὶν ὁ Μεγασθένης μεγίστους γίγνεσθαι σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ διπλασίους λεόντων κ.τ.λ.*

tensas deduceret, 'he was conducting the sacred cars,' i.e. in the procession of the gods into the circus, with which the *ludi circenses* were opened. See *Iul.* 76. Among the honours decreed to Iulius were *tensam et ferculum circensi pompa.* Dio 43, 45 *καὶ ἅρμα ὅλον ἐν τοῖς ἱπποδρομίοις μετὰ τῶν θείων ἀγαλμάτων πέμπεσθαι ἔγνωσαν. Vesp.* 5 *nunciabatur...Neronem diebus ultimis monitum per quietem, ut tensam Iovis O. M. e sacrario in domum Vespasiani et inde in circum deduceret.* Cp. Cic. *ad Att.* 13, 44; Dionys. Hal. 7, 72.

commissione ludorum, 'at the opening of the games,' Cic. *Att.* 15, 26 *ab ipsa commissione ad me...omnia reliquorum in dies singulos persequare.* The word *committere* properly applies to gladiators or other combatants, see infr. c. 45; *Iul.* 40; *de Gramm.* 17; but also to the formal opening of any games, see *Claud.* 21.

quibus theatrum Marcelli. See on c. 29, p. 64.

nepotum. Germanicus son of the elder Drusus, and Drusus son of Tiberius, M. A. 22 *ter munus gladiatorum dedi meo nomine et quinquiens filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine.*

44. Puteolis (*Pozzuoli*) being near Baiae, and the villas of so many nobles and of the Emperor, was naturally a place in which games attracted more attention than in other country towns. Thus Nero gave an exhibition of gladiators there, Dio 63, 3.

primus...senatoribus. There seems to have been a doubt whether the *lex Roscia* was applicable outside Rome. Dio 53, 25 *καὶ προεδρία τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα τὰ θέατρα ἐδόθη* (B.C. 26). This regulation applied to exhibitions away from Rome. But the privilege enjoyed by Senators in the theatre since B.C. 194 had not extended to the circus even at Rome. This was regulated first in A.D. 5. Dio 55, 22 *καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει...τὰς ἱπποδρομίας χωρὶς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ χωρὶς δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους εἶδον, ὃ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.* In the circus however the regulation of Augustus seems to have been neglected and required renewing. See Suet. *Claud.* 21 *circo...exculto, propria senatoribus constituit loca, promiscue spectare solitis. Nero* 11 *circensibus loca equiti secreta a ceteris tribuit.*

legatos...gentium. As, for instance, the envoys of Marseilles [Iustin. 43, 5, 10]. To Hyrcanus, his children, and envoys was accorded *μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν* [Ios. *Antiq.* 14, 17]. The practice was afterwards renewed as a

Militem secrevit a populo. Maritis e plebe proprios ordines assignavit, praetextatis cuneum suum, et proximum paedagogis, sanxitque ne quis pullatorum media cavea sederet. Feminis ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari sollemne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit. Solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro, separatim et contra praetoris tribunal, dedit. Athletarum vero spectaculo muliebre secus omnes adeo summovit, ut pontificalibus ludis

special mark of honour, see Tac. *Ann.* 13, 54; Suet. *Claud.* 25; Dio 68, 15.

militem secrevit. In A.D. 32 Iunius Gallio proposed farther that praetorians who had served their time should be admitted to the *XIV ordines*, but was rebuked by Tiberius, who said that he *repperisse prorsus quod divus Augustus non providerit*. Tac. *Ann.* 6, 9.

maritis, 'married men.' This privilege (apparently from the *lex Iulia de marit. ordin.*) is referred to in Mart. 5, 41, 8: it applied to theatre and circus alike, Dio 54, 30. **e plebe**: Suetonius uses *plebs* of citizens below the equestrian census, cp. Hor. *Ep.* 1, 1, 58 *quadringentis sex septem milia desunt, Plebs eris.*

praetextatis. For the *praetexta* of boyhood see Cic. 2 *Phil.* 44; Iuv. 1, 78; 2, 140; 11, 155; Suet. *Cal.* 24; Sen. *de brev. vit.* 6 § 1 *pupillus adhuc et praetextatus.* The *paedagogi* accompanied their charges to all public places, such as lecture rooms [Hor. *S.* 1, 6, 81], but especially to the theatres, as among the Greeks, Theophr. *Char.* 9. In later times it was thought best for *praetextati* not to go at all. Iulian's *paedagogus* would not take him [*Misopog.* 351 B].

pullatorum, see c. 40. It would include all *peregrini*, who were forbidden to wear the *toga*. **media cavea.** The whole auditorium is called the *cavea*, divided by *praecinctiones* into blocks. The lowest (nearest the stage) called *ima* or *prima cavea*, the next higher *media cavea*, the next *summa* or *ultima cavea*. Cic. *de Sen.* § 48 *ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea, delectatur tamen qui in ultima.* Suet. *Claud.* 21, Claudius descends from the shrine of Venus at the top into the orchestra *per mediam caveam.*

ne gladiatores quidem. In the case of the theatre and other shows in the amphitheatre and circus the women's places had been in the high seats, cp. Ov. *am.* 2, 73 *sive ego marmorei respexi summa theatri, eligis e multis unde dolere velis.* Prop. 5, 8, 77 *colla cave inflectas ad summum obliqua theatri.* But at gladiatorial shows the women and men sat together, Plutarch *Sull.* c. 35. It was this exception that Augustus abolished. For the reason of separating men and women see Ovid *A. A.* 1, 89; *Tr.* 2, 81 sq.; *R. A.* 751. Cp. Iuv. 11, 202; 6, 60—81, 352—356.

Vestalibus, see on c. 31. *sedes vestalium* Tac. *Ann.* 4, 16. They had a special place assigned them also at gladiatorial shows, Cic. *pro Mur.* § 73. **contra praetoris tribunal.** The praetor as *editor ludorum* occupied a seat of honour on the left of the *scena*, and it was still called by that name though some other magistrate was *editor*, Suet. *Ner.* 12. The other magistrates who were not *editores* had also their fixed places [Dio 44, 43; 53, 27; Tac. *Ann.* 16, 12], Marq. 13, p. 312.

athletarum ... summovit. Because the athletes were practically naked, *Gymnasium, thermae, stadium est hac parte: recede. Exuimur; nudos parce videre viros*, Mart. 3, 68. Nero however invited the Vestals, *quia Olympiae quoque Cereris sacerdotibus spectare conceditur* [*Nero* 12]. Livia said of *nudi οὐδὲν ἀνδριάντων ταῖς σωφρονούσαις οἱ τοιοῦτοι διαφέρουσιν*, Dio 58, 2.

muliebre secus omnes, 'all of feminine sex.' The accus. of reference, which seems the almost constant construction of this word. The nom. is rare, Tac. *Ann.* 4, 62; Roby § 1104. Roth however reads *omne*. Old editors *muliebrem sexum omnem.*

pontificalibus ludis. Casaubon supposed that these were games given on his becoming *Pontifex Maximus* (B.C. 12). There is no other trace of them, or of such games being given elsewhere,

pugilum par postulatum distulerit in insequentis diei matutinum tempus, edixeritque, *mulieres ante horam quintam venire in theatrum, non placere.* Ipse circenses ex amicorum **45** fere libertorumque cenaculis spectabat, interdum ex pulvinari, et quidem cum coniuge ac liberis sedens. Spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aberat, petita venia commendatisque qui suam vicem praesidendo fungerentur. Verum quotiens adesset, nihil praeterea agebat, seu vitandi rumoris causa, quo patrem Caesarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum epistolis libellisque legendis aut rescribendis vacaret, seu studio spectandi ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque dissimulavit umquam et saepe ingenue professus est. Itaque corollaria et praemia in alienis quoque muneribus ac ludis et crebra et grandia de suo offerebat, nullique Graeco certamini interfuit, quo non pro merito quemque certantium

His personal attendance.

except Plin. *ep.* 7, 24, 6 *proximis sacerdotalibus ludis.*

matutinum...ante horam quintam. The *venationes* took place early in the morning. See Ovid *Met.* 11, 25 *structoque utrimque theatro Ceu matutina cervus periturus arena Praeda canum est.* Hence the school in which *bestiarii* were trained was called *ludus matutinus.* Wilmanns 1273, 1741, 2611. There was a break for the *prandium* in all games etc. about this hour, *Claud.* 34 *bestiariis meridianisque adeo delectabatur, ut et prima luce ad spectaculum descenderet, et meridie dismisso ad prandium populo, persederet.* Marq. 13, p. 288—9 note.

45. cenaculis, 'from the upper part of the house' [so-called according to Varro *L. L.* 5, 162 from the habit of having the dining-room upstairs]. Cp. Dio 57, 11 of Tiberius, *καὶ τοὺς γε τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶνας ἐξ οἰκίας καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὸς πολλάκις ἑώρα.* Though some have explained *cenacula* to mean 'boxes' in the circus.

pulvinari. The imperial box in the circus erected by Augustus. The exact position of it is uncertain, but it was in full view of the spectators, *Claud.* 4.

venia: because the absence of the Emperor was unpopular, Tac. *Ann.* 1, 76.

suam vicem...fungerentur, see note c. 35, p. 80. Claudius [*Claud.* 7] *praesedit nonnunquam spectaculis in Gai vicem.* It may be said that *vicem* with gen. forms an adverbial expression which was constructively treated as an indeclinable noun. Cp. Ter. *Hautont.* 749 *Menedemi vicem miseret me.*

libellis, 'petitions,' c. 53; *Iul.* 81 *libellum insidiarum indicem, ab obvio quodam porrectum, libellis ceteris, quos sinistra manu tenebat quasi mox lecturus, commiscuit.* **rescribendis,** 'in answering.' These 'rescripts' in after times, when dealing with questions of jurisprudence, came gradually to form part of a body of law or *constitutiones principum.*

vacaret. See on c. 4, p. 16.

corollaria [*corollarium* formed from diminutive *corolla*] like the Greek *στέφανος* meant a prize or additional present of money. Cic. *Verr.* 3 § 118 *ut esset unde Apronio ad illos fructus arationum hoc corollarium numorum adderetur,* ib. § 184 *de scenicorum corollariis.*

de suo. See on c. 40, p. 89.

Graeco certamini, games on the Greek model, including athletics, chariot racing, and musical contests. They were not as popular as the Roman games, apparently. Cic. *Att.* 16, 5 *sed tamen rumoris nescio quid adflaverat commissione Graecorum frequentiam non fuisse, quod quidem me minime fefellit. Scis enim quid ego de Graecis ludis existimem.*

honorarit. Spectavit autem studiosissime pugiles et maxime Latinos, non legitimos atque ordinarios modo, quos etiam committere cum Graecis solebat, sed et catervarios oppidanos, inter angustias vicorum pugnantis temere ac sine arte. Universum denique genus operas aliquas publico spectaculo praebentium etiam cura sua dignatus est: athletis et conservavit privilegia et ampliavit; gladiatores sine missione edi prohibuit; coercitionem in histriones magistratibus, omni tempore et loco lege vetere permissam, ademit praeterquam ludis et scena. Nec tamen eo minus aut xysticorum certationes aut gladiatorum pugnas

Care and discipline of the players.

honorarit, 'bestowed a present upon.' Vellei. 2, 129 *populum congiariis honoravit.* Macrob. *Sat.* 2, 3, 10 *Laberius in fine ludorum anulo aureo honoratus a Caesare.*

legitimos atque ordinarios, 'recognised and classed as such,' of whom, apparently, a regular list was kept, marking them off as professionals. This was so in Greece, see Polyb. 6, 47, 8 ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἢ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τούς γε μὴ νενεμημένους ἢ σεσωμασκηκότας παρίεμεν εἰς τοὺς ἀθλητικοὺς ἀγῶνας, οὕτω κ.τ.λ. Thus we hear of an *album* of professional musicians, *Nero* 21.

catervarios, ordinary and inferior, men selected at hazard and untrained. Cp. *gregatim,* 'in an inferior manner,' *Cal.* 30.

operas...praebentium. Such as the *designatores* [Plaut. *Poen.* prol. 19] who showed people to their places. See Wilmanns 986, Mart. 5, 8, 14; 5, 23, 27. Other persons employed in theatres and circus are enumerated in *Dig.* 3, 2, 4 *thymelici, xystici, agitatores, qui aquam equis spargunt, ceteraque eorum ministeria qui certaminibus sacris deserviunt.*

privilegia, sc. *civilium munerum vacationem, Codex* 19, 53 and also freedom from the *infamia,* which attached to actors and gladiators. Marq. 13, p. 349.

sine missione, i.e. without the right of appealing to the *editor* (or, as became the custom, to the people), to be allowed to leave the arena alive if conquered. Domitian limited the number of such permissions; Mart. *Spectac.* 29, 3 *Missio saepe viris magno clamore petita est; sed Caesar legi paruit ipse suae*; id. 12, 29, 7 *nuper cum Myrino peteretur missio laeso.*

coercitionem...scena. But Tacitus does not confine the immunity from flogging to the outside of the theatre. *Ann.* 1, 77 *divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat.* Marquardt [13, p. 318] prefers the statement of Suetonius. **omni tempore et loco.** Cp. Plaut. *Cistell.* epil. 4 *qui deliquit vapulabit*; id. *Amph.* prol. 81—5. Lucian *Pisc.* 33 οἱ ἀθλοθέται μαστιγοῦν εἰώθασιν ἤν τις ὑποκριτὴς Ἀθηναῖν...ὑποδεδυκὼς μὴ καλῶς ὑποκρίνοιτο μηδὲ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν θεῶν. id. *Apol.* 5 τοῖς τραγικοῖς ὑποκριταῖς εἰκάσουσιν οἱ ἔξω...Πῶλος ἢ Ἀριστόδημος...γίγνονται...καὶ μαστιγούμενοί τινες αὐτῶν ὡς ἂν τῷ θεάτρῳ δοκῇ.

ludis, 'at the games,' abl. of time. So *gladiatoribus,* Cic. *Att.* 2, 19, 3; *ludis et gladiatoribus* ib. 1, 16.

xysticorum. The *xystus* was a porticus, in which athletes practised during winter. *Galb.* 15 *si quid aut xystici donatum olim vendidissent*; Tertull. *Spect.* 30 *tunc xystici contemplandi non in gymnasio sed in igne iaculati,* id. 20 *atrocitas arenae vanitas xysti*; Vitruv. 5, 11 Ξυστὸς *Graecè appellatione est porticus ampla latitudine in qua athletae per hiberna tempora exercebantur.* For *xysti* in private houses and gardens see infr. c. 72.

pugnas ... exegit. Gladiators who showed timidity or seemed to avoid fighting were urged on by blows and hot irons. See Quint. *Declam.* 9, 6 *fremebant ubique omnia adparatu mortis, hic ferrum acuebat, ille incendebat ignibus laminas, huic virgae, inde flagella adferebantur*; Sen. *Ep.* 7, 5 *occide, verbera, ure! quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum? quare*

severissime semper exegit. Nam histrionum licentiam adeo compescuit, ut Stephanionem togatarium, cui in puerilem habitum circumtonsam matronam ministrasse compererat, per trina theatra virgis caesum relegaverit, Hylan pantomimum, querente praetore, in atrio domus suae nemine excluso flagellis verberarit, et Pyladen urbe atque Italia summoverit, quod spectatorem, a quo exsibilabatur, demonstrasset digito conspicuumque fecisset.

Ad hunc modum urbe urbanisque rebus administratis, 46
Italiam duodetriginta coloniarum numero, deductarum ab se, frequentavit operibusque ac vectigalibus publicis plurifariam instruxit, etiam iure ac

Colonies in Italy.

parum audacter occidit? quare parum libenter moritur? plagis agitur in volnera.

histrionum licentiam. Cp. *Tib.* 37; *Ner.* 16; *Dom.* 7.

togatarium, 'an actor in a *fabula togata.*' See *Nero* 11; Pliny *N. H.* 7 § 49; Iuv. 1, 3. The word does not appear to be elsewhere used, and some editors have proposed *togatarum.*

in puerilem habitum circumtonsam, 'with the hair cut short to look like a boy.' Plutarch, *de inst. mulierum,* tells a story of Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumae, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας παῖδας ἤσκει κόμαις καὶ χρυσοφορεῖν, τὰς δὲ θηλείας ἠνάγκαζε περιτρόχαλα κείρεσθαι. The offence of this actor was of producing (*ministrasse,* Tibull. 2, 2, 22) a *matrona,*—a Roman married *lady.*

per trina theatra. The theatres of Pompey, Balbus, and Marcellus. Ovid *A.A.* 3, 394 *visite conspicuis terna theatra locis.* See c. 29.

Hylan pantomimum. According to Suidas (s.v. ὄρχησις) Augustus first introduced this form of dramatic representation, which consisted in some dramatic scene presented by one actor with the help of dances and gestures. See Lucian *Salt.* § 67 οὐκ ἀπεικότως δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰταλιῶται τὸν ὀρχηστὴν παντόμιμον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ δρωμένου σχεδόν. The first *pantomimi* were Pylades and Bathyllus [Dio 54, 17]. Hylas was the pupil of Pylades, and Macrobius records that when he had to represent the words τὸν μέγαν Ἀγαμέμνονα he stretched himself to look his part, but Pylades exclaimed σὺ μακρὸν οὐ μέγαν ποιεῖς [*Sat.* 2, 7, 13]; Marq. 13, p. 330.

exsibilabatur. Cp. Cic. *Parad.* 3 § 26 *histrio si paullum se movit extra numerum aut si versus pronunciatur syllaba una brevior aut longior exsibilatur et exploditur.* Pylades was afterwards recalled, Dio 54, 17 Πυλάδην τινὰ ὀρχηστὴν διὰ στάσιν ἐξεληλαμένον κατήγαγεν. He was a Cilician, see Suidas.

digito, 'the middle finger,' *infamis digitus,* Pers. 2, 33; *mediumque ostenderet unguem* Iuv. 10, 53; Mart. 2, 28; 6, 70. It implied a charge of obscenity, see *Cal.* 56. Other ways of expressing contempt were to bend the fingers in shape of a stork's bill, or to hold them up to look like long ears. Pers. 1, 58 *O Iane, a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit, nec manus auriculas imitari mobilis albas.*

46. duodetriginta coloniarum. M.A. 28 *Italia autem* [XXVIII] *colonias, quae vivo me celeberrimae et frequentissimae fuerunt, meis auspiciis deductas habet.* For a list of these *coloniae,* see Mommsen *res g.* p. 123. What was now meant by 'colonies' was different from what the word had meant in former times. It was now practically the settlement of so many veterans, and often where a colony had already been settled, the illegality involved in this being got over by regarding the new settlers as a *supplementum* [Cic. 2 *Phil.* §§ 100—102]. Thus, of the twenty-nine Julian colonies in Mommsen's list, thirteen were old colonies—Ariminum, Beneventum, Bononia, Capua, Castrum Novum, Dertona, Minturnae, Parma, Pisae, Pisaurum, Sora, Suessa, Sutrium. Since B.C. 89 there was no question of *political status* involved, as all had the *civitas,* but there was still, it appears, some difference of internal government between a *colonia* and other

dignatione urbi quodam modo pro parte aliqua adaequavit, excogitato genere suffragiorum, quae de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici in sua quisque colonia ferrent et sub die comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent. Ac necubi aut honestorum deficeret copia aut multitudinis suboles, equestrem militiam petentis etiam ex commendatione publica cuiusque oppidi ordinabat; at iis, qui e plebe regiones sibi revisenti filios filiasve approbarent, singula nummorum milia pro singulis dividebat.

47 Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratuum im-

municipia, and the rank of a *colonia* was desired, though loss of lands to existing *coloni* involved often led to riots. Observe that **Italia** now includes Gallia Cisalpina and Istria. Of the new colonies only one seems to have the distinctly military object of coercing natives, *Augusta Praetoria* (*Aosta*), but some others were in places of military importance in regard to the roads or the coast, such as Atesta (*Este*), Brixia (*Brescia*), Iulia Augusta Taurinorum (*Turin*). But his selection of places for the most part must have depended principally on the facilities they presented for getting lands for the new *coloni* either by confiscation or purchase.

pro parte aliqua, 'to some degree,' because he could not put all the *coloni* on equal terms with the urban voters, seeing that the journey to Rome practically made their suffrage inoperative, and it was only the *decuriones* (colonial senators) who had the privilege of thus having their votes taken at home and forwarded to Rome. For *ius signandi* in voting, see an instance in the Concilium at Narbo *C. I. L.* XII 6038 *l.* 15, Rushf. p. 44.

urbicis, sc. Roman. **decuriones**, Pompon. *de verb. sign.* 1, 239...*quod in initio colonis, cum deducerentur, decima pars eorum qui deducerentur consilii publici gratia conscribi solita sit.*

equestrem militiam. The *equestris militia* included service as *tribunus cohortis*, *tribunus legionis*, *praefectus alae.* An order which Claudius varied, Suet. *Claud.* 25, *equestres militias ita ordinavit ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum daret.* When a man had served these (*tribus militiis perfunctus*) he was eligible for the quaestorship or other office (*a militiis*). The officer wore the gold ring of an *eques*. Wilmanns 1226. 1633–4. Marq. II, 63–4, 78. For **petentis** cp. *Galba* 14 *summae equestris gradus candidatus.* Wilmanns 1602 *Tiber. Claudio Claudiano eq. Rom. mil. petit.* **petentis...ordinabat** 'he promoted those who sought the rank of officers.' For **ordinabat** see *C. I. L.* V 7866 *leg.* III *Italicae ordinatus ex eq. Rom.*

e plebe. See on c. 44. **approbarent**, 'established their worthiness to his satisfaction.'

nummorum 'sesterces.' See c. 40.

47. provincias...permisit. For the principle of this division see Dio 53, 12 λόγῳ μὲν ὅπως ἡ μὲν γερουσία ἀδεῶς τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς καρπῶται, αὐτὸς δὲ τούς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχῃ καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφῃ. Cp. Strab. 17, 3, 25 ἑαυτῷ μὲν ὅση στρατιωτικῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχει χρείαν...τῷ δήμῳ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ὅση εἰρηνικὴ καὶ χωρὶς ὅπλων ἄρχεσθαι ῥᾳδία. The first division in B.C. 27 was modified more than once. Augustus first took Hispania Tarraconensis and Lusitania, all the Gauls (including Germania), Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Cyprus (Egypt was on a special footing, see c. 18, p. 42). But in B.C. 24 Cyprus and Narbonensis were given to the Senate ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ὅπλων δεομένας [Dio 54, 14]; in B.C. 21 Dalmatia was transferred to the Emperor ὡς ὅπλων τινῶν ἀεὶ καὶ δι' ἑαυτὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Παννονίων γειτονίαν δεομένη [Dio 54, 34]; in B.C. 6 disturbances in Sardinia caused that province to be put under military government for three years [Dio 54, 28]. All provinces subsequently added were imperial [Dio 53, 12 fin.]. During the reign of Augustus this occurred in the case of the provinces of Galatia and Lycaonia in B.C. 25 [Dio 53, 26; Marq. 9, p. 276 sq.], and Moesia [Dio 55, 29; Ov. *Tr.* 2, 197]. **annuis...imperiis.** In the senatorial provinces

periis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisit; et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum atque ex utroque genere plerasque saepius adiit. Urbium quasdam, foederatas sed ad exitium licentia praecipites, libertate privavit, alias aut aere alieno laborantis levavit, aut terrae motu subversas denuo condidit, aut merita erga populum Romanum adlegantes Latinitate vel civitate donavit. Nec est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta dumtaxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit.

Division of the Provinces.

Civitates foederatae.

Personal visits.

consulares and *praetorii* drew lots for their year of office, as in the republic, the law of B.C. 52, enacting a five years' interval between the consulship or praetorship and the provincial government, being maintained: but even in these the Emperor intervened in case of maladministration, *ἰσαρίθμους γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ οὓς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ κληροῦσθαι κελεύει* [Dio 53, 14]. In the Imperial provinces the *legati pro praetore* held office during pleasure [*ὅποι τέ τινα καὶ ὁπότε ἤθελεν ἐστέλλεν* Dio *l.c.*]. Among the Senatorial provinces Africa and Asia were to have *consulares* as governors, the rest *praetorii*, but in the provinces themselves both alike have *proconsulare imperium* and are therefore often called proconsuls.

foederatas. A comparatively small number of States in the provinces which, though debarred from making foreign alliances or wars, enjoyed internal autonomy, could coin money and receive exiles. The terms on which they held this freedom varied according to the particular *foedus*, one copy of which was kept at Rome, the others in the State concerned. Marq. 7, 100–104.

libertate privavit. Instances recorded are Cyzicus, Tyre, and Sidon. Dio 54, 7 *τούς τε Κυζικηνοὺς ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἐν στάσει μαστιγώσαντες ἀπέκτειναν ἐδουλώσατο· καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς Τυρίους τούς τε Σιδωνίους διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐποίησεν, ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ γενόμενος* (B.C. 20). The decree concerning Cyzicus was revoked in B.C. 15 [Dio 54, 23], and therefore Strabo [12, 8, 11] speaks of it as free; but Tiberius inflicted the same punishment on it in A.D. 25 *obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum divi Augusti, additis violentiae criminibus adversum cives Romanos, et amisere libertatem quam bello Mithridatico meruerant.* Cp. Suet. *Tib.* 57. It therefore seems that they had not forgiven the memory of Augustus. The freedom of Tyre and Sidon had been reserved by Antony, when he handed over Phoenicia to Cleopatra [Ios. *Ant.* 15, 4, 1].

Latinitate. The imperfect citizenship thus designated derived its name and much of its nature from the old status of the Latin cities. Since the civil war [B.C. 90] it had ceased to apply to any cities in Italy south of the Po, and since B.C. 49 to those north of the Po; but it still existed in colonies and certain states in the provinces; and the Emperor had the power of indefinitely extending it; Vespasian, for instance, gave *Latinitas* to all Spain. Pliny, *N.H.* 3 § 30. Later on there was a distinction laid down between *maius* and *minus Latium*: in virtue of the former all *decuriones* and office-holders in their states obtained full *civitas*, in the latter only magistrates [Gaius 1, 95—6].

excepta...Africa. If we may believe Nicolaus Dam. 11—12, Augustus visited Africa with his uncle Iulius in B.C. 45. After the defeat of Sextus (B.C. 36) Lepidus, who had come from Africa to Sicily nominally to help Augustus but had raised an opposition to him, was deprived of his province, and Augustus might have thought it necessary to go there. He, however, contented himself with appointing a new governor, with a division of his troops [App. *B. civ.* 5, 129].

Sardinia. Corsica and Sardinia were long held by Sextus Pompeius, but his ships and forces there were betrayed to Augustus by his freedman Menodorus in B.C. 38. App. *B. civ.* 5, 78—80. For the storms after the defeat of Sextus, see Dio 49, 34 *ἐπειδὴ δ τε Σέξτος ἀπολώλει*

In has fugato Sex. Pompeio traicere ex Sicilia apparantem continuae et immodicae tempestates inhibuerunt, nec mox occasio aut causa traiciendi fuit.

48 Regnorum quibus belli iure potitus est, praeter pauca, aut isdem quibus ademerat reddidit, aut alienigenis contribuit. Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor; nec aliter universos quam membra partisque imperii curae habuit, rectorem quoque solitus apponere aetate parvis aut mente lapsis, donec adolescerent aut resipiscerent; ac plurimorum liberos et educavit simul cum suis et instituit.

Client kings.

49 Ex militaribus copiis legiones et auxilia provinciatim

καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ καταστάσεως ἐδεῖτο ἦλθε μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖσε πλευσούμενος, ἐγχρονίσας δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος οὐκέτι ἐπεραιώθη.

48. regnorum. M.A. c. 27 *Armeniam maiorem interfecto rege eius Artaxe, cum possem facere provinciam, malui maiorum nostrum exemplo regnum id Tigrani regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per Ti. Neronem tradere, qui tum mihi privignus erat. Et eandem gentem postea desciscentem et rebellantem domitam per Gaium filium meum regi Artobarzani regis Medorum Artabasi filio regendam tradidi et post eius mortem filio eius Artavasdi. Quo interfecto Tigrane, qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id regnum misi.* Other instances are Herod in Iudaea [Ios. *B. Iud.* 15, 10]; Iuba in Mauretania [Dio 53, 26]. Augustus in the *Monumentum* c. 33 says also that he made Vonones king of the Parthians, and Ariobarzanes king of the Medes, on the request or with the consent of the chief men of those nations. **contribuit.** A word technically used of bringing a people into political connexion with another or under a ruler, *Ambracia ... tum contribuerat se Aetolis*, Livy 38, 3; *Uxiorum gentem... Susianorum Satrapiae contribuit* Curt. 5, 3, 16.

necessitudinibus ... affinitatis. Examples are again found in the dealings of Augustus and Livia with the Herods [Ios. *Ant.* 16, 7, 8; 17, 1, 2—9]. He was said even to have offered his own daughter Iulia to Cotiso king of the Getae, see c. 66.

universos. It is difficult to see the point of the antithesis, or what substantive is to be understood with *universos*. Perhaps it is safest to understand *socios* or *populos*. Augustus 'took as much thought for the general interests of the empire as for individual members of it.' But the words which follow do not seem to illustrate his remark very aptly.

rectorem...resipiscerent. On the analogy of the *tutela* of Roman law in the case of minors and insane or imbecile persons, see Cicero *de Sen.* § 22; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 218 *ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.* id. *Ep.* 1, 1, 102 *curatoris egere a praetore dati.* Iust. *Inst.* 1, 23 *furiosi et prodigi, licet maiores* XXV *annis sint, tamen in curatione agnatorum sint ex lege* XII *tabularum.*

liberos ... educavit. So Iuba was *τραφεὶς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ*, Dio 51, 15; and so Agrippa, son of Aristobulus was brought up at Rome with Drusus, son of Tiberius [Ios. *Ant.* 18, 6, 1]. Compare a similar policy of Agricola in Britain, Tac. *Agr.* 21.

49. auxilia. Under the republic *auxilia* meant all non-citizen troops levied in provinces or furnished by kings or allied nations. In the military system as reformed by Augustus it meant all bodies of troops in the provinces other than the legions, however composed. Marq. 11, 183. Of what such *auxilia* consisted will be seen in Vell. 2, 113 *contractis in una castra* X *legionibus*, LXX *amplius cohortibus*, XIV *alis, et pluribus decem veteranorum milibus, ad hoc magno voluntariorum numero, frequentique equite regio...*

provinciatim. At the time of the

distribuit, classem Miseni et alteram Ravennae ad tutelam Superi et Inferi maris conlocavit, ceterum numerum partim in urbis partim in sui custodiam adlegit,

Legions in Provinces and the Fleet.

battle of Actium there were at least 50 legions enrolled, all of which passed under the power of Augustus, who, making it a chief point in his policy to reduce the strength and expense of the army, partly by disbanding and partly by draughting off veterans to colonies, brought down the number to 18 or 23. [For the question between these two numbers, see Mommsen *res g.* pp. 67—69; Marq. 11, 159—162; E. G. Hardy, *Journal of Philology* 23, 45 p. 29 and the authorities there quoted.] Whatever the original number may have been it seems that after the Pannonian rising and the fall of Varus, the number was 23 or 25 [Dio 55, 23 *τρία δὲ δὴ τότε καὶ εἴκοσι στρατόπεδα, ἢ ὥς γε ἕτεροι λέγουσι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, πολιτικὰ ἐτρέφετο*], and Tacitus [*Ann.* 4, 5] tells us of their distribution in A.D. 23, which seems not to have been changed since the death of Augustus:—the Gauls and Germany 8; Spain 3; Africa 2; Egypt 2; Syria 4; Pannonia 2; Moesia 2; Dalmatia 2. Thus they were all in frontier provinces, the rest being *provinciae inermes*, in which the governor had only a detachment as body guard and for police, or depended on local militia [Marq. 11, 272 sq.]. The telling off of certain legions for permanent service in particular provinces proved afterwards a fertile source of disruption.

classem...Ravennae. The war fleet of Rome had never been continuously maintained in efficiency since the Punic and Macedonian wars. Pompey, in B.C. 67, caused a large fleet of 500 vessels to be built for the war with the pirates, which he maintained also during the civil war. After the death of Caesar, the command of the fleet was transferred to Sext. Pompeius [p. 31], and with it he maintained himself till B.C. 36. To combat him Augustus commissioned Agrippa to build a fleet in B.C. 37 [p. 32]. The fall of Sextus Pompeius put Augustus in possession of a large number of vessels, which he employed at Actium, where his victory added still more. He then organized the fleet on the same principle as the army, i.e. by fixing on two or more places as permanent stations,—Ravenna, Misenum, Forum Iulii (*Fréjus*), Tac. *Ann.* 4, 5 *Misenum apud et Ravennam proximum Galliae litus rostratae naves praesidebant, quas Actiaca victoria captas in oppidum Forumiuliense miserat valido cum remige.* The station at Forum Iulii seems not to have been maintained long after the time of Augustus [Strab. 4, 1, 9]; but those at Ravenna and Misenum existed up to the 5th century; the fleets are called in inscriptions *classis praetoria Misenensis...Ravennas* [*C. I. L.* 10, 317—350]. Ravenna, like the modern Venice, was built amidst tidal lagunes, three miles from the sea. Augustus not only constructed a port (*Classis*) connected by a causeway with the old city, but also a canal (*fossa Augusta*) from the Po to this port [Pliny *N. H.* 3 § 20]. By the middle of the 6th century this harbour was already silted up [Iordan. *Get.* 29], and the lagunes of the ancient city have long shared the same fate. Suetonius joins the fleet with his mention of the army, for those serving on board were reckoned as soldiers and shared in the privileges of soldiers: see the *diplomata* granting *civitas* to those *remiges* who had served their time in the fleet [*C. I. L.* 3, p. 844 sq.; Wilmanns 2862—3]. The importance of the naval stations of Misenum and Ravenna will be seen by reference to Tacitus *Ann.* 14, 62; 15, 51; *Hist.* 2, 9, 100; 3, 6, 40, 50, 56, 60; Pliny *Ep.* 6, 16 and 20; Plut. *Ant.* 32; Dio 48, 36; Vell. 2, 77; Mommsen *Inscrip. Regn. Neapol.* pp. 145—154.

ceterum numerum: that is, all men under arms other than those in the legions, auxiliaries or fleet.

partim in urbis...adlegit. Tac. *Ann.* 4, 5 *quamquam insideret urbem proprius miles, tres urbanae, novem praetoriae cohortes.* The number of *cohortes urbanae* was however subsequently raised to four [Tac. *H.* 2, 93; *C. I. L.* 3,853 (a diploma of Vespasian) *item militum qui in cohortibus novem praetoriis et quatuor urbanis militaverunt*]. As to the strength of the *cohortes* also there is variation of testimony, Tacitus *l. c.* says that each had a thousand men, Dio 55, 24 says 1500,—*οἱ τῆς πόλεως φρουραὶ ἑξακισχίλιοί τε ὄντες καὶ τετραχῇ νενεμημένοι.* See for a new discussion on the question

dimissa Calagurritanorum manu, quam usque ad devictum Antonium item Germanorum, quam usque ad cladem Varianam inter armigeros circa se habuerat. Neque tamen umquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est easque sine castris, reliquas in hiberna et aestiva circa finitima oppida dimittere assuerat. Quidquid autem ubique militum esset, ad certam stipendiorum praemiorumque formulam adstrinxit, definitis pro gradu cuiusque et temporibus militiae et commodis missionum, ne aut aetate aut inopia post missionem sollicitari ad res novas possent. Utque perpetuo ac sine difficultate sumptus ad tuendos eos prosequendosque suppeteret, aerarium militare cum vectigalibus novis constituit.

The urban cohorts.

Aerarium militare.

Mommsen in *Hermes* 14, 25—35, 160; 16, 643—647; *Ephem. Epig.* 5, 118—120.

partim in sui. The ten *cohortes praetoriae* [Dio *l. c.* οἵ τε σωματοφύλακες μύριοι ὄντες καὶ δεκαχῇ τεταγμένοι] were an extension of the *cohors praetoria* of republican times attending each commander-in-chief [Polyb. 6, 40]. As Augustus was commander-in-chief of the whole Roman army, and had his principal residence at Rome, the praetorian guard naturally had its headquarters there also. But it was not until the administration of Sejanus that they were all stationed in a permanent camp near the *porta Viminalis* [*Tib.* 37; Dio 57, 19; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 2].

Calagurritanorum. Calagurris Nassica or Iulia (*Calahorra*) in Hispania Tarraconensis was a municipium enjoying the Roman *civitas* [Plin. *N. H.* 3 § 4]. **Germanorum.** These appear to have been Batavians, Dio 55, 24 ξένοι τε ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, οἷς τὸ τῶν Βαταούων ἀπὸ τῆς Βαταούας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ῥήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα, ὅτι δὴ κράτιστοι ἱππεύειν εἰσί, κεῖται. The Batavian body-guard was also employed by Nero, Wilmanns 1518 NOBILIS • MILES • IMPERA • NERONIS • AVG • CORP • CVST • DEC • RABVTI • NAT • BATAVS • MILIT • AN • II • VIX • AN • XX • H • S • E. A body-guard of foreigners had been employed before, as the Ityreans by Antony, Cic. 2 *Phil.* §§ 19 and 112.

Varianam, see on c. 23.

plures quam tres...sine castris. This refers to the praetorian cohorts, for the urban cohorts had already barracks in Rome near the *forum Suarium.* The three praetorian cohorts thus billeted in Rome in turn performed the duties of guard at the imperial palace, Tac. *Ann.* 1, 7; 2, 34. After the praetorian camp was formed one cohort at a time mounted guard at the palace, Tac. *Ann.* 12, 69; *Hist.* 1, 24, and wore the toga, id. *Hist.* 1, 38 *nec una cohors togata defendit nunc Galbam sed detinet.* Mart. 6, 76 *Ille sacri lateris custos Martisque togati.*

ad certam...adstrinxit, 'he confined strictly to a fixed scale of service-time and allowances.' Dio 54, 25 (B.C. 13) καὶ διέταξε τὰ ἔτη ὅσα οἱ πολῖται στρατεύσοιντο καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅσα παυσάμενοι τῆς στρατείας, ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας ἣν ἀεί ποτε ᾔτουν, λήψοιντο. He goes on to say that the time of service fixed was 12 years for praetorians and 16 for others. But either this was again altered or this number of years' service did not entitle a man to his retiring allowance, for it is stated in 55, 23 (A.D. 6) to be 16 for praetorians and 20 for the legionaries, cp. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 17 and 78; M. A. c. 17. Mommsen thinks the change accounted for by the costly wars in Pannonia and Germany B.C. 12—8. There was a farther variation in other branches of the service. The *cohortes urbanae* served 20, the *auxilia* 25, the *classici* 26 years. Marq. 11, p. 282.

commodis missionum. See c. 24 note, p. 53.

aerarium militare. M. A. c. 17 *M. Lepido et L. Auruntio cos.* (A.D. 6) *in aerarium militare, quod ex consilio meo constitutum est, ex quo praemia darentur militibus, qui vicena aut plura emeru-*

Et quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia quaque gereretur, iuvenes primo modicis intervallis per militaris vias, dehinc vehicula disposuit. Commodius id visum est, ut qui a loco perferunt litteras, interrogari quoque, si quid res exigant, possint. In diplomatibus libellisque et epistulis signandis initio sphinge usus est, mox imagine

Postal service.

His seal.

50

issent HS milliens et septingentiens ex patrimonio meo detuli. Dio 55, 25 ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς πόρος ἀρέσκων τισὶν εὑρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντες ὅτι καὶ ἐζητεῖτο ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσήνεγκεν ὁ Αὔγουστος χρήματα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ Τιβερίου ἐς τὸ ταμεῖον, ὃ καὶ στρατωτικὸν ἐπωνόμασε. The establishment of this military exchequer was therefore connected with the change and settlement as to the years of service and retiring allowances. It was replenished from time to time by his own contributions [see c. 41], by voluntary subventions from subject or allied princes and towns, and by a death duty of 5 p.c. on estates and legacies [Dio *l. c.* τὴν δ' εἰκοστὴν τῶν τε κλήρων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς ἂν οἱ τελευτῶντές τισι πλὴν τῶν πανυ συγγενῶν ἢ καὶ πενήτων καταλείπωσι κατεστήσατο], and the 1 p.c. excise on *res venales* seems also to have been paid to this account, Tac. *Ann.* 1, 78. Two *praetorii* were put in charge of it.

vectigalibus novis. The legacy duties he maintained to be only a revival of an old tax, Dio *l. c.*

sub manum, 'promptly' [ὑπὸ χεῖρα Arist. *Meteor.* 2, 9, 13], cp. Seneca *Ep.* 71 § 1 *res nostrae feruntur, immo volvuntur; ergo consilium nasci sub diem debet: et hoc quoque nimis tardum est; sub manu, quod aiunt, nascatur*; Plancus ap. Cic. *fam.* 10, 23 § 2 *adiunxi... Vocontii sub manu ut essent*, 'at hand,' 'handy': but Caes. *B. Afr.* 36 *sub manum* [with v. l. *manu*].

iuvenes...vehicula. Along the great military roads of Italy and the provinces there seem to have been for some time posting houses where relays of horses and carriages could be obtained [Cic. *pro Ros. Am.* 7; Suet. *Iul.* 57; Mart. 10, 104], but there was no provision for postal service. Rich men kept *tabellarii* for the transmission of letters [see Mayor on Plin. *Ep.* 3, 17 § 2]; the magistrates sent *statores* [Cic. *ad fam.* 2, 17, 1]; and the companies of *publicani* had their regular couriers [Cic. *ad Att.* 5, 15, 3; *de Prov.* § 15]. Poorer men had to take advantage of these. For the public post now organised by Augustus, see Marq. 9, pp. 587—592 who gives a long list of the literature of the subject. The Emperor had a certain number of *speculatores* attached to his staff for this service [c. 74].

vehicula, the light carriages or *cisia* used in the postal service, cp. *Cal.* 44 *magnificas litteras Romam misit, monitis speculatoribus, ut vehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertenderent.*

50. diplomatibus, documents issued by the Emperor or provincial governor conferring privileges, immunities or the like. *Cal.* 38; *Ner.* 12. The term is also applied to bronze *diptycha*, such as the diplomata fixing the *privilegia militum.* See Wilmanns 2861; *C. I. L.* 3, p. 843.

libellis, 'petitions.' The Emperor is said *signare libellos* when he answers them, Pliny *Ep.* 1, 10, 9 *sedeo pro tribunali, subnoto libellos.*

epistulis. Gaius *Inst.* 1, 5 *constitutio principis est quod imperator decreto vel edicto vel epistula constituit.* Though this definition was hardly recognised in the time of Augustus.

initio sphinge...sua. Pliny [*N. H.* 37 § 10] says that Augustus found two rings of his mother's with sphinxes that were exactly alike, and that while he used one he lent the other to his agents during the civil war [i.e. to Maecenas, see Dio 51, 3]. The three seals, whether designedly or not, seem to have a reference to three stages in his life,—to the self-suppression and dark policy of his early manhood; the world-wide empire gained after 31 B.C.; and finally to the originality of the policy in his later years in which he represented in his own person all the popular powers which he pretended to maintain. The emblem of the sphinx seems to have given rise to unfavourable remark, *postea ad evitanda convicia sphingis Alexandri Magni imagine signavit* Plin. *l.c.* The Sphinx is found on coins of

Magni Alexandri, novissime sua, Dioscuridis manu sculpta, qua signare insecuti quoque principes perseverarunt. Ad epistulas omnis horarum quoque momenta nec diei modo sed et noctis, quibus datae significarentur, addebat.

51 Clementiae civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt. Ne enumerem, quot et quos diversarum partium venia et incolumitate donatos principem etiam in civitate locum tenere passus sit: Iunium Novatum et Cassium Patavinum e plebe homines alterum pecunia, alterum levi exilio punire satis habuit, cum ille Agrippae iuvenis nomine asperrimam de se epistulam in vulgus edidisset, hic convivio pleno proclamasset, neque votum sibi neque animum deesse confodiendi eum. Quadam vero cognitione,

His tolerance of personal abuse.

Chios and Alexandria [Head *Hist. Num.* pp. 513, 720], but there is also a Cistophorus in the B. Museum with a head of Augustus and a Sphinx on the reverse.

Dioscuridis. There are some gems extant attributed to Dioscurides (Διοσκουρίδης), see King's Horace *Odes* 1, 2. Pliny *N. H.* 37 § 8 *post eum Apollonides et Cronius in gloria fuere, quique Augusti imaginem simillime expressit, qua postea principes signant, Dioscurides.*

insecuti...principes except Galba [Dio 51, 3]. An example of its use by Hadrian is given in the records of the Arval Brethren [Henzen p. 65; Wilmanns 2871] *L. Iulium Catium ex litteris Imp. Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Augusti fratrem Arvalem cooptaverunt et ad sacra vocaverunt ibique tabulae apertae signo signatae quod exprimit Kaput Augusti*...(A.D. 118). For the general use of portraits in rings, see Ovid *Tr.* 1, 7, 6 *in digito qui me fersque refersque tuo, effigiemque meam fulvo complexus in auro, cara relegati quae potes ora vides.*

horarum...momenta, 'the exact time,' Iustin. 2, 14, 9 *tam brevi horarum momento*; Pliny *N. H.* 7 § 172 *nullo horae momento.*

quibus...significarentur, 'noting at what hour they had been despatched'; equivalent to *quo significaret quibus momentis datae essent.* It is a case of the loose use of the subjunctive common with words of saying, *rediit paulo post quod se oblitum nescio quid diceret* Cic. *Off.* 1, 13; Roby *L. G.* 1746. **datae,** Cic. *Att.* 4, 17 § 3 *a Quinto fratre et a Caesare accepi a. d. xi Kal. Nov. litteras datas a littoribus Britanniae a. d. xi Kal. Oct.*

51. clementiae. See on c. 13, p. 26. Seneca [*de Clem.* 9—11] discusses the claim of Augustus to this praise, contrasting the early severities with the mildness of the principate, and concludes *ego vero clementem non voco lassam crudelitatem.* It was a subject on which Augustus valued himself; in M.A. 34 he says that the golden shield was given him *clementiae, iustitiae, pietatis causa,* and was so inscribed.

civilitatis, 'moderation,' 'constitutional conduct,' the proper dealing of citizen with citizen on equal terms, not acting as a monarch. *Claud.* 35 *primis imperii diebus iactator civilitatis.*

Iunium...Patavinum, otherwise unknown. The men might have been convicted of *maiestas.* Cp. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 72 *primus Augustus de famosis libellis specie eius legis* (i.e. *de maiestate*) *tractavit.* **e plebe.** See on c. 44.

Agrippae iuvenis, sc. Agrippa Postumus, see cc. 9 and 64.

confodiendi, 'he wanted neither the wish nor the courage to stab him to death,' Roby *L. G.* 1394. Suet. *Iul.* 82 *tribus et viginti vulneribus confossus est.*

cognitione. The hearing of a special case by a magistrate or the Emperor. *Claud.* 15 *negantem cognitionis rem sed ordinarii iuris esse. ib.* 12 *cognitionibus magistratibus ut unus e consiliaribus interfuit.*

cum Aemilio Aeliano Cordubensi inter cetera crimina vel maxime obiceretur quod male opinari de Caesare soleret, conversus ad accusatorem commotoque similis *Velim*, inquit, *hoc mihi probes; faciam sciat Aelianus et me linguam habere,* 5 *plura enim de eo loquar;* nec quicquam ultra aut postea inquisiit. Tiberio quoque de eadem re, sed violentius, apud se per epistulam conquerenti ita rescripsit: *Aetati tuae, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere et nimium indignari quemquam esse, qui de me male loquatur; satis est enim, si hoc* 10 *habemus ne quis nobis male facere possit.*

Templa, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni 52
solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Temples to himself.
Romaeque nomine recepit (nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore) atque etiam argenteas 15 statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnis exque iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicavit.

Cordubensi. Corduba was the seat of one of the four *conventus iuridici* of Hispania Baetica, and was a Roman colony (B.C. 132), in which it is said an unusual number of patricians had settled, of whom Aemilius Aelianus appears from his name to have been one.

male opinari de, 'to express a bad opinion of,' 'to abuse,' see c. 67; *Cal.* 27 *male de munere suo opinatos*; Iustin. 12, 5, 8 *in unam cohortem eos qui de rege durius opinati fuerunt contribuit.* So *male existimare*, Macrob. *Sat.* 2, 4, 18 *Strabone male existimante de pervicacia Catonis.*

aetati...indulgere, 'to give way to the impulses of our youth' (Horace's *calida iuventa*). *Claud.* 16 *aetatulae indulgere*: Tac. *Germ.* 19 *mulier, non forma non aetate maritum invenerit.* So *indulgere animo*, Ovid *Met.* 12, 598.

52. etiam proconsulibus, as to Flamininus at Chalcis [Plut. *T. Flam.* 16; see also Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1, 1, 9]. **nisi...suo Romaeque nomine.** Temples to Rome had been known before, as at Smyrna [Tac. *Ann.* 4, 56. See Rushforth p. 47—8]. The joining the names of the Emperor with that of Rome was therefore a natural step, which Augustus himself had already taken in dedicating the Iulian heroum τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι Dio 51, 20. For instances see *C. I. G.* 3524 (an Aeolic inscription near Cyme) ἐπὶ ἱερέως τᾶς Ῥωμᾶς καὶ αὐτοκράτορος, θεῶ υἱῶ, θεῶ Σεβαστῶ, ἀρχιερέως μεγίστω, καὶ πατρὸς τᾶς πατρίδος, Πολέμωνος τῶ Ζήνωνος Λαοδίκεος. That is, 'when Polemo, son of Zeno of Laodicea, was priest of Rome and of the Emperor Augustus etc.' Cp. *ib.* 3567; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 37.

in urbe. As also in Italy, Dio 51, 20 τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις ἑαυτῷ μὲν τινὰ... τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψεν...ἐν γάρ τοι τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν ἐφ' ὁποσοῦν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Yet that such worship did exist in Italy in his lifetime is proved by inscriptions at Pompeii, see Rushforth, pp. 54—57. After his death such shrines were dedicated in Rome and all over the empire. See c. 5; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 10; Pliny *N. H.* 12 § 94.

argenteas statuas. Plin. *N. H.* 33 § 151 *argenti usum in statuas primum divi Augusti temporum adulatione transisse falso existimatur, iam enim triumpho Magni Pompei reperimus tralatam Pharnacis qui primus regnavit in Ponto argenteam statuam, item Mithridatis, et currus aureos argenteosque.* Dio 53, 22 οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι διακρῖναι...εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ Αὔγουστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀργυροῦς πρός τε τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς δήμων τινῶν γεγονότας, ἐς νόμισμα κατέκοψε. He had himself forbidden silver statues of men, Dio 54, 7.

exque iis, 'and with the money coined from them.'

Apollini Palatino. See c. 29. **cortinas**, Plin. *N. H.* 35 § 14 *ex aere facti-*

Dictaturam magna vi offerente populo, genu nixus deiecta
53 The Dictatorship. ab umeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est. Domini appellationem ut maledictum et obprobrium semper exhorruit. Cum, spectante eo ludos, pronuntiatum

tavere et cortinas tripodum nomine ac Delphicas, quod eae maxime Apollini Delphico dicabantur.

dictaturam...deprecatus est. M.A. 5 *Dictaturam et apsenti et praesenti mihi datam a populo et senatu M. Marcello et L. Arruntio consulibus* (B.C. 22) *non accepi.* [The Latin text is defective, but is restored from the Greek.] The year B.C. 22 was one of distress, and the popular feeling called for the help of Augustus (who in accordance with the arrangement of B.C. 23 was not consul). The people besieged the senate-house, clamouring that the Dictatorship and *praefectura annonae* should be bestowed on Augustus. The latter he accepted...*τὴν δὲ δικτατορίαν οὐ προσήκατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα προσκατερρήξατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδένα τρόπον ἄλλως σφᾶς ἐπισχεῖν...ἠδυνήθη· τήν τε γὰρ ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς δικτάτορας ἔχων, ὀρθῶς τό τε ἐπίφθονον καὶ τὸ μισητὸν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτῶν ἐφυλάξατο*, Dio 54, 1. Cp. Vell. 2, 89. It was, in fact, diametrically opposed to Augustus' policy of resting a practically absolute power on a constitutional basis, as Tiberius said of his *tribunicia potestas* [Tac. *Ann.* 3, 56] *id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret.* He took the same course as to the perpetual censorship...*ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη διδομένην ἀνεδεξάμην*, M. A. 6. Now the first measure of conciliation after the murder of Iulius had been (on the proposition of Antony) to declare it illegal to propose or accept a dictatorship, under the same penalties as the old constitution imposed on the attempt to obtain kingly power, *ἢ τὸν ἐκ τῶνδέ τινος ὑπεριδόντα νηποινεὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐντυχόντων ἀναιρεῖσθαι*, App. *B. civ.* 3, 25 [cp. Plut. *Popl.* 12 *ἔγραψε γὰρ νόμον ἄνευ κρίσεως κτεῖναι διδόντα τὸν βουλόμενον τυραννεῖν*]. This is what Cicero calls the abolition of the very name of the Dictatorship, as it was in fact. See Cic. 1 *Phil.* § 3; 2 *Phil.* § 91; 5 *Phil.* § 10; Dio 44, 51. The Dictatorship as held by Sulla and Iulius had of course been of a different nature from that known up to the end of the second Punic war, both in the method of appointment, length of tenure, and the juridical basis on which it rested [Mommsen *Staatsr.* 3, 194; 4, 427], nevertheless the name was one known to the constitution, and some show of following precedents was made [App. *B. civ.* 1, 99; Cic. *ad Att.* 9, 9 and 15; Caes. *B. civ.* 2, 22], while Antony's law of B.C. 44 was generally understood to make any Dictatorship illegal [*dictaturae nomen in perpetuum de republica sustulisti*, Cic. 2 *Phil. l.c.*]. It does not therefore seem that it only referred to the irregular dictatorship, as has been stated, *Class. Review*, vol. 3, p. 77 (F. Haverfield).

53. domini. Cp. *Tib.* 27 *dominus appellatus a quodam denuntiavit ne se amplius contumeliae causa nominaret.* Domitian on the other hand accepted the title [Suet. *Dom.* 13], as had Caligula [Aurel. Vict. *Caesares*]. Dio 55, 12 *δεσπότης δὲ τότε* (A.D. 2) *ὁ Αὔγουστος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ὀνομασθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως ἀπεῖπε μηδένα τούτῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ προσρήματι χρήσασθαι.* Tertull. *Apol.* 34 *Augustus imperii formator ne dominum se quidem appellari volebat.* The position taken up by Augustus was that, though in rank he was first, his powers were only those of any other magistrate [M. A. 6 *post id tempus* (B.C. 27) *praestiti omnibus dignitati, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam qui fuerunt mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae*]. It was natural, therefore, that he should avoid the title *dominus*, associated (1) with the mastership of slaves, (2) with political tyranny. See Cic. *de Rep.* 2, 26 *videtisne igitur ut de rege dominus exstiterit...hic est enim dominus populi quem Graeci tyrannum vocant.* 2 *Phil.* 108 *Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea dominantem, modo regnantem Caesarem videramus.* Tiberius *ἔλεγεν ὅτι δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δούλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν πρόκριτος εἰμί* [Dio 57, 8]. Brutus [Cic. *Ep. ad Br.* 1, 17, 6] *sed dominum ne parentem quidem maiores nostri voluerunt esse.* Pliny *Panegyr.* 45 *scio, ut sunt diversa natura dominatio et principatus, ita non aliis esse principem gratiorem quam qui maxime dominum graventur.*

esset in mimo: *O dominum aequum et bonum!* et universi quasi de ipso dictum exultantes comprobassent, et statim manu vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit et insequenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto; dominumque se posthac appellari ne a liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis vel serio vel ioco passus est, atque eius modi blanditias etiam inter ipsos prohibuit. Non temere urbe oppidove ullo egressus aut quoquam ingressus est nisi vespera aut noctu, ne quem officii causa inquietaret. In consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum saepe adaperta sella per publicum incessit. Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem, tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens, ut quendam ioco corripuerit, quod *sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, quasi elephanto stipem.* Die senatus numquam patres nisi in curia salutavit et quidem sedentis, ac nominatim singulos

Dislike of adulation.

Courtesy

non temere, see on c. 16, p. 34. **nisi vespera...inquietaret.** The fashion of meeting magistrates and commanders on their return to Rome by a procession was an old one, see Livy 22, 61; Cic. *ad Att.* 7, 5; 2 *Phil.* § 106. Among the honours voted to Augustus in B.C. 30 was *ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιόντι αὐτῷ τάς τε ἱερείας τὰς ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τόν τε δῆμον μετά τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπαντῆσαι* [Dio 51, 19]. When, however, a complimentary procession was voted to him on his return from Gaul in B.C. 13 he avoided it, *τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τότε ἐξέστη· νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθη ὅπερ που καὶ ἀεὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν...ἐποιει, ἵνα μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀχληρὸς εἴη* [id. 54, 25]. As to **officium** for attentions of this character, see Iuv. 3, 126 and Mayor's note.

inquietaret, only in Latin of silver age, see *Ner.* 34; Quint. 11, 3, 80; Plin. *Ep.* 1, 9.

adaperta sella. Roth for *adoperta.* To ride with the curtains of the *lectica* closed was a sign of pride. Cp. Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 106 *obviam ei processit...magna sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus.* Hence the joke of the peasant at Venusia which cost him so dear, Gell. 10, 3, 5. Mart. 11, 98, 12 *nec vindicavit* (from troublesome *basiatores*) *sella saepius clusa.* In the *sella* the rider sat, in the *lectica* reclined. For a distinction between them see Suet. *Claud.* 25; *Domit.* 2; Seneca *de brev. vit.* 12, 6; Mart. 10, 10; 11, 98.

per publicum (subst. 'public place') *Ner.* 9 *lectica per publicum vehi.*

promiscuis, 'open to all' as opposed to the practice of some subsequent Emperors, as Domitian, Pliny *paneg.* 48, §§ 4—5 *observabantur foribus* (*Domitiani*) *horror et minae et par metus admissis et exclusis...non adire quisquam non alloqui audebat tenebras secretumque captantem.*

salutationibus. The early morning *salutatio* is profusely illustrated in all literature of the imperial period. Mart. 4, 8 *prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora.* See the passages quoted by Mayor on Iuv. 1, 128; 3, 127; 5, 19.

sic...dubitaret. Macrob. *Sat.* 2, 4, 3 *idem Augustus cum ei quidam libellum offerret et modo proferret manum modo retraheret 'putas' inquit 'te assem elephanto dare?'* Quint. 6, 3, 59; Gal. *de usu part.* 17 *ὁ ἐλέφας ἐκείνῳ τῷ μορίῳ ἅπαντα μεταχειρίζεται...ἄχρι τῶν σμικροτάτων νομισμάτων.* Of elephants trained to beg, see Mart. *Spect.* 17 *quod prius et supplex elephas te, Caesar, adorat.*

nisi in curia. To cause the Senate to wait on him at the palace would be looked on as treating it disrespectfully. Thus on his return in B.C. 13 he greeted the people *ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ* but summoned the Senate to the Curia [Dio 54, 25]; and in his *laudatio* Tiberius said of him [Dio 56, 41] *ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τὸν δῆμον οἰκάδε προσδεξαμένου ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀσπασαμένου.*

nullo submonente; etiam discedens eodem modo sedentibus valere dicebat. Officia cum multis mutuo exercuit, nec prius dies cuiusque sollemnes frequentare desiit, quam grandi iam natu et in turba quondam sponsaliorum die vexatus. Gallum Terrinium senatorem minus sibi familiarem, sed captum repente oculis et ob id inedia mori destinantem praesens consolando revocavit ad vitam.

and kindness.

54 In senatu verba facienti dictum est: *Non intellexi*, et ab alio: *Contradicerem tibi, si locum haberem.* Interdum ob immodicas disceptantium altercationes e curia per iram se proripienti quidam ingesserunt, *licere oportere senatoribus de re publica loqui.* Antistius Labeo senatus lectione, cum vir virum legeret, M. Lepidum hostem

Behaviour in the Senate,

et quidem sedentis 'without their rising,' whereas Iulius had received the Senate without rising himself, Suet. *Iul.* 78, though the Senators were accustomed to stand up when he entered, Plut. *Caes.* 66 εἰσιόντος δὲ Καίσαρος ἡ βουλὴ μὲν ὑπεξανέστη θεραπεύουσα.

nullo submonente, without any nomenclator. Macr. *Sat.* 2, 4, 15 *nomenculatori suo, de cuius oblivione querebatur, dicenti 'numquid ad forum mandas?' 'accipe' inquit 'commendaticias quia illic neminem nosti.'*

officia, 'social attentions,' 'visits.' Nep. *Att.* 4 § 3 *nihilo minus amicis urbana officia praestitit.*

grandi iam natu, for the more common *grandis natu*, see c. 89; *Ner.* 34.

sponsaliorum [for *-orum* see Seneca *de Ben.* 1, 914]. The 'betrothal' sometimes preceded the actual marriage by several years, see Aul. Gell. 4, 4, Marquardt 14, p. 50. For the entertainment given at the betrothal, cp. Pliny *Ep.* 1, 9 *nam si quem interroges 'hodie quid egisti?' respondeat 'officio togae virilis interfui, sponsalia aut nuptias frequentavi.'* Seneca *de Benef.* 4, 39, 3 *surgam ad sponsalia quia promisi, quamvis non concoxerim; sed non si febricitavero.* It was accompanied by a banquet, Pliny *N. H.* 9 § 11 *Lolliam Paulinam...mediocrium etiam sponsalium cena vidi smaragdis margaritisque opertam.* Cic. *ad Q. Fr.* 2, 5 (6) *a. d. vii Idus Apr. sponsalia Crassipedi praebui; huic convivio puer optimus Quintus ...defuit.*

minus...familiarem. To a man who entertained him with a shabby dinner Augustus said *non putabam me tibi tam familiarem*, Macr. *Sat.* 2, 4, 13.

54. in senatu. Macrobius [*Sat.* 2, 4, 19—25] gives instances of Augustus' tolerance of repartees to himself.

si locum haberem. Casaubon explains *si tu omnia in republica loca non occupasses*, cp. Livy 4, 57 *omnia loca obtinuere ne cui plebeio aditus esset.* But it may have a more general meaning of 'ground to stand on,' 'opportunity,' as in Cic. *Att.* 1, 18 *nactus locum resecandae libidinis.*

de re publica, 'on the interests of the state.' Suet. *Iul.* 28 *M. Claudius Marcellus edicto praefatus de summa republica acturum retulit ad senatum.*

Antistius Labeo. (There is a doubt whether his *praenomen* was Marcus or Quintus.) Aul. Gell. 13, 12 *in quadam epistula Atei Capitonis scriptum legimus, Labeonem Antistium legum atque morum populi Romani iurisque civilis doctum adprime fuisse.* Tac. *Ann.* 1, 75 *Labeo incorrupta libertate.* He wrote a commentary on the laws of the XII tables [Aul. Gell. 20, 1 § 13]; a work on the Vestal Virgins [*id.* 1, 12]; and other legal treatises [*id.* 4, 2], as well as works on grammar and philology [*id.* 13, 10]. See also Pompon. in *Dig.* 1, 2, 2, 47. Horace is supposed to refer to him in *Sat.* 1, 3, 82 *Labeone insanior*, but this has with some reason been doubted. See Palmer's note.

cum vir virum, see on c. 35, p. 79 (note).

M. Lepidum, see on c. 16, p. 35. **exulantem**: in c. 16 he used the more accurate word *relegavit.* But *exilium*

olim eius et tunc exulantem legit, interrogatusque ab eo an essent alii digniores, *suum quemque iudicium habere* respondit. Nec ideo libertas aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit. Etiam 55 sparsos de se in curia famosos libellos nec expavit et magna cura redarguit ac ne requisitis quidem auctoribus, id modo censuit, cognoscendum posthac de iis, qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cuiuspiam sub alieno nomine edant.

Iocis quoque quorundam invidiosis aut petulantibus 56 lacessitus, contradixit edicto. Et tamen ne de inhibenda testamentorum licentia quicquam constitueretur, intercessit.

was often used loosely to include the minor punishment of *relegatio:* thus Ovid often speaks of himself as *exul* [e.g. *Tr.* 3, 1, 1], but when he wishes to be more accurate he says of the edict [*Tr.* 2, 135]

quippe relegatus, non exul, dicor in illo
privaque fortunae sunt data verba meae.

Lepidus' *relegatio* at Circeii also seems to have been varied by summonses to Rome [Dio 54, 13].

suum...habere. Dio [54, 13] gives the answer somewhat differently *καὶ τί δεινὸν πεποίηκα κατασχὼν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἄνδρα ὃν σὺ ἀρχιερέων ἔτι καὶ νῦν περιορᾷς ὄντα;*

55. famosos libellos, see on c. 51. Cp. Dio 52, 31 (advice of Maecenas to Augustus) *τὸ γὰρ ὅτε τις ἐλοιδόρησέ σε ἢ καὶ ἕτερόν τι ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶπε, μήτε ἀκούσῃς ποτὲ κατηγοροῦντός τινος μήτε ἐπεξέλθῃς.* But later on Aelius Saturninus was executed for libellous verses on Tiberius in B.C. 23 [Dio 57, 22]. For a list of men punished by other Emperors for similar crimes, see Mayor on Iuv. 1, 152.

nec...et...ac, 'he not only did not shrink from them but took great pains to refute them and, without searching for the authors, merely made the following regulation.' If the reading stands, *et magna cura* must mean that he condescended to argument rather than repression; but *nec* has been proposed for *et*, in which case it would mean that 'he neither feared them nor took any pains to refute them.' However, for *nec* followed by affirmative see Varro ap. A. Gell. 1, 22 *in convivio legi nec omnia debent et ea potissimum quae simul sint βιωφελῆ et delectent.* Cic. 2 *Cat.* § 28. Roby *L. G.* 2200 and 2241. Madvig *L. G.* § 458.

cognoscendum.....edant. Tacitus [*Ann.* 1, 72] says that Augustus first established a *cognitio de famosis libellis.* But Suetonius here adds the qualification of anonymity,—*sub alieno nomine.* Dio 56, 27 (A.D. 12) *καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι βιβλία ἄττα ἐφ' ὕβρει τινῶν συγγράφοιτο, ζήτησιν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε... κατέφλεξε καὶ τῶν συνθέντων αὐτὰ ἐκόλασέ τινας.* The crime was one known to the law as far back as the XII tables, see Cic. *de Rep.* 4, 10 *si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri.* Cp. Hor. *Sat.* 2, 1, 82 *si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est iudiciumque.*

56. iocis...edicto. Macrobius *Sat.* 2, 4, 19 *soleo in Augusto magis mirari quos pertulit iocos quam ipse quos protulit.* He then gives several instances. To publish an *edictum* in answer to lampoons is curious; but Augustus used the *edictum* as a means of familiar communication with the citizens on all sorts of subjects, some quite personal, see cc. 31 and 89. Claudius was the Emperor who carried this practice to the extreme length of absurdity, issuing as many as 20 in one day, and among them *ut uberi vinearum proventu bene dolia picarentur*, and *nihil aeque facere ad viperae morsum quam taxi arboris sucum*, Suet. *Claud.* 16. See others *ib.* 32 and 38. Also *Cal.* 45.

testamentorum licentia, 'the freedom of speech in wills.' Thus Fulcinius Trio, driven to commit suicide by informers, *supremis tabulis multa et atrocia in Macronem ac praecipuos libertorum Caesaris composuit*, Tac. *Ann.* 6, 44; cp. Dio 58, 25. See Lucian *Nigrin.* 69 *ὅτι μίαν φωνὴν οἱ Ῥωμαίων παῖδες ἀληθῆ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον προίενται, τὴν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις λέγων.* For Nero's dealing with the *testamenta ingratorum*, see Suet. *Ner.* 32.

Quotiens magistratum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibat supplicabatque more sollemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribu, ut unus e populo. Testem se in iudiciis et interrogari et refelli, aequissimo animo patiebatur. Forum angustius fecit, non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos. Numquam filios suos populo commendavit ut non adiceret: *si merebuntur.* Eisdem praetextatis adhuc assurrectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum, gravissime questus est. Amicos ita magnos et potentes in civitate esse voluit, ut tamen pari iure essent quo ceteri legibusque iudiciariis aeque tenerentur. Cum Asprenas Nonius artius ei iunctus causam veneficii, accusante Cassio Severo,

at the Comitia,

in the Iudicia.

candidatis suis, 'candidates recommended by himself,' thus *Caesaris candidati* was said of those who do not exert themselves to win anything, as being secure of their object. Quintil. 6, 3.

supplicabatque may refer to words or respectful gestures, as in *Ner.* 13. For the conduct of a candidate in republican times see Q. Cic. *de pet. cons.* 42 *opus est magno opere blanditia, quae, etiam si vitiosa est et turpis in cetera vita, tamen in petitione est necessaria.*

in tribu, MSS. have *tribubus.* Erasmus read *tribu*, rightly; for though Augustus had belonged to two tribes, he would vote only in one; see c. 40, p. 89; c. 101.

forum angustius fecit. Middleton [*Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2, p. 9] illustrates this by observing that the symmetry of the plan of the *forum Augusti*, in existing remains, is spoilt 'by a piece of it being as it were cut off in a sloping direction' at the east corner. For the *forum* see c. 29, p. 62.

numquam...ut non. For the limiting *ut* see pp. 59, 126. For *ut non* Cicero would have used *quin.* See *Verr.* 5, § 55.

filios, his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius, sons of Agrippa and Iulia. See cc. 26, 64. **praetextatis**, see c. 44.

commendavit, i.e. for election. *Iul.* 41 *commendo vobis illum et illum.*

assurrectum, 'the audience stood up in their honour.' The Emperor was accustomed *consulibus et assurgere et decedere via. Tib.* 31. In the theatre the audience rose to show respect for one entering, see Cic. *Att.* 2, 19 *inimici erant equitibus qui Curioni stantes plauserunt;* or sometimes in approval of the scene, Cic. *de Am.* § 24 (of Pylades and Orestes) *stantes plaudebant in re ficta.* Augustus was eager that the two young men should not be spoilt, Dio 54, 27 *καὶ τῷ δήμῳ (ἐπιτίμησεν) ὅτι καὶ κρότοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις αὐτὸν [Γάιον] ἐτίμησαν. id.* 55, 9 *ἰδὼν ὁ Αὔγουστος τόν τε Γάιον καὶ τὸν Λούκιον αὐτούς τε μὴ πάνυ, οἷα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τρεφομένους, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἤθη ζηλοῦντας...καὶ πρὸς πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ μὲν γνώμῃ τὰ δὲ θεραπείᾳ κολακευομένοις ἠγανάκτησε.*

ita...ut tamen, 'to be powerful and yet on no superior legal footing.' For *ita* followed by restrictive clause, cp. Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 85 *ita eras Lupercus ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes.* Ter. *Haut.* 783 *ita tu istaec tua misceto, ne me admisceas.* Plaut. *Aul.* 4, 1, 5 *ita dormitet, servom se esse ut cogitet.*

Asprenas Nonius, see c. 43. Quintilian [11, 1, 57] speaks of the charge against him being without ground: it was alleged that he had poisoned 130 guests [Plin. *N. H.* 35, § 164]. For inversion of names cp. c. 35 *Codrus Cremutius.*

Cassio Severo. This man was a distinguished orator though noted for the bitterness of his style [Quint. 6, 1, 43; 6, 3, 27, 78—9; cp. 10, 1, 116 *ingenii plurimum est in eo et acerbitas mira;* 12, 10, 11 *acerbitas Cassii*]. [Tac.] *de Orat.* 36 *primus contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia et pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus, non pugnat sed rixatur.* Plin. *N. H.* 7, § 55 *Cassio Severo...Armentarii*

diceret, consuluit senatum, *quid officii sui putaret; cunctari enim se, ne si superesset, eripere legibus reum, sin deesset, destituere ac praedamnare amicum existimaretur;* et consentientibus universis sedit in subselliis per aliquot horas, 5 verum tacitus et ne laudatione quidem iudiciali data. Affuit et clientibus, sicut Scutario cuidam, evocato quondam suo, qui postulabatur iniuriarum. Unum omnino e reorum numero, ac ne eum quidem nisi precibus eripuit, exorato coram iudicibus accusatore, Castricium, per quem de coniuratione 10 Murenae cognoverat.

Pro quibus meritis quantopere dilectus sit, facile est 57
aestimare. Omitto senatus consulta, quia possunt His
videri vel necessitate expressa vel verecundia. Equi- popularity.

mirmillonis obiecta similitudo est. His bitter libels at length caused him to be banished to Crete, and finally he was punished (as he continued libelling) by *deportatio* to Seriphus and deprivation of property [Tac. *Ann.* 1, 72; 4, 21], and his works were proscribed, though readmitted by Caligula [Suet. *Cal.* 16].

consuluit senatum. Dio 55, 4 *φίλῳ δέ τινι δίκην φεύγοντι συνεξητάσθη προεπικοινώσας αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῇ γερουσίᾳ.*

superesset, technically used for one who appeared to support another in a law-court. Gellius [1, 22] demurs to the use of the word as applied to an advocate, yet he owns that it is in general use *non in compitis tantum neque in plebe vulgaria, sed in foro, in comitio, apud tribunalia.* The more common expression for an advocate however was *adesse;* see below, and Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 95 *semper adfui Deiotaro absenti.* The word *superesse* probably at first referred to that form of 'maintenance' whereby powerful men appeared by the side of accused persons to deliver

laudationes, which Pompey endeavoured to suppress in B.C. 52, Plut. *Pomp.* 55 *πάλιν οὖν ἤκουε κακῶς ὅτι λύσας νόμῳ τοὺς γινομένους περὶ τῶν κρινομένων ἐπαίνους αὐτὸς ἐσῆλθε Πλάγκον ἐπαινεσόμενος.* Cp. Dio 40, 52.

praedamnare, not used by Cicero or Caesar, and rarely by Livy [4, 41].

subselliis, movable seats ranged below the *tribunal* for all engaged in any way in the cause, advocates, witnesses, etc. Cic. *pro Flacc.* § 22 *testes una sedent, ex accusatorum subselliis surgunt. id.* 2 *Verr.* 2, 73 *Minucius* (the advocate for defence) *simul a subselliis abire coepit.*

affuit...clientibus. Dio 54, 3 *ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμετρίαζεν, ὥστε καὶ φίλοις τισὶν εὐθυνομένοις παραγίγνεσθαι.*

evocato...suo. The *evocati* (soldiers who had served their time but remained under the standards as volunteers) had long been known in the Roman army [Polyb. 6, 31 § 2]. But under the Empire there was a special class of these called *evocati Augusti* [Marq. 11, 88 sq.] who with the rank of centurion were employed on special services [e.g. in surveying frontiers, Wilmanns 895 *evocato Augusti mensore*] or were promoted to the rank of *praefectus.* They were usually taken from the *praetorians* [Wilmanns 1567 DIS • MANIBVS • L • NAEVI...AVG • EVOC • MILITAVIT • IN • COH • PR...EQVES • OPTIO • EQVITVM • CORNICVLAR • TRIBVNI • MILITAVIT • IN • CALIGA • ANN • XVI • EVOCATVS • FVIT • ANN • III.]; but also from the *cohortes urbanae* [Wilmanns 1584 M • GARANTIVS ... COH • VRBANAE ... ITEM MINVCI RVFI...AVG • EVOCATVS].

iniuriarum. In legal language *iniuria* is one of four ways of incurring *obligatio ex delicto* [Gaius *Inst.* 3, 182 *si quis furtum fecerit, bona rapuerit, damnum dederit, iniuriam commiserit*]. An *iniuria* might be committed by personal violence, by libellous words or writings, or other wrong doing [*id.* 3, 220]. Remedies for these (chiefly by *talio*) had been given in the XII tables. But at this time the *actio iniuriarum* was under the *lex Cornelia de iniuriis.*

Murenae, see on c. 19, p. 44.

57. senatus consulta. Such as those in (*a*) B.C. 30, Dio 51, 19; (*b*) B.C. 27,

tes Romani natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebrarunt. Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quot annis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam in Capitolio, etiam absenti, ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus, vicatim dedicabat, ut Apollinem 5 Sandaliarium et Iovem Tragoedum aliaque. In restitutionem

Dio 53, 16; (*c*) B.C. 23, Dio 53, 32; (*d*) B.C. 22, Dio 54, 1; (*e*) B.C. 13, Dio 54, 25 and others; which gave or offered him the various honours or titles which gradually built up the principate.

natalem eius. Dio 54, 34 *καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ πόλει πολλαχόθι θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτιμήθη. id.* 55, 6 *ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ γενέθλια ἱπποδρομίαν ἀίδιον ἔλαβεν.* But Suetonius is the only authority for representing this as the special action of the *equites*. Another such instance of the *equites* taking corporate action is mentioned in the Monumentum [c. 14], when they named Gaius and Lucius successively *principem iuventutis*. **biduo**, that is, IX • ET • VIII • K • OCTOBR. Wilmanns 884.

in lacum Curti...stipem. It is not known precisely what was the form of the monument existing at this time to mark the marsh in the forum called the *lacus Curtius* [Livy 7, 6, where the people are said to have thrown *dona et fruges* on Curtius; Dionys. 2, 41; Plut. *Rom.* 18; Varro *L. L.* 5, 149]. Middleton supposes it to have been an enclosure with an altar, quoting Ovid *F.* 6, 403 *Curtius ille lacus siccas qui sustinet aras* [*Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. 1, p. 233]; but it seems likely that there was also some well or fountain into which the small coins (*stips*) were cast,—a custom not unknown at Rome to this day, and illustrated from other places; as at Oropus, Pausanias 1, 34, 3 *νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντεύματος γενομένου καθέστηκεν ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγήν.* Casaubon also quotes Sozom. 2, 3 (of the well dug by the oak of Mamre) *περὶ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς πανηγύρεως οὐδεὶς ἐντεῦθεν ὑδρεύετο· νόμῳ γὰρ Ἑλληνικῷ οἱ μὲν λύχνους ἠμμένους ἐνθάδε ἐτίθησαν, οἱ δὲ οἶνον ἐπέχεον, ἢ πόπανα ἔῤῥιπτον, ἄλλοι δὲ νομίσματα.* So cups were thrown into a hot spring at Vicarello by grateful invalids, Middleton, *Remains*, 2, p. 359. See *Tib.* 14; Hermann's *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*, ed. Stark, § 25. 3; E. J. Guthrie, *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 222.

Kal. Ian. strenam, 'a luck-penny on New Year's day.' *Strena* (from which the French have taken *étrennes*) is properly something with a good omen, cp. Plaut. *Stich.* 3, 2, 8 *mustela murem abstulit praeter pedes, cum strenad obscaevavit. ib.* 5, 2, 24 *bona scaeva strenaque obviam occessit mihi.* The piece of money was for luck, see Ov. *F.* 1, 189—192; and therefore the Emperors accepted it, see Dio 59, 24 *καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἀργύριον κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔθος ἰσχῦσαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ διδόντες κατέθεσαν.* But the gift of *strenae* became so much of a tax that Tiberius limited them to the day [*Tib.* 34]. Caligula stood openly in the vestibule of his palace to receive them [*Cal.* 42], cp. *Aug.* 91. The origin of the word is uncertain; the ancients apparently connected it with a goddess *Strenia* [*strenuum faciendo*, August. *civ. d.* 4, 11]; others with the fact that the original offering was a consecrated bough from a *lucus Strenuae*. Symm. *Ep.* 10, 35. In later times it became a regular source of revenue. Cod. Theod. 7, 24, 1; Marq. 14, 296. It was perhaps the non-Latin word which Tiberius used in an edict refusing such presents when Marcellus said *Σὺ, Καῖσαρ, ἀνθρώποις μὲν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων δύνασαι δοῦναι ῥήμασι δὲ οὔ.* Dio 57, 17.

ex qua...dedicabat. See *C. I. L.* 6, 456 *laribus publicis sacrum imp. Caesar Augustus pontifex Maximus tribunic. potest.* XVIIII *ex stipe quam populus ei contulit k. Ianuar. apsenti C. Calvisio Sabino L. Passieno Rufo cos.* (B.C. 4). **vicatim**, cc. 40 and 43.

Apollinem Sandaliarium. So called it appears from the name of a *vicus* in Rome [Aul. Gell. 18, 4, 1 *in Sandalario forte apud librarios fuimus*], or, as others think, the sandalled statue gave the name to the *vicus* in the 4th region. Casaubon quotes Galen *Prognost.* 14 *καταβὰς εἰς τὸ Σανδάλιον, ἀπήντησέ μοι κατὰ τύχον.* From *C. I. L.* 6, 761 [Wilmanns 1718] the *vicus* is shown to belong to the 4th *regio*. CN • POMPEIVS • CN • L • NICEPHORVS • MAG • VICI • SANDA-

Palatinae domus incendio absumptae veterani, decuriae, tribus, atque etiam singillatim e cetero genere hominum libentes ac pro facultate quisque pecunias contulerunt, delibante tantum modo eo summarum acervos neque ex quo-
5 quam plus denario auferente. Revertentem ex provincia non solum faustis ominibus, sed et modulatis carminibus prosequebantur. Observatum etiam est, ne quotiens introiret urbem, supplicium de quoquam sumeretur. Patris patriae 58

LIARI • REG • IIII. **Iovem Tragoedum,** only known from the *notitia* as belonging to the fifth region, *Esquilina.*

Palatinae domus incendio. The fire was in A.D. 2, and the house, which was that of Hortensius and not specially conspicuous [see c. 72], was then rebuilt apparently with some splendour [Ov. *Tr.* 3, 1, 33—48]. Dio says that he accepted only one *denarius* from individuals and one *aureus* (25 *denarii*) from each state, παρὰ τῶν δήμων χρυσοῦν παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν δραχμήν...ὁ δὲ ἀνοικοδομήσας ἐδημοσίωσε πᾶσαν, Dio 55, 12.

decuriae, *tribus et decuriae* are mentioned together in the same way in Tac. *Ann.* 13, 2; Gellius 18, 7. Whether this refers to groups of ten families making up the tribe is uncertain. Such a subdivision is not known from any other source, and some would explain *decuriae* in these passages to refer to the *decuriae scribarum, iudicum,* etc. Still the *decuriatio tribulium* for election purposes seems to point to the same division [Cic. *pro Planc.* § 45]. See Mommsen, *die römischen Tribus,* p. 12.

revertentem ex provincia. *C. I. L.* 10, 8375, Rushf. 38, XVIII *k. Ianuar. eo die ara Fortunae Reducis dedicata est quae Caesarem ex transmarinis provinciis reduxit,* cp. M.A. c. 11. Augustus was absent for a considerable period from Rome four times after he became sole ruler, (*a*) from B.C. 31 to B.C. 29 in the East, (*b*) B.C. 27 to B.C. 24 in Gaul and Spain, (*c*) B.C. 22 to B.C. 19 (with one visit to Rome) in the East and Sicily, (*d*) B.C. 16 to B.C. 13 in north Italy and Gaul, while Drusus and Tiberius were engaged in their campaigns against the Vindelici, Alpine tribes and Germans. He however avoided any reception by entering the city at night [Dio 54, 25]. The feelings with which this last absence was regarded are shown in Horace *Odes* 4, 5.

faustis ominibus, 'congratulations,' 'blessings.' *Claud.* 27 *Britannicum... parvulum manibus suis gestans plebi commendabat faustisque ominibus eum adclamantium turba prosequebatur.*

modulatis carminibus. Such perhaps as Hor. *Od.* 1, 37 *nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero pulsanda tellus.* Suet. *Nero* 20 *captus modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus. id. Cal.* 16 *nobilibus pueris ac puellis carmine modulato laudes virtutum eius canentium.* Hor. *Od.* 4, 6, 35 *Lesbium servate pedem meique Pollicis ictum.*

ne...supplicium...sumeretur. In B.C. 30 the senate voted that he should be met by a procession among whom were to be the Vestal Virgins [Dio 51, 19]. As a man being led to punishment was saved if he met a Vestal, this regulation may have seemed a natural arrangement. Farther, the day of his entry was to be sacred and given up to public sacrifices—τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέλθῃ θυσίαις τε πανδημεὶ ἀγαλθῆναι καὶ ἱερὰν ἀεὶ γενέσθαι [Dio 51, 20]; and in B.C. 13 the Senate voted among other honours τοῖς τε ἱκετεύσασιν αὐτὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ὄντα ἄδειαν εἶναι [Dio 54, 25].

58. Patris patriae. M. A. 35 *tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam* (B.C. 2), *senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae.* Fast. Praenest. [*C. I. L.* 1, p. 314, 386; 2, 2107] NON • FEB • FERIAE • EX • S • C • QVOD • EO • DIE • IMPERATOR • CAESAR • AVGVSTVS • PONT • MAX • TRIB • POTEST • XXI • COS • XIII • A • SENATV • POPVLOQVE • ROMANO • PATER • PATRIAE • APPELLATVS. This (5 Feb. B.C. 2) was the first official recognition of the title, which however had been commonly given him before; Dio 55, 10 καὶ ἡ ἐπωνυμία ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκριβῶς ἐδόθη· πρότερον γὰρ ἄλλως ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐπεφημίζετο. The giving of this title by popular ac-

[illegible] Asiae Graecorum vetustique pro se [illegible], quae [illegible] Augustum reliquissent. Quae cum Divus [illegible] Gens, quae primum ac se venisset, [illegible] Pergamenorumque pietatique super templa [illegible] quinquennalem praesse sacrificiis constituerunt. Paxque [illegible] et singuli in suo quisque 30 [illegible] Romae urbem appellarunt et cuncti simul [illegible] Iovis Olympii templum, antiquitate incomparabile, [illegible] Romanorum [illegible] Genique [illegible], se [illegible] Romae modo sed

Honors paid to him abroad.

[illegible] Ant. 16, 10, 6); Caesarea Philippi by Philip the Tetrarch (id. 18, 2, 1); Caesarea [illegible] in Mauretania by Iuba (Strabo 17, 3, 12; Eutrop. 7, 5). There was a Caesarea also in Cappadocia (Steph. Byz.); Pliny mentions others in Bithynia (Plin. N. H. 6 § 26), in Cilicia (§ 95), in Pisidia (§ 94).

[illegible] Iovis Olympii. This great temple, said to have been begun by Pisistratus (Arist. Pol. 5, 11), was not completed till the age of Hadrian, whose splendid constructions are described by Pausanias, 1, 18, 2, see Spartian Hadr. 19. The earliest known contribution towards its completion was by Antiochus Epiphanes (IV), Livy 41, 20 *magnificentius vero in deos vel Iovis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris incolatum pro magnitudine dei, potest testis esse* (anc. u.c. 178). Cp. Polyb. 26, 1. Strabo 9, 1, 17 τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον ὅπερ ἡμιτελὲς κατέλιπε τελευτῶν ὁ Ἀντιοχὸς βασιλεύς. What was done by the princes in honour of Augustus is not known. Fifteen immense Corinthian columns are all that now remain.

Genio. See note on p. 66. For the worship of the *Genius Augusti* see Wilmanns 884 l. 12 *et ut natalibus Aug. et Ff. Caesarum principum ad vescendum denariorum trent, thure et vino genii eorum ad epulandum ara numinis Augusti inoliverentur*; Marq. 13, p. 208. A Genium had in B.C. 30 made it an object of reverence, Dio 51, 19 καὶ ἐν συνεστίοις οὐχ ἥττον τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντας αὐτῷ σπένδειν ἐκέλευεν. Cp. Hor. Od. 4, 5, 31 *hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris te mensis adhibet deum*. The Genius of Augustus takes the place of that of the State. See a coin C. I. L. 1, 1448 *P. A. G(enio)*; id. 1555 *genio populi*. So too the gods, id. 603 *genio Iovis*.

cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei: prima plebs, legatione Antium missa; dein, quia non recipiebat, ineunti Romae spectacula frequens et laureata; mox in curia senatus, neque decreto neque adclamatione, sed per Valerium Messalam. Is mandantibus cunctis, *Quod* 5 *bonum*, inquit, *faustumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste! sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem rei publicae et laeta huic urbi precari existimamus: senatus te consentiens cum populo Romano consalutat patriae patrem.* Cui lacrimans respondit Augustus his verbis (ipsa enim, sicut Messalae, 10 posui): *Compos factus votorum meorum, Patres Conscripti, quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc consensum vestrum ad ultimum finem vitae mihi perferre liceat?*

59 Medico Antonio Musae, cuius opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statuam aere conlato iuxta signum 15 Aesculapi statuerunt. Nonnulli patrum familiarum testamento caverunt, ut ab heredibus suis praelato

His illness and cure by Musa. B.C. 23.

clamation or compliment was old; thus it is applied by Livy to Romulus [1, 16] and to Camillus [5, 49]. It had been applied to Cicero by Cato with popular applause after the execution of the conspirators, App. *B. civ.* 2, 7; [*σωτῆρα καὶ κτίστην*, Plut. *Cic.* 22]; it was given with more formality to Iulius [Dio 44, 3 *πατέρα τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπωνόμασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐχάραξαν*, cf. Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 31; 13 *Phil.* § 23]. Dio points out that the title as assumed by the emperors eventually gave them real authority on the analogy of the *patria potestas*, but that originally it was complimentary and meant to promote the sense of duty and affection on either side [53, 18]. Tiberius constantly declined the title. See Tac. *Ann.* 1, 72; Suet. *Tib.* 26; Dio 57, 8; 58, 12; and *C.I.G.* 2087, where both Augustus and Tiberius are commemorated, but this title is only given to the former. Succeeding emperors (except perhaps Galba, Otho and Vitellius) seem all to have taken it [Pliny, *panegyr.* 21 *tu patris patriae titulum recusabas...nomen illud quod alii primo statim principatus die, ut imperatoris et Caesaris receperunt, tu usque eo distulisti, donec tu quoque...te mereri fatereris*].

plebs, all below the Equites, see c. 44, p. 98. Ov. *F.* 2, 127 *Sancte pater patriae, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen Hoc dedit: hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen eques.*

quid habeo...precari. Cic. *fam.* 1, 5 *de Alexandrina re causaque regia tantum habeo polliceri.*

59. Antonio Musae. Antonius Musa was a freedman [Dio 53, 30]. He treated Augustus by dieting and cold baths when his physician, C. Aemilius, had almost let him die from scrupulous adherence to old methods [Dio *l.c.*, Pliny *N. H.* 19, § 128 *Divus certe Augustus lactuca conservatur in aegritudine prudentia Musae medici cum prioris C. Aemili religio nimia eum necaret.* 25, § 77 *iidem fratres instituere a balineis frigida multa corpora adstringere*]. His brother Euphorbus was physician to king Iuba and seems to have been equally enterprising and progressive. He belonged to the School of Themison, but had made innovations on his practices [Pliny *ib.* 29, § 6; 30, § 117]. Musa prescribed cold baths to Horace also [*Ep.* 1, 15, 3—5]. He failed however to save the life of Marcellus [Dio *l.c.*].

Aesculapi. Pliny *N. H.* 34, § 80 mentions a statue of Aesculapius in the temple of Concord; and another by Cephisodotus in the temple of Iuno [36, § 24]. There were other statues however, and in 1890 a travertine pedestal was found in the excavations for the Tiber embankment, with the inscrip-

titulo victimae in Capitolium ducerentur votumque pro se solveretur, quod superstitem Augustum reliquissent. Quaedam Italiae civitates diem, quo primum ad se venisset, initium anni fecerunt. Provinciarum pleraeque super templa
5 et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt. Reges amici atque socii et singuli in suo quisque 60
regno Caesareas urbes condiderunt et cuncti simul aedem Iovis Olympii Athenis, antiquitus incohatam, perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt Genioque
10 eius dedicare; ac saepe regnis relictis, non Romae modo sed

Honours paid to him abroad.

tion AISCOLAPIO. See Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, 1, p. 149.

titulo. Cp. Ovid, *Met.* 9, 792 *dant munera templis: addunt et titulum: titulus breve carmen habebat: 'Dona puer solvit quae femina voverat Iphis.'*

quod superstitem. Cp. Hor. *Ep.* 1, 16, 27 '*Tene magis salvum populus velit, an populum tu Servet in ambiguo qui consulit et tibi et urbi Iuppiter,'—Augusti laudes agnoscere possis.*

Provinciarum...super templa et aras. Dio [51, 20] mentions Pergamus, and Nicomedeia in Bithynia, as places in which temples were consecrated to Augustus. From *C. I. G.* 3604 we learn that there were games in his honour 'Ιλιεῖς καὶ αἱ πόλεις αἱ κοινωνοῦσαι τῆς θυσίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱόν, θεὸν Σέβαστον ἀνυπερβλήτοις πράξεσιν κεχρημένον καὶ εὐεργεσίαις ταῖς εἰς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους. Traces of such festivals will be found in inscriptions also at Athens [*C. I. G.* 3831], at Ancyra in Galatia [*C. I. G.* 4031, 4039]; in Cilicia [*C. I. G.* 4443]; at Lugdunum, see Livy *Ep.* 137, cp. Mayor on Iuv. 1, 44. At Alexandria [Strab. 27, 1, 9] and Paneas [Ios. *Ant.* 15, 10, 3] there were temples to Augustus, and at other places. For the extension of this worship in the provinces, see Marquardt 13, p. 227 sq.

ludos...quinquennales, games on the Greek model in his honour at Rome, πανήγυρίν οἱ πεντετηρίδα ἄγεσθαι Dio 51, 19; at Pergamus, *id.* 51, 20 fin.; at Caesarea τὸν ἀγῶνα Καίσαρι κατὰ πενταετηρίδα...ἄγειν, Ios. *Ant.* 16, 9; at Jerusalem [*id.* 15, 11]; at Naples which preserved Greek habits beyond any city in Italy [Dio 55, 10; Strabo 5, 4, 7; 5, 1, 2]. See infr. c. 98; Dio 56, 29.

60. Caesareas urbes. Caesarea (*Turris Stratonis*) by Herod the Great [Ios. *Ant.* 15, 10, 6]; Caesarea Philippi by Philip the Tetrarch [*id.* 18, 2, 1]; Caesarea Iol in Mauretania by Iuba [Strabo 17, 3, 12; Eutrop. 7, 5]. There was a Caesarea also in Cappadocia [Steph. Byz.]; Pliny mentions others in Armenia Minor [*N. H.* 6 § 26], in Cilicia [5 § 93], in Pisidia [5 § 94].

aedem Iovis...Athenis. This great temple, said to have been begun by Peisistratus [Arist. *Pol.* 5, 11], was not completed till the age of Hadrian, whose splendid constructions are described by Pausanias, 1, 18, 2. See Spartian *Hadr.* 13. The earliest known contribution towards its completion was by Antiochus Epiphanes (IV), Livy 41, 20 *magnificentiae vero in deos vel Iovis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris incohatum pro magnitudine dei, potest testis esse* (circ. B.C. 175). Cp. Polyb. 26, 1. Strabo 9, 1, 17 τὸ Ὀλυμπικὸν ὅπερ ἡμιτελὲς κατέλιπε τελευτῶν ὁ ἀναθεὶς βασιλεύς. What was done by the princes in honour of Augustus is not known. Fifteen immense Corinthian columns are all that now remain.

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et provincias peragranti cotidiana officia togati ac sine regio insigni, more clientium praestiterunt.

61 Quoniam, qualis in imperis ac magistratibus regendaque per terrarum orbem pace belloque re publica fuerit, exposui: referam nunc interiorem ac familiarem eius vitam, quibusque moribus atque fortuna domi et inter suos egerit a iuventa usque ad supremum vitae diem. Matrem amisit in primo consulatu, sororem Octaviam quinquagensimum et quartum agens aetatis annum. Utrique cum praecipua officia vivae praestitisset, etiam defunctae honores maximos tribuit.

Domestic affairs.

Death of Atia, B.C. 43.

cotidiana officia, c. 27, p. 60.

togati ac ... insigni. Eutrop. 7, 5 *multi autem reges ex regnis suis venerunt, et habitu Romano, togati scilicet, ad vehiculum vel equum ipsius cucurrerunt.* M. A. 32 *ad me supplices confugerunt reges Parthorum Tiridates et postea Phrates, regis Phratis filius; Medorum Artavasdes; Adiabenorum Artaxares; Britannorum Dumnobellannus.* To wear the *toga* was to acknowledge themselves Romans and subjects. Thus long before (B.C. 175—164) Antiochus Epiphanes wore the *toga* and imitated the Roman magistrates [Polyb. 26], and about B.C. 167 King Prusias dressed himself as a Roman *libertus* to meet the Roman envoys [Polyb. 30, 19].

61. matrem. Atia died soon after he arrived in Rome from Mutina, in August B.C. 43. She had been concealed for safety by the Vestals during his absence [App. *B. civ.* 3, 92]. His first consulship extended from 19 August in that year to the formation of the triumvirate in November. Her death and public funeral about this time are mentioned by Dio 47, 17.

Octaviam. See c. 4, pp. 6—7.

utrique...tribuit. The relations of Augustus with his mother and sister are the most pleasing part of his history. The influence of the former is dwelt on by Nicolas repeatedly. It was fear for their safety which hastened his march to Rome in B.C. 43 [App. *B. civ.* 3, 92]. His sister's influence twice prevented a breach between him and Antony [p. 7], and he commemorated her by some of his most splendid public works [see pp. 6, 7, 64]. Atia was honoured by a public funeral [Dio 47, 17], and over Octavia (who died in B.C. 11) he himself pronounced the funeral oration [Dio 54, 35]. See Plut. *Ant.* 31 *ἔστεργε δ' ὑπερφυῶς τὴν ἀδελφὴν χρῆμα θαυμαστόν, ὡς λέγεται, γενομένην γυναικός.*

Sponsam habuerat adulescens P. Servili Isaurici filiam, 62
sed reconciliatus post primam discordiam Antonio, expostulantibus utriusque militibus ut et necessitudine aliqua iungerentur, privignam eius Claudiam, Fulviae ex P. Clodio filiam, duxit uxorem vixdum nubilem, ac simultate cum Fulvia socru orta dimisit intactam adhuc et virginem. Mox Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit, nuptam ante duobus consularibus, ex altero etiam matrem. Cum hac quoque divortium fecit, pertaesus, ut scribit, morum perversitatem eius,

His three marriages, (1) Claudia, B.C. 43, (2) Scribonia, B.C. 40, (3) Livia, B.C. 38.

62. sponsam, see on *sponsalia* c. 53. Such a contract was dissolved by *repudium*. *Dig.* 50, 16, 101 § 1 *divortium inter virum et uxorem fieri dicitur, repudium vero sponsae remitti videtur, quod et in uxoris personam non absurde cadit.* That is, you may say either *divortium* or *repudium* of a wife, but only *repudium* of a *sponsa*.

P. Servili Isaurici. P. Servilius Vatia inherited the cognomen Isauricus from the conqueror of Cilicia and the Isaurian pirates (B.C. 78—74). He was colleague of Iulius as consul in B.C. 48, and had remained faithful to him throughout. After his death he joined the senatorial party for a time against Antony; but Cicero complains that he was lukewarm [14 *Phil.* §§ 7, 11; *Att.* 4, 15; 11, 5], and at any rate he soon reconciled himself to Antony, and in B.C. 41 was again consul, it is supposed as a compensation for the repudiation of his daughter.

expostulantibus...militibus, B.C. 43; Dio 46, 56 *κἂν τούτῳ οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατιῶται τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν τῆς Φουλουίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Κλωδίου εἶχε, τῷ Καίσαρι καίτοι ἑτέραν ἐγγεγυημένῳ προεξένησαν, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δῆλον ὅτι τοῦτο κατασκευάσαντος.* Plut. *Ant.* 20.

Fulviae. See pp. 18, 41. Fulvia married first P. Clodius, Cicero's enemy, who was killed in Jan. B.C. 52; secondly, Gaius Curio, who fell in Africa, B.C. 49; thirdly, M. Antonius about B.C. 46 [Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 11]. She was a woman of a masculine spirit and violent temper, *nihil muliebre praeter corpus gerens* [Vell. Pat. 2, 74; cp. Plut. *Ant.* 11; App. *B. civ.* 4, 29, 32; Dio 47, 8]. After her escape from Perusia, she fled to Athens, where her husband met her, but treated her with so much disapprobation and roughness that she fell ill. He left her at Sicyon, on their way to Italy, and there she died [App. *B. civ.* 5, 52—5; Dio 48, 28].

simultate. The political quarrel leading to the war of Perusia is enough to account for this [Dio 48, 5 sq.], but Martial quotes an epigram of Augustus which seems to hint that the *spretae iniuria formae* entered into the question [11, 21].

dimisit...virginem. Dio *l.c.* *ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς πενθερᾶς μὴ φέρων...τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ παρθένον ἔτι οὖσαν, ὃ καὶ ὅρκῳ ἐπιστώσατο, ἀπεπέμψατο.*

Scriboniam [Tac. *Ann.* 2, 27; Wilm. 170]. This was a purely political marriage. Scribonia was aunt to the wife of Sext. Pompeius (a d. of L. Scribonius Libo), and Augustus was anxious to have means of making peace with him in view of the hostility of Antony [App. 5, 53]. As her son (P. Cornelius Scipio) by her second husband was consul in B.C. 16, he must have been at least in his 17th year at the time of her marriage to Augustus (B.C. 40, Dio 48, 16), and she must have been many years older than her husband. The divorce took place on the day of the birth of Iulia, B.C. 39, and Dio says that its real reason was that he was already in love with Livia [48, 34]. She lived long enough to accompany her daughter into exile in B.C. 2 [Dio 55, 10; Vell. Pat. 2, 100].

in matrimonium, the first had been only *sponsa*, the second *uxor* only in name. For **pertaesus** with acc. see *Iul.* 7; *Tib.* 67. The simple *taesus* is not so used, nor *pertaesus* in Augustan Latin. Livy 3, 67, *Xvirorum vos pertaesum est.*

duobus consularibus...matrem. The name of the first husband is not known nor the consulship of the second.

ac statim Liviam Drusillam matrimonio Tiberi Neronis et quidem praegnantem abduxit, dilexitque et probavit unice ac perseveranter.

63 Ex Scribonia Iuliam, ex Livia nihil liberorum tulit, cum maxime cuperet. Infans, qui conceptus erat, immaturus est editus. Iuliam primum Marcello, Octaviae sororis suae filio tantum quod pueritiam egresso, deinde, ut is obiit, M. Agrippae nuptum dedit, exorata sorore, ut sibi genero cederet; nam tunc Agrippa alteram Marcellarum habebat et ex ea liberos. Hoc quoque defuncto, multis ac diu, etiam ex equestri ordine, circum-

His daughter Iulia.

Liviam Drusillam. Livia d. of Livius Drusus Claudianus was descended from Appius Claudius Caecus, her father having been adopted by a Livius. Besides this illustrious descent she was beautiful and young. Dio [58, 2] says that she was 86 at her death in A.D. 29: she was therefore born in B.C. 58—7 (28 September), and was only fifteen or sixteen when her son Tiberius was born (16 Nov. B.C. 42). It is therefore evident that Pliny [*N. H.* 14, 8] can hardly be right in reducing her age to 82. Her father had killed himself after the battle of Philippi where he had fought against the triumvirs. In B.C. 40, she had fled with her husband Tib. Claudius Nero, who had taken part with L. Antonius [Dio 48, 15], and did not return to Rome till after the peace of Misenum early in B.C. 39 [Tac. *Ann.* 5, 1]. Though she was within three months of the birth of her second son Drusus she was divorced by her husband, apparently by mutual consent [before 16 Nov. B.C. 38, for Tiberius was *trimus* at the time of the marriage, Vell. Pat. 2, 94], and he acted as a father in giving her to Augustus [Dio 48, 44 ἐξέδωκεν δὲ αὐτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ ὥσπερ τις πατήρ]. But though the circumstances of the marriage are revolting to us, she seems to have been a high-minded virtuous and wise woman, who retained a firm hold on her husband's affections: see her praises in Dio 57, 2. Tacitus indeed [*Ann.* 1, 10] speaks of her as *gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca*, but he himself shows that her influence was exercised on the side of justice and mercy during the reign of Tiberius [*Ann.* 5, 3], and the scandals against her in regard to the deaths of the young Marcellus [Dio 53, 33] and Gaius and Lucius Caesar [Dio 55, 11] rested on no foundation.

63. Iuliam...Marcello. Plut. *Ant.* 87. This is the young Marcellus of Vergil *Aen.* 6, 860—885, b. B.C. 43. His death in the autumn of B.C. 23 followed closely on the Emperor's own serious illness of that year [Dio 53, 30]. He was curule aedile at the time of his death [Pliny *N. H.* 19 § 24]. His marriage with Iulia had apparently taken place two years before [Dio 53, 27]. **tantum quod** 'only just.' Roby *L. G.* 1705.

Agrippa had before this been married to Pomponia, a daughter of Atticus, apparently in B.C. 41, by whom he had a daughter Vipsania, betrothed to Tiberius when she was only a year old [Corn. Nep. *Att.* 12 and 19].

alteram Marcellarum, the younger of the daughters of Octavia by her first husband Marcellus, or as some have maintained, the elder; but there is nothing really to show which, nor is anything known of children born to Agrippa by Marcella. The name appears in two inscriptions [Wilmanns 160 and 351], the latter of which C·CLAVDIVS MARCELLAE · MINORIS · L. shows that there were two. See also Eckhel 6, 160. On being divorced from Agrippa, upon Octavia's own suggestion, Marcella was married to Antonius, son of M. Antonius and Fulvia. Plut. *Ant.* 87. The other sister is supposed by Drumann [II, 403] to have been married to Sex. Appuleius consul in A.D. 14.

equestri ordine. Tac. *Ann.* 4, 39 *Augustum in conlocanda filia non nihil etiam de equitibus Romanis consultavisse.*

condicionibus, see *Iul.* 27 *Octaviam... conditionem ei detulit.* Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 99 *filiam eius deiecisti alia conditione quaesita.*

spectis condicionibus, Tiberium privignum suum elegit coegitque praegnantem uxorem, et ex qua iam pater erat, dimittere. M. Antonius scribit, primum eum Antonio filio suo despondisse Iuliam, dein Cotisoni Getarum regi, quo tempore sibi quoque invicem filiam regis in matrimonium petisset.

Nepotes ex Agrippa et Iulia tres habuit C. et L. et 64
Agrippam, neptes duas Iuliam et Agrippinam. Iuliam L. Paulo censoris filio, Agrippinam Germanico sororis suae nepoti collocavit. Gaium et L. adoptavit, domi per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa, tenerosque adhuc ad curam rei publicae admovit et

Three grandsons, two granddaughters.

Tiberium...coegit. Dio 54, 31 *καὶ προαποσπάσας καὶ ἐκείνου τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοῦ τε Ἀγρίππου θυγατέρα ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς γαμετῆς οὖσαν καὶ τέκνον τὸ μὲν ἤδη τρέφουσαν τὸ δ' ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν τὴν Ἰουλίαν οἱ ἠγγύησε* (B.C. 12). Iulia (now 27 years old) was received by Tiberius with profound unwillingness. He was deeply attached to Vipsania [Suet. *Tib.* 7; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 12], who died in A.D. 20 as the wife of Asinius Gallus, the only one of Agrippa's children who met with a peaceful end [Tac. *Ann.* 3, 20].

pater erat of Drusus, see c. 100.

Cotisoni, see on c. 21, pp. 47—8, and c. 48. Antony's object was to retort on Augustus the charge made against himself of marrying a foreigner.

64. Iuliam L. Paulo censoris f. The last censors were in B.C. 22, L. Munatius Plancus and Paulus Aemilius Lepidus (nephew of the triumvir). This Paulus was married to Cornelia d. of Scribonia by a former husband. Propert. 5, 11, 67 (to her daughter) *filia, tu specimen censurae nata paternae.* The son L. Paulus was consul A.D. 1. See c. 19, p. 45.

Germanico, son of the elder Drusus by Antonia, daughter of Antony and Octavia.

adoptavit. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 3; Dio 54, 18. Both were adopted on the birth of Lucius [B.C. 17].

per assem et libram. In adopting one *in potestate patris* the form of *mancipatio* was gone through. The adopter (as a purchaser) touching the *aenea libra* said *hunc ego hominem ex iure Quiritium meum esse aio isque mihi emptus est hoc aere aeneaque libra.* Gaius 1, 119, cp. *id.* 19, 107. The process had to be thrice repeated in the presence of the praetor, Gell. 5, 19 *adoptantur autem cum a parente in cuius potestate sunt, tertia mancipatione in iure cedunturatque ab eo qui adoptat, apud eum apud quem legis actio est, vindicantur.*

emptos a patre 'bought from.' Cicero would have written *de patre*, see *Att.* 13, 31 *is* CC *iugera de M. Pilio emit*, cp. Plaut. *Curc.* 2, 3, 64 *de illo emi virginem:* but *Rudens* prol. 59 *qui puellam ab eo emerat.*

teneros...ad curam...admovit. M.A. c. 14 *filios meos, quos iuvenes mihi eripuit Fortuna, Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei causa senatus populusque Romanus annum quintum et decimum agentis consules designavit ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium. Et ex eo die quo deducti sunt in forum ut interessent consiliis publicis decrevit senatus.* Gaius was born in B.C. 20 [Dio 54, 8], Lucius in B.C. 17 [*id.* 54, 18]. See c. 26. Gaius was consul designate in B.C. 5 [Dio 55, 9 puts it in B.C. 6, but Zonar. 10, 35 in A.'s 12th consulship, i.e. B.C. 5], but not consul till A.D. 1; Lucius was consul designate B.C. 2, and to be consul A.D. 4, but died 20 August A.D. 2. Each was also named by the equites in turn, *princeps iuventutis.* M. A. *l.c.*, Tac. *Ann.* 1, 3. Gaius ceased to have this title when by holding the consulship he became a senator. Thus in the *cenotaphia Pisana* [Wilmanns 883], Gaius after his consulship is not called by this title, though he is said to be *princeps designatus*, but Lucius is *consul designatus augur...princeps iuventutis*, whereas in the *titulus Sorianus* (quoted by Mommsen *res g.* p. 53) Gaius is COS • DESIGN • PRINCIPI • IVVENT., while Lucius is only AVG. There could be only one *princeps* of either sort at a time, and as Augustus was *princeps senatus* and therefore first citizen, so one

consules designatos circum provincias exercitusque dimisit. Filiam et neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret, vetaretque loqui aut agere quicquam nisi propalam et quod in diurnos commentarios referretur; extraneorum quidem coetu adeo prohibuit, ut L. Vinicio, claro decoroque iuveni, scripserit quondam, *parum modeste fecisse eum, quod filiam suam Baias salutatum venisset.* Nepotes et litteras et notare aliaque rudimenta per se plerumque docuit ac nihil aeque elaboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum; neque caenavit una, nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent, neque iter fecit, nisi ut vehiculo anteirent aut circa adequitarent. Sed laetum eum atque fidentem et subole et disciplina domus Fortuna destituit. Iulias, filiam et neptem, omnibus probris contaminatas relegavit; C. et L. in duo-

His family losses.

of the young Caesars was *princeps* of the next *ordo*, the equestrian.

circum provincias exercitusque. Gaius went with Tiberius against the Sigambri in B.C. 8, and was in Asia from B.C. 1 to his death A.D. 4. Lucius died at Marseilles on his way to Spain.

in diurnos commentarios, 'nothing that might not be entered in the household register.' Thus we find a *servus a commentariis*, *C. I. L.* 6, 8623.

L. Vinicio, see c. 71. The name Vinicius occurs on coins [Eckhel 5, p. 343] and a L. Vinicius appears as Consul suffectus for B.C. 33, and Trib. Pl. in B.C. 51, Cic. *fam.* 8, 8, 6. We have also the form Vinicianus attesting Vinicius [Cic. *fam.* 8, 4 § 3; Wilmanns 205], whereas *Vicinius* (the MS. reading) seems an unknown name unless in Orelli 3309.

notare, 'to write in shorthand' or 'in cypher,' cp. c. 88 *quotiens per notas scribit. Iulius* c. 56 *si qua occultius perferenda erant per notas scripsit.* The use of shorthand was introduced by Ennius and later by Cicero's freedman Tiro, see *Commentarii Not. Tiron.* Schmitz p. 10; or by Maecenas [Dio 52, 7] πρῶτος σημεῖά τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος ἐξεῦρε καὶ αὐτὰ δι' Ἀκύλου ἀπελευθέρου συχνοὺς ἐξεδίδαξεν. Especially used for taking down from a lecture or dictation, Quint. 1 *prooem.* § 7 *alterum* (*sermonem*) *pluribus sane diebus, quantum notando consequi potuerant, interceptum;* cp. *id.* 1, 1, 28; 10, 3, 19. Martial [10, 62] mentions among the prizewinners in a school the *notarius velox*, cp. *id.* 5, 51; 14, 208; Plin. *Ep.* 9, 36. [Some read with the MSS. *natare*, cp. *Iul.* 57; Plut. *Cato ma.* 20.]

per se, instead of by a tutor, usually a slave or freedman, Plut. *Cat.* l. c.

chirographum suum, see on c. 88.

neque...assiderent, 'whenever they dined with him they sat at table on the *imus lectus.*' Children sat instead of reclining at table, and sometimes at a separate table; Tac. *Ann.* 13, 16 *mos habebatur principum liberos cum ceteris idem aetatis sedentes vesci in aspectu propinquorum propria et parciore mensa.* Suet. *Claud.* 32 *adhibebat omni cenae et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur.* But in the case of these young princes they sit on the *imus*, i.e. the couch on the right looking down, the Emperor reclining *summus in imo*, at the right hand corner, the regular place for the host. **nisi ut**, p. 59.

circa adequitarent, 'riding close by on either side of him.' *Cal.* 25 *iuxta adequitantem...ostenderit.*

65. Iulias...relegavit. The elder Iulia b. B.C. 40 was married at 15 to her cousin Marcellus [Dio 53, 27]. On his death (late in B.C. 23) after a year of widowhood she was transferred to Agrippa (B.C. 21) who was of the same age as her father, and who divorced her cousin Marcella to take her. Agrippa died in B.C. 12, leaving her with two sons and two daughters, and on the point of producing another son. In the course of the next year she was forced upon the unwilling Tiberius, whom she regarded as below her in rank, and who

deviginti mensum spatio amisit ambos, Gaio in Lycia, Lucio Massiliae defunctis. Tertium nepotem Agrippam simulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit in foro lege

Adoption of Tiberius, A.D. 4.

had to divorce a wife to whom he was passionately attached to take her. Yet Suetonius [*Tib.* 7] asserts that at first they lived happily together until after the death of the only child of the union at Aquileia. In B.C. 6 Tiberius retired to Rhodes partly at any rate to avoid her, and from Rhodes sent a message of divorce [Dio 54, 6, 35; 55, 9—10]. She was beautiful, but early in life became somewhat grey [Macrob. *Sat.* 2, 4, 7]. Her wit and the freedom of her manners drew round her the young and dissolute nobles, and when at length (B.C. 2) Augustus was assured of her misconduct, numerous men suffered for real or supposed offences with her [Macr. *l. c.* § 6; Vell. Pat. 1, 100; Sen. *de Benef.* 6, 32]. Pliny asserts that she had entered into a plot against her father's life [*N. H.* 7 § 149]. See c. 19 and Dio 54, 9 (of Iulius Antonius) *ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ τοῦτο πράξας.* After five years at Pandataria, a small island on the Campanian coast (mod. *Vandotena*), she was allowed to reside at Rhegium; but on the accession of Tiberius the allowance made to her by her father was cut off on the ground of no provision having been made for it in his will. She however survived Augustus only a few weeks [Tac. *Ann.* 1, 35; Suet. *Tib.* 50].

Of the younger Iulia, daughter of Agrippa and Iulia, we know little except that she followed the example of her mother. She was married to Aemilius Paulus Lepidus and had a son [Suet. *Cal.* 24] and a daughter Lepida, once betrothed to the future Emperor Claudius, but never married to him [Suet. *Claud.* 26]. Her lover D. Silanus was not formally banished, but was obliged to leave Rome (A.D. 9) and not allowed to return till A.D. 20, and even then forbidden all state employment; while Iulia spent the rest of her life in exile in the island of Tremerus (*S. Domenico*) off the coast of Apulia, supported till her death in A.D. 29 by an allowance from Livia [Tac. *Ann.* 3, 24; 4, 71]. It has been assumed, with little reason, that Ovid's *Corinna* is a poetical pseudonym for Iulia; and the supposed connexion of his banishment with her disgrace rests also on uncertain inferences.

duodeviginti ... mensum. Lucius died at Marseilles 20 August A.D. 2, Gaius on 21 February A.D. 4 at Limyra in Lycia [see the *Cenotaphia Pisana*, Wilm. 883].

Agrippam. Agrippa Postumus, son of Iulia and Agrippa, born after his father's death in B.C. 12. See c. 19. Tacitus [*Ann.* 1, 3] regards him as a victim to Livia's jealousy on behalf of Tiberius, who procured his exile though he was innocent of all crime (A.D. 7). Augustus seems always to have felt a certain compunction and to have been inclined to recall him [Tac. *Ann.* 1, 5]. Pliny enumerates among the infelicities of Augustus *abdicatio Postumi Agrippae post adoptionem, desiderium post relegationem* [*N. H.* 7 § 148]. The panegyrist of Tiberius, Velleius, of course decries him *mira pravitate animi atque ingenii...mox crescentibus in dies vitiis dignum furore suo habuit exitum* [2, 112]. Dio [55, 32] however takes somewhat the same view, calling him *δουλοπρεπής...καὶ πλεῖστα ἠλιεύετο...τῇ τε ὀργῇ προπετεῖ ἔχρητο*, and says that he annoyed Augustus by demanding his father's property. He was banished to Planasia, between Corsica and Elba. His murder immediately after the death of Augustus according to Tacitus was *primum facinus novi imperii* [*Ann.* 1, 6], but Tiberius disclaimed any share in it [Suet. *Tib.* 22].

simul...adoptavit, Vell. Pat. 2, 104 *adoptatus eodem die etiam M. Agrippa, quem post mortem Agrippae Iulia enixa erat*, cp. Suet. *Tib.* 15. This took place on the 26th of June A.D. 4 [see *Fasti Amert.*, *C. I. L.* 1, p. 323]. Agrippa not assuming the *toga virilis* until the next year [Dio 55, 22]. The change in the case of Tiberius is marked in inscriptions, see Wilmanns 882 (between B.C. 2 and A.D. 3) TI • CLAVDIVS • TI • F • NERO; but in the list of the Imperial family at Pavia (A.D. 7) we have TI. CAESARI • AVGVSTI • F • DIVI • NEPOT • [*id.* 880; Rushf. 34]. For the addition of *Caesar* to the name of Agrippa Postumus, see Wilmanns 880 l.

lege curiata. As both Agrippa and Tiberius were *sui iuris* the regular form of adoption necessary was *adrogatio*. A meeting of the old *comitia curiata* in

curiata; ex quibus Agrippam brevi ob ingenium sordidum ac ferox abdicavit seposuitque Surrentum.

Aliquanto autem patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit. Nam C. Lucique casu non adeo fractus, de filia absens ac libello per quaestorem recitato notum senatui fecit abstinuitque congressu hominum diu prae pudore, etiam de necanda deliberavit. Certe cum sub idem tempus una ex consciis liberta Phoebe suspendio vitam finisset, *maluisse se* ait *Phoebes patrem fuisse.* Relegatae usum vini omnemque delicatiorem cultum ademit neque adiri a quopiam libero servove, nisi se consulto, permisit, et ita ut certior fieret, qua is aetate, qua statura, quo colore esset, etiam quibus corporis notis vel cicatricibus.

Banishment of Iulia.

the forum (represented by 30 *lictores*) was held by a *pontifex* and a formal *rogatio* proposed, for the wording of which see Gellius 5, 19. It was generally held that a *puer* could not be adopted by this ceremony, and Dio may be wrong in putting Agrippa's *deductio in forum* in the next year; still there seems to have been a variety of practice in this respect, Gaius 1, 102 *item impuberem apud populum adoptari aliquando prohibitum est, aliquando permissum est.*

abdicavit (ἀπεκηρύξατο), 'disinherited,' a formal undoing of the adoption. See Pliny *N. H.* 7 § 148; Suet. *Tib.* 15 *Agrippa abdicato et seposito.* The word is not used in earlier Latin, perhaps because the thing was not known: *exheredare* [Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 41] was to 'disinherit' by will as was necessary in the case of a *suus heres*, but did not mean any legal process in the testator's lifetime; whereas in the case of the *abdicatus* it was a question whether he might not be restored by his father's will [Quint. 3, 6, 98].

Surrentum. This is previous to the *deportatio* to Planasia: but the *abdicatio* seems to have been at the time of the first measure, as his name is not on the Pavian list. **seposuit,** a less formal word than *relegavit*, cp. *Oth.* 3 *sepositus per causam legationis in Lusitaniam.*

notum senatui fecit. Sen. *de Benef.* 6, 32 *Divus Augustus...flagitia principalis domus in publicum emisit...haec tam vindicanda quam tacenda, quia quarumdam rerum turpitudo etiam ad vindicantem redit, parum potens irae publicaverat.*

per quaestorem. The quaestor seems to have regularly been the Emperor's mouthpiece in the Senate. See Dio 54, 25 τὸ βιβλίον τῷ ταμιᾷ ἀναγνῶναι δούς. Cp. 60, 2. Suet. *Ner.* 15 *orationes ad senatum missas, praeterito quaestorum officio per consulem plerumque recitabat.* Cp. id. *Tit.* 6; Tac. *Ann.* 16, 27; Spart. *Hadr.* 3. As a quaestor was attached to the consul, so one or more were *quaestores Caesaris.* Wilmanns 1122 L • AQVILLIO...QVAESTOR • IMP • CAESARIS • AVG. Cp. Plin. *Ep.* 7, 16 *simul quaestores Caesaris fuimus.* Mommsen *Staatsr.* IV. p. 227 note, p. 272 *sq.*

Phoebe, Dio 55, 10 ἡ δὲ Φοίβη ἐξελευθέρα τε τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ συνεργὸς οὖσα προαπέθανεν ἑκουσία.

usum vini. The notion of wine leading to unchastity in women is referred to in Euripides *Bacch.* 260 γυναιξὶ γὰρ | ὅπου βότρυος ἐν δαιτὶ γίγνεται γάνος | οὐχ ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ἔτι λέγω τῶν ὀργίων. There was also a tradition that it was an ancient custom in Latium for women to drink none but light raisin wine, *passum:* see Athenae. 10, 440 E; Polyb. 6, 2; Aul. Gell. 10, 23 *Marcus Cato non solum existimatas sed et multatas quoque a iudice refert non minus, si vinum in se, quam si probrum et adulterium admisisset.* As one of the charges against Iulia was that of *nocturnae comissationes*, Augustus perhaps regarded this as a proper occasion for going back, as he was fond of doing, to ancient customs.

et ita ut...fieret, 'and not without being informed,' see p. 59.

Post quinquennium demum ex insula in continentem lenioribusque paulo condicionibus transtulit eam. Nam ut omnino revocaret, exorari nullo modo potuit, deprecanti saepe Populo Romano et pertinacius instanti tales filias
5 talesque coniuges pro contione inprecatus. Ex nepte Iulia post damnationem editum infantem adgnosci alique vetuit. Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem, immo in dies amentiorem, in insulam transportavit sepsitque insuper custodia militum. Cavit etiam Senatus consulto ut eodem loci in perpetuum
10 contineretur, atque ad omnem et eius et Iuliarum mentionem ingemiscens, proclamare etiam solebat:

Αἴθ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι!

nec aliter eos appellare, quam tris vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua.

15 Amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime retinuit, **66** non tantum virtutes ac merita cuiusque digne prosecutus, sed vitia quoque et delicta, dum taxat modica, perpessus. Neque enim temere ex omni numero in amicitia eius afflicti reperientur praeter
20 Salvidienum Rufum, quem ad consulatum usque, et

His friends.

Rufus,

in continentem, to Rhegium, see note above.

deprecanti saepe, Dio 55, 13 (A.D. 3) *τοῦ δὲ δήμου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἵνα καταγάγῃ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, θᾶσσον ἔφη πῦρ ὕδατι μιχθήσεσθαι ἢ ἐκείνην καταχθήσεσθαι.*

in insulam, Planasia. **custodia militum**, it was a *centurio* of this guard that killed him [Tac. *Ann.* 1, 6].

Αἴθ' ὄφελον, *Il.* 3, 40.

vomicas...carcinomata, 'boils and cancers.' Cic. *de N. D.* 3 § 70 *gladio vomicam eius aperuit quam sanare medici non potuerunt.* Plin. *N. H.* 20 § 81 *carcinomata quae nullis aliis medicamentis sanari possint.*

66. temere. See c. 16, p. 44.

Salvidienum Rufum. Salvidienus was one of the early and most devoted friends of Augustus [Cic. *ep. ad Br.* 1, 17, 3]. He had been with him at Apollonia during the winter preceding his uncle's murder [see p. 46; Velleius Pat. 2, 59]; had commanded at Rhegium against Sextus Pompeius in B.C.

Cornelium Gallum, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti, ex infima utrumque fortuna provexerat. Quorum alterum res novas molientem damnandum senatui tradidit, alteri ob ingratum et malivolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit. Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denuntiationibus et senatus consultis ad necem conpulso, laudavit quidem pietatem tantopere pro se indignantium, ceterum et inlacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, *quod sibi soli*

Gallus,

42 and 41 [App. *B. civ.* 4, 85; 5, 27; Dio 48, 18]. At the end of 42 B.C. or beginning of 41 he was sent to secure Gaul and Spain, but was recalled on the outbreak of the war of Perusia, and had assisted at the sieges of Sentinum and Perusia [Dio 48, 13; App. 5, 33, 35]. After the fall of Perusia (spring of B.C. 40) he accompanied Augustus to take over Gaul and Spain and the army lately commanded by L. Antonius [App. 5, 51] and, on Augustus' return to Rome, was left there in command, besides being designated consul (Dio ἀποδειχθῆναι. He was never consul). Dio and Velleius are both very vague as to the nature of his treason; but when Antony came to Italy in the autumn of B.C. 40 and made terms with Augustus at Brundisium, he seems to have betrayed the fact that Salvidienus had written to him proposing to cause the Gauls to revolt from Augustus and return to him. Augustus at once sent for Salvidienus on some other pretext, brought him before the Senate and got him condemned for *maiestas*, that obsequious body even passing the SCtum Ultimum, *videant IIIviri ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat*, thus enabling him to treat Salvidienus as a hostis [App. 5, 66; Dio 48, 33; Vell. Pat. 2, 64].

Cornelium Gallum. See Suet. *fr.* [ap. Hier. *Chron.* 11.727–8] *Cornelius Gallus Foroiuliensis poeta, a quo primum Aegyptum rectam supra diximus, quadragesimo tertio aetatis suae anno propria se manu interfecit* (B.C. 26). He was therefore born in B.C. 68 or 69. He is the Gallus of Vergil *Ecl.* 10 (though Servius there says that his name was C. Asinius Gallus and that he was son of Pollio), and his rank as an elegiac poet is recorded by Ovid [*Tr.* 4, 10, 53]. But hardly a line remains that is certainly his. When he came from Fréjus to Rome we do not know, but he seems to have early sided with Octavian against Antony, for which personal reasons may perhaps help to account, if the scandal be true that makes him and Antony rivals for the favours of Cytheris Volumnia [Cic. 2 *Phil.* §§ 58, 69, 77; Servius *ad Verg.* l. c.]. He was at Actium and followed the defeated fleet to Egypt. There he took Paraetonium and next spring (B.C. 30) thwarted Antony's attempt upon it [Dio 31, 9], and was employed with Proculeius to endeavour to take Cleopatra [Plut. *Ant.* 79]. On the subsequent settlement of Egypt he was made its first *praefectus* [Dio 51, 17]. In that office he had successfully put down an insurrection at Heroopolis (between the Delta and the Red Sea) and in the Thebaid [Strabo 17, 1]. His offences there seem to have been mainly due to ostentation and incautious talk, the Emperor, as has been remarked [p. 42], being extremely jealous in regard to Egypt. Ov. *Tr.* 2, 445

Non fuit opprobrio celebrasse Lycorida Gallo,
Sed linguam nimio non tenuisse mero.

Id. *Am.* 2, 9, 63 *temerati crimen amici.* Dio 53, 23 πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστον ἀπελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττεν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστησε καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς Πυραμίδας ἐσέγραψεν.

provinciis suis, the Imperial provinces. Dio *l. c.* ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθῆναι διαιτᾶσθαι.

accusatorum. The first accusation of Valerius Largus was followed by others, and the Senate passed decrees declaring him to have been convicted legally, and transferring his property to Augustus. Largus was looked askance on as a *delator*, and Proculeius on seeing him affected to close his nose and lips as though it were not safe to breathe in his presence [Dio *l. c.*].

non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci. Reliqui potentia atque opibus ad finem vitae sui quisque ordinis principes floruerunt, quanquam et offensis intervenientibus. Desideravit enim nonnumquam, ne de pluribus referam, et M. Agrippae patientiam et Maecenatis taciturnitatem, cum ille ex levi frigoris suspitione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur, Mytilenas se relictis omnibus contulisset, hic secretum de comperta Murenae coniuratione uxori Terentiae prodidisset.

Agrippa, Maecenas.

Exegit et ipse in vicem ab amicis benivolentiam mutuam, tam a defunctis quam a vivis. Nam quamvis minime appeteret hereditates, ut qui numquam ex ignoti testamento capere quicquam sustinuerit, amicorum tamen suprema iudicia morosissime pensi-

His custom as to legacies.

desideravit 'missed' what he was used to find in them. When he had rashly made public the crimes of his daughter and repented of his haste, he said *horum mihi nihil accidisset si aut Agrippa aut Maecenas vixisset* [Sen. *de benef.* 6, 32].

frigoris 'coldness' on the part of Augustus. Seneca *Ep.* 122 § 11 *Montanus Iulius...amicitia Tiberii notus et frigore.* Vell. Pat. 2, 83 *Plancus...refrigeratus ab Antonio.* [The MSS. have *rigoris.*]

Mytilenas ... contulisset. Agrippa was sent to be governor of Syria in B.C. 23 after the recovery of Augustus from his illness, during which he had given his signet ring to him, thus causing jealousy to Marcellus. The death of Marcellus followed at the end of the year, and Agrippa returned in B.C. 21. Dio 53, 32 *οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκεῖσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψεν.* Agrippa was sent on another mission to Ionia and Syria in B.C. 17, when he was accompanied by Iulia, and did not return till B.C. 13 [Dio 54, 19; Ioseph. *Ant.* 2, 2; Nic. Dam. *de sua vita* § 3].

relictis omnibus. Cic. *Fam.* 2, 14; 12, 14, 1; Ter. *Eun.* 166; *Haut.* 840.

uxori Terentiae. Dio 54, 19 *καί τινες καὶ διὰ Τερεντίαν τὴν τοῦ Μαικήνου γυναῖκα ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπετόπησαν... τόν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὖθις ἐστάλκει καὶ τῷ Μαικήνᾳ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἔχαιρεν.* For **Murena** see p. 44. Perhaps the scandal as to Terentia was malevolent gossip. The absence of Agrippa naturally followed the adoption of Gaius and Lucius B.C. 17, as it had the open favour of Marcellus in B.C. 23. The loss of favour of Maecenas may have had connexion with the change of policy in the direction of absolutism in B.C. 23. Tac. *Ann.* 3, 30.

a defunctis. For the length to which this was carried, see *Nero* 32 *deinde ut ingratorum in principem* (i.e. who did not name him in their wills) *testamenta ad fiscum pertinerent,* cp. Tac. *Ann.* 3, 76 *testamentum eius multo apud vulgum rumore fuit; quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme cunctos proceres cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit.* The motive of leaving the Emperor heir was often no doubt the hope of obtaining better treatment for a man's family, Tac. *Ann.* 16, 11 *nec defuere qui monerent magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nuncupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere.* id. *Agr.* 43 *tam caeca et corrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.*

ut qui. Roby *L. G.* 1714. **ignoti,** see Cic. 2 *Phil.* §§ 40—1 *me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem...te is quem vidisti nunquam.* **iudicia,** 'expression of approval.' Pompey was much hurt by not being named in Sulla's will [Plut. *Pomp.* 15]. Cicero expresses disgust at being omitted by one Calva, *ad Att.* 15, 3.

morosissime. *morosus* (connected with *mos mores*) from the meaning of captious [*morosi senes* Cic. *de Sen.* 65] came to mean 'over-careful,' 'particular.' *Iul.*

tavit, neque dolore dissimulato, si parcius aut citra honorem verborum, neque gaudio, si grate pieque quis se prosecutus fuisset. Legata vel partes hereditatium, a quibuscumque parentibus relicta sibi, aut statim liberis eorum concedere, aut si pupillari aetate essent, die virilis togae vel nuptiarum cum incremento restituere consuerat.

67 Patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis et clemens, multos libertorum in honore et usu maximo habuit, ut Licinum et Celadum aliosque. Cosmum servum gravissime de se opinantem non ultra quam compedibus coercuit. Diomeden dispensatorem, a quo simul ambulante incurrenti repente fero apro per metum obiectus est, maluit timiditatis arguere quam noxae, remque non minimi periculi, quia tamen fraus aberat, in iocum vertit. Idem Polum ex acceptissimis libertis mori coegit compertum adulterare matronas; Thallo a manu, quod pro epistola prodita denarios quingentos accepisset, crura ei fregit; paedagogum ministrosque C. fili, per occasionem valitudinis mortisque eius superbe avareque in provincia grassatos, oneratos gravi pondere cervicibus praecipitavit in flumen.

His *liberti.*

45 *circa corporis curam morosior...ut non solum tonderetur...sed velleretur. Tib.* 70 *adfectatione et morositate nimia obscurabat stilum.*

citra, see p. 53.

prosecutus, 'mentioned,' with a general notion of paying honour or respect. Cp. *Nero* 34 *matrem hilare prosecutus.* So of giving presents, *Dom.* 9 *omnes circa se largissime prosecutus.*

legata vel partes hereditatium. Legacies of definite sums given with the formula **do lego.** An *hereditas* was the being constituted a *heres* either of the whole or part, *ex triente, ex deunce,* with the formula **haeres Titius esto** (*primus, secundus, tertius*). In the latter case the heir had to accept the inheritance within a fixed time with all its encumbrances (*cretio*), see Gaius *Inst.* 2, 152—208.

67. opinantem, see c. 51, p. 109.

dispensator, 'steward,' 'holder of the privy purse,' see *Ner.* 44; *Vesp.* 22; *Galb.* 12.

a manu, 'secretary,' 'amanuensis,' *Iul.* 74; also *ad manum* [*C. I. L.* 6, 4449]; *a commentariis* [*ib.* 8623]; *librarius a manu* [*ib.* 6314]; *librarius ad manum* [*ib.* 9523].

ei fregit, al. *ecfregit*, cp. c. 94 *prandenti aquila panem ei e manu rapuit.*

grassatos, 'conducted themselves.' Livy 45, 23 *assentando grassari.* Tac. *H.* 4. 16 *dolo grassari.*

praecipitavit in flumen, 'he ordered them to be flung into a river,' i.e. in the province. Dead bodies of malefactors were thrown into the Tiber; but this form of execution does not appear to have been common at Rome. Yet Vedius Pollio ordered his slave who had broken a valuable cup *ἐς τὰς μυραίνας...ἐμβληθῆναι* Dio 54, 23. In the East it was perhaps more common, see Q. Curtius 10, 4 *itaque rursus* (Alexander)...*mergi in amnem sicut vincti erant iussit.* Cp. S. Matt. 18, 6 *συμφέρει...ἵνα κρεμασθῇ μύλος ὀνικὸς ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καταποντισθῇ*: and in mythology the king of Arcadia punishes his wife Augé...*ταύτην παρέδωκε Ναυπλίῳ φίλῳ καθεστῶτι καὶ προσέταξε καταποντίσαι*, Diodor. Sic. 4, 33. So pirates treated their victims, Lysias 14 § 27. Cp. also the mode of execution attributed to the Turks, by drowning in the Bosphorus.

Prima iuventa variorum dedecorum infamiam subiit. 68
Sextus Pompeius ut effeminatum insectatus est;
M. Antonius adoptionem avunculi stupro meritum; Scandalous stories.
item L. Marci frater quasi pudicitiam, delibatam a
5 Caesare, Aulo etiam Hirtio in Hispania trecentis milibus
nummum substraverit, solitusque sit crura suburere nuce
ardenti, quo mollior pilus surgeret. Sed et populus quondam
universus ludorum die et accepit in contumeliam eius et
adsensu maximo conprobavit versum in scaena pronuntiatum
10 de gallo Matris deum tympanizante: *Videsne, ut cinaedus*
orbem digito temperat? Adulteria quidem exercuisse ne 69
amici quidem negant, excusantes sane non libidine, sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per
cuiusque mulieres exquireret. M. Antonius super festinatas
15 Liviae nuptias obiecit et *feminam consularem e triclinio viro*
coram in cubiculum abductam, rursus in convivium rubentibus
auriculis incomptiore capillo reductam; dimissam Scriboniam,
quia liberius doluisset nimiam potentiam pelicis; conditiones

68. prima iuventa. If we may believe Nicolas of Damascus, the youth of Augustus was particularly well guarded and pure. That these incredible scandals emanate from his bitter enemies Marcus and Lucius Antonius is enough to stamp them. They are the measure of Roman coarseness and unscrupulous invective rather than deserving of serious notice. We happen to know, for instance, that Hirtius was not with Caesar when Octavius joined him in Spain [Cic. *Att.* 12, 37 § 4]. The invention of such lies makes one glad that Antony had himself felt the lash of the 2nd Philippic. See Cicero's defence of him 3 *Phil.* § 15 *in Caesarem maledicta congessit deprompta ex recordatione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum.*

suburere ... pilus surgeret, Iuv. 9, 15 *sed fruticante pilo neglecta et squalida cura.* See also ib. 95 *pumice laevis;* Mart. 2, 36; 5, 61; Pers. 4, 39; Suet. *Iul.* 45.

accepit...eius, 'interpreted it as a reflexion on him.' They took it as a *double entendre.*

gallus, priest of Cybele. Polyb. 21, 6 (at Sestos), *id.* 21, 37 (at Pessinus). For the origin of the name see Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 261. The Megalesia in honour of the 'Great Mother' were introduced in B.C. 204 [Livy 29, 11—13]. For plays acted at it, see inscription to Terence, *Hautont.*

tympanizante. See Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 1, 1139 *ῥόμβῳ καὶ τυπάνῳ Ῥείην Φρύγες ἱλάσκονται.* Plaut. *Poen.* 5, 5, 38 *Cur non adhibuisti tympanum? Nam cinaedum esse arbitror.* Verg. *Aen.* 9, 619 *Tympana vos buxusque vocat Berecyntia matris Idaeae.* Eurip. *Bacch.* 124 *βυρσότονον κύκλωμα τόδε...Κορύβαντες εὗρον...ματρός τε Ῥέας εἰς χέρα θῆκαν.* Catull. 63 21 *ubi cymbalum sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant.*

orbem, with a play on the meanings of the 'round drum' and the 'world.'

digito, Catull. 2, 10 *quatiensque terga tam teneris cava digitis.*

69. quo facilius...exquireret, as he was supposed to have done in the case of the wife of Maecenas.

festinatas nuptias. *διστάζοντος οὖν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πυθομένου τῶν ποντιφίκων εἰ ὁ ὅσιον ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι εἴη, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τὸ κύημα ἦν, ἀναβληθῆναι τὸν γάμον ἐχρῆν, ὁμολογουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν κωλύει ἤδη αὐτὸν γενέσθαι.* Dio 48, 44.

rubentibus auriculis, Iuv. 11, 189.

coram, Hor. *Od.* 3, 6, 25—31.

quaesitas per amicos, qui matres familias et adultas aetate virgines denudarent atque perspicerent, tamquam Thoranio mangone vendente. Scribit etiam ad ipsum haec, familiariter adhuc necdum plane inimicus aut hostis: *Quid te mutavit, quod reginam ineo? uxor mea est. Nunc coepi, an abhinc* 5 *annos novem? Tu deinde solam Drusillam inis? ita valeas, uti tu, hanc epistolam cum leges, non inieris Tertullam aut Terentillam aut Rufillam aut Salviam Titiseniam aut omnes. An refert, ubi et in qua arrigas?*

Cena XII deorum.

Cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit, quae vulgo 10 δωδεκάθεος vocabatur; in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum pro Apolline ornatum, non Antoni modo epistolae singulorum

mangone, 'slave-dealer,' Mart. 1, 59; 9, 7; 7, 80. Sen. *Ep.* 89 § 9 *mangones quicquid est quod displiceat aliquo lenocinio abscondunt: itaque ementibus ornamenta ipsa suspecta sunt; sive crus adligatum sive brachium adspiceres, nudari iuberes et ipsum tibi corpus ostendi.*

abhinc annos novem. Antony first fell under the influence of Cleopatra at the end of B.C. 41. He could hardly call her *uxor* till he had divorced Octavia in B.C. 32 [Dio 50, 5], which will explain the *abhinc annos novem*. The marriage of a Roman citizen with a foreigner could not hold good in Roman law: *Iustas autem nuptias inter se cives Romani contrahunt*, Iust. *Inst.* 1, 10. For the disgust with which such unions were regarded, see Hor. *Od.* 3, 5, 4 *milesne Crassi coniuge barbara turpis maritus vixit* etc. See p 123.

Tertullam. Antony adopts the diminutives of these names, in sarcastic imitation of loverlike language, for *Tertia*, *Rufa*, *Terentia* etc. Terentia is the wife of Maecenas; it is hardly worth while to attempt identification of the rest.

70. in fabulis, 'a subject of gossip,' 'a scandal,' cp. *Dom.* 15 *idque ei cenanti ...inter ceteras diei fabulas referretur.* Iuv. 1, 145 *It nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula cenas.* Pliny *Ep.* 8, 18 § 11 *habes omnes fabulas urbis.* Seneca *Epp.* 122 § 14 *in tam occupata civitate fabulas volgaris nequitia non invenit.* Ov. *Tr.* 4, 10, 68 *nomine sub nostro fabula nulla fuit.* Cp. Suet. *Ner.* 6 *in sermonibus esse.*

δωδεκάθεος. The worship of the 'twelve gods' was Greek. At Athens there was an altar to them in the Agora [Her. 6, 108; Thucyd. 6, 54, 6; Plut. *Nicias* 13], and a picture in a Stoa [Pausan. 1, 3, 3]. The Argonauts founded an altar to them in Bithynia [Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 2, 533]. In Italy they were known among the Sabines [Festus s. v. *Mamertini*], and the Etruscans [Seneca *N. Q.* 2, 41, 1]. When the Greek theology was assimilated at Rome twelve *Di consentes* were acknowledged and are enumerated by Ennius [*Ann.* 1 fr.]:

Iuno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana,
Venus: Mars,
Mercurius, Iovis, Neptunus, Volcanus, Apollo.

Varro [*R. R.* 1] gives a somewhat different list of twelve gods worshipped in the country, but speaks of *duodecim deos consentes...urbanos, quorum imagines ad forum auratae sunt, sex mares et feminae totidem.* In another work he reckoned sixteen [August. *de civ. d.* 6, 2]. As it was the figures of these twelve gods that were placed in couples on *lecti* in a *lectisternium* on occasions of national importance [Livy 22, 10], this buffoonery, if it did take place, would have shocked religious feelings at Rome somewhat in the same way as the private performance of the mysteries by Alcibiades did those of the Athenians [Thucyd. 6, 28; Plut. *Alc.* 19]. See Marq. 12, pp. 30 and 59. A plant held to be a panacea was called *dodecatheus* by the physicians, *omnium deorum maiestatem commendantes* Plin. *N. H.* 25 § 28.

pro Apolline. The worship of Apollo

nomina amarissime enumerantis exprobrant, sed et sine auctore notissimi versus:

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
sexque deos vidit Mallia sexque deas;
5 *impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,*
dum nova divorum cenat adulteria:
omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt,
fugit et auratos Iuppiter ipse thronos.

Auxit cenae rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac
10 fames, adclamatumque est postridie, *omne frumentum deos comedisse et Caesarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem:* quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur. Notatus est et ut pretiosae supellectilis Corinthiorumque

was first introduced among the Latins, and though there was a temple to him at Rome since B.C. 413, it did not become important there till the establishment of the *ludi Apollinares* in B.C. 212. Augustus made the god an object of special honour. His victory at Actium was commemorated by a temple of Apollo on the spot and quinquennial games [p. 43]. The palatine temple of Apollo was among the most splendid at Rome [p. 63]; and at the celebration of the *ludi seculares* Apollo and Diana were the objects of special reverence. He became in a manner the patron god of the Emperors, and Iulian, who in trying to restore the old religion looked back to Augustus for imperial traditions, paid special devotion to him as the Sun God, calling him his 'Master' [Iul. *Conviv.* 314 A], and the leader of Rome [ἀρχηγὸς τῆς πόλεως Iul. *Orat.* 4, 153 D].

cum primum...sexque deas. The difficulty of these two lines caused Graevius to propose *cum mimum histrorum conduxit mensa choragi* 'when the table of the choragus (Augustus) had collected a company of actors': while Ernesti explained *conduxit mensa choragum* as an hypallage for *conduxit mensam choragus*, 'when the choragus had hired a table.' Perhaps the simplest explanation is that of Bremi, who takes *mensa istorum* to mean the 'company of those persons,' like our 'board,' and explains it to mean 'when that company had got a choragus' (Augustus). The objection is perhaps the meaning of *conducere* 'to hire,' which could hardly by any stretch of satire apply to Augustus. Lastly, some have regarded *choragum* as a contraction of *choragium*, 'the equipment of a chorus,' or 'equipment' generally, Pliny *N. H.* 36 § 115. Of **Mallia** no satisfactory explanation has been given. It perhaps is the name of the house where the banquet was said to have taken place. An old explanation was that it meant the *Arx*, from Manlius the defender of the Capitol, and so the Florentine translator Rosso took it, *e che nella rocca Capitolina sei Iddii ed altrettante Dee si reppresentarono*: but there is no likelihood of that being the scene of the banquet. Casaubon thought that it might be the name of the wife of the choragus, whoever he was.

cenat adulteria, 'represents novel debaucheries in his banquet.' The accus. with *cenare* is common in poetry and post-Augustan prose; but this is a bold extension of meaning; *cenabis hodie magnum malum* [Plaut. *Asin.* 5, 2, 86] quoted in illustration is hardly parallel.

thronos, Pliny [*N. H.* 35 § 63] speaks of a picture by Zeuxis of *Iuppiter in throno.*

Tortor, cp. *Apollo Sandaliarius* in c. 57. The statue of *Apollo Tortor* is not mentioned elsewhere. It seems likely that the epithet was given to it, not, as some say, with any reference to Marsyas, but as being near either the place of examining slave witnesses, or the quarter where *tortores* lived. To this perhaps Seneca refers [*Epp.* 51 § 4] *quemadmodum inter tortores habitare nolim, sic ne inter popinas quidem.* Such men usually lived in Rome, see Suet. *Claud.* 34.

Corinthiorum. Seneca *de brev. vit.*

praecupidus, et aleae indulgens. Nam et proscriptionis tempore ad statuam eius ascriptum est:

pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius,

cum existimaretur quosdam propter vasa Corinthia inter proscriptos curasse referendos; et deinde bello Siciliensi epigramma vulgatum est:

postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

His habits.

71 Ex quibus sive criminibus sive maledictis infamiam impudicitiae facillime refutavit et praesentis et posterae vitae castitate; item lautitiarum invidiam, cum et Alexandria capta nihil sibi praeter unum murrinum calicem ex instrumento regio retinuerit, et mox vasa aurea assiduissimi usus conflaverit omnia. Circa libidines haesit; postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior,

12 § 2 *illum tu otiosum vocas qui Corinthia, paucorum furore pretiosa, anxia curiositate concinnat.* id. *de tranq.* 9 § 6 *impensas in Corinthia pictasque tabulas effundere,* Pliny *Ep.* 3, 6, 4 *neque enim ullum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo. ib.* 1 § 9 *sunt in usu Corinthia quibus delectatur nec adficitur.* This passion for Corinthian bronze had long been the vogue, see Cicero *Verr.* 4 § 1 *nego in Sicilia tota...ullum Corinthium aut Deliacum fuisse...quin conquisierit et abstulerit.* The particular fusion of copper, gold, and silver which was known by this name seems to have been a lost art. Various accounts of its origin were given, from the accidental fusion of those metals at the burning of Corinth in B.C. 146 [Pliny *N. H.* 34, 6], or from the discovery of an individual [Plutarch *de Orac. Pyth.* c. 2].

pater argentarius, see c. 2, p. 4.

Corinthiarius, 'a keeper of the vases.' Slaves in charge of the *Corinthia* were called *a Corinthiis C. I. L.* 10, 692, 6638; or *Corinthiarii C. I. L.* 6, 8756.

inter proscriptos. This seems to have been the case with Verres, but it was Antony not Octavian who did it. Pliny l. c. *quippe cum tradatur non alia de causa Verrem, quem M. Cicero damnaverat, proscriptum cum eo ab Antonio, quoniam Corinthiis cessurum se ei negavisset.* See p. 58.

his classe. See c. 16, pp. 31—2, note on *Siculum bellum;* Iuvenal 1, 91 talks of the *proelia* of the dice.

71. lautitiarum. Cp. Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 66 of Pompey's furniture, *multa et* **lauta** *supellex, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis sed tamen abundantis.*

murrinum calicem. For this precious agate so much sought after at Rome, see the passages quoted by Mayor on Iuv. 7, 132 *empturus pueros, argentum, murrina, villas.* It was first brought to Rome by Pompey in B.C. 61 from the spoils of Mithridates, and dedicated to Iuppiter Capitolinus [Pliny *N. H.* 37 § 18]. The stone seems to have been hardened by being baked in dung, whence Propert. 5, 5, 26 *murrina cocta.* It was imitated in glass [Plin. *N. H.* 36 § 198]. See Marq. 15, p. 430 sq. King's *History of Precious Stones,* p. 239.

ex instrumento regio, from the spoils of the palace at Alexandria, cp. c. 41. Cic. *pro dom.* § 62 *instrumentum ac ornamentum villae.*

libidines, 'intrigues with women,'—opposed to the *impudicitia* above. The same distinction in *Iul.* 49 and 50.

haesit, 'he could not refute them' as easily as the other scandals. **haerere**, 'to be in a difficulty.' Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 74 *haerebat nebulo: quo se verteret non habebat.* So especially of accusations that cannot be refuted, Pliny *Ep.* 3, 9, 20 *Classici filia quae et ipsa inter vos erat, ne suspitionibus quidem haerebat.* Tac. *Ann.* 4, 19 *nec dubie repetundarum criminibus haerebat.*

quae sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur. Aleae rumorem nullo modo expavit, lusitque simpliciter et palam oblectamenti causa etiam senex, ac, praeterquam Decembri mense, aliis quoque festis et profestis diebus. Nec id dubium est. Autographa quadam epistula *Cenavi*, ait, *mi Tiberi, cum isdem; accesserunt convivae Vinicius et Silius pater. Inter cenam lusimus geronticos et heri et hodie, talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos*

Gambling.

Letter to Tiberius.

ab uxore. Tac. *Ann.* 5, 1 *uxor facilis.* Dio 58, 2 πυθομένου δέ τινος πῶς καὶ τί ποιοῦσα οὕτω τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεκράτησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτή τε ἀκριβῶς σωφρονοῦσα...καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια αὐτοῦ ἀθύρματα μήτε διώκουσα μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη.

palam. For the discredit of open gambling see Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 57 *hominem omnium nequissimum qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere, lege, quae est de alea, condemnatum....* Yet the *tabulae lusoriae*, still remaining scratched on the marble pavement of the Basilica Iulia, shew how common it was [Middleton in *Encyclop. Brit.* 20, p. 817]. The emperors Claudius [*Cl.* c. 33] and Domitian [*Dom.* c. 21] were inveterate gamblers, the former having even written a treatise on dice.

praeterquam Decembri. The law forbidding gambling is not known, but it was older than the time of Plautus, see *Mil. Glor.* 2, 2, 9 *atque adeo, ut ne legi fraudem faciant aleariae,* | *sed curatote ut sine talis domi agitent convivium.* See Cic. *l.c.* In the *Digest* 11, 5 an edict of the praetor and a SCtum are quoted, but no *lex.* The *aediles* enforced the regulation in taverns, Mart. 5, 84 *et blando male proditus fritillo,* | *arcana modo raptus e popina,* | *aedilem rogat udus aleator.* | *Saturnalia transiere tota.* Marq. 15, p. 524. The exception during the Saturnalia (17—23 December) was perhaps rather one of custom than law, but it was universally taken advantage of. Mart. 4, 14 *dum blanda vagus alea December* | *incertis sonat hinc et hinc fritillis.* id. 11, 6 *unctis falciferi senis diebus,* | *regnator quibus imperat fritillus.* The *Saturnalia* as a religious festival belonged only to the 17 Dec. But the holiday had long lasted the seven days, and Augustus seems to have added three days of suspension of legal business not hitherto formally recognised, see Macr. *Sat.* 1, 10, §§ 4, 23.

festis et profestis. Macrob. *Sat.* 1, 16, 2 *festi dis dicati sunt, profesti hominibus ob administrandam rem privatam publicamque concessi, intercisi deorum hominumque communes sunt.*

accesserunt were added to the usual family party. For **Silius** see c. 101. For **Vinicius** see on c. 64.

geronticos (γεροντικῶς). Dice and other games were regarded as peculiarly an old man's amusement. Cic. *de Sen.* § 58 *nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras.* Iuv. 14, 4 *si damnosa senem iuvat alea, ludit et heres.*

talis. For fuller details of dice-playing see Marq. 15, p. 521 sqq.; Becker's *Gallus*, p. 499 sqq.; Ramsay, *R. Ant.* p. 497 sqq. To explain the game as played by Augustus, it will be necessary first to notice that he plays with *tali* (ἀστράγαλοι), i.e. dice with four sides smooth and marked with the numbers I, VI, III, IV, the other two sides being rounded so that the dice would not rest on them (*tesserae* κύβοι had six numbers like our own). Secondly it is to be noticed that there were two opposite principles (with variations in detail) in reckoning the winning throw: (1) when the highest numbers, i.e. sixes, were the best, πλειστοβολίνδα, cp. Pers. 3, 48 *quid dexter Senio ferret Scire erat in voto; damnosa canicula quantum Raderet.* (2) When the highest throw (*Venus*) consisted in the dice presenting all different numbers, the lowest (*Canis*) in all coming up aces. Mart. 14, 14 (*tali eborei*) *Cum steterit nullus vultu tibi talus eodem, Munera me dices magna dedisse tibi.* Details seem to have varied according to agreement. In the game here described by Augustus there were four *tali*, and if a player turned up sixes or aces (*Canis*) he paid a denarius for each of the dice into the pool.

denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat universos, qui Venerem iecerat. Et rursus aliis litteris: *Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatrus satis iucunde egimus; lusimus enim per omnis dies forumque aleatorium calfecimus. Frater tuus magnis clamoribus rem gessit; ad summam tamen perdidit non multum, sed ex magnis detrimentis praeter spem paulatim retractus est. Ego perdidi viginti milia nummum meo nomine, sed cum effuse in lusu liberalis fuissem, ut soleo plerumque. Nam si quas manus remisi cuique exegissem, aut retinuissem quod cuique donavi, vicissem vel quinquaginta milia. Sed hoc malo; benignitas enim mea me ad caelestem gloriam efferet.* Scribit ad filiam: *Misi tibi denarios ducentos quinquaginta, quos singulis convivis dederam, si vellent inter se inter cenam vel talis vel par impar ludere.*

In this case sixes was as bad a throw as aces. The pool thus formed was swept by the first player who threw a *Venus*, i.e. all different. Apparently if a player threw four threes or fours, or any other of the thirty-five possible combinations, nothing happened, he neither gained anything nor paid anything into the pool.

Quinquatrus. Originally a feast of Mars on the 19th March (5th day from Ides), but afterwards extended to the 23rd, and including the feast of the dedication of the temple of *Minerva Capta* [Ov. *Fast.* 3, 811]. It was wrongly derived from the five days, as by Ovid *Fast.* 3, 809—830. It was a universal holiday, especially for schools. See Mayor on *Iuv.* 10, 115; Marq. 13, pp. 167 sq., 361.

forum aleatorium calfecimus, 'I kept the gaming table well alive,' or 'hotly at work.' The *forus* is explained to mean some *tabula lusoria*, but it is not found elsewhere in that sense, the usual terms being *tabula* [Iuv. 1, 90] or *alveus* [Suet. *Claud.* 33], and I am inclined to believe that Augustus wrote *forum aleatorium* (n.) in a sort of playful allusion to other *fora*, such as the *forum olitorium*, *piscatorium*, *boarium*, etc. This was practically Casaubon's view. **calfecimus.** So the *forum* is said *refrigescere* when business is over, Cic. *Att.* 1, 1 *cum Romae a iudiciis forum refrixerit.* Caelius in Cic. *fam.* 8, 7 § 4 *si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt, nos hic frigore rigescimus.*

manus, 'stakes,' forfeited by a bad throw, as B.-Crusius explains better than Bremi, who thinks it means the throw itself. It seems to refer to a different game from that described in the first letter, one in which the players threw for money on each cast. The meaning of *manus* is preserved in the French and English *main* as a term in dice. Shakespeare, *Henry IV.* 4, 1, 47 *To set so rich a main on the nice hazard of one doubtful hour.*

ad caelestem gloriam. Cic. *Att.* 4, 6 *Caesar in caelum fertur. fam.* 4, 14, 1 *te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt.*

par impar. The game was played with nuts, and consisted it seems in guessing whether the number held in the hand was odd or even. Mart. 5, 30, 7 *commodius nisi forte tibi potiusque videtur Saturnalicias perdere, Varro, nuces.* id. 4, 66, 15 *supposita est blando nunquam tibi tessera talo: Alea sed parcae sola fuere nuces.* Ovid *Nux* 85 *est etiam par sit numerus qui dicat, an impar, Ut divinatas auferat Augur opes.* It is classed among childish amusements by Horace *S.* 2, 3, 248; whence *nucibus relictis* for giving up childish things, Mart. 5, 85; Cat. 61, 127. The Greek term was ἀρτιάζειν, see Arist. *Plut.* 816 στατῆρσι δ' οἱ θεράποντες ἀρτιάζομεν χρυσοῖς. Also with *astragali*, Pollux 9, 101 τὸ δ' ἀρτιάζειν ἐν ἀστραγάλων πλήθει κεκρυμμένων ὑπὸ ταῖν χεροῖν μαντείαν εἶχε τῶν ἀρτίων ἢ καὶ περιττῶν. Cp. Plato *Lys.* 499 B ἠρτίαζον ἀστραγάλοις παμπόλλοις.

In ceteris partibus vitae continentissimum fuisse constat ac sine suspicione ullius vitii. Habitavit primo iuxta Romanum forum, supra scalas anularias, in domo quae Calvi oratoris fuerat; postea in Palatio, sed nihilo minus aedibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum columnarum, et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pavimento conclavia. Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et

72

His town houses, (1) near the Forum, (2) on the Palatine.

72. supra scalas anularias. Middleton identifies these *scalae* (though somewhat doubtfully) with a flight of steps from the *nova via* on the Palatine to the Forum. But in that case could the house of Calvus be both *iuxta forum* and *supra scalas?* It seems to me more probable that the house had along the front some 'jewellers' shops.' Such shops seem often to have been attached to town houses [Cic. *Att.* 14, 9; Marq. 14, p. 291]. They were called *scalae* from having an outside staircase which could be closed. Cic. *Pro Mil.* § 40 *in scalarum tenebras*, id. 2 *Phil.* § 21 *in scalas tabernae librariae*, cp. Hor. *Ep.* 2, 2, 14. Sometimes the upper part of the house was approached by these scalae, Livy 39, 13 *cenaculum super aedem datum est, scalis ferentibus in publicum obseratis, aditu in aedes verso.*

Calvi. C. Licinius Calvus, the eminent orator, b. B.C. 82, ob. B.C. 47. See Pliny *N. H.* 34 § 166; Cic. *Brut.* § 283: id. *fam.* 15, 21. Of his influence with *iudices*, see Seneca *Controv.* 3, 19.

in Palatio. Dio 53, 16 καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασίλεια παλάτιον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔδοξέ ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ᾤκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κἂν ἄλλοθί που ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καταλύῃ, τὴν τοῦ Παλατίου ἐπίκλησιν ἡ καταγωγὴ αὐτοῦ ἴσχει. This house was assigned him by a vote of the Senate in B.C. 36, when he had already purchased a site for building one. Thereupon he dedicated his purchase to the public, building the temple of Apollo etc. on it [Dio 49, 15], and refused any other afterwards [id. 54, 27]. After the fire in B.C. 2 the whole building was made public property [id. 55, 12]. 'It stood in a noble position near the edge of the cliff towards the Vallis Murcia and the Circus Maximus, with a fine view of the Aventine opposite' (Middleton). Of its laurelled door-posts and gilded shield and the inscription *ob servatos cives*, see Ov. *Tr.* 3, 1, 33—48, *M. A.* c. 34.

Hortensius. Q. Hortensius, the great orator, friend and rival of Cicero, died in B.C. 50 [Cic. *fam.* 8, 13]. The splendour of his villas was notorious, but the town house does not seem to have been unusually large or magnificent. The Palace of Augustus, at any rate after the rebuilding, included the contiguous house of Catiline. Suet. *de Gramm.* 17.

Albanarum columnarum. A volcanic stone from the quarries of the Alban hills, a conglomerate of ashes, gravel, and stone fragments; 'harder than the hardest kinds of tufa' (Middleton); yet Vitruvius [11, 7] classes it among the *molles*. Its nearness to the city made it cheap.

insigni pavimento. The floors, whether tessellated or made up of various slabs, were often of the richest marbles [*pavimentum superbum* Hor. *Od.* 2, 14, 27]. See Hor. *Ep.* 1, 10, 19 *Libyci lapilli. Lacedaemonius orbis* Iuv. 11, 173; Sen. *Ep.* 86 *eo deliciarum venimus ut nisi gemmas calcare nolimus.* See Becker's *Gallus* p. 270 sq. Marquardt 15, p. 274 sqq.

conclavia, a room or suite of rooms locked with a key: a bed-room, Ter. *Haut.* 902; a dining-room, Hor. *Sat.* 2, 6, 113.

eodem...hieme et aestate. The luxurious had *cubicula aestiva* and *hiberna*, as Lucullus [Plut. *Luc.* c. 39]. So also dining-rooms (*triclinia*), see Varro *L. L.* 7, 14 *itaque et hiberna triclinia et aestiva facimus.* id. *R. R.* 1, 13 *ut spectent sua aestiva tricliniaria ad frigus orientis, hiberna ad solem occidentem.* See Pliny *Ep.* 2, 17 § 10 *cubiculum*

aestate mansit, quamvis parum salubrem valitudini suae urbem hieme experiretur assidueque in urbe hiemaret. Si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et τεχνόφυον vocabat: huc transibat, aut in alicuius libertorum suburbanum: aeger autem in domo Maecenatis cubabat. Ex secessibus praecipue frequentavit maritima insulasque Campaniae, aut proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Praeneste, Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persaepe ius dixit. Ampla et operosa praetoria gravabatur. Et neptis quidem suae Iuliae, profuse ab ea extructa, etiam diruit ad solum, sua vero quamvis modica non tam statuarum tabularumque pictarum

His villas.

The ornaments

cum procoetone altitudine aestivum, munimentis hibernum.

assidueque...hiemaret. As these words stand they can only be explained as depending on *quamvis*, 'though he found the city far from suiting his health in winter, and though he persistently wintered in town,'—in view of which one would have expected him to try a change of bedchamber. Graevius took *hiemaret* as impersonal, 'although it was bad weather'; Erasmus explained 'though he suffered from the winter.' Baumg.-Crusius proposes *assidue in urbe hiemavit* (?*hiemabat*). For **experiretur** cp. Horace *Odes* 4, 4, 3 *expertus fidelem.*

in edito, 'at the top of the house'; *in conclavi edito* Corn. Nep. *Dion* 9. **singularis**, 'to himself,' 'separate.'

Syracusas. No satisfactory explanation has been given of why Augustus called his lofty study 'Syracuse.' He was at Syracuse in B.C. 21, which was then ruinous and deserted [*Cal.* 21], and he may have found it so quiet and retired (perhaps too living on the high ground of Achradina) as to suggest a suitable name. Such fanciful names were often given to parts of a house, so Ἀμαλθεῖον of a room or gymnasium in the house of Atticus, Cic. *Att.* 1, 16.

τεχνόφυον [al. τεχνύφιον dim. of τέχνη, cp. τεχνύδριον Suidas, and Plato *Rep.* 475 E], 'work-shop' or 'study.'

in domo Maecenatis, on the Esquiline, which was regarded as healthy, Hor. *S.* 1, 18, 4 *Esquiliis salubribus*, cp. 2, 6, 33. Suet. *Tib.* 15 *statim e Carinis ac Pompeiana domo in hortos Maecenatianos transmigravit totumque se ad quietem contulit.* Nevertheless Maecenas himself is said never to have slept for a whole hour in the last three years of his life, Plin. *N. H.* 7 § 172. Maecenas left Augustus his heir at his death in B.C. 8 [Dio 54, 7].

ex secessibus, Iuv. 3, 4 *ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni Secessus.* Donatus *vit. Verg.* 6 § 4 *secessu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur.* Suet. *Cal.* 45 *circum et theatra et amoenos secessus. Tib.* 11 *Capriensi secessu. Ner.* 34 *in secessu quiescere. id.* 39 *secessum Campaniae petit.*

insulas Campaniae: *Capreae* [taken by Augustus in exchange for Aenaria Dio 52, 43], *Aenaria, Prochyta, Pandataria, Megaris* and *Leucothea:* c. 92.

Lanuvium, Praeneste. Strabo 5, 3, 11 ἐν ὄψει δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ Τίβουρά τε καὶ Πραίνεστος...Τίβουρα μὲν ᾗ τὸ Ἡράκλειον. The two towns are classed together as places for coolness and retirement by Horace, *Od.* 3, 4, 23 *seu mihi frigidum Praeneste seu Tibur supinum Seu liquidae placuere Baiae.* Praeneste was renowned for coolness and healthiness, Flor. 1, 11, 7 *Tibur nunc suburbanum et aestivae Praeneste deliciae.* Tiberius recovered from a serious illness there [Aul. Gell. 16, 13, 5].

Herculis, Mart. 1, 12, 1 *itur ad Herculeas gelidi qua Tiburis arces Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis.*

praetoria, 'palaces in the country,' Iuv. 1, 75 *criminibus debent hortos praetoria mensas.* Stat. *Silv.* 1, 3, 25 *alternas servant praetoria ripas.*

ornatu, quam xystis et nemoribus excoluit rebus- of his houses.
que vetustate ac raritate notabilibus: qualia sunt
Capreis immanium beluarum ferarumque membra prae-
grandia, quae dicuntur Gigantum ossa et arma Heroum.
5 Instrumenti eius et supellectilis parsimonia apparet etiam 73
nunc residuis lectis atque mensis, quorum pleraque vix
privatae elegantiae sint. Ne toro quidem cubuisse aiunt nisi
humili et modice instrato. Veste non temere alia quam
domestica usus est, ab sorore et uxore et filia neptibusque
10 confecta; togis neque restrictis neque fusis, clavo nec lato
nec angusto, calciamentis altiusculis, ut procerior quam erat

xystis, 'terraces' or 'open walks,' Pliny *Ep.* 2, 17, 7 *ante cryptoporticum xystus violis odoratus. id.* 5, 6, 16 *ante porticum xystus in plurimas species distinctus concisusque buxo.* See p. 100.

nemoribus. The *nemora* may be either plantations in the gardens or within the courtyard of the house. Hor. *Od.* 3, 10, 5 *Audis quo strepitu ianua, quo nemus Inter pulcra situm tecta remugiat.*

beluarum, 'whales' or 'sharks.' Bones of whales might have been brought to Italy from the coasts of the North Sea; Hor. *Od.* 4, 14, 47 *beluosus qui remotis Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis.* Iuv. 10, 14 *quanto delphinis ballaena Britannica maior;* but there is also evidence that one or the other of these sea-monsters was known in the Mediterranean, as at Tyre [Q. Curt. 4, 4], off Mt Athos [Herod. 6, 44], on the coast of Attica [Schol. on Aeschines *in Ctes.* 130; Plut. *Phoc.* 28]. See also Pliny *N. H.* 9 § 12 *balaenae et in nostra maria penetrant.*

73. instrumenti...supellectilis. The former refers rather to all things needed for daily household use, such as plate, *vestes stragulae*, and utensils of all sorts, the latter to the furniture of the rooms. Columell. *R. R.* 12, 3 *praeparatis idoneis locis instrumentum et supellectilem distribuere coepimus.*

non temere. See c. 16, p. 34.

veste...domestica, 'common clothes for the house,' as opposed to the *toga*, the military, or the dinner dress, cp. Suet. *Vit.* 8 *at iam vespere, subito a militibus e cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat, in veste domestica imperator est consalutatus.*

ab sorore...confecta. See c. 64 *filiam et neptes ita instituit ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret.* The commonest indoor dress was the *tunica*, see Becker's *Gallus*, p. 476 sq. Of the *cenatoria* or *synthesis*, the 'dinner dress,' see Mart. 10, 87, 12; 14, 135. *Septenaria synthesis Sagunti*, id. 4, 46, 15. Suet. *Ner.* 51 *circa cultum habitumque adeo pudendus ut plerumque synthesinam indutus ligato circum collum sudario prodierit in publicum sine cinctu et discalceatus.*

restrictis...fusis, 'neither wrapped closely round his body, nor allowed to hang loose.' Hor. *Ep.* 1, 1, 96 *si toga dissidet impar.* id. *Sat.* 1, 3, 31 *rideri possit eo quod Rusticius tonso toga defluit.* The wearing the *toga* closely wrapped was a sign of modesty in youth, Cic. *pro Cael.* § 11 *nobis quidem olim annus erat unus ad cohibendum brachium toga constitutus.*

clavo...angusto. The broad purple stripe down the front of the *tunica*, worn by Senators and certain of the equites [p. 85], was either woven in the material [Plin. *N. H.* 8 § 193 *nam tunica lati clavi in modum gausapae texi nunc primum incipit*], or sewed on [*Dig.* 34, 2, 23 *clavique qui vestibus insuuntur*]. The ostentatious wore it as broad as possible, Lucian *Demon.* § 41 ἰδὼν δέ τινα τῶν εὐπαρύφων ἐπὶ τῷ πλάτει τῆς πορφύρας μέγα φρονοῦντα.... On the other hand some affected almost to conceal it, Spart. *Sever.* 19 § 7 *hic tam exiguis vestibus usus est ut vix et tunica eius aliquid purpurae haberet....* Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 33 *purpurea non magna ad usum revocavit suum.* Marquardt [15, p. 186] holds that the *clavus* consisted of *two* stripes in front of the tunic, which perhaps also went down the back.

calciamentis here = *calceis*. *Calcia-*

videretur. Et forensia autem et calceos numquam non intra cubiculum habuit ad subitos repentinosque casus parata.

74 Convivabatur assidue nec umquam nisi recta, non sine magno ordinum hominumque dilectu. Valerius Messala tradit, neminem umquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo caenae excepto Mena, sed asserto in ingenuitatem post proditam Sexti Pompei classem. Ipse scribit, invitasse se quendam, in cuius villa maneret, qui speculator suus olim fuisset. Convivia nonnumquam et serius inibat et maturius relinquebat, cum convivae et cenare in-

His dinner parties.

mentum is properly any covering to the foot, even including slippers and sandals. Cic. 5 *Tusc.* § 90 *mihi amictus est Scythicum tegmen, calciamentum solorum callum, cubile terra.* **altiusculis.** Xen. *Cyrop.* 8, 1 § 41 *καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματα τοιαῦτα ἔχουσιν ἐν οἷς μάλιστα λαθεῖν ἔστι καὶ ὑποτιθεμένους τι ὥστε δοκεῖν μείζους εἶναι ἢ εἰσί.* Augustus was short, see c. 79. For the form (from comparative *altior*, *-ius*) not in prose before Pliny, see Roby *L. G.* 364.

forensia, opposed to the *domestica* above. The *toga* (with perhaps the *penula* and *lacerna*) worn out of doors in the forum or city. Caligula made presents of *forensia* to men [*Cal.* 17]. Alexander Severus [Lamprid. c. 42] among the outfit of a provincial *praeses* gave *vestes forenses binas.*

calceos. In the house *soleae*, slippers, would be worn; though they were taken off by the slaves while the guests reclined at table [Horace *Sat.* 2, 8, 75; *Ep.* 1, 13, 15; Pliny *Ep.* 9, 17; Mart. 3, 50, 3]. **ad subitos...casus.** While Iulius was lying at table and the desperate state of the young Octavian was announced to him, he *ἐκπηδήσας ἀνυπόδητος ἧκεν ἔνθα ἐνοσηλεύετο*, Nic. Dam. 9; cp. Dio 43, 22 *ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου ἐγένοντο ἔς τε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθε βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένος.*

74. convivabatur, 'he dined in company,' 'he gave dinner parties.' Cp. Suet. *Claud.* 32 *convivia agitavit et ampla et assidua ac fere patentissimis locis ut plerumque sesceni simul discumberent.* **nisi recta,** 'at a regular *cena*,' at which the guests lay at the tables, opposed to the *sportula*, Suet. *Domit.* 7 *sportulas publicas sustulit, revocata rectarum cenarum consuetudine:* a reversal of Nero's arrangement, under whom *publicae cenae ad sportulas redactae* [Suet. *Ner.* 16]; Mart. 8, 50, 10 *promissa est nobis sportula, recta data est.* It was also applied to private parties [Mart. 2, 69, 7; 7, 20, 2] as opposed to one at which refreshments were served round, a *cena ambulans* [Mart. 7, 58, 5].

Valerius Messala. M. Valerius Messala, c. 58. Besides his work on the civil war, Pliny refers to *de Romanis familiis*, *N. H.* 34 § 137; 35 § 8.

Mena. Menas [whom Appian always calls *Μηνόδωρος*, but Dio, *Μηνᾶς*], a freedman of Pompey the Great [App. *B. civ.* 5, 79], served under Sextus Pompeius. In B.C. 38, being in command of the fleet at Corsica and at Sardinia, he deserted to Augustus [Dio 48, 45; App. *B. civ.* 5, 78]. In B.C. 36 he went back to Sext. Pompeius, but later in the same year deserted once more to Augustus [Dio 48, 54; 49, 1 *Καῖσαρ δὲ προσήκατο μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ τότε ἀσμενέστατα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευσέ τε ἔτ' αὐτῷ.* App. *B. civ.* 5, 96, 100—101]. He fell in B.C. 35 in the Pannonian expedition [Dio 49, 37].

sed asserto in ingenuitatem. App. *B. civ.* 5, 80 *Μηνόδωρόν τε ἐλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου.* He declared him freeborn, not merely a freedman. Iustin. *inst.* 1 tit. 4 *cum autem ingenuus aliquis natus sit, non officit illi in servitute fuisse.* id. *novell.* 78, 1 *ex hac lege, qui libertatem acceperit, habebit subsequens mox et aureorum anulorum et regenerationis ius.*

ipse scribit, in his memoir, see c. 101. **speculator,** see c. 27, p. 59; and for the *speculatores* of the *cohortes praetoriae* see Wilmanns, 2866 *nomina speculatorum qui in praetorio meo militaverunt* (Vespasian).

ciperent prius quam ille discumberet, et permanerent digresso eo. Cenam ternis ferculis, aut cum abundantissime senis praebebat, ut non nimio sumptu, ita summa comitate. Nam et ad communionem sermonis tacentis vel summissim fabu-
5 lantis provocabat, et aut acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos.

His keeping of festivals.

Festos et sollemnes dies profusissime, nonnumquam tan- 75
tum ioculariter celebrabat. Saturnalibus, et si
10 quando alias libuisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem et aurum et argentum, modo nummos omnis notae, etiam veteres regios ac peregrinos, interdum nihil

ternis ferculis...senis, 'courses' (lit. 'waiters' or 'trays,' *fero*). Iuv. 1, 94 *Quis totidem erexit villas, quis fercula septem Secreto cenavit avus?* For the courses in order see Hor. *Sat.* 2, 8; and passages quoted by Mayor on Iuv. *l.c.* The three courses were (1) the *gustatio*, (2) *cena*, (3) *secunda mensa* (dessert). When there were to be six or more courses this was secured by multiplying (2) as *prima*, *altera*, *tertia cena*, and so on [Marq. 14, p. 378 sq.].

acroama. The practise of having a reader (*anagnostes*) at meals is fully illustrated by Mayor on Iuv. 11, 180. See especially Nepos *Att.* 14 *nemo in convivio eius aliud acroama audivit quam anagnosten; quod nos quidem iucundissimum arbitramur; nequeunquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum cenatum est.* Pliny *Ep.* 6, 31 *adhibebamur quotidie cenae; erat modica si principem cogites; interdum ἀκροάματα audiebamus, interdum iucundissimis sermonibus nox ducebatur.* Other *acroamata* were the strains of *tibicines* and other musicians; see Macrob. 2, 4, 28 (of Augustus) *delectatus inter cenam symphoniacis Toronii Flacci mangonis.* Marq. 14, p. 394 sq.

histriones. Plutarch [*Sympos.* 7, 4] speaks of μῖμοι at banquets. Their introduction was not always liked, Pliny *Ep.* 9, 17 *quam multi, cum lector aut lyristes aut comoedus inductus est, calceos poscunt, aut non minore cum taedio recubant, quam tu ista prodigia perpessus es?* **triviales ex circo ludios**, 'street performers from the circus.' The circus was the haunt of idlers, mountebanks and jugglers, astrologers and the like. Horace [*Sat.* 1, 6, 113] speaks of the *fallacem circum.* Cic. *de Div.* 1 § 132 *de circo astrologos.* Among *ludios* may be included dancers, Ov. *A. A.* 1, 112 *ludius aequatam ter pede pulsat humum.* Macrobius [*Sat.* 2, 1, 9] speaks of *laetitia et docta cavillatio vicum planipedis et sabulonis impudica et praetextata verba iacentis* at supper.

aretalogos, 'disputers,' inferior followers of Stoic and Cynic philosophy, who made a kind of profession of conducting arguments on virtue or the like. Iuvenal [15, 16] speaks contemptuously of the *mendax aretalogus.* Cp. Acro on Hor. *S.* 1, 1, 120 *philosophi cuiusdam loquacissimi nomen qui ἀρεταλόγος dictus est.*

75. Saturnalibus, see on c. 71.

munera: for the presents given at the Saturnalia see Mart. 5, 18

Quod tibi Decembri mense, quo volant mappae
gracilesque ligulae cereique chartaeque
et acuta senibus testa cum Damascenis,
praeter libellos vernulas nihil misi,
fortasse avarus videar aut inhumanus.

Tiberius sent Claudius at the Saturnalia *quadraginta aureos in Saturnalia et Sigillaria* [Suet. *Claud.* 5]. Vespasian *dabat sicut Saturnalibus viris apophoreta, ita per Kal. Mart. feminis* [Suet. *Vesp.* 19]. Iulius Bassus, charged with taking bribes, affirmed *sola se munuscula dumtaxat natali suo aut Saturnalibus accepisse et plerisque misisse* [Pliny *Ep.* 4, 9, § 7].

regios. Servius Tullius was credited with the introduction of coined money, and the earliest coins were said to have

praeter cilicia et spongias et rutabula et forpices atque alia id genus, titulis obscuris et ambiguis. Solebat et inaequalissimarum rerum sortes et aversas tabularum picturas in convivio venditare incertoque casu spem mercantium vel frustrari vel explere, ita ut per singulos lectos licitatio fieret et seu iactura seu lucrum com-
76 municaretur. Cibi (nam ne haec quidem omiserim) minimi erat atque vulgaris fere. Secundarium panem et pisciculos minutos et caseum bubulum manu pressum et ficos virides biferas maxime appetebat; vescebaturque et ante cenam quocumque tempore et loco, quo stomachus desiderasset. Verba ipsius ex epistolis sunt: *Nos in essedo panem et pal-*

Blind auctions.

had the figure of an ox, sheep or swine impressed on them [Plut. *Poplic.* 11; *Quaest. R.* 41]. If any such existed in the time of Augustus they would be reckoned as belonging to the regal period. The earliest *as* of the republic has the prow of a ship on the reverse, and the head of a god on the other side. Ramsay *Rom. Ant.* p. 465.

cilicia, rough cloth or tenting, made of goat's hair [Verg. *G.* 3, 311]. Pliny *N. H.* 6 § 143 *Chaldaeorum Scenitae... a tabernaculis cognominati quae ciliciis metantur.* For its use in the camp see Livy 38, 7, the Ambracians block up the mine *nunc ciliciis praetentis nunc foribus raptim obiectis.* Veget. 4, 6 *saga ciliciaque tenduntur quae impetum excipiant sagittarum.*

spongias, used for cleaning the tables, Mart. 14, 144 *haec tibi forte datur tergendis spongia mensis.* See also c. 85.

rutabula et forpices (*forfex*), 'pokers and tongs.' Commentators perceive an obscene meaning in all these presents: see Festus s.v. *rutabulum.*

inaequalissimarum ... sortes: a lottery at which the guests bid without knowing what they were buying. Lamprid. *Heliogob.* 22 *sortes sane convivales scriptas in coclearibus habuit tales ut alius exierit 'decem camelos,' alius 'decem muscas,' alius 'decem libras auri,' alius 'decem plumbi,' alius 'decem strutiones,' alius 'decem ova pullina,' ut vere sortes essent et fata temptarentur.*

76. secundarium panem, 'inferior bread,' not of the finest meal (*siligo*). Our millers still speak of 'seconds' in this sense. Cp. Hor. *Ep.* 2, 1 *vivit siliquis et pane secundo.* Iuv. 5, 70 *sed tener et niveus mollique siligine factus servatus domino.* Such inferior bread was called *panis cibarius* [Cic. *Tusc.* 5 § 97]; *sordidus* [Suet. *Ner.* 48]; Plaut. *As.* 142]; *rusticus* [Plin. *N. H.* 19 § 168]. Marq. 15, p. 41.

pisciculos minutos. Ter. *Andr.* 369 *holera et pisciculos minutos ferre obolo in cenam seni.* Small and common fish in opposition to the costly fish which were so much the rage at Rome, see Marq. 15, p. 56 sq.

caseum bubulum ... pressum. Colum. 7, 12 *illa vero notissima est ratio faciundi casei, quem dicimus manu pressum. Namque is paullum gelatus in mulctra dum est tepefactus, rescinditur, et fervente aqua perfusus vel manu figuratus vel buxeis formis exprimitur.* Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 81 *pressi copia lactis.* It appears to mean fresh cream cheese as opposed to cheese brought e.g. from the Graian Alps [*Vatusicus*, Plin. *N. H.* 11 § 240], or the smoked cheese *caseus fumosus*, Mart. 13, 32. It was eaten at the *ientaculum*, Mart. 13, 31 *si sine carne voles ientacula sumere frugi, Haec tibi Vestino de grege massa venit.*

biferas, 'fresh late figs,' or 'figs of the second crop.' Plin. *N. H.* 16 § 113 *ficus et praecoces habet quas Athenis prodromos vocant. In Laconico genere maxume sunt et biferae in iisdem.*

quocumque. *Claud.* 33 *cibi vinique quocumque et tempore et loco appetentissimus.*

essedo. The *essedum*, originally a Gaulish war chariot [*esseda Belgica* Verg. *G.* 3, 204], was the name for a travelling carriage, especially of officials,

mulas gustavimus. Et iterum: *Dum lectica ex regia domum redeo, panis unciam cum paucis acinis uvae duracinae comedi.* Et rursus: *Ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servavi, qui in balineo demum post horam primam noctis duas bucceas manducavi prius quam ungui inciperem.* Ex hac inobservantia nonnumquam vel ante initum vel post dimissum convivium solus cenitabat, cum pleno convivio nihil tangeret. Vini quoque natura parcissimus erat. Non amplius ter bibere eum solitum super cenam in castris apud Mutinam, Cornelius Nepos tradit.

Letters to Tiberius.

His abstemiousness.

77

while the *reda* was a large coach or brake for baggage and family. Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 58 *vehebatur in essedo tribunus plebis* etc. id. *Att.* 6, 1 § 25 *hic Vedius venit mihi obviam cum duobus essedis et reda equis iuncta et lectica et familia magna.*

ex regia. See c. 31, p. 70.

cum...acinis uvae duracinae, 'with a few dried raisins' ('berries of hard-berried grape'). Mart. 13, 22 *non habilis cyathis et inutilis uva Lyaeo, Sed non potanti me tibi nectar ero.* Cato *R. R.* 7 § 2 *quas suspendas duracinas...pro passis eae recte servantur.* Augustus was taking his *ientaculum*, cp. Vopisc. *Tac.* 11 *panem nisi siccum nunquam comedit.*

sabbatis ieiunium. The mistaken notion of the Jewish sabbath as a fast is referred to. See Schürer *History of Israel*, vol. 1, p. 322 (Engl. Tr.). Petron. *fr.* 37 *Iudaeus...exemptus populo Graias migrabit ad urbes, Et non ieiuna sabbata lege tremet.* Iustin. 36, 2, 14 *Moyses... septimum diem more gentis Sabbata appellatum in omne aevum ieiunio sacravit.* It was supposed that, as all business was omitted on the seventh day [Hor. *S.* 1, 9, 69; Iuv. 14, 106], it was observed also as a fast; or, as the Jews were known to keep certain fasts, *sabbata* was applied to them and to festivals indifferently, as the word most familiar in connexion with Jews. Thus *recutita sabbata* [Pers. 5, 184] stands for the whole Jewish superstition. **servat.** Iuv. 14, 101 *Iudaicum ediscunt et servant et metuunt ius*, where see Mayor's note.

post horam...noctis, 'after six in the evening.' The usual hour for the bath was the 8th or 9th (2 to 3 p.m.). Pliny *Ep.* 3, 1, 8 *ubi hora balnei nuntiata est,—est autem hieme nona, aestate octava.* Cic. *ad Att.* 13, 32 *inde ambulavit in litore. Post horam* VIII *in balneum.* Spart. *Hadr.* 22 *ante octavam horam in publico neminem nisi aegrum lavari passus est.* But from noon to evening many went at various hours. Vitruv. 5, 10, 1 *maxime tempus lavandi a meridiano ad vesperum est constitutum.* Cp. Iuv. 11, 204 *iam nunc in balnea salva Fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit Ad sextam.* Busy people would go late, Mart. 3, 36 *lassus ut in thermas decima vel serius hora Te sequar.* Cp. 10, 70, 13. To go to the bath after the *cena*, in search of a second appetite, was considered an excess and unhealthy. Iuv. 1, 143; Persius 3, 97 sq.; Cic. *pro Dei.* § 21; Petronius 72 *quare non vivamus?...coniciamus nos in balneum.*

bucceas, 'mouthfuls,' seems to be a word coined by Augustus.

ungui. The *unctorium* was a regular adjunct to the bath [Pliny *Ep.* 2, 17, 11 *adiacet unctorium, hypocauston...*], and a slave as *unctor* is often mentioned, *C. I. L.* 6, 4336, 4479 etc., see Marq. 14, p. 171. The *unctorium* was also sometimes a place of exercise or *palaestra.* The anointing preceded the hot bath [Hor. *S.* 1, 6, 123].

inobservantia, 'carelessness' about his food. It is not in prae-Augustan prose. Cp. Quint. 4, 2, 10 *quae ne fecisse inobservantia quadam videatur ...in Partitionibus praecipit.*

77. **Cornelius Nepos tradit.** To which of the writings of Nepos he refers does not appear. We hear of *Chronica* [Ausonius *Epist.* 16; Catull. 1, 5—7]; *Exempla* [Gell. 6, 18, 11]; *de viris il-*

Postea quotiens largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes non excessit, aut si excessisset, reiciebat. Et maxime delectatus est Raetico, neque temere interdiu bibit. Pro potione sumebat perfusum aqua frigida panem, aut cucumeris frustum vel lactuculae thyrsum, aut recens aridumve pomum suci vinosioris. 5

78 Post cibum meridianum, ita ut vestitus calciatusque erat, retectis pedibus paulisper conquiescebat, opposita ad oculos manu. A cena in lecticulam se lucubratoriam recipiebat; ibi, donec residua diurni actus

His study.

lustribus [Gell. 11, 8, 1]; and besides the biographies which we possess, lives of M. Cato [Nep. *Cat.* 3, 5], of Cicero [Gell. 15, 28, 1]; a work on geography [Plin. *N. H.* 2 § 169]; poems [Plin. *Ep.* 5, 3, 6]; *de historicis latinis* [Nep. *Dion* 3, 2]. He was a friend of Cicero [Cic. *Att.* 16, 14; Suet. *Iul.* 55] and was an auditor of one at least of his speeches [i.e. *pro Cornelio;* Hieronymus *c. Ioan. Hierosolym.* c. 12]. He died during the reign of Augustus [Pliny *N. H.* 9 § 136].

se invitaret, 'indulged himself.' Plautus *Amph.* 1, 1, 127 *invitavit plusculum hic se in prandio.* Sallust *fr.* ap. Non. 219 [ed. Dietsch. *Hist.* 4, 4] *et revorsi postero die multa, quae properantes deseruerant in castris nacti, cum se ibi cibo vinoque laeti invitarent.*

senos sextantes. The *sextarius* (about a pint) was divided like the *as* into 12 *unciae* or *cyathi*. Therefore the *sextans* = 2 *cyathi*, and six of these would amount to one pint.

reiciebat, 'he used to throw up,' i.e. he took an emetic, a practice commonly recommended by physicians of the time; Celsus 2, 3. See Munro on Catullus, p. 92. Cic. *Att.* 13, 52; *pro Deiot.* § 21 (where Caesar's vomiting after the *cena* is mentioned as a natural thing); 2 *Phil.* § 75; Mart. 2, 89, 5. The *consuetudo vomitandi* enabled Vitellius [c. 13] to indulge in repeated banquets and potations, but this was the abuse of the practice, see Pliny *N. H.* 29, 27, who numbers it among the things which *perdidere imperi mores.*

Raeticum, wine from the vineyards near Verona. Pliny *N. H.* 14 § 67 *in Veroniensi item Raetica Falernis tantum postlata a Vergilio.* Verg. *G.* 2, 96 *et quo te carmine dicam, Raetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.* According to Pliny [*N. H.* 14 § 61] the favourite wine of Augustus was *Setinum* (from vineyards near Forum Appii); but this seems to have been on medicinal grounds. His habit, when dining with strangers, was to drink whatever was provided without making any observation, *ib.* § 72.

interdiu, that is, apparently, before the *cena.*

thyrsus, 'the stalk' (i.e. not the outer leaves). Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* 12, 413 *caulem autem medium fruticae qui vulgo θύρσος dicitur.* Plin. *N. H.* 13, 71 (of the papyrus) *in gracilitatem fastigatus thyrsi modo cacumen includens. id.* 19, 129 *thyrsi vel folia lactucarum; id.* § 146 (asparagus) *viret thyrso primum emicante.*

78. **post cibum meridianum**, after the *prandium* or lunch; the proper hour for which was the sixth, Mart. 4, 8 *sexta quies lassis.* Cp. Suet. *Claud.* 34 *meridie dimisso ad prandium populo.* It was usually a light meal. Seneca *Ep.* 8 *panis deinde siccus et sine mensa prandium, post quod non sunt lavandae manus.* Cf. Hor. *S.* 1, 6, 127; but dissipated persons drank freely at it. So Tacitus [*Ann.* 14, 2] says of Nero *medio die cum id temporis per vinum et epulas incalesceret.* And some began even earlier; Cicero says of Antony [2 *Phil.* § 104] *ab hora tertia bibebatur*, cp. *in Pis.* § 13; Horace on his journey stops at the fourth hour for *prandium* [*Sat.* 1, 5, 23]. Marq. 14, p. 314.

lecticula, properly a small sedan (*lectica*), is here the day couch used in the study, as opposed to the 'bed' *lectus* below. The usual word however is *lectulus* [Ov. *Tr.* 1, 11, 37; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 4, 133].

lucubratoriam, for study by candlelight. Pliny *Ep.* 3, 5, 8 *lucubrare Vulcanalibus incipiebat.* Cic. *par. proem.* 5 *opusculum lucubratum his iam contractioribus noctibus.* id. *fam.* 9, 2 *perire lucubrationem meam nolui.* But the adjective does not seem to occur elsewhere.

aut omnia aut ex maxima parte conficeret, ad multam noctem permanebat. In lectum inde transgressus, non amplius cum plurimum quam septem horas dormiebat, ac ne eas quidem continuas, sed ut in illo temporis spatio ter aut quater expergisceretur. Si interruptum somnum reciperare, ut evenit, non posset, lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcessitis resumebat, producebatque ultra primam saepe lucem. Nec in tenebris vigilavit umquam nisi assidente aliquo. Matutina vigilia offendebatur; ac si vel officii vel sacri causa maturius evigilandum esset, ne id contra commodum faceret, in proximo cuiuscumque domesticorum cenaculo manebat. Sic quoque saepe indigens somni, et dum per vicos deportaretur et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras condormiebat.

residua diurni actus, 'what remained over of the business of the day,' specially of a legal nature, see c. 32. **conficeret**, 'put together.' He refers, it seems, to making notes or memoranda, —such business as could be done in the study without the presence of parties concerned; or to keeping up the *rationarium imperi* mentioned in c. 28. For the word cp. *Iul.* 20 *instituit ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta confierent.* For **donec** in secondary clause with imp. subj. cp. cc. 17, 48. In purely historical sense with indic. c. 16.

fabulatoribus, 'story-tellers,' such as Sir W. Temple tells of in Ireland: 'when 'he was abroad in the mountains, and 'lay very ill a-nights so as he could not 'well sleep, they would bring him one 'of their *Tale-tellers*, that when he lay 'down would begin a story...and continue all night long in such an even 'tone that you heard it going on whenever you waked, and he believed no'thing any physicians could give could 'have so good and so innocent effect to 'make men sleep.' In a non-professional sense of a graceful detailer of anecdotes, see Sen. *Ep.* 122 *Pedonem Albinovanum narrantem audieramus, erat autem fabulator elegantissimus* etc.

officii. Some public men began the business of the day before daylight. Thus Vespasian gave audiences and made business arrangements at that time. Pliny *Ep.* 3, 5 § 9 *ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem, nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur, inde ad delegatum officium.* Cp. *ib.* 12 § 2 *officia antelucana.*

sacri. Not only were nocturnal visits to the temples necessary in certain cases [see c. 94, Nic. Dam. 5], but auspices were taken immediately after midnight by the magistrate who was to preside at elections, or on the day that any public business was to be begun, Gell. 3, 2, 10. [*Sacra sunt enim Romana partim diurna, alia nocturna*, Macrob. 1, 3. 6.]

condormiebat, 'used to fall fast asleep.' Iuv. 3, 241 *atque obiter leget, aut scribet, vel dormiet intus; Namque facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra.* The word is rare, cp. Capit. *Verus* 4 § 8 *in toro conviviali condormiens ita ut levatus cum stromatibus in cubiculum perferretur.* Plautus has *condormisco, Curc.* 2, 3, 81, with perf. *condormivi, Most.* 2, 7, 55.

79 Forma fuit eximia et per omnes aetatis gradus venustissima; quamquam et omnis lenocinii neglegens et in capite comendo tam incuriosus, ut raptim compluribus simul tonsoribus operam daret, ac modo tonderet modo raderet barbam, eoque ipso tempore aut legeret aliquid aut etiam scriberet. Vultu erat vel in sermone vel tacitus adeo tranquillo serenoque, ut quidam e primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos, eo se inhibitum ac remollitum, quo minus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem conloquii propius admissus in praecipitium propelleret.

Personal appearance.

Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque, si qui sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret; sed in senecta sinistro minus vidit; dentes raros et exiguos et scabros; capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum; supercilia coniuncta; mediocres aures; nasum

His bright eyes.

79. venustissima, 'exceedingly graceful.' Nero [c. 51] was *vultu pulchro magis quam venusto.*

modo tonderet...modo raderet. *tondere* 'to clip' as opposed to shaving. Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 29. The fashion of shaving the beard lasted from about B.C. 300 [Gell. 3, 4] till the time of Hadrian [Spart. *Hadr.* 26], though certain young dandies wore a small beard [hence *barbatuli* in Cic. *ad Att.* 1, 14]. In spite of Dio 48, 34 coins shew that Augustus sometimes wore a short beard till after B.C. 37. Eckhel 6, 76. Mayor on Iuv. 16, 31, Pliny *N. H.* 7 § 211 *In Italiam ex Sicilia* (*tonsores*) *venere p. u. c.* CCCCLIV *adducente P. Titinio Mena, ut auctor est Varro. primus omnium radi cotidie instituit Africanus sequens, divus Augustus cultris semper usus est.*

praecipitium, a late word. See Lactant. *inst. div.* 6, 17 *aut per confragosa vexabitur aut per praecipitia labetur.*

oculos...divini vigoris. Iulian laughs at this vanity of Augustus, *Conviv. Caes.* 309 B, ἀνίετο δ' αὖθις εἰς Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Χάριτας, εἶναί τε ἤθελε τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων ὁποῖός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος· οὐδένα γάρ οἱ τῶν πάντων ἀντιβλέπειν ἠξίου. Perhaps Vergil meant his description of Aeneas to convey a compliment to Augustus on the same point [*Aen.* 1, 593] *namque ipsa decoram Caesariem nato genetrix, lumenque iuventae Purpureum, et laetos oculis adflarat honores.* See Servius on *Aen.* 8, 689. Pliny gives a less complimentary motive for his being anxious that people should not look into his eyes. *N. H.* 11, § 143 *divo Augusto equorum modo glauci fuere* (*oculi*) *superque hominem albicantis magnitudinis: quam ob causam diligentius spectari eos iracunde ferebat.* See also Aurel. Victor *Epit.* 1.

scabros, 'decayed,' or 'covered with tartar.' Ovid *Met.* 8, 802 *scabri rubigine dentes* (al. *fauces*).

et a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem; colorem inter aquilum candidumque; staturam brevem (quam tamen Iulius Marathus, libertus et a memoria eius, quinque pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit), sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum occuleretur, ut nonnisi ex comparatione astantis alicuius procerioris intellegi posset. Corpore traditur maculoso, dispersis per pectus atque alvum genetivis notis in modum et ordinem ac numerum stellarum caelestis ursae, sed et callis quibusdam, ex prurigine corporis adsiduoque et vehementi strigilis usu plurifariam concretis ad impetiginis formam. Coxendice et femore et crure sinistro non perinde valebat, ut saepe etiam inclaudicaret; sed remedio harenarum atque harundinum confirmabatur. Dextrae quoque manus digitum salutarem tam imbecillum interdum sentiebat, ut torpentem contractumque frigore vix cornei circuli supplemento scripturae admoveret.

His height.

80 Personal defects.

aquilum, 'dark.' Plaut. *Poen.* 5, 2, 152 *statura haud magna corpore aquilo est.* HA. *Ipsa ea est.* MI. *specie venusta, ore atque oculis pernigris.*

Iulius Marathus, c. 94. Probably a Greek-speaking Syrian. **a memoria**, 'secretary,' 'keeper of records,' like *a manu, a commentariis, a studiis*, etc. Augustus composed in honour of Drusus *vitae memoriam prosa oratione* [Suet. *Claud.* 1]; Marathus may have served him in this. [*et a memoria* is the emendation of Lipsius for *etiam memoriam.*]

quinque pedum et dodrantis, 5 ft. 9 inches. But as the Roman foot was slightly less than the English (·97 ft. Eng.) Augustus would be rather under five feet seven inches (5 ft. 6·93 in. Eng.).

80. strigilis. The slave accompanied his master to the bath with a *cista* containing *strigiles*, *ampulla* (of oil), *alabastrum* (box of unguents), and other necessaries of the toilet. The curved strigil (*stringo*) made of metal, bone or wood, was used for scraping the body after the bath. Iuv. 3, 263. Many have been preserved, see Rich, *Compan. to Dict. of Ant.*

non perinde, 'not as well as with the right,' or 'not very well' (the idea of comparison almost vanishing). Cp. Suet. *Tib.* 52 *itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde adfectus est, sed tantum...* Gell. 13 *quare adventus eius non perinde gratus fuit.* Tac. *Agr.* 10 *ne ventis quidem perinde attolli* (*mare*).

remedio harenarum atque harundinum. This is explained to mean an application of 'warm sand and pounded reeds,' used as a fomentation. Gell. 19, 8 *cum liberatum esse se aquae intercutis morbo diceret, quod arenis calentibus esset usus.* Symmach. *Ep.* 8, 45 *humor noxius articulis illapsus etiam nunc me tenet lectulo et vix litorali siccitate tenuatur.* Pliny *N. H.* 24 § 87 *volgaris harundo extractoriam vim habet et recens tunsa... medetur et luxatis et spinae doloribus radix in aceto inlita...* It is true that Gellius *l. c.* gives it as the rule of Antonius Iulianus and Caesar that *harena* could not correctly be used in the plural; but the discussion shows that the rule was often broken, especially in medical language. However Baumg.-Crusius reads *habenarum atque arundinum*, and explains it to mean a kind of medical bandage or truss. Of wounds received by Augustus which might have caused this weakness, see c. 20.

digitum salutarem, 'the first,' or 'index finger.' Various explanations have been given of the term, such as, that it was used to indicate silence and caution. But the most probable seems that which connects it with *saluto*, as used in salutations.

Questus est et de vesica, cuius dolore calculis demum per urinam eiectis levabatur.

81 Graves et periculosas valitudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est; praecipue Cantabria domita, cum etiam distillationibus iocinere vitiato ad desperationem redactus contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit: quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa.

His severe illnesses.

Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes experiebatur; nam sub natalem suum plerumque languebat; et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, austrinis autem tempestatibus gravedine. Quare quassato corpore,

82 neque frigora neque aestus facile tolerabat. Hieme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis et subucula et thorace laneo et feminalibus et tibialibus muniebatur, aestate apertis cubiculi foribus, ac saepe in peristylo saliente aqua atque etiam ventilante aliquo cubabat. Solis vero ne

Dress and mode of travelling.

dolore...levabatur. Cp. *Tib.* 72 *languore paullum levatus.*

81. valitudines. The illnesses of Augustus have been already noticed. See pp. 15, 20, 26, 61. For Antonius Musa and his treatment see c. 59.

cum subiit, 'the occasion on which he submitted to.' The perf. ind. with *cum* referring to a particular time, cp. c. 28 *cum rationarium imperi tradidit.*

sub natalem suum, 23 September. See p. 9.

praecordiorum. Pliny *N. H.* 11 § 197 *exta homini ab inferiore viscerum parte separantur membrana, quam praecordia appellant, quia cordi praetenditur, quod Graeci appellaverunt φρένας,* 'midriff.'

gravedine, 'a cold,' 'a catarrh.' Catull. 44, 13 *hic me gravedo frigida et frequens tussis quassavit.*

82. pingui toga, 'thick and coarse.' Mart. 6, 11, 7 *me pinguis Gallia vestit. id.* 4, 19; Iuv. 9, 28 *pingues lacernas, munimenta togae.*

subucula, an inner tunic (*tunica interior*), is a shirt worn under the *tunica.* Varro *de vita P. R.* ap. Non. 542 *postquam binas tunicas habere coeperunt instituerunt vocare subuculam et intusium.* Hor. *Ep.* 1, 1, 95 *si forte subucula pexae Trita subest tunicae.* Plaut. *Aul.* 4, 4, 20 *ne inter tunicas habeas.* Becker's *Gallus*, p. 416, Marq. 15, p. 192.

et thorace laneo. This is the emendation of Beroaldus for *subuculae thorace laneo.* The *thorax* as a separate article of dress is mentioned in Iuv. 5, 143.

feminalibus et tibialibus, woollen wrappers (*fasciae*) for the thighs and legs, generally only worn by invalids. Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 254 *ponas insignia morbi, fasciolas, cubital, focalia.* Petron. 40 *fasciis cruralibus alligatus.* Cic. *Att.* 2, 3 (of Pompey) *caligae eius et fasciae cretatae non placebant.* Val. Max. 6, 2, 7 (*Pompeio*) *candida fascia crus alligatum habenti.* Quint. 11, 3 *palliolum sicut fascias quibus crura vestiuntur... sola excusare potest valetudo.*

in peristylo (collat. form with *peristylio*). The bedrooms would open into the peristylium. **saliente aqua,** a fountain in the garden of the *atrium.* Cp. Statius *Silv.* 1, 3, 36 *an picturata lucentia marmora vena Mirer, an emissas per cuncta cubilia lymphas?* id. 1, 2, 154 *excludunt radios silvis demissa vetustis Frigora, perspicui vivunt in marmore fontes.*

ventilante. The use of fans was ancient, though usually confined to women. Ter. *Eun.* 595 *cape hoc flabellum et ventulum huic sic facito dum lavamur.* Mart. 3, 82, 10 *et aestuanti tenue ventilat frigus Supina prasino concubina flabello.* Propert. 3, 18, 11 *pavonis caudae flabella superbi.* Anthol. 11, 101

hiberni quidem patiens, domi quoque nonnisi petasatus sub divo spatiabatur. Itinera lectica et noctibus fere, eaque lenta ac minuta faciebat, ut Praeneste vel Tibur biduo procederet; ac si quo pervenire mari posset, potius navigabat. Verum
5 tantam infirmitatem magna cura tuebatur, in primis lavandi raritate (unguebatur enim saepius). Aut sudabat ad flammam, deinde perfundebatur egelida aqua vel sole multo tepefacta; aut quotiens nervorum causa marinis albulisque calidis utendum esset, contentus hoc erat ut insidens ligneo
10 solio, quod ipse Hispanico verbo duretam vocabat, manus ac pedes alternis iactaret.

Exercitationes campestres equorum et armorum statim 83

ῥιπίζων ἐν ὕπνοις Δημήτριος Ἀρτεμιδώραν τὴν λεπτήν, ἐκ τοῦ δώματος ἐξέβαλεν.

petasatus, 'wearing a broad-brimmed hat.' Plaut. *Amph.* prol. 143—5; 1, 1, 290. It was used generally in travelling. The young man in Plautus [*Pseud.* 2, 4, 45] who has to dress up to represent a new arrival says, *etiam opust chlamyde et machaera et petaso.* Cicero [*fam.* 15, 17] says of the *tabellarii*, who come to him ready to start, *petasati veniunt.*

minuta, 'in short stages.' **Praeneste vel Tibur.** See c. 72. Tibur is about 18 miles, Praeneste about 21 miles from Rome.

lavandi raritate. The constant use of hot baths was reckoned bad for the health, especially to those subject to fever, and after eating, Pers. 3, 90—102. Vopisc. *Tac.* 11 *balneis raro usus est atque validior fuit in senectute.*

unguebatur. See c. 76.

sudabat ad flammam, that is, apparently, he did not go into the *caldarium*, but heated himself at an open fire, or stove in the *tepidarium* or elsewhere. The *sudatorium* on the other hand was heated by air, Sen. *Ep.* 51 § 6 *quid cum sudatoriis, in quae siccus vapor corpora exhausurus includitur?* **egelida**, 'lukewarm.' Catull. 46, 1 *iam ver egelidos refert tepores.* In the μέσος οἶκος or *tepidarium* even the oil was to be warm [τὸ ἔλαιον ἔστω χλιαρὸν Galen *Meth. Med.* 724].

albulis calidis, 'warm sulphur baths,' at the sulphur springs (*Albulae aquae*) between Rome and Tibur. Mart. 1, 12 *Itur ad Herculeas gelidi qua Tiburis arces, Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis.* Strabo [5, 3, 11] talks of the waters as 'cold,' καὶ τὰ Ἄλβουλα καλούμενα ῥεῖ ὕδατα ψυχρὰ [? χλιερά] ἐκ πολλῶν πηγῶν πρὸς ποικίλας νόσους καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἐγκαθημένοις ὑγιεινά: but in fact they are lukewarm, Pliny *N. H.* 3 § 10 *iuxta Romam Albulae aquae volneribus medentur egelidae. Thermae* were built on them, and the waters are still used for medical purposes in the same way. The sulphurous lakes drain into the Anio by a small stream which is sometimes called *Albula*, see Stat. *Silv.* 1, 3, 75 *illic sulphureos cupit Albula mergere crines.*

solio, 'a bathing tub,' see Strabo *l. c.* ἐγκαθημένοις. Pliny [*N. H.* 33 § 152] speaks of *solia argentea* among the luxuries of some women. Festus *s. v.* **solia**: *alvei quoque lavandi gratia instituti, quo singuli descendunt, solia dicuntur, quae a sedendo potius dicta videntur, quam a solio.*

alternis, 'alternately.' Common in poetry (especially Lucretius), and in prose from Livy onwards, but not so used in Cicero.

83. exercitationes campestres. The exercises on the Campus Martius detailed by Horace *Odes* 1, 8. Cp. Ovid *Tr.* 3, 12, 19

usus equi nunc est, levibus nunc luditur armis,
nunc pila, nunc celeri volvitur orbe trochus;
nunc, ubi perfusa est oleo labente, iuventus
defessos artus Virgine tinguit aqua.

Strabo 5, 3, 8 καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πεδίου θαυμαστὸν ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἁρματοδρομίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἱππασίαν ἀκώλυτον παρέχον τῷ τοσούτῳ πλήθει τῶν σφαίρᾳ καὶ κρίκῳ καὶ παλαίστρᾳ γυμναζομένων.

post civilia bella omisit et ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit, mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat, ita ut in extremis spatiis subsultim decurreret, segestria vel lodicula involutus. Animi laxandi causa modo piscabatur hamo, modo talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabilis undique conquirebat, praecipue Mauros et Syros. Nam pumilos atque distortos et omnis generis eiusdem, ut ludibria naturae malique ominis abhorrebat.

Exercise and amusements.

84 Eloquentiam studiaque liberalia ab aetate prima et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit. Mutinensi bello in tanta mole rerum et legisse et scripsisse et declamasse cotidie traditur. Nam deinceps neque in senatu

Study of elocution.

pilam...folliculum, Mart. 14, 45—47. Becker's *Gallus*, p. 398 sq. The large inflated ball (*follis*) is said to have been introduced by a gymnast for Pompey, see Athenaeus 14 F. The word *pila* includes all sorts of balls, and the games were played either (1) by simply throwing and catching the balls under various conditions; or (2) by throwing the ball against a wall and striking it back like our Fives [*expulsim ludere*, Nonius p. 104]. The game of *follis* was like football, only that the hand is used instead of the foot, see Rich, *Comp. s. v.* Marq. 15, p. 516.

deambulabat, 'he took walks.' The compound verb is generally used when the notion is not merely of walking as opposed to sitting, running etc., but of walking for exercise. See Terence, *Haut.* 588 *abi deambulatum*. Cic. *de leg.* 1 § 14 *cum satis deambulatum erit quiescemus*, cp. *de Or.* 2 § 256. But Pliny *Ep.* 3, 1 § 4 *mane lectulo continetur, hora secunda calceos poscit, ambulat milia passuum tria.*

segestria, a carriage rug, Varro *L. L.* 5 § 166 *qui lecticam involvebant, quod fere stramenta erant e segete, segestriam appellarunt.* **lodicula** is much the same. It was made of wool [Mart. 14, 152] and was used as a coverlet for a bed [Iuv. 6, 195; 7, 66], or as a rug to lie upon [Petron. 20].

talis, see on c. 71. **ocellatis** seem to be some sort of marbles of variegated stone or agate. Varro ap. Non. *s. v. margaritam: altera exorat patrem libram ocellatorum...altera virum semodium margaritarum.* Some shells picked up by Caligula on the shore were called *nympharum lumina*, from similar marks I suppose, Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 3.

nucibusque. Some of the games played by children with nuts are described in [Ov.] *Nux* 73—86, such as splitting them with a blow of the hand, guessing odd or even number, rolling them down a sloping board into their proper receptacles, and others. Thus *nucibus relictis* is an expression for giving up childish things, Mart. 5, 81; Pers. 1, 10. See p. 136.

Syros. On the number of Syrians in Rome, see Iuv. 3, 62 *iampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes.*

pumilos, see on c. 43, p. 96. **distortos**, often artificially, Longin. *de sublim.* 44 § 5 ὥσπερ οὖν...τὰ γλωττόκομα ἐν οἷς οἱ πυγμαῖοι, καλούμενοι δὲ νᾶνοι τρέφονται, οὐ μόνον κωλύει τῶν ἐγκεκλεισμένων τὰς αὐξήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναιρεῖ διὰ τὸν προκείμενον τοῖς σώμασι δεσμόν...quoted by Mayor on Iuv. 8, 32. For the form *pumilus* see Stat. *Silv.* 1, 6, 64 *casuraeque vagis grues rapinis Mirantur pumilos ferociores.*

84. eloquentiam...exercuit, cp. Suet. *de Rhet.* 1 *declamandi consuetudinem... Augustum ne Mutinensi quidem bello omisisse.* See also p. 16 notes. Augustus is recorded to have delivered *laudationes* on his grandmother Iulia in B.C. 51 [c. 8]; on Marcellus B.C. 23 [Dio 53, 30]; on Agrippa B.C. 12 [Dio 54, 28]; on Octavia B.C. 11 [c. 61]; on Drusus B.C. 8 [Suet. *Claud.* 1].

Mutinensi bello, c. 9, p. 18.

neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est umquam nisi meditata et composita oratione, quamvis non deficeretur ad subita extemporali facultate. Ac ne periculum memoriae adiret aut in ediscendo tempus absumeret, instituit recitare omnia. Sermones quoque cum singulis atque etiam cum Livia sua graviores nonnisi scriptos et e libello habebat, ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore. Pronuntiabat dulci et proprio quodam oris sono, dabatque assidue phonasco operam; sed nonnumquam, infirmatis faucibus, praeconis voce ad populum concionatus est.

Written discourses.

Multa varii generis prosa oratione composuit, ex quibus nonnulla in coetu familiarium velut in auditorio recitavit, sicut *Rescripta Bruto de Catone*, quae volumina cum iam senior ex magna parte legisset, fatigatus Tiberio tradidit perlegenda; item *Hortationes ad* 85

Compositions.

non deficeretur...facultate, 'he was at no loss for ability.' For the meaning of this passive or middle, cp. Cic. *Cluent.* § 184 *mulier abundat audacia, consilio et ratione deficitur.* Ovid, *Heroid.* 5, 150 *deficior prudens artis ab arte mea;* id. *F.* 3, 873 *quod sibi defectis illa tulisset opem.* Of the style of Augustus, Tac. *Ann.* 13, 3 *Augusto prompta et profluens quaeque deceret principem eloquentia fuit.*

sermones, 'discussions,' important discourses. Hence Dio may probably have had some written authority both for the elaborate report of his conversations with Livia on the proper treatment of conspirators [55, 15—21], as well as for the discourses of Agrippa and Maecenas, which probably were presented in the form of state papers [lib. 52]. Tac. *Ann.* 4, 39 *Seianus...componit ad Caesarem codicillos; moris quippe tum erat quamquam praesentem scripto adire.*

phonasco, 'teacher of declamation,' 'trainer of the voice.' Suet. *Ner.* 25 *neque quicquam serio iocove egerit, nisi adstante phonasco qui moneret parceret arteriis ac sudarium ad os applicaret.* Quint. 11, 3 § 22 *communiter et phonascis et oratoribus necessaria exercitatio.*

infirmatis faucibus, 'from weakness of the throat.' Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 63 *tu istis faucibus istis lateribus.* Dio 54, 25 *συναγαγὼν...τὸ βουλευτήριον αὐτὸς οὐδὲν εἶπεν ὑπὸ βράγχου...*

praeconis voce. So Nero to preserve his voice *neque milites unquam nisi absens aut alio verba pronuntiante appellaret* [Suet. *Ner.* 24].

85. in coetu familiarium, Hor. *S.* 1, 4, 73 *non recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus.*

auditorio, a room built or hired for recitations, Tac. *Or.* 9 *domum mutuatur et auditorium extruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit.* Iuv. 1, 12; 7, 40. Though more public places were also used. See Mayor on Iuv. 3, 9.

Rescripta Bruto de Catone. Though Cato Uticensis never exercised a practical influence equal to that of other leaders at the end of the republic, his character for probity and consistency was so high that the Caesarean party were exceedingly anxious to prove him to have been politically wrong and impracticable. A paper war therefore had long gone on over him. Cicero composed a *laudatio* of him, which Iulius Caesar with the assistance of Hirtius answered [Cic. *Att.* 12, 4; 12, 40; 12, 44—5; 13, 50—1; *Topic.* 25, 94; Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 12; Gell. 3, 16; 13, 19; Plut. *Cic.* 39; *Caes.* 39, 54]. Another *laudatio* was composed by M. Fadius Gallus, Cos. in B.C. 45 [Cic. *ad fam.* 7, 24], and another by Munatius [Plut. *Cat.* 37]. M. Brutus, who was his nephew, published his in B.C. 45, which Cicero criticises as giving an inexact account of the debate in the Senate as to the Catilinarian conspirators [*ad Att.* 12, 21; cp. 13, 46].

philosophiam, et aliqua *De vita sua*, quam tredecim libris Cantabrico tenus bello nec ultra exposuit. Poetica summatim attigit. Unus liber extat, scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus, cuius et argumentum et titulus est *Sicilia;* extat alter aeque modicus *Epigrammatum*, quae fere tempore balinei meditabatur. Nam tragoediam magno impetu exorsus, non succedenti stilo, abolevit quaerentibusque amicis, quidnam Aiax ageret, respondit, Aiacem suum in spongeam incubuisse.

86 Style of oratory. Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans et temperatum, vitatis sententiarum ineptiis atque concin-

de vita sua. These unfinished memoirs are quoted by Suetonius frequently, see *Iul.* 55; *Aug.* cc. 2, 7, 27, 42, 62, 74, 86; *de Gramm.* 16; Plutarch, *Brutus* 27, 41; *compar. Demosth. et Cic.* 3 ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ὑπομνήμασιν; *Digest* 48, 24, 1 [see p. 26]. Suidas *s. v.* Αὔγουστος Καῖσαρ· ἔγραψε περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου καὶ τῶν πράξεων βιβλία ιγ' καὶ τραγῳδίαν Αἴαντός τε καὶ Ἀχιλλέως. Collections of his letters also once existed. See Suet. *vita Horatii;* Macrob. *Sat.* 2, 4, 12; Seneca, *Dialog.* 10, 4 § 3; Quintil. 1, 6, 19; supra cc. 7, 69, 71, 76, 86; *Claud.* 4; Tac. *dial.* 13; Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* 8, 530. Tiberius [c. 61], Claudius [c. 41], Hadrian [Spart. 16] and Severus [Spart. 18] all wrote memoirs of their lives; and this had been prevalent in a previous generation. Q. Catulus, Sulla, P. Rutilius Rufus had done so, and Tacitus [*Agric.* 1] says: *Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum, quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt.*

Cantabrico tenus bello, see c. 20, p. 46.

poetica summatim, 'slightly,' 'superficially.' *Tib.* 61 *commentario, quem de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit.* One epigram is preserved by Martial, 11, 20.

tragoediam. Suidas *l. c.* mentions two tragedies, *Ajax* and *Achilles.* **succedenti**, cp. *Cal.* 53 *solebat...accusationes defensionesque meditari ac, prout stilus cesserat*, etc.

quaerentibus amicis. Macrobius [*Sat.* 2, 4, 2] gives the name of the friend, L. Varius, himself an author of tragedies.

in spongeam, cp. Mart. 4, 10 *curre sed instructus: comitetur Punica librum Spongea; muneribus convenit illa meis. Non possunt nostros multae, Faustine, liturae Emendare iocos: una litura potest.*

86. ineptiis...reconditorum. Of the affectations of language and style which were coming into fashion, see Sen. *Ep.* 114 § 10 *cum adsuerit animus fastidire quae ex more sunt et illi pro sordidis solita sunt, etiam in oratione quod novum est quaerit et modo antiqua verba et exoleta revocat ac profert, modo fingit et ignota ac deflectit, modo, id quod nuper increbuit, pro cultu habetur audax translatio et frequens.* See also Persius 1, 80—106. Quintil. 2, 9 § 20 *sermo rectus et secundum naturam enuntiatus nihil habere ex ingenio videtur; illa vero, quae ubicumque deflexa sunt, tamquam exquisitiora miramur.* Cp. Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 18, 10.

sententiarum ineptiis atque concinnitate, a hendiadys for *s. inepta concinnitate*, 'the vanity of an artificial style' (arrangement). Cicero uses *concinnitas* (1) of words in a good sense, *Orat.* § 149 *forma ipsa concinnitasque verborum conficiat orbem suum. ib.* § 81 *collocata verba habent ornatum, si aliquid concinnitatis efficiunt, quod verbis mutatis non maneat manente sententia.* In a bad sense of affectation, *Brut.* § 287 *at quid est tam fractum tam minutum, tam in ipsa, quam tamen consequitur, concinnitate puerile?* id. *Orat.* § 84 *illa quidem fugienda sunt... paria paribus relata et similiter conclusa et eodem pacto cadentia et immutatione literae quasi quaesitae venustates, ne elaborata concinnitas et quoddam aucupium delectationis manifesto deprehensum appareat.* (2) Of *sententiae, Brut.* § 325 *sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis. de Clar. Or.* § 271

nitate et *reconditorum verborum*, ut ipse dicit, *fetoribus;* praecipuamque curam duxit, sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere. Quod quo facilius efficeret aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret ac moraretur, neque praepositiones urbibus addere neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit, quae detractae afferunt aliquid obscuritatis, etsi gratiam augent. Cacozelos et antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio sprevit, exagitabatque nonnumquam; in primis Maecenatem suum, cuius *myrobrechis*, ut ait, *cincinnos* usque quaque persequitur et imitando per iocum irridet. Sed nec Tiberio parcit et exoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti. M. quidem Antonium ut insanum increpat, quasi ea scribentem, quae mirentur potius homines quam intellegant; deinde ludens malum et inconstans in eligendo genere dicendi ingenium eius, addit haec: *Tuque dubitas, Cimberne Annius an Veranius Flaccus imitandi sint tibi, ita ut verbis,*

Dislike of pedantic archaisms.

concinnae acutaeque sententiae. It may refer therefore to (1) artificial arrangement, (2) elaborate selection of words, (3) a sententious style.

reconditorum verborum fetoribus, 'the affectation of using far-fetched words.' This metaphorical use of *fetores* is not elsewhere found. Augustus meant to use a strong term of the style elsewhere indicated by the words *putidus* and *putidè*.

praecipuam...duxit, 'made it his chief care,' cp. c. 41 *rationem duxit.*

praepositiones urbibus. Cicero [*ad Att.* 6, 9 § 1] wrote *in Piraea cum exissem.* He was blamed for this, and acknowledged that he should have written *Piraeum*, but maintained that *in* was correct, *non enim hoc ut oppido praeposui sed ut loco* [*ad Att.* § 10].

cacozelos, 'pedants,' 'affected writers,' Quint. 8, 3 § 58 *cacozelon vero est quod dicitur aliter quam se natura habet et quam oportet et quam sat est.*

antiquarios, 'fond of archaic forms,' Quintilian [*l. c.* §§ 24—30] approves of this to a certain extent, *sed utendum modo, nec ex ultimis tenebris repetenda.* Sallust was the chief offender in this respect [§ 29].

exagitabat, 'violently attacked.' Caesar, *B. civ.* 1, 2 *hi omnes convicio consulis correpti exagitabantur.* Of criticism, Cic. *Orat.* § 27 *cum etiam Demosthenes exagitetur ut putidus.*

Maecenatem...myrobrechis (μυροβρεχεῖς) **cincinnos.** The luxurious and effeminate habits of Maecenas were notorious. See Iuv. 1, 66 (with Mayor's note); 12, 39: Vell. Pat. 2, 88 § 2 *otio ac mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens.* The 'scented curls' are used as an emblem of his affected style, cp. Tac. *Orat.* 26 *malim hercle Gai Gracchi impetum aut Lucii Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis.*

imitando. See Macr. *Sat.* 2, 4, 12 *Augustus quia Maecenatem suum noverat stilo esse molli et dissoluto talem se in epistulis quas ad eum scribebat saepius exhibebat... 'vale mi ebenum Medulliae, ebur ex Etruria, lasur Arretinum, adamas Supernas, Tiberinum margaritum, Cilniorum smaragde, iaspi Iguviorum, berulle Porsennae, Carbuncule Hadriae.'*

Antonium...intellegant. Cicero frequently laughs at Antony's style. See 2 *Phil.* § 95; 3 § 95; 3 §§ 21—2; 13 § 43; Plut. *Ant.* 2 ἐχρῆτο δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ μὲν Ἀσιανῷ ζήλῳ τῶν λόγων, ἀνθοῦντι μάλιστα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἔχοντι δὲ πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ κομπώδη καὶ φρυαγματίαν οντα καὶ κενοῦ γαυριάματος καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνωμάλου μεστόν. See p. 154.

Cimberne Annius. C. Annius Cimber was a partisan of Antony's in B.C. 44—

quae Crispus Sallustius excerpsit ex Originibus Catonis, utaris? an potius Asiaticorum oratorum inanis sententiis verborum volubilitas in nostrum sermonem transferenda? Et quadam epistola Agrippinae neptis ingenium conlaudans, *Sed opus est*, inquit, *dare te operam, ne moleste scribas et loquaris.* 5

87 Cotidiano sermone quaedam frequentius et notabiliter usurpasse eum, litterae ipsius autographae ostentant, in quibus identidem, cum aliquos numquam solu-

Favourite phrases.

3, and as such is attacked by Cicero and accused of having murdered his brother [*Phil.* 11 § 14 *C. Annium Cimbrum Lysidici filium, Lysidicum ipsum Graeco verbo, quoniam omnia iura dissolvit: nisi forte iure Germanum Cimber occidit.* Cp. *id.* 13 § 26; *ad Att.* 5, 13]. Quintilian [8, 3, 28] quotes an epigram of Vergil, referring to this charge, and his inflated style of oratory:

Corinthiorum amator iste verborum
Thucydides Britannus, Atticae febres,
Tau Gallicum, min, al, spinae male illi sit,
ita omnia ista verba miscuit fratri.

Cimber hic fuit, a quo fratrem necatum hoc Ciceronis dicto notatum est, 'Germanum Cimber occidit.'

Crispus Sallustius...ex Originibus. Suetonius [*de Gram.* 10] quotes Pollio as saying that Ateius *antiqua verba et figuras solitum esse colligere Sallustio... videtque maxime obscuritatem Sallustii et audaciam in translationibus.* ib. 15 Lenaeus calls Sallust *priscorum Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem.* Quintil. [8, 3, 29] quotes an epigram:

Et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis,
Crispe, Iugurthinae conditor historiae.

Fronto calls him *frequentem sectatorem Catonis.* Seneca *Ep.* 114 § 17 *Sallustio vigente amputatae sententiae et verba ante exspectatum cadentia et obscura brevitas fuere pro cultu.* For an able discussion of Sallust's archaisms, sometimes perhaps derived from colloquial Latin surviving from ancient writers, see Introduction to Sallust *Cat.* by A. M. Cook. For the *Origines* of Cato see Fragments in Jordan's edition, pp. 1—30. Cicero [*Brut.* §§ 65—68] speaks of the undeserved neglect of Cato's *Origines*, but owns *antiquior est huius sermo et quaedam horridiora verba. Ita enim tum loquebantur.* Corn. Nep. *Cat.* 3 *senex (Cato) historias scribere instituit. Earum sunt libri septem. Primus continet res gestas regum populi Romani, secundus et tertius unde quaeque civitas orta sit Italica; ob quam rem omnes* **Origines** *videtur appellasse. In quarto autem bellum Punicum est primum, in quinto secundum...reliquaque bella pari modo persecutus est usque ad praeturam Servii Galbae* (B.C. 151—150).

Asiaticorum. Of the distinction in point of style between the *Attici* and *Asiani* (orators in the Greek cities of Asia Minor), see Quint. 12, 10 §§ 1, 16—20, *Attici limati quidam et emuncti nihil inane aut redundans ferebant, Asiana gens tumidior alioqui atque iactantior vaniore etiam dicendi gloria inflata est.* A kind of intermediate style was that of the Rhodian School. *id.* § 18. Cicero himself was accused by some of the faults of the Asiatic School, *id.* § 12; and had attended Rhetors both in Asia and Rhodes, see Plut. *Cic.* 4; while Antony adopted this style openly, see p. 153. Cicero distinguishes two *genera* **Asiaticae dictionis,** *quorum unum sententiosum et argutum...*: the other had *admirabilis orationis cursus, ornata sententiarum concinnitas non erat, Brut.* § 325. But it had lost *omnem illam salubritatem Atticae dictionis. Hinc Asiatici oratores non contemnendi quidem nec celeritate nec copia, sed parum pressi et nimis redundantes. id.* § 51. They also pitched their voices too high, *id. Orat.* § 27 *cum vero inclinata ululantique voce more Asiatico canere coepisset, quis eum ferret?* See Mayor on Iuv. 3, 73.

moleste, so as to offend against good taste, 'with affectation.' Catull. 42, 8 *mimice et moleste ridentem,* 'with a studied and affected smile.'

Agrippinae neptis, daughter of Iulia and Agrippa, and wife of Germanicus. c. 64.

87. autographae, autographs of Augustus may well have been preserved

turos significare vult, *ad Kal. Graecas soluturos* ait; et cum hortatur ferenda esse praesentia, qualiacumque sint, *contenti simus hoc Catone;* et ad exprimendam festinatae rei velocitatem, *celerius quam asparagi cocuntur;* ponit assidue et pro stulto *baceolum*, et pro pullo *pulleiaceum*, et pro cerrito *vacerrosum*, et *vapide* se habere pro male, et *betizare* pro languere, quod vulgo *lachanizare* dicitur; item *simus* pro sumus, et *domos* genitivo casu singulari pro domus. Nec umquam aliter haec duo, ne quis mendam magis quam consuetudinem putet.

Notavi et in chirographo eius illa praecipue: non dividit verba nec ab extrema parte versuum abundantis litteras in alterum transfert, sed ibidem statim Penmanship.

in the Library of the Palatine, but Quintilian [1, 7, § 22] is more cautious, *in epistulis Augusti, quas sua manu scripsit aut emendavit.*

ad Kal. Graecas. This expression for 'never,' though it has survived in common language, does not appear to occur elsewhere. Interest was due on the *tristes Kalendae.* [Hor. *Sat.* 1, 3, 8.]

praesentia...Catone. In his graver years Augustus naturally came to look on loyalty to the existing state of things as the mark of a good citizen. Macrob. *Sat.* 2, 4, 18 *Strabone in adulationem Caesaris male existimante de pervicacia Catonis, ait, 'quisquis praesentem statum civitatis commutari non volet et civis et vir bonus est.'* But here the point of the emperor's phrase seems to be 'don't expect too much,'—using Cato as the synonym for the best attainable, as Valer. Max. 2, 10, 8 *quae quidem effecit ut quisquis sanctum et egregium civem significare velit, sub nomine Catonis definiat.* See Iuv. 2, 40.

baceolum seems connected with βάκηλος, which Hesychius explains by ἀνόητος, cf. Suidas μέγας μὲν ἀνόητος δέ. Others have suggested *blaceolum* from βλάξ 'stupid' or 'lazy,' Plato *Gorg.* 488 A. But cp. the Italian *baccellóne* and *baciócco* 'dolt.'

et pro pullo pulleiaceum, 'and for dark he wrote darkish(?).' No satisfactory explanation of the last word can be given. It looks like some local dialect form. The MSS. mostly have *baceolum apud pullum pulleiaceum;* but the change is not great between & p̲ [=*et pro*] and ap̲ [=*apud*].

cerrito, 'insane,' Hor. *S.* 2, 3, 78. The word is generally derived from *cerebrum* as though it were *cerebritus.* But it seems better to take it from *Ceres*, comparing νυμφόληπτος, as though contracted from *Cereritus.*

vacerrosus from *vacerra*=*stipes* 'a stock,' 'a dolt,' Liv. Andr. fr. 7 [Ribbeck] *vecorde et malefica vacerra.* See Festus *s. v.*

vapide, cp. Pers. 5, 117 *vapido sub pectore*, 'in your disordered breast.' It is a metaphor from flat stale wine, *id.* 6, 17 *et signum in vapida naso tetigisse lagena.* Both **betizare** [*beta* 'a vegetable'] and **lachanizare** [λαχανίζεσθαι 'to gather vegetables'] are unknown to literature. We may assume from this passage that they were used collòquially.

simus pro sumus. Other purists such as Messala, Brutus, Agrippa, used the same form, Mar. Victor. 9, 5k. *C. I. L.* 9, 3473, 14. Priscian 1, 6 **i** *et* **u** *quando mediae sunt inter se sonos videntur confundere*, cp. εἰ-μί, εἴ-η *si-em*, Ital. *siamo.* See Lindsay's *Latin Language* p. 29.

domos for *domūs* may perhaps have arisen from the ancient genitive in *-uos* [cp. *senatuos*, Sctum de Bacch., Bruns p. 151]. There was an old controversy as to the genitive and dative of the fourth declension, see Aul. Gell. 4, 16, Ramsay, *Latin Language* pp. 380 and 384.

versus, of a 'line' in writing, Cic. *Att.* 4, 16 *primus versus epistulae*, id. *de Or.* 1 § 26 *Demosthenes multos versus uno spiritu pronunciabat.* Plin. *Ep.* 3, 5 *decem amplius versus hac tua interpellatione perdidimus.*

88 subicit circumducitque. Orthographiam, id est formulam rationemque scribendi a grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodit ac videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem, qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment. Nam quod saepe non litteras modo sed syllabas aut permutat aut praeterit, communis hominum error est. Nec ego id notarem, nisi mihi mirum videretur tradidisse aliquos, legato eum consulari successorem dedisse ut rudi et indocto, cuius manu *ixi* pro *ipsi* scriptum animadverterit. Quotiens autem per notas scribit, B pro A, C pro B ac deinceps eadem ratione sequentis litteras ponit; pro X autem duplex A.

Spelling.

89 Ne Graecarum quidem disciplinarum leviore studio tenebatur. In quibus et ipsis praestabat largiter, magistro dicendi usus Apollodoro Pergameno, quem iam grandem natu Apolloniam quoque secum ab urbe iuvenis adhuc eduxerat, deinde eruditione etiam varia repletus per Arei philosophi filiorumque eius Dionysi et Nicanoris contubernium; non tamen ut aut loqueretur expedite aut componere aliquid auderet; nam et

Study of Greek, which he did not write easily.

circumducit, 'draws a loop round.'

88. per notas, 'in cypher,' *Iul.* 56, cp. Aul. Gell. 17, 9 §§ 1—5 *libri sunt epistularum C. Caesaris ad C. Oppium et Balbum Cornelium, qui rebus eius absentis curabant. In his epistulis quibusdam in locis inveniuntur literae singulariae sine coagmentis syllabarum, quas tu putes positas incondite; nam verba ex his literis confici nulla possunt. Erat autem conventum inter eos clandestinum de commutando situ literarum, ut in scripto quidem alia aliae locum et nomen teneret, sed in legendo locus cuique suus et potestas restitueretur.* Dio 51, 3 ἐπέστελλε δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, ὁπότε τι δέοιτο δι' ἀπορρήτων σφίσι δηλῶσαι, τὸ δεύτερον ἀεὶ στοιχεῖον τοῦ τῷ ῥήματι προσήκοντος ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἀντεγγράφειν. This should be distinguished from Stenography in which certain *notae* were used for words. Cic. *Att.* 13, 32; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 3; supr. c. 64. Weichert, *August. fr.* pp. 146—7.

89. Apollodoro Pergameno. Apollodorus of Pergamus was the author of a system of rhetoric and founder of a sect or school called after his name, opposed to that of Theodorus Gadareus, Strabo 13, 4, 3 μάλιστα δὲ ἐξῆρε τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος φιλία τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, διδάσκαλον τῶν λόγων γενόμενον. Quint. 3, 1, 17 *Apollodorus Pergamenus qui praeceptor Apolloniae Caesaris Augusti fuit...Sed Apollodori praecepta magis ex discipulis cognoscas...nam ipsius sola videtur Ars edita ad Mattium, quia ceteras missa ad Domitium epistula non agnoscit*, cp. id. 2, 11 § 2; Tacitus *de Orat.* 19 calls the books of Hermagoras and Apollodorus *aridissimi*.

Apolloniam, see c. 8, p. 16.

Arei. For Areius of Alexandria see Dio 51, 16. Augustus spares the Alexandrians partly on account of Ἄρειον τὸν πολίτην ᾧ που φιλοσοφοῦντί τε καὶ συνόντι οἱ ἔχρητο. It was he who advised against sparing Caesarion [Plut. *Ant.* 81]. He is mentioned by Quintilian with approval [2, 15, 36; 3, 1, 16]; and his grandson Catilius, s. of Nicanor, is identified by some with the author of the epigram in praise of the Caesars, *C. I. G.* 4923. He wrote a *consolatio* to Livia on the death of Drusus [Senec. *Dial.* 6, 4—6]. Nicolas mentions also another teacher of Augustus, Alexander of Pergamus [c. 17]. Zonaras [10, 38] mentions Athenodorus of Tarsus.

si quid res exigeret, Latine formabat vertendumque alii dabat. Sed plane poematum quoque non imperitus, delectabatur etiam comoedia veteri et saepe eam exhibuit spectaculis publicis. In evolvendis utriusque linguae auctoribus nihil aeque sectabatur, quam praecepta et exempla publice vel privatim salubria, eaque ad verbum excerpta aut ad domesticos aut ad exercituum provinciarumque rectores aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque mittebat, prout quique monitione indigerent. Etiam libros totos et senatui recitavit et populo notos per edictum saepe fecit, ut orationes Q. Metelli *de prole augenda* et Rutili *de modo aedificiorum*, quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non ab se primo animadversam, sed antiquis iam tunc curae fuisse.

His choice of books.

Ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit; recitantis et

vertendumque, 'to be translated into Greek.' Yet Dio [51, 16] represents him as addressing the Alexandrians ἑλληνιστὶ ὅπως σύνωσιν αὐτοῦ.

poematum, i.e. Greek poetry.

comoedia veteri, Hor. *S.* 1, 4, 1 *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae.* We do not hear elsewhere of the representations of the old Greek Comedy in the time of Augustus. But the representation of *Graeci ludi* occasionally took place, Cicero *ad Att.* 16, 5, 1; *fam.* 7, 1, 3.

excerpta. Making selections from books read was a common practice. Plin. *Ep.* 3, 5 § 10 *liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque; nihil enim legit quod non excerperet.* Pliny himself did the same, e.g. with Livy, *posco librum Titi Livi et quasi per otium lego atque etiam, ut coeperam, excerpo, Ep.* 6, 20, 5. Thus Brutus the night before the battle of Pharsalia was engaged in his tent συντάττων ἐπιτομὴν Πολυβίου [Plut. *Brut.* 4]. To this habit we owe the collections of Photius and Porphyrogenitus.

orationes Q. Metelli. Livy *Ep.* 59 *Q. Metellus censor censuit ut cogerentur omnes ducere uxores liberorum creandorum causa. Extat oratio eius, quam Augustus, cum de maritandis ordinibus ageret, velut in haec tempora scriptam in Senatu recitavit.* According to Aulus Gellius [1, 6, 1—2] this was Metellus Numidicus, Cos. B.C. 109, Censor 102. But according to Livy it was Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, Cos. B.C. 143, Censor B.C. 131. Gellius preserves a few sentences of the speech... *quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi possit, saluti perpetuae potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum est.*

Rutili de modo aedificiorum. P. Rutilius Rufus was Cons. in B.C. 105, when this speech was probably delivered. He was a man of great integrity, but was ruined by a conspiracy of the equestrian *publicani*, because as *legatus* in Asia (B.C. 95) he had resisted the extortions of the tax-gatherers [Livy *Ep.* 70; Vell. 2, 13]. For his style of oratory, which was painstaking but not brilliant, see Cicero *Brut.* § 110 (Scaurus et Rutilius) *etiamsi maximi ingenii non essent, probabiles tamen industria.* He left a biography of himself [Tac. *Agric.* 1]. The measure seems to have concerned the *height* of the houses, which was dangerous. See Iuv. 3, 269; Cic. *de leg. agr.* 2 § 96 *Romam...cenaculis sublatam et suspensam non optimis viis, angustissimis semitis*, and other passages quoted by Mayor. The regulation of Augustus was that houses were not to exceed 70 feet, Strabo 5, 3, 7 πρὸς δὲ τὰς συμπτώσεις τὰ ὕψη τῶν καινῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καθελὼν, καὶ κωλύσας ἐξαίρειν ποδῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τὸ πρὸς ταῖς ὁδοῖς ταῖς δημοσίαις. Nero repeated the regulation [Tac. *Ann.* 15, 43].

ingenia, for men of genius cp. *Vesp.* 17 *ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit.* Tac. *Agr.* 2 *monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum.* Suetonius no doubt means

benigne et patienter audiit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis, offendebatur admonebatque praetores, ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus obsolefieri.

Patronage of literary men.

90 Circa religiones talem accepimus. Tonitrua et fulgura paulo infirmius expavescebat, ut semper et ubique pellem vituli marini circumferret pro remedio, atque ad omnem maioris tempestatis suspicionem in abditum et concamaratum locum se reciperet, consternatus olim per nocturnum iter transcursu fulguris, ut praediximus.

His feeling toward portents.

91 Somnia neque sua neque aliena de se neglegebat. Philippensi acie quamvis statuisset non egredi tabernaculo propter valitudinem, egressus est tamen amici somnio

Dreams.

to compare the practice of Augustus with that of Nero and Domitian.

recitantis. Of this practice the fullest illustration is given in Mayor's monumental note to Iuv. 3, 9. All the various kinds of recitation here mentioned,—orations, history, dramatic and lyric poetry,—are enumerated by Pliny, *Ep.* 7, 17.

nisi...a praestantissimis. Hence no doubt Horace's abstention from giving possible offence [*Od.* 1, 6, 10] *imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat Laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas Culpa deterere ingeni.*

commissionibus, 'displays,' 'speeches for prizes' (ἐπιδείξεις). Caligula said of Seneca [c. 53] *commissiones meras componere.* The term, drawn from the contests in the games, was applied to declamations made for display or for prizes, and not for a practical object, like the Greek λόγοι παν̓ηγυρικοί. Cp. Suet. *vit. Iuven.*, *Et tamen diu ne modico quidem auditorio quidquam committere est ausus.* Pliny *Panegyr.* 54 *cum laudes Imperatorum ludis etiam et commissionibus celebrarentur, saltarentur, et in omne ludibrium effeminatis vocibus, modis, gestibus frangerentur.* For such contests of oratory see the accounts of those at Lugdunum, *Calig.* 20, Iuv. 1, 44.

obsolefieri, 'to be discredited.' Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 105 *in homine turpissimo obsolefiebant insignia dignitatis.*

90. circa: for this post-Augustan use see Roby *L. G.* § 1867. **religiones,** 'superstitious feelings.'

tonitrua. This was perhaps physical fear as well as superstition. Tiberius (though holding the Epicurean view of the gods) *tonitrua tamen supra modum expavescebat, et turbatiore caelo nunquam non coronam lauream capite gestavit, quod fulmine afflari negetur id genus frondis* [c. 69]. Caligula [c. 51] is said *ad minima tonitrua et fulgura conivere, caput obvolvere, ad vero maiora proripere se e strato sub lectumque condere.*

pellem vituli marini. Pliny *N. H.* 2 § 146, among the ways of escaping lightning, mentions *tabernacula pellibus beluarum quas vitulos appellant, quoniam hoc solum animal ex marinis non percutiat.* Cp. Plut. *Sympos.* 5, 9 τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἐπιθιγγάνειν οἱ κεραυνοὶ καθάπερ οὐδὲ τῆς φώκης τοῦ δέρματος οὐδὲ τῆς ὑαίνης. Ioann. Lyd. *de Ost.* § 45 ἡ δὲ φώκη ὡς ἀπήμαντος ἐπιβολῇ κεραυνοῦ μάρτυς ἡ πεῖρα ἀποδέδωκε· τῶν γὰρ νεῶν τὰ ἱστία, ἐν αἷς οἱ βασιλεῖς πλέουσι, φωκείοις εἴθισται ἀποδιφθεροῦσθαι δέρμασιν.

in abditum...reciperet. Seneca *Nat. Q.* 6, 2 § 6 *quid enim dementius quam ad tonitrua succidere et sub terram correpere fulminum metu?*

praediximus, c. 29. This is a curious use of *praedico*, and some MSS. give a variant *supra diximus.*

91. Philippensi, c. 13, p. 26 n. Velleius [2, 70] says that it was his physician Artorius who urged him to leave the camp. See also Orosius 6, 18, 15. An inscription at Verona records the respect of his fellow-countrymen of Smyrna for Artorius. *C. I. G.* 3285 Μάρκον Ἀρτώριον Ἀσκληπιάδην, θεοῦ

monitus; cessitque res prospere, quando captis castris lectica eius, quasi ibi cubans remansisset, concursu hostium confossa atque lacerata est: Ipse per omne ver plurima et formidulosissima et vana et irrita videbat, reliquo tempore rariora et minus vana. Cum dedicatam in Capitolio aedem Tonanti Iovi assidue frequentaret, somniavit, queri Capitolinum Iovem cultores sibi abduci, seque respondisse, Tonantem pro ianitore ei appositum; ideoque mox tintinnabulis fastigium aedis redimiit, quod ea fere ianuis dependebant. Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem quot annis die certo emendicabat a populo, cavam manum asses porrigentibus praebens.

Auspicia et omina quaedam pro certissimis observabat: **92** si mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextro induceretur, ut dirum; si terra marive ingrediente se longinquam profectionem forte rorasset, ut laetum maturique et prosperi reditus. Sed et ostentis praecipue movebatur. Enatam inter iuncturas lapidum ante domum suam palmam in compluvium deorum Penatium transtulit, utque coalesceret magno opere curavit. Apud insulam Capreas veterrimae ilicis demissos iam ad terram languentisque ramos convaluisse adventu suo, adeo laetatus est, ut eas cum re publica

Auspices and omens.

Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἰατρόν, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Σμυρναίων ἐτίμησαν ἥρωα πολυμαθίας χάριν. He was drowned after Actium, Hieron. *de vir. ill.* a 725.

Tonanti Iovi. See c. 29, p. 63.

tintinnabula. Bells at Roman house-doors do not seem to have been common. A porter (*ianitor, ostiarius*) was close at hand, and the visitor knocked [*pulsare*, see Livy 6, 34; Plaut. *Asin.* 382; Pliny *N. H.* 7 § 112 etc.]. Marquardt [14, p. 278] supposes that where there were *tintinnabula* they were rung by the porter to inform his master of an important visitor. Seneca *de ira* 3, 35, 3 *quid miser expavescis ad clamorem servi, ad tinnitum aeris aut ianuae impulsum?* Dio [54, 4] in his account of the dream thinks of the κώδων carried round by the night watchmen, οἱ γὰρ τὰς συνοικίας νύκτωρ φυλάσσοντες κωδωνοφοροῦσιν ὅπως σημαίνειν σφίσιν, ὁπόταν βουληθῶσι, δύνωνται.

stipem...emendicabat. Dio [54, 35] tells the same story, but does not seem to believe it,—καὶ τοῦτο μέν, εἴ γε τῷ πιστόν, οὕτω παραδέδοται. It may be a confusion with the habit of Caligula, —*edixit et strenas ineunte anno se recepturum stetitque in vestibulo aedium Kl. Ian. ad captandas stipes* [*Cal.* 42]. It is very unlike the usual dignity and reserve of Augustus. **cavam manum**, bent to receive the coins, cp. Arist. *Equit.* 1083 ἔμβαλε κυλλῇ.

92. calceus perperam. See Pliny *N. H.* 2 § 24 *divos Augustus prodidit laevom sibi calceum praepostere inductum quo die seditione militari prope adflictus est.*

rorasset, 'drizzled.' Varro *L. L.* 7, 58 *rorarii dicti ab rore, qui bellum committebant ante, ideo quod ante rorat quam pluit.*

palmam, an omen of victory. Pliny *N. H.* 17 § 244 *simili modo Trallibus palma in basi Caesaris dictatoris circa bella civilia eius: nec non et Romae in Capitolio in capite Iovis bello Persei enata palma victoriam triumphosque portendit.* Cp. *id.* 15 §§ 136—7.

Capreas, see c. 22.

permutaverit. Strabo 4, 5, 9 Νεαπολῖται δὲ καὶ ταύτην (*Capreas*) κατέσχον,

Neapolitanorum permutaverit, Aenaria data. Observabat et dies quosdam, ne aut postridie nundinas quoquam proficisceretur, aut Nonis quicquam rei seriae inchoaret; nihil in hoc quidem aliud devitans, ut ad Tiberium scribit, quam δυσφημίαν nominis. 5

93 Peregrinarum caerimoniarum sicut veteres ac praeceptas reverentissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit. Namque Athenis initiatus, cum postea Romae pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticae Cereris cognosceret et quaedam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso consilio et corona circumstantium solus audiit disceptantes. At contra non modo in peragranda Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit, sed et Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit. 10 15

Foreign religions.

94 Et quoniam ad haec ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtexere, quae ei prius quam nasceretur et

Portents accom-

πολέμῳ δὲ ἀποβαλόντες τὰς Πιθηκούσσας ἀπέλαβον πάλιν, δόντος αὐτοῖς Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, τὰς δὲ Καπρέας ἴδιον ποιησαμένου κτῆμα καὶ κατοικοδομήσαντος. The exchange took place in B.C. 29 [Dio 52, 43].

Aenaria (*Ischia*), also called *Pithecusae*, opposite Misenum.

postridie nundinas. The day after one of bad omen was avoided as well as the day itself. *dies postridie Calendas Nonas Idus appellati atri*, Varro *L. L.* 6, 29; cp. Gell. 5, 17. Why the *nundinae* should be unlucky is not clear. But Macrobius [*Sat.* 1, 13, 17] says that if they ever fell on the 1st day of the year, that year was observed to be one of disaster to the state. Perhaps, as B.-Crusius suggests, its etymological connexion with *novendiales*, the feast of the dead, was held to give the word an ill-omened sound.

nonis. The Calends, Ides and Nones were all days on which it was unlucky to begin any business [Plut. *Q. R.* 25], but the Nones were particularly so. Ov. *Fast.* 1, 57 *Nonarum tutela deo caret.* See Becker's *Gallus*, p. 167.

δυσφημίαν nominis, the unlucky sound of the word *Nonis* (*non is*). Cp. the story of the starting of Crassus from Brundisium, and the man selling rushes from Caunus and crying *Cauneas* (interpreted as *cave ne eas*), Cicero *de Div.* 2 § 84. And the unlucky Hostilius Mancinus who, on embarking for Spain, heard a voice calling *mane, mane, Mancine* [Valer. 1, 6, 7]. So Laodamia is afraid to say anything as her husband starts [Ov. *Ep.* 13, 86], *substitit auspicii lingua timore mali.*

93. Athenis initiatus, i.e. at Eleusis, in B.C. 31. Dio 51, 4 τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι διώκησε καὶ τῶν τοῖν θεοῖν μυστηρίων μετέλαβεν. For Augustus at Athens see *C. I. G.* 477.

ad visendum Apin. Dio 51, 16 κἀκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας οὐδὲ τῷ Ἄπιδι ἐντυχεῖν ἠθέλησε λέγων θεοὺς ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βοῦς προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι. For the sacred bull kept to represent the god, see Herod. 2, 38, 153; 3, 28—29. Pliny *N. H.* 8, 184 *Bos in Aegypto etiam numinis vice colitur: Apim vocant...non est fas eum certos vitae excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte necant, quaesituri luctu alium quem substituant, et donec invenerint maerent derasis etiam capitibus.* But see Rawlinson's note, *Herod.* vol. 2, p. 356, as to the burial-place of the Apis.

supersedit, with infin., cp. *Tit.* 7 *spectare omnino in publico coetu supersedit.* The conduct of Gaius may have been dictated by respect for the well-known feelings of the Jews as to the entrance of Gentiles into the Temple. Orosius [7, 3, 5] attributes it to contempt.

ipso natali die ac deinceps evenerint, quibus futura magnitudo eius et perpetua felicitas sperari animadvertique posset.

panying his birth and childhood.

Velitris antiquitus tacta de caelo parte muri, responsum est eius oppidi civem quandoque rerum potiturum; qua fiducia Veliterni et tunc statim et postea saepius paene ad exitium sui cum populo Romano belligeraverant; sero tandem documentis apparuit, ostentum illud Augusti potentiam portendisse.

Auctor est Iulius Marathus, ante paucos quam nasceretur menses prodigium Romae factum publice, quo denuntiabatur, regem Populo Romano naturam parturire; senatum exterritum censuisse, ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur; eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quod ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatus consultum ad aerarium deferretur.

An expected king.

94. Velitris. See c. 1.

tacta...responsum est. An appeal to an aruspex would be the natural sequel to such a disaster, Obsequens c. 116 *Piraeum Sulla cum oppugnaret unus miles eius aggerem ferens exanimatus fulmine, aruspex respondit...* For the various prophecies founded on accidents by lightning, see Seneca *N. Q.* 2, 49. Among other names given to *fulgura* is *regalia, cum forum tangitur vel comitium aut principalia urbis liberae loca, quorum significatio regnum civitati minatur.* Iohann. Lyd. *de Ostentis* 51 *ὅταν δὲ σκορπίῳ γένηται...εἰ κατὰ δημοσίου τόπου ἐνσκήψει κεραυνός, νεανίας ἀναιδὴς τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιλάβηται.*

saepius...cum P. R. belligeraverunt. The rebellions of the Veliterni are recorded by Livy, in B.C. 384 when they assisted the Volscians [6, 13]; in B.C. 382 when they were joined by the Praenestines [6, 22], the city being stormed in B.C. 379 [6, 29]. But in B.C. 375 we find them taking the offensive, invading the Roman ager [6, 36], assaulting Tusculum, and in consequence being again besieged by the Romans [6, 37—8, 42]. In B.C. 358 another incursion into Roman territory is recorded [7, 15], till at last in B.C. 337 by the *Sctum de Latinis* they were severely dealt with, their walls thrown down, their senators forced under penalties to live beyond the Tiber, and fresh colonists sent to occupy the lands of which their Senators had been deprived, *quibus adscriptis speciem antiquae frequentiae Velitrae receperunt* [8, 14].

Iulius Marathus. See c. 79.

regem ... parturire. That various prophecies as to a king at Rome were current seems certain. They had preceded the birth of Iulius according to Suetonius [Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 6, 799]. They do not however seem to have made much stir as early as B.C. 63. In B.C. 45 it was reported that L. Aurelius Cotta (Cos. B.C. 65) intended to propose that the title should be given to Iulius [Cic. *ad Att.* 13, 44; *de divin.* 2 § 54]. But as this was grounded on a real or supposed Sibylline verse, it may have been common talk before. It has been of course connected with the Messianic hopes of the Jews, and there is reason to believe that the writings of the Septuagint were known to some at least of those who composed or circulated such verses at Rome. But how far this or the 4th Eclogue of Vergil can be thus connected is an unsolved problem.

ne...ad aerarium deferretur. The *Senatus-consulta* were from early times in the custody of the Consuls. In B.C. 446 Livy says these were ordered to be deposited by the Aediles in the temple of Ceres [Livy 3, 55]. Subsequently however they were deposited in the *aerarium Saturni*, and at some time (it is not ascertained exactly when) this formality became necessary for their validity. Livy 39, 4; Cicero 5 *Phil.*

In Asclepiadis Mendetis Θεολογουμένων libris lego, Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum ceterae matronae dormirent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam pauloque post egressum; illam expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius extitisse maculam velut picti draconis, nec potuisse unquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstinuerit; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum. Eadem Atia prius quam pareret somniavit, intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. Somniavit et pater Octavius, utero Atiae iubar solis exortum.

Quo natus est die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione ageretur in curia et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius affuisset, nota ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium, comperta morae causa,

§ 12; 12 *Phil.* § 12; 13 *Phil.* § 19; *Cat.* 1 § 4; Ios. *Ant.* 14, 10 § 10 περὶ ὧν δογμάτων συγκλήτου Γάϊος Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔκρινε καὶ εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀνενεχθῆναι. Willems *le Sénat* II, p. 216.

Asclepiadis...**Θεολογουμένων.** Asclepiades of Mendes in Egypt is quoted by Athenaeus [3, 83 C] as the author of Αἰγυπτιακά, a history of Egypt. Suidas, *s.v.* Ἡράισκος, says that he also wrote Hymns and a regular treatise (πραγματεία) ἣν ὥρμησε γράφειν περιέχουσαν τῶν θεολογιῶν ἁπασῶν τὴν συμφωνίαν. The plan of this work, 'a harmony of all religions,' would account for his quoting supposed marvels in Italy.

For **Mendis**, 'of *Mendes*,' the capital of a *nome* in the Delta, see Herod. 2, 42, 46; Strabo 17, 1, 19 ὅπου τὸν Πᾶνα τιμῶσι καὶ τῶν ζῴων τράγον. The regular adjectival form would be Mendaeus (St. Byz. Μενδαῖος). Suetonius has followed the analogy of such words as *Magnes* (Μάγνης).

Atiam. See c. 4. Dio [45, 1] attributes the story to Atia herself...δεινῶς ἰσχυρίζετο ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὸν κεκυηκέναι ὅτι καταδάρθουσα κ.τ.λ. A similar story was current as to the birth of Scipio Africanus [Gell. 7 (6). 1].

media nocte. See on c. 78. But this night visit of the matrons to the temple would seem (if it did take place) rather connected with the healing powers of Apollo, like the visits to the temple of Asclepius described in Aristophanes *Plutus* [653—734], and as still practised in various shrines in the Greek islands.

quo natus...**de Catilinae.** We have no record of a debate on the Catiline conspiracy on the 23rd of September; but there had been many rumours concerning Catiline's designs throughout the summer, and if, as there is some reason to think (in spite of much that has been said to the contrary), the elections were put off till about this time, there would be good reason for meetings of the Senate. The first of the well-known meetings (at which Cicero delivered the first Catilinarian speech) was not till the 7th of November. Dio (45, 1) telling the story does not mention the occasion of the meeting.

P. Nigidium. P. Nigidius Figulus was, according to Aulus Gellius [4, 9], the most learned Roman next to Varro, with whom he classes him as chief props of learning of the age, though the obscurity of his subjects or style had caused him to fall into neglect [18, 14]. Gellius repeatedly quotes his works, the titles of some of which have come down to us, *de animalibus* [Macr. *Sat.* 3, 16, 7], *de dis* [*id.* 3, 4, 6], *de extis* [Gell. 16, 6], *commentarii grammatici* [*id.* 19, 14], *de auguriis* [*id.* 7, 6 § 10] and others. His *tonitruale* survives in a Greek version by Ioannes Lydus, and the fragments of his works have been collected by J. Rutgers. He was a Senator in B.C. 63, and one of those selected by Cicero to take the confessions of the

ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse dominum terrarum orbi natum. Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod
5 infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Atque etiam sequenti statim nocte videre visus est filium mortali specie ampliorem, cum
10 fulmine et sceptro exuviisque Iovis Optimi Maximi ac radiata corona, super laureatum currum, bis senis equis candore eximio trahentibus. Infans adhuc, ut scriptum apud C. Drusum extat, repositus vespere in cunas a nutricula

Catilinarian conspirators [Cic. *pro Sull.* § 42; Plut. *Cic.* 20]. He was praetor in B.C. 59, and afterwards a *legatus* in Asia Minor [Cic. *Tim.* 1]. His adherence to the aristocratic party procured his banishment, and though Cicero in writing a consolatory letter to him [*fam.* 4, 13] gave him reason to think that Caesar would soon be induced to recall him, he died shortly afterwards in exile; Hieron. *Chron.* a. 709, 710 (B.C. 45—4) *Nigidius Figulus Pythagoricus et magus in exilio moritur.*

horam. So as to cast his horoscope, founded on the *natalis hora* [Hor. *Od.* 2, 17, 19].

per secreta Thraciae 'through remote parts of Thrace.' As governor of Macedonia he had been engaged in war with the Thracian Bessi. See c. 3, p. 5.

in Liberi patris luco. Herodotus tells us of a temple and oracle of Dionysos on Rhodope which, though in the country of the Satrae, was under the management of the Bessi, where the answers were given by a girl as at Delphi [7, 111]. Macrobius *Sat.* 1, 18, 11 describes the round temple of *Liber* or *Sabazius.* Some equivalent of *Liber Pater* seems to have been common in the East as far as India, Q. Curt. 8, 10.

tantum...emicuisset, a favourable omen, Verg. *G.* 4, 385, *Ecl.* 8, 105, where Servius says *hoc uxori Ciceronis dicitur contigisse; cum peracto sacrificio libare vellet in cinerem ex ipso cinere flamma surrexit, quae flamma eodem anno consulem futurum ostendit eius maritum, sicut in suo testatur poemate.*

Magno Alexandro. Alexander passed through this district on his way to Asia, but his visit to the oracle is not recorded by Arrian.

exuviis Iovis O. M. The sceptre, *tunica picta*, and *palmata*, taken from the Capitol for the use of magistrates (consul or praetor) celebrating a triumph. See Iuv. 10, 38. Livy 10, 7 *Iovis optimi ornatu decoratus, curru aurato per urbem vectus in Capitolium ascenderit.* Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 40 *praetextam et pictam togam nunquam nisi consul accepit, et eam quidem quam de Iovis templo sumptam alii quoque accipiebant aut praetores aut consules.*

radiata corona. See coin on p. 145; cp. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 161

ingenti mole Latinus
quadriiugo vehitur curru, cui tempora circum
aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt.

The laurelled chariot and the white horses are also prognostics of a triumph, although some difficulty has been made as to this decoration of the triumphal chariot, which is usually confined to the hands and heads of the victors, the *fasces* of the lictors, or the despatch announcing the victory. Statius indeed [*Theb.* 8, 128] has *interea vittis lauruque insignis opima Currus*, of the chariot of Amphiaraus; and it seems probable that the chariots were so decorated, even though it is not otherwise mentioned.

apud C. Drusum. No writer of this name is known. Some have supposed the reference to be to the *laudatio* of Drusus, son of Tiberius, at the funeral of Augustus. See c. 100. But the *praenomen* of Gaius is nowhere else given

loco plano, postera luce non comparuit, diuque quaesitus tandem in altissima turri repertus est, iacens contra solis exortum.

A miraculous child.

Cum primum fari coepisset, in avito suburbano obstrepentis forte ranas silere iussit, atque ex eo negantur ibi ranae coaxare. Ad quartum lapidem Campanae viae in nemore prandenti ex inproviso aquila panem ei e manu rapuit, et cum altissime evolasset, rursus ex inproviso leniter delapsa reddidit.

Q. Catulus post dedicatum Capitolium duabus continuis noctibus somniavit: prima, Iovem Optimum Maximum e praetextatis compluribus circum aram ludentibus unum secrevisse, atque in eius sinum signum rei publicae quam manu gestaret reposuisse; at insequenti, animadvertisse se in gremio Capitolini Iovis eundem puerum, quem cum detrahi iussisset, prohibitum monitu dei, tanquam is ad tutelam rei publicae educaretur; ac die proximo obvium sibi Augustum, cum incognitum alias haberet, non sine admiratione contuitus, simillimum dixit puero, de quo somniasset. Quidam prius somnium Catuli aliter exponunt, quasi Iuppiter compluribus praetextatis tutorem a se poscentibus, unum ex eis demonstrasset ad quem omnia desideria sua referrent, eiusque osculum delibatum digitis ad os suum retulisset.

him, and therefore it has been proposed to read *Caesarem* for *C.* There is no means of deciding the question. The story itself may be compared with the fanciful tale of Horace's childhood [*Odes* 3, 4, 9—20], and with such as that told of Sir Thomas More [see *Life* by his great-grandson, p. 6].

coaxare, onomatopoeia from κόαξ. Spart. *Geta* 5 § 5 *elephanti barriunt, ranae coaxant, equi hinniunt*, etc.

Campanae viae seems to be another name for the *via Appia*, for it led by the temple of Feronia on the border of the Pomptine marshes [Hor. *S.* 1, 5, 23]. The name does not occur except in an inscription, *C. I. L.*, 1, 1291 [Wilmanns, 2727] ITVS • ACTVSQVE • EST • IN • HOCE • DELVBRVM • FERONIAI • EX • HOCE • LOCO • IN • VIA • POPLICAM • CAMPANAM • QVA • PROXSIMVM • EST • P ↀCCX.

Q. Catulus post dedicatum. The temple of Capitoline Jove was burnt on the 6th of July B.C. 83. Quintus Lutatius Catulus (Cos. B.C. 78) was at the head of the commission for its restoration, an office of which Iulius Caesar as Praetor in B.C. 62 in vain tried to deprive him, Suet. *Iul.* 15. He had formally dedicated it in B.C. 68, but was still engaged in the interior decoration [Cic. *Verr.* 4 §§ 69, 82]. He died in B.C. 60 [*pro Cael.* § 59], when Augustus was not three years old. The story therefore does not hang together.

rei publicae...gestaret. That is a statuette of Rome. Dio [45, 2], who translates the account of these marvels from Suetonius, gives εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς Ῥώμης. Such figures representing cities must have been common, just as the conventional figures on coins. At Rhodes we hear of a colossal statue of the Roman people [Polyb. 31, 15].

osculum = *os*. **delibatum digitis**, lightly touched by his fingers.

M. Cicero C. Caesarem in Capitolium prosecutus, somnium pristinae noctis familiaribus forte narrabat: puerum facie liberali, demissum e caelo catena aurea, ad fores Capitoli constitisse eique Iovem flagellum tradidisse; deinde repente Augusto viso, quem ignotum plerisque adhuc avunculus Caesar ad sacrificandum acciverat, affirmavit ipsum esse, cuius imago secundum quietem sibi obversata sit.

Cicero's dream.

Sumenti virilem togam tunica lati clavi, resuta ex utraque parte, ad pedes decidit. Fuerunt qui interpretarentur, non aliud significare, quam ut is ordo cuius insigne id esset quandoque ei subiceretur.

Apud Mundam Divus Iulius, castris locum capiens cum silvam caederet, arborem palmae repertam conservari ut omen victoriae iussit; ex ea continuo enata suboles adeo in paucis diebus adolevit, ut non aequiperaret modo matricem, verum et obtegeret frequentareturque columbarum nidis, quamvis id avium genus duram et asperam frondem maxime vitet. Illo et praecipue ostento motum Caesarem ferunt, ne quem alium sibi succedere quam sororis nepotem vellet.

In secessu Apolloniae Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa ascenderat; cum Agrippae, qui prior con-

M. Cicero...prosecutus, that is, when Iulius celebrated his triumphs in B.C. 46, in which the young Octavius shared [see c. 8; Nic. Dam. 8].

flagellum, cp. Iuv. 10, 109 *ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites*, symbol of slavery, as citizens might not be flogged.

sumenti virilem togam, see c. 8.

tunica lati clavi, see c. 73. The wearing of this must have been granted by special favour, as it was ordinarily reserved for Senators; but certain *equites* were *laticlavii*, as has been shown p. 85.

resuta. Dio 45, 2 ὁ χιτὼν περιερράγη ἑκατέρωθεν. It may have been a slit tunic such as that figured in Rich, *Dict. of R. Antiq.* p. 697.

is ordo, i.e. the Senate.

apud Mundam, c. 8, p. 14. Dio 43, 41 καίπερ οὐδὲν οὐχὶ...καταπράξειν ἐλπίσας διά τε τἆλλα καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅτι βλαστός τις ἐκ φοίνικος ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ ὄντος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἐξέφυ. καὶ οὐ λέγω μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔφερέ ποι τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ γε ἔτι ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγόνῳ τῷ Ὀκταουίῳ.

arborem palmae, a genitive in apposition, as *vox libertatis* etc.

in secessu Apolloniae, c. 8.

Theogenis...pergulam, 'the studio of Theogenes the astrologer.' *pergula* (*pergo*) is (1) anything jutting out from a house, as a balcony or verandah, (2) a booth or studio, see Mayor on Iuv. 10. 137, (3) a school, Iuv. *l.c. sed nec structor erit, cui cedere debeat omnis Pergula.* Here it seems some loft at the top of the house used by the astrologer for taking observations of the stars, such as used to be called a 'garret.' For *mathematici* casting the horoscope, see Iuv. 14, 248 *nota mathematicis genesis tua.* Cp. *id.* 3, 42; 7, 200; 9, 32. Elsewhere called *Chaldaei* [Cato, *R. R.* 5 § 4], and *astrologi* [Cic. *divin.* 1 § 132]. See also Suet. *Tib.* 14 *de infante mathematicus preclara spopondit.* For the number and influence of the astrologers in Rome during the Early Empire, see passages quoted by Mayor on Iuv. 14, 248.

Agrippa. Octavian was accompanied to Apollonia by Maecenas, Agrippa, Q. Iuventius and others, Nic. Dam. c. 31.

sulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam nec velle edere perseverabat, metu ac pudore, ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita, exilivit Theogenes adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut thema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit.

95 Post necem Caesaris reverso ab Apollonia et ingrediente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambiit, ac subinde Iuliae Caesaris filiae monimentum fulmine ictum est. Primo autem consulatu et augurium capienti duodecim se voltures ut Romulo ostenderunt, et immolanti omnium victimarum iocinera replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra paruerunt, nemine peritorum aliter coiectante quam laeta per haec et magna portendi.

Portents occurring to himself.

96 Quin et bellorum omnium eventus ante praesensit. Contractis ad Bononiam triumvirorum copiis, aquila tentorio eius

genituram. The hour and time of his birth, by which Theogenes could form his horoscope.

thema, technically used for a 'horoscope,' the map or plan of the stars at any given moment. Pitiscus quotes Sidonius, *Epist.* 8, 11 *quos (ut verbo matheseos utar) climactericos esset habiturus, utpote quibus themate oblato quasi sanguinariae genituae schema paruisset.* Augustus neglected his own rule as to the astrologers *ὥστε ἐκ προγραφῆς πᾶσι τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων διάταξιν ὑφ' ἣν ἐγεγένητο φανερῶσαι* Dio 56, 25.

nummum...Capricorni. Hor. *Od.* 2, 17, 17 *seu me Scorpius aspicit Formidolosus, pars violentior Natalis horae, seu tyrannus Hesperiae Capricornus undae.* For coins of Augustus with the sign of Capricornus, see Eckhel pt. II nos. 134, 198—9, 293. The sun enters Capricornus on the 21st December, and therefore it is impossible to reconcile this statement with the birth of Augustus, without allowing for the full error of 90 days in the old Calendar, which does not seem to have been the case in B.C. 63, see p. 9. Yet Manilius [2, 497] also says

contra Capricornus in ipsum
convertit visus, quid enim mirabitur ille
maius, in Augusti felix qui fulserit
ortum?

95. **ingrediente eo urbem**, at the beginning of May B.C. 44, see Cic. *ad Att.* 14, 20.

Iuliae. Iulia the wife of Pompey the Great who died in B.C. 54. Her tomb was in the Campus Martius, see Suet. *Iul.* 84.

augurium capienti, see on c. 78. **duodecim voltures**, Livy 1, 7; **replicata**, 'double.' Dio relates this of the war of Mutina, [46, 35] *ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι θύοντι αὐτῷ ὅτε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔλαβε, διττὰ τὰ ἥπατα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἱερείοις δώδεκα οὖσιν εὑρέθη.* Pliny [*N. H.* 11 § 190] places the occurrence at Spoletium, and adds *responsumque duplicaturum intra annum imperium.* The absence of one lobe of the liver was a bad sign, Cic. *div.* 2 cc. 15—17, while a lobe of unusual size was a good one, Valer. Max. 1, 6, 9 *quae prima hostia ante foculum decidit, eius iecur sine capite inventum est; proxima caput iocinoris duplex habuit. Quibus inspectis aruspex tristi vultu non placere sibi exta, quia prima tam tristia, secunda nimis laeta apparuissent.* **paruerunt** for **apparuerunt** not used by Cicero.

96. **contractis ad Bononiam.** In November of B.C. 43 when the triumvirate was formed, which took place

supersedens duos corvos hinc et inde infestantis afflixit et ad terram dedit; notante omni exercitu, futuram quandoque inter collegas discordiam talem qualis secuta est, et exitum praesagiente. Philippis Thessalus quidam de futura victoria nuntiavit auctore Divo Caesare, cuius sibi species itinere avio occurrisset.

Circa Perusiam, sacrificio non litanti cum augeri hostias imperasset, ac subita eruptione hostes omnem rei divinae apparatum abstulissent, constitit inter haruspices, quae periculosa et adversa sacrificanti denuntiata essent, cuncta in ipsos recasura qui exta haberent; neque aliter evenit. Pridie quam Siciliensem pugnam classe committeret, deambulanti in litore piscis e mari exilivit et ad pedes iacuit. Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit, homini Eutychus, bestiae Nicon erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum aeneum victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.

Mors quoque eius, de qua hinc dicam, divinitasque post mortem evidentissimis ostentis praecognita est. Cum lustrum in campo Martio magna populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum saepius circumvolavit transgressaque in vicinam aedem super nomen Agrippae ad primam litteram sedit; quo animadverso vota, quae in proximum lustrum suscipi mos est, collegam suum Tiberium nuncupare iussit: nam se, quanquam conscriptis paratisque 97

Omens prophetic of his death.

ἐν νησιδίῳ τινὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν Βονωνίαν παραρρέοντος Dio 46, 54. The same tale of the eagle is told by Dio 47, 1.

cuius sibi species. See Dio 47, 41.

non litanti, dat. 'not getting a favourable omen.' *litare*, to get a favourable omen from a sacrifice, is used (*a*) of the sacrificer, Plaut. *Poen.* 2. 41 *ut semper sacrificem nec umquam litem*, cp. *Otho* 8 *victima Diti patri caesa litavit, cum tali sacrificio contraria exta potiora sunt*, (2) of the victim itself, Mart. 10, 73, 6. In Greek the distinction is marked by the active and middle voices: the victims are said καλλιερέειν [Herod. 6, 76], the sacrificer καλλιερέεσθαι *ib.* 82.

subita eruptione. For the danger of Augustus at Perusia see c. 14 *ad fin.*

pridie quam. Dio 49, 5, who says that it occurred after the defeat near Messene, cp. Pliny *N. H.* 9 § 55.

exilivit for *exiluit*, a recurrence it seems to an ancient form. *Fest.* 206 M.; cp. *saliere* Verg. *G.* 2, 384.

asellus. The same story is told by Plutarch, *Anton.* 65.

templo, see c. 18.

97. in vicinam aedem...Agrippae. The Pantheon, see p. 65.

collegam, that is in the censorial office for holding the census (though not as censors but with *imperio consulari*). M. A. c. 8 *tertium consulari cum imperio conlega Tiberio Caesare filio* (A.D. 14). See p. 60.

vota...nuncupare...soluturus. Cp. Val. Max. 1, 1 *Ext.*, 8 *solvere vota pro incolumitate exercitus ab ipso nuncupata.* Cic. 3 *Phil.* § 11 *neglectis sacrificiis solemnibus ante lucem vota ea quae numquam solveret nuncupavit.* Livy 31, 9 *vovit in eadem verba Consul praeeunte maximo pontifice, quibus antea quinquennalia vota suscipi solita erant.* **nuncupare** (*nomen capere*) is 'to put into express words,' 'to solemnly name.'

iam tabulis, negavit susceptur̄um quae non esset soluturus. Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuae eius prima nominis littera effluxit; responsum est, centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum C littera notaret, futurumque ut inter deos referretur, quod aesar, id est reliqua pars e Caesaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur.

His last days.

Tiberium igitur in Illyricum dimissurus et Beneventum usque prosecuturus, cum interpellatores aliis atque aliis causis in iure dicendo detinerent, exclamavit, quod et ipsum mox inter omina relatum est, *non, si omnia morarentur, amplius se posthac Romae futurum;* atque itinere incohato Asturam perrexit, et inde, praeter consuetudinem de nocte, ad occasionem aurae evectus, causam vali-
98 tudinis contraxit ex profluvio alvi. Tunc Campaniae ora proximisque insulis circuitis, Caprearum quoque secessui quadriduum impendit, remississimo ad otium et ad omnem comitatem animo.

Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant, *per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate*

tabulis, in which the vows were recorded. See Festus *s. v. nuncupata* ...*Vota nuncupata dicuntur quae Consules Praetores, cum in provinciam proficiscuntur, faciunt. Ea in tabulas praesentibus multis referuntur.*

aesar. Dio 56, 29 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ὄνομα θεὸν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρσηνοῖς νοεῖ. Hesych. αἰσοί· θεοί, ὑπὸ Τυῤῥηνῶν. See Buck *Vocalismus der Oskischen Sprache* p. 146, who holds that the Etruscans borrowed *aisar* from other Italian dialects,—Oscan αισ 'sacrum,' *aisusis* 'sacrificiis'; Umbrian *esono* 'sacrificium,' *eesona* 'divinas'; Marrucinian *aisos* 'dis'; Volscian *esaristrom* 'sacrificium.'

in Illyricum, Tac. *Ann.* 1, 5 *vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris literis accitur; neque satis compertum est spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam an exanimem reppererit.* Dio 56, 31 οὐ μέντοι ἐμφανὴς εὐθὺς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· ἡ γὰρ Λιουία φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ ἔτ' ὄντος νεωτερισθῇ τι, συνέκρυψεν αὐτὸν μέχρις οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο. His mission, according to Paterculus [2, 123], was a pacific one *ad firmanda pace quae bello subegerat.* Tiberius had subdued Dalmatia in A.D. 9, and celebrated a triumph over it in A.D. 12 [Dio 55, 29—32; 56, 11—17; Vell. 2, 110—115].

Asturam. Augustus goes by sea and rests at Astura, a small islet between Antium and Circeii, on which he, as many others, seems to have had a villa, cp. *Tib.* 72 *rediens ergo propere Campaniam Asturae in languorem incidit, quo paulum levatus Circeios pertendit.*

de nocte, 'before daybreak,' for the sake of coolness (it was late July or early August). *Vespas.* 21 *in principatu maturius semper ac de nocte evigilabat.* Cic. *Att.* 4, 3 *in comitium Milo de nocte venit, Metellus cum prima luce in campum currebat.*

98. Caprearum, see c. 92. **Campaniae ora**, a favourite yachting voyage, see *Nero* c. 27.

tantum quod, 'only just,' see c. 63.

per illum navigare, Hor. *Od.* 4, 5, 19 *pacatum volitant per mare navitae.* Prop. 3, 9, 71 *At tu sive petes portus seu navita linques Caesaris in toto sis*

atque fortunis per illum frui. Qua re admodum exhilaratus, quadragenos aureos comitibus divisit iusque iurandum et cautionem exegit a singulis, non alio datam summam quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumpturos. Sed
5 et ceteros continuos dies inter varia munuscula togas insuper ac pallia distribuit, lege proposita ut Romani Graeco, Graeci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue exercentes ephebos, quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex vetere instituto Capreis erat; isdem etiam epulum in conspectu
10 suo praebuit, permissa, immo exacta iocandi licentia diripiendique pomorum et obsoniorum rerumque missilia. Nullo denique genere hilaritatis abstinuit.

Vicinam Capreis insulam Apragopolim appellabat, a de-

memor Ionio. M. A. c. 25 *mare pacavi a praedonibus.*

aureos. The *denarius aureus,* said to have been introduced by Iulius in B.C. 48, was equal to 25 silver denarii or 100 sesterces (about £ of £1).

Alexandrinarum mercium. The commerce of Egypt had greatly revived under the Imperial government. There was a large trade with Italy in corn and salt fish, but also in articles of luxury. Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* 1 § 2 *huius tempore ex Aegypto urbi annua ducenties centena millia frumenti inferebantur.* Puteoli was the regular port for the ships from Alexandria. Seneca [*Epp.* 77 §§ 1—2] speaks of the *tabellariae,* 'despatch boats,' that regularly precede the arrival of the Alexandrine fleet. Augustus laid up in the docks at Puteoli the ship that had brought the Egyptian obelisks [Pliny *N. H.* 36 § 70]; nine days' sail from Alexandria to Puteoli was an extraordinarily good voyage, *id.* 19 § 3.

togas...pallia, the distinctive Roman and Greek dresses, see c. 40.

sermone. For the wide knowledge and use of the Greek language by educated Romans, see passages quoted by Mayor on Iuv. 15, 110; cp. supr. c. 89.

ephebos...vetere instituto. Capreae had, till its interchange with Augustus, been a part of the domain of Neapolis [c. 92], where Greek customs survived longer than anywhere in Magna Graecia. Strabo 5, 4, 7 πλεῖστα δ' ἴχνη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐνταῦθα σώζεται, γυμνάσιά τε καὶ ἐφηβεῖα καὶ φρατρίαι καὶ ὀνόματα Ἑλληνικά.... The Greek *ephebi* were youths between the end of boyhood (18) and the age of full citizenship, a period expressed in Athens by ἐπὶ διετὲς ἐφηβᾶν Pollux 8, 105, part of which was regularly devoted to physical training in gymnastics. Ἀθην. πολ. 42 χειροτονεῖ δὲ παιδοτρίβας αὐτοῖς δύο καὶ διδασκάλους οἵτινες ὁπλομαχεῖν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ καταπέλτην ἀφιέναι διδάσκουσιν.

missilia. *Nero* 11 *sparsa et missilia omnium rerum per omnes dies.* Macrob. *Sat.* 2, 4 § 22 *Curtius eques Romanus deliciis diffluens, cum macrum turdum sumpsisset in convivio Caesaris, interrogavit an 'mittere liceret.' Responderat princeps 'quidni liceat?' ille per fenestram misit.* The scenes in which this strange custom of throwing things at table sometimes ended are described by Iuv. 5, 25 sq. Cp. Horace *Odes* 1, 27.

vicinam Capreis insulam, 'the neighbouring island Capreae,' lit. 'at Capreae.' Casaubon seems right in regarding *Capreis* as a locative; there is no island 'near Capreae.' Cp. *Cassius in oppido Antiochiae* Cic. *ad Att.* 5, 18. *Albae constiterunt in urbe opportuna* 4 *Phil.* § 6. It may be compared to the manner of naming towns and islands in later Greek by adding ἐς τὴν ('in') before the name, thus ἐς τὰν Κῶ became Stanko, ἐς τὰν πόλιν Stamboul. The expression here used shows the writer to be regarding Augustus at Naples, from which the members of his family slip off for a holiday at Capreae. An old commentator on Iuv. 10, 93 read *Capreas*; but

sidia secedentium illuc e comitatu suo. Sed ex dilectis unum, Masgaban nomine, quasi conditorem insulae *κτίστην* vocare consuerat. Huius Masgabae ante annum defuncti tumulum cum e triclinio animadvertisset magna turba multisque luminibus frequentari, versum compositum ex tempore clare pronuntiavit:

Κτίστου δὲ τύμβον εἰσορῶ πυρούμενον·

conversusque ad Thrasylum Tiberi comitem, contra accubantem et ignarum rei, interrogavit cuiusnam poetae putaret esse; quo haesitante, subiecit alium:

Ὁρᾷς φάεσσι Μασγάβαν τιμώμενον;

ac de hoc quoque consuluit. Cum ille nihil aliud responderet quam, cuiuscumque essent optimos esse, cachinnum sustulit atque in iocos effusus est. Mox Neapolim traiecit, quanquam etiam tum infirmis intestinis morbo variante; tamen et quinquennale certamen gymnicum honori suo institutum perspectavit et cum Tiberio ad destinatum locum contendit. Sed in redeundo adgravata valitudine, tandem Nolae succubuit revocatumque ex itinere Tiberium diu secreto sermone detinuit, neque post ulli maiori negotio animum accommodavit.

Tiberius sent for.

99 Supremo die identidem exquirens, an iam de se tumultus foris esset, petito speculo, capillum sibi comi ac malas labantes corrigi praecepit, et admissos amicos

Last words.

an XIth century catalogue of Papal estates has *insulam* **Capris** *cum Monasterio S. Stephani*. Gregorovius *H. of Rome in the Middle Ages* II. p. 247 (Engl. Tr.).

Masgaban, probably a freedman of African race employed by Augustus to superintend the improvements on the island. He calls him 'founder' in jest: there was no 'colony' in the technical sense on Capri.

frequentari, apparently on the anniversary of his death. For the custom of these torches in commemorating the dead see Ov. *F.* 2, 561.

Thrasylus was one of Tiberius' favourite *mathematici*, see Suet. *Tib.* cc. 14, 62; *Cal.* 19.

consuluit...responderet: the words show that Augustus was making a playful trial of the prophetic powers of Thrasylus.

quinquennale...gymnicum. Strabo 5, 4, 7 *νυνὶ δὲ πεντετηρικὸς ἱερὸς ἀγὼν συντελεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς, μουσικός τε καὶ γυμνικὸς ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐνάμιλλος τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.* **honori suo**, see on c. 59, Vell. Pat. 2, 123 *interfuturus certamini ludicro, quod eius honori sacratum a Neapolitanis est.*

ad destinatum locum, 'to the place to which he had resolved to accompany him,' i.e. to Beneventum, on his way to Brundisium to embark for Illyricum. Vell. Pat. 2, 123 *tamen obnitente prosecutus filium digressusque ab eo Beneventi ipse Nolam petiit, et ingravescente in dies valetudine, cum sciret, quis volenti omnia post se salva remanere accersendus foret, festinanter revocavit filium.* See also *Tib.* 21. Velleius *l. c.*

percontatus, *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse*, adiecit et clausulam:

εἰ δέ τι
ἔχοι καλῶς τὸ παίγνιον, κρότον δότε
καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε.

Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filia aegra interrogat, repente in osculis Liviae et in hac voce defecit: *Livia, nostri coniugi memor vive, ac vale!* sortitus exitum facilem et qualem semper optaverat. Nam fere quotiens audisset cito ac nullo cruciatu defunctum quempiam, sibi et suis *εὐθανασίαν* similem (hoc enim et verbo uti solebat) precabatur. Unum omnino ante efflatam animam signum alienatae mentis ostendit, quod subito pavefactus a quadraginta se iuvenibus abripi questus est. Id quoque magis praesagium quam mentis deminutio fuit, siquidem totidem milites praetoriani extulerunt eum in publicum.

also affirms that Tiberius arrived in time to be with him at his death. Tacitus [*Ann.* 1, 5] says that there was a doubt on the subject, *neque satis compertum spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam an exanimem reppererit.* And Dio [56, 30] says that Livia was suspected of hastening his end by means of a poisoned fig; a slander repeated by Aur. Vict. *ep.* 1, 27.

99. mimum. The mime or farce had been long known at Rome, but had not perhaps taken its place as literature till towards the end of the Republic. See Suet. *Iul.* 39. The comparison of life to a drama is a common one, see Cic. *de Sen.* §§ 4, 50, 64, 70, 86. Sen. *Ep.* 80 *nec enim ullo efficacius exprimitur hic humanae vitae minus, qui nobis partes has quas male agamus assignat.* It may have some pathetic appropriateness to the career of Augustus, but it can hardly have been meant cynically by him, as Dio supposes, [56, 30] *κρότον δὲ δή τινα παρ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς γελωτοποιοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μίμου τινὸς τελευτῇ αἰτήσας καὶ πάμπαν πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον διέσκωψεν.*

clausulam, the usual appeal at the end of the play for applause. Cic. *de Sen.* § 70 *neque enim histrioni ut placeat peragenda fabula est...nec sapienti usque ad "plaudite" veniendum est.* Hor. *A. P.* 155 *donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat.* The word **clausula** (*claudo*) was the technical expression for it. Cic. *Cael.* § 75 *in quo mimo cum clausula non invenitur.*

εἰ δέ τι. The restoration of these Greek lines is due to Roth.

Drusi filia, Livilla, daughter of Drusus and Antonia, and sister of Germanicus and Claudius, see Suet. *Cl.* 1 fin. She afterwards married Drusus, son of Tiberius. For her tragic fate see Dio 58, 11; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 43, 84; 4, 40; 6, 2.

defecit, 'died,' Quint. 5, 10, 79 *deficit omne quod nascitur.*

memor vive ac vale. Cf. Iuv. 3, 318 *vale nostri memor.* Hor. *Od.* 3, 27, 14 *et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas.*

εὐθανασίαν. Cic. *ad Att.* 16, 7 § 3 *illud admirari satis non potui, quod scripsisti his verbis: 'veni igitur tu, qui εὐθανασίαν. veni. relinques patriam'?* The word is rare and late (see L. and Sc.). Polybius (5, 38) uses *εὐθανατεῖν* of a noble death. A sudden and painless death was desired by Iulius, Plut. *Caes.* 63 *ἐμπεσόντος λόγου ποῖος ἄρα τῶν θανάτων ἄριστος, ἅπαντας φθάσας ἐβόησεν ὁ ἀπροσδόκητος.*

praetoriani, see pp. 52, 106. **quo pater Octavius.** Tac. *Ann.* 1, 9 *multus hinc ipse de Augusto sermo...quo Nolae in domo et cubiculo, in quo pater eius Octavius, vitam finivisset.*

100 His death at Nola 19 August A.D. 14.

Obiit in cubiculo eodem, quo pater Octavius, duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio, cons. XIIII. Kal. Septemb. hora diei nona, septuagesimo et sexto aetatis anno, diebus V. et XXX. minus.

Funeral honours.

Corpus decuriones municipiorum et coloniarum a Nola Bovillas usque deportarunt, noctibus propter anni tempus, cum interdiu in basilica cuiusque oppidi vel in aedium sacrarum maxima reponeretur. A Bovillis equester ordo suscepit, urbique intulit atque in vestibulo domus conlocavit. Senatus et in funere ornando et in memoria honoranda eo studio certatim progressus est, ut inter alia complura censuerint quidam, funus triumphali porta ducendum, praecedente Victoria quae est in curia, canentibus neniam principum liberis utriusque sexus; alii, exequiarum die ponendos anulos aureos ferreosque sumendos; nonnulli, ossa legenda per sacerdotes summorum collegiorum. Fuit et

100. duobus Sext....cons. A.D. 14, Dio 56, 29; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 7. **XIIII. Kal. Sept.** 19 August. The calculation as to the length of Augustus' life is based on the supposition that his birthday (23 September) was according to the rectified Iulian Calendar, A. W. Zumpt *Commentatio Chronologica de Imp. Aug. die natali*, p. 547. **decuriones**, see c. 2, p. 3.

a Bovillis equester ordo. The equites demanded this as a privilege from the consuls, commissioning the future Emperor Claudius to make the request [Suet. *Cl.* 6]. Bovillae was 12 miles down the via Appia. Dio 56, 31 *τὸ δ' οὖν σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐκ μὲν τῆς Νώλης οἱ πρῶτοι καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐβάστασαν· πρὸς δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενον οἱ ἱππεῖς παραλαβόντες νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσεκόμισαν.*

triumphali porta. The funeral procession was to leave by the gate through which triumphal processions entered. Its exact position is uncertain. Prof. Lanciani [Ramsay's *Antiq.* p. 10] says that it spanned the modern *via della bocca della Verita*, which, running between the Palatine and the river, enters the Campus near the *Theatrum Marcelli*. This would suit Josephus' description of the triumph of Vespasian who entered from the Campus, first riding *διὰ τῶν θεάτρων* [*B. Iud.* 7, 5, 4]. See also Suet. *Ner.* 25 (Nero entered through the Velabrum and Forum on his way to the Palatine). Tac. *Ann.* 1, 8. The porta triumphalis is mentioned by Cicero *in Pis.* § 55.

Victoria quae est in curia. The figure which Augustus had himself placed in the *curia Iulia*. Dio 51, 22 *τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον...καθιέρωσεν· ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς νικῆς τὸ καὶ νῦν ὂν.*

ponendos...aureos. This would amount to a pretty general mourning. The gold ring was not a special mark of the Senators. Originally it was given at the public expense to those Senators who were going on a foreign mission [Isid. *orig.* 19, 32 *annuli de publico dabantur*]. It was then adopted by all the *nobilitas*, but was not obligatory, for Marius retained the *ferreus* till his 2nd consulship [Pliny *N. H.* 33 §§ 11—12]. Before the 2nd Punic war it had become the special mark of the *ordo equester*, and later on under the Empire was allowed to all *ingenui*. Willems, *le Sénat*, 1, p. 147. For the laying aside of *annuli aurei* in public mourning see Livy 9, 7 *lati clavi, annuli aurei positi*. Cp. *ib.* c. 47.

ossa legenda. That is, from the funeral pyre, the office generally of near relatives, and in most cases of women, *Tib.* 3, 2, 16

ossa
incinctae nigra candida veste legant.

summorum collegiorum. Sc. *pontifices, augures, septemviri, Epulones, quin-*

qui suaderet, appellationem mensis Augusti in Septembrem transferendam, quod hoc genitus Augustus, illo defunctus esset; alius, ut omne tempus a primo die natali ad exitum eius saeculum Augustum appellaretur et ita in fastos referretur. Verum adhibito honoribus modo, bifariam laudatus est: pro aede Divi Iuli a Tiberio et pro rostris veteribus a Druso Tiberi filio, ac senatorum umeris delatus in Campum crematusque. Nec defuit vir praetorius,

Laudationes.

decimviri. Dio 53, 1 καὶ αὕτη μὲν (πανήγυρις) διὰ πέντε ἀεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρι που ἐγίγνετο ταῖς τέσσαρσι ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα· λέγω δὲ τούς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστάς, τούς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας καλουμένους. M. A. 9 *quattuor amplissima collegia.*

mensis Augusti. See c. 31.

adhibito...modo, i.e. by Tiberius, who refused extravagant funeral honours, see Tac. *Ann.* 8. Thus Tiberius' panegyrist Velleius [2, 124] says *post redditum caelo patrem, et corpus eius humanis honoribus, nomen divinis honoratum.*

bifariam laudatus. The *laudatio* preceded the burning. The cortège was stopped opposite the place at which the oration was to be delivered, the wax figures of the ancestors carried in it were arrayed on curule seats round, and then some relation of the deceased mounted the rostra to deliver the speech. Polyb. 6, 53, 9. In case of public funerals the duty of delivering the speech was frequently entrusted by the Senate to some magistrate [Quint. 3, 7 § 2]. It was in fact a *contio*, an address to the citizens at large, Cic. *de leg.* 2 § 61 *reliqua sunt in more: funus ut indicatur,...honoratorum virorum laudes in contione memorentur.* Originally it was an honour reserved for magistrates for some special services, and even when the patriciate at large assumed the right for each of its members, it seems to have required some authorisation of the Senate or the Emperor. Marq. 14, p. 420, see Tac. *Ann.* 3, 76.

pro rostris veteribus. The Rostra standing between the Forum and the Comitium had been removed by Iulius when he was restoring the Curia (B.C. 44). Dio 43, 49 τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν μέσῳ του πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὂν ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον ἀνεχωρίσθη. Dr Middleton [*Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. 1. p. 252] holds that the Rostra thus rebuilt were still called *vetera* as opposed to the *Rostra Iulia*, a podium of the *Heroon Iulium*, built by Augustus, to which were affixed the beaks of the ships taken at Actium [Dio 51, 19 τήν τε κρηπῖδα τοῦ Ἰουλιείου ἡρῴου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων νέων κοσμηθῆναι...ἔγνωσαν]. The rostra as made by Caesar were not quite a reproduction of the older rostra, for some of the statues were removed. See Cic. 9 *Phil.* § 4. (An old emendation was *a Tiberio pro rostris; sub veteribus a Druso.* The expression *sub veteribus*, sc. *tabernis*, was the designation of a street along one side of the Forum.)

in Campum, as being outside the pomoerium, Cic. *de leg.* 2 § 58 *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito.* The burning of the bodies of Clodius and Iulius Caesar in the forum was illegal and done in a popular riot. The exceptions were the Vestal virgins and certain families (*virtutis causa*) such as the Valerii and Fabricii, who however soon ceased to avail themselves of the privilege. Even on the Campus it was only allowed on special occasions. Again, to have a monument on the Campus or elsewhere in the city was an honour rarely granted and required a SCtum or a lex. See *C. I. L.* 1, p. 186. C • POPLICIO • L • F • BIBVLO • AED • PL • HONORIS • VIRTVTISQVE CAVSA • SENATVS • IVSSV • LOCVS • MONVMENTO • QVO • IPSE POSTEREIQVE • EIVS • INFERRENTVR • PVBLICE • DATVS • EST. Cic. 9 *Phil.* § 4 *maiores nostri statuas multis decreverunt, sepulcra paucis. ib.* § 17 *utique locum sepulcro in campo Esquilino C. Pansa cos. seu quo in loco videbitur pedes xxx quoquo versus adsignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur, quod sepulcrum ipsius liberorum posterorumque eius esset, uti quod optimo iure publice sepulcrum datum esset.* The reason was that 'public' land could not be alienated without a law. The Vestals and the Emperors however were

qui se effigiem cremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret. Reliquias legerunt primores equestris ordinis, tunicati et discincti pedibusque nudis, ac Mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu extruxerat circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat.

The Mausoleum.

101 Testamentum, L. Planco C. Silio cons. III. Non. Apriles, ante annum et quattuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo ac duobus codicibus, partim ipsius partim libertorum Polybi et Hilarionis manu, scriptum depositumque apud se virgines Vestales cum tribus signatis aeque voluminibus protulerunt. Quae omnia in senatu aperta atque recitata sunt. Heredes instituit primos: Tiberium ex parte dimidia et sextante, Liviam ex parte tertia,

The will signed 2 April A.D. 13.

above the law, Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* 11, 206 *Imperatores et virgines Vestae, qui legibus non tenentur, in civitate habent sepulcra.* Marq. 14, p. 422.

vir praetorius, Numerius Atticus; see Dio 56, 46, who says that Livia presented him with 25000 denarii for his report. Cp. Seneca, *de Mort. Claud.* § 2 *Appiae viae curator est qua scis et divum Augustum et Tiberium Caesarem ad deos isse.* Cp. Dio 56, 42 ἀετὸς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς (πυρᾶς) ἀφεθεὶς ἀνίπτατο ὡς καὶ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρων.

reliquias legerunt. Dio *l.c.* ἡ δὲ δὴ Λιουία κατὰ χώραν πέντε ἡμέραις μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἱππέων μείνασα τά τε ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ συνελέξατο καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον κατέθετο. Vergil *Aen.* 6, 227 *reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam Ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aeno.* Cp. c. 97.

tunicati...nudis, 'without their saga, ungirt, and with bare feet.' These seem special marks of mourning on the part of soldiers, see c. 24. They are not mentioned elsewhere as ordinarily used at funerals.

Mausoleo. The *Mausoleum Augusti* was a great mound of earth [*tumulus* Verg. *Aen.* 6, 874: Tac. *Ann.* 3, 9] on a base of white marble 220 feet in diameter, surmounted with a colossal bronze statue of Augustus. Strabo 5, 3, 8. It now forms the *Teatro Correa*, used as a kind of circus. Suetonius *Cal.* 15; *Nero* 46; *Vesp.* 23. It was filled by the time of Hadrian's death, Dio 69, 23 (A.D. 138). For Mausolus, the Carian Prince, whose monument erected by his wife Artemisia supplied this word, see Dem. *de lib. Rhod.* 191. Diodor. 15, 36. He died in B.C. 353. Plin. *N. H.* 36 § 47.

sexto suo consulatu. B.C. 28.

publicarat, see on c. 29, p. 63.

101. L. Planco, C. Silio cons., i.e. B.C. 13.

virgines Vestales, who frequently were intrusted with wills. See *Iul.* 83; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 8; Plut. *Anton.* 58. So also with other important documents, see Dio 48, 12 (the agreement between Antony and Augustus in B.C. 41): App. *B. Civ.* 5, 48 (the treaty of Misenum in B.C. 39). Marq. 13, p. 27.

in senatu, Tac. *Ann.* 1, 8 *nihil primo senatus die agi passus est nisi de supremis Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per Virgines Vestae Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit.* The Senate had been summoned by Tiberius *iure tribuniciae potestatis*, *Tib.* c. 23.

recitata, *per libertum*, see *Tib. l.c.* Dio [56, 32] says that the freedman Polybius read it, that being an office looked on as unbecoming a Senator.

atque. The two rolls were signed and sealed in the same formal manner as the will.

Tiberium. In the life of Tiberius *l.c.* he quotes the opening sentence *Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Caesar mihi ex parte dimidia et sextante heres esto.*

primos...secundos. The *primi* are the real heirs. The *secundi* only succeed in case the *primi* (*a*) refuse the inheritance, or (*b*) die before coming of

quos et ferre nomen suum iussit, secundos: Drusum Tiberi filium ex triente, ex partibus reliquis Germanicum liberosque eius tres sexus virilis, tertio gradu: propinquos amicosque compluris. Legavit populo Romano quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium, praetorianis militibus singula milia nummorum, cohortibus urbanis quingenos, legionaris trecenos nummos: quam summam repraesentari iussit, nam et confiscatam semper repositamque habuerat. Reliqua legata varie dedit produxitque quaedam ad vicies sestertium, quibus solvendis annuum diem finiit, excusata rei familiaris mediocritate, nec plus perventurum ad heredes suos quam milies et quingenties professus, quamvis viginti proximis annis quaterdecies milies ex testamentis amicorum percepisset, quod paene omne cum duobus paternis patrimoniis ceterisque hereditatibus in rem publicam absumsisset. Iulias filiam neptemque, si quid iis accidisset, vetuit

Public legacies.

age. The being entered as *secundi* or *tertii* was therefore often merely complimentary, with the off chance of being valuable. In this case the *secundi* are the natural successors of the *primi*. Hor. *S.* 2, 5, 47 *leniter in spem Adrepe officiosus ut et scribare secundus Haeres.* Cic. *fam.* 13, 61 *qui me cum tutorem tum etiam secundum haeredem constituerit.* The *haeredes* took the residue (in the assigned proportions) when the legacies had been paid. Tiberius $\frac{2}{3}$ ($\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{6}$), Livia $\frac{1}{3}$. A woman could take a legacy up to a half, but was still prevented by the Voconian plebiscitum (B.C. 169) from being an *heres* [Gaius 2, 274; Plin. *panegyr.* 42], but Gellius [20, 1 § 23] says that the law was obsolete and neglected. It had always been evaded by means of trusts or legacies. Augustus is said to have asked for a special exemption for Livia, Dio 56, 32 *παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ᾐτήσατο τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον καταλιπεῖν δυνηθῆναι.*

quos et ferre nomen. Tiberius already bore the name of Caesar from adoption [A.D. 4], and is described in monuments as *Tiberius Caesar Aug. f.* [Wilmanns 886, 887, 880 b], whereas before his adoption he is *Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Nero* [Wilmanns 882]. He did not adopt the name 'Augustus' until so called by the Senate [Dio 57, 2—3]. The inscription over him in the Mausoleum gives him his full titles: OSSA • TI • CAESARIS • DIVI • AVG • F • AVGVSTI • PONTIFICIS • MAXIMI • TRIB • POT • XXXIIX • IMP • VIII • COS • V • The will made no difference to him in this respect, and Tacitus only refers to Livia, [*Ann.* 1, 8] *Liviam in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebat.* Henceforth she is *Iulia Augusta*, whereas before she was *Livia Drusi f. uxor Caesaris* (compare Wilmanns 880 b and 906).

Drusum. Drusus the son of Tiberius died in A.D. 23. The three sons of Germanicus were Nero, Drusus and Gaius (Caligula).

tribubus. For the two tribes with which Augustus had been connected, cp. c. 40, p. 89. See also Kubitschek *de trib. Roman. origine*, p. 118. Tacitus [*Ann.* 1, 8] seems to mean these *tribules* by the term *plebs*: *populo et plebi quadringentiens triciens quinquiens.*

praetorianis. See pp. 52, 106. **cohortibus urbanis**, p. 105.

confiscatam, 'kept under the head of his private property.' See c. 15, p. 31.

cum duobus paternis hereditatibus, one from his father Octavius, which had been badly or dishonestly managed by his guardian [see p. 58]; and that of his adoptive father Iulius, who left him *heres ex dodrante* ($\frac{3}{4}$ths). Suet. *Iul.* 83, supr. c. 7.

Iulias. See on c. 64. **si quid iis**

sepulcro suo inferri. Tribus voluminibus, uno mandata de funere suo complexus est, altero indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur, tertio breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis et vectigaliorum residuis. Adiecit et libertorum servorumque nomina, a quibus ratio exigi posset.

Res gestae Augusti.

accidisset, 'on their death,' a common euphemism, see Cic. *Tusc.* 1 § 104.

tribus voluminibus. Dio [56, 33] adds a fourth, containing certain maxims and principles of state which Augustus thought it important to be observed, *τὸ τέταρτον ἐντολὰς καὶ ἐπισκήψεις τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ, ἄλλας τε καὶ ὅπως μήτ' ἀπελευθερῶσι πολλούς, ἵνα μὴ παντοδαποῦ ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν πληρώσωσι· μήτ' αὖ συχνοὺς ἐγγράφωσιν ἵνα πολὺ τὸ διάφορον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ᾖ. τά τε κοινὰ πᾶσι τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ εἰδέναι καὶ πράττειν ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ ἐς μηδένα ἀναρτᾶν αὐτὰ παρήνεσέ σφισιν, ὅπως μήτε τυραννίδος τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ μήτ' αὖ πταίσαντος ἐκείνου τὸ δημόσιον σφαλῇ· γνώμην τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρεσθῆναι καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐθέλησαι· δυσφύλακτόν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύσειν ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπολέσαι ἔφη.*

index rerum, that which, with its official Greek translation, has been preserved for us in the temple at Ancyra, and to a small extent at Apollonia. See Appendix A.

breviarium. Tacitus [*Ann.* 1, 11] seems not to distinguish clearly between the two rolls any more than Suetonius: *opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia et necessitates ac largitiones, quae cuncta sua manu prescripserat Augustus, addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.* Seneca *Ep.* 69 objects to the word *breviarium*, saying that the true Latin word is *summarium.* For *breviarium* for an abstract of accounts see *Galb.* 12.

vectigaliorum residuis, 'arrears of taxes,' 'balances still in the hands of the receivers,' as is shown by the definition in the *Dig.* 48, 13, 2 (L. and Sh.) *lege Iulia de residuis tenetur qui publicam pecuniam delegatam in usum aliquem retinuit neque in eum consumpsit.* For the form **vectigaliorum** cf. c. 53 *sponsaliorum.* See Macrob. *Sat.* 1, 4 § 12 *Asinius Pollio vectigaliorum frequenter usurpet, quod vectigal non minus dicatur quam vectigalia,* by which Macrobius seems to mean that *vectigal* (a shortened form for *vectigale*) follows the rule of such adjectives used substantivally, many of which have the gen. plur. in -orum, e.g. *baccanalia, compitalia* etc. Roby *L. G.* § 425.

(*Portrait of Livia.*)

APPENDIX A.

I. MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.

Of the three *volumina* left by Augustus the second was an *index rerum a se gestarum* (c. 101; Dio 56, 33) which he wished to be engraved on bronze tablets to be affixed to the front of the Mausoleum. This was no doubt done, but these tablets have long disappeared. Fortunately a copy was also it seems commonly engraved on temples of 'Augustus and Rome' in the provinces with a Greek version as the κοινὴ διάλεκτος. Of these copies one remains fairly complete on the walls of a temple at Ancyra in Galatia [*Angora*], and some fragments at Apollonia in Pisidia. The first partial copy of the Latin version was made by a Dutchman, Augerius Busbequius, when on a mission to Soliman in 1555, and was printed by Andrew Schott in an edition of Aurelius Victor (1577). This however was a mere fragment of the whole; and since that time various attempts have been made to obtain a complete copy, as by Daniel Cosson, Dutch Vice-consul at Smyrna (in the 17th century), and the Frenchman Paul Lucas by the order of Louis XIV. At length in 1861 Napoleon III. obtained a complete transcript by the exertions of G. Perrot and E. Guillaume. Finally, in 1882, C. Humann obtained a plaster cast of the whole, both Greek and Latin, in a series of plates which were safely deposited in the Museum at Berlin. This is the foundation of the text as restored and revised by Mommsen in 1883.

Rérum gestárum díví Augusti, quibus orbem terra[*rum*] ímperio populi Rom. subiécit, et inpensarum, quas in rem publicam populumque Ro[*ma*]num fecît, incísarum in duabus aheneís pílís, quae su[*n*]t Romae positae, exemplar sub[*í*]ectum.

B.C. 44 (*First policy*) B.C. 43 Annós undéviginti natus exercitum priváto consilio et privatá impensá 1
comparávi, per quem rem publicam [*do*]minatione factionis oppressam in libertátem vindicá[*vi. Ob quae sen*]atus decretís honor[*ifi*]cís in ordinem suum m[*e adlegit C. Pansa A. Hirti*]o consulibu[*s, c*]on[*sula*]rem locum s[*imul dans sententiae ferendae, et im*]perium mihi dedit. Rés publica n[*e quid detrimenti caperet, me*] pro praetore simul cum consulibus pro[*videre iussit. Populus*] autem eódem anno mé consulem, cum [*cos. uterque bello ceci*]disset, et trium virum reí publicae constituend[*ae creavit*].

Quí parentem meum [*interfecer*]un[*t, eó*]s in exilium expulí iudiciís 2
(*lex Pedia*) legitimís ultus eórum [*fa*]cin[*us, e*]t posteá bellum inferentís reí publicae víci b[*is a*]cie.

[*B*]ella terra et mari c[*ivilia exter*]naque tóto in orbe terrarum 3
(*Wars*) s[*uscepi*] victorque omnibus [*superstitib*]us cívibus pepercí. Exte[*rnas*] gentés, quibus túto [*ignosci pot*]ui[*t, co*]nserváre quam excídere m[*aluí*]. Míllia civium Róma[*norum adacta*] sacrámento meo fuerunt circiter [*quingen*]ta. Ex quibus dedú[*xi in*
(*Veterans*) *coloni*]ás aut remísi in municipia sua stipen[*dis emeri*]tis millia aliquant[*um plura qu*]am trecenta et iís omnibus agrós a [*me emptos*] aut pecuniam pró p[*raediis a*] me dedí. Naves cépi sescen[*tas praeter*] eás, si quae minóre[*s quam trir*]emes fuerunt.

[*Bis*] ováns triumpha[*vi, tris egi c*]urulís triumphós et appellá[*tus sum* 4
(*Honours*) *viciens se*]mel imperátor. [*Cum deinde plú*]ris triumphos mihi se[*natus decrevisset, eis su*]persedi . I[*tem saepe laur*]us deposuí, in Capi[*tolio votis, quae*] quóque bello nuncu[*paveram solu*]tís.

Ob res á [*me aut per legatos*] meós auspicís meis terra m[*ariqu*]e pr[*o*]spere gestás qu[*inquagiens et quin*]quiens decrevit senátus supp[*lica*]ndum esse dís immo[*rtalibus. Dies autem, pe*]r quós ex senátús consulto [*s*]upplicátum est, fuere DC[*CCLXXXX. In triumphis meis*] ducti sunt ante currum m[*e*]um regés aut r[*eg*]um lib[*eri novem. Consul fuer*]am terdeciens, c[*u*]m [*scribeb-*]

Μεθηρμηνευμέναι ὑπεγράφησαν πράξεις τε καὶ δωρεαὶ Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ, ἃς ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐνκεχαραγμένας χαλκαῖς στήλαις δυσί.

1 Ἐτῶν δεκαε[ν]νέα ὢν τὸ στράτευμα ἐμῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἐμοῖς ἀν[αλ]ώμασιν ἡτοί[μασα], δι' οὗ τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα [ἐκ τῆ]ς τ[ῶ]ν συνο[μοσα]μένων δουλήας [ἠλευ]θέ[ρωσα. Ἐφ' ο]ἷς ἡ σύνκλητος ἐπαινέσασά [με ψηφίσμασι] προσκατέλεξε τῇ βουλῇ Γαΐῳ Πά[νσ]α [Αὔλῳ Ἱρτίῳ ὑ]π[ά]το[ι]ς, ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ὑπατ[ικῶ]ν [ἅμα τ]ὸ σ[υμβου]λεύειν δοῦσα, ῥάβδου[ς] τ' ἐμοὶ ἔδωκεν. [Περ]ὶ τὰ δημόσια πράγματα μή τι βλαβῇ, ἐμοὶ με[τὰ τῶν ὑπά]των προνοεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν ἀντὶ στρατηγο[ῦ]. [. . . . . Ὁ δ]ὲ δ[ῆ]μος τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀμφοτέρων [τῶν ὑπάτων π]ολέμῳ πεπτω[κ]ό[τ]ων, ἐμὲ ὕπα[τον ἀπέδειξ]εν καὶ τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχον[τα ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ] τῇ καταστάσει τῶν δ[η]μοσίων πρα[γμάτων] ε[ἴλ]ατ[ο].

2 [Τοὺς τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φονεύ]σ[αν]τ[α]ς ἐξώρισα κρί[σεσιν ἐνδί]κοις τειμω[ρ]ησάμε[ν]ος αὐτῶν τὸ [ἀσέβημα κ]αὶ [με]τὰ ταῦτα αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ἐ[πιφέροντας τῇ πα]τ[ρ]ίδι δὶς ἐνείκησα παρατάξει.

3 [Πολέμους καὶ κατὰ γῆν] καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐμφυ[λίους καὶ ἐξωτικοὺς] ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ πολ[λοὺς ἀνεδεξάμην, νεικ]ήσας τε πάντων ἐφεισάμην [τῶν περιόντων πολειτῶν. τ]ὰ ἔθνη, οἷς ἀσφαλὲς ἦν συν[γνώμην ἔχειν, ἔσωσα μ]ᾶλ[λον] ἢ ἐξέκοψα. Μυριάδες Ῥωμαίων στρατ[εύ]σ[ασ]αι ὑπ[ὸ τὸ]ν ὅρκον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐγένοντ[ο] ἐνγὺς π[εντήκ]-ο[ντ]α· [ἐ]ξ ὧν κατή[γ]αγον εἰς τὰ[ς] ἀπο[ι]κίας ἢ ἀ[πέπεμψα εἰς τὰς] ἰδία[ς] πόλεις ἐκ[λυομένους] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

4 Δὶς ἐ[πὶ κέλητος ἐθριάμβευσα], τρὶς [ἐ]φ' ἅρματος. Εἰκοσά[κις καὶ ἅπαξ προσηγορεύθην αὐτο]κράτωρ. Τῆς [συνκλήτου] . . . . . .
. . . . . ψηφισσ . .
. . . . . .ων τὴν [δάφνην]
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . [Διὰ τὰ πράγ]μ[ατα, ἃ]
[αὐτὸς ἢ διὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐμῶν] κατώρθωσα, π[εντ]ηκοντάκις [καὶ] πεντά[κις ἐψ]ηφίσατο ἡ σύ[νκλητ]ος θεοῖς δεῖ[ν] θύεσθαι. [Ἡμ]έραι οὖν αὖ[τα]ι ἐ[κ συ]ν[κλήτου] δ[ό]γματ[ο]ς ἐγένοντο ὀκτα[κ]όσιαι ἐνενή[κοντα]. Ἐν [τ]οῖς ἐμοῖς [θριάμ]βοις [πρὸ το]ῦ ἐμοῦ ἅρμ[ατος βασι]λεῖς ἢ [βασιλέων παῖ]δες [παρήχθ]ησαν ἐννέα.

a[*m*] haec, [*et agebam se*]p[*timum et trigensimum annum tribu*]-
niciae potestatis.

B.C. 22 (*Offices refused*) [*Dictatura*]m et apsent[*i et praesenti mihi datam . . . . . a populo et* 5
senatu M. Marce]llo e[*t*] L. Ar[*runtio consulibus non accepi. Non*
recusavi in summa frumenti p]enuri[*a c*]uratio[*ne*]m an[*nonae,*
qu]am ita ad[*ministravi, ut . . . . . paucis diebu*]s metu et per[*i*]c[*lo*
quo erat populu]m univ[*ersum meis impensis liberarem*]. Con-
[*sulatum tum dat*]um annuum e[*t perpetuum non accepi*].

B.C. 19 B.C. 18 B.C. 11 [*Consulibus M. Vinucio et Q. Lucretio et postea P.*] et Cn. L[*entulis et* 6
tertium Paullo Fabio Maximo et Q. Tuberone senatu populoq]u[*e*
Romano consentientibus] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

(*Morum regimen*)

. 7

(*Offices held*) . . . . . [*Princeps senatus fui usque ad eum diem, quo scrips*]-
eram [*haec, per annos quadraginta. Pontifex maximus, augur,*
quindecimviru]m sacris [*faciundis, septemvirum epulonum, frater*
arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetiali]s fuí.

B.C. 29 Patriciórum numerum auxí consul quintum iussú populi et senátús. 8
B.C. 28 Senatum ter légi. Et in consulátú sexto cénsum populi conlegá
(*The census*) M. Agrippá égí. Lústrum post annum alterum et quadra-
A.D. 14 gensimum féc[*i*]. Quó lústro cívium Románórum censa sunt
capita quadragiens centum millia et sexag[*i*]nta tria millia.
B.C. 8 [*Iteru*]m consulari cum imperio lústrum [*s*]ólus féci C. Censorin[*o*
et C.] Asinio cos. Quó lústro censa sunt cívium Romanóru[*m*
capita] quadragiens centum millia et ducenta triginta tria m[*illia.*
A.D. 14 *Tertiu*]m consulári cum imperio lústrum conlegá Tib. Cae[*sare*
filio feci] Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos. Quó lústro ce[*nsa*
sunt civium Ro]mánórum capitum quadragiens centum mill[*ia et*
nongenta tr]iginta et septem millia. Legibus noví[*s latis*
complura e]xempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nost[*ro usu*
reduxi et ipse] multárum rér[*um exe*]mpla imitanda pos[*teris*
tradidi].

[*Vota pro valetudine mea suscipi per cons*]ulés et sacerdotes qu[*into* 9

[Ὑπάτ]ε[υ]ον τρὶς καὶ δέκ[ατο]ν, ὅτε τ[αῦ]τα ἔγραφον, καὶ ἥμη[ν τρια]κ[οστὸ]ν καὶ ἕβδομ[ον δημαρχ]ικῆς ἐξουσίας.

5 Αὐτεξούσιόν μοι ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπόντι καὶ παρόντι διδομένην [ὑ]πό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συνκλήτου Μ[άρκ]ῳ [Μ]αρκέλλῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Ἀρρουντίῳ ὑπάτοις ο[ὐκ ἐδ]εξάμην. Οὐ παρητησάμην ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ [τοῦ] σ[είτ]ου σπάνει τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἣν οὕ[τως ἐπετήδευ]σα, ὥστ' ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέρα[ις το]ῦ παρόντος φόβου καὶ κι[νδ]ύνου ταῖς ἐμαῖς δαπάναις τὸν δῆμον ἐλευθερῶσα[ι]. Ὑπατείαν τέ μοι τότε δι[δ]ομένην καὶ ἐ[ν]ιαύσιον κα[ὶ δ]ι[ὰ] βίου οὐκ ἐδεξάμην.

6 Ὑπάτοις Μάρκῳ Οὐινουκίῳ καὶ Κοίντῳ Λ[ουκρ]ητ[ίῳ] καὶ μετὰ τα[ῦ]τα Ποπλίῳ καὶ Ναίῳ Λέντλοις καὶ τρίτον Παύλλῳ Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ Κοίν[τῳ] Τουβέρωνι τῆς [τε σ]υνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογ[ο]ύντων, ἵν[α ἐπιμε]λητὴς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐ[πὶ τῇ με]γίστῃ [ἐξ]ουσ[ίᾳ μ]ό[νο]ς χειροτονηθῷ, ἀρχὴν οὐδεμ[ία]ν πα[ρὰ τὰ πά]τρ[ια] ἔ[θ]η διδομένην ἀνεδεξάμην· ἃ δὲ τότε δι' ἐμοῦ ἡ σύνκλητος οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο, τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξο[υ]σίας ὧν ἐτέλε[σα. Κ]αὶ ταύτης αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς συνάρχοντα [αὐτ]ὸς ἀπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου π[εν]τάκις αἰτήσας [ἔλ]αβον.

7 Τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγενόμην δημοσίων πραγμάτων κατορθωτὴς συνεχέσιν ἔτεσιν δέκα. Πρῶτον ἀξιώματος τόπον ἔσχον τῆς συνκλήτου ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ταῦτα ἔγραφον, ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. Ἀρχιερεύς, αὔγουρ, τῶν δεκαπέντε ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἱεροποιῶν, τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν ἱεροποιῶν, ἀ[δε]λφὸς ἀρουᾶλις, ἑταῖρος Τίτιος, φητιᾶλις.

8 Τῶν [πατ]ρικίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν εὔξησα πέμπτον ὕπατ[ος ἐπιτ]αγῇ τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς συνκλήτου. [Τὴν σύ]νκλητον τρὶς ἐπέλεξα. Ἕκτον ὕπατος τὴν ἀπ[ο]τείμησιν τοῦ δήμου συνάρχον[τ]α ἔχων Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν ἔλαβον, ἥτις ἀπο[τείμη]σις μετὰ [δύο καὶ] τεσσαρακοστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν [σ]υνε[κ]λείσθη. Ἐν ᾗ ἀποτειμήσει Ῥωμαίων ἐτει[μήσ]α[ιτο] κεφαλαὶ τετρακό[σιαι ἑ]ξήκοντα μυ[ριάδες καὶ τρισχίλιαι. Δεύτερον ὑ]πατικῇ ἐξ[ουσίᾳ μόνος Γαΐῳ Κηνσωρίνῳ καὶ] Γαΐῳ [Ἀσινίῳ ὑπάτοις τὴν ἀποτείμησιν ἔλαβον·] ἐν [ᾗ] ἀπ[οτειμήσει ἐτειμήσαντο Ῥωμαί]ων τετ[ρακόσιαι εἴκοσι τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τ]ρι[σ]χίλιοι. Κ[αὶ τρίτον ὑπατικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὰς ἀποτειμή]σε[ι]ς ἔλα[βο]ν, [ἔχω]ν [συνάρχοντα Τιβέριον] Καίσαρα τὸν υἱόν μο[υ Σέξτῳ Πομπηίῳ καὶ] Σέξτῳ Ἀππουληίῳ ὑπάτοις· ἐν ᾗ ἀποτειμήσει ἐτειμήσαντο Ῥωμαίων τετρακόσιαι ἐνενήκοντα τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ ἑπτακισχείλιοι.

Εἰσαγαγὼν καινοὺς νόμους πολλὰ ἤδη τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν καταλυόμενα διωρθωσάμην καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν πραγμάτων μείμημα ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς μετέπειτα παρέδωκα.

9 Εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἀναλαμβάνειν διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἱερέων

qu[*oque anno senatus decrevit. Ex iis*] votís s[*ae*]pe fecerunt vívo [*me ludos aliquotiens sacerdotu*]m quattuor amplissima collé[*gia, aliquotiens consules. Privat*]im etiam et múnicipatim úniver[*si cives sacrificaverunt sempe*]r apud omnia pulvínária pró vale[*tudine mea*].

(*Sacred offices*) [*Nomen meum senatus consulto inc*]lusum est ín saliáre carmen et 10
sacrosan[*ctus ut essem . . . . . et ut q*]uoa[*d*] víverem, tribúnicia potestás mihí [*esset, lege sanctum est. Pontif*]ex maximus ne fierem in víví [*c*]onle[*gae locum, populo id sace*]rdotium deferente mihi, quod pater meu[*s habuit, recusavi. Cepi id*] sacerdotium aliquot post annós eó mor[*tuo qui civilis motus o*]ccasione occupaverat, cuncta ex Italia [*ad comitia mea . . . . tanta mu*]ltitudine, quanta Romae nun[*q*]uam [*antea fuisse fertur, coeunte*]
B.C. 12 P. Sulpicio C. Valgio consulibu[*s*] .

(*Sacred honours*) [*Aram Fortunae reduci iuxta? ae*]dés Honoris et Virtutis ad portam 11
[*Capenam pro reditu meo se*]nátus consacravit, in qua ponti[*fices et virgines Vestales anni*]versárium sacrificium facere [*iussit, die quo consulibus Q. Luc*]retio et [*M. Vinuci*]o in urbem ex [*Syria redi, et diem Augustali*]a ex [*c*]o[*gnomine nost*]ro appellavit.

[*Senatus consulto eodem tempor*]e pars [*praetorum et tri*]bunorum [*plebi* 12
B.C. 19 *cum consule Q. Lucret*]io et princi[*pi*]bus [*viris ob*]viam mihi mis[*s*]a e[*st in Campan*]ia[*m, qui*] honos [*ad hoc tempus*] nemini praeter [*m*]e es[*t decretus. Cu*]m ex H[*ispa*]niá Gal[*liaque, rebus*
B.C. 13 *in his p*]rovincís prosp[*e*]re [*gest*]i[*s*], R[*omam redi*] Ti. Ne[*r*]one P. Qui[*ntilio consulibu*]s , áram [*Pácis A*]u[*g*]ust[*ae senatus pro*] redi[*t*]ú meó co[*nsacrari censuit*] ad cam[*pum Martium, in qua ma*]gistratús et sac[*erdotes et virgines*] V[*est*]á[*les anniversarium sacrific*]ium facer[*e iussit*].

[*Ianum*] Quirin[*um, quem cl*]aussum ess[*e maiores nostri voluer*]unt, 13
(*Peace*) [*cum p*]er totum i[*mperium po*]puli Roma[*ni terra marique es*]set
B.C. 29, 25, 2 parta vic[*torii*]s pax, cum pr[*ius, quam*] náscerer, [*a condita*] u[*rb*]e bis omnino clausum [*f*]uisse prodátur m[*emori*]ae, ter me princi[*pe senat*]us claudendum esse censui[*t*].

(*Gaius and Lucius*) [*Fil*]ios meos, quós iuv[*enes mi*]hi eripuit for[*tuna*], Gaium et Lucium 14
Caesares honoris mei caussá senatus populusque Romanus annum
B.C. 5, 2 quíntum et decimum agentís consulés designávit, ut [*e*]um magistrátum inírent post quinquennium. Et ex eó die, quó deducti [*s*]unt in forum, ut interessent consiliís publicís decrevit sena[*t*]us.

Equites [*a*]utem Románi universi principem iuventútis utrumque eórum parm[*is*] et hastís argenteís donátum appelláverunt.

καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα ἐψηφίσατο ἡ σύνκλητος. ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὐχῶν πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι, τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῆς συναρχίας τῶν τεσσάρων ἱερέων, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. Καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις σύνπαντες οἱ πολεῖται ὁμοθυμαδ[ὸν] συνεχῶς ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σω[τ]ηρίας.

10 Τὸ ὄν[ομ]ά μου συνκλήτου δόγματι ἐνπεριελήφθη εἰ[ς τοὺ]ς σαλίων ὕμνους. καὶ ἵνα ἱερὸς ᾧ διὰ [βίο]υ [τ]ε τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχω ἐξουσίαν, νό[μῳ ἐκ]υρώθη. Ἀρχιερωσύνην, ἣν ὁ πατήρ [μ]ου [ἐσχ]ήκει, τοῦ δήμου μοι καταφέροντος εἰς τὸν τοῦ ζῶντος τόπον, οὐ προσεδεξάμ[η]ν. [ἣ]ν ἀρχιερατείαν μετά τινας ἐνιαυτοὺς ἀποθανόντος τοῦ προκατειληφότος αὐτὴν ἐν πολειτικαῖς ταραχαῖς, ἀνείληφα, εἰς τὰ ἐμὰ ἀρχαιρέσια ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσούτου πλήθους συνεληλυθότος, ὅσον οὐδεὶς ἔνπροσθεν ἱστόρησεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γεγονέναι Ποπλίῳ Σουλπικίῳ καὶ Γαΐῳ Οὐαλγίῳ ὑπάτοις.

11 Βωμὸν Τύχης σωτηρίου ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπανόδου πρὸς τῇ Καπήνῃ πύλῃ ἡ σύνκλητος ἀφιέρωσεν· πρὸς ᾧ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ἐνιαύσιον θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ὑπάτοις Κοίντῳ Λουκρητίῳ καὶ Μάρκῳ Οὐινουκίῳ ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανεληλύθει[ν], τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπωνυμίας προσηγόρευσεν Αὐγουστάλια.

12 Δόγματι σ[υ]νκλήτου οἱ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς ἄρξαντε[ς σ]ὺν μέρει στρατηγῶν καὶ δημάρχων μετὰ ὑπ[ά]του Κοίντου Λουκρητίου ἐπέμφθησάν μοι ὑπαντήσοντες μέχρι Καμπανίας, ἥτις τειμὴ μέχρι τούτου οὐδὲ ἑνὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ ἐψηφίσθη. Ὅτε ἐξ Ἱσπανίας καὶ Γαλατίας, τῶν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἐπαρχείαις πραγμάτων κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τελεσθέντων, εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθον Τιβερίῳ [Νέ]ρωνι καὶ Ποπλίῳ Κοιντιλίῳ ὑπάτοις, βωμὸν Ε[ἰρ]ήνης Σεβαστῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπανόδου ἀφιερωθῆναι ἐψηφίσατο ἡ σύνκλητος ἐν πεδίῳ Ἄρεως, πρὸς ᾧ τούς τε ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τάς τε ἱερείας ἐνιαυσίους θυσίας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν.

13 Πύλην Ἐνυάλιον, ἣν κεκλῖσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἠθέλησαν εἰρηνευομένης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πάσης γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης, πρὸ μὲν ἐμοῦ, ἐξ οὗ ἡ πόλις ἐκτίσθη, τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι δὶς μόνον κεκλεῖσθαι ὁμολογεῖται, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνος τρὶς ἡ σύνκλητος ἐψηφίσατο κλεισθῆναι.

14 Υἱούς μου Γάιον καὶ Λεύκιον Καίσ[α]ρας, οὓς νεανίας ἀνήρπασεν ἡ τύχη, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν τειμ[ὴ]ν ἥ τ[ε] σύνκλητος καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων πεντεκαιδεκαέτεις ὄντας ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξεν, ἵνα μετὰ πέντε ἔτη εἰς τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν εἰσέλθωσιν· καὶ ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέ[ρα]ς [εἰς τὴν ἀ]γορὰν [κατ]αχθ[ῶ]σιν, ἵνα [με]τέχωσιν τῆς συ[ν]κλήτου ἐψηφίσατο.

ἱππεῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίων σύν[π]αντες ἡγεμόνα νεότητος ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν [πρ]οσηγόρευσαν, ἀσπίσιν ἀργυρέαις καὶ δόρασιν [ἐτ]είμησαν.

(*Benefactions*)

Plebei Románae viritim ⊢⊣ trecenos numeravi ex testámento patris 15
meí, et nomine meo ⊢⊣ quadringenos ex bellórum manibiís
B.C. 29 consul quintum dedí, iterum autem in consulátú decimo ex [*p*]a-
trimonio meo ⊢⊣ quadringenos congiári viritim pernumer[*a*]ví, et
B.C. 23 consul undecimum duodecim frúmentátiónes frúmento pr[*i*]vatim
B.C. 11 coémpto emensus sum, et tribuniciá potestáte duodecimum
quadringenós nummós tertium viritim dedí. Quae mea congiaria
p[*e*]rvenerunt ad [*homi*]num millia nunquam minus quinquáginta
B.C. 5 et ducenta. Tribu[*nic*]iae potestátis duodevicensimum consul
XII trecentís et vigint[*i*] millibus plebís urbánae sexagenós
denariós viritim dedí. In colon[*i*]s militum meórum consul
B.C. 29 quintum ex manibiís viritim millia nummum singula dedi;
acceperunt id triumphale congiárium in colo[*n*]ís hominum
B.C. 2 circiter centum et viginti millia. Consul tertium dec[*i*]mum
sexagenós denáriós plebeí, quae tum frúmentum publicum accipieba[*t*], dedi; ea millia hominum paullo plúra quam ducenta
fuerunt.

B.C. 30 Pecuniam [*pro*] agrís, quós in consulátú meó quárto et posteá con- 16
B.C. 14 sulibus M. Cr[*asso e*]t Cn. Lentulo augure adsignávi militibus,
(*The Veterans*) solví múnicipís. Ea [*s*]u[*mma sest*]ertium circiter sexsiens milliens
fuit, quam [*p*]ró Italicís praed[*is*] numeravi, et ci[*r*]citer bis
mill[*ie*]ns et sescentiens, quod pro agrís próvin[*c*]ialibus solví.
Id primus et [*s*]olus omnium, qui [*d*]edúxerunt colonias
militum in Italiá aut in provincís, ad memor[*i*]am aetátis meae
B.C. 7, 6, 4, 3, 2 feci. Et postea Ti. Nerone et Cn. Pisone consulibus, item[*q*]ue
C. Antistio et D. Laelio cos., et C. Calvisio et L. Pasieno consulibus, et L. Le[*ntulo et*] M. Messalla consulibus, et L. Cánínio
et Q. Fabricio co[*s.*] milit[*ibus, qu*]ós emeriteis stipendís in sua
municipi[*a remis*]i, praem[*ia n*]umerato persolví, quam in rem
seste[*rtium*] q[*uater m*]illien[*s li*]b[*ente*]r impendi.

(*Aerarium*)

Quater [*pe*]cuniá meá iuví aerárium, ita ut sestertium mílliien[*s*] et 17
quing[*en*]t[*ien*]s ad eos quí praeerant aerário detulerim. Et M.
A.D. 6 Lep[*i*]do et L. Ar[*r*]unt[*i*]o cos. i[*n*] aerarium militare, quod ex
consilio m[*eo*] co[*nstitut*]um est, ex [*q*]uo praemia darentur
militibus, qui vicena [*aut plu*]ra sti[*pendi*]a emeruissent, ⊢⊣
milliens et septing[*e*]nti[*ens ex pa*]t[*rim*]onio [*m*]eo detuli.

B.C. 8 [*Inde ab eo anno, q*]uo Cn. et P. Lentuli c[*ons*]ules fuerunt, cum 18
d[*e*]ficerent [*vecti*]g[*alia, tum*] centum millibus h[*omi*]num tu[*m pl*]uribus i[*nl*]ato fru[*mento vel ad n*]umma[*rió*]s t[*ributus ex agro*]
et pat[*rimonio*] m[*e*]o [*opem tuli*].

15 Δήμῳ Ῥωμα[ίω]ν κατ' ἄνδρα ἑβδομήκοντα π[έντ]ε δηνάρια ἑκάστῳ ἠρίθμησα κατὰ διαθήκην τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι ἐκ λαφύρων [π]ο[λέ]μου ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν δηνάρια πέμπτον ὕπατος ἔδωκα, πάλιν τε δέ[κατο]ν ὑπατεύων ἐκ τ[ῆ]ς ἐμῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀνὰ δηνάρια ἑκατὸν ἠρίθ[μ]ησα, καὶ ἐνδέκατον ὕπατος δώδεκα σειτομετρήσεις ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ βίου ἀπεμέτρησα, καὶ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δωδέκατον ἑκατὸν δηνάρια κατ' ἄνδρα ἔδωκα· αἵτ[ι]νες ἐμαὶ ἐπιδόσεις οὐδέποτε ἧσσον ἦλθ[ο]ν ε[ἰ]ς ἄνδρας μυριάδων εἴκοσι πέντε. δημα[ρ]χικῆς ἐξουσίας ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, ὕπατ[ος] δ[ωδέκατον] τριάκοντα τρισ[ὶ] μυριάσιν ὄχλου πολειτικ[οῦ ἐ]ξήκοντα δηνάρια κατ' ἄνδρα ἔδωκα, καὶ ἀποίκοις στρατιωτῶν ἐμῶν πέμπτον ὕπατος ἐ[κ] λαφύρων κατὰ ἄνδρα ἀνὰ διακόσια πεντήκοντα δηνάρια ἔδ[ωκα]· ἔλαβον ταύτην τὴν δωρεὰν ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις ἀνθρώπων μυριάδες πλ[εῖ]ον δώδε[κα. ὕ]πατος τ[ρι]σκαιδέκατον ἀνὰ ἑξήκοντα δηνάρια τῷ σειτομετ[ρου]μένῳ δήμῳ ἔδω[κα· οὗτο]ς ἀρ[ι]θμ[ὸς πλείων εἴκο][σ]ι [μυ]ριάδων ὑπῆρχ[ε]ν.

16 Χρήματα ἐν ὑπατείᾳ τετάρτῃ ἐμῇ κα[ὶ] μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπάτοις Μάρκῳ Κράσσῳ καὶ Ναίῳ Λέντλῳ αὔγουρι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἠρίθμησα ὑπὲρ ἀγρῶν, οὓς ἐμέρισα τοῖς στρατ[ιώ]ταις. Κεφαλαίου ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ μὲν μύριαι π[εντακι]σ[χ]ε[ίλιαι μυ]ριάδες, [τῶ]ν [δὲ ἐ]παρχειτικῶν ἀγρῶν [μ]υ[ριάδες ἑξακισχίλ]ιαι πεν[τακό]σ[ιαι]. Τοῦτο πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ἁπάντων ἐπόησα τῶν [κατα]γαγόντων ἀποικίας στρατιωτῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἢ ἐν ἐπαρχείαις μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας. καὶ μετέπειτα Τιβερίῳ Νέρωνι καὶ Ναίῳ Πείσωνι ὑπάτοις καὶ πάλιν Γαΐῳ Ἀνθεστίῳ καὶ Δέκμῳ Λαιλίῳ ὑπάτοις καὶ Γαΐῳ Καλουισίῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Πασσιήνῳ [ὑ]πάτο[ι]ς [καὶ Λ]ευκίῳ Λέντλῳ καὶ Μάρκῳ Μεσσάλ[ᾳ] ὑπάτοις κ[α]ὶ Λευκίῳ Κανιν[ί]ῳ, [κ]αὶ [Κ]οίντῳ Φα[β]ρικίῳ ὑπάτοις στρατιώταις ἀπολυομένοις, οὓς κατήγαγον εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πόλ[εις], φιλανθρώπου ὀνόματι ἔδωκα μ[υρ]ιάδας ἐγγὺς [μυρία]ς.

17 Τετρά[κ]ις χρήμ[α]σιν ἐμοῖς [ἀν]έλαβον τὸ αἰράριον, [εἰς] ὃ [κ]ατήνενκα [χ]ειλίας [ἑπτ]ακοσίας πεντήκοντα μυριάδας. κ[αὶ] Μ[ά]ρκῳ [Λεπίδῳ] καὶ Λευκίῳ Ἀρρουντίῳ ὑ[πάτοις ε]ἰς τ[ὸ] στ[ρ]α[τιωτ]ικὸν αἰράριον, ὃ τῇ [ἐμῇ] γ[ν]ώ[μῃ] κατέστη, ἵνα [ἐ]ξ αὐτοῦ αἱ δωρ[ε]αὶ εἰσ[έπειτα τοῖς ἐ]μοῖς σ[τρατι]ώταις δίδωνται, ο[ἷ εἴκο][σι]ν ἐνιαυτο[ὺ]ς ἢ πλείονας ἐστρατεύσαντο, μ[υ]ριάδα[ς] τετρά[κ]ις χειλίας διακοσίας πεντήκοντα [ἐκ τῆς ἐ]μ[ῆς] ὑπάρξεως κατήνενκα.

18 [Ἀπ' ἐκ]είνου τ[ο]ῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐ[φ'] οὗ Ναῖος καὶ Πόπλιος [Λ]έντλοι ὕπατοι ἐγένοντο, ὅτε ὑπέλειπον αἱ δη[μό]σιαι πρόσοδοι, ἄλλοτε μὲν δέκα μυριάσιν, ἄλ[λοτε] δὲ πλείοσιν σειτικὰς καὶ ἀργυρικὰς συντάξεις ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπάρξεως ἔδωκα.

Cúriam et continens eí chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Palatio 19
(*Buildings*) cum porticibus, aedem dívi Iulí, Lupercal, porticum ad circum Fláminium, quam sum appellári passus ex nómine eius quí priórem eódem in solo fecerat Octaviam, pulvinar ad circum maximum, aedés in Capitolio Iovis feretrí et Iovis tonantis, aedem Quiriní, aedés Minervae et Iúnonis reginae et Iovis Libertatis in Aventíno, aedem Larum in summá sacrá viá, aedem deum Penátium in Velia, aedem Iuventátis, aedem Mátris Magnae in Palátio fécí.

Capitolium et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensá grandí 20
reféci sine ullá inscriptione nominis meí. Rívos aquarum complúribus locis vetustáte labentés refécí, et aquam quae Márcia appellátur duplicavi fonte novo in rivum eius inmisso.

Forum Iúlium et basilicam, quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coepta profligataque opera á patre meó perféci et eandem basilicam consumptam incendio ampliáto eius solo sub titulo nominis filiórum m[*eorum i*]ncohavi et, si vivus nón perfecissem, perfici ab heredib[*us iussí*]. Duo et octoginta
B.C. 28 templa deum in urbe consul sext[*um ex decreto*] senatus reféci, nullo praetermisso quod e[*o*] temp[*ore refici debebat*]. Con[*s*]ul
B.C. 27 septimum viam Flaminiam a[*b urbe*] Ari[*minum feci et pontes*]
(*Via Flaminia*) omnes praeter Mulvium et Minucium.

In privato solo Mártis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum [*ex* 21
(*Buildings*) *mani*]biís fecí. Theatrum ad aede[*m*] Apollinis in solo magná ex parte á p[*r*]i[*v*]atis empto féci, quod sub nomine M. Marcell[*i*] generi mei esset. Don[*a e*]x manibiís in Capitolio et in aede dívi Iú[*l*]í et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris consacrávi, quae mihi constiterunt ~~HS~~ circiter milliens. Aurí coronárí pondo triginta et quinque millia múnicipiís et colonís Italiae conferentibus ad triumphó[*s*] meós
B.C. 29 quintum consul remisi, et posteá, quotienscumque imperátor a[*ppe*]llátus sum, aurum coronárium nón accepi decernentibus municipii[*s*] et coloni[*s*] aequ[*e*] beni[*g*]ne adque antea decreverant.

T[*e*]r munus gladiátorium dedí meo nomine et quinquiens filiórum 22
(*Spectacles*) me[*o*]rum aut n[*e*]pótum nomine; quibus muneribus depugnaverunt hominu[*m*] ci[*rc*]iter decem millia. Bis [*at*]hletarum undique accitorum spec[*ta*]c[*lum po*]pulo pra[*ebui meo*] nómine et tertium nepo[*tis*] meí nomi*ne*. L[*u*]dos fecí m[*eo no*]m[*ine*]

19 Βουλευτήρ[ιο]ν καὶ τὸ πλησίον αὐτῷ χαλκιδικόν, ναόν τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Παλατίῳ σὺν στοαῖς, ναὸν θεοῦ [Ἰ]ουλίου, Πανὸς ἱερόν, στοὰν πρὸς ἱπποδρόμῳ τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Φλαμινίῳ, ἣν εἴασα προσαγορεύεσθαι ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκείνου Ὀκταουΐαν, ὃ[ς] πρῶτος αὐτὴν ἀνέστησεν, ναὸν πρὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱπποδρόμῳ, ναοὺς ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ Διὸς τροπαιοφόρου καὶ Διὸς βροντησίου, ναὸν Κυρείν[ο]υ, ναοὺς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἥρας βασιλίδος καὶ Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου ἐν Ἀουεντίνῳ, ἡρώων πρὸς τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ, θεῶν κατοικιδίων ἐν Οὐελίᾳ, ναὸν Νεότητο[ς, να]ὸν μητρὸς θεῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐπόησα.

20 Καπιτώλ[ιο]ν καὶ τὸ Πομπηίου θέατρον ἑκάτερον τὸ ἔργον ἀναλώμασιν μεγίστοις ἐπεσκεύασα ἄνευ ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος. Ἀγωγοὺς ὑδάτω[ν ἐν πλεί]στοις τόποις τῇ παλαιότητι ὀλισθάνον[τας ἐπ]εσκεύασα καὶ ὕδωρ τὸ καλούμενον Μάρ[κιον ἐδί]πλωσα πηγὴν νέαν εἰς τὸ ῥεῖθρον [αὐτοῦ ἐποχετεύσ]ας. Ἀγορὰν Ἰουλίαν καὶ βασι[λικὴν τὴν μεταξὺ τ]οῦ τε ναοῦ τῶν Διοσκό[ρων καὶ Κρόνου κατα]βεβλημένα ἔργα ὑπὸ τοῦ [πατρὸς ἐτελείωσα κα]ὶ τὴν αὐτὴν βασιλικὴν [καυθεῖσαν ἐπὶ αὐξηθέντι] ἐδάφει αὐτῆς ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς ὀνόματος τῶν ἐμῶν υἱῶν ὑπ[ηρξάμη]ν καὶ εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς τετελειώκ[ο]ι[μι, τ]ελε[ι]ω[θῆναι ὑπὸ] τῶν ἐμῶν κληρονόμων ἐπέταξα. Δ[ύ]ο [καὶ ὀγδο]ήκοντα ναοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλ[ει ἕκτ]ον ὕπ[ατος δόγμα]τι συνκ[λ]ήτου ἐπεσκεύασ[α] ο[ὐ]δένα π[ε]ριλ[ιπών, ὃς] ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπισκευῆς ἐδεῖτο. [Ὕ]πα[τος ἕ]βδ[ο]μον ὁδὸν Φ[λαμινίαν ἀπὸ] Ῥώμης [Ἀρίμινον] γ[εφ]ύρας τε τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ πάσας ἔξω δυεῖν τῶν μὴ ἐπ[ι]δεομένων ἐ[π]ισκευῆς ἐπόησα.

21 Ἐν ἰδιωτικῷ ἐδάφει Ἄρεως Ἀμύντορος ἀγοράν τε Σεβαστὴν ἐκ λαφύρων ἐπόησα. Θέατρον πρὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ναῷ ἐπὶ ἐδάφους ἐκ πλείστου μέρους ἀγορασθέντος ἀνήγειρα ἐπὶ ὀνόματος Μαρκέλλου τοῦ γαμβροῦ μου. Ἀναθέματα ἐκ λαφύρων ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ ναῷ Ἰουλίῳ καὶ ναῷ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἑστίας καὶ Ἄ[ρεω]ς ἀφιέρωσα, ἃ ἐμοὶ κατέστη ἐνγὺς μυριάδω[ν δι]σχε[ι]λίων πεντακ[οσίων]. Εἰς χρυσοῦν στέφανον λειτρῶν τρισ[μυρίων] πεντακισχειλίων καταφερούσαις τα[ῖς ἐν Ἰ]ταλίᾳ πολειτείαις καὶ ἀποικίαις συνεχώρη[σ]α τὸ [πέμ]πτον ὑπατεύων, καὶ ὕστερον ὁσάκις [αὐτ]οκράτωρ προσηγορεύθην, τὰς εἰς τὸν στέφανο[ν ἐ]παγγελίας οὐκ ἔλαβον ψηφιζομένων τῶν π[ολειτει]ῶν καὶ ἀποικιῶν μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς προθ[υμίας, κα]θά[περ ἐψηφίσαντο π]ρό[τερον].

22 [Τρὶς μονο]μαχ[ίαν ἔδω]κα τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι καὶ [πεντάκις τῶν υἱῶν μου ἢ υἱ]ωνῶν· ἐν αἷς μονο[μαχίαις ἐμαχέσαντο ἐ]ν[γὺς μύ]ρι[ο]ι. Δὶς ἀθλητῶ[ν] παντ[αχόθεν] με[ταπεμφθέντων γυμνικο]ῦ ἀγῶνος θέαν [τῷ δήμῳ π]αρέσχον τ[ῷ ἐ]μῷ ὀνόματι καὶ τρίτ[ον] τ[οῦ υἱωνοῦ μου. Θέας ἐπόη]σα δι' ἐμοῦ τετράκ[ις,] διὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν ἐν μέρει

(*Ludi*) quater , aliorum autem m[*agist*]rátu[*um*] vicem ter et vicie[*ns*] . [*Pr*]o conlegio xv virorum magis[*ter conl*]e[*gi*]í colleg[*a*]
B.C. 17 M. Agrippa lud[*os s*]aecl[*are*]s C. Furnio C. [*S*]ilano cos.
B.C. 2 [*feci. C*]on[*sul* XIII] ludos Mar[*tia*]les pr[*imus feci*], qu[*os*] p[*ost i*]d tempus deincep[*s*] ins[*equen*]ti[*bus ann*]is . . . . . [*fecerunt co*]n[*su*]les. [*Ven*]ati[*o*]n[*es*] best[*ia*]rum Africanárum meo nómine aut filio[*ru*]m meórum et nepotum in ci[*r*]co aut [*i*]n foro aut in amphitheatris popul[*o d*]edi sexiens et viciens, quibus confecta sunt bestiarum circiter tria m[*ill*]ia et quingentae.

Navalis proelí spectaculum populo de[*di tr*]ans Tiberim, in quo loco **23**
nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato [*solo*] in longitudinem mille et octingentós pedés, in látitudine[*m mille*] e[*t*] ducentí. In quo triginta rostrátae náves trirémes a[*ut birem*]és, plures autem minóres inter se conflixérunt. Q[*uibus in*] classibus pugnaverunt praeter rémigés millia ho[*minum tr*]ia circiter.

In templís omnium civitátium pr[*ovinci*]ae Asiae victor ornamenta **24**
(*Statues, offerings*) reposui, quae spoliátis tem[*plis is*] cum quó bellum gesseram privátim possederat . Statuae [*mea*]e pedestrés et equestres et in quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe XXC circiter, quas ipse sustuli exque eá pecuniá dona aurea in áede Apol[*li*]nis meó nomine et illórum, qui mihi statuárum honórem habuerunt, posui.

Mare pacávi á praedonib[*u*]s. Eó bello servórum, qui fugerant á **25**
(*Pirates, slaves*) dominis suis et arma contrá rem publicam céperant, triginta fere millia capta dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi. Iuravit in mea verba tóta Italia sponte suá et me be[*lli*], quó víci ad
(*Actium*) Actium, ducem depoposcit. Iuraverunt in eadem ver[*ba provi*]nciae Galliae Hispaniae Africa Sicilia Sardinia. Qui sub [*signis meis tum*] militaverint, fuerunt senátórés plúres quam DCC, in ií[*s qui vel antea vel pos*]teá consules factí sunt ad eum diem quó scripta su[*nt haec*, LXXXIII, *sacerdo*]tés ci[*rc*]iter CLXX.

Omnium próv[*inciarum populi Romani*], quibus finitimae fuerunt **26**
(*Frontiers secured*) gentés quae n[*on parerent imperio nos*]tro, fines auxi. Gallias et Hispaniás próvinciá[*s et Germaniam qua inclu*]dit óceanus a Gádibus ad óstium Albis flúm[*inis pacavi. Alpes a re*]gióne eá, quae proxima est Hadriánó marí, [*ad Tuscum pacari fec*]i nullí gentí bello per iniúriam inláto. Cla[*ssis mea per Oceanum*] ab óstio Rhéni ad sólis orientis regionem usque ad fi[*nes Cimbroru*]m navigavit, quó neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus

τρὶς καὶ εἰκοσάκις. Ὑπὲρ τῶν δεκαπέντε [ἀνδρ]ῶν, ἔχων συνάρχοντα Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππ[αν, τὰς θ]έας [δ]ιὰ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν γεινομένας ὀν[ομαζομένα]ς σ[αι]κλάρεις ἐπόησα Γαίῳ Φουρνίῳ κ[αὶ] Γαίῳ Σε[ι]λανῷ ὑπάτοις. Ὕπατος τρισκαιδέκατον [θέας Ἄρεως πρ]ῶτος ἐπόησα, ἃς μετ' ἐκεῖνο[ν χ]ρόνον ἑξῆς [τοῖς μ]ετέπειτα ἐνιαυτοῖς δ . . . . . μοι ἐπόησαν οἱ ὕπα-
[τοι] . . . . . ν . . . . . ης θηρίων ε
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

23 Ν[αυμαχίας θέαν τῷ δήμῳ ἔδω]κα πέ[ρ]αν τοῦ Τι[βέριδος, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἐστὶ νῦ]ν ἄλσος Καισά[ρω]ν, ἐκκεχω[κὼς τὸ ἔδαφος] ε[ἰ]ς μῆκ[ο]ς χειλίων ὀκτακοσίων ποδ[ῶν, εἰς π]λάτ[ο]ς χιλίων διακο[σ]ίων. ἐν ᾗ τριάκο[ν]τα ναῦς ἔμβολα ἔχουσαι τριήρεις ἢ δίκροτ[οι, αἱ] δὲ ἥσσονες πλείους ἐναυμάχησαν. Ἐν τ[ούτῳ] τῷ στόλῳ ἠγωνίσαντο ἔξω τῶν ἐρετῶν πρόσπ[ο]υ ἄνδρες τρ[ι]σχ[ε]ί[λ]ιοι.

24 [Ἐν ναοῖ]ς π[ασ]ῶν πόλεω[ν] τῆς [Ἀ]σί[α]ς νεικήσας τὰ ἀναθέ[ματα ἀπ]οκατέστησα, [ἃ εἶχεν] ἱ[δίᾳ] ἱεροσυλήσας ὁ ὑπ' [ἐμοῦ] δ[ι]αγωνισθεὶς πολέ[μιος]. Ἀνδριάντες πεζοὶ καὶ ἔφιπποί μου καὶ ἐφ' ἅρμασιν ἀργυροῖ εἱστήκεισαν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνγὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, οὓς αὐτὸς ἦρα, ἐκ τούτου τε τοῦ χρήματος ἀναθέματα χρυσᾶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ τε ἐμῷ ὀνόματι καὶ ἐκείνων, οἵτινές με [τ]ούτοις τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ἐτείμησαν, ἀνέθηκα.

25 Θάλασσα[ν] πειρατευομένην ὑπὸ ἀποστατῶν δούλων [εἰρήν]ευσα· ἐξ ὧν τρεῖς που μυριάδας τοῖς δε[σπόται]ς εἰς κόλασιν παρέδωκα. Ὤμοσεν [εἰς τοὺς ἐμοὺ]ς λόγους ἅπασα ἡ Ἰταλία ἑκοῦσα κά[μὲ πολέμου,] ᾧ ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ ἐνε[ί]κησα, ἡγεμόνα ἐξη[τήσατο. ὤ]μοσαν εἰς τοὺς [αὐτοὺ]ς λόγους ἐπα[ρ]χε[ῖαι Γαλα]τία Ἱσπανία Λιβύη Σι[κελία Σαρ]δώ. Οἱ ὑπ' ἐμ[αῖς σημέαις τό]τε στρατευ[σάμενοι ἦσαν συνκλητι][κοὶ πλείους ἑπτ]α[κοσί]ων· [ἐ]ν [αὐτοῖς οἳ ἦ πρότερον ἦ] [μετέπειτα] ἐγ[ένον]το [ὑπ]α[τοι εἰς ἐκ]ε[ί]ν[ην τὴν ἡ]μέ[ραν, ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα γέγραπτα]ι, ὁ[γδοήκο]ντα τρε[ῖ]ς, ἱερ[εῖ]ς πρός που ἑκατὸν ἑβδομή[κ]οντα.

26 Πασῶν ἐπαρχειῶν δήμο[υ Ῥω]μαίων, αἷς ὅμορα ἦν ἔθνη τὰ μὴ ὑποτασσ[όμ]ενα τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡγεμονίᾳ, τοὺς ὅρους ἐπεύξ[ησ]α. Γαλατίας καὶ Ἱσπανίας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Γερμανίαν καθὼς Ὠκεανὸς περικλείει ἀπ[ὸ] Γαδε[ίρ]ων μέχρι στόματος Ἄλβιος ποταμο[ῦ ἐν] εἰρήνῃ κατέστησα. Ἄλπης ἀπὸ κλίματος τοῦ πλησίον Εἰονίου κόλπου μέχρι Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης εἰρηνεύεσθαι πεπόηκα, οὐδενὶ ἔθνει ἀδίκως ἐπενεχθέντος πολέμου. Στόλος ἐμὸς διὰ Ὠκεανοῦ ἀπὸ στόματος Ῥήνου ὡς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέχρι ἔθνους Κίμβρων διέπλευσεν, οὗ οὔτε

ante id tempus adít, Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractús alií Germánórum popu[*l*]i per legátós amicitiam meam et populi Románi petierunt. Meo iussú et auspicio
B.C. 22, 24 ducti sunt [*duo*] exercitús eódem fere tempore in Aethiopiam et in
(*Foreign wars*) Ar[*a*]biam, quae appel[*latur*] eudaemón, [*maxim*]aeque hos[*t*]ium gentís utr[*iu*]sque cop[*iae*] caesae sunt in acie et [*c*]om[*plur*]a oppida capta. In Aethiopiam usque ad oppidum Nabata pervent[*um*] est, cuí proxima est Meroé. In Arabiam usque in fínés Sabaeorum pro[*cess*]it exerc[*it*]us ad oppidum Mariba.

Aegyptum imperio populi [*Ro*]mani adieci. Armeniam maiorem 27
(*Africa and Asia*) interfecto rége eius Artaxe c[*u*]m possem facere provinciam, málui maiórum nostrórum exemplo regn[*u*]m id Tigrani regis
B.C. 20 Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigránis regis, per T[*i. Ne*]ronem trad[*er*]e, qui tum mihi priv[*ig*]nus erat. Et eandem gentem
A.D. 1 posteá d[*esc*]íscentem et rebellantem domit[*a*]m per Gaium filium meum regi Ario[*barz*]ani regis Medorum Artaba[*zi*] filio regendam tradidi et post e[*ius*] mortem filio eius Artavasdi. Quo [*inte*]rfecto [*Tigra*]ne, qui erat ex régió genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id re[*gnum*] mísí. Provincias omnís, quae trans Hadrianum mare vergun[*t a*]d orien[*te*]m, Cyrenásque, iam ex parte magná regibus eas possidentibus, e[*t ante*]a Siciliam et Sardiniam occu[*pat*]ás bello servili reciperáví.

Colonias in Afri[*ca Sicilia M*]acedoniá utráque Hispániá Achai[*a*] 28
(*Colonies*) Asia S[*y*]ria Galliá Narbonensi Pi[*si*]dia militum dedúxí . Italia autem XXVIII [*colo*]niás, quae vívo me celeberrimae et frequentissimae fuerunt, m[*eis auspicis*] deductas habet.

Signa mílitaria complur[*a per*] aliós d[*u*]cés ámi[*ssa*] devictí[*s hostibu*]s 29
(*The Standards*) re[*cipe*]ravi ex Hispania et [*Gallia et a Dalm*]ateis. Parthos
B.C. 20 trium exercitum Roman[*o*]rum spolia et signa re[*ddere*] mihi supplicesque amicitiam populí Romaní petere *coegi*. Ea autem si[*gn*]a in penetráli, quod e[*s*]t ín templo Martis Ultoris, reposui.

Pannonio[*rum gentes, quas a*]nte me principem populi Romaní 30
(*Illyricum*) exercitus nunquam ad[*i*]t, devictas per Ti. [*Ne*]ronem, qui tum
B.C. 11 erat privignus et legátus meus, ímperio populi Romani s[*ubie*]ci protulique finés Illyrici ad r[*ip*]am flúminis Dan[*u*]i. Citr[*a*]
(*The Daci*) quod [*D*]a[*cor*]u[*m tr*]an[*s*]gressus exercitus meis a[*u*]sp[*icis vict*]us profligatusque [*est, et*] pos[*tea tran*]s Dan[*u*]vium ductus ex[*ercitus me*]u[*s*] Da[*cor*]um gentes im[*peria populi Romani perferre coegit*].

Ad me ex In[*dia regum legationes saepe missae sunt, numquam antea* 31
(*India*) *visae*] apud qu[*em*]q[*uam*] R[*omanorum du*]cem. Nostram

κατὰ γῆν οὔτε κατὰ θάλασσαν Ῥωμαίων τις πρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου προσῆλθεν· καὶ Κίμβροι καὶ Χάλυβες καὶ Σέμνονες ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἔθνη Γερμανῶν διὰ πρεσβειῶν τὴν ἐμὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἠτήσαντο. Ἐμῇ ἐπιταγῇ καὶ οἰωνοῖς αἰσίοις δύο στρατεύματα ἐπέβη Αἰθιοπίᾳ καὶ Ἀραβίᾳ τῇ εὐδαίμονι καλουμένῃ μεγάλας τε τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις κατέκοψεν ἐν παρατάξει καὶ πλείστας πόλεις δοριαλώτους ἔλαβεν καὶ προέβη ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ μέχρι πόλεως Ναβάτης, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἔγγιστα Μερόη, ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ δὲ μέχρι πόλεως Μαρίβας.

27 Αἴγυπτον δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ προσέθηκα. Ἀρμενίαν τὴν μ[εί]ζονα ἀναιρεθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμενος ἐπαρχείαν ποῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐβουλήθην κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡμῶν ἔθη βασιλείαν Τιγράνῃ Ἀρταουάσδου υἱῷ, υἱωνῷ δὲ Τιγράνου βασιλέως δ[ο]ῦν[α]ι διὰ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος, ὃς τότ' ἐμοῦ πρόγονος ἦν· καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος ἀφιστάμενον καὶ ἀναπολεμοῦν δαμασθὲν ὑπὸ Γαΐου τοῦ υἱοῦ μου βασιλεῖ Ἀριοβαρζάνει, βασιλέως Μήδων Ἀρταβάζου υἱῷ, παρέδωκα καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀρταουάσδῃ· οὗ ἀναιρεθέντος Τιγράνην, ὃς ἦν ἐκ γένους Ἀρμενίου βασιλικοῦ, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔπεμψα. Ἐπαρχείας ἁπάσας, ὅσαι πέραν τοῦ Εἰονίου κόλπου διατείνουσι πρὸς ἀνατολάς, καὶ Κυρήνην ἐκ μείζονος μέρους ὑπὸ βασιλέων κατεσχημένας καὶ ἔμπροσθεν Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδὼ προκατειλημένας πολέμῳ δουλικῷ ἀνέλαβον.

28 Ἀποικίας ἐν Λιβύῃ Σικελίᾳ Μακεδονίᾳ ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τε Ἱσπανίᾳ Ἀχαΐᾳ Ἀσίᾳ Συρίᾳ Γαλατίᾳ τῇ περὶ Νάρβωνα Πισιδίᾳ στρατιωτῶν κατήγαγον. Ἰταλία δὲ εἴκοσι ὀκτὼ ἀποικίας ἔχει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταχθείσας, αἳ ἐμοῦ περιόντος πληθύουσαι ἐτύγχανον.

29 Σημέας στρατιωτικὰς [πλείους ὑ]πὸ ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων ἀποβεβλημένας [νικῶν τοὺ]ς πολεμίους ἀπέλαβον ἐξ Ἱσπανίας καὶ Γαλατίας καὶ παρὰ Δαλματῶν. Πάρθους τριῶν στρατευμάτων Ῥωμαίων σκῦλα καὶ σημέας ἀποδοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἱκέτας τε φιλίαν δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀξιῶσαι ἠνάγκασα. ταύτας δὲ τὰς σημέας ἐν τῷ Ἄρεως τοῦ Ἀμύντορος ναοῦ ἀδύτῳ ἀπεθέμην.

30 Παννονίων ἔθνη, οἷς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνος στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἤγισεν, ἡσσηθέντα ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος, ὃς τότ' ἐμοῦ ἦν πρόγονος καὶ πρεσβευτής, ἡγεμονίᾳ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὑπέταξα τά τε Ἰλλυρικοῦ ὅρια μέχρι Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ προήγαγον· οὗ ἔπειτα δὲ Δάκων διαβᾶσα πολλὴ δύναμις ἐμοῖς αἰσίοις οἰωνοῖς κατεκόπη. καὶ ὕστερον μεταχθὲν τὸ ἐμὸν στράτευμα πέραν Ἴστρου τὰ Δάκων ἔθνη προστάγματα δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὑπομένειν ἠνάγκασεν.

31 Πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐξ Ἰνδίας βασιλέων πρεσβεῖαι πολλάκις ἀπεστάλησαν, οὐδέποτε πρὸ τούτου χρόνου ὀφθεῖσαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνι. Τὴν ἡμετέ-

(*Client kings*) am[*icitiam petierunt*] per legat[*os*] B[*a*]starn[*ae Scythae*]que et Sarmatarum q[*ui sunt citra flu*]men Tanaim [*et*] ultrá reg[*es, Alba*]norumque rex et Hibér[*orum et Medorum*].

Ad mé supplices confug[*erunt*] regés Parthorum Tírida[*tes et postea*] 32
Phrát[*es*] regis Phrati[*s filius*]; Medorum [*Artavasdes*; *Adiabenorum A*]rtaxares ; Britann[*or*]um Dumnobellau[*nus*] et Tim . . . . . ; [*Sugambr*]orum Maelo ; Mar[*c*]omanórum Sueboru[*m* . . . . . *rus*]. [*Ad me rex*] Parthorum Phrates Orod[*i*]s filius filiós suós nepot[*esque omnes misit*] in Italiam, non bello superátu[*s*], sed amicitiam nostram per [*liberorum*] suorum pignora petens. Plúrimaeque aliae gentes exper[*tae sunt p. R.*] fidem me principe, quibus anteá cum populo Roman[*o nullum extitera*]t legationum et amícitiae [*c*]ommercium.

Á me gentés Parthórum et Médóru[*m per legatos*] principes eárum 33
gentium régés pet[*i*]tós accéperunt Par[*thi Vononem regis Phr*]átis fílium, régis Oródis nepótem ; Médí Ar[*iobarzanem*] regis Artavazdis filium, regis Ariobarzanis nep[*otem*].

Ín consulátú sexto et septimo, b[*ella urbi civil*]ia exstinxeram per 34
B.C. 28, 27 consénsum úniversórum [*potitus rerum omn*]ium, rem publicam ex meá potestáte in senát[*us populique Romani a*]rbitrium transtulí. Quó pro merito meó senatu[*s consulto Aug. appe*]llátus sum et laureís postés aedium meárum v[*estiti publice coronaq*]ue civica super iánuam meam fíxa est [*clupeusque aureu*]s in [*c*]úriá Iúliá positus, quem mihi senatum [*populumque Romanu*]m dare virtutis clem[*entia*]e iustitia[*e pietatis causa testatum*] est pe[*r e*]ius clúpei [*inscription*]em. Post id tem[*pus praestiti omnibus dignitate, potest*]atis au[*tem n*]ihilo ampliu[*s habui quam qui fuerunt m*]ihi quoque in ma[*gis*]tra[*t*]u conlegae.

(*Augustus*)

(*Principatus*)

B.C. 2 Tertium dec[*i*]mum consulátu[*m cum gerebam, senatus et equ*]ester ordo 35
(*Pater patriae*) populusq[*ue*] Románus úniversus [*appellavit me patrem p*]atriae idque in vestibu[*lo a*]edium meárum inscriben[*dum esse et in curia e*]t in foró Aug. sub quadrig[*i*]s, quae mihi [*ex*] s. c. pos[*itae sunt, decrevit. Cum scri*]psi haec, annum agebam septuagensu[*mum*
A.D. 13 *sextum*].

Summary added after the death of Augustus.

Summá pecún[*i*]ae, quam ded[*it in aerarium vel plebei Romanae vel* 36
di]missis militibus : denarium se[*xi*]e[*ns milliens*].

Opera fecit nova aedem Martis, [*Iovis tonantis et feretri, Apollinis,*]
díví Iúli, Quirini, Minervae, [*Iunonis reginae, Iovis Libertatis,*]

ραν φιλίαν ἠξίωσαν διὰ πρέσβεων Βαστάρναι καὶ Σκύθαι καὶ Σαρματῶν οἱ ἐπιτάδε ὄντες τοῦ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ καὶ οἱ πέραν δὲ βασιλεῖς, καὶ Ἀλβανῶν δὲ καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Μήδων βασιλέες.

32 Πρὸς ἐμὲ ἱκέται κατέφυγον βασιλεῖς Πάρθων μὲν Τειριδάτης καὶ μετέπειτα Φραάτης βασιλέως Φράτου [υἱός, Μ]ήδ[ων] δὲ Ἀρταο[υάσδ]ης, Ἀδιαβ[η]νῶν [Ἀ]ρτα[ξάρης, Βριτα]ννῶν Δομνοελλαῦνος καὶ Τ[ιμ . . . . . , Σο]υ[γ]άμβρων [Μ]αίλων, Μαρκομάνων [Σουήβων] . . . . . ρος. [Πρὸ]ς ἐμὲ βασιλεὺς Πάρθων Φρα[άτης Ὠρώδο]υ υἱὸ[ς υ]ἱοὺς [αὐτοῦ] υἱωνούς τε πάντας ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οὐ πολέμῳ λειφθείς, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡμ[ε]τέραν φιλίαν ἀξιῶν ἐπὶ τέκνων ἐνεχύροις, πλεῖστά τε ἄλλα ἔθνη πεῖραν ἔλ[α]βεν δήμου Ῥωμαίων πίστεως ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνος, οἷς τὸ πρὶν οὐδεμία ἦν πρὸς δῆμον Ῥωμαίων π[ρε]σβειῶν καὶ φιλίας κοινωνία.

33 Παρ' ἐμοῦ ἔθνη Πάρθων καὶ Μήδων διὰ πρέσβεων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς πρώτων βασιλεῖς αἰτησάμενοι ἔλαβ[ον] Πάρθοι Οὐονώνην βασιλέως Φράτου υ[ἱ]όν, βασιλ[έω]ς Ὠρώδου υἱωνόν· Μῆδοι Ἀριοβαρζάνην βα[σ]ιλέως Ἀρταβάζου υἱόν, βασιλέως Ἀριοβαρζάν[ου υἱω]νόν.

34 Ἐν ὑπατείᾳ ἕκτῃ καὶ ἑβδόμῃ μετὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐνφυλίους ζβέσαι με πολέμους [κ]ατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν ἐμῶν πολε[ι]τῶν ἐνκρατὴς γενόμενος πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς τὴν τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετήνεγκα κυριήαν. ἐξ ἧς αἰτίας δόγματι συνκλήτου Σεβαστὸς προσ[ηγορε]ύθην καὶ δάφναις δημοσίᾳ τὰ πρόπυλ[ά μου ἐστέφθ]η, ὅ τε δρύινος στέφανος ὁ διδόμενος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν πολειτῶν ὑπερά[ν]ω τοῦ πυλῶνος τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας ἀνετέθη, ὅπ[λ]ον τε χρυσοῦν ἐν τῷ βο[υ]λευτηρίῳ ἀνατεθ[ὲ]ν ὑπό τε τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥω[μα]ίων διὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπιείκειαν κα[ὶ δ]ικαιοσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐμοὶ μαρτυρεῖ. Ἀξιώμ[α]τι πάντων διήνεγκα, ἐξουσίας δὲ οὐδέν τι πλεῖον ἔσχον τῶν συναρξάντων μοι.

35 Τρισκαιδεκάτην ὑπατείαν ἄγοντός μου ἥ τε σύνκλητος καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα ὅ τε σύνπας δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσηγόρευσέ με πατέρα πατρίδος καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ προπύλου τῆς οἰκίας μου καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Σεβαστῇ ὑπὸ τῷ ἅρματι, ὅ μοι δόγματι συνκλήτου ἀνετέθη, ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐψηφίσατο. Ὅτε ἔγραφον ταῦτα, ἦγον ἔτος ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἕκτον.

36 Συνκεφαλαίωσις ἠριθμημένου χρήματος εἰς τὸ αἰράριον ἢ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥω[μαί]ων ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἀπολελυμένους στρατιώτας : ἓξ μυριάδες μυριάδων. Ἔργα καινὰ ἐγένετο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ναοὶ μὲν Ἄρεως, Διὸς βροντησίου καὶ τροπαιοφόρου, Πανός, Ἀπόλλωνος, θεοῦ Ἰουλίου, Κυρείνου, Ἀ[θη]νᾶς, Ἥρας βασιλίδος, Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου,

Larum, deum Penátium, Iuv[*entatis*, *Matris deum*, *Lupercal*, *pulvina*]r ad circum, cúriam cum ch[*alcidico*, *forum Augustum*, *basilica*]m Iuliam, theatrum Marcelli, [*p*]or[*ticus* . . . . . ., *nemus trans T*]iberím Caesarum.

Refécit Capito[*lium sacra*]sque ae*de*s [*nu*]m[*ero octoginta*] duas, thea[*t*]rum Pompeí, aqu[*arum rivos*, *vi*]am Flamin[*iam*].

Ímpensa p . . . . . [*in spect*]acul[*a scaenica et munera*] gladiatorum at[*que athletas et venationes et naum*]ach[*iam*] et donata pe[*c*]unia a(?) . . . . . [*ter*]rae motu incendioque consumpt[*is*] a[*ut viritim*] a[*micis senat*]oribusque, quórum census explévit, ín[*n*]umera[*bili*]s.

ἡρώ[ων, θεῶν π]ατρίων , Νεότητος, Μητρὸς θεῶν, β[ουλευτήριον] σὺν χαλκιδικῷ, ἀγορᾷ Σεβαστῇ , θέατρον Μαρκέλλου, β[α]σιλικὴ Ἰουλία, ἄλσος Καισάρων, στοαὶ ἓ[ν] Παλατ[ί]ῳ, στοὰ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ Φλαμινίῳ. Ἐπεσκευάσθ[η τὸ Κα]πιτώλιον, ναοὶ ὀγδοήκοντα δύο, θέ[ατ]ρον Π[ομ]πηίου, ὁδὸς Φλαμινία, ἀγωγοὶ ὑδάτων. [Δαπ]άναι δὲ εἰς θέας καὶ μονομάχους καὶ ἀθλητὰς καὶ γαυμαχίαν καὶ θηρομαχίαν δωρεαί [τε] ἀποικίαις πόλεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, πόλεσιν ἐν ἐπαρχείαις σεισμῷ κα[ὶ] ἐνπυρισμοῖς πεπονηκυίαις ἢ κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις καὶ συνκλητικοῖς, ὧν τὰς τειμήσεις προσεξεπλήρωσεν: ἄπειρον πλῆθος.

II. DATES IN THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS.

C. I. L. x. 8375 (at Cumae). Rushforth 38.

Aug. 19. [*XIIII K. Septembr. eo die Caesar pri*]mum consulatum in[*iit*.....]

Sept. 3. [*III Non. Septembr. eo die exer*]citus Lepidi tradidit se Caesari. Suppli[*c*]a[*tio* . .]

Sept. 23. [*VIIII K. Octobr. n*]atalis Caesaris. Immolatio Caesari hostia. Supplicatio . . .

Oct. 7. Nonis Octobr. Drusi Caesaris natalis. Supplicatio Vestae.

Oct. 18. XV K. Novembr. eo die Caesar togam virilem sumpsit. Supplicatio Spei et Iuve[*ntuti*].

Nov. 16. XVI K. Decembr. natalis Ti. Caesaris. Supplicatio Vestae.

Dec. 15. XVIII K. Ianuar. eo die a[*r*]a Fortunae Reducis dedicatast quae Caesarem [*ex transmari-*]
nis provincis red[*uxit*]. Supplicatio Fortunae Reduci.

Jan. 7. VII Idus Ianuar. e[*o die Caesar*] primum fasces sumpsit. Supplicatio Iovi sempi[*terno*].

Jan. 16. [*XV*]III K. Febr. eo di[*e Caesar Augustu*]s appellatus est. Supplicatio Augusto.

Jan. 30. [*III K. Febr. eo die ara Pacis Aug*(*ustae*) *dedicata*] est. Supplicatio imperio Caesaris Augusti cust[*odis*]
[*civium Romanorum totiusque orbis terrar*]um.

Mar. 6. [*Prid. Non. Mart. eo die Caesar pontifex ma*]ximus creatus est. Supplicatio Vestae, dis pub(licis) P(enatibus) p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium).

Apr. 14. [*XVIII K. Mai. eo die Caesar primum vicit. Suppli*]catio Victoriae Augustae.

Apr. 15. *XVII K. Mai. eo die Caesar primum imperator app*]ellatus est. Supplicatio Felicitati Imperi.

May 12. [*IIII Id. Mai. eo die aedes Martis dedicatast. Supplica*]tio Molibus Martis.

May 24. [*VIIII K. Iun. natalis Germanici Caesaris. Supp*]licatio Vestae.

July 12. [*IIII Id. Iul. natalis divi Iuli. Supplicatio Iov*]i, Marti Ultori, Veneri [*Genetrici*].
. . . . . *Suppli*]catio Iovi . . . . .

APPENDIX B.

THE ASSASSINS OF IULIUS.

To avenge his great-uncle's murder was the first object of Octavian [c. 10, M. A. 1]. The revenge took gradually a wider sweep, but it was in the first place to be exacted from those who had taken actual part in the murder. Of these men Suetonius [*Caesar* 80] says that scarcely any survived their victim more than three years, or died a natural death. All were condemned under the *lex Pedia*, and were either executed, or perished by shipwreck, or fell in battle, or killed themselves. Dio [48, 1] says that all but a few met with the fate which the murder of a benefactor deserved. Plutarch [*Caes.* 69] declares that the Fortune which attended Caesar in his lifetime became an avenging spirit after his death, pursuing and tracking his murderers over land and sea till none were left. It is scarcely possible to test this statement completely, for the number privy to the conspiracy was large,—60 according to Suetonius [*Caes.* 80], 'some obscure and some young' [Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 26], and accordingly many of their names are unknown to us; but with some exceptions it is confirmed by what we learn of those whose names have been preserved.

The most extensive list of names is that given by Appian *B. civ.* 2, 111—113, but some are learnt from other sources. They are:

M. Iunius Brutus Caepio.

Killed himself at Philippi B.C. 42. App. 4, 131; Dio 47, 49.

Dec. Iunius Brutus Albinus.

Killed in Gaul B.C. 43. App. 4, 98; Dio 46, 53.

C. Servilius Casca.

P. Servilius Casca.

Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 27. *Publius was tribune in* B.C. 43, *and was condemned under the* lex Pedia [Dio 46, 49; Cic. *ad fam.* 16, 15; 13 *Phil.* § 31], *but escaped from Rome and fought at Philippi* [B.C. 42. Plut.

Brut. 45]. *He either fell there or perished soon afterwards, but it is not known which. Gaius seems to have been Tribune in* B.C. 44 *and to have tried to disclaim any share in the murder* [Dio 44, 52], *but Cicero* [2 *Phil.* 27] *and Appian* [*B. civ.* 2, 113] *speak of both brothers being among the assassins, and Plutarch* [*Caes.* 66] *represents Casca (he gives no praenomen or nomen) exclaiming* ἀδελφέ, βοήθει. *His subsequent fate is unknown.*

Caecilius and Bucilianus.

Appian, *l.c. Nothing is known of these two brothers. Bucilianus accompanied M. Brutus and presumably shared his fate* [Cic. *ad Att.* 15, 17, § 2; 16, 4 § 4].

C. Cassius.

Killed himself at Philippi, App. *B. civ.* 4, 113; Dio 47, 46.

Cassius Parmensis.

Put to death in B.C. 31 *or* 30, *see note on p.* 8.

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

It has been questioned whether he was among the assassins. He was however condemned under the lex Pedia *and was in the proscription list. Cocceius, the legate of Antony in* B.C. 40, *denied that he was an assassin* [App. *B. civ.* 5, 62]; *but Cicero* [2 *Phil.* §§ 27, 30] *names him emphatically, and Appian, though he does not mention him in his account of the murder, speaks of him elsewhere* [*B. civ.* 5, 59] *as a* σφαγεὺς Γαΐου Καίσαρος, *as also does* Dio [48, 7 *and* 54]. *He was in command of ships at the time of the battle of Philippi, and after that joined Sext. Pompeius; but after the treaty of Tarentum* [B.C. 37] *became reconciled with Antony, by whose influence he secured the Consulship in* B.C. 32. *Though on the rupture between Augustus and Antony in that year he left Rome and joined the latter, he quarrelled with Cleopatra and joined Augustus before Actium, but died shortly afterwards, prior it seems to the actual battle* [Dio 50, 13]. See p. 38.

Q. Antistius Labeo.

Father of the jurist [see c. 54]. *He caused a slave to kill him in his tent after Philippi* [App. *B. civ.* 4, 135]. *See* Cic. *Ep. ad Brut.* 1, 18; 2, 27.

Q. Ligarius.

Plutarch [*Brut.* 11] *calls him Gaius. Cicero had defended him on a charge of* vis. *With his two brothers he perished in the proscription of* B.C. 43—2. App. *B. civ.* 4, 22 [Cic. *pro Lig.* 12; *fam.* 6, 13, 14; *Att.* 13, 12, 19, 20, 44].

Minucius Basilus

was murdered by his own slaves in retaliation for a barbarous act on his part early in B.C. 43 [App. *B. civ.* 3, 98]. *In the assassination he wounded Rubrius by mistake* [Nic. Dam. c. 24]. *He was a friend of Cicero's* [*Att.* 11, 5], *who wrote congratulating him on the murder* [*ad fam.* 6, 15].

Sextius Naso

perished in the proscription of B.C. 43—2 [Appian *B. civ.* 4, 24].

Petronius.

Otherwise unknown. He was put to death by Antony at Ephesus after Philippi B.C. 42 [App. *B. civ.* 5, 4].

L. Pontius Aquila.

He was legatus to Decimus Brutus in B.C. 43 [Dio 46, 38; Cic. 11 *Phil.* § 14; 13 *Phil.* 27], *and was killed in the battle at Forum Gallorum, near Mutina,* 15 *April* B.C. 43 [Dio 46, 40].

Rubrius Ruga.

App. *B. civ.* 2, 113; Nic. Dam. c. 24. *His fate is not recorded.*

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Great-grandfather of the Emperor Galba [Suet. *Galb.* 3]. *He wrote the well-known account of the battle at Forum Gallorum on the* 15*th of April* [Cic. *fam.* 10, 30]. *Appian's assertion that he was among the assassins is confirmed by a sentence in Antony's letter to the Senate,* Cic. 13 *Phil.* 33. *He probably fell in the course of the campaign, as his name is not mentioned among the proscribed.*

M. Spurius.

Nothing is known of him or his fate.

Statilius.

Perhaps L. Statilius, an augur [Cic. *Att.* 12, 13 § 2; 14, 3]. *He was killed at Philippi,* Plut. *Brut.* 51.

C. Toranius.

See p. 58. *He perished in the proscription,* App. *B. civ.* 4, 12, 18; Orosius 6, 18, 9. *He was betrayed to the emissaries of the triumvirs by his son.* [Valer. Max. 9, 11, 5.]

L. Tillius Cimber.

Though a great friend of Iulius [Cic. *fam.* 12, 13, 3; 2 *Phil.* § 27], *he struck the first blow* [*Iul.* 82]. *He brought a fleet from his province of Bithynia to aid Brutus and Cassius in Macedonia* B.C. 42 [App. *B. civ.* 4, 102, 105]. *He either perished in the course of the war or immediately after it. He would meet with no mercy as being con-*

demned by the lex Pedia. *We find the governorship of Bithynia vacant in* B.C. 41—0 [App. *B. civ.* 5, 63 *fin.*].

C. Trebonius.

Killed by Dolabella in Asia B.C. 44—3, Cic. 11 *Phil.* §§ 1—8, 13 *Phil.* § 22; *fam.* 12, 12, 14, 15.

P. Turullius

commanded a ship in the fleet of Cassius B.C. 44—3 [Cic. *fam.* 12, 13; App. *B. civ.* 5, 2]. *He afterwards joined Antony, but was given up to Octavian with the hope of conciliating him in* B.C. 30, *and was by him put to death.* Dio 51, 8; Valer. Max. 1, 1, 19.

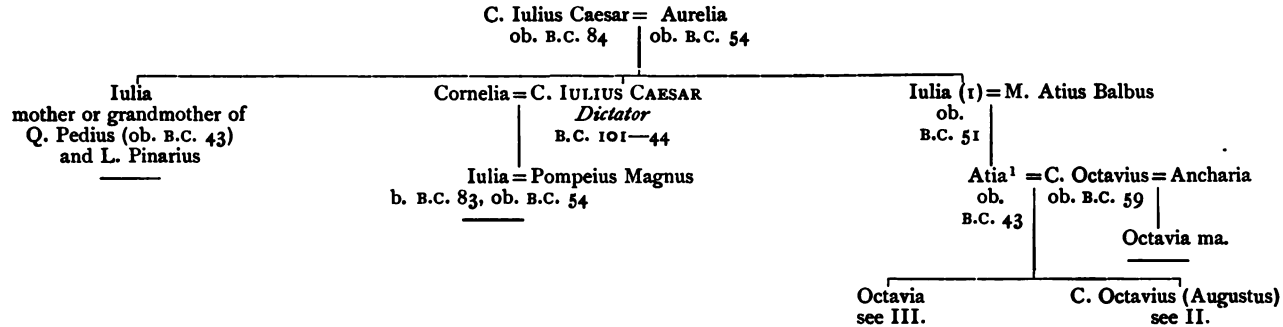
Besides these, who seem to have taken an active part in the assassination, Plutarch says that Gaius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther joined them on their way up to the Capitol, feigning to have been in the plot [Plut. *Caes.* 67, cp. Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 25]. Appian [*B. civ.* 2, 119] adds to this category Favonius, Aquinius, Dolabella, Murcus and Patiscus.

Of these Gaius Octavius is unknown to us. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, though he thus openly joined the conspirators [Cic. *Att.* 13, 10; *fam.* 12, 14], and served at Philippi, managed to escape, and was alive at least up to B.C. 27 [Eckhel 5, p. 185]. M. Favonius was executed after Philippi [Dio 47, 49: see note on p. 27]. Aquinius may be the M. Aquinius pardoned by Iulius in B.C. 47 [*bell. Afric.* 57, 89], but we have no account of him after that. Dolabella took advantage of the murder of Iulius to assume the consulship, but he soon showed by his execution of Trebonius in Asia that he was not at one with the assassins. He was driven to suicide in Syria by Cassius, B.C. 43. How far he did at first openly connect himself with the assassins is not clear, but for some time Cicero was thoroughly satisfied with his speeches and actions [Cic. *Att.* 14, 20—21; 15, 13; 16, 11]. L. Statius Murcus (once a *legatus* of Iulius) had been praetor in the year before the assassination, and if he was in Rome at the time must have been on the point of starting for his province (Syria). He afterwards did good service to the cause of Brutus and Cassius with his fleet; but joining Sextus Pompeius after Philippi he was assassinated, owing to the jealousy of Menodorus [Dio 48, 19]. Patiscus was with Cassius as pro-quaestor in command of a ship, B.C. 43 [Cic. *fam.* 12, 13, 15].

APPENDIX C.

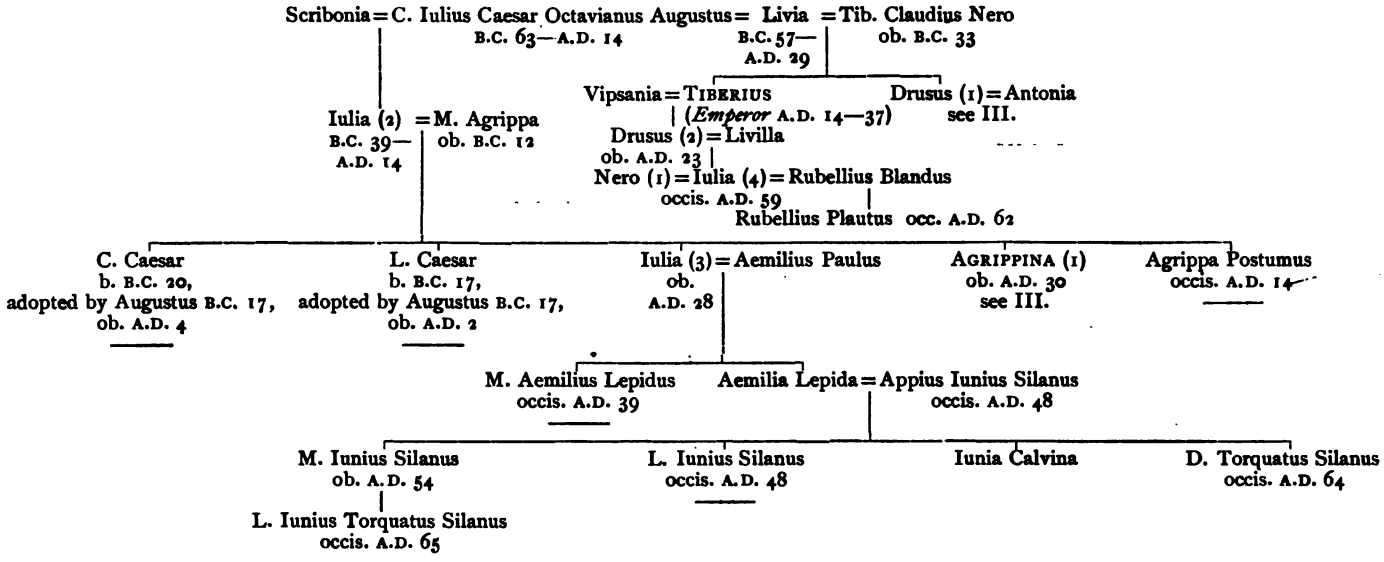
Family and Connexions of Augustus.

I.



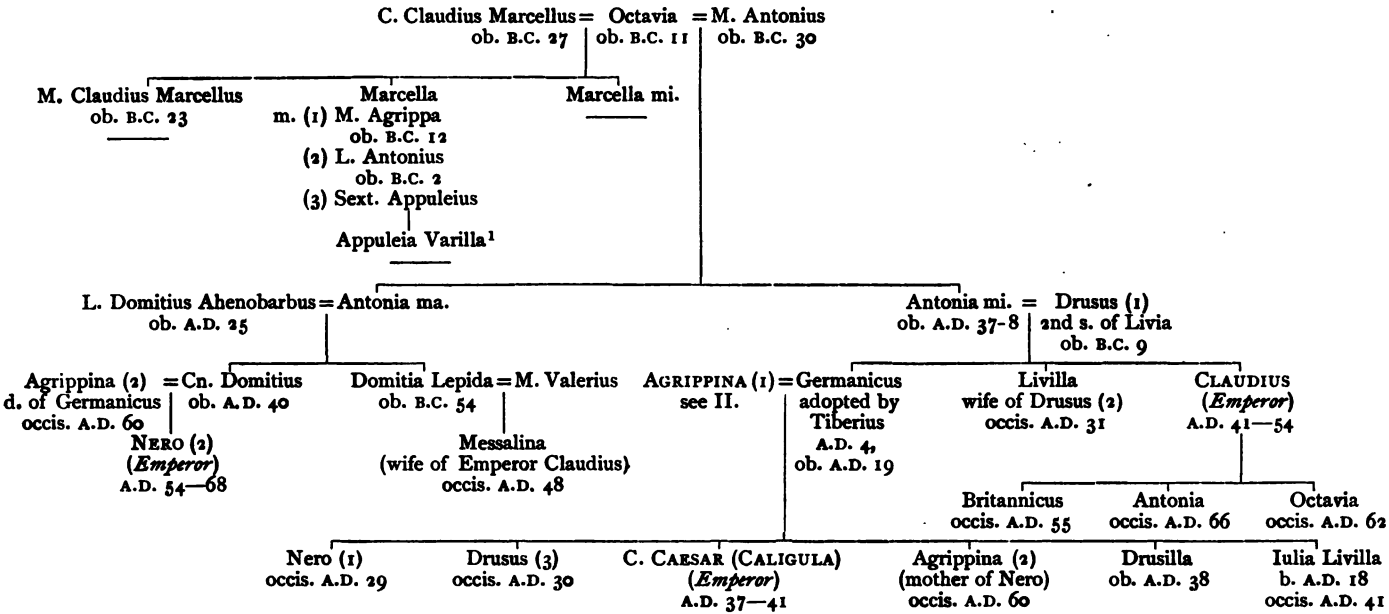
[[1] Atia married secondly L. Marcius Philippus, see p. 17. The statement of Ovid (*F.* 6, 809) that Philippus married an aunt of Augustus may be accounted for perhaps if he married an elder sister of Atia first, though we have no account of such a person. However, we find he had a daughter Marcia called 'cousin' to Augustus. *C. I. G.* 2629, Μαρκίᾳ Φιλίππου θυγατρί, ἀνεψιᾷ Καίσαρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, γυναικὶ Παύλου Φαβίου Μαξίμου, Σεβαστῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. Ovid's third wife was connected with Fabius Maximus, and was thus brought into connexion with certain relatives of the Emperor. *Ep. ex P.* 1, 2, 138.]

II.



The last of this branch to survive was perhaps Iunia Calvina, who is mentioned as living in the time of Vespasian [see Suet. *Vesp.* 23]. The family of Augustus is carried on by Agrippina (1). See III.

III.



[[1] There is considerable difficulty as to this part of the pedigree. The two *Marcellae* are mentioned in inscriptions (Wilm. 351. 160), but the third marriage to Appuleius is not recorded. Tacitus (*Ann.* 2, 50) calls *Appuleia Varilla* 'a granddaughter of the sister of Augustus': but he also mentions (ib. 4, 52) a certain *Claudia Pulchra* as 'a cousin of Agrippina,' who must, it seems, be the daughter of one of the *Marcellae*.]

Thus on Nero's death, in A.D. 68, all those who could trace their descent from Augustus or his sister had passed away, with the one exception of Iunia Calvina. In A.D. 7 the expected succession in the Imperial family as far as Claudius is shown by an inscription on an arch at Pavia, which includes Gaius and Lucius, who had died a few years before, Wilmanns 880:

IMP · CAESARI | DIVI · F · AVGVSTO | PONTIFIC · MAXIMO | PATRI · PATRIAE · AVG · XV · VIR · S · F · VII · VIR · EPVLON | COS · XIII · IMP · XVII · TRIBVNIC · POTEST · XXX

LIVIAE | DRVSI · F | VXORI · CAESARIS · AVG

TI · CAESARI | AVGVSTI · F | DIVI · NEPOT · PONT | AVGVRIQVE | COS · *i*TER · IMP · TER · TRIBVNICIAE · POT · VIII*i*

GERMANICO | IVLIO · *t*I · F | AVGVSTI · NEPOT | DIVI · PRON · CAESARI

Druso iulio ti. F | AVGVSTI · NEPOTI | DIVI · PRON · CAESARI | PONTIFICI

NERONI · IVLIO | GERMANICI · *f* | AVG · PRONEPOT | CAESARI

c. CAESARI | AVGVSTI · F | DIVI · NEPOT | PONTIFIC · COS | IMPERATORI

l. CAESARI | AVGVSTI · F | DIVI · NEPOT | AVGVRI · COS · DESIGN | PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS

DRVSO · IVLIO | GERMANICI · F | AVG · PRONEPOT | GERMANICO

TI · CLAVDIO | DRVSI · GERMANICI · F | NERONI · GERMANICO

Tiberius is called AVGVSTI F. since his adoption in A.D. 4; of those named none but the last, Claudius, survived Tiberius (A.D. 37). Gaius died in A.D. 4; Lucius A.D. 3; Drusus, son of Tiberius, in A.D. 23; and Drusus, son of Germanicus, was starved to death in A.D. 33 [Tac. *Ann.* 6, 23—4], having been born it seems in A.D. 7 or the year previous [Tac. *Ann.* 4, 4]. It seems strange that his elder brother Nero b. A.D. 1, and afterwards (A.D. 20) married to Iulia daughter of Drusus s. of Tiberius, should be omitted [Tac. *Ann.* 3, 29]; he was starved to death in A.D. 29 [Suet. *Tib.* 54]. Nero and Drusus, as sons of Germanicus (adopted by Tiberius), would naturally come before their uncle Claudius. Gaius (Caligula) was not born till five years later (A.D. 12).

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[*Numbers refer to Chapters.*]

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[*The numbers refer to the pages of this edition.*]

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